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**Kailyard and Tartanry - Cultural Nationalism in
Scottish Literature at the Turn of 19th and 20th
century**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla v ní předepsaným způsobem všechnu použitou literaturu.

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
Introduction	3
1. Nation and Nationalism	5
2. Origins of Cultural Nationalism in Scotland	9
Historical Context	10
Search for Scottish Symbols	13
Search for Literary History	15
3. Tartanry and Kailyard.....	18
3.1 Kailyard – “The Lowland Myth” Literary School.....	19
Origin of the Word.....	19
Kailyard Fiction - Provincial, Parochial, or Marginal?	20
Millar’s Introduction of the Term	22
Kailyard in its ‘Classic Form’ vs. the Broader Meaning of the Term	23
Margaret Oliphant’s Review	28
Reminiscences – Kailyard Predecessors.....	29
Kailyard’s Differences & Sudden Change in Reviews.....	31
Voice for the Working Class Although Fixed on Past.....	33
3.2 Demonstration of the Main Features on a Sample Text	36
3.3 Kailyard Writers Under Study.....	38
Ian Maclaren – The Theme of Education	38
J. M. Barrie – Regionalism	42
S. R. Crockett – False Judgement	47
4. Political Nationalism as Predated by Cultural Nationalism	51
5. The Terms “Tartanry” and “Kailyard” and their Lexical Connotations Today	57
Conclusion	59
Czech Summary	64
Bibliography	70

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is cultural nationalism in Scotland throughout the nineteenth century with special focus on the last two decades. The main concentration belongs to two crucial terms – Tartanry and Kailyard. This topic is a consequence of my course work research concerning the evolution of political nationalism in Scotland that led to today's devolution and Scotland's own Parliament. During my search for origins of political nationalism I have inevitably come across the wave of seekers for national identity during the nineteenth century.

Some of the questions that I posed for the purpose of research were questions related to nature of nation and nationalism itself. During my research for the previous course work I have studied varied small nations and their ways to independence or in some cases their solid decision to lose their independence and join a federation, as in case of Newfoundland. In some the political nationalism prevailed over the ethno-cultural motives and the latter had to be rediscovered later. In some the pragmatic prevailed over the cultural completely. The development in Scotland was certainly clear from the beginning – cultural nationalism predated the political. One of the goals of this thesis is going to be to explain why it happened and what prevented the Scottish nation from pursuing its political and self-governing ambitions.

As Scotland has lost most of its national distinctiveness after the last Jacobite rebellion in 1745, the whole notion of distinctive self had to be re-established within the people. Most of the educated middle class disappeared due to assimilation with the English and therefore it was necessary to encourage the Scottish people and give them something to

be proud of again. Fortunately, there was still a big community of working class people and farmers left in the Lowlands that held on to its old traditions and religion. That is one of the options where to start rebuilding the nation from.

During the first attempts, the nation did not strive for independence or devolution. It searched for long forgotten myths and symbols to be able to define its own group against the others because, in my opinion, the notion of self and other is what creates the so important national identity. To be able to define a unique nation it is important to be able to define it against some bigger entity, therefore the effort was in finding the elements that define the Scottish and Scotland as a country and nation from Britain. According to my previous research language often plays an important role in nation building or re-building processes, therefore in this thesis I will be looking for distinctiveness and function of language for the national movement.

As Scotland was approaching the twentieth century, the cultural nationalism gained its strength and emerged in recovery of national literary histories, exploration of folk songs and poems, and last but not least in new literary schools. One school became to represent the Scottish cultural nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century – kailyard, the literature of a kitchen garden.

The focal point of this thesis is to research kailyard as a literary school, establish its characteristics and look for nationalist motivation within its pages. Also to set it in the context of building of national consciousness in Scotland and seek out continuity with political efforts pursued especially during the second half of the twentieth century that culminated in Scotland's achievement of self-government.

1. Nation and Nationalism

Since my thesis is dealing with the topic of Scottish cultural nationalism, introduction and explanation of the basic terms will be necessary. When looking for a simple and clear definition, the best thing to do is to consult a well acclaimed dictionary.

nation

“a community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government, or a territorial division containing a body of people of one or more nationalities and usually characterized by relatively large size and independent status.”

Merriam-Webster Dictionary

Ernest Gellner would probably had no problem agreeing with this definition. He was a constructivist , who basically said that there is nothing sacred on the nation, that it has been constructed for a purpose. He states that nationalism predates a nation. In his words creation of a nation sense means going down to locals and collecting the folklore. Then one writes about it in high literature, so that ordinary people feel attachment to what he is writing, so that they can recognize some of the elements. For Gellner the nation building process is a task for the intelligentsia and academics.

Benedict Anderson would definitely not agree. He says that “Gellner is so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates invention to fabrication and falsity rather

than to imagining and creation.” Andersons nations are not real necessarily, they are imagined. For him nation is a system of representations of culture, people, arts, ... Shortly, nation is a symbolic place where you feel at home, but it does not need a specific territory. There are no fixed national boundaries, as it happened with the Jewish diaspora before the creation of Israel. Creation of national language is a crucial moment. It evokes the crucial sense of belonging to the community.

Anthony D. Smith was a primordialist whose notion of the nation completely differs from the one of Gellner. He said that nation predates nationalism. According to him, national identity and the nation are constructs composed of a number of interrelated components – ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political. They consist of bonds of solidarity among members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions. And he also divided the group of nations into two parts. He introduces western or civic nations and non-western nations. The former ones are those with common legal system, set territory. The latter ones are those with the notion of local and vernacular. Those are the ethnic nations.

As we already discussed some of the famous views on the idea of a nation, the concept of nationalism is here to be defined for the purpose of this paper:

nationalism

“loyalty and devotion to a nation; especially : a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups.”

Merriam-Webster Dictionary

The word devotion is especially important. We will see this as we move along to explanation of cultural nationalism importance and history within the Scottish context. Having established both important definitions, the area of the region's nation "re-building" process is here to be researched.

Inventing Tradition

In his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm, Professor of Economic and Social History at University of London, talks about 'traditions' that appear or claim to be old but are often quite recent in origin and sometimes also invented. As a prime example Hobsbawm mentions the pageantry that always surround British monarchy and the Queen during public ceremonies. There is nothing that would appear more ancient and full of history.

A lot of these are 'invented traditions' are actual traditions constructed and formally instituted that tend to establish themselves faster than we can realise. One of such traditions is The Royal Christmas broadcast in Britain instituted in 1932. Hobsbawm defines invented traditions as

"set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past."¹

¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 2.

As another example he mentions the choice of a Gothic style for the nineteenth century rebuilding of the British parliament, and after the WW II, the same plan deliberately followed when rebuilding the parliamentary chamber again.

Important difference between old and invented traditions and practices is the vagueness. Old practices were specific and strongly binding social rituals. The new invented traditions seem to be vague and unspecific as to the values and obligations of the group membership. As Hobsbawm stresses, invention of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of 'club membership' are the crucial elements, rather than the statutes and objects of the club. Importance of rituals like singing of the national anthem in Britain or the flag ritual in American schools is hidden in their universality.

It is invention and re-invention of traditions within a community that is a symptom and therefore also a indicator of problem. Problem which might be otherwise difficult to identify. Invented traditions are evidence of the urge to look for common past and common future within communities. Such an urgent search for something in common is one of the characteristics of a nation. Study of such invented traditions is interdisciplinary and it brings together historians, social anthropologists and other researches in human sciences not excepting literary researchers. In search of its own identity, Scottish cultural nationalism invents and re-invents old traditions during the nineteenth century. Kailyard is a literary movement that contributed to these attempts.

2. Origins of Cultural Nationalism in Scotland

Second half of the nineteenth century, Scotland - in the year 1888 a young Scottish J. M. Barrie published his successful novel *Auld Licht Idylls* in London. What made this book immensely popular around the readers' world was the view of poor, humble, rural Scotland and its people who live their simple lives and seek for support in religion. Their world only focuses on their own small cabbage patches (kailyards) ignoring the outside.

Using Professor Cairns Craig's comparison², that is the kailyard vision of Scotland as opposed to Romantic vision of Scotland as depicted by Sir Walter Scott. In Scott's *Waverly* (1814), narrator is also set back two generations from his own times but what makes him famous is the romantic glamour of Scotland, as noted by Craig.

The sceneries described in *Waverly* are full of colours and smells, he returns to nature and turns back from the civilisation. Imagination has its own role in the depictions of countryside and characters. The first time *Waverly* sees Flora, she is described almost like a goddess. Professor Craig identified the archetype of Romantic Scotland in her.

By contrast, Barrie's village and people are modest, ordinary, they are devoted to the old tenets – the auld licht – of Scottish Calvinism³. We will not find realm of imaginative grandeur here, as in Scott's novel. What we will find is description of puritanical folk and maybe surprisingly also humour. The humour is, says Craig, based on

² Cairns Craig, "Myths Against History: Tartanry and Kailyard in 19th-Century Scottish Literature," *Scotch Reels* (London: British Film Institute, 1982) 7.

³ Craig 8.

convincing of the reader that he or she are the two sophisticated and sensible people who are as if looking down on the poor folk. The poor folk are considered parochial and backward and keeping to its values that make them comic characters.

There is a big difference in perception of Scotland and Scottish in both the authors' approach. While they were writing, Barrie and Scott must have different feelings about the Scottish, they lived in a completely different atmosphere. Scott was backed up by the eighteenth century achievements of his countryman. He and his contemporaries represented a high potential for their country. The eighteenth century Scotland was the land of the Enlightenment and had its own figures like philosopher and political economics initiator Adam Smith or philosopher and historian David Hume. Scott had every right to feel proud and did not have to look for national identity in his country.

But then there is Barrie and his end of the nineteenth century where Scottish people seem to have lost their confidence and sense of national distinctiveness. The Gaels were simple people without sufficient access to education (that played a very important role in kailyard literature), and with no knowledge of their nation's glorious past. Craig describes Scotland at that time as "a place to escape from, cultural wasteland."⁴ Although Scotland, the same as the rest of United Kingdom, was going through enormous economic growth, most of the intelligentsia had left for London or Europe.

Historical Context

The Scottish identity was defeated in the 1745 Rebellion and its destruction followed during the whole next century, therefore

⁴ Craig 9.

recovery of the Scottish nation was a necessity. As it was also true for other countries in Europe, conditions in nineteenth century Scotland did not let work of literature rest just within the context of literature. The communities and worlds that Barrie, but also the Romantics before him, described became the basis for the myth of national identity of a country whose individuality had been swept away due to its incorporation into the United Kingdom.⁵ Scotland certainly was not the only country.

All over Europe, there were small peripheral cultures aspiring to reintroduce integrity within their own background. They were doing so by rediscovering or constructing legends, symbols and heroic figures that would help them to prove their unique selves untouched by all historic events. Scotland had these as well although all were based on the past. The Romantics like Scott provided us with clans, tartans and high nobility, but the cultural nationalism never materialized in such a great degree as in Norway, Ireland or in nations of Austrian Empire. The identity that was portrayed by authors like Scott was not existing beyond history. As Craig states, it was identity lost and irrecoverable.

