

THE SITES AND LANDSCAPES OF HORSE RACING IN SCOTLAND BEFORE 1860

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Ah! there will be no [horse] racing there [in hell], but everlasting chains; no Italian music, but weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

Introduction

The world over, horse racing has been one of the most universal sports: where man has had horses, there they have been raced. The purpose of the present essay is to discuss some aspects of the history of racing in one small country, and a country which was markedly poorer than its southern neighbour, England. One might conjecture that racing has had different characteristics in the two countries. Wealthy owners have been rare in Scotland, and the Turf certainly developed in England rather than Britain; the contributions of Scots owners such as the fourth Duke of Queensberry (1724-1810) were made south of the Border. Most Scottish race meetings have had a strong local feeling, local runners and local patronage. One strategy for understanding horse racing in Scotland is to look at it as all its cultural forms.

The most significant literature on horse racing in Scotland has been concerned with the race and the racehorse, and not with the reasons for racing or its social context. The view from the grandstand and the paddock has been set out: here I will try to look at racing from a distant hill top.

The following discussion suggests that the distribution of races in Scotland can be understood both in terms of their location in relation to certain larger towns, and in terms of the practical and social qualities of the various

spaces which were chosen for racing. The distribution of leading races which existed by the middle of the seventeenth century was still largely in place in the 1820s. Of the four courses which survive from that time to the present, at Musselburgh, Kelso, Perth and Ayr, the first three are direct descendants of courses which were in use in the seventeenth century.

The Different Kinds of Racing

Between 1500 and 1850 or a little later, horse racing took place all over Scotland, though probably more intensively - on more sites with a greater frequency - in the Lowlands than in the Highlands.

There is evidence for horse racing in Scotland in the sixteenth century, but it is evidence of isolated races. The Lord Treasurer's Accounts, which record the king's personal expenditure, are extant from the reign of James IV (1488-1513) onwards, and although James was a keen sportsman and there are dozens of entries in the Accounts relating to falconry, golf and other sports, there are only four to horse racing, all in 1503-4, including a payment made in 1504 to a jockey, 'the boy that ran the King's horse' at Leith. Even the well-known 'annual' race instituted at Haddington in 1552 is represented by a single reference. A general pattern of racing emerges in the reign of King James VI (1567-1625). James had always been a keen hunter, but when he saw the possibilities of racing on Newmarket Heath in 1605 he became an enthusiast for horse racing. After near-eclipse during the years of the Civil War and the Interregnum, the sport reappeared even more suddenly in 1661, following the Restoration of the Monarchy. From that point, horse racing has a continuous history down to the present day.

By the end of the eighteenth century the stable for training horses was a well-developed phenomenon in England, particularly at Newmarket. Huggins has recently drawn attention to the distinctive little society which existed in and around a horse racing stable. This kind of stable, physically independent from other rural functions and dedicated to the race horse, does not appear in Scotland until at least the 1820s. Certainly, some Scots noblemen such as the 5th Duke of Roxburghe and the 13th Earl of Eglinton employed trainers, but their stables were in England. In Scotland, the preparation of race horses continued to take place on the owners' estates or farms: it remained an integral part of rural life.

This is to speak of élite horse racing: there were other forms. Much of horse racing was in the form of parish or burgh races which leave little trace in the historical record, partly because they were incidental to the main purpose of the day on which they were held - an annual fair which had its origins in a religious feast. These local meetings took place in many areas of Lowland Scotland: the runners were farmers' horses. By the nineteenth century this form of races was particularly common in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. Whether this reflects an earlier distribution, or whether minor horse races took place all over Lowland Scotland, is not yet clear. A linked but separate practice was the *ad hoc* wager: from time to time owners of horses would make wagers spontaneously and settle them a day or a week later. Occasional reports in Victorian newspapers must stand for a common practice.

