CHAPTER VIII

POPULAR FOOTBALL IN SCOTLAND

‘Whatever type of football existed in Scotland prior to 1850, there is no evidence of any attempt to establish, or even to introduce, the form known as the Rugby game until 1851, when it was adopted at Edinburgh Academy as a game for the boys. It should be emphasized that Rugby came to Scotland as a game for schoolboys.’

Thus Mr Phillips introduces his account of Rugby football as the game has prospered north of the Border in recent years; the following records constitute, in effect, a prelude of sorts to Mr Phillips’ volume.

Football is first documented in Scotland in 1424 by an act of the Parliament of James I forbidding the game:

Item. It is decreed and the King forbids any man to play at football on pain of 4 d. to be paid to the lord of the land as often as he is convicted, or to the sheriff of the land or to his agents, if the lords are unwilling to punish such trespassers.

‘Football and golf’ are utterly prohibited and archery practice is ordered under James II in 1457, also under James III in 1471, and under James IV in 1491. Though this last provision remained unrepealed, it is known from the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland that in 1497 the king himself indulged in the game: ‘Item. The 22d day of April, given to James Dog to buy footballs for the king … 2s.’

In the second canto of King Hart, written between 1501 and 1512, Gavin Douglas draws a striking picture of old age. Toward the end, King Hart (that is, ‘heart’) bequeathes parts of his rapidly ageing body to various appropriate allegorical figures. To Deliverness or Bodily Activity, conceived as a young page-boy, goes a shin and an arm bruised at ball. The ball-game in question is generally understood to refer specifically to football:

Bodily Activity has often done me good
When I was young and of a tender age;
He made me run most rashly – by the Cross –
At ball and bowls. Therefore greet that page-boy courteously.
This broken shin that swells and will not be relieved,
Take it to him; he broke it at ball,
And tell him it will be his reward.
Take the whole of this bruised arm to him.

In Sir David Lindsay’s A Satire of the Three Estates, written apparently between 1535 and 1540, an addiction to football is one of the minor failings of the parson:
Though I do not preach, I know how to play tennis;  
I know that there is no one among you all  
Who can play football better.  

It is also one of the virtues of Lindsay’s romance hero, Squire Meldrum:  

He won the prize over all of them  
Both at the [archery]-butts and at football.  

Here football and archery, no longer in open conflict, seem to be happily reconciled.  

In 1546 the hammermen (smiths) of Perth decree that neither servants nor apprentices should go to the South Inch or any other place when the masters take any football or a brother craftsman, but shall remain home at their work ‘under penalty of a pound of wax’ to the altar of Saint Eloy, their patron.  

A few decades after this time football was thriving to such an extent in the burgh of Peebles that on December 20, 1570, it had become necessary to limit its practice:  

The bailies counsel and the community orders that there be no football playing on the High Gate in the future, on pain of such person found playing (being fined) 8 s. and the ball being cut.  

From the 70s and 80s of the sixteenth century come two stanzas which describe vividly the dangers of football. The first is quoted by Sir Richard Maitland, who, in his Solace in Age, thanks God that he is now too old for this sport:  

When young men come from the green  
Had been playing football  
With my broken shoulder  
I thank my God that I lack eyesight  
I am so old.  

The second item, anonymous, on The Beauties of Foot-ball, is like the first:  

Bruised muscles and broken bones,  
Discordant strife and futile blows,  
Lamed in old age, then crippled withal:  
These are the beauties of football.  

In the tradition of Lindsay’s football-playing parson is Archbishop James Law, who, while minister of Kirkliston (Lothian), was censured in 1585 by the synod of Lothian for playing football on the Lord’s Day.  

Among the few members of the English and Scottish nobility who are recorded as having played football is Archibald Campbell, 7th Earl of Argyll; this fact was brought out as an incidental piece of information in the course of the confession (February 4, 1592) of Sir John Campbell of Ardkinglass (Argyll), charged with the murder of his cousin, Sir John Campbell, Laird of Calder. He refers to ‘my Lord playing at the football with Achinbreak and uthers scholari’.  

Not far from this time (ca. 1595) occurs an early instance of the tradition that a football match might be the forerunner of Border depredations. The matter was discussed by Sir Robert Carey, 1st Earl of Monmouth and Warden of the English March, as follows:

It was not long after that my brother and I had intelligence that there was a great match made at foote-ball, and the chiefe riders were to be there. The place they were to meet at was Shelsey (Kelso), and that day we heard it, was the day for the meeting. We presently called a counsaile, and after much dispute it was concluded, the likeliest place he [sic] was to come to, was to kill the scoutes. 17

At least two other similar stories come from this same time. On Sunday, May 13, 1599, a serious fray took place at Bewcastle (Cumbria). One Mr Rydley learned that twelve Scotchmen who had previously murdered friends of his were to come to a tryst. Henry Woodrington reports the affair in a letter to Sir Robert Carey:

