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Exporting 'The Cotter's Saturday Night': Robert Burns, Scottish Romantic Nationalism and Colonial Settler Identity

Abstract: A Scottish literary icon of the nineteenth century, Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' was a key component of the cultural baggage carried by emigrant Scots seeking a new life abroad. The myth of the thrifty, humble and pious Scottish cottager is a recurrent figure in Scottish colonial writing whether that cottage is situated in the South African veld or the Otago bush. This article examines the way in which Burns's cotter informed the myth of the self-sufficient Scottish peasant in the poetry of John Barr and Thomas Pringle. It will argue that, just as 'The Cotter' could be used to reinforce a particular set of ideas about Scottish identity at home, Scottish settlers used Burns's poem to respond to and cement new identities abroad.

Keywords: Scottish Romanticism, Settler Colonialism, Robert Burns, Thomas Pringle, John Barr, John Wilson.

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In 1787, reviewer John Logan commented of Robert Burns's Kilmarnock edition that "'The Cotter's Saturday Night' is, without exception, the best poem in the collection'.¹ His opinion was echoed by many contemporary and subsequent reviewers. In 1812 George Gleig was able to confidently assert that 'The "Saturday Night" is indeed universally felt as the most interesting of all the author's poems' (Bold, 217).

This view of Burns's poem of common life has not endured. The image of Scotland presented in the poem has become at best a stereotype and at worst a source of cultural cringe. Anxieties about derivativeness and kitsch have often led to a critical fire-bombing of the sort of nineteenth-century Scottish writing which wears its debt to Burns's 'Cotter', and those who followed him, too obviously on its sleeve. As Andrew Nash has commented, the term 'kailyard', originally a label for a particular group of late nineteenth-century Scottish authors, has come to be used as a qualitative descriptor for 'a whole tradition of Scottish writing that had been characterised by a provincial outlook, a predilection for romance over realism, an excessive focus on rural as opposed to urban settings, and a tendency to evade social and industrial issues'.² This sneer is particularly apparent in attitudes to any diasporic writing which is perceived to steer too close to honest poverty, nourishing porridge, and 'Grannie's Heiland Hame'. The Scottish diaspora has been routinely characterised as a group devoted to 'preserving the homeland in aspic' through the production and consumption of nostalgic, rural fiction which has failed to respond to Scotland as an industrial and post-industrial nation.³

This article proposes a reassessment of the poem's cultural legacy abroad. In his article on the poetry written for onboard magazines by nineteenth-century British and Irish emigrants, Jason Rudy suggests that the obvious use of parody and imitation in these texts serves a series of

important functions for authors and readers. These texts could be associated with a desire for community with fellow emigrants, nostalgia for home and a fear of cultural loss in colonies which seemed like they might be inhospitable to the survival of literary traditions. He suggests that:

rather than turning a nose up at what may look, on first glance, like paler versions of canonical British poems, more may come from thinking expansively about the contexts in which emigrants' poems were written, published, circulated and read; and about the important differences between origin and copy, before and after, British and colonial.⁴

Inspired by Rudy's defense of the derivative, I propose approaching nineteenth-century Burnsiana, particularly that of diasporic Scots, with a more serious and less superior eye.

I focus on 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' because of its ubiquity within Scottish self-representation. Robert Burns's ode to cottage life, 'The Cotter's Saturday Night', was one of the most influential representations of the Scottish rural poor of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drawing upon English and Scottish Pastoral forerunners, perhaps most significantly Robert Fergusson's 'The Farmer's Ingle' (1773), the poem consists of an idealised vignette where a family of cottage dwellers gather together for family prayers. Nigel Leask summarises: 'the cotter is shown, exhausted from his incessant toils, resting in the bosom of his family, in a household which is clean, frugal and sober to boot'.⁵ The cotter's return to his cot reveals an archetypal scene of simplicity and contentment:

