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The Literary Intervention in Architecture- The Making of Burns Cottage as a Writer's House

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Declaration of Authorship

By signing this declaration, I confirm that this thesis has been composed by me, the work is my own and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

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Te-Ju Chen

Abstract

The concept of writers' houses is a modern invention. Along with the growth of literacy popularity and the rise of modern writers, whose origins are no more of privileged class, their houses start to be pilgrimage destinations and places of interest. Most writers' houses are protected for their connections with the writers rather than their architectural significance. Hence it is common to see that the presentation of the house emphasises this aspect more than other, although in some cases the writer's history with the house is relatively short. Through the making of writers' houses, we see how people's expectation towards a place is affected by their perception of favoured history. This research aims to discover/ reflect on what the expectation towards a writer's house has been made of, and how the expectation has led to spatial operations on the house in different times.

Burns Cottage, the birthplace of the eighteenth-century poet Robert Burns in Alloway, is the earliest writer's house developed in Scotland. As the development of the Cottage has undergone a long span of more than two and half centuries, it is a great example to demonstrate how people's perception of a writer's life and works has been transformed into their understanding of the house, and how the understanding has led to spatial operations developed with the spirit of Enlightenment, that of Romanticism, and that of modern era.

Lay Summary

The development of writers' houses in Britain was initiated incidentally by the Jubilee celebration held in Stratford upon Avon in 1769. Along with the significant development of literary tourism in the nineteenth century, writers' houses came to be a variety of pilgrimage destinations. Most writers' houses are protected for their connections with the writers rather than their architectural significance. Hence it is common to see that the presentation of the house emphasises this aspect more than other, although in some cases the writer's history with the house is relatively short. Through the making of writers' houses, we see how people's expectation towards a place is affected by their perception of favoured history. This research aims to investigate the assumptions and attributions of writers' houses, and how they have led to spatial operations on the house in different periods of time. The eighteenth-century poet Robert Burns' birthplace in Alloway, Burns Cottage, is the earliest writer's house developed in Scotland and a great example to demonstrate how people's perception of a writer has been transformed into their understanding of the house, and how the understanding has led to spatial operations on the house developed with the spirit of times.

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1 Introduction

1.1 *Poetry and Architecture- Writers' Houses*

The nineteenth-century architectural theorist John Ruskin (1819-1900) believed that poetry and architecture were the “two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men”. He contended that architecture not only includes poetry, but also is mightier than poetry.¹ Since Ruskin has a stricter definition of “architecture”, which should be differed from general buildings and built for ever,² architecture that has weathered all kinds of transformations and conversions through time indeed seems mightier than ancient words that have lost their voice or been gone already. Although it can be an arguable question that why men’s forgetfulness is something we should fight against and if it truly is, is there an order or priority that describes what kind of things should be safeguarded more than others, what we can be sure of is that some architecture and poetry were particularly produced to make people remember, and in such circumstances, both of them were products of expressions based on eloquence more than the revelation of facts- since monuments, temples, and palaces only speak for those who were honoured, worshipped, and in power, stories that do not belong to this category were usually shadowed by these magnificent architectures and faded away. However, as a worshiper of architecture, Ruskin believed that men learn more from fragments of sculpture than that of literature, since we have a much clearer picture of Pericles’ time and achievements, which were inscribed on ancient temples, than what we have about Homer, whose age is “surrounded with darkness” in contemporary eyes and his ever existence is in doubts. As for anonymous people who might make direct contribution to those magnificent architectures, material remains also help to build up a clearer picture of their days, for “it is well to have not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life”.³

¹ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, republication of the 2nd edition of Kent in 1880 (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), p. 178.

² Ruskin, pp. 9-10, 186.

³ Ruskin, p. 178.

Like Ruskin, the French novelist Victor Hugo (1802-85) believed that architecture was “the great book of mankind”, “the principal register of humanity”, “man’s chief form of expression in the various stages of his development, either as force or as intelligence”.⁴ However, according to Hugo, things have changed since the fifteenth century, when Gutenberg brought his letters of lead to the world, from then on the human mind has found a way of “perpetuating itself which was not only more lasting and resistant than architecture, but also simpler and easier”. Architecture was “dethroned” then, and the power of it was superseded by the power of books.⁵ However, it might be until the eighteenth century, when the popularisation of literacy developed some significant improvement,⁶ that printed words started to exert their power in wider spread and officially took over what architecture used to be in charge of. The rise of the power of words has effect upon a range of things, one of which is the development of literary pilgrimages, which not only led grand tour makers, who used to follow a formula itinerary to visit spectacular ancient cities, to a reverse direction visiting writers’ graves or haunts in some quiet remote country, but also had a great impact on these visited places, which used to be unnoticed and uncared and then suddenly became something to be treasured and valued for their association with the writers. As Ruskin and Hugo both acknowledged the mission or function of architecture in keeping memory, the rise of writers’ houses shows how people’s demand for memory from architecture makes the power of words effect upon it. Writers’ houses are the architecture that is believed to include or incubate poetry. The rise of them not only demonstrates how people resort to material surroundings left by distant ones to construct memories from which we were absent, but also manifests that the power of literature can be even mightier (than architecture) that could revive ruined buildings, save endangered ones from demolition, and turn ordinary houses which were for domestic use into glorified shrines by giving them

⁴ Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. & trans. by John Sturrock, reprint of 1978 (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 189, 195.

⁵ Hugo, p. 196.

⁶ Steven Roger Fischer provides some figures to illustrate the significant improvements of literacy rate in Europe of the eighteenth century, for example, in 1640, “30 per cent of both Englishmen and 25 per cent of Scots had signed their wedding register; but by the mid-eighteenth century 60 per cent of both Englishmen and Scots were signing their names”. See Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), pp. 256–57.

names and crowns. This is why the bombed Goethe's house, which had been destroyed in the World War II, still stands tight in the city centre of Frankfurt,⁷ Samuel Johnson's timber-framed brick house in London, as part of a development of Gough Square of the seventeenth century, is the only one house to survive in the same development area to this day,⁸ and there are two farmhouses and two townhouses where Robert Burns had lived in the eighteenth century Scotland, all humble and plain, transformed into house-museums today.⁹ The most charming thing in writers' houses is that they could be any house among ours. Most writers' houses are treasured and hallowed rather for their association with the writers than their innate architectural significance, which is, in many cases, not the main feature of the houses nor the reason to preserve them in the first place. Although there are some exceptional cases like Strawberry Hill, Casa Malaparte, and Abbotsford, which feature both their association with the writers and architectural characteristics, since they are creations conceived by the writers, the status of these houses are rather closer to the representative works of architects than general houses crowned as writers' houses. On the other hand, these exceptional cases not only demonstrate architectural ambitions of the writers who did not confine their creativity to the literary field, but also give a hint that there can be recognisable connections between tangible world and the creative minds, which to the utmost justifies literary tourists' quest for real place names mirroring the writers' inner worlds.

Unlike houses of God and those of high powers, writers' houses are not an architectural category that people used to devote their attention and resource to, and

⁷ The Frankfurt Goethe house and the Goethe Museum were completely destroyed by bombs in 1944. The current one is a reconstruction built between 1947 and 1951. Drawings and photos of the house had been made and taken before the destruction. See Bodo Plachta, 'Remembrance and Revision: Goethe's Houses in Weimar and Frankfurt', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 45–60 (p. 56).

⁸ Samuel Johnson (1709-84) lived in London at 17 Gough Square from 1748 to 1759. Since 1914 the house has been opened to public as Dr Johnson's House. It was built in the seventeenth century as "part of a development in Gough Square, of which Dr Johnson's House is the only one to survive". See Cecil Harmsworth, *Dr Johnson's House, Gough Square, London: A History of the House*, revised and re-illustrated ed. of the 1924 (Trustees of Dr Johnson's House, 1996), p. 5; '17 Gough Square', in the website of Dr Johnson's House, 2012 <<http://www.drjohnsonshouse.org/house.html>> [accessed 14 Sep 2015]; Christopher Hibbert and others, *The London Encyclopaedia*, 3rd Revised edition (London: Macmillan, 2010), pp. 443–44.

⁹ Burns Cottage in Alloway; the Ellisland Farm; Burns House Museum, Mauchline; Robert Burns House, Dumfries.

many of them were left unnoticed and uncared for long time before they got acknowledgement while most houses for religious or political authorities were built to last forever. The mobilisation of attentions and resources for houses of authorities starts as early as from the very beginning when the houses were unbuilt while it is common to see a lag for a writer's house to be recognised as something worth caring about. Palaces, cathedrals, and monuments were the main subject that architectural history has been writing about; common houses were seldom considered. Although the subject transfer in modern architectural discourses from devotional/ noble architecture to civil/ domestic ones may seem to lead a reverse direction which is from bottom up, it actually reflects nothing revolutionary but that stylish houses and grand museums in our time can refer to contemporary palaces and monuments. However, people who owned the ability of writing and reading in the pre-modern times were mostly involved with those significant architectures - they were either priests, who were under the roof of god's houses, possessed the exclusive right of interpreting god's words and acted as the media between people and their god, or members of authorities, for whom the ability of writing and reading was not only a privilege to access power centre, but also a practical tool to consolidate the power system which was entitled to superior material and immaterial heritages- that included architecture and literature. For example, if we take Martin Luther's (1483-1546) bible as the first bestseller in the Western world, we find Luther's house, where he wrote his 95 Theses, a cell of monastery in the University of Wittenberg in his time.

The earliest development of writers' houses can be traced back to the mid-fourteenth century, when Francis Petrarch (1304-1370)'s birthplace in Arezzo was "put under a special kind of protection" by the municipal government, that no alterations of the place was allowed, in order to guarantee it "to remain exactly as it was when Petrarch was born there".¹⁰ The place he died was honoured, too, although in the beginning it was the tomb instead of his house that had been focused in Arquà, this

¹⁰ Harald Hendrix, 'The Early Modern Invention of Literary Tourism: Petrarch's Houses in France and Italy', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 15-29 (p. 16).

situation started to be reversed since the mid-sixteenth century.¹¹ In Britain, designating a house as a writer's house was an invention of the eighteenth century;¹² so was choosing to become a writer as a social identity or career decision, which relied on various developments of things happening in the eighteenth century. Modern writers could be from all kinds of backgrounds, which makes their houses come in great variety. As conservation objects, writers' houses may have to some extent expanded the range of conservation practices,¹³ which used to focus only on things that were considered extraordinary, but may also have explored the range of treasured values, which have been updated by each house conserved to its most preferable state. What defines the most preferable state of a house and what spatial operations would realise it are therefore questions that are worth exploring. However, there seems to be no research that deals with such a topic yet. Writers' houses are a product of the development of literary pilgrimage/ tourism, and the spread of them owes much to the development of transport technology and the popularisation of literacy. Modern writers and ordinary readers have played the key roles in it. As the former summon the readers with their being in the world, the latter extend their reading journey by experiencing the in-print experience on their own in reality. This explains why academic eyes casting on writers' houses are mostly in the fields of literary or cultural studies as they are more a cultural phenomenon than some phenomenon of architecture. Since researchers concerned about writers' houses were mostly focussed on the historical and cultural facets, this research aims to explore this topic in a more architectural way with reflections on the development of the concept of writers' houses and how the concept was transformed into spatial

¹¹ Hendrix, pp. 15–29 (p. 22).

¹² Nicola J. Watson mentioned that “there is little evidence for any widespread practice in Britain of visiting poets' graves and associated monuments before the mid-eighteenth century”. Michael Rosenthal stated that the idea of “Shakespeare's Stratford” was “an invention of the eighteenth century”. As Stratford was arguably the first writer's house developed in Britain, at least we can say it was an invention of the eighteenth century in Britain. See Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot UK, 2008), pp. 32–33. & Rosenthal, ‘Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford : Bardolatry Reconsidered’, in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 31–44 (p. 31).

¹³ Miles Glendinning has talked about how the cult of ‘great men’ and their “humble” homes “proselytised” the Conservation Movement agenda in the nineteenth century. See Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 112.

practices applied to the houses. It was inspired by the author's experience of visiting writers' houses, where the author found that the experience of place is based on the expectation towards the place, and the expectation can be made of belief and knowledge of various dimensions, which potentially contradict one another. The first contradiction I found in writers' houses was the fact that a writer's house is often a house of other residents in various time periods, too. It has its own history besides the one it shared with the writer. So when a place is named and made writer's house, not only its history besides the writer's part is suppressed in such recognition and subsequent spatial operations, the practice of conserving the house in the name of the writer also contradicts the spirit of modern conservation, which acknowledges and respects the value of each trace that contributes to the historical object's presence.¹⁴ However, it is common to see that spatial operations on writers' houses, be it conservation, restorations, or redecorations, aim to bring the audience back to the times when the writers were living in the houses, as if the houses have been "little changed from their original states" of which the writers left them.¹⁵

While houses like Abbotsford and Freud's London abode are actually exceptional cases that have been preserved in their most desirable state,¹⁶ in most cases the house might have undergone several transfers of proprietors, who also have made their contribution to the spirit of place, and the house might have been a totally different

¹⁴ ICOMOS, *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (Québec: ICOMOS, 2008), p. 3.

¹⁵ The book cover of *Writers and Their Houses* described that most of the houses "are open to the public, little changed from their original state, and many retain the writers' possessions." The leaflet guide to Carlyle's House in London describes that the house "survives to this day complete with original contents and relics such as Carlyle's smoking hat." And the souvenir guide of Abbotsford says the place "rapidly assumed the character of a literary shrine" after Scott's death. See *Writers and Their Houses: a Guide to the Writers' Houses of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland*, ed. by Kate Marsh (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1993), the front wing of book cover. *Discover Carlyle's House* (leaflet distributed by the National Trust, obtained from Carlyle's House in London in 2011), para. 2; Iain Gordon Brown, 'The Meaning of Abbotsford', in *Abbotsford: the Home of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by the Abbotsford Trust (Melrose: Abbotsford Trust, [n. d.], purchased at Abbotsford in 2012), p. 4.

¹⁶ Walter Scott died in 1832 and his house Abbotsford was soon open in 1833. Sigmund Freud spent his last year from 1938 to 1939 in the current Freud Museum in London. His daughter Anna lived there until her death in 1982. Freud's study and library were preserved by his daughter Anna after Freud's death, and the house was turned into a museum open to public according to Anna's wish. See Freud Museum London, *Museum Guide* (London: Freud Museum, 1998), para. 1, 5, and The Abbotsford Trust, *The Media Fund Appeal*, leaflet (Melrose: Abbotsford Trust, 2014), retrievable from the official website of Abbotsford <<http://www.scottsassbotsford.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/The-Maida-Appeal-leaflet.pdf>> [accessed 10 August 2015].

place from the writer's time already, yet it is the connection with the writer that people want to dig out from the house. Therefore, spatial operations in writers' houses always stress on presentations of the past that are relevant to the writers. Derivative questions followed as more contradictions based on the first one arise. As a symbol of some writer's life and works, in the literary world a writer's house can be anything. It can be intangible and abstract, or even does not exist. A landmark on the ground would suffice for its mission in the world of metaphors, and sometimes more than that could ruin the mystery or the beauty of it. However, taken as evidences of some revered history, there seems to establish a standard of how to operate writers' houses in today's world. The contradiction between these two attitudes and their inclinations of spatial practices in writers' houses is reflected by different visitors' expectations towards the houses and how they react to the presentations of the places. Like how Nicola J. Watson has described the different definitions of "real" between readers as children and those as adults. While children tend to believe the 'origin' of place in the book "was the book itself", quite some grown-up readers are keen to ascribe the origin of the book to some real place. "Why do you need to visit the island, when you have the real thing, the book?" is not just a question bouncing between children and adults,¹⁷ grown-up readers could have the same question for their peer contrast. As one expects some visualisation of the world constructed by texts, another may prefer to leave it in the kingdom of imagination. Except in some special cases,¹⁸ the birth of a writer's house is usually triggered by the death of the writer. It is a compensation for the writer's absence. The house for the writer was already dead with the writer, the house then has its own history and "afterlife" after the writer's pages. A *writer's house* is born for the readers. It is actually a reader's house. If we see it in this way then, if the house is for the readers,

¹⁷ Watson recalled that when she was reading as a child, she never bothered to believe that places described in the books were real or physical. To her, the book was "an entry-point or escape-hatch to a place altogether elsewhere". She saw similar mindset in her daughters, one of whom remarked "why did you need to visit the island, when you had the real thing, the book". See Watson, pp. 1–2.

¹⁸ The Goethe Residence in Weimar was already a tourism spot for Goethe's fame when the writer was living there, and Petrarch's birthplace was "put under a special kind of protection" in his life time. Furthermore, there is another extreme example in Taiwan, where a house to commemorate the writer CHUNG Chao-Cheng (鍾肇政 1925-) was built between 1998 and 2005 for the display of the writer's life and works while Chung is still alive. See Plachta, p. 45 for Goethe's house; Hendrix, pp. 15–29 (p. 16) for Petrarch's birthplace.

then it may be a worth exploring question that what a reader's house should be like, or we can say, it has been readers' houses from beginning to end- writers' names are just borrowed to designate the houses and the assembly of their readers. This echoes the conservation theorist Salvador Muñoz Viñas' argument against the mystery of authenticity in modern conservation discourses, which are basically based on the suppositions that authenticity can be approached by scientific analysis and the piety for history. However, "the role that authenticity plays in objectivist theories of conservation is fictitious", argued the theorist. Instead of authenticity, it is actually preference that all modifications on objects, even those in the name of conservation, have been dealing with. Bringing objects to a preferred state may make them more corresponding to current knowledge and belief that we have at the moment, but cannot make the objects more authentic than they have already been in their existential existence.¹⁹ Likewise, making a house a writer's house does not change the fact that the writer and the house do not belong to each other anymore; it is the readers' thoughts, instead of the writer's, that are still retained in the house. However, the making of writers' houses is more or less an action based on the belief that what conversed with the writer would speak to us too, that evidences can speak, for they are "imbued with a message from the past",²⁰ and they are not just as abundant of messages as the texts writers have left us, they could be a more complete version of works as Ruskin believed.²¹ But if we look at writers' houses in the Muñoz-Viñas' way, we see all efforts made on writers' houses are for the audience's sake, and all messages extracted from the houses are contemporary readings. It has been preferences that have decided not only which writer's place should be preserved and opened instead of other writers', but also which house stands for a writer more than others resided by the same writer. Preferences are always fluctuating, hence we can see the development of a writer's house as a series of readings of the writer's life and works developed through time. Like Roland Barthes said, the author is dead.

¹⁹ Salvador Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005), p. 95.

²⁰ Borrowing the first line of *Venice Charter's* preamble. *Venice Charter, or International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (The Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Monuments, 1964).

²¹ Ruskin, p. 178.

What remains to readers is open, be it reading of the texts or spatial operations on the houses.

If we see all beings as star dusts in the universe, it is the location of our spaceship that decides what we see from a star. The wax and wane of a planet's terrain shades are actually reflections of our own track. It takes time for the light to travel from the celestial body to our eyes, hence what we observe is actually some section of the planet's past, and which section of the past we shall see depends on the distance and the relative location of our spaceship to that planet. If some new planet is discovered and given name, it does not mean that the planet did not exist before we see it, but that at some point our evolution allows us to see it and add a new member to our star chart, which is in permanent fluctuation. Likewise, the way we honour a house as writer's house and the way we look at it as writer's house are actually based on some favoured extraction of the house' past. And what enable us to discover it and to see it as such illuminant being is the power of literature, which has grown its strength and range with developments of various things interacting one another, including the popularisation of literacy, the printing industry, the rise and impact of the Renaissance and the legacy of the Reformation in the Western world, and in the age of modern nation-states, the urge to re-define and re-discover a community in its cultural legacies. In his *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Hugo announces the coming of a new era in which "this will kill that", "the book will kill the building", "the press will kill the church", and "printing will kill architecture".²² As our worship for architecture still retains to this day, the ruling power of cathedrals indeed has given way to human-centred ideas spread by words. The grandeur of architectural experience, which used to resort to visual effects composed of physical forms and texture, has now become more dependent on literary analyses and imaginational charm evoked by literary works. As the power of literature grows, it comes to affect and sometimes overrule people's perception and supposition of architecture. Gradually replacing authorities and religious power, modern writers' life and works have become the new subject of place experience along with the development of literary tourism, which makes their houses pilgrimage destinations and conservation objects. And if there is

²² Hugo, pp. 188-9.

truly any difference between writers' houses and houses of esteemed personalities in other professions, it may be that the idea of writers' houses is closer to the prototype of human's pristine being in the modern world. A writer's house can be a reflection on the relationship between one's thoughts and the surroundings incubating them, the enlightened and the enlightenment, while many houses of personalities are often found an expression of the personality's other side different from the image established in one's career life. Thus writers' houses is not only the witness of the literary intervention in architecture, the presentation of them can be viewed as a summoning for the idea of house for an enlightened human being in one's most original, unindustrialised state, wherein the origin of all imagination may be located in reality, wherein the audience's presence is required to complete the reading experience as how *reading* (which consists of reading and being read) was like in the time when literacy was still not popularised.

1.2 Research Framework

This research aims to investigate the making of Burns Cottage, which is a two hundred and fifty more years old farmhouse located in the country of Scotland. It is one of the earliest writers' houses developed in Britain, next to Shakespeare's Stratford, and arguably the earliest one in Scotland. The Cottage is an extreme example of full development as a writer's house. A brand new "world-class" museum that has been developed from the Cottage was just opened in recent years in the neighbourhood of the Cottage as its extension. To analyse what makes Burns Cottage as how it is presented today, this research traced back to the eighteenth century, when the Cottage was built in preparation for the poet's birth, and looked into its ongoing development from the latter half of the eighteenth century to this day. Four chapters in total. **The first chapter** gives introduction to the idea of writers' houses, a modern invention that witnessed the rise of the power of literature in tangible practice. And the following three chapters focus on the development of Burns Cottage in various periods starting from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and onwards.

Since the recognition of a house as writer's house is always after the recognition of the writer, **chapter two** starts with the question that how Burns as a farmer, or a farmer's son (as what he has been called), arose to be a recognised poet. By lateral, the development of literacy rate and that of printing industry were ready for the rise of modern writers. And by vertical aspect, Scotland had been waiting for a national bard like Burns to succeed its literature tradition for quite some time.²³ The second section looks into the early development of literary tourism, which was essential to the later development of Burns Cottage. And the third section investigates what constitutes a cottage in the eighteenth century: the first part of this section reviews the construction of the Cottage and the subsequent transfers of its occupants in this period, and the second part looks into how a cottage architecture had been referred to in relative discourses of the eighteenth century and practiced in that time.

Chapter three is about the nineteenth century. Burns died at nearly the end of the eighteenth century, and the development of the Cottage started as soon as almost immediately after his death. The most critical development of the Cottage in this period should be that the transfer of its ownership from a private incorporation to the trustees in 1881, since when the Cottage has been under official protection. Therefore, the first section of this chapter is sub-divided into two parts that respectively focus on the developments prior to 1881 (when the place was run as an alehouse) and after 1881 (when it was re-orientated a pure museum). The second section of this chapter deals with the perception of Burns of the century, which is the key factor in the continuous development of the Cottage. The section is sub-divided into three parts: the publication of Burns' biography and works in the nineteenth century, which can be connected to the perception of the Cottage very directly for that the image of the Cottage is commonly used in publications on Burns; the spread of memorials in the forms of Burns monuments and ritual commemorations on

²³ Both Marilyn Butler and Hugh Redwald Trevor-Roper mentioned about how Scotland sought "other ways" to compensate its loss of independence after the Union with England in 1707. Since the eighteenth century was the time when Shakespeare rose to be the national poet of England, many attempts were made to produce a Scottish rival to Shakespeare at the time. See Butler, 'Burns and Politics', in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. by Robert Crawford, New edition (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), pp. 86–112 (104); Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland Myth and History* (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 75–6.

Burns, which not only extended but strengthened Burns' impact on the development of places relative to him, including the Cottage; the phenomenon of the worship of Burns relics, which sanctified the poet and subsequently furthered the development of literary tourism on Burns.

Divided into two sections, **chapter four** talks about what has happened from the twentieth century onwards and gives conclusion of this research. The first section starts with the replicas of the Cottage emerging in the international exhibitions of the early twentieth century, and talks about how the Cottage is presented in such occasions, which reflects people's perception of the Cottage and what the Cottage stood for at the time. The second and final section talks about the creation of the new Museum that has been developed from the Cottage, which gives an ultimate example of a fully developed writer's house in our time, and helps us to reflect on what makes people obsessed with writers' houses that a museum enhancement project can have been carried out in such a grand scale like the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, which then leads to the conclusion of the research.

1. Introduction

2. C 18th - *The rise of Burns* - Literacy rate

- Scottish literature

- *The development of literary tourism*

- *The development of Burns Cottage* - in reality

- cottages in theories and practice

3. C 19th - *The development of Burns Cottage* - 1800~1881

- 1881~1900

- *The perception of Burns* - Publications

- Monuments and commemorations

- Relics

4. C 20th~ - *The replicas in exhibitions*

- *The new museum (RBBM)/ Conclusion*

2 A Modern Writer in the Age of Enlightenment

Except in some very special cases,²⁴ in general a writer's house is named after the writer and made a commemorative place after the writer's death. It does not always happen, and even when it does, it can take a very long time. For example, it took over one and half centuries for Shakespeare's birthplace to be awakened from its quiet decrepitude and for the whole Stratford to be seen as "Shakespeare's Country".²⁵ On the other hand, Goethe's residence in Weimar was already drawing tourists when Goethe still lived there, which made the writer erect a tablet with verse in front of his house to greet peeping people.²⁶ Although the reason why people accumulated at the writer's door then might be rather to meet Goethe in person than to see the house, however, this is not much different from what all writers' houses are made for- to meet the writer halfway by creating an overlap of time and space. A writer's house in itself is some séance place. The most ideal situation in general cases would be that the house was frozen at the moment when the writer left it, and then people can expect every life imprint the writer left to be well kept in the house. In my experience of visiting writers' houses, what has shaken me most was to see a soap used daily by the writer in his bathroom. Wrapped in a cling film and placed above the sink, the soap sends such a strong message that besides the spiritual heritage the writer has left in the form of words, he indeed had lived as flesh and blood leaving material imprints onto the world, which can be all over the house. It also gives a hint that how a house's everything may represent the writer in his/ her personal domain. However, although houses are the containers of life, they do not contain lives like fitted clothes do. If we take houses as something like relics and clothes that writers left behind, and assume they are all same first-hand material revealing the measurements, tastes, hobbies, and economies, then we neglect the difference

²⁴ Special cases here refer to Petrarch's birthplace in Arezzo, Goethe's residence in Weimar, and the Chung Chao-Cheng Museum in Taoyuan, Taiwan, which were already under protection, known, or built for the writer when the writer was still alive. See Note 18.

²⁵ Rosenthal, pp. 31–32.

²⁶ Goethe's verse went:

"Why are you standing in front of it?

Is there no gate, is there no door?

If you came in, just confident,

You would be very well received." See Plachta, pp. 45-74 (p. 45).

between a soap and a house. The way we experience a soap, a pair of boots, a pipe, or an instrument, is different from the way we experience a place. They are not only different in sizes. In time scale, if we can say a place is permanent or persistent in its existence, which makes it a mystery, then everything other than place is ephemera. Hence a house contains more than its physical layout, and the experience of a place cannot be summed up as all it has contained. Even if we see a house as the totality of life appliances, it often takes much time, efforts, and luck to produce such an outcome as satisfactory one. Today we see Burns Cottage a cottage of the eighteenth century, but it did not always stay so. Once for a whole century the Cottage had been an alehouse. It has undergone a series of transformations, expansions, and restorations to come to our presence as an eighteenth-century cottage, and the reason why it has been able to avoid being forgotten or being demolished is not simply based on the fact that it was the birthplace of the Scottish Bard, but that it was a cottage built in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when it was possible for a writer, a favoured one of the nation, to be grown in a cottage, and for a cottage to be appreciated as an aesthetic object and place of worship later on.

As one of the earliest writers' houses developed in Britain- arguably only second to Shakespeare's Stratford, the Cottage did not take as long as Stratford did for Shakespeare to be recognised as *Burns'* Cottage, and the development speed of the Cottage was even quicker than that of many later writers' houses. Within three years of Burns' death, people were already visiting the Cottage.²⁷ This was owing to the time and space that the poet had lived, in which people were starting to make literary pilgrimages such as visiting writers' graves or the arising Stratford,²⁸ and it was possible for a son of cottager to become a popular poet, who was crowned by the capital, Edinburgh, which symbolised the poet's success. The capital was the peak that Burns conquered in his lifetime, and the meaning of the peak has to be traced back to the poet's humble origin. This may be why the Cottage, instead of other houses that Burns had lived, has become the poet's most typical symbol in the following centuries and one of the earliest developed pilgrimage destinations on the

²⁷ Watson, p. 68. Richard Gall, *Poems and Songs* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1819), p. 58.

²⁸ Watson, pp. 32–3; Rosenthal, p. 31.

poet, although some depictions of Burns' image in the following century favoured to make emphasis on the poet's connection to the capital's elite circle. On the other hand, as a building type, "cottage" was actually a negative term in the eighteenth century- the image and the connotation that the term "cottage" evoked was generally associated to the idea of meanness and poverty.²⁹ The development of Picturesque Aesthetics and the Cottage Reform in the latter half of eighteenth century then reversed the meaning and status of cottages, which might have provided favourable condition for the bonding between the poet and the Cottage.

Besides the representation and reproduction of the image bonding between the poet and the Cottage, the development of literary tourism, which arose in Britain in the eighteenth century and saw significant spread in the nineteenth, has provided the Cottage a good niche to last. And behind the development of literary tourism, what we cannot skip is the rise of modern writers, who make their houses cared, visited, and named after them even when the houses have been presumably ordinary, located in remote country, and used by others for various purposes. This chapter will start with the funeral of Burns, which took place near the end of the eighteenth century and also marked the rise of modern writers in the grandest form. For the death of a writer is usually a critical time for the making of the writer's house, it might be worth exploring to review what has prepared the Cottage its later development back then.

2.1 A Ploughman and a Poet

Burns died at the age of thirty-seven on the 21st July 1796 in Dumfries, the south of Scotland. His funeral took place four days later in the town centre of Dumfries.

²⁹ John Wood, *A Series of Plans, for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer, Either in Husbandry, or the Mechanic Arts, Adapted as Well to Towns, as to the Country. Engraved on Thirty Plates. ...*, A new edition (London: I. and J. Taylor, 1792), p. 2. Richard Elsam, *An Essay on Rural Architecture, Illustrated with Original and Economical Designs : Being an Attempt, Also, to Refute by Analogy the Principles of Mr. James Malton's Essay on 'British Cottage Architecture' ...* (London: sn, 1803), p. 5. William J. Gray, *A Treatise on Rural Architecture, Comprehending Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Farm Houses, Farm Offices, Cottages, Manses, Schools, Gates, Railings, Etc. with Specifications and All Necessary Information as to Their Cost* (Edinburgh: WHLizars, 1852), p. 2.

Military troops lined the street on both sides from the town hall to the churchyard of St. Michael's, and the funeral procession, which was led by the Royal Dumfries Volunteers in their full uniforms, was over mile. It was claimed that at least 12,000 people attended Burns' funeral,³⁰ as it was recorded that the population of the town was only around 5,600 in 1793.³¹ The attendants consisted of inhabitants of the nearby neighbourhood and the poet's friends from remote areas.³² Although it might be against the poet's will,³³ three volleys were fired over the coffin when it was deposited in the earth. It was a grand funeral,³⁴ "uncommonly splendid" according to William Grierson, a Dumfries citizen of Burns' time who kept a diary recording his attendance of the funeral.³⁵ Burns died as an exciseman, but it was not his occupation that people had known and remembered him for, nor was it for the fact that he was a member of the Volunteers,³⁶ which only explained a part of his personality. He died as a popular poet, as the newspaper on July 27, 1796 put it:

"ROBERT BURNS, the justly celebrated Poet, died at Dumfries on the 21st inst."³⁷

³⁰ 'Robert Burns', *The Falkirk Herald*, 4 November 1858, p. 3.

³¹ As population of the countryside of Dumfries parishes were 1,400 then, there were about 7,000 in total. See *Dumfries 1793: A Reprint from the First Statistical Account of Scotland*, reprinted from the Edinburgh edition of 'The First Statistical Account of Scotland' by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. V, pp.119–144 (Thurso: The Pentland Press), pp. 22–23.

³² 'Funeral of Mr. Burns, the Poet. Dumfries, July 26', *Morning Post*, 2 Aug, 1796, See Lucyle Werkmeister, 'Robert Burns and the London Daily Press', *Modern Philology*, 63.4 (1966), 322–35 (p. 332); Grierson's diary on 25th July, 1796, manuscript hold by Dumfries & Galloway Museums, or see 'The Funeral of Robert Burns', *Burns Country/ The Burns Encyclopedia* <<http://www.robertburns.org/encyclopedia/FuneralofRobertBurnsThe.371.shtml>> [accessed 2 June 2016].

³³ It is recorded that when the poet saw one of his brother-Volunteers by his death bed, he said "John, don't let the awkward squad fire over me!" See Bryan Weir, 'The Death of Robert Burns', *Alexandria Burns Club*, 2004 <<http://www.robertburns.org.uk/burnsdeath.htm>> [accessed 2 June 2016].

³⁴ 'Funeral of Mr. Burns, the Poet. Dumfries, July 26', *Morning Post*, 2 Aug, 1796, quoted by Werkmeister, p. 332, corresponding description of the funeral can be found in William Grierson's diary on 25th July 1796.

³⁵ Grierson.

³⁶ Grierson; Obituary of Burns, *Star*, 1 Aug 1796, quoted by Werkmeister, p. 332; Frances Jarvie and Gordon Jarvie, *Robert Burns in Time and Place* (Edinburgh: NMSE - Publishing Ltd, 2010), p. 30.

³⁷ *Oracle*, 27 July, 1796, quoted by Werkmeister, p. 329; similar abbreviated obituary can be found in 'London, Tuesday, July 26', *Derby Mercury*, 28 July 1796, p. 4.

Besides a poet, Burns was also known a ploughman. A ploughman and a poet- that was how people had perceived him and arguably the reason why he had received such popularity from his contemporaries. On the same day another newspaper concluded Burns' life in its obituary as followed:

“Burns was literally a ploughman, but neither in that state of servile dependence or degrading ignorance which the situation might bespeak in this country. He had the common education of a Scotch peasant, perhaps something more, and that spirit of independence, which though banished in that country from the scenes of aristocratic influence, is sometimes to be found in a high degree in the humblest classes of society. He had genius, starting [sic] beyond the obstacles of poverty, and which would have distinguished itself in any situation...”³⁸

Farming was indeed a repetitive scene in Burns' life. However, his last attempt to settle down as a farmer was fully quitted in 1791 as the tenancy was “a ruinous affair on all hands”.³⁹ Besides farming, the poet had also tried several ways to make a living. The whole life of Burns not only demonstrates his personal permanent struggle in finance, it also provides an outline to witness the social changes of Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Burns studied the industry of linen and made an unsuccessful investment in a mill in his early twenties.⁴⁰ He was offered a job of bookkeeping in Jamaica as Scotland had joined the expanding maritime hegemonies since the Treaty of Union took effect.⁴¹ To escape from his future father-in-law's threat of legal troubles, Burns bade farewell to his friends and country and prepared to set off for Jamaica.⁴² He then officially became a poet from 1786 as the first publication of his poems then was a significant success, which was originally to raise funds for his emigration plan to Jamaica but ended up leading him to Edinburgh.⁴³ He was greeted by the literati as a poet in the capital, but was let

³⁸ ‘Robert Burns, the Scotch Poet’, *Morning Chronicle* (London, 27 July 1796), issue 8360.

³⁹ Donald A. Low, *Robert Burns*, ed. by David Daiches, Scottish Writers (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986), p. 27; John Burnett, *Robert Burns and the Hellish Legion* (Edinburgh: NMSE - Publishing Ltd, 2009), p. 10.

⁴⁰ Low, p. 9; Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 10.

⁴¹ Low, VIII, p. 13; Jarvie and Jarvie, pp. 14–15.

⁴² Low, p. 14; Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 14; Kenneth Simpson, *Robert Burns* (Grantown-on-Spey: Colin Baxter Photography Ltd, 2005), p. 18.

⁴³ Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 15.

down by the penny-pinching bookseller publisher he traded the copyright of his poems with.⁴⁴ With no luck in his writing career nor in the farming career of his later attempt, Burns had settled down being an exciseman in Dumfries since 1789. He got promotions in the subsequent years and with this job the poet raised his family till his end.⁴⁵ However, among all the things he had done, the most mentioned identity of Burns second to “the Bard” has always been a ploughman.⁴⁶

The image of Burns as a ploughman was affixed to his “uncommon genius”⁴⁷ when he was first known as a poet by the world. Since Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), who wrote a review of the first edition of Burns’ poems in 1786, where he called the poet “this Heaven-taught ploughman”, the phrase started to follow the poet’s name in journals and publications.⁴⁸ There may be multiple reasons to explain Burns’ popularity. However, the most significant one is arguably the myth created on his humble origin. Unlike writers who came from the elite class that had been privileged to have access to written language and knowledge in the previous times, Burns came from the bottom of the society. While the word “genius” was repeatedly spread in the mourning articles on Burns,⁴⁹ becoming a writer with such background actually related to the time and space that the poet was born in.

⁴⁴ Low, pp. 14-5, 17; Jarvie and Jarvie, pp. 16, 19.

⁴⁵ Simpson, p. 27; Jarvie and Jarvie, pp. 26-7; Low, pp. 25-9.

⁴⁶ “Robert Burns was in reality, what he has been represented to be Scottish peasant.” See *The Life and Works of Robert Burns, as Originally Edited by James Currie, to Which Is Prefixed, a Review of the Life of Burns, and of Various Criticisms on His Character and Writings*, ed. by Alexander Peterkin, new ed. (Edinburgh: For Macredie, Skelly, & Muckersy, 1815), p. 2.

⁴⁷ ‘Robert Burns, the Scotch Poet’.

⁴⁸ Henry Mackenzie, ‘From “The Lounger”, December, 1786’, in *Early Critical Reviews on Robert Burns*, ed. by John D. Ross (Glasgow & Edinburgh: William Hodge, 1900), pp. 1–7. Mackenzie’s review “established the myth of Burns as the unlettered Heaven-taught Ploughman” (description of Mackenzie’s review, displayed at Robert Burns Centre, Dumfries, visited 2010). See also Low, p. 15.

⁴⁹ ‘Robert Burns, the Scotch Poet’; Obituary of Burns, *Star*, 27 July, 1796; *True Britain*, 28 July, 1796; *Oracle*, 29 July, 1796; *Telegraph*, 29 July, 1796; *Morning Chronicle*, 30 July, 1796; ‘Funeral of Mr. Burns, the Poet. Dumfries, July 26’, *Morning Post*, 2 Aug, 1796; *Morning Post*, 18 Aug, 1796; Scoto-Britannus, ‘Verses on the Death of Robert Burns’, *Star*, 22 Aug, 1796 and ‘To the Editors of the Oracle’, *Oracle*, 14 Dec, 1796, or see Werkmeister, pp. 322-35.

2.1.1 Literacy and Enlightenment

Burns was born and active as a poet in the latter half of eighteenth century in Scotland. As “a very poor man’s son” and a farmer to be,⁵⁰ this specific time and space actually provided him some niche he could fight on. First of all, he grew up in the lowlands, where “everyone can read” and the peasantry were claimed to possess “a degree of intelligence not generally found among the same class of men in the other countries of Europe” in the same time.⁵¹ Thanks to the Presbyterian Church, which aimed to establish schools in every parish to enable boys and girls to read Holy Scripture since the early seventeenth century, the lowland Scotland had gradually formed a “literate modern society” in the following century. The establishment of parish schools had some interregnums in the seventeenth century, but the outcome of passing the Act for setting schools in 1696 was still eminent.⁵² Although it is still an arguable question that how many Scots did count as literate in the following century after the School Act, the figures from various accounts are broadly in agreement notwithstanding their different basis. The popularisation rate of male literacy, excluding the highlands, may have climbed to 75 per cent by 1750,⁵³ as the general rate may have reached 60 per cent given by the signatures on wedding registers and wills.⁵⁴ It seems that Scottish peasantry amazed English visitors with their being literate or even knowledgeable from time to time in those two centuries.⁵⁵ According to Arthur Herman, the record of book loans from the Innerpefferay Library shows that from 1747 to 1800 the borrowers consisted of “the local baker, the blacksmith, the cooper, the dyer and the dyer’s apprentice and to farmers, stonemasons, quarries, tailors and household servants”. It was in this social

⁵⁰ Robert Burns, ‘Letter Addressed to Dr. Moore, Well Known for His Views of Society and Manners on the Continent of Europe, from Burns in Mauchline in 2 August 1787’, in *The Life and Works of Robert Burns, as Originally Edited by James Currie, to Which Is Prefixed, a Review of the Life of Burns, and of Various Criticisms on His Character and Writings* (1815), p. 37.

⁵¹ *The Life and Works of Robert Burns, as Originally Edited by James Currie, to Which Is Prefixed, a Review of the Life of Burns, and of Various Criticisms on His Character and Writings* (1815), pp. 3–4.

⁵² Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots’ Invention of the Modern World*, New Ed (Fourth Estate, 2003), pp. 21–23; Burnett, p. 20.

⁵³ Herman, p. 23.

⁵⁴ Fischer, p. 256.

⁵⁵ Arthur Herman quoted two English’s comments on their visit to Scotland. One in the 1660s and one in the eighteenth century. Both were either “amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government” or astonished that the poorest were taught to read. See Herman, pp. 21–23.

atmosphere that Burns was taught to read as a cottager's son, and the first books he read were borrowed from a local blacksmith.⁵⁶

Burns' father, William Burnes (1721-84),⁵⁷ was a gardener who came from Kincardineshire, the north-east of Scotland. He lost his tenancy in his native land for revealing sympathy for the Jacobites. Before settling down in Alloway, he worked in Edinburgh for the layout of the Meadows for two years.⁵⁸ He then leased land in Alloway as a nurseryman and built his family there. The poet was his eldest son. As Scottish people had seen education "as the way forward in life" for generations, William Burnes hired a tutor for his two eldest sons when the poet was six years old. The tuition fee was shared by five families who also provided the tutorship board in turn. Both Burns and his younger brother had been "grounded a little in English" before being put under the formal schooling according to John Murdoch, the tutor's reminiscence.⁵⁹ William Burnes was "a notably strict member" of the Presbyterian Church,⁶⁰ so the bible was naturally among the first readings his children started learning.⁶¹ Although the poet had to learn to work in the farm at the age of nine, the tutorship managed to last till 1773, when he was fourteen. Burns started to frequent the parish school in 1772, but only on alternate weeks as his family could not spare the labour from the farm. The poet was later sent to neighbouring villages to study more practical subjects like mensuration, surveying, and lint dressing in the following years. However, he started composing at the age of fifteen with writing a love song for a young lady. Since then the habit of writing was with him throughout his life.⁶²

⁵⁶ Herman, pp. 23-4.

⁵⁷ William Burnes' signatures on documents (like feu contract) remained the original spelling of his last name, which contains two syllables, while Burns' signatures correspond to our knowledge of his name. The family might have given way to the native of Ayrshire by adjusting their name. See Low, p. 1; James M'Bain, *Burns' Cottage: The Story of the Birthplace of Robert Burns, from the Feuing of the Ground by William Burnes in June 1756 until the Present Day* (Glasgow: Bryce, 1904), pp. 19-20.

⁵⁸ Simpson, p. 3; Low, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Low, pp. 1-3; Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 5; Simpson, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁰ Low, p. 2.

⁶¹ According to the display description in Burns Cottage, the most commonly used school books for Burns were the *Holy Bible*, *A Collection of English Prose and Verse* (ed. by Arthur Masson), *A New Grammar, with Exercises of Bad English* (ed. by Anne Fisher), *An English Spelling Book, for the Use of Schools* (ed. by Arthur Masson). Recorded on 27th Oct 2010.

⁶² Low, pp. 1-6; Jarvie and Jarvie, pp. 5-7, 10-11; Simpson, pp. 3-6.

Most Scottish people made their living on the land before 1760, and only a few of them lived on making and trading goods. Burns was born in such a critical time that this situation was about to overall reverse.⁶³ Hence the popularisation of literacy not only provided Scottish people the common passage to holy teachings, but also prepared them for the development of a market economy, which favoured the literate population.⁶⁴ And the transformation of economy industrialised the ability of reading and writing in return. The abolition of the Licensing Act in 1696 and that of book censorship in 1709 had made way for it. An enormous growth of British publishing industry was seen in the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ “Culture follows money”- the expanding of mass readership brought about the growing reading appetite for diversity and quantity. Reading became “a matter of fashion” and the prosperity of book trade was so lively that it did not just affect the economy of cities, where businessmen in the book trade joined the magnate circle, but also changed the scene of rustic areas, where “the paper mill was often the only industry”.⁶⁶ To make a living from writing came to be a career option for a literate young person. Burns received about £800 from the Edinburgh edition of his poems while his annual salary as an exciseman later was £50 to £70 in the 1790s.⁶⁷ Given that the cottage in which he was born was sold at the price of £160 earlier in 1781,⁶⁸ what a successful author could earn from publications was considerable, not to mention that David Hume (1711-76) was believed to be paid £5,000 for the second part of his *History of England* (1754-61),⁶⁹ which was no doubt a bestseller of the time.

