McGILL UNIVERSITY

THE EMIGRATION OF ADAM SMITH'S PLOUGHMAN: A Case Study of the Intellectual Culture of Scots Emigrants to Lower Canada 1760-1850

Sarah Katherine Gibson

A Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Faculty of McGill University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

McGILL UNIVERSITY
Montreal, Québec
August 2007

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-50821-3
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-50821-3

Abstract

THE EMIGRATION OF ADAM SMITH'S PLOUGHMAN: A Case Study of the Intellectual Culture of Scots Emigrants to Lower Canada 1760-1850

My dissertation examines the knowledge culture of ordinary Scots in late-18th Scotland and early-19th century Canada from a microhistorical perspective. In 1803 a branch of the Brodie family from Lochwinnoch parish, Renfrewshire in western Scotland emigrated to Montreal in Lower Canada. In so doing they created a direct link between the knowledge cultures of late-18th century Scotland in which they had grown up and that of colonial Montreal.

The Brodies' intellectual and cultural formation is explored through the prism, first, of the family's consumption and production of knowledge in Scotland and second, their reproduction and embodiment of that Scottish knowledge in Canada. The dissertation comprises four linked studies addressing different facets of widely–held claims of Scotland's distinctively high rates of literacy at the turn of the 19th century and of the disproportionate contributions of ordinary Scots to British colonies such as Canada. Despite the virtual absence of studies addressing the issue from the perspective of the ordinary Scot, the idea of a widely and democratically educated Scottish population—captured in the expression the "democratic intellect"—has been an important facet of Scottish identity at home and abroad for over two hundred years.

The dissertation concludes that the idea of Scotland's "democratic intellect" does indeed have historical reality, but not in the way that many historians have suggested. A close reading of the intellectual and cultural material the Brodies consumed and produced reveals the inapplicability of the concept of a "democratic intellect" as an expression conveying the idea of the popular Scottish-mind as a product of elite institutions. In Scotland the Brodies exercised agency and independence in acquiring knowledge that surpassed basic literacy skills at the parish school. They wove together facets from a folk culture with select ideas from the Scottish Enlightenment to produce distinctive intellectual and cultural values based upon the concept of the primitive or the folk. Contrary to the 18th century elite invention of the folk as a vessel bearing the essential

and anti-modern spirit of the nation, the Brodie helped advance the folk as a forward-looking group identity that included mental cultivation and independence of mind as core values.

Résumé

L'ÉMIGRATION DU LABOUREUR D'ADAM SMITH:
Étude de cas de la culture intellectuelle des émigrants écossais au Bas-Canada, 1760-1850

Ma thèse examine, d'un point de vue microhistorique, la culture du savoir des Écossais ordinaires en Écosse à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle et au Canada au début du XIX[e]. En 1803, une branche de la famille Brodie de la paroisse de Lochwinnoch (Renfrewshire), dans l'ouest de l'Écosse, a émigré à Montréal au Bas-Canada. Ce faisant, les membres de la famille ont créé un lien direct entre la culture du savoir de la fin du XVIII[e] siècle en Écosse, où ils avaient grandi, et celle du Montréal colonial.

La formation intellectuelle et culturelle des Brodie est explorée à travers le prisme, tout d'abord, de la consommation et de la production de savoir par la famille en Écosse et en deuxième lieu, de leur reproduction et incarnation de ce savoir écossais au Canada. La thèse comprend quatre études interreliées portant sur différents aspects d'affirmations souvent entendues touchant les taux d'alphabétisation particulièrement élevés de l'Écosse au tournant du XIX[e] siècle et les contributions disproportionnées d'Écossais ordinaires aux colonies britanniques comme le Canada. Malgré l'absence presque totale d'études abordant cette question du point de vue de l'Écossais ordinaire, depuis plus de deux cents ans l'idée d'une population largement et démocratiquement instruite – idée traduite par l'expression « intellect démocratique » – constitue un élément important de l'identité écossaise, tant en Écosse qu'à l'étranger.

La thèse conclut que l'idée de « l'intellect démocratique » en Écosse correspond bien à une réalité historique, mais qui n'est pas celle évoquée par de nombreux historiens. Un examen attentif des matériaux intellectuels et culturels consommés et produits par les Brodie montre que la notion de « l'intellect démocratique » n'est pas pertinente pour transmettre l'idée d'une pensée populaire écossaise comme produit des institutions d'élite. En Écosse, les Brodie ont manifesté leur indépendance et leur capacité d'agir en acquérant des connaissances qui allaient au-delà de l'alphabétisation de base transmise

par l'école paroissiale. Ils ont combiné des éléments de la culture populaire (*folk culture*) et certaines idées issues des Lumières en Écosse pour créer des valeurs intellectuelles et culturelles distinctes basées sur les notions du primitif ou du populaire. À l'inverse de la notion inventée par l'élite au XVIII^{e} siècle du populaire comme véhicule de l'esprit essentiel et antimoderne de la nation, les Brodie ont contribué à promouvoir l'idée du populaire comme identité collective progressiste basée sur les valeurs essentielles de la culture mentale et de l'indépendance d'esprit.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I hereby acknowledge debts I owe colleagues, family and friends. First and foremost I must acknowledge my intellectual debts to my supervisor, Brian Young who is a good historian because he is a good gardener and understands about process, patience and deep attention. Thanks also to Elsbeth Heaman, Catherine Desbarats, Pierre Boulle, Elizabeth Elbourne, Brian Lewis, Susanne Morton, Nancy Partner, Jarrett Rudy, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert and the History and Philosophy of Science seminar of James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew. Marjory Harper and Elizabeth Jane Errington provided supportive interest, while Fredrik Albritton Jonsson provided encouragement and much insight into 18th century Scotland. In particular I must thank Nigel Willis, Gillian Leitch and Robert Sweeny for sharing research. Finally, to my parents John and Katherine Gibson, I owe a great debt of gratitude, as do I to my aunt, Ellen Henderson. Thank you to my brother Andrew and to my grandmother Jessie Henderson for being there.

To the staff at the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*, the *Library and Archives of Canada*, the *National Archives of Scotland*, the *National Library of Scotland*, the *Paisley Central Library, Local Studies Library*, the *Archives of the Church of Saint Andrew and Saint Paul, Montreal*, as well as to François Cartier, Nora Hague and Heather McNab of the McCord Museum, Bill MacLennan of the Canadian Agriculture Library, and Soeur Nicole Bussières des *Archives des Religieuses Hospitalières de St.-Joseph-Montréal*, thank you. Thanks also to Mr. Robert P. Brodie for inviting me into his home and opening up his family's albums.

I would also like to acknowledge UBC Press and I.B. Tauris Press for granting me permission to use previously published material and the McGill University, the Max Stern Foundation and the McCord Museum for awarding me a Max Stern-McCord Museum Fellowship for 2001-4.

Abbreviations

BAnQ	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec
MM	McCord Museum of Canadian History
LAC	Library and Archives of Canada
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PCL (LSL)	Paisley Central Library, Local Studies Library

Introduction

Adam Smith's Ploughman Emigrates

In 1816 James Cameron, a young weaver living in the parish of Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire on the western coast of Scotland's Lowlands was preparing to emigrate. The Napoleonic Wars has been over for a year and the Scottish economy was in a deep crisis. His uncle, Hugh Brodie who had emigrated to Lower Canada thirteen years previously, was then farming two miles west of Montreal and he had invited James to come and stay. James quit his father's looms and began "driving a mans [sic] Plough about" in a neighbouring parish in order to have some appropriate skills for farming in Canada.[1]

A year later, James had not emigrated having changed his mind about the skills he needed to take to Canada. His father reported to Hugh Brodie that "our Son James still expects to see you yet although he has not com'd this time." Rather, his father reported that James had claimed "he could not come on no account whatever he says until he is completely fit to keep books which he thinks will be against next spring." His time "playing the Farmer," he was then "grudging very much" because it had kept him out of school "nigh to a year."[2] At some unknown point James did voyage to Lower Canada to work on Hugh Brodie's farm, near the Tanneries on Côte St. Pierre. But in 1823, ill

[1] McCord Museum of Canadian History (MM) Brodie Family Fonds (PO21) File 5, Archibald Cameron to Hugh Brodie 22 April 1816.
[2] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 7th April 1817.

health forced him to return to Scotland where he returned to the weaving trade.[3] As he settled into his old craft and married, he kept in contact with his uncle and continued to cherish the hope that he would return to Canada again to "weild the hatchet and hoe."[4] But as economic conditions in Scotland steadily worsened, he finally admitted that he had "no higher end in view than to spend [his] days on a spot of [his] own." In 1834, James put plans in motion to buy a farm near his uncle and "he set off to Montreal with his wife." Once there, they appeared to settle for an urban rather than a rural life and in 1850 they were living at "White Horse Inn, St. Urbain Street, St. Laurence Suburbs," in Montreal.[5]

James and his wife Mary were two tiny figures in the great tidal wave of Scottish out migration. Emigration statistics are notoriously unreliable, but it is estimated that the Scottish emigration stream James and Mary slipped into—lasting from 1825 to 1938—numbered 2.33 million Scots.[6] In turn the Scottish emigration was part of a much larger British diaspora, when, during "the classic age of emigration (1815-1930) 18,700,000 people may have emigrated from the British Isles" and between the 17th and the mid 20th centuries "the British Isles have supplied something well beyond twenty-five million

---

[3] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Quebec City) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 15 July 1823.
[4] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 18 August 1829.
[5] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 22 March 1834; Paisley Central Library Local Studies Library (PCL (LCL)), Crawfurd, "The Cairn of Lochwinnoch Matters," 7: 473 6/4.
[6] Scotland has a long history of out migration. During the 17th century, when the Scottish population "hovered around one million," "there may have been as many as 200, 000 migrants from Scotland," possibly involving "something approaching 20 percent of the nation's young men in the early 17th century." At this time, the emigration streams headed towards Europe where "Scottish merchants and traders lived and worked extensively in the cites of France, Sweden, Denmark, and the Low Countries." Of particular note were the extensive Scottish populations in Poland, "to which as many as 30-40, 000 migrated over a period of several decades early in the 17th century. Ned C. Landsman, "AHR Forum: Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," *The American Historical Review* 104 (2) 1999: 463-475; Angela McCarthy, "Introduction: Personal Testimonies and Scottish Migration," in *A Global Clan; Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century* ed. Angela McCarthy (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), 1.

people to the rest of the world, invited or otherwise."[7] Of this larger British migration, 15,000 Scottish immigrants headed for Canada before 1815, 170,000 between 1815 and1870, and a further 80,000 between 1870 and 1900.[8] This great movement of people engendered questions—in the minds of contemporaries and of historians—about their identity. And James, an ordinary Scottish emigrant, carried with him one thing that his contemporaries and succeeding generations of historians have agreed distinguished the ordinary Scottish emigrant in the colonies: remunerative, transportable skills and an adaptable, enterprising spirit. It is a historical and a historiographical maxim that the Scots distinguished themselves within the Anglo-American world of the 18th and 19th centuries by their institutional commitment to education and by their vaunted "adaptability." In 1853, then British Prime Minister Gladstone proclaimed that the Scottish national educational system accounted for "Scotland's successful position in Europe and her advance from economic and social backwardness."[9] Gladstone echoed a two-century-old Scottish self-perception. In the mid-17th century, the Rev. James Kirkton proclaimed in the pages of an influential history of Scotland that "every village had a school, and every child of age could read the Scriptures." In the mid-18th century Adam Smith advanced the opinion that the parish school system had taught "almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account." At the outset of 19th century, Sir John Sinclair concluded from his analysis of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* that "education is so cheap, and the people are so impressed with a sense of its importance, that in almost all the lowland parishes, the

---

[7] Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 6.
[8] J.M. Bumstead, *The Scots in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982), 10.
[9] R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity, Illiteracy, and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 212.

younger part of the population, *without a single exception*, are taught to read English, and instructed in the principles of religion." Furthermore, "however humble their condition, the peasantry, in the southern districts, can all read, and are generally more or less skilled writing and arithmetic."[10]

Popular histories of the Scottish experience in the colonial world are emphatic on this point: widespread education in Scotland was the single greatest factor in explaining the prominence of Scots, from the great men to the most humble person in the British Empire. In the Canadian context, Matthew Shaw has echoed American historian Arthur Herman's assertion that Scotland's eighteenth century "egalitarian" school system, prepared the nation to embrace the conditions of modernity. The ordinary Scot in Colonial Canada, according to Shaw's analysis, was "no longer constrained by a rigid class system" allowing "well-educated Scots [to] quickly assum[e] leadership roles in their new country." The population of developing British North America, he asserted, was largely illiterate, while the "Scots were ideally trained to take over key clerical, administrative and business positions." In developing this interpretation, Shaw echoed Canadian historian Stanford Reid, who attributed the Scots' success as immigrants to their adaptability, which in turn derived from "the Scottish intellectual tradition that holds that human nature is universal. Scottish schools and churches generally taught that, despite cultural differences, all human beings were the same in every way that mattered. In other words, nurture was far more important than nature." [11] Significantly, such

---

[10] James Kirkton, *History,* paraphrased in Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1950), 418: John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland,* cited in R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 6.
[11] Matthew Shaw, *Great Scots: How the Scots Created Canada* (Winnipeg, Canada: Heartland Associates, 2003), 15-6.

studies lack a qualitative or even a quantitative assessment of the cultivation of the average Scot's mind.

Most academic scholars are less sanguine and complicate the image of the educated and adaptable Scots on two fronts: first, in the field of emigration history, loosening the connection between colonial behavior and the idea of a national character type and second, in questioning the widespread nature of Scottish education in 17th and 18th century Scotland. From neither camp however, has the academic critique of the popular conceptions of the distinctive qualities of Scottish people in the 18th and 19th centuries been wholly effective. Analysts of Scottish emigration, who seek to detach their studies from national stereotypes, repeatedly invoke those same stereotypes. Historians of Scottish education have not been able to offer satisfactory evidence either of how far education extended among the Scottish population or of how ordinary Scots engaged with the world of knowledge.

In the past twenty-years, historians of the Scottish experience in the colonial context have distanced themselves from the stereotyped portraits of the popular histories and sought a realistic framework in which to understand the phenomenon of widespread Scottish emigration. In the antipodean context, the work of Eric Richards has been crucial in calling for a disciplined and structural analysis of Scottish emigration. In his 1985 study of Scottish emigration to Australia, Richards stressed that the standard refrain asserting the disproportionate nature of Scottish influence in colonial society "requires some demonstration of the proposition" and stated an intention not to offer "a celebration of the Scottish influence on Australia" but rather a "commentary on the Scots as representative elements in the process of colonization and the making of Australia." He

states, for example, that the Scottish "cultural influence was indefinable" and may well have travelled in the cultural baggage of English immigrants who had imbibed Scottish moral philosophy. He concluded the study with the observation that "the common wisdom, and caricature, is that they [the Scots] were disproportionately prosperous, pious and practical, but that there was no systematic knowledge to verify such proposition." But how far from the caricature of the Scot did Richards actually move? In areas tending towards empirical analysis, the old vision of the adaptable and disproportionately successful Scots remained. For Richards, Scotland "made a disproportionate contribution to capital foundation in Australia and also exerted a formative influence on the evolution of the banking system and its practices." Even the practice of squatting represented a Scottish achievement for it "required both adaptability and capital."[12]

His other 1985 contribution to the subject of Scottish emigration outlines "a preliminary definition of the framework of the Scottish diaspora" in order to systematize knowledge about the Scottish experience in the colonial world. But even this focused approach demonstrates the continuing stickiness of the Scottish caricature. Delineating various "types" or categories of Scottish immigrants based upon their material resources, allowed Richards to skirt two major problems. First, it avoided treating all immigrant Scots as representatives of a national character-type. Second, it drew more attention to the structural features of the Scottish economy and society that created conditions favourable to emigration. Identifying different types of Scottish emigrants, however, also drew attention to certain features appearing as common constituents of the phenomenon of Scottish emigration. In each class of migrant, Richards and other commentators—

---

[12] Eric Richards, "Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788-1914," in *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise,* ed. R.A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 111, 125, 140, 147.

historical and contemporary—focused on the Scots' mental furniture, noting either a professional education or the possession of skills. The assumption of widespread Scottish education continued to structure the analysis because it was assumed that the success of all groups of Scots lay in the social benefits of their education. Even the modest tenant-farmer could parlay skills and experience into social advancement for "the transition from farm management to pastoral ownership, and then entry to the colonial plutocracy became a well-worn track for Scots." Richards concluded his review of the emigrant types by stressing that "the common elements in the emigrant experience were probably less significant than the differences." But even as he sought to evade characterizations, he nonetheless pointed to a common behavioural type: "the fact that most were mobile urbanites reflected the industrial/ urban world of most Scots."

Leaving aside how inapplicable this characterization was to the tenant farmers he studied, this statement lead him right back to a characterization of typical Scottish behaviour as "enterprising" and the result of a "restless quest for upward mobility." Despite his assertion that the Scottish immigrants were "symptomatic" of structural features of the Scottish political economy, he continued to invoke a set of characteristics associated with adaptability and a cultivated mind.[13]

The work of Ned Landsman on the American colonial experiences of Scots in 17th and 18th century Scotland has been influential in countering the analytical agenda of the nation-building narratives. The overall thrust of Landsman's work has been to detach the Scottish experience in colonial America from the ghetto of ethnic identities and to portray them as intellectual and economic agents in the British Atlantic acting in cosmopolitan

[13] Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Studies* 21(85) 1985: 474, 487-91.

and modern ways. The Scots of the early Atlantic World did not think in terms of an ethnic identity based upon national origins. His first book *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765* explored a series of Scottish settlement in New Jersey and concluded that ethnicity was a concept anachronistic to the 17th century and early 18th century Scots he studied. The experience of establishing Scottish settlements in America was "not just about upholding Old World patterns."

Scots settled in national groups, with a view to perpetuating their institutions—particularly their religion—and to protecting their interests—mainly economic. At the same time, however, they were prepared to adjust to frontier conditions and the presence of other cultural groups. The very process of negotiating the boundaries of their group brought a sense of their distinctive national origins to the fore. This created the ironic situation, as Landsman noted, that the American Scots articulated a stronger sense of Scottish identity than did the Scots in Scotland: "many Scottish colonists became more self-consciously Scottish than their countrymen back home." However, awareness of national difference in the colonies was a natural byproduct of the provincial outlook he identified among the community leaders—the doctors, lawyers, administrators, merchants and teachers. These individuals were seeking a place in the Atlantic World where they could become cosmopolitan citizens rather than to establish an ethnic enclave. In short, Landsman's Scots were marked by a provincial political and philosophical outlook, rather than by any sense of shared ethnic or national descent.

In a 1994 work Landsman deepened his provincial thesis by looking at the intellectual affinities between Scottish and American intellectuals. Before the American Revolution, both American and Scotland were provincial countries and the thinking of

Adam Smith, David Hume and the evangelical Presbyterians of the Scottish Popular Party developed intellectual positions regarding imperial issues that resonated with Americans—notwithstanding a continuing distrust of actual Scottish settlers as clannish imperial agents. The Scots' intellectual engagement with and contributions to the discourses of liberty and virtue of the British Atlantic culture thus constituted a particularized version of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism. In other words, Scots attempted to turn the progressive ideals of the Enlightenment to the benefit of provincial cultures within the British Empire.[14] Landsman, however, does not throw out the concept of ethnicity, for he still recognized the group of people he studied as being defined by their Scottish origins. Arguing that Scots had both social and intellectual customs that set them apart, he turned to Bernard Aspinwall's concept of a portable utopia to argue that the seat of Scottish distinctiveness lay in a Scottish intellectual tradition.[15]

Aspinwall's 1984 book *Portable Utopia* advanced the suggestion that Scottish moral philosophy as implemented by American social leaders contained the pattern for American social development. Scottishness, was in essence, a frame of mind used by the colonial elites for the management of a heterogeneous population.[16] However, neither in Aspinwall's application of the concept nor in Landsman's referral to it, is it clear how

---

[14] Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 256-8, 263; "The Provinces and the Empire: Scotland, the American Colonies and the Development of British Provincial Identity," in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, ed. Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge, 1994), 258-287; "*AHR* Forum: Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," 463-47, esp. 468, 470. See also, "Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas," in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, ed. Ned C. Landsman (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 15-35.

[15] Landsman, " *AHR* Forum: Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," 473.

[16] Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), xiv, 44-5, 48, 50.

these mental attitudes could be said to apply to the Scottish population more generally and so be truly the basis for a national identity.

Michael Vance's study of Lowland Scottish weavers of the 1820s who emigrated to Upper Canada makes a significant contribution towards uncovering the mental culture of the ubiquitous "educated" and "adaptable" Scot. Vance shows that ordinary Scots may have participated in the provincial Scottish culture of the Atlantic World. Identifying the structural features of the Scottish society and economy and positing a common psychological response to them is not an adequate way of appreciating the weaver's intellectual engagement with their economic prospects.[17] The weavers were thinking people, who, as a group, used Enlightenment ideas associated with Scotland's elite to articulate their vision for the future and for progress.

To draw a connection between the weavers and a particular type of knowledge, Vance relied upon Saunders's portrait of a "popular enlightenment," wherein the media of "the press and adult education," allowed "the ideas of the Enlightenment [to have] their greatest popular impact in the post-Napoleonic era Scotland." Vance further asserted, that "popular education, whether in decline or not, remained the link between the concepts of thinkers such as Smith, Hume and Ferguson, and Glasgow's emigrant weavers." [18] However, those who derive the concept of a "popular enlightenment" or a "democratic intellect" from Saunders's argument must also accept a particular relationship between power and knowledge to which Saunders himself drew attention: viz. that the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas in the early 19th century reflected elite

[17] Michael Vance, "Advancement, Moral Worth, and Freedom: The Meaning of Independence for Early Nineteenth-Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada," in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire,* 160-2, 171-2.
[18] Vance, "Advancement, Moral Worth, and Freedom," 160 and 162.

fears and concerns about the masses and consequently educators focused "upon discipline," through "the provision of moral culture."[19] As Aspinwall so sanguinely asserted, the "export of the democratic intellect" based upon Common Sense philosophy lent well to social control by discouraging speculation among ordinary people and encouraging conformation to the pattern of God's will (as interpreted by the social elite.) As Saunders had explained, the moral philosophy of the 19th century performed the function in a new democratic society that custom, tradition and coercive institutions had performed in Europe." Education and "even indoctinat[ion]" was the pathway to promoting "the effective self-discipline" on which social order rested.[20]

Identifying the coercive dimensions to Scotland's "popular enlightenment" do not invalidate Vance's conclusions, for his work remained focused upon artisan uses of Enlightenment ideas. However, acceptance of the 19th century "popular enlightenment" as an uncomplicated source of knowledge glosses over the complicated relationship between the working-classes and knowledge. Historians David Vincent and Jonathan Rose, in their separate studies of the relationship between the working-classes and knowledge in 19th century Britain, have documented most explicitly the difficulties in actually sweeping aside bourgeois discourse of popular education and revealed how members of the working-classes actually related to the top-down models of knowledge diffusion.[21]

---

[19] Laurence James Saunders, *Social Democracy 1815-1840: The Social and Intellectual Background* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), 241-6, 260.
[20] Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920*, xiv, 44-5, 48, 50.
[21] Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 13. David Vincent in particular outlined the dynamic between bourgeois social reformers who tried to control access to certain types of knowledge and the resistance and independence of mind of the working classes by charting the conflict between the interested groups over what constituted "useful knowledge." See "Chapter Seven: The Idea of Useful Knowledge," in his *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa Publications, 1981), 133-165, *passim.*

This suggests that emigration historians have been only partially successful in overcoming stereotypes and caricatures of educated, adaptable, disproportionately successful Scots. Moreover, presentations of Scots as cosmopolitan rather than ethnic agents in the British World have been limited to studies of Scottish elites. The exception is Vance's study of the Glasgow weavers, which opens an important avenue of study, but leaves many assumptions about the relationship between ordinary Scots and knowledge unexamined.

The second great challenge to the pervasive image of the educated Scot in the modern world came from within the study of Scottish history proper. Scottish historian R.A. Houston challenged the national boast in his 1985 work *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800.* With this structural and cultural study of education in 17th and 18th century Scotland, Houston opened fruitful debate in Scottish historiography with his conclusion that the commonly held assumption of a widely-educated Scottish population was largely a myth. For him, "the level of literacy and its social distribution were unremarkable in Scotland when compared to other parts of Europe" and "a peculiarly Scottish outlook on the uses of literacy is also hard to detect." He speculated that perhaps "the distinctiveness of Scottish society [lay] more in attitudes which saw education as open to all classes and thus as a force which would promote social unity". Thus the myth of a democratically available education in 18th century Scotland could be seen as a hegemonic tool palliating bourgeois ascendancy. Did the lower orders believe in the myth of democratically-available education? Houston is not sure.[22]

[22] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 240.

Houston also argued that the type of education offered by the national parish school system was aimed at ensuring ideological conformity and the production of a docile society. Rote learning of bible and the catechism was not conducive to expansion of mental horizons and liberal thinking.[23] Many Scottish historians remain skeptical of Houston's methods of measuring literacy rates based upon an analysis of the number of people who were able to sign their names; however, many cautiously accepted his portrait of democratically available education in Scotland as a myth.[24]

Donald Withrington has mounted the most coherent rebuttal of Houston's work by demonstrating that the parish school system was the only source of widely available education and that, after 1750 in Lowland Scotland, there was

> a much wider availability of schooling for all, whether at a modest or at a notably high academic level, at a considerable expense or remarkably cheap, in parish or burgh schools, in public or private academies, in subscription schools of all kinds, in private adventure schools for the refined education of the daughters of the lesser gentry and the socially-climbing merchants, or for those tucked away in the remoter corners of deeply rural parishes where young men on vacation from their college studies could teach the rudiments to the children of the lesser tenantry who farmed at considerable distance from the nearest parochial school.[25]

However, an analysis of the distribution of these types of schooling across Scotland and how they translated into general literacy rates is difficult, because reliable sources on the literacy rates in 18th century Scotland are fragmentary. Evidence for the Highlands suggests high rates of education, but is not conclusive. The best source for assessing educational rates in 18th century Lowland Scotland—Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*—also offers inconclusive evidence, if only because Sinclair added

---

[23] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 221, and 227-8.
[24] See the following reviews of Houston's work: Gordon Marshall, *Contemporary Sociology*, 16(5) 1987: 643; T.M. Devine, *The English Historical Review* 103(409): 1052; David Mitch, *Journal of Economic History* 47(1) 1987: 229-30; R.H. Campbell, *The Economic History Review* 39(4) 1986: 653-4.
[25] Donald J. Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society," in *People and Society in Scotland* Volume One: 1760-1830, eds. T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donaldson, 1988), 164.

the question about literacy part way through the process of collecting statistical information from every parish minister in Scotland and many forms had been returned before he added the question. Commenting on the portrait of literacy that emerges from Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, Withrington asserted that its readers "must be struck by the matter-of-fact way in which high levels of literacy are reported—with no obvious indication of special pride in their achievement, more as a normal expectation which had been quietly fulfilled."[26] By contrast, Maisie Steven's reading of the *Statistical Account* is equally emphatic of the opposite position that

> there is a degree of unanimity unusual in the SA [ie. *The Statistical Account*] with its fascinating diversity of views. One after another, the parish ministers, from Shetland to the Borders, take up their pens to pour out their indignation, or at times biting sarcasm, leaving the reader in no doubt about the precarious state of Scotland's education and above all, of the disgraceful exploitation of the schoolmasters.[27]

Her overall review of the state of education reflects a variety of opportunities available outside the parish school-system, yet the difference between her reading of the *Statistical Account* and that of Witherington still points to the subjective nature of much evidence regarding schooling in 18th century Scotland.[28]None of these sources, however, allow for a decisive conclusion either that the educational system was hugely effective or that high literacy rates were a myth. Withrington's defence of Scottish education in the 18th century is inconclusive: it did not explore the quality and the nature of this education and it provided no insight into the quality of mind formed by these more-or-less high levels of literacy. This suggests, therefore, that how the vast majority of Scots related to the knowledge culture of late 18th and early 19th century Scotland is not known.

---

[26] Donald J. Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society," 173-4.
[27] Maisie Steven, *Parish Life in Eighteenth Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995), 53.
[28] *ibid.*, 56-8.

II

Knowledge of how James Cameron—weaver, ploughman, bookkeeper and potential farmer—cultivated his mind as he prepared to emigrate to Canada provides a new perspective upon the link between Scottish identity and education in the Atlantic World of the 18th and 19th century. James's story is preserved in a body of historical sources that reveal that ordinary Scots like himself help set the categories of analysis that later historians would use to define him. James and others he knew helped articulate the idea of a "democratic intellect" as the distinguishing feature of the Scottish identity. However, this "democratic intellect," operated differently than Saunders sanguinely and Houston pessimistically supposed.

Cameron was a member of a transatlantic network centered upon the home of Hugh Brodie, his uncle. Two traumatic events connected to the family created the conditions that permit a close study of the intellectual and cultural dimensions of this network.

In 1803, Andrew Brodie, another uncle of James Cameron and a rare minor Scottish landowner, lost his patrimony—a portion of Langcraft farm valued at £14 annual rent—to creditors. That same year, Andrew's youngest half-brother, Hugh Brodie, married the daughter of another minor Scottish landowners of the neighboring parish and they emigrated to Montreal, Lower Canada, accompanied by Hugh's elder full-brothers

William and John. This family setback and consequent dispersal generated fifty years of correspondence as Scottish friends, relatives and neighbours of the departed group wrote to them in Montreal. There, the letters inhabited Hugh and Ann's homestead at Côte St. Pierre, Montreal and acquired another layer of meaning. They lay out in open spaces and when a stray hand wanted some paper to do sums, or to practice cursive writing, or to write nasty thoughts about the neighbours, or if a friend was in town and the back door was open but nobody was home, the blank spaces on the papers were pressed into service as individuals recorded the mundane details of daily life. Preserved and neatly catalogued according to the letter writer's relationship to Hugh, the letters are of considerable cultural value and provide a rare glimpse into the minds of ordinary Scots as they explain their lives to the Canadian relatives. The preservation and cataloguing of the letters betrayed an unknown generation's sense of the Montreal Brodie's historical importance. The Brodie family of Montreal finally donated them to the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal Canada in late 20th century.

Another trauma—this time soothed by the systemizing vision of a surgeon—provides second documentary source of the Brodie's eighteenth century Scottish experiences. In 1819 Andrew Crawfurd, of Johnshills in the Brodies' parish of origin, Lochwinnoch, caught typhus at Rothesay on the Isle of Bute. Crawfurd had trained as a surgeon at the University of Glasgow and went to work in the Highlands. Within the year, he had taken ill and nearly died. He recovered but lost the power of speech, was paralyzed on the right side of his body and he lost one of his legs above the knee. Fragmented in body, he returned to Lochwinnoch to bring order and coherence to parish's doings—the births, deaths, marriages, emigrations, land transfers, customs,

stories, hates and loves—for the past two centuries. He taught himself to write with his left hand and though he never spoke again, his cottage became the social centre of the parish. Crawfurd's "part of the conversation was supplied by writing, when needful, and as he had always a guager's inkbottle and quill hung upon a coat-button, and writing-paper beside him, he was never at any loss for remark or answer."[29] Between 1827 and 1854, Crawfurd mined the parishioners' minds and compiled this knowledge, supplemented by his own social observations and historical research, into a 46 quarto-volume history of the parish, titled the "Cairn of Lochwinnoch."

The Brodies were active participants in the creation of his extraordinary document and its author a member of their extended network. The Cairn of Lochwinnoch remains the bedrock of local-history research at the Paisley Central Library, Paisley, Scotland.

Both sets of records represent the responses of ordinary Scots to flux and instability and mark the attempt to reify the evanescent meaning of their lives.[30] The documents preserve these Scots, both as authors of their own narratives and as active subjects, conscious of their historical contributions. This evidence of their own appreciation of themselves as important historical subjects provides insight into the operation of a Scottish identity closely linked to the concept of intellectual self-cultivation in late 18th and early 19th century Atlantic World.

This study uses a microhistorical approach to construct what historiography to date has left as the missing link when exploring the nature of Scottish identity and the distinctive aspects of Scottish emigration—the connection to the lower orders. A

[29] Alexander Murdoch, *Recent and Living Scottish Poets: Being a Series of Brief Biographical Sketches of Scottish Poets with Illustrative Selections form their Writings* (Glasgow: Porteous Brothers, 1880), 337-8.
[30] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 95.

microhistorical investigation offers one methodological avenue towards recovering these experiences by engaging in a close reading and analysis of a limited historical subject. As a methodology, microhistory has been the subject of some criticism with some historians conflating the scale of the microhistory's subject with the scope of the study and dismissing its potential contributions to a broader understanding of history.[31] Thus, historian David Cannadine cautions that local history can be "prone to parochialism and introversion." Peter Burke has similar reservations and encourages microhistorians to link their narratives to macro-social experiences for "[i]f this question is not taken seriously, microhistory might become a kind of escapism, an acceptance of a fragmented world rather than an attempt to make sense of it."[32] Ideally microhistorians take local subjects as a starting point from which to expose and interrogate the relationship between "the local and its encompassing context", thus offering a critical apprehension of macro-social experiences, the ultimate object of study.[33] Such studies of the local, marginal and particular have been able to challenge and redefine received truths about historical process, or as Natalie Zemon Davis put it, to expand the notion of what was "historically possible" and to provide a "morphology of thought and experience."[34]

The pioneering work of Carlo Ginzburg in an Italian context and the recent work of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich in the American context provide two examples of

---

[31] Jordan Goodman, "History and Anthropology" in the *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. Tim Gold (London: Routledge: 1994), 794.
[32]David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 19; Peter Burke, "The Microhistory Debate," in *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, Second Edition, ed. Peter Burke, (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 116-7.
[33] Goodman, "History and Anthropology," 794.
[34] Goodman, "History and Anthropology," 789. Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, 108; Jacques Revel, "L'Histoire au ras du sol," introduction to Giovanni Levi, *Le Pouvoir au Village: histoire d'un exorciste dans le piémont du XVIIe siècle*, trad. Monique Aymard (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), iii-v; Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Shapes of Social History," *Storia Storiographia* 17 (1990): 30-1.

microhistory's capacity to recover the layers of rationality at play in a given historical context. Ginzburg's interrogation of a 16th century inquisition of an obscure Italian miller, exposed the existence of an independent peasant cosmology and challenged a structure of historical inquiry which could only define the culture of ordinary people in a binary with that of elite culture. Ginzburg's miller does not passively imbibe, nor "distort" elite culture. Though the miller read elite texts "with aggressive" originality, this did not represent his imperfect understanding. Rather, his attention was drawn to those aspects of elite texts that matched "an obscure, almost unfathomable, layer of remote peasant traditions" that defined his own aspirations. Ginsburg's study revealed the independent force of peasant traditions and swept away layers of elitist interpretations of this peasant culture.[35]

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's exegesis of an 18th century diary of an American midwife similarly recaptured hitherto unrevealed dimensions of women's contributions to the colonial economy and knowledge culture. Dismissed for centuries as offering little of historical value, a closer reading of Ulrich reveals it as an exquisitely important document of early America life exposing the richness of a female perspective, the full extent of female economic roles and the quality of a midwife's knowledge compared to that of the male medical professionals.[36]

This study focuses on the members of the transatlantic network of plebian Scots—the Brodie network. Traces of the network are preserved in the surviving correspondence of the Brodie Collection and in the genealogies and anecdotes preserved

---

[35] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xiv-xxiv, 33.
[36] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, based on her diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Random House, 1991), 27-9, 31-3, 348.

in the "Cairn of Lochwinnoch." The basic organizing principle of the network lies in the common relationships and experiences in the late-18th century parish of Lochwinnoch and in the early 19th century context of colonial Lower Canada. Different individuals rise to prominence in the study at different times. However, the members of the network are significant, less for their individuality, than for their ability to provide a point of entry into their common intellectual culture. Taking the collective entity of the network as the subject of study allows a broad and a coherent look at plebian knowledge-culture. To avoid making assumptions about the relationship between ordinary people and elite ideas in the 18th and the 19th century, this dissertation treats only manuscripts and textual primary sources that can be directly linked to a member of the network and thus allowing a thick description

It was not always possible to maintain the same level of description and analysis throughout the dissertation because of the varying quality of the sources. The Brodies experiences in Montreal, particularly Hugh Brodie's practices as a farmer proved frustratingly elusive. An extensive search among the notary records aux *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec-Montréal*, revealed the shape of his business agreements but it was not possible to follow any business relationship for any period of time. The documents revealed only that they had happened. Also, searches to locate Brodie in Montreal's civic culture proved abortive. He does not appear to have belonged to any order of Free Masons, nor to the Montreal Mechanics Institute, and while he was a member of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, very few documents record the experiences of that organization. A dead end was also encountered in fleshing out Brodie's farming practices, for the census returns for the two agricultural censuses of

1842 and 1851 covering the district where he lived have not survived. However, the "Brodie Papers," the "Cairn of Lochwinnoch" and two very important documents of the Lower Canadian public sphere allow for a detailed description of the transatlantic outlook of a plebian group.

The study unfolds in four chapters, each focused upon a specific set of historical records and examines how the members of the Brodie network consumed, produced, reproduced and finally embodied, as a folk identity, the Enlightenment culture of 18th century Scotland. The first part of the dissertation looks at the Scottish experiences and the second at the Canadian ones. In part one I recover the Enlightenment experience of the Brodie family and the other members of their social class. The first chapter joins a growing historiographical challenge to the long-standing view that ordinary Scots did not participate actively in Enlightenment discourse by delineating the footpaths—the informal routes—by which non-elite Scots operating on a parish level could acquire some basic intellectual tools of the Enlightenment.

The second chapter builds upon relationships established in chapter one between the members of the Brodie network and Enlightenment ideas to posit the existence of a "Folk Enlightenment." More specifically, I argue that Hugh Brodie of Langcraft and others such as Robert Burns and the radical poet Alexander Wilson recognized the intellectual significance of a primitivist strain within Scottish sentimentalism because it offered a means of legitimating knowledge claims.

Historians have tended to interpret Scottish primitivism, or Scotland's version of the 18th century vernacular revival from an elite perspective, noting that Scottish social leaders apparently vacillated between putatively antagonistic national and cosmopolitan

subject positions: alternatively expressing admiration and contempt for "primitive" Scottish cultural forms. Brodie's self-consciously adopted "folk identity" should alert us to a deep coherence within the elites' putatively unstable relationship with the primitive. Scottish philosophers often invoked the primitive in order to bolster or illustrate moral arguments—their distinctive contribution to the Enlightenment project.

The title of this dissertation recalls Adam Smith's appreciation of the complexity of the primitive ploughman's mind when he stated in the *Wealth of Nations* that "the common ploughman, though generally regarded as the pattern of stupidity and ignorance is seldom defective in [...] judgment and discretion." This was because the ploughman actively and sensitively attuned himself to the complexities of the natural environment and so was protected from the mind-numbing effects of industrial labour. The primitive mind had a deeply moral element related to the innocence of its empirical gaze.[37] By Hugh Brodie of Langcraft's self-positioning and his community's recognition of him as a rustic Scot, the parish community staked a claim to the empirical ground opened by primitivism. This, in turn, allowed them to position themselves as Enlightenment subjects—an outlook they carried with them into the emigration streams of the nineteenth century.

The second part of the dissertation looks at the how the second generation of Brodies acted out their Enlightenment beliefs in Lower Canada. Hugh Brodie, as the *pater familias* of the Montreal branch of the Brodie network, came to occupy an ambiguous position in Montreal and the British Empire. He earned a living as a farmer, he owned his own property, and he participated in the very institutions of civil society

[37] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, A Selected Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 127.

that were the cornerstones supporting elite governance.[38] However, at the same time as he was rooting himself in the nascent Lower Canadian state, he remained entwined in an Atlantic plebeian community defined by the newly articulated community of Lochwinnoch parishioners. Brodie exerted himself to help working-class Scots in an age of official hostility to emigration. The stream of emigrants—many of whom he was able to help—created a bridge across the Atlantic that allowed him to maintain a lateral exchange of knowledge with friends and family elsewhere in North America and in Scotland. Much like his father, Brodie mediated between the two worlds by promoting the interests of the "(practical farmer." Looking more closely at Brodie's experiences provides a way to integrate the fragmented historiography of early Canada, revealing the personal investment in the empire and the Canadian state. Historians have long sought to the understand the experiences of the ordinary early Canadian, but always as members of a particular group—as a farmer, worker, member of an ethnic group, as the consumer of ideas, the audience at provincial fairs and exhibitions, or as the participant in the nascent public sphere. The measuring stick for these analyses is always the state or the nation as the general state generated sources bias conclusions to reflect the state or the state's interests. What use the ordinary person made of what he or she read in the *Christian Guardian*, or by attending a provincial fair, or clubbing together in a debating society, is often very difficult to ascertain.[39] The Brodies' experiences also add another, not fully

---

[38] C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 217-8.

[39] Margaret Bennett, *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998); Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Stephen J. Hornsby, *Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); J.A. Little, *Crofters and Habitants: Settler Society, Economy, and Culture in a Quebec Township, 1848-1881*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-*

explored, level of complexity to the historical understanding of the Atlantic as an integrative force. Though the immigrant dominates studies of the Atlantic narrative, it is typically limited to the elites' use of the Atlantic, the implicit assumption being that Atlantic knowledge and social networks were primarily in the domain of empires and the elites and middling sorts enlisted in their concerns.

In the final chapter we shall see how the Brodies' insistence upon appropriating elite ideas (as demonstrated in part one) and the infrastructure of the empire (as demonstrated in chapter three) was in and of itself, an expression of their own Scottishness. It is here that the caricature of the democratic, or the adaptable Scot is rooted. This study demonstrates that, far from being the product of elite institutions or even of elite imagination as current historians have argued, this Scottishness was a genuine but counter-intuitive "folk identity" and served as a forward- looking and self-directed organizing principle for the everyday Scot.

There is a paucity of names in the Brodie network that reflects the repetition of first names between the generations – evidence of the clan-based system of descent in operation. In the late-17th century system of naming in Lowland Scotland, it was customary to "name eldest sons after paternal grandfathers, and [...] eldest daughters after maternal grandmothers."[40] The Brodies do not appear to follow this particular format, but first names are regularly repeated from generation to generation. Thus, there are three generations of Hugh Brodies, Robert Brodies, Andrew Brodies and Mary Brodies marching on and off stage. As the dissertation follows a chronology, the

---

1820, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991); Jeffery. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

[40] Ned Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765,* 46.

identity of various people should be evident from the context, but to prevent confusion, I will indicate a person's identity in the following way. To identify the members of the generation that came of age in the 1750s and who lived their lives in Scotland, I attach their name, as was their own custom, to their place of residence. Thus, Hugh Brodie (born 1736) of the first generation will be identified as Hugh Brodie of Langcraft or more commonly Hugh Brodie elder. Members of the second generation, who came of age at the turn of the century in the 1800s will be known simply by their name with no reference to place because most members of this generation emigrated. Thus, Hugh Brodie (born 1780) son of Hugh Brodie of Langcraft will be known simply as Hugh Brodie. The third generation, who came of age in the 1830s, were for the most part born in the colonies, and will be known by their colonial place of residence. Hugh Brodie (born 1809) grandson of Hugh Brodie of Langcraft and son of Hugh Brodie, will be known as Hugh Brodie of Montreal.

Chapter One

Footpaths to Enlightenment

Rent and Proprietors.—The valued rent of [Lochwinnoch] parish is 6692l. 6s. 8d. Scotch, and the real rent about 7600l. Sterling. Mr. McDowall is proprietor of a considerable part of the parish, and the remainder holds of him as superior, with a few exceptions. The other proprietors amount to 120, and the uncommon number of them seems to have arisen, from the feus granted by the families of Dundonald and Sempel, who were formerly proprietors of the greater part of the parish. They reside in general in the parish, marry into each other's families, and cultivate their own property to which they are particularly attached. Their houses are comfortable, many of them extremely good, and the old woods of plane and ash trees, with which they are universally surrounded, contribute much to the beauty of the country.
Rev. Mr. James Steven, minister
Statistical Account of Scotland, [1]

The Brodies belonged to the group of 120 "other proprietors" the Reverend Mr. James Steven catalogued as part of his contribution to Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland.* As Steven's expression "uncommon number" suggests, these "other proprietors" were an anomaly within the social structure of 18th century Scotland. They were bonnet lairds or portioners—rare owner-occupiers of farms with a valued rent of less than £100—and they straddled the great social divide within Scotland between landowners and tenants.[2] Scotland's landholding system was the most concentrated in Europe and the vast majority of the population lived on the land at the pleasure of a small body of landlords.[3] Bonnet lairds were technically members of the landholding class and as such were worthy of notice under the category of "rent and proprietors." However, as

[1] Rev. James Steven, "Lochwinnoch," in *The Statistical Account of Scotland: Drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes,* Volume 15, ed. Sir John Sinclair, (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1795), 73.
[2] L. Timperley, "The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *The Making of the Scottish Countryside* eds. M.L.Parry and T.R. Slater (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1980), 142.
[3] Thomas Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 62.

Steven noted, the "other proprietors," "cultivate[d] their own property," indicating their social position among the ranks of the peasantry.[4] Modest material resources meant that bonnet lairds were excluded from the exercise of social and political leadership, with the exception of their roles as heritors within the Kirk of Scotland.[5] More importantly, as we shall see below, their material status excluded them from the Enlightenment culture defined by the *literati* of Edinburgh.

Nevertheless, as Steven's contribution to the *Statistical Account* suggests, the "other proprietors" were practicing members of the Scottish Enlightenment. Steven was one of 900 parish ministers charged by Sir John Sinclair with bringing the objectifying eye of Scotland's governing class to bear upon the nation, parish by parish. The resulting 21-volume work published between 1791 and 1799 was the ultimate expression of the nation's commitment to modernity—the Enlightenment, improvement and material prosperity—and it capped a century-old improvement movement. It was against those terms that Steven evaluated the Brodies and "the other proprietors." Their comfortable houses spoke of the family's improved farming: they had broken the subsistence cycle that had seen the Scottish countryside dotted with hovels. With their surplus they contributed to "national opulence" by entering the consumer markets and building

[4] Timperley, "The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," 140-1; T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1969), 128, 286.
[5] L. Timperley, "The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," 140-1. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 62.

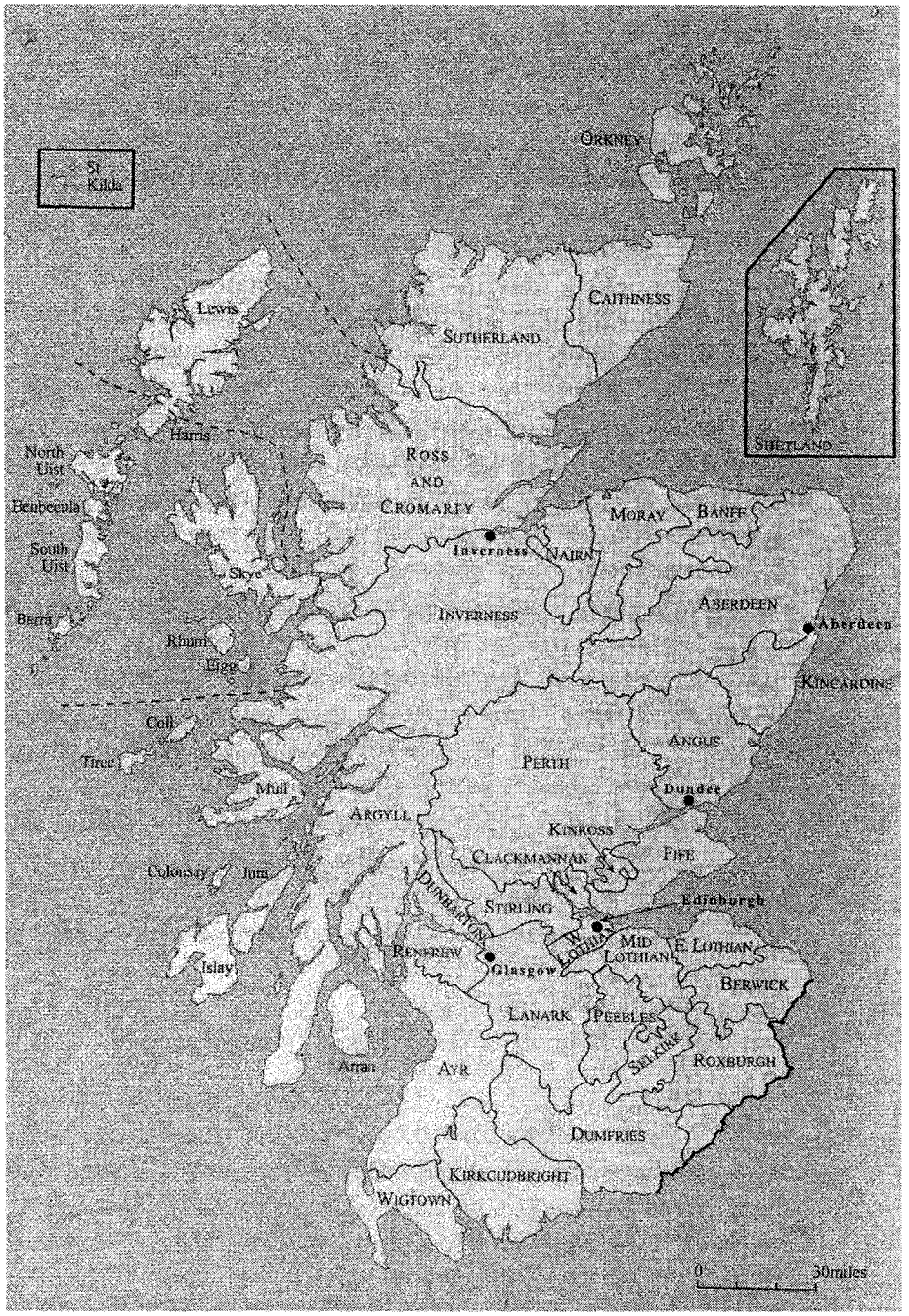

Figure 1 Counties of Scotland[6]

[6] Reproduced without permission from *Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c.1939: A Documentary Source Book* eds. Allan I. Macinnes et al., (Edinburgh: Lothian Print, 2002), 292.

