ANN RIGNEY

Embodied Communities: Commemorating Robert Burns, 1859

An Unprecedented Spectacle

The celebration of the hundredth birthday of Robert Burns, on the 25th day of January, in the year 1859, presented a spectacle unprecedented in the history of the world.

THESE ARE THE OPENING LINES of the *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, published by James Ballantine in May 1859.[1] Ballantine's chronicle records a mind-boggling total of 872 celebratory events that had taken place in city halls, corn exchanges, local meeting halls, hotels, and private houses on January 25 earlier that year. Flanked by a flurry of centenary publications, there were more than 600 of such meetings in Scotland.[2] The others were spread across the British Isles, the United States, and the colonies, especially Canada and Australia, with only one event mentioned on continental Europe (in Copenhagen).[3]

Ballantine's chronicle is arguably one of the richest documents of literary reception ever produced, but it has never been analyzed in any detail. It is made up of 606 pages of eye-straining, double-columned print containing verbatim reports of the speeches held at the most important venues, along with summary descriptions of ancillary events and civic processions, leaving the overriding impression of people having enjoyed a great party. Its very existence within months of the event indicates an extraordinary level of organization and a network of correspondents stretching deep into the provinces and across the ocean, while the generic label "chronicle" implies a self-conscious attempt to promote and enhance the status of the event as a "historic" one.

From other sources, it would appear that the idea of having a megacelebration on the occasion of Burns's centenary had been launched in Glasgow

ABSTRACT The centenary celebrations of Robert Burns on January 25, 1859, took the form of more than eight hundred meetings across the English-speaking world at which participants celebrated both the memory of the poet and, especially through the use of the telegraph, their own present-day interconnectedness. This article situates this extraordinary event within the larger context of the nineteenth-century culture of artistic commemorations and uses the case to critically reexamine the view of literature's role in nation building that has been generally accepted since Anderson's influential *Imagined Communities* (1983). REPRESENTATIONS 115. Summer 2011 ISSN 0734–6018, electronic ISSN 1533–855X, pages 71–101. DOI:10.1525/rep.2011.115.1.71.

in 1858 when a number of local enthusiasts had gathered at a supper in celebration of the poet's "Immortal Memory." Such suppers had been held regularly, if not ubiquitously, since the early 1800s, sometimes within the framework of local "Burns clubs." Eating, drinking, recitation, and singing had been a salient feature of the reception of Burns's poetry from the outset. Where other writers invited silent reading and private contemplation, Burns mobilized energies of a more performative and convivial kind. The global federation of clubs linked to the worldwide organization of annual "Burns suppers," still going on today, would receive a big impetus from the success of 1859.[4]

Following the Glasgow supper of 1858 and spearheaded by the efforts of the owner of the Glasgow Daily Bulletin, a letter was circulated to various associations, societies, and individuals throughout the British Isles, the United States, and the British Empire with a view to creating an international movement for the centenary year. The circular thus appealed as much to a spirit of future building as to a spirit of remembrance. While the coming centenary would recall the past, it would ideally take place on such a scale that it in turn would be remembered by future generations. The ambition was hyperbolic:

> To Scotsmen and Scotswomen everywhere—and to their posterity in the generations to come—this Centenary Celebration will, if universal, prove not only a source of the greatest delight but a lasting bond of union between the inhabitants of Caledonia and those of every country and clime who sincerely adopt as their creed—"A man's a man for a' that."[5]

The fact that hundreds of celebrations did actually take place in 1859 shows the remarkable momentum gathered by this circular (later enthusiasts have suggested that Ballantine's 872 meetings represented a mere 5 percent of all gatherings, but this seems like an implausible exaggeration of what were already significant numbers).[6] Behind the organization was apparently the idea that the toast to the "Immortal Memory" should be drunk at six o'clock in the evening at all the different venues so that an effect of physical simultaneity would be achieved—or, since this was prior to the introduction of Greenwich Mean Time, at least imagined.

In the earlier part of the day, street processions took place at various locations, most prominently in Dumfries, the place where Burns had lived in his final years:

> At twelve o'clock the procession, which was of extraordinary extent, and presented an exceedingly brilliant and imposing appearance, left the Academy grounds, where it had been marshaled four abreast, and, accompanied by seven bands of music, passed through the principal streets of Dumfries and Maxwelltown. It was headed by the Magistrates and Town Council of Dumfries, followed by the Magistrates and Town Council of Maxwelltown, the water commissioners, the merchants and traders, the various incorporated and other trades, the Celtic Society in Highland costume,

FIGURE 1. Procession at Dumfries; *Illustrated London News*, 5 February 1859. Image courtesy John Weedy.

the operatives in Nithsdale and Kinholm Mills, railway laborers, drapers' assistants, Early Closing Association, members of Mechanics' Institutes, and Freemasons—the whole being brought up by a body of carters on horseback. Almost all the bands played Scotch music; and all along the route the windows were crowded with interested and enthusiastic spectators. (116)

The Dumfries procession, images of which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* seems to have been the most extensive one in Scotland (fig. 1), but it was echoed in various forms of public display at many of the other locations: bell-ringing (in Aberdeen, 147), cannon salutes (in Ayr, 92), bunting and flags (in Glasgow among many other places, 39). At the Crystal Palace in London, in keeping with that institution's role in providing large-scale spectacles to crowds of visitors arriving by train, a multimedial Burns festival was on offer: an exhibition of Burnsian relics (portraits, manuscripts, the desk on which "Tam o' Shanter" had been written, an enormous bust of Burns erected for the occasion); continuous Scottish melodies played by the Scots Fusiliers Guards; recitals of "Tam o' Shanter" with a "slide show" of photographs illustrating the principal scenes; Scottish refreshments; a concert; and, as highpoint of the day, the announcement of the winner of the centenary

poetry competition (which had attracted many entries of sometimes woeful doggerel).[7] More unexpected perhaps given its transatlantic location was the large-scale procession that took place in Chicago and, accompanied by dragoons, included four marching bands, the city fathers, Masonic lodges, Odd Fellows, the fire brigade, and no less than a one-hundred-gun salute.

Nevertheless, the center point of the centenary celebrations was formed, in keeping with the specific tradition of the Burns suppers, by the festive gatherings that took place on the evening of January 25. In the bigger cities, multifarious civic organizations held their own parties to celebrate the memory of the poet with more or less formality and undoubtedly more or less alcohol. In adjacent venues, there was dining; music making; and, in some places, dancing until the small hours; above all, there was toasting and speechifying in honor of Robert Burns, much of which was reported verbatim in later newspaper reports and standalone publications. In Aberdeen alone, for example, there were celebrations organized by the St. Andrew's Society (attended by the provost), the Speculative Society, the Operative Shoemakers, the Masons, the Juridical Society, the Loyal Robert Burns Lodge of Odd-Fellows, the Neptune Lodge, the Aberdeen Joiners Mutual Improvement Association, the Broadford Operatives, and the Bon-Accord Literary Association (142f).

In detailing the many meetings, Ballantine's *Chronicle* provides a keyhole perspective on the social stratification that existed in Victorian Britain and the multiple forms of sociability that helped people congregate. The proliferation of voluntary associations exemplifies the importance of clubs and organizations already noted by Simon Gunn as characteristic of nineteenth-century urban culture. But even as the *Chronicle* highlights these local forms of conviviality, it also shows their connection to larger-scale social networking and, thanks to this networking, their widespread involvement in a common project without any single institutionalized organizational center. I use the term "networking" here in the strong sense, that is: to refer to groups of individuals—and to constellations of groups—who are not only connected to each other but also self-reflexively aware of their connectedness. They were contemporaries who shared the same moment, if not the same location. As one of the Glasgow toasts put it:

> There is something impressive, something positively sublime in the contemplation of the wide-spread and far-extending series of social groups which are at this moment doing homage to the memory of our poet. (81)

Echoing these sentiments, speechmakers elsewhere also evoked the wonder of the event itself and the fact that it linked Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Belfast with the Australian bush, the banks of the Zambesi, the burning plains of India, the frozen plains of northern Canada, and so on.[8] Some of

the invocations of this interconnected world read like a rough guide to the empire and, with the events of 1857 still fresh in people's minds, there were indeed recurrent references to the Indian mutiny and the siege of Lucknow.[9]

The existence of a network was reflected in the fact that in those cities where multiple events were taking place, delegations moved from one meeting to another so as to emphasize the idea that "down the road we're at the same thing as you." Similar exchanges also took place with the help of that most modern of media technologies: the telegraph. Within the British Isles, for example, telegrams were exchanged between Edinburgh, Liverpool, and London's Crystal Palace (thus allowing for the name of the winner of the poetry prize to be spread rapidly), while across North America multiple telegrams were also exchanged (among other places, between Montreal and New Orleans). In Toronto, the *Daily Globe* newspaper reinforced the effect of the telegrams by including them verbatim in its report on 26 January 1859 and even signaling them in the main headline, which figured alongside an announcement of the banquet and celebrations, "Telegraphic despatches from all quarters."[10] As it happened, the transatlantic telegraph cable that had been inaugurated in 1858 with a highly publicized exchange of prolix telegraphs between Queen Victoria and President Buchanan was out of order by January 1859, a fact that was regularly regretted by the speechifiers at the Burns event. This technical hitch meant that the link between New York and Edinburgh had to be effected through the more traditional medium of letters. But whether they used the telegraph, the letter, or the face-to-face visit, it is clear that for the participants in the Burns evening of 1859 the event was perceived as a sort of Live-Aid or Twitter-fest avant la lettre, a worldwide happening that involved people across the globe and their imagining "one world" of globalized simultaneity made possible by Burns and reinforced by modern technologies: "The Electric Telegraph, impatient with the progress of its great compeers in civilization, speeds a lightning-footed courier from city to city, shore to shore, and continent to continent, proclaiming the same heaven-born message to all the world: 'It's coming yet for a' that'"(23). Indeed, as this last passage suggests, the idea of electricity (as connector) and the idea of Burns (as connector) were often merged in metaphorical hybrids that spoke volumes about the excitement of the occasion and the sense that this commemorative event was also about an emergent future. Thus Burns himself was repeatedly figured as an electric force with the power to galvanize individuals and link them, both face-to-face and at a distance, as members of the same community:

> On this day, Burns is to us, not the memory of a departed, but the presence of a living power—(enthusiastic cheering)—the electric chain which knits the hearts of Scotchmen in every part of the world. (7)

> Although the Atlantic telegraph cable lately laid by the energy, capital and skill of two great nations, is now silent and dumb, there is a cable of poetry and song, laid nearly a hundred years ago by a simple ploughman which neither the length, the depths, nor the storms of the Atlantic can ever sever, and through which this day the electric sparks flow, making hearts in America beat warmly and in unison with those in Scotland. (170)

It is evident from these passages that people in 1859 were as excited about telegraphy as a figure for their modernity, and about the "mediated immediacy" it afforded, as later generations would be about cyberspace.[11] There was a sense that the barriers and distances dividing people at different locations had fallen away, and that distance was no longer an impediment to communication and communality. In this regard, the Burns centenary provided a foretaste of the impact of the telegraph on what Duncan Bell calls "the global political imagination" of the last decades of the century.[12]

Given the infectious excitement of the speechmakers it is tempting to adopt the participants' perspective on the 1859 celebrations and to see the event as indeed "unprecedented" and anomalous. It was not. While the Burns event was arguably exceptional in its scale and geographical spread, I shall argue that it was also part of a broader development in which commemorations, in particular of writers and artists, played a key role in articulating collective identities and in shaping communities that were both imagined and embodied.

The Cult of Commemorations

It is well known that in the nineteenth century public memory was actively cultivated in the form of museums, monuments, archives, text editions, and narratives. The undeniable growth of self-reflexive memorial practices in the first half of the century has been explained by Pierre Nora and others as a by-product of modernization: where the relationship to the past used to be experienced as one of continuity and cyclical repetition, the changes wrought by revolution, urbanization, and migration led to an increased demand for specialized cultural activities designed to reestablish a meaningful relationship to an ever-receding past.[13] The growing need to actively cultivate common "memory sites" can also be linked to the enlargement of the scale upon which societies operated, such that people were increasingly called upon, with the help of media, to associate with an "imagined community," to use Benedict Anderson's famous phrase, made up of countless members whom they could never meet face to face.[14] Actively cultivating public memory was part of the shaping of large-scale communities, most obviously when it came to what Joep Leerssen has aptly called the "national cultivation of culture."[15] The case of Burns will show that media,

memory, and nation building were indeed very much linked in shaping an "imagined community" in Anderson's sense. My analysis will also show, however, that not all imagined communities were national, and not all were imagined.

The study of nineteenth-century memorial practices has until recently concentrated on their material manifestations in the form of buildings, monuments, and the cultural products (texts, images) that served as unifying memory sites for groups spread over larger territories. In the last decade, however, there has been something of a "performative turn" in memory studies as in other parts of the humanities, meaning that the emphasis has shifted away from products to processes, from static "sites" to performances.[16] At a theoretical level, this has involved replacing the concept of "collective memory" (viewed as a communal repository) by more dynamic and proactive concepts such as "mnemonic practices" or "cultural remembrance" in which attention turns both to embodied practices of remembrance and to the idea of remembering as a form of social action: a way of intervening in the world that is in itself ephemeral and "once off," although it may be ritualistically reiterated (as in anniversaries) or recalled at later points in time (as in chronicles and reports).

This shift of perspective toward the ways in which societies actively engage with their pasts in acts of public remembrance has implications, not just for our understanding of the complex temporalities at work in memory, but also for our understanding of *lieux de mémoire*. Where the concept of "memory site" in Pierre Nora's original use of the term had a rather static connotation, more recent work has emphasized instead the fact that memory sites only survive by virtue of the ongoing willingness to reproduce them and, related to this, their capacity to generate new interpretations. To put this in another way that is particularly relevant to the case of Burns, they work as sites only as long as they have power to mobilize people into investing in them.[17]

One of the byproducts of the performative turn has been the heightened visibility of festivals, centenaries, and mass spectacles as an integral part of memorial practices and nation building in the nineteenth century. It was not just the era of large monuments but also a "performing century."[18] The role of festivals in the political life of revolutionary France has been well known since the publication of Mona Ozouf's groundbreaking *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (1976). By now, it has become apparent that commemorations started to take place across Europe from the late eighteenth century onwards, including the tercentenary of Columbus's landing in the New World in 1792, the tercentenary of Luther's posting of his theses in Nuremberg in 1817, and a slew of other centenaries and jubilees—many of which are listed in a valuable survey provided by Roland Quinault and

significantly entitled, "The Cult of the Centenary, c. 1784–1914."[19] A large number of these festivals was linked to the celebration of writers and artists, beginning with the successful celebrating of Handel in 1764 and including the centenaries of Goethe (1849), Schiller (1853, 1859), Handel (1857), Tasso (1857), Shakespeare (1864), Dante (1865), Scott (1871), Petrarch (1875), Rousseau and Voltaire (1878), Camões (1880), Pushkin (1880), and, of course, Burns (1859).[20] Whatever else they did, these commemorative rituals introduced a cyclical dimension into developmental national narratives, evoking patterns of continuity and repetition across time. Although these festivals were all singular and once-off "happenings," they nevertheless also worked accumulatively as the canon of great writers and artists were celebrated one after the other.[21]

Much work still needs to be done to bring to light this "cult of commemorations" and the particular role occupied by writers at its center. But enough is now known about the frequency of such orchestrated happenings to challenge the assumption that the emergence of large-scale, imagined communities reliant on media (to summarize Anderson's thesis) somehow made all forms of embodied communality redundant. A growing body of research shows that commemorative festivals helped orchestrate public life in an increasingly urbanized and increasingly mediatized world by providing occasions, not only for putting up durable monuments, but also for bringing people together in civic spaces in order to act out their loyalties in a pleasurable way: in the streets of Paris (as in the revolutionary festivals), the streets of Berlin (as in the many festivals that helped prepare the unification of Germany in 1871), or the streets of British cities (as in the feasts organized in celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee in 1897). A graphic reminder of the fact that the nineteenth century was the age of "monster meetings" as much as of mass media and long-distance communications is offered by an earlier "happening" that was often in the minds of celebrants in 1859: on the occasion of the return of Burns's sons to Scotland in 1844, after years of service in India, a spectacular festival had been organized in Ayr, drawing an estimated crowd of between fifty and eighty thousand people (twelve times the population of the town), many of whom were brought to the venue by railway.[22] A banqueting pavilion for more than two thousand people had been erected near the Burns monument, but this only held a small portion of all those who turned up, the number of lower-class enthusiasts taking even the organizers by surprise.[23] Festivals like this offered a platform for spectacles and for drawing crowds on such a scale that they too went down in national memory as worthy of remembrance in their own right. They allowed people to actually share lived experiences (song, dance, spectacle, exhibitions, drinks) in the here and now of civic space while also celebrating a particular imagined tradition and performing their affiliation to it.

One of the remarkable features of the Burns commemoration in 1859, as we have seen, is that it combined multiple venues with telegraphic, epistolary, and human links between them. The "co-presence" and thick relations characteristic of more traditional modes of sociability were thus combined with the "public without a place" characteristic of media networks.[24] This co-presence was in part orchestrated by the media.[25] While the telegraph was a key element with an enormous symbolic value, newspapers were arguably even more important in preparing events and in reporting them for the benefit of those elsewhere (or for those who could not hear: the lack of modern acoustics meant that those present at such events could not always hear what was being said).[26] The result was a multifarious connectedness whereby local assemblies became part of a national and transnational community of Burns lovers that was both imagined and rooted in embodied experience.

In some respects, commemorative celebrations represent just one more of the many forms of remembrance practiced in the nineteenth century, and they worked together with the erection of monuments, the publication of biographies and histories, and the restoration of buildings. Nevertheless, as I will show in the case of Burns, a closer study of commemorative practices can provide a new perspective on the interplay between performances of memory and present-day community building.

Performative Canonicity

That the nineteenth century was in the thrall of "heroes and hero worship," particularly of great artists, is evident in the many large statues to "great men" in the streets of Western cities.[27] Burns too was multiply memorialized in the streets of Scotland and beyond (perhaps most notably in Central Park, New York).[28] The erection of statues to artists and writers often provided the occasion for lavish festivities, while later celebrations and demonstrations were often located in their vicinity.[29] Although the cult of individual artists was bound up with specifically local discussions, there is evidence to suggest that the celebrations themselves were often modeled on each other and followed common patterns even where there was no explicit connection between them.[30] As Joep Leerssen has shown in his study of "viral nationalism" in Europe, remembering exemplary cultural figures became a key feature of the cultivation of national cultures in the nineteenth century, arguably even more important than the remembrance of historical events.[31] In Britain indeed, the celebrations of Burns (1844, 1859), Shakespeare (1864), and Scott (1871) preceded the wave of civic celebrations described by David Cannadine and others with reference to public culture in the late Victorian era.[32] This primacy of cultural figures in the fashion for commemorations calls for a new analysis of cultural canonicity

from a performative perspective and begs the question why writers in particular were important as subjects of remembrance.