There may be a link between patterns of landholding and local horse races. In Ayrshire local horse races in the first half of the nineteenth century are known in 10 parishes. The average number of landowners in these parishes around 1770, when lists have been compiled, was 32. In the in parishes in which no race has been recorded the average number was 21. This suggests that the larger the number of landowners there were in a parish, the more a race was likely to be created and survive, for more people who owned horses and had influence had an interest in it. Far more work would be required to investigate this apparent pattern; but it is striking that in Aberdeenshire, where no local horse races have been detected the average number of land owners in each parish is five. Aberdeen races had themselves only an intermittent existence, and the one attempt to start a new horse race there, in the 1860s, was a failure: 'the Ascot of Buchan' was ephemeral.

In certain locations carters and ploughmen unyoked their draught animals and raced them as part of annual festivals. The races in the Edinburgh area were a central element in *carters' plays*, the annual holiday of horsemen, both ploughmen and carters, and the day of the meeting of their local friendly society. Friendly societies existed all over Scotland, but only within twenty miles of Edinburgh did they include horse races. It has been argued that in this respect they were imitations of Leith races, the great working-class festival of the year, and it is difficult to see any other explanation.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries horse racing took place almost anywhere in Lowland Scotland in the form of a marriage custom, the *broose*. After the Reformation weddings were normally performed in private houses, and afterwards the young men present raced on horseback to the house where the couple were to live, where the groom's mother waited for them. The winner was given a bottle of whisky by the groom's mother: he returned with it to the married pair and drank their health. This custom was dying out by the nineteenth century: the last instance which has been traced was in the late 1850s on the moorland east of Cumnock in Ayrshire.

In the *Gàidhealtacht* the horse had an entirely different cultural role. It took place traditionally on Michaelmas (29th September), and several sites are known. The night before the race, it was acceptable for a man to borrow his neighbour's horse for the day, without asking. In all places the horses carried a man with a woman behind him, and it was considered a good omen if the woman fell off. A conventional bridle and saddle were not used, merely a straw rope in the horse's mouth, thus making it more likely that a fall would occur. At Angel Hill (*Cnoc-an-Aingeal*) in Iona the race was held round the hill, and not there-and-back as in Lowland Scotland. After the race the man and woman exchanged presents: typically the woman would give wild carrots. There is clearly an underlying acknowledgement of sexuality and fecundity at the time of harvest. None of these practices has been recorded in Lowland Scotland.

Horse racing of different kinds thus played a variety of social and cultural roles in Scotland. The questions addressed in the remainder of this essay are firstly the extent to which, at different periods, élite horse racing was controlled by the burghs on one hand and the gentry on the other, and secondly, how this related to the distribution of major races. For most of the period under consideration the burgess and the lairds would have been aware of these diverse forms of horse racing. They would also have known how much interest was taken in racing by the whole of society. The organisers of higher-quality races were not merely pleasing themselves, but exercising social leadership in a specific area, and in doing so would have created complex echoes and meanings in the minds of the people.

Races in the 1660s

Sources for racing in Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century are meagre, but they are more extensive after the Restoration because racing became fashionable, along with other pastimes such as cockfighting, which also involved gambling. The known locations for racing in the seventeenth century are set out in Appendix 1. There were also occasional races elsewhere. For example, a race took place in the parish of Corstorphine, in which there was no burgh, in 1663, and it was won by Lord Methven's horse. There is no evidence, however, for any other race at Corstorphine: Appendix I names the races which are likely to have been annual events.

The first generalisation which can be drawn from Appendix I is that almost all of these races were held in Royal Burghs. So, too, were most of the other annual sports which we have notice of before the end of the seventeenth century: the shooting for the siller [silver] guns at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, and the archery competitions at Musselburgh, Stirling, Peebles and Selkirk. The two instances of competitions which were not in royal burghs were special cases: the Kilwinning papingo and the Red Hose race at Carnwath. The two annual races which were not at royal burghs were at Paisley, which was nevertheless a large town which had grown up beside an abbey, and at Huntly in Aberdeenshire where the role of the Duke of Gordon as patron is quite clear.