Figure 2 John Ainslie's Map of the County of Renfrew, London: s.n., 1800

"comfortable" houses.[1] The "old woods of plane and ash trees" surrounding their home spoke more loudly still of their good husbandry of resources. Preserving and planting trees was a crucial activity of the Scottish improvement movement that sought to repair a century of exploitive, shortsighted farming that had denuded the nation of trees. In 18th century Scotland trees were signs of prestige and enlightenment.[2] The synoptic,

[1] James E. Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), 74.
[2] T.C. Smout explains that massive tree plantings had begun in the 17th century but that it gained momentum and importance in the 18th century. Trees accrued several benefits. In a land denuded of trees they held prestige as ornaments gracing a home, being evidence of "a well-planned" and "well-cared-for" estate. Trees also provided raw materials for industrial projects and were considered to help create "favourable micro-climates," because they "warmed the land." The role of the 18th century improvers in

statistical vision of Sinclair's *Account* achieved a degree of objectivity about Scots whose main income derived from the lands they cultivated themselves that 20th century historians have been slow to appreciate.

The following two chapters explore the knowledge culture of Lochwinnoch parish during the last 40 years of 18th century. The purpose of the analysis is to establish the Brodies and the "other proprietors" as active and independent participants in the Scottish Enlightenment. This chapter focuses less upon the Brodie family and more upon the social strata of the minor property owners (or heritors as they were also termed in 18th century Scotland) to which they belonged. Many of the men and women who would write letters to Hugh and Ann Brodie in Canada in the early 19th century also came from this same social group. Thus the aim in this chapter is to build as coherent a portrait as extant sources will allow, of the Enlightenment experience in a rural context of a large group of people who either emigrated to Canada or acted as continuing cultural touchstones for those who did emigrate.

Lochwinnoch Parish in the Enlightenment

The artifacts of the Enlightenment lay within metaphorical walking distance of Lochwinnoch Parish and the parishioners consciously opened different pathways to this knowledge; when a constantly flooded road barred some children from attending the parish school, the proprietors in the affected area set up a second school "at their own

---

tree-planting and forest management meant that "for the first time deliberate anthropogenic reforestation was replacing deforestation," though in all "probably less than one per cent of the land surface was re-afforested by them in the eighteenth century." T.C. Smout, "The Improvers and the Scottish Environment: Soils, Bogs and Woods" in *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives,* eds. T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1999), 220.

expense;" when the heritors wanted to call an evangelical preacher, they bargained away "their right of way through Castlesemple woods;" and when Napoleon threatened Britain, they marched to the drill of the Renfrewshire Volunteers, walking a path toward a particular Enlightenment identity.

Hugh Brodie elder, the father of the Brodie children who emigrated to Montreal was himself responsible for opening pathways through his involvement with the Kilbarchan Farmer Society of a neighboring parish. It is not an idle fancy to delineate the physical roots the Lochwinnoch parishioners traveled in order to acquire knowledge and culture. While it is difficult to know what the Brodies and their neighbors in mid-18th century Lochwinnoch valued, the footpaths they opened and maintained speak to a desired trajectory and the consciousness of choice. Walking, wrote De Certeau, is "a space of enunciation," and a path is a place where people make a statement about what they value when they walk it.[3] Thus by looking at the different paths taken by Lochwinnoch parishioners, it becomes possible to understand that they are making positive statements: about the desirability of education, about the benefits of the British constitution and provincial rights, about liberal evangelicalism and about the improving ideology of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment had an unusual expression in Scotland because the *literati* maintained a mainstream and institutionalized profile in the universities and the national church.[4] The university professors, the "teachers, preachers and pleaders" played a role in both developing and implementing Scottish philosophy, that is, in setting the terms of

---

[3] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 98.
[4] Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 151.

the Enlightenment discourse in Scotland and in translating their discussions into cultural artifacts.[5] A potent amalgam of economic and social capital cultural allowed the Scottish landlords to define the knowledge culture of the 18th century. As R.H. Campbell explained, the landowners and intellectuals formed a close-knit community particularly as members of the professional classes "most closely allied with the intellectual endeavors of the Scottish Enlightenment" became landowners themselves.[6]

After the 1707 Union the Scottish governing classes began developing cultural forms to address their new political role at the helm of an impoverished nation without a national parliament. The London parliament, in particular, put a sharp focus on the predicament of the governing classes. Remote from the seat of power in London, the Scots had very few seats and even fewer members of parliament who could afford to maintain the material standards of their English peers in London.[7] All factors made it increasingly difficult for Scottish landowners to discharge their civic-humanist responsibilities. They lacked a parliament as a forum in which they could make independent and altruistic decisions on behalf of the polity. Moreover their collective poverty undermined their independence as landowners: Scotland's cold, damp climate in conjunction with unimproved agricultural practices produced meager rental incomes. This increased attention to the material status of their peers brought a concomitant awareness of the further threats to civic virtue engendered by commercialism and materialism. The Scottish elites confronted these problems within the context of an

---

[5] Richard Sher's work broke new ground in Scottish historiography by addressing the cultural dimensions of the Scottish Enlightenment and challenging a more restrictive view of the enlightenment that limited it to the thought of Adam Ferguson, David Hume, John Miller, William Robertson and Adam Smith. Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, 4-5.
[6] R.H. Campbell, "The Landed Classes," in *People and Society in Scotland*, Volume one: *1760-1830*, eds. T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988), 96, 99.
[7] R.H. Campbell, "The Landed Classes," 96, 99.

international exchange of enlightened ideas and their solutions coalesced into the nation's distinctive contribution to the Enlightenment: the science of the mind, or moral philosophy. [8]

Succeeding generations of Scottish philosophers developed theories for the cultivation of the virtuous public person by understanding how the human mind works. Over the course of the 18th century, their conceptions of virtue and the public good changed. In the early part of the century Scottish aristocrats relied upon associational culture to fulfill "para-parliamentary" functions as they discussed and implemented "projects for economic improvement" and agricultural development, making them "acceptable alternatives to political participation." Later generations saw a broadening of the governing classes to include members of the learned professions, the professors, the lawyers and the ministers. These *literati* continued to widen the definition of civic virtue to include the pursuit of literature. The 18th century definitions of virtue culminated in the 1760s with Thomas Reid's theory of common sense in which was "substituted the ideal of virtuous citizen for virtuous expert." Despite the changing conceptions of virtue, the practical responsibility to exercise and cultivate it in social arenas and the institutions of the Kirk, the universities and the law courts, remained a constant. [9] Thus, Scottish landowners consciously created the cultural context that defined, preserved, and perpetuated the ideology of the governing classes. [10]

---

[8] Nicholas Phillipson, "The Scottish Enlightenment" in *The Enlightenment in National Context* eds. Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 26; John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 39-45.

[9] Phillipson, "The Scottish Enlightenment," 26, 32, 38.

[10] R.H. Campbell, "The Scottish Improvers and the Course of Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century," in *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900* eds. L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1976), 206.

People like the Brodies, lacking the wherewithal to participate in such cultural institutions fell outside the *literati's* definition of the enlightened, self-cultivating individual. A letter to the *Lounger,* a leading periodical, revealed the barriers between the average Scot and entry into this enlightened culture. Theoretically it was possible for a boy to go to a parish school and then also to go to university. But "how frequently the poor [...] actually traveled this route is difficult to assess."[11] A young man raised by "a farmer in a tolerably reputable situation," demonstrated such ability at his parish school that he was able to secure a place at a university. However, "poverty, want of books, of friends, and of other conveniencies [sic] of life, were not circumstances very well suited for the study of the beauties of Homer and Virgil, nor for making a progress in the abstract sciences." The boy was not able to take advantage of this opportunity because he lacked the material resources. The *Lounger's* editor praised the boy's "mind as [being] independent as the wealthiest and as delicate as the highest born." But class issues must always prevail and he concluded that "there is no pursuit which requires a competency, in point of fortune, more than that of a man of learning" and the boy would have been far better off "been bred farmers or manufacturers."[12] It is clear that, as R.A. Houston has observed, the accessibility of university education to the lowest orders existed but was more theoretical than real. "Poor people probably did find it easier to get to university than in England, though many of the limited number of places which might have been available to the 1% or 2% of the eligible population who attended were taken by

[11] Gillian Sutherland, "Education," in *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950,* Volume Three *Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 132.
[12] "To the Author of the Mirror," No.88, 11 March 1779, reprinted in *The Mirror*, London: J. Parsons, 1794, Vol. 2 page 157, 161.

foreigners."[13] Thus, people of the Brodie's social condition entered into the *literati's* mental sphere as objects of improvement: through the pulpit, the landlord and literacy. [14] Recently, a number of historians have begun to question the accuracy of these 18th century depictions of the average Scot.

Re-establishing the plebian dimensions of Scotland's Enlightenment is a doubly revisionist task: to illuminate plebian experience while debunking the inherited vision of the 18th century elite. Alison Hanham's book *The Sinners of Cramond* and Christopher Dalglish's *Rural Society in the Age of Reason*, both break new ground in getting past the rhetoric of elite documents about the lives and experiences of ordinary people. Dalglish relied heavily upon archeological evidence to chart the Highland reception of modernity. His reading of the ground told a very different story than disseminated in the landlords correspondence or improving discourse. A close study of the living arrangements within a Highland community reveal the acceptance by some members of the more individualized social patterns attendant with capitalism. He thus interprets a move by some Highlanders away from communal living arrangement to the privatized arrangements of the modern house with its hierarchy of rooms as an expression of modernity. Moreover, the acceptance of some families of these new arrangements but not by others who had the same landlord spoke of the independent way in which peasants

[13] R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 245

[14] Fredrik Albritton Jonsson's recent PhD dissertation exploring the ideological underpinnings of the social and economic changes that swept the Scottish Highlands between 1760 and 1830 clearly delineates the ways in which Scottish improvers regarded the peasant population of the Highlands as a cultivable resource analogous to the land. This comes to the foremost most clearly in his discussion of the ideological dimensions of the crofting system through which improvers aimed to 'cultivat[e].. the minds of the people.' Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, "The Enlightenment in the Highlands: Natural History and Internal Colonization in the Scottish Enlightenment, 1760-1830," PhD Dissertation. University of Chicago, 2005, pages 131-181, and especially 162-9.

adopted these signs of modernity.[15] Where Dalglish read the ground for signs of a plebian culture of modernity, Alison Hanham, read against the grain of the Kirk Session records of the sinning parishioners, in her work *Sinners of Cramond.* She filtered away elite disapprobation to reveal the myriad of ways in which one local community pursued their own moral vision by frustrating the Minister's work when it pleased them. Ultimately, her work reveals a deep cleavage within that parish between the religious authorities and the "working-class" people.[16] Echoing the historical agenda of Dalglish and Hanham are a spat of works exploring the plebian political culture of the late-18th century. The authors of *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, sought to recover working-class radicalism of 18th century Scots. Where the English working-class people have been documented actively planting liberty trees during the 1790s in celebration of the French Revolution, the Scottish working class has been assumed to be quiescent because of the received wisdom about the "towering nature and strength of the landed authority in Scotland." The contributors to this volume all worked to identify the coherence and strength of the working class engagement with Enlightenment ideas of governance.[17] Closely allied with the recovery of Scottish radicalism has been the recovery of the philosophical sophistication of the peasant poet Robert Burns. In the 1790s, the Edinburgh *literati* feted Robert Burns. But while they praised his genius and they also displayed a pathological need to highlight and indeed exaggerate his lack of education and humble origins. Carol McGuirk takes this problem as the point of origin for her study of Burn's engagement with sentimental moral philosophy of the Scottish

---

[15] Chris Dalglish, *Rural Society in the Age of Reason: An Archaeology of the Emergence of Modern Life in the Southern Scottish Highlands* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003), 193, 201-4, 209,
[16] Alison Hanham, *The Sinner of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 1-7.
[17] Bod Harris, ed. *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 1-2.

Enlightenment. Liam McIllvanney undertakes a similar revision, tackling the literary opinion that denigrated Burn's "political satires [as] motivated [by nothing] more coherent than a momentary access [sic] of spleen or an impetuous sally of wit." Or alternatively as simply "fuelled by class anger" "and not by a principled and coherent critique of the British political system." [18] The need to recover this engagement of the lower Scottish orders with the Scottish Enlightenment is a direct heritage of the *literati's* self-defined Enlightenment experience. This study of the "other proprietors" of Lochwinnoch parish widens beyond the radicals of the 1790s and the genius of Burns, and the sinning ways of the people of Cramond, to provide a more coherent portrait of the enlightenment expression on the parish level and in a rural setting.

The Landscape of Lochwinnoch Parish

The Lochwinnoch parishioners did not need to follow courses in political economy in order to understand the innovations of modernity. The very place where they spent their days mapped out the dynamic of modernizing Scotland. The topographical reviews of the Scottish landscape inspired by the centralizing Enlightenment improvers make it very easy to grasp an image of Lochwinnoch parish from the utilitarian progress oriented perspective of the improvers. The parish centered upon a "low winding valley" with "high and bleak hills, in the back ground." The highest of these hills, Mistylaw, lay to the south of the loch and was the highest of the country. The high grounds "consisted of a light dry soil on whin-stone, or rotten rock, and produce

[18] Carol McGurik, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), xxiv-xxvi; Liam McIlvanney, *Burns the Radical: Poetry and Politics in Late 18th-Century Scotland*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 3-4; See also McIlvanney's article "Hugh Blair, Robert Burns, and the Invention of Scottish Literature" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29(2) 2005: 26-46.

a great quantity of very rich grass and natural white clover." The soil of the low-ground in the valley was very fertile, consisting "of clay and loam, produce[d] good crops of every kind." The natural clover meant "there is not a better soil in Scotland for pasturage and grazing to cattle, for the sake of good beef, butter and cheese etc." The land of the parish was best suited to pastoral farming and "the farmers principally depend on the sale of ["a great quantity of butter and cheese annually made"] and on the rearing of cattle, to the breed of which they are particularly attentive."[19]

Lochwinnoch Parish also contained a myriad of minerals and resources useful to industrial projects. Steven offered a neat summary of the parish's place in the modern economy:

> The advantage of this parish arise from the plenty of coal, lime and free-stone in the greatest part of it; from its vicinity to Paisley, Port-Glasgow [sic] and Greenock; from the good roads already made [...] and from the rapid increased in manufactures, which must very considerably augment the value of the land. [20]

The key to the growing manufacturing sector, however, lay in the regions plentiful water systems.

Two lochs "Castlesemple Loch," (also known as Lochwinnoch-Loch)[21] and "Queenside Loch," fed by innumerable streams and rivulets criss-crossing the parish and created the natural roadways for the industrial revolution. These lochs provided waterways into Ayrshire and port Greenock to the southwest and to Paisley, the textile centre, and Port Glasgow to the northwest. During the 18th century a good system of roads, built by statute labour enhanced these natural communication routes, while the loch's and rivers themselves, supported a host of cotton mills. Semple declared in 1783

---

[19] Rev. James Steven, "Lochwinnoch," in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, 73
[20] *ibid.*, 74.
[21] "Lochwinnoch" in R. Brookes, *Brooke's General Gazetter Abridged*, (London: Printed for B. Shaw et al, 1796), 355-6.

that "7 very large cotton mills had been erected within these few years" along the tributaries of the Castlesemple Loch, the Calder and the Black Cart rivers.[22] It is not clear, however, how many of these mills were located within the parish proper. He also declared that at that time Lochwinnoch village contained about 88 houses, 175 silk and linen weaver's looms in addition to "a silk wareroom" kept by Mr. James Lowngs, a Paisley silk manufacturer.[23] The manufacture of thread also employed many in the parish. In 1788 further growth of the weaving industry enlarged the town of Lochwinnoch as two new cotton mills arrived. Henston, Burns and Co built a water-powered, cotton mill intended to employ 350 people. A second mill, located half a mile outside of the town proper was expected to employ 250 more people. Mr. Henry Wilson's bleaching fields also expanded. The population of Lochwinnoch parish expanded, and 53 new houses were built and there were plans to establish more people in the village.

[22] William Semple, *The History of the Shire of Renfrew*, (Paisley: Alex. Weir, 1782), 66.
[23] Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 145.

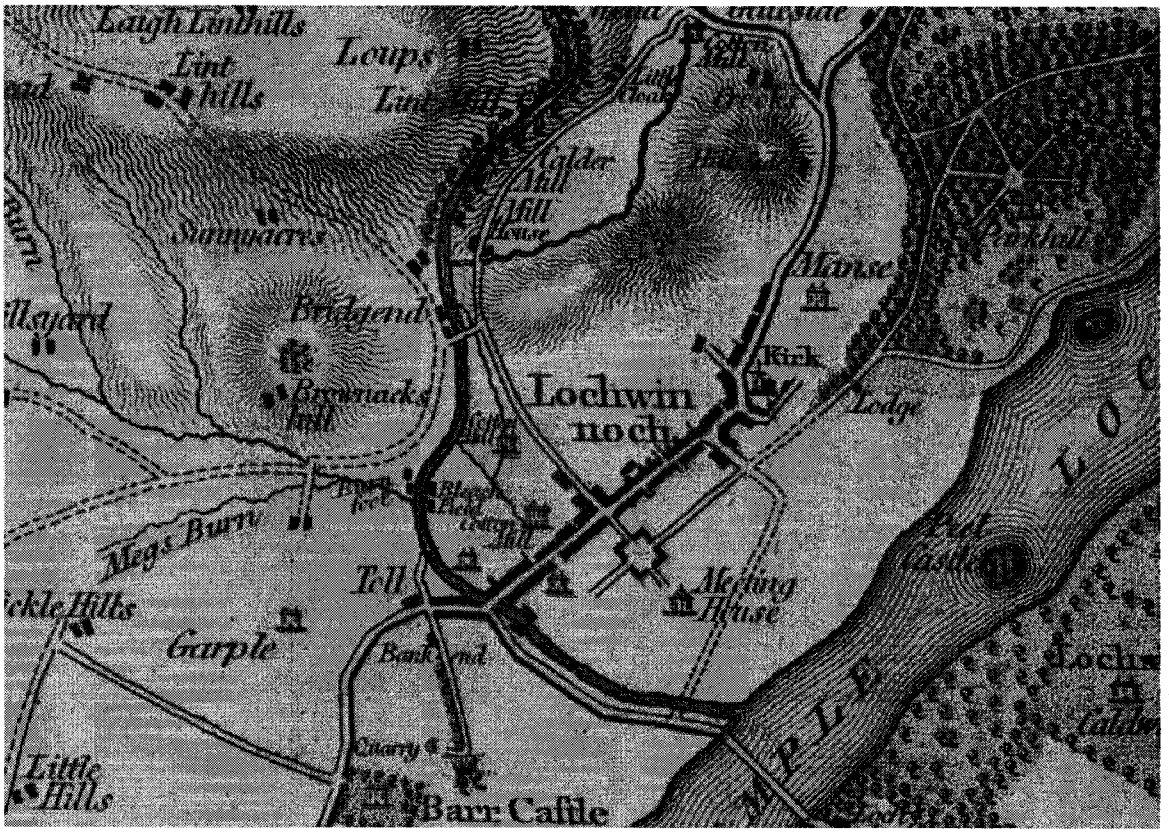

Figure 3 Detail of Ainslie's 1800 Map of Renfrewshire showing the regular streets of Lochwinnoch Village

The parish also benefited from the presence of a far-seeing landlord who by example and investment helped develop the parish. By 1812, a second revision of Crawford's *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, this time by George Robertson described Lochwinnoch town in approving enlightenment terms. It was "a very thriving village, built on a regular plan of one main street, (which is more than a half a mile long) with some streets crossing it at right angles." The town houses, too were all improved being "of two story [sic?] in height, and covered in slate."[24] The presence of the landlords exploiting natural resources, organizing the streets of the town and throwing up great mills imposed a certain modernity.

[24] George Robertson, *A General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, Second Revision, (Paisley: J. Neilson, 1818), 356.

The improvers were not the only ones to describe the topography of Lochwinnoch Parish. Alexander Wilson cast a sentimental and critical eye over the parish in his poem, "Lochwinnoch. A Descriptive Poem," published in 1790. Alexander Wilson, born in Paisley of the 1760s, was a weaver, poet, radical and future American ornithologist and he belonged to the same social strata as the Brodies although he had benefited from a few years of a grammar school education. In the 1790s he maintained contacts with the well-known radical brothers of Paisley James and William Mitchell. Wilson was an ardent supporter of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* and was also a vocal critic of industrial relations and of Britain's role in fomenting the war with Revolutionary France. He was imprisoned in 1792 and 1794 for writing a critical poem about a Paisley manufacturer and for circulating an advertisement addressed to the "Friends of Liberty and Reform." He left the country that year for the United States.[25] He left a portrait of Lochwinnoch Parish of greater nuance and which delineated both the benefits and the disadvantages of its integration into the growing British Empire and an Atlantic economy.

Though a rural parish protected from the Atlantic Ocean by Mistylaw mountain, "the highest hill in the west of Scotland," the British Atlantic had a strong presence in the Lochwinnoch according to Wilson's view. If they desired, the parishioners of Lochwinnoch could take a view of the ocean by climbing to the top of the Mistylaw from whence "the Atlantic main, that opens on the west."[26] But the Atlantic was more than a physical backdrop. Beginning in the 1780s, the parishioners began to experience the

---

[25] Andrew Noble, "Displaced Persons: Burns and the Renfrew Radicals," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* 202-4; Frank N. Egerton, 'Wilson, Alexander (1766–1813)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29634, accessed 1 Aug 2007]; Tom Leonard, "Introduction" to *Radical Renfrew: Poetry from the French Revolution to the First World War, by poets born or sometime resident in the County of Renfrewshire,* selected, ed. Tom Leonard (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990), xix.

[26] Sempel, *A History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 142; Wilson, "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem,"146.

spoils of empire as the mills and bleach works of Lochwinnoch operated as dependents of Paisley and Glasgow, with textile centres producing for South American markets and even for markets in Asia and Australia.[27] Alexander Wilson captured the pride and the vulnerability of Lochwinnoch's textile workers in their participation in the British Empire;

> dispatch'd to foreign climes, our beauteous toil [their weaving products]
> Adorn the fair of many a distant Isle
> Shield from the scorching heat or shiv'ring storm,
> And fairer deck out Nature's fairest form.

Even lowly Lochwinnoch could participate in the civilizing mission of the British Empire. Their products improved upon nature: they embellished women, "Nature's fairest form," and they also allowed human populations to overcome the limitations of their climate, the heat or the cold. But the structural inequalities and uncertainties of imperial trade were also evident. Any change in Paisley's labour arrangements could throw the village of Lochwinnoch into "desolation" when "for her sons, stern Paisley sole confin'd the Web, to finish, or the woof to wind."[28] The parish's experience of empire would always be located between these two poles, of domination and vulnerability. Wilson also drew attention to the uncertainties of the improver's blithe belief in the human ability to control nature. Floods could destroy a farmer's crop:

> O'er rocks enormous with rethund'ring roar
> Hoarse Calder dash'd—the Lake a sea appears,
> And down, at once, the bord'ring harvest bears;
> Wheat, hay, and oats, float o'er the boiling tide,
> And, lost for ever, down the current ride.
> Plung'd to the middle in the swelling waves,
> See Swains, half-drown'd, drag out the dripping

---

[27] Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960*, 93; Devine, "Industrialization," in *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy Since 1700*, eds T.M. Devine et al., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 43.
[28] Wilson, "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem," 141, 144.

sheaves;
While, on the brink, the farmer stands forlorn,
And takes his last sad look of departing corn.[29]

The lives of the Brodies and the "other proprietors" of Lochwinnoch balanced between the material challenges of the lives and optimism in their abilities to acquire some purchase over nature in order to improve their minds and they looked towards Enlightenment ideals.

Circumventing the Washed-out Path to Lochwinnoch School

In the late-18th century, the viability of the parish school system depended in large measure upon the leadership of Lochwinnoch's proprietors large and small. When the children living on the south side of Lochwinnoch Loch were prevented from attending the schoolhouse, the parents argued that the Loch divided them from the village of Lochwinnoch and the parish school. Moreover, "the road such as it was" was "frequently flooded with water." The minor heritors acting in concert with the major proprietor of that area obtained the portion that "allowed for the parish schoolmaster's salary" and "the people erected a school-house at their own expense" at the New Town of Beltrees.[30] At the close of the 18th century, when some parishes lacked even one schoolhouse, Lochwinnoch had two.[31]

---

[29] Wilson, "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem," 151.
[30] Anonymous, *An Ecclesiastical Sketch of Lochwinnoch, Embracing a Period of about Three Hundred Years,* Paisley: J. & J. Cook, 1878, 21; Steven recorded that the new teacher received an emolument of £17 sterling while the other schoolmaster continued with an emolument of 30£ sterling per annum. "Lochwinnoch," *Statistical Account*, volume 15, 68.
[31] Maisie Steven, *Parish Life in Eighteenth Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account*, (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995), 53.

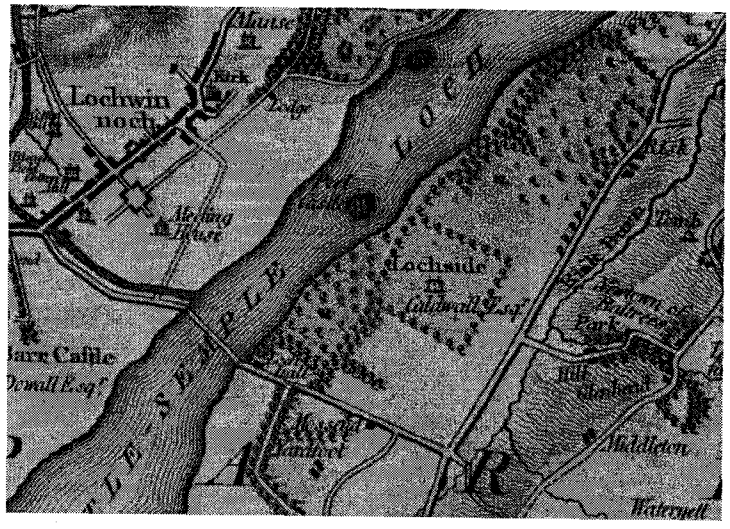

Figure 4 Detail of Ainslie's 1800 Map of Renfrewshire showing the Relationship between Newtown of Belltrees (far right, two thirds from the top) and the Town of Lochwinnoch (upper left hand corner)

The parishioners also took matters into their own hands in an attempt to improve the teaching standards. Schoolmasters continued to earn a wage legislated in 1696. However, what a schoolmaster could purchase with a 15£ sterling a year income in the 1690s could only be purchased with 45£ in 1783.[32] Schoolmasters often held the post of session clerk in order to increase their income by collecting this additional emolument. However, even this subsidiary income was not enough to stave off dire-poverty. By the end of the 18th century standards in teaching declined as schoolmasters could no longer earn a living wage and fewer and fewer qualified men presented themselves for the post. The lack of new legislation meant that they were stuck with incompetent teachers. In Lochwinnoch Parish, the heritors were frustrated in their attempts to rid themselves of the old and incompetent Michael Nasmith. When they tried to remove him from office, "he put on a wild gloum, reply't in a very braid accent 'I am Michäel (three syllables)

[32] "Memorial of the Parish Schoolmasters of Scotland," an appendix to Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, reproduced in *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology* ed. Alexander Broadie, (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997), 574.

Nasmith, Parish Schoolmaster, I am determined to remain, till ye find means to put me out.'"[33] Only his death released the parish from his declining standards of teaching. In Lochwinnoch parish, the parents and children suffered nineteen years of poor teaching as four bad schoolmasters lost parish documents, took to drink or stole government dues.[34] Crawfurd reported that in 1788 the parishioners "smuggled in" a John Dunn to teach. His use of the expression suggests subterfuge in establishing this Dunn as schoolmaster. The Kirk session maintained a close control over the quality of teachers by interviewing and testing all prospective candidates. Crawford asserted that the Kirk "session itself bore much of the responsibility for having been so indifferent," in allowing the four bad session clerks to teach. His use of the expression "smuggled in" suggests that on the parish level people took matters into their own hands and bypassed the Kirk's prerogative in the matter. In Crawfurd's view, Dunn still counted as one of the four bad session clerks, however, he may have had something to offer the students for he "was licensed as a preacher, but did not get a Kirk in Scotland but rather had to go to 'America.'" He left in 1791. Only with the arrival of Henderson was neatness and order restored to

---

[33] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 4: 329

[34] In 1780, the year that Hugh was born, George Aitken succeeded to the post for eight years to be replaced by a John Dunn (of whom above). He stayed until January 1791. He likely had much to offer the students for he "was licensed as a preacher, but did not get a Kirk in Scotland." Alexander Campbell followed Dunn in 1791 but did not even last the year, at which point a James Faulds was elected schoolmaster. He stands out as the most obnoxious of the lot. He stole funds and fled in about 1795. "He was given to strong drink. He was paralytic on the right side. He wrote with his left hand." The sins of the four bad-schoolmasters were manifold. While Faulds had been the only criminal, he had not been the only drinker. As Crawfurd explained for posterity, these masters "succeeded one another so rapidly so that the destiny of the four bad session clerks ended in 1795. They had miserable handwriting. Some of them were drunkards, and run off with Some King's dues." The drunkards who did stay in the post, aside from writing a poor hand, "kept poor records" and were "wont to tipple a bottle of yill so often" that they lost track of the session books which "were scattered about the neighbourhood [...] were torn and many leaves were lost." Some of them had not been "recovered to [Crawfurd's] day." Crawfurd believed that the Session itself bore much of the responsibility for having been so indifferent." PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 3:162; National Archives of Scotland (NAS), Ch2/649/26 "Notes written by Dr. Andrew Crawfurd on ministers, session clerks, schoolmasters, copy register of baptisms 1706-14, proclamations 1703-14, specifically "Session Clerks, Schoolmasters, at Lochquhinyeoch," frames 11-13.

Lochwinnoch schoolhouse and the parish registers. These brief episodes—the erection of a second schoolhouse, attempts to prevent Michael Naismith's death in harness and John Dunn's illicit teaching—reveal the agency of the ordinary parishioners in attempting to ensure that the national parish school system met their requirements.

Sir John Sinclair's early 19th century analysis of the collected statistical accounts articulated a particular view of education that has been much studied but which indicates a more complex reality. On the subject of the parish system of education he said:

> By some, the character of a nation is supposed to depend on the climate, and by others, on the nature of its government; but that point seems principally to be determined, by the degree in which the mass of the population is enlightened [...][35]

Sinclair's views were typical of early 19th century benevolent reformers. Skeptical analysts have observed that far from benevolent, the reformers' attitude towards lower-class education embodied a form of social control; the moral order they sought to impose benefited the governing classes.[36] However, the 18th century education system in Scotland was built to serve Calvinist principles and taught the value of mental cultivation as an end in itself.

The changing tone of the Schoolmasters' petitions for an increase in their legislated wage demonstrated the subtle shift in late 18th century Scotland towards Sinclair's utilitarian perspective. The Schoolmasters' petition of 1782 appealed to the national project, and to the need and desire not for individual benefit, but for the good of the whole:

---

[35] John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland; with a general view of the history of that country, and discussions on some important branches of political economy*, volume 2 (1825; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970), 65.
[36] Gillian Sutherland, "Education," 129-30.

> to form the minds and manners of more than a million and a half of their fellow subjects to the love of justice, temperance, integrity, industry, and every virtue, and likewise to instruct them in the rudiments of useful knowledge.

Here, the value of education was being clearly considered from the perspective of the national interest and as a tool of social coordination. In contrast, people such as the Brodies continued to cherish a more traditional view of education that focused on its benefits to the individual.

In 1748 the Schoolmasters petitioned for an increase to the legislated wages arguing that, first and foremost, education was for personal benefit. The petition ultimately argued that "the straightened circumstances of teachers reflect[ed] badly upon the Nation," the main thrust of their argument was directed elsewhere. Education was for personal benefit first and foremost, its contribution to the national identity of secondary importance. Education was a duty parents owed their children. For children were like "blocks of marble" in need of shaping:

> Knowledge and Virtue, the noble effects of Education, lay the foundation of a glorious, useful and an happy life; they accomplish and adorn Human Nature, enrich and beautify the soul.[37]

The men who wrote the Schoolmasters' petitions were of the Brodie's social position, possessed of an intellectual self-confidence to counterbalance material deprivation. Little scholarship has been directed towards understanding how the ordinary person made use of the national parish school system, with the exception of several scholars who have been studying Robert Burns's formative years and have uncovered that family's views upon the importance of education. Liam McIlvanney has identified in Robert Burns's statements and those of his brother a "civic theory of popular learning." Both Robert and

---

[37] *Reasons for Augmenting the Salaries and Other Incomes of the Established Schoolmasters in Scotland,* (Edinburgh: Gideon Crawford, 1748), 3, 4, 8.

his brother Gilbert saw that the lower orders sought education because it aided in "their improvement as men" which was a "means of increasing their virtue." This virtue lay in cultivating independence of mind. More to the point, however, the lower orders that desired to cultivate their own independence of mind had to acquire this education independently. Burn's formal schooling consisted in "two and a half years at a local village school," supplemented by a few subsequent schooling sessions. Burns's father, though poor, paid for his sons' education by hiring a schoolmaster. They obtained the rest of their education by participating in "those key institutions of the 'popular enlightenment'—the book club, the debating society and the Masonic lodge."[38] These educational initiatives helped define "individual worth independently of class and circumstance."[39] Ordinary Scots, who desired to pursue the enlightenment ideal of the perfectibility of human nature through education had to rely upon individual initiatives.[40]

The 18th century schooling system in Scotland was far from national, despite Knox's 16th century intentions for a nation-wide school system that would create a single Godly community of all Scots. It was not until the legislation of the late 1690s that the system could be said to have a national profile with the stipulation that each parish have a "commodious" schoolhouse for the parish and that the heritors and tenants divide between them the cost of the schoolmaster's salary. Even this legislation was not effective in planting a school in every parish. Some parishes were simply too poor to acquiesce with the legislation. Moreover, the legislation did not go far enough in ensuring teaching standards. For example, "there was no mechanism" for removing teachers for inefficiency due to "age and infirmity," creating the situation examined

[38] McIlvanney, *Burns the Radical*, 39-41.
[39] Laurence James Saunders, *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840*, 241
[40] McIlvanney, *Burns the Radical*, 40-1.

above in which the school heritors were powerless to remove aged teachers such as Naismith long after they had ceased to be a competent. The success of the system depended entirely upon the will of the patron, the heritors and the ordinary Scots who paid the school's fees.[41]

By the end of the 18th century, the Kirk system began to loose its monopoly upon teaching and ordinary Scots were able to bypass the parish system all together. Private schools abounded where parents could enroll their children. These schools aimed at the children of the bourgeoisie and focused more on practical subjects and they were often taught by a university student home for the holidays.[42] Until he died at a young age, Robert Brodie of Saltcoats son Andrew kept such a school "of 140 bairns" while he was a student at Glasgow and later under Dr. Chalmers at St. Andrews.[43] Also, peripheral members of the Brodie network, one of the Glen brothers set up a similar school in Lochwinnoch Parish at the turn of the 19th century attended by Ann Brodie's younger sister Barbara who was sent there "for writing and counting."[44]

Even if the Brodies did not have access to an education beyond that of the parish school, they would have still acquired some basic tools. The generation of Hugh Brodie, the elder were taught by Nasmith when he was in his prime. He had a reputation "of a good Latin Scholar" who circumvented the lack of school materials that bedeviled many

---

[41] Saunders explains that the parish school system did not have a monopoly on the education and that there was room for private schools. "In practice all these schools were equally 'presbyterian' in tradition and objectives, in the methods and content of instruction. The parish school had the advantage of legal continuity and support, a local prestige and a recognized connection with church and state, but it was arguable that the provision of education was at least partly a matter of supply and demand. The parent paid for what his children got, even in the established schools, and if private schools could provide a better article at a cheaper rate, the public system could not but be stimulated by a healthy competition." Saunders, *Scottish Democracy*, 243-4.

[42] Donald J. Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society," in *People and Society in Scotland,* Volume I: 1760-1830, eds. T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988), 164

[43] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 472 5/4.

[44] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 24: 543.

parish schools by teaching the children to read Latin from "from the old Charters from their parents."[45] Nasmith also followed the Scottish tradition of teaching children their catechism by having them recite it every Sunday in church.[46] One student stood "on the east end of the church inquiring the question, and the other in the west "answering." According to "Auld Bankside, Robert Brodie," Ann's uncle and father were taught in a similar manner in Kilburnie parish. In general, the education offered to the first generation may have been similar to that received by the tenants and smallholders of St. Ninian's near Stirling, i.e. a "liberal education," being taught the rudiments of Latin, writing, arithmetic, as well as to "read the English language with understanding and ease."[47] The households of Lochwinnoch and Kilburnie probably followed the general rural Lowland habit of insisting that children practice their learned skills by reading aloud from the Bible, Sunday.[48] John Knox considered, "family influence" part of the parish school system.[49]

Even the children of the second generation in Lochwinnoch who grew up under the troubled reign of the four bad schoolmasters acquired basic skills. All the members of the Brodie network could read and write, though perhaps not with ease, for several of them relied upon the services of a letter writer.[50] It is clear that the children of the network who grew up in Kilburnie parish had more uncomplicated educational

---

[45] NAS CH2/649/26/12; PCL (LSL) Crawfurd, "Cairn," 10: 52; Historian James Scotland reports that "until well after the Industrial Revolution education was limited by the availability of textbooks," the Bible and the Catechism being the most readily available texts. James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education,* (London: University of London Press), 66-7.

[46] *Ecclesiastical Sketch of Lochwinnoch,* 13; PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn" 10: 51. Scotland used the example of Lochwinnoch parish as the illustrative example of this very old custom. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 66.

[47] Withrington, "Schooling, Literacy and Society," 172.

[48] *ibid.*,170.

[49] Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, 48.

[50] See for examples the Letters of Mary Gemmel, Margaret Brodie Sloan and William Brodie, MM PO21, files 1, 3 and 6.

opportunities. In contrast to the school in Lochwinnoch, the Kilburnie schoolhouse was the picture of order. A Mr. William Paton had been the schoolmaster there since about 1775. By an 1820 account, the Kilburnie School "had been successfully taught for about 45 years by [him]." In the 1820s he taught about 130 pupils "English, or Reading, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, and Mensuration."[51] This was probably similar to the education Ann received as she used to "trudge" to school with a boy, John Allan.[52] She could read and write English, and it may well have been she who kept the account of the butter they sold during her early years in Montreal. The Brodie network of Lochwinnoch clearly valued the benefits of a cultivated and educated mind and it seems clear that they made concerted efforts to acquire the basic skills of literacy that would open the door to other opportunities to acquire knowledge. Mary Brodie in particular was known for her learning. She was considered to be something of a "bluestocking" because "she read all the kinds of books."[53]

An Evangelical Minister Worth the Right-Of-Way Through Castlesemple Woods

When the heritors of Lochwinnoch unanimously traded their right of way through Castlesemple Woods in order to secure the Revered James Steven for their pulpit, they made a bold statement in favour of what historian Ned Landsman has called, a "tradesman's enlightenment."[54] Lochwinnoch antiquarian Andrew Crawfurd took a dim

---

[51]George Robertson. *Topographical Description of Ayrshire: more Particularly of Cunningham: together with a Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in that Bailiwick*, (Irinve: Cunninghame Press, 1820), 256.
[52] MM, PO21, File 14, John Allan (New York City) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 7 May 1846.
[53] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 473.
[54] Ned C. Landsman, "Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls," in *The Glasgow Enlightenment* eds. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 215.

view of this act, stating that the heritors were "mad for religion and for a tinkling cymbol sold their right to the way through Castlesemble woods by the Ellistoun Bridge for their single choice of a minister.[55] However, the people liked Steven because he was a "Braw orator" associated with the thriving evangelical, or "popular" party of the west of Scotland. Before arriving at Lochwinnoch, he had ministered in Glasgow, a Popular Party stronghold and Steven's experience in the urban environment made him eminently suitable for the then industrializing Lochwinnoch.[56] He had come highly recommended by the Reverend John Burns, minister of Barony Parish, who was "one of the most popular preachers among the Evangelical divines of [the] time." In turn, this Reverend Burns was associated with the previous generation of well-known evangelicals. The Reverend William Thom, minister of Govan, a high-profile member of the Popular Party and contemporary and associate of Witherspoon, preached the sermon at Burns's ordination in 1774.[57]

The Moderate *literati* of the Kirk painted the evangelicals, also known as the popular part or members of the New Light, as the bastions of unenlightened dogma, a perspective many historians have perpetuated. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to restore the Popular Party's engagement with the Scottish Enlightenment. Historians John McIntosh and Ned Landsman have both pointed to the great similarities between the philosophy of the Popular Party and that of the Moderates.[58] Both sets of clergymen

---

[55] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn"10: 65.
[56] *An Ecclesiastical Sketch of Lochwinnoch*,17; Richard B. Sher, "Images of Glasgow in Late Eighteenth-Century Popular Poetry," in *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 191.
[57] *An Ecclesiatical Sketch of Lochwinnoch*, 17; William Thom. *A Sermon Preached in the High-Church-Yard, Glasgow, May 26th, 1774 at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. John Burns, Minister of Barony*, (Glasgow: Morrison and McAllum), 1774; Ned. C. Landsman, "Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775," *Eighteenth Century Life* 15 (1991): 196-7.
[58] John McIntosh concluded that so few issues divided the members of the Popular Party from the Moderate position that the concept of a Popular Party having a specific ideological position is a very

academics took seriously the cultural mission of Scottish moral philosophy, the basic principle of which was that public virtue lay in self-cultivation through socialization and education. Thom and Witherspoon for, example, attended university with other Moderates and incorporated the ideas of Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid to their own ends.[59] The right of patronage was one of the few issues separating the two camps. The Moderates sought the right to settle ministers through a system of patronage that would allow them to override the will of the people and to install the ministers of their choice whereas the members of the evangelical party opposed this vociferously.[60]

Both MacIntosh and Landsman point out that the evangelical defence of the privilege to call the minister of their choice represented a clear commitment to Enlightenment ideals of liberty and self-determination. In Landsman's view, the popular divines of western Scotland spoke the same improving language as the Moderates. If evangelical sermons and rhetoric appeared different, it was because they were using the same principles to address the material and spiritual needs of a very different population. The Edinburgh *literati* presided over a highly hierarchical and aristocratic population

---

limited "historiographical tool." Likewise, Landsman has drawn attention to the close relationship between Popular Party theology and that of the Enlightened Moderate clergy. Leading Popular Party divines were classmates of the Moderate clergy learning the same moral philosophy inherited from Francis Hutcheson, the same logic as taught by John Stevenson and the same Newtonian mathematics as taught by Colin Maclaurin. However, Popular Party ministers tended to direct their energies towards different issues than those addressed by the Moderate Party. Specifically, Popular Party ministers focused upon the evangelical revivals at Cambuslang in the 1740s that grew out of growing economic tensions rife in the Western Scotland where the weaving industry was prominent. The Popular Party was also popular in the industrializing urban environment of Glasgow, where evangelical preachers turned their enlightenment education to the material and spiritual concerns of an urban population. McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 238; Ned. C. Landsman, "Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775," 194-209; Ned C. Landsman, "Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls," 214-226.

[59] Ned. C. Landsman, "Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775," 196-7.

[60] Ned C. Landsman, "Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls," 214-226; McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland*, 238.

whereas the popular divines however, preached to a Glasgow population of forward looking tradesmen and merchants making the latter, in Landsman's view, the mouthpieces of a "tradesman's enlightenment."[61]

However, despite, the evangelical concerns for the interests of the ordinary people, they did remain very socially conservative. The Reverend Steven left two sermons that demonstrate very well the Popular Party's pretensions as agents of the Scottish Enlightenment. Both his political vision and his style of argument placed Stevens within the ranks of the more liberal evangelicals, evincing both an enlightened and conservative vision of British identity and providing the parishioners with an example of Scottish moral philosophy in action.

Steven preached the first printed sermon, "A Public Testimony of Loyalty to the British Constitution: Proper at this time for every good subject, a sermon preached at Lochwinnoch," eight days after the execution of Louis XV and in repudiation of rising radicalism in Scotland. It later appeared in print by request of the parishioners, described as members of "a plain country audience." Steven delivered the second sermon five years later as his tribute as chaplain of Lochwinnoch's Volunteers, a militia organization, to their patron, Colonel William Macdowall of Garthland. On the 9th of March 1797, Steven enjoined his parishioners to appreciate "the Necessity of Arming, at the Present Critical Juncture," in response to Napoleon's designs upon Britain. Both sermons marshal the arguments of Scottish moral philosophy towards socially conservative ends.

Steven, typically of many Scottish thinkers, grounded his arguments in favour of the British Constitution in an argument about the existence of an essential human nature.

---

[61] Ned C. Landsman, "Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls," *passim.*

His 1792 sermon began with a thumbnail sketch of Scottish social theory predicated upon a view of a common nature to all humans:

> 'As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.' The individuals of the human race have the same general constitution, the same springs of action, and the same passions within them. Hence, place any one given individual in the same situation with another, making necessary allowance for a few incidental circumstances, the impressions, the emotions, and the direction of the actions will be found almost uniformly to correspond. It is thus, that were we attentive to trace the particular circumstances in which individuals are placed, in any age, the delineation of their character would not be so difficult as at first sight we are apt to imagine.

Steven outlined a very basic argument of the Scottish Enlightenment. Enlightenment historian John Robertson, for example, expressed the same idea in this way: "the human mind, whenever it is placed in the same situation will, in ages the most distant, and in countries the most remote assume the same form, and be distinguished by the same manners."[62] If there was one basic human nature, as the Scots posited, then the observed differences in human groups across the world and through time, must be the result of social and cultural factors. Thus, in order to achieve a particular social and moral vision, institutional, social and cultural factors combined to shape a people's identity. This belief lay behind the *literati's* cultivation of formal and informal institutions. Steven pressed this line of reasoning into support of the British constitution. Without the guiding and shaping forces of the constitution, their passions and behavior would be "desultory and tumultuous."[63] The balanced constitution, however, provided the necessary framework for their lives as Britons by promoting religious tolerance, uniform

---

[62] David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and concerning the Principles of Morals* (1777) as cited in Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 69.

[63] James Steven, *A Public Testimony of Loyalty to the British Constitution, Proper at this time for every good subject, A Sermon Preached at Lochwinnoch,[...] 29 January 1793* (Glasgow: Duncan and Chapman, 1793), 6.

justice, and commercial prosperity.[64]

Steven also taught the Brodies' implicit and explicit lessons in conjectural or stadial history—the four-stage theory of social development that conjectured human societies passing through hunter-gatherer, pastoral, and agricultural stages to achieve maturity at the commercial stage.[65] Those who attended to Steven's sermons would have learned this lesson intuitively as Steven used a very typical mode of argument in the Scottish Enlightenment, by marshalling historical and anthropological evidence in order to place his argument in a comparative context. He pointed to the inherent stability of democratic rule by citing the failures of Spartan Greece and Republican Rome, Oliver Cromwell's republic, the Romans refusal of Sylla, the French Republic, the despotisms of Nero and Caligula.[66] He looked to the social and institutional arrangements of other nations as another perspective by which to apprehend the benefits of the British Constitution. "Where," he asked his audience "but in Holland and America, is toleration to be found in the same extent?" No other place, after all Holland and America had "modeled their Constitutions after the ancient model of Britian."