One of the reasons for loss of national identity and impossibility to recover that national identity was, according to Craig, the fact that there was nobody who would maintain the identity. In the rest of the Europe, such myths of identity and traditions were fostered by educated middle class. Unfortunately, the Scottish educated middle class was subjected to assimilation to the English culture, because the Empire needed the Scottish to play certain role. Although there were some tokens that prevailed for example in the British Army, but those were used more to originate regimental honour. Those tokens were not meant to serve a dare to the Scottish identity.

⁵ Craig 9.

In the aftermath of the 1745 Rebellion, where the last major Jacobite rebellion was destroyed by the English 1746 in the Battle of Culloden, one of the most distinct characteristics of Scottish identity was abolished – Highland dressing and tartan. In 1746 the Parliament of Great Britain passed the Act of Prescription, that came into effect in Scotland one year later. It abolished arms and Highland clothing. It was one of the tools for the English to assimilate the Scottish nation. The penalties that were charged for wearing a Highland dress spread from fines to up to 6 months of imprisonment. If the person was caught for the second time he would have been transported to work in the Majesty's plantations.

Although this Act was repealed in 1782 it had been extremely effective. Highlands were peaceful and there was no thread of rebellion because the Highland lords no more had their armies and their sons got their education in the Lowlands. Highlands became gradually depopulated because of the Highland clearances – that was where the money lay. Sheep breeding was very profitable and that is why the people had to go.

As according to Craig the tartanry Highland myth was accepted very well in context of strengthening of the national identity. It slid more to the parody of red-nosed, drunk Scotsman in a kilt on postcards and in plays. Therefore it was alternated by a new myth, the Lowland myth – kailyard.

Luckily enough, nineteenth century Scotland never let literature just to itself and its readers. The works were reviewed by critics and used as a tool of cultural nationalism, incorporated into the search for national identity. Because Scottish national identity slowly disappeared after Scotland was made a part of the United Kingdom.

Literature of that time was turned into myth and used as a powerful tool of national determination.

Scottish were not the only nation in Europe in the nineteenth century who was looking for self-determination. Throughout Europe there were cultures, who happened to live on cultural and social periphery of bigger states, and who emerged in a search for their own traditions and history. They were discovering or introducing legends, symbols and heroic figure that they could use to support their struggle for national distinctiveness.

As a result of the 1745 Rebellion and Act of Prescription, in the first half of the nineteenth century the Scottish national was almost dead. There was a couple of possibilities how to resurrect the long gone sense of Scottishness. The Scottish used the same methods of creating cultural nationalism as all the other suppressed nations throughout Europe. They searched for national and literary history and national symbols that would help them support their national identity.

Search for Scottish Symbols

In the first stages of cultural nationalism when looking for national symbols and traditions, Scotland found 'tartanry' or the so called 'Highland myth'. To be able to support and retrieve the national identity they needed to introduce a positive image of the Highland as opposed the negative that existed at that time. By the negative I mean the overall notion of Scotland and its simple people well known to all Englishmen. There were even anti-Scottish streams including anecdotes and caricatures as for example in John Lacy's 1893 play *Sawney the Scot, or The Taming of a Shrew* ridiculing the Scottish.

Tartanry, the word itself has been used for the first time in Sunday Times on 31st October 1973 and it includes all stereotypes and symbols that characterize Scotland as a country and the Scottish as a nation. Unfortunately, today the word and set of values and symbols gained a touch of over-emphasizing and kitsch imposed on the outside world especially by Hollywood lately. In the nineteenth century it was a powerful tool for the cultural nationalist. Scotland was being introduced as Highlands country with national symbols like the clans, the tartans and kilts, the bagpipes, and the Highland games. The idea of Scotland was romanticised and Scotland became represented by Scottish nobleman wearing quilts in the hauntingly beautiful natural scenery of the mountains.

The tartanry stream of cultural nationalism have become very dangerous though, because those are symbols that can be easily ridiculed. The other stream of cultural nationalism focused on history and traditional folk songs and poems. Those were poets and writers and historians who travelled around the country collecting traditional folk texts. These attempts to restore Scottish national identity can be traced back to Robert Burns and James Johnson and their *Scots Musical Museum* – the first volume of this folk poems and songs collection was published in 1787. Another outstanding contributor to summoning of Scottish folklore was Baroness Carolina Nairne, song collector and song writer herself.

Then certainly also already mentioned Sir Walter Scott contributed to popularisation of the Highland myth. He is often described as the inventor of historical novel and in his novels he portrays the Highland heroes and the romantic scenery of the stunning Highland mountains. Scott also contributed to reconciliation of the English King and Scotland. George IV. was a good friend of Scott's and

when he first visited Scotland as the British Empire sovereign after almost two hundred years he was on Scott's suggestion dressed in tartan. That was the first official connection of tartanry and the British Empire and it triggered the complete change of the meaning of the Scottish national symbols.⁶

As the meaning of the national Scottish symbol started to change toward popular culture items in today's terms a new branch of tartanry emerged - Balmorality. This new branch got its name from the Balmoral Castle, the residence of British Royalty in Scotland. Queen Victoria bought it in 1853 and she immediately fell in love with the Highlands. She even decorated the castle using Stuart tartan and she became patron of Highland games in Braemar. She essentially made the Highlands a tourist destination. From the historical sources and contemporary critics and comments it seems that Balmorality was a concept of superficial enthusiasm for Scottish culture. As an anthropologist Jakub Grygar suggested in some of his texts on national identity, Scottish people are constantly being told who they are – the whole world has some fixed stereotyped idea of what Scotland really is.

Search for Literary History

Literary history search in Scotland in the last quarter of the nineteenth century became a key moment in shaping of the Scottish national identity. It culminated the search for Scottish history performed by authors like Burns, Nairne and Scott. There was suddenly felt the urge to define and understand the 'national school' of Scottish literature, as called by a popular critic Margaret Oliphant in her articles. Scottish book stores were swamped by number of histories and surveys of

⁶ Robert C. Thomsen, *Nationalism in Stateless Nations: Selves and Others in Scotland and Newfoundland* (London: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 2010).

Scottish literature published at that time: *History of Poetry of the Scottish Border* (1871, revised and reprinted in 1893) by John Veitch, *Scottish History and Literature to the Period of the Reformation* (1884) by J. M. Ross, *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature* (1893) by Hugh Walker, *Scottish Vernacular Literature: A History* (1898) by T. F. Henderson, and important *Literary History of Scotland* (1903) by J. H. Millar.

Dr. Nash in his study of kailyard⁷ also emphasizes the importance of founding of the Scottish History Society (1886, published over 170 volumes) and the Scottish Text Society (1882, published over 150 volumes). Both of these institutions still exist and contribute to preservation of Scottish literature and language by publishing of important texts from Scottish literary history from poems, to plays and prose.

As Robert Crawford illustrated, there was also a big change in the approach of universities towards the Scottish literature. They started to distinguish Scottish literature as an individual unit, the same as English literature is within the British literature context. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, university syllabuses started to contain Scottish text on regular basis and in 1987 St. Andrews changed the heading of their calendar entry from 'English Literature' to English and Scottish Literature'.⁸ It is also important to note, that as Dr. Nash suggests the term kailyard and the whole kailyard school had much better chance to take root during the last decade of the nineteenth century where there was more favourable environment for new Scottish literature criticism as opposed to earlier in the century.

Although there were significant changes happening during this period it is crucial to comment on the nature of nationalism at that

⁷ Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (New York: Rodopi, 2007) 21.

⁸ Robert Crawford, "Scottish Literature and English Studies", *The Scottish Invention of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 229.

stage. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century Scotland was not making any political claims yet. The nationalism did not have political nature yet, there were no significant (important) calls for autonomism or devolution – these did not come until later after the World War with the establishment of the National Party of Scotland in 1928. The nationalism at the turn of the centuries was a cultural nationalism that was attempting to celebrate the uniqueness of the people who felt ethnic and cultural distinctness within the British Empire.

3. Tartanry and Kailyard

Tartanry and kailyard are 19th century cultural and literary streams based upon romantic image of Scotland. Both have one major feature in common – that is the attempt to escape the everyday reality by creation of an ideal place. Gifford is describing this feature by saying that: “they... seem to avoid the actuality of the subject they treat. All too often the historical tales of the period, for all their focus on significant and often bloody periods of the past, offer escape from Scotland’s nineteenth-century problems.”⁹

Some critics like Shepherd or Nash suggest that we should re-evaluate the kailyard writing, that maybe the way literary criticism has looked upon this stream of literature and culture was not always positive and maybe also not always right and justified. During the twentieth century the kailyard authors were often criticised for using of too much sentiment or for excessive realism but we should also try to consider how seriously the kailyarders perceived themselves.

Some of their texts, and especially J. M. Barrie’s *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888), use joking and ridiculing tone when describing the local characters, let them speak Scots and thus make them sound rather stupid or uneducated. At the end it turns out that they smart and sometimes even slightly vicious though. Therefore it would be unnecessarily short-sighted to put these works aside as long-winded realistic novels because at a closer examination they seem to be more complicated than that and they are part of the Scottish fiction branch which runs away from reality to dreams.

⁹ Douglas Gifford, ed., *Scottish literature : in English and Scots* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2002) 481.

3.1 Kailyard – “The Lowland Myth” Literary School

Origin of the Word

As already mentioned, kailyard is a literary school of Scottish fiction usually dated back in various sources to the last decade of the nineteenth century. The name of the literary movement derives from a Scots word “kailyard” that stands for a small cabbage patch or garden. To look for the origins of this word and its usage I used *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* which describes the history of the word as follows:

“kale, kail cabbage XIII (cale); cabbage broth XV. north. var. of COLE. Hence kailyard cabbage-garden, familiar since 1895 as an epithet of fiction and its authors (literature of the k., k. school) describing, with much use of the vernacular, common life in Scotland.”¹⁰

The kailyard novel can be in general described as a story with rural setting, reporting on everyday life of simple people, who speak their own dialect – Scots, and live in closed communities. Interestingly enough the narrator is always someone from the outside, someone who is cultured and educated, in some cases he is coming back to his home village and can see the village life from a different perspective now. His role is to draw attention to important characters and, often a teacher, he is also an interpreter of Scottish traditions and ways and Scots – the language. Church and education also play important role in the stories.

¹⁰ T. F. Hoad, "kale," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, 1996, *Encyclopedia.com*, 20 Jun. 2010 <<http://www.encyclopedia.com>>.

Kailyard Fiction - Provincial, Parochial, or Marginal?

The kailyard fiction is often described in various sources using the word “provincial”. And it makes perfect sense because kailyard novels and short stories are dominated by rural settings, strong national character and one of their main features was an extent use of a regional dialect – the Scots. But in this context it is important to realize what *provincial* meant at the turn of the centuries.