There were about 20,000 people living on writing or publishing (excluding teaching) in Scotland as the total population then was 1.5 million in 1795.⁷⁰ Burns was in the hope of being among the 20,000 when he came to Edinburgh. However, he had to seek for more constant source of income to raise his expanding family. After leaving Edinburgh, he took the lease of the Ellisland and then took the job as exciseman. As

⁶³ Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Fischer, p. 254.

⁶⁵ Fischer, pp. 258-9.

⁶⁶ Burnett, p. 7; Herman, p. 24.

⁶⁷ Burnett, p. 7; Simpson, p. 27.

⁶⁸ M'Bain, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁹ Burnett, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Herman, p. 24.

the elder brother, the poet also supported his younger brother when he was capable.⁷¹ Although Burns was in constant poverty and poor health, he remained a book lover all the time in Mrs. Burns' description, keeping a book aside on the dining table and in bed,⁷² which is identical to James Boswell's description of Samuel Johnson (1709-84), who kept a book at meals as well.⁷³ The era of enlightened book lovers was certainly in its prime, while the age of modern writers who can live on readership might have not yet arrived. Johnson, too, had a hard time dealing with financial problem and got arrested for it once, although there was a time that the initial payment for the compiling of his *Dictionary* enabled the writer to hire six assistants working under him.⁷⁴ Writers of this era might have to struggle against hardship more than those of previous times due to the lack of constant patronage or noble origin, but still they have achieved something unprecedented and somehow unsurpassable. Scottish literature once flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth century owing to the patronage of the court. The king was the core of the Makars and sometimes one of them (three Scottish monarchs are included in the Sixteen Scottish Poets with their head sculptures on the pilasters of Scott Monument in Edinburgh). Since James VI succeeded to the English throne, the removal of the court from Scotland seemed to remove its cultural core too that it took a whole century for the development of Scottish literature to catch up its southern rival. It might seem that the patronage was just expanded from the very top to the middle class who possessed both cultural and economic capital in the eighteenth century as Burns' activities in Edinburgh was basically to promote the subscriptions of the new edition of his poems in the literati circle, but it may be worth noting that it was the success of the Kilmarnock edition, which sold out within a month from a country town,⁷⁵ that brought the poet to the literati circle of the capital. And two American editions came after the Edinburgh edition shortly, which means the readership of Burns was expanding overseas. Robert Heron (1764-1807), a weaver's son in Galloway,

⁷¹ Burns gave £200 to his younger brother to support the family when he received a payment from the publisher in 1789. See Simpson, p. 27.

⁷² David Lockwood, *Dumfries' Story* (Dumfries: T. C. Farries, 1988), p. 72.

⁷³ Fischer, p. 262.

⁷⁴ Harmsworth, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Jarvie and Jarvie, p. 12.

recalled that the first time he read Burns' poems from a friend's copy, he could not put down the book until finishing it.⁷⁶ Heron then became a writer who also met financial troubles that brought him into prison. As artists were liberating themselves from patronage and started to see themselves as "exhibition painters" or "artist on show" in the mid eighteenth,⁷⁷ the development of the identity of writers as such might have started somehow even earlier for what writers have produced have always been meant to be reproduced and spread. The first readers Burns wrote to were his fellow people, and the reputation he had built on his first success inspired and encouraged more writers of humble origin, like Heron and James Hogg (1770-1835), to emerge in the following era.

While the century of books was taking shape thanks to the popularisation of literacy pushed by churches, there was a decline in the reading of religious contents.⁷⁸ The Enlightenment has liberated people from the theocracy rule to the state of more self-confidence, and the ability of reading and writing has transformed people from passive obedient objects who listen and follow the church to autonomous subject readers who choose what to receive and interpret. Compared to the past, where people could only look up to seek for the light, the Enlightenment enabled people to light up their parallel worlds and see themselves as lightened beings, and some even luminaries. Hence the worship of God gradually transferred to the esteem for genius. Although at first the idea of genius was still based on religious imaginations- that human genius is the manifestation of God, thus Burns' uncanny genius was "heaven-taught", it appeared that the rise of people of genius still jeopardised the status of God according to the nineteenth century theologian Carl Ullmann's (1796-1865) concern stimulated by the inauguration of Schiller's statue at Stuttgart in 1839.⁷⁹ If we see the Bible as biographical stories of Jesus and his disciples, the rise of writers' biographies in the eighteenth century- whether it was *Lives of the Most Eminent*

⁷⁶ Robert Heron, *A Memoir of the Life of the Late Robert Burns* (Edinburgh: Printed for T. Brown, 1797), p. 17.

⁷⁷ Oskar Bätschmann, 'Art, Art Histories and Identities', in *Art and Identity*, ed. by Shai-Shu Tzeng, *Western Art History Studies*, 2 (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2005), pp. 13-36 (p. 27).

⁷⁸ Fischer, p. 261.

⁷⁹ Carl Ullmann, *The Worship of Genius, and The Distinctive Character, Or Essence of Christianity*, trans. by Lucy Sanford (London: Chapman, Brothers, 1846), p. i-ii, 5-6.

English Poets (1779-81) by Johnson, Johnson's biography by Boswell (1791), or Heron's memoir of Burns (1797) promptly published after Burns' death, might have already predicted the coming of the new era that Ullmann was worried about.

Besides writing and reading, a portrait is also a way to communicate with the world. In its essence, portraiture is to put the sitter on stage. Nothing on stage is coincidental. The scene, the costume, the action, and the prop, everything on stage was thoughtfully designed for the audience. There were at least four portraits of Burns made in the poet's lifetime (Fig 1~4), among them two were made by Peter Taylor (1756-88), who suggested to make the portrait at his first meeting with Burns in 1786,⁸⁰ one was made by Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), who was commissioned by the poet's publisher in 1787 to make the portrait for the new edition of Burns' poems (Nasmyth later created a full-length version in 1828),⁸¹ and the other one was by Alexander Reid (1747-1823), who set a studio in Dumfries to paint miniatures for local people, among whom Burns was his most famous sitter.⁸² Although Taylor's depiction of Burns was recognised by the poet's contemporaries and showed "a striking resemblance of the poet" according to Walter Scott (1771-1832),⁸³ and Reid's version was "the best likeness" of Burns ever according to the poet himself,⁸⁴ Nasmyth's portrait of Burns was the most well-known version since it has been widely reproduced by numerous paintings and engravings on Burns in the following centuries that "(a)lmost every Scottish household has a picture of the

⁸⁰ The larger version of Burns' portrait by Taylor did not come into light until 1893 (see Caption of Taylor's portrait of Robert Burns, National Galleries of Scotland). Since Taylor died in 1788, which was earlier than Burns did, Taylor has made at least two portraits of Burns in Burns' life time. And there is another portrait of Burns ascribed to William Anderson (1757-1837) discovered in 1920 (Fig 7), and according to the report covering the unearthing of the portrait, it was believed that Burns had sat for this portrait. So there might be at least five portraits of Burns made in the poet's lifetime. For Anderson portrait see 'AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT OF ROBERT BURNS', *Kilmore Free Press* (Kilmore, Australia, 20 May 1920), p. 1.

⁸¹ 'About this artwork', description of Burns' portrait by Alexander Nasmyth in 1787, *National Galleries Scotland* </art-and-artists/1962/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-1787> [accessed 6 March 2017]; 'About this artwork', description of Burns' Portrait by Alexander Nasmyth in 1828, *National Galleries Scotland* </art-and-artists/1961/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-1828> [accessed 6 March 2017].

⁸² 'About this artwork', description of Burns' portrait by Alexander Reid, *National Galleries Scotland* </art-and-artists/1957/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-1795-1796> [accessed 6 March 2017].

⁸³ 'About this artwork', description of Burns' portrait by Peter Taylor, *National Galleries Scotland* </art-and-artists/1963/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-1786-1787> [accessed 6 March 2017].

⁸⁴ 'About this artwork', description of Burns' portrait by Reid.

national bard, and these are either copies of Alexander Nasmyth's renowned portrait of Burns or of (Archibald) Skirving's drawing"⁸⁵ - which is also after Nasmyth's. Nasmyth's version was made to promote Burns' poems, his depiction of Burns must have made some emphases on the admirable or respectable side of the poet, or even to mythicize or romanticise Burns as a legendary figure. A portrait with a landscape background usually suggests the estate, origin, or occupation of the protagonist. In Burns' case, Nasmyth's arrangement of landscape in the portrait suggests the poet's rural background, and more feature landmarks of Alloway were clearly depicted in the larger version Nasmyth produced thirty-two years after Burns' death (Fig 6).⁸⁶ Taylor's version used rural landscape as the background of the portrait, too. It may be notable that the affixation of author's portrait to published books and the later spread and reproductions of portraits not only served as the confirmation of authorship, which was opposite to the literary tradition in which for various reasons some authors opted to diminish the trace of individual or to detach themselves from the text so sometimes they chose to use pseudonyms, this was also a reflection of certain trend- people no longer just get to know the world or another world constructed by the text; they get to know the author too with the text. It has been indeed a reasonable strategy to use the author as the brand to sell books in the aspect of industry. However, this also has helped to build up another kind of authorities, who might seem to arise to oppose to the conventional ones, but actually inherited the emotional model from the old systems. The rise of a writer like Burns was a part of the Enlightenment. However, the poet's image was mythicized as "heaven taught ploughman", which was opposite to the spirit of Enlightenment (although to some extent it might echo the idea of Rousseau's "noble savages"). And the mythicizing of Burns was not initiated after his death, it started as early as when Burns was first known to the world as a poet in 1786.

⁸⁵ 'AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT OF ROBERT BURNS' (Kilmore, 20 May 1920).

⁸⁶ 'About this artwork', description of Burns' portrait by Nasmyth in 1828.

As the common image of the countryside was an image of the past,⁸⁷ and Scotland was “a kind of living museum in which all stages of society could be exhibited” then,⁸⁸ what Burns presented in his poems was somewhere in between the ancient clan society of the Highlands and the advanced polite society of the flourishing cities. It was a world where witches and spirits were still in action,⁸⁹ and what influenced the poet deeply in his childhood were the country tales and songs concerning “devils, ghosts, fairies, brownies, witches, warlocks, spunkies, kelpies, elf-candles, dead-lights wraiths, apparitions, cantraips, giants, enchanted towers, dragons and other trumpery”, which not only “cultivated the latent seeds of poetry” in Burns,⁹⁰ might also evoke a collective recollection of a past that was just left behind of the Enlightenment. However, it does not mean that what Burns represented was against modernisation. On the contrary, Burns can be viewed as one of the advance voices of the following era, the Romanticism. As “a form of resistance to the imperialism of the enlightenment thinking”⁹¹ and also the reflection on the industrial and commerce society, one of the most important motif in the Romanticism was nostalgia, which not only enhanced people’s imagination about a pastoral life that might have never existed as it was idealised,⁹² but also had a great impact on the development of modernity and that of modern conservation. Based on this point, Burns’ writings might have made a contribution to the conservation of his birthplace cottage in advance.

⁸⁷ The idea of seeing countries and cities as a contrast which represent the past and the future is borrowed from Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 297.

⁸⁸ Penny Fielding, *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography: North Britain, 1760-1830*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism; 78 (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 2–3.

⁸⁹ Burnett, pp. 29, 37.

⁹⁰ Robert Burns and James Currie, *The Works of Robert Burns: With an Account of His Life, and a Criticism on His Writings*, The fifth edition (London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, and W. Creech, at Edinburgh; by J.M’Creery, 1806), pp. 38–39.

⁹¹ Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright, *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Re-Forming Literature, 1789-1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 266.

⁹² Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York; Tokyo: Ishi Press, 2011), p. 40.



Fig 1 P. Taylor, 'Robert Burns', 1786-7, "a striking resemblance of the poet" (Scott), National Galleries Scotland

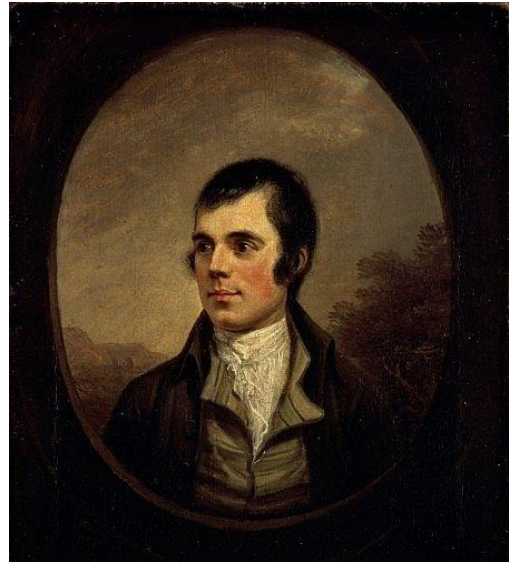


Fig 2 A. Nasmyth, 'Robert Burns', 1787, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

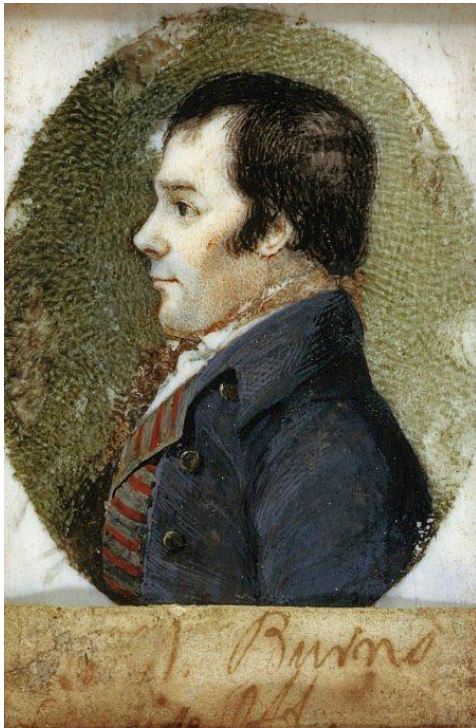


Fig 3 A. Reid, 'Robert Burns', 1795-6, "the best likeness" (Burns), Scottish National Portrait Gallery

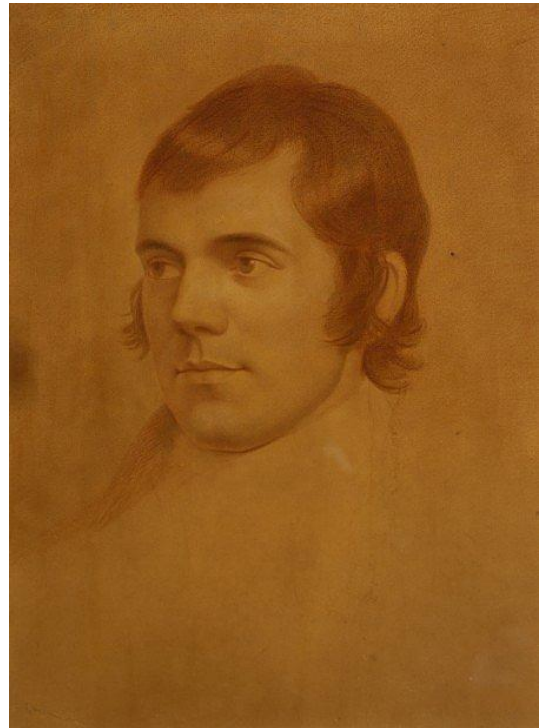


Fig 4 A. Skirving, 'Robert Burns', 1796-8, based on Nasmyth's version, National Galleries Scotland

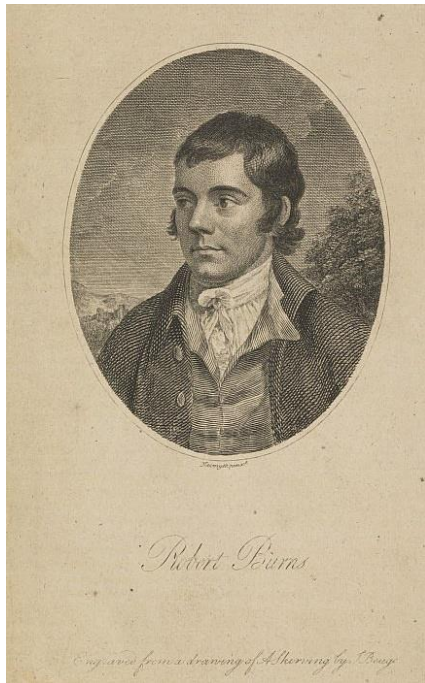


Fig 5 John Beugo (engraver), 'Robert Burns', 1801, engraving after Skirving's painting, which was based on Nasmyth's,⁹³ Scottish National Portrait Gallery

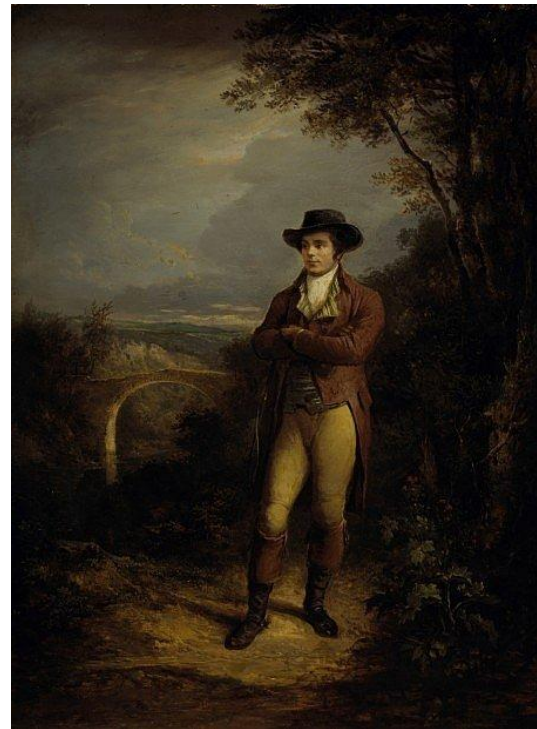


Fig 6 A. Nasmyth, 'Robert Burns', 1828, based on the same artist's 1787 version, National Galleries Scotland



Fig 7 Portrait of Burns, ascribed to W. Anderson, 1786, showed up once in the Burns Centenary Exhibition in Glasgow in 1896 and was rediscovered in Dundee in 1920, see 'An Original Portrait of Robert Burns', *Kilmore Free Press* (Kilmore, 20 May 1920)

1759-1766	<p>Burns Cottage</p> <p>Built by the poet's father William Burnes in 1757, the Cottage was the birthplace of Burns and represents the first seven years of his life.</p>
1766-1777	<p>Mount Oliphant</p> <p>The Burnes family moved to Mount Oliphant when the poet was seven, and lived there till 1777.</p>
1777-1784	<p>Lochlea Farm</p> <p>William Burnes moved his family to Lochlea Farm in 1777, and died there in 1784. The poet's father was buried in the graveyard of the Alloway Auld Kirk, which would be celebrated for Burns' <i>Tam o' Shanter</i> published in 1791.</p> <p>During his Lochlea years, the poet attended dance lessons in Tarbolton, where in 1780 he founded the Bachelors' Club, a debate club that met once a month. He then spent a period of time from 1781 to 1782 in Irvine, where he attempted to be engaged in the flax industry.</p>
1784-1788	<p>Mossgiel Farm</p> <p>After William Burnes' death, the poet and his brother Gilbert moved to Mossgiel Farm (near Mauchline) in 1784 and lived there till 1788, during when, in 1786 Burns published the first edition of his poems, the success of which led him to Edinburgh, from where the poet set off his trips to the Borders and the Highlands in 1787.</p> <p>Mauchline</p> <p>The poet rented a room of a house in Mauchline from John MacKenzie for some time in 1788 to settle his newly wed wife Jean. The place is now known as Burns House Museum, where the Poosie Nansies Inn is nearby. Burns frequented the Inn during his Mauchline years.</p>

⁹³ 'About this artwork', *National Galleries Scotland* </art-and-artists/25766/robert-burns-1759-1796-poet-1801> [accessed 6 March 2017].

1788-1796	<p>Ellisland Farm</p> <p>Burns leased a farm near Dumfries and lived there from 1788 to 1791. Apart from farming and composing, the poet took up the job as exciseman to raise his family.</p> <p>Dumfries</p> <p>The poet gave up farming and moved his family to Dumfries in 1791. He started to frequent the Globe Inn in Dumfries since his Ellisland era. He died in the house where he spent his last three years, which is now known as Robert Burns House in Dumfries. The poet was buried in the churchyard of St Michael in Dumfries. His widow Jean kept living in the same house till her death in 1834.</p>
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Places Burns had lived or been

2.1.2 The Ossian Vacancy

As the bardolatry of Shakespeare was evoked in the eighteenth century thanks to the emergence of several editions of his works, Johnson's considerable quotation of his words in the *Dictionary*, and David Garrick's (1717-79) efforts in theatres, Scotland was eager to discover its own national poet, too. The making of Burns can be traced back to decades ahead of Burns- Scotland had longed for a Celtic Homer⁹⁴ so fervently that *Ossian*, the name that once existed in tales and ballads only,⁹⁵ emerged as an ancient author in 1760. According to Mike Crang, if we find the appearance of continuity is a way to support the idea of coherent national or ethnic culture, the

⁹⁴ Burns' name has been collated with Homer, Shakespeare, and Ossian since the eighteenth century by his posthumous editor James Currie (see *The Life and Works of Robert Burns, as Originally Edited by James Currie, to Which Is Prefixed, a Review of the Life of Burns, and of Various Criticisms on His Character and Writings*, 1815, p. IX). However, the idea of Celtic Homer here is borrowed from Hugh Trevor-Roper, who used the term in one of his chapter names to describe how Scotland had created its literary myth through 'The Search for a Celtic Homer'. See Trevor-Roper, p. 75.

⁹⁵ According to Lesa Ni Mhunchaile, the name Ossian as Oisín had been known as the subject's son in the Fionn cycle since early centuries. References to it can be found in eighth-century texts, as it is traditionally located in the third century. See her 'Ossian and the Gaelic World', in *The International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian*, ed. by Dafydd Moore (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2017), pp. 26-38 (27-8).

differentiation of the culture from others can be another.⁹⁶ This explains why James MacPherson (1736-1796) chose to present materials of ancient cultural background that took him several highland trips and efforts of adaption and “translation” to the English world.⁹⁷ As the Jacobite rebellions had not been quelled till 1746, the union of the two kingdoms and the deprivation of Scotland’s political institutions aroused an insecurity of its cultural coherence, a Scottish cultural revival was then seen throughout the eighteenth century after the Act of Union.⁹⁸ Besides the tendency of inventing or re-discovering a legendary ancient culture, the effort on differentiation can also be found in the mix use of languages in the works of Burns, Robert Fergusson (1750-74), who had a great influence on Burns,⁹⁹ and Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), who was frequently noted as the premier one to make contributions on Scottish literary revival in the eighteenth century. What Ramsay had done back in the early eighteenth century was basically a synthesis of what would be repeatedly seen in the following centuries. He published an anthology in 1716 containing Scots poems of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bannatyle manuscript, which model would be reproduced by MacPherson’s attempt on Ossian. Ramsay’s collecting of Scots songs and poems was succeeded by the later *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803) - a massive project that Burns participated, Scott’s *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-3), and Hogg’s *Jacobite Reliques* (1819-21). Ramsay composed his poems in vernacular, which would be followed by Fergusson and Burns. These publications of ancient manuscripts, collected songs, and new poems of mixed languages not only had great impact on the development of Romanticism in the following century, but also made demonstrations of securing the national culture in terms of stressing on its continuity and differentiation from others.

Unlike phonic languages, which were restricted to borders, it was believed by some people, like da Vinci and Joseph Addison, that the language of colours was

⁹⁶ Mike Crang, *Cultural Geography* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 167.

⁹⁷ Although today MacPherson’s *Ossian* is commonly used to illustrate the concept of “pseudotranslation”, Gaudi Kristmannsson argued that the ideas of authorship and translation today are quite different from their counterparts of the mid eighteenth century. See his ‘Ossian and the State of Translation’, in *The International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian*, ed. by Dafydd Moore (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2017), pp. 39-51 (39-41).

⁹⁸ Butler, p. 104.

⁹⁹ Low, VIII, p. 16.

universal.¹⁰⁰ However, many attempts have been made to explain the obvious differentiation between regional or national styles in art history. Jean-Baptiste Dubos's *Critical Reflection on Painting and Poetry* (1719) and Johan Joachim Winckelmann's *History of the Art of the Antiquity* (1764) were among them- both acknowledged that there were "national characters" in art works, which were partly ascribed to the influence of climate.¹⁰¹ Similar argument can be found in James Currie's observation on Scottish sentiments of patriotism, which was, believed by Currie, "more frequently excited" due to the infertility of the soil, which brought "closer union of the inhabitants" to fight against the hardship.¹⁰² Currie's argument was to explain the specific attachment to the land in Scottish people and Burns' works, while the poet himself ascribed his "Scottish prejudice" to the readings of his childhood.¹⁰³ The ascription of factors like climate or soil might seem scientific in its inferential sense. However, it is dangerous to embrace such concept that national characters are inherent. Great artists seldom prioritise national characters as the feature of their works. Likewise, what makes a writer's impact last is not in his/ her language, but the universal value in his/ her unique expression.

The use of dialect may hinder a writer from acknowledgements of literary status for being regional.¹⁰⁴ However, the use of dialect can be viewed as the "secret music", which is "audible only to that culture- defining membership",¹⁰⁵ of an imagined community, which is expandable. Along with the development of printing industry, the expansion of vernacular readers and the rise of vernaculars replaced the status of Latin as the holy language and became one of the essential factors in the collapse of imperialism. The spread of Burns' works was actually a result of British imperialism. However, the poet has become national icon of the Scottish cultural revival ongoing to this day.

¹⁰⁰ Bächtmann, p. 14.

¹⁰¹ Bächtmann, pp. 25–6.

¹⁰² Burns and Currie, p. 29.

¹⁰³ Burns and Currie, pp. 38–9.

¹⁰⁴ Carol McQuirk, *Robert Burns and the Sentimental Era* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. xiv.

¹⁰⁵ Crang, p. 167.

2.2 The Development of Literary Tourism in the Eighteenth Century

The development of literary pilgrimage starts from associating the writer with real place name, which can come in two forms: first, the publication of writers' biography or topo-biographical writing; the other, to honour the writer with a landmark, be it a tombstone, a statue, or a blue plaque. Once the writer or the symbol of writer is located in a specific place, it opens the possibility of paying homage by making pilgrimages. In Britain this dates back to 1556, when Geoffrey Chaucer's (1343-1400) remains were transferred to a more elaborate tomb in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried one and half centuries before. The reburial of Chaucer then developed into a tradition of inferring people of cultural eminence in the same area of the Abbey, which came to be known as the Poets' Corner. Although the practice of visiting writers' graves in Europe can be traced back to 19 BC, when the ancient laureate Virgil's tomb was "reputedly a tourist draw from his death", yet "there is little evidence for any widespread practice in Britain of visiting poets' graves and associated monuments before the mid-eighteenth century".¹⁰⁶ The Age of Enlightenment had witnessed the decline of religious power and the eminent growth of the influence of books, which, along with the increase of people's interest in visiting places associated with writers, has made it conventional to assert that the literary pilgrimage was the secularised version of the religious pilgrimage, as the literary pilgrimage indeed seem to have taken over "much of the language, protocols and emotional structures of the religious pilgrimage".¹⁰⁷ However, if we take the content of religion as the earliest form of literature, then the religious pilgrimage in itself would not be seen as merely the predecessor of literary pilgrimage, but a specific form of literary pilgrimage from the beginning. The action of making pilgrimage, be it religious or literary, is an extension of the reading or an extended reading of the text. After a writer's death, what is left to his/ her readers to do after consuming the corpus then is to trace, or to read, the imprints left by the writer other

¹⁰⁶ Watson, pp. 32–33.

¹⁰⁷ Watson, p. 33.

than text, which naturally brings the reader to the grave, the relic, or the house and place relative to the writer or the text.

In the early 1340s, when Petrarch had just been crowned as laureate poet, he started to visit places relative to Virgil and other ancient literary men. Petrarch's literary pilgrimage, according to Harald Hendrix, was not only a reinvention of some ancient ritual, which devoted to honour literary figures in certain ways that had been long neglected, but also a self-fashioning inscribing himself into such tradition.¹⁰⁸

Following his earlier laureate coronation, Petrarch's literary pilgrimage created him some physical connection with the ancient poets he admired, and also "a dialogue with the dead".¹⁰⁹ His contemplation at Cicero's grave was actually a prayer in literary form. If we say what religious pilgrims ask for from their pilgrimage is blessing and miracle, likewise, it is bliss and inspiration that literary pilgrims seek for from their journey. In essence they are not different.

Similar scene of what Petrarch had done reproduced when Burns came to Edinburgh in the 1780s. The poet went to visit Robert Fergusson's grave at the Canongate Church, and paid his tribute by erecting a tombstone in Fergusson's honour.¹¹⁰ Burns was in his twenties enjoying the success and fame brought by the first publication of his poems, while the forever twenty-four-years-old Fergusson, whose poems had great influence on Burns, had been dead for thirteen years. The tombstone not only expressed Burns' affection for Fergusson, but also bound the two poets together in a substantial form- it witnessed the constructed geographical overlap of Burns and Fergusson. Visiting the grave not only shortens the physical distance between both sides, it creates an intimacy, which can be unfeasible while the writer was still alive- after all, some writers are reputed to be unsociable or avoiding public contact. The grave allows the visitor to create a tangible or intangible connection with the deceased by the practice of putting the experience into text, decorating the grave, or in Burns' case, enhancing the grave, which also happened to Burns' grave after his death.

¹⁰⁸ Hendrix, pp. 15-29 (p. 15).

¹⁰⁹ Borrowing Watson's phrase used in her description regarding visiting graves. See Watson, p. 34.

¹¹⁰ Low, VIII, p. 16.

Among various forms of pilgrimage, visiting the grave was the most personal and practical one, and that explains why it was the earliest form of literary pilgrimage. Relics and sites confront questions of authenticity; graves seldom do. Furthermore, it takes much luck, initiative, and expense to have relics and sites retained and preserved, and sometimes it is not a welcome idea even to the writer¹¹¹- even to Petrarch, who had been a literary pilgrim but still found the preservation of his birthplace was an exploitation of his fame for the interest of Arezzo, where he had been born but “never lived, not even as a child”.¹¹² Petrarch was well aware of the association of place and memory and his own literary pilgrimage was a revival of a tradition based on such association, yet the protection of his birthplace was not fully appreciated by him due to the lack of memory or affection for the place.¹¹³ Maybe it had to wait till the publication of Vasari’s *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550-68), which focused on the development of art in Italy and stimulated following writings on art history of specific regions as responses, for people to get used to the idea of ascribing people’s genius to their places of origins, yet it is still essential to the making of a writer’s house that if the writer’s image corresponds to the place. Watson ascribes the slow development of Shakespeare’s birthplace, compared to that of Burns’ Cottage, to that it takes quite some efforts and imagination to “metamorphose” a successful London playwright as Shakespeare had been into “a Warwickshire child of nature” “with virtually no help from the man himself”- that is, “almost nil mention of the locality in his works” plus there was only, “by modern standard”, “a scanty biographical record” of Shakespeare then.¹¹⁴ Hence not only the writer’s literary status is one factor in the making of his/her house, which, in Shakespeare’s case, took almost one and half centuries to settle

¹¹¹ The writer who does not welcome the idea of preserving a house in the name of her here refers to CHI Pang-Yuan (齊邦媛 1924-). There is a campaign recently to preserve a living quarter of Taiwan Railways Administration instead of demolition for its association with the writer Chi. However, Chi seems reluctant to be involved in such campaign. She expresses her reluctance by putting a paid-notice on newspapers (on the 11th Sep 2015), saying she is not relative to the house any more, and has no will to see the house preserved as a monument for her.

¹¹² Hendrix, pp. 15-29 (p. 16).

¹¹³ Hendrix, pp. 15-29 (pp. 15-6).

¹¹⁴ Watson, p. 68.

down the question, the publication of the writer's biography or text relating the writer to his/ her place is also essential to it.

The preservation of Petrarch's birthplace was odd and coincidental rather than common and consequential in his time. And it had to be wait till the mid-sixteenth century, when Petrarch's life and works had gathered revived attentions, that the house he had lived in Arquà started to be a place of attraction for him.¹¹⁵ Even the transformation two more centuries later of Stratford-upon-Avon into Shakespeare's Country, which was "an invention of the eighteenth century",¹¹⁶ was same novel and coincidental then. When Shakespeare died in Stratford in 1616, he was known by the locals no more than a wealthy and retired man who "made good in far-off London". The poet was buried with honour that was "more likely to reflect his local standing as a tithe-holder than his literary reputation".¹¹⁷ His literary reputation saw fluctuations in the following century till several new editions of his works with biographies emerged in the eighteenth century and confirmed his status.¹¹⁸ However, Stratford was not a prominence before David Garrick's intervention in 1769 although the bardolatry for Shakespeare had gradually formed then.¹¹⁹ Garrick was a prominent actor of his time and once a pupil of Johnson. In the early stage of his acting career, in 1742, Garrick came to Stratford to see a mulberry tree, which was believed to be planted by Shakespeare.¹²⁰ The actor had just triumphed in theatres with his portrayal of Shakespeare's characters, but he might never expect that the tree he was looking at would change the fate of him and Stratford forever. Garrick was well received with hospitality by the house owner who inherited Shakespeare's New Place and its adherent garden with the famous tree.¹²¹ In the 1750s the property went to the hand of an outsider clergyman Gastrell, who used the place as a summer house and

¹¹⁵ Hendrix, pp. 15-29 (pp. 18-23).

¹¹⁶ Rosenthal, p. 31.

¹¹⁷ Christian Deelman, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), p. 15.

¹¹⁸ Editions of Shakespeare's works emerged in the eighteenth century include Nicholas Rowe's of 1709, Alexander Pope's of 1725, Lewis Theobald's of 1733, a six-volume quarto illustrated by "top-end artists" of 1743-4 (Rosenthal, p. 32), Johnson's of 1745 and 1765, William Warburton's of 1747, Edward Capell's of 1768, George Steevens' of 1773 and 1793, Isaac Reed's of 1785, and Edmond Malone's of 1790.

¹¹⁹ Rosenthal, p. 32. Watson, p. 56.

¹²⁰ Deelman, p. 39.

¹²¹ Deelman, pp. 42-3.

appeared to care little about the history of the place.¹²² Gastrell found the tree overshadowing his windows, and tried to turn down people who were brought to his door asking for entry for the tree.¹²³ As the tension went on, he cut down the mulberry tree in 1756, which created a huge turbulence in the little town.¹²⁴ Gastrell then quit the place as the villagers vowed to never abide any one of the same name to live in Stratford.¹²⁵ Three years later Gastrell further torn down the New Place to evade tax continuously charged by the Council.¹²⁶ And the mulberry tree he cut down was sold to a local man who turned the dead tree into a thriving industry: the logs were crafted into “snuff-boxes, tea-chests, standishes, tobacco-stoppers”,¹²⁷ “spectacle cases, goblets, and even pieces of furniture.”¹²⁸ Some of these “curious toys and useful articles” were mounted in silver or inlaid with gold to manifest the wood as invaluable.¹²⁹ This industry thrived and reproduced in Stratford as if the tree was still growing with incredible speed,¹³⁰ and one of these popular souvenir went to Garrick, who had become not only a famous actor, but also a successful part-owner/manager of a theatre in London in the 1760s.¹³¹

Indeed, it was Garrick’s idea to hold the five-years-late Jubilee to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Shakespeare’s birth in Stratford. However, Stratford enacted itself to initiate the whole thing. Garrick received a letter from the Corporation of Stratford asking for his participation in making “a statue, a bust, or a picture” of Shakespeare to stand in the town hall. The letter asked for Garrick’s picture, too, to be placed beside the anticipated one of Shakespeare, and the message was delivered by a symbolic, meaningful mulberry box, which was claimed to be made of the tree he

¹²² Deelman, pp. 44-5; Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq: Interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of His Theatrical Contemporaries. The Whole Forming a History of the Stage, Which Includes a Period of Thirty-Six Years* (The author, 1781), p. 218.

¹²³ Deelman, p. 46; Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, *The Life of David Garrick: From Original Family Papers, and Numerous Published and Unpublished Sources* (Tinsley brothers, 1868), p. 211.

¹²⁴ Deelman, p. 47; Fitzgerald, p. 211; Davies, pp. 218–9.

¹²⁵ Deelman, p. 45; Davies, p. 219.

¹²⁶ Deelman, p. 53.

¹²⁷ Davies, p. 220.

¹²⁸ Ian Ousby, *The Englishman’s England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 32.

¹²⁹ Deelman, p. 49.

¹³⁰ Deelman, p. 50; Rosenthal, pp. 33-4.

¹³¹ Davies, pp. 219-20; Rosenthal, p. 34.

visited in 1742.¹³² Flattered by the request, Garrick came up with the idea of expanding the inauguration of the statue into a great event- that was the Jubilee, in Stratford, which will no more be the “sleepy, backward, muddy little coaching-town” after the autumn of 1769.¹³³ The preparations for Garrick’s Jubilee were “on a large and costly scale”.¹³⁴ However, the preservation or commemoration of the houses relative to Shakespeare in Stratford had never occurred to the villagers nor had it mattered to Garrick, who then changed the fate of the town and the houses. It was an expensive statue that Stratford wanted to mark its association with Shakespeare after the town lost the mulberry tree and the demolished New Place; and it was a grand rotunda that Garrick wanted for the celebration of Jubilee. According to Watson, Garrick’s initial plan was to celebrate the Jubilee in London, which stands for Shakespeare’s peak achievements and would have emphasised the image of a metropolitan playwright rather than that of a countryside boy.¹³⁵ This was reflected by his merciless response to the Corporation’s following proposal to make the Jubilee an annual event afterwards. He declared: “the town, which gave birth to the first genius since creation, is the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking town in all Britain.”¹³⁶ Garrick had built a neo-classic temple dedicated to Shakespeare for his own recreation in London back in 1756, and the rotunda built for the Stratford’s Jubilee was modelled on the one in the Ranelagh Gardens,¹³⁷ the most magnificent place of pleasure in London at the time. As an eminent theatre manager, Garrick transported all the costumes from his London theatre to Stratford for the Jubilee procession. 170 people were dressed as the characters of Shakespeare’s plays in the Jubilee procession;¹³⁸ hundred trees by the river were cut down to open the view beforehand.¹³⁹ As given, the preservation of Shakespeare’s birthplace or houses relative to the poet did seem much of interest to Garrick.

¹³² Deelman, pp. 60-1; Davies, pp. 210-20.

¹³³ Watson, p. 56.

¹³⁴ Fitzgerald, p. 213.

¹³⁵ Watson, p. 57.

¹³⁶ Ousby, p. 34.

¹³⁷ Deelman, p. 128; Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick* (Dublin, 1801), p. 296.

¹³⁸ Rosenthal, p. 32.

¹³⁹ Fitzgerald, p. 213.



Fig 8 Johan J. Zoffany, ‘David Garrick and his wife by his Temple to Shakespeare at Hampton’, c. 1762, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, image accessible through Wikimedia Commons

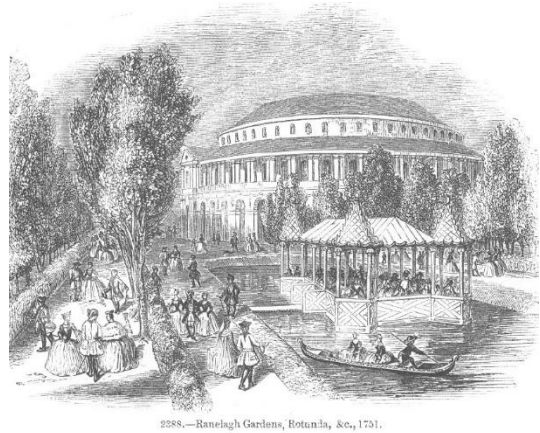


Fig 9 ‘Ranelagh Gardens, Rotunda, &c. 1751’, image taken from *London Ancestor* (www.londonancestor.com)

The choice of Stratford, or the reason why Stratford came to be part of Garrick’s Jubilee plan, was not merely the result of the letter carried with the mulberry box to Garrick, but partly, according to Watson, was based on the fact that Shakespeare happened to be born and died in the same place.¹⁴⁰ And it would be a privileged grace to commemorate the life of a poet at his birthplace and burial ground in the same event same place. The Jubilee was opened with a semi-religious performance, the oratorio of Judith, held in the Church, in which Shakespeare was buried.¹⁴¹ And the highlight activities took place in the rotunda, where Garrick presented songs written for “the Warwickshire Lad” at dinner.¹⁴² Cannons, fireworks, performances, parties, and dressed pageant filled the town in the three-day event.¹⁴³ About two thousand guests assembled in Stratford from all parts of the country,¹⁴⁴ and Boswell was among them.¹⁴⁵ As for Shakespeare’s birthplace, it had been divided into two halves for separate uses by then. One half had been a mediocre inn, which was not

¹⁴⁰ Watson, p. 57.

¹⁴¹ Deelman, pp. 191-2.

¹⁴² Fitzgerald, pp. 217-9.

¹⁴³ Ousby, pp. 33–34.

¹⁴⁴ Murphy, p. 296.

¹⁴⁵ Davies, p. 221.

suitable for genteel traveller according to Ian Ousby;¹⁴⁶ the other half had become a butcher's shop, and one of its windows above the shop was arbitrarily designated by Garrick as the one belonged to the "birth-room". The "declared" window was then decorated with an allegorical drape penetrated by illuminant symbolising "thus dying clouds contend with growing light".¹⁴⁷

According to Watson, the emergence of topographicised biographies of writers in the eighteenth century could be a stimulation to people's interest in graves and places associated with writers as they connect the texts with the physical being of the writers.¹⁴⁸ Similar stimulations are published diaries of writers, trip journals, and travel guidebooks. These genre of writings had developed a certain popularity since the seventeenth century for their amusing function of widening readers' horizons,¹⁴⁹ and they became the encouragement for readers to experience the text by stepping onto a real journey, which had been previewed and enhanced by the text in advance. The first Jubilee guests left records of their Stratfordian memories, and like ripples, these texts summoned more literary pilgrims to Stratford. Both travellers and the locals kept inventing their ways of touring the town in relation to Shakespeare from then on.

The Jubilee of 1769 had no luck in weather, but the event was extended in Garrick's theatre in London, where a series of new plays on the Jubilee were produced, and it was a big success.¹⁵⁰ Although it was criticised as "absurd extravaganza", which was "wholly foreign to English tastes and manners",¹⁵¹ the Jubilee can also be viewed as an inevitable result of the long transformation of Shakespeare's status "from the comparative neglect of the Restoration (era) to national, indeed global, pre-eminence", an embodiment of the "cultural expressions of England's own transition from the aristocratic regime of the Stuarts to the commercial empire presided over by

¹⁴⁶ Ousby, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Ousby, p. 36.

¹⁴⁸ Watson, pp. 13, 33.

¹⁴⁹ Fischer, 265.

¹⁵⁰ Murphy, p. 298; Ousby, p. 34.

¹⁵¹ Fitzgerald, p. 213.

the Hanoverian.”¹⁵² It is true that the Jubilee had a great impact on the town and the overall development of literary tourism in Britain, while on the other hand, Garrick might just have “nurtured what was already developing” by the time.¹⁵³ Houses scattered in Stratford relative to Shakespeare were sufficient to portray the poet’s life experience extending from his parental generation to his children. The convenience and comprehensiveness of Stratford (for its close association with Shakespeare from pre-birth to after-life) made it the first model of writers’ birthplace/ houses in Britain. With such a precedent template, the development of Burns Cottage was “with astonishing speed”.¹⁵⁴ Richard Gall’s poem recording his experience of visiting the Cottage bears the date of 1799, which was within three years of Burns’ death.¹⁵⁵ The first Burns Supper took place in the Cottage in July 1801.¹⁵⁶ Although it was on the anniversary of Burns’ death instead of his birth, the choice of the venue reinforces the fact that the Cottage had been generally endorsed with specific status regarding Burns, and the ceremony was soon fixed to a ritual celebration in January on Burns’ birthday and spread out nationwide and globally. Record has it that a “select party of friends and admirers” celebrated Burns’ birthday in the Cottage in 1804,¹⁵⁷ and the idea of celebrating the poet’s birthday in his birthplace still sway to this day. An engraving of the Cottage appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1805 (Fig 19), by then there was an inscription around the door of the Cottage reading: “Halt, passenger, and read: this is the humble cottage that gave birth to the celebrated poet Robert Burns”.¹⁵⁸ The mulberry tree industry of Stratford was soon echoed by the Mauchline ware industry in Ayrshire as souvenir articles, which were claimed to be “made of wood grown on the banks of the Doon”, the wood grown in the Auld Kirk in Alloway, or even from part of Burns’ kist, became one of the lines that received great

¹⁵² Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 1.

¹⁵³ Rosenthal, p. 33.

¹⁵⁴ Watson, p. 68.

¹⁵⁵ Gall, p. 58.

¹⁵⁶ Clark McGinn, ‘The Legend of the Burns Supper’, *Scotland.org*, 2015

<<http://www.scotland.org/features/the-legend-of-the-burns-supper>> [accessed 13 March 2016].

¹⁵⁷ M’Bain, p. 70.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Description of the House in Which Robert Burns the Poet Was Born’, *The Scots Magazine, and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXVII (1805), 651.

popularity in the nineteenth century (Fig 12~15).¹⁵⁹ Back in 1769, the year of the Stratford Jubilee, it was still a novel idea in Britain to commemorate a venerated writer with domestic place, or vice versa, to honour an ordinary house in the name of an esteemed writer. There were neoclassic Temple, grand Rotunda, and costly statue, while the tree had been fell, the house had been demolished, and the butcher's shop had to be decorated with allegorical installation. Three decades later, although the development of Burns Cottage owed mostly to the time and space that envired the Cottage and the subject Burns, whose image innately fitted the Cottage, the development of Stratford had prepared a well-established base for it in advance.