Steven, also employed the concept of stadial history more explicitly. In his 1797 sermon, Steven enumerated "trade and commerce" as one of the many distinctive features of their British lives that a French invasion would destroy. In order to press home the

---

[64] Colin Kidd argues that by 1750 "the traditional rhetoric of Scottish liberty was in steep decline," and that "an English-oriented North Britishness was firmly established in Scottish culture." This meant that "Scottish whigs of all persuasions now spoke the language of triadic constitutional balance" and that in general Scots "felt a measure of pride, but a greater sense of relief, that Scottish institutions were becoming attuned to the rhythms of English property and civil liberty." Scots welcomed the "liberalization and the Anglicization of *appropriate* features of Scottish civil society." By Scots, Kidd means members of the Scottish literati, radicals, Moderate and evangelical ministers. Secession Churches only, preserved a sense of distinct "Scotocentric Covenanting interpretation of civil and popular liberties." Colin Kidd, "North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms" *The Historical Journal* 39(2) 1996: 372-3, 377.

[65] Alexander Broadie, "Introduction," to *The Scottish Enlightenment, An Anthology*, 25.

[66] James Steven, *A Public Testimony of Loyalty to the British Constitution*, 16-21.

significance to all of a French "annihilat[ion]" of British trade, he folded together two great and related ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment: a concept of the Great Chain of Being and a view of stadial history that together demonstrated how the livelihood of all Scots was bound together within an integrated economic and social order:

> The various arts and the multiplied branches of commerce in our country, justly occupy much of the attention of its enterprising inhabitants. The whole indeed form one great chain in which it is impossible to tell all the links. The different gradations from the shepherd who tends his flocks, and the husbandman who plows the earth in a remote corner, to the opulent merchant who in distant climates opens his storehouses to men who never beheld this land of freedom and plenty, afford investigation to men of a philosophical turn of thinking.[67]

With the phrase "one great chain" Steven first invoked the idea of the Great Chain of Being, a dominant social and scientific model of the 18th century. It operated both as a taxonomy that accorded every living being a place in a great ladder or chain of an infinite number of divisions from the lowest creature on earth up to an Absolute Being.[68] As such, the idea of the Great Chain of Being also naturalized hierarchical social relationships. Steven folded this idea together with Adam Smith's idea of stadial history, in which economic progress happened according to a set of phases from hunting and gathering, shepherding, agriculture, and commerce. Smith outlined this progress as a way of demonstrating how labour was the source of value, as different labour regimes instituted by the different economic regimes, the society changed to protect the value of labour by delineating proprietorial rights.

In addition to imbibing the basic premise of a common and essential human nature, the Brodies and the other parishioners would have also learned lessons in the moral

---

[67] James Steven, *The Necessity of Arming, at this Present Critical Juncture: A Sermon Preached at Lochwinnoch, 9 March 1797*, (Glasgow: Brath & Reid, n.d.), 19-20.
[68] Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Cambridge, Mss: Harvard University Press, 1936, as cited in Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1945), 58.

function of sentiments. In his *Moral Theory of Sentiment* Smith proposed a moral philosophy predicated upon the malleability of human nature and the need for every social member to harmonize their actions with others. Smith's work organized the cult of sentimentalism into a theory of morality; the cult of sentimentalism that promoted different cultural forms—fictional novels and historical writings—as the moral mirrors in which people could form their identity. Steven, in line with traditional evangelical teaching, rejected the moral benefits of novel reading. However, in rejecting novel reading and substituting the bible as a more appropriate social model, he nonetheless accepted and so reproduced for his audience the mechanisms of moral philosophy. In Steven's typically evangelical interpretation of sentimentalism, he argued that novels worked to cultivate their readers, especially the young readers, by "excit[ing] the stronger passions of the mind" and by touching the heart. In short, the novels acted as a template of behavior stimulating the reader's sensibilities to receptivity. Significantly, Steven did not reject the mode of acculturation, only the models of acculturation. The novels, "g[a]ve to the young traveler false views of human nature." Rather, individuals should look to the models of human nature provided in the bible and in history as models of behavior. For, "[b]y studying these relations [the stories of history and the bible], individuals will be informed how to act, not only in private life, but also in the approach of singular public appearances." They operated upon individuals, in particular the young, by infusing "into the tender-heart sentiments of piety, fortitude, benevolence, resignation, and integrity, suited to all part of their conduct."[69] Significantly, the biblically-inspired moral outlook rests quite closely in line with Smith's own theory of moral sentimentalism, mixing together an understanding of the power of benevolence and stoic

[69] James Steven, *The Necessity of Arming at the Present Critical Juncture*, 2-3.

resignation and self-command.[70]

Finally, Steven also invoked the typical Enlightenment injunction that given an understanding of how humans acquire social vision, every human being had a responsibility of self-cultivation and self-education. He sought, not to impose his views, but to lay out logical arguments that his audience could follow. He offered as evidence not conjecture, but positions "founded upon reason and observation" or again of "a maxim born out by observation." He also appealed to the parishioner's civic pride in their self-education by underscoring the moral implications of their lack of self-cultivation. For "to be practiced upon by a designing man, whether he is a stranger, or your brother, is to give him a chain to bind your neck in." He also repeated to them the educational views they already held, stating that education "is of real value in itself, that when substantially sought after, it teaches men their worth as men [because] it calls forth the exertion of the noble powers of the soul of man, mildness and strength;" values "owned by" men who had "the sense of the value of mental cultivation." Lack of learning is subjugation, however, education can redeem. The Highlanders were a barbarous people in 1745 but have since been civilized. The aim of the Scottish Enlightenment was to cultivate minds to appreciate the same values and even when the expected social consensus did not emerge, the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment defined the terms of the debate.

Drill March to Liberty or Flight to Radicalism: The Enlightenment in Practice

The very historical context that inspired Steven to write and publish these two

[70] John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 64-5.

sermons was itself an Enlightenment battlefield. The French revolution roused political dissent in Scotland as radicals and those loyal offered competing social visions. Both parties shared the same discursive field, if not the same values. The Brodies and the "other proprietors" would have had to form their own political opinions—either Loyal or radical—by using the same Enlightenment vocabulary. The tenor of Steven's sermon suggests that the rising threat of Scotland's radicals was being played out right in the parish itself. The terms of the debate most certainly reached the Brodies' ears.

Scottish historians have only begun exploring the scope of political dissent in Scotland and Smout's assertions that the Scottish population was largely restive during the turbulent decade of the 1790s are being revised. Bob Harris has argued that "there were few overtly political demonstrations in Scotland in the 1790s," the most visible being the riots that occurred in Edinburgh in 1792, and that historians have tended to dismiss their evident politicization. Overall however, sympathy for the French Jacobins "was (and remained) largely hidden from view, although it may have persisted as an undercurrent in some radical circles." However it was clear that the works of Thomas Paine were in circulation.[71] Steven's sermon provides an unusual window then, into the political cleavages within one rural parish. Steven addressed his audience knowing that though many "yeomen" appeared at the Kirk that day in the uniform of the Renfrewshire Volunteers prepared to defend the Enlightenment and Great Britain, he also believed that many radicals had assembled as well. Steven addressed his potentially radical parishioners, by allowing that the Loyalists of the parish constituted, only a great body, not the totality of the parish's population. As he stated,

---

[71] Bob Harris, "Political Protests in the Year of Liberty, 1792," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, 49, 69.

> I say, the great body, for possibly there may be a few exceptions. There may be some hearing me just now, who are not well-affected, in the present state of things, to the king and the present constitution, whose hearts beat high at the sound of the arrival of the enemy.

Steven spoke speculatively about the radical sympathies of some of his parishioners, he also intimated that he knew very well there were dissidents, for he had crossed swords with them before. He believed he could anticipate how they would receive his message based upon past experiences. "It is more than probably ye will misrepresent [my words] when ye have departed," he told them. However, "as to misrepresentations, I firmly declare, that as in former occasion of this kind I have been, so I trust in future I shall be, superior to all their intended effect." Steven knew his opponents and the political antagonisms divided not only the parish, but families leading him to urge individuals to think for themselves and not to be distracted from Loyalty even by a "brother."

Steven's sermon of 1792 directly refuted the demands of the Paisley radicals outlined by pamphlet by the "Friends of Reform in Paisley" published as "A Declaration of Rights, and An Address to the People." The "Friends of Reform" argued that every Briton, with the exception of "infants, criminal and insane people," had the right to vote. Moreover, they argued that for every person to participate in the franchise, yearly elections were necessary, so that all who came of age every year could cast a vote and be said to be governed by a representative government. The "Friends of Reform," also took issue with the tax system.[72] Steven refuted these points decrying "universal equality" as "an ideal phantom:" Even 'the harranger of a mob,' tells that mob, that he is their superior." All men cannot be Kings, for they would fall into competition that "must end in an affront, rage, and bloodshed." How could statesmen make decisions if governments

---

[72] Anonymous, *A Declaration of Rights, and An address to the people. Approved of by a number of the friends of reform in Paisley*, [Paisley?, 1790?], passim.

changed every year? For "men hurried so rapidly backward and forward, cannot understand the train of business so well, as those who have been thinking upon the same subjects for a competent number of years." How could extending the franchise materially affect the happiness of the ordinary person anyway? Steven reacted by reasserting the social hierarchy. He addressed different members of the audience according to their social rank. He finished his arguments by giving "a suitable address to the audience" and "in complying with this design, I will consider the present audience in two divisions. First the respectable Yeomanry who stay in this parish, and who this day appear in military uniform: And next, the great body of the parish, who are loyal in heart to their king and country." He exhorted the Yeomanry to fulfill martial duties, of obedience to superiors, bravery, piety and to embrace death in defending their nation and their ideals. To the others, many of them aged parents, he urged material and moral assistance, vigilance against traitors amongst them, prayers and a brave countenance during "trying times."[73]

It seems likely that the Brodies and "other proprietors" were Loyalists rather than radicals. Certainly, the parish as a whole had a history of Loyalist action. In 1745, the small proprietors of Lochwinnoch, the "120 fewers, vassals and heritors in this parish," were loyal to the British Crown and mustered volunteers "who marched into Glasgow, after they were disciplined, in the order of militia, with drums, muskets, colours etc."[74] In the 1793, more significantly, members of the Lochwinnoch parish formed a "crack corps" of volunteers likely as part of the Renfrewshire Yeomanry Regiment.[75] Archibald Cameron, a popular member of the Brodie network, was a sergeant of the Lochwinnoch

[73] Steven, "The Necessity of Arming at this Critical Juncture," 28-36, especially 35.
[74] Sempel, *A History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 143.
[75] J.R. Western, 'The Formation of the Scottish Militia," *The Scottish Historical Review* 34(117) 1955, 8-9.

Volunteers. In the early 1790s, when the parish was caught up in the country's "arous[al] by the noise of war and alarms of invasion," Archibald Cameron could be found giving private lessons on "the art of war" to the Reverend Steven in the glebe of his manse.[76]

However, it is not possible to say if all the members of the Brodie network nurtured a coherent political view amongst themselves or were even all Loyalists. Certainly, the motivation of Cameron, the father of a large family who often could not meet expenses, to enroll in the volunteer corps could well have been more economic than ideological.[77] The position of other members of the Brodie network is similarly difficult to penetrate. An intriguingly vague letter survives from Andrew Brodie of Langcraft after he had removed to Ireland to his father, Hugh Brodie elder in Lochwinnoch, reveals possible ideological dissention not only within the community, but within the family. Andrew wrote from Coleraine Ireland in early September of 1798 and he admonished his father for lax piety. Andrew also addressing Ireland's political situation:

> I can not with propriety give you much information respecting the present commotions of this Country for purticular I refere you to the public prints, tho indeed from them you will not get the real state of affairs in this Country at present which I must confess is not very pleasant from every appearance Ireland will become the seat of war...

Andrew was "only about eighty miles from where the French are entrenched." He claimed that more Irish had gone over to the French cause than had been reported. Andrew took a long term view of the situation, writing

> I fear much the people of this country will attain to there[sic?] long wished for change though it does not appear to me that it will turn out to there [sic] advantage but if it is the work of God he is only making them instruments in his hand of brining about his purpose...

---

[76] *An Ecclesiastical Sketch of Lochwinnoch Parish,* 22-23.
[77] Atle L. Wold, "Scottish Attitudes to Military Mobilisation and War in the 1790s," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* 144.

He concluded this analysis by hoping that "the Scotch will remember what they suffered not long ago and behave themselves with propriety in this sinning time and when God's judgment appears to be going abroad in the Earth."[78] News that greater numbers of Irish supported the French cause than was being reported in the press comprises the letter's only specific details. Can it be read at face value as a Loyalist statement?

Was Andrew a radical, adopting an elusive style to convey information to his father repressed in the press? Government spies monitored the mail and may have prevented many from expressing their true opinions.[79] Did Andrew really fear a republican Ireland? Or, was his willingness to bow to the hand of God, an expression of hope that it was indeed God's will to spread republicanism? Or again, was Andrew a Loyalist, writing in veiled terms to admonish but not endanger his radical father? Andrew is not precise about his father's transgression. The only firm statement he made on the subject was to advise his father to "make head knowledge less and heart work more." However, the vagueness and context of its formulation raises questions: Did Alexander Wilson's vivid portrait of Hugh Brodie elder in a poem published in 1790 signal his, Hugh's, own radical sympathies? However, Brodie's appearance in Wilson's poem offers only the suggestion of an association. The family's prominent role within the Lochwinnoch community suggests that they adopted the *status quo*, rather than reactionary principles, though support for the plight of the common man remained a constant theme in the letters exchanged in the early-19th century as we shall see in Chapter Three. Whether radical or Loyalist, the two sides were united by a shared language of enlightened liberty. The Brodies sitting in church, whichever side of the political discourse most convinced them

[78] MM PO21 File 8, Andrew Brodie (Coleraine) to Hugh Brodie elder (Lochwinnoch?) 8 September 1798.
[79] Andrew Noble, "Burns and the Renfrew Radicals," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, 203.

would have had a good working knowledge of contemporary political discourse.

Wond'ring Shepherds

The Brodies' active participation in the field of improving agricultural knowledge is less opaque than their relationship to enlightened political views. Hugh Brodie himself opened pathways to agricultural knowledge by attending the meetings of a local farming society in the neighboring parish and by delivering a Georgic poem about improving agricultural techniques in 1769. "By desire of several people," William Semple reproduced the poem in his 1782 revision of *The History of the Shire of Renfrew.*[80] This *History* enjoyed a readership beyond the confines of the parish, and was for, example, among the collection of the Perthshire lending library.[81] More significantly, Brodie's agricultural knowledge circulated orally within the parish and Brodie became a significant landmark. Wilson commemorated Hugh Brodie elder in his topographical description of the parish, "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem" by painting an image of Brodie's Longcraft Farm as the destination for neighbors seeking improved knowledge. [82]

---

[80] Semple, *The History and the Shire of Rewnfrew*, 116.

[81] David Allan, "Provincial Readers and Book Culture in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Perth Library, 1784-c.1800" *Library* 2002 3(4): 378.

[82] The footnote states that he (Wilson) was "alluding to his (the Hoary Bard of Wilson's poem) speech on farming—Vide Semple's History of Renfrewshire, p. 116." This is an exact reference to Hugh Brodie of Langcroft's georgic for the Kilbarchan Farmer Society delivered in 1769 and reproduced in Sempel's 1782 revision of Crawford's 1710 *History of the Shire of Renfrew*. Wilson, "Lochwinnoch, a descriptive poem," 148.

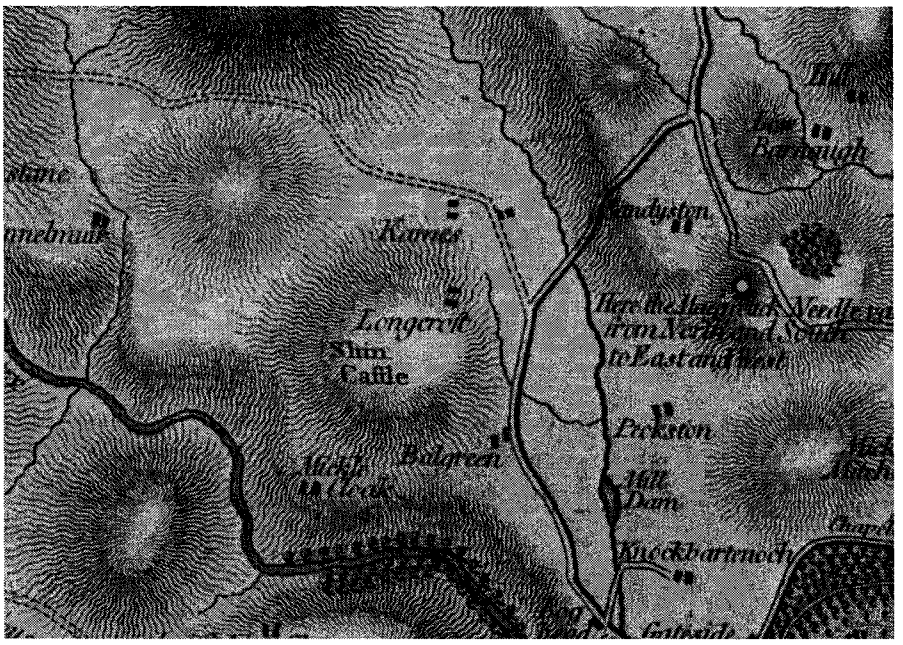

Figure 5 Detail of Ainslie's 1800 Map of Renfrewshire showing Langcraft farm

At this small farm, by a "bleak border" of "lonely moors," Brodie became a destination for other small farmers in the neighborhood, the "wond'ring Shepherds," who came to "bless th' instructing song." The Kilbarchan Farmer Society, Brodie's plebian contributions to the diffusion of agricultural knowledge and Brodie's pastoral audience challenged received ideas about the reactionary ignorance of Scotland's peasantry.

A recent historical survey of the changing Scottish landscape repeats a basic truism about the agricultural revolution that can be traced back to many 18th century texts. David Turnock's 1995 *The Making of the Scottish Rural Landscape* draws upon the standard 20th century histories of the Scottish economy and repeats the assertion that "the role of the lairds was crucial for the initiation of change." In his 1994 work *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815*, he explicitly identified the improving lease issued by Scottish landlords imposed

advanced agricultural techniques upon the tenant farmers. The legal influence the Scottish landlords had upon the Scottish tenants created a different dynamic of change in Scotland than in England. Economic historians have concluded in the English context the lesser country folk led the process of improvement. By contrast, Devine, asserted that the process of change in Scotland was a top-down affair and that "landowners, through their factors, played a very prominent role, especially in the initial phases of agrarian improvement in the later eighteenth century."[83] T.C. Smout, in his 1985 work *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* asserted the lease-driven mechanism of agricultural change despite the contemporary observations of Thomas Malthus and George Robertson that the impetus for agricultural change came from the tenants themselves.[84]

In this view, 20th century historians tend to unthinkingly reproduce 18th century attitudes that even the Brodies would have been aware of. For in the very work that brought Brodie's poem to a wider audience, *The History of the Shire of Renfrew*, Semple offered this analysis of the relationship between power, knowledge and progress:

> improving of this kind must begin with gentlemen of fortune, to whom a miscarriage is of less moment. For experiments, the success of which are at best precarious, are not the province of farmers, whose living must depend upon their yearly gain. But if practices are recommended to them by repeated success, and unquestionable authority, and they [are] convinced that the execution is easy, and the expence within their reach, they have sense and sagacity enough to attend to their own interest; there is a probability then, that our farmers will readily embrace and practice better methods of farming, and amend their former errors, had they an opportunity to know them; the duty which every man owes to his country, and the great calls for improvement in agriculture, demand all the assistance that can be given to an end so desirable, and so intimately connected with the very existence of our manufactures, trade and commerce.[85]

---

[83] Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland,* 60.
[84] Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, 288.
[85] Sempel, *A History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 156.

Certainly, the "other proprietors" of Lochwinnoch parish would have been aware of the example set by the parish's largest landowners, the McDowalls who were quintessential improving landowners. Just as the Scottish Lairds began to signal their increase in living standards by the early 18th century by building classically-inspired mansions, so too the McDowalls tore down the old castle and "created an elegant house with extensive offices, in the modern taste." The family also lead by example, and in "great public spirit [...] made extensive improvements of the estate, such as planting, enclosing, draining, new rotation of crops and other things."[86] McDowall also planted the revolutionary new crop, turnips, drained his lands by investing £5,000 in a canal and dabbled in the fad for town planning engrossing the great Scottish Lairds. Improving manuals of the age noted his activities with approval and so McDowall's investments for personal gain came to carry the moral beneficence of their didactic performances. Farmers in the district could learn the culture of turnip and they could be alerted to the benefits of land-draining by observing the return McDowall made upon his investment in the canal. That the canal was not effective was of small matter. McDowall was undoubtedly an enlightened social leader, for both Alexander Wilson and Hugh Brodie, elder had occasion to feel grateful to him. Brodie's brief verse emphasizing the positive nature of McDowall's paternalism, circulated orally within the parish, to be transcribed in the early 19th century by the antiquarian Crawford:

> To Mr. McDowall:
> Your Goodness sir, I daur not trace
> Nor tell your goodness to your face
> If ye eir your turn lies in my way
> I am your servant Sir to obey.[87]

[86] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 27: 546
[87] PCL (LSL) Crawfurd, "Old Ballats [sic] Collected by Ando Crawford," Volume 3, "Auld Langcroft's Other rhyme," page 288 (or 310).

McDowall, of course was not Brodie's landlord and any relationship between them would not have been coerced by an "improving lease." Moreover, there is no need for intellectual and economic historians to place such weight upon the improving lease. Very few historians appear to have heeded R. H. Campbell's insightful reading of Scotland's 18th century knowledge-culture. In particular, Campbell drew attention to the frequent irrationality of the landowner's leases as condemned by Adam Smith who "wrote of the 'foolish' practice, whereby 'some leases prescribe to the tenant a certain mode of cultivation, and a certain succession of crops during the whole continuance of the lease.'" Smith "attributed this irrationality to 'the effect of the landlord's conceit of his own superior knowledge (a conceit in most cases very ill founded.)'" Campbell also draws attention to an assertion made by George Robertson's 1829 observations (and roundly abused by Smout) that it was the farmers, not the landlords who were to be credited with the then flourishing state of Scottish agriculture. [88]

Brodie and the other proprietors had their own means of acquiring and sharing agricultural knowledge: the Kilbarchan Farmer Society. The Society, which was probably established in 1764 applied to plebian needs, a predominantly elite Scottish forum. In the post Union period, voluntary improving societies fulfilled important para-parliamentary functions for the landed classes in Scotland now deprived of their own parliament. Scotland's elites gathered in institutions such as the Honourable Society of Improvers (1723-1745) to identify and find solutions to impediments to material progress. The

[88] Campbell, "The Scottish Improvers and the Course of Agrarian Change in the Eighteenth Century," 210.

benighted state of Scottish agriculture became their first priority. [89] By 1784 there were fourteen societies established in Scotland well before the establishment of similar societies in England or any other European nation.[90] Thus the Kilbarchan Farmer Society was a revolutionary organization: established along with the first agricultural societies in the western world, it unusually catered to the interests of the average farmer.

In essence the Farmer Society was a mutual-aid society that began with 24 members.[91] The members included those who could afford to pay, in addition to yearly ancillary charges of 3d (2d to the clerk and 1d to the beadle) a one time fee £1 for a first class-membership or 2s 6d per year for a and second class-membership. In an age when it cost a family of four about 80 shillings Scots per week, membership in the society was not necessarily prohibitive, but certainly a luxury. The society fulfilled two functions: a co-operative and a didactic one. The Kilbarchan Farmer Society was the first of a trio of societies in Kilbarchan parish formed in a collectivist spirit to provide its members with some insurance. The same policy operated in the three societies, any member who was

---

[89] Phillipson, "The Scottish Enlightenment," 26-32; Robert Morris, "Clubs and Associations," in *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Volume Three *Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 400-01.

[90] Sarah Wilmot, citing R.C. Boud's study of Scotland's agricultural societies asserted that "the earliest movement for the foundation of agricultural societies appears to have been in Scotland. Between 1723 and 1784, fourteen known societies emerged in Scotland. However, similar societies were not established in England until "the last quarter of the eighteenth century." Sarah Wilmot, *The Business of Improvement: Agriculture and Scientific Culture in Britain, c. 1700-c. 1870* (Bristol, England: Historical Geography Research Series, 1990), 9; R.C. Boud, "Scottish Agricultural Improvement Societies, 1723-1835" *Review of Scottish Culture* 1(1984): 70-90.

[91] The author of *Kilbarchan: A Parish History*, Robert Mackenzie, echoing the general attitude among 18th century writers of agricultural treatises, that the society had been established with a view to "introducing new notions and new methods to the notice of a class constitutionally conservative." Mackenzie stated that he was inclined to give the Reverend "Mr. [John] Warner the credit of being its founder." However, his attempt to convince the society to use their membership fees towards awarding premiums for agricultural skill argues against his elite leadership. The Society, independent of and prior to Warner's notice, chose to pool their membership fees into a fund for mutual-aid in time of crisis. Rev. Robert D. Mackenzie, *Kilbarchan: A Parish History*, (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1902), 185; John Wilson, *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire; with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement, and An Account of its Commerce and* Manufactures. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, and Internal Improvement (Paisley: Stephen Young, 1812), 351.

too ill to work, exception as the results of vice and riots, would be given a weekly allowance, "in the farmer society, not exceeding 4s nor under 2s."[92] In practical terms, then a member farmer who was ill could afford to hire a man to replace his labour for perhaps a week.[93] The organization also sought to enlighten its members and on every election day that is on the occasion of the January meeting a member was called upon to deliver a speech on husbandry for the benefit of the other members.[94] This was the context in which Brodie delivered his georgic.

It is clear that the members of the society were well acquainted with the agricultural books emanating from Scotland's growing book trade. Brodie's own poem evinced knowledge of the leading Scottish agricultural texts as identified by historian J.A.S. Watson and G.D. Amery addressed the psychological, scientific, and economic dimensions of agriculture, discoursing upon the improving techniques of managing soil chemistry, bog drainage, crop rotation, enclosure, stock breeding and the care of grazing land.[95] In significant ways however, his work subverted rather than emulated elite texts. For the purposes of this chapter is it sufficient to note that in 1812 John Wilson was able to report in his *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire... Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture,* that despite the want—as he saw it then—of agricultural literature diffused in the parish, through cheap publications and by means of agricultural libraries, the farmers of the region were making gains "by profiting by the example of those around him, and from accommodating the successful plans of others to

---

[92] Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew,* 115.
[93] Gibson and Smout indicate that a labourer's weekly income in the 1760s averaged about 25 Scots shillings per week. This number reduced by a factor of 12 into pounds sterling is 2 shillings sterling and indicates that the society provided fairly generous insurance. A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), "Appendix 9.5."
[94] Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew,* 116.
[95] J.A.S. Watson and G.D. Amery, "Early Scottish Agricultural Writers (1697-1790)," *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland,* 43 (1931), 60-85.

his own particular situation, incited by just views of private interest."[96] Wilson thus joins George Robertson and other early 19th century commentaries in praising the way in which Scottish farmers promoted their own agricultural interests independently of elite instruction. The following chapter looks again at Hugh Brodie's georgic in order to gain more perspective upon the intellectual qualities of the type of knowledge that circulated outside the Enlightenment's institutions.

The purpose of the chapter has been to restore a working image of how the Enlightenment expressed itself in one Scottish parish. A close examination of the experiences of the Lochwinnoch folk demonstrated that they were indeed literate, but that their literacy was not an artifact of their far seeing social leaders, but the result of their own investment. They were keen supporters of the evangelical party, but not because they rejected the Enlightenment's modernity, but because they desired a version of Enlightenment philosophies more relevant to their own needs. Moreover, the members of Lochwinnoch parish were not politically restive, but made political alliances that were themselves statements of a particular enlightened subject position: either as a benefactor of British Liberty, or as a radical critic of the *ancien regime*. Finally, and most importantly, the parishioners of Lochwinnoch parish were not reliant upon, nor coerced by a landlord into adopting new agricultural techniques. Rather, they acquired and deployed their own knowledge.

[96] Wilson, *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire*, 350.

Chapter Two

Enlightenment Folk

Mechanic trades and occupations:
Great kings who rules empires and nations,
And men of all denominations,
Whate'er they be,
Depends on farming cultivations
For their Supply.
Likewise your farmer situation
Is to adapt to contemplation,
That they may view th' works of creation;
And without strife,
May do much for the cultivation
Of human life.

Hugh Brodie, elder,

Poem to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society

January 1769

Hugh Brodie (elder) became an important cultural leader in Lochwinnoch society. His status as a portioner—the part owner of a farm—meant that his most legitimate social role as a landowner was that of Kirk heritor. Brodie was also an unusually expressive man as noted by weaver, radical and future American ornithologist, Alexander Wilson who commemorated Brodie as a Lochwinnoch landmark in his "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem." Stopping at different scenes, Castle Semple (seat of the great landlord McDowall), the Cotton Mills, the natural wonders of the parish and at Brodie's farm Langcraft, Wilson described him as a "rustic poet" and a "hoary bard."[1] The poem's pastoral qualities placed it firmly within the Scottish vernacular revival, with

[1] Alexander Wilson, "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem," 138-153, 147-148 and *passim.*

Brodie playing the key role as bard. Brodie as bard was more than Wilson's conceit: it was an accurate reflection of Brodie's local reputation. Semple's *History of the Shire of Renfrew* recorded that Brodie's "abilities, in that amusement [speech-giving or verse-writing] were well known throughout the neighborhood."[2] His poems circulated within the parish and the early 19th century antiquary Crawford recovered a handful of Scots poems attributed to Brodie, or as Crawford styled him—the Langcraft Poet—and asserted that Brodie "then cultivated the *muses* and was the only poet in Lochwinnoch."[3]

Brodie's poetic role in Lochwinnoch resonated deeply with the bardic trope of the vernacular revival. According to Katie Trumpenner, the figure of the Celtic bard played a crucial role, articulating resistance to the British Empire. The 18th century nationalist antiquarians invoked the bard—most famously in the shape of Macpherson's Ossian—to guard distinctive Celtic cultures (Irish, Welsh and Scottish), from the incursions of modernity and empire.[4] The symbolic battleground between cultural memory signified by the bard and the forces of improvement were the bogs and wastelands dotting the British landscape. The bane of improvers, the bog symbolized for national antiquaries the past: a pristine environment untouched by improvement, progress and industry. When the improvers drained bog-land to increase agricultural production, nationalist antiquaries saw improvers erasing the past from the landscape. Hence, the antiquaries' deep satisfaction as perfectly preserved trees and artifacts of human life—shoes, clothes, and

---

[2] Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 116

[3] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn" 13: 341.

[4] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3-34. See the introduction "Harps Hung upon the Willow," for her discussion of the role of the bard in the imagination of 18th century nationalist antiquaries of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The bard—variously represented as poet, antiquary, or genealogist—has a long history of representing "the mouthpiece for a whole society, articulating its values, chronicling its history, and mourning the inconsolable tragedy of its collapse." The 18th century "financially secure but culturally disenfranchised," "scholars, clergymen, professors, or other professionals," invoked the bard as a figure of resistance, promoting and remembering Celtic culture within the British Empire.

even human bodies—emerged from irrational boggy-depths, telescoping the past into the present.[5]

Hugh Brodie's cultural role in Lochwinnoch fited uncomfortably within the bardic cultural trope. In some respects Brodie did appear as a latter-day bard, and rose to local prominence by his cultural production. Surviving fragments of his poetry display an appreciation for the expressive power of the Scots language and his poetry served as a vehicle for his social and economic ideals. Nor were those ideals only conservative. Brodie's belief in progressive ideas was evidenced in the fact that he composed in English as well as in Scots and was on the lookout for ways in which ordinary people could benefit from improving ideas. He knew how to drain bogs. He told his neighbors how to drain bogs, and Wilson approved of Brodie's dissemination of bog-draining knowledge, underscoring how Brodie "rejoic'd" to repeat to any listener his poem about

> Big swelling roots [potatoes], the Peasant's homely chear,
> When drown'd with milk, amid the pot they're prest,
> Or mealy, bursting, fill his brawny fist'
> How the deep bog, or wat're marsh to drain,
> And did bare hillocks groan with bending grain.[6]

Those four lines contained an accurate summary of the poem Brodie delivered to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society: a fact Wilson acknowledged by referring the reader (in a footnote) to Sempel's *History of the Shire of Renfrew* where the poem was printed. The footnoted reference and the accuracy of the Wilson's summary demonstrated that Brodie

---

[5] Trumpener explores the nationalist antiquaries' relationship to the "bog," in her first chapter, "The Bog Itself: Enlightenment Prospects and National Elegies." See especially note 43 for details of items preserved in the bog. Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism,* 37-66. Ironically, as Fredrik Albritton Jonsson's work has demonstrated, the improvers' interest in draining bogs could have a strongly conservative dimension as an elaborate plan to forestall Highlander emigration. Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, "The Enlightenment in the Highlands: Natural History and Internal Colonization in the Scottish Enlightenment, 1760-1830," 169-181.
[6] Wilson, "Lochwinnoch, A Descriptive Poem," 148.

the "rustic poet" was not a product of Wilson's literary whimsy. Hugh Brodie was a living, breathing member of the folk.

Separating Brodie from Trumpener's "bardic nationalism," also means rethinking current understandings of the development of national and ethnic identities that focus on the category of the folk. Peter Burke has argued that the concept of the folk, or of a people who embodied the spirit of a nation, emerged towards the end of the 18th century, particularly from the pens of German intellectuals.[7] In the imagination of 18th century intellectuals, the folk were a "sub-set of person, characterized by their own distinctive culture and isolated from the modern society around them" and the vessels of the nation's essential values.[8]

Elite recognition of the folk was part of a broader Enlightenment discourse "of cultural primitivism in which the ancient, the distant, and the popular were all equated."[9] The concept of the primitive contrasted nature with ideas about social development in order to make moral judgments about contemporary society. Though a staple of intellectual thought since antiquity, this mode of argument faded from sight in the 17th century.[10] But by the 18th century, cultural primitivism (one of two variants of primitivism) acquired intellectual importance to a cluster of emerging discourses of natural history, nationalistic writing and ethnology.[11] In these interpretations, the

---

[7] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1979), 3-10.
[8] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 9.
[9] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* 10.
[10] Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), chapter one, *passim.*
[11] See for example, the discussion of primitivism in Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), 70-80; Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debates and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 97-124; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvannia

primitive moral touchstone was not necessarily primeval, in a long distant past. Rather emergent theories of cultural development associated with the stadial history as noted in the last chapter, allowed for the concurrent existence of societies at different stages of material development. Groups such as native populations living outside civil and commercial society (the highest stage of existence) thus came to represent a sort of living past, a record of human society and nature uncorrupted by commercial society. In some circles, the qualities of nobility and pristine innocence attributed to these native populations also became attached to Europe's peasantry.[12]

There was a long tradition in Scottish historiography of pathologizing the relationship between the Scottish elite and the primitive culture of the Scottish peasants. Historian of emergent Scottish nationalism, Hugh Trevor-Roper famously argued that the Lowland Scottish elite literally invented a tradition by pressing a bowdlerized Highland folk culture into service to underwrite their political legitimacy.[13] By contrast, later authors have argued that Scottish elites who had eliminated Scots from their vocabulary and spoke with an English accent were traitors to their nation.[14] Alternatively, the embrace of Scottish culture by the elite has been portrayed as a struggle for power within Scottish society. For Arthur Freeman, the vernacular poet Fergusson (a member of the

---

Press, 2000), 176-233 and *passim.* See also Fredrik Albritton Jonsson's discussion of 'northern exoticism' in "The Enlightenment in the Highlands," 76-181 and *passim.*

[12] F.W. Freeman, *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanists Compromise* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 1-22.

[13] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 15-41.

[14] Liam McIlvanney provides an excellent overview (and ultimately revision) of the competing interpretations of the elite relationship to the British Empire in his "Hugh Blair, Robert Burns, and the Invention of Scottish Literature" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29(2) 2005, 25-46, particularly page 26-8 and notes. Janet Sorensen's *The Grammar of Empire in 18th Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) also takes stock of the anti-nationalist interpretations of Scottish involvement in the British Empire and concludes that Scots such as Adam Smith, far from selling out to English standards, helped set those very standards, viewing them as a Scottish product.

oppressed Tory elite) used the primitivist and vernacular mode in his poetry to criticize the Whig Presbyterian elite. More recently, Newman has argued that preserving Scottish folk material represented a road to social leadership for yet another vernacular poet, the bookseller Allan Ramsay.[15] Liam McIllvanney had loosened the strict class cleavage associated with the high-culture low-culture debate by looking more closely at the relationship between Hugh Blair, eminent philosopher, and his protégé, the peasant poet, Robert Burns.

McIllvanney argued that Scotland's dominant elite were "less inherently hostile to native culture than contemporary nationalist commentators maintain." He paints Blair's appreciation of the folk as a sensible palliative to the evils of commercial society and progress. He also looked at the way in which Burns negotiated the intellectual construct of the folk. McIllvanney argued that far from being burdened with the "subaltern role" as a rustic and or as a national bard, "these [primitivist] theories proved enabling for Burns [...] by providing a vantage point from which the project of "improvement" could be criticized and challenged." McIllvanney's conclusions, still however, reproduced the sense of an inherent conflict between vernacular culture and the cosmopolitan culture of the intellectual and mercantile elites. Burns was still cast as an outsider—a critic of improvement rather than an agent and Blair remained mired in a "sometimes paradoxical affinity" between two putatively divergent cultures—the cosmopolitan and the vernacular.[16]

There is a lot to be said for McIllvanney's argument that Burns occupied the primitivist position as a moral high-ground to legitimize his social vision for Scotland.

---

[15] Steve Newman, "The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay," *Modern Language Quarterly* 63(3) 2002: 279.
[16] Liam McIllvanney, "Hugh Blair, Robert Burns, and the Invention of Scottish Literature," 44.

This might well hold true for the Brodies and the "other portioners" of Lochwinnoch, however the surviving evidence did not point in this direction. Brodie's agricultural poems, the "Kilbarchan Farmer Society Georgic" and "The Glen of Lochwinnoch," his Scottish poems "Auld Langcraft's Sang anent Jannistoun's Jannie, and his wife," and the "Gudewyfe's Black Hens," along with tales told about Brodie relatives, revealed a cast of mind, independent from—not antagonistic to or critical of—improving ideology and church morality.

Brodie's bardic work in the parish of Lochwinnoch enacted the epistemological—not just social—morality of the innocent primitive. Contemporary philosopher, George Davie encapsulated a century of Scottish theories of epistemology as an expression of primitivism, where philosophers attended to the intuitive knowledge of farmers.[17] Adam Smith and Lord Kames enunciated a version of this primitive epistemology that was particularly relevant to the Brodies. Smith asserted in the *Wealth of Nations* "the common ploughman, though generally regarded as the pattern of stupidity and ignorance is seldom defective in [...] judgment and discretion." This was because the ploughman actively, and sensitively attuned himself to the complexities of the natural environment.[18] Here Smith invoked a primitive empiricism—that is of a sensitive, engaged and implicated rather than disengaged observer. In this view, the land—as opposed to machines or even book learning—shaped the ploughman's mind. Lord Kames also expressed a similar awareness of the intersubjective relationship between the mind and the natural environment in his *Law Tracts*. The act of farming created a

[17] George Davie, "Berkeley, Hume, and the Central Problem of Scottish Philosophy," in *A Passion for Ideas: Essays on the Scottish Enlightenment* Volume 2, ed. Murdo Macdonald (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1994), 42.
[18] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, A Selected Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 127.

relationship with the land that became a basic argument for possession and for private property. "A man who had bestowed labour in preparing a field for the plough, and who has improved that field by artificial culture, forms in his mind an intimate connection with it."[19] A mind mixed with the land impresses itself upon the farmer who will want to "lay his bones there" and upon the observers who are impelled to recognize his relationship with it.

The empirical innocence associated with primitivism lies at the root of the general 18th century apprehension that the ordinary peasant farmer somehow embodied innocence, authentic and even essential knowledge. For the actual members of the folk population this elite association of empirical innocence with their "primitive" lives created the basis upon which the folk could make knowledge-claims in elite circles. The minds of the ordinary peasant farmer circumscribed by the village and the parish had only their rural world to give shape and form to their mental structures. The minds of the cosmopolitan and urban elite however, had been corrupted by the "spirit of system" acquired through the rational theories promoted by formal education.

This chapter explores how the Brodies, and Hugh Brodie in particular, adopted a position of the "Enlightened Folk" as a dynamic way of participating in Enlightenment improvement. The first section establishes Brodie as a member of an independent folk-population. The second section looks at the ways in which he mediated between elite knowledge and the needs and requirements of the folk population. In negotiating the interests of the ordinary farmer in Lochwinnoch parish, Brodie lived out the dynamic responsiveness encapsulated in the idea of the primitive and the folk: he applies ideas sensitively rather than willy-nilly.

---

[19] Kames, *Historical Law-Tracts,* 4th ed., (Edinburgh: T. Cadell, 1792), 104.

Brodie as Folk

The last chapter traced how the Brodies charted their pedestrian course towards institutionalized knowledge within the competing Enlightenment topographies of Lochwinnoch Parish. But the same rivers and brooks that powered progress or flooded farms could also be the irrational, murky home of the Kelpie—the devil in the shape of a water-dwelling dark horse fond of drowning people. The Brodies knew this because a river Kelpie had tried to drown their ancestor David Breadine of the Linthills. In fact, the Brodies knew quite a bit about how to manage the natural and supernatural world outside the ken of the Kirk and enlightened philosophies. As small property holders the Brodies and many other farmers in the district fell outside the improvers' vision of progressive farming. Also, the Brodies, having evinced the strongest belief in God, adopted a casual relationship to the Kirk, circulating bawdy poems and superstitious tales and defying the Kirk's moral control by "unclean" acts of "fornication."

Hugh Brodie, the Langcraft Poet, had only recently been associated with the farm Langcraft. He had grown up at another farm, the Linthills, with which his direct family had been associated since the mid-17th century, when a William Brydin's share of the Linthills was recorded in the list of heritors of 1654.[20] Hugh Brodie was born at the Linthills in 1736, the seventh surviving child, and youngest son of Robert Breadine of the Linthills (married 1707). Robert Breadine concentrated his efforts upon securing property rights to bestow upon his three sons. In 1698, he paid feu duty to Lord Dundonald, but he was not infeft of his property, meaning that he did not yet have the

[20] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 9.

right to will the property.[21] By 1707, he was consolidating his holdings and along with another man purchased a further portion of the Linthills and in 1732, Robert bought the other man's share.[22] Clearly, Robert Breadine, had the means to acquire new lands and their titles, but it is difficult to assess the actual extent of his land holdings, because the properties were described in terms of their rental value, which did not necessarily reflect the actual value of the land or give an indication of the land's extent.[23] Nonetheless, the 1731 division of pews among the heritors and minor heritors of Lochwinnoch Kirk provided insight into the family's relative status as landowners. As was increasingly the custom in Lowland Scotland, the heritors of Lochwinnoch requested, in a social performance of rank, the division of space in the Kirk "between them according to the valuation of each heritor's land in the parish."[24] Thus, the 1731 division of Lochwinnoch Kirk made down to "feet and inches" revealed the family's position among the minor landholders. Where some heritors were accorded one and even two fixed seats, Robert Breadine, as portioner of the Linthills, was only allotted one moveable seat.[25] Yet the family retained a strong foothold among the minor heritors. Robert Breadine's daughters appeared to have maintained the family's social level, marrying neighboring farmers and

---

[21] Evidently, at the end of the 17th century, Robert Breadine (father of Hugh Brodie elder) was not yet a proprietor. Paying feu duty meant paying a fix rent and to not be "infeft" of the land, meant that he was not "legally instated in possession of heritable property." Becoming a feuar—a heritable proprietor—was a lengthy and costly process and those who invested in the process acquired security of title rather than prosperity. In addition to regular feu duties, the feuar also made payments to the superior (the original landowner who granted the feu) equivalent to those made by tenants. PRL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7:469; Margaret Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 124, 135, 143, 252; Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765*, 39.
[22] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7:468 and "Cairn," 5: 198.
[23] Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 9.
[24] Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland Since 1730,* (London: Methuen, 1987), 102.
[25] The document records "that Robert Brodie, Linthills & Donald there" were accorded "two moveable seats" thus suggesting that Robert Brodie and Donald were the portioners or at least the principal portioners of the Linthills. William Hector, *Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire* (Paisley: J&J Cook, 1878), 281-2.

tradesmen.[26] His sons also retained their position as landowners. The eldest son, Robert Breadine (born Linthills, c.1705) became the new Laird of Linthills, which was worth £800 pounds sterling in 1782.[27] The second son, William Breadine (born Linthills, 1729) was given lands in the Loups (a farm) "which he sold and cast [took his chances with] the Bambrock," another farm.[28] Even Hugh Brodie, the youngest son, was given land. A year after he was born, his father bought William Barclay's share of the Linthills and settled it on his infant son.[29]

The full extent of Hugh Brodie elder's land holdings and rental agreements are not known. However, his 1758 marriage to Elizabeth, one of Andrew Brodie of Langcraft's four heiress daughters, brought him a portion of the Langcraft Farm, which he began to cultivate in addition to his Linthills portion. By the 1760s Hugh lived as a tenant on his father-in-law's land and leased out his portion of the Linthills for just over £3.8 per year.[30] In 1762 he enlarged his portion of Langcraft and secured its succession.[31] When Langcraft was sold in 1803 it was worth £800 sterling and according to the statistics collected by Sir John Sinclair, a farm that size might return a rent of £40 and indeed, Mary Brodie reported in 1809 that Langcraft was being let for £40 rent and in

---

[26] Margaret Breadine (no date of birth) married William Caldwell of Yardfoot, Janet Breadine, b. 1720 married Matthew Pollock of Boghall in 1738; Mary Breadine, b. 1725, married Robert Coarse in Paisley, whose son became a manager of a cotton mill. However, the occupation of the Mackie the youngest daughter Jean Braedine (b. 1732) was thought to have married was not recorded. PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 470-2.
[27] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7; 468 and 478.
[28] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 470.
[29] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 472 ¼ and "Cairn," 5: 198.
[30] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Lochwinnoch Matters," Volume 8, pages 31 and 47.
[31] On the 1st of July he obtained a disposition from Robert Fulton for another portion of Langcroft to he and his wife in "liferent" and to Andrew Brodie their eldest son in feu. Twenty-days later, he received a disposition from his father-in-law for a second portion of the Langcraft farm. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 136-7; PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Lochwinnoch Matters," 8: 30-1.

1811 for £42 rent.[32] It is possible that Langcraft Farm may have been quite small putting it in the category of the irrationally small farms much abused by Scottish agricultural improvers.[33]

The parish of Lochwinnoch was typical of Renfrewshire's unusual pattern of landholding. In the late-17th century fully one half of Renfrewshire farms were under 30 acres and given that half of that land would be lying in fallow, Thomas Devine concluded that "likely most farmers were subsistence farmers."[34] By the early-19th century, however, the parish of Lochwinnoch still held to this unusual broad distribution of property. In his Board of Agriculture report for Renfrewshire John Wilson maintained that the parish of Lochwinnoch was one of "the most minutely divided of any in the country." Very few of the farms were larger than 100 acres, returning rents of between £20-150. Wilson noted with astonishment that there "still being a number of small possessions under £20 yearly."[35] Wilson's opinion of the small farm was broadly representative of the views returned "by the whole of the Surveyors" who viewed the

---

[32] Allan Karras uses Sir John Sinclair's calculations to arrive at the value of an estate as 20 times that of its annual income. Thus, according to that ratio, a farm worth £800 would return a rent of £40 and Mary Brodie's reports of 1809 and 1811 would seem to confirm this estimate if she reported the rent in pounds sterling and not the Scots pound which was worth 1/12 of a pound sterling. A moderate property, by contrast, produced between £1000-3000 in rent per year. Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*, 180; MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 9 August 1809 and 19 March 1811.