Stories depicting provincial way of life and rural settings happened to be immensely popular amongst the readers and their sales increased by great numbers not even in the United Kingdom, but also in the United States and Europe. And this is exactly why the Scottish literature by that time represented by names such as James Matthew Barrie, Ian Maclaren, and Samuel Rutherford Crockett was so popular. The *Times* review of Maclaren’ *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* from 1895 supposed that “few things are more remarkable in the recent history of our literature, than the rise of a new school of Scottish fiction, drawing its inspiration from locality and national character”.¹¹ It focused on the national identity and local colour and that is what the readers of the period wanted to read about.

Provincial and regional meant popular and that is why the kailyard writers made their way through to the readers pop charts of the late nineteenth century. In his study of kailyard fiction, Andrew Nash describes this attitude towards the fiction with regional themes by using the example of the word regional being used in a name of a book itself without having any secondary, or pejorative meaning.

¹¹ Nash 49.

“...the period at the end of the century also marked a change in attitude towards the regional or provincial in the fiction. In 1871 George Eliot could subtitle *Middlemarch* “A Story of Provincial Life” without any fear that her work would be dismissed as parochial or marginal.”¹²

Today’s perception of the term regional and regional themes in literature is more inclining toward the pejorative and abusive meaning. Fiction with regional themes lost its glamour during the twentieth century and kailyarders are therefore considered to be more marginal in the field of literature than one hundred years ago.

When they were published the books of Barrie and Crockett received a very good response from the readers. By the reviewers these pieces of fiction were seen as a powerful tool in which the authors could enable a contact between the outside audience and the regional life. They introduced the outsider to characters and customs they would never have a chance to meet. Reverend J. W. Butcher explains that in his study of Scottish literature and there he also finds similarities between the Southern folk (English readers as often referred to by the *London Quarterly Review* when discussing regional themes in literature) and the characters from Thrums and Drumtochty and he finds it positively surprising. Thrums and Drumtochty are small villages in Scotland that became the stage where some of the kailyard stories took place. Butcher also refers to these places as places that him and his contemporaries from England always used to turn when looking for holiday. For them these places were a synonym of tranquillity and

¹² Nash 49.

relaxation: “Thrums and Drumtochty and the Gray Galloway land are as familiar as those frequented holiday haunts to which we turn in longing desire, when the tired and jaded mind calls loudly for quiet and for rest.”¹³ Butcher states that through kailyard literature the readers have been introduced to new characters and locations that might have been considered boring and tiresome:

“Certainly within the last few years we have witnessed a new departure in fiction. We have been introduced to those who live ‘far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife,’ and to our surprise, we have found that their life is not entirely monotonous and wearisome...”¹⁴

Millar’s Introduction of the Term

The person who is to “blame” for the existence of the term kailyard in a new cultural and literary context as opposed to the original meaning, which was essentially a kitchen garden, is J. H. Millar. Millar was a notable literary critic and writer and author of *Literary History of Scotland* (1903) apart others. He used the word kailyard in connection with the late nineteenth century Scottish fiction focusing on local colour in an article published in an avant-garde *New Review* edited by W. E. Henley in 1895. In his article Millar described the literary movement as “a revolt of the provinces against the centre”¹⁵. He found a Caledonian note that is to be perceived within the mingling Scottish dialects. The initiator of the Caledonian

¹³ Rev. J. Williams Butcher, “The Fiction of Scottish Life and Character: a comparative study of Barrie, Crockett and ‘Ian Maclaren’” (*Great Thoughts*, Aug. – Sep. 1897) 307.

¹⁴ Butcher 307-308.

¹⁵ J. H. Millar, „The Literature of the kailyard“ (*New Review* XXI, 1895) 385.

note was J. M. Barrie, as Millar follows, who was “termed the founder of a special and notable department in the ‘parochial’ school of fiction,” and who was “fairly entitled to look upon himself as *pars magna*, if not *pars maxima*, of the Great Kailyard Movement”. It is hard to miss the irony and half joke in the tone that Millar used but still, the kailyard term started to be used on regular basis and quickly became an institution of letters. No more than two months later in August, the expression ‘Kailyard man’ was used in the *Magazine of Music*¹⁶ to depict Ian Maclaren as a representative of the new literary school.

Millar’s article appears to be the triggering element in the whole notion of kailyard literary school. It is thanks to him that just the two other writers got eventually included in this literary movement during that year – S. R. Crockett and Ian Maclaren (the penname of the Rev. John Watson) and no one else. The article proceeds with an explanation to the question why the kailyard school was connected with mainly these three literary characters.

Kailyard in its ‘Classic Form’ vs. the Broader Meaning of the Term

Since then it was believed that all three authors were being brought together by the rural themes and that they used comparable literary methods. Therefore there was a notion of kailyard introduced in its classic form as described by Thomas Knowles, literary scholar focused on Scottish literature during that period. This is how he defines kailyard literature in its pure, or

¹⁶ Nash 12.

classic form in his study of this literary school (one of the most extensive studies aimed at this subject until publication of Andrew Nash's *Kailyard and the Scottish Literature*):

"In its 'classic' form, the kailyard is characterised by the sentimental and nostalgic treatment of parochial Scottish scenes, often cantered on the church community, often on individual careers which move from childhood innocence to urban awakening (and contamination), and back again to the comfort and security of the native hearth."¹⁷

This definition became to be used as the ultimate description of kailyard literature movement and was quoted by many other critics later on.

Interestingly enough, this definition supplemented to also by further authors concentrates only on some works of the authors in question. The critics themselves characterize their definitions as only a model or formula that can be applied only to some novels and short stories by Barrie, Crockett, and Maclaren. One of the literary critics who focused on kailyard is Gillian Shepherd who contributed to Gifford's *The History of Scottish Literature* at the end of the eighties. She literally mentions that "not all of the work" of the abovementioned authors belongs to the category of the kailyard "formula" and she describes the model as requiring:

"... an omniscient narrator, an episodic format, a rural setting, an imprecise chronology, a Free church minister and/or a lonely

¹⁷ Thomas D. Knowles, *Ideology, Art and Commerce: Aspects of Literary Sociology in the Late Victorian Scottish Kailyard* (Goeteburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1983) 13.

schoolmaster, both frequently 'stickit' or failed and one or other usually assuming the narrator's role."¹⁸

Critics trying to apply a 'formula' to a distinct set of literary works not to distinct set of authors can be a sign of kailyard being a product of literary criticism.

Nash comments on this theory many times throughout his study. He also implies that the fact that the kailyard movement is simply just an attempt to impose a 'formula' on a set of literary texts had some important consequences on evaluation of Barrie's, Crockett's and Maclaren's work. According to Nash, the critical construction of a 'movement' must have imposed a constraint upon discussion of the work of the authors in question. It is a shame that unjustly and unintentionally these authors were classified as kailyard writers and therefore later maybe neglected by the critics' and readers' worlds. Their other fiction that did not meet the expectations and criteria of the literary movement they has been characterized by was unfortunately overlooked. And as Nash suggests, especially Barrie's fiction has been much neglected and misrepresented because of it.

Then there is one important question to be answered. If kailyard literature was just about a dozen of texts from three authors written in one decade why is it that kailyard as the term and notion has been so important to Scottish literature and literary criticism. Why there are so many studies of this subject being written even now and the word 'kailyard' got its own broader meaning in today's language and culture.

¹⁸ Gillian Shepherd, „The Kailyard“, *The History of Scottish Literature, Volume 3: Nineteenth century* (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press) 13.

According to both Shepherd and Nash, the answer is not that difficult to find. Until now the three writers have been still associated with the kailyard literary movement, the term itself acquired a broader sense and started to be used in the context within which it was originally applied. The term itself widened beyond the extent of just a literary movement of the end of the nineteenth's century. It became used in different connotations and its meaning broadened so much today, that most of its users have no idea that more than hundred years ago there was a literary movement of this name.

Millar himself widened the meaning of the word 'kailyard' himself not more than 8 years after his first kailyard article in the *New Review*. In his *Literary History of Scotland* he describes John Wilson's *Light and Shadows of Scottish Life* (1822) as "pure 'kailyard'".¹⁹ Millar is not using the term kailyard as a noun describing an event in literary history. He is applying the word as an adjective and using it to describe qualities of a literary work that was created much earlier in the century than the first kailyard writers started even writing. And according to Nash and also Andrew Noble, literary critic focused on Scottish literature, this is the meaning that became widely used – an adjective making qualitative judgement on various aspects of Scottish literature. During my research I came across a number of publications on kailyard - the term was even used in the name of the publication – that surprisingly for me did not deal with the texts of a group of writers from the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. These texts examined attitudes toward Scotland and Scottish literature throughout the whole Victorian era.

¹⁹ J. H. Millar, *A Literary History of Scotland* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903) 511.

Millar's transformation of the meaning of the word kailyard seem to have included a critical judgement as described by Ian Campbell's book *Kailyard* from the year 1981. Campbell gives a list of features that according to him seemed to be the major kailyard faults. He does not like the fact that the authors described as the authors of literature with kailyard features accept too narrow range of character and acts that are supposed to depict 'real' Scotland. Another characteristic that is criticised is the fact that the authors freeze the possibilities of change or redefinition and therefore do not attempt to challenge the reader.

That is where the word kailyard first gained the larger meaning that includes negative notions and criticism. Interestingly enough, this change in denotation was initiated by Millar, the same man who coined the term kailyard literary movement.

Kailyard started to be used by critics of the early twentieth century who considered Victorian Scottish literature to be undistinguished in quality, as mentioned by Nash, but evasive in form. The primary disadvantage seen by these critics was lack of representation of industrial life in the nineteenth century. Because my thesis mainly focuses on authors included by Millar into the kailyard group in his first article my usage of the term is going to be much narrower. And kailyarders seemed to have acquired these negative qualities only to some extent. According to Nash, their works appear to be

“the culmination of a whole tradition of Scottish writing that had been characterised by a provincial outlook, a predilection for romance over realism, an excessive focus on rural as

opposed to urban settings, and a tendency to evade social and industrial issues.”²⁰

All these critical concerns became connected with the term kailyard and this is the meaning it acquired and carries when used by literary critics until today.

Margaret Oliphant’s Review

According to various sources J. M. Barrie was without regard to kailyard school a very popular Scottish author. Famous Scottish writer and critic Margaret Oliphant was excited about his work and in her article in *Blackwood’s Magazine* from the year 1889 she, as quoted by Nash, found Barrie a genius who was able to capture the absolute truth of the Scottish village.

The misrepresentation of Scottish life and nature was one of Oliphant’s biggest concerns throughout her whole life. In the abovementioned magazine she was trying to make the English misconceptions of Scottish national character right. And even some of her novels attempted the same goal.

Nash considers Oliphant’s evaluation of Barrie’s work and the mentioned article to be very valuable to the whole kailyard debate. Oliphant included Barrie’s work “within the context of national school of Scottish fiction”.²¹ She compares Barrie with well known and popular authors of the second half of the nineteenth century such as Robina F. Hardy or Annie S. Swan. Although she might have objected the extensive use of dialect in Barrie’s work it

²⁰ Nash 14.

²¹ Nash 18.

did not stop her from praising of the author as one of the prime examples of Scottish national character.