This question has rarely been posed within literary studies, where nineteenth-century hero-worship, if noticed at all, has been dismissed as a form of cultural pathology undeserving of sustained analysis—as, at best, proof of the writer's genius, at worst, proof of the narrowness of his readers and their outdated ideas. Thus Robert Crawford refers in his recent biography of Burns to the "misleading nineteenth-century presentations of Burns, making him safe for many an imperialists' dinner or parlour ornament," which he believes is exemplified in J. G. Lockhart's highly influential biography of the Scottish bard.[33] It is true that many of Burns's eulogizers in 1859 were enthusiastic amateurs who demonstrated little awareness of the complexities and ambivalences more recent critics have discerned approvingly in his poetry. But as with more recent critics, their appreciation of Burns fed into a readiness to see him as a resource for articulating contemporary values or, what this comes down to in practice, as someone who had already expressed those values. However naive some of the statements made about Burns in 1859 may seem from a contemporary perspective, the critical quality of the reactions is less important at this point than the fact they that bear testimony to the indubitable capacity of Burns's poetry to mobilize people on the basis of enthusiasm and appreciation. It is this unique combination of pleasure and value that provides us with the key to the importance of festivals relating to writers and artists within the nineteenth-century "cult of the centenary," the celebratory character of which makes it so alien to more recent cultures of commemoration where victimhood, suffering, and mourning are paramount.

Narrative has received most attention in recent discussions of literature and nation building. Anderson argued influentially for the centrality of novels, alongside newspapers, in helping to create the sense of a complex society in which actors living in different places were nevertheless seen as contemporaries and shareholders in the same world.[34] In this way, the key to the role of literature has been located in its representational force, while poetry and its performance in the form of recitation and song have been marginalized. As the case of Burns indicates, however, poetry functioned as a medium of community building alongside the novel well into the nineteenth century. Where a novel's primary impact lies in the characters and world it represents, that of poetry can be said to lie in the fact that its verbal and aural pleasures, combined with its articulation of shared values, engage people's loyalties and invite reenactment. The latter effect was enhanced when the poetry in question was set to music, as was the case with Burns and Thomas Moore among many others.

Jan Assmann has defined cultural memory (*kulturelles Gedächtnis*) in terms of "the body of reusable texts, images, and rituals . . . whose 'cultivation' serves

to stabilize and convey the society's self-image."[35] If "cultivation" here is taken as an active process, then Assmann's account can be used to shift the idea of canonicity from a more traditional concern with objects and figures of value to the modes of our engagement with them. Seen from this perspective, a literary canon is not just a static collection, but a mobilizing agent in collective memory production. It involves people performing an affiliation in the present with particular stories or objects of value from the past so as to articulate a certain self-image and, if need be, recalibrate an existing one. It is not just foundational narratives, then, but also a shared appreciation of "re-usable texts" that creates the sense of a community stretching across time and space. From this perspective, speechifying on the subject of Burns ceases to be merely a matter of cultural pathology and becomes instead an integral part of a society's "cultivation" of its self-image through an act of cultural remembrance. More specifically, as we shall see, the centenary of Burns provided a platform in which private readers became participants in a collective event and members of a community that was embodied for an evening (and that later in the century when the fashion of Burns suppers became widespread, would be annually so).

It is impossible to analyze all the speeches of January 25, 1859, in detail, but some trends can be adduced. Since his one hundredth birthday provided the occasion, it is not surprising that Burns's colorful biography featured largely in the celebrations, with speechmakers evoking various legends already in circulation and which, in the case of his role as "bard," he himself had helped foster.[36] The portraits emphasized above all his legendary rise from the position of simple ploughman to that of celebrated poet, his defense of egalitarianism and the common people, his enjoyments of the flesh, and, much less frequently, his success in writing poetry in spite of philandering and drinking.[37] That the appreciation of the poetry was linked to admiration for the man himself was borne out by the fact that the *Illustrated London News*, which reported lavishly on the centenary in its issues of 29 January and 5 February 1859, also offered an array of illustrations bearing on the life and work of Burns and the locations associated with it (most notably images of Burns composing poetry in a ploughed field and of the various houses in which he lived). The same issues of the *Illustrated London News* also carried engravings of the recent celebrations in Dumfries, London, and Montreal (fig. 2). This yields a remarkable visual contrast between the top hats, crinolines, and urban settings marking the centenary and the rustic character of the illustrations relating to the poet (where, in keeping with the myth of the ploughman poet, no mention is made of his profession as excise man or of the period he spent among the literati of Edinburgh). The mass identification with Burns the "ploughman poet" in 1859 took place ironically from within an urban setting that was significantly different from the world in which the poet was imaginatively located and fondly recollected.

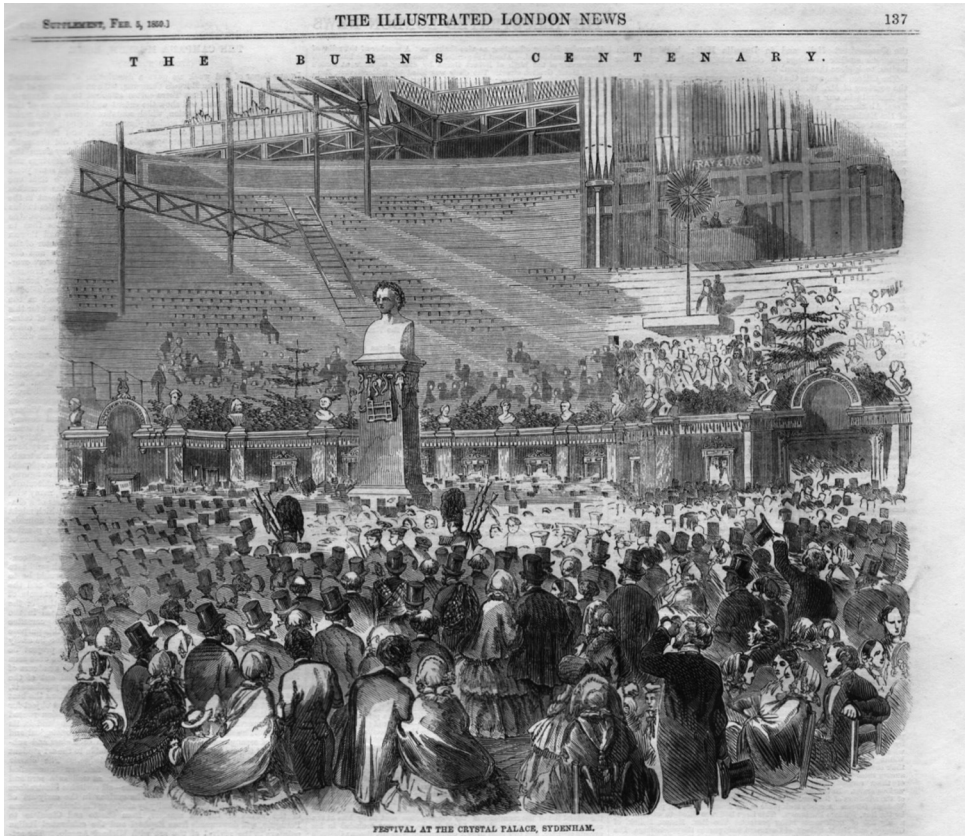

FIGURE 2. Festival at the Crystal Palace, Syndham; *Illustrated London News*, 5 February 1859. Image courtesy John Weedy.

Unsurprisingly, reminiscences about the man were fed by the memory of his poems and songs as well as, in some cases, by the deeper memory of the traditional Scots airs on which they were based. Burns's eulogizers in fact worked from a limited canon of poems, including "The Cotter's Saturday Night," "Scots Wha hae,'" and, invariably, "A Man's a Man" and "Auld Lang Syne" (the love poems regularly figured in the musical interludes, but they were less prominent in the actual speechmaking). Regularly punctuated by citations and recitations, the speeches thus also activated the connectedness of all those present as lovers of poetry who knew many of Burns's works by heart. "I have no doubt whatever that if, by some extraordinary event, the writings of Burns were to be all burnt, they could be reproduced from the memories of the people of Scotland," one enthusiast remarked (19).

This familiarity with the work of Burns in 1859 in turn begs the question what made his poetry in particular so memorable in the sense both of

"unforgettable" and "worthy of being remembered"? Although the poet himself had been dead since 1796, his work clearly still spoke to later generations (even apparently to city dwellers far removed from the world of ploughmen) and lived on in print as well as in the memory of individuals. To say that some poetry is "timeless" sounds clichéd, but it also points in the direction of the peculiar capacity of artworks to be "re-usable" at later points in time, and hence to the temporal layering that their remembrance entails: where military heroes were remembered for specific deeds and events located in the past, artists and writers were remembered for works that were still "alive" in the present, that is, still capable of generating affect, provoking pleasure, and inviting reenactment. Indeed, performing old texts anew is paradigmatic for a nonhistoricizing mode of remembrance based on reenactment that has long been overlooked but is now being traced in other memory practices of the nineteenth century.[38]

While the capacity to be "alive" in the present was true in principle of all poetry, Burns's work seems to have been particularly susceptible to reenactment, and this for a combination of reasons. Most obviously: since his poems were generally short and highly rhythmical, and were often sung to traditional airs, they were relatively easy to memorize. This meant both that they reached a wider audience and that they lent themselves to performance.[39] One of the fixed features of the hundreds of events chronicled by Ballantine, as it continues to be of New Year celebrations, was the communal singing of "Auld Lang Syne" (the *Illustrated London News* described how the dinner at the Edinburgh Corn Exchange ended with the entire company singing it in unison [fig. 3]).[40] As the music and recitation suggests, this commemoration was less a matter of solemnly dwelling on the past in its pastness than of convivially enjoying the pleasures of reiteration in the present.

