

Axel Koehler: Patricians, Politics and Porridge Olympics – the Scottish Highland Games and the Swiss Unspunnen Games and the Idea of the Noble Savage

I. Introduction

This contribution to the discussion of *Volkskultur* or folk culture today is a comparative study of two events of ethnic sport according to Tsuneo Sogawa (Sogawa, 2006): “*Ethnic sport is a general concept for those sports that are related more or less to the traditional culture or contribute to the forging of a specific cultural identity of the people within specific countries, societies, ethnic groups and areas who perform them*”ⁱ, as well as of cultural displays such as music and dance originating in the communities represented by these events. These are the Scottish Highland Games as hosted by various towns and villages all over Scotland, its traditional diaspora overseas and beyond – as will be discussed in the course of the text – and the Swiss *Äpler-und-Schwingfeste* (alpine herdsfolk festivals featuring traditional Swiss wrestling), the largest of which is the *Trachten-und Alphirtenfest* (festival of traditional Swiss regional costume and upland herdsfolk) at Unspunnen in the vicinity of Interlaken in the canton of Berne. It is also known as the *Unspunnenfest*. When the author first heard about the latter event during a holiday in Switzerland in 1987, seeing the pictures of the last Unspunnenfest six years ago, he found some of its features quite similar to the Scottish Highland Games with which he was already familiar having then travelled to Scotland regularly since 1981. Having now lived in Scotland for a whole decade and matured into a fully-blown scholar of Scottish Gaelic language and culture and being equally knowledgeable in Scottish Lowland culture, yet also familiar with and interested in Swiss culture, the author decided to contribute to this project his study of the role of Highland Games and *Äplerspiele* in today’s Scottish and Swiss communities.

The following article will first consider the similarities and the differences of the Swiss and the Scottish concepts of folk culture, then the author will give a thorough overview of the Scottish Highland Games and their Swiss equivalents today, before examining the origins of either in order to discuss the genuineness of these events and their acceptance and role in their respective communities. For providing a broad and exact overview, the origins of the various athletic disciplines of the ethnic sports competitions in question will also be considered. In the Scottish case, the primary question here is in how far Highland Games are still genuinely Gaelic or whether they have ever been thus, and whether there are any Highland Games that are true to the pre-nineteenth century origins of most athletic disciplines featured. In the Swiss case, it will be shown that the originally staged herdsfolk games have indeed been accepted by the wider Swiss German community and are today largely arranged for locals and less so for tourists, though the latter are welcome.ⁱⁱ

II. Folk culture in Scotland and *Volkskultur* in Switzerland

Before various concepts of folk culture are discussed here, it needs to be said that there is no such thing as *a* Scottish folk culture. Scotland today is defined by three indigenous language communities, i.e. Gaels, Lowland Scots and Anglo-Scots, and various immigrant communities, i.e. Irish, Italians, Lithuanians, Pakistanis etc. and even Germans and German Swiss. They do not infringe upon Scottish nationality – Scotland has from her very beginnings been a multilingual and multicultural nation, though the last remaining one of her most indigenous cultures has not always had an easy ride.ⁱⁱⁱ In general, one may say that in all the cultural communities present in Scotland there are three camps – the traditionalists, the syncretists and the assimilationists.^{iv} The latter are those who are commonly referred to as 'Anglo-Scots', as they have adopted an English accent and tend to look down on anything relating to Scottish traditions, be they authentic by

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origin or merely by perception, or to Scottish popular culture (e.g. Burns Night celebrations, Scottish comedians from Harry Lauder of the heyday of music hall entertainment to Billy Connolly and today's TV comedians, cèilidh dances, vernacular Scottish literature such as the works of Neil Munro, Neil Gunn, Compton Mackenzie, Lewis Grassie Gibbon et al, popular Scottish journals such as the *Scots Magazine* and the *People's Friend*, both published by DC Thompson in Dundee who are also renowned for their thoroughly Scottish comic book series *Oor Wullie*¹ and *The Broons*,² the *Beano*, the *Dandy* and the *Topper*, most of which are held in Dundonian dialect and first appeared as cartoon strips in the *Sunday Post* also published by DC Thompson; Scottish convenience food and drink such as Tunnock's chocolate wafer bars³ and *Irn Bru*⁴). The latter part of the population belongs predominantly to the upper class and the *nouveau riche* or the urban "cosmopolitan" intellectuals, yet this class had in the past adopted a romanticised image of Scottish Highland culture tailored to their needs known as *tartanry* or *tartanism*. In this study, more shall be said about that phenomenon and its very adherents, who at the same time frown upon anything genuinely Scottish as boorish and embarrassing, a sibling phenomenon to *tartanry* commonly referred to as the *Scots cringe*. This cultural cringe is also more often than not adopted by people from small rural communities bent on joining the higher echelons of society. The tartanry phenomenon is not without importance to the genesis of the modern Highland Games, which is why it will not leave the discussion any time soon.

Many of the observations made above will also apply to Switzerland, which has also traditionally contained four distinct linguistic and cultural communities, i.e. the German Swiss speaking various dialects of the Alemannic subgroups of the German language, the *Romands* speaking French (in the Jura) and Franco-Provençal (in the cantons of Fribourg, Geneva, Valais and Vaud), the Italian Swiss and the Rhaeto-Romance Swiss in Grisons or Graubunden whose dialects are collectively known as *Rumantsch*. The latter have in recent years forged some bond with Gaelic-speaking communities in Ireland and Scotland,^v whereas most German Swiss might rather feel an affinity to either Scots-speaking Lowlanders⁵ or Anglo-Scots. There will be traditionalists, syncretists and assimilationists yielding to mainstream Anglo-Americanised German urban culture and neglecting their native accent in favour of an artificial yet more common polished speech. One might ask why the author pays such particular attention to language matters in this context, yet language is the great container of culture and the culture of a community is defined by its language. Without Gaelic, there would not be any Gaels; without Scots, no Scottish Lowlanders and Northeasterners; without German, no Germans or German Swiss etc.^{vi} Culture itself may perpetually change and adapt, be that folk culture or so-called higher culture, and thus does the language. Therefore, one may also say that language is

¹ Scots for "Our Willie", the author's translation.

² Scots for "the Browns", ditto. These may be the Scots counterpart to *S'Knüslis* by Brigitte Fries and Liz Sutter in terms of genesis and popularity – the latter series was also born as a newspaper cartoon strip. *DC Thompson Ltd. & Co. Publishers*, available from: <http://www.scotsmagazine.com/>, <http://www.thepeoplesfriend.co.uk/>, <http://www.thesundaypost.co.uk/postindex.htm> and <http://www.dcthomson.co.uk/>. See also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Broonsmarch0892.jpg> and 'Broons', *Peter Davidson: Artist – Illustrator*, available from: <http://www.davidsonart.com/broons.htm>. Cf. 'Brigitte Fries und Liz Sutter' on *CAS: Club der Autofreien Schweiz*, available from: <http://www.clubderautofreien.ch/index.php?lng=de&pag=41&nav=2&sub=19&ssb=8&spg=175>; 'Comic' on *Visuelle Kommunikation © Brigitte Fries*, available from: <http://www.brittefries.ch/comic/comic01.html>. Likewise, one might say the *Broons* were a Scots equivalent of *Papa Moll*, <http://globi.ch/papa-moll/>, as drawn by Edith Oppenheim-Jonas, <http://www.edith-oppenheim-jonas.ch/index.htm>.

³ the Scottish equivalent to Swiss Toggenburger chocolate wafer bars by *Kägi Söhne AG* and the Austrian *Mannerschnitten*, as much as the Kägi sweet factory is the Swiss equivalent to *Tunnock's Bakery*, <http://www.tunnock.co.uk/about.htm>.

⁴ An iron-containing orangeade originally made in Glasgow by Barr & Sons, more popular in Scotland than Coca-Cola and therefore the Scottish equivalent of *Rivella*. *Irn-Bru* also contains caffeine. Cf. <http://www.irn-bru.co.uk/our-drinks.html>. As this website says, the top secret recipe for this soft drink is actually stored in Switzerland.

⁵ Scots is an Anglic, and thus a West Germanic language more closely related to Swiss German than to the Celtic language that is Scottish Gaelic.

dependent on – or contained in - culture. There is no such thing as an invented tradition, as Eric Hobsbawm et al. purported in recent years, merely tradition reinvented or adapted.^{vii} The general message of Hobsbawm's and Ranger's book was all too soon generalised and adopted at face value by too many who would not –or could not - distinguish between the pre-modern core of some recently-modified cultural practices and the new myths created around them. To some, the message they perceived this book to hold, viz. that most icons and phenomena commonly associated with folklore were only fakelore, was a welcome alibi to do away with all distinct regional costumes and practices etc. without compromise, thereby failing to acknowledge that some of these matters were indeed authentic to the community – no matter how recently they had been introduced – and that there were certain costumes, dances, festivals etc. whose origins were actually older than the shape in which we are familiar with them today.^{viii} In Scotland, this applies to both the Highland dress and the Highland Games; in Switzerland, this also applies to most regional costumes and events such as the gathering of Unspunnen. Any newly-introduced item may become an authentic tradition once it has been accepted and adopted by the community.^{ix}

III. Porridge Olympics from Uist to Unspunnen and beyond

Highland Games may be found all over Scotland and in the worldwide Scottish diaspora, i.e. North America (especially in North Carolina and the Canadian province of Nova Scotia), South Africa, Australasia⁶ (mainly in Otago, NZ). But in Argentina and Chile, where a community of Highland and mainly Hebridean descent has been living in Patagonia since the late nineteenth century and the 1900s, there used to be Highland Games, but today there are not any left.^x Those events in the New World are markedly different to those in the motherland referred to by expatriate Gaels as *an t-Seann-Dùthaich*, "the old country". Before one is going to say anything about this distinction, however, one should say something about the events most Highland Games have in common. These are divided into the heavy events such as tossing the caber (Gaelic *tilgeil a' chabair*, "tossing the tree-trunk"), putting the stone (Gaelic *putadh na cloiche*) – which Scottish Highland Games have in common with the Unspunnen games – and wrestling, further tug o war, hammer throwing and weight throwing (weight for height and weight for distance), pole vaulting and track racing; and piping and Highland Dancing competitions.^{xi} It is common, though not compulsory to don full Highland dress at the Games, be that in Aberdeen or in Auckland NZ. Apart from all these commonplaces, Scottish Highland Games in Scotland are not really homogenous, either, in terms of arrangement and audience. The large mainstream Highland Games in mainland Scotland, from Braemar to Oban, are often a rather formal affair. There is a great presence of upper class people, as most of these games enjoy the patronage of local *lairds* (i.e. landlords, squires), and people sit in stalls as in a theatre according to their rank in society, especially at those games where members of the Royal Family are also present.^{xii} For most local people, however, the attraction of those games lies in the fringe events which take place all over the marquee and in the beer tent or hall. For the aristocratic spectators, the Highland Games are just another event on their calendar of sporting activities commonly known as "the seasons" also including the Derby at Epsom, the Ascot Gold Cup racing week and the grouse and deer shooting seasons. For tourists, the big Highland Games and their surrounding features and iconic phenomena such as the whole paraphernalia of pipers and pipe bands, little girls in Highland Dress doing Highland Dancing and big brawny kilted men hurling heavy things from stones to tree trunks convey a typical image of Scotland. It is the task of the further sections in this article to demonstrate the authenticity of this spectacle and to unravel the true face of Highland Scotland and its traditional sports and pastimes, and to show how the Scottish travesty show the big Highland Games are today first came into being, and in order to get there it takes a view of smaller and more local games. There are still Highland Games to

⁶ Australia and New Zealand.

be found in Scotland where everything is more down to earth and fairly laid back, where people do not need to squeeze themselves into stalls and can roam the location at their own pace and their own will. This does not mean that those games were too relaxed in terms of safety and security, but it means that there is more flexibility in terms of schedule and display. At the same time, there is more genuine local atmosphere to be enjoyed and though some may find those smaller games rather quaint and more similar to an old-fashioned country fair, one will come to appreciate them more than the big name games because the committees responsible for initiating them still put more effort and more heart and soul in their arrangement. The annual games in Uist and Barra in the Western Isles are fine examples for such games.^{xiii} The author has repeatedly been to the North and South Uist Games which take place in the *machair* of Hosta and the *machair* of Askernish respectively,⁷ and can only confirm Grant Jarvie's notion. What Jarvie does not mention in his text is that those games are events where the ancient yet vibrant, but threatened, language of the Scottish Highlanders – namely Gaelic – is still spoken. Barra and Uist are still Gaelic-speaking communities, thus their Highland Games still have the soul the big events in the mainland are missing. The same applies to Islay and Skye, and a few mainland places in the West Highlands such as Glenelg.^{xiv} Many of these rural games also have cèilidh dances on their schedule. These games are mainly arranged for locals and mainly attended by locals, but visitors are welcome. Those gatherings are closer to their pre-nineteenth century historic origins than their mainstream counterparts.

It was mentioned above that those gatherings had the charm of an old-fashioned country fair, and apart from the athletic competitions, that is exactly what they are to most Highland people and the denizens of the northern and north-eastern Lowlands of Scotland such as eastern Perthshire, the soft hills of Lower Angus and Strathmore, the Mearns and the Mounth in Kincardineshire, the eastern uplands of Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Mar between Dee, Don and Deveron and the foothills and coastal plains from Moray and Easter Ross to Caithness in the northernmost stretch of Scotland. It is a season for meeting old friends and joining them for *blether* (a chat) and a pint or two, to bargain and to barter, as there are of course vending stalls as well. For most Scots-Americans and Scots-Canadians, however, Highland Games or Gatherings are primarily about heritage and nostalgia,^{xv} and this applies most likely also to other Scots overseas from Argentina to Australia, and from Cape Town to Pretoria. Whereas most Scots in the old country go to a Highland Gathering to socialise and to place a bet or two on the athletes, dancers or pipers, the Scots overseas and

⁷ *Machair* = grassy plain between the dunes and the moorland, fertilized by sand rich in seashells. Typical for the western shores of Hebridean islands as in Islay, Colonsay, Tiree and the Western Isles from Barra to Harris. 'Machair' is the Gaelic word for a plain, cf. *A' Mhachair Ghallda* = "the Lowlands". Cf. Edward Dwelly, *Faclair Gàidhlig gu Beurla le Dealbhan / Dwelly's Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, an 12mh eagan (Glaschu: Gairm, 2001), td. 620. and *Dwelly-d: Faclair Dwelly Air-Loidhne* (Dwelly's Dictionary Online), available from: <http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=machair>. *Gall*, pl. *Goill* "foreigner(s), stranger(s)", is a name denoting the anglophone inhabitants of the Scottish Lowlands who are ethnologically speaking a mixture of anglicised Britons (i.e. formerly Cymric-speaking Celts) and Gaels. Their vernacular now known as Scots was known to them as *Inglis* in late medieval times ('Inglis', A2(a) & B1, *Dictionar o the Scots Leid: Dictionary of the Scots Language*, available from <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>). Cf. 'Gall' in Dwelly, td. 474; online on <http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/index.aspx?txtSearch=Gall>. The Gaelic term *Gall*, *Goill* is almost comparable to the Swiss German term 'Welsche' for the francophone inhabitants of Switzerland, even though in the latter case it is rather the opposite situation to the Scottish one in historical terms – the francophone Swiss are the romanised descendants of the Celtic Allobroges, Helvetii and Sedunii, and the Alemannic and Burgundian tribes were the Germanic incomers analogous to the Angles in Southern Scotland. Regula Frei-Stolba, 'Empire Romain', *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, available from <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F8248.php> and <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F8248-1-1.php>, further <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F8248-1-3.php>. Interestingly, the Germanic term 'Welsche' was coined in relation to a Celtic people related to the Helvetii, viz. the Volcae, and also contributed to the origin of the term 'Wallachian'. Zdravko Batzarov, 'Distinguishing the Terms: Wallachians, Walloons, Welschen etc.', *Orbis Latinus*, available from: http://www.orbilat.com/General_Survey/Terms--Wallachians_Walloons_Welschen_etc.html.

their descendants go there to frequent the clan tents and evoke a Scottish Highland scene that is no more if it has ever been.