[33] It is difficult to say how large the farm was. George Robertson's third edition of the *History of the Shire of Renfrew* lists Langcraft Farm with a valued rent of £14 but no indication of the farm's extent. Another farm of similar value, however, is recorded as containing 33 English acres. This £14 rent probably reflected the fixed feu duty owing on the land and not the rental income the proprietor could expect to derive from it. Robertson, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 350-355.

[34] Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, 7.

[35] Wilson, *General View of Agriculture of Renfrewshire*, John Wilson, *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire; with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement, and An Account of its Commerce and* Manufactures. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, and Internal Improvement (Paisley: Stephen Young, 1812), 65 and 67.

small farm, particularly the "miniature" farm of 50 acres, as being an "obstacle to improvement."[36]

In his topographical survey of Lochwinnoch parish, Semple underscored his irritation with some of the parish's very small landowners. Though he meticulously named the greater portion of Lochwinnoch's 200 smallholders, taking note of the improvements to their farms and the antiquity of the families roots in the land, he balked when he arrived at an area

> called the Glen of Lochwinnoch; and finding the whole hold of him [William McDowall of Castle Semple] and John Hamilton of Barr superiors, I will not trouble the reader with the names of those farms. But as being such a number of heritors contiguous to one another in that corner of the parish, I shall beg the reader's patience to arrange the lands of those different heritors though I find it disconvenient to mention all the heritors names, particularly where two or three belong to one small farm.[37]

Hugh Brodie, as a subscriber to Sempel's work would have most certainly known about their exclusion.[38] Not content to leave Sempel's dismissal as the last word on the subject, he remedied the slight by composing a poem called "The Glen" which circulated orally in the parish. The poem mirrored the same improving vision as Sempel's *History*. Brodie described the Glen, quantified its lands "near to thirty ploughs of land", outlined the antiquity of the Glen's proprietors, placed the Glen in physical relationships to other land marks, and listed the area's contributions to the industrializing economy. And of the "disconvenient" number of heritors, "their numbers is just thirty-three" and Brodie gave these proprietors due credit, by listing their family names, noting the longevity of the

---

[36] Thomas Robertson, *Outline of the General Report upon the Size of Farms, and upon the persons who cultivate farms, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of agriculture and Internal Improvement*, 1796, 42-3. This work is based upon a synthesis of views respecting farm size contained "in the different Surveys, or General Views of the Counties." However, its publication date of 1796 would necessarily discount Wilson's work as a source.

[37] Sempel, *History of the Shire of Renfrew,* 164.

[38] "List of the Subscribers," in Sempel, *History of the Shire of Renfrew,* 4.

family's name in connection with their property, and by elaborating upon their practice of improved farming.[39]

At the same time that Brodie used his poem to dignify his neighbors' claims to Enlightenment and progress, he also used his verses to underscore the deep irrationality of nature and of life that could spoil even the best domestic economy. The "Gudwyfe's Black Hens" tells the tale of a "gudwife" or farm wife intending to invest in future prosperity by buying chickens to lay eggs and she went to market "to buy sum eggs its was her skeme: birds for eggs." This she did, but the hen and chicks she purchased were "black a craw (black as crows)" and uneasily she tramped home. Once there, she took good care of them, but they jumped in her cooking-pot of porridge, played in her supply of grease and strayed out into the bent. The birds were rounded up, and exasperated, the Gudwyfe killed the mother bird intending to eat it, saying to the dead bird "we will pluck thee and make sauce/And will get sum gude of the craws [the birds]." And she set the bird's corpse to lie in the ashes. But "threw its throat the wind did draw," the bird breathed and returned to life. Its mistress submitted to fate, and fed it "butter wanting bread/ And dryts its coat and made it braw." The poem ends with the wry observation that the Gudwyfe had made a "haill bargain." The birds had run amok in her kitchen, would not submit to being eaten, and no mention was made of their producing eggs. This Scots poem of Brodie's provides an ironic comment on improvement's countervailing forces, as embodied in the woman's kind irrationality. Nature, chance, circumstance, the woman's own fondness of the birds and the supernatural incident of the bird's return to life interfered with the good regulation of her domestic economy. The birds emerged as

[39] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Old Ballats Collected by Andrew Crawford," Volume 3, 1827, "The Glen: by Langcraft, viz. Hugh Brodie," 101.

the clear winners in this human contest to turn the natural world to their own benefit. On the ground, on the practical level of things, theories and plans do not always apply.[40] Farmers, rather have to adjust to the changing environment, where not even the line between life and death is stable.

Along with the Brodies' independent attitude towards Enlightenment agriculture, came an independent attitude towards Kirk doctrine. The Kirk of Scotland took an active role—by the instrument of the Kirk Sessions of the local parish—in shaping the moral outlook of all Scots, seeking to oversee "the manners of the people," the punishment of scandals and seeing to "the wants and necessities of the poor." This superintendence extended to the strict regulation of marriage and to combating paganism and superstitions.[41] Brodie himself was a deeply religious man. A Montreal man who had known Brodie in Scotland recalled, 'he is a queer man Langcraft; I was passing his biggen (shed) and I heard someone talking, and here was Langcraft cracken awa to his Makerlike as if he was speakin to his near frien."[42] His daughter Mary recalled he "often poured out his soul to God" at the yard head.[43] Despite signs of religiosity, the Brodies managed their own relationship with the highly centralized control of morality exercised by the church.

Defying the repression of public sexuality, Brodie wrote frankly bawdy poems in Scots that outlined the earthiness and naturalness of life. In the poem Crawfurd titled

---

[40] PCL (LSL) Crawfurd noted two versions of this poem in two different places among his collections. The one referred to above is from "Old Ballats Collected by Andrew Crawfurd," Volume 3, 1827, "Langcraft's Gudwyfe's Black Hens," 180-182. Another version of the poem can be found in volume 15, pages 265-6 of his "Cairn."

[41] Alison Hanham, *The Sinners of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 1, 5 and 9-20.

[42] *Private Collection of Robert P. Brodie, Montreal West,* "Memoire of Robert Brodie, Esq., Orchard Bank, 3215 Upper Lachine Road,Montreal Quebec."

[43] MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 19 March 1811.

"Auld Langcraft's Sang anent Jannistoun's Jannie, his wife" Brodie told the tale of his uncle's courtship of Janet and of their marriage and its consummation.

> My uncle Jannie, gode [went] to the Brigend [a farm]
> In purpose to court Howmies [the name of a farmer] wee mern
> [girl/woman/daughter?]
> Its Mirrian was wise and braw [brave] and cannie [clever]
> And she did tak my uncle Jannie
>
> When they first went to Janniestoun [the uncle's farm]
> As since they were left alone
> He mounted her wi his foots and cannie
> And she did tak my uncle Jannie
>
> Its when nine months were past and gone
> Mirram began to sick and marre [be irritable; go into labour?]
> Her belly was up like onie [any] wee maunie [basket or little mound]
> It was aw they wyte [fault], quo antie, Old Jannie[44]

Brodie outlines a very simple and naturalized version of cause and effect. It was natural that his uncle should want to marry, and it was Miriam's prerogative to accept him. It was also natural that the first chance they were alone they consummated their marriage, again Miriam's agency is noted, for she consented to the act. Naturally, Miriam got pregnant and not unnaturally she was a bit cross about it all and said that it was all Jannie's fault, when she had been, in Brodie's eyes, a responsible and active participant.

His elder brother, Robert Brodie, heritor of the Linthills, on the other hand took a much more independent attitude towards the Kirk's organization of sexuality and marriage. On their wedding night, his bride Janet had "refused to be bedded in her father's public house" and he took "an oath not to sleep with his wife for twenty years" defying the procreative purpose of marriage. In one version of the tale, he allowed

[44] PCL (LSL) Crawfurd "Old Ballats Collected by Andrew Crawfurd," Volume 3, 1827, "Auld Langcraft's sang anent Jannistoun's Jannie, and his wife," 300.

conjugal relations only after the twenty-years had elapsed. In another version of the same story, it was the threat made by another heritor that he would be the "Laird of Linthills" before long that goaded Robert Brodie into producing an heir for his property. "He immediately began to turn another leaf in his domestic establishment, and consummated the sacred ceremony."[45] His stand against his wife's will denied the Kirk's portrait of marriage.

Repeating the story of Robert Brodie's "domestic establishment," was just part in parcel of the Brodies' independence. In practice, the Brodies disregarded Church strictures about confining sex to marriage and were cheerfully sinful. Several of Hugh Brodie elder's children were brought before the Kirk session on fornication charges and a number of natural children were born into the family. Jean Brodie appeared before the Kirk session in the mid-November of 1797 with her then husband Archibald Cameron on the charges of antenuptual fornication.[46] Brother John Brodie, had a natural daughter born to Margaret Jamieson.[47] Sister Elizabeth Brodie had a natural daughter by William Tabet.[48]

---

[45] The two versions of the story may be found, in PCL (LSL), Crawfurd "Old Ballats Collected by Andrew Crawfurd," Volume 3, 1827, page 277 and Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 477.

[46] It is possible that this Archibald Cameron married to Janet Brodie was the same man who, on 7 May 1797, acknowledged himself father to Janet Woodside's child born in "uncleanliness," and was rebuked on the 13th of August, 20th of August and the 3rd of September. NAS, CH2/649/3, Lochwinnoch Kirk Session 1777-1815, 132, 134-5, 137.

[47] NAS, CH2./649/3, Lochwinnoch Kirk Session, 5 April 1803, 5th July 1803, 10th July 1803, 17th July 1803, p. 182-4.

[48]PCL (LSL), Crawfurd "Cairn," 5:475. It cannot be said, however, that the Parish minister upheld the Kirk's standards himself. The Reverend James Steven was a bachelor but he "ha[d] a lass called Jennie Stein [Steven?] by the neighbours ignorant of her sirname. She was supposed to be Stein's [Steven?] mistress or concubine." She "kept him in order, but she died [in 1800] and after her death he went to pigs and whistles. He took up with 'a new lass' and became quite thick with her. Too, thick in the neighbor's opinion and there was talk. A friend from Glasgow visited and advised him to 'put the lass away.' But she wasted no time in retaliation and said 'she [would] put him to loose his kirk.' She was restored." When he died she spoke for all his "blankets, linen, shirts &c. [and] he left her £50." PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 10:66.

The Brodies also adopted a similarly, promiscuous, at least in the eyes of the Church, relationship to knowledge by keeping alive witch and kelpie stories associated with the family. The Brodies had also acquired wisdom through experience about how to lift a witch's curse. The wife of Robert Brodie (the same who endured 19 or 20 years of unconsummated marriage) lost her milk for the child she eventually bore and "neighbors ascribed it to witchcraft." And they thought they knew what to do about it. Accordingly,

> they all met in Dinsmuir's house [the house of the woman they thought responsible for the witchcraft] they fell on the subject of Janet Robertson's loss of her milk. They contrived the conversation to say thar [they] wished the almighty would see his glory consisted in restoring to Janet Robison's milk. Jean Dinsmuire [the suspected witch] consented to thar wish. From hence Janet had plenty of milk.[49]

The Brodies then, frustrated nicely the improver William Aiton's 1811 assertion that the minds of farmers had followed a course of linear progress. Originally farmers had only met to discourse on "some marvelous or legendary story, about some clergyman, or fearful tales about ghosts, wraiths and witches." By the early 19th century, they had left that stage behind, to talk of agriculture.[50] The folk existed along side the improver, in minds of the parishioners, and provided the cultural touchstone that allowed them to be selective in accepting improved knowledge.

'The Farmer Situation is to Adapt to Contemplation'

The poem that Hugh Brodie (elder) delivered to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society (discussed in the previous chapter) in 1769 illuminates some of the ways in which he

---

[49] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Old Ballats," Volume 3: 277-6.
[50] William Aiton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr ... Drawn Up in Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvements* (Glasgow: Napier, Trongate, 1811), 666.

rooted his ascription to the Enlightenment's improvement movement in his peasant experiences.[51] The 62-verse poem, written mostly in English, with a smattering of Scots terms, recalls roman poet Virgil's didactic *The Georgics*, a long poem he wrote to encourage agricultural improvements.[52] Glossed by Addison of the *Spectator*, as "some part of the science of husbandry put into a pleasing dress," it re-entered British consciousness with Dryden's late 17th century translations. The style of the georgics was much imitated in 18th century Britain because its didactic aim and practical concerns complemented the Enlightenment's focus on improvement.[53] Far from representing a style of poetry, however, *The Georgic* provided a model of how to disseminate practical and technical agricultural information in the form of a text.[54] Brodie's georgic combined the inter-locking elements of authoritative agricultural writing that *The Georgics* helped set: that the knowledge shared be practical and based upon personal experience, that the author translate this personal experience into a general system and that the author provide some wider reflections upon the significance of husbandry. The first part of Brodie's georgic recounts his personal experiences in husbandry. The second offers, in Brodie's own words, "to lay down a more gen'ral plan," and thus to contribute to the development of agriculture as a science by helping to chart a systematic view of the subject. The final

---

[51] Hugh Brodie of Langcraft, "A Speech in Verse, Upon Husbandry given the First Friday of January 1769," and printed in Sempel's *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 116-119. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations in this section, "'The Farmer Situation is to Adapt to Contemplation,'" refer to the poem contained in the above pages.

[52] The Georgics, in Laura Ann Sayer's words is "a four-book poem of just over two thousand lines describing how to farm: Book I deals with tillage and field crops, Book II treats vineyards and orchards, Book III discusses livestock, and Book IV is about beekeeping." Virgil completed the poem in about 30 BC after, it is supposed, seven years of labour. Critics link the work to "a conscious political effort" to repair damage to the land caused by the civil wars that ended the Roman Republic. Laura Brown Sayre, "Farming by the Book: British Georgic in Prose and Practice, 1697-1820," PhD Dissertation, Department of English, Princeton University, 2002, page 1 and 7-8.

[53] John Goodridge, *Rural Life in Eighteenth-Century English Poetry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2-6.

[54] This is the thesis of Sayre's "Farming by the Book: British Georgic in Prose and Practice, 1697-1820."

part outlines his view of the ordinary farmer's place in moral and political economies. However, in every instance, Brodie subverts the model to meet the interests of the Kilbarchan Farmer Society smallholders.

The originality of Brodie's address to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society appears first, in the way in which he related to his audience. If Brodie chose the poetic form as a deliberate reference to Virgil, it was not to lend his address classical sanction.[55] At least one well-known plebian agriculturalist of the early 18th century, Stephen Switzer, relied upon Virgil to make authoritative statements in the public sphere about husbandry. The veracity of claims to truth in knowledge culture of 18th century science were often grounded in the gentlemanly status of the knower. Independent wealth bred reliable information and reports because the reporter could be counted upon to be disinterested and objective.[56] Unable to offer his disinterested status as a gentleman, Switzer anchored his insights by demonstrating knowledge of classical texts such as Virgil.[57] Brodie does not refer to Virgil at all. He also did not seek to emulate Virgil's refinement—which was (according to Addison) to avoid that "*Plebian* style," associated with husbandry's homeliness and to provoke rather, the imagination by "suggest[ing] a truth indirectly, and without giving [...] a full and open view of it."[58] Nor did Brodie adopt the persona of a poet and a muse as did British labourer Steven Duck in his early 18th century georgic,

---

[55] It is within the bounds of possibility that Brodie knew *The Georgics*, for as we saw in the previous chapter his schoolmaster was capable of teaching Latin. Also it is recorded that the late-17th century translations of "Virgil, Ovide and Terrence," by the then schoolmaster, Hugh Luif, were "extant in manscripts," still present in early 19th century Lochwinnoch. NAS, CH2/649/26/9-12.

[56] Kenneth Hudson, *Patriotism with Profit: British Agricultural Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1972), 2.

[57] Mary Fissell and Roger Cooter, "Exploring Natural Knowledge: Science and the Popular," in *18th Century Science*, volume 4 *Cambridge History of Science* ed. R. Porter, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 140-1; Frans de Bruyn, "Reading Virgil's *Georgics* as a Scientific Text: The Eighteenth-Century Debate between Jethro Tull and Stephen Switzer," *EHL* 71 (2004), 671 and *passim.*

[58] Addison, "An Essay on Virgil's Georgics," in *Miscellaneous Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Right Honorable Joseph Addison, Esq; In Three Volumes... With some account of the life and writings of the author*, by Mr. Tickell, (London: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1746), 260, 262.

"The Thresher's Labour." Duck adopted several voices in this complex poem, but invoking the voice of the muse was critical in allowing him to portray the realities of hard-physical labour within Addison's the critical framework where the georgic author elevated himself above the earthiness of the subject.[59] Brodie spoke with only one authorial voice and maintained a clear, direct and practical address. If his style grew opaque at times, it was due to his insistence upon maintaining the structure of his rhyme.

Though technically of the landowning class, Brodie does not even attempt to give his work the provincial legitimacy that the Reverend John Warner had worked so hard at in his two addresses to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society in 1772 and 1774 respectively. [60] Aware that his middling status and provincial perspective made his contributions of limited value, Warner outlined his claims to knowledge at the outset of the 1772 essay on harvesting. As he explained, "he considered himself as in a middle state; neither able to throw out expence upon extravagant projects, nor yet unwilling to run the risk of a promising experiment." He did not have "sufficient leisure, nor his farm sufficient opportunities" to speak as a farmer with "long experience." He was not "inattentive to things of common benefit, which he could learn from books, or from the observations and practice of others."[61] In his 1774 essay on the particulars of managing a harvest of hay, he

---

[59] Bridget Keegan, "Georgic Transformations and Stephen Duck's 'The Thresher's Labour'" *SEL* 41(3) 2001: 550-1.

[60]John, Warner, "A Letter to the West Country Farmers, concerning the Difficulties and Management of a bad Harvest. Written at the end of the Year 1772," printed in volume one *The Scots Farmer: Or Selected Essays on Agriculture, Adapted to the Soil and Climate of Scotland,* (Edinburgh: William Auld, 1773-4), 476-503; *On Hay Harvest and the Hay best adapted for that purpose. Addressed to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society* (Edinburgh: William Auld, 1774); Robert D. Mackenzie, *Kilbarchan: A Parish History*, (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1902), 146.

[61] Warner, "A Letter to the West Country Farmers, concerning the Difficulties and Management of a bad Harvest," 477.

expressed himself afraid of "going beyond my depth."[62] Rather, he focused attention on his role as a leader and teacher.

Warner explicitly adopted a mediating role between a public culture and the uncultured farmers of his district, addressing the two audiences at once. On one level, Warner aimed to improve the farmers' minds. To this end he adopted a friendly, but condescending attitude. He began one address to his "neighbors," stating, "I know your ways, and I am constantly trying to improve them." He also called into question his audience's credibility, attributing to "many in [their] rank of life," a weakness to "the influence of hearsay and prejudice." To help them he brought to bear his knowledge of English farming techniques learned from books and he modeled a critical mode of inquiry to help them avoid prejudice. On another level, Warner also worked to make the experiences of these farmers relevant to the wider reading-public. He justified the particularity of the knowledge he was imparting by pointing out that it was "an object of public curiosity to know the different customs of Scotland" and in this regard he had important information to impart. English farming books he opines, despite enjoying a better climate than Scotland, expressed concerns about how to manage harvests in bad weather. Warner was "ready to impute their difficulties, either to bad management" or other practices. The justification then, for his contribution to the public sphere lay in responding to the English problem by sharing his "trifling experiments" and the local knowledge of "an East Country Farmer that long resided in the West" to help solve a problem bedeviling English farmers.[63]

---

[62] Warner, *On Hay Harvest and the Hay best adapted for that purpose,* 2.
[63] *Ibid.*, 1, 4, 6

Brodie's work is very unlike Warner's. Avoiding condescension he does not put his husbandry in a comparative context and adopts the same subject position as his audience members. Nor did Brodie allow his "rank of life" to trap him in the servility of the 1755 tract, the "Old Ploughman's Friendly Address to the Farmers of Scotland." The figure of the "Old Ploughman" pronounced a desire to figure out why "the honest Farmers, the most useful, and necessary men upon the face of the earth, [should] be [so] oppressed, undervalued, and despised." But, the Ploughman's defence of the farmers only laid the blame upon the farmers for not policing their own and allowing a few bad farmers to attract the negative opinion of landowners.[64] Brodie's concern for his fellow farmers led him down a more empowering path of disseminating useful information and of advocating financial aid to farmers in distress. The poetic form he adopted probably best suited the oral conditions in which parish farmers shared information with each other; the poem was not printed until Semple included it in his 1783 edition of *The History of the Shire of Renfrew.* Brodie followed the dictates of the folk, rather than those of the public sphere.

On the other hand, Brodie's peer address to the farmers presented him with an epistemological dilemma. He had neither the social credibility, nor the resources to conduct experiments upon his own farm. Brodie circumvented this problem, by sharing the immediacy of his experiences as a testimony to their veracity and he offered his great blunder in cultivation—his personal failure—as his contribution to the systematic knowledge of husbandry. The first part of the poem outlines his experience and trials in adopting improving farming methods. His poem begins with a description of how he turned an unproductive, "barren bog" that produced nothing but "short heath, bent and

[64] Anon. "A Friendly Address to the Farmers of Scotland, by an Old Ploughman," s.d., 1755, 12.

fog," into profitable land. He quantified his experience, by detailing the number of labouring hours required to execute his plans, depths of seed-beds and the appropriate seasons for activities. But it is the surprise thunderstorm that interrupts the potato harvest that underscores his very real engagement with this improving project. The next significant experience Brodie shares was his over-confidence. After the successful potato harvest, Brodie describes how he husbanded the land by judicious crop rotation. After potatoes, he sowed two pecks of corn, which yielded 24 pecks. He sowed the land over again, but the next year the yield was somewhat less. Perhaps, owing, he speculated, to the fact that the land, he

> [...] moved it not with plow or share:
> I only did the furrow clare,
> With garden tool,
> much like the way they do with bear,
> Where ground is foul.
> Of increase I had little less.
> Yet in my project did transgress;
> Because I sow'd it not with grass
> Or clover-seed.

His failure to fulfill his own plan affected him in two ways: he exhausted the soil and he missed the opportunity to grow grass for his cows. The land degenerated to the point that it became overrun with moles. Brodie offered his failure in place of experimental data. The "springs of human passion" were universal, and the results of his overconfidence could serve as a salutary warning to other farmers who would be tempted to deviate from their own plans just as he had been from his. Brodie concluded this element of the poem by stating,

> Now, nothing venture, never have,
> This maxim farmers may receive.
> For first your toil you land will crave,

Before it yield
A crop of roots, or yet in sheaves
Shorn from the field.

The term "maxim" carried a particular significance in the 18th century. Since the 17th century people had accepted Bacon's view that "the maxim was [...] an important building block in the edifice of scientific knowledge." The maxim provided small discrete packets of information "which differ[ed] but slightly from bare experience," and helped make particular experiences available to others.[65] Brodie thus turned his attempt to avoid extra work into a "maxim farmers may receive" that being, only toil and labour will produce a good crop. Shortcuts lead to disappointment. After sharing a maxim built from his personal experience, Brodie turned his attention to broader issues in husbandry.

He made an effort to generalize his knowledge of farming to the benefit of many:

Next, I'll endeavour as I can,
to lay down a more general plan,
to be of use to everyone
to understand
to bring wealth to the husbandman by farming land.

Brodie's "general system" of agriculture reflected the concerns and techniques promulgated in 18th century Scottish agricultural texts. Significantly however, he contributed less to the wider systematization of agricultural knowledge, than to turning already systematized knowledge into useful knowledge.

In this section Brodie outlines several avenues to improvement: enclosure, cattle breeding, the education of sons, crop rotation and land use and drainage. He explained the overall benefits of these various techniques, thus presenting them for the Kilbarchan

[65] Frans de Bruyn, "Reading Virgil's *Georgics* as a Scientific Text: The Eighteenth-Century Debate Between Jethro Tull and Stephen Switzer," 667-8.

farmers' consideration, rather than propounding upon them as laws. For example, he offered no pronouncements upon the best way to divide attention between infield and outfield cultivation or upon the best methods of crop rotation. Rather he offered a formula to help the farmers make their own assessment: "when rents are dear, and grazing high/ one-third to plow and two to lie."

Brodie also brought the farmer's attention to one of the first ways in which the Scottish improvers had attempted to bring the benefits of science to husbandry: in the study of soil chemistry. Francis Home won a gold medal from "The Edinburgh Society for the Improvement of Arts and Manufactures," for "the best dissertation on vegetation and the principles of Agriculture." The work, published in 1756 as *The Principle of Agriculture and Vegetation* applied knowledge of chemistry to the question of plant nutrition and recounts a series of experimentations in which he sought to identify the principles of soil chemistry. His aim was to discover the root causes of the "superficial qualities that immediately strikes the senses," and upon which farmers were wont to distinguish their qualities.[66] Brodie was untroubled by a direct sensuous understanding of the soil. A farmer in his neighborhood would know when to cast seeds, usually in the month of March "when clay grows dray, not unlike starch/By winds that blow." Similarly he advised planting potatoes in a bed where "the soil above was blackish gray/And then below was whitish clay/ Much like to butter made in May." Butter and starch were points of reference he shared in common with other farmers.

---

[66] Watson and Amery, "Early Scottish Agricultural Writers (1697-1790), *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* 43 (1931), 70-1; Francis Home, *The Principle of Agriculture and Vegetation* (Edinburgh: Sands, Donaldson, Murray, and Cochran, 1756). For example, see his sensuous descriptions on pages 9, 10, 12, 28, 27. See especially part three for a record of his experiments.

Brodie did offer innovative advice on the proper way to increase soil fertility by the application of lime and dung. He is critical of a "plan's been long practis'd" where by farmers applied lime and dung to the soil at the same time. "Laid on at once, do not agree/They weaken others quality/To such a pitch/They they do not the soil supply/ To make it rich." This advice, however, lacked the nuance of Home's advice about applying lime. Homes asserts that mixing lime and dung is beneficial if the soil is very exhausted. Lime mixed with very fresh dung, however, would prevent the further rotting of the dung, thus decreasing its nutrient value.[67]

On the issue of potato farming, Brodie unquestionably adopted a plebian crop he cultivated in a plebian style. Begun early in the 18th century potato, cultivation was the great backward innovation of Scotland's agricultural revolution as evidenced by its ease of cultivation and the fact that it did not require many revolutionary changes in land management. More progressive farmers adopted a "drill system of cultivation," and tended to raise the crop as fodder. For peasants, it was a staple and they adopted the accessible Irish method of cultivation, known as the "lazy-bed" method which Brodie described thus:[68]

For 'tatoes setting
Six feet in breadth I made the bed;
Ten inches distant I them laid;
Four inches deep them covered,
Dug from below
And cut each turf cross with the spade,
To let them grow

His practice of turning the turf over on top of the seed potato clearly reproduced the "lazy-bed" style that consisted of "covering the strips upon which the seed potatoes lay

[67] Home, *The Principle of Agriculture and Vegetation,* 54-7.
[68] Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*, 176-7.

with the earth from the sides so that a field of potatoes was a series of ridges and hollows." Not long after Brodie advocated this method, Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer* introduced a far more technologically sophisticated method of raising the crop.[69] All the same, Brodie's methods were within reach of the ordinary farmer, and he was not seduced into advocating technology intensive methods. The "lazy-bed" method yielded good crops which "when dress'd with butter, milk or flesh/ They nature did as much refresh/In mouth or maw."

When Brodie explicitly reproduced knowledge available in agricultural texts, he again chose techniques suitable to the circumstances of the ordinary farmer. Brodie advocated limiting the freedom of a dairy herd "on closed field" to increase their milk production, and in this he appears to echo the advice given by one ordinary farmer to another in the 1750 tract, *The Laird and Farmer.* This agricultural work explicitly distinguished between the types of knowledge pertinent to the Farmer as opposed to the Laird, and if Brodie was familiar with the work, he clearly identified with the concerns of the farmer.[70]

It is also possible that Brodie attempted to benefit from the plans of the great improving Lairds, by scaling their estate management plans to the needs of his own farm. For example, the corollary benefit to enclosing cattle was that it freed the labour of the boys who used to watch them. The *Laird and Farmer,* also recognized this additional benefit of field enclosure because it "save[d] the Charge of keeping Servants to watch

---

[69] *Ibid.*, 184-5.
[70] Anon. *The Laird and Farmer: A Dialogue Upon Farming, Trade, Cookery, and their Method of Living in Scotland, balanc'd with that of England, by a Native of the Country, who has had a nigh Connection with Masters and Tenants, and knows the Manner and Method of their Common People's Living etc.* (London; Griffiths, 1750), 8.

them."[71] The advice of the *Laird and Farmer* stopped there. Brodie, however, had bigger plans for his saved labour. He told the Kilbarchan Farmers to train their sons freed from herd-watching "to write and read/ They should have a trade by which to earn their future bread." It is of particular benefit to the farmer if the sons were to "stay in the farming line," because they could be taught skills that would benefit the farmer's efficiency: "For, if a horse were to break a cart/when the wright lives distant far, the work doth stop/And so your present project mar Till he be got." Having a son skilled to fix a problem such as this would obviate the evils of such a scenario. In this reasoning, Brodie appears to offer a scaled down version of the Earl of Deskford's project to educate the sons of his tenants so that his estates would benefit from a variety of skills.[72] At the end of Brodie's general system of farming, his narrative forked. In recognition of the uncertainties of success in farming he had words of advice on the occasion of failure or success. Farmers in distress could avail themselves of the mutual insurance offered by the Kilbarchan Farmer Society (as discussed in Chapter One). Farmers who succeeded acquired moral, political and intellectual responsibilities.

The first Friday in January 1769—the date of delivery for the Georgic poem—placed Brodies' work right on the cusp of an important epistemological and political revolution in Scottish farming knowledge. In the 1770s, Lord Kames still considered that Scottish agricultural output suffered "from the indolence of the landlords, the obstinate docility of the peasantry and the stupid attachment of both classes to ancient habit and

---

[71] *Ibid.*, 8.
[72] Virginia Wills, "The Gentleman Farmer and the Annexed Estates: Agrarian Change in the Highlands in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment*, ed. T.M. Devine (Glasgow : Distributed by University of Glasgow, 1979), 41.

practices."[73] A new phase of institutionalization of agricultural knowledge began. Scottish elites subscribed to the brand of agrarian patriotism, described by historian C.A. Bayly as the foundation of the Second British Empire in which projects of agricultural improvement knit together the Empire's elites in a single moral community. More than ever, agricultural improvement acquired patriotic, national and imperial dimensions.[74] Elites enlisted the discipline of science to control and rationalize knowledge of the earth. Historian Simon Schaffer signals the work of the Scottish geologist James Hutton, as an example of the agriculture's institutionalization.[75] Hutton's unpublished manuscript "Elements of Agriculture" placed a far greater value upon knowledge, as an abstract *theorization,* [than] upon "deductive natural philosophy" that had hitherto marked agricultural journals. Hutton considered that there was "nothing [...] more fallacious than what husbandmen call their experience" because this so-called experience would be too entirely "influenced by the most variable circumstances, such as [they] are but little qualified to judge of." The experience of husbandmen then did not admit of the generalization required of scientific knowledge.[76] Beyond the *literati's* appreciation of Hutton's methodology, they also sought to centralize and rationalize the practices and techniques of Scottish husbandry.

---

[73] Simon Schaffer, "Earth's Fertility and Early Modern England," in *Nature and Society in Historical Context*, eds. Mikuláš Teich et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 138.
[74] C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 80-1.
[75] Simon Schaffer interpreted Lord Kame's proposals for a Board of Agriculture in his *Gentleman Farmer* (1776) as the institutionalization of a growing view among Scottish landlords that every landlord was, as geologist Hutton termed it, 'like a God on earth' who had a responsibility to "controul the course of nature." Attention to agriculture helped balance patriotic national interest with private pursuit of profits. Simon Schaffer, "Earth's Fertility and Early Modern England," 140.
[76] Charles Withers, "On Georgics and Geology: James Hutton's 'Elements of Agriculture," and Agricultural Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Agricultural History Review* 42(1) 1994: 39, 43-4.

Since the mid-1770s Scots had considered creating a central Board of Agriculture. Lord Kames proposed such an institution at the end of the 1776 work *The Gentleman Farmer,* but the idea did not come to fruition until the end of the 18th century. The British Board of Agriculture came about as a result of Sinclair's second statistical initiative, following on the success of the *Statistical Account of Scotland.* Sinclair believed that the true economic benefit of individual agricultural initiatives would not be realized unless under the "superintendence" of a government board.[77] He believed that "a complete view of every part of a kingdom is desirable, because there is no spot in it, which is not entitled to attention, and from which some useful hints may not be obtained." Collected, systematized and generalized, the information would generate "the principles of improved husbandry," to allow for the formulation of "wise laws," for the purpose of "removing obstacles to improvement." The benefit accrued "either to individuals or to society," by improving the lot of the "industrious and skilful farmer" and ultimately securing "the peace and quiet of the country."[78]

The focus on the institutionalization of historical knowledge has muted the appreciation for the empirical dimensions of this shift. Bayly, for example, noted that the Scots tended to prefer smaller rather than larger farms and Albritton Jonsson's work further elucidated the moral importance improvers such as Kames attached to the small croft, as a means of retaining the valuable population of Highlanders and employing them in morally and physically fortifying labour.[79] But, an empirical as much a social morality accounted for this interest in the small-sized farms. Kames in particular advocated

---

[77] Simon Schaffer, "Earth's Fertility and Early Modern England," 140.
[78] John Sinclair, *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture and Its Progress for Three Years After Its Establishment* (London: W. Bulmer, 1796), 13-4.
[79] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian,* 156; Albritton Jonsson, "The Enlightenment in the Highlands," 169-181.

grounding institutionalized or patriotic knowledge of farming in the moral innocence of primitive empiricism—the virtue of leadership in agricultural knowledge rested not in the mere fact of landownership but in the expertise derived from intimate, experience-based knowledge of the land.

Mid-century agricultural manuals also bore witness to this shift. The author of a 1740 improving manual, *A Dissertation on the Chief Obstacles to the Improvement of Land* addressed himself to the men of eminence, rank, fortune and the learned professions as "all especially fitted for the end of your institution [the Farming Club of Gordon's-Miln, near Aberdeen] by having more or less put their hand to the plough."[80] By the time Lord Kames published his 1776 farming-manual, *The Gentleman Farmer*, the general expectation was that hands were to be put to the plough more rather than less. Practical experience was Kames's byword. He justified his manual stating that "writers on agriculture, very few excepted, deliver their precepts from a study lined with books, without even pretending to experience." Kames offered farming instruction "founded on repeated experiments and diligent observation" for "until the Philosopher condescends to direct the plow, Husbandry must remain in a torpid state." Just as "the great emperor of China, performs yearly the ceremony of holding the plough, to show that no man is above being a farmer," the Scottish landowner must acquired knowledge of his land.[81]

The debate on the changing nature of farm size also reflected the influence of primitivism with the terms of the debate changing mid-century. In the 1760s contributors to the *Scots Magazine* debated the question of the optimal size of the new capitalist farm

---

[80] Anon., *A Dissertation on the Chief Obstacles to the Improvement of Land* (Aberdeen: Francis Douglas, 1740), 2-3.
[81] Kames, *The Gentleman Farmer. Being an Attempt to Improve Agriculture by Subjecting it to the Test of Rational Principles* (Dublin: James Williams, 1776), vii-xvii.

from purely civic humanist perspective and the farm's potential contribution to the national economy. In 1764 a contributor to *The Scots Magazine* praised large farms for allowing "that rationalization of resources and capital which could lead to increased agricultural production." The labour freed by the consolidation of farms could benefit newly developing manufactories. But as the decade wore on the tone of the farm size debate changed. The abilities of the farmer, not the needs of the nation, would determine the vexed question of farm size. The question of maximum agricultural productivity was "not to be determined by the number of acres or by the rent [...] it is what one man can easily look after in all its parts; which differs vastly, according to the quality of the ground, and the proper method of managing it." Farming practice then, required the attention of the farmer who would be the person to exercise judgment in evaluating which theories applied to which circumstances.[82] The end of century report on farm size undertaken by the Board of Agriculture institutionalized these conclusions. The size of the farm was largely immaterial. What mattered was ability of the farmer to know his land and the Board promoted judgment and discernment:

> What is the farmer? As he is that living power which actuates the whole system of Agriculture through all its branches, in all soils, all situations, all modes of husbandry, the size of a farm should take its law from *him*, more directly than from any other circumstances whatever. Not by any means, that soil and other external circumstances should be left out of view; but, that in regulating the size of a farm, it is the farmer who gives the key to the whole. Unless this point be understood, farms may be said to be too large or too small, or of a right size, but we shall have no reason of given for this, but mere assertion.

Balanced and responsive, the farmer was to keep all aspects of the farm under his supervision. This meant maintaining a balance between acquiring practical knowledge of his farm with acquiring theoretical overview of his practice. "Were the farmer to hold his

[82] *Scots Magazine*, March 1766, 134.

own plough, and perform the other menial exercises, he could not have time to make observations, to think, to read, to go to markets, to meet with his neighbours, to ride through the Parish and Country, and neighboring counties, to see better practices and get information from all quarters." This being said, the farmer "should know how to hold a plough and drive a wagon, build a hay stack, and every other operation."[83]

At the same time that Scottish husbandry was realigning its interests with the state and with the experienced farmer, Brodie offered this insight on the role of the farmer:

Mechanic trades and occupations:
Great kings who rules empires and nations,
And men of all denominations,
Whate'er they be,
Depends on farming cultivations
For their Supply.
Likewise your farmer situation
Is to adapt to contemplation,
That they may view th' works of creation;
And without strife,
May do much for the cultivation
Of human life.

In this passage, Brodie helps the average farmer inhabit his place within the Great Chain of Being. Lord Kames, advocated that the gentleman farmer, lean down from his exalted position, just as the Emperor of China did once a year, to gain knowledge of agriculture by experience. Conversely, Brodie advocated that farmers think about how their work sustained the Empire. Brodie also inverted the relationship between work and study outlined by Kames. Where Kames's gentlemen laboured occasionally and then retired to his study and read, Brodie's farmers laboured constantly, but used the time to think about

[83] Thomas Robertson, *Outline of the General Report Upon the Size of Farms and Upon the Persons Who Cultivate Farms* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1796), 52.

what book knowledge they had gained. Labour freed the mind to contemplate the mysteries of the Newtonian Universe: "'Tho' toil your corp'r'al parts should bend/ Your intellectuals unconfin'd/ May view things of a higher kind." Most significant however, is the way in which Brodie reclaimed for the peasant, the healthfulness of physical labour. In his well-known georgic on the preservation of health, Dr. Armstrong, argued in a vein later echoed by Kames, that "by health the peasant's toil is well repaid:"

> Toil, and be strong. By toil the flaccid nerves
> Grow firm, and gain a more compacted tone;
> The greener juices are by toil subd'ud
> Mellow'd, and subtilisd's; the vaid old
> Expell'd, and all the rancor of the blood.[84]

Brodie's discourse on health echoes clearly Armstrong's vision:

> To toil for health is worth your pains
> It fills the muscles, clears the brains,
> And stomach-food it gently drains
> The frame to seed;
> And makes the fluid in our veins
> In order glide

Throughout the poem, Brodie evinces a sensitive balance between the needs of his listeners and the precepts of improved agriculture, all the while modeling the sensitive attunement to the land. The cult of the primitive validated Brodie's experience-based knowledge and provided him a valid point of entry in Enlightenment discourse through his georgic poem.

Brodie's use of language in his georgic mirrored perfectly his mediating role between abstract elite knowledge, and the local customs of his neighbours. Much in the same way that Adam Smith decreed that "national language" must be fit to the meaning

---

[84] John Armstrong, *The Art of Preserving Health. A Poem* (Dublin: James Rudd, 1756), 35.

conveyed, Brodie adjusts his use of language to the situation.[85] In this way, Brodie enacts the valuable primitivism Wilson attached to him by stating that "Unknown to him [Brodie as Bard] the dull, elab'rate rules/ And Mazy doctrines of pedantic schools."[86] Wilson's own investment in primitivism reveals itself his praise of the vernacular poet Fergusson because "what he [Fergusson] describes, before your een ye see't/ As plain an' lively as ye see that peat."[87] The primitive subject position allows for a greater sensitivity. Brodie expressed himself in either English or Scots as the situation required.

Befitting the tone and the import of his delivery, his georgic to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society is written mainly in English, thus linking it to the wider republic of letters in agricultural writing and thought. However, Brodie was also responsive to the immediate and practical conditions of his audience. Significantly, the only Scots terms he used in the poem relate to the specific elements of his instruction. General precepts and advice were all expressed in English. Intimate and peculiarly Scottish features of the land, techniques and skills were rendered in Scots. Thus, he asked his audience to lend their "lugs" or open their "maws" rather than lend their ears and open their mouths. He told the farmers to drest the land, rather than to spread manure, to skyle the seeds, rather than scatter them and to set up a cast, rather than build an earthen barrier. Further, he advised them to watch for when the land became "clade" not "cloathed" and to wait for it to be "swarded," not "covered over with grass." He planted beer, (a four-rowed barley), advised on the treatment of cays (cows), and uses of the kill (kiln). Brodie's use of

---

[85] Adam Smith, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. J.C. Bryce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 3.
[86] Wilson, "Lochwinnoch-A Descriptive Poem," 147.
[87] E. Picken and A. Wilson, *The Laurel Disputed: Or the Merits of Allan Ramsay and Robert Ferguson Contrasted* (Edinburgh: A Guthrie, 1791), 27.

English in his other poems indicates by contrast that he was fully able to render agricultural knowledge in English.

Brodie's poem "The Glen" contains very few Scottish expressions reflecting the intellectual and political project of the poem. Throughout this revisionist exercise of his poem "The Glen" (as discussed above), Brodie restricted his use of Scots. Rather, he wrote of corn, grass, mob, meadows, valleys prime, woods, waters, coal and lime, verdant pasture and pleasant bye, oats, barley, peas and beans. The Scottish expressions were few, and he was clearly able to use terms like barley for beer, and a general term like grass, rather than the more specific expression bent, coarse grass. English expressions were more fitting to his role as cultural mediator. In this instance he acted as an ambassador between the local culture of the parish and the wider reading audience and he used a language which had currency well beyond the bounds of the parish in order to accord the portioners, his friends and neighbors, whom Sempel found "disconvenient" to include in the *History* their due respect. It was not the people of Lochwinnoch themselves who required reminding of the proprietors of the Glen, but rather the proprietors of the Glen, sought greater recognition of their social status.

In applying, or enacting primitivism as empirical innocence the ordinary people of Lochwinnoch parish were on their own way to defining their own folk culture. The Reverend Steven's hold upon the loyalty of his parish during the expected Napoleonic invasion was by no means certain. As he explained to the rest of the congregation "some of small property in land," seemed to "think they will retain their property let the change [as a result of a successful French invasion] be what it will." These people "of small property in land" apparently reasoned (or in Steven's words "used" a "language") that the

French might alter distinctive social structures—"civil government," "the religious constitution," "the seminaries of education," "trade and commerce,"—but that "they [The French] would make no alteration on the ground, the hills and the valleys, and the clods of the earth would not be changed." These small proprietors clearly believed they derived their cultural identity from a reciprocal and empirical engagement with the land. The Reverend Steven was (as noted in Chapter One) at that moment reiterating his vision of identity formation by choosing solid structures, such as the British Constitution and the "seminaries of learning," to help organize the mind. Those of "small property in land" apparently elected the land, "the hills and the valleys, and the clods of the earth," as the organizing principle of their identity. Perhaps they viewed the political structure of the balanced constitution, or the pedagogy of the "seminaries of education" as so much "spirit of system."[88] It is not possible to say how many in the parish adopted this position. Could Hugh Brodie elder, himself have been one of these people "of small property in land?" No matter how many farmers in Lochwinnoch subscribed to the view, it remains a clear expression of the "Folk Enlightenment." It was a product—in this case of a radical political identity—that results from the adaptation of ideas to particular circumstances in the same way that Hugh Brodie elder adapted improving ideas to the circumstances of modest farmers.

'The hills and the valleys, and the clods of the earth'

It is not clear how well Hugh Brodie elder turned his farming ideas to his material profit. In 1782, a few decades after he secured the title to Langcraft, he was obliged to

[88] James Steven, "The Necessity of Arming at the Present Critical Juncture," 23-4.

sell his land in the Linthills.[89] Perhaps, the sale represented a net loss or perhaps he was just liquidating capital to invest elsewhere. At any rate, Hugh Brodie was not as successful as his father in establishing his sons on the land. Where, Robert Breadine had settled land on all three sons, Hugh Brodie elder was able to do the same for only his eldest son Andrew. Andrew married well by marrying the daughter of a Paisley surgeon but had a restricted sense of his social status; he excused not calling upon the Boags, a wealthy merchant family in Greenock stating that "they were too high in rank for him."[90] Andrew's younger full-brother, Robert did not get land. If he died a prosperous wool-merchant in the Ayrshire town of Saltcoats, it was in part due to a good marriage. Robert married "a snod wee body with a house" who stood to inherit £600 sterling from her two bachelor seafaring brothers. All of Robert's children died, but his eldest son had been given a university education at Glasgow.[91]

The children of Hugh Brodie elder's second marriage—Mary, John, Hugh, William, Jean and Elizabeth—had some means, but to all appearances were left to make their own way in the world. Hugh Brodie elder's second wife and widow had some claim upon Langcraft and a stake in a house in Kilbarchan.[92] Hugh and John joined forces as farmers. William became a jack-of-all trades and died indigent. One daughter, Mary Brodie, died unmarried, apparently having sustained herself as a weaver. Jean Brodie married weaver, inn-keeper, militia man, Archibald Cameron, and the final daughter,

---

[89] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 472 ¼, 475 2/4 and "Cairn," 5: 198.

[90] Andrew Crawfurd interpreted Andrew's claim to lowly status as a ploy. His wife was rather hurt by this discovery; for she thought her rank in life respectable for she was the [...] granddaughter of Baillie Barbour of Kilbarchan and the daughter of a doctor. A Mrs. Orr knew the real reason why Andrew would not visit the Boags. It was because Andrew "had rather cheated the Boags in advancing too much money for the Langcraft which [it] will hardly bear." However the fact that Andrew considered it a potentially successful ploy suggests that presenting himself as of lowly status was plausible. PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 472 3/4.

[91] PCL (LCL) Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 472 4/4- 472 4/5.

[92] MM PO21 File 10, Robert Aitken (Kilbarchan) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 1 May 1815.

Elizabeth who bore a natural child, lived for many years with Jean before eventually marrying a coachman in Glasgow.[93] For these Brodie children "the hills and the valleys, and the clods of the earth" that provided the real and tangible world of their childhood, would henceforth exist only as a metaphor.

Andrew Brodie's investment in £200 worth of umbrellas for export to Ireland may or may not have been have been the ill-considered financial enterprise that separated the Brodie name from Langcraft farm. Nevertheless, it was Andrew's commercial speculation that disrupted the world of Lochwinnoch parish cultivated by his father Hugh Brodie elder. Andrew had accumulated "too much debt over his farm [Langcraft]. His creditors attacked his land. They sold it between 28 and 29 years ago or in 1803 in this town for £800 sterling."[94] That same summer Hugh Brodie younger married Ann Brodie (no near relation) of Kilburnie Parish, Ayrshire and John, Hugh Brodie's eldest full-brother was brought before the Kirk Session of Lochwinnoch for conceiving a natural child—a daughter called Mary—with Margaret Jamieson, or Hippitee Meg, as Crawfurd thoughtfully recorded her nickname. Two times they appeared before the Session to be rebuked. Their third rebuke brought public spectacle before the whole congregation when they were "absolved from the scandal." That was on the 17th of July 1803, the very summer, according to Whyte's *Dictionnary of Scottish Emigrants to Canada Before Confederation,* that John set sail for Quebec City in the company of Hugh and Ann and his other full brother William.[95]

---

[93] PCL (LCL) Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 473-473 ¼, 475.
[94] PCL (LCL) Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 472.
[95] NAS, CH2/649/3, 5 April 1803, 5th July 1803, 10th July 1803, 17th July 1803, p182-4; PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 472, 473. Hornsby's analysis of Donald Whyte's *Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to Canada Before Confederation* reveals that only seven emigrants from the county from which Ann and Hugh are listed as departing settled in Lower Canada during the period 1755-1814. Hugh and Ann counted for two, and of the remaining five, Hugh's brothers John and William account for another two. Stephen J.