Robert Crawford has recently used the term "performative verse" to describe some of the Burns poems designed to provoke a scandalized laugh. The term also seems appropriate in characterizing Burns's work as a whole, certainly if it is taken in its strong sense to mean not just that it was recited or sung but that it also mobilized its listeners in the process. Often written in the mode of apostrophe and with the strong presence of a speaking subject, Burns's poetry addresses, evokes, conjoins, exclaims, exhorts, asserts, protests. The lavish use of the vocative along with exclamation marks means that information is inseparable from affect and a sense of urgency, whether the subject treated be as mundane as a haggis ("Fair fa' your honest, sonsie face / Great chieftan o' the Puddin-race!"), as political as liberty ("Lay the proud usurpers low! Tyrants fall in every foe!"), or as intimate as seduction ("O Mary at thy window be").[41] More perhaps than any other poet, Burns energizes. He calls upon a repertoire of common human references rather than recondite literary ones, the exhortative aspect of many poems extending

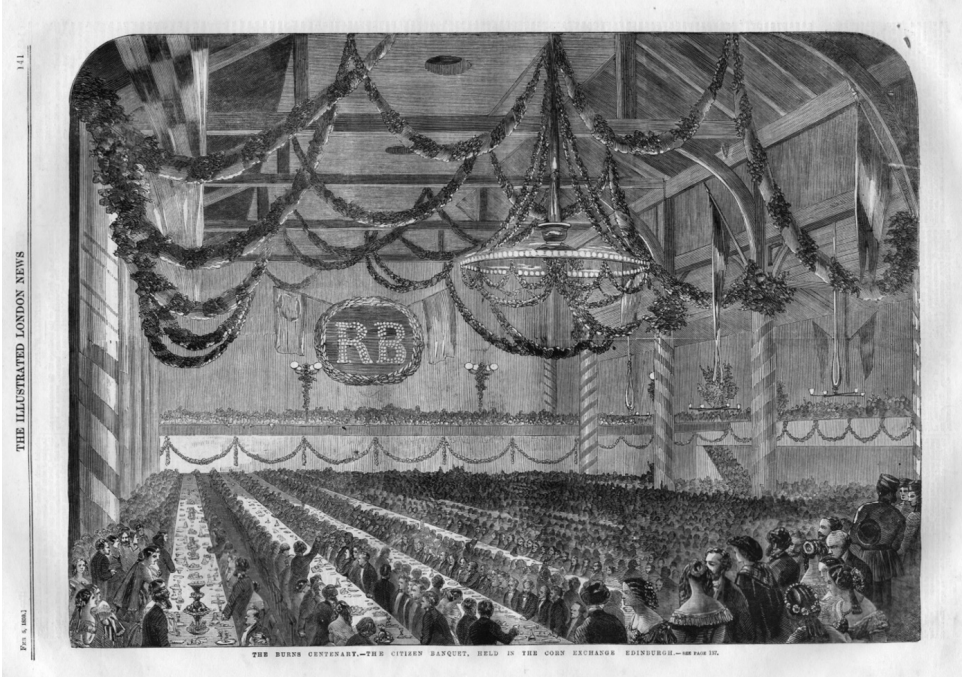

FIGURE 3. The Citizen banquet, Corn Exchange, Edinburgh; *Illustrated London News*, 5 February 1859. Image courtesy John Weedy.

to fleshly enjoyments: to eating, drinking, dancing, lovemaking (though sex did not figure much in the public celebrations of 1859). Perhaps most important for the discussion here, the poems celebrate and enjoin conviviality—hence presumably the connection established from an early age between remembering Burns and having supper. The poetry "premediates" conviviality, as it were, by evoking and orchestrating it. This particular characteristic of Burns's poetry has contributed to the hypercanonical status of "A Man's a Man for a' That" with its evocation of egalitarian fellowship and of "Auld Lang Syne" with its evocation of past, present, and future communion through remembering.

Although pleasurable attachment to Burns in particular formed the "electric chain" linking all celebrants in 1859, to quote an Edinburgh speechmaker (7), evocations of the ploughman poet nevertheless overflowed into the celebration of other things. Burns provided the occasion and he was the undoubted center of attention, but the celebration of his birthday also provided an opportunity to recall other figures of value even if they had little or nothing to do either with Burns or the particular date. The centenary of "Robert Burns" thus elicited praise for Shakespeare, Walter Scott, and

Thomas Moore, among others, whose achievements were regularly invoked in passing by celebrants and were often even the subject of a separate toast. Scott in particular came in for mention (especially in Scotland, but also, for example, in Bradford and Halifax). The compliment would be repaid at the centenary celebrations of Scott's birth in 1871, where songs by Burns were performed in the intervals between toasts in honor of the "author of Waverley."[42] This drifting from one figure to another might at first sight seem a bit promiscuous. But it is not arbitrary, and shows instead that canonicity works as a system of "things valuable" rather than as a set of discrete objects. The celebration of one poet led easily to eulogies on an adjacent one, with famous writers proving interchangeable at a certain level even as the uniqueness of their genius was also acknowledged. From cherished writers, it was a short step to acknowledging other loci of value.

Illustrating this tendency to drift away from the specifics of their main subject to related objects of value, the program of the Burns banquet in the Scottish town of Paisley listed, alongside the toast to Burns, speeches in honor of Scott, Shakespeare, Tennyson, Irish Poetry and Moore, Scottish Literature, the biographers of Burns, and then, leaving the realm of the arts, the peasantry, the clergy, and, finally, the ladies—who otherwise were almost entirely absent from the occasion (fig. 4).[43] The groups doing the remembering also ensured their own place in the historical record, as the program of the Paisley event included, alongside the groups mentioned already, toasts in honor of the chairman of the evening, the stewards and secretary, and the press. By singling out focal points for recollection and hence for inscription into the future historical record, the organizers of the event were, in Assmann's terms, helping both to articulate and to stabilize the collective self-image.

Assmann presumes that the self-image conveyed by and through cultural memory relates to the "unity and particularity" of a given group.[44] At this point, however, Assmann's account ceases to apply to the case of Burns since it supposes a group that is relatively stable and homogeneous. As we shall see, the Scottish poet was the focus of appropriation by multiple, often overlapping communities.

Frames of Remembrance

Ever since Maurice Halbwachs's groundbreaking work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), it has generally been recognized that collective remembrance takes place within social frames—be this the family, the religious community, or, crucially since the nineteenth century, the nation.[45] These frames help shape narratives of the past by making some things more relevant than others in relation to the (small- or large-scale) community whose identity is at stake in the act of remembrance. Until recently it has

BURNS'

BIRTH-DAY  CENTENARY.

—o—

EXCHANGE ROOMS, PAISLEY.

—o—

25TH JANUARY, 1859.

ROBERT BROWN, PROVOST OF PAISLEY, CHAIRMAN.

CROUPIERS, { ROBERT KIRKLAND. DAVID MURRAY. J. J. LAMB. WM. MACKEAN.

PROGRAMME.

While the Company assemble, the Band will Play "Overture to Alloway Kirk."

THE QUEEN, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - God Save the Queen.

PRINCE ALBERT, PRINCE OF WALES, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY, ... } CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Prince Albert's March.

THE ARMY AND NAVY, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - British Grenadiers and Rule Britannia.

HER MAJESTY'S MINISTERS, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Tullochgorum.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY, ... } CHAIRMAN.
Band, - The Fine Old Country Gentleman.

THE MEMBER FOR PAISLEY, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Weel may the Keel Row.

THE MEMBER FOR THE COUNTY, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Royal Charlie.

BURNS, CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Selection of Airs to Burns' Songs.
Song, - There was a Lad was born in Kyle, - MR. R. STEWART.

SHAKESPEARE, ...BAILIE LAMB.
Band, Where the Bee sucks (from "The Tempest").
GLEE, - *The Cloud-Capped Towers.*

SCOTT, ...MR. D. MURRAY.
Band, - Air from The Lady of the Lake.
SONG, Jock o' Hazeldeen, MR. R. WATERSTON.

TENNYSON AND THE ENGLISH POETS, ... } MR. J. HENDERSON.
Band, - 'Twas merry in the Hall.
SONG.

IRISH POETRY AND MOORE, ...MR. A. R. POLLOCK.
Band, - The Minstrel Boy.
SONG.

AMERICAN POETRY AND LONGFELLOW, ... } MR. M'PHERSON.
Band, - Yankee Doodle.
SONG, - Afton Water, - MR. GILMOUR.

THE POETS OF SCOTLAND, ...MR. P. C. M'GREGOR.
Band, - Blue Bells of Scotland.
SONG, - - Corn Rigs, - MR. FISHER.

THE PROVOST AND MAGISTRATES OF PAISLEY, ... } MR. H. E. C. EWING.
Band, - Jenny Dang the Weaver.

THE MEMORY OF TANNAHILL, ...MR. FERRIE.
Band, - Loudon's Bonnie Woods and Braes.
SONG, - Jessie the Flower o' Dunblane, MR. CUNNINGHAM.

THE PEASANTRY OF SCOTLAND, REV. MR. STRAHAN.
Band, - Scots Wha Hae!
Song, A Man's a Man for a' that, MR. CARSWELL.

THE CLERGY, ...MR. MACKEAN.
Band, - Old Hundred.