The greatest Highland Games in the USA are those at Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina,^{xvi} and there is another great Highland Gathering in North Carolina named the Flora MacDonald Highland Games at Red Springs in the Cape Fear area.^{xvii} Yet another Highland Gathering takes place at Laurinburg NC,^{xviii} also in the Cape Fear area, but it is the name of the former event that is most significant here as it points towards the authenticity of Scottish Highland heritage in this part of North Carolina. Flora MacDonald (1722-90), known as *Fionnghal Nic Dhòmhnail* in Gaelic, was the young lady who smuggled the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88), through the Hanoverian lines and "over the sea to Skye" from Benbecula after the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1745-46 and the devastating defeat of his Highland forces at Culloden subsequently followed by the Prince's odyssey through the heather from one hideout to another. She was a native-born *Uidhisteach*⁸ from Milton (Gael. *Gearra Bhailteas*) in South Uist, the daughter of a Clanranald tacksman⁹, and after her short imprisonment in the Tower of London and subsequent house arrest for aiding the prince's escape she returned to the Hebrides in 1747 to marry a distant cousin of hers, Captain Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh (*Cinnseborg*) in Skye who served in the 84th Regiment of Foot also known as the Royal Highland Emigrants. And emigrate they did in 1773, to the Fayetteville or Cape Fear area of North Carolina where they lived until her husband was captured by the American revolutionaries in the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in February 1776. After that, she went to Nova Scotia in Winter 1778 where she stayed in Fort Edward, until she returned to Scotland in 1779.^{xix} Her husband was released in 1783 and followed her, and they lived in Uist and Skye.

They had by far not been the only Scottish Gaels in the Cape Fear area, as there was until the 1880s a strong Gaelic-speaking Highland colony. Most of the settlers hailed from Argyll in the south-western Highlands and her isles, such as Jura and Tiree etc.^{xx} In fact, two of the oldest Gaelic documents in print were published in Fayetteville, NC, in 1791. The Reverend David Crawford, originally hailing from Arran, published two of his sermons there.^{xxi} The need for Gaelic sermons and Gaelic-speaking ministers in the Cape Fear area in the period given (1730s – 1800s) is clearly attested by the Reverend William H. Foote in his *Sketches of North Carolina*.^{xxii} When Foote wrote in the 1840s, the area was still partly Gaelic-speaking yet gradually shifting to monoglot use of English. By the 1880s, Gaelic had finally given way to English in the area and was no longer a community language. Thus, there would be no Gaelic at all to be heard or seen at Highland Gatherings if it was not for Donald Frank MacDonald, the founder of the Grandfather Mountain Games and the Clan Donald Society of the United States, who learned Gaelic in Scotland and operates a Gaelic tent for teaching the language, the culture and its song tradition at the Games.^{xxiii}

North Carolina is not the only US state that once had a Gaelic-speaking community and today boasts Highland Games, as Scottish Gaels also settled in upstate New York and in the early 20th century also around the Great Lakes. Others went West from the original areas of settlement. Many of the Gaelic settlers from the Carolinas and Upper New York, being loyal to British rule^{xxiv}, left these areas for Nova Scotia in what was then British North America and is now Canada. They settled mainly in Cape Breton Island, where another Gaelic community has lasted well into this century and is yet vibrant, though the language is under

⁸ *Uidhisteach*, pl. *Uidhistich* = Gaelic "denizen of Uist". Cf. Dwelly, td. 1029.

⁹ Tacksman = Gaelic *fear-taic* / *fear-baile*, "farm-tenant, man holding a tack = large part of the chieftain's land, subletting it to sub-tenants", Dwelly td. 423 agus <http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=fear-baile>, cf. James Mitchell, *The Scotsman's Library* (Edinburgh: J. Anderson jr., 1825), pp. 260, 500, 527-28. Tacksman and their families were the middle class of the old Gaelic clan society before 1745, though some of them lasted until the 1800s. Many noteworthy ministers (preachers), scholars and soldiers of Highland descent stemmed from their ranks. See also F.A. MacDonald, 'tacksman' in Thomson, 2nd edn. (2004), pp. 282-83.

threat even there.^{xxv} But unlike other communities of Scottish Gaels in Canada, such as the settlers from the Isle of Lewis in the *Estrie* or the Eastern Townships of Quebec^{xxvi} or the settlers from Argyll and Lochaber in Bruce County^{xxvii} and Glengarry County,^{xxviii} Ontario, the Cape Breton Gaels have yet preserved their language well and serve as a shining example to all the other former Gaelic communities in North America^{xxix} - apart from the Irish who have in some respects done even better than the Scots.^{xxx} Saying that, Canada's Scottish Gaels have two academic institutions of renown as cultural gatekeepers – the Department of Celtic at St Francis Xavier University, a Catholic university and former seminary for future Jesuit priests in Antigonish in mainland Nova Scotia,^{xxxi} and the Gaelic College in Cape Breton Island.^{xxxii} The Antigonish area itself is now no longer a *Gàidhealtachd*, but there are Highland Games annually,^{xxxiii} just as in Pugwash NS^{xxxiv} and in the provincial capital Halifax both of which no longer have any Gaelic-speaking community either. The aforementioned Glengarry County has a great Highland Gathering, as well and prides itself of the greatest massed pipes event and the greatest fiddler's rally in Canada's Scottish diaspora.^{xxxv} However, as hinted above, though Glengarry used to be a *Gàidhealtachd* and still has a Gaelic name – *Sìorrachd Gleanna Garadh* – from the heyday of its Gaeldom, the only other place in Canada with a traditional Gaelic name being Cape Breton Island (*Eilean Cheap Breatuinn*) in Nova Scotia (*Alba Nuadh*), since the last fluent speaker of Glengarry Gaelic has passed away, the tongue has ceased to be a true community language there and all the Gaelic speakers teaching courses there in summer are more often than not imports or immigrants from Cape Breton or straight from the old country. Thus, the Gaelic *mòran taing* ("thanks a lot") on their website is mere tokenism, as they are mainly a fairly anglicised affair.^{xxxvi} But then, a lot of the big Highland Gatherings in North America are, and thus it is in Scotland, as has already been mentioned above. Everything 'Highland' at those events is a mere husk, a surrogate, as the true language of the Highlands is hardly spoken there or not spoken at all. At some of those events, the Gaelic language is not even welcome, as the old prejudices of monoglot English-speakers and the internalised cultural cringe of anglicised Scots prevail. There is in North America a whole plethora of Highland Societies, Robert Burns Societies and more of the like – many of whose members have no idea of what Scottish Highland culture is really about, what it was like or what it will be like in the future...and neither are they really concerned about that. As Jennifer Allan writes:

“The trouble with writing about Scottish heritage from an American perspective is the difficulty most Americans have in separating the myth from 'Brigadoon'¹⁰ and 'Braveheart' with the actual history of Highland and Lowland Scotland [...]^{xxxvii}

and

“Ancestral Scots attend Highland games and Robert Burns Dinners, read materials about Scottish history, and wear Highland attire, but do not have a connection to or knowledge of contemporary Scotland. Contemporary Scots (in North America) are

¹⁰ *Brigadoon* is a 1954 Hollywood film musical based on an earlier stage musical (1947), 'Movies: Brigadoon', *The New York Times* online, available from: <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/7124/Brigadoon/details>, cf. <http://www.ibdb.com/production.php?id=1534> (Broadway musical). It is considered rather quaint and sugary, even more so than John Ford's Irish emigrant yarn *The Quiet Man* (1952) with John Wayne and Maureen O' Hara, Barry Fitzgerald and Victor MacLaglen, which – unlike *Brigadoon* – was at least filmed on location and featured a monologue by O'Hara in genuine Irish Gaelic, and as a true adventure film was less kitschy than the mock-Scottish *Brigadoon*. Cf. William C. Dowling, 'John Ford's Festive Comedy: Ireland Imagined in *The Quiet Man*', *Éire-Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2002), pp. 190-211. Online available from: <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~wcd/quietman.htm>. See also: Des MacHale, *A Quiet Man Miscellany* (Cork, IRL: Cork University Press, 2009). Online (p)review available from: http://www.corkuniversitypress.com/A_Quiet_Man_Miscellany_/299/.

often recent immigrants from Scotland and are interested in the Scotland of today and tomorrow, not the Scotland of the yesterday. For ancestral Scots, Scotland is a land of heather and thistles, castles and clans. They are rarely interested in the plight of the urban poor or the health problems currently afflicting a majority of the Scottish population. Scotland of the past holds more importance for ancestral Scots than Scotland of the future [...]”^{xxxviii}

Most of those people Allan describes here have no clue about Gaelic language and culture and whether they (still) exist.^{xxxix} Moreover, as may be seen by the example of the Fergus Highland Games in Fergus, Ontario, this kind of Scottish émigré gathering has sprung up even in places where Gaelic had never been spoken by the original settlers because they were Lowlanders.^{xl} The Fergus Games are a rather recently invented tradition, having only been founded in 1946 by a new incomer from Aberdeenshire, one Alex Robertson who emigrated to Canada in 1921.^{xli} The adoption of *ersatz* Highland culture by people whose forebears had been Lowlanders is tartanism or Highlandism at its most typical, but then, North American Highland culture is – as testified by Allan and others – just a transatlantic extension of the very Balmorality that contributed to the genesis of mainstream Highland Games in the old country and the New World as described above. This genesis shall be the topic of the following section in this article, but this section is not yet concluded. Before the discussion turns to the situation of the Swiss counterpart of Scottish Highland Games in today's society in the old country and (possibly) overseas, one word needs yet to be said about Scottish Highland Games in the urban centres of North America. Some of them are not just recently-born festivals, but have existed for at least 150 years – or more. For example, the Highland Games of Detroit have been in existence since 1849,^{xlii} and the Highland Games of Chicago are even four years older. The Illinois Saint Andrew Society do not only ascribe to tartanism, there is genuine interest in Gaelic among their members.^{xliii} And this may be rare, but it is by no means unique. The Annual Pacific Northwest Scottish Highland Games and Clan Gathering in Seattle WA was founded under the name of 'Seattle Scottish Highland Games' in 1947, one year after the aforementioned Games in Fergus, ON, and what information may be gleaned from their website sounds fairly like plain tartantry to the initiated.^{xliiv} At the same time, Seattle has a vibrant Gaelic scene which has some substantial credibility in the Gaelic world, not only in neighbouring Canada but also in the Scottish motherland.^{xliv} But of those Americans with a genuine interest in Gaelic language and culture, there is usually a remarkable absence at mainstream Scottish heritage events, as they have taken a rather dim view of such activities.^{xlvi} Saying that, many of them have initially been part of the mainstream Scottish-American heritage movement and were thus drawn towards genuine Gaelic culture, as the Celtic Twilight circuit is often the platform for discovering the real thing behind it.

There is also a Swiss diaspora abroad, especially in the United States, where there is a very large settlement of Swiss Americans in Wisconsin, viz. New Glarus, which was founded by settlers from the canton of Glarus in central Switzerland,^{xlvii} who had crossed the Atlantic after many parts of Switzerland had been left destitute following an economic crisis in 1845 – this era was indeed a time of crisis in Swiss agriculture,^{xlviii} which is not altogether surprising given that the 1840s were very harsh years in the Scottish Highlands and very much in Ireland due to the notorious potato famine which also struck continental Europe. Possibly, it had an impact on Switzerland too, but there were other reasons, too, as the industrial revolution was in full swing in Switzerland at that time.^{xlix} Many people had to emigrate, and many of them chose America or Australia for their destination.¹ Whether there are any expatriate Unspunnen festivals to be found in the Swiss diaspora overseas shall be discussed later. For now, one ought to concentrate on the motherland and its rural games gatherings.

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The so-called *Unspunnenfest* does not take place annually, unlike most Highland Gatherings, even though this was the original idea of the initiators. This will be discussed in more detail in the following section. The heavy or athletic events of Unspunnen consist of *Schwingen* (traditional Swiss wrestling) and *Steinstossen* (putting the stone), and there is usually traditional music and dance, singing and alphorn playing as well. In Scottish Highland terms, it sounds like a combination of a Highland gathering and a *mòd*¹¹ or a *fèis*.¹² It appears, however, that the traditional dancing is not competitive as in the case of Scottish Highland dancing, and neither is the singing and alphorn playing as in the case of the Gaelic choirs at the *Mòd* or the pipers at *mòdan* and Highland Games. Apart from the Unspunnenfest, there are various local *Schwingfeste*, similar ethnic sports and folklore events such as the *Eidgenössische Älpler-und Schwingfest* which take place annually and all across Switzerland. While their main feature is traditional Swiss-style wrestling, they do not feature stone put yet also feature traditional Swiss costumes and music and dance. Nowadays, however, there is a certain American impact since some *Schwingfeste* have taken Country&Western bands into their schedule.^{li} This could be called a syncretist attitude. Other festivals of this kind, however, still prefer a more traditional approach in the manner of conservationists.^{lii} The latter kind is rather accompanied by sounds closer to home such as yodelling, the *Schwyzerörgeli* (a kind of button accordion typical for Swiss traditional dance music) and cow bells (*Treichlen, Trychlen*).^{liii} The most important point here is that those rural games or ethnic sports festivals are primarily a community event, a local thing, not merely arranged for spectators from abroad or from neighbouring countries nor just for the amusement of city-dwellers wanting to take time off from their daily busy lives and crowded streets or railway platforms, but for the people of both rural and urban Switzerland.^{liv} Visitors are welcome, but they do not play the first fiddle as they originally did in too many ways in the history of tourism in Switzerland^{lv} – and in some cases still do.^{lvi} In the next section it will be shown how wealthy tourists were wooed from the very first Unspunnen Festival in 1805 onwards. But the Swiss people have reclaimed this very event for themselves, and it is as much theirs now as their rural fairs and gatherings have always been. In this particular respect the Swiss have overtaken the Scots who have still not reclaimed their mainstream Highland Games festivals for themselves. Until

¹¹ *Mòd* = Scot. Gael. "assembly, court (of justice)", also an annual competition in Gaelic literature and music under the auspices of *An Comunn Gàidhealach*, founded 1891 in Oban, Argyll. There are provincial or regional *mòdan*, and the Royal National Mòd (*Am Mòd Naiseanta Rìoghail*), all based on the Welsh *Eisteddfod* but without the fancy druid costumes. Dwelly, td. 666 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=m%C3%B2d> . Cf. 'ACG History', *An Comunn Gàidhealach*, <http://www.acgmod.org/about/history>, 'The Royal National Mod: History', <http://www.acgmod.org/nationalmod/history> and 'Provincial Mods', <http://www.acgmod.org/localmods>.