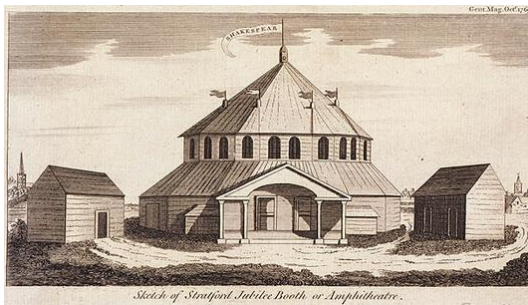


Fig 10 Engraved print of 'Sketch of Stratford Jubilee Booth or Amphitheatre, 1769', © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig 11 James Saunders' illustration of Shakespeare's birthplace, 1828, collection of Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

¹⁵⁹ Mauchline ware is a type of gadget or wooden ware that gained popularity in the nineteenth century. Transfers of tourist spots or famous people are often found on this kind of articles. Generally made of sycamore, some featured the trees or wood associated with famous people or buildings. One of the most famous manufacturers of them was the Smith family of Mauchline, who specialised in the production of "Scotch Snuff Boxes and Fancy Woodware", started their business from about 1810 and carried it on till 1939. See more in 'The Enterprising Smiths of Mauchline', *The Scotsman* (29 Aug, 1959), p. 5; David R. Trachtenberg and Thomas Keith, *Mauchline Ware: A Collector's Guide* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2002), p. 26.



Fig 12 Inkwell, “made of wood grown on the banks of the Doon”, collection of RBBM (Robert Burns Birthplace Museum)



Fig 13 ‘Section from Burns’ Trysting Thorn, Mill Mannoch, near Coylton’, RBBM



Fig 14 Pipe Case, “made of part of Burns’s Kist”, RBBM



Fig 15 Spectacle Case, with a print of Burns Cottage on the front and inscription of “Souvenir of the Land of Burns” on the reverse, RBBM

2.3 *The Development of Burns Cottage in the Eighteenth Century*

The earliest records of Burns Cottage in the form of images are dated 1801 (Fig 16, 17). They are engravings of works by the portrait and landscape painter William Score (1778-1815). However, the “oldest known engraving of the Cottage”,¹⁶⁰ according to the pamphlet published for the Cottage in 1904, was a work by the draughtsman and engraver James Sargant Storer (1771-1853), who with another engraver John Greig, published their *Views in North Britain, Illustrative of the Works of Robert Burns* in 1805. Storer’s depiction of the Cottage (Fig 18) was included in this publication with a short description of the history and contemporary state of the place.¹⁶¹ Later in the same year, another image of the Cottage appeared in the monthly *Scots Magazine*- an engraving based on Score’s work was published in the September volume (Fig 19). This magazine version emphasised on the dimension of the Cottage as an alehouse of the time more than most versions do. While visually Burns Cottage has been often depicted as a secluded cottage sitting in some remote country as if it is in its most primitive state, the engraving published in 1805 by the Magazine shows a traveler on horseback served with refreshments in front of the Cottage, and a tablet with inscription was hang at the door showing the place had become a public house by then (Fig 19). Another noticeable feature of this version is that there are four doors illustrated of the Cottage, while in many cases there are two or three. This divergence can also be found in works ascribed to the same painter: one of those, which was by Score, even had been captioned “drawn on the spot” (Fig 16). The variations of the number of doors went on throughout the following century, and the development of the technology of photography could not stop this. Besides the possibility of the earlier engravers’ inaccuracy, photos and postcards later on show that the number of doors of the Cottage was never a constant, the general appearance of the main structure remained about the same though. It was believed that since 1803 a slated building was added to the Cottage at its south end,¹⁶² which also added one more door to the place (Fig 20 with indication). Hence the Cottage

¹⁶⁰ M³Bain, p. 66.

¹⁶¹ James Sargant Storer and John Greig, *Views in North Britain: Illustrative of the Works of Robert Burns* (Vernor and Hood, 1805), pp. 27–28.

¹⁶² M³Bain, p. 64-7.

was with this addition till 1902 for almost a whole century.¹⁶³ As the added building had developed to be taken as part and parcel of the Cottage,¹⁶⁴ many engravings of the Cottage seemed to just ignore the existence of it, like the two engravings published in 1805 (Fig 18, 19), which differ from each other in the number of doors though, they were both representations of the Cottage in the state of no signs of structural change that might have already happened to it.



Fig 16 ‘The House in which Burns was Born’, with the caption “drawn on the spot by W. Score”, “Aquatinted by R. Scott”, “Published by R. Chapman Printer, Glasgow”, 1801, collection of RBBM



Fig 17 Engraving: ‘The Cottage of Burns, the Poet’, ascribed to W. Score, “apparently copied from the aquatint (1801, Fig 16) by W. Score”,¹⁶⁵ collection of RBBM

¹⁶³ M³Bain, p. 124.

¹⁶⁴ M³Bain, p. 64.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Engraving: “The Cottage of Burns, the Poet” - Robert Burns Birthplace Museum’ <http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/object_detail/3.8075> [accessed 6 March 2017].



Fig 18 ‘The House in which Robert Burns was Born’, “oldest known engraving of the cottage” (M’Bain, p. 66), included in Storer and Greig’s *Views in North Britain*, 1805, between p. 26 and p. 27

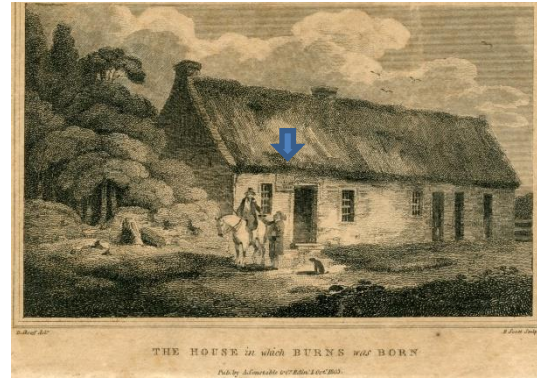


Fig 19 ‘The House in which Burns was Born’, engraved by Robert Scott based on W. Score’s work,¹⁶⁶ showing the Cottage as a public place, appeared in *The Scots Magazine*, 1805, between p. 650 and 651 (blue arrow added above the hung tablet)



Fig 20 The Cottage with adjoining addition (marked with arrow), c. 1900, © Historic Environment Scotland (Thomas Polson Lugton), accessible through *Canmore* (canmore.org.uk)

Beforehand the records of the Cottage were in the form of texts. Besides Richard Gall’s poem of 1799, there were documents and receipts signed or hold by the poet’s father William Burnes, who had built the Cottage, and the successive owners- the Incorporation of Shoemakers of Ayr from 1781 to 1881, the Trustees of Burns

¹⁶⁶ ‘Engraving of “The House in Which Burns Was Born”, 1805’, *SCRAN* <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-136-134-C>> [accessed 6 March 2017].

Monument from 1881 to 2008, and the National Trust for Scotland from 2008 to this day. The earliest record directly relative to the Cottage was the feu contract between Alexander Campbell and William Burnes signed in 1756, which allows us to discover that William Burnes' signature of his family name remained the original spelling with two syllables while in the whole transcript of the contract it was spelled as "Burns". He was an outsider to Ayrshire, and his name in the form of two syllables conformed to Kincardineshire tradition.¹⁶⁷ As the feu contract reflects it, his family name was compelled to change in official documents,¹⁶⁸ and his offspring later on accepted this adaption. William Burnes was the third son of his original family,¹⁶⁹ from where the family name in the form of "Burnes" would pass onto the poet's cousins, who then held different family name from Burns. The feu contract described William Burnes "a gardener for present at Doonside miln (sic)" (Fig 21). While he was working in Edinburgh, he came in contact with a "westering laird", who offered him a job in Fairlie, which led him heading west.¹⁷⁰ Years later, he worked for another estate owner at Doonside House near Alloway, during when he was said to lodge at Doonside Mill.¹⁷¹ With ambition to establish a career as nurseryman, William Burnes feued a land of seven and half Scottish acres in Alloway from Alexander Campbell of Ayr.¹⁷² He then started to build a cottage, "with his own hands", on the feued land.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ Low, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ M'Bain, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶⁹ James A. MacKay, *RB: A Biography of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publ, 1992), p. 22.

¹⁷⁰ MacKay, *RB*, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ MacKay, *RB*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷² M'Bain, pp. 30-31.

¹⁷³ MacKay, *RB*, p. 24.

9

It is agreed and ended betwixt Doctor Alexander Campbell Physician in Ayr heritable Proprietor of the Piece of Ground after mentioned and William Burnes Gardener for present at Doonfieb-miln on the one and other Parts as follows, That is to say, The said Alexander Campbell hath given, granted & disposed, and in Feu-farm, Fee and Heritage for ever sett, lett and demitted, and hereby doth, on consideration of the Feu-duty after expressed, give, grant, dispose, and in Feu-farm, Fee and Heritage for ever sett, lett and demitt, to be held of him, his Heirs and Successors as after-mentioned, to, and in favour of the said William Burnes, his Heirs and Assignies whomsoever, heritably and irredeemably, all and whole thers, seven Acres and eighteen Falls of the said Alexander Campbell's Property in the Barony of Alloway, Parish and Shire of Ayr, bounded on the North-East by a Ditch betwixt the said Land and the Land now feued out to John Tennant, on the South-East by the Road from Ayrhouse to Bridge, of Doon as now fixed by the Justices of Peace; on the South-West by the new-made Road from Alloway along the Serpents Burn, and on the North-West & North by a Ditch to be made betwixt the same and the said Alexander Campbell's Property according to the straight Line now puled; together with all Rights, which he, his Heirs or Successors hath or may have thereto, or to any Part thereof: And makes and constitutes the said William Burnes and his Forefairs his Cessionaries and Assignies in and to the Rents, Mails and Duties of the said Piece of Ground for Croft and Year One thousand seven hundred and fifty six, and in all time thereafter; Surrogating and substituting them, in his, and his Above-named their full Right and Place thereof. With Power to intromett with, pursue for and discharge, the same and generally to do every other Thing aient the Premises that he or they could have done themselves before granting these Presents: Which he obliges him and them to warrant, acquit and defend, and the Subject-matter thereof to be good and sufficient, free, safe and sure to the said William Burnes and his Forefairs at all Hands and against all Mortals as Law will, and to be free of all Feuds, Multures, Cess or

Alex^r Campbell ^{other}
William Burnes

Fig 21 Part of the Feu Charter between William Burnes and Alexander Campbell, collection of [RBBM](#)

2.3.1 The Auld Clay Biggin

“The foundation being first dug out, and a row or two of stones laid, there was procured from a contiguous pit as much clay or brick-earth as sufficed to form the walls, a sufficient quantity of straw or other little to mix with the clay, and upon a given day, the entire neighbourhood, male and female, armed with pitchforks, spades or other implements, began some to work the clay or mud by mixing it with the straw, others to carry the materials, and half-a-dozen perhaps of the most experienced hands to manage the building of the walls. In this manner the walls of the house were usually finished within a few hours. The Parties celebrated the completion of their work with a dinner and a dance, converting the occasion, which in the south was called a daubing, from a very dirty and disagreeable job into a short of frolic.”

According to William J. Gray’s research of farm houses published in 1852, a Scottish cottage could be built up within one day with collaboration of the host’s neighbourhood.¹⁷⁴ William Burnes was not a native of Ayrshire. Since he was working around as gardener for estate owners, the scene of his cottage building was much less bustling or feast-like for he could only use his spare time apart from his job to build the cottage on his own.¹⁷⁵ He got married in December 1757 and greeted his first son Robert on 25th January 1759 in the cottage he had built in Alloway. Most resources, including publications of the twentieth century, describe the Cottage a two-roomed “but and ben” when they refer to it,¹⁷⁶ while it appeared a four-roomed cottage after several rounds of efforts on its restoration (Fig 22). The record kept by Historic Environment Scotland, erroneous with some critical dates about the Cottage though, may provide an explanation for this: according to the record, William Burnes had built a kitchen and “a small byre” probably- some doubt was concerning the use of the room, when he got married, and “the present byre and barn”, as reconstructed, were added by him afterwards.¹⁷⁷ However, the descriptions accompanied with the

¹⁷⁴ Gray, pp. 2–3.

¹⁷⁵ MacKay, *RB*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁶ M’Bain, p. 20; MacKay, *RB*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Alloway, Burns Cottage including Boundary Wall’ (Historic Environment Scotland, 1971), Listed Building <<http://portal.historic-scotland.gov.uk/hes/web/f?p=PORTAL:DESIGNATION:::::DES:LB21476,Burns%20cottage#>> (latest accessed 13th Jan 2016).

engravings published in 1805 followed the “two room” statement, as the appearance of the Cottage in the engravings corresponds to its current state though, which comprises four rooms if the box-bed is taken as an effective separation. Shortly after the birth of William Burnes’ eldest son, the poet Burns, one gable end collapsed due to a gale. The damage was so severe that the new born and the mother were soon vacated to their neighbor’s shelter.¹⁷⁸ To what extent was the Cottage repaired or redone then is unknown, and it is claimed that nothing of the Cottage “could be directly confirmed as being of mid to late eighteenth century date” in nowadays archaeological method.¹⁷⁹ The Cottage was frequently described as a “lowly cot”,¹⁸⁰ which “has nothing remarkable to recommend it”,¹⁸¹ yet both descriptions accompanied with the engravings published in 1805 mentioned about the setting of a second fire place and chimney in the Cottage was an uncommon luxury: those were “things not usual, at that time, in the cottages of the peasantry of Scotland”.¹⁸²

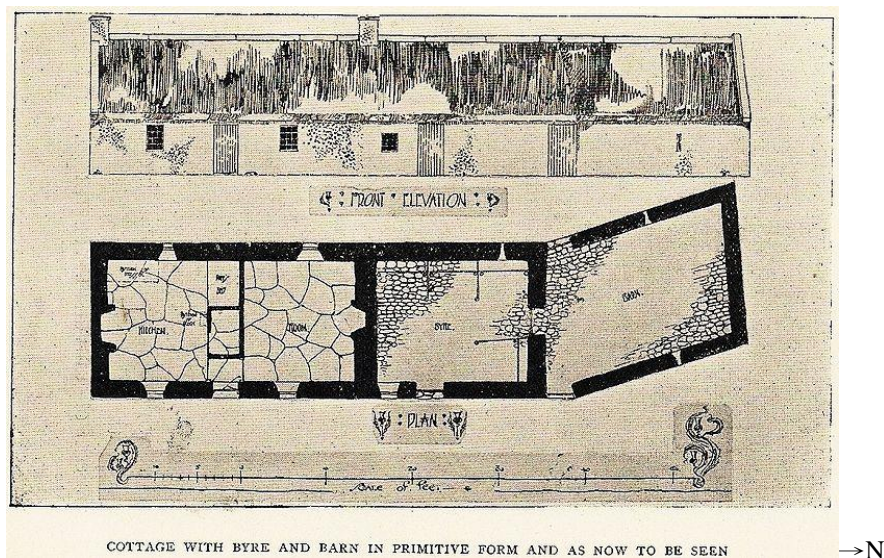


Fig 22 A Plan of Burns Cottage bearing the date of 1904 (kitchen at the left end), showing the emerged original floor previously covered by wood floors, scrap of M’Bain, p. 123

¹⁷⁸ MacKay, *RB*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Addyman and others, ‘Burns Cottage, Burns National Heritage Park, Alloway’, ed. by Paula Milburn, *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, New Series, 10 (2009), 169–70 (p. 169).

¹⁸⁰ M’Bain, p. 20.

¹⁸¹ Storer and Greig, p. 27.

¹⁸² ‘Description of the House in Which Robert Burns the Poet Was Born’, *The Scots Magazine*, and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, LXVII (1805), 651; Storer and Greig, p. 27.

The cottage sat by the “Ayr-Maybole highway” of that time,¹⁸³ about one mile away from the river Doon mouth and two miles away from Ayr, a port town built by the river Ayr mouth (Fig 23, Fig 24 with indications of the location of the Cottage). Alloway belonged to the parish of Ayr. According to the old *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, Ayr parish was populated by 2,964 habitants in 1755.¹⁸⁴ The number could have reached higher earlier, since the business of importing French wine had been prosperous in the area and 2,000 had died for plague by the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁵ In the 1740s, “the herring fishing was great”, hence “sailors, coopers, &c were of course numerous”.¹⁸⁶ The number was estimated to climb to 4,100 in 1791,¹⁸⁷ which made Ayr the most populated parish in Scotland of that time. It seems that Ayr had been such a place known for its relevance to the prosperous sea transport and active fishing industry. However, there was no sign that the poet and his father had ever considered to make a living on the sea. This family stuck to the ground all their lifetime. They even moved to the more remote and desolate farmhouse in Mount Oliphant when the poet was growing to the age of eight. It was tradition then to send boys of such age away to work on farm. To keep his family together and also to do better for his son, William Burnes turned to farming.¹⁸⁸ Having worked for Provost William Fergusson as gardener for about ten years, William Burnes made a deal with his employer, from whom he took a lease of six years for the farm of Mount Oliphant, and another lease of more six years afterwards.¹⁸⁹ From this point William Burnes became a farmer for the rest of his life, not a successful one though, and his poet son would be known as “a farmer’s son”. The poet’s father did not see his son become a recognised poet. When Burns published his first edition of poems in 1786, William Burnes had been dead for two years.

¹⁸³ MacKay, *RB*, p. 24.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Abstract of the First Volume of the Statistical Account of Scotland’, *The Bee: Or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, British Periodicals, 1791, 349.

¹⁸⁵ *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845*, ed. by John Archibald Sinclair (Edinburgh: Edina, 1996), p. 92.

¹⁸⁶ Sinclair, p. 92.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Abstract of the First Volume of the Statistical Account of Scotland’.

¹⁸⁸ MacKay, *RB*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁹ MacKay, *RB*, pp. 30, 39.



Fig 23 Scrap of William Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland*, 1745-55



Fig 24 Scrap of Andrew Armstrong's *New Map of Ayrshire*, 1775

Although William Burnes named the cottage he built in Alloway “New Garden(s)”, which is associated with his original intention for the land,¹⁹⁰ his plan of his own nursery garden “seem to have never prospered”, since the gardening job his had taken was a full time occupation.¹⁹¹ However, “New Garden” came to be the name of the Cottage in official documents regarding the property. The Burnes family never moved back, and the Cottage with its adjoining land were sold to the Incorporation of Shoemakers of Ayr in 1781, before when several tenants of William Burnes might have feud the whole land or at least part of it from him according to sectional

¹⁹⁰ M'Bain, p. 30.

¹⁹¹ MacKay, *RB*, p. 30.

records.¹⁹² A repair of the Cottage might have started in 1767, provided by William Fergusson's letter granting William Burnes permission of removing stones from Mount Oliphant "to repair your houses at Alloway" (Fig 25). And a confirmed repair of the Cottage, aiming to achieve "a good and tennanable condition (sic)", was carried out after an estimation of expense in 1779 with adherent indorsement of payment.¹⁹³ This repair included the casting of the whole cottage with lime, a new door with its frame and hinge, and the strengthening of the back mud wall with brickwork.¹⁹⁴ It is presumable then the Cottage was sold to the Incorporation in a renewed condition as such. Matthew Dick appeared to be the first tenant of the Cottage after the Incorporation purchased it, and the lease lasted till at least 1800,¹⁹⁵ during when the poet had become a popular writer and died, which might have changed the status of the Cottage from ordinary country house to local attraction, which is supported by Richard Gall's poem on his visiting in 1799. The following tenant came in possession of the Cottage in 1801.¹⁹⁶ It was believed that at some date before the transfer of 1801 the place had been turned into a public house already,¹⁹⁷ which can be supported by the significant raise of rent offered by the successive tenant.¹⁹⁸ The rent got another raise in two years after the second tenant took over the Cottage,¹⁹⁹ which can be attributed to the growing ale-selling business bound with the development of literary pilgrimage on Burns. As records show that the Cottage was still designated as "New Garden" in the documents of 1803, it was developing a strong link to the dead poet,²⁰⁰ who then made it generally known as "Burns Cottage" in the nineteenth century (Fig 26).

¹⁹² M'Bain, pp. 33-40, 44-7.

¹⁹³ M'Bain, pp. 35-6.

¹⁹⁴ M'Bain, p. 35; W. H. Dunlop, 'Historical Note', in *Burns Cottage Alloway: Catalogue of Manuscripts, Relics, Paintings and Other Exhibits in the Cottage and Museum with Historical Note* (Ayr: Trustees of the Burns Cottage and Museum, 1965), pp. 3-5 (p. 4).

¹⁹⁵ M'Bain, pp. 51-2, 58.

¹⁹⁶ M'Bain, pp. 53-4.

¹⁹⁷ M'Bain, pp. 53-4; Dunlop, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ According to James M'Bain, the annual rent had been 10 pounds since 1781 according to several receipts kept by the Incorporation, till 1801 the following tenant John Maitland offered to pay 25 pounds and 10 shillings annually to take over the lease. See M'Bain, pp. 54, 57.

¹⁹⁹ M'Bain, p. 61.

²⁰⁰ M'Bain, p. 31.

As you desire liberty to carry off some
Laid Stones from your ground in Market Chibbant
to repair your house at Alloway, I hereby
consent to your doing it and am
Doonholm April 6th Yours Will: Fergusson
1767
To William Burnes

Fig 25 'Letter from William Fergusson to William Burnes', 1767, collection of [RBBM](#)



Fig 26 "Burns Cottage" on map (blue arrow mark), scrap of John Thomson's *Atlas of Scotland*, 1828

The Literary Intervention in Architecture

Year	Development of the Cottage	Development of Burns' poet life
1756	William Burnes feus a land in Alloway	
1757	Have built the Cottage, William Burnes gets married	
1759		Burns is born in the Cottage
1765		Burns and his younger brother begin their schooling under a hired tutor
1766	The Burnes family leave the Cottage and move to Mount Oliphant, following tenants may come into occupation after this point	
1767	The Cottage may be put under repair	
1779	The Cottage is put under repair	
1781	The Cottage is sold in August to the Incorporation of Shoemakers in Ayr The first tenant to the Incorporation is Mathew Dick (the tenancy starts from Martinmas)	
1786		Burns publishes the first edition of his works (the Kilmarnock edition)
1787		The Edinburgh edition is published
1788		The American editions are published
1793		The Edinburgh and London edition is published
1796		Burns dies in Dumfries
1799	Richard Gall visits the Cottage and records his feeling about it in the form of poem	

1800		J. Currie's <i>Works of Robert Burns</i> is published and sold out ²⁰¹
1801	The emergence of engravings of the Cottage Transfer of tenancy of the Cottage, which has been turned into a public place by then	
1803	A slated building is added to the Cottage	
1804	A select party celebrate Burns' birthday in the Cottage	
1805	The image of the Cottage appears on <i>Scots Magazine</i>	Currie's <i>Works</i> has gone through five editions and about 10,000 copies ²⁰²

Fig 27 The development of Burns Cottage vs. that of the poet

Burns had lived in several places in Scotland. Living in the age of maritime hegemonies, the poet planned to set off for a job overseas but it turned out that he never left his country. There are four houses he had lived that are open to public today, which stand for different life stages the poet had been through and the works he had produced of those times. However, unlike other Burns House Museums, most of which were developed relatively later in the twentieth century, Burns Cottage had been frequently associated to the poet as early as in the late eighteenth century. In Richard Gall's *Poems and Songs*, besides several works that had been mistakenly ascribed to Burns for those works correspond to Burns' life tracks so typically- like 'Farewell to Ayrshire' and 'Now bank an'brae are clad in green',²⁰³ Gall the "most ardent Burns admirer" also left a poem on the death of Burns and another one on his own experience of visiting the Cottage three years later in 1799,²⁰⁴ which shows that

²⁰¹ Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 276.

²⁰² Leask, p. 276.

²⁰³ 'Notes', in *Poems and Songs*, by Richard Gall (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1819), pp. 149–68 (pp. 165, 167).

²⁰⁴ 'Memoir of Richard Gall', in *Poems and Songs*, by Richard Gall (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1819), pp. xxi – xxvi (p. xxvi). Gall, pp. 58–60, 82–84.

the image of the Cottage and the poet were bound together very soon after the poet's death. Aside from the landscapes and picturesque attractions mentioned in Burns' poems, the image of Cottage was also the only one of Burns' houses that was included in Storer and Greig's *Views in North Britain: Illustrative of the Works of Robert Burns* (1805). This is not just owing to that the development of Shakespeare's birthplace had prepared a good template for that of Burns Cottage and also the image/ mythos of Burns corresponds to the Cottage even better than that of Shakespeare to Stratford, but the arising worship of genius was combined with the idea of national soil, on which not only a national poet had grown, but a "homeland" is rediscovered and picturesque cottages instated.

2.3.2 The Cottage Reform and the Effect of the Development of Picturesque Aesthetics

The development of Burns Cottage was not only a coincident product of the development of literary pilgrimage, (which developed into literary tourism in the nineteenth century,) the time that Burns was born and active was also a critical period to the development of cottages in the aspect of architecture, which not only multiplied the meaning of the Cottage, but also brought British cottages into revolutionary architectural practices. Previously, cottages had seldom been in the range of architectural concern. Although Uvedale Price (1747-1829) had absorbed cottages into the range of picturesque aesthetics in his essay,²⁰⁵ his writing was with full understanding that the appreciation of cottages was something to promote before that becoming generally acknowledged. Several accounts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also show that it would require quite some imagination to take general cottages, the "shattered, dirty, inconvenient, miserable hovels", as aesthetic objects.²⁰⁶ In the latter half of eighteenth century the agricultural revolution involved with the Enclosure severely degenerated the economic condition of landless farmers,

²⁰⁵ Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful: And, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (J. Robson, 1794), pp. 52–53, 136–37.

²⁰⁶ Wood, p. 2. Elsam, p. 5. Joseph Gandy, *Design for Cottages, Cottage Farms and Other Rural Buildings, Including Entrance Gates and Lodges*, repub. of 1805 (Farnborough: Gregg, 1971), p. v. Gray, p. 4.

who then became more dependent on landowners than before to make expensive investment for agricultural improvements,²⁰⁷ hence some voices arose to advocate the improvements in farmhouses for philanthropic cause.²⁰⁸ According to the complaints that English architect John Wood (the younger, 1728-82) had collected for his research on British cottages and labours' habitations, cottages of his time were generally *wet, damp, and cold*, living in cottages was *cheerless, inconvenient, and unhealthy*, thus "the necessity of improving the dwellings of the poor labourer became continually more and more apparent" to him since he had found that no architect had yet spared any thought for his fellow citizens who lived in such conditions on dealing with such problem.²⁰⁹ To Wood, basic principles of architecture should apply to all levels of buildings as "a palace is nothing more than a cottage improved".²¹⁰ Believing that every human being should live in a decent place, the neo-classicist architect designed a series of cottages consisting of one to four rooms. Based and active in Bath, Wood's research might not have covered the "North Britain". However, a half-century-long cottage reform for similar cause was about to take place in Scotland as well in about the same time.

In 1795 the minister of Auchterhouse urged proprietors "to build at their own expense all the houses necessary for the good accommodation of the people upon their estates", and such attempt had already been made by Lord Kinnaird back in 1790.²¹¹ In the following decades such call and action were "swelling into national movement". Records show that the Highland Society started to offer an extra silver medal to reward the proprietor who "should have erected on his estate the best and approved cottage" and a gold medal for the proprietor who "should have erected on his estate the greatest number of approved cottages" from 1839, while previously rewards had been offered for "the best kept cottages only".²¹² Such demands for better, livable cottages came to be one of the causes that brought such building type

²⁰⁷ John Macarthur, *The Picturesque : Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities*, Classical Tradition in Architecture (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 8.

²⁰⁸ Gray, p. 18.

²⁰⁹ Wood, pp. 2-3.

²¹⁰ Wood, p. 1.

²¹¹ Gray, pp. 4-5.

²¹² Gray, pp. 6-7, 18.

to the professionals' attention. More architects published their designs and ideas for cottages after Wood. James Malton published his *Essay on British Cottage Architecture* in 1798. This publication met a refutation five years later from Richard Elsam in his *Essay on Rural Architecture* (1803). Another two years later, Joseph Gandy, draughtsman and painter who worked with John Soane, also published his *Designs for Cottages* (1805). Like Wood, Gandy's designs were "originating in the human desire of increasing the comforts and improving the condition of the labouring poor",²¹³ and both their designs express the explicit industrial character with traces of their habituated languages used for other designs. On the other hand, Malton's *Essay* was actually an architectural reflection of the long exploration of the picturesque aesthetical that had started in the early eighteenth century with the practice in gardening and the development of theories reflecting on art and nature. Wood thought that it was necessary to place oneself in the situation of the person for whom one designs,²¹⁴ but still the architect was clear that he was doing the designs for someone else. By contrast, although it seems similar to Wood that Malton also developed his designs in the position of the first person, his designs, which were based on Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) and other writer's poems about an imaginary cottage life,²¹⁵ were actually for very different subject from that of Wood and Gandy. While in his *Essay* Malton did include a plate of designs for "peasants' huts" (Fig 30), which is to demonstrate the pleasure derived from organic, irregular forms, to him, cottage, or "Cottage Architecture" as he put it, is an architectural style that commands aesthetical imagination of a man's spiritually superb state rather than an industrial building type for farm use:

"I figure in my imagination a small house in the country; of odd, irregular form, with various, harmonious colouring, the effect of weather, time, and accident; the whole environed with smiling verdure, having contented, cheerful, inviting aspect,

²¹³ Gandy, p. iii.

²¹⁴ Wood, p. 1.

²¹⁵ A section of Knight's poem, *The Landscape*, was quoted by Malton in his *Essay*, another poem, which is "replete with Cottage imagery", by his friend, was also mentioned in one of his footnotes. See James Malton, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1798), pp. 5-6.

and door on the latch, ready to receive the gossip neighbour,
or weary, exhausted traveller.”²¹⁶

It is even clearer to see Malton’s attempt on cottages was rather an exploration in architectural styles in specific direction than providing solutions for practical uses from Elsam’s rebound to Malton’s designs. Elsam made it clear that what he would offer was for people of “a more refined taste and discernment”, as for “the peasant’s cot” and the farmhouse lived by working class, the architect decided to “leave them to devise their own plans as heretofore, satisfied they are as competent to the task, in all respects, as their forefathers”.²¹⁷ Although Elsam acknowledges that immemorial cottages or farmhouses will prove to be aesthetical “admirable subjects” under painters’ pencils, he attributes the picturesque effect gained from general cottages to no studious plans like Malton’s designs but uncalculated chance. Elsam thinks it is the *tout ensemble*, which is “more indebted to those incidental circumstances than to any particular beauty of the building itself”, that makes general cottages interesting, as for any single building among them, he thinks there is “little or nothing to recommend it”.²¹⁸ The subject of Elsam’s *Essay* was not limited to “Cottage Architecture”- like how Malton put it, it was actually “Rural Architecture” that Elsam, or even Malton too, was dealing with. Elsam gives a series of designs from “genteel cottages” to Gothic, castle style, and “modern elegant”²¹⁹ mansions in his *Essay*, to him “cottage” here is another term for the country house of the upper class. Seeing irregularity as deformity, Elsam argues architecture should always be an expression of the laws of Nature, of which he contends the leading feature is symmetry.²²⁰ As Rural Architecture was not a novel field to architectural profession since the mid eighteenth century (Fig 33), when the development of urbanisation had made it a fashion for the gentry to own a country house away from the urban bustle, what makes Malton and Elsam’s essays stand out is their use of the term “cottage”. Malton introduced the idea of cottage derived from picturesque aesthetic into his

²¹⁶ Malton, p. 5.

²¹⁷ Elsam, pp. 5–6.

²¹⁸ Elsam, pp. 2–3.

²¹⁹ Elsam, p. 2.

²²⁰ Elsam, p. 4.

designs for country houses, and Elsam’s counteraction to Malton’s style but not the terming “cottage” indirectly embraced the *idea* of cottage in his designs for the houses of gentry. Hence “cottage” became no more “dwellings of the poor labourer” only, it could be used and taken as something desirable for “persons of fortune/ taste” in not just pictures and poems, but real life as well, something with complex cultural meaning aside from the idea of “meanness” and “poverty” in either architectural context or general sense.²²¹

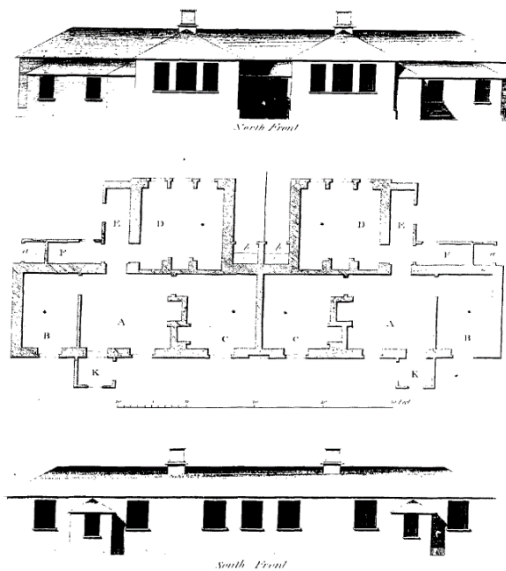


Fig 28 One of J. Wood’s designs of “Cottages with four Rooms” in his *Series of Plans, for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer*, 1792

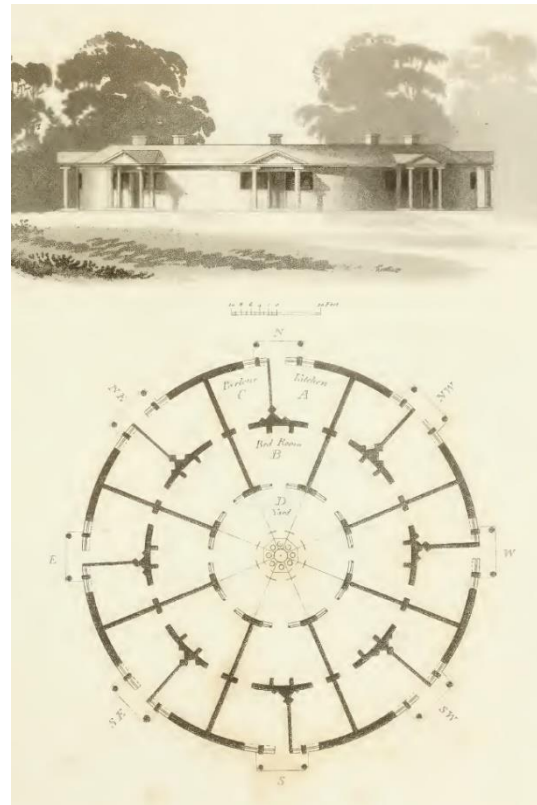


Fig 29 J. Gandy, “Cottages of the Winds”, included in his *Design for Cottages, Cottage Farms and Other Rural Buildings* (1805), each cottage contains three rooms

²²¹ Phrases borrowed from Wood, Elsam, and Gray.



Fig 30 J. Malton, “Peasants Huts”, included in his *Essay on British Cottage Architecture*, 1798



Fig 31 One of Malton’s designs of “British Cottage Architecture”, included in his *Essay* of 1798



Fig 32 R. Elsam, “Plan and Elevation of a Villa intended to be erected in the County of Suffolk”, included in his *Essay on Rural Architecture*, 1803



Fig 33 One of Robert Morris’ designs of “buildings in the country”, included in his *Rural Architecture* (1750), an example of country house design in the mid eighteenth

2.4 Conclusion

It seems that it takes a lot of coincidences to make the development of Burns Cottage happen. However, in another word, everything came to the right place in the right time for it. **First** of all, the poet was born in the age which saw a general expansion of the literacy rate, which prepared Burns, a “farmer’s son”, a good base to become a popular writer. Not only the education Burns had received in his early years as a Scottish farmer’s son was key to his success in literary field, but the fact that the

population of literacy was high enough to sustain a wide readership, which propelled a thriving printing industry and the arising vocation as a writer in the modern society, was very important to the making of the poet. **Second**, since the first review on Burns' poems was published, the poet has been addressed as "heaven-taught ploughman". Despite the fact that in his early years Burns had attended parish school and received well devised private schooling from his father, the title of "genius" followed him to his death. The reason why people were obsessed with the idea of genius can be partly attributed to the decline of religious power of that time, which transferred people's belief in religious power to the self confidence in human rationality and talent. On the other hand, the concept of genius can also be connected to national pride. In Burns' case, the insecurity and instability of Scotland after the successive defeats to London made the country in need of a strong cultural icon to retrieve its identity.²²² Since the authenticity of Ossian had been in dispute all the way, Burns was found in the right position and timing to fill up such vacancy. The poet's humble origin was found very attractive and suitable for people to relate the poet to the land, which had nurtured the bard and Scottish culture. Hence the making of Burns' birthplace had taken advantage of people's perception of the poet from the beginning.

Third, the development of Shakespeare's Stratford three decades earlier had prepared a template for that of Alloway. Burns Cottage was one of the earliest writers' houses developed in Britain. Although the practice of visiting writers' graves can be traced back to ancient Rome, the preservation of writers' houses was still a novel idea to the eighteenth century. In Britain, the significant development of "necro-tourism" on literary figures arose in about the mid-eighteenth century,²²³ and the first choice of location for Garrick's well-known Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769 was not the bard's first and final home, Stratford, but London, which stood for Shakespeare's cosmopolitan literary achievement. Just like Stratford, for which it was a grandeur statue of Shakespeare that the quiet little town wanted to commemorate its connection to the bard; it was the vibrant capital city that Garrick

²²² Alan Bold, 'Robert Burns: Superscot', in *The Art of Robert Burns*, ed. by Ronald D. S. Jack and Andrew Noble, Critical Studies Series (London: Vision, 1982), pp. 215–38 (p. 219).

²²³ Watson, pp. 32–33.

had in mind for the celebration of Shakespeare Jubilee. In Garrick's three-day extravagant Jubilee, the display of Shakespeare's birthplace played only a limited part as a passed-by staged scene of a parade. However, the designation of the place in the Jubilee of 1769 had a great impact to the making of the whole town: Stratford came to be the exclusive Shakespeare's Country since then, although Garrick refused the idea of returning the "wretched-looking town" for the following annual celebrations for Shakespeare. It is not difficult to understand that people tend to use the grandest form to commemorate beloved public figures, hence it takes time and many favoured circumstances for a society to see the potential value of preserving an ordinary place for the sake of a writer. Burns Cottage, too, had been not in the hand of formal protection till 1881, when it was transferred to the Trustees of Burns Monument in Ayr. The Burns Monument in Ayr built in 1823 was the first completed Burns Monument if the Mausoleum built in 1818 in Dumfries does not count. More Burns Monuments were erected in the nineteenth century while it had to wait till the twentieth century to see the development of other Burns' houses followed up. Although the image of Burns Cottage had been bound with Burns in a relatively short time after the poet's death, the Cottage did not escape from changes to its structure and appearance for commercial purposes. It seems that the lasting of the Cottage as an eighteenth century "lowly cot", despite its economic value created by Burns, was already something extraordinary for such building type had been known for its adaptable character and ephemeral longevity. However, **fourth**, the development of picturesque aesthetics throughout the eighteenth century was quietly reversing the status of cottages from poor labour's habitations to admirable aesthetic objects that represented the harmony between human and nature, which made an unignorable contribution in the aspect of aesthetical to the unbarred binding between the adored poet and the humble Cottage. As architectural profession's work on the improvements in farmhouses was trying to reform the notorious culture of cottages, some of them furthered the reversal of the status of cottages by absorbing the idea and terming into their designs for gentry houses, both directions of acts have multiplied the meaning and appearance styles of cottages to this day.

In 1791, when Edinburgh was laying the foundation of the bridewell on Calton Hill, "it was decided to insert two glass bottles", which contained items bearing messages,

into the construction.²²⁴ These items were a name list of city magistrates and that of the Grand Lodge, the *Edinburgh Almanack*, and a copy of each of the newspapers in Edinburgh, as there were four of them. The reason behind such act, according to Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher Whatley, was out of the “growing sense of change in everyday life” in the near end of the eighteenth century.²²⁵ Since the sense of change has come to be a constant feeling since then, the eighteenth century might not be the period that has seen the most rapid change in human history in certain perspective. But still it is worth pondering that it might be a critical time that people started to realise that the status of change would last forever from then on, as more or bigger changes were expected to come. This realisation of constant change explains why the people of Edinburgh no more solely counted on architecture, which might not be as permanent as it had always been, to conquer “the forgetfulness of men”, but the bottles of text were resorted to bear the code for a fuller picture of a sectional moment. Along with the decline of religious power, which used to show forth itself in the grandeur of taking-ages-long architecture and other visual expressions, people would be more concerned with the building types and artistic forms that directly related to their daily life then. “Architecture”, as the phrase referred to, was getting lighter and more instant, while the power of words was growing more pervasive and persistent based on the continuous development of literacy rate, which two tendencies would meet in the development of writers’ houses and make the Cottage last in the following centuries.

²²⁴ Christopher A. Whatley and Elizabeth A. Foyster, ‘Introduction: Recovering the Everyday in Early Modern Scotland’, in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*, ed. by Elizabeth A. Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), II, 1–26 (p. 1).

²²⁵ Whatley and Foyster, II, p. 1.

3 The Cottage in the Age of Romanticism

According to Benedict Anderson, the medieval Christian mind had no conception of a radical separation between the past and the present- the conception of history back then was not like a “chain of cause and effect”, but more like a “Messianic time” in Walter Benjamin’s sense that the past and the future coexist in a simultaneous present.²²⁶ A very similar description can be found in the history of modern conservation as there was no strict differentiation between the original and the restored parts before Winckelmann (1717-68).²²⁷ The practice of conservation work back in the seventeenth century had not been so much different to artistic creation then- that is, in order to pursue the status of ideal, lost parts or broken bodies of antiquities would be recreated,²²⁸ till Winckelmann rejected such idea of perfection. Believing that the ancient Greek had achieved the “highest perfection in art”, the German art historian emphasised the importance of differentiating the original part from the restored part added to it in order to avoid confusion that might mislead observers in their studies of ancient works- the study of “ideal beauty”.²²⁹

Winckelmann’s fever for ancient antiquities was not singular, his insistence on the educational function of antiquities that cannot be reduced by the fusion of added works was a highlight in the development of modern conservation though. The eighteenth century had seen an unfading interest extended from the previous era in ancient antiquities, and the new excavations on Italian Peninsula not only had drawn the arrival of Winckelmann, but also that of grand tourists from the west Europe, which not only became an important factor in the development of Neo-classicism²³⁰- an reassurance of the “ideal beauty” derived from the antiquities, but also was essential to various developments that had influence upon the development of Burns Cottage: One is the development of modern museums, which in a way can be viewed as the result of antiquity hunting. As the gathering of antiquities came to be one of

²²⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (London ; New York: Verso Books, 2006), pp. 23–25.

²²⁷ Jukka Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 17.

²²⁸ Jokilehto, p. 61.

²²⁹ Jokilehto, pp. 60, 62–63.

²³⁰ Jokilehto, p. 56.

the self-expressions in literary circle, the concept of museum and that of house merged, which is particularly significant in some cases, such as Scott's Abbotsford, John Soane's house museum, and later Freud's London abode. On the other hand, the rise of modern museums standardised the conception of collecting, preserving, and displaying things of cultural value, which became a pattern of operation applied to writers' houses in the latter half of nineteenth century.

The other is regarding the development of picturesque aesthetics. As Neo-classicism played the role as the reactionary movement against the excessive Baroque, the reactionary position that picturesque aesthetics took was in a totally different direction. At first, the appreciation of paintings depicting the "classical landscape in Italy" was extended to that of English domestic landscape with "its mythological associations, its winding paths and ruined monuments",²³¹ which was introduced into the practice of landscape/ garden designs not only as a foil to the neat neoclassic architecture, but also as a differentiating contrast to the geometric French gardens. Then the idea of picturesqueness was "popularised" by William Gilpin (1724-1804),²³² whose *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) made him "the pioneer in the appreciation of the British landscape".²³³ Making a tour on river Wye became an "essential part of the education" for an English gentleman then,²³⁴ yet Gilpin's appreciation of picturesque landscapes did not confine to the river Wye. His subsequent series of *Observations* covered Lake Districts, Wales, Highlands of Scotland, and sceneries of other parts he advocated with abundant illustrations, and served as practical tour guides telling people "what to look for in their countryside and how to appreciate what they saw",²³⁵ as "it became fashionable" in England to make tours as such in the countryside and "select picturesque scenery that could be either interpreted in water-colour or described in words".²³⁶ Gilpin's influence on the development of Burns Cottage was in various levels. **First**, the fad of making tour in

²³¹ Jokilehto, p. 50.

²³² Macarthur, p. 4.

²³³ Richard Humphreys, 'Introduction', in *Observations on the River Wye*, by William Gilpin, repd. of the revised 5th ed. of 1800 (London: Pallas Athene, 2005), pp. 7–11 (p. 7).

²³⁴ Jonathan Wordsworth, 'Introduction', in *Observations on the River Wye*, by William Gilpin, facsim of 1782 ed. (Otley: Woodstock Books, 1991).

²³⁵ Jonathan Wordsworth.