His wee bit ingle, blinkin bonnilie,
 His clean hearth-stane, his thrifty wifie's smile,
 The lisping infant, prattling on his knee,
 Does a' his weary kiaugh and care beguile,
 And makes him quite forget his labour and his toil.⁶

Much quoted and imitated, the poem's focus on domestic religious observance struck a chord with nineteenth-century evangelical values, and 'The Cotter' proved to be one of Burns's best-

loved works during the nineteenth century. By 1824 David Hill Radcliffe argues that ‘imitations of the “Cotter” had become a recognised genre’.⁷

The timing of this rise to prominence coincided with the removal of the cotter class from the Scottish countryside. The ‘radical transformation which took place in the rural Lowlands during the second half of the eighteenth century’, which T.M. Devine terms ‘the Lowland Clearances’, involved the complete removal of a class of semi-independent cottage dwellers from Scotland’s landscape in the name of agricultural improvement.⁸ Scotland’s cotters had played an essential part in the traditional Lowland agricultural economy, maintaining themselves through a combination of subsistence farming on small cottage plots and seasonal farm servitude. However, the introduction of intensive modern farming methods during the eighteenth century changed the type of labour required on these farms, and cotters were replaced by full-time farm workers. Within a matter of decades the cotter was no longer extant in many areas of rural Scotland.

At this exact moment, when the actual cotter class of rural Scotland was disappearing, fictional cotters took on a new literary life in Scotland and on an international stage. Burns’s poem presents the imagined scene in the cottage as one with significant national symbolism:

From scenes like these, old Scotia’s grandeur springs,

That makes her lov’d at home, rever’d abroad (Burns, 151)

This characterisation was reinforced and emphasized by subsequent biographers and critics who responded to the poem. ‘The Cotter’ was presented as a biographical text indicative of the morality and early life of the heaven-taught ploughman, and it was used to make a variety of assertions about Burns and about Scottish character. The literary cotter became a potent symbol within Scottish national iconography, featuring not just in imitations of Burns’s poem but also in the ‘Scottish regional stories’ which ‘came to the forefront of Scottish fiction during the late 1810s and early 1820s’.⁹ Within late Romantic Scottish writing, cotter characters came to function as

shorthand for Scotland's national character and cultural distinctiveness: 'The Cotter' became 'the canonical image of Scottish life' (Nash, *Kailyard*, 23).

Kit North's Saturday Night: John Wilson and Imagining Cotter Scotland

Crucial to this elevation were the responses to 'The Cotter' written by *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine's* controversial de-facto editor John Wilson, who authored two essays and a biography of the poet along with a number of successful pieces of rural Scottish fiction which engaged with the 'cotter' archetype. In the February 1819 edition of *Blackwood's*, Wilson published the first of two essays on Burns and lays out his highly influential attitudes to the life and works of the poet. In 'Burns and the Ettrick Shepherd', Wilson first identifies the version of Burns's legacy which was to characterise his own approach to rural life. Denouncing the satirical and bawdy Burns, evinced in works like 'Holy Willie's Prayer', Wilson identifies 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' as the pinnacle of Burns's career, and as a work which reveals the true Burns:

"The Cotter's Saturday Night" shews what he could have done—had he surveyed with a calm and untroubled eye, all the influences of our religion, carried as they are in the inmost heart of society by our simple and beautiful forms of worship—had marriage—baptism—that other more awful sacrament—death—and funeral—had these and the innumerable themes allied to them, sunk into the depths of his heart, and images of them reascended thence into living and imperishable light.¹⁰

Counter to some more modern critics who might wish to disassociate Burns's legacy from his famous sentimental cottage scene, Wilson imagines a Burns who writes exclusively in this vein. In doing so he lays the groundwork for his own nostalgic and highly conservative Scottish fiction.