¹² *fèis* = Scot. Gael. "feast, festival, gathering". Dwelly, 'fèis, fèisd', td. 427 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/index.aspx?txtSearch=f%u00e8is>. In the contemporary sense, *fèisean* are Scotland-wide celebrations of Gaelic culture and music including workshops to pass on the skills to younger generations according to the dictum "tradition is not about the passing around the ashes, it means passing on the flame". The Scottish *fèisean* movement is a fairly young one, conceived 1981 in the Isle of Barra where *Fèis Bharraigh* was organised by the local parish priest, Fr. Colin MacInnes (*An t-Athair Cailean Mac Aonghais*), parents and other individuals strongly in favour of Gaelic language and culture and preventing it from dying out. Ten years later, after more *fèisean* had been arranged in the *Gàidhealtachd* and the Lowland diaspora, the umbrella organisation *Fèisean nan Gàidheal* was founded. The language of instruction is of course Gaelic. 'What is a *fèis*?', *Fèisean nan Gàidheal*, <http://www.feisean.org/what-is-a-feis.html>. Boyd Robertson, 'Gaelic in Scotland' in: Guus Extra, Durk Gorter, *The other Languages of Europe: Demographic, Sociolinguistic, and Educational Perspectives* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001), pp. 91-92, cf. François Matarasso, *Northern Lights: The Social Impact of the Fèisean*, The Social Impact of the Arts working paper 6 (Stroud, Glo.: Comedia, 1996; as e-text 2003), pp. 11-12, available from: <http://www.feisean.org/Downloads/Northern%20Lights%20-%20Report%20by%20francois%20Matarasso.pdf>. Another main idea of the *fèisean* was to create an atmosphere which would also appeal to younger people as opposed to the rather stuffy Victorian-Edwardian atmosphere of the *Mòd* which is quite like a not so healthy symbiosis of genuine Gaelic interest and tartanism. But then, old habits are hard to do away with, and the Mod committee just cannot do away with the Victorianisms as long as HM The Queen is the general patron. The *fèisean* are mainly community-based and need no royal patronage.

fairly recently, the Unspunnen festival has even been a platform for political activism – the Unspunnen stone (the original stone having been used for stone put since 1805) has been stolen twice by a radical group of campaigners for an autonomous canton of Jura, the *Béliers*.^{lvii} While this matter is still controversial and should not be discussed here, especially not by an outsider, the idea itself is not quite original. It appears that the *Béliers* have done their homework well and studied the actions of radical campaigners from other minority groups: in 1950 on Christmas Day, four young Scots – one of whom, Catriona "Kay" Matheson,¹³ was a Gael - removed the alleged Stone of Destiny from the Coronation Throne in Westminster Abbey.^{lviii} Actually, the Scottish Highland Games could do with some political activism, too, as long as it manifests itself in the shape of harmless yet subversive pranks and does not involve violence.^{lix}

Whether these games and the gatherings around them ever played a role among the Swiss expatriates overseas and their descendants – and found success with the other ethnicities around them - in the same way as the Scottish Highland Games did will now be discussed in the remainder of this section. The author's research tell another story – there are only two [sic !] Swiss-American festivals which feature *Steinstossen*, namely the *Sugar Creek Swiss Festival* in Sugar Creek, Ohio,^{lx} and the *German-American Festival* [sic !] in Toledo, also in Ohio.^{lxi} None of these two or any other festival in Swiss America list *Schwingen* as one of their events, though, save the Californian Swiss: the *Holtville Swiss Club* hold an annual *Schwingfest*,^{lxii} and so do the *Aelpler Gruppe Swiss Club* in Newark and the *San Joaquin Valley Swiss Club* in Ripon.^{lxiii} The renowned American ethnologist Wayland Debs Hand even wrote an article about *Schwingen* in California.^{lxiv} *Schwingen* also takes place in Oregon and the State of Washington in the Pacific Northwest,^{lxv} but east of the Rocky Mountains there only seems to be a Swiss *Schwingen* scene in Quebec in Canada,^{lxvi} yet strangely not in the aforementioned Swiss colonies in Ohio. Even more remarkable is the absence of both *Schwingen* and *Steinstossen* in the greatest Swiss colony in Midwest, viz. New Glarus ("*Nüglaris*").^{lxvii} California has had a strong Swiss immigrant tradition since the early 19th century, the days of John A. Sutter (1803-80) and his vast estate New Helvetia which flourished until gold was found in his vicinity in 1848.^{lxviii} New Glarus was founded in the 1840s,^{lxix} but that does not explain the absence of traditional Swiss sports there today – nor does the context of New Helvetia really explain the presence of *Schwingfeste* there in our age.

Quebec as a mainly francophone Canadian province – *la belle Province* – should naturally attract emigrants from the *Romandie*, and yet *Schwingen* is a mainly German Swiss athletic discipline. According to the Swiss Historical Lexicon, however, this sport has also spread to parts of the francophone areas of Switzerland, e.g. Fribourg.^{lxx} The latter canton is bilingual, its eponymous principal city also bears the German name Freiburg im Üechtland. The German-speaking part of Freiburg is known as the Sense district, its inhabitants as the *Sensler*.¹⁴ The region has contributed renowned athletes to *Schwingen*, e.g. Michael Nydegger,^{lxxi} and with two communities living together that closely, it is not surprising that the francophone denizens of Fribourg have adopted *Schwingen*. And those who emigrated to Quebec took it there. This province is not the only part of Canada with a Swiss contingent of immigrants, some Swiss people went further west.^{lxxii} There is a Swiss-Fest in Banff, organised by a yodelling club named *Heimattreu* based in Calgary, Alberta. The place-names of these urban settlements show that they were founded by Scots, Gaels even in the case of Calgary.^{lxxiii} And this is not the only case in Canada of Swiss people settling down quite close to Scottish Gaels – in the middle of the 19th century Swiss settlers gathered at the Red River Settlement also known as Assiniboia originally founded by Lord Selkirk for impoverished Scottish fellow country people, most of whom were Gaels, the Lord himself was a Lowland

¹³ *Caitriona Nic Mhathain* in Gaelic.

¹⁴ 'Seissler' in the local dialect, the *Seisslerdütsch*.

Scot.^{lxxiv} But the Red River Colony broke up in disaster and warlike strife, and most of the Scottish and Swiss settlers went to other places,^{lxxv} the Swiss mainly south across the US border. Thus, there is not much Swiss heritage left in that part of Manitoba. In the whole of this province, there are only two Swiss associations.^{lxxvi} And currently there are no records whether they hold *Schwingfeste* or other festivals of traditional Swiss athletics.

This section was about the role of Scottish Highland Games and Swiss rural sports and their role in today's communities both at home and in the diaspora overseas. The outcome of this section is just as homogenous as the folk culture regarding Scotland and Switzerland – not at all, and the same applies to the celebrations of Scottish and Swiss heritage in the USA and in Canada. Some appear to keep up traditions without making any concessions to *ersatz* or *kitsch* culture and try to remain as down to earth as possible, especially the Schwingers in California and Canada in the Swiss context, whereas in the Scottish context overseas there seems to be a division between genuine Gaelophiles who either do not attend Highland Games at all or only in scarce numbers. Most Scots-Canadians and Scots-Americans, however, celebrate the travesty of Scottish heritage known as Highlandism or tartanism – and their Highland Games are every inch a manifestation of that kind of surrogate heritage. Many Swiss-Americans and Swiss-Canadians have also yielded to a tokenist Swiss heritage which could be described as the Swiss(-American) equivalent of tartanry. Maybe one should speak of *Edelweissery* and *Heidiyism*, some speak of "Disneyfication" of Swiss traditions. Certainly a typical candidate for such a Swiss Disneyland is New Glarus in Wisconsin with its annual Heidi Festival and its artificial chalets, even their phone boxes are dressed up in chalet style.^{lxxvii} But before the Americans are blamed overly much for creating such travesties of Scottish and Swiss or any other European culture, it will be shown that those travesties began in Europe as a matter of fact – in the next section about the creation of the modern Scottish Highland Games and the Unspunnen festival in the 19th century.

IV. Scottish and Swiss Rural Games and Pastimes in the 19th Century, their Origins and the serious Game of Politics

A smaller nation of proud yeoman farmers and mountain herdsfolk has been occupied and governed by a big neighbouring nation having written on her banners to "liberate" all the other nations in the neighbourhood and overthrow all the local tyrants in the name of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (liberty, equality and fraternity). And indeed, for the rural population of a mountainous part of the smaller nation concerned here – having long felt oppressed and patronised by the urban aristocracy of their principal city – it seems as if a new age has broken. For the first time, they are enjoying the very values the foreign usurpers have promised to bring and which were not possible under the aristocracy that had hitherto governed them. The main group benefiting from the new era is the middle class: scholars, teachers and tradespeople, and last but not least the wealthy yet not rich farmers who had until then suffered the rule of the gentry. Then, all of a sudden, conditions change, the local reformers are split and the foreign power begins to withdraw its troops – and the new democratic local governments with all their equality and liberty collapse, much to the glee of the representants of the old system, the *ancien régime*. The latter are of course interested to return to their former glory, at the same time they know that now that their former subjects have tasted a good amount of the previously forbidden fruit named liberty will not be as easy to rule as before. Thus, they install a system of surveillance to keep the intelligentsia imbued with the new spirit in check. Opposition to the reaction is either intimidated or expelled by force.^{lxxviii} The old ruling class intends to restore the old ties that used to bind the mountainous hinterland to their city, and they have to act wisely without provoking armed resistance and civil war, well aware of the growing hostility towards them and the futility to suppress the liberal powers in the long term. What better to do then but to resort to the ancient Roman idea of engendering peace by *panem et circenses*, dressed up in local costume ? Enter the *Unspunnenfest*.

And apart from the pacifying aspect, it serves as the perfect medium to increase the amount of travellers to Switzerland, the smaller nation alluded to here. All the current celebrities of the age are invited to come and spread the word, it is the age of childhood of the modern phenomenon of tourism, after all - and the local people revive their ancient sports and pastimes to stage a show of a predominantly rural country inhabited by loyal and quaint peasants.^{lxxxix} This may be a fairly simplified account of the genesis of the biggest folkloristic event in the Interlaken area, yet space and time do not allow a more detailed depiction. Besides, more profound accounts of the history of the Unspunnen festival have already been written recently, such as the book by Rudolf Gallati and Christoph Wyss, *Unspunnen 1805 - 2005: Die Geschichte der Alphirtenfeste*.^{lxxx} Neither is it the intention of the author to provide such a narrative, but rather a synopsis in order to demonstrate the contrast of what the Unspunnenfest is today and to show the European background of pompous Swiss-American displays of heritage. The background story to the Unspunnenfest will sound familiar and yet different to an enlightened Scottish Highland reader, and for the purpose of illustrativeness for other readers yet another scenario shall be drawn:

Another small nation in an island and a satellite archipelago, having been stateless since the amalgamation of its historic parliament with that of the more powerful neighbouring nation with which the smaller nation here concerned has been in perpetual hostility for centuries, has been haunted by yet another outbreak of war as many times before – albeit with a difference: the most recent armed conflict which has shaken both nations was not a real war fully backed by all local rulers and most of the population, but merely a rebellion initiated by the adherents of an ousted royal dynasty having originated in the smaller country but once dominated both countries for a while. The majority of the supporters of the old dynasty in the smaller nation are the gentry of a cultural minority in their own country, living in a remote rugged area secluded from the rest of the country by moors and mountains, and speaking a language harkening back to the older days of their nation when they themselves ruled the whole country. The majority of this nation live in the lowlands, though, and have gradually adopted the language and the culture of the neighbouring nation, especially their gentry and patricians who are loyal adherents of the new royal dynasty. Moreover, some chieftains of the despised cultural minority have also become loyal adherents of the current dynasty in order to achieve more power and respectability. The defeat of the rebels has brought great devastation and thus, more desperation and destitution – and harsh retribution – over the small nation, and even some of the former rebel chieftains are turning away from their subjects whom they formerly regarded as their kinsfolk according to their tradition. However, as they have newly adopted the more commercial outlook of their lowland peers, their clansfolk are by now merely seen as a burden standing in the way of economic progress. This should also sound fairly topical to many employees today, as the new age in the history of the small island nation marked the final shift from a patriarchal society to an individualistic capitalist society. Thus, the native middle class of the minority here concerned was ousted by newcomers from the lowlands and the neighbouring bigger nation, who aided the now commercialised gentry in evicting the native population from their ancient townships in the highlands of the small nation. Most of them were forced to emigrate to the colonies overseas the bigger nation had already established or taken over from yet other nations. Many of those perished on the way, and the remainder at home were largely reduced to a downtrodden and lethargic state, though there were still some who sought to rekindle resistance and the spirit of freedom. In the meantime, the central government had changed and *Zeitgeist* also – it was suddenly fashionable among the gentry to regard the formerly despised minority now deprived of their homes and the symbols of their culture as noble savages. According to the philosophy of a thinker from the other small mountainous nation mentioned above,^{lxxxxi} those who had hitherto been regarded as uncouth barbarians and brutes were now reported to be a most noble and romantic, spartanically modest yet proud people – while many of them were still being forcefully evicted from their lands as an unwelcome burden. Society had not become freer nor

more liberal, just more morally ambiguous. The new outlook on the downtrodden highland people was merely a manifestation of the new double standards of a brave new world where commercial success would count more than kinship, culture and hereditary rights.^{lxxxii} The new gentry thought of a way of exploiting the newly-awakened interest in travelling for leisure while keeping their remaining tenants in check at the same time and conceived festivals at which the iconic symbols of the subdued and now romanticised people were paraded to the pleasure of their affluent guests. Enter the Highland Games. Of course, the subdued people in the little scenario here are the Gaels of the Highlands of Scotland. Traditionally, they would hold clan musterings and livestock fairs where they would not only barter for cattle or sheep and exchange news, but also engage in athletic feats and games brought to the country by their forefathers who had once settled the country from Ireland – though it is likely that the Celtic tribes inhabiting Scotland before the Gaels, the *Caledonii* or *Pretani* now known as the Picts, also knew some of them already. Those activities were, among others, putting the stone,^{lxxxiii} wrestling and stick and ball games such as shinty.^{lxxxiv} The latter is a Gaelic prototype of hockey known in its original language as *camanachd* and *ioman*, its Irish version is called *iománaíocht*. It was traditionally played at Christmas and Hogmanay or New Year's Eve (*Oidhche Challainn* in Scottish Gaelic) and is regarded as the national game of the Gael.^{lxxxv} The world-famous tossing of the caber or tree-trunk is a more recent addition to Scottish Highland Games, though it also has genuine roots in Gaelic tradition as a pastime of lumbermen and joiners.^{15 lxxxvi} Most of these games were not mere pastimes, though, but were originally also training for armed combat, which most likely also applies to their equivalents in Switzerland. Both Scots and Swiss highlanders have always been familiar with battle and swordplay and have a long record of mercenary service in foreign armies, especially in the French armed forces, from late medieval times onwards.^{lxxxvii}