Oliphant was worried about the state of Scottish literature and the way in which it was perceived by the English. According to Nash, Oliphant was concerned about descent of the Scottish literature and culture into provincial status. That is also reason why she in Nash's interpretation seized Barrie as a "figure of salvation".²² Oliphant hoped that Barrie could be the author who could "restore the national school of fiction to the heights it had once known."

Margaret Oliphant was not alone in her adoration of Barrie's work. Also Robert Louis Stevenson treasured Barrie's work and in his letter to the author from Samoa in December 1892 he said that *A Widow in Thrums* "gave him a source of living pleasure and heartfelt national pride."²³

Reminiscences – Kailyard Predecessors

Last few decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a wave of fashion in collecting reminiscences from around Scotland, as discussed by Nash. These reminiscences created another important context for understanding of the kailyard literary school. They were part of the national identity rhetoric influx into the Scottish literature during the second half of the nineteenth century.

E. B. Ramsay's collection *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Characters* published in 1857 is a prime example. His goal was "to fix and preserve a page of our domestic national annals which, in the

²² Nash 19.

²³ Nash 20.

eyes of the rising generation, is fast fading into the oblivion."²⁴ Simultaneously with publications of histories of individual parishes that were published throughout the country, there were also individuals who dedicated their work to collecting and preserving of "sketches and stories containing anecdotes, customs, and reminiscences of their local regions."²⁵ There were hundreds of these sketches and histories published and widely read. According to Nash most of important towns and counties had a few 'histories' published. These texts were immensely popular and they seem to have set the atmosphere and tone into which the kailyard literature was introduced. All these texts had one common denominator which was nostalgia for the great Scottish past that is also to be seen in tartanry and the Highland myth.

The importance of Ramsay's collection of reminiscences lies in encouragement that it gave to other authors to write about their regions. Ramsay advanced nostalgic notion of rural Scotland because it was the countryside and village where he could find various curiosities of different interesting characters.

It is not only the nostalgic character of the stories that contributed to development of the kailyard school. The reminiscences also offered a different look on history. They have blurred history and supplemented it with fiction. As noted by Nash, the boundaries between the fiction and reality merged, the author still felt the urge to comment on this boundary line in their prefaces though.

²⁴ E. B. Ramsay, *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1857) v.

²⁵ Nash 27.

Kailyard's Differences & Sudden Change in Reviews

The bond between history and its description and recording and the popular imaginative literature was very close in the second half of the nineteenth century Scottish literature. As mentioned above, authors usually merged real historical facts and fictional characters and own stories introducing the explanation within prefaces of their books. In this literary context kailyarders are not much different from the rest of their Scottish contemporaries.

All of Barrie's, Crockett's, and Maclaren's locations in the stories are easy to look up in maps – they were based on existing places. They also all dealt with rural life as many other literary works at that time. Then it is necessary to answer an important question – that is what is it that separates *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888) from the rest of the texts nostalgically dealing with village life Scotland. Dr. Nash considers the main difference to be the artistic quality of the kailyard school texts.

Nash supports this evaluation of kailyard fiction by number of quotations from newspapers and magazines of the time that were published in reaction to the release of *Auld Licht Idylls*. All the reviewers agreed on the novel being the most noticeable book of the year in its class, they were not afraid of comparison of Barrie with his greatest predecessors, and they used adjectives like vivid and expressive when talking about author's description of Scottish life and characters.

In general, all the reviewers praised Barrie for his ability to depict a realistic and precise picture of Scotland. And that is exactly the quality that critics started to attack on kailyard school fiction only a few years later. Nash says, that as opposed to later critical reviews,

he could not find any criticism of false reality in the newspapers and magazines at that stage.

Perception of Barrie's fiction changed not long after the kailyard school movement was named. That is when the term's meaning shifted towards negative side of the scale. Nash mentions that

“before the kailyard term was applied in 1895, Barrie's work was held in high esteem by Scottish critics because it seemed to offer hope that Scottish village life could reach a higher level of literary achievement than those attacked by Oliphant and Others.”²⁶

On the other hand, when Maclaren's and Crockett's works got popular among the readers during the nineties of the nineteenth century, the reaction of critics was not very welcoming. According to Nash, the reviewers raised questions about originality, literary value and national representation of Scotland. Even Margaret Oliphant was all of a sudden against the kailyarders. The qualities that she found in Barrie's work she could not find in Crockett and Maclaren. According to her up to date reviews at that time, she disliked the fact that they used dialect hoping to achieve the same effect as Barrie did but unfortunately without any greater success. And so was the reaction of *The Raiders*, the *Herald*, or the *Evening Times*. Some of the reviewers also accused the two authors of lack of originality and plagiarism. They claimed that they had found a number of

²⁶ Nash 33.

passages from their novels that more than remotely resembled older texts describing the local colour in the region.

Although there was a big opposition against the kailyard authors towards the end of the nineteenth century, there were some newspapers and reviewers who considered their work to be significant. Nash gives the example of the *Scotsman* whose critics gave Crockett's *The Raiders* (1894) some good evaluations. Also *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (1894) from Ian Maclaren was given supportive reviews.

For better understanding and easier evaluation of the kailyard school authors and reasons why critiques of their work changed so rapidly, I decided to approach each of the three main representatives individually.

Voice for the Working Class Although Fixed on Past

Kailyard vision of Scottish identity troubled twentieth century writers and artists to a great degree. In its time and then later at the beginning of the twentieth century kailyard became immensely popular. As Craig²⁷ says, its international success established an image of Scotland as parochial, narrow-minded, and sentimental world - from this image it was very difficult to escape.

Kailyard authors used Lowland Scots dialect on purpose. They knew that language carries social and also ideological connotations together with the literal meaning. Thanks to kailyard, Lowland Scots became associated with domestic, parochial, and

²⁷ Craig 11.

sentimental world. Later it became almost impossible to use this working class dialect without provoking the kailyard implications.

Books representing this literary movement became especially popular with exiled Scots who wanted look back with nostalgia on land that they have left behind. They remembered nostalgically but at the same time wanted to be assured that what they had done was right. More importantly, kailyard gave voice to the only group that still at that time seemed to have maintained a separate identity – the working class.²⁸ Therefore kailyard as a literary movement should not be deprived of its credits. Scotland was in a stage when the middle class gave up on maintaining of national element and the only way how to encourage the only truly Scottish class left was literature. Works of popular fiction helped the working people to find their own expression of their lifestyle and stand. In the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century, kailyard literature found its audience amongst many members of the working class and it seems to have been the right choice for this new mass public.

What paralyzes kailyard fiction is the fact that, the same as the rest of middle class Scotland, the authors stay loyal to English culture. The authors made sure they are seen as all other members of the middle class who want to keep distance from the national identity they are portraying. For this purpose they used simplification and caricature. Auld Lichts culture was seen as isolated dying society that lacked development and therefore was sealed amongst the peasant farmers. The author was the one who successfully managed to escape from this world and observes it from the outside.

²⁸ Craig 11.

Kailyard writing deals with problems of religious character that in the context of the nineties of the nineteenth century result as absurdly irrelevant conflicts. What kailyard lacks is political or social conflict. Also probably because it could cause tension between different meanings and explanations assigned to kailyard by different social groups. There was authentic depiction of lower class life on one hand and parodic justification of assimilation of the middle class to a higher culture.²⁹

It appears that nineteenth century Scotland got stuck in limbo without giving its communities any chance of speaking their minds and leaving them on the edge of extinction. Kailyard authors do not want to bring themselves to admit that there is a chance that lower class communities will not continue in passive acceptance of the forces of history and they will want to become more than just spectators of their own faith. Both tartanry and kailyard do not want to admit the possibility of a significant change from within the Scottish community. They are fixed on past and do not have the ability to imagine the future.

Tartanry and kailyard are both creation of imagination trying to flee from featureless integration of Scottish life into an industrial culture whose power and whose identity lies outside Scottish control. They both are not able to lay hold of contemporary reality projecting itself upon images of a society equally impotent. That is what Craig in his *Myths against history* describes as turning back on the actuality of modern Scottish life.³⁰

²⁹ Craig 12.

³⁰ Craig 13.

3.2 Demonstration of the Main Features on a Sample Text

Since the main features and characteristics have been established earlier, this section is going to try to find the so many repeated 'formula' of kailyard writing. Many eighteenth century critics and also their followers claim that kailyard fiction has a set of characteristic features that distinguishes this literary school from any others. This is certainly true especially for the first few books of the following three authors, Barrie, Maclaren and Crockett, who begun to be associated with this literary movement. For the sample text I chose one of the stories of J. M. Barrie's *Auld Licht Idylls* from the year 1888.

Although Barrie is probably most widely known for his plays and especially for the magic fairy play of *Peter Pan*, he is also one of the founding figures of the kailyard literary school. "Thrums", his second story in the collection brings us to a small town on the bottom of a glen in the Lowlands of Scotland. And there is the first feature of the formula fulfilled – rural setting. The town was surrounded by little farms and almost every household used to have a handloom and hundreds of weavers lived and died there. It is a parochial little place in the middle of rolling hills and fields with no complicated architecture, just small roads and small houses with their cabbage or kitchen gardens. This is what is in the interest of the people of the community – each have their own little gardens and do not seem to be interested in anything else. Their life is focused on their families and their little problems and the outside world appears to be out of reach. The narrator is not only describing the community and individual stories, he also tells us about traditions like going to the square every Saturday night to find yourself a girlfriend and wife, and about travelling cheap jacks and circuses that used to perform there.

Interestingly, Barrie is not talking about his contemporary Scotland, he returns back to the past and talks about time twenty or thirty years ago. He goes back to the past and tries to remember in nostalgia what was the life back then in a small town like Thrums. There is another kailyard but also in general cultural nationalist feature, and that is turning back to the past in search of old values.

Kailyard school writers used an omniscient narrator and Barrie's "Thrums" is not an exception. The story is told in the 1st person by the local Dominie who is most probably the author himself. He is a person from outside, schooled and different from the local people although he once came from the same small town and small lowland community. The narrator works in the stories as a mediator of a different perspective. He also tells us how he got to Thrums and that his old landlady is who he is grateful to for introducing him to the Auld Lich Kirk. Religion plays also an immensely important part in the kailyard stories. The narrator is often a minister or/and a teacher, as in this case, he has his schoolhouse on the hill. The puritan religion is for him very important and more so for the local people. Their only other reading besides Bible is often *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

There is also an important feature that marks the narrator/minister off the other inhabitants of the small peaceful valley – the language. Use of local dialect Scots characterizes kailyard school more than anything else. The story is told by the Dominie who uses educated English probably also as one of the things that distinguish him from the lowland community. He sounds schooled and cultured as opposed to the simple local characters who use Scots in inverted commas in the stories. The difference in the language works to a degree where in case of the local people it makes them sound maybe too simple or not bright enough. Especially in Barrie's fiction the ironic undertone

is certainly visible but not in a ridiculing way but in a nice humorous way.

Last but not least the structure of the whole book is characteristic for the kailyard writing. It is written in a episodic format where each short story reveals more details about the closed lowland community and its little town.