SCOTTISH LITERATURE, ...MR. MAIR.
Band, - Our Ain Fireside.
SONG, Hame Cam our Gudeman at E'en, MR. P. LIVINGSTONE.

THE MEMORY OF PROFESSOR WILSON, ... } MR JOHN CRAWFORD.
Band, - The Flowers o' the Forest.

THE BIOGRAPHERS AND OTHER MEMORIALISTS OF BURNS, ... } MR. R. L. HENDERSON.
Band, - The Mason's Apron.
SONG.

OUR LOCAL CELEBRITIES IN LITERATURE AND ART, ... } MR. D. MURRAY.
Band, - Auld Langsyne.
SONG.

THE DESCENDANTS OF BURNS, ... } MR. THOMAS CAMPBELL.
Band, - O' a' the Airts the Win' can Blaw.
GLEE, - - Willie Brewed a Peck o' Maut.

THE PRESS, ...MR. D. CAMPBELL.
Band, - Freedom of Opinion.

THE LADIES, ...MR. MACROBERT.
Band, - Green Grow the Rashes, O.
SONG, Green Grow the Rashes, O, MR. WATERSTON.

THE CHAIRMAN, ...MR. KIRKLAND.
Band, - He's a Right Good Fellow.

THE CROUPIER, ...MR. A. BROWN.
Band, - Willie Brewed a Peck o' Maut.

THE STEWARDS AND THE SECRETARY, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - All Good Fellows.

GOOD NIGHT, ...CHAIRMAN.
Band, - Good Night, and Joy be with You All.

N.B.—THE TOASTS ARE TO BE GIVEN WITH ALL THE HONOURS.

FIGURE 4. Programme, Burns' Birth-day Centenary, Exchange Rooms, Paisley, in R. Brown, *Paisley Burns Club, 1805–1893* (Paisley, England, 1893). Collection Ann Rigney.

been generally assumed that the frames are fixed and pregiven, and that what shifts within them is the collective self-image.[46] But as a number of recent publications have indicated, it may be more fruitful to view the relationship between remembrance and social frames in dynamic terms as one of continuous mutual coproduction. This means that communities give rise to acts of remembrance at the same time that they are being (re)constituted by them.[47] It also means that the frames themselves expand or contract in the light of new geopolitical circumstances. These theoretical developments invite reconsideration of the role of literature in community building and help move us beyond the methodological nationalism that has long informed literary scholarship and that is itself part of the legacy of the nineteenth-century "cultivation of national culture" described by Leerssen.[48] Although "Scottishness," as we shall see, was an important element in the appropriations of Burns, it was only one frame among many.

To begin with, it should be noted that the Burns event of 1859 was remarkably polycentered in its organization (in contrast, the Scott centenary of 1871 would be above all concentrated in a "national festival" at Edinburgh with satellite events in other locations). It also involved a wide range of organizations, from shoemakers and speculative societies to freemasons and total abstainers. The participation of so many groups was indicative of Burns's ability to appeal to different social classes: his work was an active agent in bridging the gap between popular and literate culture, as well as between working men with scant education and the literati of his day. Significant in this regard was the prominent presence in 1859 of the socially inclusive freemasons to which society Burns had belonged and from which, according to Crawford, he had derived many of his ideas of fellowship.[49] Importantly, the range of venues meant that the financial threshold for participation was low—in contrast, the "national festival" for Scott was pitched toward a genteel audience, while admission costs to the main events of the Shakespeare centenary in 1864 at Stratford and The Crystal Palace would also make them exclusive affairs, much to the disgruntlement of some working-men's associations that took to the street in protest.[50] It was arguably only the Schiller festival of December 1859 that came close to the Burns celebration in its decentralized character (it took place at 440 different locations throughout Germany), its social penetration (it involved many different social and professional organizations), and its combination of street events and indoor banquets.[51] With the dominant discourse around Burns being one of convivial fellowship, there is no direct evidence for any major rows or political scorekeeping at his centenary (in contrast, the Schiller event was marked by sometimes fierce clashes about the political future of pre-unification Germany). Nevertheless, as I shall show, there were important boundaries and border crossings at work within the "Burns" community in 1859, and certain

tensions beneath the surface of shared enthusiasm and global fellowship. With the poet providing a common point of reference, the speeches by his admirers articulated multiple frameworks that operated below as well as beyond the level of the nation.

To begin with, variations in tone and emphasis from one meeting to another can be correlated to the social and political background of those doing the celebrating. This is most evident in Scotland where the scale of the event meant multiple sessions in the bigger towns and cities. Take Glasgow, for instance. The main event in the city hall was presided over by various titled VIPs and included lengthy orations on Burns; on the poets of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and on more general topics such as the city of Glasgow and its city rulers, Lord Clyde and his companions in arms, Colonel Burns and the other existing relatives of the poet, the festival committee, and the centenary celebrations all over the world. In contrast, the event at the Merchants Hall event was presided over by gentlemen without titles or official functions and the toasts were fewer and more focused on Burns himself. The differences in the attitudes expressed at these parallel celebrations can be illustrated with reference to differing glosses on the common point of reference: "A man's a man for a' that." At the city hall, the chairman quoted the "noble lines" of Burns, "The Rank is but the guinea stamp; / 'The man's the gowd for a' that," and then went on to praise the poet for his "Radicalism" ("I do not respect him the less on that account") with the rather condescending argument that the world needs both youthful geniuses like Burns to keep it from standing still and the "fly-wheel" of experience to keep that movement within proper bounds (43). It is clear that Burns's radicalism was only being accepted at the cost of its being paternalistically reduced to the juvenile, at the cost of its indeed being "made safe," to recall Crawford's phrase.[52] At the meeting at the Merchants Hall, in contrast, an extensive toast by Thomas N. Brown, Esq., took the phrase "A man's a man for a' that" as its leitmotif and placed Burns in a long radical tradition, along with Bunyan, Wallace, and Knox, which the speaker in the process also celebrates. The same phrase was also taken up by the next speaker who emphasized the fact that Burns "taught his countrymen the art of being independent, though poor" (69). This double identification with Burns's spirit of independence stands in sharp contrast to the lack of identification with the poet's politics that was evinced at the city hall where energies were concentrated instead on containing the democratic potential of the poetry and channeling the public's enthusiasm in a more conservative direction. In both cases, the public was being invited to bond around shared values, but the values were quite different.

Since the celebrations were distributed across different venues in the larger cities, these divergent inflections of Burns's value seem to have

subsisted side by side rather than in interaction. But there were some notable exceptions. During the more formal banquet at the assembly rooms in Dumfries, for example, a delegation arrived from the parallel party at Nithsdale Mills, whose spokesman expressed "their great pleasure as working men to see a meeting of what might be called the aristocracy of the town doing homage to one who belonged to the class of working men" (127). This particular spokesman thus construed the upper-class celebration of Burns, the working-man's poet, not as paternalism, but as part of a politics of recognition. The example bears out Assmann's contention that cultural remembrance is not only about "stabilizing" a society's self-image but also about "conveying" it. At the same time, it also indicates that this "conveying" took place both within the in-group (bonding) and in the direction of those outside it (bridging). Burns was an agent of cultural diplomacy as well as a site of memory: a figure to mobilize internal coherence at a local level, he was also a figure to flag communality across the borders dividing one community from another. This cultural diplomacy occurred, as we shall see, both within the British Isles and across the Atlantic.

Local and Global Positionings

The global scale of the event and its distributed character meant that the memory of Burns was evoked within multiple geopolitical frameworks. In *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (2007), Duncan Bell has characterized the last four decades of the nineteenth century by an intense preoccupation with reimagining the relations between the nations on the British Isles, the settler colonies, the British Empire, and the United States. As Bell shows, various ideas of federation and confederation emerged among political theorists as imaginative responses to the foreshortening of distance made possible by the new technologies and by the increasingly urgent need to rethink political connectedness across the long distances of empire in the face of the increasing desire of the colonies to become more independent.[53] Burns's centenary occurred on the threshold of the period discussed by Bell, one of whose key texts is J. R. Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1881–82).[54] But, as we shall see, the way Burns's fans positioned themselves within various social frames can already be construed as part of this emerging discourse on the relations between the nations of Britain and with her (former) colonies, and on the relation between the local and the global. The fact that the many local Burns clubs that had sprung up following the 1859 celebrations should have turned themselves into a worldwide "Burns Federation" in 1884 bears further testimony to the interconnections between the political and the cultural imaginary.[55]

Not surprisingly given Burns's biography, the idea of "Scotland" (referring to the territory and its people) and of "Scotsmen" (referring to ethnic Scots) is present throughout the eulogies to Burns no matter what their actual location. The meaning of "Scottishness" differed from one location to another, however, as did its position vis-à-vis other collective frames of remembrance. The inhabitants of Ayr, for example, saw Burns above all as a local poet whose association with the town was a source of enormous local pride. The poet had put Ayr on the map, it was claimed, on a par with the Stratford of Shakespeare or the Weimar of Goethe (99).[56] In other towns and cities in Scotland, the occasion was also used for voicing local civic pride at being, if not the birthplace or burial place of Burns, at least a distinctive part of the larger movement that stretched from the local community, via the national frame, to the imagined "universal" community of Scotsmen: "The Centenary of Robert Burns is national—(cheers)—it is universal—(renewed cheering)—for in every land where his native tongue is spoken, his lyrics sung, his genius appreciated, from Indus to the Pole, there is this day expressed . . . honour to his immortal name" (120).