In the early nineteenth century, however, those athletic feats and games were turned into plain entertainment for lairds and their guests. One of the first great Highland Gatherings in their modern manifestation were the Strathfillan Games at St. Fillans in Perthshire in 1826 on the estate of James Drummond, Lord Perth.^{lxxxviii} Ironically, these games were initiated by the Lord's Anglo-Welsh son-in-law, Peter Robert Burrell (1782-1865), 21st Baron Willoughby de Eresby and 2nd Baron Gwydir, who had married Clementina, the daughter and sole heir of Lord Perth.^{lxxxix} It is said that he founded these games for the people on his estates,^{xc} yet it is not clarified whether that means the local crofters, i.e. his tenants – or rather for the amusement of the upper hierarchy of the estate. According to another source, a Highland laird is reported to have organised shinty matches not for the pleasure of his crofters, but mainly for amusing his aristocratic guests.^{xc} His tenants might actually have enjoyed the games had they been arranged for themselves, as it did indeed happen on some estates – not every Highland laird was a cold-hearted and ruthless bully given to the eviction of his clansmen, even though this might contradict certain ideologies.^{xcii} When Queen Victoria attended the Braemar Gathering in 1849, Scottish Highland Games acquired the stamp of respectability – and this event marked the beginning of the meanwhile long tradition of the Royal Family attending the games in Braemar together with many other representants of the British upper class. Since then, the Braemar, the Lonach and the Argyll Gathering in Oban have been in the same league with Ascot and Epsom as already indicated further above.^{xciii}

The Swiss traditional games such as *Schwingen* and *Steinstossen* also hearken back to times older than the nineteenth century and have already been recorded in medieval times. For example, *Schwingen* has been known in its most archaic form at least since the thirteenth century, but only since the 1600s it has been recorded as a kind of wrestling most typical for the pastoral society of the Swiss upland.^{xciv} *Steinstossen* has been recorded since late medieval

¹⁵ *Joiner* is the standard Scots word for 'carpenter'.

times, e.g. at the *Schützenfest*¹⁶ in Zurich in 1472. In the Middle Ages, it would be practised by country folk and townsfolk alike, yet by the eighteenth century it is mentioned by travel writers exclusively as a sport of alpine herdsfolk.^{xcv} As in the Scottish case, these feats would be performed mainly at country fairs and during the summer season, when the farmers' livestock would be driven to the upland shielings or when the rural population would celebrate the summer solstice (midsummer).^{xcvi} Like the archaic stick and ball game known as *Hornussen*, which has been recorded since the 1600s but equally goes back to the medieval era, *Schwingen* is most closely associated with the Bernese uplands, the *Oberland* and the *Emmental* (valley of the River Emme), and the *Entlebuch* in the canton of Lucerne.^{xcvii} However, it is now found all over Switzerland. Likewise, there are regional variations of *Hornussen* in the Valais and in Grisons (or Graubünden), e.g. the *Gilihüsine* in Betten VS, or the *Tsara* and *Tschärättä*, also in the Valais.^{xcviii} In Grisons, a similar game is known as *Gerla* or *Hora*.^{xcix} These games seem to be the Swiss equivalents of shinty or *camanachd*, yet they are not necessarily part of the Unspunnen festival or other alpine folk olympics, whereas shinty may be found at some Scottish Highland gatherings such as the Cowal Gathering in southern Argyll, which is actually a mainstream item of its kind.^c But it is still a West Highland gathering, and as such situated in an area which has always been a stronghold of shinty. In fact, when the committee of the said games announced in 2007 that they would abandon shinty among other athletic events in order to make more room for the piping events, they created a major controversy.^{ci} After all, they had just reintroduced shinty seven years prior to that.

The regional games in the Highlands and the Hebrides still feature shinty, mainstream games do not. Shinty and Highland Games do not really always agree with each other, and though there were lairds who supported shinty clubs, it was considered subversive by some as it was played by crofters actively fighting for their rights.^{cii} And yet, shinty as well as the athletic feats traditionally associated with the Scottish Gael all share the same origins, going back to the *Oenach Tailten* – the fair of Tailtiu - in ancient Ireland.^{ciii} The Tailteann Games, as this ancient festival is also known to scholars, are often said to have been an Irish equivalent of the Olympic games in ancient Greece. Indeed, the former are said to be even older: the ancient Olympic games do not reach back earlier than 776 BC, whereas the Tailteann Games allegedly began in 1829 BC.^{civ} Admittedly the early history is shrouded in Gaelic mythological mist, as they are said to have been initiated by king Lugh (who was in fact the Celtic god Lug) in honour of his foster mother Tailtiu,^{cv} but the games did exist. There is evidence that they were held in early medieval Ireland,^{cvi} and the last games took place in the twelfth century prior to the Norman invasion of the country.^{cvii} The site of these events is now known as Teltown, Co. Meath, between Kells and Navan, and apart from the documentary evidence as studied by Irish scholars like Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Daniel Anthony Binchy (1900-89)^{cviii} and cited below, there is also archaeological evidence of great gatherings there.^{cix} There was an attempt of Irish nationalists to revive the Tailteann Games in 1924 and 1932, but their effort proved less lasting than the Highland Games of their Scottish cousins and neighbours.^{cx} Yet, while they did not manage to revive the old games in the old spirit, apparently the Tailteann Games have become a generic term in Ireland in our days for modern inter-provincial athletics competitions.^{cxii} Those, however, do not feature ethnic sports but international or mainstream athletics. The truth about the mythological foundations of the old gathering at Tailtiu is that they were strongly connected with the old quarter day of *Lughnasa*, which roughly corresponds to the first day of August according to our calendar today and which now is the term for August in Irish Gaelic. In Scottish Gaelic, it is *Lùnasdal*.^{cxiii} The classical Tailteann Games would start a fortnight before *Lughnasa*, and finish a fortnight afterwards.^{cxiiii} As has already been mentioned above, wrestling was also a part of these games, and would still be a feature when the *Oenach Tailten* had given way to a vernacular fair near the old site and had thus returned to its origins, as it had most likely evolved from a religious fair of Bronze Age farmers. Later fairs in places all around Ireland and Gaelic Scotland still had a strong

¹⁶ *Schützenfest* = fair at which the main event is competition between marksmen, be that archers, crossbowmen or gunners. Author's translation.

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Lughnasa connection, even though they had been remodelled as festival days dedicated to Christian saints – more often than not with a syncretistic background.^{cxiv} Even today, most summer festivals in Ireland and Highland Scotland take place around the end of July and early August,^{cxv} though the mainstream Highland Games take place until Mid-September, in the New World even in October.^{cxvi}

Wrestling at Highland Games is thus not a recent adoption adopted from or inspired by external sources, as the uninitiated may surmise, but has a long-standing tradition in the Gaelic world. Apart from the aforementioned shinty, it was very popular among young *Uidhistich* in the 1900s.^{cxvii} The Gaelic term for wrestling is *carachd*.^{cxviii} Today, there are two main Gaelic styles, *carachd Bharraigh* and *carachd Uidhist*, Barra and Uist wrestling.^{cxix} Most Scottish wrestling styles are backhold styles as opposed to Swiss *Schwingen*, which is a belt and jacket style.^{cxx} They are not mere derivations of English styles, as some sources purport.^{cxxi} In the past, it could come to serious blows among youths engaged in a wrestling match, according to Sir Eneas Mackintosh who wrote in the late eighteenth century,^{cxxii} something that supposedly does not occur in *Schwingen*.^{cxxiii} A great wrestler at Scottish Highland Games from the 1860s to the 1900s was Donald Dinnie (1837-1916) from Balnacraig near Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, who would also excel in other heavy events at Highland Games.^{cxxiv} His Swiss equivalent would be Hans Stucki from Berne, champion or *Schwingkönig* in 1905. Contemporary Swiss *Schwingkönige* are Jörg Abderhalden from the Toggenburg in the canton of St Gall (SG) and the aforementioned Michael Nydegger from Sense in Fribourg (FR).^{cxxv} Their modern Scottish equivalents are David MacPherson and John Taylor,^{cxxvi} but none of them have had the honour yet to have a tune composed to them by one of Scotland's all-time great fiddlers such as James Scott Skinner.^{cxxvii}

This statement is most suitable to introduce the next stage of this section, namely the musical events at the Scottish Highland Games and the Swiss alp herders' games and wrestling festivals. In Scotland, this includes the competitions in piping and Highland Dancing, yet not all the dancing at Scottish Highland Gatherings is competitive. There are also Scottish balls and cèilidh dances at such gatherings, and they shall be discussed shortly. As befits the prominent place of piping or *piobaireachd* in traditional Gaelic society, the piping competitions shall be discussed first. In Switzerland, the equivalent of piping is alphorn playing, even though there was once also a piping tradition in parts of Switzerland,^{cxxviii} and not just in the *Romandie* and among the Swiss Italians in Ticino and Southern Grisons, but also among the German Swiss. Scots will be surprised to learn that between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, the bagpipe was even used in battle by Swiss mercenary troops just as much as by Gaelic warriors.^{cxxix} However, from the eighteenth century onwards, the pipes went out of use in Swiss lands apart from a few remote areas. Today, Swiss folk music is dominated by the button accordion known as the *Schwyzerörgli*, the "(hand) organ from the canton of Schwyz", and the fiddle also plays a prominent role, especially in the upper Valais and the northeastern parts of Switzerland. But in Swiss tradition, the bagpipes never achieved the same high prestige as at the courts of Gaelic chieftains and princes in Highland and Hebridean Scotland.^{cxxxx} Apparently, the alphorn first appeared in Switzerland in the sixteenth century.^{cxxxi}

In the Scottish context, traditional piping is anything but homogenous – *piobaireachd*, as the art of piping is called in Gaelic, is subdivided into *ceòl mòr*, "great music", and *ceòl beag*, "little music". The former term encompasses really sophisticated compositions, the Scottish Gaelic equivalent to classical chamber music, which would be dedicated to chieftains and princes.^{cxxxii} The latter includes dance music (reels, strathspeys, hornpipes etc.) and military marches – the repertoire most familiar to tourists and attendants of the Edinburgh Tattoo and similar events.^{cxxxiii} In Gaelic tradition, *ceòl mòr* is almost inseparable from the name MacCrimmon (*Mac Cruimein*), as the MacCrimmons or *Clann Cruimein* in Boreraig, Isle of Skye – the hereditary pipers to the MacLeods of MacLeod – who are celebrated for fostering, if not inventing, this classical music style on the great Highland bagpipe, *a' phìob mhòr*.^{cxxxiv} Equally inseparable from *piobaireachd* is *canntaireachd*, a code or jargon consisting of various syllables used in pipers' oral tradition to transmit tunes to the following generation. It is comparable to sol-fa.^{cxxv} A classic piece of *ceòl mòr* is divided into the *ùrlar*, "ground" or ground theme, and the

variations (*iulugh* or *dà-lugh*, "two-finger variation", *tri-lugh* "three-finger variation" etc.) as well as various travel notes, all culminating in the *crùnluath*, the finale. As *canntaireachd* corresponds to the sound qualities of the Gaelic language, it is mainly used by Gaelic-speaking pipers – all the others use sheet music as mainstream musicians do. A typical line of *canntaireachd* goes thus: “*I hin-dro dili-ù hie chin hin-do hì-udrie hi-à chin*” etc.,^{cxxxvi} and *ceòl mòr*-tunes usually have names such as ‘*S fhada mar so tha sinn*’ (“Too long in this condition”), the words of which most likely refer to the opening words of songs once associated with the tune. Other pieces are laments, such as *Cumha Mhic an Tòisich* (“Mackintosh’s Lament”), or salutes such as *Fàilte Mhic Ghille Chaluim* (“Welcome, Son of Malcolm”) and gathering signals such as *Cruinneachadh Chloinn Chatain* (“Clan Chattan’s Gathering”).^{cxxxvii} Owing to the use of Highland soldiers as “cannon fodder” for the British Empire,^{cxxxviii} the amount of laments increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as did *ceòl beag* in the shape of marches. Two world wars also contributed to the amount of laments and marches, and so did the most recent military conflicts, though the Empire is now a thing of the past. One example of such a lament composed in the late twentieth century is the tune *Sands of Kuwait*.^{cxxxix} Interestingly, one of the most recent tunes of *ceòl mòr*-like airs, which have seen a revival lately,^{cxl} *Highland Cathedral* was composed by two Germans, Michael Korb and Uli Roever.^{cxli} There is something to be said about the impact of Scottish (and Irish) music and culture on continental Europe in the twentieth century before the end of this study, but the discussion is not quite there yet.

Closely interwoven with piping is Highland Dancing, or whatever passes for it since the late eighteenth century. The Highland Dancing in capital letters most people get to see at Highland Games nowadays is not the genuine dancing of Gaelic society, but merely an artificial and stilted form of it adjusted to external aesthetics.^{cxlii} In other words, it is what outsiders from the Lowlands and from England perceived to be Highland dancing and is not any more authentic than the Irish stepdancing as performed by Michael Flatley et al. is authentic Irish stepdancing such as *rinne sean-nós* in Connemara,^{cxliii} to name but one example. Competitive Highland Dancing, like its Irish counterpart, is a curious mixture of ballet and regimental dances as performed by Highland soldiers in camps all over the Empire. Formalised and standardised, it is no longer a community dance tradition and exists merely for the sake of the *Mòd* and Highland Games.^{cxliv} If one wishes to see authentic step dancing of the Scottish Gael, the Hebridean dances as performed by *Dannsa* as well as the step dancing preserved by the Gaelic settlers in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, and Codroy Valley, Newfoundland, are much closer to the original tradition.^{cxlv} Similarly, the phenomenon known today as *Scottish Country Dancing*, also a fairly stilted Victorian genre, has never really been a vernacular Scottish way of dancing. It evolved out of eighteenth –and nineteenth-century social dances of the gentry such as contradances, quadrilles, etc. and has still remained elitist, except that it has been tartanised and formal Highland dress is always worn with it.^{cxlvi} One should always be wary of capital letters regarding folklore and fakelore. The real Scottish country dancing still popular today with young people and older people alike, and with both Highlanders and Lowlanders, is *cèilidh dancing*. This is a mixture of Scottish folk dances such as the reel, the strathspey, the jig, the hornpipe and the two-step, continental rural dances such as the polka and the waltz and North American dances such as the barn dance, the Virginia Reel etc. *Cèilidh* is the Gaelic word for a 'social night', originally, *cèilidhean* were gatherings during long winter nights where songs would be song, stories would be told and some dancing would be done, while people would still be doing household chores such as carding, spinning, sewing etc. Today, and especially since the 1960s-70s folk revival, *cèilidhean* or ceilidhs (in anglicised plural) are a widespread Scottish weekend entertainment in rural as well as in urban areas, at village halls as well as at university halls and town or city venues from Edinburgh to Wick.^{cxlvii} While it is not uncommon to wear Highland dress at a *cèilidh*, it is not compulsory. In general, people attend village hall ceilidhs in their street clothes, and the same applies to ceilidhs at Highland Games. Mainly the West Highland Gatherings and the Hebridean Games feature ceilidhs, e.g. in Barra and the Uists. The aforementioned Cowal Gathering features a big ceilidh tent.^{cxlviii} A ceilidh dance is not as formal as Scottish Country Dancing, it is rather informal and thus more attractive to younger people. Besides, Scottish people are generally less class-aware than English people. Scottish society has always been rather egalitarian, and therefore

most Scots shun elitist activities such as Scottish Country Dancing which was imposed from outside. Ceilidh dancing is also more syncretist, whereas Country Dancing is staunchly conservative. Typical ceilidh dances are the Gay Gordons (a quickstep), the Dashing White Sergeant (in reel time), the Highland Schottische (strathspey) and the Strip the Willow (in jig time).^{cxlix} The first example mentioned here is a couple dance, the second one a set dance, the third another couple dance and the fourth one another set dance.^{cl}