²³⁶ Jokilehto, p. 51.

the countryside forwarded the development of literary tourism, which arose from the countryside in the earliest cases, and subsequently secured the preservation of some writers' houses. For example, besides the Cottage, the idea of "the land of Burns" also had made Burns house in Dumfries a pilgrimage destination for literary tourists like Wordsworth, whose residence in the Lake District was also a popular spot of the region. Artistic expressions of Romantic era featured "the artist's sensibility and emotional 'authenticity' as the qualities which alone confer 'validity'" on the work.²³⁷ Instead of seeking for the timeless universal paragon, artists of Romantic era put down such arrogance and "put a new emphasis on the authenticity of the emotions expressed and, consequently, on the artist's sincerity and integrity", hence "every Romantic work of arts is unique" for they are "the expression of the artist's own personal living experience."²³⁸ As more Romantic writers either enjoyed their country life or stepped onto their journey of countryside and included places featuring the connection with their favoured literary figures in the itinerary, they summoned their followers like Gilpin did by producing more "tour guides" in the forms of poetry, journals, and narrative travel guides depicting their life experiences related to real places.

Second, although Gilpin's taste clung to castles and cathedrals when referring to the picturesque effect gained from ruins, his appreciation of the signs of age in ruins, such as "the stains of weather", "the incrustations of moss", and "the varied tints of flowering weeds", which were "the richest decorations from the various colours" acquired from time,²³⁹ deeply affected people's sensibilities to the "roughness", "age" and "decay" in things, which might have been touched by Edmund Burke's (1729-97) theory but had not been really spread and furthered till Gilpin, who made the idea a popular one so that can be found subsequently in Price and Knight's essays on picturesque, Wordsworth's (1770-1850) poetry, and later, Ruskin's discourses on architectural restoration:

²³⁷ Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York: Westview Press, 1979), p. 20.

²³⁸ Honour, p. 20.

²³⁹ William Gilpin, *Observations on Several Parts of the Countries of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex* (London: Trustees for the benefit of his school at Boldre, 1809), p. 122.

“[H]ow is the new work better than the old? There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle lines which rain and sun had wrought.”²⁴⁰

Ruskin’s contention seems to be an echo to Winckelmann. However, unlike Winckelmann, whose insistence on the differentiation between the old and new was based on the exclusive worship of ancient Hellenic works, Ruskin’s argument against the restoration on monuments was a justification solely for the signs of age in architecture- as he favoured Gothic, Ruskin was on the side of Gilpin in aesthetical spectrum. Defining restoration as a “lie” to the public and a demolition to the old building,²⁴¹ Ruskin’s radical words against restoration successfully made “restoration” a negative term in certain context, especially in English world, and “conservation” came to be the correct word/ spirit to replace it in the form of movement- the conservation movement.²⁴² Starting with Ruskin’s criticism on restoration, the spirit of conservation movement acknowledged that there was an “original” state or certain authenticity of historical buildings that should be preferred and safeguarded. Like how Winckelmann wanted to extract the “ideal beauty” from antiquities that might be twisted by restored parts, to romanticists like Ruskin, “the greatest glory” of a building is in the signs of its age,²⁴³ which should not be ruined by restoration.

The spirit of Romanticism is the foundation of modern conservation. Today the way we look at nature and treat things of cultural value, which is with concern and respect in the most approved level, is basically the heritage of Romanticism. If the Enlightenment had strengthened people’s self-confidence in human rationality, which should conquer and also reflect the complexity of universe, Romanticism can be viewed as a total surrender to nature, to life and death, to time, to things higher, bigger, stronger, or grander than human beings. Based on the yearning for a state of harmony between human and nature, the pastoral life of the Middle Ages has been

²⁴⁰ Ruskin, p. 195.

²⁴¹ Ruskin, p. 196.

²⁴² Jokilehto, p. 174.

²⁴³ Ruskin, p. 186.

somehow “idealized”²⁴⁴ and there arose the idea and subsequent acts of preserving or rescuing treasured places endangered by civil development in the latter half of nineteenth century. The most critical change happened to Burns Cottage in this time frame was in 1881, when it was purchased by the Trustees of Burns Monument in Ayr, who then not only end the Cottage’s era of selling drinks, but also officially turned the Cottage into a writer’s house in the form of museum. The Trustees further removed the adjoining structures added by the Cottage’s previous proprietors. Aiming to “recover” the Cottage to *Burns’* Cottage, the effort of erasing the traces left from its inn years was taken to be necessary. Again, like Winckelmann, the “original” part of the Cottage was desired, while the rest of it unwanted, hence it was detached for achieving a preferred state. Although in today’s view, the restoration may be contested by the spirit of Québec Declaration, which tends to respect all the elements that “contribute to making place and giving it spirit”,²⁴⁵ however, the act of removing the subsequently added parts can also be viewed as to create a certain “Messianic time”, which is especially for the audience, except it was only a certain valued past that was aimed to be met in the present in simultaneity.

3.1 The Development of Burns Cottage in the Nineteenth Century

Burns Cottage was in the possession of the Incorporation of Shoemakers of Ayr from 1781 to 1881. At some point around 1800, the Cottage was turned into an alehouse, and it remained so till 1881, when the Cottage was bought by the Trustees of the Burns Monument in Ayr, who then started to officially operate the Cottage as a literary museum. Although the economic value created by Burns helped the Cottage to survive, the place underwent several modifications for commercial use during the hundred years of the Incorporation’s ownership. After the transfer of ownership in 1881, the Trustees decided to “recover” the Cottage to its “original” state as it was then understood. This section will look into the development of the Cottage in the

²⁴⁴ Fromm, p. 40.

²⁴⁵ ‘Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place’ (ICOMOS, 2008), p. 3.

nineteenth century, as it developed through its various guises to the literary museum established under the Trustees.

3.1.1 The Burns' Head Inn ²⁴⁶

When the Trustees decided to recover the Cottage to some original state, the history of the Cottage was investigated in order to see what was necessary to preserve and what might be removable as having no direct relevance to Burns. According to the subsequent pamphlets produced by the Trustees in the early twentieth century, there were two main changes that happened to the Cottage when the Incorporation was in possession of the place. Both were extensions to the Cottage. The earlier one was dated 1803, when a slated building was added at the south end of the Cottage (Fig 20). Photographs of the Cottage do not feature until the mid nineteenth century, hence images of the Cottage in the form of paintings and engravings are our source prior to that period. However, the dates of painting and engravings do not always conform to the actual status of the times since such artistic creations were frequently productions after previous notable works (see Fig 34~36; Fig 18 & Fig 37). As some works of the nineteenth century do show the addition adhering to the Cottage (Fig 38, Fig 39), many of them cling to the original image of the Cottage as it appeared intact in the opening of the nineteenth century (Fig 16~19, Fig 34~37). The earliest artistic work depicting such extension to the Cottage was dated 1816, it was an oil painting by John Fleming, showing the slated building with distinguishable colour on the roof, which is apparently different from the thatch on the original part (Fig 38). Next production recording such addition was David Octavius Hill's work, which bears the date of 1829 and was later reproduced in *The Land of Burns: A Series of Landscapes and Portraits Illustrative of the Life and Writings of the Scottish Poet* published in 1840. There were two separate fireplaces in the Cottage as it was reported so in the early nineteenth century. Since the number of chimneys in Hill's depiction of the Cottage appeared to be three or four (Fig 39), this version is also an

²⁴⁶ The Cottage had been known as "Burns' Head Inn" for a period of time in the nineteenth century and correspondence between the owner Incorporation and the tenant John Goudie, whose family had occupied the place for about forty years, shows that the property was designated under Goudie's tenancy. Goudie. See M'Bain, pp. 31, 74-8, 83.

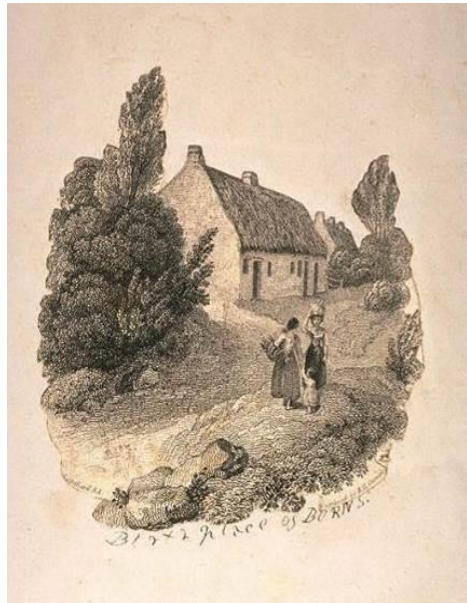


Fig 34 Thomas Stothard, 'Birthplace of Burns', 1808, *Scran* (www.scran.ac.uk)



Fig 35 Thomas Creswick and John Cousen (engraver), 'The Birthplace of Burns', 1835, RBBM



Fig 36 'The birthplace of Burns', illustration on the title page of Allan Cunningham's *Complete Works of Robert Burns*, 1870s, apparently after Stothard (Fig 33)



Fig 37 Title page of James Currie's *Complete Works of Robert Burns*, c 1850, the depiction of the Cottage in this piece is very likely after Storer (Fig 18)



Fig 38 J. Fleming, 'The Cottage', 1816, RBBM, showing the extension to the Cottage with distinguished colour on the slated roof



Fig 39 Engraving of D. O. Hill's 'Burns Cottage 1829', RBBM, showing the extension in the number of the chimneys

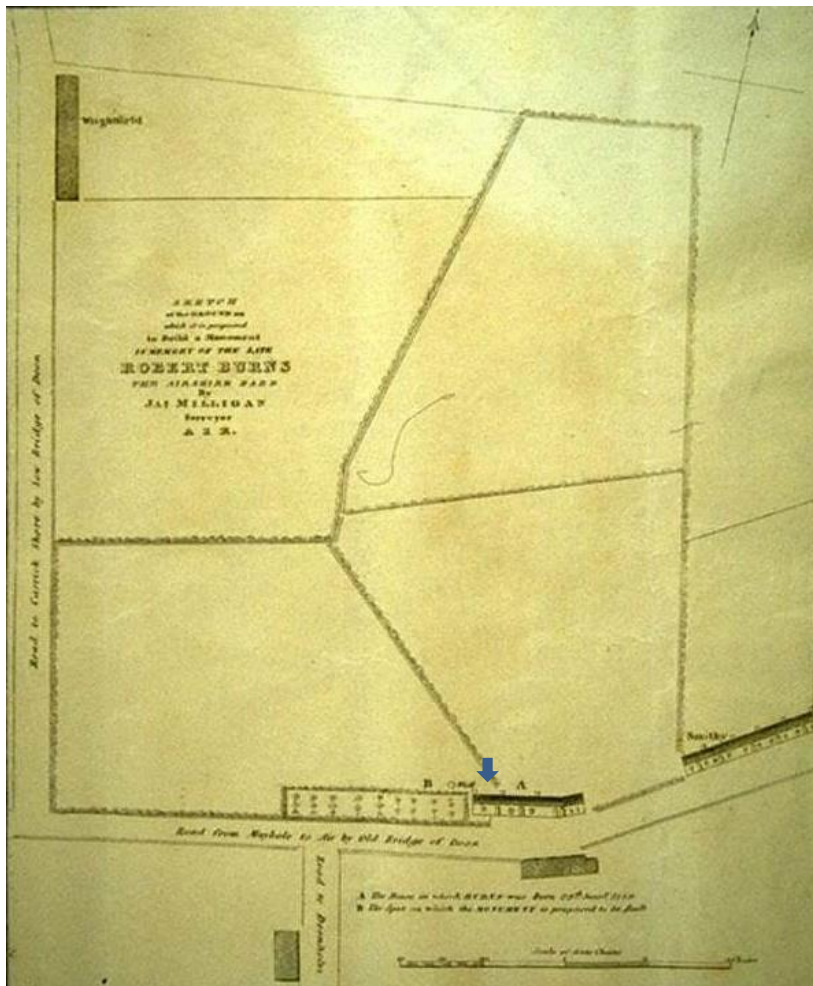


Fig 40 J. Milligan, 'Sketch plan of the ground where a monument to Robert Burns was proposed should be built' (site B), c 1815, *Scran* (arrow added to mark the extension of the Cottage)

evidence of the extension before the mid nineteenth century. Besides artistic images, the extension of 1803 was also recorded in a sketch plan, which was made by surveyor Jas. Milligan in circa 1815 (Fig 40). The sketch plan was for the site choice of Burns Monument in Alloway, which was later built in 1823.²⁴⁷ Milligan's proposal, which was to build the Monument next to the Cottage, was not adopted by the Committee for the creation of the Monument. However, the Cottage was shown in his plan with prolonged structure and the third chimney (Fig 40 with indication), which marked the extension of 1803.

A further extension of the Cottage was dated 1847, when a "hall" was built at the back of the 1803 addition.²⁴⁸ This extension included "an additional room and cellars to Burns' Cottage", and the hall had functioned as "a museum for Burns' relics" and "a meeting place for social functions".²⁴⁹ This extension can be observed from the photos bearing the dates of 1878 and 1890s, where the addition of 1803 appears to be extended backward from the road side (Fig 41, Fig 42). It was also recorded by a plan of the Cottage bearing the date of 1881, when the place was bought by the Trustees. This plan belongs to a set of illustrations showing the space distribution of the Cottage before and after the intended restoration, which was to remove the additions of its inn years (Fig 45, Fig 46). This restoration plan appears to be executed as the Cottage today is no more with these additions, and so show the photos of the early twentieth century (Fig 43, Fig 44).

²⁴⁷ 'Sketch Plan of Site for Proposed Monument to Robert Burns Adjacent to Burns Cottage' <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-136-344-C&scache=1d2imclr1e&searchdb=scran>> [accessed 2 March 2016].

²⁴⁸ M'Bain, pp. 96–97.

²⁴⁹ M'Bain, p. 96.



Fig 41 'Burns' Cottage, Ayr', registered 1878, *Scran* (arrow added to mark the second extension)



Fig 42 'Photograph of the Cottage showing the Hall extension, c 1890', collection of RBBM



Fig 43 Burns Photographic Studio, 'Jean Armour Burns Brown at Burns Cottage', c 1905, *Future Museum* (www.futuremuseum.co.uk), showing the Cottage after restoration, taken from the back side of the house



Fig 44 Photo of Burns Cottage dated 1913, *Future Museum*, taken from the road side

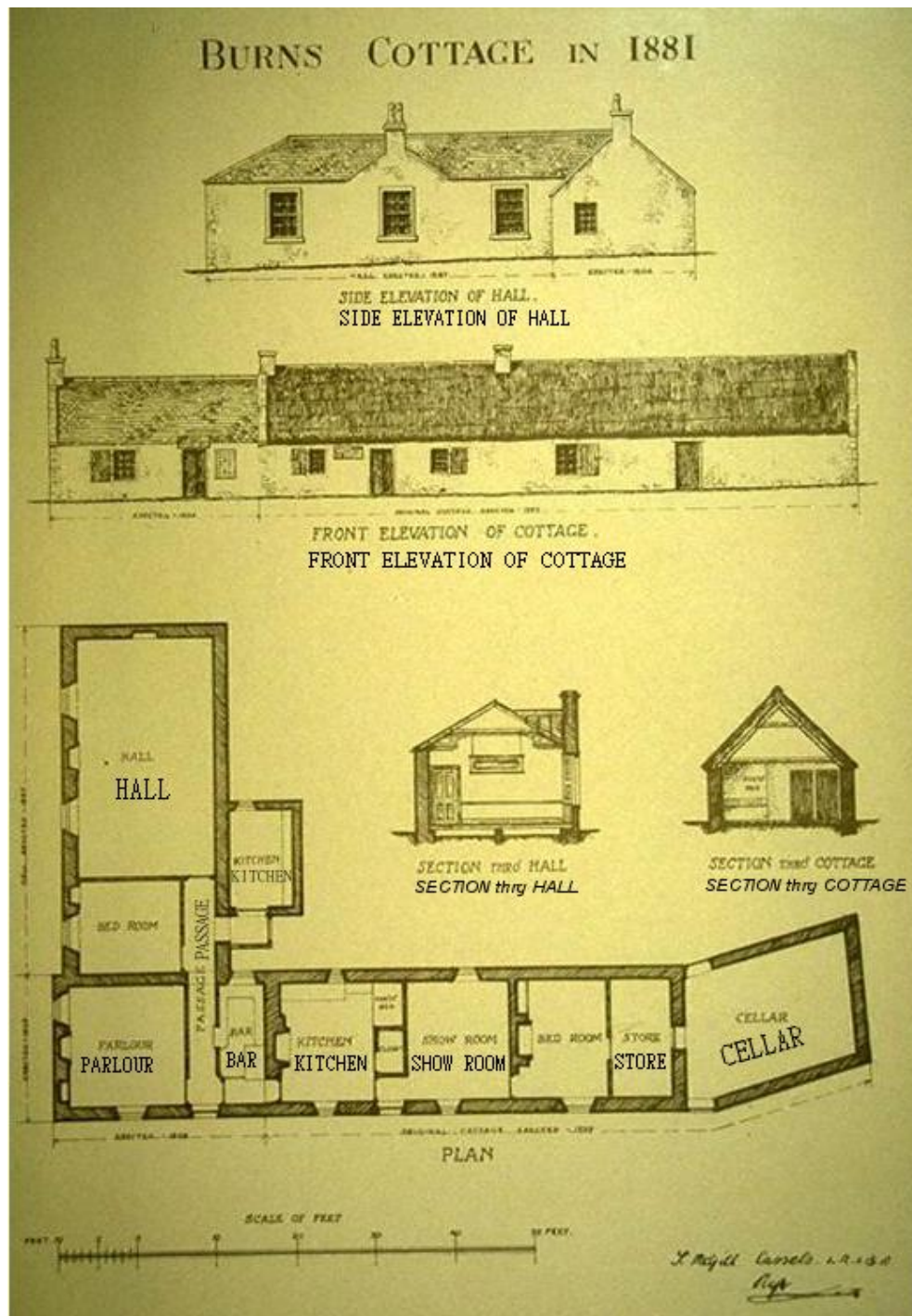


Fig 45 T. McGill Cassels, Plan of 'Burns Cottage in 1881', exact date uncertain, enhanced texts added

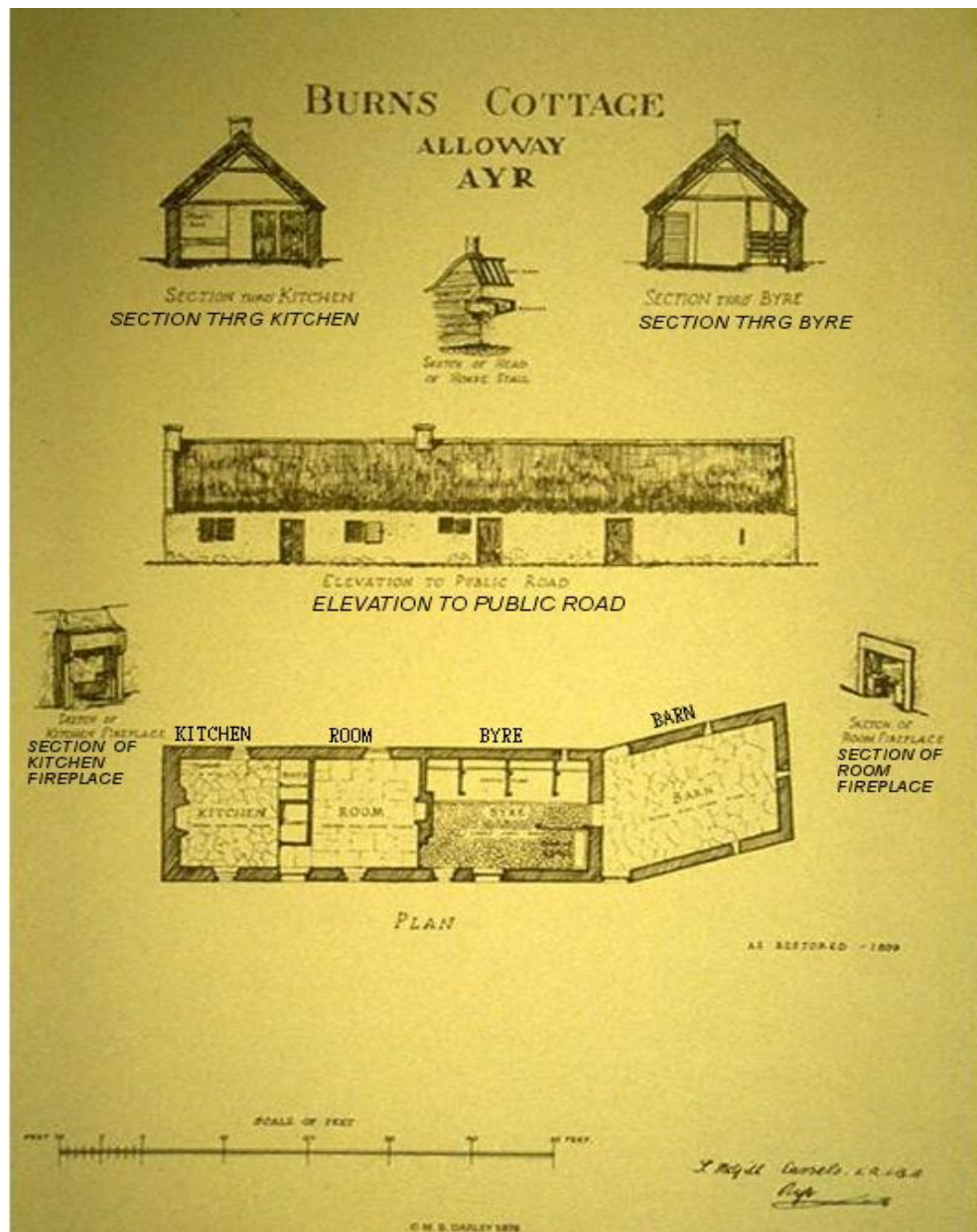


Fig 46 T. McGill Cassels, Plan of Burns Cottage after restoration, dated 1889, enhanced texts added

Images depicting the interior of the Cottage of this time frame focused on the kitchen, which people assumed to be the exact birthplace of Burns. While many artists clung to the family scene of the Burnes' early years in the Cottage (Fig 49, Fig 50), some works did show the kitchen as a tavern of that time (Fig 52). However, the composition of some productions appear to be a mix of the above two scenes of different eras- one of them is David Octavius Hill's (1802-70) work, which was dated 1829 (Fig 47). The artist posed a couple facing the audience as in a portrait

with a general view of the interior setting. As there are only two people in this painting, in some interpretation it was Burns' parents that Hill was depicting²⁵⁰ which echoes the idea of the birthplace of Burns, and some would assume it was the couple who ran the tavern at the time²⁵¹ which corresponds to its real state of the painter's time. Hill is known as a pioneer in photography of the 1840s. Due to that the development of photography then was still in its early stage, nothing registered if it had not taken enough time for the subject to hold still. In the 1840s Hill and his partner, Adamson, produced numerous photos recording landscapes and urban scenes of several places, and those snapshot-like pictures with human activities registered were actually the result of the photographers' well-devised compositions and commandments on the subjects, who had to hold still and performed their characters (Fig 48). Hill used photography as an aid to his painting. He was first a painter/illustrator and then became an experimental photographer. While in his painting we see how he did photography later, in his photography we see how he carefully registered the essence of a place in his composition. Since it is convention in art history to use contemporary models to pose conventional subjects, Hill's intention of his painting on the interior of Burns Cottage can be dual. His depiction of the couple occupying the Cottage suggests that there was such a couple starting their family and gave birth to the nation's favoured poet there.

²⁵⁰ Summary of the etching 'Interior of Burns Cottage Kitchen': "This framed engraving is from the painting of the interior of the birthplace of Burns by David Octavius Hill which shows the poet's father William Burnes seated at the fire with his wife Agnes standing behind." See <http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/object_detail/3.8188> [latest accessed 6th Mar 2016].

²⁵¹ Description of Hill's image: 'An 1829 etching by David Octavius (sic) Hill showing the Miller and Flora in the Cottage kitchen.' See 'The People of Burns Cottage: The Drunken Miller', *Burnsmuseum*, 2015 <<https://burnsmuseum.wordpress.com/2015/11/04/the-people-of-burns-cottage-the-drunken-miller/>> [accessed 6 March 2016]. - Miller Goudie, a.k.a. John Goudie, and his wife had occupied the Cottage for forty years, see M'Bain, pp. 84–88.



Fig 47 D. O. Hill, Engraving of interior of the kitchen at Burns Cottage, 1829, [RBBM](#)



Fig 48 D. O. Hill and Robert Adamson, Photo of fishwives in the Fishergate at St Andrews baiting their lines, 1843-8, plate 21 in the 1846 volume 'A Series of Calotype Views of St Andrews...'



Fig 49 Edrein Cockburn, Painting in oils of Burns Cottage scene, 1860, [RBBM](#), titled 'The Cottar's Saturday Night' with Burns' poem of the same name written on the canvas back



Fig 50 'Interior of Burns's Cottage: The Minister's Visit', "Drawn & Etched by W. B. Scott", illustration in Allan Cunningham, *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* (1870)



Fig 51 J. Carter (engraver) after W. H. Bartlett (1809-54), Engraving of ‘Interior of the birthplace of Robert Burns’, “dates from about 1886”,²⁵² but was also included in *The Complete Works of Robert Burns...by Allan Cunningham* (1842), RBBM



Fig 52 Oil painting of a scene in the kitchen of Burns Cottage, 1800s, date uncertain, [RBBM](#)

²⁵² ‘Framed Engraving titled “Interior of the Birthplace of Robert Burns” by J. Carter after WH Bartlett’, *Scran* <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-136-110-C>> [accessed 30 August 2016].



Fig 53 Engraving of interior of Burns Cottage, date uncertain, [RBBM](#)



Fig 54 'Interior of Burns Cottage', illustration in *Nelsons' Pictorial Guidebooks for Tourists: Ayrshire and Robert Burns*, 1870



Fig 55 G. W. Wilson (1823-93) and Co., Tinted colour photograph interior of Burns Cottage, date uncertain, [RBBM](#)



Fig 56 J. Patrick, '196 Interior, Burns' Cottage. J.P.', dated 1878-90, *Canmore* ²⁵³



Fig 57 G. W. Wilson, 'Highland Mary's Spinning wheel, Burns' Cottage, Ayr...', dated 1878-90, *Canmore* ²⁵⁴

It appears that not only later depictions of the interior of the Cottage correspond to Hill's version, photos produced in the latter half of the nineteenth century also suggest that the setting of the kitchen had remained generally unchanged for a whole century (Fig 55, Fig 56, Fig 57). The box bed was the key part of the Cottage for it had been supposed to be the birth-bed of Burns. Hence in some productions the artist tends to direct the viewer's line of sight to the bed. For example, there are three people in J. Carter's engraving, which was after William Henry Bartlett's (1809-54) work and appears to be a mix of double scenes as well (Fig 51). While in the picture two male figures are sitting by the fireplace, one female figure is standing by the box

²⁵³ Photo registered with Valentines of Dundee 1878 Photograph Album No 47: Dundee Album. See < <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1321856>> [latest accessed 9 Mar 2016]

²⁵⁴ Photo registered in Album No 47: Dundee Album, the same album of J. Patrick's work. See < <https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1321864>> [latest accessed 9 Mar 2016]

bed facing the viewer by her back, which suggests that either she is attending to a baby if the scene is interpreted as a depiction of the Burnes family,²⁵⁵ or she is a tourist looking at Burns' birth-bed, given that the costume of the two male figures do not look like people of working class in the eighteenth century as William Burnes was. Similar composition is found in another undated engraving, where a guest-like figure turns his head backwards in a small party to look at the bed (Fig 53). A more direct expression is found in *Nelsons' Pictorial Guidebooks for Tourists: Ayrshire and Robert Burns* (1870), in which the illustration of the interior of Burns Cottage shows a small group of tourists visiting the Cottage, among whom a couple are looking at the box bed as one of them is pointing at it (Fig 54), suggesting the uncommon status of the bed to its readers.

The *Nelsons' Guidebook* featured Ayrshire's bonding with Burns, which not only suggests that the perception of Burns in the nineteenth century had developed into a spell that can be exploited in wider range, but also shows that the Cottage had come to be one of the attractions drawing tourists towards the "Land of Burns"- which consists of Alloway, banks of the Doon, Tarbolton, Mauchline, Ballochmyle, and Kilmarnock in *Nelsons'* case. Richard Gall's poem of 1799 already shows that the Cottage had been visited by literary pilgrims since the very end of eighteenth century, and the phenomenon of literary pilgrimages to Burns Cottage was throughout the nineteenth century. The first Burns Supper took place in the Cottage in 1801 and soon it was developed into a ritual to celebrate Burns' birthday in Burns' birthplace.²⁵⁶ John Keats (1795-1821) visited the Cottage and "took some Whiskey" in July 1818 during his walking tour in Scotland according to his letter to John Hamilton Reynolds. Although Keats was very upset with the "flat old Dog" at the Cottage, who claimed to know Burns and made Keats to "write a flat sonnet" on his visit, the poet managed to compose "for the mere sake of writing some lines under

²⁵⁵ "It shows the interior of the birthplace cottage with Agnes Burnes standing by the bed alcove in the kitchen and two figures seated by the fireplace drinking wine, one presumably William Burnes, father of the Poet." See 'Framed Engraving titled "Interior of the Birthplace of Robert Burns" by J. Carter after WH Bartlett'.

²⁵⁶ McGinn.

the roof” of the Cottage.²⁵⁷ Two years later, in 1820, Ayrshire poet Hew Ainslie (1792-1878) also paid a visit to the Cottage, which was recorded in his *Pilgrimage to the Land of Burns* published in 1822- the year Ainslie set off for America, and conversely, the year when the American poet Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790-1867) came across the ocean to visit the Cottage in Scotland.²⁵⁸ Halleck was not the first American pilgrim visiting Burns Cottage. Back in 1817, Andrew Bigelow (1795-1877), author of *Leaves from a Journal; or, Sketches of Rambles in Some Parts of North Britain and Ireland: Chiefly in the Year 1817*, had bribed his driver to stop for him and his companion to take “a quick look” at the Cottage when he was passing through Alloway. Bigelow found the man inhabiting in the Cottage “an elderly sawney-looking man, who seemed never to have been particularly abstemious in the use of whiskey”,²⁵⁹ which corresponds to Keats’ description of “The Man at the Cottage”, who he found a “mahogany faced old Jackass” at his visit.²⁶⁰

Although it appears that the experience of visiting Burns Cottage did not always match the pilgrim’s expectation towards the place, descriptions of such experience and representations of the Cottage in publications still drew people to its presence. Tennyson’s (1809-92) signature as “A. Tennyson” was found by Benjamin Moran (1820-86) in the guest book of the Cottage when the American author was visiting. According to Moran, who paid his visit to the Cottage in the mid nineteenth century, “the lands made celebrated by Burns” were included in the European tour at the time, and one who does not visit them would be considered “deficient in taste”.²⁶¹ Hence more pilgrims joined the line to pay their homage to Burns at the Cottage, and according to Moran, they were from “every section of the world”.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ John Keats, Letter to John Hamilton Reynolds (Maybole July 11), 1818, reproduced and displayed as ‘Extracts from John Keats’ Letter to John Hamilton Reynolds and Tom Keats’ displayed in Keats House Hampstead London [visited in 2013].

²⁵⁸ Fitz-Greene Halleck, ‘Burns: To a Rose, Brought from near Alloway Kirk, in Ayrshire, in the Autumn of 1822’, in *Alnwick Castle, with Other Poems* (New York: G.&C. Carvill, 1827), pp. 16–23 (p. 17).

²⁵⁹ Andrew Bigelow, *Leaves from a Journal: Or, Sketches of Rambles in North Britain and Ireland* (Oliver & Boyd, 1824), p. 43.

²⁶⁰ Keats, ‘John Keats’ Letter to John Hamilton Reynolds and Tom Keats (Maybole July 11)’.

²⁶¹ Benjamin Moran, *The Footpath and Highway: Or, Wanderings of an American in Great Britain, in 1851 and ’52* (Lippincott, Grambo, 1853), p. 169.

²⁶² Moran, p. 170.



Fig 58 The sign board of Burns Head Inn, showing visitors' inscription all over it, scrap of M'Bain's 1904 pamphlet, p. 42

Another factor in the ongoing development of Burns Cottage, (apart from people's perception of Burns in the nineteenth century,) was its vicinity to other spots relative to Burns that the experience gained from various spots could be interwoven and compensated for one another. Like how Stratford-upon-Avon performed as a compact "Shakespeare's country", which contained the poet's birth and death, parental generation and descendent, childhood and married life, also, there was more to do and experience than taking a drink at the Cottage in around Ayr and Alloway of the time. For example, when Ainslie and his companions visited Alloway in 1820, what they wanted to do in their tour, according to Watson, was actually "sing the songs themselves in the same place as Burns was supposed to have done". Hence for Ainslie it was the Auld Kirk, where the Ainslie party "picnicked in the grand style and made speeches and verses to Burns' memory", constituted "the very core of their pilgrimage",²⁶³ while the Cottage was relegated to the place where they dropped in for a drink, as a prelude to their *Tam o' Shanter* experience at the Kirk and Brig o' Doon. Furthermore, Washington Irving (1783-1859), who made Shakespeare's

²⁶³ Watson, pp. 73-4, 80.

Stratford “the obligatory shrine” for Americans tourists with his eminent *Sketchbook* (1819-20),²⁶⁴ mentioned nothing about the Cottage in the description of his pilgrimage to “the birthplace of Robert Burns”, where he “passed a whole morning about ‘the banks and braes of bonnie Doon’” and talked to a “poor Scotch carpenter at work among the ruins of Kirk Alloway” who claimed to know Burns personally²⁶⁵- both locations were in minutes-walk of the Cottage, and Irving skipped it in his account. Burns Monument on the banks of Doon had not been completed yet when Irving or Ainslie was visiting,²⁶⁶ as years later it would be the feature of the place receiving American writer Nathaniel H. Carter (1787-1830), who was pleased in his visit of 1825 with the newly built “Grecian temple” to Burns and enjoyed his *Tam o’Shanter* experience, but found the sanctity of the Cottage unsatisfactory- Carter’s account of the kitchen of the Cottage is very lively: “half-a-dozen robust, barefooted lassies were busy in washing, and regarded our examination of the natal bed, occupying an obscure niche, as no uncommon incident”. Carter made up the Cottage by mentioning about the “pretty gardens and fields” surrounding it, however, to him they were “no otherwise peculiarly interesting than as having occupied the early years of the poet in agricultural pursuits”.²⁶⁷

As Keats relied on walking and Bigelow had to bribe his driver to get to the Cottage back in 1810s, the prompt development of British railway system in the mid nineteenth century was a big aid to literary tourism. According to *Nelsons’* guide book, daily trains in 1870 ran ten times from Glasgow to Ayr and eight times backwards, four runs from Ayr to Kilmarnock and five runs back to Ayr.²⁶⁸ Water

²⁶⁴ Allison Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1981), p. 79.

²⁶⁵ Washington Irving, *The Complete Works of Washington Irving: Short Stories, Plays, Historical Works, Poetry and Autobiographical Writings (Illustrated)*, Kindle ed. (E-Artnow, 2015), pt. 25031, http://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/product/B00Z9U4A5W?psc=1&redirect=true&ref_=oh_aui_d_detailpage_o00_.

²⁶⁶ Irving’s description of his visiting Alloway is a reminiscence interruption in his account of visiting Walter Scott at Abbotsford in the summer of 1817. Hence he must have visited Alloway earlier than this time point. And the Burns Monument in Ayr was built in 1823.

²⁶⁷ Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, *Letters from Europe: Comprising the Journal of a Tour through Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Switzerland, in the Years 1825, ’26, and ’27* (G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1829), p. 330.

²⁶⁸ *Nelsons’ Pictorial Guide Books for Tourists: Ayrshire and Robert Burns* (London; Edinburgh; New York: T. Nelson and Sons, 1870), p. 3.

transport also took part in this industry: a poster in circa 1870 advertised a daily cruising route boarded at Glasgow and called at Ayr, where waggonettes would shuttle the tourists between Ayr and Alloway (Fig 59).

Just as the advertisement for the water cruise put it, there was much to see and experience in the “Land o’ Burns”, which featured Burns Monument in its package, as the shuttle waggonette would pass by the Cottage, the Auld Kirk, and stop at the Auld Brig to give time for “a short ramble” around the bridge. *Nelsons’* guidebook suggested a more comprehensive itinerary covering the two bridges of Ayr, which were also made famous by Burns’ poem, and eminent castles and buildings in the vicinity, among which Burns Cottage was a must-see that took up two of eleven illustrations in the book to demonstrate the appearance and the interior of the Cottage (Fig 54, Fig 60). It might be true that the nineteenth-century Ayr had been lit up by the idea of “the land of Burns”. However, the development of Burns Cottage benefited a lot from the peripheral developments, especially those regarding tourism industry. On the other hand, the commercial value created by Burns did not prevent the Cottage from alterations- on the contrary, Burns effect might be responsible for the two extensions to the Cottage. Apart from the extensions of 1803 and 1847, tenants of the Cottage had asked the Incorporation to do various kinds of repairs or alterations to the property for their business, among which only few of them can be confirmed have been carried out. For example, John Goudie, the inn keeper of “Burns Head” for forty years, proposed either to add another storey on the Cottage or to build a “back jamb of such dimensions” in a letter of 1823, given that “a large house” would be necessary for the newly built Burns Monument would increase the need of accommodations in Alloway.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ M’Bain, pp. 79–80.

NO TOURIST SHOULD MISS

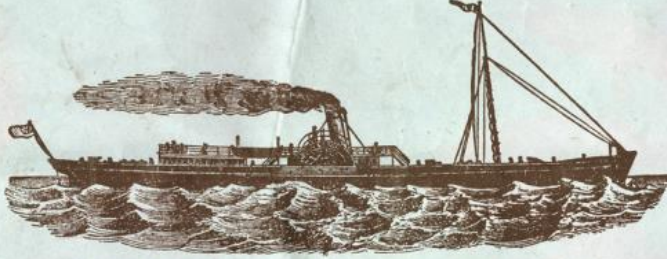
The New Popular Excursion Route

TO THE

LAND O' BURNS.

LARGS, MILLPORT, AND AYR,
Via **KIRN** and **DUNOON.**

THE SPLENDID SALOON STEAMER,



"BONNIE DOON,"
SAILS DAILY IN
May, June, July, August, and September,
FROM BRIDGE WHARF, GLASGOW, AT SEVEN A.M.,
CALLING AT
Partick; Renfrew; Railway Wharf, Bowling; Greenock; Kirn; Dunoon;
Largs; Millport; Ardrossan; and Troon.
RETURNING FROM AYR AT HALF-PAST TWO P.M.

On Arrival of Steamer at AYR, DRAGS and WAGGONETTES start for
BURNS' MONUMENT.
(FARES, ONE SHILLING), Returning in time for Sailing.
Passing, *en route*, BURNS' COTTAGE, ALLOWAY AULD HAUNTED KIRK, &c.,
and giving time for a short ramble by the AULD BRIG and CLASSIC GROUNDS,
"Amang the bonnie winding banks where Doon rins wimpling clear,
Where Bruce ance ruled the martial ranks, and shook his Carrick spear."

Passengers by North British Railway and Steamer "Dandie Dinmont" are generally
in time to meet the "Bonnie Doon" at Dunoon in the Morning.

BREAKFAST, DINNER, TEA, AND WINES,
Of the Best Description, at very Moderate Charges.

Fig 59 Advertisement for the Land of Burns Tourist Cruise, c. 1870, © East Ayrshire Council, *Future Museum*



Fig 60 ‘Burns Cottage’, illustration in *Nelsons’ Pictorial Guidebooks for Tourists: Ayrshire and Robert Burns*, 1870, showing the slated extension to the thatched Cottage at the left hand side

Judging by representations of the Cottage in the nineteenth century, the proposal of adding another storey was apparently declined while the idea of commemorating the poet in his birthplace did not stop expanding. It appears that the business of selling drinks had been passed through the tenants of the Cottage under the Incorporation in this time frame (Fig 61, Fig 62, Fig 63), and the annual rent of the Cottage had risen to £70 in the 1860s. Compared to its original rate at the end of eighteenth century, which had been £10 in 1799,²⁷⁰ it was sevenfold. One tenant went bankrupt in this period, and the Incorporation decided to put the property for sale to get rid of negotiations of the rent- and it was not the first time that the Incorporation considered to sell the Cottage. The property attained from Williams Burnes in 1786 at the price of £160 was estimated to worth £3,000 in 1866.²⁷¹ However, the Incorporation remained in possession of the Cottage until 1881, during which period, the annual rent had climbed to £110, and the deal with the Trustees of Burns Monument was made at the price of £4,000, “on the footing” that the Cottage, the grounds and the feu duties were acquired by the Trustees “for the purpose of preserving them in the future interest, and for behoof, of the public”.²⁷² Formed in 1820, the Trustees were appointed by the subscribers to the Monument erected in 1823 on the banks of Doon.²⁷³ Although the Cottage had been a “public house” for at

²⁷⁰ M’Bain, pp. 52, 102.

²⁷¹ ‘Burns’s Cottage at Alloway, near Ayr’, *Inverness Courier*, 23 August 1866, p. 5.

²⁷² M’Bain, pp. 104, 108, 115-6.

²⁷³ M’Bain, pp. 111-2.

least eighty years then, the transfer of ownership of the property from the hand of an Incorporation of limited members to that of such Trustees assigned by public subscriptions had pushed the place closer to be under public ownership, which, in the best conditions, would prioritise the perpetuity of the Cottage. Given that the Trustees had been formed for the establishment of the Monument to cherish the memory of Burns, the Cottage was ushered into a new era of being under a sort of authoritative protection.



Fig 61 Photo of Burns Cottage, dated 1862, RBBM, showing “the tiled roof annex at the left hand side” (obscure), the “innkeeper”, “notable local Alloway residents”, and “a visitor”²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ According to M’Bain, innkeeper Davidson Ritchie (marked in the photo at the left end) came in possession of Burns Cottage in 1857 and had died at some point before or in 1860, and the successive tenant’s name was James Allan (M’Bain, pp. 101-2, Fig 64). Hence either the date of this photo or the information of figures is arguable.



Fig 62 Scrap of James Valentine’s photo “Birthplace of Robert Burns, near Ayr”, dated 1865 (the full image is accessible through *Capital Collections* <www.capitalcollections.org.uk>), showing plaques at the door, the one at the right hand side reads “wines spirits & ales”



Fig 63 Sepia toned monochrome photographic print on a carte de visite card of Burns Cottage, shot by John Humphrey, c. 1870, *Scran*, showing another plaque hang at the entrance of the addition at the left hand side reads “wine spirits ales”

contents of the *Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter*, to the fourth volume of which, as the book of the words informs us, it belongs. The effusion which bears the name of "Call John" (Part II.), extracted from the same compilation, was perhaps intended as a satire on that portion of the musical community which has hitherto failed to discover the peculiar merits of the Tonic Sol-Fa method of vocal instruction. "Chorus" may stand for the majority of amateurs; "John" for their would-be enlighteners:—

(Chorus) Call John! John! John!
Louder, louder, louder,
John! John! John!
(John) Well! well! what d'ye want of John?
(Chorus) Oh John! oh John! can you tell us?
(John) Tell you what?
(Chorus) Oh John! Oh John! Oh John!
John! John! John! Can you tell us?
(John) Tell you what?
(Chorus) Tell us how? (John) How to what?
(Chorus) How to sing? (John) Sing what?
(Chorus) This song
(John) How to sing this song? Yes, yes.
Fah, me, ray, do, me, ray, do—
(Chorus) No, no, no. (John) *Soh, me, do, ray;*
(Chorus) No, no, no. (John) *Soh, fah, me, ray, do, me,*
ray, do.
(Chorus) No, no, no. (John) *Soh, me, do, ray, me, ray, do.*
(Chorus) No, no, no, Johnny! Johnny! Can you tell us,
Tell us how to sing this song?
(John) No, no, no, never will I teach you how to sing.
(Chorus) Ha! ha! ha! ha! John! John! we've learn'd
this song.
(John) No, no, such a set of blunderheads
Will never learn to sing.

Nevertheless, if teachers of the new system were not more explicit than "John," the world might for ever remain in darkness on this particular subject. Happily, to all accounts they are, and "Fah, me, ray, do," &c., shuffled up no matter how many times, does not represent the whole of their professional stock in trade. "Call John," though in no respect a composition distinguished for beauty, in a strictly musical sense, was declaimed (*sung*) would be hardly the word) with remarkable vigour, and welcomed with clamorous enthusiasm. The audience seemed as though they could never tire of it. Whether this hearty reception of a piece so entirely unmeritorious, and (with deference) so vulgar, is an incident upon which the promoters of the "Tonic Sol-Fa" may be felicitated may, we think, be open to doubt. Far more gratifying to all who regard their very praiseworthy efforts from a serious point of view, and for legitimate reasons wish their success, must have been the smooth and correct delivery of Mendelssohn's part-song, "O hills, O vales of pleasure." Music such as this cannot fail to work good to whatever cause may invoke its co-operation, its simplicity being not more inviting than its feeling is poetical and genuine. Each successive rehearsal of so chaste and beautiful a piece is calculated to improve the taste and elevate the ideas of beginners, under whatever system their studies may be pursued; and they who have the direction of the Tonic Sol-Fa movement throughout the country—a movement which, according to the manner in which it is controlled, may be one of real importance, or, to say no worse, of comparative insignificance—should be anxious to include as much of the pure element in their course of instruction as expediency will allow, and as little of what is spurious, trivial or corrupt. Tuesday night's programme contained much that was good, but left as much to desire; conveying, moreover, in its general outline, no evidence of a clear and definite aim. How to sing should not be the whole and sole object in contemplation, *what to sing* involving, under the circumstances, a question of at least equal significance.—*Times*.