Within five weeks of their departure the moral community centered in Lochwinnoch disintegrated. The family lost their place in church and the family was unceremoniously evicted. Mary Brodie, who remained in Lochwinnoch society, reported that William Yack, the new tenant of Langcraft

> used our Mother very ungratefully and showed himself to be both an unfeeling and deceitful man he would not so much as set us a seat in the church but set it to another and many other usages which I cannot take time to write you him and his master dug a great part of the house down above our heads before we got out our furniture.[96]

The family's social power as heritors was gone and the harsh reality of capitalist economy relationships intruded. Yack's desire to take possession of his new farm and his concerns separated him from his finer fellow feelings. The world of Hugh Brodie elder's children "wondring Shepherds" would exist only as a nostalgic reference point. However, tucked in the minds or the pockets of the travellers was a copy of Hugh Brodie elder's poem.[97] The process of these social reconfigurations reveals their continuing reliance upon a dynamic primitivism that was both forward-looking and respectful of their own experiences and needs. The letters and evidence of Hugh Brodie's son and intellectual, if not material heir, illustrate his contributions to the development of Montreal, Canada and provide insight into the heart and soul of Scottish ethnicity in the early 19th century.

Hornsby, "Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18(4) 1992: 408.

[96] MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 17 March 1808.

[97] Undated, untitled copy of Hugh Brodie elder's Rhyme to the Kilbarchan Farmer Society, initialed A.B.

Chapter Three

Cultivating Empire

Le sol de toute l'île [de Montréal], si l'on en excepte quelques terrains de peu d'étendue, est aussi bon qu'on puisse en trouver dans aucun pays, et produit abondamment du grain de toute espèce, des légumes, et différentes sortes de fruits: il n'y en a par consequent presque aucune partie qui ne soit dans un état florissant de culture, et il peut avec justice réclamer la pre-eminence sur toutes les parties du Bas Canada.

Joseph Bouchette
Description Topographique De La Province Du Bas Canada, 1815

We enjoy the fruit of our labour in abundance, as potatoes and milk, with several other things unknown to you, such as melons of every description, pumpkins, &c. &c. We had a melon this day to breakfast, and I am sure the best nobleman in Scotland, could not produce the like at his table.

A Native of Lochwinnoch Parish
From McNabb Township, Upper Canada, 1826[1]

What drew Hugh, Ann, John and William Brodie to Montreal in 1803 is uncertain.[2] Early 19th century Montreal in the British colony of Lower Canada presented a vista of bounty: the island was lush with cultivated grains of all kinds, vegetables, and fruit. British Government was established—though fears that French Jacobins would

[1] "Extract of a Letter from a Settler in Canada to his Father in Lochwinnoch, by Paisley," written from McNab Township, Upper Canada, 3 September 1826 and extracted in the *Paisley Advertiser*, 13 January 1827. PCL(LSL) "Newspaper Cuttings," by Andrew Crawfurd, vol. 1.

[2] It would seem that John's final appearance before the Kirk Session in Lochwinnoch to be rebuked for fornication in mid July of 1803 puts the 1803 as the year of the Brodie's arrival in Montreal in some doubt. A three-month crossing was fairly normal, so if the party left in that year they must have expected to arrive mid-to-late September and have been able to count on the help of prior acquaintances to get them through the winter before they settled on their own homestead. Alex Mathie, a tailor in Montreal, seems like a strong candidate as a prior acquaintance as he seems to have been well-established in 1803 and to have been known by other people in Lochwinnoch Scotland: they ask after him and early letters are addressed to Hugh Brodie, care of Alex Mathie. In later, years at least, hosting an emigration family over the winter became a form of aid in the Brodie network. The Brodies, for example, hosted the family of Ann's sister over the winter of 1820-1 while they searched for a farm. NAS CH2/649/3 Records of Church of Scotland Synods, Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions, Lochwinnoch Kirk Session (St.John's), Minutes 1777-1816, 17 July 1803,184; Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire Sociale des Idées au Québec 1760-1896*, (Saint Laurent, Québec: Fides, 2000), 136; See for example MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), no date; 24 August 1805; Jean H. McClellan. "Brodie-Holmes-Garth Ancestry and Some Collateral Families or Scotland and Lancashire thence to Montreal, Quebec," unpublished genealogy by a member of the Ontario Genealogical Society, Toronto 1978, 12; Robert Sellar, *The History of the County of Huntingdon Chateauguay & Beauharnois.* (Huntingdon: Canadian Gleaner, 1888), 202.

cross the ocean to rescue the French Canadians "did not fully subside until after 1803."[3] The British Constitution, as reflected in the Constitution Act of 1791, saw power balanced—albeit uneasily—in a tripartite division between an elected assembly, an appointed council and the Governor General as the Crown's representative. The British state was also present in familiar forms, directing its imperial gaze over the colony. Joseph Bouchette's reassuringly productive vision of Montreal quoted above was typical of the state's increasingly synoptic and statistical gaze enfolding the empire and its local elites into a single British moral community of agrarian patriotism.[4] Maps and statistical compilations were the tools of agricultural improvement that were regarded as the harbingers of the "economic and cultural assimilation" of state and empire.[5]

While both nature and government in Canada were similar to those in Scotland the 'culture' was not. The majority of Lower Canada's residents spoke a different language, held different values, and practised different customs that fit uneasily within the British vision. And the 'hills and the valleys, and the clods of the earth' were different too. The soil produced crops unknown in Scotland—as explained above by a

---

[3] William Henry Wood, *The Storied Province of Québec: past and present*, Volume Two, edited by William Henry Wood, Toronto: Dominion Pub Co., 1931-2, 702.

[4] C.A. Bayly states that the Scottish Enlightenment had promoted "a Scottish version of agrarian patriotism, different in mentality but complementary to the English variety which had been expressed through the various agricultural societies." However, studies of the actual emergence of agricultural societies reveal that such societies emerged in Scotland well before they did in Britain. Sarah Wilmot, citing R.C. Boud's study of Scotland's agricultural societies, asserted that "the earliest movement for the foundation of agricultural societies appears to have been in Scotland. Between 1723 and 1784, fourteen known societies emerged in Scotland. However, similar societies were not established in England until "the last quarter of the eighteenth century." Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 85; Sarah Wilmot, *'The Business of Improvement': Agriculture and Scientific Culture in Britain, c. 1700-c. 1870*, Bristol, England: Historical Geography Research Series,1990, 9; R.C. Boud, "Scottish Agricultural Improvement Societies, 1723-1835" *Review of Scottish Culture* 1(1984): 70-90.

[5] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 121-6. Canadian scholars reached similar conclusions about the role of Agricultural societies and boards in Canada in shaping giving definition to the social elite. See Daniel Samson, "'The Yoke of Improvement,': Sir John Sinclair, John Young, and the Improvement of the Scotlands, New and Old," in *Transatlantic Rebels* edited by Thomas Summerhill and James C. Scott, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004, 87-116; Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*; Ross Fair, "Gentlemen, Farmers, and Gentlemen Half-Farmers: The Development of Agricultural Societies in Upper Canada 1792-1846," PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Queen's University, 1998.

Lochwinnoch emigrant. Some agricultural skills could be transferred but culture of the melons and pumpkins would have to be learned. Empire, the Atlantic, and violent politics now became lived experiences in colonial Canada rather than the abstract discourse of the parish minister or local poets. Choosing to live in Montreal meant choosing a certain regime of culture and power. William Brodie did not like Lower Canada and returned to Scotland in December of 1805, but the other three settled down to build new lives in an area two miles west of the current city of Montreal, on the island of Montreal itself, where Hugh and Ann established a homestead they called Langcraft. John remained with Hugh and Ann, "unmarried with his anchor behind his brother's fire."[6] Other members of the Brodie family and people from Lochwinnoch settled in the Montreal district—particularly in the county of Huntingdon on the south shore. Many more parishioners from Lochwinnoch emigrated and settled in Upper Canada and in the eastern United States. Still others went to Australia. They all corresponded with Hugh and Ann to recreate in an articulated form—in both senses of the word—the old community of Lochwinnoch. The folk, not the empire, would continue to organize their loyalties and behaviour.

During their lifetime in Montreal, the same issues that Hugh Brodie of Langcraft had articulated for the community in his poetry—the relationship between the ordinary farmer and the empire, between experience-based and institutional knowledge and between language, community and identity—were literal battles in the colony. Throughout the 1820s and 30s, the volume of the debate mounted as French-speaking and English-speaking elites and ordinary people argued over the proper governance of the colony, in a contest that erupted into armed conflict in 1836-7.

[6] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 473.

Sailing Against the Wind, the Passenger Act of 1803, and Empire

It took Hugh, Ann, William and John "three months in a sailing vessel to cross the Atlantic Ocean." Contrary winds turned the trip between Quebec City and Montreal into a week-long ordeal, "as the ship had to be towed up the St. Mary's Current by oxen to reach the port of Montreal."[7]

Emigrating in 1803 put the Brodies into an explicit challenge of the governing rationale of the Second British Empire as it defied state attempts to restrict the number of people leaving Britain. Since the mid-18th century, landlords in the highlands had been alarmed by the rising tide of emigration and even contemplated a ban on all emigration from Britain.[8] By the end of the century, people were still concerned. The Passenger Act of 1803 was enacted in direct response to the concerns of Scottish landlords and helped slow the tide by setting high standards for the health and safety of the passage thereby raising the cost of a voyage beyond what most people could afford.[9] The predominating ideology of agrarian patriotism looked askance upon emigration as a drain on the nation's wealth in the form of agricultural labour. For example, Arthur Young of the Board of Agriculture thought that the British nation needed to retain a large labouring population in order to help reclaim the "wastes which disgrace this country."[10] Despite these alarms of depopulation in connection with the highlands, by the late 18th century, an exodus from Lowland Scotland had begun. The enclosure—or the consolidation—of farms

---

[7] "Memoire of Robert Brodie,"
[8] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, New York: Vintage, 1988, 10.
[9] "Introduction," *Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c. 1939: A Documentary Source Book*, edited by Allan I. Macinnes, Marjory-Ann D. Harper and Linda G. Fryer, Edinburgh: Lothian Print, 2002: 17.
[10] C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, 122.

created a few prosperous farmers at the expense of other tenant farmers.[11] Dislocated families were free to enter the wage labour force, and the population became highly mobile. En mass they migrated from the countryside in a process styled the Lowland Clearances. By 1851 "one person in three had crossed from one county to the other or had moved into the major towns from county hinterlands."[12] The internal migration was often a prelude to overseas migration. Hence the "curious economic phenomenon," or the "paradox" of Scottish emigration, that over the course of the 19th century and into the 20th century, as wages rose in Scotland, more and more Scots left the nation.[13] Emigration for Scots, was as "much a matter of status as of living standards," to borrow Eric Richard's paraphrase of Malcolm Gray's conclusions. The Scots participated in "a migration of rising expectations:" meaning that they entered the emigration streams in a voluntary search for social advancement, rather than out of dire necessity.[14] Over the long term of the 19th century, it would seem that Scotland's capitalist farmers were failing to enlist Scots into a hegemonic relationship whereby they obliged the landowners' prosperity with their labour.

It is clear that the Brodies' emigration—typical of the later 19th century Scottish immigration—was a search for prosperity. Not many people left the United Kingdom before 1816. The statistics are unreliable, but suggest that most immigrants were Irish.

---

[11] Malcolm Gray, "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands," *People and Society in Scotland, Volume One: 1760 to 1830,* edited by T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 57-60.

[12] Malcolm Gray, "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands," 62-3; Malcolm Gray, "Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875" *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1974), 95.

[13] From the mid-18th century onwards that as "material conditions improved" in Scotland emigration actually accelerated; "industrialization actually stimulated a continuing exodus of people" and herein lies the paradox of Scottish emigration. This dynamic persisted into the 20th century. Thomas Devine, "Introduction: The Paradox of Scottish Emigration," in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society,* Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1990-1, edited by T.M. Devine, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992, 6.

[14] Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration," 478.

The English, Welsh and Scots migrated in lesser numbers. Of the 15, 000 Scots headed for North America, 10, 000 were Highlanders destined to settle in the Maritimes, the northeast shore of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and western Upper Canada in already established Scottish communities.[15] However, the Brodies had means, and with means, choices. John Brodie had a claim on a house in Kilbarchan and thus was able to pay the financial support he owed Margaret Jamieson, mother of his natural child.[16] Hugh had apparently considered becoming a tenant of a farm in Scotland. In 1805, his mother wrote to him in Montreal reassuring him that—at least from the Scottish perspective—the decision to leave had been the right one. The farm that he had considered renting was taken by another, James Orr, who was doing badly by it:

> James Orr Stacked it with Sheep and has lost to the amount of £150 and sold off the Stock, you need not Grudge taking it, for it will not do at the rent. [Another] James has come to live in it and stocked it with milk cows but he will not make the rent.[17]

Perhaps, Hugh decided he would rather invest in his own Canadian property and his own independence, rather than become a tenant farmer in Scotland, and be subject to more dislocation.

If the "farmer situation," as his father Hugh Brodie of Langcraft had opined, was to feed and so support "great nations and empires," then farmers had a claim to the benefits of empire as well. His children appeared to adopt a similar position, by taking advantage of the Empire's colonies in the belief that colonial lands might return a better investment for their small stock of capital and their youth, labour and knowledge.

---

[15] James Horn, "British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain, 1680-1815," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, volume 2: *The Eighteenth Century* edited by P.J. Marshall, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 32.
[16]MM PO21 File 10, Robert Aitken (Kilbarchan) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 1 May 1815.
[17] MM PO21 File 1, Mary Gemmel (Lochwinnoch) to her sons John, Hugh and William Brodie (Montreal) 3 June 1805.

Glasgow weavers, for example, in their petitions to the British government for aid in emigrating and in their emigrant-letters home, used a language of "independence" and expressed desires for social advancement. As historian Michael Vance has shown, the Scots immigrants to Canada attached different meanings to the ideas of independence and advancement. For some, it was a desire to emulate aristocratic ease, for others to acquire control over and to benefit directly from one's own labour, for others still the ability to fulfill ideals of agrarian self-sufficiency. In all cases, independence meant an improvement over their present circumstances—an improvement more surely fulfilled in the colonies than in Scotland. For "all commentators agreed that the basis for such advancement, and indeed independence, was the ownership of land" not a viable option for most Scots in Scotland.[18] Eric Richard's overview of Scottish emigration to Australia confirms this view: for a typical ploughman emigrant "there was no atavistic craving for land, except as a means of independence."[19]

This desire for independence clearly motivated at least one member of the transatlantic Lochwinnoch-community. In 1834, James Cameron wrote to his uncle Hugh Brodie, expressing his desire to settle in Canada, having "no higher end in view than to spend my days on a spot of my own."[20] The rhetoric of other Lochwinnoch souls also demonstrated the various interpretations of the path to social advancement opened by a Canadian farm. John Gemmel explained to Hugh Brodie

> I hope to have better notions of the country than [to] imagine that fortunes can be made or even any [thing?] be attained but by their industry & I am also certain

[18] Michael E. Vance, "Advancement, Moral Worth, and Freedom: The Meaning of Independence for Early Nineteenth-Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada," in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, ed. Ned. C. Landsman, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 157.
[19] Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration," 487.
[20] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 22 March 1834.

> that from your & other accounts that by industry & perseverance more may be realized than in this Country in a much longer time.[21]

Gemmel thus emphasized the value of industry and productivity and he cast independence as an opportunity, rather than an end in itself. However, another "native of Lochwinnoch" who emigrated to McNab township in Upper Canada (probably one of the Storie brothers) boasted of natural abundance and aristocratic plenty. In 1826 he wrote that "the best nobleman in Scotland, could not produce the like at his table" as had his Canadian farm.[22] The Stories also reported that "all the settlers hear [sic] say they have no desire to return to the old country as they think their condition better and still appearing to advance."[23] Canada was "the best poor man's country after all," and "a servant here is equal to her mistress."[24] As the comments directed to Hugh Brodie suggest, he remained a stanch supporter of independent immigration from Britain throughout his career in Montreal.

Mr Hugh Brodie, Farmer, Coteau St. Pierre, Montreal

By personal inclination, by his experiences in Scotland, and perhaps even in sympathy with the Scottish brand of agricultural patriotism that favoured smaller farms, Brodie's activities in early Canada represented a dismissal of the Empire's vision of agrarian patriotism in favour of the Scottish model. The skills he had acquired "delving"

---

[21] MM PO21 File 10, John Gemmel (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 2 April 1822.
[22] "Extract of a Letter from a Settler in Canada to his Father in Lochwinnoch, by Paisley," written from McNab Township, Upper Canada, 3 September 1826 and extracted in the *Paisley Advertiser*, 13 January 1827. PCL (LSL) "Newspaper Cuttings," by Andrew Crawfurd, vol. 1.
[23] "A Letter from Rob. Storie from Canada," written from McNab township, Upper Canada, to his brothers and sisters, 29 August 1828 and transcribed by Crawfurd in the "Cairn," 13: 57-66.
[24] "Willie Storie's Letter," written by William Storie from McNab townships, Upper Canada, to his father and 'Motherwell,' 29th August 1828 and transcribed by Crawfurd in the "Cairn," 13: 67-70.

and "casting peats," and other sundry activities at Langcraft,[25] had taught him how to manage a diversified farm: how to raise the cows, that produced the milk his wife would churn into butter, and how to raise a variety of crops, from grains to potatoes. A small farm suited his requirements, if he could be sure it was well integrated into community and local markets. Brodie clearly adopted the minority view of the Board of Agriculture (as noted in the last chapter) that the best rational for capitalist farming is the "living power" of the farmer. [26] Brodie was less interested in the work of a pioneering farmer as defined by British colonial officials.

Though the British government did not adopt and "standardize procedures for granting land in the various British possessions overseas" until 1825, Canadian colonial

[25] MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 9 August 1809; 11 August, no year.
[26] Thomas Robertson, *Outline of the General Report Upon the Size of Farms and Upon the Persons Who Cultivate Farms,* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1796), 52.

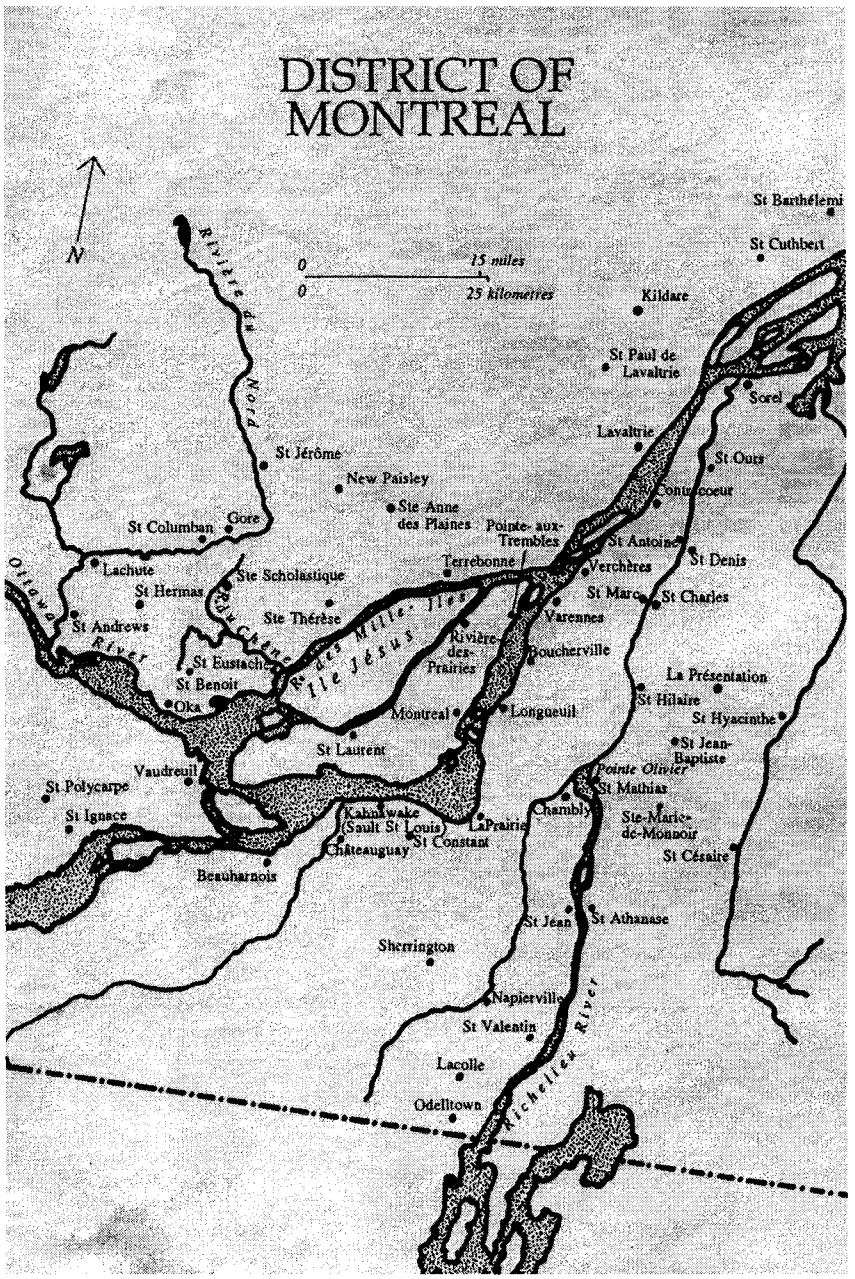

Figure 6 District of Montreal, showing the Island of Montreal and Chambly on the Richelieu River[27]

officials had long used the granting of land to shape Canada's social structure. According to historian John Clarke, British land policy in Upper Canada was directly formulated as a conservative response to the American Revolutionary ideals of "Lockean

[27] This map has been reproduced without permission from Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

liberalism, Puritanism, civic humanism, and republicanism together with arguments derived from the Enlightenment, particularly in its Scottish form."[28] Between the end of the American Revolutionary War 1783 and the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815, the British government used a system of land granting to shore up its imperial needs. The physical distribution of disbanded soldiers and Loyalist refugees from the American Revolutionary war was a key aspect of imperial defence-policy. More importantly, the British administration used the granting of land to reproduce a landed governing-class as a bulwark against American republican ideology.[29] Typically, new English-speaking immigrants to the province during this era were Loyalists, and late Loyalists, and colonial officials attempted to establish them as the colony's landed class.[30] In Upper Canada, as in other colonies, there was a direct link between land ownership and political power.

Brodie operated outside this land-power nexus. Twice, he applied for Crown Lands. In 1804 he was on a list of those "applying for grants of land in the Province of Lower Canada, who at sometime declared that they had not received lands, nor any other Lands, in any of His Majesty's provinces.[31] In 1812 he again applied for Crown Lands by participating in a group land-claim featuring 210 people "72 of whom are natives of Scotland," and most of them "heads of families residing in the District of Montreal," for

---

[28] John Clarke, *Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 37.

[29] Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to North America,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 8-10; R. Louis Gentilcore, ed., *The Land Transformed*, vol. 2, *The Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), *7;* Norman MacDonald, *Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement; The Administration of the Imperial and Land Regulations* (London: Longman's Green, 1939) 52, 55, 376.

[30] In the wake of the American Revolutionary War, the Governor of Quebec Lord Dorchester initiated a strategy to counterbalance democratic influences from the United States by establishing a landed class through the means of consolidating land in the hands of the Loyalists. MacDonald, *Canada 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement*, 52.

[31] *Library and Archives of Canada (LAC)*, RG1 L3, volume 2, microfilm reel C-2493 "Certificate from Commissioner Lindsay," 5 November 1804, 778-9 and 782; RG1 L3, volume 135, microfilm reel C-2545, "List of persons whose names were not inserted in Archibald McMillan's Original List," 28 May 1806, p.66691-4.

200 acres each in the Upper Canadian county of Westminster. [32] It is not clear if he received and refused Crown Land in Lower Canada, as he clearly refused to take up the later grant in Upper Canada. At any rate Brodie elected to purchase a farm, one already under cultivation by a French Canadian family.

Brodie's first and second choices of a farm in Montreal show that he had read Lochwinnoch Parish as the Enlightenment economic text that it was. As Adam Smith had illustrated in the *Wealth of Nations*, in 18th century Scotland, industrialization was a largely rural phenomenon that operated in tandem with the agricultural revolution to increase what he termed "national opulence."[33] Simply living in Lochwinnoch would have taught the young Huge Brodie this lesson. Glasgow pulled Paisley and the town of Lochwinnoch into the imperial market for textiles and Lochwinnoch farmers benefited by selling their produce to the textile workers. Communication systems, waterways and well-developed road systems allowed the vital co-ordination between the two poles—the rural and the industrial—of economic growth.[34] This understanding of economic development is demonstrated by Brodie's first choice of home in Chambly, on the Richelieu River. In 1815, surveyor Joseph Bouchette described the district as being "presque tout cultivé d'une manière très-avantageuse." There was a village close by with

---

[32] *LAC*, RG1 L3 volume 525 (u) Upper Canada Land Petitions "W" Bundle 9 1808-1811, microfilm reel C-103 Notice from the Executive Council Office, York, 8 February 1812; RG1 L3, volume 525 (s) Upper Canada Land Petitions "W" Bundle 9 1808-1811, microfilm reel C-103, "Memorial of Simon Zelotes Watson of Lower Canada, Deputy Provincial Surveyor" to Francis Gore Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, document 67.

[33] Adam Smith outlined the interconnected aspects of these forces in the first book of *The Wealth of Nations.* Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, A Selected Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). 26-30.

[34] T.M. Devine, "The Transformation of Agriculture: Cultivation and Clearance," in *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy Since 1700*, ed. T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee and G.C. Paden, 71-3 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005); T.M. Devine, "Industrialization," in *The Transformation of Scotland*, 34, 38-9, 43, 45. Anthony Slaven discusses the particular importance of the growth of Lochwinnoch's rural industries within the context of the expanding imperial production at Paisley and Glasgow. Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 93.

about 90 or 100 houses—many of them home to artisans—arranged along a principle street. Moreover, there was a grain mill located on some rapids allowing year-round operation. Possibly the most attractive feature of the region was its location on the principal route between the United States and Montreal. This, combined with a "concours continuel occasionné par les moulins, donne beaucoup d'activité aux marchands et aux artisans et contribue beaucoup à en faire un lieu de residence très-gai."[35] It is not clear why the Brodie family did not stay at, what their Scottish cousins referred to as, their "deserted farm."[36] But Brodie continued to evince a desire for a homestead well integrated into wider markets.

The years 1805 and 1806 found Brodie and his growing family working as the farm manager for Mr. Lilly, a member of the British mercantile elite and member of the Scotch Church, the Presbyterian Church on St. Gabriel Street.[37] The Lillys owned properties on the Côte à Baron, east of the City of Montreal, which, if the same as the one he attempted to sell over the winter of 1803-4, contained "a valuable Orchard, Farm and Farm House.[38] Brodie family lore recorded that this farm, "though situated only at the corner of Sherbrooke St. and Park Avenue, in modern day Montreal, [was] considered [by Hugh Brodie] to be too far out of town to visit more than once a week."[39]

The farm that Brodie chose in 1807 as the family homestead was located exactly to take advantage of burgeoning tension between rural productivity and nascent industrial

---

[35] Bouchette, *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas Canada* (Londres : Faden 1815), 173-6; Françoise Noël, "Chambly Mills, 1784-1815," *Historical Papers* 1985 : 108-110.
[36] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 6th April 1807.
[37] Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale,1887), 98.
[38] Advertisement by John Lilly, *Montreal Gazette*, 19 December 1803; 2 January 1804; MM PO21 10, Margaret Lilly (Jedburgh) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 26 March 1828.
[39] Jean H. McClellan. "Brodie-Holmes-Garth Ancestry and Some Collateral Families or Scotland and Lancashire thence to Montreal, Quebec," 12.

markets. It was located along the Coteau St. Pierre, near the Tanneries, two miles west of Montreal. The farm contained about 70 acres, and consisted of a dwelling house and barn on a lot two arpents in width and thirty-eight arpents in depth. On the front it bordered Lake St. Pierre at high water, behind the property of Frank Miller at St. Luc.[40] The Lake St. Pierre was fed by the Coteau St. Pierre, one of the principal waterways on the Island of Montreal and the land, particularly "vers le petit lac St. Pierre, est si marécageux, que l'on conjecture qu'il était autrefois couvert d'eau."[41] In the short term, the Côte St. Pierre offered some husbandry challenges. Robert Brodie, grandson to Hugh Brodie, reported that the farm was "poorly cultivated" when Hugh took it over. In fact, the whole of the Coteau St. Pierre "was poor [with] gravelly soil, run out, and infected with couch grass." But, "the gravelly soil on Coteau St. Pierre, responded well to good cultivation and fertilization, thus producing large crops of good potatoes and vegetables in general."[42] Overall, the region must have impressed him as fertile, for it seems to have supported many successful farms. The description of the few neighbouring properties advertised for sale in 1804 suggest that it was home to several well-cultivated estates. A small farm on the Lachine rapids contained 20 arpents "chiefly in meadow and [a?] few acres of growing timber. In the front there are a number of large apple trees, the place was completely fenced about four years ago with cedar posts & rails and there is a sufficiency of cedar logs upon the place to frame a small house." The "farm of Mont Pense" on the Coteau St. Pierre, about four miles from Montreal on the road to "La Chine" advertised as a suitable gentleman's 'summer residence' "contained one hundred

---

[40] *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec-Montréal (BAnQ),* CN601 Fonds Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Montréal. Greffes de notaire. CN601, S74 notaire Louis Chaboillez, no. 8036, 2 Octobre 1807, « Vente par François Chef dit Vadeboncoeur à Hugh Brodie. »
[41] Bouchette, *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas Canada,* 138.
[42] "Robert Brodie's Memoire,"

and twenty acres of arable meadow land, 30 of which [was] timothy, with extensive gardens, and orchards producing a quantity of choice fruit, a good mansion house, a farm, house, barn and stables." On the western face of Montreal mountain leaving from the city of Montreal heading towards Lachine, stood a 500 'arpent' orchard, well-fenced and "planted with almost five hundred trees of the best kind."[43] The whole neighborhood might well have appeared verdant and lush and the variable sizes of the farms would have reminded Brodie of Lochwinnoch's patchwork face.

More importantly, the farm was located on the road leading to the Village of Lachine, the most important village on the Island of Montreal, according to Bouchette,

> en ce qu'il est le centre de tout le commerce entre la haute et la basse province, aussi-bien qu'avec le pays du nord-ouest, toutes les merchandises qu'on envoie dans le pays d'amont, y sont apportées de Montréal par les rouliers, et l'on y débarque toutes les importations. [44]

More crucially, the Lachine Road had been upgraded into a turnpike road in 1805.[45] That same summer, Thomas Fingland (who would later become a good friend of Brodies) and John Patterson launched a coach service between Montreal and Lachine. Beginning "at Patterson's and Fingland's Tavern in the Market Place" in Montreal, it left at 9 am "Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday every week" for the village of Lachine.[46]

The road to Lachine joined three potential markets for farm produce. At the western end of the road, was the Village of Lachine containing about 20 houses clustered around the major transshipment point to Upper Canada. At the eastern end, was of course, the City of Montreal. Mid-way along the road was a tannery, just at the point

---

[43] Advertisements in the *Montreal Gazette* 16 January 1804, 6 February 1804, 9 April 1804.
[44] Bouchette, *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas Canada,* 136.
[45] The tollgate spanned the Lachine Road at the Tannery and "adjoin[ed] to the house of William Brown, [...] appointed collector and Toll Gatherer." Public Notice signed by F.W. Ermatinger Treasure and Clerk for the Trustees [of the Lachine Road]. *Montreal Gazette.* 8 July 1805.
[46] Advertisement by Thomas Fingland and John Patterson. *Montreal Gazette*, 8 July 1805.

where the road climbed and provided "une vue superbe des champs cultivés" in the outlying regions. [47] It was there by this small proto-industrial neighborhood that the Brodies bought their farm.

The 'Tanneries' was largely a French-speaking neighborhood and offered crucial amenities. Since the late-17th century, the little river of the Coteau St. Pierre had supported the proto-industrial development of a cobbling industry, as small groups of tanners and shoemakers clustered on the banks of the little river. Over the course of the next century and a half, the area developed into a small village of tanners, "corroyeurs," shoemakers and gardeners. [48] Historian Serge Courville's research into the development of integrated rural and urban markets in the district of Montreal confirms Bouchette's diagnosis and Brodie's apparent preference for economically integrated regions. By the 1830s, the agricultural and industrial district in Montreal had become well integrated and had created responsive market conditions.[49]

There is little information available about Brodie's experiences as a farmer. It is not possible to assess Brodie's productivity as a farmer because the census records of 1842 and 1851 have not survived for his district. Consequently it is not possible to situate him within ongoing inquiries into the link between ethnicity and the market behavior of farmers. In the study of early Quebec this is a particularly urgent topic of study, as

---

[47] Bouchette gives a detailed description of the newly created turnpike between the village of Lachine, the tanneries, and Montreal and explains the corridor's economic importance as the main transportation link between Upper and Lower Canada. Bouchette, *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas Canada,* 137-9.

[48] Since the 18th century the area had been known by a number of different names: the "Tanneries," "Tanneries du coteau Saint-Pierre, "Tanneries des Rolland," and "Saint-Henri des Tanneries." However, most of the people writing to the Brodies addressed their letters to them at "the Tanneries" or on Cote St. Pierre. Edouard-Zotique Massicotte. "Quelques rues et faubourgs du vieux Montréal," *Les Cahiers des Dix*, 1936: 144-152.

[49] Courville, Serge. "Le Marché des "subsistances". L'example de la Plaine de Montréal au début des années 1830: une perspective géographique." *Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique francaise* 42(2) 1988: 193-239.

historians seek to disabuse the stereotype of the reactionary, anti-modern French-Canadian farmer. Close investigation of the agricultural habits of English, Irish, Scottish, American and French Canadian farmers have revealed the irrational dimensions of the putatively capitalist Anglo-Saxon farmers, and the similarities in economic outlook between the French Canadian and English-speaking farmers.[50] Brodie appears to have

[50] The study of settlement patterns of early 19th century township of Godmanchester (a rural area on the south shore) and where several Brodie relatives settled revealed the scope of ethnic ties in determining settlement patterns. While the quality of land determined settlement patterns until the 1820s, by the 1840s the pull of ethnic communities had the strongest effect. The authors ascribe this to the later settlers interest in "self-sufficiency"—for which close ties with neighbors would be necessary—rather than their "market-orientation." The authors discovered that early settlers avoided lots with clay-based soils in preference to those with "morainic deposits." This type of soil was not necessarily conducive to cash crops due to its fragile fertility, but would have been much easier to bring into cultivation quickly. However, by the 1840s the relationship between soil-type and settlement weakened. The authors found no particular correlation between soil type and the later lots granted. Rather, an analysis of the ethnic origins of the lot owners revealed significant group-concentrations. "For all intents and purposes, colonists of Scottish origin avoided settling anywhere but in proximity to the areas occupied by their compatriots since 1820." Irish communities also took on an obvious expression. This later phase of community differentiation led the authors to conclude that "the proximity of compatriots who knew how to deal with the local landscape provided the newcomers with a network of mutual support, and this proved to be as important, if not more important, than geomorphological deposits." Of the several conclusions drawn from the study, the most pertinent to note in this context is their assertion that "it would be insightful to question the notion that all immigrants were market-oriented farmers, and as a result, sought to occupy lands that were judged to be the best for cash-crop farming." I question the direct link the authors' draw between the concept of market-orientation and cash-crop farming and their conclusion that the absence of this pursuit indicated a desire for self-sufficient homesteads. Daniel Vickers concept of 'competency' (see note below) could add much nuance to their conclusions by breaking the rigid association between market-orientation and capitalist production. Nevertheless, the study is useful in underscoring the importance of ethnic community formation and in loosening the direct link between Anglo-Saxon origins and assumptions about advanced economic behavior.

Another recent study authored by Louis Roy and Michel Verdon addresses most explicitly the stereotypes about French-Canadian and English farming. By studying the productivity levels of and production choices exhibited by farmers in the ethnically diverse township of East-Farnham in 1871, the authors concluded that both French-Canadian and English-speaking groups such as the Irish, Scots, English and American all used a similar economic rationale: that of the 'residential producer.' This meant "they hired farm workers only when compelled to, tried not to borrow money, cultivated a wide array of products, used traditional techniques, and produced yields that told of extensive methods of cultivation." They conclude that a few very successful English-speaking farmers skewed results and perception in favour of the English agriculturalist. However, even the largest English-speaking farmers operated according to the 'residential rationale.' The authors attribute the greater scale of their operations to circumstantial factors such "having inherited large estates because they were descended from the original rich Loyalists; having enjoyed two or three generations of numerous, healthy sons; or even having specialized in the right productions at the right place and the right time." Louis Roy, Gerald Domon, Sylvain Paquette, "Settlement pattern, environmental factors and ethnic background on a southwestern Quebec frontier (1795-1842)" *Canadian Geographer* 46(2) 2002: 144-160; Louis Roy and Michel Verdon, "East-Farnham's Agriculture in 1871: Ethnicity, Circumstances, and Economic Rationale in Quebec's Eastern Townships" *Canadian Historical Review* 84(3) 2003: *passim* and especially 384, 386, 389, 393.

held the same attitudes towards the market and monetization that united the French Canadian and English perspective. His activities were those of 'the resident producer,' seeking what historian Daniel Vickers identified as "competency," the guiding ethos of late-18th century American farmers.[51] Farmers seeking "competency" still regarded the family as the main unit of production, sought to maintain their own independence through the judicious use of the markets and aimed to produce a modest surplus.

It is clear that the Brodies adopted this same "residential rationale," and engaged in a pursuit of "competency." Grocery lists written on the back of the letters they received from Scotland reveal that the Brodies did not run a merely self-sufficient household, but evidenced rather a use of luxury items such as bread, ink, sugar, soap, rum, caster oil, herrings, coffee, and rice.[52] On their small farm, the Brodies produced a variety of crops that allowed them to respond to a variety of local needs. Hugh cultivated grains, raised livestock and Ann operated a successful dairy. A surviving account book from 1808-1811 helps explain the ease with which Brodie paid his mortgage.[53] True to

---

[51] Louis Roy's and Michel Verdon's concept of the "residential producer," seems very close to the economic rationale Vickers identified in 18th century America. Vickers argues that the early modern use of the expression "competency" denoted the economic value of possessing "sufficient property and skill to ensure free access to the means of production" and that it meant, "in brief, a degree of comfortable independence." The concept helps describe the value 18th-century people attached to their economic behavior and provides insights into the choices they made. The "ethic of competence" meant that families made judicious use of the market to supplement the family's production that then placed them in competition with other families for certain benefits. The achievement of "competency" as an economic state differed significantly from "mature capitalism because it was tied, not to a logic of endless accumulation, but to the limited human needs of individual families." Early Americans tended to welcome the competitive social-consequences of the "pursuit of competence" as a sign of freedom from feudal dependence. Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America" *William and Mary Quarterly* 47(1) 1990: 3-29, 3, 7, 12-3, and *passim.*

[52] MM PO21 File 12, Back of James Caldwell (Moulinet) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 15 May 183; PO21 File 6, The reverse side of letter from Margaret Brodie Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 21 May 1832.

[53] Brodie made a seventy-five pound deposit on price of the farm (£325) and bound himself to pay fifty pounds every 1st day of October over the period of four years. On the 1st day of October for the next four years the Brodies would have to have fifty pounds ready to pay off their mortgage. [50 pounds of the cost not accounted for].[53] The Brodies paid off this debt within three years. BAnQ, CN601 Fonds Cour

the dairying heritage of Lochwinnoch parish, the Brodies produced butter. In 1809 alone they sold 1035 pounds of butter for over £58. They had a steady cliental and appeared to sell to known customers from the surrounding countryside and from their church. A regular customer Mr. Ross, may well have been their neighbor on the south-side of the Coteau St. Pierre; the "toll man," perhaps William Brown, the toll gatherer for the Lachine Turnpike who lived near the Tanneries. The Lambies, another customer, were members at the Church of St. Andrew.[54]

Other evidence supports this view of the Brodies' ability to respond to colonial markets. In 1817, Scot, John Jamieson who was settling in Lancaster, Upper Canada wrote requesting "four Bushels of your best Barley for seed," "two greys [sic] Mare," "a few [dozen?] Pataties," and "a Bushel of good imported oats if they have Been one year in the Countrey, I will not mind."[55] Closer to home, Brodie supplied farmers within the District of Montreal. In April 1827 John Davidson penned an order to Hugh Brodie. Mr. Davidson ran a storehouse "on the east bank of Salmon River" in Dundee.[56] Davidson asked Brodie for "a Bushel of the earliest kind of potatoes in your posseon (sic) and if you have any kind of roots or Shrubs to Spare a few of them would be very acceptable." He also attached a private order from a Saunders for "a Bushel early potatoes." The end of that year, Brodie received an order from Robert Mass for 50 bushels of Rye and 20

---

supérieure. District judiciaire de Montréal. Greffes de notaire. CN601, S74 notaire Louis Chaboillez, no. 8036, 2 Octobre 1807, « Vente par François Chef dit Vadeboncoeur à Hugh Brodie. »

[54] MM, M3587 "Plan of the Projected Lachine Canal," undated, but giving the names of proprietors; Public Notice signed by F.W. Ermatinger Treasure and Clerk for the Trustees [of the Lachine Road], *Montreal Gazette*. 8 July 1805; J. S. S. Armour, *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal 1803-2003* (Montreal: Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 2003), 24.

[55] Underscore original to the letter. MM PO21 File 13, John Jamieson (Lancaster) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 4 February 1817.

[56] Robert Sellar, *The History of the County of Huntingdon and the Seigniories of Chateauguay & Beauharnois from the First Settlement to the Year 1838 and Revised to the 1900s.* rev. 2nd ed. (1888; rep., Huntingdon, Québec: The Canadian Gleaner, 1963), 201-203.

bundles of hot hay "in such quantities that would be most convenient."[57] Another undated list on the back of a Scottish letter reveals that Brodie also sold red potatoes, by the half bushel or the bushel, to one John McNider, one Mr. Charles Day and to two military companies, Beakle's Light Company and Dixson's 4th Company. [58] Ann's produce also reached wider markets. By 1846, her cheese had found an appreciative market in Alymer (on the boarder with Upper Canada). Asa Parker wrote to Hugh Brodie stating that: "Mrs. Brodie's cheese is not gone yet several good judges have tasted it and cal [sic] it excellent quality, it is my intention to try to make a larger purchase next fall."[59]

That Brodie was able to accumulate enough capital to build a georgian-style stone house in 1812 reflects his ability to respond to opportunities. During the war of 1812, a great body of militiamen encamped along the Lachine Road, more specifically on the farm of Brodie's neighbor, the Reverend Easton. Brodie, like other farmers in the district, sold necessities to the military. Brodie's grandson reported:

> In the war of 1812, grandfather, with a lot of other Scotch farmers on the Island served their Country by supplying horses to transport provisions and ammunition from Montreal to Kingston (then Fort Cataract). [...] It was on that road [to Kingston built by the military] that Grandfather and his friends transported supplies for the Government.[60]

As the Scots in Lochwinnoch explained the situation " he was a Contractor for necessaries for Government for the Army. It is said that was the foundation of his wealth."[61] By 1832 Brodie's Lochwinnoch friends and relatives regarded him a "Laird of Montreal;" an independent landowner. He reacquired the valued status of landowner

---

[57] MM PO21 File 12, Robert Mass to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 2 December 1831.
[58] MM PO21 File 12, Note on the back of letter from Alex Copland (Hinchinbrook, Lower Canada) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 20 August 1835.
[59] MM PO21 File 13, Asa Parker (Aylmer) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 13 January 1846.
[60] "Robert Brodie's Memoire."
[61] *LAC*, British Military and Naval Records, C-Series, C-89, microfilm C-2647, "The Petition of the Reverend Robert Easton of the City of Montreal," 21 July 1815, 184-5; CPL (LSL), Crawfurd, "The Cairn," 7:474;

once possessed by his portioner father, Hugh Brodie, elder of Langcraft and surpassed him, advancing materially and socially. While Brodie worked for the prosperity of his immediate family, he remained well integrated into the Lochwinnoch community. He kept abreast of economic conditions in Scotland and he helped people to emigrate. His numerous transatlantic connections proved to be another fortuitous asset for Brodie.

The Scots in Montreal

Class issues rent the community of Scots in Montreal and while Brodie prospered as a farmer, his was not a comfortable rise through colonial hierarchies characterized as typical of the educated Scot in the Empire. In many ways, Brodie's social experiences in Montreal challenged the generalized assertion of the Scots' social and material success as a group.[62] The picture of the ethnic composition of Montreal that emerges after the census of 1861 shows Scots to be a minority. There were 3, 235 Scots, to 4, 394 English and 14, 469 Irish. A handful of powerful Scots dominated Montreal: Peter McGill, John Redpath, John Young, Hugh Allen, George Stephen and Donald Smith (later lord Strathcona) and they have become the stereotypical Canadian-Scots. Few established themselves in Canada without resources, and in the case of Hugh Allan, shipping

[62] While Eric Richards attempts to distance himself from the notion that the Scots were disproportionately successful in his study of Australia, other authors still draw attention to this facet of the Scottish experience. In 2006, Douglas McCalla asserted that in 19th century Canada, Montreal and other places "Scots were present in business communities in numbers disproportionate to their overall share of local population." Ned Landsman asserted in that during the 18th century "Scotland and Scots managed to play important and disproportionate roles in American life" among the colonies mercantile, governing, and educational elite. Landsman, "The Provinces and the Empire: Scotland, the American colonies and the development of British provincial identity," 259; Douglas McCalla, "Sojourners in the Snow? The Scots in Business in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, ed. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2006), 77; Eric Richards, "Australia and the Scottish Connection 1788-1914," in *The Scots Abroad*, 111-2, and 151, *passim*.

magnate and reputed friend of Hugh Brodie, this included at least a grammar school education. Allan recalled how he entered a counting house in Greenock at the age of 13, the age when the normal grammar-school education ended. Most Montreal Scots were middling-types and their lives did not match the pattern set by the great Scottish merchants.[63] From the beginning, Brodie made friends with well-placed people, such as the Lillys and later Hugh Allan, but in general he sought more plebian environments.

The year the Brodies arrived in Montreal, the St. Gabriel Street Church congregation splintered over the formulation of the Church's constitution. At issue was the commitment to patronage. American and seceder elements of the Church favoured the evangelical leanings and secessionist affiliations; they broke away to form a Burger Church, later St. Andrew's Church, and still later the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul. Class distinguished the new congregation from the St. Gabriel Street Church, and was known as that of the 'tradesmen and mechanics,' though the congregation did include merchants and a schoolmaster."[64] This was the church that the Brodies joined in 1803.

While Brodie's prosperity grew, economic conditions in Scotland worsened and more and more people from Lochwinnoch parish crossed the ocean. In Scotland the Brodies had developed a reputation for their hospitality:

> There is so many from this place croses the Atlantic in quist of a better hame [...] and your kindness has made your house as it were a pleasant rest to many a wery wanderer from your native Country so that the name of Mr & Mrs Brodie is alluays spoeken of as the frind of the Scotish emergent.[65]

---

[63] Heather McNabb, "Butcher, Baker Cabinetmaker?: A View of Montreal's Scottish Immigrant Community from 1835 to 1865," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, 234, 247, 249; Douglas McCalla, "Sojourners in the Snow?" 85-6; LAC MG 29 C37, Hugh Allan, "Some Sketches of Events in an Active Life," p 1, 3.
[64] J.S.S. Armour, *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul*, 19.
[65] MM PO21 File 10, Janet Orr (Kaim, Scotland) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 29 May 1843.

Attending to the needs of the boilers, ploughmen, servants, farmers, and clergymen who sought refuge in Canada because an important facet of Hugh Brodie's public persona.

Over the years the Brodies collected quite a moving picture of the plight of the working people in Scotland. In 1812, for example, the very year that Brodie was able to build his homestead, his brother-in-law Archibald Cameron reported the attempted suicide of a Marrion Johnston: "the reasons given for such a horrid act was dear Meal and the thoughts of want, Poor body she has only about £90 a year of income and no person to take a bite from her."[66] Marrion Johnston seems to represent the most extreme expression of want and poverty in Scotland, but the people who remained in Lochwinnoch were also deeply affected, and trapped by their own lack of means. The brother-in-law also reported hard times in the weaving industry and "the Exceeding high price of provisions, it had brought many Thousands of respectable families down to a state of penury and want."[67] In 1816, "trade is leaving the country altogether as it was never worse in the remembrance of the Oldest man living."[68] That same year Hugh's brother Robert Brodie of Saltcoats, Ayrshire, reported that "of late there has been a good dale [sic] of people leaving this Countrey [sic] for America."[69] Economic conditions fluctuated greatly. In the 1820s, the weaving industry of Paisley recovered well, and Hugh's nephew James Cameron described the manufacture of cotton as being "in a very flourishing state." By 1830, the bottom had dropped out of the industry again and Cameron wrote saying

---

[66] MM PO24 File 7, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to 'Dear Friends," (probably in Montreal), 18 April 1812.
[67] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), no date.
[68] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 22 April 1816. Cameron offered a similar report in a letter of 7th April 1817.
[69] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 July 1816.