Swiss traditional dances have something in common with Scottish Country Dancing and ceilidh dancing, inasmuch as most dances stem from the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Also, there is in Switzerland a folk dance named the *Schottisch* which is closely related to the Highland Schottische in Scotland. And here, the similarities end. While Swiss folk dances have been widely adopted by the various rural communities in the past, today they are a tradition on display.^{cli} This means that they are only performed at festivals such as the *Unspunnenfest* or the alpine *Schwingfeste* such as the one on the Brünig Pass above Meiringen in the Bernese Oberland,^{clii} and traditions on display are no longer really live traditions. Unlike a ceilidh dance, Swiss folk dance events are closed events in which only members of an association dedicated to the fosterage of folk dances can participate. Ceilidhs are open to all, and the dances can be learned by doing in one night without any previous experience in folk dancing. Swiss folk dances are more formal in nature not unlike Scottish Country dancing and, like German folk dances, take a lot of practice to be done because of the many figures.^{cliii} The Swiss folk dance revival – if it may be called such – began in the early 1930s among the pioneers of the Swiss regional costume movement. At first, they did not even think about dancing. It was not until two ladies of the Swiss Association for Regional Costumes attended two week-long traditional song workshops in Germany in 1928 and 1932 that they realised the strong connection between regional attire and country dances.^{cliv} But formal as Swiss vernacular dances may be, there is no Swiss equivalent of Highland Dancing, no highly stylised dance form or ballet disguised as vernacular step dance that exists merely for competition at festivals. Then again, it appears that there is no older tradition of rural step dance or clogging at all in Switzerland, though the author would welcome any comment pointing towards the opposite.

V. Conclusion

Both the Swiss alpine herdsfolk festival in Unspunnen and the Scottish Highland Games in their modern attire known to most people locally and internationally were founded by the respective ruling class in order to quell unrest among the people whom they regarded as their subjects in a peaceful manner by applying the old principle of bread and games. In both cases, they failed – in Switzerland, there was open resistance against the Bernese patricians in 1814, so no further *Unspunnenfeste* were arranged until 1905.^{clv} In Scotland, there was increased unrest among the Highland crofters from the late 1840s, the years of the potato famine, onwards, which culminated in violent outbreaks of resistance in the 1880s.^{clvi} In Switzerland, in the course of time the Unspunnenfest became a festival of the community, and most other folkloristic festivals created in the Interlaken area in recent years were also primarily invented for the community – while visitors from outside are not discouraged to enjoy them also.^{clvii} In Scotland, facts seem to suggest that most Highland Games are still more about commerce than about community, were it not for the many regional gatherings in smaller scale where the local community still plays a bigger part and the participating athletes are not "imports" from elsewhere – as is often the case at the large-scale events.^{clviii} Mainstream Highland Games are very much about commerce and social status, community Highland Games are not – they correspond to the general egalitarian outlook of Scottish society, as opposed to the class-awareness of English people and Anglo-Scots.^{clix} Scottish and Swiss festivals in the North American diaspora often seem strange and overly exaggerated to people in the old countries, yet many Scots and Swiss abroad have been alienated from their original culture and adopted external attitudes to what celebrating their heritage ought to be like. As a Swiss travel journalist put it after having been to New Glarus, Wisconsin: "Whenever Americans try to act genuinely Swiss, they get stuck in the braces of Bavarian *lederhosen*"^{clx} In other words, after two or more generations of trying to fit in with the Anglo-American majority, it

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is hard to distinguish between Swiss-German and a part of German heritage, and equally it is difficult for many Americans to distinguish between Irish and Scottish heritage.

What, then, is one to make of Highland Games in continental Europe ? Meanwhile, the phenomenon has spread across the whole of Europe and may be found from the Netherlands to the Czech Republic, and now even in Switzerland where the *Wuy u Ay* Highland Games have been staged in St Ursen FR since 2003.^{clxi} Is it mere tartanism, or is there any genuine interest in Scottish Highland culture behind it all ? This question might well merit, and spawn, another study – and yet it should be possible to answer it right here: while there is some genuine interest in Gaelic culture in Switzerland,^{clxii} the St Ursen Games have all the trappings of mainstream Highland Games in Scotland and North America etc., and any hints regarding authentic Gaelic culture or other rural Scottish culture are nowhere to be found on the festival's website. The festival's name is curious, *wuy u ay* being the equivalent of Gaelic *suas agus sìos* and Scots *up and doon* in *Seislerdütsch*, the locally-spoken dialect of Swiss German.^{clxiii} But it also seems to hint at French *oui* and Scots *aye*, both meaning "yes". The festival does not have a ceilidh or a "tartan" or "heather ball" yet, the first of which would of course be more authentic. There is a Swiss branch of the Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society (RSCDS) in Berne^{clxiv}, but even they have not yet reacted to the St Ursen Games. There, the focus seems to be on the heavy events and the piping,^{clxv} and one is tempted to speak of Swiss *Älplerspiele* in tartan disguise. The St. Ursen Games are no longer alone in Switzerland, though – the people of Vals in Grisons have recently started their own Highland Games; the people of Fehraltorf in the canton of Zurich have had their Highland Games for ten years now and thus for three years longer than the people of St Ursen.^{clxvi} The Fehraltorf Games feature Irish and Scottish traditional music, even bands from Scotland, but there is no mention of ceilidh dancing or anything Gaelic save their aid for a project initiated by the Clanranald Trust, *Dùn Charruinn* or 'Dun Carron'.^{clxvii} The Clanranald Trust, however, appears to be a medieval re-enactment society, and so does the "Highlander's" society in Fehraltorf.

As regards matters medieval, it has been mentioned above that the bagpipe in Switzerland went out of use by the eighteenth century. It has been revived recently by Urs Klausner,^{clxviii} and it is obvious that the impact of Irish and Scottish traditional music on continental Europe has much to answer for the current revival of medieval music in Germany and in Switzerland. However, even though there are people involved who are really serious about the concept of living history and the preservation of early music and song, one suspects that the whole medieval pageantry is just another phenomenon closely akin to tartanism and its equivalents in Switzerland and elsewhere.^{clxix} But is it merely tartanism that makes strapping young Swiss lads and bonnie Swiss lasses don Highland attire, and the romance of a man in a kilt, or is there more to it than meets the eye ? Maybe this should be settled in another study, after all.

ⁱ Tsuneo Sogawa, 'Ethnic Sport, its Concept and Research Perspectives', *International Journal of Sport and Health Science* Vol. 4 (2006), pp. 96-102. Online available from: <http://www.soc.nii.ac.jp/jspe3/index.htm>. The author's italics.

ⁱⁱ Regina Bendix, 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom ?', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 404 (Apr.-Jun. 1989), pp. 133-39.

ⁱⁱⁱ 'Celtic, Gaelic and Scottish' in: Michael Newton, *A Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 35-40. See also 'A Gaelic history of Scotland', *ibid.*, Ch. 2, pp. 41-76.

^{iv} Newton, 2000: p. 23.

^v In a co-production between Donnie Munro of *Runrig* fame, people of the *Lia Rumantscha* (the Romansh League of Grisons), Irish-language associations and young speakers of Romansh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, a concert was organised and a CD was produced, both under the trilingual title *Beo Bríomhar – Beò agus Beothail – Viver e far vibra*, <http://www.lrgrischuncentral.ch/89+M52087573ab0.0.html#c223>.

^{vi} Cf. Newton, 2000: p. 21.

^{vii} Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For the purpose of this study, see especially Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', pp. 15-42. Heike Schlie and Thomas Bulang, 'Invention of Tradition – Invention of Innovation', available from <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=563&count=32&recno=20&sort=datum&order=down&geschichte=149>.

^{viii} Cf. the book review of *The Invention of Tradition* by Danny Yee, available from http://dannyreviews.com/h/The_Invention_of_Tradition.html.

^{ix} Bendix, 1989: pp. 133-39, 142.

^x 'The Scots in Argentina (including Argentine and Chilean Patagonia) 1883', available online from: <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/scotsinargpat/patag.htm>, cf. 'The British Presence in Southern Patagonia', available from <http://www.patbrit.org/eng/index.htm>, see also 'Morrison-Montgomery' <http://www.patbrit.org/bil/supp/c0277.htm>, 'Morrison-MacLean' <http://www.patbrit.org/bil/supp/c0229.htm> and 'MacKenzie' <http://www.patbrit.org/bil/supp/c0266.htm>. Cf. further 'Immigrant Workers from the Isle of Lewis, Scotland', <http://patbrit.org/eng/immig/patlewis.htm> and *Coro Ceòlraidh*, the website of the Gaelic choir of Buenos Aires directed by Guillermo Santana Mackinlay, himself a descendant of Patagonian Gaels, <http://www.coroceilraidh.com.ar/pagina1.htm> and <http://www.coroceilraidh.com.ar/Stornoway%20Today%20News.htm>. Señor Santana Mackinlay has informed me in an e-mail in near flawless Gaelic that he can still recall Highland Gatherings having been held in his younger days, Sat 23 Jan 2010, <file:///C:/Dokumente%20und%20Einstellungen/Benutzer01/Eigene%20Dateien/GeamaichenG%C3%A0idhealachanAmeirigeaMuDheas.htm>.

^{xi} Donald Morrison, 'Highland Games' in: Derick S. Thomson, ed., *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, 2nd edn. (Glasgow: Gairm, 1994), pp. 118-20.

^{xii} Grant Jarvie, 'Highland Games, Ancient Sporting Traditions and Social Capital in Modern International Communities', *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism*, Special Issue on Ethnology of Sport, Volume 10, No. 1 (June 2003), pp. 31-32.

^{xiii} Jarvie, 2003: p. 32.

^{xiv} Jarvie, *ibid.* Regarding Gaelic speakers in Glenelg, cf. the 2001 Census, available from: <http://www.old.highland.gov.uk/plintra/iandr/cen/sz/glenelg.htm>.

^{xv} Jennifer Allan, 'Kilts, Clans, Bagpipes, and Caber Tossing: Reinvented Traditions and Building Scottish-American Heritage', seminar paper, December 26th 2004, available from: <http://rfrost.people.si.umich.edu/courses/ArchivesSem/papers/JenniiAllen.pdf>, p. 9.

^{xvi} 'Scottish Highland Games and Events: North Carolina' on *US Scots*, available from: <http://www.usscots.com/event/geographical/North-Carolina/>. Cf. Deepak Chabhra, 'Heritage Tourism: An Analysis of Perceived Authenticity and Economic Impact of the Scottish Highland Games in North Carolina', PhD thesis (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 2001), available from: <http://www.lib.ncsu.edu/theses/available/etd-20010511-132908/unrestricted/etd.pdf>, p. 13.

^{xvii} Terry Cochran, 'Flora MacDonald Games', available from: <http://www.electricscotland.com/gatherings/flora/index.htm>. Cf. the photographs of Oct 2nd 2004 in the *Fayetteville Observer*, available from: <http://photos.fayobserver.com/mycapture/folder.asp?event=14899&CategoryID=1329> and .

^{xviii} 'Donald F. MacDonald', *Scotland County Highland Games*, available from: <http://schgnc.org/eventDMacDonald.html>.

^{xix} Ian Grimble, 'MacDonald, Flora' in Thomson, 2nd edn. (1994), p. 166. Cf. 'Flora MacDonald' at <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=13692365> and the plaque in her memory at Fort Edward, NS on <http://ns1763.ca/hantsco/floramem.html>. See also 'Flora MacDonald - a brief history', *Flodigarry House Hotel: Local History: Jacobite History*, available from: http://www.flodigarry.co.uk/flora_history.asp.

^{xx} William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina: historical and geographical, illustrative of the principles of a portion of her early settlers* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), Ch. X, 'The settlement of the Scotch on the River Cape Fear, and the Reverend James Campbell', pp. 125, 129-36; Ch. XII, 'Flora M'Donald', pp. 148-57. Michael Newton, "'Becoming Cold-hearted like the Gentiles Around Them": Scottish Gaelic in the United States 1872-1912', *E-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies*, Vol. 2 (2003), pp. 64, 75. Newton, "'This Could Have Been Mine": Scottish Gaelic Learners in North America', *E-Keltoi*, Vol. 1 (2005), pp. 1, 28.

^{xxi} Kenneth D. MacDonald, 'prose, religious (eighteenth century)' in Thomson, 2nd edn. (1994), p. 241.

^{xxii} Foote, 1846: pp. 131-35. Cf. Walter H. Conser, *A Coat of many Colors: Religion and Society along the Cape Fear River of North Carolina* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), pp. 63-64.

^{xxiii} 'Donald F. MacDonald', <http://schgnc.org/eventDMacDonald.html>.

^{xxiv} despite the atrocities many of their forebears had suffered at the hands of central government troops after Culloden and its aftermath – and much earlier than that, Newton, 2000: pp. 55-73.

^{xxv} Newton, 2005: pp. 1-3.