→ BURNS' COTTAGE.—We understand that Mr. James Allan, butler to Sir Edward Hunter Blair of Blairquhan, is to become tenant of Burns' cottage, having been selected from a number of offerers by the Incorporation of Shoemakers, to whom the property belongs.—*Ayrshire Express*.

MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS.—The third concert was in no way less attractive than its predecessors, and again, in spite of a drenching and incessant rain, was the cheerful large hall filled by an audience bent upon enjoying another of those excellent programmes which the directors know so well how to provide. Of the four instrumental pieces by Beethoven (to whose compositions the instrumental part of the programme was confined), three were heard here for the first time, showing that the management fully intends carrying out the promise made in the inaugural address of "varying the entertainments as much as practicable, and frequently presenting new selections." The exception to the novelties was the quartet in C minor (No. 4, Op. 15), first introduced by M. Wieniawski, Herr Ries, M. Schreurs, and Signor Piatti, on March the 21st, 1859, and now repeated by desire. In parts suggestive of Mozart, yet stamped throughout with the individuality of Beethoven, it would be difficult to find in the whole range of its author's works a more charming composition, or one more likely to grow upon the hearer at each repetition. That it was rendered to admiration by MM. Sainton, Ries, Schreurs, and Piatti, we need hardly say, nor that it commanded breathless attention and the heartiest applause. The grand sonata in E flat (Op. 7) for pianoforte *solus* (dedicated to the Countess Keglevics) created the liveliest sensation. Mr. Charles Hallé's reading and execution of this fine work were alike masterly, and it is worth noting that he played the whole from memory. Herr Von Lenz, the rhapsodical panegyrist of Beethoven, finds no praise too lavish, no simile too extravagant, in speaking of this sonata; but listening attentively from beginning to end we failed to realise either the "*gerbes de feu*" in the *allegro*, the "tear dropped from the eye of a Magdalen in the vale of sorrow" in the *largo*, or the "joyous company on the greensward," &c., in the *scherzo*; far less the "child tormenting the may-bug, and not desisting until he has torn off its last leg," in the minor episode of the *rondo finale*. Fortunately the position of Beethoven is too surely established to be shaken; but had he been an ordinary composer we should have trembled for his reputation. The analyses of Herr Lenz are too frothy to inflict much injury. In the sonata in F major (No. 1, Op. 5) for pianoforte and violoncello, Mr. Charles Hallé enjoyed the co-operation of Signor Piatti, and with two such artists the performance, as may be imagined, was irreproachable. The sonata (in two movements, only—like that of Mozart for violin and piano, introduced last week) will doubtless be repeated. The grand trio (G major, No. 2, Op. 1), in which the last-named gentlemen were joined by M. Sainton, although coming at the end of the programme, gave as much delight as any of the pieces that preceded it. Miss Gerard's nervousness interfered with her success in a very charming song from Mr. Macfarren's *King Charles II.*, "Can'st thou deem my heart is changing?" and Beethoven's lovely air, "Know'st thou the land?" Mr. Santley sang Benedict's "Portrait-song" from *The Gipsy's Warning*, and the song of Figaro in the last act of *Le Nozze*, "Aprite un po' quegli occhi," both with admirable effect. The selection from Spohr, Dussek, and Weber, which afforded so much satisfaction on the opening night, will be repeated by general desire on Monday, with the same artists. Mr. Benedict was the accompanist.—DODINAS.

THE FESTIVALS OF THE THREE CHOIRS.—A final winding up of the accounts of our late Festival has now taken place, the Rev. R. Sargeant, Hon. Sec., having this week received from the Earl of Coventry, who, it will be remembered, was prevented attending the Festival owing to absence from the county, the munificent donation of 100*l.* to be added to the liberal sum already subscribed for the charity. The total amount thus received, therefore, is 1,314*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*, which exceeds the amount realised for the charity at the Worcester Festival of 1857 by no less than 281*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*, besides the surplus of profit (65*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*), which will be invested as already explained in the columns of the *Journal*. The largest collection ever made at these festivals, prior to 1860, was made at Gloucester last year, when 1,143*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* was received, but the Worcester collection this year exceeds that amount by no less than 171*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* We are glad to notice that already, before the last sounds of the Worcester Festival have well died out, the indefatigable conductor at Hereford—Mr. G. Townshend Smith—is exerting himself to make the next gathering of the Three Choirs, which will take place in that city in the autumn of 1861, at least as successful as those which have preceded it there. We announced at the close of our late festival that he had already obtained a good list of stewards for the next meeting, and the

Fig 64 Announcement of the new tenant of Burns Cottage on the newspaper of 1st Dec, 1860

BURNS COTTAGE.

WITHIN TWO MILES OF AYR RAILWAY STATION.

THE BIRTHPLACE of the POET was at Whitsunday, 1881, purchased by the Trustees of Burns Monument for £4000, and the whole Cottage has now been thrown open for Exhibition to the Public.

A COLLECTION OF BURNS' RELICS, including very valuable Holograph Manuscripts of the Poet, is being formed in the Cottage.

An Excellent TEMPERANCE REFRESHMENT ROOM has been opened in connection; and Fancy Woodwork (with Burns' views), Photographs, and other articles of interest are always on Sale.

As the Trustees depend entirely upon the sums received from Visitors for keeping up the property and liquidating the debt, it is trusted that none will leave the Land of Burns without Visiting the Interior of the Cottage.

ADMISSION, 2d EACH.

TARIFF:

TEA (Cup),	2d	LEMONADE (per Bottle),-	2d
COFFEE (Cup),	1d	GINGER BEER, "	2d
HOT MUTTON PIE,	2d	GINGER ALE, "	2d
LONDON or BATH BUNS,	1d	SODA WATER, "	2d
BREAD and BUTTER,	1d	LIME JUICE, &c., per small glass,	2d
SCONES, ROLLS, TARTS, PUFFS, CAKES, &c.,			each 1d
TEA SCONES, COOKIES, PARKINS, BISCUITS, &c.,			each 1d
MILK, 1d per Glass			

Fig 65 Poster announcing the purchase of Burns Cottage by the Trustees and its opening to the public, no alcohol was available, 1881, [RBBM](#)

3.1.2 Under the Trustees

The reason behind the Trustees' purchase of Burns Cottage can be ascribed to various points: **first**, the fact of that the Cottage had functioned as an alehouse had been considered a regret or "stigma", which was not only expressed in some early notable visitors' recollective descriptions of their pilgrimage experience spoiled by the "tipsy" inn keeper, but also was found in public opinions from time to time about that the Cottage should be "kept in a creditable manner" instead of staying "a low tipping-house".²⁷⁵ Irish orator Curran, who visited the Cottage in 1810, had put it this way: "the genius and the fate of the man were already heavy on my heart, but the drunken laugh of the landlord gave me such a view of the rock on which he foundered I could not stand it, but burst into tears"-²⁷⁶ and Keats went even harsher when he visited in 1818. The Cottage had been put in the market by the Incorporation for several times at different time points, which aroused similar voice or discussions on the use of the Cottage to arise again. According to the report covering the transaction agreement on the Cottage between the Incorporation and the Trustees, the Provost of Ayr had received communications "not only from gentlemen in this country", "but from remote quarters of the world", "urging the desirability of freeing Burns' Cottage from its alliance with the drink traffic".²⁷⁷ The idea of freeing the Cottage from inadequate appropriation might be disputable, given that the business of selling drinks was actually an effective means, like a substitute of entry fees, to sustain the perpetuity of the Cottage in its early development. Having received pilgrims as a public house in the first eighty years of nineteenth century, the main problem of the Cottage by then was probably the unsteadiness of its fate as a private property. Hence, **second**, the formation of the idea of public ownership, which "looked to the Monument Committee", also urged the transaction of the Cottage to ensure that the place fall into the hands of reliable institution.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ 'Burns's Cottage at Alloway, near Ayr'; 'BURNS' COTTAGE', *The Dundee Courier & Argus* (Dundee, Scotland, 15 September 1877), p. 2, Issue 7535.

²⁷⁶ 'Burns's Cottage at Alloway, near Ayr'.

²⁷⁷ 'Purchase of Burns' Cottage', *Dundee Courier*, 1 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁷⁸ 'Purchase of Burns' Cottage'; 'Burns's Cottage at Alloway, near Ayr'.

Like Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford, which also had been run as an inn receiving tourists for decades and was put up for sale for years in the 1840s, "no one was really that interested" until the American showman P. T. Barnum proposed to buy the property and ship it "brick-by-brick" to the United States.²⁷⁹ The sense of jeopardy brought people together. Led by Dickens, the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust was formed in 1847 and successfully raised enough money to buy the house from the auction in the same year-²⁸⁰ the Trust is still in charge of the place and also other Stratfordian houses relative to Shakespeare today. Such a template was brought up in 1866 when Burns' Cottage was for sale again, the reporter went: "England has secured for the present age and for posterity the birthplace of Shakespeare; could not Scotland do the same for Burns?"²⁸¹ Although this question did not get immediate satisfying response, the idea of public ownership had been already under development through early subscriptions to Burns monuments in several places- which was to build something new and magnificent instead of conserving what had already been there though, as the main stream way of commemorating beloved figures then, the establishment of new monuments to Burns demonstrated how commemorations of a national hero could be carried out through the accumulation of big and tiny supports from the public (Fig 66, Fig 67)- like how the preservation of Shakespeare's birthplace was made possible, "it would be well if," suggested by the reporter of *Mayfair* in 1877, for the sake of the annual Burns' festival, Scotland determined that the Cottage "cease to be a petty 'public'",²⁸² but an officially public place instead.

Third, the idea of "the land of Burns" makes the Cottage an essential part of it. In D. O. Hill's "extraordinarily lavish picture book", *The Land of Burns* (1840), which "out-does any similar production associated with Shakespeare"²⁸³ and suggests the

²⁷⁹ 'A Closer Look at the Bard's Birthplace', *BBC*
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/coventry/content/articles/2008/03/27/bard_birthplace_feature.shtml>
[accessed 26 March 2016].

²⁸⁰ Ann Donnelly and Elizabeth Woledge, *Shakespeare: Work, Life and Times* (The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2012), pp. 4, 14; 'Sale Of Shakespeare's House', *Limerick Reporter*, 21 September 1847, p. 3.

²⁸¹ 'Burns's Cottage at Alloway, near Ayr'.

²⁸² 'BURNS' COTTAGE'.

²⁸³ Watson, p. 81.

growing interest specifically in literary landscapes of that time, two engraving works of the Cottage- the exterior appearance and the interior scene of the kitchen, were included in the collection (Fig 39, Fig 47). Although records show that visitors to Burns monuments had outnumbered those to Burns Cottage for a certain time (Fig 68) and “the land of Burns” was not an exclusive label for Ayr then- for example, Hill’s book included sceneries of Kirkoswald, Mauchline, Kilmarnock and Dumfries as well, representations of the Cottage and descriptions relative to it made the image of Cottage one of the most common icons of Burns, which can be found in publications, prints, and souvenir productions (Fig 73, Fig 69, Fig 15). At least since 1816 the image of the Cottage started to be used in the title page of publications on Burns (Fig 70), the image of Burns was then often accompanied with, or replaced by, that of the Cottage in similar productions (Fig 36, Fig 37, Fig 71, Fig 72, Fig 73). The idea of “the land of Burns” might be arguably first coined by Ainslie with his book title, *A Pilgrimage to the Land of Burns* published in 1822. However, in Bigelow’s journal of 1817, the American author wrote about his experience of approaching Ayr with similar sentiments:

It was twilight when I entered Ayr, - a pretty, though irregular town. I recognised the two bridges, familiarly called the “Brigs of Ayr,” spanning the limpid waters of its interesting stream. My feelings and recollections, on approaching the town, were filled with BURNS.²⁸⁴

Although Bigelow’s journey had not included visiting Burns’ widow and final home in Dumfries as Ainslie did, his excitements for Ayr had expressed the same idea of getting into “the land of Burns” as Ainslie had later. Both Ainslie and Bigelow had not seen the Monument to Burns in Ayr, which was later accomplished in 1823. As the Mausoleum of Burns in Dumfries had been built in 1818 and subscriptions to the Monument in Edinburgh was also under development, the people of Ayr wanted to mark its irreplaceable relation to Burns, too. Again, like Stratford, what the local people had hoped to mark their relation to Shakespeare was a statue of the bard erected in the city hall, for Ayr, it was a monument on the banks of Doon to

²⁸⁴ Bigelow, p. 41.

accomplish the idea of “the land of Burns”. What the establishment of Shakespeare’s statue had affected Stratford most was the subsequent development of the bard’s birthplace and hence the whole town. Likewise, while monuments to Burns and statues of the poet were erected in town after town throughout the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries, what distinguished Ayr from other “land of Burns” were places like the Cottage, the Auld Kirk, and Brig o’ Doon, where people could find true connections to Burns’ life and works. While it might require some favoured conditions to preserve an ordinary place in the name of the public/ writer, the Cottage was never out of the picture titled “the land of Burns”- whether it was Hill’s pictorial book of the same name or representations featuring Burns Monument on the banks of Doon in the foreground (Fig 74, Fig 75). Unlike Stratford, which development was initiated by the statue that introduced Garrick’s Jubilee, the development of Ayr as Burns’ country started very soon after the poet’s death and the place had been associated with the image of Burns since then. While it takes ages for people to reinterpret Shakespeare as a country boy of Stratford, Burns’ life and works were deeply associated with “the land of Burns” from the beginning. And what his poems had depicted were ensured from destruction ever since. Take the auld brig of Ayr for example, which was immortalised by Burns’ poems, although this ancient bridge was significant on its own for its age, it was the same reason that had been responsible for its insecurity and subsequent repair needs from time to time. In 1788 Ayr built a new bridge designed by Robert Adam and made the old one a pedestrian crossing, which was commemorated in Burns’ poem *The Brigs o’ Ayr*, where the old bridge had confrontation with the new one about their fate and pride. Since the new bridge was seriously damaged and rebuilt in 1879, the old bridge eventually outlived its opponent (like how it predicted in Burns’ poem) and got an extensive repair in 1907 when it was encountering another “to preserve or to rebuild” dilemma, which was resolved by the cult of Burns- with the support of public subscriptions, the old bridge was saved from its “irreparable”, “doomed” state, and this massive “Burns relic” survives to this day like the Cottage does.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ ‘Ayr, Auld Brig | Canmore’ <<https://canmore.org.uk/site/41829/ayr-auld-brig>> [accessed 14 April 2016]; ‘Ayr New Bridge’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 23 April 1879, p. 2; ‘Lord Rosebery and The Old Bridge Of Ayr’, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 26 September 1906, p. 3; ‘Lord Rosebery and the

Fourth, it was a trend to preserve a house in the name of writer. The preservation of Burns' relics and places associated to Burns was not only a singular "Scotland's debt to Burns",²⁸⁶ it was manifestation of the spreading phenomenon that had echoed the development of literary pilgrimage/ tourism in the nineteenth century. Besides Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford, which was put under official protection and opened to the public by a trust specifically formed for this purpose since 1847, Abbotsford, the "stone-and-lime love" of Walter Scott,²⁸⁷ was arguably the first writer's house to make such example in Britain- Scott died in 1832, and the public subscriptions for the preservation of Abbotsford was initiated almost immediately after the writer's death.²⁸⁸ The house was opened to the public in the subsequent year, five months after Scott's death.²⁸⁹ This pattern was reproduced in Thomas Carlyle's (1795-1881) birthplace when the writer died in 1881. The house originally constructed by Carlyle's stonemason father and uncle was opened to the public in the same year of the writer's death and "has remained virtually untouched" since then, although the ownership of the place would have to undergo some more transfers till it was acquired by National Trust for Scotland in 1936.²⁹⁰ 1881 was also the same year in which Burns Cottage was purchased by the Trustees, and that makes at least three Scottish writer's houses (if not counting Burns' house in Dumfries) preserved by then. As Abbotsford was perceived as a monument to "the tastes, talents and achievements of its begetter",²⁹¹ Burns Cottage and Carlyle's birthplace, the Arched House of Ecclefechan, were both related to the writer's common origin where arose his uncommon genius. Another Carlyle's house, the 24 Cheyne Row in London,

Auld Brig Of Ayr', *The Scotsman*, 11 December 1906, p. 9; 'The Ayr Auld Brig', *Western Daily Press*, 16 March 1907, p. 6.

²⁸⁶ Borrowing the term used in Lord Rosebery's "appeal to Scotland" of 1906 for the preservation of the old bridge of Ayr, see 'Lord Rosebery and the Auld Brig Of Ayr', *The Scotsman*.

²⁸⁷ Ian G. Brown, 'The Meaning of Abbotsford', in *Abbotsford: The Home of Sir Walter Scott* (Melrose: The Abbotsford Trust), p. 4 (p. 4).

²⁸⁸ 'Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott', *The Morning Post* (London, 12 November 1832), p. 1.

²⁸⁹ 'Scott's Abbotsford Unveils Luxury Accommodation', *Scott's Abbotsford*, 2013

<<http://www.scottsabbotsford.com/scotts-abbotsford-unveils-luxury-accommodation/>> [accessed 25 April 2016].

²⁹⁰ 'Thomas Carlyle's Birthplace', *The National Trust for Scotland*

<<http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Thomas-Carlyles-Birthplace/>> [accessed 25 April 2016].

²⁹¹ Brown, p. 4.

would be preserved by public subscriptions in 1895,²⁹² the centenary year of Carlyle's birth. Before then, one of Wordsworth's residences in the Lake District would follow the same pattern- to be bought by a trust specifically formed for its preservation and be opened to the public, which took place in the years of 1890 and 1891,²⁹³ four decades after Wordsworth's death.

The pattern of preserving writers' houses might have grounded on its ripple effect while in some cases the host of the house had played a key role in the development of the house, which reinforced and furthered the development of literary tourism in its early stage when it had not been generally commercialised. Back then people who visited places of cultural interest were not only guided by their reading, they were also encouraged by those who received and greeted them at the other end, which was recorded in their journals and spread as reading again in the cycle. For example, Abbotsford had been receiving literary pilgrims since Scott's time, the writer who "made it a rule never to turn his back on good company"²⁹⁴ was described by Washington Irving and American diplomat Edward Everett (1794-1865) a hospitable writer. Irving described how he recognised Scott immediately when the "lord of the castle" greeted him at the gate of Abbotsford: "I knew him at once by the descriptions I had read and heard, and the likenesses that had been published of him"²⁹⁵- it appears that not only the text of Scott had been published, the disposition and likenesses of the writer were also published or wide spread. Thanks to Scott, the Abbotsford had become a "tourist mecca" since his lifetime,²⁹⁶ and the preservation of the house, in this case, was to maintain such phenomenon created and forwarded by Scott himself, who was not an only case on this. Wordsworth received distant callers, too, which was recorded in several writers' published journals. His residence in the Lake District made the region dubbed "Wordsworthshire" because so many

²⁹² Alexander Carlyle and Ian Campbell, *Carlyle's House, London*, 1998th edn (The National Trust, 2009), p. 5.

²⁹³ Shirley Hoover Biggers, *British Author House Museums and Other Memorials: A Guide to Sites in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (McFarland, 2002), pp. 364–65.

²⁹⁴ Edward Everett, *The Mount Vernon Papers* (D. Appleton, 1860), p. 118.

²⁹⁵ Irving, pt. 248897.

²⁹⁶ Lockwood, p. 74.

tourists had “trooped” to the area for the poet and managed to visit him during his lifetime.²⁹⁷

Burns’ widow Jean was one of the draws appealing to literary pilgrims, too, which had a strong influence on the development of Burns’ residence, in which the poet died, in Dumfries. Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy with Coleridge attempted to visit her in 1803- it appears besides receiving pilgrims, Wordsworth also practiced literary pilgrimage as many other literates did, and that was another ripple effect the writer might have contributed to in the development of literary tourism. The poet Wordsworth’s sister, Dorothy Wordsworth, recorded their visit to Burns’ grave and several places in connection with Burns in her travel journal of 1803.²⁹⁸ They also went to visit Burns’ widow Jean, who had been “accessible to strangers without formal letters of introduction”²⁹⁹ and welcoming to pilgrims of Burns since the poet’s death. Jean “seems to have been determined to keep her family together at their home in Mill Street”, where Burns had spent his final years, “and to open it up as a memorial” to the poet.³⁰⁰ She kept living in the house and receiving visitors coming for Burns’ connection till her death in 1834.³⁰¹ Hew Ainslie and Nathaniel Carter recorded their individual visits to Jean in their journals of 1820s, and Keats mentioned that he was about to see her next day in one letter of 1818 written in Dumfries to his brother on his walking tour in Scotland.³⁰² When Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Wordsworth’s sister Dorothy visited Dumfries in 1803, Jean was away with her children spending time by the sea-shore mourning for her son who just died in hospital while the three visitors were invited in by a “servant-maid” who gave them the above information and showed them around in the house,³⁰³ which appears to have been the custom of the house. And the custom to receive callers appears to

²⁹⁷ Lockwood, pp. 61-4.

²⁹⁸ Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A.D. 1803* (New York: Putnam, 1874).

²⁹⁹ Carter, p. 348.

³⁰⁰ ‘Robert Burns House Feature Page on Undiscovered Scotland’ <<http://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/dumfries/robertburnshouse/index.html>> [accessed 27 April 2016].

³⁰¹ ‘Robert Burns House’, explanatory text on display board exhibited in Burns’ house in Dumfries (recorded 2010).

³⁰² Carter, p. 349; John Keats, *The Complete Works of John Keats* (T. Y. Crowell & Company, 1818), p. 217.

³⁰³ Dorothy Wordsworth, pp. 6–7.

remain after Jean's death, according to the American writer Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), who managed to meet two of Burns' adult sons at some occasion and visited Dumfries in the 1850s, found the house transformed to some "ragged or industrial school" but still receiving pilgrims to Burns like him.³⁰⁴

The house in Dumfries was purchased by one of Burns' sons, Colonel William Nicol Burns (1791-1872), in 1851, thirty years earlier than the Trustees' purchase of Burns Cottage.³⁰⁵ The motive of the Colonel's purchase could be multiple. While pilgrims to Burns valued the house for its connection to the poet, what the poet's son wanted to preserve with the ownership of the house could be the memory of his mother and his own attachment for the house. However, according to Hawthorne's description, visitors was guided to see the space used by Burns as study- a "windowed closet" it was, and the bedroom in which Burns died, while the whole house was then a school "bearing no reference to Burns" at door (Fig 79).³⁰⁶ Although it appears that the house had been let out for other use different from that of literary tourism, it is possible that throughout the nineteenth century the place had always been place of Burns pilgrimage as sources have it.³⁰⁷ The ownership eventually fell into the hand of the Town Council, who turned the place to Burns' house/ museum as it is today, in the twentieth century.³⁰⁸ Representations of the house seem not as popular as those of the Cottage. However, an engraving of the house bearing the date of 1836 can be found in some edition of Burns' works published in the 1840s (Fig 76). And an illustration depicting the room in which Burns died appeared on an issue of

³⁰⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the English Note-Books* (J.R. Osgood and Company, 1872), pp. 43-4; Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home: A Series of English Sketches* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1868), I, pp. 216-18.

³⁰⁵ 'Robert Burns House', explanatory text on display board exhibited in Burns' house in Dumfries.

³⁰⁶ Hawthorne, *Our Old Home*, I, p. 217.

³⁰⁷ 'Poster Advertising Burns House, Dumfries'

<<http://www.futuremuseum.co.uk/collections/people/key-people/burns/robert-burns/poster-advertising-burns-house,-dumfries.aspx>> [accessed 27 April 2016].

³⁰⁸ Burns' son bequeathed the house to his tenant, the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Education Society, who had run the school in the house and the adjoining building, with the provision that the society would pay an annuity to the Colonel's dependents and transfer the house to local charity- Royal Infirmary that is- should the society ceases to carry out their "good works" in Dumfries. The ownership of the house remained with the society till Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary took over it in the twentieth century. Before the Town Council took over the house from the Infirmary, part of the place had been on lease to the Council, who turned the place into a museum in 1903 (abstracted from 'Robert Burns House', explanatory text on display board exhibited in the Burns House in Dumfries.)

Illustrated London News in 1859 (Fig 77), the centenary year of Burns' birth. As the previous issue had covered celebration events in Ayr with illustrations of the Cottage, the Kirk, and the bridges, this issue was mainly about corresponding news from Dumfries with illustrations of the house, the mausoleum, and the scenic Ellisland, etc. The same newspaper published another illustration depicting the exterior appearance of the house with that of the Cottage as a pair set of illustrations on same page in 1896 (Fig 78), the centenary year of Burns' death. The juxtaposition of images of the houses representing the birth and death of the poet seems iconic on media while in reality the developments of the two houses could be somehow competing. Although both the two houses had been place of pilgrimage for Burns enthusiasts, in the time of Jean, meeting the poet's widow sharing her memory to Burns seems more attractive than meeting the simultaneously tipsy, bragging innkeeper of Burns Cottage, while the image of the Cottage, whether on its own or accompanying the image of Burns, had been always more popular than that of the house in Dumfries. On the other hand, the fact that the house in Dumfries had been later on bought and kept by Burns' son and maintained at some sort of level as a memorial to Burns might have some demonstrative effect on the development of the Cottage.

Just like how the public subscriptions to Shakespeare's birthplace and subsequent operation on the place as a house of display in 1847 might have been some stimulus contributing to the second extension of the Cottage in the same year- which turned the Cottage to a more museum instead of pure public house by adding a hall (Fig 41, Fig 45) for the display of Burns' relics and relative social functions, such as Burns suppers, the image of Burns' house in Dumfries, especially the one depicting the room in which Burns died (Fig 77), might have its effect upon the Cottage as well in regard to persisting Burns connection to the house in every way. In American writer Hawthorne's description of his visiting of the Cottage, whiskey was served in the newly added "marvellously large and splendid" hall instead of the kitchen, where the writer got to see around the place in certain tranquil state,³⁰⁹ which quite corresponds to the illustrative depiction from the *Nelsons'* guidebook of 1870 (Fig 54). And

³⁰⁹ Hawthorne, *Our Old Home*, I, pp. 231–32.

according to the article covering the update of Burns Cottage in 1869, the appropriation of the Cottage as an inn had been found not suitable for all visitors, and therefore some alterations was made in the place- as one of the rooms was transformed into exhibition room for the sale of Mauchline wares and “other objects of interest”, the kitchen was claimed to be “preserved in its original state” then (Fig 45).³¹⁰ Another reporting article of 1870 stated that there were “curators” in charge of the exhibition of Burns’ relics and manuscripts in the Cottage, and they were calling for rare editions of Burns’ works to form a feature library in the hall at the back of the Cottage.³¹¹ Hence it was no wonder that when the Trustees took over the Cottage in 1881, the place actually had been run as a quasi-museum for decades. The real difference between the time before and after the Trustees took over the Cottage in the second half of nineteenth century was probably the removal of alcohol license, which was replaced with refreshments and the charge for admission (Fig 65, Fig 82),³¹² as the sale of souvenirs had been run in the Cottage for decades- Hawthorne (1804-64) recorded that he had bought some souvenir engravings in the Cottage.³¹³ The Trustees’ most influential moves to the Cottage- the removal of the extensions added in the time of the Incorporation, did not take place till 1900. In 1888 a boiler at the Cottage’s neighbouring smithy exploded, which caused some injuries and damaged some north part of the Cottage’s roof (Fig 80).³¹⁴ A fire occurred in a nearby wood-yard in 1894, which did not harm the Cottage but furthered the worry about the safety of the poet’s birthplace.³¹⁵ The Trustees resolved in 1899 to take down the hall added at the back in 1847 to minimise the risk of fire on the Cottage from adjoining buildings. The removal of the slated addition of 1803 was also proposed, however, this part remained till 1902. Some public opinion of the time has it that the removal of this earlier addition might do harm to the structure of the

³¹⁰ ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 15 May 1869, p. 7.

³¹¹ ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 25 June 1870, p. 3.

³¹² ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 26 May 1881, p.2; ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 9 December 1881, p. 11.

³¹³ Hawthorne, *Our Old Home*, I, p. 233.

³¹⁴ ‘Burns’ Cottage in Danger’, *St James’s Gazette*, 2 March 1888, p. 8; ‘ALARMING EXPLOSION NEAR BURNS’S COTTAGE AT AYR’, *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, 3 March 1888).

³¹⁵ ‘A Fire Occurred In A Woodyard Adjoining Burns’ Cottage in Alloway On Saturday, But Fortunately It Was Prevented From Touching The “auld Clay Biggin.”’, *Falkirk Herald*, 18 August 1894, p. 6.

original Cottage,³¹⁶ and some thought that since it had been added to the Cottage for such a long time, the slated part already had become part and parcel of the place as some representations of Burns Cottage has it (Fig 38, Fig 39, Fig 80).³¹⁷ It was eventually demolished in 1902.³¹⁸ In order to make place for Burns relics and the book collection exhibited in the hall that was going to be taken down, a new building was built separately from the Cottage on the opposite side of the ground in advance (Fig 83, Fig 84).³¹⁹ A hot water system was installed in the new building to heat the Cottage, and the supply of refreshments has been withdrawn since the hall was gone. Artificial lightings in the Cottage were also removed to reduce the risk of fire, which restricted the opening time of the Cottage that could only count on daylight afterwards.³²⁰ The disputed turnstile installed by the Trustees as the entrance to the Cottage at the road front (of the slated addition) was also removed with its adjoining structure, and reinstalled at the entrance to the new building. Furthermore, the access to the Cottage was directed into the grounds that was originally at the back side of the Cottage.³²¹ Thus visitors to the Cottage have had to enter the place from the ground side instead of getting into it from the road side like Victorian visitors used to have done.

It is worth noting that although initially the safety of the Cottage was the main cause for all these alterations,³²² when it came to decision making on the practice, the chief object of the spatial interventions in the Cottage became to “restore” the place “as nearly as possible” to what it was believed to have been in Burns’ time.³²³ Hence the slated addition of 1803 was eventually taken down, although it had shared a history with the Cottage for almost a century. Besides the removal of the added buildings, wooden floors and ceilings that had been installed in the Cottage were also removed, and therefore revealed “the original floors and rafters” covered by those previously

³¹⁶ ‘LETTERS TO THE EDITOR’, *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow, 17 May 1899), p. 12.

³¹⁷ M’Bain, p. 124; ‘Alterations at Burns’ Cottage’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 11 March 1901, p. 4.

³¹⁸ M’Bain, p. 63.

³¹⁹ ‘Alterations at Burns’s Cottage’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 10 May 1899, p. 2.

³²⁰ ‘Alterations at Burns’s Cottage’, *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, 22 October 1900), p. 3.

³²¹ ‘Alterations at Burns’ Cottage’, 1901.

³²² ‘Alterations at Burns’s Cottage’, 1900; ‘THE BIRTHPLACE OF BURNS.-Considerable’, *The Times* (London, England, 23 October 1900), p. 9.

³²³ ‘Alterations at Burns’ Cottage’, 1901.

(Fig 22). Windows that had been knocked out were restored. Most space of the Cottage had been transformed for commercial uses- as some had once been bedroom for accommodations and some had been cellar in its inn years, most of the place had been used as store or show room (Fig 45). And all of that was restored to what it was believed to have appeared in Burns' time. The *byre*, for example, was restored by putting in stalls to make it convincing (Fig 46).³²⁴ Although "no cows came to be again driven into the byre, and no corn was introduced into the barn", the place was presented as these spaces "might be used for that purpose".³²⁵ Throughout the century, the Cottage was at first an alehouse featuring the birth-bed of Burns, and gradually it was turned into a semi-museum collecting and showcasing Burns' relics with business of drinks and souvenirs, then the restoration liberated it from all the appropriations and turned the Cottage into a "primitive" nativity home of writer as it was expected to be. This evolution process not only reflects the development of literary tourism and writers' houses in the nineteenth century, but was also connected to the perception history of the poet, which had survived the Cottage all the way and eventually made it "reborn" after almost one and half centuries of its birth.

³²⁴ 'Alterations at Burns' Cottage', 1901.

³²⁵ M'Bain, p. 122.

MONUMENT TO BURNS,

NEAR TO THE PLACE OF HIS BIRTH.

AIR, 15th NOVEMBER, 1819.

A Meeting of the Committee appointed to Superintend the Subscriptions now carrying on for the purpose of erecting a MONUMENT to the Memory of "ROBERT BURNS the AIRSHIRE POET," at or near his Birth-Place, was held here this day, to examine the Offers and Estimates given in for Building the Monument, to fix the terms of the Contract, and to arrange other matters previous to the commencement of operations.

The Secretary having reported that, in consequence of advertisement, he had received two sealed offers from persons willing to Contract for the Building, they were opened and examined, and the offer by Mr. John Connel, jun. Mason, (whereby he undertakes for £1555 to perform the work, according to the Plan and Specification of Mr. Thomas Hamilton, Architect, Edinburgh, as approved of) was adopted, and a Contract ordered to be executed immediately in terms thereof.

Mr. Boswell of Auchinleck informed the Meeting that Lord Alloway had consented to dispose of a Rood of Land in the South-West Corner of Alloway Croft, about equi-distant from the New and Old-Bridge of Doon, adjoining to the Road leading to the Old-Bridge, and near to Alloway Kirk, for the site of the Monument. After consideration it was agreed on to accept of this grant, on the terms proposed; it was also resolved to take the conveyance of the Ground in name of the Lord Lieutenant, the Convener, the Member of Parliament, and the Sheriff of the County, and the Member of Parliament for the Burgh and the Provost of Air, and their Successors in Office, with power to them to take charge of, and attend to the preservation of the Building after it was executed. A Committee was also appointed to manage and superintend the Work, and to conduct the detail of the business, with full powers to them to carry into effect the whole objects in view.

The Secretary then stated, that Subscriptions had been reported to him to the extent of upwards of £1200, as per List annexed, and Mr. Boswell mentioned that a sum of £300 was lodged in London, to be applied towards the Monument, making in all £1500, about one-half of which had been collected and paid into him.

The business was concluded by directions being given to print a List of the Subscriptions, accompanied with the above Minute, and to transmit a copy thereof to such persons in the County as had not yet subscribed; and the Committee beg leave to state, that as the Work was to commence early in the ensuing Spring, and the whole of the expense of the Building (including the expense of enclosing it properly, and other necessary outlays during the execution of the Building) being estimated at £1800, or thereby, and that to meet that expense £1500 had only been as yet subscribed, whereby the sum of £300 would still be required; and as the Committee had no doubt of the anxiety of all ranks to offer their tribute to the Memory of "BURNS," they were confident the Gentlemen of his Native County would cheerfully join in giving their aid towards raising the requisite funds for completing the undertaking, not only by their own individual contribution, but by using their influence with their Friends to that effect.

Directions were also given to the Secretary to apply to those Subscribers, who had not already paid, for the amount of their Subscriptions.

BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE,

A. D. Boswell Secy

LIST OF SUMS ALREADY SUBSCRIBED.

Subscriptions in London, received through Sir James Shaw, of London, Bart.

1st List, procured by Sir James Shaw	£105	0 0
2d do. by do.	52	10 0
3d do. by George Young, Esq of London.....	37	4 0
4th do. by William Fairlie, Esq. do	20	0 0
5th do. by Sheriff Bell, do.	19	13 0
6th do. by John Galt, Esq. do.	7	7 0
7th do. by Sir James Shaw, Bart. do.	50	0 0
8th do. by Hart Logan, Esq. do.	13	8 0
9th do. by Alexander Gillespie, Esq. do.	20	19 6
The Prince Regent remitted by Sir James Shaw	52	10 0
Thomas Mitchell, Esq. of Louisa, Virginia, 100 dollars remitted per } Sir James Shaw	21	8 6
Total remitted through Sir James Shaw.....		
		400 0 0
Subscriptions obtained at the Dinner, in the City of London Tavern, on 27th May } 1818, remitted by Mr. Galt.....	150	0 0
Subscriptions received in Greenock and Port-Glasgow, and remitted.....	110	0 0
Subscriptions from the Island of Tobago, remitted by Adam Orr, Esq. of Boston, } and Logan Mitchell, Esq. of Tobago	100	0 0
Glasgow Argyll Lodge, per John Douglas, Esq.	21	0 0
Air St. John's Lodge.....	5	5 0
St. James' Lodge, Tarbolton.....	5	5 0
<i>Carried forward,.....</i>		£791 10 0

Fig 66 Burns Monument Correspondence including subscription list from London dinner, 1818, p. 1, collection of RBBM

(2)

		£	s	d.			£	s	d.
<i>Brought forward...</i>					791		<i>Brought forward...</i>		
					10	0	1158	16	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Eglinton	-	21	0	0	John Aird, Esq. Dunberry	-	-	-	1 1 0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Cassillis	-	10	10	0	George Charles, M. D. Air	-	-	-	1 1 0
The Right Hon. Lord Sidmouth	-	20	0	0	Thomas M ^c Clelland, Banker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Charles Forbes, Esq. M. P. London	-	21	0	0	Thomas Baird, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Mr. Thos. Hamilton, Architect, Edinburgh,	} being the sum awarded him as the successful competitor for the Plan of the Monument, which he generously desired to be put down as his subscription	21	0	0	William Brown, sen. Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
The Hon. David Cathcart, Lord Alloway		10	10	0	James Murdoch, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Sir Wm. Cunningham Fairlie of Robertland, Bt.		10	10	0	Gilbert M ^c Nab, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart.		10	10	0	John M ^c Lauchlan, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck		10	10	0	James Hunter, Innkeeper, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
The Magistrates and Community of Air		10	10	0	Andrew Burns, Taylor, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
A. H. Hamilton of Hüllerhirst		10	0	0	John Orr M ^c Taggart, of the East India Company's Service	-	-	-	1 1 0
Lady Hamilton Cathcart		8	8	0	John Ramsay, Content Brewery	-	-	-	1 1 0
The Right Hon. Lord Sunderlin		5	5	0	Thomas Weir, Writer, Air	-	-	-	1 1 0
Sir David Hunter Blair of Blairquhan, Bart.		5	5	0	David Hunter, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Hamilton of Sundrum		5	5	0	Thomas Gibson, Cess Office, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
James A. Stewart of Glasserton		5	5	0	James Morris Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
G. M. Torrance of Kilsaintninian		5	5	0	Thomas Ranken, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Robert Cunyngham of Cloncaird		5	5	0	David Auld, Perfumer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Hugh Hamilton of Pinmore		5	5	0	Peter M ^c Taggart, junior, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Balfour of Sauchrie		5	5	0	Andrew Wallace, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
A. C. B. Craufurd of Ardmillan		5	5	0	James Baillie, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Alex. Hamilton of Grange		5	5	0	Hugh Aitken, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Colonel John Hamilton of Sundrum		5	5	0	John M ^c Clymont, Banker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Arch. Buchannan of Catrinebank		5	5	0	Mungo Sloan, Banker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Alex. Miller of Monkcastle		5	5	0	James Brown, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Stevenson of Dalgain		5	5	0	William Ewart, junior, Surveyor, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Colonel S. Barns of Kirkhill		5	5	0	John Aitken, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Robert Glasgow of Mountgreenan		5	5	0	John Wilson, Shoemaker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Campbell, Esq. Master of Chancery, London	} 5 5 0	5	5	0	William M ^c Cormick, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle		5	5	0	Robert M ^c Kay, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Robert Crawford of Newfield		5	5	0	John Wilson, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Colonel John Boyle of Shewalton		5	5	0	Stephen Rowan, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Colonel William Mure of Caldwell		5	5	0	James Murdoch, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
William Fullarton of Skeldon		5	5	0	Rev. Mr. Cuthill, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Colonel James Hunter Blair of Dunskey		5	5	0	Robert Doaner of Jamaica, late in Air	-	-	-	1 1 0
Provost William Cowan, Air		5	0	0	John M ^c Hraith, Plumber, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
Alexander Riddle of London, Esq.		5	0	0	John Laughlan, Innkeeper, do.	-	-	-	0 5 0
Francis Freeling, Esq. Secretary to the Post-Office, London	} 5 0 0	5	0	0	Archibald Crawford, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
Messrs. Wilson & Paul, Air		4	4	0	William Reside, Coffee Room, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
H. Doig Hutchison, of Southfield		3	3	0	David Davidson, Grocer, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
William Parker of Assloss		3	3	0	James Howat, Wallacetown, do.	-	-	-	0 5 0
David Limond of Dalblair		2	2	0	James Charles of Glasgow	-	-	-	1 1 0
George Douglass of Roddinghead		2	2	0	John Spiers of do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Smith of Swinridgemuir		2	2	0	William Burn, George-street, Edinburgh	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Hunter of Bonneton		2	2	0	Duncan Cameron, W. S. Edinburgh	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Bowie of Camiscean, W. S.		2	2	0	John Scotland, W. S. do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Robert Cuninghame of Auchinharvie		2	2	0	James Innes, W. S. do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Andrew Blane of Blanefield		2	2	0	William Craig, W. S. do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Col. Cameron, Air		2	2	0	William Guthrie, Writer, Edinburgh	-	-	-	1 1 0
David Scott, Banker, do.		2	2	0	James Gemmill, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
H. G. Reid, Writer, do.		2	2	0	Dr. D. Hamilton, Mauchline	-	-	-	1 1 0
H. D. Boswell, do.		2	2	0	John Samson, Merchant, Kilmarnock	-	-	-	1 1 0
Charles Sharp of Jamaica		2	2	0	James Gregg, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Dr. William Bowie, Bdinburgh		2	2	0	John Young, Shipmaster, Irvine	-	-	-	1 1 0
Alex. Dunlop, Advocate, Edinburgh		2	2	0	Thomas Young, Merchant, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Andrew Skene, Advocate		2	2	0	Robert Montgomerie, Banker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Hamilton, Factor, Loudoun Castle		2	2	0	David Smith, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Rev. Mr. Tod, Mauchline		2	2	0	Richard Reid, Writer, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Alex. Hamilton, Writer, Mauchline		2	2	0	Capt. James Shaw, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
Peter Freeland, Mauchline		2	2	0	James Crichton, Factor, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
William Samson, Kilmarnock		2	2	0	Alex. Paterson, Banker, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
John Parker, junior, do.		2	2	0	David Sillars, do.	-	-	-	1 1 0
George Rutherford, do.		2	2	0	Hugh Davidson, Maybole	-	-	-	0 10 0
Dr. M ^c Kenzie, Irvine		2	2	0	William A. Goudie, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
John M ^c Kenzie, do.		2	2	0	William Rennie, do.	-	-	-	0 10 0
Magistrates and Community of Newton		2	2	0	Rev. Mr. Logan, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
James Campbell of Bardarroch		1	1	0	Quintin Jamieson, do.	-	-	-	0 5 0
James Boswell, Solicitor in London		1	1	0	Archibald Officer, Factor, Muirkirk	-	-	-	0 10 6
Robert Aird of Corseflat		1	1	0	James Muir, Schoolmaster, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
George Dunlop of Macnairston, Air		1	1	0	John Samson Finlayston, Ochiltree	-	-	-	0 10 6
					William Sloan, Auchlin, do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
					James Tennant, Miln of do.	-	-	-	0 10 6
					James Milligan, Land-Surveyor, Air, being the sum allowed him for making the Plan of the Site of the Monument	-	-	-	1 1 0
<i>Carried forward...</i>					£1158	16	0		
					1158	16	0		

WILSON, M^cCORMICK & CARNIE, }
Printers, Air. }

Fig 67 Burns Monument Correspondence including subscription list from London dinner, 1818, p. 2, RBBM

Year *	Number of visitors to Burns Cottage	Number of visitors to Burns Monument in Ayr
1881 (27 May-30 Nov)	14,282	
1886	18,009	25,000 at least
1888	20,615	27,000
1889	21,642	30,000
1894	26,721	32,083
1895 **	33,204/ 33,512	42,833/ 44,806
1896 (the centenary year of Burns' death)	35,205	50,846
1897	32,xxx	42,782
1898	36,761	49,602
1899	42,499	53,831
1900	43,827	56,946
1901 (restoration)	38,760	47,554
1902	50,092	66,158
1904	50,228	61,232
1905	56,309	62,058

Fig 68 Numbers of visitors to Burns Cottage and Burns Monument in Ayr, made from various sources ³²⁶

³²⁶ 'Burns' Cottage', *Dundee Advertiser*, 9 December 1881, p. 11; 'Burns' Cottage and Monument', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 25 November 1887, p. 2; 'Visitors To Burns' Cottage', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 21 November 1889, p. 3; 'The Memory of Burns', *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland, 16 October 1894), p. 3; 'The Haunts Of Burns', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 14 October 1896, p. 2; 'Visitors To Burns' Cottage', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 20 February 1899, p. 4; 'Visitors to Burns' Cottage', *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland, 25 October 1900), p. 5; 'Visitors To Burns' Cottage', *Dundee Courier*, 23 October 1901, p. 3; 'Visitors To Burns' Cottage', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 October 1902, p. 3; 'Pilgrims to the Shrine of Burns', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 9 October 1905, p. 2, Issue 10134. * Annual statistic of visitors to Burns Cottage and the



Fig 69 Allan & Ferguson, set of 4 engravings of ‘the Land of Burns’, 1800s,³²⁷ [RBBM](#), the composition of the Cottage at the left top seems to be after D. O. Hill (Fig 39)

Monument usually came out in October, and would be repeatedly reported later in press. Hence the coverage of these annual statistics were normally from October of previous year to September of the reporting year. ** The two sets of figures of 1895 are from different sources, which are slightly different to each other but both reflect significant rise against the previous year.

³²⁷ Allan & Ferguson, “one of Glasgow’s leading firms of lithographers, draughtsmen and engravers”, was established in 1835. David Allan died in 1875, and William Ferguson died in 1884. (See ‘Allan and Ferguson’s Views in Glasgow, Introduction and Text by George Fairfull Smith’, *Special Collection/ University of Glasgow* <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/aandf/text.html>> [accessed 7 April 2016].) Hence this set of engravings were definitely works of the nineteenth century.