3.3 Kailyard Writers Under Study

Ian Maclaren – The Theme of Education

Ian Maclaren is one of the kailyard school authors who stepped up especially for the sentimental quality of his story telling. The rhetorical method of his fiction is no different from some other popular Victorian writers. They encouraged the reader to get moved to tears or to laughter and Maclaren was very successful in deploying of the literary strategies of arousal³¹. That is one of the most often appreciated qualities of Maclaren's writing.

Maclaren always used such rhetorical strategies that persuaded the reader to adopt his morals and principles. He was especially persuasive in the themes of education in his fiction.

When taking a closer look at the stories in *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* it is clearly visible that the author placed emphasis on community values and life. Nash also stresses out the fact that Maclaren always seem to dramatise moments of reintegration after a conflict or period of separation.³² The character of a young boy from the local community who was successful and made it good is one of images that Maclaren uses more often. The story "Domsie", that is the first in the

³¹ Nash 134.

³² Nash 136.

book, introduces us to a “lad o’ pairts”, who seems to be the typical feature of the ‘classic kailyard’. It is a story of a clever young boy who makes it through life being able to get his education but his life is unfortunately cut short, as it often happens in kailyard fiction, and he dies in his mother’s arms in front of the summoned parish as a graduated minister. Although it looks like the ‘lad o’ pairts’ has always dreamed of gaining education and becoming a minister, it is not so. Therefore it would be too easy to agree with historians like Forrester who took this one story as a prime example of kailyard appreciation of Scottish education. But he was not the only one. This story was used by many critics and literary historians as a prime example of kailyard fiction.

What Maclaren certainly praised and stressed out on the education system was the flexibility of the system. There was the idea of open competition, where anyone who was talented was given a chance to study using the bursary system. The democratic education was assured for every clever boy free of charge provided by the village dominie.

In “Domsie”, the village dominie Domsie was the person who “could detect a scholar in the egg, and prophesied Latinity from a boy that seemed fit to be only a cowherd.”³³ Domsie decides to give up his fees and teach the young talented local boy Geordie Howe Greek and Latin for free. The boy is successful and clever but his parents cannot afford to pay the university tuition and therefore Domsie persuades the local farmer to pay for Gordie’s studies.

Some critics question the genuineness of such a story, they doubt that the boy would have been accepted to the university on these grounds. Nash objects though, claiming that Maclaren did not care that

³³ Ian Maclaren, *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* (Edinburgh: The Albyn Press, 1977) 11.

much about the realism but he wanted to stress the sacrifice a local member of the community was able to make for the sake of the community. Geordie is perceived as “our scholar” and all the community supports him in the competition against the High school boys. Maclaren does not let the young Howe to enter the university on the bursary system but proves that a young boy from a local community can afford to get his education thanks to the whole community and a genuinely good heart of a local farmer.

The story also reflects the historical reality. At the beginning of “Domsie”, the narrator is remembering an education system that is now past. “The Revolution (in education) reached our parish years ago, and Drumtochty has a School Board, with a chairman and a clerk, besides a treasurer and an officer.”³⁴ The revolution Maclaren is talking about is the introduction of the Education (Scotland) Act passed by 1872 that gave education formal proportions and formalised school management. Maclaren himself looks back with great affections upon the old Scottish Parish Schools. He appreciates the fact that those schools really fostered scholarship and wisdom, like common Boarding schools never could have.

As already mentioned above, Maclaren accents the power of community that joined together to help the young boys to study. In the fourth story of the book, “The Passing of Domsie”, the dominie decides to retire and in order to pay homage to him and his work and effort within the students education the community decides to establish a bursary in Domsie’s name. Everybody from the village without exceptions contribute.

Maclaren’s stories are not always following the reality or truth. But that was not Maclaren’s goal. Historical facts were not

³⁴ Maclaren 2.

important to him because he always wanted to create an ideal picture of the rural communities.

J. M. Barrie – Regionalism

Scotland it was, that became to represent regionalism in fiction for a few years at the end of the nineteenth century. Barrie together with Crockett and Maclaren drew inspiration from the local national character. They all stood behind the fashion of interest in local colour at that time, as the *Times* concluded on 19 January 1895. Regional fiction turned into a popular genre at the end of the century. Barrie's first pieces of fiction are a prime example being dominated by rural settings and using local dialect to stress out realism.

The same period however also marked a slow change in attitude towards regional, or provincial, fiction, as noted by Nash on the example of George Eliot and her novel *Middlemarch* "A Story of Provincial Life". Regional literature started to lose its former respect also due to critical works of an English poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold. Only after his critical studies appeared the word 'provincial' started to acquire its pejorative connotations. The metropolitan taste all of a sudden became to gain superiority over the local values.

That is why at the end of the nineteenth century the regional authors were understood as articulators of regional life outside the audience's life. According to Nash, regional writers at this period faced this dilemma.³⁵ Their fiction could have been perceived as historical documents but it could have also been interpreted as a flow of repeating stereotypes that belittle the region. This was one of the reasons why kailyard authors got criticised especially at the end of the nineteenth century, mainly for stereotyping and exploitation of a formula. Hand in

³⁵ Nash 50.

hand with regional fiction in Scotland goes an extensive use of local dialect as it was already described in the previous chapters.

The origins of the genre of regional fiction often go back to the fiction of Walter Scott, therefore there has been a special relationship established between Scotland and the genre. As Nash reports, imaginative literature was closely tied to the recording of social history and that is why for the outside reader the Scottish regional fiction can gain a touch of documentary, although the depictions are fully or partially fictional. Cairns Craig claims that regionalism seems to be a category automatically assigned to any Scottish fiction. Simply because they are Scottish, most Scottish pieces of fiction will be therefore straightaway evaluated as regional within the traditions of the English novel. This assumption does not take into account that such a novel can simply be representing an alternative national tradition. Maybe unfortunately, involvement of a nation inevitably implies that region is collapsed into nation. Therefore presentation of one section of life of the nation is then automatically taken to represent the whole.³⁶

The early J. M. Barrie's Thrums stories clearly fall into the category of regional fiction. These include *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888), *A Widow in Thrums* (1889) and *The Little Minister* (1891). Nash implies that these pieces of fiction were by critics received as realistic representations of Scottish life. Although the fact is that none of these books attempts to give a documentary account of life in lowland Scotland.

One of Barrie's most popular book is collection of stories narrated to him by his mother about her childhood, *Auld Licht Idylls*. Barrie sets these stories in a fictional town of Thrums that represents his own native town of Kirriemuir. The stories are told by a dominie from a nearby glen and recount of lives of people from the Thrums, mainly from the Auld

³⁶ Nash 52.

Licht congregation which was a strongly puritanical group that separated from the Established Kirk in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Great part of criticism of Barrie's work stems from the accusation of unrepresentative depiction of late-nineteenth century Scotland.³⁷ Which is beside the point because immediately from the beginning and then throughout all stories Barrie clearly tells stories that are not contemporary but on the other hand writes them from the 'contemporary' point of view. One of the proves could be his placing of the separation from the Kirk to 'a hundred and fifty years ago'³⁸. The seclusion happened in 1733. The narrator himself talks about two main forces that shape the Thrums community – Auld Licht Presbyterianism and the handloom industry. He presents them both as belonging to the past. "There are few Auld Licht communities in Scotland nowadays" and "until twenty years ago" a handloom filled "every other room" but now there are "two factories in the town"³⁹. Clearly, author himself does not try to portray contemporary – 1980s -Scotland. He is remembering old times and returns back to the past to find the roots of the nation.

Series of social changes to the community is what the short stories from life of common lowland little town people illustrate. The community finds itself in the transmission period. Most of the decay of the old values and traditions is caused by the decline of the handloom industry. Changes like the newly introduced train line and the fact that the town became an agricultural centre of the region have brought some important shifts to the local community. Even a simple innovation as introduction of pillar box instead of the formerly important post office brought changes in interaction of the community. Gone are the

³⁷ Nash 51.

³⁸ Barrie 11.

³⁹ Barrie 9, 11-12.

“sensational days of the post office”, when “the letters were conveyed officially in a creaking old cart from Tilliedrum” and when the postmistress used to secretly steamed open the letters.⁴⁰ Local people also grew more interested in books and literature. While in the past there was just a small “bookseller’s shop” kept by the post mistress and the demand was almost none, now people read and even a copy of Darwin’s book can be found in the town.⁴¹

Barrie emphasises the destroying nature of the spreading changes. Any outside influences into the community are seen as an enemy. The dominie, who is an old narrator, struggles with the School Inspector from Oxford and despises all modern improvements in education system. No wonder when his schoolhouse is now turned into a “domicile for cattle”. As mentioned by Nash, the decline in the handloom industry was followed by decline in local farming and a perpetual migration away from the glen. However Nash also stresses that although the stories are full of images of decay, that generate a nostalgic tone, the dominant tone in Barrie’s stories is humour. More importantly, Barrie’s irony does not ridicule. He presents some characters comically and the humour usually arises from the character’s ignorance. Barrie’s writing style is economical in places and that is often what causes the comical effect.

Although Barrie’s regionalist writing was not and probably still is not fully appreciated in its full account it certainly made the Thrums and the near glen very popular. The town of Kirriemuir that was the inspiration for Thrums became to attract attention of tourists but also newspapers and editors. Already in 1900 James Stirton published a book called *Thrums and its Glens: Historical Relic and Recollections*. Four years

⁴⁰ Barrie 24.

⁴¹ Barrie 51.

earlier Stirton called Thrums “quite a geographical term”. Stirton’s book takes the reader on a tour through the town introducing Barrie’s birthplace, Dominie’s schoolhouse and a number of locations from Barrie’s books, all accompanied by etches of places and houses.

At the same year another book was published with the same town in focus, this time more aimed at tourists – John Mill’s *Through Thrums: A Handbook for Visitors to Kirriemuir and the District*. Since then pilgrimages to Kirriemuir were coming on regular basis. As Nash notes, the American Journal *Outlook* recorded that the town of Kirriemuir was visited “in the summer of 1890 by 3,500 pilgrims”⁴². Mills even wrote to Barrie to find out about the locations of some places and houses from his stories but to his disappointment Barrie sometimes purposely used imagination and did not base places in his stories on real locations. At the back of the book there were some trade advertisements claiming that the town Kirriemuir accepted Thrums as its second name and tempting the tourists to visit the Thrums lending library or buy a pair of Thrums boots with a special “Widow in Thrums” trademark. Finally, the literary tourism reached its summit when the fictional Doone valley made it into Ordnance Survey maps.

As mentioned by Nash, number of other publications that were released during the twenties and thirties prove that Barrie remained to be associated with the social and geographical settings of his early books. And it is certainly a shame because Barrie later at the turn of the century managed to cut lose off the ties to Thrums and became a very well known playwright of his era. In eyes of most critics, Barrie’s work became one with the context of regionalism and the critical emphasis has been made on authenticity of national picture. That is also what helped to create the concept of kailyard.

⁴² Cunningham 552.