Is there a pattern as to which burghs had races? In Appendix I the proportion of the contribution made to the tax of 1670, which was levied on the royal burghs, is set out. This tax gives an indication of the relative size and wealth of the burghs. There were 67 royal burghs, of which 16 had races. Thus racing took place in the burgh which was by far the largest (Edinburgh) and also at some of the smallest. North Berwick was very small indeed. There were quite large burghs at which there were no races: Dundee (6% of the tax roll), Kirkcaldy (2%) and St Andrews (2%). At Glasgow (12%) the race was probably short-lived. No size-related pattern can be discerned.

It is not possible to answer one crucial question: what was the mechanism for the emergence of these races? Were they started by local magnates? By the burghs, with the support of the magnates who presented the prize? By

the burghs alone? At Paisley it was certainly the Council who bought the Silver Bell. Did the King put pressure on the nobleman or the burgh? We can only conjecture. What is clear, however, is that horse racing began in the reign of a monarch, James VI, who expected to have his opinions and enthusiasms attended to: I think we can assume that racing grew rapidly because of his love of racing because the king set the model for the behaviour of the gentry. Ten races are first recorded in his reign, eight of them after his first visit to Newmarket.

Horse races can be seen in the context of other parish and burgh sports. Sometimes, these involved the landlord, as at Carnwath in Lanarkshire where the Lockhart family held the estate from the king on the condition that they gave a pair of red hose as the prize for the annual foot race. In other instances there was definite royal patronage: the Dumfries and Kirkcudbright siller guns which James VI gave to these burghs in 1587/8. Burgh patronage of sport reached its highest level in Edinburgh where there was not only the town's prize at Leith Races, but also the Silver Club for golfers (1744) and the Silver Jack for bowlers (1771).

The burgh performed one vital function in maintaining the status of a race, by owning the trophy. The idea of having a trophy which was owned collectively and presented to each annual winner: he had to return it a year later with a token of his own victory attached to it, stems from continental shooting guilds. For Scots races, the burgh took the place of the guild. Horse racing at a seventeenth-century burgh was thus a collaboration between the burgh and local landowners, for the landowners were almost always the owners of the horses.

As in England, racing almost stopped between 1640 and 1660. Charles II, however, was like his grandfather a passionate race-goer. To attend a race meeting in the 1660s was to be fashionable, but it was also a political statement, to relish the Restoration. Thus the weekly *Mercurius Caledonius* announced:

The famous Horse Course of *Coupar* in *Fyfe*, which by the iniquity of the times, hath been so long buried to the great dissatisfaction of our Nobility and Gentry, is to be run ... upon the second Tuesday in *April*.

This quotation indicates the enthusiasm for the gentry for racing. Yet, as in the reign of James VI, it is not possible to be clear about the roles of the landowners and the burgh in promoting these races. Before they began, the burgh court was *fenced* - declared open with temporary laws in force - in the name of the Lord Provost, in the manner of a fair, and the Lord Provost gave a cup for the second race. Here the burgh would seem to have the larger role, yet the Provost of Cupar was the earl of Rothes, a landowner. The prize for the main race was:

a sumptuous large Cup of a great value, which with its cover (for it was fashioned like a Bedpan) sufficient to Tozie [refresh] a Dozen of *Belgick Virtuosi*.

This is picturesque, but does not tell us who gave this cup. At Jedburgh, the cup came from the town and a prize saddle from the earl of Lothian, and at Lanark the revival was explicitly credited to a local laird, Sir John Wilkie of Foulden. Yet Haddington, which opportunistically held a race on 29 May 1660, the day the returning Charles II entered London, showed its loyalty by giving as prize a cup with the arms of the burgh engraved on it.

There is another way of looking at the more conspicuous seventeenth-century horse races: that they were the visible part of much more widespread racing. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, parish horse races were quite common, and where there is evidence it points to the race being added to a pre-reformation fair. Thus the Lammas Fair at Inverkeithing in Fife had its race, as did St Patrick's Fair at Kirkpatrick Durham in Dumfriesshire. Other races such as Stewarton in Ayrshire, Eaglesham in Renfrewshire, Torryburn in Fife, Broughton in Peebleshire, probably have the same history. There was a minor race at St Loret's fair at Musselburgh. It is reasonable to assume that there were far more horse races in the seventeenth century than are now known to us. The major meeting is then representative of the widespread practice of parish racing. The question of the location of *major* races then becomes more likely to be answerable in terms of individuals, who were driven by their love of horses, their passion for gambling, their status-seeking, their competitiveness or their vanity. To make a major race out of a minor one requires only a piece of silver or the presence of two or three noblemen.