THE
COMPLETE WORKS
OF
Robert Burns.

INCLUDING HIS CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

With a Memoir

BY

WILLIAM GUNNYON.



HIRSH PLATF OF WYNNIE

EDINBURGH:
WILLIAM P. NIMMO.
1867.

Fig 72 The frontpiece and title page of *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, 1867

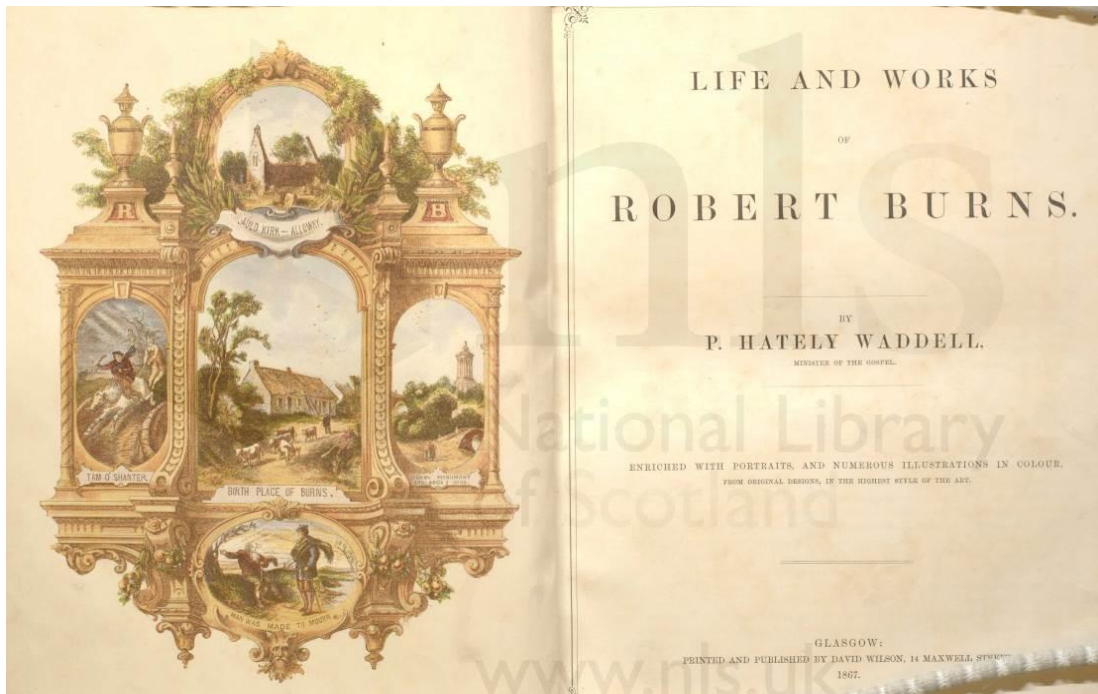


Fig 73 The frontpiece of *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, 1867, showing the image of Burns Cottage in the centre, Alloway Auld Kirk on the top, Tam o’Shanter at the left, Burns’ Monument and Brigs o’ Doon at the right, “Man was made to mourn” at the bottom.

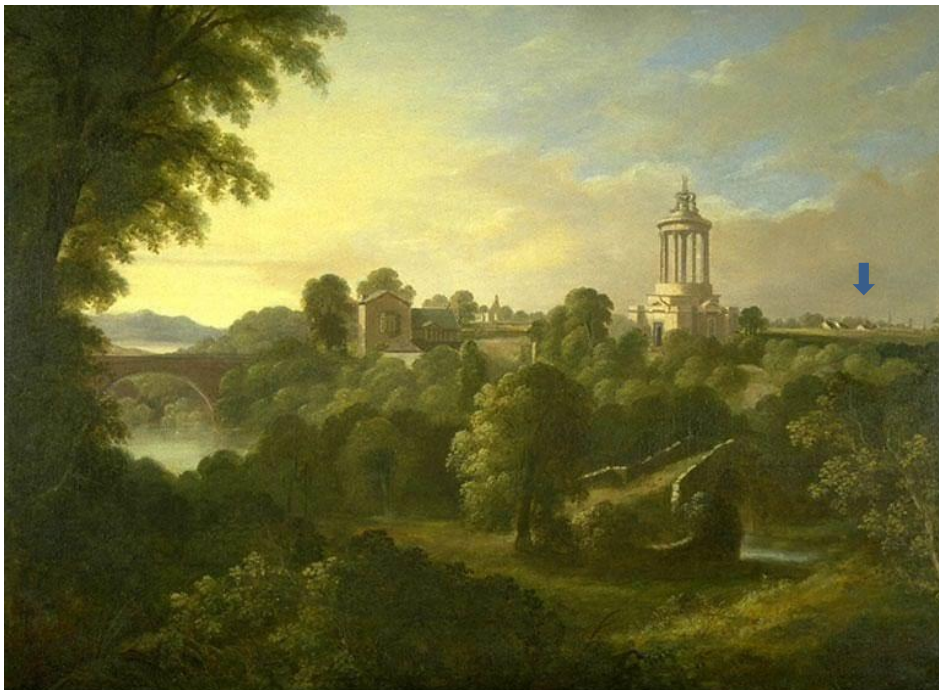


Fig 74 Patrick C. Auld, “Burns Monument”, 1839, collection of RBBM, showing the bridge of Doon in the foreground, the ruined Auld Kirk in the middle of horizon, and Burns Cottage in the distance at the right hand side (on the spot below the blue arrow)



Fig 75 Engraving of “Burns Monument on the Banks of Doon, including the auld & new brigs o’ Doon, Alloway Kirk, the Cottage in which Burns was born”, “published by David Auld, Doon brae Cottage, Ayr, 1844”, [RBBM](#)



Fig 76 W. H. Bartlett, Engraving of ‘The House in which Burns Died, Dumfries’, 1836, [RBBM](#), included in *The Complete Works of Robert Burns...by Allan Cunningham* (1842)

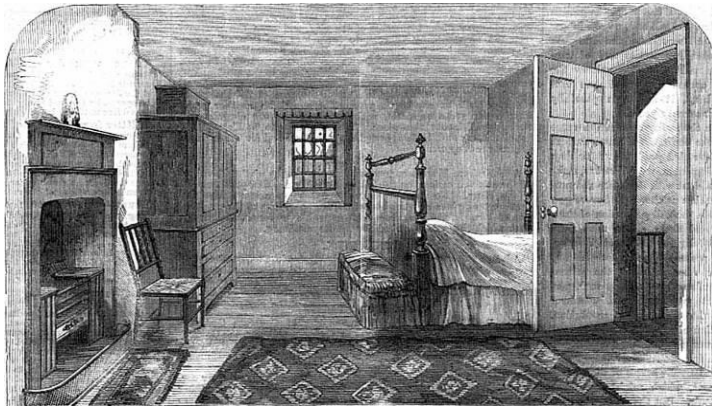


Fig 77 ‘The Burns Centenary- The Room in which Burns Died, at Dumfries’, *Illustrated London News*, Feb 5, 1859, front page



Fig 78 Set of illustrations of Burns Cottage ‘His Birthplace at Ayr’ at the left, and ‘Where Burns Died, Dumfries’ at the right, *Illustrated London News*, Aug 1, 1896, p. 143 (issue 2989), the same page also shows statues of Burns in Dumfries, Irving, and Ayr, and Burns Mausoleum



Fig 79 Photo of Burns House, from *Dumfries, and Robert Burns: A Photographic Souvenir*, booklet published by J Maxwell & Son of Dumfries, late 19th century, © Dumfries & Galloway Museums Service, *Future Museum*, showing the house with no reference to Burns by appearance then



Fig 80 J. Law, Engraving of 'The Birthplace of Robert Burns', mid eighteenth century approx., collection of RBBM, showing the neighbouring houses standing by the Cottage →N



Fig 81 'The Birthplace of Robert Burns, Ayr, Scotland', stereoscopic photos produced by Underwood & Underwood Publishers (New York, London, Ottawa-Kansas), 1896, with information of the Cottage on the back in six languages, showing the place in busy state receiving Victorian tourists



Fig 82 Godfrey Bingley, photo of Burns' Cottage, Alloway, 1898, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, showing the Cottage before the restoration, a display board showcasing images of Burns attractions at the entrance on the left, some words of the sign board hang above the entrance door read "(R)EFRESHMENT. BOOKS" (below the added blue arrow) instead of alcohol signs as it was before (Fig 62, 63)



Fig 83 'Cottage, back view, showing new museum buildings' at the left hand side of the picture, photo taken from M'Bain's *Burns' Cottage: The Story of the Birthplace of Robert Burns* (1904), p. 121, showing the place in restored state

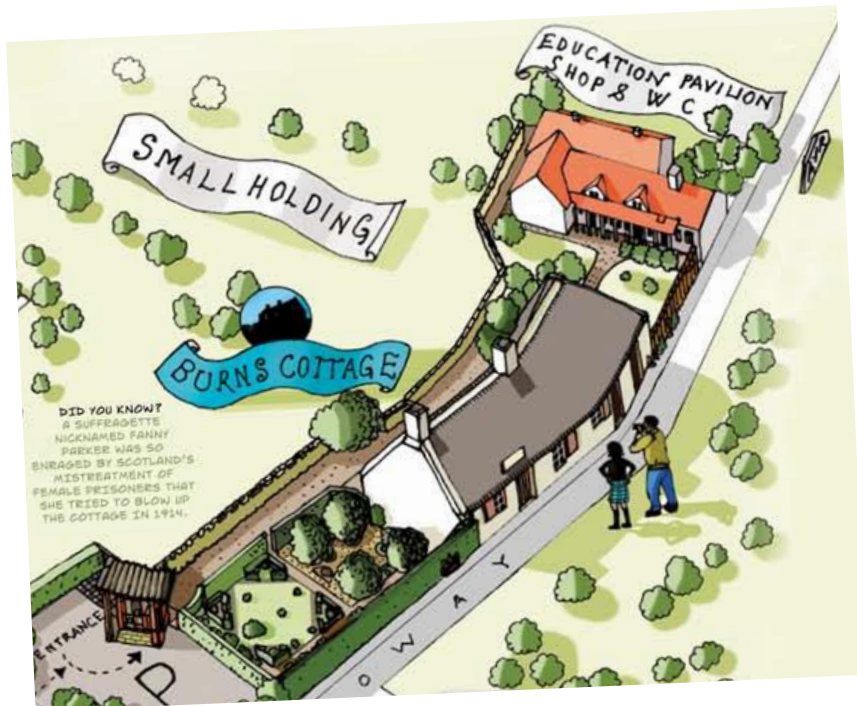


Fig 84 Extract of the *Map and Guide* to the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum opened in 2010, showing the relative location of the Cottage and the "new museum buildings" of 1900s, which appears to have been expanded (compared to Fig 83) and rendered as Education Pavilion Shop & WC



Fig 85 Postcard entitled ‘Burns’ Cottage and Alloway Village, Ayr’, printed 1910s, © Scottish Motor Museum Trust, *Scran*, showing the Cottage after restoration, the “new museum buildings” at the ground side, and the tram passing by

3.2 The Perception of Burns in the Nineteenth Century

Unlike some artists and literary figures who had been either mistreated by fate or underestimated by their contemporaries and hence did not receive their belated reputation till they died, Burns had won his people’s heart in his lifetime, and died young at the age of thirty-seven by the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, most of Burns’ contemporaries not only outlived the poet by some decades of the nineteenth century, their admiration for Burns survived in multiple forms and saw his legacy passed down to following generations. For example, the publication of Burns’ life and works was throughout the nineteenth century. It might be reasonable to see that the death of an author triggers the gathering of attention to the life and works more than ever before, not to mention that some earliest editions of Burns’ works published in the first half of nineteenth century were to raise funds to take care of the poet’s family- which might have given some extra traction for the subscription and have created the positive interaction between the reader/ pilgrim and the poet’s widow. However, the fever for Burns did not appear to diminish as his contemporaries passed on. On the contrary, new editions of Burns’ life and works still came out and appeared to be “as plentiful as black berries in autumn” in the

second half of the nineteenth century.³²⁸ Another index of the consistency of Burns' popularity in the nineteenth century is the invention and the spread of the Burns Supper. What started as a small gathering of the poet's friends at the Cottage on the anniversary of his death at first, became a celebration of Burns' life and works and was ritualised into an annual festival observed nationwide and then worldwide. Various forms of commemorating Burns had been practised throughout the century: competitive poetry recitation, concerts, grand dinner parties, presentation of Burns' portraits and relics, inauguration of new Burns' statues, etc., which not only reflects how the poet's popularity had persisted and expanded over time, but also gives some clue to how these rituals had led to visualisation and material practices- that is the production of Burns' pictures and memorials and the preservation of Burns' relics and houses, which not only has confirmed people's admiration for him in concrete forms, but also has strengthened the memory of Burns.

3.2.1 The Publication of Life and Works

The first appearance of publications of Burns' "Life and Works" was in 1800, which was within four years of the poet's death. This earliest edition was in four volumes with an over three hundred page biography of Burns by physician James Currie, who had met the poet once and was entrusted with this task by Burns' friends to support Burns' family.³²⁹ Being sold out in the same year by the August of 1800 and went through five editions with 10,000 copies in sum by 1805,³³⁰ this "Dr. Currie's" edition received a great success given that the total print runs of Coleridge and Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* published in 1798 was below 3,000 by 1807.³³¹ Since the first edition, Currie's work has been prefixed, reviewed, and republished into various versions throughout the century. By 1820 there were already twenty editions of Currie's emerging in Britain, two more in America, and one more in Ireland. In

³²⁸ William Scott Douglas, 'Preface', in *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns* (Kilmarnock: James M'Kie, 1871), pp. v–viii (p. v).

³²⁹ G. Ross Roy, 'Editing Robert Burns in the Nineteenth Century', in *Burns Now* (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1994), pp. 129–49 (p. 131).

³³⁰ Leask, p. 276.

³³¹ William. St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 661.

the meanwhile, editions produced by other names, which “invariably based, to a greater or lesser extent” on previous ones- including Currie’s, continuously came out, too.³³² Academic authorities or literary celebrities were used to increase the prestige of each edition. For example, the poet’s brother, Gilbert Burns’ biographical sketch of the poet was anthologized in the edition made by John Gibson Lockhart’s (1794-1854), who is eminently best known as Walter Scott’s biographer and son-in-law. Carlyle’s essay on Burns was also included in a later edition after Lockhart’s. And there was one edition done by the “Ettrick Shepherd”- the penname of James Hogg, who had been known as another “heaven-taught” poet the generation after Burns. Another edition made by a poet was that of Jane Cross Simpson (1811-86), who penned in the name “Gertrude”.

The heavy use of the image of the Cottage on the title page or elsewhere in these publications demonstrates that the image of Burns has been bound with that of the Cottage since the nineteenth century (Fig 36, Fig 37, Fig 70~Fig 73, Fig 86~Fig 90). Generally the Cottage was depicted as in its ‘primitive’ state without the additions and alterations which had sometimes already been made. Instead of the public place it really was at the time, it was presented as a secluded farm house, which bolstered Burns’ image as the “heaven-taught ploughman”. Although the poet and his works were mostly the result of his society as it owes much to the education he had received to explore his talent of language, Burns’ readers tended to perceive the poet and his poetry as products of nature, which rather corresponds to the spirit of the Romanticism than that of the Enlightenment. Since the early critics of Burns’ first publication tried to make “an ignorant ploughman” genius out of the “well-educated son of a tenant-farmer”,³³³ the poet’s humble origin has dominated the perception of his life and works all along. Humble indeed as Burns’ background undoubtedly was, it was far from some “unlettered station”,³³⁴ but the poet “cleverly” “used” this myth as well to build up an image favourable to his readers,³³⁵ and it turned out Burns was

³³² MacKay, *RB*, p. 661.

³³³ Bold, p. 220.

³³⁴ Henry Mackenzie, ‘From “The Lounger”, December, 1786’, in *Early Critical Reviews on Robert Burns*, ed. by John D. Ross (Glasgow: William Hodge, 1900), pp. 1–7 (p. 6).

³³⁵ Iain Rose and Donald Gunn, *Scotland in the Time of Burns* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p. 6, <http://capitadiscovery.co.uk/edinburgh/items/426785>. Ian Campbell, ‘Burns’ Poems and Their

the exact “Superscot” that his country wanted- a “Scottish Everyman”, who was “common enough to be an ideal friend”, yet “uncommon enough to command respect outside Scotland”.³³⁶ Hence the image of the Burns Cottage not only symbolises the close relation between the “farmer’s son”/ “heaven-taught ploughman” poet and the land that connected every single Scot living on it- although the fact is that both Burns and his father’s career choice of being a farmer ended up being made in somewhere else than Alloway, as the poet’s birthplace, the Cottage also “authenticates” Burns an original, primitive, native genius, “Scottish through and through”,³³⁷ which reinforces the idea of heaven-taught genius again.

The persistence of Burns’ popularity in the nineteenth century shows how the poet’s native-genius image corresponded, or adapted, to the spirit of the new era. On the other hand, it can be ascribed to the continuous fad of Scottish motif in the development of Scottish/ English literature, which was not only carried on by publications of song collections featuring regional characters after Burns, but was also peaked by Scott’s series of historical novels that made Scotland and Scottish culture so enchanting that the Prince Regent, after commissioning Scott on the quest of the Scottish regalia: the sword, sceptre and crown, was drawn to Edinburgh to show up in tartan as Scottish king.³³⁸ Although Scott’s literary achievement might not be directly related to Burns’ persistent reputation in the nineteenth century, Scott’s description of his meeting with Burns was a frequently brought-up anecdotic material though,³³⁹ as a writer, Scott did create an era of wide readership for Scottish taste. Besides his dedication to literature, the novelist’s beloved Abbotsford

Audience’, in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. by Donald A. (Donald Alexander) Low (London (etc.): Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 39–53 (p. 39).

³³⁶ Bold, pp. 216–17.

³³⁷ Nicholas Roe, ‘Authenticating Robert Burns’, in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. by Robert Crawford, New edition (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), pp. 159–79 (pp. 162–67).

³³⁸ Herman, pp. 297–302.

³³⁹ Scott’s meeting with Burns was recorded in Allan Cunningham’s edition of life and works of Burns- *The Works of Robert Burns. With Life by Allan Cunningham, and Notes by Gilbert Burns [and Others]*, New Edition (H. G. Bohn, 1847), p. 134, and W. Bartlett’s *Pictures & Portraits of the Life and Land of Burns* (London: George Virtue, 1839), p. 3. Scott’s description of Burns’ features was frequently quoted as a supportive evidence for the credibility of Burns’ portraits. For example, when a portrait of Burns was discovered in 1920, Scott was quoted in ‘AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT OF ROBERT BURNS’ (Kilmore, 20 May 1920). The same quoted content also appears in the exhibition at Burns’ Birthplace Museum in Alloway. The scene of the two meeting was also depicted in visual art (Fig 91).

established a strong example of a writer's *casa come me* (house like me)³⁴⁰. This "Conundrum Castle" of Scott had become a tourist mecca since Scott's time, and in some cases, the visitor was just to take a look at the exterior of the house, which was located in the border country and not easy to reach. For example, knowing that Scott's health was deteriorating, the American missionary Charles Samuel Stewart (1795-1870) pondered while he was "gazing upon the battlements" of Abbotsford, that in there the writer "might be sinking into the arms of the ruthless conqueror, to whose power, all flesh living must yield".³⁴¹ Here the house is not merely the outward shell of the writer to shield him from the unrestful world, but the incarnation of the writer whose life and works are metaphrased by his abode. Hence the decease of the writer did not stop people hovering around the house, which was taken as not only once the container, but the remaining embodiment of the thought and spirit of the writer. Over five hundred American visitors signed into Abbotsford in the summer of 1845,³⁴² and that was almost thirteen years after Scott's death (and two years ahead of the establishment of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust). The absence of the writer actually mystified/ romanticised the connection between the house and the writer, which was shown by Orville Dewey's (1794-1882)'s account of his "religious ecstasy"³⁴³ on visiting Abbotsford:

"I have seen it! But the study! - before the desk at which he wrote, in the very chair, the throne of power from which he stretched out a sceptre over all the world, and over all the ages, I sat down- it was enough! I *went* to see the cell of the enchanter- I saw it; and my homage- was silence, until I had ridden miles away from that abode of departed genius."³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ Borrowing the phrase from Italian author Curzio Malaparte, who called his self-designed house *casa come me*. See Harald Hendrix, 'Writers' Houses as Media of Expression and Remembrance', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-13 (p. 3).

³⁴¹ Charles Samuel Stewart, *Sketches of Society in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1834), II, p. 77.

³⁴² Lockwood, pp. 75-6.

³⁴³ Lockwood, p. 74.

³⁴⁴ Orville Dewey, *The Old World and the New: or, A Journal of Reflections and Observations Made on a Tour in Europe* (Harper & Brothers, 1836), p. 74.

Since the writer is gone, the chair- *the throne*, the study- *the enchanter's cell*, and the place, all that had once encompassed the writer, becomes the bridge connecting the past and the present, the departed and the audience. A ripple effect is to be expected as those who came to visit "Scott-land" were frequently the same ones who were keen to see Burns' land as well.³⁴⁵ Hence a description like Dewey's induced not only tourists to come to Abbotsford for Scott, but also all kinds of literary pilgrimages for other writers at the same time. Although unlike Scott, who built himself a baronial castle and a sophisticated dream study within it, some writers left very little to see. In such case, sanctification, romanticisation, or mystification is required for the relic/ object to surmount its secular value to be appreciated. Take Burns for example, many of the poet's works were composed in some temporary, mobile state, be it on his horse, while walking, in a tavern, a friend's place, or at a quiet corner in his house, which reveals nothing but the close relationship between Burns' poems and a common Scot's life. Hence what represented Burns most would not be something as exquisite as Abbotsford or any of Scott's sophisticated antique collection, but the Cottage in its pristine state, telling the story of a "primitive genius", who had lived among his people working on the land.

When Tennyson died, Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-99) wrote about his contemplation on the difference between Burns and Tennyson and went: "Tennyson was a piece of rare china decorated by the highest art. Burns was made of honest, human clay, moulded by sympathy and love." While that decorated rare china "dwelt in his fancy" with "kings and queens", "lords and ladies", "knights and nobles", Burns, the "human clay", "lingered by the fireside of the poor and humble" under the shed of a peasant's thatched cottage.³⁴⁶ A similar analogy using places/ houses symbolising writers can be found in J. M. Sloan's depiction of Carlyle, whose birthplace, the Arched House in Ecclefechan, was viewed as the "evidence" that Carlyle's stonemason father and uncle had "put the same veracity into their masonry

³⁴⁵ 'The Intelligent Foreigner in the Land of Scott and Burns', *Fun*, 34.852 (1881), p. 96.

³⁴⁶ Robert Green Ingersoll, 'Robert Burns', in *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York: The Dresden pub. co., C. P. Farrell, 1902), 75-119 (p. 106-7).

which Carlyle took with him to his literary work".³⁴⁷ The nineteenth century saw the ongoing idealisation of cottages which had started since the eighteenth century. As the result, the use of the term "cottage" could apply to something very different from the "real cottages" then- for example, in Jane Austen's novels, "cottage" can be used for a gentry's country house of "four principal bedrooms and two garrets" which accommodates servants and pianoforte.³⁴⁸ However, the idea of cottage by fundamental definition has been valid all the time in literary and visual expressions, which can be observed from the way Burns Cottage has been depicted and the long lasting popularity and great success that Helen Allingham's (1848-1926) paintings on country life/ cottages have received since the latter half of the nineteenth century (Fig 89). From the perspective of architecture, this tendency may not be necessarily attributed to the transfer of focus from grand, devotional architecture to civil houses in the course of modernisation, but it can be viewed as a reflection of the anthropological approach that Laugier (1713-69) and Semper (1803-79) had introduced into the field of architectural thinking. This may be why a craftsman's house, like Carlyle's birthplace, started to be thought as an extraordinary premise that had contributed to the quality of Carlyle's writing, and so did Burns Cottage represent Burns' life and works, and also why Burns Cottage has to be "recovered" in the end, to the state as if Burns' father had just built it (or left it) with his hands, the state closest to Laugier's primitive home (Fig 92), which consists of almost nothing but the four elements Semper concluded: the hearth, roof, enclosure, and mound.

³⁴⁷ John MacGavin Sloan, *The Carlyle Country; with a Study of Carlyle's Life* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1904), p. 30.

³⁴⁸ John Woodforde, *The Truth about Cottages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 5-7.

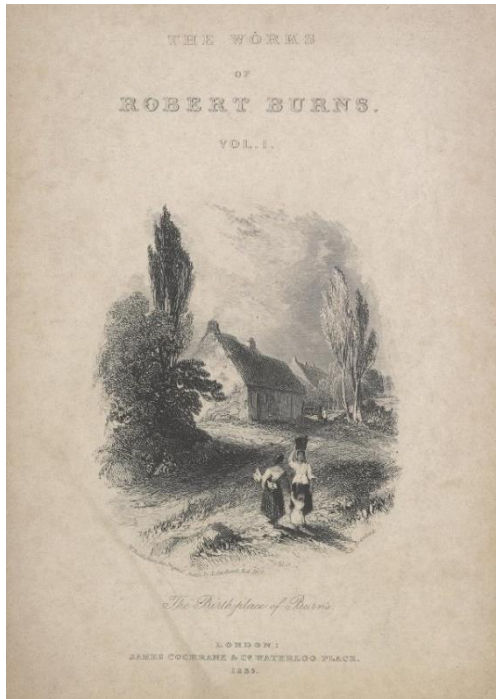


Fig 86 Title page to *The Works of Robert Burns*, Vol. 1 (London: James Cochrane & Co., 1835), © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, “W. Booth, from the original sketch by T. Stothard RA 1812” (see Fig 34 for Stothard’s work)

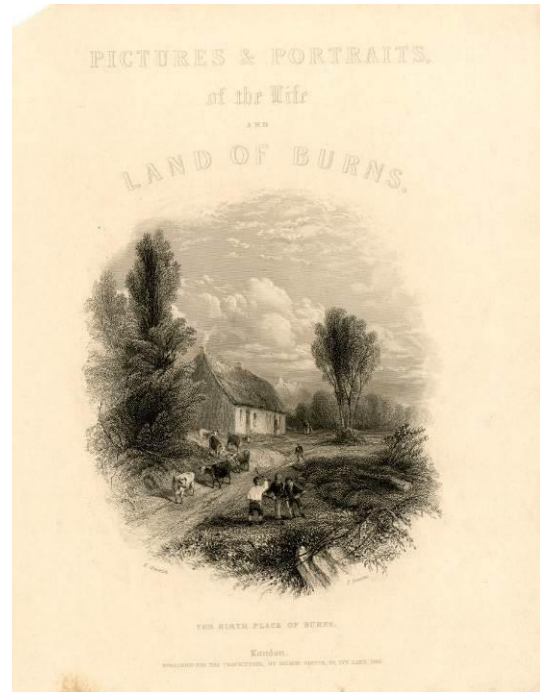


Fig 87 Title page to *Pictures and Portraits of the Life and Land of Burns* (London: George Virtue, 1838), © The Trustees of the British Museum (see Fig 35 for the original image of the Cottage)



Fig 88 Image of Burns Cottage included in *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Son, 1870) on sole page ahead of all contents



Fig 89 H. Allingham, ‘Cottage Near Torquay’, included in Allingham’s work collection, *The Cottage Homes of England* (London: Bracken Books, 1991)

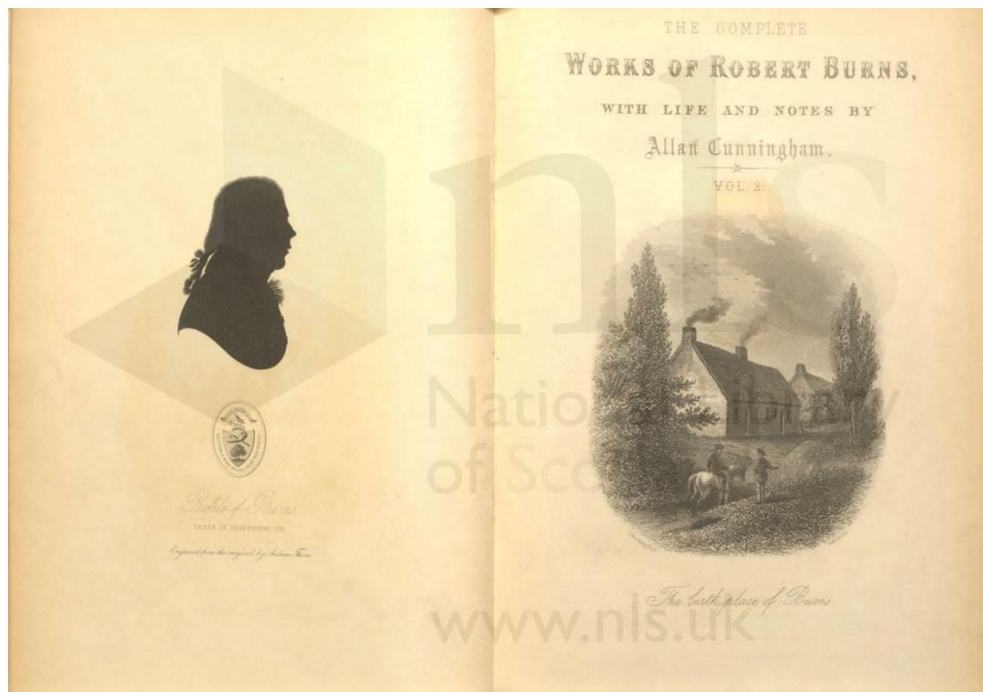


Fig 90 Frontpiece and title page of *The Complete Works of Robert Burns...by Allan Cunningham*, 1870s (see Fig 36 for sole image of the Cottage illustration)



Fig 91 Charles Martin Hardie, 'The Meeting of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott at Sciennes Hill House', 1893, © Abbotsford House



Fig 92 Laugier's illustration of the primitive hut in his *Essay on Architecture* (1755)

3.2.2 Monuments, Statues, and Festivals

But darker still would be the fate of genius if the present did thus atone for the past; and we at least may join in that homage without self-reproach; the neglect of the poet was the fault of our fathers, but the admiration of his genius and the pride in his memory, we can claim as merits of our own.³⁴⁹

Besides the persistence of readership and publication of Burns' works, the main stream way of commemorating and celebrating the poet's life and works was through memorials such as erecting monuments, making statues, and holding festivals in all

³⁴⁹ 'August, 1844, Men of All Ranks Are Vieing with Each Other in the Celebration of His (*Burns'*) Memory', *The Illustrated London News*, 10 August 1844, p. 82.

kinds of levels. As Burns Supper came to become a tradition since 1801, the production of tangible memorials to Burns was throughout the past two centuries around the world. According to James A. MacKay,³⁵⁰ in Scotland at least forty pieces of them, that is statues, busts, monuments, and plaques, were made in the nineteenth century, while in England there were at least four. Similar pieces can be found in Ireland, Australia, and America, and the spread of Burns memorials expanded even more worldly wider across the world in the twentieth century. Some might date back to the end of eighteenth century, like the wax relief placed in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London, which bears the date of 1797,³⁵¹ the year after that of Burns' death. However, the most notable ones among them, which were all built in the first half of nineteenth century, may be the Burns Mausoleum in Dumfries built in 1817 (Fig 93), the monument of 1823 built on the banks of river Doon in Alloway (Fig 94), and the monument of 1831 built on the Calton Hill in Edinburgh (Fig 95). As the last two share one architect, these three monuments were all designed in the form of domed classical temples. It was not only a persistence of, or a salute to, the Greek revival in architectural fashion, which expressed the spirit of the Enlightenment, but also reflected the image of Burns as "heaven-taught ploughman" associated with the pastoral poetry of ancient Greece. While the Greek-temple designs adopted sophisticated languages to communicate with or, to "flatter", in Joe Rock's words, the educated gentlemen who not only had a copy of *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762), but might also have a say in the design competition,³⁵² the relief statuary placed at the Mausoleum in Dumfries says it all to the public. Burns was depicted as a man on his plough shadowed by Muse's mantle hovering above (Fig 101, Fig 102), precisely the scene of Burns' poem *The Vision*.

There are two more monuments to Burns of similar grand scale built in the latter half of nineteenth century that are in totally different, if not opposite, style. Both are red sandstone neo-Baronial towers modelled on the sixteenth century gatehouse to a

³⁵⁰ James A. MacKay, 'The World Memorials to Robert Burns', *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, 1989, pp. 77–82.

³⁵¹ MacKay, 'The World Memorials to Robert Burns', p. 79.

³⁵² Joe Rock, 'The Burns Monument, Alloway'

<<https://sites.google.com/site/joerocksresearchpages/thomas-hamilton-architect/the-burns-monument-alloway>> [accessed 19 May 2016].

medieval monastery at Crossraguel of Ayrshire.³⁵³ The one in Kilmarnock, which dated back to 1879 and was destroyed by fire in 2004, was “an eclectic fusion of Scots Baronial, neo-Gothic and Italianate, with a dash of Baroque and a hint of Romanesque”³⁵⁴ (Fig 96), while the one in Mauchline is a similar fusion except a “more sober and bold work”³⁵⁵ as it was designed “in a shape of a museum and cottage homes for poor and respectable old people”³⁵⁶ (Fig 99, Fig 100). Opened in 1898, the Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes in Mauchline has extended the definition of monument by being not just a shrine for the poet, but also a place devoted to bringing the spirit of Burns’ poems into realisation. Although the architectural style that these two Burns monuments had adopted looks like a reversal to the preceding classical temples to Burns, the ideas these monuments had intended to express in forms actually do not contradict one another as it might appear. While the classical temple memorials had enthroned Burns an immortal poet nurtured by nature in terms of universal sense, the Baronial-tower monuments represented Burns as a national hero by using dialectical language to emphasise the vernacular aspect of Burns’ life and works. Each of them was reflective of its time, and both approaches actually refer to the same fact that Burns arose from a humble origin that was bound with the land, which had been repeatedly reproduced in representations regarding to the poet and his works. Hence the more that monuments to Burns had spread, the more irreplaceable Burns Cottage became. As monuments speak the language of their times and represent their readings of Burns, the Cottage stands like the original content that Burns had produced as always.

On the other hand, all memorials are compensation for the absence of the commemorated one. The grander the form it takes, the stronger the reminder is intended to be. In a similar way, Poets’ Corner in Westminster Abbey provides a roll call and enumeration that affirms the eternal absence of the commemorated writers.

³⁵³ Johnny Rodger, ‘Burnsian Constructs’, in *Fickle Man: Robert Burns in the 21st Century*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers and Johnny Rodger (Dingwall, Ross-shire: Sandstone Press Ltd, 2009), pp. 50–79 (p. 70).

³⁵⁴ ‘Postcard of a Colour Tinted Photograph of the Burns Monument at Kilmarnock c 1905’, *Scran* <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-135-668-C>> [accessed 22 May 2016].

³⁵⁵ Rodger, p. 70.

³⁵⁶ ‘National Burns Memorial Homes at Mauchline’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 7 May 1898, p. 4, issue 7811.

The unveiling of the bust of Burns in 1885 in that Corner rang the bell that Burns had not been in the glorious Corner at an earlier point, and the eternal absence of the beloved poet was reconfirmed by producing a bust of him and displaying it in an array of deceased writers (Fig 108). The bust of Burns in the Poets' Corner was the outcome of a "shilling subscription",³⁵⁷ like many other memorials to Burns. Although, according to Edward Goodwillie, in some cases it was the "classes" instead of the "masses" that made certain monuments happen,³⁵⁸ it simply reflects the fact that Burns' popularity was cross-classes. As frequently it is the "classes" that has been followed by "masses", the involvement of the "classes" made the persistence of Burns' charm nothing but more pervasive in every way. The poet had been perceived as "the greatest poet who ever sprung from the bosom of the people", but "lived and died in humble condition",³⁵⁹ so there was a constant feeling that Scotland owed the poet more than he had won, hence all the tangible and intangible memorials- not only to "atone for the past", but also to "protest against the bare assumption of the world" that Burns had not been appreciated by his people.³⁶⁰

The proposal of building Burns Mausoleum was also a correction to Burns' original grave, which was found too modest to compensate the absence of the poet. When Dorothy Wordsworth and her company visited Dumfries in 1803, they had difficulty in finding Burns' original grave,³⁶¹ on which there was no stone to mark it. According to Dorothy Wordsworth, "a hundred guineas" had been collected by the time of her visit, "to be expended on some sort of monument" to correct the situation.³⁶² In Walter Scott's words, it was "a disgrace" that "something more worthy" of Burns' fame had not been erected upon the poet's remains.³⁶³ However, the official call for subscriptions to the Mausoleum was initiated in 1813 and the reburial of Burns took place in 1817 to relocate the poet's body at the Mausoleum. In

³⁵⁷ 'Bust of Burns for Westminster Abbey', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 20 February 1885, p. 2.

³⁵⁸ Rodger, p. 63.

³⁵⁹ 'The Burns' Centenary', *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 January 1859, p. 3.

³⁶⁰ 'Burns' Centenary. Celebration in Greenock. Burns' Club Festival', *Greenock Advertiser*, 28 January 1859, p. 1.

³⁶¹ 'Burns Mausoleum', description on the display board at the site of Burns Mausoleum, recorded in 2010.

³⁶² Dorothy Wordsworth, p. 5.

³⁶³ Joe Rock, 'The Burns Monument, Alloway', quoting Walter Scott's letter to Matthew Weald on 24 Oct 1811.

the meanwhile, subscriptions to other monuments to Burns were also in progress. A “local tradition” has it that one of Burns’ friends, David Sillar, refused the idea of subscription to a monument and went: “You starved him when alive, and you cannot with good grace erect a monument to him now”. These words may be a canard, for Sillar was actually one of the first names to subscribe to the Burns Monument in Alloway,³⁶⁴ but reflect the essence of memorials as compensation for the loss of a beloved poet.

Sillar was also a founder of the Irvine Burns Club, which dates back to 1826 and is still active today.³⁶⁵ Like Burns Supper, the earliest Burns Clubs were often initiated by the circle of Burns’ friends. The establishment and spread of Burns Clubs were a force behind the ritualisation and popularisation of Burns Supper, which in the beginning was a gathering of Burns’ friend in Alloway on the anniversary of the poet’s death- hence again, it was the absence of the poet initiated all consequential commemorations for the departed. Some of the Burns Suppers taking place in the nineteenth century were held in some grand form as Burns Festivals, among which the most notable ones may be the one of 1844 in Alloway and those of 1859 in worldwide scale. The one of 1844 held in Burns’ birthplace, Alloway, was attended by about 100,000 participants, including Burns’ three sons, this Burns Festival was almost a reproduction of the Stratford Jubilee of 1769 (Fig 10): a grand pavilion was built for dinner party (Fig 110-112); tourism spots regarding Burns, including the Cottage, were all marked with decorative arches for the procession (Fig 114-Fig 117). The choice of the festival location echoed Garrick’s Jubilee, too, except the idea of relating the writer to his/ her birthplace was still novel in Garrick’s time, the Cottage had been a representative of the poet since his death. Burns Festivals of 1859 were held in similar level nationwide and worldwide. Burns’ fame was spread all over the world along with the expansion of the Empire, hence the poet’s centenary birthday was celebrated not only “in almost every city and town between the Land’s

³⁶⁴ MacKay, *RB*, p. 699.

³⁶⁵ Irvine Burns Club, ‘Our History’ <<http://www.irvineburnsclub.org/ourhistory.php>> [accessed 24 May 2016].

End and John o' Groats",³⁶⁶ but globally by "all who speak the English language"- "at home or abroad", "in India and in China", "whether scattered over the United States and Canada, or cherishing in the Southern Hemisphere the name and the traditions of the Old Country".³⁶⁷ There was no question that grand processions, dinner parties, and poem competitions were held all over Britain (Fig 119, Fig 120, Fig 122),³⁶⁸ while banquets and concerts were also reported from Toronto, Montreal (Fig 121), Quebec, Hamilton, Ottawa, and other cities in America.³⁶⁹ Record has it that the Boston Burns Club had asked for a haggis to be made at the Cottage in Alloway for the occasion, as the request was granted, such a customised haggis of Alloway was transported across the ocean to celebrate Burns' centenary birthday in America.³⁷⁰ One of Burns' two surviving sons, the Colonel Burns, attended the dinner parties held in Glasgow.³⁷¹ He also showed up in the occasion in Dumfries,³⁷² where the procession in the High Street was almost a reproduction of that of Burns' funeral in 1796 (Fig 122).

The commemorations for Burns' centenary of death in 1896 show that the popularity of the poet had lasted for over a century (Fig 123~125). Except processions and dinner parties, Mauchline laid the foundation stone of its Burns memorial and cottage homes,³⁷³ Glasgow produced an exhibition for Burns (Fig 126), Irvine unveiled another Burns statue (Fig 109), and Perth organised an open-air concert attended by around twelve thousand people.³⁷⁴ It is worth noting that besides the presence of Burns' sons or other kin, these occasions often featured the presenting of Burns' portraits, relics, and new statuary, which can be viewed as the means to fill up the void left by the poet as the presence of Burns' sons might have. As portraits,

³⁶⁶ 'Town and Table Talk on Literature, Art, &c.', *The Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1859, p. 102.

³⁶⁷ 'The Burns Centenary; and Its Meaning', *Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1859, p. 97, Issue 957.

³⁶⁸ 'The Burns' Centenary', *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 January 1859, p. 3; 'The Burns Centenary Festivals', *The Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1859, p. 106.

³⁶⁹ 'The Burns Centenary Festivals in Canada', *The Illustrated London News*, 26 February 1859, p. 206.

³⁷⁰ 'Robert Burns', *Jersey Independent and Daily Telegraph*, 25 January 1859, p. 2.

³⁷¹ 'The Burns' Centenary', *Caledonian Mercury*.

³⁷² 'Town and Table Talk on Literature, Art, &c.'

³⁷³ 'The Burns Memorial Homes at Mauchline', *Dundee Courier*, 24 July 1896, p. 6.

³⁷⁴ 'Burns Celebrations at Perth', *Dundee Courier*, 23 July 1896, p. 7.

statuary, and descendants of Burns provided their audience the image of the ploughman poet, the blood and history that Burns had bequeathed in his family and relics gave the channel for people who could only get to know Burns through his works to indirectly get in “contact” with the poet in certain way. A drinking cup claimed to have belonged to Burns showed up in the festival of 1844 (Fig 128), which was attended by Burns’ youngest sister and the poet’s three sons. A punch bowl that was believed to have belonged to Burns was displayed with a drinking cup of James IV (and Burns’ portraits and other relics) in Alloa’s celebration for Burns’ centenary birthday in 1859,³⁷⁵ while a writing desk and other “interesting personal relics” of Burns were exhibited with a new bust and a select collection of Burns’ portraits at the Crystal Palace (Fig 120). As the most notable Burns’ relic, the Cottage was also presented in such occasions in forms of words or visual representations. Since the first Burns Supper took place in the Cottage, the Cottage was thought as “the most appropriate spot for the commemorative festival” for Burns,³⁷⁶ hence the celebration went on year after year in the Cottage continuously. As for the banquets held in places other than Alloway, the participant’s speech mentioning about his experience of visiting the Cottage was a common way to make the Cottage present at other Burns Suppers, like anecdotes or other relics of Burns do to Burns. Although records show that the visitor statistic of Burns Cottage had always been outnumbered by that of Burns Monument in Alloway, the position of the Cottage as the most representative relic of Burns was unbeaten all along.

³⁷⁵ ‘The Burns’ Centenary’, *Caledonian Mercury*, 27 January, 1859.

³⁷⁶ ‘The Burns Centenary’, *Glasgow Herald*, 10 January 1859, p. 4.