S. R. Crockett – False Judgement

In context of kailyard literary school, Crockett's most popular and the most reviewed piece of fiction is his first published prose, *The Stickit Minister*. From the tone and use of language it is most probable that Crockett never intended to write those stories for the English readers. As well as *Auld Licht Idylls* and *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, also *The Stickit Minister* was first written as individual sketches for newspapers.

Important characters in his stories are ministers which was probably inspired by the pure fact that Crockett himself, the same as Maclaren, was a minister. Crockett's ministers are not always just enjoying the quiet village community life though. They often become victims and are subject to gossip and false conjecture, as suggested by Nash.⁴³

The main characters are usually people who suffered injustices and at the end we learn the truth. In the first story of the collection, the main character Robert is wrongly seen by the outside world as a person who failed in his life and career and is jealous of his brother's success. But the truth is that Robert sacrificed his own career for his brother's career.

Not all the stories are carried in such a serious tone. More comic atmosphere is in "Boanerges Simpson's Encumbrance". The burden in the story is the minister's wife, who "was not at all the woman to dispense afternoon tea to the session's spouses between the hours of three and six."⁴⁴ She does not seem to pay attention to her husband's sermons and opposes their messages. But as it often happens in

⁴³ Nash 92.

⁴⁴ S. R. Crockett, *The Stickit Minister* (Milton Keynes: General Books LLC, 2009) 159.

Crockett's stories the judgement is false. At the end we learn that the wife was the author of all her husband's sermons and after her death he decides to retire.

Probably because of his not always good experience as a Free Church minister Crockett's approach to the clergy has always been positive. As opposed to Maclaren's always positive description of the ministers and their parishioners, Crockett came up with several stories where the ministers are treated badly or are falsely judged. In "The Candid Friend", there are gossips spreading around the parish that disturb the minister and his family. At the end the gossip gets to his wife and she scolds him because of that. In "The Probationer", there is Thomas Todd who experiences an unwelcoming acceptance from his new parish. Although Crockett lets his characters suffer during the sketch, the matter always gets explained at the end and the minister's position is regained.

His first few books became very popular soon and made him a writer in demand. As mentioned by Nash, Crockett received many invitations to give speeches and attend dinners and also to write introductions to new editions of other authors' work. Newspapers and periodicals endowed him with offers and during the four years starting from 1895 he published eleven volumes of fiction.

Unfortunately, Crockett's reputation declined gradually as he was ready to use all means within the serial literature market to achieve financial profit. Towards the end of the nineties most of criticism aimed at his work was blaming him of 'bookmaking' (*Academy*, 21 November 1896) rather than creating literature. Critics often accused him of writing exactly what the market wanted just for the sake of sales.

As Nash implies, there is no question that in quite a number of books he followed a guaranteed writing formula and supplied the

market with sure success stories. Four titles appeared under his name in the year 1909 alone. Crockett simply wrote too fast and that certainly did not help his reputation amongst the critics. The speed at which he wrote was of course also at the cost of quality.

Correspondence between Crockett and Macmillan reveals his attitude toward serial fiction quite clearly, as mentioned by Nash.⁴⁵ Macmillan contacted Crockett repeatedly during the years 1895 – 1902. The firm's small literary list at that time was built on distinction rather than profits. They actively chased authors whose names could support the company's reputation. Their flagships, as Nash calls them, were Hardy, James, Tennyson and Kipling. The fact that George Macmillan was interested in Crockett's work indicates the high literary status that he acclaimed during his early career. Macmillan also opened the question of publishing of whole uniform edition of Crockett's works. The publishing house was offering him with publication of uniform edition sae as they published of Hardy or Kipling. Unfortunately, Crockett's agent made an offer that was for the publishing house unacceptable because the sum they were supposed to pay for the serial rights of the author's next novel was simply too high. At the end only two of Crockett's books were published by Macmillan.

Crockett's focus was always first on the financial aspects of the authorship. Even J. M. Barrie describes him in a letter to Arthur Quiller-Couch from 23 March 1896, as quoted by Meynell⁴⁶, as a happy man who talks about sails, terms and profits constantly. These issues were dominant for his later writing, although he never became a rich man. Therefore it seems that the fierce speed of his writing was fed by financial need. But it was not always just money. Crockett himself said

⁴⁵ Nash 123.

⁴⁶ Meynell 10.

in one of his speeches that he as an author cannot always do what he would like to. He is bound by the publisher's instructions and demand. His books sold outside of Scotland, therefore he needed to cut down the dialect and limit his options in the choice of topics. As Nash says, essentially, he was willing to compromise his work on the account of the fact that most of his audience lay outside of Scotland.

In his early novels he was able to compromise without any effect on the artistic value, but in his later fiction he adapted his representation of Galloway and Scotland and his reputation therefore sank.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Nash 126.

4. Political Nationalism as Predated by Cultural Nationalism

The major difference between cultural nationalism and political nationalism includes the fact that the former makes no claims for sovereignty and the latter usually requires independence or self-government. Call for nationalist ideas in general did not have many supporters amongst the middle class in Scotland at first. Relationship between the people and the intelligentsia was determined by the fact that the Scottish bourgeoisie did not feel the need to form its own 'national community'. That is why it would not be fair to judge writers and other intellectuals for their failure to come up to European norms, as discussed by Tom Nairn in his chapter on *Old and New Scottish Nationalism*.⁴⁸ As he argues, those authors could not deal with modern experience in Scotland because in the relevant sense there was no 'modern experience'. This experience was a product of culture, not its pre-existing social basis.

The position of educated middle class is then certainly understandable. It was not sufficiently exercised in national matters as middle class in different countries over Europe and it did not even have a proper national capital. Writers started to look for themes outside but at the same time did not stop seeking backward in the past and within their own community. That is why some authors were stranded in the nostalgia of the glorious past, as Nairn calls it constant "confirmation of a false, infantile image of the country quite divorced from its real

⁴⁸ Nairn161.

problems".⁴⁹ Nairn seeks the 'real problems' not in new cities, factories or bourgeois family dramas but in the fact that these phenomena did not pose a cultural problem that would have to be solved in a specific Scottish way. Although it was strongly national, the intellectual community was unable to become *nationalist* within its own conditions.

Although Nairn certainly does not favour kailyard nor tartanry he admits that all the symbols and images connected to both have for a long time resolutely defended the name of Scotland in the world. He might call the tartanry symbols kitsch but he still recognises them as part of the popular culture that helped to maintain the necessary level of cultural sub-nationalism. Popular consciousness of separate identity remains important for the future political nationalism that was to come during the twentieth century.

The Scottish people were not united in a sole national culture. Inevitably they were forced to create a 'bastard product'⁵⁰, as Nairn calls it, that was part original or native and part British or imperialist. It is necessary to admit that social ethics of the country and life in general was still different or unique to the Anglicized one, therefore the 'uber-patriotism' of tartanry is also accompanied by a traditional image of sentimentalized savagery.

To be able to trace back the first quivers of political nationalism we need to go as far as 1820s. The Wigs were heading towards integration and it was Sir Walter Scott who provoked national sentiment and stood up for note-issuing powers of Scottish banks. Those powers were endangered by the governments proposal to grant a monopoly to the Bank of England. Important was also establishment of a National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights in the fifties of the

⁴⁹ Nairn 161.

⁵⁰ Nairn 167.

nineteenth century. The reason for constitution of the association included disputes concerning heraldic symbols and also discord regarding social and educational matters. However, according to Harvie⁵¹, both these attempts to maintain a culture of political nationalism remained isolated.

In the 1860, national identity of Scottish people got a boost in the guise of the Wallace Monument. The monument was erected on the Abbey Craig at Stirling. The location was not chosen accidentally. Abbey Craig is a place from which it is possible to observe all important and decisive battlefields of the War of Independence. Similar emotions were shared by larger and larger number of people until they, according to Harvie, finally resulted in merger with the home rule movement after 1886. However, this was not a separatist movement. Its supporters were happy to stay part of Great Britain, they just wanted to promote their own nation and national culture and values. Harvie calls their strategy a strategy of 'noisy inaction.' Their demand was simply assimilation but on their own terms. A common denominator of any such efforts was the resentment of the English. Thanks to Queen Victoria and also tourism, Scottish patriotism evolved in a great Tartan monster, as described by Tom Nairn. There were only limited attempts to return to 'real' nationalism.

Eighties period denotes the period of flourishing cultural nationalism in shape of kilts worn by the middle class on Sundays or use of the word England instead of Britain. As Harvie documents, Burns Clubs multiplied after 1885 and so did the Caledonian associations abroad among emigrants. Home rule did not have much chance to be pushed through until the confidence of Westminster was shaken. That came true during the home rule crisis in Ireland between 1910 and 1914.

⁵¹ Harvie 21.

In the year 1914 the Home Rule Bill got to the second reading but the WW I swept it away. According to Harvie, had war not broken out, the Scots might have been presented with a Parliament.⁵² Devolution in 1914 should have been an answer to constitutional crisis, however, now in the twenties the crises shifted into economy and social sphere, as it was confirmed by the General Strike in May 1926. The strike was unsuccessful but managed to reinforce class consciousness.

The next home rule bill presented in 1927 came from the Scottish Home Rule Association and it toughened up and required status similar to the one of Irish Free State. As Harvie says, it was rapidly dismissed by the Commons but young leftist nationalist were at the same time strongly influenced by Ireland and small nations in Europe.

23 June 1928 denotes an important date in the Scottish political history. It is the date when National Party of Scotland was established at Stirling. Its importance resides in the fact that it was a new independent movement that was unique to Scotland and distinct from any British party. They gathered students and intellectuals and their arguments were mainly of ethno-cultural nature. They stressed native tradition of decentralised democracy and linguistic distinctiveness. According to Harvie, the National party blended students, journalists, traditional nationalist, Catholic intellectuals and unhappy members of the Independent Labour Party.

By 1934 the National Party merged with the Scottish party and the Scottish National Party was established (SNP). It was not a revolutionary party. Its goals were reforms within the empire and home rule support. From the 1940s the political scene became more radical, more pro-independence. In the 1949, there was a petition written to the British government asking for devolution of Scotland. The petition was

⁵² Harvie 22.

called 'Scottish Covenant'. The Covenant was signed by about two million people, considering that population of Scotland was about five million people by 1951. Unfortunately the petition had only little political impact. To SNP the petition was too radical and unionist campaign warning against signing of the petition and voting for SNP worked as well.

In the 1940s, there were two main political parties in Scotland, except for the SNP – Labour Party and Conservatives. Labourists did not support home rule because it did not rhyme with their socialist thinking and internationalism (although in the 70s they came back to the idea). Therefore apart from the SNP, which was too radical, there was no other alternative.

Situation after the WW II was stabilised and a welfare state was established by the Labour. It was a centralised state with standard quality of life for everyone, which was accepted by most Scots and traded for independence and home rule.

During the 70s, SNP came to stand as an alternative to Labour Party. They got rid of most of their ethno-cultural arguments in their 1974 Manifesto and they tried to look for ways to escape the crisis. One of them was oil that was discovered in the North Sea and independent Scotland would mean that Scots would not have to share it with England.