> You will no doubt be pretty familiar with the accounts of the depressed state of the working class in this country. The towns of Glasgow and Paisley are at this present time in such a state as the like cannot be remembered vast numbers of families who were respectale [sic] and well to live have now nothing to live upon but what they can make by selling their furniture bed and Body Clothes, I have had but little work [as a weaver] myself this summer.[70]

Throughout all these fluctuations, the Brodies were able to offer some help, for many of their relatives did not have their own means to leave Scotland.

Brother-in-law Archibald held out hope that the government would offer programs in assisted emigration, but to no avail.[71]

> I likewise told you that I intended coming over myself against this spring if government held out the same offer which last year they said they would, but about a fortnight ago our Minister read a paper in the church saying that Government would pay no more freight but those that wished to go upon their own expences would be intitled to the same Privileges as those that went over last Year, but I am pretty certain very few will try it, for a very good reason, the want of change which is very scarce here since peace was concluded.[72]

The only direct help came in the form of new Passenger Acts of 1816 and 1817 that lowered the cost of a passage.[73] Significantly, it was not until this happened, that Hugh's nephews were able to cross over the Montreal. In an era in which candles could be

---

[70] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 20 March 1825, 8 August 1829.

[71] Undoubtedly Archibald was thinking of the Colonial Office's emigration scheme. Until the 1820s the British government was still wary of providing social assistance to the nation's poor and this also included assisted emigration programmes. Exceptionally, the Colonial Office did try to alleviate Scottish distress by arranging the assisted emigration for settlement in militarily strategic regions in Upper Canada. Each Scottish head of family and sons coming of age received a free grant of 100 acres of land as well as "rations for eight months or until establishment; axes, plows and other implements at prime cost; and a minister and a school-teacher on government salary." Emigrants had to make a deposit of £18 pounds that would be returned. In the end, 700 took advantage of the offer and in total 1, 400 Scots participated in these military settlements. However, the Colonial Office did not persist with the scheme and those who wished to settle in North America would have to proceed at their own expense. H. J. M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 16; Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 42-4.

[72] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 22 April 1816.

[73] These two emigration acts relaxed the standards of an overseas crossing and in consequence lowered the fares, though they were raised again in the 1820s. Peter Dunkley, "Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered *The Historical Journal* 23(2) 1980: 356.

purchased in Montreal for s2.6, the cost of transatlantic travel was high. In 1818, it cost Hugh Cameron £17 pounds for his passage across the ocean.[74]

The economic travails seemed to politicize the Brodies, and even if they did not become radial reformers, they watched and reported upon the situation. A Brodie friend, formerly of Kilbarchan parish, then a carpet-weaver in New York City, wrote to him in early October of 1831:

> I need not say anything of News of the day as you are no doubt as well informed on these points as I am the *Events* that has taken place are astonishing, the Rights of Man and Plain Common Sense are things that Seems to be better Understood now a days as men will make them more their study as they are now more popular.

Cochran wrote from the perspective of an artisan at the time of the formation of the first class-conscious workingmen's associations in New York City.[75] The references revived the 18th century radical writer Thomas Paine from whom the Paisley radicals had drawn (as had most British radicals) in the 1790s.[76] The tone of his communication implied that Brodie was sympathetic to those ideas. Moreover that despite Paine's fall from favour at the beginning of the 19th century, his ideas had remained current in Lochwinnoch and the neighboring parishes. The very disappointing Scottish Reform Act of 1832 also received attention. A Brodie relative reported the mood of the country: "trade is very dull in this country there is a great dissatfaction [sic] here owin [sic] to the Reform Bill not going

---

[74] MM PO21 File 17, "Hugh Cameron's Expenses 1817-1818."

[75] As historian Sean Wilentz explains "For over five years, a spate of radical ideas had passed through the taverns and workshops with only limited apparent effect. Suddenly, in a political season [1829-30] these ideas, and a culture of radical politics, celebrating reason, Tom Paine, equal property, and Praise God Barebones, took hold in the mechanics' wards—in popular debating societies, committees, and street-corner rallies—opposed to the politics of party and the political economy of capitalist entrepreneurship. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 215.

[76] Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211-270.

on."[77] That same year in Lochwinnoch the local antiquarian Crawfurd turned another page in his "Cairn of Lochwinnoch" to note Brodie's success in the colonies and to say that the Brodie daughter Mary had been "educated as a Lady," and to describe Brodie as "a Laird near Montreal."[78] To style Brodie a Scottish landowner in 1832 was a high mark of respect.

In Montreal, however, the passing of the Reform Bill may have created a backlash that underscored Brodie's vulnerability within the Scottish community. By 1825 the Church of Saint Andrew had moved away from its Burger associations and had called to the pulpit the Reverend Alexander Mathieson, a staunch supporter of the established Church of Scotland. More and more of Montreal's wealthy Scots joined the congregation. At Christmas time of 1832, the pew owners of the Presbyterian Church of Saint Andrew in Montreal closed ranks, to prevent pew renters from serving on the Temporal Committee. Brodie had served for ten years on this Committee composed of "Proprietors, pew and seat renters," alongside such Montreal luminaries as the shipping-magnate, Hugh Allan.[79] At the annual meeting on Christmas Day of 1832, pew and seat-renters were declared no longer allowed to serve on the Temporal Committee. Somebody suggested that a "standing rule" existed to the effect that "the Committee should be elected from amongst the proprietors of the Church." Inquiries were made as to whether this rule had ever existed.

---

[77] MM PO21 File 6 Margaret Brodie Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal) 21 May 1832.
[78] PCL (LCL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 7: 474.
[79] *Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office*, MF 164, 'Minutes of the Committee of the Church of St. Peter Street Church," 1815-1850, entries: 7 October 1824, 25 December 1821, 25 December 1822, 9 July 1824, 8 January 1825, 25 December 1826, 5 March 1827, 4 January 1828, 18 December 1830, 3 January 1932, 25 December 1832.

> Mr. Brodie and Mr. Fleming stated that if such a rule was in existence it had never been acted upon, for to their certain knowledge, several of the members of the previous committee were not proprietors.

While someone darted home to fetch a copy of the regulations, "a desultory Conversation then ensued." A prominent Montreal lawyer, Mr. Boston "gave it as his opinion that those who did not actually themselves possess property could not transfer it to others." A rule did exist excluding pew renters. The practice of inclusion ended and the list of Proprietors in the Church was read over and the meeting proceeded "to the election of a proper committee." Brodie's name was not on the list of proprietors.[80] However, he filled out the last moments of his place on the committee with great dignity by seconding nominations for the coming year.

Despite the unpleasantness of this experience, Brodie's working-class associations proved to be an invaluable resource. For the artisans, mechanics, and modest farmers urged into migrating by the agricultural and industrial revolutions and further tormented by the post-Napoleonic War depression, the working-class network that extended across the Atlantic Ocean remained an important touchstone for the Montreal Brodies.

Of Seeds and Cows and Wilkes' Scotch Plough

The large flow of out-migration from Hugh Brodie's parish of origin formed the crest of a wave that supported a transatlantic knowledge-network. Recent attempts to define the meaning of an Atlantic Community as the "transatlantic social and cultural connections" maintained by ruling elites through their imperial, professional and

[80] 'Minutes of the Committee of the Church of St. Peter Street Church," 1815-1850, 25 December 1832.

commercial activities in the Atlantic World, point to the inherent class dimension of the very concept of an Atlantic Community.[81] This perspective is logical. Participation in Atlantic intellectual networks required funds to purchase texts and newspapers, to exchange correspondence, and to pay for ocean passages. Also necessary were the educational skills and leisure time to take advantage of these intellectual links.[82]

However, it was possible for those of slim means to participate enthusiastically in the intellectual networks of natural history. For artisans, the pub, rather than the coffee house, was the public sphere of their discussion. The form of their knowledge was

---

[81] Darrell Meadows, "Engineering Exile: Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809" *French Historical Studies* 23 (2000): 67-102, draws upon a definition supplied by Robin Law and Kristin Mann in their article, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *William and Mary Quarterly* 2 (1999): 307-334. Many works regarding the commercial or elite social networks bear out this observation, that in general, it is the elite who participate in transatlantic communities. See for example, David Hancock, "A World of Business to Do': William Freeman and the Foundations of England's Commercial Empire, 1645-1707," *William and Mary Quarterly* 57 (2000): 3-34; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Eric Richards, "Scotland and the Uses of the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 67-114. Ned C. Landsman, "Nation, Migration and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800;" Jacob M. Price, "One Family's Empire: The Russell-Lee-Clerk Connection In Maryland, Britain, and India, 1707-1857," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72(1977): 165-225; Jacob M. Price, "Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763: A Different Kind of Glasgow Firm Trading to the Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* 1983, 3-41. Kenneth Lockridge, "Colonial Self-Fashioning: Paradoxes and Pathologies in the Construction of Genteel Identity in Eighteenth-Century America, " in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997): 274-339.

[82] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1674-1740: an exploration of communication and community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Christopher Grasso, "The Experimental Philosophy of Farming: Jared Eliot and the Cultivation of Connecticut," *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 (1993): 504; Anne Secord, "Corresponding interests: artisans and gentlemen in nineteenth-century natural history," *British Journal for the History of Science* 27 (1994): 386. She pointed out that "letter-writing among the artisan class remained a rare activity for any individual artisan before the introduction of the penny post in 1840." She was making this point about correspondence exchanged within Britain however, it also applied to intercontinental situations as well. David Fitzpatrick also explores the effects of changing access to post services upon the connections between ordinary people in Ireland and Australia. Between 1849 and 1852 the cheapest postage between Ireland and Australia exceeded the daily wages of a labourer forcing correspondents to act as the Brodies did by finding ship's passengers to act as couriers. The penny post between the United Kingdom and Australia did not arrive until 1905 and not until 1911 was it possible to send material for a penny from Australia to the UK. However, beginning in 1835 it was possible to send newspapers to Australia for less than a penny. David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994), 467-71.

different as well. Artisan knowledge, "extracted from the hierarchical models of production and diffusion by the elite" often took different oral forms and could include knowledge embodied in physical objects "such as cows, flowers, and mechanical hoes."[83] Studies that recover a positive relationship between artisanal culture and science have stopped short of being able to say what material benefit the working classes derived from the exchange of knowledge.

The Brodie's Atlantic network provides a glimpse into the applications individuals not associated with formal institutions made of independently acquired knowledge. Acquiring non-local knowledge in exchange for local knowledge significantly increased Brodie's independence according to the two different exchange-networks he managed. First, he engaged in a lateral exchange of information within his network, between people who occupied similar social positions. Second, Brodie also participated in wider, hierarchically organized knowledge networks, procuring information for his social betters. Managing both currents of information gave Brodie status as a knowledge broker. Locally he gained a reputation for his own well-managed farm and also for his contacts in rural Scotland and links to a well-respected farming culture. For as the *British American Cultivator* observed "it is well known that Scotchman make the best agriculturalists all over the world."[84] Also the Brodies used their network in a way suggested by the Upper Canadian economist, John Rae, by banding together to acquire useful knowledge.[85]

---

[83] Mary Fissell and Roger Cooter, "Exploring Natural Knowledge: Science and the Popular," *The Eighteenth Century,* vol. 4, *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 130-2.
[84] "Lecture on Agricultural Improvement by Mr. Buckland of Beneden to the Maidstone Farmer's Club," *British American Cultivator* 3(1) 1847, 24.
[85] Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 105.

The human bridge formed by a constant flow of migration across the Atlantic provided the most obvious and basic connection alleviating the expenses of communication. Refusal or inability to bare the cost of the correspondence—as Ann's father had done once by not paying to receive a letter—threatened the network.[86] However, bearing the cost of it was a worthwhile investment, creating footholds in other agricultural districts. Letter writers in Barnet in Vermont, Woodstock Maine, New York, New Jersey, Upper Canada and most particularly upon the South Shore of the St. Lawrence River, informed Brodie, for example, of different market strategies practiced in different places, and of the current price of goods. The correspondents took the exchange of market prices very seriously. Women as well as men gave their assessment of the markets. Archibald Cameron subjected one of Brodie's reports to an analysis: "after receiving your Account In your Current prices I think there is one Mistake, [...] I am exceedingly well pleased with the correctness of your letter please write me always so."[87]

The exchange of information also took a physical form, such a presents, books and newspapers. But the most significant type of knowledge they shared was in the form of seeds, animals and technology. Hugh in Montreal, engaged in a series of seed exchanges with his half-brother Robert in Saltcoats, Scotland. In 1815, Hugh wrote home, asking his brother to send him some seeds in exchange for the Canadians seeds he was sending him. Robert was at pains to regret not having any to "send as an adequate return, as I am of [the?] opinion you will not miss the Donation."[88] The next year, Robert was able to oblige with some seeds, sending a "variety of Turkie bean." It appears to have been an unsolicited act, for he "hoped it would turn out to have been a

[86] MM PO21 File 4, William Caldwell (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 21 March 1831.
[87] MM PO21 File 5 Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), *n. d.*
[88] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 27 March 1815.

good act."[89] In that same letter he said "Say in your next to me if a few potatoes of our Brood would be acceptable and I would Send them, by return of Some of our people." On another occasion, he sent "a few potatoes of such quality as we plant, they are of a very good kind, which I hope will arrive safely and produce plentifully."[90] The high volumes of out-migration made regular transportation of these goods possible. They traveled across the ocean per favor of the Mr. Cunninghams, Mr Kerrs, and Mr. Holmes who were leaving Scotland for North America.[91] Return migration to Scotland, was common enough to benefit Hugh Brodie, affording him free transport of goods back home such as 'newspapers and an Alminick [sic]."[92]

Robert's letters to Hugh reveal a reciprocal exchange between social equals and at least on Robert's side, the goal was purely experimental. Hugh sent his brother a variety of seeds. The pumpkins pleased him the most because "they grew to the length of two yards along the groun[d?] and "one that Came to maturity [...] was about the size of an apple but very soft in quality." He "supposed that Climate would not bring them to perfection." He also asked for some Tobacco seed, so that "he could make a tryall [sic] of it in this Climate."[93] Hugh did send the seed, with instructions on how to grow it. Robert gave some to his brother William, so that he too could "make an experiment" of it.[94]

Brodie also exchanged seeds with more authoritative experts on Scottish husbandry such as William Cochran, a nurseryman in Scotland. The exchange began at least as early as 1822 when John Gemmel reported "I have seen Mr.Cochran Kilbarchan

---

[89] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 March 1816.
[90] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 12 March 1817.
[91] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 March 1816; Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 12 March 1817.
[92] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 8 August 1829.
[93] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie to Hugh Brodie, 4 April 1814.
[94] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie to Hugh Brodie, 27 March 1815.

& he hopes you will not forget to send his apple seed."[95] In 1824, Brodie had sent Cochran a present of tobacco along with a request for "gooseberry trees." Cochran was not able to oblige at that moment, but upped the ante, and promised "some of the best Kindes [sic]" of goosbery, currant, and willow plants. In exchange, Cochran desired some more of the unspecified seeds of a kind that Hugh had already sent, but which had not taken. He also wanted some ladyes [sic] slipers [sic] and apl [sic] seed.[96] Andrew Crawfurd, the antiquarian also engaged in the Atlantic trade of seeds. Crawfurd also obliged the Brodie network, helping James Cameron who had "applied to [him] for many herbs, grasses, trees etc, filled two boxes, native of Scotland, with the names for Hugh his uncle to try their naturization [sic] at Canada about 1828."[97] The density of the traffic back and forth across the Atlantic facilitated the correspondence.

Brodies' role in importing an Ayrshire bull in 1829-30 shows how his reputation among farmers of a similar status placed him in the position of a knowledge broker. An artifact of the Scottish Enlightenment, Ayrshires were bred as high-producing milk cows.[98] Robert Whiteford, who managed the farm of a Mr. Robert Kirkwood, possibly located in Connecticut, wrote to Brodie for help when his 'master' and "some other Gentlemen [had] Joined for the purpose of sending to Scotland for a [sic] Ayreshire Bull." The group had "fixed on" Whiteford possibly because of Whiteford's connections to and local knowledge of Scotland. Anxious to please, Whiteford, in turn, decided to rely upon Brodie's superior local knowledge of Scotland and of cattle. "I thought there

[95] MM PO21 File 10, John Gemmel (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 2 April 1822.
[96] MM PO21, File 10, William Cochran to Hugh Brodie, Bankfoot, Paisley, 1 May 1824.
[97]PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, 'Cairn,' 7: 473 6/4.
[98] Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, 71.

was none Better Skilled in Cattle than you," he wrote Brodie and hoped he, Brodie, would use his

> utmost indeavours to send a good two year old Bull you Know their [sic] is some good Cattle in Dalry Parish [in Scotland] at any Rate Send one Handsom in the fore[-]end with Small Crumb Horns Straight above Square Behind with a white Tage [sic] and Brown and white spots on his Bodey [sic] [...] and above all make inquirey about the Mother of the Bull if she has a good Stand of a Milk vessel and send word what man you Bought him from and Where from you can send him with Capt Reid True Britain or Capt Neil for the Cherub or aney [sic] one you can Depend on and Cause them to take plenty of potatoes for him by the way.[99]

In order to fulfill this request, Brodie turned to his new brother-in-law William Caldwell, portioner of Beltress in Lochwinnoch. Caldwell was an ordinary farmer like Brodie, but also, like him, was "considered a judicious man [and] often appointed a referee."[100] It was left up to Caldwell to find the bull, and he may well have searched one out in Dalry Parish as requested. The transaction was an apparent success.

In 1831, William Caldwell wrote to Brodie saying, "I am glad to hear that the Bull is agreeing with the climate and seems to please in your country." Caldwell had benefited from the exchange, for he had one of his cows serviced by the bull and he reported "we have afine Guery [sic] calf of him by a young heifer which took him when at Beltrees, the calf is his picture both in collour [sic] and shape—which we are rearing." Brodie thanked Caldwell for his efforts directly by sending a gift that reinforced Caldwell's local prestige by announcing Caldwell's American contacts:

> box a few days after which we received safe and sound when opend at Beltrees the birds appeared all in as good order Standing in their places as ever----I had no expectation of such a present and return my sincere thanks to you for it - we have

[99] MM PO21 File 14, Robert Whiteford (Floodlands) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 3 February 3 1827.
[100] *Fowler's Commercial Directory of the Principle Towns and Villages in the Upper Ward of Renfrewshire* (*n.p.*,1830), 168; PCL (LCL), Crawfurd, "Cairn," 24: 540, 7: 393.

> had anumber (sic) of callers to see the birds as they are a great curiosty (sic) in this place and looks well.[101]

Whiteford, however, warned Brodie that if he did "make a Charge for [his] trouble [in the matter of procuring the Bull] but they would Grumble after Being at so much trouble and be Disappointed." Whiteford added that he "hop[ed] Better things of [Brodie]."[102] Despite the undoubted economic advantage enjoyed Robert Kirkwood and his confederate of gentlemen, they insisted upon gentlemanly disinterest from their plebeian contact.

While the exchange of seeds and the livestock happened within the context of a gift exchange, Brodie purchased Scottish agricultural implements overseas. His network was still crucial in arranging the purchase and transportation of the goods. In 1809, early, after his emigration, Brodie asked his brother William who had returned to Scotland to send over some boynes (flat shallow tub).[103] In 1827 he bought 6 speds made by a man "considered the best sped maker in this countrey." The husband of his wife's cousin, William Sloan arranged the purchase for him, and sent them to Canada in the hands of a Mr. William Kerr, who was going over.[104] In 1830, Margaret Burns Miller who had been residing in Montreal, returned to Scotland to live and she sent him a "potatoe slap riddle," (a coarse-meshed sieve for spreading seeds)[105] Brodie was clearly a discriminating purchaser of technology. The spades he purchased in Scotland cost £1..8..5, while implements could be had in Lower Canada more cheaply.[106] In 1830 a spade was sold at

---

[101] MM PO21 File 4, William Caldwell (Beltress, Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 21 March 1831.
[102] MM PO21 File 14, Robert Whiteford (Floodlands) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 3 February 3 1827.
[103] MM PO21 File 3, Undated Letter fragment Signed by William Brodie, Post Mark 1809.
[104] MM PO21 File 10, William Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 Mach 1827.
[105] MM PO21 File 9, Margaret Burns Miller (Cupar Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 March 1830.
[106] MM PO21 File 10, William Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 March 1827

the Ralston estate sale for £0..4..0.[107] Brodie also did much to widen the technological range of implements at his disposal. In 1820, he also helped one of the Lindsay's of Howwood near Lochwinnoch, improve his technological leverage over the North American landscape, by paying the costs to receive and store "an iron plough" Lindsay sent out to a relative.

In the hands of the respected plough-maker Wilkie, the Old Scotch Plough, became a sought after technology. With the same discernment as his cousin Lindsay, Brodie wanted to use the best technology and to become a purveyor. On 4 November 1826 when he ordered an Iron Plough from the famed John Wilkie of Uddingston in Scotland. Wilkie sent the plough to Montreal in the care of Captain Allan, master of the *Favourite*. Evidently Brodie had indicated that he might also desire to send for ten more ploughs. Wilkie would oblige this larger order, by supplying the ploughs at lesser costs. Single mounted ploughs would coast £5, and a double mounted plough, £6. Wilkie reduced the price to £5.6s for the double mounted plough and £4.10s for the single. Wilkie awaited Brodie's reply and it is not known if Brodie carried through with this plan, but the fact that it occurred to him as an opportunity speaks volumes about Brodie's restless ability to take advantage of the capital he was accumulating from the Côte St. Pierre farm.[108] Brodie's grandson asserted that Père Gouegon, one of Brodie's French Canadian neighbors, asked Brodie to order him two Wilke's ploughs.[109] Though ploughing matches and discussions of technology was the business of the districts Agricultural Society, Brodie's letter, the numbers of ploughs he contemplated ordering

---

[107] MM PO21 File 18, "Inventory of the Effects Belonging to the Estate of W. Ralston." Expenses relating to this sale are entered in the expenses incurred by Hugh Brodie on the 23rd of March 1830 in a document entitled "the Estate of the late John Ralston."
[108] MM PO21 File 10, John Wilkie (Uddington, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 28 March 1827.
[109] "Robert Brodie's Memoire."

and his role as a source of information for apparent source of information for his neighbour, speak strongly of the independence of Brodie's activities. Brodie did not rely on local patronage networks to acquire new farming information. On the contrary, local elites relied upon him to procure valuable information.

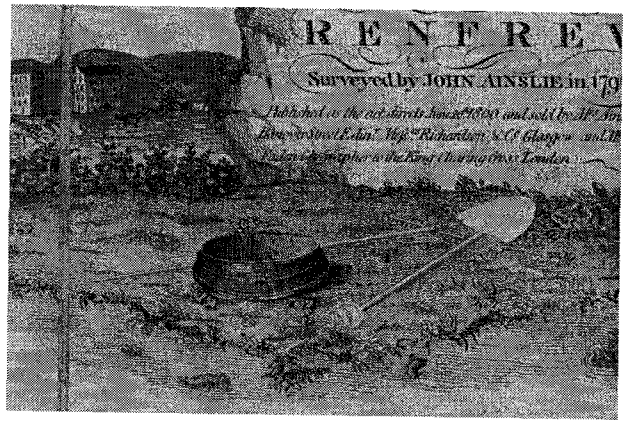

Figure 7 Spade and Boyne, detail from Ainslie's 1800 Map

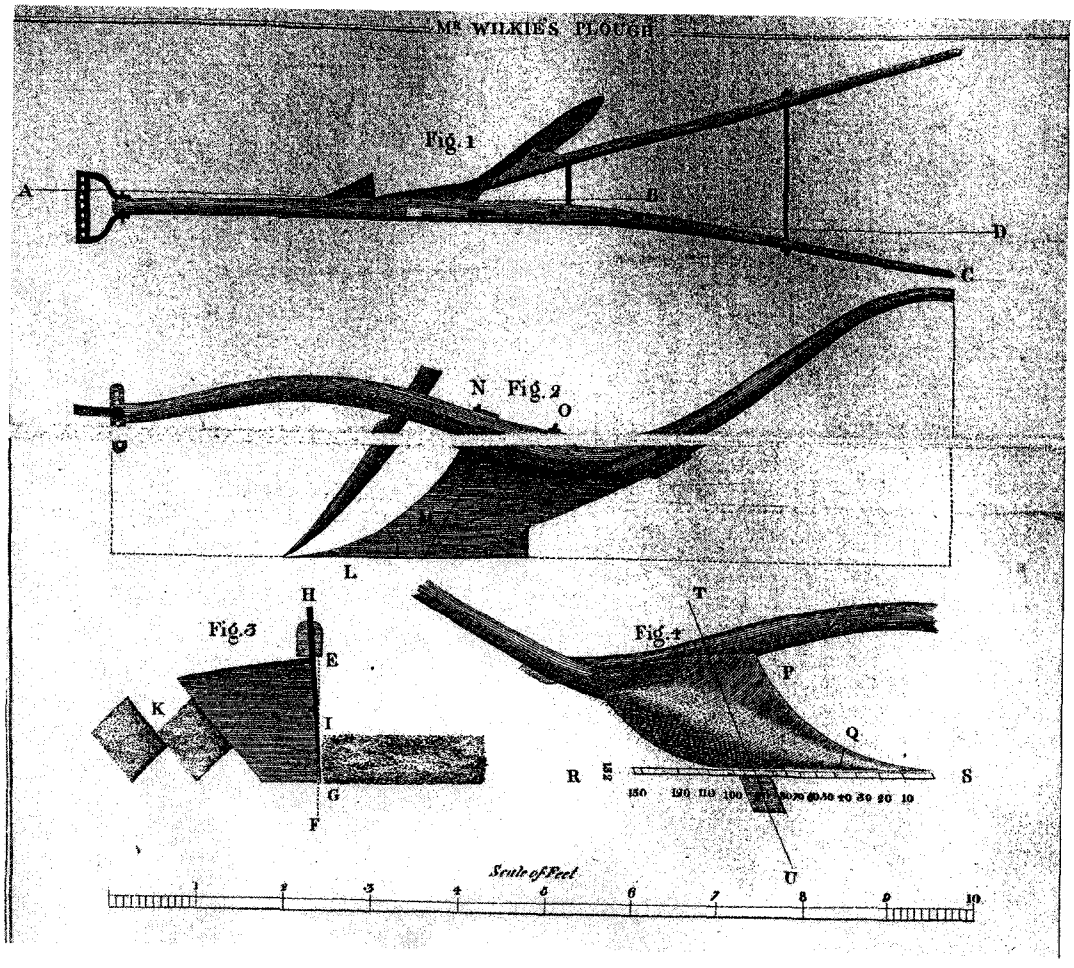

Figure 8 Image of Wilkie's Plough[110]

[110] William Aiton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr; with observations on the means of its improvement, drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvements*, (Glasgow: Printed by A. Napier, Trongate, 1811), 216.

The Practical Farmer

By 1840 Brodie had begun to occupy a place of leadership in Montreal's civil society and to accumulate capital. He became the president of the Montreal District Agricultural Society in 1829-30. After 1832, he expanded his landed interests gaining more prominence as an agricultural leader and consolidating his cultural power. Nonetheless, Brodie continued to promote the ideals of knowledge and improvement he had learned in Scotland.

In 1833 he purchased a large farm from the Honorable James Leslie. The farm was situated on the Lachine Road, very close the village of the Saint Henri and the Tanneries.[111] By 1835 he had conceded several lots associated with the property, becoming not just a landowner but a landlord. From this solid land base, Brodie applied to be made a Justice of the Peace for Montreal and he was appointed in 1836.[112]

In the 1840s, Brodie went from strength to strength, as his reputation as a farmer entered the press. In 1841 Brodie appeared in the pages of the *Canada Temperance Advocate*, the organ of the Montreal Temperance Society, as a contributor of farming knowledge and also as judge for an essay writing competition for the best essay on Horned Cattle and another on Hogs. Competitors were expected to explain briefly the qualities of different breeds of cattle or hogs, specifically "the Durham, Ayrshire, Hereford and Devon breed of cattle; and the Berkshire and China breed of Hogs, with the best crosses, and compare them with the breeds commonly raised in the country."

---

[111] *Archives des Religieuses Hospitalières de St.-Joseph-Montréal* (*ALHSJ-Montréal*) Fonds de la Procure, tiroire 8, Les Ventes, 4 november 1833, "Deed of Sale by James Leslie to Hugh Brodie," by notaries Bleakly & Blackwood.

[112] *Archives de la Ville de Montréal*, VN35 Fonds des juges de paix de Montréal, Juges de Paix (1836-1840), Administration, 1-B; *BAnQ*, TL32, S31, Rapports des juges de paix sur les convictions sommaires, January 1842, "List of JPs who have not made Returns Under the Ordn, 2 Vic. Ch. 20, those who reside in Montreal and those marked are not in default." (Hugh Brodie was not in default.)

Contestants were also expected to demonstrate "the best modes of keeping these animals, and turning them to the greatest possible advantage." Hugh Brodie, along with Alex Binning, were chosen as the arbiters, the men who were best able to answer the questions and to set standards for other farmers.[113] In 1848 a traveling observer from Massachusetts visited Montreal where he learned of Hugh Brodie's improved farming and reported in the *Massachusetts Ploughman and the New England Journal of Agriculture* that in the neighborhood of Montreal, there were many admirable farms, "highly cultivated and productive."

> I visited many of these [Montreal farms], among others that of Mr. J. Hayes and Mr. Hugh Brodie, and found on several of them the best system adopted, both as to manuring, ploughing, seeding, and rotation of crops; and the results here, as every where else from like cause are entirely satisfactory.[114]

Brodie's reputation as an excellent farmer circulated freely in the international agricultural circles. The following year, Brodie appears as a judge at the New York State Agricultural Fair at Syracuse.[115]

Brodie's adjudication in these competitions signal his incorporation in the state's hegemonic drive to shape the mind and the labor of the average farmer. Exhibitions, as Elsbeth Heaman has shown, are particularly powerful tools in the exercise of hegemony because "they were designed to appeal to reason and to deference alike." Moreover, "exhibitions instituted a monologue rather than a dialogue because the governing classes controlled the apparatus of communication by which the ideology of improvement was promulgated—the popular press and platforms at exhibitions." There were few ways for

---

[113] *Canada Temperance Advocate* 7(7) 1841, no page number.
[114] A Traveler, "Agricultural Ramble.-Things By the Way," *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture*, 7(46) 12 August 1848, p.1.
[115] "Reports of the Committees, 1849," in Volume 11, *The Transactions of the New-York State Agricultural Society* (Albany: Weed, Parson & Co., 1850), 101.

people "to air any disagreement publicly."[116] Brodie remained a solid proponent of the nexus of agriculture, improvement and patriotism, but his appearance in the popular press may be associated with a backlash against the increasingly elite-dominated area of improved farming.

Precisely when agricultural societies and the culture of the fairs were becoming more and more disconnected from the actual farmer, Brodie appears in connection with what appears to be more plebian interests. Hugh Brodie's obituary notice of 1852 paints him as an ordinary man, emphasizing the "independent" way in which he had achieved his "competence" in farming:

> Though without the advantages of early education, few men were more intelligent than Mr. Brodie, and still fewer surpassed him in sagacity. He took every opportunity to store his mind with knowledge, and, though eminently practical, did not disdain book knowledge in farming.

The assertion that Brodie had not benefited from an early education, was a surprising one to be associated with a Scot given that pride in education was a definitive aspect of Scottish identity in the 18th and 19th centuries. Just one year after Brodie's death, British Prime Minister Gladstone, was vaunting on an international stage the success of the Scots settlers across the world due to their superior education. He most certainly had a parish education, even if it had taken place under one of the 'four bad schoolmasters,' we saw in Chapter One. Likely, the notice referred to the lack of a grammar school education and this rhetoric revives the values of the radical poet Alexander Wilson who praised Hugh's father, for not being corrupted in his expression by "dull pedantic rules." Highlighting Brodie's lack of formal education, his natural 'sagacity,' and his independent relationship with 'book knowledge of farming,' linked him to the growing discourse of the 'practical

[116] Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace,* 97-8.

farmer.' Hugh Brodie aligned himself with the ideals of the 'practical farmer,' as the discourse best suited to help farmers achieve an independent competence.

The 19th century discourse of the "practical farmer" had much in common with the folk primitivism of the late 18th century Lochwinnoch parish with its refusal of the 'spirit of system.' Like his father, Hugh Brodie, did not "disdain book knowledge," but applied this knowledge carefully and judiciously. By the 1840s, members of the agricultural improvement movement had grown disenchanted. Sarah Wilmot's analysis of British agricultural writing notes a growing tendency in agricultural texts to criticize the alliance of aristocratic patrons of agriculture with science, arguing that these elite leaders and the pursuit of esoteric scientific experiments were not benefiting the average farmer.[117] On the Canadian scene, the average farmer was beginning to react against the culture of the agricultural exhibition which reinforced the position of already successful capitalist farmers and even worked to select the 'captains of agriculture.' By the late 1860s, the ordinary farmer found himself more and more marginalized in these fora and complaints mounted: "'real, practical farmers' [began] 'to complain bitterly of being unable to secure prizes.'"[118] Beginning in the 1840s however, the Canadian agricultural literature began to have recourse to the ideas of practical farming as articulated by such authorities as Mr. Low professor of agricultural at Edinburgh, who published *The Elements of Practical Agriculture* in 1843.[119] In essence the expression 'practical farmer,' meant a practicing farmer, one who sustained himself by his exertions as a farmer. And the great topic of debate was the extent to which the 'practical farmer'

---

[117] Sarah Wilmot, *'The Business of Improvement': Agriculture and Scientific Culture in Britain, c. 1700-c. 1870* (Bristol, England: Historical Geography Research Series, 1990), chapter 6 passim.
[118] Elsbeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace,* 97-8.
[119] "On the Application of Science to Agriculture, No. II," *The Canadian Agriculturalist* 1(2) 1849, 32.

required an education in science and should follow the dictates of capitalist farming. In 1847 *The British American Cultivator* carried a challenge to the dominant opinion that "those only who cultivate large farms [and] accumulate property [...] are entitled to the appellation of good farmers." The author drew attention to the many small farms of about 80 acres that brought plenty to their owners. "The prosperous farmer's success must not be attributed to the extent of the acres he cultivates, but to his industry, economy, and skill."[120] The farmer then should not make a fetish of science and the outward signs of capitalism, but continue to cultivate his skills as a cultivator. Skill, process and produce served the ordinary farmer and agricultural writers debated the advisability of establishing an Agricultural College, an experimental farm, and model gardens at country schools to make available the benefits of science to the ordinary farmer. Mr. Buckland of Beneden offered a balanced vision of the farmer's relationship to science and practice in his address to the Maidstone Farmer's Club of Upper Canada arguing that

> Agriculture has many important relations, of which it is essential that the practical farmer should have some knowledge, and he who aspires to the advance of his art must draw largely upon the wide range of the physical sciences [...] It is to geology, aided by chemistry, that we must look for such a classification as shall meet the wants, both of scientific and practical agriculturalists should know botany and vegetable physiology.

However, he offered several important caveats to this position. He did not dismiss the importance of the farmer's own skills, stating that the farmer's success "depends in high degree on sensitive information, as well as practical skill." For "practice, however, could do much better without science, than science could without practice" and he reminded his audience that "the fact is, theoretical and scientific writers have frequently made such

---

[120] *The British American Cultivator* 3(1) 1847, 8-9.

egregious mistakes on agricultural subjects, that farmers have very naturally formed the habit of looking, at first, on any extraordinary statement or professed discovery with suspicion."[121] Still, the farmer should not close his eyes to book learning but make a judicious appraisal of the information they offered.

Another Canadian commentator writing two years later in *The Canadian Agriculturalist* in an essay "On the Application of Science to Agriculture, No II" did not take such a temperate view of the relationship between science and practice. He dismissed the idea that experimental science was "necessary to the formation of a correct theory of agriculture." For

> although such knowledge may be indispensable to the advancement of agriculture as a science, yet it by no means follows that an intimate acquaintance either with chemistry or physiology is necessary to the improvement of agriculture as an *art.* What single improvement in farming, among the many that have been made within the last half century, can be legitimately traced to mere scientific investigations?

The writer listed many great technological innovations in the past centuries that were "carried out by practical men." The manufacture of "porcelain, staining glass, dying, beaching, calico-printing all depend upon chemical laws." It is true that advances in the science of chemistry made these processes cheaper, but "they all existed, and some of them in a comparatively perfect state, before chemistry settled down into a science." In a defence of the ordinary farmer that recalled Adam Smith's defence of the common ploughman, the writer addressed the stereotype of "the dullness and stupidity of practical farmers," by pointing out that "his operations are conducted out of doors, and subjected to all the uncontrollable elements of that variable and fickle thing called *weather.*" Scientific explanations cannot necessarily take into consideration this constantly

[121] "Lecture on Agricultural Improvement by Mr. Buckland of Beneden to the Maidstone Farmer's Club," *British American Cultivator* 3(1) 1847, 23-5.

changing environment. He concluded that farming knowledge was "a species of knowledge which *experience only can supply"* and he urged prospective emigrants not to "come to this country with a system [of farming] already cut and dried, however correct in the abstract may be its science." He conceded that the principles of agriculture were the same the world over but "they require an endless series of modifications in practice to suit the constantly recurring variations of climate and soils, to say nothing of the exchangeable value of produce." [122] Farmers should be aware that the aims of science were not necessarily in harmony with their own interests.

Brodie's role in the dissemination of agricultural knowledge was to promote the interests of other practical farmers such as himself. The *Canada Temperance Advocate* promoted his abilities as a judge—along with those of the other judge—stating that they were eminently practical and experienced men. Like his father, Brodie viewed agricultural institutions such as the Kilbarchan Farmer Society and the New York State Agricultural Fair, as acting in the service of the everyday farmer. As Brodie became more involved in civil institutions that supported the state rather than the farmer, he adopted a mediating role. In 1849 he judged with four other men the ploughing matches at the New York State Agricultural Fair, praising the contestants, noting the hardness of the ground, the excellence of the plows, the skills of the ploughmen, but added this future recommendation:

> It is hoped that the Society will increase its premiums, and require the kind of plows used to be entered by each competitor, as well as the name of the plowman; and that premiums be awarded to the plowman, as well as to the person who enters for competition.[123]

---

[122] "On the Application of Science to Agriculture, No. II," *The Canadian Agriculturalist* 1(2) 1849, 30.
[123] "Reports of the Committees, 1849," in Volume 11, *The Transactions of the New-York State Agricultural Society* (Albany: Weed, Parson & Co., 1850), 101.

The successfully ploughed field represented the harmonious coming together of many different facets, technology, skill and capital. All, therefore, deserved recognition, even the ploughman who possessed only skill.

Brodie's most ambivalent expressions about imperialism and class appear in the context of his institutional interactions with French Canadians (e.g. as justice of the Peace). Positions on these institutions undoubtedly represented a sense of personal achievement for him, entry into institutions in Scotland that would have excluded him. He was a long-time member of the Montreal District Agricultural Society that put him in company with many leading French-speaking and English-speaking Montrealers. But, his leadership in these arenas brought him into conflict with French Canadian interests, on at least two occasions. He was president for the year 1829-30, the first year the society offered separate prizes to French Canadian and British contestants, much to the later disgust of Lord Durham, who saw "it as yet another lost opportunity for contact between the races."[124] The issue of prize-giving created a permanent rift in 1834 when prominent agriculturalist William Evans, left the Montreal District Agricultural Society and in company with Papineau founded the Montreal County Society, leaving the District Society to the British party.[125] It is very difficult to interpret the meaning of this action, except by the outrage of the French Canadians.[126]

Brodie was also involved in another incident of racial antagonism in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace. Only two quarterly returns due by the Justices of the Peace to

---

[124] Elsbeth Heaman, "Commerical Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions At Home and Abroad During the 19th Century," 46.
[125] Elsbeth Heaman, "Commerical Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions At Home and Abroad During the 19th Century," 46.
[126] MM PO21 File 15, Received from Hugh Brodie by John Evans, 40 minots of Barley, 2 February 1829; 20 minots of barley 3 February 1829; by Thomas Evans, 40 mints of barley, 2 February 1829; 120 minots of barley 10 February 1829; 20 minots of barley, 11 February 1829.

the clerk of the Peace survive with his name. Most significantly, he acted, in concert with three other magistrates to enforce the rules of the Special Council concerning the province's winter roads. In April of 1840 he, Charles Penner, V.R. Lapenseur, James Somerville sitting at Lachine and at the Tanneries, judged cases brought before them for offences contrary "Ordce 2nd Vi. 34" or "an Ordinance to provide for the improvement, during the winter season, of the principal Post Roads from various parts of the Province to Montreal, and for other purposes."[127] The sleigh laws, as they came to be known ranked equally with the very Act of Union of 1840 as signs of British oppressive rule in Lower Canada.[128] In total the four JPs judged 85 cases in which neighbor turned in neighbor. Fourteen men, 7 with French names and 7 with English names turned out to arrest their neighbors for disobeying the ordinance and they brought 85 cases before the four Justices of the Peace sitting at Lachine and the Tanneries.[129] Even William Evans had sided with the "English Societies in their campaign against the French-Canadian sleigh, which caused "cahots" or holes in the snow."[130] He even suffered himself to be caught in that April net. In this instance it becomes easier to think about what Brodie's attitude towards his Canadian neighbors might have been. The campaign for agricultural reform in Scotland had involved solving similar problems—the banishing of vehicles that were detrimental to the public good, by making travel difficult on the roads. Also, as his father could attest and as he probably experienced as a young child, the improvers leveled

---

[127] Ordn, 2 Vic. Ch. 34, "An Ordinance to provide for the improvement, during the winter season, of the principal Post Roads from various parts of the Province to Montreal, and for other purposes," *Ordinances Made and Passed by His Excellency the Governor General and Special Council, for the Affairs of the Province of Lower Canada* (Quebec: J.C. Fisher and W. Kemble, 1839), 402-6.
[128] Stephen Kenny, "'Cahots and Catcalls:' An Episode of Popular Resistance in Lower Canada at the Outset of the Union," *Canadian Historical Review* 65(2) 1984: 184-208.
[129] *BAnQ,* TL32, S31, "Quarterly Return For the Parish of Lachine," 20th April 1840, signed by Donald Duff, Hugh Brodie, V. Roy Lapensu, James Somerville, Charles Penner.
[130] Elsbeth Heaman, "Commerical Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions At Home and Abroad During the 19th Century," 47.

a great deal of abuse at the average farmer. What this dissertation has tried to demonstrate are the ways in which people like the Brodies adopted some of the ideas of the improvers and used them to further their own ends. And sometimes participation in national projects was in one's long term best interest. The following chapter explores further the ways in which Brodie managed the tension between the need to maintain a particular identity and the universalizing tendencies of liberalism.

This chapter has illustrated the ways in which Hugh Brodie carried forward into colonial Montreal the values of Lochwinnoch parish as articulated by his father. He, along with his family, continued to benefit from the empirical values of the "Folk Enlightenment." Brodie upon the local knowledge of his Scottish contacts to link him to a highly respected agricultural regime—Scotland's high farming—and this significantly widened the sphere of his expertise. He could be an expert in local Canadian agriculture and in Scottish agriculture. His participation in the discourse of the practical farmer echoed the moral dimensions of Scottish primitivism. However ever jealously Brodie guarded his place in a cosmopolitan and liberal world, the particularity of the Scottish dimensions of his experiences were equally important.

Chapter Four

The Neighbourhood Atlantic

This feeling of love for their native country is more strongly implanted in the Scotch, than either in the English or Irish, and, consequently, they feel the pang of separation more keenly. It is certainly a trait in their character, which does them honour; but it is the cause of much unhappiness to them, and too often paralyses their exertions; causes them to despond, and even brings on disease.

John G. Reilly

Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in the year 1834[1]

Despite the Brodies' immersion in the new culture of Montreal and their investment in the province's conflicts and prosperity, the parish of Lochwinnoch continued to structure their lives. The geographical space circumscribed by the Second British Empire created an environment in which they continued to cultivate the enlightenment ideals of the 18th century parish of their father. The social connections forged in the parish also sustained a transatlantic community of interest between plebian Scots. Maintaining these relationships also meant perpetuating the late-18th century values of Lochwinnoch parish of the "Enlightenment Folk."

This chapter asserts that the idea or the myth of the "democratic intellect" was not a hegemonic tool of the Scottish elites as R.A. Houston suspected.[2] On the contrary, the myth of the "democratic intellect" represented the positive self-portrayal of ordinary Scots who rooted their distinctive national identity in their appropriation and use of

[1] Cited in Allan I. Macinnes et al., eds, *Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c.1939: A Documentary Source Book*, (Edinburgh: Lothian Print, 2002), 207.
[2] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 240.

enlightenment ideas. Previous chapters demonstrated the existence of an independent knowledge-culture in a Scottish parish and the ways in which that independent culture shaped the parameters of Hugh Brodie's behavior in Lower Canada. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the idea of a "democratic intellect" was closely allied to the national self-construction of ordinary Scots such as the Brodies.

Insight into the Brodies' role in helping to construct or at least maintain the image of the democratic intellect is gained from several perspectives. First, the Brodies took an ethnographic interest in their own lives and personal histories by actively participating in the compilation of Andrew Crawfurd's "Cairn of Lochwinnoch." The portrait they helped build juxtaposed their local knowledge with their mastery of elite knowledge to produce a collective portrait of the community's intellect. Second, the Brodies took care to maintain the community bonds they had forged in their late-18th century parish. The process of maintaining community relations through the act of exchanging letters ensured their continuing relevance well into the 19th century. Finally, the Scottish community of Montreal reified those same values by turning Hugh Brodie into a cultural icon upon his death in 1852. Crucially, Brodie appeared in the mid-Victorian press not as the product of the Scottish national school system but as someone attuned to the ideals of the folk and of the Enlightenment: i.e. to a version of the much vaunted "adaptability," and "resourcefulness," of the Scots.

Examining the Brodies' role in articulating the contents of a specific Scottish identity addresses another historiographical problem: if Scottishness lends itself so easily to characterization, it is because the category itself lacked meaning. Historian Edward Cowan articulated the problem this way: "the manufacture of Scottish identifiers

throughout the nineteenth century masks the decline in Scottish identity."[3] Cowan echoed a view prevailing within Scottish circles that, in the late-18th and early-19th century, Scotland suffered from an identity crisis because modern expressions of nationalism did not emerge as they had in other European nations.[4] Scottish elites and plebians alike subscribed to the forward-looking modernity associated with some aspects of anglicization.[5] Both groups valued the English balanced constitution as a worthy political model and placed an "emphasis on the micro politics of personal freedom to the exclusion of the independence of the national community."[6]

Canadian historians have detected a similar malaise in the expression of Scottishness on the colonial scene. In their edited collection, *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990,* Marjory Harper and Michael Vance provide an important introduction to the cultural function of a Scottish identity in Canada by highlighting the identity's slipperiness. Their study unpacks the Scottish culture in Nova Scotia into its three parts: the existence of romantic myths about 18th century Scottish cultural and historical experiences; the historical realities and dimensions of Scottish immigration to Canada; and the Canadian invention of Scottish culture through the dynamic of creating memories. The three sections work together to

---

[3] Edward J. Cowan, "The Myth of Scotch Canada," in *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990,* ed. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax and Edinburgh: Fernwood and John Donald, 1999), 64.

[4] T.M. Devine articulates this broadly held view in his article, "Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-8* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers,1989), 1-21.