Nevertheless, an alternative explanation of the location of major seventeenth-century races can be given: that they were held at burghs which could offer suitable ground, usually on the beach, on the seaside links, or on flat ground beside a river. At these places there was good, flat ground for racing and the races could be enjoyed by a crowd who could see most if not all of the action. This is examined in the next section.

Racing on the Seashore and on the Links

In the eighteenth century the most important horse races in Scotland were on Leith sands, more than two miles from Edinburgh. They drew large crowds including landowners from all over the country. Leith was the sporting capital of Scotland, with a cockpit from 1683, a bowling green, golf on the links and the frequent presence of the Company of Archers. However, the fact that it was the sands that were used is itself significant. The beach was often the only large area of flat ground which was available to a village or parish: it was a recognised place for communal activity. In the *Gàidhealtacht* shinty was played on the shore, great matches of a hundred or so a side, and they were also needed for foot races and summer games.

At Aberdeen, racing first took place on the beach but was moved onto the links. In Ireland there is a parallel example of a meeting which was held on the beach and subsequently moved inland. This is at Tramore in Co. Waterford where racing began on the three-mile-long Strand: *Traigh Mòr* means 'the large beach'. In 1759 there was racing on the beach at Dumbarton. Horse racing on the sands was also practised in the small burgh of Newton-on-Ayr. Racing on the seashore is still carried out in a number of places in Ireland of which the most conspicuous is Laytown, Co. Dublin. There were also English examples: for example, the races at Redcar were on the sands until they were moved to the present inland course in 1870.

Links, area of rough grass on sandy soil, were used for races in other places. Historically, the use of the word is restricted to the east coast. Links could not be used for cultivation or grazing they were often used for recreation. They are the birthplaces of golf, and when other sports arrived, they too were played on the links. At Montrose cricketers, golfers and archers

shared the links in the nineteenth century. At Aberdeen the links north of the town are still used for golf, hockey and football. At both Montrose and Aberdeen, horse racing took place on the links. The Town Moor at Irvine, where a minor meeting has been held from the seventeenth century to the present day, is a links site. When Leith races moved to Musselburgh in 1816, they were transferred from a beach to a links site. There is one pair of links-like sites in England, at Yarmouth: the South Denes (1715) and its successor the North Denes (1920).

Links were a distinctive type of ground, but in social terms they were commons. Similar to links were flat meadows beside a large river. At Perth the North and South Inches are large flat areas by the Tay which were used for horse racing for several centuries. At other burghs where the site of racing is not known there are suitable sites beside rivers: the Tweed at Peebles, the Nith at Dumfries, the Deveron at Banff, and on Glasgow Green beside the Clyde. At Stirling the first races were on the Bridgehaugh: a *haugh* is a river meadow. There are several parallels in England of which Chester is historically the most important.

Among leading burghs without horse races, several lack suitable beach, links or riverbank sites. Dundee, on ground sloping into the Tay is one example. In the small burghs of the Irvine, Darvel, Newmilns and Galston, there were foot rather than horse races: the riverbank meadows were small and in the seventeenth century undrained. In the Borders, where there was a traditional need for horses for cattle-raiding and the pursuit of raiders, burgh races were established at some distance, often several miles, from the towns. These races were and are part of an important burgh ritual. At Hawick the races were part of the 'Common Riding', which been held almost every year since 1537 and which still includes races which are highly competitive in their execution though the horses are not of high quality and there is a general absence of teetotalism. Lamberton Races have a similar background in 'Beating the Bounds' of Berwick.