Later that year, Wilson's essay 'The Radical's Saturday Night' represented the author's first foray into reimagining 'The Cotter' in line with his own political and aesthetic ideas. In 'The Radical's Saturday Night' 'The Cotter' is re-envisioned in prose, through the prism of Wilson's High

Tory perspective. A narrator visits the home of a family of cotters who appear to have been taken straight from Burns's verse only to fall asleep and experience a terrible nightmare where that world has been riven by atheism and republicanism. Wilson opens the essay by once again reiterating the merits of 'The Cotter'. He describes Burns's poem in terms which cast it as a poem which documents the reality of cotter life:

The picture which Burns has drawn of that hallowed scene, is felt by every one who has a human heart—but they alone can see its beauty, who have visited the fireplaces of the Scottish peasantry, and joined in their family worship. They who have done so, see in the poem nothing but the simple truth—truth so purified, refined, and elevated by devotion, as to become the highest poetry.¹¹

The reader is invited to claim allegiance with an imagined group of informed readers who have witnessed the 'true nature' of Scottish cottage life, and therefore Scotland. Wilson imagines the poem as a virtual invitation into the homes of Scotland's rural poor. In doing so, the reader is invited to experience the vision of Scotland which Wilson wishes to propagate. Andrew Nash summarises the rhetorical work which Wilson undertakes in these passages: 'to Wilson it's obvious: read Burns and you understand peasant Scotland, and, because peasant Scotland is unique, you understand what is unique to Scotland'.¹²

Wilson followed these writings not just with a biography of the poet but with several pieces of rural fiction which rewrote 'The Cotter' to fit his own sensibilities. Texts like the *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* (1822) story collection saw him emerge as one of the leading authors of the group of texts which were to be disparagingly labelled the 'Scotch Novels' by Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*. Published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, one of the most prominent of contemporary periodicals, and in best-selling books, these texts popularized an

archetype—the hard working, pious and frugal Scot—which was of particular use to the growing number of Scots seeking new opportunities abroad.

Scotland and the Empire

The nineteenth century was characterised by Scottish emigration on a previously unprecedented scale¹³: nearly two million emigrants left Scotland in the century before World War One.¹⁴ Following the Union of 1707, significant numbers of Scots took advantage of the many opportunities which the expanding British Empire could offer; educated Scots were famously over-represented in the ranks of the East India Company¹⁵ and were prominent amongst traders and imperial sojourners across the Empire.¹⁶ During the nineteenth century, they also made up a significant proportion of the migrants who relocated to the growing settler colonies of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. These settlers travelled intending, not just to trade or temporarily take up lucrative colonial positions, but to contribute to the formation of permanent, culturally British, settlements in these locations. They were to be the pioneers and founders of new societies. Scottish settlers, specifically Protestants from the Borders and Lowlands, enjoyed a popular reputation as law-abiding and pious citizens which enhanced their opportunities within these colonies. Discussing the recruitment of Scottish emigrants for settlements in early colonial New Zealand, Tanja Buelmann highlights that the mythology surrounding the Scots character made them an attractive prospect: ‘viewed as hard working, decent and reliable, Scots were desired pioneer settlers’.¹⁷

The ‘Victorian stereotypes of the hard-working, ambitious and able Scot’, were a useful and appealing identification for Scotland’s growing diaspora and Scottish settlers, far from disguising their origin, often sought to celebrate and retain certain markers of regional distinctiveness which were associated with these positive attributes (Devine, *Ends of the Earth*, 165). The prominence of Scottish associational culture in Britain’s colonies illustrates one of the ways in which Scots chose not to entirely assimilate into a wider homogenous British population. As Leask has commented:

'Scottishness (as opposed to Britishness) not only survived but prospered in the Imperial *ecumene*'.¹⁸

It is therefore not entirely surprising that the progeny of Burns's pious and hard-working cotters can be sighted in poetry written across the British Empire during the nineteenth century, as thousands of Scots migrants settled and built identities in their new homes. In the second section of this article I discuss two colonial locations where Burnsian cottages were hastily erected. I will consider how the cottage poems operate in these locations and how their authors use the cotter archetype to make particular points about their identities as settlers of Scottish origin. Just as Wilson's cotters operate to reinforce an image of Scottishness which adheres to his conservative political and cultural perspective, colonial cotters are used to make a variety of political and cultural assertions by nineteenth-century colonial citizens.