Outside of Scotland the celebrations were generally organized by local Scottish-interest groups, be that a Burns Club, Caledonian Society, St. Andrews Society, or an ad hoc association of men of Scottish descent. Reflecting the close relationship between exile, memory, and awareness of nationality, members of the Scottish diaspora used the occasion to convey, both to themselves and to their surroundings, their common attachment to Burns and to Scottish heritage.[57] But given the extraterritorial location and the frequent presence of fellow citizens who were not of Scottish descent, such eulogies regularly ended up by also placing Burns in some larger and more accommodating frame: be it Britishness, the empire, a common descent from the "Mother Country," a common language, or, moving from the cultural to the political, a common adherence to egalitarianism. In this sense, "Burns" and the appreciation of his poetry provided a link between the Scots and the wider community.

The point can be illustrated with reference to the celebrations taking place in other parts of the British Isles. As Colin Kidd has pointed out, the British Isles by this period had experienced considerable migration among both the Scots and the Irish, leading to diasporic communities on the islands themselves.[58] Celebrations of Burns were caught up accordingly in the elaboration of "the union of multiple identities" characterizing the two islands, which had been united politically since 1800.[59] At celebrations in England and Ireland, remembering Burns provided an occasion for imagining a common, multi-ethnic Britishness within which the Scottish poet took pride of place alongside the English Shakespeare and the Irish Moore, and to which people in Ireland and England "affiliated" themselves by showing their

appreciation of the Scottish poet. Illustrative of this invocation of Britishness was the speech made by Samuel Ferguson at the Dublin event. Ferguson, an Irish poet and scholar of Ulster-Scottish descent who was an advocate of Irish independence within the framework of union with England, invoked the distinct nationalities within the "temple of British fame" (505).[60] Pride in their national poets and the ability to share admiration for the other group's poetry he saw as proof of the equality between the various groups constitutive of Britishness. Literature thus allowed him to imagine England, Ireland, and Scotland as part of a confederation of self-confident equals under a British parliament. When Ferguson finished speaking, the Dublin celebration moved on with a toast to "the Arts, Science, and Literature of Ireland" and finally to the army and navy, including a reference to the common experiences of fearless "Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen" during the siege of Sebastopol (507). The case illustrates the complex ways in which the place of "Burns" was negotiated within a broader British framework based on the principle of subsidiarity. It resonates with the generally accepted argument, put forward by Linda Colley, Katie Trumpener, and others, that "Britishness" is in effect a Scottish invention: a broad social frame that, by allowing Scots to retain their cultural distinctiveness without being politically independent, also paved the way for their mass complicity in British imperialism.[61] At the Dublin event, the step from Burns to Britishness to empire was certainly made, but only via a connection with Ireland. In other words, the figure of Burns indeed helped build an imaginative bridge between Scotland and empire, and indirectly between Ireland and the empire. But at another, horizontal level that has hitherto received far less attention, it was also helping build bridges and establish parity between the various constituent nationalities on the British Isles.

The centenary in North America reveals similar complexities in which frames were linked to each other (horizontally) or embedded in each other (vertically). Take the case of Halifax. The celebrations were organized by the North British Society and the Highland Society, many of whose members appeared in Highland dress, and were accompanied by Scotch airs played by the 62nd Regiment. But while the principal frame in the Nova Scotian capital was Scottish, other imagined communities were also invoked as the need arose: Britishness, the empire, and the English-speaking world. Thus at the formal banquet that closed the day's events in Halifax, the lieutenant-general of Canada expressed his pleasure at being able to join "in the celebration of an event which is even now being celebrated, not only in this city, but in the Mother Country, British America, the United States, in fine, Sir, over the whole world, wherever the English language is known (enthusiastic cheers)" (520).[62] In a similar extension of the geopolitical frame, the chairman at the Toronto banquet recalled that Burns's songs could be heard in

the cottages of Scotland, Ireland, and England and, within an even broader frame, that they were "a part of the living language of our common race": "By the echoes of their music, repeated from land to land, may fancy follow the flag of British freedom around the world" (542).

Since they were approaching the event from a position outside the empire as such, speechmakers in the United States preferred the "English-speaking world" as a transnational framework within which to recall Burns and their common appreciation of what he stood for. Complementing Bell's analysis of the global political imaginary in the late empire, Robert Young's *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (2008) has traced the emergence in the 1880s of the idea of an Anglophone world based on the confederation of all "Anglo-Saxon" peoples.[63] There is much here that is relevant to our case. The evidence of the Burns celebrations in 1859 indicates, however, that the idea of an English-speaking world was already emerging at an earlier date and that Burns was one of its catalysts (alongside Shakespeare, whom Young briefly mentions, but also Scott, whose centenary celebrations in 1871 would echo this concern with the "English-speaking world").[64] In other words, the transatlantic celebration of Burns and other writers draws attention to the fact that literature was a key element in binding Britain and the United States into a cultural, if not a political federation. As such it was also one of the foundations for the famous Churchillian "special relationship" that would be so influential in transatlantic relations in the twentieth century.[65] One of the speakers in Philadelphia invoked this Anglophone unity: "Wherever the English language is spoken there the name of Burns is lovingly mentioned" (594). Very ironically, in view of the fact that Burns mainly wrote in the Scots dialect and not in standard English, his work ended up providing a common focus for globally dispersed English-language communities.

Within this global Anglophone community there were interestingly different perspectives on Burns, whose significance was inflected according to geopolitical location and, in some cases, political alliances. According to one of the orators in Boston, for example, the natural kinship between all those who spoke English had been reinforced by their transnational appreciation of what Burns had added to the language, namely an egalitarian spirit:

> In the British Empire itself, in this glorious country of our adoption and wherever throughout the world "a Scot can meet a neebor Scot"—the Englishman, the native of the green Isle of Erin, the dweller in the Canadas, the citizen of these United States, and the intelligent foreigner everywhere, sit down with their brethren from North Britain to recognize the grand moral principle which pervades the life and writings of Robert Burns. (554)

In a variation of this reading voiced at the same event in Boston, Ralph Waldo Emerson portrayed Burns specifically as the poet who had expressed

the revolutionary spirit that gave rise both to the American and French Revolutions: thus Burns represented "in the mind of men to-day that great uprising of the middle class against the armed and privileged minorities—that uprising which worked in the American and French Revolutions" (551).[66] In this interpretation, both Burns and the speaker were positioned within a transnational frame that, being based on adherence to democracy and middle-class liberties rather than on ethnicity, encompassed all like-minded people across the Western world, including France. (The idea that the Scottish poet belonged in an international community based on adherence to revolutionary principles was to recur in the twentieth-century Russian reception of Burns, where he was construed, however, as the bard of working-class liberties rather than of the middle-class ones evoked by Emerson.)[67]

The different geopolitical framings of Burns in 1859 would deserve closer analysis with reference to more of the eight hundred or so meetings for which documentation is available. But enough has been shown to support my basic argument: celebrating Burns was not just an exercise in conviviality, but also a way of performing affiliations within the framework both of local, embodied communities and large-scale imagined ones, formed variously along national, diasporic, imperial, linguistic, and ideological lines. The celebrations helped bring imagined communities into being, and to reinforce existing ones, in the very act of defining the celebrants' relationship to the figure of Burns. It is clear that in 1859, against the background of imperialism and migration, these communities were not exclusively national or even ethnic, with local civic identities being important, on the one hand, and transnational identities, on the other. The memory of Burns and its "electric chain" worked across borders of various kinds, and this, I argue, provides the key to the role of literature in community building. Where Anderson and others have emphasized the ways in which discrete communities are imagined, the case of Burns shows how people, in remembering the poet, were also articulating complex relations between communities: between social classes, but also between local, regional, and global frames. The result was an imagined cultural confederation based on a common appreciation of the poet and, being a broad church, one that also allowed for differences in the manner of his appropriation.

For one of the speakers in Sydney, Burns was above all "cosmopolitan—a man of the world—the poet of all countries and of all times" (538), and as such, capable of appealing across borders to a common humanity. More recent critics too have recognized his cosmopolitan qualities. Writing against those who would reduce Burns to a quintessential Scottishness, Leith Davis has described his poetry as working "against the attempt to write a cohesive national identity" and as warning against the "dangers of the fixity and fetishism of identities."[68] Her portrait of Burns as a writer who reflexively

transgressed boundaries has been echoed by Gerald Carruthers in his complaint against those who demonstrate a "limp inflexibility to the polyvocal, boundary denying and cosmopolitan energies drawn upon by most writers of any stature."[69] My analysis of the centenary celebrations of 1859 shows that his work indeed operated across social and national borders and that in this sense he was cosmopolitan, "a man of the world—a poet of all countries and all times."

Burns's border-crossing popularity did not necessarily mean, however, that his poetry itself was construed in 1859 in the anti-essentialist terms of these recent critics who celebrate unstable identities. Rather, his immensely broad appeal created a convivial platform in which multilayered identities were displayed in an increasingly globalized world, inhabited by people who were themselves often boundary-crossing migrants. At times their frame of reference was very broad indeed. But the boundary-denying discourse of global fellowship that Burns had helped formulate and that permeated the proceedings in 1859 could only go so far. In the end, of course, the "world" and "all countries" invoked in Sydney were only as large as the imaginations of English speakers.