[5] Colin Kidd, "North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms," *The Historical Journal* 39(2) 1996: 363, 375,

[6] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 250.

highlight tensions between spurious cultural production and the realities of the Scottish experience in the diaspora.[7]

In particular, the work of Edward Cowan contained in their volume and elsewhere turns a very skeptical eye upon expressions of Scottish ethnicity in early Canada. In his separately published companion pieces, "The Myth of Scotch Canada," (1999) and "The Scots' Imaging of Canada," (2006) Edward Cowan argues that the expression of Scottish ethnic identity in Canada has consisted in enacting a Scottish myth. The myth consisted less in its content, than in its performance. For Scottishness, "is notoriously difficult to define," and is rather "reaffirmed, experienced or invented through such community activities as meetings of Scottish societies or Caledonian games." In general he assesses these performances of identity as empty, and a symptom of the real decline in Scottish identity in the 19th century.[8] Cowan revisits this theme in his other piece and in one instance interprets the backwoods pioneer's expression of Scottishness as

> somewhat disingenuous in their nostalgia for the Old Country, since they were desperate to prosper in the New, and they did not greatly care how they came by their fortunes. But they also contributed to the forging of a literary identity for Canada. For them the great new country was to become the Scotland they had lost.[9]

A closer examination of the uses to which emigrant Scots such as the Brodies turned their "nostalgia for the Old Country," provides a whole new perspective on their continuing engagement with Scotland.

---

[7] Marjory Harper and Michael Vance, "Introduction," to *Migration and the Making of Memory,* 14-48, *passim.*
[8] Edward J. Cowan, "The Myth of Scotch Canada," 49-50, 53, 56, 62.
[9] Edward J. Cowan, "The Scots Imaging of Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, ed. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 10.

The creation of Scottishness was a transatlantic phenomenon and part of the Brodies' colonial experiences in Montreal was participating in the articulation—in both the expressive and relational meanings of the word—of a Scottish identity. That identity, I argue, lies in the very regions denigrated as false and empty. In his early work Colin Kidd refuses to believe that a commitment to modernity, progress and liberalism within the confines of the British Empire can possibly leave a population with a strong sense of historical legitimacy as a political nation. Similarly, Edward Cowan tends to view expressions of sentiment lacking social meaning. However, as Nicholas Phillipson noted in his review of Kidd's book, the "Scots have shown a greater virtuosity in thinking about identity and culture and in constructing a highly complex, emotive and pragmatic understanding of an imagined community [i.e. sense of nationhood] than any other European nation, and I would also argue that, functionally, that sense of identity has served the Scots remarkably well for a very long time."[10] Phillipson does not there elaborate upon on the specific dimensions of the Scots understanding of the national community.

This chapter argues that the Brodies articulated and acted out a sense of Scottish identity by the conscious and unconscious appreciation of the importance of sentimentalism. Their appeals to the past and to emotions are not hollow expressions, but the very means by which they were able to overcome physical dislocation to keep intact the original parish community of late-18th century Lochwinnoch where they were children. Thus, it would be possible to read quite literally the excerpt from John G. Reilly's *Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in the year 1834,* cited

[10] Nicholas Phillipson, "Review of *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity*," *English Historical Review* 111(441) 1996: 497.

above. Love of the nation was implanted in the hearts and minds of Scots; it was an aspect of Scottish moral philosophy disseminated (as discussed in Chapter One) on the parish level. It provided the average Scot a sociological and sentimental intellectual framework with which to interpret their experiences.

The Cairn of Lochwinnoch and the Lochwinnoch Folk

The Brodies helped play a critical role in transmuting their progressive and cosmopolitan engagement with Enlightenment philosophies (such as sentimentalism) into an ethnic identity by helping to give the folk an objective face. In the process they helped create the myth of Scotland's "democratic intellect." On one level, Andrew Crawfurd's work in compiling the "The Cairn of Lochwinnoch" could be interpreted as middle-class appropriation of a folk identity. On another level, he also acted in concert and in co-operation of the people of Lochwinnoch to create his great manuscript.

Crawfurd's ethnographic work in the parish and his career as a minor Scots poet place him firmly within the antiquarian movement of the early 19th century. Significantly, he had worked as a surgeon in the Highlands and may well have learned his ethnographic techniques from the then flourishing business of harvesting folklore culture. After an illness, from his base at Johnshill Cottage, he continued his antiquarian activities and participated in the creation of a Scottish folk for public consumption. William Motherwell acknowledged a debt of gratitude to Crawfurd, in his famous 1827 collection, *Minstrelsy.*[11] In that same introduction, Motherwell also outlined a fairly typical elite perception of the folk. The urban poor, corrupted by the effects of industrialization and

[11] Lyle, E.B. "The printed Writings of Andrew Crawfurd," *The Bibliotheck: a Socttish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics*, 7(6) 1975: 144.

the cramped human environment of the cities and the dependence of wage-labor, were nothing more than "rabble." They had lost the virtues of the rural poor, those "patriotick children of an ancient and heroick race." Nonetheless, their world was disappearing. The "working people had departed from the stern simplicity of their fathers, and [had] learned with the paltry philosophers, political quacks, and illuminated dreamers on Economick and Moral science, to laugh at the prejudices, beliefs, and superstitions of elder times."[12] Crawfurd is complicit with Motherwell's ungenerous attitudes towards the working classes and his appropriation of rural culture.

Crawfurd contributed ghost and other supernatural tales of Lochwinnoch parish to the Scottish collection, *The Philosophy of Witchcraft.* The Brodies' ancestor, Davide Breadine of the Linthills had his battles with the devil recorded there.[13] What the Brodies might have thought about this is not certain. Cultural studies theorist, John Storey expresses the dominant academic opinion about the category of the folk when he explains that "folk culture was very much a category of the learned, constructed by intellectuals, especially collectors, editors, and publishers, and not a concept generated by the people defined as the folk."[14] A closer examination, however, of the way in which Crawfurd collected his ethnographic material complicates the idea that the category of the folk was an elite construction.

Crawfurd's "Cairn," provides an unusual, understudied and relatively unmediated access to peasant culture and it allows us to penetrate beyond elite conceptions of the folk. Evidence internal to the document suggests Crawfurd's authorial voice is muted: he named his sources and recorded conflicting accounts. Second, the creation of the

---

[12] As cited in John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, 5.
[13] J. Mitchell and Jn. Dickie, *The Philosophy of Witchcraft* (Paisley: Murray and Stewart, 1839), 280-1.
[14] John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture*, 1-2.

document was a parish affair. The pages were composed in a social setting and because the "Cairn" was never published it was not beholden to consumer desires. For twenty years, Crawfurd's cottage was the social centre of the parish, as he acted as amanuensis to the parish, recording memories, thoughts, values, family histories and the complicated genealogies of land transfers. As one Lochwinnoch correspondent Jean Dinsmore, explained to Ann Brodie, at the time of his death in December 1855, Crawfurd had "spent his time writing down every thing that he could hear." Jean was writing to say that they had received "the Brodie's pedigree." Perhaps the family had requested an extract from his monumental Cairn. At any rate, Ann knew quite well how Crawfurd had spent his time.[15] He lived at Johnshill Cottage, where her sister-in-law Mary Brodie had lived until her death in about 1825. Her uncle James Brodie had lived at Johnshill Cottage until his death at the advanced age of 95 years and Crawfurd called him "my neighbour."[16] Also, her cousin, Margaret Brodie Sloan, Robert's daughter lived at Johnshill Cottage as well towards the end of her life. Crawfurd was also responsible for selecting the seeds and plants native to Scotland that her husband Hugh Brodie received. In short, Crawfurd was a member of the Brodie network.

Moreover, James Brodie, (Ann Brodie's uncle and Crawfurd's neighbour) was a source of much of Crawfurd's information about the Brodie family and the parish's social customs. James Brodie provided genealogical information, he contributed his experiences as a pupil of Naismith the formidable parish school-master who had passed his prime by the mid-18th century, the tale of "gudwife of the Boghaw," stories about a man's escapade going racing—one of the favoured pass-times in the parish—how a

[15] MM PO21 File 10, Jean Dunsmore (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 22 March 1855.
[16] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, *Cairn* 7: 473; 5: 38; 11: 351; NAS, CH2/649/26 page 6 or frame 63.

husband murdered his wife "in a lime hole hear his house," and about his experiences of the old Scottish custom of the "penny wedding."[17] Robert Brodie, Ann's father, also contributed some of the Cairn's ethnographic detail. He had grown up in Lochwinnoch parish and had experienced Naismith's antique pedagogical practice of examining the children "aloud in the Kirk."[18] The Brodies were thus witness to and active participants in the creation of the folk and developed an awareness of themselves as the bearers of culture. They were the folk.

More than that, they were a forward-looking folk. For in addition to the ghost and fairy stories, Crawfurd recorded their educational attainments, their reading material, their farming techniques and their progress. Crawfurd even documented the families' welfare after they had emigrated from the parish. This is how Hugh Brodie came to be recorded as a "Laird of Montreal," 29 years after he left the parish. Safe in Johnshill Cottage, Crawfurd kept track of the parish as they participated in their version of world citizenship. The image portrayed of the Brodie family and the "other proprietors" of Lochwinnoch parish combined the elements of the "Folk Enlightenment," of their rooted and particular application of a cosmopolitan modernity.

The "cairn's" inscription of and emphasis upon the educational attainments of various members helps provide insight into a myth of the "democratic intellect," as indeed the formulation of ordinary people, despite Houston's suspicion that they may have been caught in the hegemonic thrall of the ideal never attained in real life. More important than the objectification of Lochwinnoch parish's "Folk Enlightenment" and the

---

[17] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, *Cairn* 7:479; 26: 72; Index entry 2: 359; 4: 472; 11: 351; NAS CH2/649/26 page 2, frame 60.
[18] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, *Cairn* 10: 51.

people's "democratic intellect," the Cairn of Lochwinnoch illustrates the role that mental framework played in maintaining social relationships across the Atlantic.

The Neighbourhood of Letters

The Brodies maintained relationships with their relatives in Scotland by exchanging letters and these letters provide telling insight into how the Scots operated within a mental framework, later described by Benedict Anderson, as an imagined community. The exchange of letters and the judicious use of print capitalism both, allowed the Brodies to perpetuate their community through their imagination.[19]

Only a shadow of the correspondence exchanged by the Brodies survives in the collections of the McCord Museum (Montréal, Canada.) Many letters appear to be missing and only the letters sent from Scotland survive in this collection. Yet, the surviving letters retain a portrait of the Brodies' Scottish connections. Several dozen letters recreate Hugh Brodie's family relations. His mother, Mary Gemmel, his sister Mary Brodie, his full-brother William Brodie, his two half-brothers Andrew and Robert Brodie, appeared to attempt to write Hugh in Montreal at least once a year. These family letters describe the living conditions of Lochwinnoch parish, Saltcoats and the west of Ireland. In general, these family members evinced little hope of seeing Hugh and his family again, and consequently, their letters focus upon morals, principles and intellectual

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), 37-46. As David Fitzpatrick demonstrated in *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, the social dynamic promoted by the exchange of these letters was not peculiar to the Brodies or even to Scots. Of interest for this dissertation is the evidence of the Brodie's conscious awareness of the sociological implications of maintaining a social network. This is explored in the next section, "Keeping the Neighbour's Interest at Heart."

discourses. Similarly, Ann's cultural ties to Scotland are recorded in the dozens of letters her cousin Margaret Brodie Sloan sent to her. The nieces and nephews of these core family members also sent letters to the Montreal Brodies, often making claims upon the ties of kinship and seeking emigration advice. The other great body of letters in the Brodie papers hail from many parts of the Atlantic World (the Canadas and the United States) and these letters tend to be very practical. These letter-writers were linked to the Brodies by sharing a common history of growing up in western Scotland. Moreover, they have often been in recent physical proximity with Hugh and Ann in Montreal, either as neighbours or visitors. These letters focus less upon ideas and general values, but are practical and focused upon specific details.

For the letter writers who retained little hope of sharing a common environment with the Montreal Brodies newspapers were an important touchstone. In 1845 Jean Laird wrote to her "Dear Cousin," presumably Ann. Her letter was unusually descriptive and provides insight into how she drew links between her experiences in Scotland and those Ann must be experiencing through the medium of newspapers.

> there is a fine appearance of Good Crops here this Season. There is a little deficency amongst the potatoes but corn, wheat and hay are very Good if we have a Good harvest time and we See By the papers there is Good crops in Canada so there will Be abondence of food for Man & for Beast.[20]

It is through the medium of a newspaper that Jean is able to correlate her experience to that of her cousin. Other correspondents reveal how the receipt of North American news in their indigenous newspapers prompted them to make contact with the Brodies. In late July of 1834 James Borland penned a concerned letter to Hugh Brodie. He wrote to him about his father-in-law, stating:

---

[20] MM PO21 File 10, Jean Laird (Kilmalcolm, Scotland) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 5 August 1845.

> as I huve received no letters, and of Seing the Death of him in the Glasgow Heurrild Newes Papers tacken from the Mentreul Gassett, by the Deat of the Papper, it seemes he had ... died verry Sudden. I sent out letters by John Lang this Spring, and has received no answer to them, nor [*of*] his death hey seem to be verey Carless about Writting to us about it all.[21]

The Glasgow newspapers served him well in this instance. As he knew that Hugh Brodie had known the dead man, he applied to him for information about the deceased's property.

The Church of Scotland's international links also provided means for separated family members to share experiences. Both ministers of St Andrew's Church who served during Ann and Hugh's lifetime took leaves of absence to Scotland. While pursuing their own interests at home, they offered the Brodie relatives an opportunity to share the experience of their ministrations. In the spring of 1820, Hugh's half-brother Robert reported from Saltcoats that "last harvest I had the pleasure of conversing with and hearing your Minister Mr. Easton."[22] Likewise, Alexander Mathieson, who served as the Church's next minister, went home on leave and made contact with Hugh and Ann's Lochwinnoch kin. Margaret reported to Ann in August 1853: "Your Minister [erased: Mr.] Dr. Matheson called on us on the 20th of october last he is nice Gintel man. He gave us an address and prayed with us. We thought a great dale of him."[23] It was not uncommon for Church of Scotland ministers to return home for a sojourn.

The exchange of gossip also played an important role in maintaining the currency of local knowledge that knit the group together. Reputations had to be won, maintained, and spoken of, and gossip flowed easily within this correspondence network. Hugh

---

[21] MM PO21 File 10, James Borland (Kilmarnock, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 July 1834.
[22] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 4 April 1820.
[23] MM PO21 File 6, Margaret Brodie Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 12 August 1853.

Brodie in Montreal was able to track the progress of the Wilson family's domestic dispute. He heard both Scottish and American perspectives on the situation.[24] Similarly, the murder of Mr. Watson, the flour inspector, shot while in conversation with the Rev. Alexander Mathieson also entered the transatlantic knowledge network.[25] In 1834 Ross Robertson wrote to Hugh from Fosbar asking for Hugh's help in supporting two aged Brodie relatives living in the writer's neighbourhood. Robertson stated that he had been encouraged to write to him "from the very favorable accounts I have heard of your character for hospitality & humanity."[26] In 1841 word of mouth suggestion resulted in Hugh being chosen as "a fit person to be inserted in" the power of attorney of yet another Scot seeking to liquidate the Canadian legacy of a dead relative because he was thought to have been "somewhat acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the deceased."[27]

Gossip could also restore soured family relationships. Jean Cameron's husband roamed around North America searching for work. While he remained in contact with Brodie, he disappointed his family by not writing and not sending money. Two of his sons had stayed with Brodie. Hugh remained in Lower Canada, while ill health forced James to return to Scotland. On his return journey he

> met with a man from Montreal who is going home to Scotland and his name is Gemmle. He is the man that was with Clerk at long point. He told me that my Brother told him that you had received a letter from John Cochran enforming you that he saw my Father and he was doing well and earning a doller per day. If this account be true it will give great satisfaction to me and likewise those at home but

---

[24] MM PO21 File 14, John Cochran (New York) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 17 July 1826; File 9, Elizabeth Burns Miller (Cupar, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 March 1830 and 27 March 1833.
[25] James Croil, *The Life of the Rev. Alex. Mathieson, D.D: Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal* (Montreal: Dawson, 1870,) 59-60; MM PO21 File 6, Margaret Burns Miller (Cupar, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 March 1833; MM PO24 File 7, Archibald Cameron (New York) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 12 April 1827.
[26] MM PO21 File 10, Ross Robertson (Fosbar, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 27 March 1833.
[27] MM PO21 File 10, J.C. Rinsdale (Stonehaven, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal, 31 March 1834.

> I cannot rely upon it until I hear minutly From you which I hope you will do with the first opportunity.[28]

Information flowed more easily by word of mouth than it did by letter, if only because the Scots often declined to write many details, but referred the writer to the bearer for news.

Yet, the Scottishness of their network was implicit because all the members were Scottish and because in the act of correspondence, individuals harmonized their interests and grounded them in a sense of shared values and common experiences. Rarely did the writers deploy cultural symbols to cement their interests. Of more importance was the exchange of information, either by cultural, institutional, or informal channels. By these means, the Brodies were able to continue friendships and link their interests in a shared community, despite the divide of the Atlantic Ocean. The letters served to focus the Brodies' attention upon a metaphorical neighbourhood—upon the groups' shared Scottish values—to replace the physical one that they had lost.

Keeping the Neighbour's Interest at Heart

A rhetoric of the neighbourhood is indigenous to the Brodie letters (as will be demonstrated below) but echoes recent theories of ethnicity under the conditions of high modernity articulated by anthropologist, Arjun Appadurai. His subjects are people invested in maintaining a sense of a rooted, particular identity where the media transcend national boundaries and allow groups to maintain complex translational group-affiliations and identifications. He invokes the idea of a neighbourhood as "situated communities

[28] MM PO21 File 5, James Cameron (Quebec City, Lower Canada) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 15 July 1823.

characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction."[29] Thus, in order for an ethnic group to retain a group identity in an international setting, they must maintain the idea of a locality that produces the structure of feeling that defines their common bond. The neighbourhood of Lochwinnoch is the solid metaphorical ground on which they built their identity.[30] In all instances, reference to the original parish of Lochwinnoch—which may appear backward looking and nostalgic—is in fact the organizing principle of their particular response to modernity.

The precepts of Scottish moral philosophy appear in the letters in two ways: either as direct statements or as indirect enactments. As Susan Purviance has argued, Francis Hutcheson's philosophy invoked a theory of social relations very close to the modern conception of intersubjective identification. Many theories of national and imperial identity formation posit a negative and objectified "Other" against which a positive self-definition is found. However, according to intersubjective theories, identity and recognition can be mutually constructed between subjects, each subject becoming the other's object. Thus, a self mirrors another self and in the process constructs a common understanding. Hutcheson (after the manner of Lord Shaftsbury) proposed that "feeling rather than reason is [at] the root of moral judgement." Humans are disposed to respond to one another not by rational judgment, but by means of their feelings and this (in Hutcheson's definition) was the seat of the moral sense—the sensitive recognition of one person by another.[31] The common recognition is the basis for a common identity and understanding. Also, by this sensitive reaction, a person comes to know his or her own

---

[29] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis, Minn,: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 178-9.
[30] *ibid.*, 181.
[31] Susan M. Purviance, "Intersubjectivity and Sociable Relations in the Philosophy of Francis Hutcheson," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15 (1991): 23.

mind and a person is also led to form attachments to persons or objects that then stabilize their own identity.

Archibald Cameron, sergeant of the Volunteers, innkeeper, weaver understood and valued the importance of the sympathetic understanding of maintaining group cohesion. In 1817 he wrote conferring the care of his son to his brother-in-law, Hugh Brodie in Montreal. Archibald owned that his son was

> not so accomplished as what I could have wished him or you might expect, but I still hope from your good example and advice with a little more experience he will make great improvements. You know very well that there are some soils a great deal easier cultivated than other[s?] and some that will not cultivate at all, you will find even a great different in one Family if it is any thing large.[32]

Archibald hoped that just as Hugh Brodie was attuned to the needs of different soils he would provide guidance to his nephew in sensitive response to the nephew's needs. Thus Archibald revealed the self-conscious way in which people like he and Hugh Brodie who grew up in Hugh Brodie elder's Lochwinnoch parish actively and consciously applied the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment to their own lives. Hugh Brodie was expected to know how to respond to the nephew not because he (the nephew) was a member of his family, or even because he was a Scot, but because of Hugh's own sensitive and empirical apprehension of the world and its objects.

Other letter writers were less direct in outlining a theory of social relations. Nevertheless, they acted out and explicitly invoked important tenets of Scottish moral philosophy and thus provide the clearest glimpse into the conscious ways in which the Brodies cultivated the Scottish philosophies of the mind to recreate—in a metaphorical common ground—a common identity. Cultivating Scottish moral philosophy allowed the Brodies to maintain their personal and affective relationships and it also allowed the

[32] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 7th April 1817.

Brodies to conduct overseas affairs. The pursuit of these two subjective and personal goals had the effect of bringing into objective view an articulation of a Scottish identity—that of a sense of the Scottish character ideal as flexible and responsive based upon a democratically available intellect.

The Brodie letters also aimed to recreate a moral community by relying upon the letters to act as a cultural mirror or as a pattern of behaviour. The letters often have a rather impersonal quality. Privacy concerns represented one possible explanation for the lack of personal detail and revelation in the letters. Archibald Cameron bemoaned the fact that one of his letters had gone astray, writing "I hope you will write me by return of Captain Harvey—I am very much surprised what could become of the letter I sent with John McConnchie. I could have wished you had got it as there was a good deal of news and private affairs in it that I did not wish any to see but yourself and Family."[33] More dramatically, Elizabeth Cameron wrote, "Please burn this when read."[34]

The letters comprised a forum for general and public information. Personal and domestic news circulated orally due to the high volume of traffic across the Atlantic because most letters were hand delivered. In 1804, Archibald Cameron wrote to the Montreal Brodies "we have little or nothing new to inform of but what is I refer you to Robert" who was bearing the letter.[35] Or, in 1817 Archibald Cameron wrote "the bearer of this is your nephew Hugh [and] I refer you to him for any domestic news as he will give you them more at large than I could write them, as for public Affairs." Or again, Jean Brodie in 1826, "my son James [bearing the letter] will inform you of the domestic

---

[33] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 7th April 1817.
[34] MM PO24 File 7, Elizabeth Cameron (Glasgow) to Hugh and Ann Brodie (Montreal), 28 November 1847.
[35] MM PO21, File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), *n.d.*

news of our family." In 1834, James Brodie writing to Montreal also deferred to his letter bearer writing "I do not recollect of any news beyond what Robert Brodie [the letter carrier] will be able to give you as far as I know our friends are all in their usual health.[36]

Typically, the letter writers filled up the letters with the objectively sanctioned ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment. On occasion, letter writers made explicit references to the philosophy. More importantly, they created in their text the conditions to evoke sentimental attachment. The letter writers might seek to evoke sentimental reactions as a common base for moral action. The letter writers might also use the content of the letters to illustrate a pattern of Scottish behavior. Letter writers who struggled to maintain imaginative and sentimental contact with the Montreal Brodies filled their letters with Scottish ideals—Christian morality, sentimental nostalgia, and improving agriculture.

The Scottish letter writers demonstrated—by means of direct statements—an understanding of Scottish moral philosophy by requesting that people imagine oneself into another's position and maintain the duties one owed a neighbour in order to ensure the continuity of their Scottish values. As historians Richard B. Sher and Ned Landsman have argued separately, Hutchesonian moral philosophy remained an important strand of enlightened Presbyterian theology in both the Moderate and Popular Party circles. Hutcheson's theories of moral governance meshed well with prevailing Calvinist doctrines, and as Sher argued, Hutcheson's moral philosophy can be reduced to the stricture of Matthew 3:11, to love God and one's neighbour as oneself—that is to

[36] MM PO21 File 5, Archibald Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 8 April 1806; 7 April 1817; Jean Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 28 March 1826; James Cameron (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 22 March 1834.

maintain working intersubjective relationships between people.[37] These ideas were an important moral touchstone in the attenuated Lochwinnoch community in the age of emigration. For example Mary Brodie urged her brothers to "remember the advice of our dear father [Hugh Brodie elder] to make conscience of your duty to God and to one another.[38] The moral force of the neighbour is seen more clearly in William Caldwell's voluble Lochwinnoch letters to Hugh. The first line of Caldwell's first (preserved) letter to Hugh shows him searching for a new way in which to relate to Brodie. Personal bonds would not work in this situation: "Although you & I have not hitherto been Personally aquanted [sic] nor Probably never will yet my Deceased Brothers small Subject in your Neighborhood [in Canada] has ocationed [sic] a Papper [sic] acquaintance on your Part". Caldwell drew an explicit comparison between their correspondence (the "papper [sic] acquaintance") with the personal acquaintance they never had in order to set the parameters of their relationship. Brodie's news that the tenant of Caldwell's Canada farm, William Brodie (no relation to Hugh), desired to leave, disappointed him bitterly: "Although I never expected to have ocation [sic] to complain of such a Man I live it to you to Judge who of us apered [sic] to have had our Nighbours [sic] Intrest [sic] most At Heart". Maintaining a common ground of values, a consistent sense of what a "neighbour's" interest might be, was crucial to the functioning of the complex overseas relationships the Brodies maintained.[39]

On several occasions, Hugh was called upon to keep his "neighbor's interest at heart" by doing for others as he would for himself. One young man, James Craig wrote

---

[37] Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 176.
[38] MM PO21 File 6, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 30 March, *n.d.*.
[39] MM PO21 File, 4, William Caldwell (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 16 July 1814 and 10 February 1917.

to Brodie for advice, letting him know his "mind as a father to [*him*]" and shared his plans for securing his own farm. He had heard of "Cochran Giving up his Plas [sic] upon River Deshin [sic]" and wanted Brodie to "write up every Particular about it as soon as it comes to hand."[40] Craig would rely entirely upon Brodie's judgment, thus making Brodie an arbiter of Scottish values. When Thomas Fingland moved away from Côte St. Pierre to Upper Canada, he left the deeds to his farm with Brodie, asking him to sell it for him. The only instructions he gave were "to do as if it were your own."[41] When Margaret Glen's husband died in 1820 Brodie was charged with writing to her mother-in-law in order to find out how the property was to be disposed. Margaret also entrusted him with the papers for a property and asked him "to be so good as [*to*] make the best of it you can for me. We were in a little debt when he died." She also asked Mrs. Brodie to purchase some cloth and sundries for her.[42] The relationship between Mrs. Glen and the Brodies was based upon the rather distant fact that her husband had come from Lochwinnoch parish. Two years later the late Mr. Glen's brother came out to Canada and kept Hugh busy looking after his luggage he devolved other business dealings on him as well and authorized Brodie to take "whatever steps" he thought necessary. When in 1826 this Mr. Glen also died, Margaret's relative applied to Brodie for information about the man's affairs stating that "if [he] could give any information about his Affairs in Lochwinnoch, it wold [sic] be adding another favour [sic] to the many [he had] done to his Famely [sic]."[43]

---

[40] MM PO21 File 13, James Craig (Glengarry?) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal) 13 March 1821.
[41] MM PO21 File 13, Thomas Fingland (Hamilton) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 21 January 1837.
[42] MM PO21 File 13, Margaret Glen (Edwardsburgh, Upper Canada), to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 16 October 1822.
[43] MM PO21 File 13, Andrew Glen (Richmond, Upper Canada) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 23 October 1822; 20 February 1823; 6 October 1824; Mr Glen (place?) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 4 February, 1823.

Too easily historians have identified expressions of sentiment and nostalgia in Scottish cultural productions in Canada as maudlin myth-making. On the contrary, closer analysis suggests that when letter writers invoked the template of the old neighbourhood, they did so as a means of stabilizing and of establishing identity. Similarly, when these letter writers introduced or spoke of people crossing the Atlantic, they located them within a framework they knew the Canadian Brodies would remember. When William Dunsmore introduced a man to Hugh's notice, he located the prospective emigrant in a landscape that William and Hugh had once shared: he was a grandson of "old James Carswell that kept the corner house at the crose."[44] The physical grid of the neighbourhood and of the landscape was an important facet of identity. The full names of adults conveyed little individuality unless associated with a place name. The Antiquarian Crawfurd bitterly resented the old schoolmaster Naismith (of Chapter One) who "began a few years before his death a fatal error of entering [the names in the Kirk registers] as John Orr and Janet Breadine both parishioners without place of abode, parents and callings." Unless rooted in a particular property or family network the ubiquity of names in the parish effectively effaced individuality. Thus, Lochwinnoch parish as the Brodies had known it had to remain constant in the Canadian Brodies' minds and their Scottish correspondents constantly recalled it to them. When a William introduced his nephew, Hugh Steels, to Hugh, he was sure to clarify that he was not one of the Steels of Makes Mill, who were "all dead," but the son of a cousin.[54] Beyond these specific moments of clarification, the Scottish Brodies reported assiduously upon changes to the social and physical landscape they had once shared with the Canadian Brodies. The lives and deaths of old neighbours were a regular feature of the Scottish Brodies'

[44] MM PO21 File 10, William Dunsmore (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 29 March 1948.

correspondence. It is thus easy to understand William's genuine grief that the loss of Langcraft farm meant a significant loss in identity for him. For the name of Brodie was almost gone from the place, Langcroft, where it had "once stood high [...] I am now like a stranger in the land our Fathers."[45]

Even the explicit sentimentalization of the neighbourhood does not qualify as maudlin nostalgia. Mary Brodie evokes childhood memories in her Montreal brothers with the specific intent of reminding them of their common moral ground. She wrote, "I often think with grief on the place we used to cast peats where you and me were want to be together nau it is a field of corn."[46] Thus shared memories of a common place also meant a sense of shared values. The deeply moral impetuses of these apparent retreats into nostalgia become clear in a March 1811 letter. As she recalled: "I was lately up at Langcroft where you and me spent our early days I could not help taking a view of the place where our dear Father often poured out his soul to God." Significantly, this appeal to the lost world of their childhood created the common ground upon which she made moral claims upon her brother over the division of their dead mother's property.[47]

William also invoked nostalgia for the childhood home in order to create a moral community. William drew upon a romantic language and sentiment to reflect on the course his life had taken. William had not prospered in temporal affairs and wrote to his brother "now I stand almost alone like some solitary tree upon the mountain's brow with growing symptoms that long I cannot here remain but must in turn yield to nature and become pray to worms." By these expressive turns of phrases and his self appointed role

[45] MM PO21 File 3, William Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 February 1836; File 10, Hugh Steel (Glasgow) to Ann Brodie (Montreal), 4 December 1856.
[46] MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 9 August 1809.
[47] MM PO21 File 2, Mary Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 19 March 1819.

as disseminator of his father's (Hugh Brodie, elder, the Langcraft poet) poetry, he linked his identity with that of his father's and justified his claims upon the family based upon his bardic role as the family conscience.[48]

A particular Scottish sense of morality was also embodied in the ideas of improved agriculture. In particular, Hugh and his brother, Robert, engaged in a serious exchange of "useful information" and details of "Improvements" made.[49] In all cases, Robert prefaced his agricultural remarks with statements about the absence of particular news to share with Hugh.

The exchange of this abstract information—of memories and techniques (as opposed to exchanging personal and anecdotal information)—highlights their practical engagement with the philosophy of the improvement movement and the social theories based upon sentimentalism. In both explicit and implicit terms, the Scottish letter writers were compelled to reproduce the tenets of this philosophy. The absence of a shared common ground pushed some of the letter writers in the sentimental mode, while the active but at the same time disinterested concerned in economic progress lead the brothers to relate over the impersonal concerns of improving agriculture. It is possible to see the implementation of these Scottish philosophies of culture in the new Atlantic context of the Brodies' lives. Understanding the reconstruction of the Brodie network in the Atlantic World as one based purely upon the motives of individuals securing their material interests, is substantially enriched when viewed through the prism of the rich discussion of Scottish philosophy that occurred in Lochwinnoch parish.

---

[48] MM PO21 File 3, William Brodie (Lochwinnoch) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 26 Marcy 1839; 26 February 1836.
[49] MM PO21 File 7, Robert Brodie (Saltcoats) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), *passim.*

A close reading of the correspondence shows that the Brodies had a good working-knowledge of the Scottish theories of cultural production and reproduction. The guiding pattern of Brodies' life in Montreal was the network of social relations formed in their youths, in the neighbourhood of Lochwinnoch. These former face-to-face relationships became the grid of this North American correspondence. The role played by the everyday sensible relationships in forming this very modern dispersed social world is demonstrated in the way new Montreal neighbours entered this virtual world. Friendships formed in person continued through correspondence. This community's mobile, fluid cohesiveness was built on the foundation of a face-to-face relationship proceeding through a series of concordances or analogies to create a community of homogenous interests and mentalities; a "virtual community" of Scottish interests. The ultimate reference point was always Scotland and the sense of a shared experience.

The Apotheosis of Farmer Brodie

The full significance of Hugh Brodie's 18th century inheritance to his Scottish identity in Lower Canada revealed itself on his death in the form of two public documents; an obituary notice and a sermon. The obituary notice replicated Hugh Brodie's achievements in the pages of the evangelical newspaper *Montreal Witness* on the 12th of January 1852 to be reprinted in the *Montreal Gazette,* the leading Anglophone daily, four days later.[50] Another Montreal based, evangelical organ, widely popular in

[50] Hugh Brodie's Obituary, *Montreal Witness* 12 January 1852, p. 13; *Montreal Gazette* 16 January 1852, no page; Andre Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *Les journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964* (Québec: les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1965), 125-126.

Canada East and West, *The Presbyterian*, printed the notice twice.[51] It also reportedly appeared in a Toronto publication, for Brodie relatives in Lochwinnoch observed, "we had a paper from Toronto in which Mr. Brodie's death was announced."[52] In addition to the obituary, the Reverend Alexander Mathieson preached a sermon, *A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of a Good man: A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, on the occasion of the Death of Hugh Brodie, Esq.,* which was later printed as a tract.

Both documents highlight in different ways, the significance of his Scottish origins, marking him as a culture-bearer and example to others. As the subject of a sermon and of a distinctive obituary-notice, Hugh Brodie became a symbol at the centre of a complex moment of colonial identification. The commemorations linked Brodie's achievements to his Scottish origins, thus demarcating a specifically Scottish contribution to the British colonial-project and brought the cultural dimension of his achievements into relief by holding him up as a "pattern," to the colonial "other," the French Canadians. Moreover, the notice's appearance in a transatlantic circuit of knowledge marked the public expression of the intersubjective identity-creation that had sustained the Brodies' connections. Other Scots read the notice and could see in his achievements the successful fruition of their own values.

Brodie's death notice accorded prominence to his national origins as a Scot. This feature distinguished it from the other notices carried by the *Montreal Witness* and *The Presbyterian* making the notice as much a declaration of ethnic values as a tribute to a

---

[51] *The Presbyterian* first reproduced the obituary notice and in a later edition included a lengthy extract from it along with a review of Mathieson's sermon *A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of a Good Man. The Presbyterian*, 5(2) February 1852, 19-20 and 5(4) April 1852, 59-61; André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse Québécoise des origines à nos jours.* Tome Premier: *1764-1859* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1973), 160-161.

[52] MM PO21 File 6, Margaret Brodie Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal) 20 March 1852.

particular man. In the six months after publication of Brodie's obituary in the *Montreal Witness*, no other obituary notice focused in this way on the deceased's ethnicity. Economic prowess, political achievements and gender are the defining characteristics of the other notices.[53] By contrast, Brodie's identity as a Scotch resident of Lower Canada is the first qualifying feature of his life. Ethnicity also takes precedence over standard Presbyterian themes. Brodie's notice makes no mention of his role as a husband and father and it makes no mention of his personal relationship with God.[54] The lack of this personal dimension and the departure from a conventional model draws further attention to the characterization of Brodie as a leading "Scotch resident" and suggests a didactic and public function of his life as an exemplar Scottish life.

The notice underscored Brodie's role in mediating between elite knowledge and local knowledge and in assuming the role as cultural example, such as his father had in Lochwinnoch parish of the 18th century. Brodie had been "a pattern to his French Canadian neighbours." Brodie had also helped set other Scottish cultural patterns in Lower Canada: as an elder of St. Andrew's Church, a judge at the New York State agricultural exhibition, as a guide to immigrants, and through his interest in establishing good schools in Montreal. Drawing particular attention to Brodie's qualities of mind, the notice observed "though without the advantages of early education, few men were more

---

[53] See for example these issues of the *Montreal Witness*, 12 January 1852, p. 14; 19 January 1852, p. 30; 16 February 1852, p. 62; 22 March 1852, p. 108 and 110; 29 March 1852, p. 118-9; 19 April 1852, p. 134; 16 August 1852, p. 294. Few death notices of Montreal residents were published and while the *Witness* did profile the lives of some famous Scottish thinkers, colonial Scots are not featured for the distinctiveness of their ethnicity, Brodie, of course, excepted.

[54] See for example the obituary notice of the "late Alexander Dingwall Fordyce, Esq. C.W." carried in the same issue as Brodie's notice. Dingwall's obituary notice draws attention to his value as "a man, as a friend, as a Christian, and as a father; in all which relations he was esteemed and loved." It further noted he was "devotedly attached to his family, and seldom separated form them." Brodie's notice lacks this personal dimension. His role as a leader in the Scottish community represents the most substantial personal relationship portrayed. *The Presbyterian* 5(4) April 1852, p. 17.

intelligent than Mr. Brodie, and still fewer surpassed him in sagacity." More importantly, his mental disposition recalled that of Adam Smith's ploughman stimulated by the complexity of the environment in which he laboured. Brodie too, "took every opportunity to store his mind with knowledge." This attention included mediating between his "eminently practical" knowledge and "book knowledge in farming."[55]

This emphasis on the self-taught nature of Brodie's knowledge is highly significant. It marks a radical departure from the then dominant characterization of Scottish identity in the mid-19th century as summarized by Gladstone's 1853 observation that the Scottish national educational system had been successful in providing widely available education and "opening [the Scots] intellectual horizons and thus breaking the mental cake of irrational custom."[56]

In contrast Brodie's obituary notice adopts an entirely 18th century understanding of the relationship between education, culture and identity. Among obituary notices published between 1790 and 1855 that mention the word "Scotch," or the phrase "native of Scotland," only three notices similarly highlighted the dead Scots' mental characteristics in a manner comparable to Brodie's notice.[57] One exception is the 1792 obituary notice of an American minister of Scottish extraction. His notice recollected him as "a pattern to all around him," modelling the virtues of "modesty, humility, and candour; in gravity of deportment, tempered with becoming chearfulness [sic]; in purity of manners, integrity of conduct, prudence and real friendship."[58] The expectation that a Scot will embody and perform Scottish values was a well-established Scottish virtue but

---

[55] Hugh Brodie's Obituary, *Montreal Witness* 12 January 1852, p. 13
[56] Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, 212.
[57] This search was conducted in the digital database, *American Historical Newspapers* using the parameters described above.
[58] Obituary of Rev. Dr. John Mason, *Daily Advertiser* [New York,] 8(2239), 21 April 1792, p. 2.

Brodie was not burdened with modeling enlightenment ideals derived from a university education to his fellows. Instead his relationship to the minds of other Scots fell more closely in line with two other notices that invoked the elements of the "Folk Enlightenment" as expressed by his father Hugh Brodie of Langcraft: the literate mind of the primitive poet not corrupted by formal education. The 1853 commemoration of Brodie's exact contemporary Dr. James Crombie of Derry, of an Ulster Scottish American community, made most explicit the link between 18th century Scotland and a plebeian relationship to knowledge. The tenuousness of Crombie's Scottish connections—"his ancestors were Scotch Irish: descendants of emigrants from Scotland to the north of Ireland, and thence to New England early in the 18th century"—highlights how insistently the notice's author desired to create a Scottish cultural context for his forthcoming discussion of the doctor's achievements. The sentence following the delineation of his Scottish connections explained:

> His earlier years were passed with his parents, in the honorable pursuits of agriculture, under whose eyes his physical and mental powers received a culture auspicious to his future usefulness. Advantages for education at the period of his minority were limited; but, possessed of indomitable resolution, he passed through the difficulties that beset him, obtained a respectable education under circumstances most unfavourable, and commenced the study of medicine at a somewhat advanced age.

Thus fortified by his parents' culture and their respectable Scottish origins, James Crombie triumphed to acquire the education to become a doctor.[59] The themes bear a striking resemblance to the ideals expressed in Hugh Brodie's notice and suggest an appreciation for the "Folk Enlightenment" as the "democratic intellect." Rather than benefiting from democratically available schooling, these two "Scottish" stories

[59] Obituary of James Crombie, M.D., *Farmer's Cabinet* 51(28), 17 February 1853, p. 3.

emphasize the fruits of an independent search for knowledge. Further, Crombie's notice highlights the quality of a "Folk Enlightenment" education by linking his future achievements to the moral benefits of agriculture.

A third obituary reiterates more clearly still, drawing upon the same cultural values as Lochwinnoch's "Folk Enlightenment." The 1836 tribute to a New England deacon put his achievements into relief by stating that he acquired formal training despite the fact that "the advantages of education in his early day were not such as are now enjoyed." Moreover, his education created the same dilemma as that experienced by Hugh Brodie, as he mediated between book knowledge and practical experience. Torn between two very different modes of thought—mathematics and poetry—the Deacon "subsequently thought he should have made a very good mathematician, had it not been for Love and Poetry, which are extremely apt to play the mischief with the mathematics."[60] This sense of distinction between mathematics and the arts cut to the heart of Scottish identity in the early 19th century. A succession of bitter controversies rocked the Scottish universities as professors divided over the issue of whether to adopt an English style of higher education focused upon the study of mathematics. Many professors vigorously defended the universities' commitment to a wide and liberal education in the arts as a distinctive and valuable feature of Scottish society. Just as the 18th century French *philosophes* regarded the mathematical mind as inhumane, the Scottish professor George Jardine in 1825 thought that the study of mathematics could lead to unsatisfactory results "because ordinary intelligence is chiefly occupied with contingent facts, expressed in ordinary language, whereas mathematical thinking is occupied with necessary facts expressed in symbols or technical terms." The proficient

[60] Obituary of Deacon Robert Dinsmoor, *New Hampshire Sentinel,* 14 April 1836, p. 3.

mathematician was not an expressive human being and tended towards solipsism.[61] Evidently, Deacon Dinsmoor held the same view. He chose the path of poetry and become a well-loved and published local poet, and he appropriated to himself the rooted legitimacy of Scotland's 18th century vernacular poets, such as Hugh Brodie of Langcraft had enjoyed. Deacon Dinsmoor wrote under the name, "Rustic Bard," and identified strongly with "his countryman and favorite [poet] Burns" despite his tenuous connections to Scotland: the Deacon had to reach through his "grandfather's grandfather, John Dinsmoor, second son of a wealthy farmer termed the 'Laird of Achenmead,'" of the 17th century to touch Scotland.[62] In order to lend social sanction and legitimacy to his endeavours as a local folk-poet, Dinsmoor relied upon a Scottish model and upon claims of descent, no matter how attenuated.

The last two notices, viewed in concert with that of the 18th century Scottish minister, clearly demonstrate a link between a sense of Scottish identity and a particular disposition of the mind. Brodie's real achievement in emigrating to Montreal, establishing two successful farms and becoming an arbiter of knowledge was in living out particular Scottish values. Naturally endowed with "sagacity," he acted out a particular relationship to knowledge that lay at the root of a Scottish identity. Hugh Brodie was an ordinary man, possessing neither great wealth nor political power. However, he possessed qualities that Scots valued highly: the ability to act as a cultural model. Brodie's relatives thought very highly of Hugh Brodie's commemoration in the obituary noting proudly that occupied "the forth of a column" and was "filled with one of

---

[61] Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 52-67; George Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), 11.

[62] Obituary of Deacon Robert Dinsmoor, *New Hampshire Sentinel,* 14 April 1836, p. 3.

the best penned charactors [sic] wrote upon man, no doubt you have sustained a Great loss and the country in General."[63] The death of a model Scot and agriculturalist was a loss to the nation.

In death, Brodie continued to contribute to the nation because the notice turned his life into a moral example for the readership of the *Montreal Witness*. John Dougall, a Scot, and editor and publisher of the *Montreal Witness* was an active proponent of the moral force of education.[64] He kept the paper affordable, creating a moralizing venue for the labouring classes. The review of Hugh Brodie's life appeared alongside articles focused upon moral correctness and the example provided by Brodie's life emphasized the moral force of self-education. The *Witness* only printed obituary notices of people who died in Montreal very exceptionally and the ones that did appear complemented the pedagogy of the "Young Men's Department." Youngsters pursuing this section might read a farmer's advice that young men "become a race of scientific book farmers" or other exhortations on the "pursuit of knowledge." Young boys learned of "the late John McDonogh of New Orleans" in order, as the editor explained, "to show young men the maxims by which success in life had been and may be attained." A George Stephenson (born 1780, Newcastle) who "commenc[ed] life on a coal heap and end[ed] it in a mansion," or a James Ferguson, "the celebrated Scottish astronomer [who] learned to read without an instructor, and mastered the elements of his favorite science, while a shepherd's boy, watching his flocks in the fields by night" took turns weekly providing

[63] MM PO21 File 6, Margaret Brodie Sloan (Lochwinnoch) to Ann Brodie (Montreal) 20 March 1852.
[64] J.G. Snell, "John Dougall," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000 [http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html, accessed 1 August 2007]. Lorraine Vander Hoef, "John Dougall (1808-1886): Portrait of an Early Social Reformer and Evangelical Witness in Canada" *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 43 (2001): 115-145.

didactic models for Montreal's young men.[65] Thus, the empirical and moral values expressed in the Brodie obituary placed him—as a representative Scot—comfortably within the ambit of an evangelical and Victorian cultural order.

During Brodie's lifetime, the concept of an ideal education changed dramatically, from the classical education which was the exclusive purview of the wealthy, to the promotion of public and practical education for the masses. Dougall's social role in Montreal echoed that of the other Glasgow-influenced Scots who became nation-builders in early 19th century United States. These latter deployed the utilitarian outlook associated with Scottish Common Sense philosophy (as embodied by the great Scottish scientists as reviewed above) emphasizing practical skills over intellectual dreams. For them, education was seen as a form of social engineering that controlled the entry to "respectability."[66] As Montreal industrialized rapidly, liberal democratic ideals achieved ascendancy and the bourgeoisie placed more and more emphasis upon individual endeavor and success as the source of progress.[67] Curricula moved away from a study of the classics towards practical subjects. Courses in manual training and domestic science appeared. In this Victorian era, "progress, science and capitalism" was the new "holy trinity" and inculcating the lower orders into the Victorian bourgeois ideals became a goal of post-1840s education.[68] The early 19th century vehicle for practical education, the Montreal's Mechanic's Institute, gained an even greater foothold in Montreal society at

---

[65] *Montreal Witness,* 9 February 1852, p. 54; 16 February 1852, p. 62; 19 January 1852, p. 30; 22 March 1852, p. 110; 20 March 1852, p. 118.

[66] Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia : Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920* (Aberdeen : Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 49.

[67] Gagnon, Robert. « Les discours sur l'enseignement pratique au Canada français :1850-1900. » Chap. 1 dans *Sciences & médecine au Québec: perspectives sociohistoriques,* dirigée par Marcel Fournier, Yves Gingras et Othmar Keel, (Québec : Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1987), 21.

[68] Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997),14-20.

the time of Brodie's death. The Institute finally acquired a permanent home and established a lecture hall providing night classes for the "apprentices and workmen" of the city.

The labouring classes were expected to seek out any self-improvement opportunities. But the labouring classes stayed away from the mechanics institutes in droves,[69] and in recalling the "independence" with which he had acquired his skills, Brodie's death notice is a tribute to their resistance. Brodie's appearance in Dougal's newspaper created some space for the articulation of the 18th-century ideal where plebian Scots pursued education as an expression of civic humanist independence—as an end in and of itself.

The Reverend Mathieson captured the cultural roots of Brodie's interest in self-cultivation in his sermon preached upon his death. People who knew Brodie personally accepted this document as they had the obituary notice—as an accurate reflection of Brodie's personality. Brodie's friend Daniel Craig reported "I Received the track [sic] of the Late Mr. Brodies funeral Sermon which is A true statment [sic] of his Carector [sic] and Ably [sic] don [sic] by the Revt. Mr. Matheson [sic]."[70] Mathieson's sermon then was not an abstract piece of elite discourse, but reflected accurately the qualities of a man to people who had known him in real life. According to Mathieson, the guiding pattern of Hugh Brodie's soul was the renewed image of God.

Three Sundays after Brodie's death in January 1852, Mathieson preached a sermon based on the Scripture "For he was a good man," Acts, II, 24. In keeping with

---

[69] "Atwater Library of Mechanic's Institute of Montreal," *passim*; Jeffery McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) 92; David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa, 1981) 141.

[70] MM PO21 File 13, Daniel Craig (Charlotenburgh) to Ann Brodie (Montreal) 17 June 1852.