'There's Nae Place': John Barr, Dunedin, New Zealand

John Barr emigrated to the Otago settlement from Paisley in 1852 and was quickly adopted as the local poet laureate. His work fits within a category of Scots-inflected poetry which characterized nineteenth-century Otago and, as Kirstine Moffat has pointed out, 'much of Barr's poetry is explicitly modelled on Burns'.¹⁹ That Barr's work would be popular in pre-Goldrush Otago is unsurprising given the role of the Scottish Free Church in settling the area after 1848. The Otago Association, formed primarily of members of the Free Church, including Burns's nephew the Reverend Thomas Burns, purchased land on the South Island of New Zealand with the explicit intention of forming what Marjory Harper terms 'a Utopian Scotland in the Southern Hemisphere'.²⁰ During the early decades of the colony the population of Otago was overwhelmingly made up of Scots: Harper indicates that between 1848 and 1860 80% of new arrivals in Otago were born in Scotland (108). Barr's poetry had an obvious community building function within a city where a large section of the population had Scottish connections: he performed his poetry at local events,

played a key role in the foundation of Dunedin's Burns Club, and was a regular contributor to local papers.

In 'There's Nae Place Like our Ain Fireside', Liam McIlvanney has commented that Barr entirely 'transposes "The Cotter's Saturday Night" to Otago'.²¹ In the first half of the poem Barr describes the same cosy scene conjured in Burns's poem; a patriarch, tired from his day of labours, surveys his 'cot' from a fireside chair and looks approvingly on 'The youngsters playing roun' about, / His wife sae kind and braw'.²² However, in the second half of the poem Barr reveals that the fireside is situated not in rural Scotland but in the 'fragrant bush' of Otago (19). This broadening of the poem's perspective allows Barr to make what is probably his most important point, that this setting, like its fraternal twin in Scotland, is also worthy of artistic representation. Barr repeatedly asserts of the Otago 'cot' that 'Tis worthy of the painter's eye, / And of the poet's theme' (19). Far from being the harsh, cultureless space feared by migrants about to undertake the journey to New Zealand, Barr casts Otago as a place of plenty, harmony and cultural possibility: a place where an aspiring future Burns (like Barr) might find his material.

This assertion of Otago's merit as a context for both contented cottage life and for cultural production is part of Barr's overarching concern with casting the colony as what James Belich terms a 'Better' or 'Greater Britain'²³. For Barr this meant a space where the progeny of Burns's cotters, driven to extinction by agricultural 'improvement' in nineteenth-century Scotland, could regain their position at their 'ain fireside'. In another poem, 'There's Nae Place Like Otago Yet' Barr makes this opinion explicit by describing a lack of economic disparity within the colony, 'There's Nae Place Like Otago Yet / There's nae wee beggar weans, / Or auld men shivering at our doors, / To beg for scraps or banes' (62).

In 'There's Nae Place Like Otago Yet' Barr also lauds the absence of landowners from the emerging colony: 'Nae purse-proud, upstart, mushroom lord / To scowl at honest toil' (63). This point is important when thinking about the identity of pre-Goldrush Otago as a Free Church

settlement. The Disruption of 1843, which divided the Church of Scotland into an established and free church, had in large part been triggered by the issue of Patronage: a dispute over the right of landowners to override the preferences of Presbyterian congregations and appoint local ministers. The creation of the Free Church was to some degree not just an illustration of the strength of evangelical Presbyterianism in Scotland at the time but also a political protest against the power wielded by Scottish landowners. Although the myth of the independent 'yeoman' was widespread in early New Zealand, in Otago it had a specifically Scottish inflection due to the settlement's Free Church origins. Barr's attitude to 'mushroom lords' and his desire to return the cotter to his ingle is part of a broader aim within the colony to imagine a rural space where land is placed in the hands of those who till it. The cot's ideological import is transformed by its relocation to the intended new Scotland of the South.