In Conclusion

The centenary of Burns in 1859 represented a celebration of poetry on an extraordinary scale, with unparalleled enthusiasm for words and music. To point out that this enthusiasm was also helping to forge affiliations, of both the imperial and the egalitarian kind, is not in any way to diminish it. On the contrary, by relating such disinterested enthusiasm for poetry to its social resonance, we may understand better the role of literature in the shaping of collective identities. For what all of this suggests, I submit, is that the role of literature in nineteenth-century community building was not just a matter of the way in which it represented stories of Scottishness, Britishness, Europeanness, or whatever. Instead, it was also linked to the way in which literature could bind people together through their shared appreciation for a particular writer: the community as fan base rather than victim. That fan base could be local and embodied, but it was also imagined as national, confederative, diasporic, cosmopolitan—and all of these things at once. Against the background of migration and colonialism, the commemoration of Burns provided a way of briefly turning imagined communities (usually seen as the key to modern identities) into actual embodied communities, and vice versa. The "unprecedented spectacle" of 1859 was in many ways unique, as were the subsequent blossoming of Burns clubs and the phenomenon of Burns suppers. But they can nevertheless be seen as part of an evolving relationship between modernization, memory,

and imagined communities in which works of literature seems to have played a key role as both "universal sender" and "universal receiver." Arguably, the arts had a more important role to play in forging alliances in the nineteenth century than did the remembrance of military and political victories. Where the latter was almost guaranteed to be divisive and set one group against the other, the commemoration of literature—and in more general terms language—could operate as a form of cultural diplomacy working between communities in building on the shared appreciation of certain authors and offering a broad platform based on pleasure that could contain and articulate social and national differences. This is what sustained the "cult of the author" and made of literature and the arts such powerful instruments in nation building and in the forging of transnational alliances in the late nineteenth century.

Notes

I am very grateful to Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, Joep Leerssen, and Christopher Whatley as well as to the editorial board of *Representations* for their valuable feedback on earlier versions of this paper. Its preparation was financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and made possible by a fellowship from the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies.

1. James Ballantine, ed., *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1859). This is my principal source for what follows; further references will be given parenthetically in the text. Unfortunately Ballantine does not identify his individual sources, but textual evidence suggests that he relied upon a network of local correspondents. Sample cross-checks show a significant, but not complete overlap with local newspapers and other published accounts such as *Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Robert Burns, by the Boston Burns Club* (Boston, 1859), and *The Burns Centenary: Being an Account of the Proceedings and Speeches at the Various Banquets and Meetings Throughout the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1859).
2. A list of centenary publications is given in James McKie, *The Bibliography of Robert Burns with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes, and Sketches of Burns Clubs, Monuments and Statues* (Kilmarnock, Scot., 1881), 185–200.
3. The event at Copenhagen consisted of a public lecture given to a predominantly British audience (606). By the midcentury Burns's poetry had been widely translated, especially into German, French, and Dutch, and more incidentally into other European languages (including Russian, Czech, and Norwegian); more information at the BOSLIT (Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation) database, National Library Scotland, http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/boslit. There is no evidence, however, that his centenary was celebrated as such in other parts of Europe; if such celebrations did occur, they were not part of the English-speaking network called upon by Ballantine.

4. For the history of the Burns suppers, see James A. Mackay, *The Burns Federation, 1885–1985* (Kilmarnock, Scot., 1985); on the planning of the centenary, see esp. 41–44. A more recent survey is given in Clark McGinn, "Vehement Celebrations: The Global Celebration of the Burns Supper Since 1801," in Murray Pittock, ed., *Robert Burns in Global Culture* (Lewisburg, PA, 2011), 189–203.
5. Quoted in Mackay, *Burns Federation*, 44.
6. John McVie, *The Burns Federation: A Bi-Centenary Review* (Kilmarnock, Scot., 1959), 45; also recalled in Mackay, *Burns Federation*, 45.
7. On the Victorian culture of spectacle, see Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (London, 1991). With specific reference to the public and cultural functions of the Crystal Palace, see also Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT, 1999), and Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London, 2008).
8. The most egregious "guide to the empire" was provided by William Cullen Bryant in his New York speech: "If we could imagine a human being endowed with the power of making himself, through the medium of his sense, a witness of whatever is passing on the face of the globe, what a series of festivities, what successive manifestations of the love and admiration which all who speak our language bear to the great Scottish poet, would present themselves to his observations, accompanying the shadow of this night in its circuit round the earth! Some twelve hours before this time he would have heard the praises of Burns recited and the songs of Burns sung on the banks of the Ganges. . . . A little later, he might have heard the same sounds from the mouth of the Euphrates; later still, from the southern extremity of Africa . . . and almost at the same moment from the rocky shores of the Ionian Isles" (585). The world tour continues in florid prose via Malta, Rome, Paris, Gibraltar, Liberia, and Sierra Leone to the New World, stopping at Newfoundland, the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, Potomac, and the Mississippi, and from there to the Rocky Mountains and Sacramento, and from whence to Australia and China: the sun never set on the empire indeed.
9. References to the recent troubles in India were made, for example, in Edinburgh (34), Glasgow (59, 67), Jedburgh (289), and Montrose (353).
10. With thanks to Michael Vance for making the *Globe* account available to me.
11. Peter Hugill, *Global Communications Since 1844: Geopolitics and Technology* (Baltimore, MD, 1999); Gillian Cookson, *The Cable* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2003); John Picker, "Atlantic Cable," *Victorian Review* 43, no. 1 (2008): 34–38. The concept of "mediated immediacy" is derived from Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA, 1999). An analysis of the social impact of the new technology is given in Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking About Electrical Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988).
12. Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (Princeton, 2007), 74–91.
13. Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1997).
14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).
15. Joep Leerssen, "Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture," *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006): 559–78; Joep Leerssen, *National Thought: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 2006).

16. The most extensive discussion to date of performativity in cultural memory can be found in Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC, 2003), which also provides a critical overview of the idea of "performance" (1–15). Further background is offered in Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–40; Peter Burke, "Performing History: The Importance of Occasions," *Rethinking History* 9, no. 1 (2005): 35–52. I have also elaborated on remembrance as performativity in: Ann Rigney, "The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing," in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin, 2008), 345–53.
17. For a more dynamic concept of memory site as a generator of meanings, see Ann Rigney, "Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 209–26. Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire* was itself less concerned with providing a critical vocabulary for understanding memory work than in identifying and hence reinvigorating those memory sites he considered crucial to the identity of France; for a recent critique of Nora as a nationalistic exercise in canon formation, see Ann Laura Stoler, "L'aphasie coloniale française: L'histoire mutilée," in Florence Bernauet et al., eds., *Ruptures postcoloniales: Les nouveaux visages de la société française* (Paris, 2010).
18. Tracy C. Davis and Peter Holland, eds., *The Performing Century: Nineteenth-Century Theatre's History* (London, 2007).
19. Roland Quinault, "The Cult of the Centenary, c. 1784–1914," *Historical Research* 71, no. 176 (1998): 303–23. See also Peter Burke, *Circa 1808: Restructuring Knowledges/Um 1808: Neuordnung der Wissensarten* (Munich, 2008), 44. For accounts of particular festivals, see Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1976); David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' c. 1820–1977," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992), 101–64; Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann, and Paul Münch, eds., *Öffentliche Festcultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1988); Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914* (Cambridge, 1991), 183–85; Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876–1953* (Manchester, 2001), 177–247; Sabine Wieber, "Staging the Past: Allotria's 'Festzug Karl V' and German National Identity," *Rethinking History* 10, no. 4 (2006): 523–51; Meike Hölscher, "Performances, Souvenirs, and Music: The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria 1897 and the Dynamics of Collective Remembering," in Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, eds., *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin, 2009), 173–86.
20. Jean-Marie Goulemot and Eric Walter, "Les centenaires de Voltaire et de Rousseau: Les deux lampions des Lumières," in Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 1:351–82; Richard Foulkes, *The Shakespeare Tercentenary of 1864* (London, 1984); Marcus C. Levitt, *Russian Literary Politics and the Pushkin Celebration of 1880* (Ithaca, 1989); *Michelangelo nell'Ottocento. Il centenario del 1875* (Milan, 1994); Monica Berté, *"Intendami chi può." Il sogno di Petrarca nazionale nelle ricorrenze dall'unità d'Italia ad oggi. Luoghi, tempi e forme di un culto* (Rome, 2004)—with thanks to Harald Hendrix for these Italian references; Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin:*

Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion (Ithaca, 2005); Maria McHale, "Moore's Centenary: Music and Politics in Dublin, 1879," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 109 (2009): 387–408; for an extensive account of the centenary of Walter Scott in 1871, see Ann Rigney, *Memory on the Move: The Afterlives of Walter Scott* (Oxford, forthcoming), chap. 6.

21. On the persistence to the present day of cyclical notions of time organized around recurrent jubilees and feast days, see Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago, 2003).
22. The 1844 festival was presided over by Lord Eglinton, whose estate had become internationally renowned as the venue of the spectacular (and rain-sodden) "Ashby-la-Zouche" tournament held there in 1839 in emulation of Scott's *Ivanhoe*; see further Ian Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (London, 1963). For the broader context, see Ann Rigney, "The Many Afterlives of Ivanhoe," in Karin Tilmans, Frank Van Vree, and Jay Winter, eds., *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010), 207–33.
23. The phenomenon of "monster meetings" is described with specific reference to Ireland in Joep Leerssen, *Hidden Ireland, Public Sphere* (Galway, 2002). An extensive account of the 1844 Burns Festival is given in Mackay, *Burns Federation*, 39–41. My general understanding of the Scottish memorialization of Burns within its social context is indebted to Alex Tyrell, "Paternalism, Public Memory and National Identity in Early Victorian Scotland: The Robert Burns Festival at Ayr in 1844," *History: A Quarterly Magazine and Review for the Teacher, the Student and the Expert* 90, no. 297 (2005): 42–61; and Christopher A. Whatley, "Robert Burns, Memorialisation and the 'Heart-Beatings' of Victorian Scotland," in *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. Murray Pittock (Lewisburg, PA, 2011), 224–60.
24. The distinction between these forms of sociability is made in John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge, 1995), 25.
25. On co-presence as a defining feature of commemorations, see Peter Burke, "Co-Memorations: Performing the Past," in Tilmans, Van Vree, and Winter, *Performing the Past*, 105–18.
26. This point was brought out with reference to large-scale political assemblies in Ireland in Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Madison, WI, 2007).
27. See also Mona Ozouf, "Le Panthéon: L'école normale des morts," in Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 1:155–78.
28. For a survey of the many monuments to Burns, see Edward Goodwillie, *The World's Memorials of Robert Burns* (Detroit, 1911), and Michael Vance, "Burns in the Park: A Tale of Three Monuments," in Leith Davis, ed., *Transatlantic Burns* (London, 2011); and Christopher A. Whatley, "Memorialising Burns: Dundee and Montrose Compared," accessed April 7, 2011, http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/burns/memoryandmaterialcultureinfocus/.
29. The Scott statue in Edinburgh had been inaugurated with a colorful procession in 1840 including 2,000 Freemasons dressed in ceremonial robes; James Colston, *History of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh; to Which Is Prefixed a Biographical Sketch of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh, 1881), 67. The unveiling of a statue to the Russian poet was also the centerpiece of the Pushkin celebration in 1880; see further Levitt, *Russian Literary Politics*.