Races in the 1820s

In the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century little evidence has been found for horse racing in Scotland, though undoubtedly it was widespread. After the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 the aristocracy focused their

social existence on London, and the lesser lairds who remained were content with local races to which only fleeting references appear in print. The exception is Leith Races, which attracted wealthy owners and large crowds; but even they did not take place in 1741-8 and their real popularity begins only in the second half of the century.

From 1777, when a course was laid out at Ayr, racing in Scotland began to expand. By the 1820s there were 16 courses which make at least one appearance in the *Racing Calendar* during that decade: they are listed in Appendix II. At seven of these racing was held for the first time between 1771 and 1823, and at two more it was re-started after a long hiatus. At Kelso, Jedburgh and Selkirk local races were propelled upwards in status, and appeared in the *Racing Calendar* for the first time. This is part of the larger British pattern: after the Napoleonic Wars a the number of races and the size of racing crowds increased rapidly all over Britain.

The distribution of these races suggests that the nobility and landed gentry had by this period complete control of the sport: the role of the burghs had either vanished or reduced to a low level. Polite society, as in England and Ireland, organised its local activities at the level of the county, reflecting the structure of local government, which they dominated. The 16 race meetings were in 15 counties, and in the case of the county which had two meetings, the reason was the enthusiasms of a particular landed patron to have his own fixture - the Earl of Eglinton at Bogside. The same picture can be gained from an examination of the names of the donors of prizes at race meetings. For example, at Montrose in 1821 there were four races each with a prize of 50 guineas, each prize given by a local landlord. At meetings which included an ancient burgh race, such as St James's races at Paisley, the burgh race was merely one event in half a dozen, the others having prizes given by wealthy individuals.

The Lowland counties in which there were no races were Linlithgow, Haddington and Peebles, all of which were close to Musselburgh, and Kinross, Clackmannan, Nairn and Moray which were small. Dunbarton, although occupying quite a large area, was only to a limited a Lowland county for it extended well over the Highland line.

Two possible reasons for the distribution of races can be rejected. Only one race meeting, that at Coldstream, had been set up by a Hunt. The

involvement of hunters in racing was channelled in another direction, through the Caledonian Hunt Club (Royal from 1822), which patronised one existing race meeting each year, adding many races and lavish social activities, and sometimes hunting in the morning. Neither did cavalry officers contribute to the development of racing, for there were only three cavalry barracks in Scotland: at Piershill (Edinburgh), Dunbar and Lanark.

Reshaping the Geography of Scottish Racing 1815-1860

The reworking of the geography of racing in Scotland since the 1820s has involved two major factors: the downgrading or abandonment of some fixtures, and the move of others to new sites. Kelso and Musselburgh alone have been on the same sites since in the 1820s. In the second half of the nineteenth century several other sites were used, but they do not concern us here.

The number of venues for top-class racing in Scotland had reached its maximum in the 1820s. The reduction in numbers which followed can be interpreted as a reaction to the oversupply which resulted in many meetings being held intermittently in the first half of the nineteenth century. Where new courses were opened, as at Airdrie, they were in heavily populated areas and with the exception of Hamilton Park they have not survived.

In 1816 and 1822 two of the most important races were re-located: Leith races from the sands to a links site at Musselburgh, and Kelso from moorland to a newly-drained venue adjacent to the town. Leith races, rowdy and drunken, had long been a source of dismay to the respectable population of Edinburgh and Leith. The racing fraternity probably enjoyed their liveliness, but the general trend towards racing with younger, lighter and faster horses meant the use of better courses than four miles over the damp sands. The development of Leith Docks was used as an excuse for moving the races to Musselburgh: that it was an excuse can be seen from the revival between 1836 and 1859 of racing on sands of Leith, using working horses which were strong enough to run on the heavy going.

Kelso races had moved from one moorland site to another in 1820, because the Duke of Roxburghe planted trees on part of the course. The earliest course was on Caverton Edge, a rather remote venue where horses were

stabled at Softlaw Farm. The Duke had built accommodation - apparently a small stand-cum-stables - but out of race time it was inhabited by gypsies who were said to steal stock from the fields. The Duke placated his tenants by demolishing the structure. Blakelaw, the venue in 1820-1, was closer to Kelso but still more than three miles away. The new course of 1822:

was made at vast expense ... a mile and a quarter round ... the horses being seen distinctly by every spectator from the moment of starting to that of reaching the winning post.