'In Lynden Dell': Thomas Pringle, Cape Province, South Africa

In the Eastern Cape of South Africa another humble cot became a monument to settler identity in the writings of the Scottish poet Thomas Pringle. Raised in the Scottish Borders, Pringle was a farmer's son with literary ambitions. In 1820, following the failure of his literary endeavors in Edinburgh, Pringle emigrated with a party of settlers to South Africa where they founded the settlement of Glen Lynden. Pringle spent six years in Africa: some at Glen Lynden and others working in Cape Town as a librarian. On his return to Britain, he was appointed as the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. His most successful literary work, *African Sketches*, was published in 1834 whilst Pringle was resident in London. The collection contains a poem titled 'The Emigrant's Cabin' which Pringle had begun work on in 1822 during his time at Glen Lynden.

Despite a troubled relationship with many members of Edinburgh's literary establishment after his unceremonious removal from the editorship of William Blackwood's monthly magazine, Pringle undertook his faltering early literary career alongside Scott, Wilson and their contemporaries. It is therefore surprising that Pringle's 'The Emigrant's Cabin' has generally been

considered as the foundation of an 'indigenous South African poetic tradition' in relation to Wordsworth and the 'British Pastoral'.²⁴ To a certain extent I agree with Angus Calder when he suggests 'Pringle, and even Pringle's attitudes to Africa, are better understood if we cease to call him the "Father of South African Poetry" and see him, instead, as a poet typifying a Scottish school which flourished in his lifetime' (1). I would, however, argue that his assertion sets up a false dichotomy between African settler writing and Scottish writing, by failing to acknowledge the ways in which a specifically Scottish romantic nationalism functions within this setting. It is the very fact that Pringle applies the literary tools of Scottish literature to an African colonial context that makes Pringle's colonial cabin so interesting.

Although stylistically the poem is less obviously related to 'The Cotter' than Barr's, it is predicated around a 'Cotter's Saturday Night' scenario. In 'The Emigrant's Cabin' Pringle addresses his friend John Fairbairn whom he imagines has been 'by some good genie wafted cross the tide' to the Eastern Cape to spend an afternoon and evening with Pringle and his family.²⁵ The poem is presented as an extended exchange between the two men as they enjoy dinner and discuss Pringle's life in the emerging colony. Pringle describes to Fairbairn an idyllic colonial life which centres around his simple cabin. Life in the cabin is represented as one which is simple but dignified and morally sanctified.

—I have my farm and garden, tools and pen;

My schemes for civilising savage men;

Our Sunday service, till the sabbath-bell

Shall wake its welcome chime in Lynden dell;

Some duty or amusement, grave or light,

To fill the active day from morn to night: (*African Poems*, 29)

This imagery is common across a wide variety of British pastoral poetry. However, in 'The Emigrant's Cabin' Pringle combines standard English with Scots, Dutch and Xhosa words and

placenames. This gentle spicing of a polite English language text with regionally specific linguistic markers is shared between Pringle's text, Burns's 'Cotter' and the popular 'Scotch Novels' of Wilson and his peers. All of these texts self-consciously gesture to their regional identity whilst adhering to an overall linguistic register which is accessible to a polite metropolitan audience. Pringle's use of Scots points to the literary tradition he sees himself within, whilst his use of African and Dutch vocabulary stakes out an identity for the new colony which allows it to exist within a broader British Imperial one. South Africa, like Scotland, is cast as quaintly different but ultimately intelligible. Pringle employs the tools of Scottish romantic unionist-nationalism to harmonise the complicated allegiances of colonial settler identity.