- ^{xxvi} Jean-Pierre Kesteman, 'Histoire: Les immigrants écossais', *Région de Mégantic*, available from: http://www.tourisme-megantic.com/bin/files/file_01_02.php. Cf. 'Stornoway', *Eastern Townships*, available from: http://www.eastertownships.org/atrc/en/modules/visite/villes_et_villages/info.php?municipalite=30105, and 'Donald Morrison, the Megantic Outlaw 1858-1894', *Fàilte gu Hebrides.Ca.*, available from: <http://www.hebrides.ca/html/megantic.html>. See also: Margaret Bennett, *Oatmeal and the Catechism: Scottish Gaelic Settlers in Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004 / Edinburgh: John Donald, 2004); and Matthew Farfan, 'Donald Morrison's Defence Fund', *Townships Heritage WebMagazine*, available from: <http://www.townshipsheritage.com/Eng/Hist/Law/morrison.2.html>.
- ^{xxvii} 'Bruce County History', *Bruce County Museum*, available from: <http://www.brucemuseum.ca/archives-and-research/bruce-county-history/>.
- ^{xxviii} Rod McDonald, 'Alec McDonald, who died last month, was a rare breed in Ontario', *Toronto Star* (Dec 1st, 2001), online available from: http://www.electricscotland.com/history/canada/mcdonald_alec.htm. Cf. Grant Jarvie, 'Sport, Parish Life, and the Émigré', *Journal of Sport History* (Fall 1998), p. 393.
- ^{xxix} Newton, 2005: pp. 3-4, 8, 10-11, 16, 20-21, 24-29. Cf. 'Nova Scotia's Gaelic Culture: Gaelic Language', *Comhairle na Gàidhlig: The Gaelic Council of Nova Scotia*, available from: <http://www.gaelic.ca/language.html>.
- ^{xxx} Newton, 2005: pp. 2,22; 2003: p. 124-25.
- ^{xxxi} 'Gaelic in Canada', *An Roinn Cheilteach: Department of Celtic Studies*, StFX University, available from: <http://www.mystfx.ca/academic/celtic-studies/>.
- ^{xxxii} 'About us', *Gaelic College of Celtic Arts & Crafts*, St Ann's, Cape Breton, available from: http://gaeliccollege.edu/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=7&id=24&Itemid=63.
- ^{xxxiii} *Antigonish Highland Games*, available from <http://www.antigonishhighlandgames.ca/>.
- ^{xxxiv} '58th Gathering of the Clans 2009', *Pugwash Village*, available from: <http://www.pugwashvillage.com/GOC%20Poster%20for%20Web%2009.pdf>.
- ^{xxxv} *Glengarry Highland Games*, available from: <http://www.glengarryhighlandgames.com/>.
- ^{xxxvi} Jarvie, 1998: p. 393.
- ^{xxxvii} Allan, 2004: p. 12.
- ^{xxxviii} *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ^{xxxix} Jarvie, 2003: section (V): Scottish Highland Gatherings and Games as North American Scottish Culture.
- ^{xl} Wayne Hepburn, 'The Fergus Scottish Festival and Highland Games: Keeping Scottishness Alive in Town', *Scottish Tradition* Vol. 25 (2000), pp. 88-105.
- ^{xli} *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- ^{xlii} Jarvie, 2003: section (V).
- ^{xliii} 'Gaelic', *The Illinois Saint Andrew Society*, available from: <http://www.chicago-scots.org/gaelic.html>.
- ^{xliv} 'Our History', *Seattle Scottish Highland Games Association*, available from: <http://www.sshga.org/association/ourHistory.htm>. Cf. 'Our Mission', <http://www.sshga.org/association/ourMission.htm>, and 'Heather Tartan Ball', <http://www.sshga.org/tartanBall/tartanBall.htm>. The very name of the ball breathes pure tartantry, and the note on the poster mentioning Scottish Country Dancing bears a warning to the true initiated of traditional Scottish dance, as shall be explained in a further section.
- ^{xliv} 'Our Mission', *Slighe nan Gàidheal*, available from: http://www.slighe.com/topic_page.php?topic_id=3&page_id=1. Cf. 'Overview', http://www.slighe.com/topic_page.php?topic_id=3&page_id=11. See also Newton, 2005: pp. 14 -15.
- ^{xlvi} Newton, 2005: section 7, 'Tartanism Deposed', pp. 18-21.
- ^{xlvii} This Catholic canton has as its very patron saint the Gael Fridolin, an itinerant monk from Ireland or Scotland. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Fridolin', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL)*, hrg. von F.W. Bautz (Nordhausen/Thüringen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1990), Bd. II, Sp. 125-26. Online available from: <http://www.bbkl.de/f/fridolin.shtml>. Cf. Kirsch, Johann Peter. "St. Fridolin", *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), Vol. 6. Online available from: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06303c.htm>. The medieval biography by Balther mentions *Scotia inferior* as his country of origin, Kirsch translates this wrongly as Ireland. However, *Scotia inferior* (also *Scotia minor*) denoted the early medieval Irish colony *Dál Riata* (*Dáil Riada* in modern Irish, and *Dàil Riada* in modern Scottish Gaelic) in today's Argyllshire, the cradle of Gaelic Scotland (*Earra-Ghàidheal*, older: *Oirthir Gaedhel*, = "coastland of the Gaels). Ireland was then known in Latin as *Scotia maior: Orbis Latinus*, <http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/Graesse/orblats.html#Schottland>. See also: 'Vita Fridolini Confessoris Seckingensis Auctore Balthero', *Monumenta Germaniae Historia*, online available from: http://bsbdmgh.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/dmgh_new/app/web?action=loadBook&contentId=bsb00000750_00358, p. 355, (2)., and 'The Irish Kingdom of Scotland', *Irish History*, <http://homepage.eircom.net/~kthomas/history/Histroy6.htm>.
- ^{xlviii} 'The economy: agriculture', *swissworld.org*, http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/the_federal_state/the_economy_agriculture/.

- ^{xlix} 'The economy: workers', http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/the_federal_state/the_economy_workers/, cf. 'industrialisation', http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/the_federal_state/the_economy_industrialisation/.
- ^l 'emigration', http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/the_federal_state/emigration/. Cf. 'History of emigration from Switzerland: economic factors', *Swiss Emigration*, available from: http://www.swissworld.org/en/history/the_federal_state/emigration/.
- ⁱⁱ 'Festprogramm', 100. Innerschweizer Schwing- und Älplerfest Muotathal (advert), *Schlussgang* Nr. 10, 3. Jg. (28. Juni 2006), S. 22. See esp. 'Freitag, 30.06.06; 20:30 Uhr'. Online available from: http://www.schlussgang.ch/data/Zeitungssarchiv/Schlussgang_Ausgabe%2010_2006.pdf. Not that the author had any objections, being quite fond of this music genre himself. C&W music has been quite popular in Europe since the 1950s, from the Alps to the Hebrides, cf. Mac a' Noonoo, *I've been everywhere, man*, available from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOp2a_unIxY. Mac a' Noonoo (*Mac a' Nùnù* in proper Gaelic spelling) is a comedian from the Isle of Lewis. In this video, he is presenting his very own Hebridean parody of Porter Wagoner's song once also covered by Johnny Cash, thereby gently satirising his fellow islander's fondness of Country music.
- ⁱⁱⁱ 'Schwing- und Älplerfest auf Rigi Staffel: Sonntag, 9. Juli 2006', *Schlussgang*, *ibid*.
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ '21. Niklaus-Thut-Schwinget: Sonntag, 2. Juli 2006', *Schlussgang*, Nr. 10, 3. Jg. (Juni 2006), S. 26.
- ^{liv} Bendix, 1989: p. 136.
- ^{lv} Bendix, 1989: pp. 136 and 140.
- ^{lvi} Aurel Schmidt, *Die Alpen: Schleichende Zerstörung eines Mythos* (Zürich: Benziger, 1990), S. 225-26, 231, 236-38, 270-77.
- ^{lvii} Etienne Strebler, 'Unspunnen: Stein des Anstosses', *swissinfo*, available from: http://www.swissinfo.ch/ger/Unspunnen:_Stein_des_Anstosses.html?cid=4341782. Cf. Vera Indermauer-Hänggi, 'Der Jurakonflikt', *Social Movements, Pressure Groups and Political Parties* (Soziologisches Institut der Universität Zürich: Online Publications, 1997) and Rudolf Gallati and Christoph Wyss, 'Ein kurzer Abschnitt der Unspunnenfeste 1805-1993', *Unspunnen – die Geschichte der Alpherntefeste*, available from: <http://www.unterseen.ch/museum/deutsch/unsp.htm>.
- ^{lviii} 'Gavin Vernon (Obituary)', *The Times Online*, available from: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article1110855.ece>. Cf. 'Kay Matheson', *Economic Expert.com*, <http://www.economicexpert.com/a/Kay:Matheson.htm>.
- ^{lix} The Braemar stone which is the Scottish equivalent of the Unspunnen stone would make a wonderful object to be abducted by Gaelic campaigners or the supporters of the equally noble cause to save the links of Balmedie near Aberdeen, a stretch of dunes along the North Sea and now a threatened natural sphere, from the grip of Donald Trump and his local followers. Mark Chalmers, 'Last Exit to Balmedie', *ScottishArchitecture.com*, <http://www.scottisharchitecture.com/blog/read/424>.
- ^{lx} 'Steintossen' (original spelling on website), *Ohio Swiss Festival*, available from: <http://www.villageofsugarcreek.com/ohioswissfest/entertainment/#stein>.
- ^{lxi} '2009 Festival Highlights', *German-American Festival Oregon OH*, available from: http://www.germanamericanfestival.net/2009_Festival_Highlights.html.
- ^{lxii} 'Schwingfest 2009' (video clip), *Holtville Swiss Club*, available from: <http://www.tribwekchron.com/2009/11/holtville-swiss-schwingfest-wrestling/>.
- ^{lxiii} Linda Stone, 'Schwingfest at Swiss Park', *Tri City Voice* (August 30, 2005), <http://www.tricityvoice.com/articledisplay.php?a=3964>. 'Agenda', *Schlussgang* online, available from: <http://www.schlussgang.ch/schlussgang/Agenda.aspx>, "29. Mai", "28. August" (Ripon), cf. 'Schwinging-Wrestling', *San Joaquin Valley Swiss Club*, available from: http://riponswissclub.com/index_files/Page320.htm.
- ^{lxiv} Wayland Debs Hand, 'Schweizer Schwingen: Swiss Wrestling in California', *California Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr. 1943), pp. 77-84. Online available from: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1495552>.
- ^{lxv} 'Agenda', *Schlussgang*, <http://www.schlussgang.ch/schlussgang/Agenda.aspx>, 26. Juni, 2. Juli, 7. August, 13. August.
- ^{lxvi} *Ibid.*, 23. Mai, 4. Juli, 31. Juli, 5. September.
- ^{lxvii} 'Festivals', *New Glarus: America's Little Switzerland*, available from: <http://www.swisstown.com/festivals.shtml>. Cf. 'Events Calendar', *ibid.*, <http://www.swisstown.com/happening.shtml>.
- ^{lxviii} 'Sutter, Johann August', *Personenlexikon des Kantons Basel-Landschaft*, available from: http://www.baselland.ch/SUTTER_Johann-A-htm.295168.0.html.
- ^{lxix} *Town of New Glarus, Wisconsin* website, available from: <http://www.tn.newglarus.wi.gov/>. Cf. 'About New Glarus', *New Glarus, Wisconsin: America's Little Switzerland*, available from: <http://www.swisstown.com/about.shtml>.
- ^{lxx} Hans-Peter Treichler, 'Schwingen', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, available from: <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16328-1-1.php?PHPSESSID=8330813c4813e76c817950ab41f29be9>.

- ^{lxxi} Rafael Aebischer, 'Mann des Tages: Michael Nydegger (20, Sense)', *Schlussgang* Nr. 10, 3. Jg. (Juni 2006), S. 8.
- ^{lxxii} Corinne Moor, 'Das Swiss-Fest in Banff', *Bauernzeitung* (10. Juli 2009), S. 17.
- ^{lxxiii} Banff was named after the home town of its founder, Banff in the Northeast of Scotland, formerly the principal town of Banffshire and now part of Aberdeenshire. The founder of the town was a director of the Canadian Pacific Railway born in Banffshire, Lord Steven. 'A Brief History of Banff and Louise prior to Alberta becoming a province in 1905', *2005 Alberta Centennial* (Heritage Tourism Corporation), available from: http://www.banffheritagetourism.com/2005/banffs_history.htm. Cf. 'History of the Town of Banff', *Town of Banff*, available from: <http://www.banff.ca/visiting-banff/about-banff/banff-history.htm>. Calgary was named for a town in the Isle of Mull, Argyll, by an officer of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police (the predecessors of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police), James Farquharson MacLeod (1836-94), who was a *Sgitheanach* (Skyeman) by origin but often visited Calgary House in the Isle of Mull, the residence of a friend of his, Capt. Alan MacAskill. 'MacLeod, James Farquharson', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, available from: <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=40378>. Cf. 'Calgary Castle History', http://www.calgary-castle.com/calgarycastle_history.html.
- ^{lxxiv} J.M. Bumsted, 'Red River Colony', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, available from: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0006725>. Cf. 'Miles MacDonell', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, available from: http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=2986, and 'Swiss Americans: Nineteenth Century Settlements', *Countries and their Cultures*, available from: <http://www.everyculture.com/multi/Sr-Z/Swiss-Americans.html>.
- ^{lxxv} The Scottish Gaels left a linguistic legacy in the Red River area – a creole language named *Bungee* mainly spoken by descendants of Scottish settlers with First Nations spouses, mainly Cree. Eleanor M. Blain, 'Bungee', *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, available from: <http://tceplus.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0001097>. Cf. Margaret Stobie, 'Backgrounds of the Dialect called Bungi', *MHS (Manitoba Historical Society) Transactions Series* vol. 3, no. 24 (1967-68), available from: <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/bungidialect.shtml>.
- ^{lxxvi} In comparison, there are seventeen Swiss associations in Ontario, thirteen in Alberta and in British Columbia, and eighteen in Quebec – one of which is a *Club de Lutte Suisse* (a Schwingclub). And this list here is by no means exhaustive. 'Swiss Clubs in Canada', *German Resource and German Info Guide*, available from: http://www.germanresource.com/clubs_swiss_canada.php. Formerly, this organisation was known as *DACH*, an acronym for *Deutschland-Austria-Confoederatio Helvetica*.
- ^{lxxvii} Robert Treichler, 'New Glarus: "Was für Hösli ?"', *Globo* Nr. 6 (Juni 1989), S. 81.
- ^{lxxviii} Andreas Fankhauser, 'Helvetische Republik: 3. Stagnationsphase und Zerfall (1800-1803)', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, available from: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D9797-3-18.php>.
- ^{lxxix} Gallati and Wyss, 'Ein kurzer Abschnitt der Unspunnenfeste 1905-1993', *Unspunnenfest – Die Geschichte der Alpherdenfeste*, available from: <http://www.unterseen.ch/museum/deutsch/unsp.htm>. Cf. Charles Fish Howell, *Around the Clock in Europe* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), pp. 282-83.
- ^{lxxx} Gallati and Wyss, *Touristik-Museum Unterseen*, 2005.
- ^{lxxxi} The thinker alluded to here is of course Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) who fostered the idea of the noble savage in his writings such as the *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755), "discourse on the origin and the foundations of inequality among humankind", Charles Edwyn Vaughan, ed. *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, edited from the Original Manuscripts and Authentic Editions* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1915), pp. 125-220. Online available from: <http://www.archive.org/stream/politicalwriting01rousiala#page/124/mode/2up>.
- ^{lxxxii} Michael Newton, 'A Gaelic History of Scotland: Final conflict', *A Handbook of the Scottish Gaelic World* (2000), pp. 64-74.
- ^{lxxxiii} Stone put has existed in Gaelic tradition for a long time. It is mentioned in an eighth-century Irish law text relating to sports and pastimes, *mellbretha*, among others sports still practised by Irish and Scottish Gaels alike. D.A. Binchy, 'Mellbretha', *Celtica* VIII (1968), pp. 144-54. Cf. Bronagh Ní Chonail, 'Child-Centred Law in Medieval Ireland', available from: http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/3812/1/Child2-Centred_Law.pdf.
- ^{lxxxiv} According to the seventeenth-century Wardlaw Manuscript, a history of Clan Fraser compiled in Scots, wrestling was part of young Highlanders' education as much as swordplay, swimming, archery, football, throwing the bar (= tossing the caber ?) and dancing. James Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers; the Wardlaw manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu policratica temporum, or, The true genealogy of the Frasers,' 916-1674*, edited by William Mackay (Edinburgh: University Press and The Scottish History Society, 1905), pp. 171, 481. Online available from: <http://www.archive.org/stream/chroniclesfrase00frasgoog#page/n222/mode/2up/search/wrestling>. Cf. p. xxxix, <http://www.archive.org/stream/chroniclesfrase00frasgoog#page/n40/mode/2up/search/wrestling>, p. xl, <http://www.archive.org/stream/chroniclesfrase00frasgoog#page/n42/mode/2up/search/wrestling> and p. 38, <http://www.archive.org/stream/chroniclesfrase00frasgoog#page/n90/mode/2up/search/wrestling>, &c.