Or, to put it another way, it was created specifically for horse racing, and it was the first course so laid out in Scotland. At Musselburgh the races had moved to another communal space, already popular for golf. The Duke had the will and the wealth to define a space for one sport only, and in doing so he simplified the social relations of horse racing to other activities. He also built a sandstone stand which was in its time the most significant sporting structure in Scotland and is now one of the oldest sporting buildings still in use, it was also the first permanent stand on a race course in Scotland.

The reasons for the cessation of race meetings were various. For example, Stirling races came to a sudden end in 1854. The immediate cause was a verbal onslaught by an elder of the Free Kirk, Peter Drummond, who provided the epigraph for this essay. He was successful because the chief supporter of Stirling races, William Ramsay of Barnton, had died in 1850 and no other wealthy individual appeared in his place. The abandonment of this, and other, race meetings can thus be linked with the lack of interest among landed patrons. Drummond's criticism was successful also because the burgh no longer had a commitment to their two and a half century old race: in the face of the challenge they were supine.

The races at Stirling can be contrasted with those at the Marymass festival at Irvine. Although it was a minor fixture, it was well over 300 years old by 1860. It was integrated into burgh society by being organised by the Irvine carters' society and by the ritual of processing to and from the race course. It became very rowdy indeed, close to a drunken riot. Unlike Stirling, local people were deeply committed to the continuation of the races. A change in its character was preceded in 1867 by the appearance

on the Town Moor, alongside nine tents selling alcohol, of the marquee of the Ayrshire Temperance Union. The temperance tent must have been a startling sight, ‘hung round the outside with drawings of his Satanic Majesty, ulcerated stomachs, and diseased kidneys, showing the different stages of physical deterioration in the gradual lapse from the occasional to the habitual use of intoxicants’. The middle-class advocates of temperance knew they could not stop Marymass, so they attacked instead its most extreme feature.

At the same time as the number of élite race meetings was falling, other forms of racing were in decline. The number of carters’ races decreased rapidly in the 1850s. The *broose*, as we have already noted, disappeared in this decade. Local races, which had often taken place on the high road, were becoming seen as dangerous: the one at Johnstone in Renfrewshire, banned by the magistrates in 1840, is typical. The last great race meetings on the sands of the Western Isles had been held in the 1820s. The cultural environment in which élite flat racing was taking place was thus changing rapidly in the middle of the nineteenth century: if we count all kinds of event, there were far fewer races in 1900 than there had been a century earlier.

Conclusion

The description of early Scottish horse racing which has been given here is largely based on largely published sources. It may be possible to extend it by examining the archives of the burghs, particularly the minutes and account books of the various town councils. Where these have been printed, only extracts have appeared, for editors have attempted to show the range of social activity which they record, but not the detail of annual events. Many burgh records remain completely unpublished. One would hesitate, however, before embarking on such a piece of research, for returns are likely to be modest. An architectural historian has trawled through the minutes of the Burgh of Newton-on-Ayr, where a horse race took place between 1745 and the end of the nineteenth century, and found only scattered references to the race - which added only minimally to our knowledge of the sport there. Leith Races are perhaps the exception to this pessimistic generalisation.

Family archives may furnish information concerning horse racing. The papers of the Hamilton family, and of other noblemen, may be revealing on the cost of owning a string of horses, though they probably say more about activity in England than in Scotland. The Ailsa Muniments contain material dating from 1753 to 1792 on the race at Kirkoswald in Ayrshire.

A better understanding of Scottish racing will also stem from a clearer picture of English and Irish racing in the same period. Discussions of important meetings such as Chester, first held in 1539 or 1540, and of topics such as the King's Plates or Prizes which were awarded at a dozen meetings in Britain every year, will do much to illuminate racing north of the Border. More information on local meetings in England would be welcome. Ireland, where the Celtic worship of horses survives, has a recognisably intense tradition of horse racing. Was horse racing in Scotland more like that in Ireland, or in England? 'It's gey an' easy sperin' ...'