The function of Pringle's cottage poem is both personal and public. As Matthew Shum emphasizes, in his letters during the 1830s Pringle characterizes *African Sketches* as an 'intervention in issues current at the time' in particular the appointment of a parliamentary committee in London to consider the rights of indigenous peoples within the colonies.²⁶ Pringle was interested in the rights of the indigenous peoples of the Cape region although his perspectives were influenced by a belief that only the combined forces of Christian religion and British 'civilization' would improve their lot. In the course of the poem he lists a number of local figures who are involved in missionary work and describes a positive interaction with a local tribal leader who has 'come to smoke the Pipe of Peace with Scottish men' (*African Poems*, 31). To a certain extent, 'The Emigrant's Cabin' can be read as a representation of a possible ethical settler community, a model for the type of colonialism Pringle would like to see in the Cape. To this end, Shum argues that Pringle's cabin 'represents something like the investiture in verse of an ideal evangelical-humanitarian community of settlers' (47). The cotter archetype's inherent relationship with piety and domestic morality makes it an ideal carrier for Pringle's message.

On a more personal level, the poem describes the idealised fruition of his own aspirations for the Glen Lynden colony. Parallel to Pringle's disappointment as a man of letters in Edinburgh,

his extended family in Roxburghshire also faced increasing hardship as shifts in agricultural practices endangered their livelihoods as tenant farmers. In the preface to *African Sketches*, Pringle retrospectively identifies that in leading the party to Glen Lynden he was motivated 'to collect again into one social circle, and establish in rural independence, my father's family, which untoward circumstances had broken up and began to scatter over the world'.²⁷ Pringle's poem like Barr's depicts a land where the archetypal cotter can once again sit by his fire. Glen Lynden is presented as a space where the 'clan' can live together again in peaceful commune: 'you observe, our own Glen Lynden clan / (To whom I'm linked like a true Scottish man) / Are all around us' (*African Poems*, 29). Having been driven from their lives in Scotland as tenant farmers Pringle's family, the poem implies, have been able to regain Burns's cottage arcady through their emigration to the Cape. Like Otago, Glen Lynden represents to Pringle a place where the cotter might find a new home.

However, there is an obvious irony to this presentation. The Glen Lynden settler's desire to return 'home' to their ingle has rendered the previous inhabitants of the land homeless. The displaced Scottish farmers, driven from their ancestral lands in Roxburghshire, in turn displace the indigenous communities who had previously called Pringle's 'Glen Lynden' home. This reality, along with Pringle's abandonment of his cottage arcady after just 16 months, are hidden from view: just as the Scottish cottage texts, which Pringle drew upon, sanitized the changes wracking contemporary Scottish rural life in favour of the imagined cotter's nation building potential.

The Cotter's Toolkit: Building Colonial Identity

Burns's 'Cotter's Saturday Night' furnished colonial Scots with a toolkit for the construction of a regionally distinctive sub-British identity. Drawing upon the ways in which cotter figures had been employed at home to shore up a nostalgic, and specifically Scottish, romantic unionist-nationalism, Scottish writers in Britain's growing colonies employed the constituent parts of Burns's poem to construct new colonial identities. In transporting and reconstructing the cotter's

cosy home in New Zealand and South Africa, Barr and Pringle staked out a role for themselves and their countrymen in the building of new proto-states, and simultaneously proffered a model of identity which was both regionally distinctive and could co-exist within an overarching British identification.

Perhaps most strikingly, the tendency of these poems to hark back to a halcyon time of Scottish rural harmony, despite their contemporary colonial context, highlights a specific strategy which seeks to naturalise settler colonial communities in new geographical localities. In his theoretical overview of settler colonialism, L. Veracini differentiates the attitudes of migrants and settlers to their new location arguing that ‘migrants, by definition, move to *another* country and lead diasporic lives, settlers, on the contrary, move [...] to *their* country.’²⁸ In utilising ‘The Cotter’s Saturday Night’ as a model for their colonial poetry both Barr and Pringle present their respective colonies as places of return for the Scottish settlers who make their homes there. The colonial context is represented, not as an occupied territory, but as the cotter’s historic home and birthright through the production of a nostalgic fiction of rural homecoming. In South Africa and New Zealand, these poems suggest, the Scottish settler can at last recover his rightful seat by the ingle. In drawing upon a text which had become a talisman for an imagined authentic Scottish identity both Pringle and Barr assert the legitimacy of the colonial projects which their writings contribute to. Like Burns’s weary cotter, the settler tramps back to his own fireside.