^{lxxxv} Isabel F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 1995), pp. 348-49. Cf. Hugh Dan MacLennan, 'Shinty's Place and Space in World Sport', *The Sports Historian* No. 18,1 (May, 1998), pp. 1-23. See also Dwelly, 'camanachd', td. 157 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=camanachd>, 'iomain', td. 547.

^{lxxxvi} Isabel F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 1995), p. 345.

^{lxxxvii} John Marsden, *Galloglas: Hebridean and West Highland Mercenary Warrior Kindreds in Medieval Ireland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003); Ian Grimble, 'regiments, Highland' in Thomson, 1994: pp. 247-50; Stuart Maxwell, 'soldiers, Highland' in Thomson, 1994: p. 271; Philippe Henry, 'Fremde Dienste: 2.2. Die Hauptetappen der Entwicklung', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8608-3-2.php>. In terms of military history, Scottish and Swiss highlanders have one thing in common: they reinvented the infantry, defeating heavily armoured cavalry in the shape of mounted knights at Stirling Bridge (Bannockburn (1314, in Gaelic, this battle is known as *Blàr Allt a' Bhonnaich*) in the Scottish context, and at Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) in the Swiss context. G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert the Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 4th edn. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), Ch. Twelve, pp. 266-303; Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004), Ch. 9, pp. 183-88; 205-09; Edward J. Cowan, *The Wallace Book* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), p. 69. Josef Wiget, 'Die Schlacht am Morgarten und ihre Folgen', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8726-1-2.php>; Otto Kleissner, *Die Quellen zur Sempacher Schlacht und die Winkelriedsage* (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1873), S. 22-23; Sir Charles William Chadwick Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1885), Ch. V 'The Swiss: A.D. 1315-1515', pp. 62-79, especially footnote 1 on p. 75, cf. Ch. VI, 'The English and their Enemies', pp. 99-102; Francis Lieber, 'Great Events: Described by distinguished Historians, Chroniclers and other Writers' (New York: Harper, 1862), pp. 89-98 for Sempach. Another example of yeomen on foot defeating an army of mounted knights was the battle of Courtrai between the Flemings and the French, J.F Verbruggen, (1997). *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press), pp. 190-4.

But while the Gaels were continually feuding amongst themselves and thus making it easy for an external power to gain control, the Swiss had forged lasting alliances amongst themselves in medieval times which were the forerunners of the later Swiss confederacy.

^{lxxxviii} I.F. Grant, 1995: p. 345. Cf. 'Engraving of the Highland Games at St Fillans, Loch Earn, Perthshire, early 19th century', *National Museums of Scotland*, available from:

<http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-579-552-C&PHPSESSID=efjt0lq9ief540fub09ibo8dc1>.

^{lxxxix} 'Caernarfon Record Office: Gwydir Estate, Conwy Valley', *Archifau Cymru*, available from:

http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get_collection.php?coll_id=1123&inst_id=37&term=Gwydir.

^{xc} *Ibid.*, <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-579-552-C&PHPSESSID=efjt0lq9ief540fub09ibo8dc1>.

^{xci} Irene A. Reid, *Shinty, Nationalism and Cultural Identity, 1835-1939: A Critical Analysis*, PhD thesis (University of Stirling, 29 September 2000), available from:

<https://dspace.stir.ac.uk/dspace/bitstream/1893/1519/1/irene%20a.%20reid-30072009.pdf>, p. 163.

^{xcii} Reid, op. cit., 2000: pp. 155-63.

^{xciii} G. Jarvie and I.A. Reid, 'Sport, Nationalism and Culture in Scotland', *The Sports Historian* Vol. 1, No. 19 (May 1999), p. 110.

^{xciv} Hans-Peter Treichler, 'Nationalspiele der Schweiz: 1 – Schwingen', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, available from: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16328-1-1.php>.

^{xcv} Treichler, *ibid.*, '2 – Steinstossen', <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16328-1-2.php>.

^{xcvi} Treichler, *ibid.*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16328.php>. The Swiss summer pastures are known as *Alpe*, which is originally a Celtic or possibly even older word sharing the same stem with the name of the whole southern Central European mountain range. Cf. Paul-Louis Rousset, *Les Alpes & leurs noms de lieux. 6000 ans d'histoire? Les appellations d'origine pré-Indo-Européenne* (Paris: Didier & Richard, 1988); 'Alp, Alpe', *DUDEN Etymologie : Herkunftswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Mannheim/Wien/Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1963), S. 20. See also Graeme Barker, *Prehistoric Farming* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), Ch. 5, 'The alpine region', pp. 112-34; Wilhelm Obermüller, *Deutsch-keltisches, geschichtlich-geographisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Ludwig Denicke / London: Williams & Norgate, 1868), S. 60-61; Florian Hitz, 'Alpen: 3.1 – Landwirtschaft im Mittelalter', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, available from: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8569-1-3.php>. Cf. further 'Alpen' in *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon*

(Mannheim/Wien/Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1971), S. 783. The Gaels have also had transhumant

livestock husbandry for many centuries, and well until the 20th century. In Scottish Gaelic, a shieling is named *àirigh*, *àiridh* or *buaile*, in Irish, it is . Dwelly, td. 20 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/index.aspx/>

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/index.aspx?txtSearch=airidh>, 'àirigh'; td. 135 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=buaile>, 'buaile'; *An Foclóir Beag: Gaeilge-Gaeilge*,

<http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaeilge/focloiri/focloir-beag/lorg.php?WORD=buaile>; Barker, 1985: Ch. 8, 'Britain and Ireland', pp. 191-211; Grant, 1995: pp. 73-75; Newton, 2000: pp. 173-75, 182; Richard Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530: Economy and Society* (Oxford: University Press, 2004), pp. 208-10. The Welsh also practised transhumance, unsurprisingly, also being a mountain people. Their shielings are named *hafod*, pl. *hafodydd*.

^{xcvii} Treichler, 'Nationalspiele der Schweiz: 3 – Hornussen', <http://hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16328-1-3.php>.

^{xcviii} Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, *Feste und Bräuche des Schweizervolkes* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1940. Repr. Edition Olms, 1992), S. 70-71.

^{xcix} Treichler, *ibid.*

^c *Cowal Highland Gathering*, available from: <http://www.cowalhighlandgathering.com>.

^{ci} Doug Gill, 'Cowal Gathering turns its back on track', *HeraldScotland* (19 May 2007), available from: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/cowal-gathering-turns-its-back-on-track-1.858176>.

^{cii} Reid, 2000: pp. 209-17. Cf. Liam Ó Caithnia, *Scéal na h-Iomána* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Teoranta, 1980), lgh. 416-21, 731.

^{ciii} T.H. Nally, *The Aonach Tailteann and the Tailteann Games* (Dublin: Talbot, 1922), p. 21. Hugh Dan MacLennan, 'Shinty's Place and Space in World Sport', *The Sports Historian* Vol. 1, No. 18 (May 1998), p. 4.

^{civ} Seán Duffley, 'Tailteann Games' place in history going for a song', *Irish Independent* (Sat, July 14 2007), available from: <http://www.independent.ie/sport/other-sports/tailteann-games-place-in-history-going-for-a-song-1037527.html>, cf. Nally, 1922, pp. 26-35, and Melvyn F. Watman, *History of British Athletics* (London: Hale, 1968).

^{cv} 'Taittiu' in: Sylvia und Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie* (München: Eugen Diederichs, 1995), S. 318.

^{cvi} The last golden era of the Tailteann Games was the ninth century AD. Máire MacNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasa* (Dublin: Irish Folklore Commission, 1982), pp. 329, 331-32.

^{cvii} Nally, 1922: pp. 34-35; cf. James MacKillop, *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 309-10, 395-6, 76, 20; and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland' in: T. W. Moody, *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the pursuit of national independence, papers read before the Conference held at Trinity College, Dublin, 26-31 May 1975* (Belfast: Appletree Press 1978), pp. 1-35. See also D.A. Binchy, 'The Fair of Taittiu and the Feast of Tara', *Ériu*, Vol. 18 (1958), pp. 113-38.

^{cviii} 'D.A. Binchy', *Princess Grace Irish Library of Monaco*, available from: http://www.pgil-eirdata.org/html/pgil_datasets/authors/b/Binchy,DA/life.htm.

^{cix} Peter Harbison, 'Klöster, Burgen und Paläste: Ein historischer Überblick über die Baudenkmäler' in: Albrecht Steinecke (Hg.), *Irland* (Leer: Mundo Verlag, 1990), S. 177. Some Irish nationalists were bold enough to presume that the historic Greek Olympic games were inspired by the reputedly older Tailteann Games. Nally, 1922: Appendix I, 'The Irish Origin of the Olympic Games', pp. 60-65. While this may be dismissed as mere *blarney* or *blather* in Hiberno-English terms, Nally is making a point here and defends it eloquently – the weakness of his argument lies in the lack of records he could, or would cite as evidence.

^{cx} MacKillop, 1998: *ibid.* Cf. 'Páirc an Chrócaigh – before 1959', available from:

<http://www.hoganstand.com/general/ground/articles/0328033.htm>, and Bernd Biege, 'The Tailteann Games: An Olympic Event for the "Celtic Race"', available from:

http://goireland.about.com/od/historyculture/qt/gg_tailteann.htm. See also *An Fear Rua*, 'An AFR Classic: The Nutron Diet Might Damage Your Brain', available from: <http://www.anfearrua.com/story.asp?id=604>.

Meanwhile, there is an Irish computer game design company producing Irish sports-related video games who have adopted the name *Tailteann Games Inc.*, <http://www.tailteanngames.com/>. Cf. 'Win a copy of Bainisteoir – Hurling©!', *An Fear Rua*, <http://www.anfearrua.com/story.asp?id=2579>. *An Fear Rua* is an Irish sports e-fanzine (electronic fan magazine) supported by, or anyway, supportive of the GAA (Gaelic Athletics Association), <http://www.gaa.ie/>.

^{cxii} 'KitKat Tailteann Games', *Athletics Association of Ireland*, <http://www.athleticsireland.ie/content/?p=272>.

Ireland is traditionally divided into four provinces: *Cúige Laighinn* or Leinster, *Cúige Mumhainn* or Munster, *Cúige Chonnachta* or Connacht and *Cúige Ulaidh* or Ulster. The term *cúige*, "a fifth", denotes that there were originally five provinces. The fifth was *Midhe*, which corresponds to Cos. Meath and Westmeath today which are now part of Leinster. This province was considered the seat of the high kings, and their holy sites of Tara (*Teamhair*) and Taittiu – where the aforementioned games were held – are situated there. Therefore, Co. Meath is still poetically referred to as 'Royal Meath'. Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_Ireland and *Ireland by Region*, available from: <http://www.irelandwide.com/regional/leinster/index.htm>.

^{cxiii} MacNeill, 1982: vol. I, pp. 322-23; 120-21; 122-23. Dwelly, td. 610.

^{cxiiii} *Ibid.*, p. 337.

^{cxv} *Ibid.*, Ch. XIV, pp. 287f., cf. Appendix IV.

^{cxvi} 'Mull Games', 'South Uist Games' and 'North Uist Games' &c., *Scotland's Highland Games*, http://www.albagames.co.uk/Highland_games2000.htm#SOUTH; 'Barra Games', *ibid.*,

http://www.albagames.co.uk/Highland_games2000.htm#BARRA (also Lewis Games etc.). 'Fèis Tìr a' Mhurain 2009', *Kildonan Museum*, <http://www.kildonanmuseum.co.uk/page4.html> (South Uist); 'Fèis Bharraigh', *Isle of Barra*, <http://www.barra-accommodation.co.uk/events.php>.

^{cxvi} *The Braemar Gathering*, <http://www.braemargathering.org/>, 4th September 2010; *Invercharron Highland Games*, <http://www.invercharrongames.co.uk/>, 18th September 2010; 'Highland Games in October', *Wikja Sports*, http://highlandgames.wikia.com/wiki/Highland_games_in_October.

^{cxvii} Alastair Morrison, 'Uist Games', *The Celtic Review*, vol. IV (July 1907-April 1908), pp. 361-71, especially p. 370.

^{cxviii} Dwelly, td. 167 agus <http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/?txtSearch=carachd>.

^{cxix} Cinaet Scothack, 'Wrestling in Gaelic Culture', *Clannada na Gadelica*, http://www.clannada.org/culture_wrestling.php.

^{cxx} Donald Sayenga, 'The Problem of Wrestling "Styles" in the modern Olympic Games – a Failure of Olympic Philosophy', *Citius, Altius, Fortius*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn 1995), pp. 22-23, 25, available from:

<http://www.la84foundation.org/SportsLibrary/JOH/JOHv3n3/JOHv3n3e.pdf>; cf. Mike Huggins, 'The regular re-invention of sporting tradition and identity', *The Sports Historian*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (May 2001), pp. 41-42, 50-51, available from: <http://www.la84foundation.org/SportsLibrary/SportsHistorian/2001/sh211d.pdf>. See also: *The Scottish Wrestling Bond – Comunn Carachd na h-Alba*, available from: <http://www.scotwrestle.co.uk/index.html>.

^{cxxi} Michael B. Poliakoff, 'Wrestling, Freestyle' from *Encyclopedia of World Sport: From Ancient Times to the Present* eds. David Levinson and Karen Christensen (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1996), Vol. 3, p. 1190.

^{cxxii} Grant, 1995: p. 344.

^{cxxiii} Daniel Reichlin, coach with *Schwingclub Zurich*, in 'Wrestling with Tradition', video clip by <http://www.swissinfo.org>, also available from: <http://www.nachbarsport.de/schwingen.html>.

^{cxxiv} David Chapman, book review 'David P. Webster & Gordon Dinnie, *Donald Dinnie: The First Sporting Superstar* (Ardo Publishing, 1999)', *Iron Game History*, Vol. 7, Nos. 2&3 (July 2002), pp. 31-32. Cf. 'Donald Dinnie', *Scottish Sports Hall of Fame*, available from: <http://www.sshf.co.uk/inductees/show/19>, and David P. Webster & Gordon Dinnie, *Donald Dinnie: The First Sporting Superstar* (Ellon, Buchan: Ardo Publishing, 1999). See also: Gordon Dinnie, 'Donald Dinnie', *Dinnie World*, available from: <http://gordondinnie.com/Donald.html>.

^{cxxv} Daniel Grubenmann, 'Abderhalden und Fausch drücken dem Fest den Stempel auf', *Schlussgang*, 3. Jg., Nr. 10 (2006), S. 7, 'Gang des Tages: Jörg Abderhalden (27) bezwingt Markus Thomi (40)', *ibid.* Cf. S. 13 and the website of Mr. Abderhalden, <http://www.jabderhalden.ch/>.

^{cxxvi} 'Scotland Champions 2009', *Scottish Wrestling Bond – Comunn Carachd na h-Alba*, available from: <http://www.scotwrestle.co.uk/c2009.htm>.