Appendix I: Scottish horse races in the seventeenth century.

This list is based on information in Fairfax-Blakeborough's two books, on the surviving trophies which have been held by burghs since the inception of their races and the associated information which was well summarised by the Edinburgh silversmith A.J.S. Brook in 1893. Detailed references to these two works have not been given here. The third important source is the group of notices in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, a news sheet which was published in Edinburgh for a few months in 1661. References to it have been given in full because of its rarity.

The races are listed in the order of the earliest known races at each of them, and the percentage of the 1670 tax roll paid by the burgh is given in parentheses.

Leith (33% of tax roll paid by Edinburgh) Known in 1504, racing 'every Saturday' in 1661; certainly continued for the rest of the century.

Haddington (1.8% of tax roll) By 1552; restarted 1660 and held in 1661.

Peebles (0.6%) Probably by 1574, certainly by 1608.

Stirling (2.0%) By 1598. Revived in 1664, known in 1665, 1673-4, and

almost certainly run for the rest of the century.

Lanark (0.6%) The Lanark Bell of 1608/10 probably marks the beginning of racing: it was resumed in 1661, and probably continued for the rest of the century.

Dunfermline (0.8%) Racing for the silver bell from 1610; certainly continued into early 18th century.

Cupar (Fife) (1.0%) From 1610, revived in 1661, and almost certainly continued for the rest of the century.

Perth (4.0%) Racing for the silver bell from 1613.

Paisley (not a royal burgh) Racing for the silver bell from 1620.

Jedburgh (0.9%) From 1625, revived 1661; recorded in 11 separate years in the seventeenth century.

Glasgow (12.0%) From 1625, when the town council resolved that ‘the coup be maid’ for a race.

Irvine (0.9%) By 1636; possible in the 1660s.

Aberdeen (7.0%) 1661 and perhaps subsequently.

Berwick (In England) By 1661. Although in England, the races were at Lamberton in Scotland.

Inverness (1.8%) 1662 and perhaps subsequently.

Dumfries (1.7%) A race for cart horses was held in 1662, and a cup for a race of good-quality horses was bought in 1664.

Banff (0.4%) By 1684.

North Berwick (0.05%) By 1695.

Huntly (not a royal burgh) Started 1695.

Appendix II: Scottish horse races in the 1820s

This list sets out all the races which are known to have been held in at least

one year between 1820 and 1829, and which appeared in the *Racing Calendar*. It also indicates, in parentheses, the county in which the races took place, using the historical names of the counties. Edinburghshire, for example, later became Midlothian.

Musselburgh (Edinburgh) At Leith from c.1500 to 1815, and in the *Racing Calendar* from its first appearance in 1783; then at Musselburgh, where they are still run.

Cupar (Fife) Probably throughout the 18th century. Last run in 1841.

Stirling (Stirling) Probably local races throughout 18th century, important ones from 1805 to 1854.

Dumfries (Dumfries) Perhaps throughout 18th century, certainly from 1788; ceased after 1847.

Perth (Perth) Intermittent from 1734; continued to 1892. National Hunt racing at Scone from 1908.

Lanark (Lanark) Probably a local meeting for most of the 18th century; appears in the *Racing Calendar* from 1785.

Kelso (Berwick) Intermittently from 1734 or earlier, more regular from 1760, they appear in the *Racing Calendar* from its first publication in 1783.

Ayr (Ayr) By 1771; still run.

Aberdeen (Aberdeen) 1793-99, 1816-1829, 1843-7, 1875-6, but not held in every year.

Montrose (Kincardine) 1795-1803, 1821-6

Coldstream (Berwick) c.1818-30

Stranraer (Wigtown) 1819-22

Bogside (Ayr) From 1808; with several gaps continued to c.1970.

Hawick (Roxburgh) Local races throughout the 18th century, in the *Racing Calendar* from 1822 to 1876.