Fig 93 Burns Mausoleum in Dumfries, built in 1817 (shot on the site in 2010)



Fig 94 Burns Monument in Alloway, built in 1823 (photo of 2009 by [Mary and Angus Hogg](#), Wikimedia Commons)



Fig 95 Burns Monument in Edinburgh, built in 1831 (photo of 2012 by [Kim Traynor](#), Wikimedia Commons)



Fig 96 Postcard of "Burns Monument, Kilmarnock" printed in c 1905, © Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service, *Scran*, the monument was built in 1879 and destroyed by fire in 2004



Fig 97 “Burns Monument in Kay Park in 1953”, © Newsquest (Herald & Times), *Scran*



Fig 98 Burns Monument Centre, Kilmarnock, *East Ayrshire Leisure* (eastayrshireleisure.com), built in 2009 on the site of the burnt down memorial (Fig 97), the statue was restored from the fire of 2004 and fit in the new structure



Fig 99 Burns Monument in Mauchline, built in 1898, photo by [Hughy Hodge](http://www.ayrshirehistory.com), *Ayrshire History* (www.ayrshirehistory.com)



Fig 100 Mauchline’s “National Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes”, photo kept by Burns House Museum, Mauchline, image accessible through *Ayrshire History*, showing the structures of the homes built for the poor



Fig 101 Relief statuary of Burns in Burns Mausoleum (Fig 93), by Peter Turnerelli in c. 1817, © Newsquest (Herald & Times), *Scran*



Fig 102 Turnerelli's work (Fig 101) decayed and a redone work by Herman Cawthra replaced it in 1936, see the position of the shaft of Burns' plough for the difference between the old and the new, image accessible through the *Database of Public Memorials to Robert Burns Worldwide* (www.robertburnsmemorials.arts.gla.ac.uk)



Fig 103 Statue of Burns, by John Flaxman, c 1828, originally housed in the Monument of Edinburgh (Fig 95), since 1889 it was moved to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, © City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries, *Scran*



Fig 104 Bust of Burns, by Patric Park, 1845, gifted to the Monument Trustees of Ayr to be displayed in the Monument (Fig 94), collection of RBBM

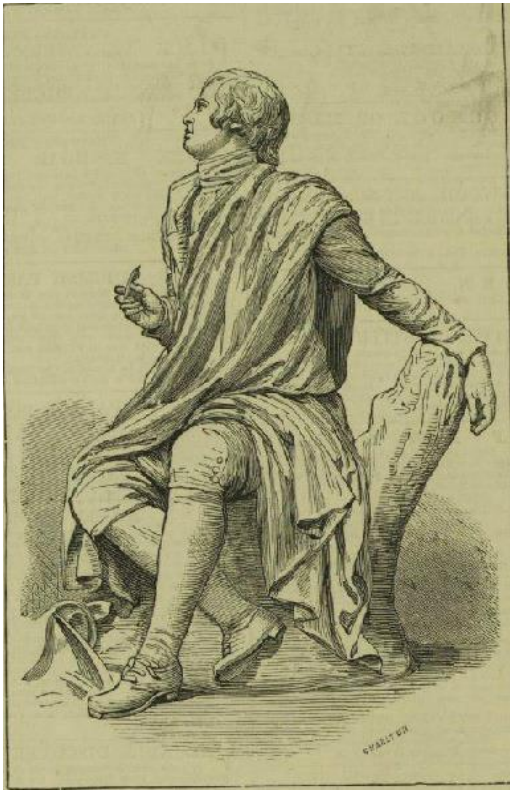


Fig 105 Illustration of Burns statue unveiled in the Central Park of New York in 1880, a reproduction of the one in Dundee unveiled fortnight later, covered by *The Illustrated London News* (Nov 13, 1880)³⁷⁷



Fig 106 Statue of Burns unveiled at Ayr in 1891, photo published by *The Illustrated London News* (July 18, 1891)

³⁷⁷ 'Burns at New York and Dundee', *Illustrated London News* (London, 13 November 1880), p. 488, Issue 2163.



Fig 107 ‘The inauguration of Burns Memorial at Dumfries’, illustrations published by *The Graphic* (Apr 22, 1882), showing the unveiling of Burns statue in the centre, two houses Burns had lived and died, and Lincluden Abbey at the left, St. Michael’s Church, where Burns was buried, and Burns Mausoleum at the right

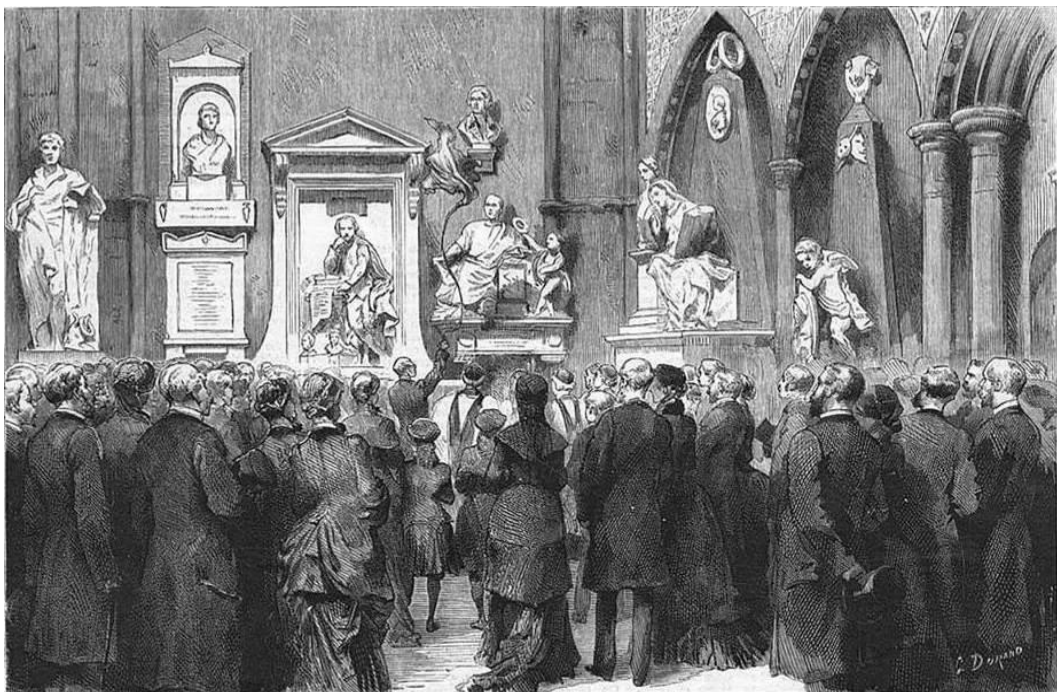


Fig 108 ‘Lord Rosebery Unveiling the Memorial Bust of Robert Burns in Westminster Abbey’, illustration published by *The Graphic* (Mar 14, 1885)



Fig 109 ‘Unveiling the new statue of Burns at Irvine, July 18’, photo by Thomas Patterson, published by *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 1st, 1896)

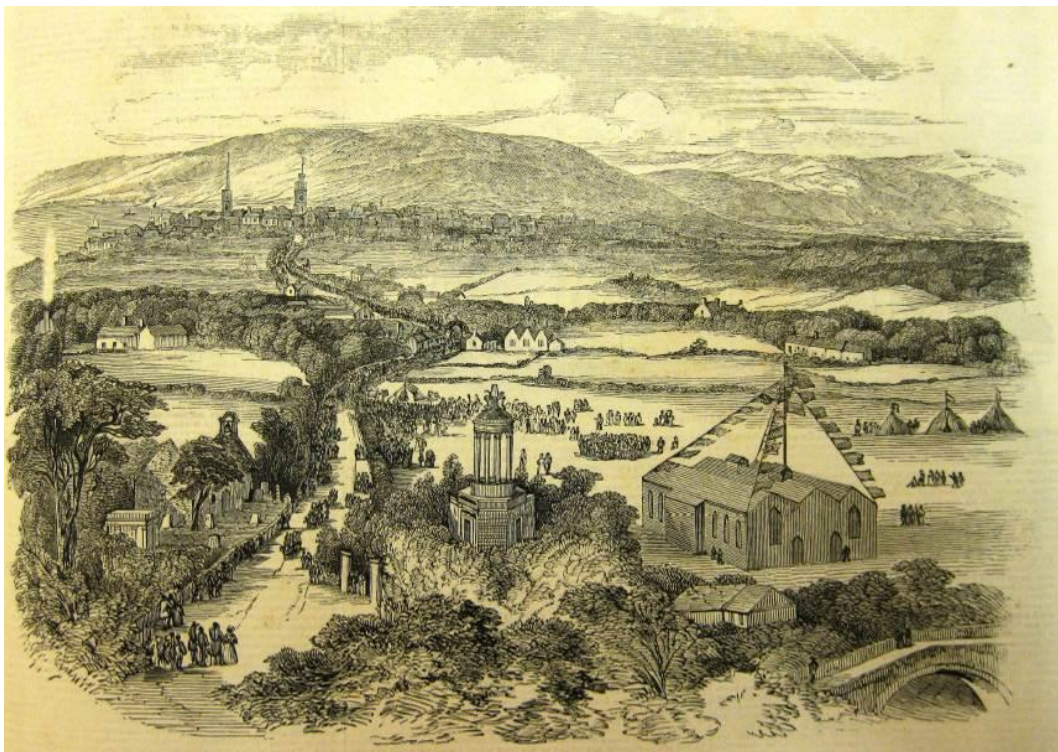


Fig 110 ‘Grand View of the Procession’, showing Burns Monument, the Auld Kirk, Burns Cottage, and people gathering around the pavilion built for the Burns Festival, *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)



Fig 111 'Burns Monument and the 1844 Burns Festival Procession', collection of RBBM

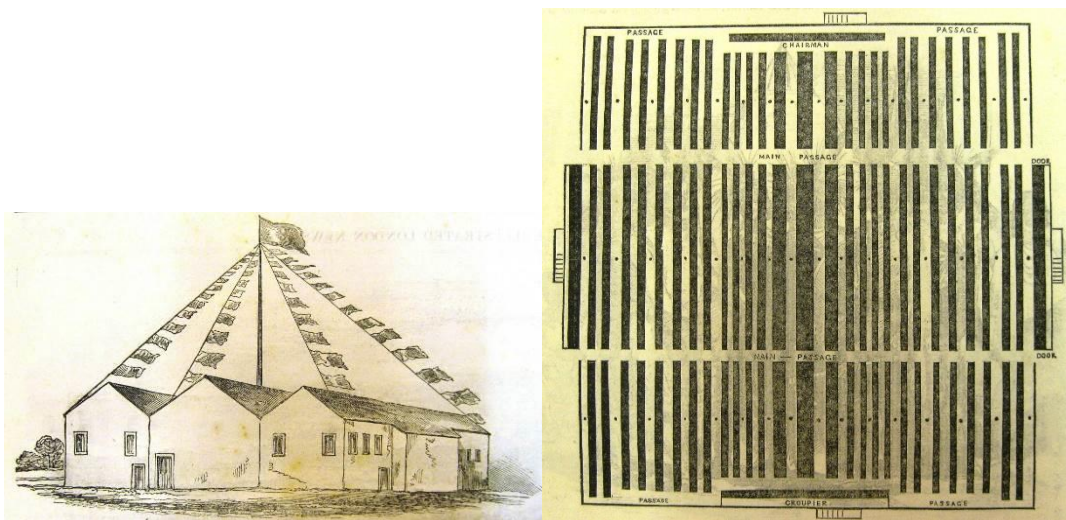


Fig 112 'The Pavilion' and the 'Ground Plan of the Pavilion', *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)



Fig 113 'Banquet in the Pavilion', showing the dinner scene at the Burns Festival of 1844 in Alloway, *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)

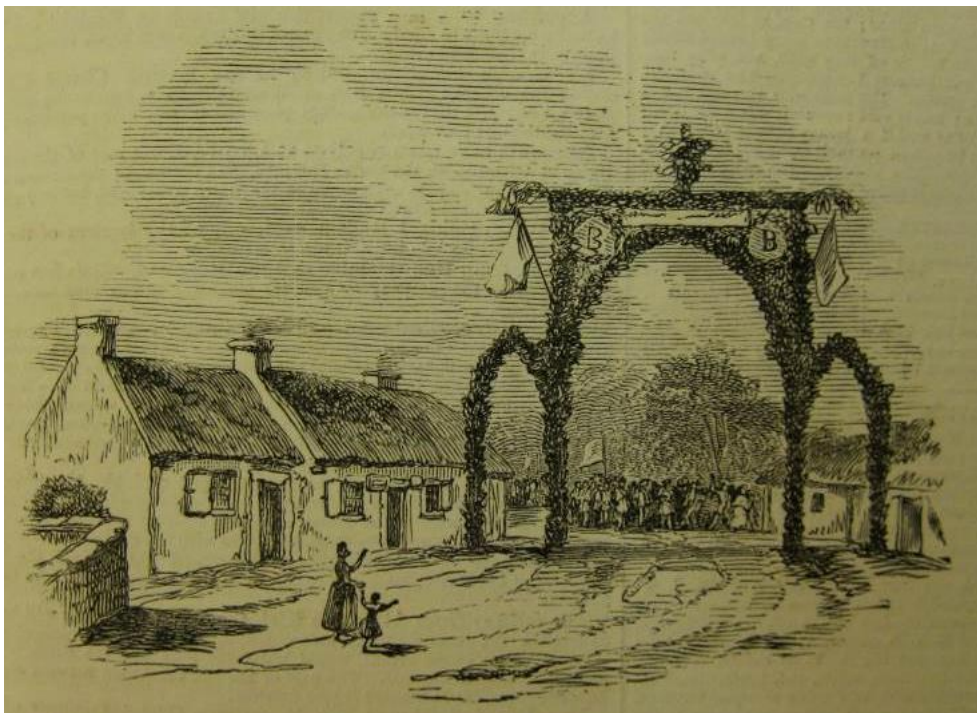


Fig 114 'Arch near Burns's Cottage', which was built for the procession of Burns Festival, *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)



Fig 115 'Arch on the New Brig of Doon', *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)

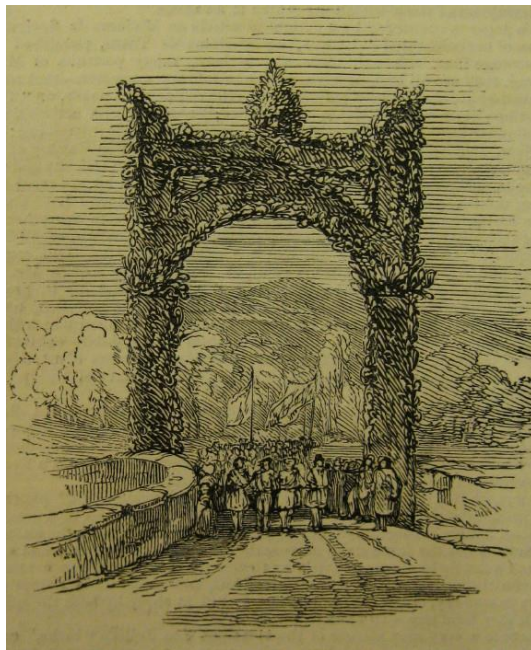


Fig 116 'Arch on the Old Brig of Doon', *Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)

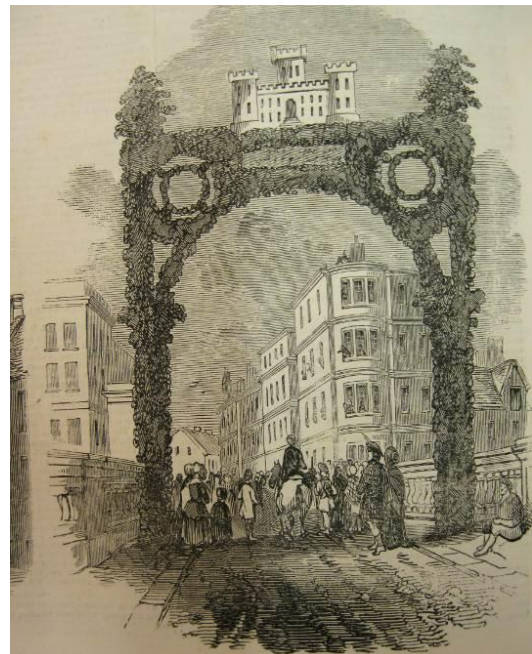


Fig 117 'Arch on the New Brig of Ayr', *Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)



Fig 118 Representations of Burns: Burns' statue, portrait of Burns, Burns Cottage, and Burns Monument in Alloway, *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)

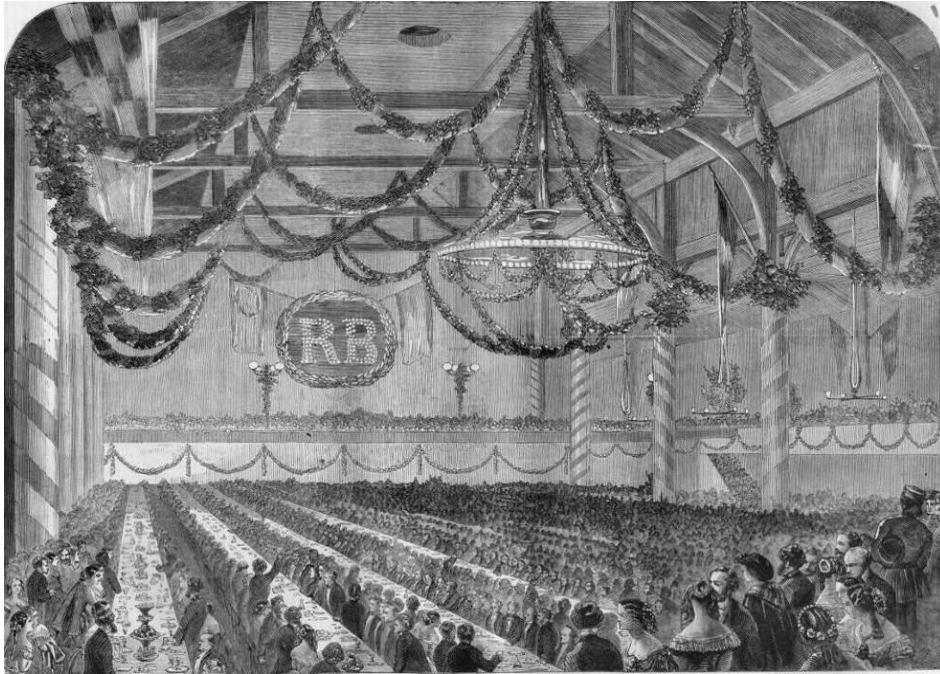


Fig 119 ‘The Burns Centenary- the Citizen Banquet, held in the Corn exchange, Edinburgh’,
The Illustrated London News (Feb 5, 1859)

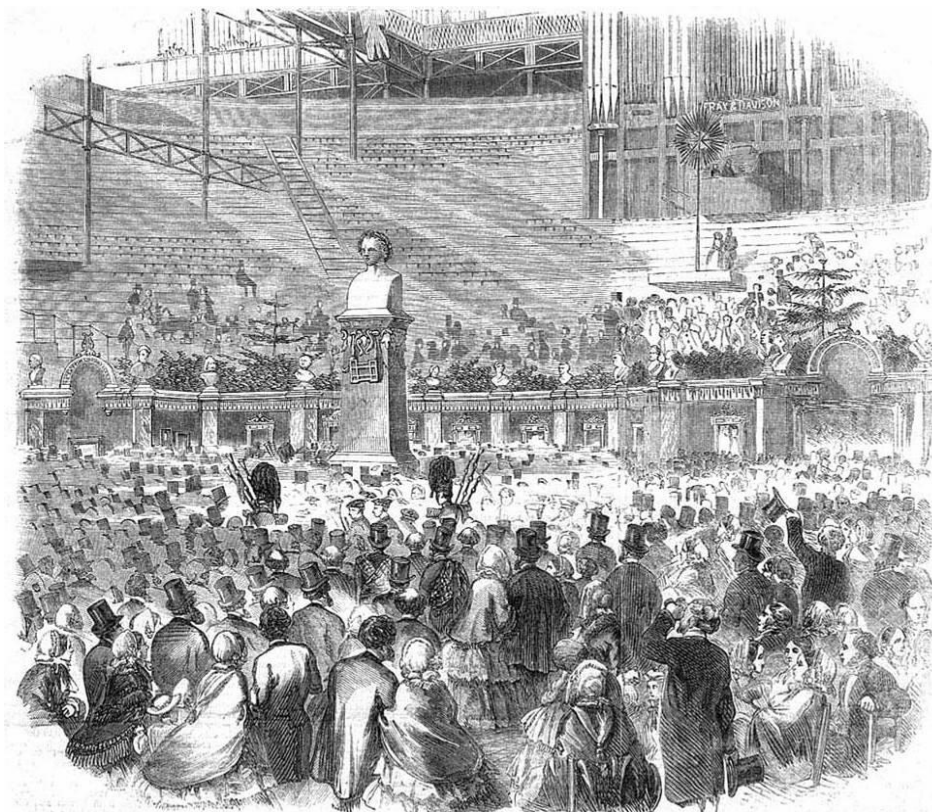


Fig 120 ‘The Burns Centenary Festival at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham’, showing a bust of
Burns inaugurated in front of the crowd, *The Illustrated London News* (Feb 5, 1859)

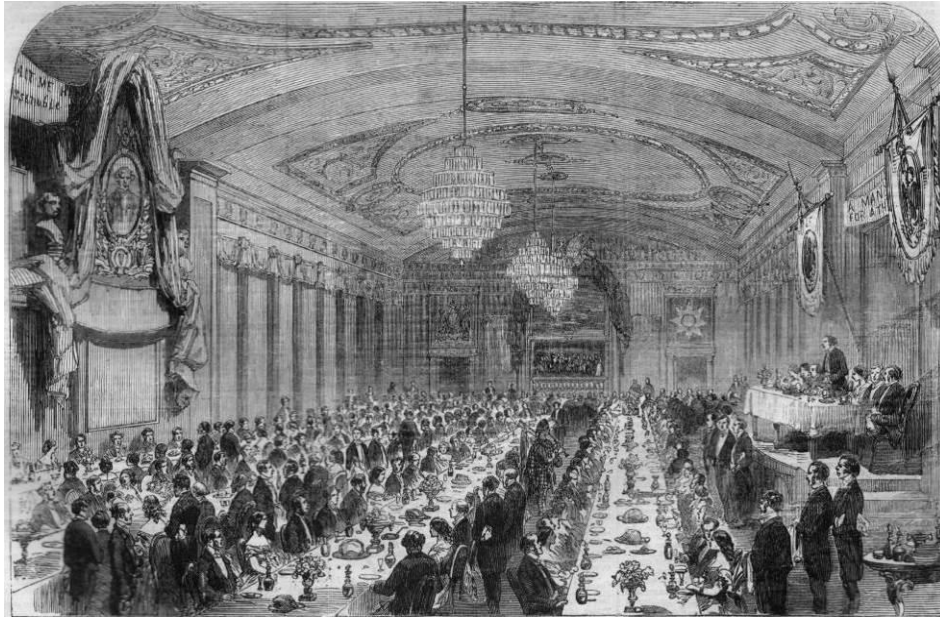


Fig 121 'The Burns Banquet at Montreal', *The Illustrated London News* (Feb 26, 1859)



Fig 122 'The Burns Centenary Festival- the Procession in the High-Street, Dumfries', *The Illustrated London News* (Feb 5, 1859)



Fig 123 Photo of Burns Centenary Parade, 21, July 1896, © Dumfries & Galloway Museums Service, *Scran*



Fig 124 'Burns Cottage in Floral Garb decorated for the Centenary Celebrations in 1896', RBBM



Fig 125 'Photograph of two Victorian ladies outside Burns Cottage while florally decorated during the Centenary', 1896, [RBBM](#)

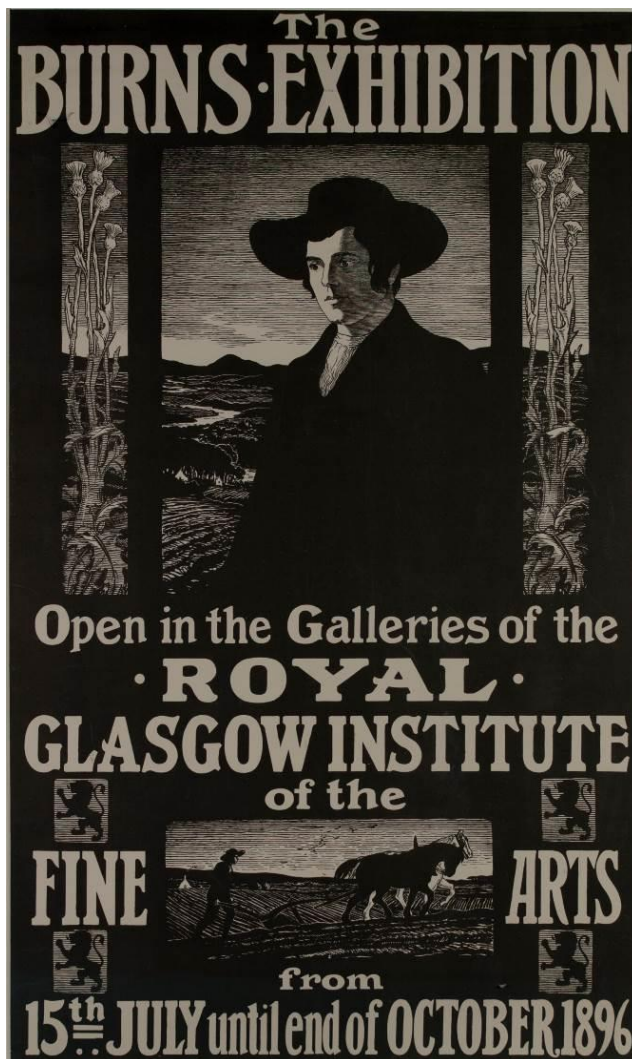


Fig 126 'Poster from the Burns Memorial Exhibition, Glasgow', 1896, [RBBM](#)



Fig 127 'Burns' three son' and 'Isabella, Sister of Burns', *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)



Fig 128 Burns' drinking cup presented at the Burns Festival of 1844 in Alloway, *The Illustrated London News* (Aug 10, 1844)

3.2.3 Relics

The relic hunting of literary interest in the form of souvenir industry in Britain originated in about 1760s,³⁷⁸ when the mulberry tree of Shakespeare's New Place in Stratford got cut down and turned into commercial products featuring their connection to Shakespeare. Same thing in Scotland happened in early nineteenth century, when the Mauchline wares featuring motifs on Burns were available in "the land of Burns" (Fig 130). When Ainslie and his friends visited Alloway in 1820, they found that all the wooden parts of the Auld Kirk that could be exploited as material for souvenir production were gone. Deprived of the chance to get a "keft to a kail gully, or a shank to a punch spoon",³⁷⁹ they collected the tombstones of personas portrayed by Burns instead along their pilgrimage journey.³⁸⁰ The collecting of tombstone chips was not a singular incident, but a common thing to do for the nineteenth-century literary tourists. Two tombstones erected on the grave of Burns' father had been carried away by the 1840s,³⁸¹ and similar thing happened to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (1806-61) tomb later.³⁸² If we accept that literary pilgrimage is the secularised version of religious pilgrimage for it has borrowed "much of the language, protocols and emotional structure" from the latter one,³⁸³ then same point can be made on the sanctification of writers' relics. While religious pilgrims have been in the hope of experiencing miracles and blessings from relics of ancient martyrs, literary pilgrims see the magic of relics relative to writers as well. Besides those like Burns' drinking cup, punch bowls, writing desk, which had shown up in occasions as the holy bones to be worshipped, items made from the wood that was either grown on "the banks and braes o'bonnie Doon" or mined from sites relative to Burns were also hailed as immortal objects: a chair that was claimed to have been made of the rafters of the Auld Kirk in Alloway was presented to George IV in 1822 (Fig 129) while another chair of similar version was made in 1818 and

³⁷⁸ Watson, p. 12.

³⁷⁹ Hew Ainslie, *A Pilgrimage to the Land of Burns* (Deptford, 1822), pp. 111–12.

³⁸⁰ Watson, p. 80; Ainslie, pp. 247–48.

³⁸¹ Watson, p. 74.

³⁸² Randy Malamud, 'You've Read the Book, Now Take a Look!', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 55.36 (2009), B12–14.

³⁸³ Watson, p. 33.

presented to an earl.³⁸⁴ The Cottage was one of the mines to be exploited for souvenir production as well. Some record has it that several “original rafters” of the Cottage were removed for repair purpose by 1870, and those rafters were “carefully preserved” and transformed into Mauchline wares for sale, among which “a very handsome glove-box” was presented to the queen.³⁸⁵ Furthermore, some oak exploited from the printing press in which the Kilmarnock edition of Burns’ poems got printed was converted into a chair, too. This “press chair” showed up in 1859 at the Burns Supper in Ayr, and was gifted to Burns Cottage in 1891 to enrich the Cottage’s collection of Burns relics (Fig 129).³⁸⁶

Although collecting Burns relics was not the privilege of Burns Cottage, it appears that the Cottage has been thought as the very right place to gather Burns relics. And the transfer of ownership from the Incorporation of Shoemakers to the Trustees of Burns Monument in Ayr further strengthened the authority of the Cottage in this aspect. The gathering of Burns relics in the Cottage started since its inn period, as it was noted “a large number of relics” which had belonged to the Incorporation was transferred with the Cottage to the Trustees in the purchase of 1881.³⁸⁷ More relics came to the Cottage as it was hoped after the place had been brought under the custody of the Trustees. For example, the “press chair” joined the Cottage’s collection in 1891, and a necklace claimed to be made of the Auld Kirk rafters aside from the chair presented to George IV was presented to the Cottage in 1900.³⁸⁸ Back in 1866, £100 was the estimated price for the Cottage’s collection of Burns relics.³⁸⁹ In 1870, the Cottage announced to establish a library aiming for collecting “all the different editions” of Burns’ works and “as many of the original manuscripts of the poet as can be obtained”.³⁹⁰ Other forms of relics might have joined the collection as

³⁸⁴ “‘Tam O’Shanter’ Chair 1822’, *Royal Collection Trust*
<<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/27942/tam-oshanter-chair>>
[accessed 5 June 2016].

³⁸⁵ ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 25 June 1870.

³⁸⁶ ‘Gifts To Burns’ Cottage’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 12 November 1891, p. 3.

³⁸⁷ ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 26 May 1881; ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Dundee Courier*, 27 May 1881.

³⁸⁸ ‘Interesting Burns Relic’, *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, 2 March 1900), p. 3, issue 7192.

³⁸⁹ ‘The Cottage Collection- Relics of Robert Burns’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, 3 September 1895, p. 3, Issue 25004.

³⁹⁰ ‘Burns’ Cottage’, *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, 25 June 1870.

well afterwards. When it came to 1893, £2,000 was considered “dirt cheap” for the potential value of the Cottage’s collection at the time. £6,000 was then offered in 1895 on the premise of the Cottage’s subsequent acquisition, which was instinctively declined by the Trustees.³⁹¹

The continuous development of relic economy and souvenir industry may be viewed as a side effect of the development of literary tourism. However, without the premise of relics, the latter might not be able to flourish. For instance, if there was no such a mulberry tree that was believed to be grown by Shakespeare in the first place, there might be no Jubilee taking place in Stratford in 1769, not to mention the subsequent development of the whole town as Shakespeare’s Country. Pilgrims of Burns gathering at the Cottage at first were mainly to witness the box-bed that was believed to be Burns’ birth-bed, which was manifested by the fact that the setting of the kitchen, where the box-bed had been located, remained constant all the years while other space of the Cottage underwent various kinds of appropriations and the kitchen scene was the only interior space in the Cottage that has been ever and repeatedly depicted in literary and visual expressions. As previously mentioned, many of these pilgrims found the public house that was meant to be holy nativity unsuitable for the meaning that the place had been endowed with. So some took their whisky, utilised the experience by imagining the drinking scenes of Burns’ life or works instead, or headed somewhere else of Burns’ connection looking for compensation. Hence the Auld Kirk dismantled, trees felled, and the monument erected, to fulfill the tourist’s un-contented expectations. The discovery or exploration of relics was essential to the development of literary tourism in its early stage- be it a tree, a tombstone, or a wood piece that came from an auld kirk or brig. For tourists, the displayed household utensils and furniture that claimed to have belonged to Burns were difficult to authenticate, while everything bearing a history or growing on the sites relative to the poet’s life and works was not only truthful, but possible to harvest. In 1897 when a member of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust visited Burns Cottage, he sent the Cottage “a laurel wreath made of leaves from Shakespeare’s garden” as a greeting

³⁹¹ ‘The Cottage Collection- Relics of Robert Burns’.

gift.³⁹² The statement and concept of “Shakespeare’s garden” here is intriguing. Since the family house of Shakespeare had undergone transfers of ownership till it was in the hand of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, it was hard to say how much connection of Shakespeare had been preserved in the garden adherent to his birthplace. However, if we view the site that had bred and encompassed the writer as a bridge connecting the past and the present, what the place produces (or has been harvested) can be viewed as the extension of this bridge. Same idea applies to Burns Cottage, the Auld Kirk, and the trees growing on the banks of Doons- it does not matter that if Burns is really related to every piece of the wood taken from these sites since the fact that these were the places gestating Burns and his poems is unrivaled. For relic collectors or proprietors of places featuring Burns’ connection, since relics of Burns’ direct connection such as hairlocks, manuscripts, household utensils, and furniture were limited in numbers, difficult to acquire, and hard to authenticate, relics of Burns’ widow, legendary lovers, friends, and other family members could extend the list of collection targets- the potential is as expandable and exploitable as that of the trees of Burns’ Country or Shakespeare’s garden is.

Relics are not only the material evidence of the writer’s being in the world, but also the psychic channel to connect the audience and the writer, to tell the story that the writer hid behind the text. And their effect on the development of writers’ houses is in multiple aspects. Take Burns Cottage for example, the expansion of its relic collection took up much of the space of the place that had been winged by extensions, which, step by step, turned the drinking place into a museum. On the other hand, the sanctifying of objects relative to Burns and his family members reinforced the poet’s status as irreplaceable “Superscot” as the Cottage a unique “super-cot”, which has to be liberated again, except this time not from the drinking business, but from the function of being a museum housing all kinds of collections on Burns, to recover from any appropriation, to return to itself as Burns Cottage, the ultimate Burns relic.

³⁹² ‘Interesting Scene at Burns’ Cottage’, *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland, 14 September 1897), p. 2.



Fig 129 Left: ‘Tam O’Shanter’ chair made of roof of the Auld Kirk’, by John Underwood of Ayr, presented to George IV in 1822, © the Royal Collection Trust; Right: ‘The Burns Press Chair made from the press at which the first edition of the poet’s works was printed’, *The Illustrated London News* (Feb 26, 1859)



Fig 130 Mauchlinware scent bottle with print of Burns Cottage and inscription on the top: “made of wood grown on the banks of the Doon”, 19th century, [RBBM](#)



Fig 131 Terracotta souvenir pilgrim flask impressed with the icon of Saint Mina between two camels, Egypt, c. 6-7th century, Louvre Museum, photo by [Marie-Lan Nguyen](#), [Wikimedia Commons](#)

4 The Presentation of Burns Cottage in the Age of Exhibitions

After the removal of the 1803 addition in 1902, Burns Cottage was officially restored to *Burns'* cottage as it had been expected to be instead of a compromise between uses of different ages. However, in the July of the same year in 1902, a fire occurred to a block of thatched cottages in the Cottage's neighbourhood. These cottages sitting on the directly opposite side of Burns Cottage on the public road were burnt to ground in this incident.³⁹³ According to Rob Close in his published guide to Ayrshire, Alloway started to be transformed into a suburb of Ayr since the late nineteenth century. During the course of transformation, cottages were removed, except Burns'.³⁹⁴ The fire of 1902 made Burns Cottage the only one of the huddle of cottages in Alloway to survive, while this result also stimulated the question regarding the "authenticity" of the Cottage. The disappearance of other cottages in Burns Cottage's neighbourhood raised the question that if it was exactly the one in which Burns was born, as the gale that had damaged part of the roof of the Cottage and made the family had to evacuate from the Cottage at the time of the poet's birth was brought up again to strengthen the doubt. To dismiss this cloud, a pamphlet on the history of the Cottage since the feuing of the ground to the poet's father in 1756 to its contemporary present was published in 1904.³⁹⁵ Historical plans, maps, and feu charter were included in this publication to give proof of the genuineness of the Cottage. Since then, the status of the Cottage as "Burns Cottage" has been stable and unmoved. An extension plan of the tramway to Burns Monuments in Ayr was approved in 1901,³⁹⁶ and the subsequent years did see significant increase of visitors both to the Cottage and the Monument (Fig 68) - either it was due to the improvement of tourist transport, the completion of the Cottage's restoration, the crisis and the validation that the Cottage had passed, or all of them, the tribute paid to

³⁹³ 'Burns' Cottage in Danger- Serious Fire at Ayr', *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, Scotland, 24 July 1902), p. 4.

³⁹⁴ Rob Close, *Ayrshire & Arran: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, Architectural Guides to Scotland (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1992), p. 155.

³⁹⁵ M'Bain, pp. 5–6.

³⁹⁶ 'To See Burns' Cottage', *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee, 7 October 1901), p. 5, Issue 7692.

the Cottage was not only undiminished, but was sometimes lavishly acknowledged from remote places far from Alloway.

4.1 *The Emergence of Replicas*

While the 1904 pamphlet was proving the uniqueness of the Cottage as genuine Burns' cottage, a replica of the Cottage appeared in America at the St. Louis World's Fair- the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 (Fig 132). This replica of the Cottage was built by an association specifically formed for its construction. In order to make "an exact reproduction of the Burns Cottage at Ayr", the construction plan was based on the information "obtained directly from the original Cottage".³⁹⁷ The kitchen, or the "but", was reconstructed as the one in Alloway- iron girdle, dresser, plate rack dishes, bed in the corner, even the old clock, which had been seen in paintings and photos recording the interior of the Cottage, however, the old clock might have little connection to the poet, although it was in the kitchen since very early date. Stalls for cattle were also installed in the reconstructed room that was supposed to be the "byre". Portraits, photos, and relics loaned from Alloway were also brought in as how it had been in the original one of Ayr. Souvenirs such as painting of Burns, photos of Burns' sons, or table made from the wood of St. Michael's church in Dumfries, were available to visitors.³⁹⁸ Opened in June commemorating the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, another celebration of "Scottish Day", which was designated by the Exposition Company to fall on Walter Scott's birthday in August, took place in front of the Cottage with a parade of bagpipers, "a company of Highlanders", and a ceremony of unfurling Scottish flag.³⁹⁹ This replica reappeared in the next year World's Fair in Portland- the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair of 1905 (Fig 133), and another replica of the Cottage built for similar occasion was seen in the 1909 Imperial International Exhibition held in London.

³⁹⁷ Burns Cottage Association, *Historical Sketch and Catalogue of Exhibits [at] the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis, 1904), p. 6.

³⁹⁸ Burns Cottage Association, pp. 7–21.

³⁹⁹ Burns Cottage Association, p. 7.

The London replica was located in the “Scotch Village” (Fig 134), which was a feature addition to the previous year’s Franco-British Exhibition of 1908, in which a number of “villages” representing Ireland, Senegal, India, and Ceylon had been built on the same site to promote the idea of Empire.⁴⁰⁰ While a “pavilion” or a “palace” was normally used by the country who built it to showcase their national pride and achievements, a model village was often labelled as an “attraction” that was built by its ruling/ colonial power to boast the power’s superiority in an imaginary categorisation of civilisation hierarchy.⁴⁰¹ Native people were often imported from their remote homes in such occasions to live up the “village” for display and entertainment purpose. For example, Belgium had imported 144 Congolese with animals from Congo to construct a Congolese Village in the 1894 Antwerp World’s Fair.⁴⁰² The 1904 St. Louis Exposition went far further: building a 47 acres “Philippine Reservation”, the Exposition introduced over thousand Filipinos representing various tribal cultures of the Philippine Islands to “familiarize Americans with their recent acquisition”.⁴⁰³ Following this pattern, Portland created a Philippine Section in its War Department Exhibit of the 1905 Fair.⁴⁰⁴ A record has it that fifty Igorot people were imported from Manilla to make the Igorot Village in the Portland Fair.⁴⁰⁵ The 1909 London Exhibition was not an exception in this aspect. Besides the Scottish Village and Irish Village, the Exhibition also featured its Dahomey Village, in which over 150 Dahomeys from Africa made “a complete community, with its chief, warriors, and members of the tribe of Amazons”, and a Kalmuck Camp, in which a tribe of over forty Kalmucks were brought from Asia to represent their camp life and mimic battles in the White City.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁰ Jane Kimber, ‘London 1908’, in *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2008), pp. 198–202 (p. 200).

⁴⁰¹ Ayako Hotta-Lister, *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*, Meiji Japan Series, 8 (Richmond: Japan Library, 1999), p. 117.

⁴⁰² Matthew G. Stanard, ‘Antwerp 1894’, in *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2008), pp. 125–27 (p. 126).

⁴⁰³ Astrid Böger, ‘St. Louis 1904’, in *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2008), pp. 171–81 (pp. 174–75).

⁴⁰⁴ *Official Catalogue of the Lewis & Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A., June 1 to October 15, 1905*, ed. by H. B. Hardt (Portland: Albert Hess & Co, 1905), p. 29.

⁴⁰⁵ ‘Portland Exposition Items’, *Ouray Herald* (Ouray County, Colorado, 7 July 1905), p. 1.

⁴⁰⁶ *Official Guide: Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909* (London, 1909), pp. 43–45.

As the Dahomey Village and Kalmuck Camp were taken as the exhibits of France and Russia's imperial power, it seems convenient to conclude that the concept behind the Irish Village, "Scotch Village", and "Indian Theatre" representing the idea of British Empire was not much different from that of previous examples. Indeed the idea of Empire could not be more obvious in the 1909 London exhibits, and it was undeniable that there was connotation of hierarchy between palaces and villages, pavilions and attractions, since it was the celebration of industrial progress, rather than that of cultural diversity, all the world's fairs/ great exhibitions had started for. And truly it was the idea of "primitiveness" that the construction of a "village" had been all about. However, if we take a closer look at the exhibited contents, we find different conceptions of primitiveness behind them. While the "primitiveness" that the 1904 St Louis Exposition and 1905 Portland Fair intended to show in their Philippine Reservations was the contrast to "civilisation" that the organisers/ ruling powers assumed to be entitled, the replica of Burns Cottage appearing in the same Fairs was actually a tribute from the "new continent" to the "old home". Although the idea of "primitiveness" still applied to the Cottage, it was valued in the context of Enlightenment and the spirit of Romanticism that still swayed modern world. In another words, the replica of the Cottage was a representation of the organisers/ ruling powers as a symbol of their cultural roots, and the constructed primitive villages were the representation of their inferior others as interpretation of savageness. On the other hand, the native, American "primitiveness" that had been conquered by European Americans was represented by "Indian tepees, wigwams, and other primitive dwellings" and the image of a "defiant" Native American (Fig 135) like exotic others in the 1904 St Louis Exposition.⁴⁰⁷ Furthermore, the next year Portland Exposition used the image of a stereotype Native American looking down from a forest hill, which represented the American primitiveness again, at the castled fairground representing the civil world, on the cover of its souvenir book as the totem of the centenary celebration of the troop expedition to the western America (Fig 136). The scientific and technological advances showcased in these Fairs might be

⁴⁰⁷ *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 30th to December 1st, 1904*, (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1904), p. 24.

exciting, while the social progress demonstrated by the organisers/ powers showed that there was still long way to go.

While the idea of “primitiveness” in the context of the powers’ side was different from that applied to the dominated others, an exact reproduction of a cultural icon, which was normally a salute, was also different from a representation of others based on constructed authenticity. Villages might be inferior to pavilions, but replicas were always tributes. For example, besides the replica of Burns Cottage, the 1904 St Louis Exposition also included a replica of the statue of Freedom in Washington, one of the Orangery of Kensington Gardens (to be placed in its English Garden Section), and one of “La Rabida, an old mission in the southern part of the state”.⁴⁰⁸ Likewise, replicas of symbolic buildings were found in the 1905 Portland Exposition: one was the Massachusetts State House, which was a reproduction of the one in Boston, and one was the Illinois State Building, “a replica of Abraham Lincoln’s home in Springfield”.⁴⁰⁹ These replicas, like the one of Burns Cottage, stood for the organisers/ powers and spoke for some glorious memory belonging to the powers. However, while the American replica of the Cottage stood for its builders, who strongly related themselves to Scottish root and culture, it seems complex to say if the London replica within the “Scotch Village” represented its organiser too. Indeed the construction of the Village seems to contradict to the idea of progress and industrial aspirations that the great exhibitions had promoted since 1851. But if we take the development of Arts and Crafts Movement into account, which contradicted to the spirit of great exhibitions too but had great impact on that of aesthetic, the idea of primitiveness presented by the Village can be linked to the spirit of craftsmanship that the Movement had valued and taken as source of national forms resistive to foreign styles. The official name of the 1909 London Exhibition was Imperial International Exhibition, which means that the participants included several power states. Hence the target audience was expected to come not only from inside the Britain, but also from at least all the countries that participated in the Exhibition.

⁴⁰⁸ *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 30th to December 1st, 1904*, pp. 33, 37, 106.

⁴⁰⁹ Hardt, pp. 130, 134–35; ‘1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition’, *Positive Spin* <<http://www.positivespin.us/NL4.htm>> [accessed 22 July 2016].

Therefore, it was not just to display the idea of British Empire to the audience constituting the Empire, it was also to introduce every piece of the Empire to its foreign visitors, who might be interested in learning about “the natural charms of British resorts”,⁴¹⁰ and by the celebration of cultural/ regional diversity, the idea of a great empire was reinforced in the exhibition. Like how it was necessary for American organisers to display their dominated others, including the native Americans, in their expositions, a “typical Scottish village”⁴¹¹ was found reasonable to be built in 1909 London to complete the display of British Empire.

Aiming to represent this “typical Scottish village”, the Exhibition brought in “crofters from the Western highlands”, “representatives of all the principal islands in the West Coast of Scotland”, and St. Kilda sheep, Shetland ponies, collie dogs-breeds that featured their Scottish origins (Fig 137).⁴¹² The Village covered five acres of ground, and was made of cottages that were described as some “facsimile of those found across the border”. Dressed in “their native costumes”, the “villagers” were seen manufacturing “their own special home-spuns” on the site, and unsurprisingly, Highland dance and sports with accompaniment of bagpiping were included in their programmes to entertain the audience (Fig 138). Some area of the Village was designed as a representation of the Clachan of Aberfoyle (Fig 139), the highland village made famous by Scott’s *Rob Roy*, plus the replicas of Carlyle’s birthplace and Burns’,⁴¹³ these were the tributes from 1909 London to the three Scottish writers of successive generations spanning from the latter half of eighteenth century to the Victorian era, when happened to be the time that people’s perception of landscapes, which was strongly connected to national identity, was not just deeply affected, but overall shaped by literary works. According to David Lowenthal, “landscapes have much in common, but each nation treasures certain geographical features and

⁴¹⁰ ‘THE IMPERIAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 57.2932 (1909), 209–10 (p. 210).

⁴¹¹ ‘Scottish Attractions at the International Exhibition’, *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland, 12 March 1909), p. 7.