All the negative incentives to political nationalism in Scotland, such as decline of the British Empire, decline of British industry and lack of invention, cutting off the British welfare state (by Heath and Thatcher), and democratic deficit, resulted in more than 30% of voters voting for SNP rather than Labour in 1974. Positive incentives included the fact that SNP managed to separate the ethno-cultural and socio-

economic demands and became a more pragmatic left-of-the-middle alternative.

In 1979, a Scottish Referendum was introduced to decide if there was enough support for the Scotland Act 1978. This act was supposed to create a deliberate assembly for Scotland with 142 MPs. The turnout was surprisingly low and only 51.6% of people said yes to the Scottish Assembly. The major reasons were unemployment and oil crisis. Most people were afraid to experiment, they could not afford it.

What made most of Scottish people to decide at the 80s was the rule of Margaret Thatcher as a Prime Minister and the Conservative Party. In a nutshell it meant cut down on state management, support of free market (which made most industries in Scotland to collapse), reintroduction of welfare cuttings and reduction of trade union power. That is where Scots started to vote Labour again.

Thanks to many influencing factors nationalist movement strengthened again and in 1997 Scottish people decided in a referendum by 74.3% for devolution of powers and establishment of their own Parliament. Two probably most powerful factors were the possibility of support via the EU Structural Funds and self confidence coming from the marriage of cultural and political nationalism at last. The Constitution did not work for Scotland as it was because however they voted Labour they kept getting a Conservative government. On 1 July 1999 the Scottish Parliament was reopened.

5. The Terms “Tartanry” and “Kailyard” and their Lexical Connotations Today

The terms kailyard and tartanry gained different tone throughout the twentieth century. Tartanry acquired the meaning of ‘the excessive use of tartan and other Scottish imagery to produce a distorted sentimental view of Scotland and its history’ as given by Collins English Dictionary, and also in the broader meaning of any kitsch elements described within the Scottish culture.

The word tartanry will not just easily go away, it is rooted into the language mainly because of its vulgarity and immunity from higher culture. And it should not be dismissed either because it played an important role in recreation of Scottish national identity at once.

Dr. Nash⁵³ warns against simplification of Scottish literature and culture only into these two terms – tartanry and kailyard. The kailyard term that used to describe distinctive Scottish school of fiction has been constructed by critics into a discourse that collides with much of the literature written at that time. Although we should reject kailyard as the ultimate diagnosis of the Scottish culture we should not condemn the fiction that it has commonly been associated with.

Kailyard has been rejected as the tool for diagnosing the Scottish culture but the term itself remained used by critics in many different fields of cultural activity and it also prevailed in the common language. The term has been used by film and literary critics sometimes shifting it context from the village to the town. Moira Burgess used the term in her critical study of the Glasgow novel – adapting it to ‘urban

⁵³ Nash 247.

kailyard'. For Burgess it is "fiction with an urban setting which otherwise shares the attributes of the kailyard proper".⁵⁴ Burgess uses the term to describe characteristics such as sentimentality and narrowness of vision.

The word is surely not about to disappear from the active vocabulary. The word itself that changed from a noun to an adjective is now adding more adjectives. On 12th February 1998, Christopher Harvie used the word in his article "Celts with Attitude" in the *Glasgow Herald* accusing Irvin Welsh of writing "books for people who don't read books" and thus "exploiting a chemical generation kailyard". Welsh is in Harvie's eyes a product of a typical commodity culture that can never bring quality literature.

The term kailyard is being used by critics as a symbol of parochialism. Although the 'K-word' was according to Nash probably first used more as a joke it created a context for evaluation of Scottish literature throughout the twentieth century. It is now being used as a critical term referring to literature, film, political history and sociology.

⁵⁴ Moira Burgess, *Imagine a City: Glasgow in Fiction* (Arundell: Argyll Publishing, 1998) 69.

Conclusion

The theme of this theses has been the cultural nationalism in Scotland during the nineteenth century and its forms. In my work I focused on two main terms, that is tartanry and kailyard. The aim of the thesis was to research the literary school of kailyard and look for nationalist movement motivation in its fiction. Therefore my first search aimed at the origins of nationalism in Scotland.

Scottish national identity suffered a lot since the Act of Union and joining of Scotland to the British Empire. The 1745 Jacobite Rebellion seems to have defeated not only Jacobite army but also the Scottish self. The Dressing Act from the 1747 abolished carrying of arms and wearing of traditional Highland dresses – kilts and tartan. That killed the Scottish national identity definitely. To be precise, it killed the Highland Scottish national identity. Educated middle class that would usually support the traditions and national myths was successfully assimilated by sending to Lowland English schools. They did not feel like Scottish anymore and most of them were happy as British not seeking for any other original identity. However there was a group of Lowland communities that kept hold of old traditions and ways of life – those were the small Auld Licht village and town groups of people who mainly worked on their own small farms and fields or had their own handlooms at home as portrayed in Barrie's *Thrums*. These communities adhered to its strict puritanical perception of religion, kept their own traditions and most importantly maintained their unique dialect – Scots – that set them apart from the rest of Anglicized Britain. Language seems to be one of the most important elements that helped to

preserve the uniqueness of the small nation and gave it its original feature that cannot be disputed.

The first attempts to resurrect the Scottish were brought by Burns and Baroness Nairn who collected folk songs and traditional poems, supporting thus the local traditions and history. Another great contributor to the cultural nationalism was Sir Walter Scott and his reintroduction of the Highland myth in his romantic sagas of the brave nobleman.

The next step was to re-establish the traditional Scottish symbols and elements that would distinguish Scotland from other nations on the British Isles. Those symbols included kilts, clans and tartan. Unfortunately this trend of tartantry, or national symbols cultural nationalism slipped more into false adoration of everything Scottish. The prime example is Balmorality – the adoration of anything Scottish especially by the outsiders, used for the purposes of tourism in the nineteenth century already. Even though it does not have to seem ideal way of preserving national self, it was one of the ways and in its eventual consequence it worked and defined Scotland as an individual entity.

Cultural nationalism was also influenced by search for literary history. More than six major literary history studies were published at the turn of the centuries. Also universities started to pay attention to the Scottish literature and included it into their syllabuses.

The term kailyard literary school came to light in the year 1895 when it was used for the first time in connection with the group of authors by a literary critic J. H. Millar. In its classical form it is Scottish fiction dealing with rural themes, characterised by sentimental and nostalgic treatment of the parochial communities. Religion plays an important role in the stories about ordinary mostly uneducated people

who seem to pay attention only to their little cabbage patches or kitchen gardens (hence Kail-yard). The kailyard school was first described as group of three authors: J. M. Barrie with his influential *Auld Licht Idylls*, S. R. Crockett and his *The Sticket minister*, and Ian Maclaren and *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*.

The narrator is usually someone from the outside, someone educated, speaking English, not Scots as the local people do. Usage of the local dialect is crucial characteristic of the kailyard literature serving as a way of distinction of the Scottish national identity.

Although the people in the stories appear to be simple and unschooled at the first sight, at the second glance the reader finds out that they have their own traditional wit and there is their sense of community that helps them to fight off any troubles. The importance of education is stressed especially by Maclaren, Barrie is the representative of realism and Crockett focuses on characters of ministers and is often characterised as the sentimental author.

Misrepresentation of the Scottish life and nature was one of the biggest concerns of the critics at the end of the nineteenth century. That was mainly caused by trends such as Balmorality that imposed stereotypical images on Scotland. Therefore the kailyard literature was crucial for re-establishment of the face of 'real' Scotland and real Scottish people. Kailyard movement was for that reason valuable within the process of reinvention of the Scottish national identity and is thus an integral part of the Scottish cultural nationalism.

In general, both of the discussed terms, tartanry and kailyard, were especially embraced in diasporic groups. Most of the literary pilgrims or literary tourists that flooded towns in Scotland representing Thrums and other literary locations came from overseas. And that is also where most of the copies of kailyard fiction sold.

Although a lot of critics did not like the idea of tartanry and kailyard fiction, they all finally admit that symbols and images that are associated with them defend the name of Scotland and the Scottish national identity in the world. Nairn for example calls tartanry and kailyard kitsch, however realizes that they were part of popular culture that helped to maintain a certain level of national subconscious that was later crucial for the political nationalism and achievement of its goals. On the other hand, the starting political nationalist groups in the 30s of the twentieth century had hard time trying to free its working class from the stereotyped nostalgic image portrayed by the kailyarders. It is however indisputable that if there were no basis laid by the waves of cultural nationalism during the nineteenth century, the position of political nationalist would have been much more difficult and the progress much slower.

During my research I have come across many different texts, old newspaper articles and literary history articles and some of them seemed to have contradicted themselves. Also the tone in which they were written and how favourable they looked upon tartanry and kailyard changed rapidly since the first kailyard book was published. The terms itself have changed their meaning immensely since the time they first appeared. That is why I decided to add a chapter on the terms themselves and shifts in their meanings and connotations. Both the words have been rooted in the common language quite heavily. Tartanry seems to be more common and its known by wider masses. It broadened its meaning to excessive use of Scottish symbols like tartan and others to describe a sentimental Scotland. Some of those symbols are considered kitsch, that is why the term tartanry is often connected with kitsch or poor taste and is therefore charged with negative energy.

Kailyard is a term that first appeared in an article by Millar characterizing a school of fiction writers in Scottish literature. The characteristics and evaluation of the literary school changed throughout the twentieth century many times and it very often became an adjective as well that stands for something rural or village like, sentimental, parochial and provincial. It changed to a heavily loaded term with negative descriptive features that has only little to do with the kailyard school authors. But then also the cultural nationalism has transformed into strong political nationalism that culminated by the devolution. Evolution seems to be inevitable including literary history and language changes.

Czech Summary

Kulturní nacionalismus ve Skotsku a jeho podoby se v průběhu devatenáctého století neustále měnily. Celkový vývoj má ale dva hlavní prody, kterých je možné se držet jako záchytných bodů při definici a popisu kulturně nacionalistického hnutí ve Skotsku. Tato práce se soustředila tedy na dva hlavní pojmy a těmi jsou tartanový nacionalismus a kailyard. Mnoha kritiky zkoumaný literární směr zvaný kailyard se objevil v osmdesátých letech devatenáctého století zahrnuje v sobě velmi významné prvky národně obrozeneckého hnutí, které se pak později stalo podstatnou základnou pro vývoj nacionalismu politického, který nakonec v roce 1999 vyvrcholil formálním osamostatněním Skotska od Spojeného Království a znovuotevřením Skotského parlamentu. Je tedy logické, že první kroky pátrání po národní identitě povedou k původům nacionalismu ve Skotsku vůbec.