Mathieson's Calvinist ideal of a transcendent lack of particularity, he did not allude to Brodie until the end of the sermon, and then only in very general terms. Hugh Brodie, as a "perishable object of this world," could not serve as a "pattern for [others] to imitate". Rather, Mathieson focused on a Godly ideal. He preached on the homily of Barnabus to demonstrate the social good of the renewed and open heart. Barnabus's receptive heart made him open to the new religion of Christianity and allowed him to outgrow the Jewish faith of his formation. Love of God and of Jesus made the Good man "a new creation."

Hugh Brodie's life followed this pattern. Though not wanting to describe the qualities of the good man in "prismatic precision," Mathieson outlined five characteristics that contributed to Brodie's good life. He helped create a new order: based upon piety, benevolence, and sweetness of temper, judgment, and tranquility at the prospect of eternity. Of particular importance was the fact that benevolence should extend "far beyond the narrow bounds of the domestic circle." The congregation were exhorted to "love [their] enemies" and reminded to follow the rule that "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." These were the very principles that had allowed the Brodies to transcend their immediate physical community and participate in an Atlantic network.[71]

For the moral force of this Calvinism to be effective, Mathieson argued the physical proximity of a community was needed. A warm and tender vocabulary couched his parable. Barnabus became a conduit of God through his "expansive benevolence," "warm disinterested zeal" and "integrity and candor." A similar science of the feelings explains the quality of Brodie's life. He led by "influence" and example, was "sincere"

---

[71] Alexander Mathieson, *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, on the occasion of the Death of Hugh Brodie, Esq,* (Montreal: M. Starke & Co,. 1852), 34, 29, 17, 20-1.

in his friendship and had a "delicate sensibility." The language is reminiscent of the Scottish moralists of the 1790s who built upon an "essentially Smithean analysis of interactive sympathy" into a prescription for social benevolence. The "economic individualism" of the British Empire seemed to be threatening the distinctly Scottish and moral community. A "society of strangers" threatened the social cohesion of the old order and for Mathieson nothing could replace the moral good of face-to-face relationships.[72]

Mathieson's 1836 St. Andrew's day sermon clearly invoked the power of sensibility to knit together the dislocated world:

> Attachment to the land of our birth, is the offspring of those generous and benevolent affections, which the Deity hath implanted in the human breast, for the production of our happiness, the improvement of our nature, and the preservation of that social system under which we live.[73]

These ideals of sentimentalism sustained the Brodie network and were embodied in Brodie's life. In a Calvinist vein, Hugh Brodie renewed within his soul, the image of God and so embodied a social order. He radiated this outward into the community by the example of his piety and his acts of benevolence.[74] The protestant Calvinism practiced by Reverend Mathieson appears to have been imbued with "the warm evangelical missionary spirit of the bible" which interpreted Calvinist doctrine in a light "consistent

---

[72] John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late 18th century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 64-5.
[73] Alexander Mathieson, *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal on the Thirtieth Day of November, 1836 (St. Andrew's Day)*, (Montreal: J. Starke, 1837), 15.
[74] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 227-30.

with aspirations and efforts."[75] Their faith was also imbued with the spirit of sensibility and deep concern for the moral order which engaged the intellectual community of later 18th century Scotland.[76]

A three-page review of Mathieson's sermon and overview of Brodie's life published in the April issue of the *Presbyterian* associated Brodie with the past.

> Mr. Brodie came to this country many years ago, when quite a young man, and, though his character was thus matured in a very different sphere of Christian benevolence, and amid very different influences, yet, singular as it may seem, to find his prototype as he appeared but the other day in his old age here in Canada [sic], we must go back to the parish patriarchs of Scotland thirty years ago.

Brodie "presented too faithful an image of those spiritual fathers, or to use the designation by which they were correctly known, the Good Men." This meant that Brodie had not entered fully upon the missionary spirit of the age. He was "very sociable in his disposition, [but] he was by no means gregarious in his modes of doing good." Most significantly the commentator reported:

> He was very helpful to many in many ways, and commended many to the help of others; but we doubt if ever the thought of forming an association for any purpose whatever ever crossed his mind. In these things he resembled the *Good Men*, with whose memory his image so naturally associates itself that we can only think of him as one of the venerable band. [77]

Brodie earned his farming knowledge independently. He also eschewed the highly structured institutional culture of Victorian Montreal.

The story of Brodie's life emphasized the "independent competence" he earned in his field of expertise as a result of his natural sagacity, his triumph over a lack of "early education" and his independent way of doing good. Clothed in Scottish ethnicity, and

---

[75] William Klempa, "Scottish Presbyterianism Transplanted to the Canadian Wilderness" in *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada,* ed. Charles H.H. Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1997), 9.
[76] John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 64-5.
[77] *The Presbyterian,* 5(4) April 1852, 59-61

enfeebled by the didactic commentary that relegated his ideal to the past, Brodie's obituary notice served as a model for other Scots in Montreal, if not other ordinary people. His story promoted the individual's obligation to educate himself as an enlightened and moral citizen and served as an alternative, more accessible, model of Scottishness to that presented by the small but wealthy coterie of Scots in Montreal, recalling for Scots the value of an independent mind. Colin Kidd might well condemn working class Scots for a self-absorbed focus on the micro politics of personal freedom at the expense of a national political-vision. However, ordinary Scots contributed to an overarching political agenda by drawing explicit lines between putatively modern and liberal ideals and their cultural and ethnic values thus making that micro politics of freedom a national project. Like the role of the Jewish homeland in the diaspora, the idea of self-cultivation was an abstract organizing force radiating outward from the individual into society. This was clearly Brodie's aim as a prototype of the 18th century Good Men—the cultural leaders of the parish.[78]

[78] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 23.

Conclusion

As subjects of a historical inquiry into plebian Scottish culture, Hugh Brodie elder of Langcraft and his son Hugh Brodie fulfill one of the requirements Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni set out as the ideal subject of a microhistory. For them, the microhistorical approach offers the most promising method of recovering the history of the masses and the key question is how best to portray common experiences. Is it imperative to identify and focus upon the most statistically common subject? If so, a study of a tenant farmer would represent the most logical subject of a detailed inquiry into Scotland's plebian knowledge-culture in 18th century Scotland. In the case of the Brodies and their friends and neighbors—'the other proprietors' of Lochwinnoch parish—another avenue of understanding presents itself. Their self-awareness as subjects who had lived historically significant lives is critical for the Bodies' experience opens a window into the Scottish parish of the 18th century so occluded by elite prejudice and popular myth. As Ginzburg and Poni observe, it is sometimes the "*exceptional normal*," in society that provides the most provocative and interesting insight into the common experiences hidden from the historical gaze.[1]

As a community of minor landowners—bonnet lairds and portioners—"the other proprietors" of Lochwinnoch parish were an atypical group. Secure from the threat of separation from their livelihood by the whims of a landlord and free to cultivate their own lands—no matter how tiny—they acquired a degree of self-confidence. As landowners they could still lay claim to the independence and altruism reserved for Britain's landed classes. However, they were hardly members of Scotland's governing classes. Some

[1] Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, "La micro-histoire," *Le Débat* 17(1981): 134-5.

had quite tiny farms and commentators have suspected that they yielded only a subsistence existence.[2] Materially, they had more in common with Scottish peasants. The 'bonnet' of the expression bonnet laird signals that material reality, for the bonnet was the headgear of the rural Scot. The bonnet lairds then were limnal figures, balanced between the security of their ownership of the land and a relative lack of means.

Moreover, the ranks of the bonnet lairds were themselves highly stratified as we saw in the parish of Lochwinnoch. Some smallholders lived in such congested little hamlets that historian William Semple refused to recognize them in his 1782 revision of Crawford's 1710 work the *History of the Shire of Renfrew.* Other small holders were quite substantial and took advantage of the burgeoning industries to diversify their incomes; Oldyard farm boasted "a flag-stone Craig, excellent for pavement," the Carsefauld, a lime quarry, the Loups, a "flax-mill." Some owners were newcomers; other families had possessed their small properties "these several generations past."[3] Wealthier bonnet lairds might rent their land to a tenant and finance entry into the growing professions or mercantile class.

These differences not withstanding there was a great deal of cohesion among the bonnet lairds of Lochwinnoch Parish. The excerpt from the Reverend James Steven's report to the *Statistical Account of Scotland* that opened this dissertation showed that they cultivated a group identity, living in the parish and marrying "into each other's families." Steven asserted that they were very attached to the property they owned and cultivated.[4] Perhaps, they would have been—as the character of the antiquary was in Sir Walter

---

[2] T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830*, (London: Fontana Press, 1969), 128.
[3] William Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, (Paisley: Alex. Weir, 1782),160-6.
[4] Rev. James Steven, "Lochwinnoch," in *The Statistical Account of Scotland: Drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes*, Volume 15, ed. Sir John Sinclair, (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1795), 73.

Scott's novel, *The Antiquary*—sensible to the dignity of being distinguished "by his territorial epithet, always most agreeable to the ear of a Scottish proprietor" and have been pleased to be known as Langcraft, Oldyard, Loups.[5] By his marriage in 1803 to Ann Brodie of Kilburnie, Ayrshire, Hugh Brodie placed himself at the centre of the bonnet laird class. Ann's father was a relatively well-to-do bonnet laird. Hugh's own father, Hugh Brodie elder, was just a portioner and had watched his own children lose a foothold on the land. Only his eldest son Andrew received land, and he lost it to creditors in 1803. Hugh's other brothers and sisters and their sons and daughters linked him to the interests of Scotland's weavers, inn-keepers and labourers buffeted by the economic dislocation of a war-weary, rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society.

Taken together thus cohesive social unit offers an excellent subject of study. As minor landowners, Hugh Brodie elder and Hugh Brodie his son sought or accepted roles as cultural leaders. Both men left behind in the public sphere important records. In late 18th century Lochwinnoch, Hugh Brodie elder enjoyed a reputation in the neighborhood for his talents at writing verses or giving speeches.[6] In fact, he was the only poet in the parish in the late-18th century[7], a state of affairs that drew the attention of another regional poet, Alexander Wilson, who commemorated Brodie's role as local bard in his own poetry. Brodie composed for oral consumption (and eventual printing in one instance) at least two agricultural poems. His "Kilbarchan Farmer Society Georgic" adopted a georgic mode that combined a poetic address with a scientific and systematizing attitude towards agricultural knowledge. The poem, "The Glen of Lochwinnoch," mirrored the elements of an enlightenment-inspired topographical survey

[5] Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 21.
[6] Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 116
[7] PCL (LSL), Crawfurd, "Cairn" 13: 341.

of one section of the parish. Brodie could be said to be an agent bringing elite improving knowledge down to the people. To see his interest in improving agriculture as a sign of complicity with the hegemonic agenda of Scottish improvers is complicated by Brodie's other literary efforts: he composed a number of bawdy poems that frankly defied the moral control the Kirk exercised over sexuality.

Fifty years later and an ocean away from Lochwinnoch parish, Hugh Brodie elder's son Hugh Brodie also acquired status as a cultural leader to the newly-establishing community of Scots in Lower Canada. The importance of Brodie's cultural values revealed themselves at the moment of his death when two documents recorded the virtues of his life. Significantly, these virtues echoed those his own father had promoted in late-18th century Lochwinnoch.

A paragraph-long obituary notice first appeared in the evangelical newspaper *Montreal Witness* on the 12th of January 1852 and was reprinted in the *Montreal Gazette,* the leading Anglophone daily, four days later.[8] Another Montreal-based, evangelical organ, widely popular in Canada East and West, *The Presbyterian*, printed the notice twice.[9] In addition to the obituary, the Reverend Alexander Mathieson preached a sermon in *Tribute of Respect to the Memory of a Good man: A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, on the occasion of the Death of Hugh Brodie, Esq.* which was later printed as a tract.

---

[8] Hugh Brodie's Obituary, *Montreal Witness* 12 January 1852, p. 13; *Quebec Gazette* 16 January 1852, no page. Andre Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *Les journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964*, (Québec: les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1965), 125-126.

[9] *The Presbyterian* first reproduced the obituary notice and in a later edition included a lengthy extract from it along with a review of Mathieson's sermon *A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of a Good Man.* See *The Presbyterian*, 5(2) February 1852, 19-20 and 5(4) April 1852, 59-61; André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse Québécoise des origines à nos jours.* Tome Premier: *1764-1859.* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1973), 160-161.

Brodie died a good "Scotch resident" of Lower Canada and he expressed his Scottishness by his "devotion to agricultural pursuits in which he became a pattern to his French Canadian neighbours," by shouldering responsibilities as an elder of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, a judge at the New York State agricultural exhibition, as a guide to immigrants, and through his interest in establishing good schools in Montreal. Like his father, a counter-hegemonic or at least an independent spirit ran through his conduct in the public sphere. He positioned himself as a practical farmer, validating the working-man's practical knowledge ahead of elite generated scientific knowledge. The sermon preached upon his death highlighted the typically Calvinist way in which he had embodied virtues and sought to influence and offer guidance to those around him by modelling and performing these values rather than attempting to impose his will. Both documents held up the way Hugh Brodie had lead his life as a cultural model.

Father and son made a good subject of study for a second reason: they belonged to dense interpersonal networks. However much their gender, their natural talents, particular dispositions, and relative advantages brought them the recognition of their peers in Lochwinnoch parish, among the Scots of Lower Canada and more broadly in a cosmopolitan public sphere, they were still members of a network and represented the values of the network. Hugh Brodie elder originally delivered his "Kilbarchan Farmer Society Georgic" in 1769, but apparently enjoyed a long life in the parish. It was by "desire of several people" thirteen years later, that historian William Semple was prevailed upon to include it in his 1782 *History of the Shire of Renfrew.* The poem expressed as much the interests of the people who created a willing and attentive audience for it as it did the interests of its author. Similarly, other of Hugh Brodie elder's

poems circulated within Lochwinnoch oral culture to be recorded in the early 19th century by the antiquary Andrew Crawfurd. Their survival indicated the choice and selectiveness of those who liked and remembered the poems. In 1841 Hugh Brodie elder's grandson considered it a pleasant prospect of amusing himself "colecting [sic] the lost or strayed pieces of poetry done by" Hugh Brodie elder.[10]

The network supporting Hugh Brodie in Montreal accepted the vision of him promoted by the obituary and the sermon. Of the sermon, one friend reported "I Received the track of the Late Mr. Brodies funeral Sermon which is true statmenet of his Carector [sic] and Ably [sic] don [sic] by the Revt. Mr. Matheson [sic]."[11] The voice of this network that recognized Brodie as their own survives in two important collections.

A body of almost two hundred letters sent from Scotland and preserved by the Montreal Brodies preserved the dynamic community of Scots that bridged the Atlantic Ocean to maintain connections between the Lochwinnoch parishioners and the Montreal Brodies. Andrew Crawfurd, with the help and guidance of the Lochwinnoch parishioners, compiled a 46 volume manuscript history of Lochwinnoch parish, "The Cairn of Lochwinnoch Matters" that preserved in antiquarian detail, a particular image of the parish's social networks.

What significance may be attached to the Brodies historical self-consciousness? What image did they project to the world that they were so proud of? This dissertation argues that through their cultural interactions with the other members of Lochwinnoch parish, the Brodies provide insight into the vexed question of Scottish national identity. Historians agree that full-blown romantic nationalism did not appear in Scottish society

[10] MM PO21 File 5, William Cameron (Paisley, Scotland) to Hugh Brodie (Montreal), 9 June 1841.
[11] MM PO21 File 13, Daniel Craig (Charlotenburgh) to Ann Brodie (Montreal) 17 June 1852.

until the later-19th century. Scholars studying this issue from a variety of angles come to remarkably similar conclusions. Historians of 19th century Scottish culture bemoan the production of empty, ersatz Scottish national culture inaugurated by Lowland Scots' spurious adoption of highland cultural symbols. Other historians charting the experiences of working class radical Scots conclude that the radicals eschewed support of a national agenda by adopting the British Constitution as their own, thereby seeking to take advantage of modernity and progress. Scottish elites are no better, doing exactly the same thing. Even from the broader perspective of the study of popular culture, scholars have characterized the rise of folklore and the insertion of the category of the folk into people's minds, as a negative and hollow venture.

An examination of the documents left by the Brodies and the other members of Lochwinnoch parish has shown how plebeian Scots actively cultivated a folk identity as a forward-looking self-defined identity. Moreover, this folk-identity generated or inspired the so-called myth of Scotland's "democratic intellect." A lacuna of reliable data make it difficult to assert that the average Scot of the late-18th and early-19th century was more literate than his or her counterpart in another European nation, but it is clear that many Scots assumed that they were better educated than their peers elsewhere in the British Isles.. For Houston this myth of Scottish literacy served the hegemonic function of palliating the lower orders with the promise of social mobility through education.

Chapter One demonstrated how ordinary Scots living in Lochwinnoch parish contrived ways to engage with the cosmopolitan world of ideas beyond the confines of their parish. Chapter Two demonstrated the active way in which the ordinary Scots created a hybrid knowledge culture balanced between the consumption of elite-generated

discourse of improvement and their indigenous production of an autonomous folk-culture. When chance and circumstance contrived to disrupt this late-18th century parish knowledge-culture, the true flexibility and power of the folk-enlightenment position revealed itself. Chapters Three and Four look at how emigrant Scots made decisions and presented themselves as a cultural group in the colonial context of early Montreal. Chapter Three in particular reveals the ways in which at least one Scottish family made use of the structures of the British Empire to further their interests. Hugh Brodie used or disregarded elements of the predominant discourse of agrarian patriotism as it suited his own concerns. By rooting himself confidently in his own knowledge and judgement, he became an emblematic Scot who had advanced his interests by being sagacious and adaptable.

Crucially, however, the Brodies distanced themselves from the image of the well-educated working-class Scot. Rather, Brodie's life's work in Montreal acquired added value because he had achieved it "without the advantages of early education." Moreover, mid-19th century Montreal Scots explicitly associated Brodie and his cultural values with an 18th century past: to understand him, one had to "go back to the parish patriarchs of Scotland thirty years ago.[12] Chapter Four advances the argument that the 'democratic intellect' originated not as a tool for social control, but was the indigenous expression of a parish "Folk Enlightenment." It recalled to mind a time when the ordinary Scot had to seek out educational opportunities and chose what information was relevant to them. The bardic self-fashioning of the Deacon Dinsmoor offers a tantalizing avenue towards deepening and broadening this idea.

---

[12] A review of Mathieson's sermon *A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of a Good Man*, in *The Presbyterian*, 5(4) April 1852, 59-61.

The record of Brodies' interactions with his French Canadian neighbors in Montreal is very slim, but suggestive of the ways in which their concerns as people with not uncomplicated rights to citizenship within the British Empire paralleled, intersected and contradicted the concerns of the French-speaking *Canadiens.* This dissertation is about the Brodie's experiences and not about those *Canadiens*, but may suggest paths for deeper understanding of the "two races warring in the bosom of the state" of early 19th century Canada. Hugh Brodie participated in two ventures that antagonized his French Canadian neighbors—the decision to award separate prizes to the French- and English-speaking contestants at the Montreal District Agricultural Society Fairs and the enforcement of the hated sleigh-laws. However, it would be too simplistic to see Hugh Brodie as a colonial agent trying to rewrite the landscape and erase French difference as seen in Durham's proposals for assimilation. Hugh Brodie, as had been his father Hugh Brodie elder, was both too aware of imperial oppression. Both had been the objects of similarly pitched improving material aimed at breaking down their mental customs. Did the Brodies successfully strike a balance between their particular identities and their desire to participate in a cosmopolitan liberalizing world? I believe that the compromise position they adopted was that of being balanced between both worlds, that is 'sagacious' and 'adaptable.'

In conclusion, this dissertation amplifies our understanding of the concept of Scottishness in the late-18th and early 19th century by presenting Scottishness as a genuine folk identity. In contrast to current scholarship for whom the Scot as the product of elite institutions or even of elite imagination, we argue that it was a forward looking and self-directed organizing principle for the everyday Scot. The Brodies' activities

remained rooted in the land—in the farmer's moral empirical relationship with the soil, or the artisan with his or her materials—and in the moral ideal of the face-to-face community. Emigration gradually forced the Scots to move away from being able to experience these ideals directly. Overtime their sense of Scottishness became more and more objectified and rooted in symbolism, pageantry and romantic literature and other aspects of the imagined national community. But the ideals remained in the caricature of the "sagacious" and "adaptable' Scot.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Scotland
National Archives Scotland

CH2/649/2 Lochinnoch Kirk Session Minutes 1691-1700 and 1709-60 transcribed by Dr. Crawfurd.
CH2/649/3 Lochwinnoch Kirk Session Minutes 1777-1816
CH2/649/26, "Notes written by Dr. Andrew Crawfurd on ministers, session clerks, schoolmasters, copy register of baptisms 1706-14, proclamations 1703-14

National Library of Scotland

Ainslie, John, *Map of the County of Renfrew*, London: s.n., 1800.

Paisley Central Library, Local Studies Library

"Cairn of Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire and the West of Scotland Matters" Volumes 1-7, 10-13, 18, 24, 25, 42
"Lochwinnoch Matters, Collected by Andrew Crawfurd," Volume 8
"Old Ballats Collected by Andro Crawford," Volume 3
"Newspaper Cuttings", by Andrew Crawford, Volume 1

Canada
National Archives Canada

C-series	British Military and Naval Records
MG29 C37	Reminiscences of Hugh Allan
RG1 L3	Upper Canada Land Petitions
RG1 L3L	Lower Canadian Land Petitions
RG31 C1	Census Returns for Lower Canada/Canada East, 1825-1861

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec-Montréal (BAnQ)

CN601 Fonds Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Montréal. Greffes de notaire
CN601 S74 Louis Chaboillez

TL32 S31 Rapports des juges de paix sur les convictions sommaires

Archives des Religieuses Hospitalières de St.-Joseph-Montréal (ALHSJ-Montréal)

Fonds de la procure

McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montréal

PO21 Brodie Family Fonds
PO24 Atkinson Family Fonds

Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office

Microfilm Reel 164, Church Records for St. Andrew's, Montreal, Quebec, 'Minutes of the Committee of the Church of St. Peter Street Church," 1815-1850.

Archives de la Ville de Montréal,

VN35 Fonds des juges de paix de Montréal, Juges de Paix (1836-1840)

Private Collection of Robert P. Brodie, Montreal West

"Memoire of Robert Brodie, Esq., Orchard Bank, 3215 Upper Lachine Road, Montreal Quebec."

Newspapers and Periodicals

Canada
- Newspapers
  - Montreal *Gazette* (1785-)
- Periodicals
  - *British American Cultivator* (Toronto 1845-1841)
  - *Canada Temperance Advocate* (Montreal 1835-?)
  - *Canadian Agriculturalist* (Toronto 1849-1858)
  - *Montreal Witness* (Montreal 1846-1862)
  - *The Presbyterian* (Montreal 1848-1875)

Scotland
- Periodicals
  - *Scots Magazine* (Edinburgh 1739-1803)

United States
- Newspapers
  - New York *Daily Advertiser* (1785-1809)

Periodicals

Farmer's Cabinet (Philadelphia 1836-1840)

Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture (Boston 1842-1906)

Transactions of the New-York State Agricultural Society (New York 1841-1886)

Government Publications

Canada

Ordinances Made and Passed by His Excellency the Governor General and Special Council, for the Affairs of the Province of Lower Canada, Quebec: J.C. Fisher and W. Kemble, 1839

Printed

Addison, Joseph. "An Essay on Virgil's Georgics," in *Miscellaneous Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Right Honorable Joseph Addison, Esq; In Three Volumes... With some account of the life and writings of the author*, by Mr. Tickell, London: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1746, 257-267.

Aiton, William. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr ... Drawn Up in Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvements,* Glasgow: Napier, Trongate, 1811.

Anonymous. *A Dissertation on the Chief Obstacles to the Improvement of Land,* Aberdeen: Francis Douglas, 1740.

Anonymous. *Reasons for Augmenting the Salaries and Other Incomes of the Established Schoolmasters in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Gideon Crawford, 1748.

Anonymous. *The Laird and Farmer: A Dialogue Upon Farming, Trade, Cookery, and their Method of Living in Scotland, balanc'd with that of England, by a Native of the Country, who has had a nigh Connection with Masters and Tenants, and knows the Manner and Method of their Common People's Living etc.*, London; Griffiths, 1750.

Anonymous. *A Friendly Address to the Farmers of Scotland, by an Old Ploughman, n.p.* 1755.

Anonymous. "Memorial of the Parish Schoolmasters of Scotland," an appendix to Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, reproduced in *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology* edited by Alexander Broadie, Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997, 572-575.

Anonymous. *A Declaration of Rights, and An address to the people. Approved of by a number of the friends of reform in Paisley*, [Paisley?, 1790?]

Annonymous. "To the Author of the Mirror," No.88, 11 March 1779. Reprinted in volume two, *The Mirror*, London: J. Parsons, 1794, 156-161.

Annonymous. "Lochwinnoch" in R. Brookes, *Brooke's General Gazetter abridged*, London: Printed for B. Shaw et al., 1797, 355-6.

Armstrong, John. *The Art of Preserving Health. A Poem*, Dublin: James Rudd, 1756.

Bouchette, Joseph. *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas Canada.* Londres: W. Faden, 1815.

Croil, James. *The Life of the Rev. Alex. Mathieson, D.D: Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal*, Montreal: Dawson, 1870.

Hector, William. *Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, Paisley: J&J Cook, 1878.

Home, Francis. *The Principle of Agriculture and Vegetation,* Edinburgh: Sands, Donaldson, Murray, and Cochran, 1756.

Home, Henry, Lord Kames. *The Gentleman Farmer. Being an Attempt to Improve Agriculture by Subjecting it to the Test of Rational Principles,* Dublin: James Williams, 1776.

----------. *Historical Law-Tracts,* Fourth edition, Edinburgh: T. Cadell, 1792.

Mathieson, Alexander. "A sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal on the thirtieth day of November, 1836 (St. Andrew's Day), Montreal: J. Starke, 1837.

Mitchell, J. and Jn. Dickie. *The Philosophy of Witchcraft*, Paisley: Murray and Stewart, 1839.

Motherwell, William. *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern with an Historical Introduction and Notes*, Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1873.

Picken, E, and A. Wilson. *The Laurel Disputed: Or the Merits of Allan Ramsay and Robert Ferguson Contrasted* Edinburgh: A Guthrie, 1791.

Robertson, Thomas. *Outline of the General Report Upon the Size of Farms and Upon the Persons Who Cultivate Farms,* Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1796.

Robertson, George. *A General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, Second Revision, Paisley: J. Neilson, 1818.

----------. *Topographical Description of Ayrshire: more Particularly of Cunningham: together with a Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in that Bailiwick.* Irvine: Cunninghame Press, 1820.

Semple, David. *The Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill*, Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1875.

Semple, William. *The History of the Shire of Renfrew*, Paisley: Alex Weir, 1782.

Sinclair, John. *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture and Its Progress for Three Years After Its Establishment,* London: W. Bulmer, 1796.

----------. *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland; with a general view of the history of that country, and discussions on some important branches of political economy*, volume 2 (1825; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970)

Smith, Adam. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, edited by J.C. Bryce, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

----------. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, A Selected Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Steven, James. *A Public Testimony of Loyalty to the British Constitution Proper At This Time for Every Good Subject: a Sermon Preached at Lochwinnoch, Tuesday 29th January 1793,* Glasgow: Duncan and Chapman, 1793.

----------. "Lochwinnoch," in *The Statistical Account of Scotland: Drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes*, Volume 15, edited by Sir John Sinclair, Edinburgh: William Creech, 1795.

----------. *The Necessity of Arming at the Present Critical Juncture, A Sermon Preached at Lochwinnoch*, Thursday 9th March 1797, Glasgow: Brash & Reid, 1797.

Thom, William. *A Sermon Preached in the High-Church-Yard, Glasgow, May 26th, 1774 at the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. John Burns, Minister of Barony.* Glasgow: Morrison and McAllum, 1774.

Warner, John. "A Letter to the West Country Farmers, concerning the Difficulties and Management of a bad Harvest. Written at the end of the Year 1772," printed in *The Scots Farmer: Or Selected Essays on Agriculture, Adapted to the Soil and Climate of Scotland,* Volume One, Edinburgh: William Auld, 1773-4, 476-503.

----------. *On Hay Harvest and the Hay best adapted for that purpose. Addressed to*

the Kilbarchan FarmerSociety, Edinburgh: William Auld, 1774.

Wilson, John. *General View of the Agriculture of Renfrewshire; with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement, and An Account of its Commerce and* Manufactures. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, and Internal Improvement. Paisley: Stephen Young, 1812.

Wilson, Alexander. "Lochwinnoch: A Descriptive Poem," in *Poems. By Alexander Wilson*, Paisley: J. Neilson, 1790.

Secondary Sources

Allan, David. "Provincial Readers and Book Culture in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Perth Library, 1784-c.1800" *Library* 2002 3(4): 367-389.

Annonymous. *An Ecclesiastical Sketch of Lochwinnoch Parish, Embracing a Period of About Three Hundred Years.* By a Native. Paisley: J & J. Steam Publishers, 1878.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Armour, J.S. *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal 1803-2003*, Montreal: Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 2003.

Aspinwall, Bernard. *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920,* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984.

Axelrod, Paul. *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914.* Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, New York: Vintage, 1988.

Bayly, C.A. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, London and New York: Longman, 1989.

Beaulieu, André and Jean Hamelin. *Les journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964.* Québec: les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1965.

Beaulieu, André and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours.* Tome Premier: *1764-1859.* Québec: Les Presses de L' Université Laval, 1973.

Bennett, Margaret. *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.

Berry, Christopher, J. *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

Bold, Valentina. "'Poor as a Poet': Macpherson, Burns and the Peasant Poet," *Scotlands* 4(1) 1997: 108-118.

Boud, R.C. "Scottish Agricultural Improvement Societies, 1723-1835" *Review of Scottish Culture* 1(1984): 70-90.

Broadie, Alexander. "Introduction," to *The Scottish Enlightenment, An Anthology* edited and introduced by Alexander Broadie, Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997, 1-36.

Brown, Callum G. *The Social History of Religion in Scotland Since 1730,* London: Methuen, 1987.

Bruyn, Frans de. "Reading Virgil's *Georgics* as a Scientific Text: The Eighteenth-Century Debate between Jethro Tull and Stephen Switzer," *ELH* 71 (2004): 661-689.

Bruyn, Frans de. "From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs: Eighteenth-Century Representations and the "State" of British Society," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 17(1) 2004: 107-139.

Bryson, Gladys. *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1945.

Bumstead, J.M. *The Scots in Canada*, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* London: Temple Smith, 1979.

----------. "The Microhistory Debate," in *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, Second Edition, edited by Peter Burke, Cambridge: Polity, 2001: 116-7.

Cage, R. A., ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labor, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*, London: Croom Helm, 1985.

Campbell, Robert. *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal*, Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1887.

Campbell, R.H. "The Scottish Improvers and the Course of Agrarian Change in the

Eighteenth Century," in *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900* edited by L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1977, 204-215.

----------. "The Landed Classes," in *People and Society in Scotland*, Volume one: 1760-1830, edited by T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988, 91-108.

----------. *The Economic History Review* 39(4) 1986: 653-4.

Campey, Lucille. *The Silver Chief; Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River,* Toronto: Natural Heritage, 2003.

Cannadine, David. *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Steven Rendall, Berkley: University of California Press, 1984.

Clarke, John. *Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Cooter, Roger and Stephen Pumfrey. "Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture," *History of Science* 32 (1994): 237-267.

Courville, Serge. "Le Marche des "subsistances". L'example de la Plaine de Montreal au debut des années 1830: Une perspective Géographique." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 42, 2 (1988): 193-239.

Cowan, Edward, J. "The Myth of Scotch Canada," in *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990,* edited by Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, Halifax and Edinburgh: Fernwood and John Donald, 1999: 49-72.

Cowan, Edward J. "The Scots Imaging of Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, edited by Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

Cowan, Helen, I. *British Emigration to British North America*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Cressy, David. *Coming over: Migration and communication between England and New England in the seventeenth century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Dalglish, Chris. *Rural Society in the Age of Reason: An Archaeology of the Emergence of Modern Life in the Southern Scottish Highlands,* New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2003.

Davie, George. "Berkeley, Hume, and the Central Problem of Scottish Philosophy," in *A Passion for Ideas: Essays on the Scottish Enlightenment* Volume 2, by George Davie and edited by Murdo Macdonald, Edinburgh: Polygon, 1994, 40-67.

Davie, George. *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "The Shapes of Social History," *Storia Storiographia* 17 (1990): 30-1.

Devine, T.M. "Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *Improvement and Enlightenment: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-8,* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989, 1-21.

----------. *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.

----------. "The Transformation of Agriculture: Cultivation and Clearance," in *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy Since 1700*, edited by T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee and G.C. Paden, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005, 71-99.

----------. "Industrialization," in *The Transformation of Scotland*, in *The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy Since 1700*, edited by T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee and G.C. Paden, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005, 34-70.

----------. "Review of Houtson's *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*" *The English Historical Review* 103(409): 1052.

DeWolfe, Barbara. *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Dobson, David. *Scottish Emigration in Colonial America, 1607-1785,* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1994.

Dunkley, Peter. "Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered *The Historical Journal* 23(2) 1980: 353-380.

Dwyer, John. *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late 18th century Scotland*, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing Co, 1987.

Fyson, Donald. *Magistrates, Police and People : Everyday Criminal Justice in Quebec and Lower Canada*, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Gagnon, Robert. « Les discours sur l'enseignement pratique au Canada français :1850-1900. » *Sciences & médecine au Québec: perspectives sociohistoriques,* dirigée par Marcel Fournier, Yves Gingras et Othmar Keel. Québec : Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1987.

Gentilcore, Louis R. ed., *The Land Transformed*, vol. 2, *The Historical Atlas of Canada* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Goodman, Jordan. "History and Anthropology" in the *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, edited by Tim Gold, London: Routledge: 1994, 783-804.

Goodridge, John. *Rural Life in Eighteenth-Century English Poetry,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Gibson, A.J.S. and T.C. Smout. *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550-1780*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Gibson, Sarah. "Self-Reflection in the Consolidation of Scottish Identity: A Study of the Brodie Family Correspondence, 1809-1850," in *Canada and the British Empire: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, edited by Douglas Francis and Philip Buckner, Vancouver: UBC press, forthcoming 2006.

----------."'In Quist of a Better Hame': A Transatlantic Lowland Scottish Network In Lower Canada, 1800-1850." In *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and I dentities Since the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Angela McCarthy, 127-149. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller,* Translated by John and Anne Tedeschi, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Giovanni, Levi. "On Microhistory," in *New Perspective on Historical Writing*, Second Edition, edited by Peter Burke, Cambridge: Polity, 2001, 97-119.

Graham, Henry Grey. *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* London: Adam & Charles Black, 1950.

Grasso, Christopher. "The Experimental Philosophy of Farming: Jared Eliot and the Cultivation of Connecticut," *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 (1993): 502-528.

Gray, Malcolm. "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands," *People and Society in Scotland, Volume One: 1760 to 1830,* edited by T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 57-60.

----------. "Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875" *Perspectives in American History* 7 (1974): 95-174.

Greer, Allan. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Egerton, Frank N. 'Wilson, Alexander (1766–1813)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29634, accessed 1 Aug 2007].

Erickson, Charlotte. *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America,* Florida: 1972.

Fissell, Mary and Roger Cooter. "Exploring Natural Knowledge: Science and the Popular," in the *Cambridge History of Science* Volume 4: *18th Century Science*, edited by R. Porter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003: 129-158.

Fitzpatrick, David. *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Freeman, F.W. *Robert Fergusson and the Scots Humanists Compromise,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984.

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

----------. "A World of Business to Do': William Freeman and the Foundations of England's Commercial Empire, 1645-1707," *William and Mary Quarterly* 57 (1) 2000: 3-34.

Handley, James E. *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Faber and Faber, 1953.

Hanham, Alison. *The Sinners of Cramond: The Struggle to Impose Godly Behaviour on a Scottish Community, 1651-1851,* Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005.

Harper, Marjory and Michael E. Vance. "Introduction," to *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990*, edited by Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, Halifax and Edinburgh: Fernwood and John Donald, 1999: 14-48.

Harris, Bob. *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005.

Harris, Bob. "Political Protests in the Year of Liberty, 1792," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, Edinburgh: John Donald 2005: 49-78.

Heaman, Elsbeth. *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Horn, James. "British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain, 1680-1815," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, volume 2: *The Eighteenth Century* edited by P.J. Marshall, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998: 44-52.

Hornsby, Stephen J. "Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18(4) 1992: 397-416.

----------. *Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Houston, R. A. *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Hudson, Kenneth. *Patriotism with Profit: British Agricultural Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* London: Hugh Evelyn, 1972.

Johnston, H. J. M. *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Karras, Alan, L. *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Keegan, Bridget, "Georgic Transformations and Stephen Duck's 'The Thresher's Labour'" *SEL* 41(3) 2001: 545-562.

Kenny, Stephen. "'Cahots and Catcalls:' An Episode of Popular Resistance in Lower Canada at the Outset of the Union," *Canadian Historical Review* 65(2) 1984: 184-208.

Kidd, Colin. *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c. 1830*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

----------. "North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms" *The Historical Journal* 39(2) 1996: 361-382.

Klempa, William. "Scottish Presbyterianism Transplanted to the Canadian Wilderness" in *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada,* edited by Charles H.H. Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk., Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1997.

Lamonde, Yvan. *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec: 1760-1896*, Saint Laurent, Québec: Fides, 2000.

Landsman, Ned C. *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

----------. "Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775," *Eighteenth Century Life* 15 (1991): 196-7.

----------. "The Provinces and Empire: Scotland, the American Colonies and the Development of British Provincial Identity" in *Am Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815,* edited by Lawrence Stone, London: Routledge, 1994, 258-287.

----------. "Liberty, Piety and Patronage: The Social Context of Contested Clerical Calls," in *The Glasgow Enlightenment* edited by Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995, 215.

----------. "Nation, Migration, and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800" *The American Historical Review* 104(2) 1999: 463-475.

Law, Robin and Kristin Mann. "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *William and Mary Quarterly* 2 (1999): 307-334.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Transatlantic Migration, Transatlantic Networks, Transatlantic Transfer: Concluding Remarks," *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America,* Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Leonard, Tom. "Introduction" to *Radical Renfrew: Poetry from the French Revolution to the First World War, by poets born or sometime resident in the County of Renfrewshire,* selected, edited and introduced by Tom Leonard, Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990, xvii-xxv.

Livesey, James. "Botany and Provincial Enlightenment in Montpellier: Antoine Banal Père and Fils 1750-1800" *History of Science* 43 (2005) 57-76.

Little, J.A. *Crofters and Habitants: Settler Society, Economy, and Culture in a Quebec*

Township, 1848-1881, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

Lockridge, Kenneth. "Colonial Self-Fashioning: Paradoxes and Pathologies in the Construction of Genteel Identity in Eighteenth-Century America, " in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 274-339.

Lovejoy Arthur O. and George Boas. *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, New York: Octagon Books, 1965.

Lyle, E.B. "The printed Writings of Andrew Crawfurd," *The Bibliotheck: a Socttish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics*, 7(6) 1975, 141-158.

MacDonald, Norman. *Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement; The Administration of the Imperial and Land Regulations*, London: Longman's Green, 1939.

Mackenzie, Robert D. *Kilbarchan: A Parish History*, Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1902.

Marshall, Gordon. 'Review of Houston's *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*," *Contemporary Sociology*, 16(5) 1987: 643.

McCalla, Douglas. "Sojourners in the Snow? The Scots in Business in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, edited by Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2006: 76-98.

----------. *Planting the Province: the Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

McCarthy, Angela. "Introduction: Personal Testimonies and Scottish Migration," in *A Global Clan; Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006: 1-18.

Macinnes, Allan I, Marjory-Ann D. Harper and Linda G. Fryer, eds. *Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650-c. 1939: A Documentary Source Book*, Edinburgh: Lothian Print, 2002.

McGurik, Carol. *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era,* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985.

McKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984.

McIlvanney, Liam. *Burns the Radical: Poetry and Politics in Late 18th-Century Scotland*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003.

----------. "Hugh Blair, Robert Burns, and the Invention of Scottish Literature" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29(2) 2005, 26-46.

McIntosh, John R. *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740-1800*, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998.

McLean, Marianne. *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991.

McNabb, Heather. "Butcher, Baker Cabinetmaker?: A View of Montreal's Scottish Immigrant Community from 1835 to 1865," in Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, eds. *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2006: 242-260.

McNairn, Jeffery. *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Massicotte, Edouard-Zotique . "Quelques rues et faubourgs du vieus Montreal," *Les Cahiers des Dix*, 1936, 144-152.

Meadows, Darrell, "Engineering Exile: Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809," *French Historical Studies* 23 (2000): 67-102.

Mitch, David, "Review of Houston's *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*," *Journal of Economic History* 47(1) 1987: 229-30.

Morris, Robert, "Clubs and Associations," in *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950,* edited by F.M.L. Thompson. Volume Three *Social Agencies and Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 395-441.

Murdoch, Alexander. *Recent and Living Scottish Poets: Being a Series of Brief Biographical Sketches of Scottish Poets with Illustrative Selections form their Writings*, Glasgow: Porteous Brothers, 1880.

Newman, Steve, "The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay," *Modern Language Quarterly* 63(3) 2002: 277-314.

Noble, Andrew, "Displaced Persons: Burns and the Renfrew Radicals," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* edited by Bob Harris, 196-225.

Noël, Françoise. "Chambly Mills, 1784-1815" *Historical Papers* 1985: 102-116.

O'Halloran, Clare, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debates and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800,* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

Phillipson, Nicholas, "The Scottish Enlightenment" in *The Enlightenment in National Context* edited by Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 19-40.

----------, "Review of *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity,*" *English Historical Review* 111(441) 1996: 497.

Price, Jacob M., "Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763: A Different Kind of Glasgow Firm Trading to the Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* 1983, 3-41.

Price, Jacob, M. "One Family's Empire: The Russell-Lee-Clerk Connection In Maryland, Britain, and India, 1707-1857," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72(1977): 165-225.

Purviance, Susan M. "Intersubjectivity and Sociable Relations in the Philosophy of Francis Hutcheson," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15(1991): 23-38.

Revel, Jacques, "L'Histoire au ras du sol," introduction to Giovanni Levi, *Le Pouvoir au Village: histoire d'un exorciste dans le piémont du XVIIe siècle*, traduit de l'italien par Monique Aymard, Paris: Gallimard, 1985: i-xxxiii.

Richards, Eric, "Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788-1914," in *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise,* edited by R.A. Cage, London: Croom Helm, 1985: 111-155.

---------- "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Studies* 21(85) 1985: 474, 487-91.

---------- "Scotland and the Uses of the Atlantic Empire," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, edited by Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, 1991: 67-114.

---------- *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, London: Hambledon and London, 2004.

Riskin, Jessica. *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Roy, Louis, Gerald Domon, Sylvain Paquette. "Settlement pattern, environmental factors and ethnic background on a southwestern Quebec frontier (1795-1842)" *Canadian Geographer* 46(2) 2002: 144-160.

Roy, Louis and Michel Verdon. "East-Farnham's Agriculture in 1871: Ethnicity, Circumstances, and Economic Rationale in Quebec's Eastern Townships," *Canadian Historical Review* 84(3) 2003: 355-393.

Samson, Daniel. "'The Yoke of Improvement,': Sir John Sinclair, John Young, and the Improvement of the Scotlands, New and Old," in *Transatlantic Rebels* edited by Thomas Summerhill and James C. Scott, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004, 87-116.

Sanderson, Margaret. *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982.

Saunders, Laurence James. *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840: the Social and Intellectual Background,* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950.

Scotland, James. *The History of Scottish Education,* London: University of London Press, 1969.

Schaffer, Simon. "Earth's Fertility and Early Modern England," in *Nature and Society in Historical Context*, edited by Mikuláš Teich, Roy Porter, and Bo Gustafsson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Secord, Anne. "Corresponding interests: artisans and gentlemen in nineteenth-century natural history," *British Journal for the History of Science* 27 (1994): 383-408.

Sellar, Robert. *The History of the County of Huntingdon and the Seigniories of Chateauguay & Beauharnois.* Huntingdon: Canadian Gleaner, 1888.

Shapin, Steven and Barry Barnes. "Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanic's Institutes," *Social Studies of Science* 7(1977): 31-74.

Sher, Richard B. "Images of Glasgow in Late Eighteenth-Century Popular Poetry," in *The Glasgow Enlightenment* edited by Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher, East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995.

Sher, Richard B. *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Slaven, Anthony. *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Sorensen, Janet. *The Grammar of Empire in 18th Century British Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Smout, T.C. *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* London: Fontana Press, 1969.

----------. "The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland, 1730-1830, in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* edited by N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Michison, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1970, 73-106.

----------. "The Improvers and the Scottish Environment: Soils, Bogs and Woods" in *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives,* edited by T.M. Devine and J.R. Young, East Linton: Tuckwell Press,1999: 210-223.

Snell, J.G. "John Dougall," *Dictionary of Canadian*, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000 [http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html, accessed 1 August 2007]

Sutherland, Gillian. "Education," in *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, edited by F.M.L. Thompson Volume Three *Social Agencies and Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 119-169.

Steele, Ian K. *The English Atlantic, 1674-1740: an exploration of communication and community*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Steven, Maisie. *Parish Life in Eighteenth Century Scotland: A Review of the Old Statistical Account*, Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995.

Storey, John. *Inventing Popular Culture*: From Folklore to Globalization, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.

Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Timperley, L. "The Pattern of Landholding in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *The Making of the Scottish Countryside* edited by M.L. Parry and T.R. Slater, Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1980, 137-154.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984: 15-41.

Trumpener, Katie. *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Vander Hoef, Lorraine. "John Dougall (1808-1886): Portrait of an Early Social

Reformer and Evangelical Witness in Canada" *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 43 (2001): 115-145.

Vincent, David. *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography,* London: Europa Publications, 1981.

Vance, Michael E. "Advancement, Moral Worth and Freedom: The Meaning of Independence for early Nineteenth Century Lowland Emigrants to Upper Canada," in *Nation and Province: Scotland and the Americas 1600-1800,* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001: 151-180.

Vickers, Daniel. "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America" *William and Mary Quarterly* 47(1) 1990: 3-29.

Vincent, David. *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Ninteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography,* London: Europa Publications, 1981.

Watson J.A.S and G.D. Amery. "Early Scottish Agricultural Writers (1697-1790)," *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland,* 43 (1931), 60-85.

Western, J.R. 'The Formation of the Scottish Militia," *The Scottish Historical Review* 34(117) 1955: 1-18.

Wheeler, Roxanne. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wills, Virginia. "The Gentleman Farmer and the Annexed Estates: Agrarian Change in the Highlands in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment,* edited by T.M. Devine , Glasgow : Distributed by University of Glasgow, 1979, 38-46.

Wilmot, Sarah. *'The Business of Improvement': Agriculture and Scientific Culture in Britain, c. 1700-c. 1870,* Bristol, England: Historical Geography Research Series, 1990.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century,* London: Routledge, 2003.

Withers, Charles. "On Georgics and Geology: James Hutton's 'Elements of Agriculture," and Agricultural Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Agricultural History Review* 42(1) 1994: 38-48.

Withrington, Donald. "Schooling, Literacy and Society," in *People and Society in Scotland,* Volume I: 1760-1830, edited by T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988.

Wood, William Henry, ed. *The Storied Province of Québec: past and present*, Volume Two, Toronto: Dominion Pub Co., 1931.

Wold, Atle L. "Scottish Attitudes to Military Mobilisation and War in the 1790s," Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005, 140-163.

Unpublished dissertations and theses

Albritton Jonsson, Fredrik "The Enlightenment in the Highlands: Natural History and Internal Colonization in the Scottish Enlightenment, 1760-1830," PhD Dissertation. University of Chicago, 2005.

Fair, Ross, "Gentlemen, Farmers, and Gentlemen Half-Farmers: The Development of Agricultural Societies in Upper Canada 1792-1846," PhD Dissertation, Queen's University, 1998.

Heaman, Elsbeth, "Commercial Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions At Home and Abroad During the Nineteenth Century," PhD Dissertation. University of Toronto, 1996.

Sayer, Laura Ann, "Farming by the Book: British Georgic in Prose and Practice, 1697-1820," PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2002.

Genealogical Sources

McClellan, Jean H., "Brodie-Holmes-Garth Ancestry and Some Collateral Families or Scotland and Lancashire thence to Montreal, Quebec," unpublished genealogy by a member of the Ontario Genealogical Society (Toronto, 1978).