⁴¹² ‘Scottish Attractions at the International Exhibition’, *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen, Scotland, 12 March 1909), p. 7; *Official Guide: Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909*, p. 47.

⁴¹³ *Official Guide: Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909*, p. 47.

elements of its own".⁴¹⁴ For England it has been the archetypal scenic countryside epitomised by the South, "particularly the areas surrounding London known as the Home Counties"⁴¹⁵ that represents an imaginary Englishness. For Scotland it has been the Highlands that evokes some romanticised history, which owes much to Burns and Scott, who, (like Carlyle,) actually rose from lowland Scotland, but made great contributions to the forging of Scottish image denoted by highland culture, which, again, could be linked to the idea of primitiveness that had been valued as source of a respectful culture and proof of a society's originality. This not only explains why a "typical Scottish village" was represented in the form of a pastiche highland village in the 1909 London Exhibition, but also shows that how the power of literature affected people in the way that grand pavilions and palaces could not compete, that a primitive cottage had to be reproduced across ocean to stand among the most extraordinary things that a grand exposition could source from around the world, and when it came to producing an exhibition of a culture, replicas of writers' humble birthplaces had to be included as the essential component of it.

However, although the power of words had exerted in its way and taken an irreplaceable place in great expos aside fancy constructions dominated by visual cultures, one of Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs' influence on western world was actually to reclaim or retrieve (if that had ever been taken) the hegemony of visual arts. The creation of wonders was not only a consequent product reflecting the expansion of empires since the marine times, by exhibiting the evidences of the most advance, the fanciest, the grandest, the remotest, and the most exotic in the eye of the "explorers", the exhibitions re-invented a narrative form to tell stories through displaying, categorising, and demonstrating. And when the evidence was difficult to be in presence, a reproduction of it was not only acceptable, but more applicable to the narrative in a rearranged storyboard. Like how a "typical Scottish village" was represented by members of the Highlands and each principle islands of Scotland, the idea of United States was epitomised by reproductions of State Houses and of the

⁴¹⁴ David Lowenthal, 'European and English Landscapes as National Symbols', in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. by David Hooson, Special Publications Series (Institute of British Geographers) ; 29 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 15–38 (p. 17).

⁴¹⁵ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p. 41.

statue of Liberty, and likewise, the world was summarised by reproductions of historic buildings standing among pavilions and model villages. With demonstration, all contents can be “read” in one glimpse. This is not only efficient, but effective, and that might explain why a permanent reproduction of Burns Cottage had to be built in Atlanta two years after the 1909 London Exhibition, as if regular celebrations for the poet’s life and works had not been sufficient, that a replica of “the historic Cottage” would have completed it. Built by the local Burns Club, the Atlanta replica was also made “as nearly as possible a reproduction of the original Burns Cottage at Alloway”.⁴¹⁶ Plans and drawings from the original one were used for its construction, including the slight angle at the bend of the road in Alloway and the interior settings, which were reproduced “as far as practicable” while the “byre” and the “barn” of the Atlanta cottage were made into one room for meeting purpose and a library featuring Burns collection.⁴¹⁷ And this is not the only example of permanent replicas of writer’s houses. As the Atlanta replica was built a private club house, a Shakespeare theme park was opened in Japan in 1997 (Fig 141~Fig 144). Aiming to be “Stratford-upon-Tokyo”,⁴¹⁸ the Maruyama Shakespeare Country Park boasted replicas of Shakespeare’s birthplace and Mary Arden’s house, the childhood home of Shakespeare’s mother, and recreations of the Stratford market cross, the Globe Theatre, and the New Place, the house that once had featured Shakespeare’s retired life and the legendary mulberry tree but was demolished by its last owner in the eighteenth century. British architecture firm was hired for this project. And English oak and other building materials were imported from UK for the construction of these period buildings, and the garden adjoining the reconstructed New Place was planted with the flowers and herbs of Elizabethan taste to “give the landscape the correct smell”.⁴¹⁹ Like what most writers’ houses in the twentieth century do, these

⁴¹⁶ Edward Goodwillie, *The World’s Memorials of Robert Burns* (Detroit, Michigan, 1911), p. 139.

⁴¹⁷ Goodwillie, pp. 139–40.

⁴¹⁸ ‘Stratford-upon-Tokyo: A Shakespeare Theme Park in Japan’, *The Telegraph*, 14 January 2012.

⁴¹⁹ ‘Call It Stratford-in-Maruyama’, *The New York Times*, 31 August 1997, section Travel; ‘NEW ENGLISH VILLAGE IN SHAKESPEARE COUNTRY PARK, JAPAN’, *CLASSICAL / TRADITIONAL ARCHITECT - JULIAN BICKNELL & ASSOCIATES* <http://www.julianbicknell.co.uk/view-shakespearecountrypark_maruyama_chibaprefecture_japan.php> [accessed 28 July 2016]; ‘Stratford-upon-Tokyo’.

buildings were all furnished with period style furniture, and dummies dressed with period style costume were used to demonstrate Shakespeare's life scenes.⁴²⁰ Records has it that selections of the bard's plays were performed in Japanese at the opening ceremony attended by British ambassador.⁴²¹ A full Shakespearean experience was provided by the theme park.

Reproductions supplement the absence of the original, validate the unique status of the original that it deserves to be reproduced, and offer audience experience in more adaptive or elaborate ways. Since Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs started to create flamboyant full-scale experience for their audience with designed environments, museums no longer satisfy people with plain display of their collections, and a new reading order has been created along with the thriving of industries dominated by visual cultures: writers' houses are no more only for readers who have affection for the writer because of the text, as now houses can be one of the media introducing the writer to the audience whose interest in culture can be of various aspects or levels. And the experience-oriented policy not only changes the way museums arrange their display, the trend also stimulates places of quasi-museum-state to respond visitors' expectations provoked by texts in other forms/media. For example, featuring in J. K. Rowling's blockbuster *Harry Potter*, the London King's Cross station had to create a fictional location "Platform 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", which is separate from its operating platforms, to accommodate the tourists queuing for taking photos in the station. People who have boosted New Zealand's tourism for *The Lord of the Rings* series were not necessarily Tolkien's readers in conventional sense (otherwise they might choose to go to Britain in search of the Middle Earth instead), and likewise, most who crowd Stratford-upon-Avon today are not Shakespeare's readers by traditional definition. However, since the legacy of Shakespeare has permeated in daily life languages and pop cultures, no one can be not his reader in widest sense, except reader of adaptations. The cultural symbolic

⁴²⁰ 'NEW ENGLISH VILLAGE IN SHAKESPEARE COUNTRY PARK, JAPAN': 'Stratford-upon-Tokyo'.

⁴²¹ 'Shakespeare Theme Park Opens in Japan', *Associated Press International*, 24 April 1997, section International News; 'Shakespeare Goes East', *The Times* (London, 24 April 1997), p. 19, Issue 65872; 'Shakespearean Theme Park Opens in Japan', *The Nation* (Thailand, 29 April 1997), p. C10.

importance that Shakespeare possesses and the fact that Stratford suits the idea of Englishness (including the relative location to London) provide sufficient motive for tourists to come for the experience. Likewise, since Burns holds similar position in Scottish culture as Shakespeare does English, voted as “the Greatest Scot of all time”,⁴²² the poet’s 250th birthday was grandly celebrated with series events accompanied with the creation of a brand new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, which was part of the Scottish tourism boosting project for 2009- the “homecoming year of Scotland”.⁴²³ On the one hand, the Museum can be viewed as replacement of the “new museum buildings” erected beside the Cottage in around 1900 (Fig 83, Fig 84). On the other hand, the composition of rubbles and timber system presented in the design of the Museum’s entrance is not an exact reproduction of the Cottage though (Fig 146~8), suggests that the Museum is a salute to the Cottage and the poet in the way the grand architecture presents the idea of primitiveness and localness. Connected to the Cottage with half-mile-long “Poet’s Path”, along which installation works depicting Burns’ poems can be found (Fig 145), the Museum’s site is also in the neighbourhood of the Alloway Auld Kirk, Brig o’ Doon, and Burns Monument of Ayr. Integrating all the landmarks of Burns in Alloway, the grand Museum architecture eventually replaced the humble Cottage as the core of the former Burns National Heritage Park (Fig 149), which now features the new Museum equipped with phonic media providing full Burnsian experience enhanced, informative, and evolving.

⁴²² Burns has been voted “the Greatest Scot” at least twice in public polls, one was held by Scottish Television in 2009 and one was held by National Trust for Scotland in 2016. The STV poll was part of the campaign for the Homecoming Year, and the NTS vote was a fundraising campaign for the repair of Burns Monument in Alloway. See ‘Robert Burns Voted Greatest Scot’, *STV News*, 30 Nov 2009 <<http://news.stv.tv/scotland/141018-robert-burns-voted-greatest-scot/>> [accessed 31 July 2016]; Stuart Wilson, ‘Robert Burns Voted as the Country’s Greatest Scot in National Trust for Scotland Poll; Robert Burns Had Twice as Many Votes than His Nearest Rival’, *Daily Record*, 8 May 2016.

⁴²³ ‘Robert Burns Birthplace Museum’, *Scottish Government*, 2011 <<http://www.gov.scot/News/Releases/2011/01/21160220>> [accessed 31 July 2016]; ‘Robert Burns Is the Inspiration for Homecoming Scotland 2009- a Year-Long Celebration of Scottish Culture, Heritage and Contributions to the World’, *The Times* (London, 24 January 2009), p. 53, Issue 69541. ‘Homecoming Scotland 2009- A Year of Celebration’ (EventScotland, 2010), p. 6, <http://homecomingscotland2009.com/> <http://homecomingscotland2009.com/Repository/review/Homecoming_Scotland_2009_-_A_Year_of_Celebration.pdf>.



Fig 132 Replica of Burns Cottage in the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904, © The State Historical Society of Missouri (<http://shsmo.org>)



Fig 133 Replica of Burns Cottage in the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Portland, Oregon, 1905, © University of Washington Libraries (<http://content.lib.washington.edu>)



Fig 134 Replica of Burns Cottage (on the left, with tablet hung above the door) in the Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909, image taken from *Answers on a Postcard* (<http://answersonapostcard.weebly.com>)



Fig 135 C. E. Dallin, 'Defiant Indian', displayed in the 1904 St Louis Exposition, image taken from the *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 30th to December 1st, 1904*, p. 19

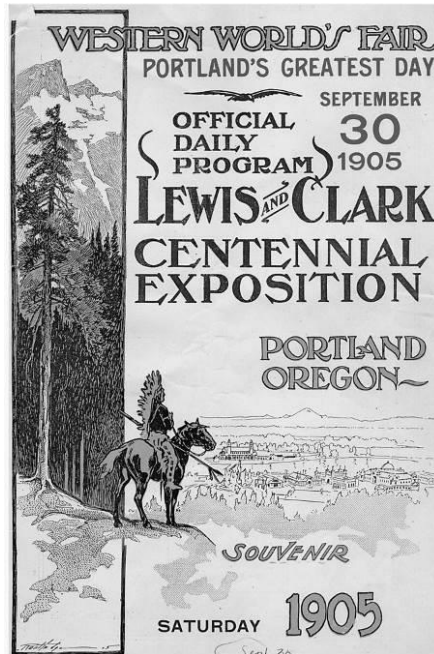


Fig 136 Cover image of the souvenir book of 1905 Portland Fair, accessible through *The Oregon Encyclopedia* (oregonencyclopedia.org)

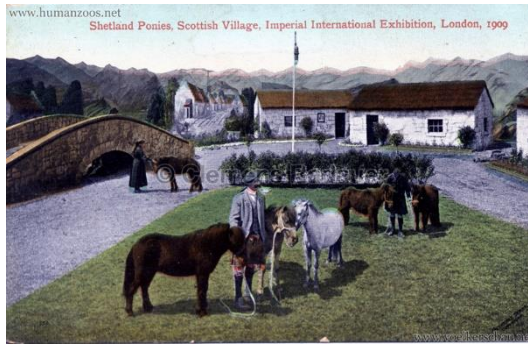


Fig 137 Shetland Ponies in the Scottish Village of Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909, images accessible through *Human Zoo* (www.humanzoos.net)



Fig 138 'Entrance to Scottish Village' in the Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909, *Human Zoo*



Fig 139 'Aberfoyle Clachan, Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909', *Strathard News* (www.strathardnews.com), issue 54



Fig 140 Replica of Burns Cottage in Atlanta, built in 1911, © *Rag and Bone*
(ragandboneatlanta.blogspot.co.uk)



Fig 141 Shakespeare Country Park, Maruyama, Chiba Prefecture, Japan, built by Julian Bicknell & Associates, © Julian Bicknell & Associates



Fig 142 'A typical Shakespearean theatre' at Maruyama Shakespeare Country Park, © Julian Bicknell & Associates



Fig 143 Tourists in front of the replica of Shakespeare's birthplace in the Maruyama Shakespeare Country Park, *Transmedial Shakespeare* (transmedialshakespeare.wordpress.com)



Fig 144 Kindergarten pupils waving Japanese national flags in front of the Mary Arden House in the Maruyama Shakespeare Country Park on its opening day, 23 April 1997, which was also the anniversary of Shakespeare's birthday, image taken from 'Shakespeare Goes East', *The Times* (London, 24 Apr. 1997), © Mitsuyasu Oda/Reuter



Fig 145 Installation works depicting Burns' poems on the Poet's Path connecting the Museum to the Cottage, shot on the 1st Dec 2010



Fig 146 The Entrance of the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, opened in 2010, © Simpson & Brown Architects



Fig 147 Inscriptions on the rubble wall at the entrance of the Museum, taken on the 1st Dec 2010

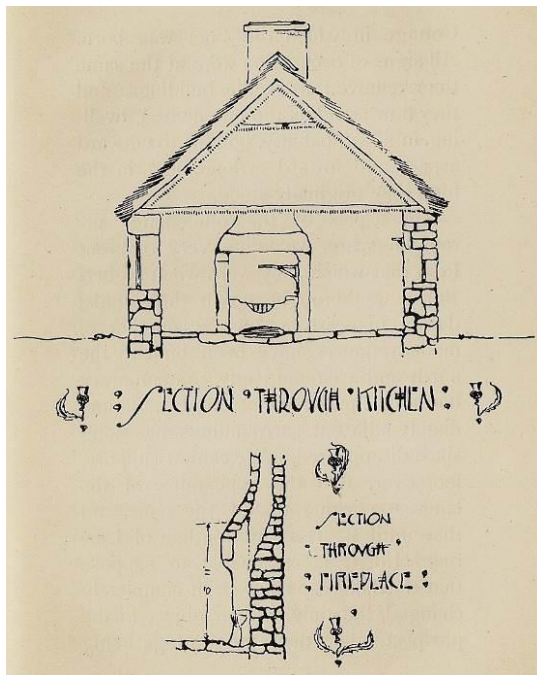


Fig 148 The Cross Section of Burns Cottage, M'Bain, p. 125



Fig 149 Map and Guide to the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum (released in 2010), which comprehends the new Museum, the Monument, the Auld Kirk, the Brig o' Doon, the Poet's Path, the Cottage, and the Education Pavilion that used to be a museum for the Cottage

4.2 *The Creation of Robert Burns Birthplace Museum/*

Conclusion

As the pioneer case of writers' houses, the development of Burns Cottage has been nearly complete at the opening of the twentieth century and the interior settings have remained constant since then, when the Trustees tore down the additions of the nineteenth century, built a separate building to function as its museum, and restored the Cottage to the state that was assumed to correspond to that of Burns' time. Actually the poet's literary status was not stable in the twentieth century. According to Murray Pittock and Alex Broadhead, following "a century of enthusiastic, of often patronizing, celebration of his poems and song" after Burns' death, there was a seventy years long scholarly neglect of the poet before "a serious revival of academic interest" in Burns of the recent decades.⁴²⁴ Burns' use of vernacular Scots in his poems also has hindered him from being recognised relevant in English literature in which the academic inclination tended to "to relegate all dialect poetry to secondary status".⁴²⁵ And opinions opposing to the cult of Burns and ritualism of Burns Supper have arisen from time to time. However, all of this does not seem to have affected the poet's general popularity and did not stop the spread and general use of Burns' image. The poet's portraits can be seen everywhere in Scotland hung over drinking places. Suitable for commercial use for his emblematic status that sells the idea of Scottishness in local produce, Burns' image has been also applicable to political or social campaigns that can be connected with the humanism Burns stands for (Fig 150, Fig 151). For example, over £15,000 were raised to build ten more purpose-built cottages for people of limited means in the name of Burns in the 1950s at the Mossgiel Farm, which led to the inauguration of the new "Jean Armour Burns Houses" in 1959 as part of the celebration for the bicentenary of the poet's birth.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Alex Broadhead, *The Language of Robert Burns : Style, Ideology, and Identity* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), p. 6; Murray Pittock, "'A Long Farewell to All My Greatness': The History of the Reputation of Robert Burns", in *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011), pp. 25–46 (pp. 25–29).

⁴²⁵ McGuirk, pp. xiii–xiv.

⁴²⁶ The National Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes (built in 1898) and the house lived by Burns (around 1788) in Mauchline both had functioned as homes for people in need in the early nineteenth century, the new Houses built in 1959 can be viewed as the extension of these prior examples that all

Furthermore, more places relative to Burns came into light and went under protection in the twentieth century: the house in which Burns had settled his future wife and lived for a short time in Mauchline, known as the Burns House Museum now, was purchased on behalf of the Burns Federation in 1915, while there had been a plaque placed on the wall of it marking its connection to Burns since 1902;⁴²⁷ the Ellisland farm, where Burns had settled his family for three years after leaving Mauchline, has been put under the protection of a trust formed for the preservation of it since 1922;⁴²⁸ the cottage that have been lived by John Davidson, who was portrayed by Burns as “Souter Johnnie” in his famous *Tam o’Shanter*, had been under the protection of a committee since 1920 till the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), which was established in 1931, took over the property in 1932;⁴²⁹ the house in Tarbolton in which Burns established his “Bachelors’ Club” was rescued by the NTS and the Burns Federation from demolition in the 1930s and has been officially under the protection of the NTS since 1951;⁴³⁰ and the Burns House in Dumfries, which was purchased by one of Burns’ sons in 1851 and had started to receive pilgrims for Burns since the time of Burns’ widow Jean, has been turned into a museum on Burns since 1903.⁴³¹

Except the Ellisland Farm, which is run by the Friends of Ellisland, the Burns House Museum in Mauchline and the Burns House in Dumfries, which are both run by their local councils, most of the house museums relative to Burns, including the Burns Cottage since 2008, are under the administration of National Trust for Scotland. The cause and function of the NTS are similar to those of its former models, one of which is the Trustees of Reservations founded in Massachusetts, and the other is the National Trust founded in England.⁴³² Initiated with the preservation of open spaces

involved with the participation of the Burns Federation. See James A. MacKay, *The Land O’ Burns: A Guide to the Burns Country* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1996), pp. 27–29.

⁴²⁷ MacKay, *The Land O’ Burns*, pp. 27–28.

⁴²⁸ MacKay, *The Land O’ Burns*, p. 39.

⁴²⁹ ‘Souter Johnnie’s Cottage’, *The National Trust for Scotland*

<<http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Souter-Johnnies-Cottage/Hidden-history>> [accessed 9 August 2016].

⁴³⁰ ‘Bachelors’ Club’, *The National Trust for Scotland* <<http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Bachelors-Club/Hidden-history>> [accessed 9 August 2016].

⁴³¹ See 308.

⁴³² Douglas Bremner, *For the Benefit of the Nation: The National Trust for Scotland: The First 70 Years* (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 2001), p. 4.

against the industrialization and consequent expanding urbanization in Boston, the Trustees of Reservations started as a proposal to protect “beautiful and historical places” statewide for the public “just as a public library holds books and an art museum holds pictures” and was empowered by the legislature as an organization in 1891.⁴³³ Likewise, the National Trust that covers England, Wales, and Northern Ireland today has its roots in the foundations of several societies in the 1870s and 1880s that valued the preservation of open spaces for the commons and ran several campaigns against developments in the countryside of London and the Lake District.⁴³⁴ As some of these campaigns did not achieve their goals, the formation of a trust that “could be vested the ownership of any threatened buildings or land” came to be the solution, which came to being in 1895 as the National Trust.⁴³⁵ The Garden City Movement happening in the latter half of 1890s shared the same goal with that of the campaigner behinds the Trust, except that their methods of achieving that goal are different. However, both the Movement and the Trust can be viewed as inheritors of the picturesque aesthetic and cottage reform, which valued the rural scenery and the benefit of country life, and looked to the wellbeing of general people on the former premise.

It was till 1931 that Scotland formed an independent trust to do the same job as the Trust had since 1895. The group who initiated the idea of a Scottish trust had been associated with the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland. They shared the vision of the founders of the National Trust but was frustrated by the Trust’s

⁴³³ ‘Trustees History’, *The Trustees of Reservations* <<http://www.thetrustees.org/about-us/history/>> [accessed 10 August 2016].

⁴³⁴ The campaigns against developments in the countryside of London and the Lake District were promoted by pretty much the same circle of people. For example, the Swiss Cottage appeal, which is against a development plan in the Hampstead Heath in 1875, was run by Octavia Hill (1838-1912), who had grown up in that area, founded with her sister the Kyrle Society in the same year, and run her housing scheme for people in need since the 1860s with Ruskin’s financial support. In the Kyrle Society, Hill established an Open Space Committee, which focused on the provision of open space that would be ensured as those of basic needs and education. Apart from the campaigns for the countryside of London, Hill also participated in the one run by the Lake District Defence Society in the 1880s, and co-founded the National Trust later with two other co-founders, one of whom was the founder of the Defence Society, Canon Rawnsley. See Christopher Hanson-Smith, *Octavia Hill & Open Spaces*, Booklet, no. 3, 2nd ed (Wisbech: Octavia Hill Society; Octavia Hill Birthplace Trust, 1996), pp. 2–6.

⁴³⁵ Hanson-Smith, pp. 6–7.

“lack of involvement with Scotland”.⁴³⁶ However, the co-operation and assistance of the National Trust had been assured from the beginning of the NTS’s development.⁴³⁷ A reconstitution of the NTS took place in 1935. And in the National Trust for Scotland Order Confirmation Act 1935, the purpose of the NTS was defined as

“promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and buildings in Scotland of historic or national interest or natural beauty and also of articles and objects of historic or national and as regards lands for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their natural aspect and features and animal and plant life and as regards buildings for the preservation (so far as practicable) of their architectural or historic features and contents so far as of national or historic interest.”⁴³⁸

The frequent use of the word “national” here makes a contrast to the NTS’ emphasis on the universal aspect of the preservation/ conservations works it is up to in its motto today: “a place for everyone”, which echoes the National Trust’s “for ever, for everyone”, while the latter is a no-different reverse version of the Massachusetts Trustees’ “For everyone. Forever.” Their common emphases on the timeless universal value of their works may be ascribed to the idea of “world heritage”, which is viewed as “a thoroughly modern concept”, even “a condition of the late twentieth century”⁴³⁹ from some perspective, as the earliest expression of it can be traced back to the eighteenth century, when visitors to Rome, like Horace Walpole and Goethe, started to express their concern for the conditions of the city and “various masterpieces of art” and “a sense of common responsibility” arose among these cross-national literates.⁴⁴⁰ However, like most heritage, a writer’s house may gather admirers from all over the world, which, in a way, proves the universal value of the

⁴³⁶ ‘History of the Trust’, *The National Trust for Scotland* <<http://www.nts.org.uk/Charity/Our-work/History/>> [accessed 15 August 2016].

⁴³⁷ Robin Prentice, *Conserve & Provide: A Brief History of the National Trust for Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1971).

⁴³⁸ Prentice, p. n.a.

⁴³⁹ David McCrone, Angela Morris, and Richard Kiely, *Scotland - the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Jokilehto, pp. 49–50.

house's persistent existence, but the force to maintain the place usually comes from regional community, who could directly benefit from the tourism effect the house can bring, which also helps to strengthen the cultural identity of the community. The Cottage, too, had been run by a local community in the form of trustees that were originally formed for the Burns Monument of Ayr, who then took over the Cottage in 1881 and handed both properties over to the NTS in 2008 in preparation for the integration with the new Museum. Thus the resource behind the Cottage was elevated to national level by the transfer of its ownership. And the project of creating a new birthplace museum of Burns in the Cottage's neighborhood was executed in a massive scale as £21 million were reported to have been spent on it.⁴⁴¹ It may be right that it was because the Cottage has been viewed as heritage possessing universal value in its existence that has gathered so much resource and efforts to make it "a place for everyone" in such grand form, but indeed it was "for the benefit of the nation" since the brand of Burns has been a good seller of Scotland even in the twenty-first century. It was estimated that in 2007 £157 million per year had been created by the "Robert Burns brand" to the Scottish economy,⁴⁴² and that might partly answer why £21 million were worth spending on the new Museum project. Apart from the economic potential, generally the presentation of any form of heritage is a "reflection of nationalism in its widest sense",⁴⁴³ and to Scotland, heritage especially has "uncommon power" because it is a means to redeem its stateless nationhood.⁴⁴⁴ Hence it was natural that the location to create a "world-class" Burns museum in the "Homecoming Year" fell on the poet's birthplace instead of other Burns' houses, not only because the Cottage had been a cultural totem since nineteenth century, but the idea of primitive nativity home suits the idea of a mythicised, romantic homeland better.

In response to the spirit of the Cottage and the cause of NTS, Burns' new birthplace museum building maximised the use of "natural, minimally processed materials"

⁴⁴¹ 'New £21m Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Opens', *BBC News*, 2010
<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-11879899>> [accessed 31 July 2016].

⁴⁴² Leask, p. 1, citing *The Herald* (25 Jan 2007).

⁴⁴³ McCrone, Morris, and Kiely, p. 182.

⁴⁴⁴ McCrone, Morris, and Kiely, p. 196.

which were sourced as locally as possible. Featuring in the use of passive system and ground-source heat, the design invested much effort on eco-sustainability agenda. The new Museum was expected to be in charge of the store and display of the 5,000 artefacts that constitute the Cottage's collection on Burns.⁴⁴⁵ The old exhibition building erected beside the Cottage was then re-assigned to be Education Pavilion equipped with souvenir shop and water closet, which supplements the museum function of the Cottage presented in its secluded, pristine, eighteenth-century state. According to the photos taken in 2008 ahead of the NTS' "re-interpretation" of the Cottage and in 2010 after it was re-opened, the current inner settings of the Cottage basically conform to the previous arrangement made by the Trustees (Fig 152~Fig 163). The Kitchen remains the appearance depicted in paintings of the past two centuries, except the added baby clothes hung above the box-bed and inscribed with names and dates of birth of Burns and his siblings that were born in the Cottage (Fig 155). Female voice of storytelling and song humming can be heard in the kitchen space, which represents the influence on the poet from his mother's side in the aspect of folklores and rhyme. The "spence", which is supposed to function as living room next to kitchen, used to stage life scene of Burnes family with dummies sitting around the table listening to the father's book reading (Fig 156), is now presented as a pure study in a modernised settings without still dummies but filled with book reading in male voice (Fig 157), which represents the education Burns had received from his father. The dummy cattle that used to be seen in the byre is also removed from the space, in replacement several explanatory boards cut in cow shapes are put in each stall of the byre with demonstration of model utensils (Fig 158, Fig 159), and voices of animals can be heard in the byre space. The barn that used to be video room is still in charge of introducing the Cottage to its visitors, except there are now four videos depicting the life scene of each space in bird's eye view (to be observed from above a model of the Cottage) instead of mono projection screen in front of arrays of seats that used to be there (Fig 160, Fig 161, Fig 164~Fig 167). Guided the

⁴⁴⁵ Simpson & Brown Architects, 'Project Sheet: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum Alloway' <<http://www.simpsonandbrown.co.uk/>>; 'Simpson and Brown Architects: Robert Burns Birthplace Museum' *Architecture Today*, 26 Feb 2011 <<http://www.architecturetoday.co.uk/?p=12936>> [accessed 31 July 2016].

visitors to enter the Cottage from the ground/ back side, the barn is the first space to welcome the audience. Farming utensils that used to be placed around the space are now hung on the beams that are unreachable (Fig 163), concern of safety may be the reason. Compared to the settings of 2008, the Trust's "reinterpretation" of the Cottage is, although similar to its former counterpart, more straightforward and informative in the way of presentation. No more efforts are spent on the verisimilitude of the reconstructed settings to correspond to the idea of eighteenth century, while the whole place is now a phonic one conveying the idea of "birthplace" that had awakened and incubated Burns' talent in rhyme. Inscriptions of Scots and English words and poem lines are all over the place on the model furniture and recoated inner walls (Fig 154, Fig 168~Fig 171), which may be compulsively predominating the audience's interpretation of the space, however successfully implies the Cottage's connection with the poet's literary achievements.

Reconstruction of interior is very common in house museums. As many houses venerated today were rescued from some deserted state or retrieved from the state that has little connection to the inhabitant that people wished to commemorate, re-creation of life scenes makes the house convincing. However, in writers' houses, along with the expansion of the house's collection on the writer, it is also common to see that the house is presented as a compromise between house and museum, that is, the place to stage life scenes with model settings of specific period relative to the writer and the exhibition room to house and gather the writer's relics, manuscripts, and portraits as extensively as possible. The Dickens House Museum in London is a good example of such mixture. The House at Doughty Street is actually not the one where Dickens had spent most of his London years, but it is the only London house Dickens had lived surviving to this day. Bought by the Dickens Fellowship in 1924, eighty-five years after Dickens moved out of the place, the house is redecorated with model furnishings of period style. Objects that used to have belonged to Dickens and other relative relics are displayed among the reconstructed settings. While some exhibited relics fit the interior settings well as part of the furnishing, some actually has little connection to the House. For example, a garret window of the attic lived by Dickens at the age of eleven in 1823 is one of the House's collection. Described as "a genuine Dickens relic", the attic window is exhibited on the top floor that does not

clash the idea of Dickens' Victorian drawing room or dining room on the main floors. Likewise, some part of the Burns Cottage in its earlier years of the twentieth century was also used as exhibition site to display Burns relics and paintings in its reconstructed settings. According to the catalogue published in 1904 and 1960s, the kitchen of the Cottage was furnished with relics that fit the kitchen settings: there were two chairs, a washing stool, and a milking stool that were believed to have belonged to the Burnes family in various periods that might not relate to the Cottage,⁴⁴⁶ a table that had belonged to the Cottage since its inn years, and chairs ascribed to the late eighteenth century (Fig 178~Fig 180). The dresser and plate rack were believed to have been in the kitchen since Burns' time, and the appearance of old clock had been included in every paintings depicting the kitchen since Hill's work of 1829 (Fig 47). In the room next to the kitchen there were a table from Burns House in Dumfries, chairs said to be used by Tam o'Shanter and Souter Johnnie, two spinning wheels of the eighteenth century, one of which may be the one displayed in the kitchen in the late nineteenth century as photo of the time suggests (Fig 57), a piece of oak taken from the foundation of the Auld Brig of Ayr in 1910, a sign board with Burns' portrait on it, which used to be fixed outside the Cottage in its inn period, etchings of paintings on Burns motif, and etc. (Fig 176).⁴⁴⁷

The double roles as house and museum in writers' houses actually correspond to the presentation of sites in international exhibitions, where it is common to see individual pavilion-architecture is built to magnify cultural/ national identity by creating macro-scope wonders, while all the architecture also functions as exhibition houses to contain possibilities. The popularity of the Cottage's image has made Burns Cottage a cultural totem like how pavilion-architecture has been presented. While the birthplace of the national bard represents itself as an eighteenth century

⁴⁴⁶ For example, the milking stool was believed to have belonged to Burnes family in their Mossgiel period instead of Alloway, and the chair that was believed to have belonged to Burns' mother was said to be the nursing chair that she had used to nurse all her children, who had been born in various places. See *Burns Cottage Alloway: Catalogue of Manuscripts, Relics, Paintings and Other Exhibits in the Cottage and Museum with Historical Note*, printed by T. M. Germmell & Son Ltd. (Ayr: Trustees of the Burns Cottage and Museum, 1965), p. 10; *Burns Cottage Alloway: Catalogue of Manuscripts, Portraits, and Other Relics in the Cottage and the Museum with Historical Note*, printed by T. M. Germmell & Son Ltd. (Ayr: Trustees of the Burns Cottage and Museum, 1962), p. 11.

⁴⁴⁷ M'Bain, pp. 139–40; Ayr: Trustees of the Burns Cottage and Museum, 1962, pp. 6–8; Ayr: Trustees of the Burns Cottage and Museum, 1965, pp. 10–13.

cottage, the Cottage has also functioned as a museum since very early time for the built-in box bed had been the very first relic that literary tourists had come to see, and along with the expansion of its collection, the Cottage started to present Burns' life and works of different periods and various aspects. The juxtaposition of items of various periods in museums is reasonable. However, when it comes to writers' houses, where relics of various periods and sources are used to reconstruct the interior as part of the display, the juxtaposition can be endowed with some meaning. For example, a study space is reconstructed in a corner of Burns House in Dumfries by the display of a period desk collocated with a chair from Ellisland, where Burns had lived for three years. The desk in display belonged to one of Burns' friends, Andrew Jaffrey,⁴⁴⁸ and it was said to have been used by the poet during his visit to Jaffrey. Hence both items that construct the study space did not belong to the House, while the collocation of them conveys the idea of study space in a writer's house that is essential to people's perception of Burns as a writer (Fig 181). While the desk belonged to the poet's friend is used to reconstruct Burns' study in the Dumfries House, a desk that is believed to come from the House is now displayed in the Writers' Museum in Edinburgh, and another desk that is believed to have belonged to the Dumfries House too is displayed in the new Burns Birthplace Museum collocated with another chair from Ellisland to make up an imaginary Burns' writing space again (Fig 182), which also corresponds to the presentation means in international exhibitions, where a pastiche "typical Scottish Village" was made up of representatives of the Highlands and "each principal Scottish islands", where the idea of world is represented by reproductions and reconstructions of selection remote places, that enable people can travel "the world" on the exhibition site. Likewise, although the time that a writer had spent with a house was often relatively short and definitely limited, the museum function of writers' houses often makes the house to contain more than what had been contained in the place, to present the writer's life and works through the collection not only comprehending all stages of the writer's lifetime, but often extending to the writer's after-life: as photos of Burns'

⁴⁴⁸ Father of Jean Jaffrey, who is the subject of Burns' "The Blue-Eyed Lassie", see the explanatory board in the Burns House in Dumfries, recorded in the visit of 2010.

descendants and new editions of the poet's works have been continuously added to collections on Burns. And that makes the audience go through the endless era extending from the life and works of the writer, in one house. Museums are to expand. Hence it is almost definite to find a house, especially one for ordinary housing, too small to contain all the contents that can be generated from a writer.

The Cottage had been extended at least twice for its tourism effect in the nineteenth century, and a separate museum was built for it to house the expanding collection as early as in about 1900. However, it took almost a century to clear all the relics from the Cottage. Record has it that extensive repairs of the Cottage were undertaken in 1993 ahead of "the installation of the present heritage interpretation".⁴⁴⁹ Since the state of the Cottage recorded by photos of 1999 (Fig 172~Fig 175) corresponds to those of 2008, it is very possible that the exhibited relics and paintings that used to occupy the kitchen and the room as the catalogues of 1904 and 1960s registered have been removed from the Cottage since 1993, and a total re-creation of furnishings was brought into the place at the time. Since then the presentation of the Cottage has focused on the first seven years of the poet's life by using reproductions of relics and model furnishings, while the display of the relic collection is left to the separate Museum, which has been expanded, too (Fig 84), and the creation of the new Museum can be viewed as an extension and expansion that replaces/ abolishes the old one's original role.

Writers' houses are like behind the scenes of the writer's text. As film audience watches the extra clips to grasp more content out of the set format, readers, too, approach writers' houses to extend their reading on the writer, or in some cases like Stratford, to enhance their understanding of English culture behind the metropolitan London. Audience in front of an art work often find themselves owning a moment shared with the artist, through the strokes on the canvas or the body prints left on the work, the audience can find some direct connection to the art producer via the uniqueness of work. In Ruskin's words, "it is well to have not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and

⁴⁴⁹ Addyman and others, pp. 169–70.

their eyes beheld".⁴⁵⁰ However, people get to know a writer with prints, a mass production, which does not provide such direct contact that some art media do. A writer's house is like a clothes that used to be put on the writer. People in seek of a moment shared with the writer walk into the house to share the roof with the writer. Hence although the power of literature can command people's feelings, those who are not content with the world constructed by words eventually walk to a real place to expand their reading experience. If we see text produced by writers as the reproduction of life experience, then the effort to approach their houses would be assumed to revert the reproduction, that is, to regain the experience that was reproduced by text. The reversion is somehow impossible, and what is closer to the fact is that writers' houses are like reproductions of the reproductions, copies of the copies, in Plato's sense. What is true is eventually within the reader's mind. That is why most writers' houses had to be "rescued" from some disapproved state, the drinking business of Burns Cottage back in the nineteenth century had to be criticised, and one separate museum that cannot take over all collection accumulating to the Cottage was not good enough for the presentation of the place.

Nowadays there are multiple ways to get in contact with a writer, in virtual and in real, but still nothing compares to a house, which is like a chapter of a book that the writer writes for all his/ her lifetime with their tracks of life. People read this book of life in order to meet the writer in some original moment, however what people read from a house, just like what is read from the text produced by the writer, is always the readers' own selves, their own reading of life and of works produced by the writer, their own tracks, and their own spirit of time. It looks like that the making of writers' houses is an effort to get the audience and the house back to a certain past that is connected to the writer, actually it reflects nothing but the track and the present of the society/ community that treasures the writer with the specific house it has preserved to represent itself.

⁴⁵⁰ Ruskin, p. 178.



Fig 152 The kitchen of the Cottage, 2008, *Canmore*



Fig 153 The kitchen of the Cottage, 2010



Fig 154 Fireplace and reproductions of relic chairs displayed in the kitchen, 2010



Fig 155 Baby clothes inscribed with names and birth dates of Burns and his siblings in the box bed of the kitchen, 2010



Fig 156 The room next to the kitchen, 2008, *Canmore*



Fig 157 The room next to the kitchen, 2010



Fig 158 The byre, 2008, *Canmore*

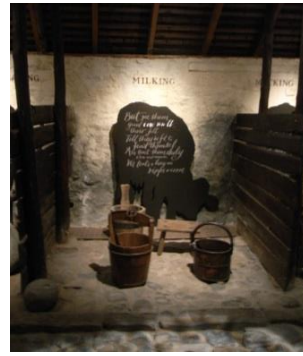


Fig 159 The byre, 2010



Fig 160 The barn used as video room, 2008, *Canmore*



Fig 161 The barn with inscription on the walls and multi-media display, 2010



Fig 162 The barn, 2008, *Canmore*



Fig 163 The barn with farming utensils hung on the beams, 2010



Fig 164 Still of the bird-eye view video of reconstructed barn scene, 2010



Fig 165 Still of the bird-eye view video of reconstructed byre scene, 2010



Fig 166 Still of the bird-eye view video of reconstructed kitchen scene, 2010



Fig 167 Still of the bird-eye view video of reconstructed study scene, 2010

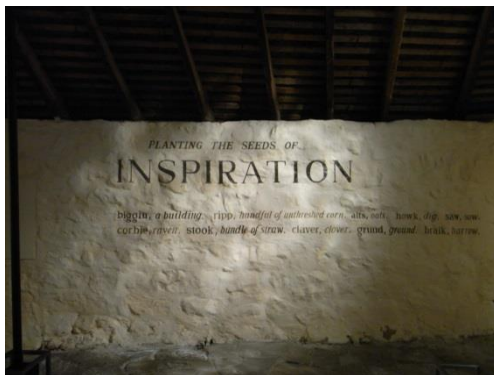


Fig 168 Inscriptions on the wall of the barn: “Planting the seeds of inspiration”, 2010

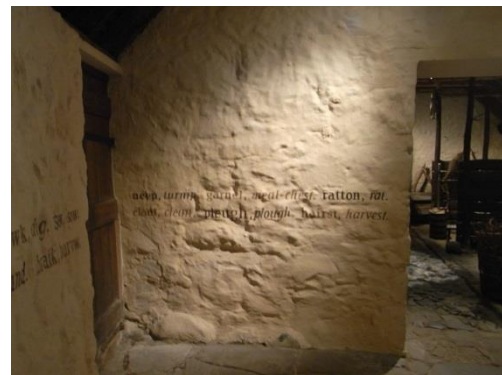


Fig 169 Inscriptions on the wall of the barn: “neep, turnip; hairst, harvest”, 2010

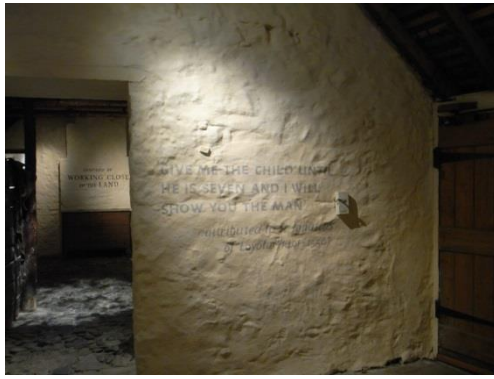


Fig 170 Inscription on the walls of the Cottage: “Give me the child until he is seven...”, 2010

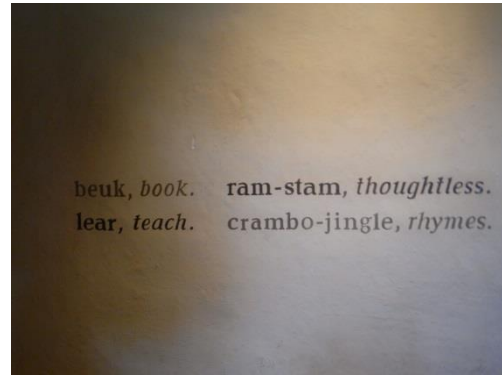


Fig 171 Inscription on the wall of the study room: “buek, *book*”, 2010



Fig 172 The barn, 1999, *Scran*



Fig 173 The byre, 1999, *Scran*



Fig 174 The room next to the kitchen, 1999, *Scran*



Fig 175 The kitchen, 1999, *Scran*

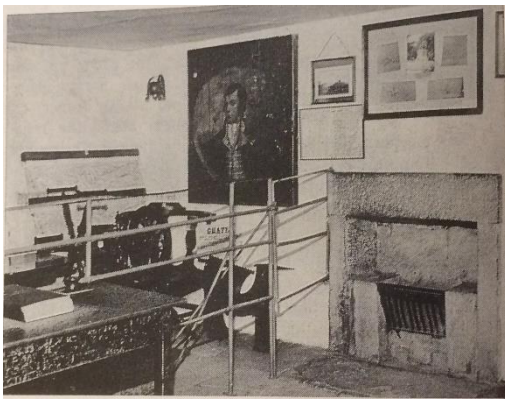


Fig 176 The sign board with other relics displayed in the room next to the kitchen, photo taken from *Burns Cottage and Monument Brochure*, 1960s, p. 12

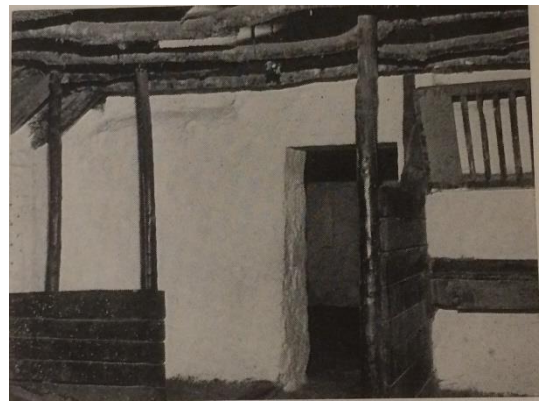


Fig 177 The byre in the 1960s, *Burns Cottage and Monument Brochure*, p. 13

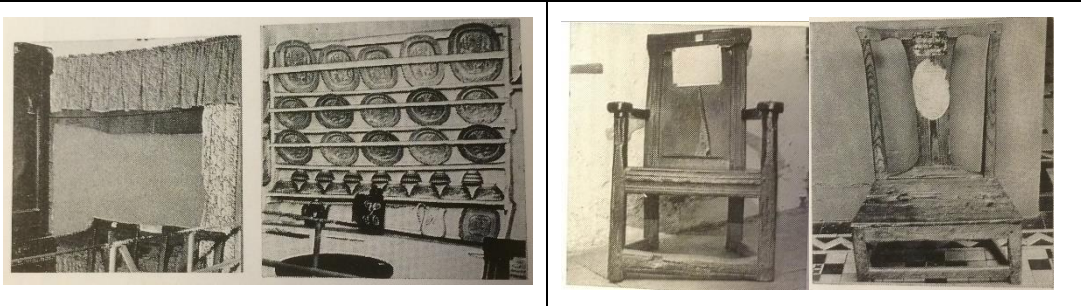


Fig 178 Relics placed in the kitchen in the 1960s, box-bed, plate rack, and chairs that was believed to have belonged to the Burnes family, *Burns Cottage and Monument Brochure*, pp. 10-11



Fig 179 'Interior of Cottage and Fireplace', photo taken from M'Bain's pamphlet, 1904



Fig 180 'Interior of Cottage', showing the box bed in the centre and the concealed bed on the right, photo taken from M'Bain's pamphlet, 1904



Fig 181 Desk used by Burns displayed in Burns House in Dumfries with a chair from Ellisland, shot on the 18 Jan 2011



Fig 182 The display of Burns' writing desk from Dumfries collocated with chair from Ellisland in the new Museum, 2011, © RBBM



Fig 183 The new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, © Simpson & Brown Architects

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