^{cxxvii} James Scott Skinner, 'Donald Dinnie' (fiddle tune and song, 1888), *The James Scott Skinner Collection*, University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0810>.

^{cxxviii} Urs Klausner, 'Die Sackpfeife in der Schweiz', *Schweizer Sackpfeifen*, available from: <http://www.triton.ch/Schweizer%20Sackpfeifen/sackpfeifen%20in%20der%20schweiz.htm#die%20sackpfeife%20in%20der%20schweiz>.

^{cxxix} Sandra Odermatt et al., 'Der Schweizer Dudelsack', *Einstein*, (SF - Swiss Television, 5/02/2009), available from: <http://videportal.sf.tv/video?id=3d55a4c9-828d-44f3-ad4a-75550896e227>. Featuring Urs Klausner and Triton. Cf. Urs Graf, 'Reisläufer' (Swiss mercenary), ink drawing of 1525, available from:

<http://www.triton.ch/Schweizer%20Sackpfeifen/urs%20graf.htm>.

^{cxxxi} Senta van de Weetering, 'Dudelsack: Typisch Schweiz', *St. Galler Tagblatt* (4.12.2003), available from: <http://www.triton.ch/Schweizer%20Sackpfeifen/sackpfeifen.htm>.

^{xxx} Hans-Jürg Sommer, 'Geschichte des Alphorns', *Alphornmusik.ch*, available from: <http://www.alphornmusik.ch/aufsatz/acrodeteien/geschichte.pdf>, S. 2.

^{xxxii} Roderick Cannon, 'bagpipe, Highland' in Thomson, 1994: pp. 17-21. Cf. Charles Bannatyne, 'Ceòl Mòr', *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct 1904), pp. 149-60; R. Cannon, 'What can we learn about Pìobaireachd?', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* Vol. 4, Special Issue: Presented to Peter Cooke (1995), pp. 1-15. *Ceòl beag* is also known as *ceòl mèin*, also meaning "small music".

^{xxxiii} Cannon in Thomson, 1994: pp. 18-19; Bannatyne, 1904: p. 149.

^{xxxiv} Seumas MacNeill, 'MacCrimmons', in Thomson, 1994: p. 162-63. There are three possible origin legends regarding this clan. According to one, they came from continental Europe – from Cremona in Italy, to be exact. Hence the patronymic *Cruimein*, 'Crimmon', or so the tale goes. Allegedly, their progenitor was an Italian protestant musician fleeing the Inquisition. The Irish Gaels favour the version that he hailed from Ireland, as did *Muireadhach Albannach Ó Dálaigh*, the progenitor of the MacMhuirichs or Curries (*Clann Mhuirich*), the hereditary bards to the Lords of Isles, *Clann Dòmhnail*, and later the MacDonalds of Clanranald, *Clann Raghnaill*. Muireach (fl. 1220) came from Westmeath, he was a scion of the learned Uí Dálaigh family., the

premier bardic family of Ireland back then. D.S. Thomson, 'Muireadhach Albannach Ó Dálaigh', Thomson 1994: p. 205. It is more likely that Cruimein came from Harris and originally had a different patronymic. The Isle of Harris (*Na Hearadh*) was part of the territory of the MacLeods of MacLeod (*Clann Mhic Leòid*). MacNeill in Thomson, 1994: p. 162. See also Cannon, 1995: p. 1.

^{cxxxv} Dwelly, tdd. 159-61 agus

<http://www.cairnwater.co.uk/gaelicdictionary/index.aspx?txtSearch=canntaireachd>. Edward Dwelly (1864-1939) was a well-versed piper in the Gaelic vein himself. Kenneth D. MacDonald in Thomson, 1994: p. 67. Cf. Bannatyne, 1904: p. 151; John Francis Campbell (*Iain Òg Ìle*), *Canntaireachd: Articulate Music* (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1880). According to Roderick Cannon, there was not only the MacCrimmon school of *canntaireachd*, but some others as well. Cannon, 1995: p. 5. See also Newton, 2000: p. 245-46. Cf. further Neil V. Hawes, 'History of Notation', *Basic Music Theory on the World Wide Web*, available from:

<http://www.neilhawes.com/ssttheory/theory22.htm>.

^{cxxxvi} Cannon in Thomson, 1994: p. 19; Dwelly, td. 160. German-speakers may be forgiven if they feel reminded of Lorient alias Vicco von Bülow and his notorious sketch of the yodelling diploma: *Die Jodelschule*, available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D4zivYeH2m8>, but *canntaireachd* is a serious lore.

^{cxxxvii} Cannon, p. 19.

^{cxxxviii} Alan V. Murray, book review: Alison Kinnaird, *The Harp Key. Music for the Scottish Harp*, in *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 35. Jahrg., (1990), p. 187, available from: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/848237>.

Cf. Ian Grimble, 'regiments, Highland', Thomson, 1994: p. 249.

^{cxxxix} This tune was written by an officer of the 1st Battalion of the Queen's Own Highlanders (Seaforth & Camerons), Gordon MacKenzie, commemorating his regiment's involvement in the 1991 Gulf War. Lance Corporal MacKenzie attended his pipe majors course at the Army School of Piping during that time, based at Edinburgh Castle. 'Who wrote the Sands of Kuwait?', *WikiAnswers*, available from:

http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Who_wrote_The_Sands_of_Kuwait. It is a hauntingly beautiful tune, cf. Pipes and Drums of the Cameron Highlanders and the band of the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, *Sands of Kuwait*,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PD1uGrOaBnA>, and the author of this study knows someone in the Highlands whose father was among the fallen Highlanders who were returned from that very site of war.

^{cxli} Cannon, 1995: pp. 9; cf. Canon in Thomson, 1994: p. 21.

^{cxlii} Michael Korb, Uli Roever, *Highland Cathedral – The Original*, available from:

<http://www.highlandcathedral.de/texte/engl.html>.

^{cxliii} Newton, 2000: p. 281-82; Grant, 1995: pp. 350-54. Cf. John MacInnes, 'dance in Gaelic society', Thomson, 1994: pp. 56-59.

^{cxliiii} Kieran Jordan, 'Sean Nós Step Dancing – It's a Living Tradition', *The Boston Irish Reporter* (August 31, 1998), available from: http://www.celticcafe.com/archive/Dance/Articles/SeanNos_BostonIrishReporter.htm;

Maldon Meehan & Ronan Regan, 'About Us', *Sean Nós Dance*, available from:

<http://www.seannosdance.com/About/index.html>; Bidín Seoige, 'Cérbh é Cóilín?', *Cóilín Sheáin Dharach*

(1918-2001), website to a great sean nós dancer from Ros Muc in Connemara, Co. Galway, Éire, available from:

<http://www.damhsoir.ie/Assets/whowascoilinn.htm>. The author knew the man himself, having met him at *An Chistín* during his Irish language courses in *An Cheathrú Rua*, also in Connemara.

^{cxliv} Cecily Morrison, 'Culture at the Core: Invented Traditions and Imagined Communities, Part I: Identity Formation', *International Review of Scottish Studies* Vol. 28 (2003), pp. 11, 15-16.

^{cxlv} Morrison, 2003: pp. 16-18; Newton, 2000: pp. 99-100; Maggie Moore, 'Scottish Step Dancing', 'About Us', *Dannsa*, available from: http://www.dannsa.com/about_us.asp. Cf. Margaret Bennet, 'Step-dancing: Why we must learn from past mistakes', available from: http://www.siliconglen.com/Scotland/10_3.html.

^{cxlvi} Morrison, 2003: pp. 9-10, 12-14.

^{cxlvii} Morrison, 2003: pp. 10-11, 18-19. Cf. *Northeastceilidh*, available from:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/northeastceilidh/> (Aberdeenshire & Moray); *Ceilidhjunkies*, available from:

<http://launch.groups.yahoo.com/group/ceilidh-junkies-online/>; *Mike's Community*, available from:

<http://mikescommunity.com/> (Edinburgh & Lothians, Central Belt); *Skippinish Ceilidh House*, available from:

<http://www.skippinishceilidhhouse.com/> (Oban & West Highlands). See also: 'Srath Spè no Schottische:

Strathspey or Highland Schottische', available from:

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/8724992@N03/2701537754/>; 'Canadian Barn Dance',

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/8724992@N03/2696027947/> (Village hall, Isle of Berneray; courtesy of Axel

Koehler, the dancer in the tweed waistcoat and the grandfather shirt); 'Dashing White Sergeant',

<http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#/video/video.php?v=1005802266342&subj=1263463303> (Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh); 'Eightsome Reel',

<http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#/video/video.php?v=1005806386445&subj=1263463303> (ibid., courtesy of Axel Koehler, the dancer in the white shirt and the greenish kilt).

^{cxlviii} 'The Ceilidh Tent', *Cowal Highland Gathering*, available from: <http://www.cowalathering.com/what-to-do-and-see/ceilidh-tent.aspx>.

^{cxlix} The *Gay Gordons* was the nickname of the Gordon Highlanders. The dance was originally called 'The Gordon Highlander's Quickstep' and is danced to 2/4 or 4/4 marches in allemande hold. 'The Gay Gordons', *Grand Chain*, available from: <http://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html#GayGordons>. The original name of the dance referred to a regimental march of the Gordon Highlanders in 4/4 rhythm. Cf. '92nd Highlanders March', *The John Murdoch Henderson Collection*, available from:

<http://sites.scran.ac.uk/jmhenderson/web/collection/pipes/pipetunes.htm>; Irene van Marseveen, 'Discussion about variations in the Gay Gordons', *Grand Chain*,

<http://www.grandchain.org/ceilidh/GayGordonsDiscussion.html>; James Scott Skinner, 'The Gay Gordons' (sheet music: the pipe tune for fiddlers), *Am Baile*, available from:

http://www.ambaile.org.uk/en/item/photograph_zoom.jsp?item_id=42373&zoom=3. Another regimental march of the Gordons is the 'Cock o the North', which is also played for dancing the Gay Gordons,

<http://bydand.com/CotN.mp3>. 'Cock o the North' or *Coileach Srath Bhalgaidh*, "the cock of Strathbogie", is the sobriquet of Gordon of Huntly, *Gòrdanach Hunnaidh*,

^{cl} Cf. end note cxlv for a live demonstration of some cèilidh dances, and 'Dashing White Sergeant', *ibid.*,

<http://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html#DashingWhite>; 'Highland Schottische', *Grand Chain*,

<http://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html#HighlandSchottische>; 'Strip the Willow', *ibid.*,

<http://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html#StripTheWillow>; see also the Orcadian Strip the Willow, *ibid.*,

<http://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html#StripTheWillow2>.

^{cli} Karl Klenk, Johannes Schmid-Kunz, 'Volkstanz in der Schweiz', available from:

<http://www.hausdervolksmusik.ch/files/bildmaterial/sonstiges/PDF%203.pdf>.

^{clii} British readers will be familiar with the area through the writings of Arthur Conan Doyle, for this is where Sherlock Holmes and the evil genius Dr. Moriarty tumbled down the Reichenbach Falls. Sherlock Holmes Society of London, 'Swiss trip photos', available from: http://www.sherlock-holmes.org.uk/galleries/beeline/pages/23160795_jpg.htm.

Karl Duss, 'Die Klassiker Brünig und Schwägälp heben sich ab', *Schlussgang*, Nr. 10, 3. Jg. (2006), S. 5.

^{cliii} Klenk & Schmid-Kunz, Kap. I und II, S. 7-13.

^{cliv} *Ibid.*, S. 9.

^{clv} Gallati und Wyss, 2005: S. 1. Cf. Beat Junker, 'Bern (Kanton), 4.1.2 – Mediation (1803-1815)', *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7383-3-18.php>.

^{clvi} Donald MacAulay, 'Bernera Riot', in Thomson, 1994: p. 23 (in Bernera Lewis); Thomas M. Murchison, 'crofting system', Thomson, 1994: pp. 49-51; Murchison, 'Land League movement', *ibid.*, p. 146; James Hunter, 'politics, Highland', *ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

^{clvii} Bendix, 1989: pp. 137-44.

^{clviii} Jarvie, 2003: sections III and VI.

^{clix} Kimberley Masson, 'Fluid Boundaries of Belonging: 'Locals' and 'Incomers' in the Scottish Highlands', *Scottish Affairs*, No. 59 (Spring 2007), pp. 31-46.

^{clx} Jarvie, 2003: section V, cf. Jarvie and Reid, 1998: p. 393. Robert Treichler, 'New Glarus: "Was für Hösli ?"', *Globo* Nr. 6 (Juni 1989), S. 81.

^{clxi} Highland Games Schweizer Meisterschaften 2009, 'Sport', *Wuy u Ay Highland Games*, available from:

<http://www.highlandgames.ch/cms/index.php?c0=navigation&navigation=32>.

^{clxii} 'Tha mi às an Eilbheis', *Am Bòrd-Brath*, Deutsches Zentrum für Gälische Sprache und Kultur, available from: <http://www.schottisch-gaelisch.de/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=1541>; 'Grüsse aus der Schweiz', *ibid.*,

<http://www.schottisch-gaelisch.de/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=1560>; 'Noch mehr Grüsse aus der Schweiz', *ibid.*,

<http://www.schottisch-gaelisch.de/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=1588>, cf. '28.-30. August Schweizer Highland Games in St. Ursen FR', <http://www.schottisch-gaelisch.de/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=1670>.

^{clxiii} So the author has been told by Dr. Paul Widmer, lecturer and research assistant in Comparative Philology at the University of Marburg, who hails from the Bernese-Fribourgian border.

^{clxiv} Or rather, there was. Any link to the club in Berne is no longer working: 'Scottish Country Dance Groups in Europe', *Grand Chain*, available from: <http://www.scottishdance.net/groups/Europe.html#Switzerland>. If they still exist, probably they are currently working on their website. Other links to Swiss Scottish Country Dancing Clubs do not work either. Cf. 'Affiliated Groups in Europe (Excluding UK)', *RSCDS*, available from:

http://www.rscds.org/contacts/branches/Affiliated_europe.html#Switzerland.

^{clxv} 'Sport', *Wuy u Ay Highland Games*,

<http://www.highlandgames.ch/cms/index.php?c0=navigation&navigation=32>, cf. 'Musik',

<http://www.highlandgames.ch/cms/index.php?c0=navigation&navigation=33>.

^{clxvi} '10th Anniversary Highland Games 2010: Flugplatz Speck-Fehraltorf ZH (30.7-1.8.2010)', *Fehraltorf Highlanders*, available from: <http://www.highland-games.ch/index2.php>, cf. 'Verein', <http://www.highland-games.ch/0000009b9a0753105/index.php>.

^{clxvii} 'DunCarron Fort', *The Clanranald Trust for Scotland*, available from:

<http://www.clanranald.org/cln1/duncarron>; cf. 'DunCarron Medieval Fort - The Project', *Dun Carron Medieval Fort*, available from: <http://www.duncarron.com/dun1/the-project>.

^{clxviii} Cf. end notes cxxvii-cxxviii.

^{clxix} 'King Richard's Faire brings a Renaissance revival', *The Providence Journal* (08/30/2007), available from: http://www.projo.com/lifebeat/content/wk-faire_08-30-07_AK6TPA5.19db2cf.html.