Skotská národní identita těžce utrpěla po sjednocení s Anglií a vytvoření Britského impéria. A zdá se, že výsledek jakobínského povstání z roku 1745 neporazil jen jakobínskou armádu ale zničil především Skotské já. Zákon schválený parlamentem v roce 1747 poté úplně zakázal nošení zbraní a tradičních skotských oděvů - kiltů a tartanu. To pak zdecimovalo Skotskou národní identitu úplně, přesněji řečeno národní identitu spojovanou se Skotskou Vysočinou – Scottish Highlands. Vzdělaná střední vrstva, která by jinak podporovala zachování tradic a národních mýtů, byla bohužel velmi úspěšně asimilovaná, a to hlavně díky vzdělání získanému na anglických školách ve skotských nížinách. Nic ji tedy ani později nemotivovalo v honbě za národní totožností.

Částí skotské populace, které se podařilo zachovat si své původní hodnoty a venkovský skotský ráz, byla skotská pracující třída a rolníci. Tito lidé obývali skotské nížiny – Lowlands – a udržovali své komunity poměrně uzavřené okolnímu světu a anglickým vlivům. Důležitý prvek, který je kromě náboženské příslušnosti odlišoval od zbytku Velké Británie byl jejich typický skotský dialekt – Scots. Stal se postupně jakousi obchodní značkou, a to díky stovkám turistů, které proudily do malých údolí. Byli to literární turisté či poutníci, kteří se pídili po místech, jež znali ze svých oblíbených románů, které náležely do literární školy kailyard. Je až s podivem, že tento fenomén přetrval až do dnešní doby, kdy autobusy amerických turistů projíždějí městy, která inspirovala místa v oblíbených románech jako Thrums v *Auld Lich Idylls*.

První pokusy o znovuoživení Skotska a jeho národní identity přinesl Robert Burns a baronka Nairnová. Oba se věnovali sběru lidových písní a tradičních lidových básní a tím podpořili zachování místních tradic a historie. Dalším velkým přispěvatelem k národnímu kulturnímu hnutí byl Sir Walter Scott a jeho znovuoobjevené mýty Skotské vysočiny v romantických ságách o statečných šlechticích.

Dalším krokem bylo obnovení tradičních skotských symbolů, jako kilty, klany a tartany, které byly na nějaký čas dokonce úplně zakázány. Bohužel tento trend tartanového nacionalismu brzy sklouzl spíše k falešnému obdivu čehokoliv tradičně Skotského. Dobrým příkladem je nejsilnější odnož tartanového nacionalismu - Balmorality (od názvu sídla Anglické královny ve Skotsku, hradu Balmoral). Je to bezmezný obdiv k čemukoliv skotskému, většinou byly pak takové zvyky a předměty využívány hlavně k turistickým účelům, a to už v devatenáctém století. Přestože se většina kritiků sociálních antropologů shoduje na tom, že tartanový nacionalismus je v podstatě kýč, většina z nich zároveň uznává, že díky tomuto kýči se podařilo udržet v lidech

jakési skotské podvědomí, které se pak ukázalo být zásadním v počátcích bojů politických nacionalistů.

Kulturní nacionalismus byl také ovlivněn badáním po literární historii. Na přelomu století bylo vydáno více než šest rozsáhlých literárně-historických publikací. Také univerzity začaly věnovat skotské literatuře pozornost a dokonce ji ke konci devatenáctého století zahrnuly do svých studijních programů.

Pojem kailyard jako literární směr spatřil poprvé světlo světa v roce 1895, kdy byl poprvé použit ve spojení s danou skupinou autorů v článku literárního kritika J. H. Millara. Ve své klasické formě je to jednoduše řečeno skotská próza, která se soustředí na venkovské prostředí a lze ji charakterizovat sentimentálním a nostalgickým přístupem k provinciálním venkovským komunitám. Alespoň tak zní nejvíce rozšířená definice, která ovšem úplně přehlíží další rozměry prózy například J. M. Barrieho, který do svých příběhů vnášel lehkou ironii, ne však za účelem zesměšnit, ale lehce a trochu překvapivě čtenáře pobavit a nalákat. Také náboženství hraje důležitou roli v těchto příbězích o obyčejných, většinou nevzdělaných lidech, kteří si žijí ve svém malém světě zaměřeni pouze na svou zeleninovou zahrádku před domem (odsud kailyard, v překladu ze skotského dialektu: zahrádka se zelím, zeleninová zahrádka). Literární skupina kailyard byla poprvé popsána jako skupina tří autorů: J. M. Barrie a jeho nejznámější *Auld Licht Idylls*, S. R. Crockett a jeho *The Sticket minister* a Ian Maclaren a jeho *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*.

Vypravěčem je většinou někdo z venčí, vzdělaný, anglicky mluvící, aby mohl překládat, protože místní postavy vždy mluví skotským dialektem. Využití místního dialektu je jednou z charakteristik literatury směru kailyard. Jazyková odlišnost slouží pro vymezení skotské národní identity.

Přestože lidé v příbězích kailyard literatura vypadají na první pohled prostě a nevzdělaně, na druhý pohled čtenář objeví, že nejsou vůbec hloupí, umějí využít svůj selský rozum a jejich komunita drží obdivuhodně pospolu. Převážně Maclaren zdůrazňuje důležitost vzdělání, Barrie je spíše zástupcem realismu ve skupině a Crockett se zaměřuje na postavy kazatelů a často je řazen do kategorie sentimentálních autorů.

Jednou z největších obav kritiků na konci devatenáctého století byla milná reprezentace skotského života a scenérie. Tuto obavu zapříčinily trendy jako Balmorality a tartanový nacionalismus, které podsouvaly Skotsku jeho stereotypy. Proto byla literatura směru kailyard zásadní pro obnovení opravdové tváře Skotska a opravdových Skotů. Kailyard literatura byla proto velmi cenná v rámci procesu znovuoobjevování skotské národní identity, a je proto nedílnou součástí skotského kulturně-nacionalistického hnutí.

To co tvorbu literární školy kailyard ochromilo nejvíce, je fakt, že stejně jako zbytek střední skotské vrstvy, i autoři zůstali v mnoha případech věrní anglické kultuře. Snažili se, aby bylo zřejmé, že stejně jako všichni ostatní příslušníci středních vrstev, i oni si chtějí udržet odstup od těch, jejichž životy popisují ve svých povídkách. Postavy a příběhy proto často zjednodušují a používají karikaturu, ať už jemnou nebo těžšího kalibru. Komunita pracujících vrstev žijících ve skotských nížinách byla víceméně zmírající společností, které chyběl jakýkoliv vývoj. Ten brzdilo hlavně náboženství. Autor byl ten, kterému se úspěšně podařilo ze spárů takové komunity uniknout, a teď ji pozoruje z povzdálí a místy se i baví na její účet.

Tvorba literárního směru kailyard řeší problémy také náboženského charakteru, a ty v kontextu osmdesátých let devatenáctého století vyznívají až absurdně, jsou naprosto irelevantní. O

co kailyard chybělo byl jakýkoliv politický či sociální konflikt. Na jedné straně je autentickým popisem života nižších vrstev, na straně druhé je zdůvodněním asimilace středních vrstev do tak zvané vysoké kultury. Jak tartanový nacionalismus, tak kailyard nechtějí připustit možnost zásadní změny z útrob skotské komunity. Jsou příliš vázané na minulost a nedokážou si představit budoucnost.

Právě kulturní nacionalismus předcházel ve Skotsku nacionalismu politickému. Fakt, že Skotsko již ve své historii bylo nezávislou zemí, nahrával vlasteneckému hnutí a stal se jedním z pádných argumentů v boji za osamostatnění. Prvními podněty a argumenty politického nacionalismu byly kulturně-sociální, ty se ovšem neprokázali jako dostatečně silné. V osmdesátých letech dvacátého století je pak téměř úplně nahradily argumenty socio-ekonomické. Zásadním prvkem, který Skotsko pravděpodobně nakonec přesvědčil o tom, že osamostatnění je ta správná cesta, se stala existence Evropské unie a jejích Strukturálních fondů, které byly dostatečnou zárukou pro většinu Skotů, kteří nakonec v referendu hlasovali „ano“.

Během výzkumu jsem narazila na mnoho různých textů, dobových novinových článků a literárně kritických článků a některé z nich si navzájem v mnohém odporovaly. Také tón, ve kterém byly napsány a pozitivní či negativní hodnocení a přístup k tartanovému nacionalismu a kailyard literatuře se radikálně změnily od té doby, co byla vydána první kniha řadící se do stylu kailyard. Oba pojmy samotné změnilы význam ve velkém rozsahu v porovnání s původním významem v době jejich prvního použití. Proto jsem se také rozhodla na závěr přidat kapitolu pojednávající o obou termínech a posunu v jejich interpretaci a jazykovém zabarvení. Oba termíny se dostaly do běžného jazyka a jsou v něm již napevno zachyceny. Pojem tartanový nacionalismus se zdá být v angličtině mnohem běžnější a zná jej větší

okruh lidí. Význam tohoto pojmu byl rozšířen na nadměrné používání skotských symbolů, jako je tartan a další, pro popis sentimentálního Skotska. Některé takové symboly jsou obecně považované za kýč, a proto se také tartanový nacionalismus často spojuje s kategorií špatného vkusu a kýče.

Kailyard je pojem, který se poprvé objevil v článku J. H. Millara a charakterizoval skupinu skotských literárních autorů. Charakteristiky a hodnocení tohoto literárního směru se v průběhu dvacátého století změnilo několikrát. Z daného slova se často stávalo i přídavné jméno, které v sobě skrývá charakteristiky jako venkovský, sentimentální a provinční. Význam samotného slova se zásadně změnil a je nyní silně negativně zatížen. Jeho nynější podoba má už jen málo společného s původní literární skupinou. Ale také kulturní nacionalistické hnutí se proměnilo v silné politické národní hnutí jehož působení vyvrcholilo osamostatněním Skotska jako správního celku v rámci Spojeného království s vlastním parlamentem. Vývoj je, zdá se, nevyhnutelný, literární historii a jazykové změny nevyjímaje.

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Anotace

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Název práce: Kailyard and Tartanry - Cultural Nationalism in Scottish Literature at the Turn of 19th and 20th century (Kailyard a tartanový nacionalismus - Kulturní nacionalismus ve skotské literatuře na přelomu 19. a 20. století)

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Tématem práce je skotský kulturní nacionalismus a jeho literární a kulturní podoba na přelomu devatenáctého a dvacátého století. Práce se zaměřuje především na dva zásadní pojmy – tartanový nacionalismus a kailyard. Úvodní kapitola se zabývá počátky vzniku vlny kulturního nacionalismu ve Skotsku a uvádí téma do historického kontextu. Následující kapitoly podrobněji objasňují charakteristiky tartanového nacionalismu a literárního směru kailyard a některé důležité typické prvky dokládají na příkladech třech hlavních autorů: J. M. Barrie, S. R. Crockett a Ian Maclaren.

The theme of the thesis is Scottish cultural nationalism and its literary and cultural forms at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century. The main focal points of the thesis are two terms – Tartanry and Kailyard. The introductory chapter deals with the origins of the cultural nationalism in Scotland and sets the topic into a historical context. The following chapters clarify the characteristics of tartanry and the kailyard literary school and grounds some of important typical features on the examples of three main authors: J. M. Barrie, S. R. Crockett a Ian Maclaren.