30. The Scott centenary of 1871 was explicitly modeled on the centenary of Dante in 1865, see *The Scott Exhibition MDCCLXXI: Catalogue of the Exhibition Held at Edinburgh, in July and August 1871, on Occasion of the Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1872); also Rigney, *Memory on the Move*, chap. 6. The Moore centenary of 1879 was consciously modeled on that of Burns; McHale, "Moore's Centenary," 389. Moreover, the memorialization of one writer could inspire that of others belonging to the same canon: the statue to Burns in Central Park (1880) was erected after the statue to Scott (1872), Shakespeare (1872), and Fitzgreene Halleck (1877).
31. Joep Leerssen, "Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 2 (2011): 1–15.
32. David Cannadine, "The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast," *Past and Present* 94 (1982): 107–30.
33. Robert Crawford, *The Bard: Robert Burns, a Biography* (London, 2009), 7.
34. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's discussion of the novel is elaborated in Jonathan Culler, "Anderson and the Novel," in Jonathan Culler and Pheng Cheah, eds., *Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (London, 2003), 29–52; exemplified in Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London, 1998).
35. Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33; Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1997), 103–29.
36. On the shaping of Burns's image as "Bard," see Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707–1830* (Stanford, 1998), 107–28; Gerard Carruthers, *Robert Burns* (Tavistock, UK, 2007), 7–24; Crawford, *Robert Burns*, 179–236.
37. The tenacious myths surrounding Burns are discussed in Carol McGuirk, "Scottish Hero, Scottish Victim: Myths of Robert Burns," in Andrew Hook, ed., *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 2, *1660–1800* (Aberdeen, 1987), 219–38; Carol McGuirk, "Haunted by Authority: Nineteenth-Century American Constructions of Robert Burns and Scotland," in Robert Crawford, ed., *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (Edinburgh, 1997), 136–58. An ethnographic account of the Burns "legend," particularly among Scottish emigrants to North America, is offered in Mary Ellen Brown, *Burns and Tradition* (London, 1984).
38. For more on reenactment as a mode of remembrance, see Rigney, "The Many Afterlives of Ivanhoe."
39. My understanding of Burns's engagement with the song tradition and the way it cut across printed and oral culture derives from Leith Davis, "At 'sang about': Scottish Song and the Challenge to British Culture," in Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen, eds., *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2004), 188–203.
40. Choral societies and communal singing were a key feature of national and imperialist movements in the nineteenth century. See for example Dietmar Klenke, *Der singende "Deutsche Mann": Gesangvereine und Deutsches Nationalbewusstsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster, 1998); Henning Unverhau, *Gesang, Feste und Politik: Deutsche Liedertafeln, Volksfeste und Festmähler und ihre Bedeutung für das Entstehen eines nationalen und politischen Bewussteins in Schleswig-Holstein, 1840–1848* (Frankfurt, 2000); Gareth Williams, *Valleys of Song: Music and Society in Wales, 1840–1914* (Cardiff, 2003); Richards, *Imperialism and Music*; Didier

Francfort, *Le Chant des nations: Musiques et cultures en Europe, 1870–1914* (Paris, 2004). With reference to music festivals as a way of performing identities, see especially Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*.

41. Robert Crawford and Christopher Maclachlan, eds., *The Best Laid Schemes: Selected Poetry and Prose of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 2009), 113, 154, 11.
42. Rigney, *Memory on the Move*, chap. 6.
43. Colin Kidd has noted, with reference to the nineteenth-century cult of William Wallace, that devotion to the Scottish hero did not preclude sympathy for Polish and Italian freedom fighters; see Colin Kidd, "Sentiment, Race and Revival: Scottish Identities in the Aftermath of Enlightenment," in Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750–c. 1850* (Manchester, 1999), 110–26 (118). The Shakespeare centenary of 1864 did turn accidentally into a demonstration in favor of Garibaldi; see Richard Foulkes, *The Shakespeare Tercentenary of 1864* (London, 1984). In the celebrations of Burns, however, there is little direct evidence for a European frame of reference in the realm of either literature or politics.
44. Assmann, "Collective Memory and Collective Identity," 132.
45. Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* [1925] (Paris, 1994). Halbwachs did not himself include the nation in his discussion of social frames, but others have done so; most notably Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*. A good summary of Halbwach's position is offered in Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), 154–74.
46. This is particularly true of the more essentialist invocations of "memory" as the unalienable inheritance of particular groups, rightly criticized (though at the cost of overlooking alternative models) in Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 127–50.
47. This theoretical point is argued at greater length in Rigney, "Plenitude, Scarcity, and the Circulation of Memory."
48. For a critique of methodological nationalism, see for example, Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Natonalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–34.
49. Crawford, *Robert Burns*, 112.
50. Foulkes, *Shakespeare Tercentenary*; on the Scott banquet, Rigney, *Memory on the Move*, chap. 6.
51. Rainer Noltenius, "Schiller als Führer und Heiland: Das Schillerfest 1859 als nationaler Traum von der Geburt des zweiten Deutschen Kaiserreichs," in *Öffentliche Festkultur*, ed. Düding, Friedemann, and Münch, 237–58.
52. Although the discourses of 1859 have not yet been examined in all the detail they deserve, earlier studies of the Ayr celebration of 1844 have revealed some of the political stakes in these various appropriations of Burns. Andrew Tyrell for example shows that the upper-class initiators of the Ayr festival were surprised by their own inability to orchestrate the occasion in the paternalistic way they had originally envisaged; Tyrell, "Paternalism, Public Memory and National Identity." For a general discussion of the politics of the Burns reception, see Christopher A. Whatley, "'It is said that Burns was a Radical': Contest, Concession and the Political Legacy of Robert Burns," *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 3 (July 2011).

53. Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain.*
54. J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, ed. John Gross (Chicago, 1971).
55. Mackay, *Burns Federation.*
56. On the importance of Burns to local identities in Ayrshire, see Kidd, "Sentiment, Race and Revival," 121.
57. On the relation between exile, memory, and nationality, see Benedict Anderson, "Exodus," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (1994): 314–27; also Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York, 2001).
58. The significance of internal migration within the British Isles for constructions of identity is highlighted in Kidd, "Sentiment, Race and Revival," 116.
59. Brockliss and Eastwood, *Union of Multiple Identities.*
60. Peter Denman, *Samuel Ferguson: The Literary Achievement* (Gerrards Cross, Ire., 1990); Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork, 1996), 185.
61. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992); Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997); Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1998).
62. On the occasion of the Scott centenary in 1871, the marking of the event as a preeminently Scottish affair is known to have led to certain tensions in Halifax on the part of the non-Scottish inhabitants of the city who felt themselves excluded; there is no evidence for such tensions in 1859, however; see Cameron Pulsifer, "A Highland Regiment in Halifax: The 78th Highland Regiment of Foot and the Scottish National/Cultural Factor in Nova Scotia's Capital, 1869–71," in Marjory Harper and Michael Vance, eds., *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700–1990* (Halifax, 1999), 141–56. An extensive account of the Halifax Burns celebration is provided in *Celebration of Burns' Centenary, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 25th January, 1859* (Halifax, 1859). With thanks to Leith Davis for making this available.
63. Robert J. C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford, 2008), 227–28. See also Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*, 254–59.
64. On the transatlantic celebrations of Scott, see Rigney, *Memory on the Move*, chap. 6. For a more detailed account of the role of Shakespeare in American nation building, albeit focused on the later period, see further Kim C. Sturgess, *Shakespeare and the American Nation* (Cambridge, 2004).
65. Bell too locates the origins of the special relationship in the late nineteenth century but does so without acknowledging the role of literature as a connector; *The Idea of Greater Britain*, 259.
66. On variations in the interpretation of the figure of Burns across North America, see further McQuirk, "Haunted by Authority"; and Davis, *Transatlantic Burns.*
67. Robert Vlach, "Robert Burns Through Russian Eyes," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 2 (1965): 152–62; Larisa Vasileva, "'For A' That' or Robert Burns 'Days' in Moscow," *Soviet Literature* 8 (2004): 173–76; Natalia Vid, "Political-Ideological Translations of Robert Burns' Poetry in the Soviet Union," *British and American Studies/Revista de Studii Britanice si Americane* 14 (2004): 343–51.
68. Davis, *Acts of Union*, 121.
69. Carruthers, *Robert Burns*, 3.