Selkirk (Selkirk) Local races throughout the 18th century, in the *Racing Calendar* from 1822 to 1872.

Inverness (Inverness) 1823-30.

In addition, Paisley races had a continuous history throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, but it was a minor meeting until 1836 when under the patronage of Lords Eglinton and Kelburne the prize money was increased and it appeared for the first time in the *Racing Calendar*; it remained a first-class fixture until 1907. There was racing at Hamilton intermittently between 1782 and 1811; and at the nearby Hamilton Park from 1908.

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Notes

1. Peter Drummond, quoted by Sloan, 1986, p. 22.
2. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1973, from which the historical material in McConnell, 1988 is derived. Fairfax-Blakeborough's earlier book (1949) contains some material on Scottish racing which is not in the later one. For the period before 1700 Fittis, 1891, is accurate but limited; Baxter, 1901, draws on Fittis and introduces new material.
3. Balfour Paul, 1900, p. 428.
4. Fittis, 1891, p. 110.
5. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1973, p. 1.
6. Huggins, 1996.
7. Extracted from Timperley, 1976.
8. Smith, 1996, pp. 44-5.
9. Burnett (1995/6), p. 43; *Lanarkshire and Glasgow ...*, p. 10. The informal racing of cart horses continued until they were displaced by motor vehicles - for example, at the end of their milk round in Edinburgh in the 1950s, or in the quiet of a Sunday morning in the highly urban environment of Garscube Road in Glasgow.
10. Watson, 1944.
11. Warrick, 1899, pp. 309-11.
12. Carmichael, 1928-71, i, 198-209, ii, 337-8, iii, 138-9; Banks, 1937-41, iii, 92-4.

13. Vamplew, 1976, p. 17.
14. Lamont, 1830, pp. 160-1.
15. Burnett & Urquhart, in press; Burnett, forthcoming, chapter 6.
16. How, 1983.
17. *Mercurius Caledonius*, p. 90.
18. *The Prince of Tartaria*, p. 8.
19. *The Work Goes Bonnilly On*, p. 8; *Edinburghs Joy ...*, p. 7.
20. Gray (1944), p. 125.
21. Black, in press.
22. Patterson, 1857, p. 53.
23. Fairfax-Blakeborough (1973), p. 13.
24. *Glasgow Courant*, 30 July 1759.
25. Burnett, 1995/6.
26. Burnett, in press.
27. Baxter, 1901, p. 51.
28. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1973, p. 213.
29. Marshall, 1976, pp. 46-61.
30. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1973, p.279.
31. Gillespie, 1919.
32. Moffat, 1985, p. 168.
33. Moffat, 1985, p. 168.
34. Mason, 1826, p. 65.
35. Burnett, 1996.
36. *Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 31 August 1867.
37. *Paisley Advertiser*, 11 July 1840.
38. Banks, 1937-41, iii, 102.
39. I am indebted to Rob Close for this information.
40. Scottish Record Office, GD 25 / Section 9, Box 46.
41. Stevenson, 1966, 'it's easy to ask the question ...'.
42. Brook, 1890-1.
43. Smout, 1963, pp. 282-3.
44. Baxter, 1901, p. 21.
45. Gray (1944), p. 125; *Edinburghs Joy*, p. 7.
46. Renwick, 1887, p. 87.
47. Baxter, 1901, p. 23.
48. *Edinburghs Joy*, p. 7.
49. Baxter, 1901, pp. 24-5.
50. *Mercurius Caledonius*, pp. 90-1; *The Prince of Tartaria*, p. 8.
51. Baxter, 1901, p. 51.
52. Fairfax-Blakeborough (1949), pp. 135-6; *The Work Goes Bonnilly On*, p. 8.
53. *Extracts ... Glasgow*, 1876, p. 345.
54. Strawhorn, 1985, p. 60.
55. Scott, 1888, p. 269.
56. McDowall, 1986, p. 334.
57. *Notice ... Northberwick*.
58. How, 1986, p. 491.
59. Extracted from Fairfax-Blakeborough, 1949 and 1973.
60. Baxter, 1901, pp. 53-5.