NOTES

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- ¹ Alan Bold, *A Burns Companion* (Basingstoke and New York, 1991), 217.
- ² Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam and New York, 2007), 4.
- ³ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* (London and New York, 2001), 138.
- ⁴ Jason Rudy, 'Floating Worlds: Émigré Poetry and British Culture', *ELH*, 81:1 (Spring 2014), 325-50, 345.
- ⁵ Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Oxford, 2015), 225.
- ⁶ Robert Burns, *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, Ed. James Kinsley, (Oxford, 1968), 146.
- ⁷ David Hill Radcliffe, 'Imitation, Popular Literacy and "The Cotter's Saturday Night"', in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. Carol Mcguire (New York and London, 1998), 264.
- ⁸ T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* (London and New York, 2006), 125.
- ⁹ Tim Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2008), 121.
- ¹⁰ John Wilson, 'Some Observations on the Poetry of the Agricultural and that of the Pastoral Districts of Scotland, Illustrated by a Comparative View of the Genius of Burns and the Ettrick Shepherd', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 4:23 (Feb 1819), 521-9, 526.
- ¹¹ John Wilson, 'The Radical's Saturday Night', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 6:33 (December 1819), 257-62, 262.
- ¹² Andrew Nash, 'The Cotter's Kailyard', *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, Ed. Robert Crawford, (Edinburgh, 1996), 180-97, 185.
- ¹³ T.M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010* (London and New York, 2011), 85.
- ¹⁴ Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, 'Introduction: Diaspora, Associations and Scottish Identity', in *Ties of Blood, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph, 2009), 1-18, 2.
- ¹⁵ See T.M. Devine, 'A Scottish Empire of Enterprise in the East', *The Scottish Experience in Asia, c.1700- Present: Settlers and Sojourners*, ed. T.M. Devine and Angela McCarthy (2017), 23-50, 26.
- ¹⁶ Devine discusses the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, West Indies trade and colonial officials in the Caribbean as forums in which Scots took a significant role (*To the Ends of the Earth*, 14-9).
- ¹⁷ Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930*, (Edinburgh, 2011), 31.
- ¹⁸ Nigel Leask, "'Their Groves o' Sweet Myrtles": Robert Burns and the Scottish Colonial Experience' from *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. Murray Pittock, (Lewisburg 2011), 172-88, 173.

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- ¹⁹ Kristine Moffat, 'The poetry and fiction of Scottish settlers in New Zealand', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 30:1 (2012), 59-77, 65.
- ²⁰ Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003), 108.
- ²¹ Liam McIlvanney, 'The visionary voyages of Robert Burns', in *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820*, ed. A. I. Macinnes and D. J. Hamilton (London, 2014), 173-191, 182.
- ²² John Barr, *Poems and Songs, Descriptive and Satirical*, (Edinburgh, 1861), 18.
- ²³ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the nineteenth century* (Auckland and New York, 1996), 303.
- ²⁴ Angus Calder, 'Thomas Pringle (1789-1834): A Scottish Poet in South Africa', *English in Africa*, 9:1 (May 1982), 1-13, 1-2.
- ²⁵ *African Poems of Thomas Pringle*, ed. Ernest Pereira and Michael Chapman, (Pietermaritzburg, 1989), 23.
- ²⁶ Matthew Shum, 'Thomas Pringle's "The Emigrant's Cabin" and the Invention of Settler Colonialism', *English in Africa*, 38:3 (2011), 35-58, 37.
- ²⁷ Randolph Vigne, *Thomas Pringle: South African Pioneer, Poet and Abolitionist* (Suffolk and Rochester, 2012), 49.
- ²⁸ L. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, (Basingstoke and New York, 2010), 3.