Mr Rydley … went about by some means to catch them (i.e. Scots) in English ground, to avoid offence by entering Scotland, and hearing that there was ‘a football playing and after that a drynkyng hard at Bewcastle house’ betwixt 6 of those Armstrongs and 6 of Bewcastle, he assembled his friends and lay in wait for them. But the Scots having secret intelligence, suddenly came on them and have cut Mr Rydley and Mr Nychol Witton’s throats. 18

A year later the Armstrongs again make trouble. On the way to hold a warden’s court for the punishment of offences committed on the Border, Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael was attacked on June 16, 1600, by a body of Armstrongs and was shot dead. The circumstances were that the said Armstrongs were returning from a football match; 19 and in the subsequent trial Thomas Armstrong was condemned to have his right hand cut off, to be hanged, and his body suspended in chains for:

Having, at the instigation of others whose names he knew, planned, devised, and undertaken the cruel, treasonable and shameful slaughter of the late Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, then Warden of the West Marches, on a Sunday … at a football meeting, where various borderers and friends were assembled for the purpose. 20

On Wednesday, June 4, of the same year the men of Kincaple (Fifeshire) were accused before the Kirk Session of St Andrews of having played football and having indulged in other pastimes on Trinity Sunday. 21

The remarkably complete Kirk Session Minutes of Elgin, kept in great detail from 1584 on, furnish us with considerable material illustrating the firm hold which football had in those parts from December 14, 1598, down at least as late as March 20, 1653. The most interesting single entry is that of December 18, 1618, when ‘It is ordered that the superstitious observance of old rites and ceremonies expressly forbidden during the season called Yule, that they be completely shunned and eschued.’ 22 Football is specifically mentioned.
On June 18, 1601, the Privy Council of Scotland had under consideration the subject of a quarrel which had arisen at a football match at Lochton in the Merse (Berwickshire). The dispute had been attended with violence, and representation was made by Alexander, Master of Elphinstone (East Lothian), that William Cockburn of the ilk with John and David his brothers on the one side, and James Davidson of Birnerig and James Davidson of Nodday on the other, while ‘playing football … fell into contention and controversy with one another, and shot and fired off pistols and hackbuts.’

If James IV did play football, James VI did not, and went so far as to seize the opportunity of decrying it as a pastime unworthy of a royal prince. The Basilikon Doron, or His Majesties Instructions to his Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince, privately published in 1599 and published in Edinburgh in 1603, the king debars from commendable exercises of the body ‘all rough and violent exercises, as the football; meeter for laming, then making able to users thereof.’ In contrast to football, running, jumping, wrestling, fencing, playing catch or tennis, archery and pall-mall are recommended.

Profanation of the Sabbath as well as breach of the peace soon becomes an element associated with Scottish football matches; as of June 19, 1607, the youth of Aberdeen is charged with conducting itself profanely on the Sabbath, in drinking, playing football, dancing and roving from parish to parish. On July 15, 1610, football again led to a breach of the peace, with a complaint lodged on December 7, 1611, by Sir Thomas Hamilton of Byres (Lanarkshire) for his Majesty’s interest, by Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig Castle (Dumfries), and William Douglas, apparent heir, that William Kirkpatrick the younger of Kirkmichael (Perthshire) and several others, all armed with certain weapons with hackbuts and pistols, under the pretext of a made game of football (‘the playing of a wood fute ball’) came to the ball-green of the lands of Campbell and in a bragging manner made provocation to the complainants.

In the Abernethy (Perthshire) parish records of March 29, 1620, it is reported that John Dron and - - Dron compeared in the parish of Exmagirdle (Perthshire), confessed to playing football on the Lord’s Day, and promised never to do it again. In the court book of Banff under October 21, 1629, we read of two footballs having been paid yearly in settlement of rent; a little over fifty years later (May 1, 1682) players of football in the streets of the same town were fined 40 s. Although football meetings on the Sabbath or games which in one way or another led to rioting were obviously frowned upon, the Burgh Records of Glasgow furnish ample evidence that under certain circumstances football was viewed favourably and even encouraged. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the traveller William Lithgow, in a panegyrlic (1633) on Charles I should lament the passing of football and praise it as a manly sport and healthful exercise:

For manly exercise, is shreudly [unfortunately] gone, Foot-ball and wrestling, throwing of the stone: Jumping and breathing, practises of strength, Which taught them to endure, hard things at length.
In his Vocabula, David Wedderburn includes a little monologue on football (pila pedalis) with the help of which his pupils might learn to express themselves in Latin on the playing field. It may be translated as follows:

Let us choose sides; pick your first man. Those on our side come here. How many are against us? Kick out the ball so that we may begin the game. Come, kick it here. You keep the goal. Snatch the ball from that fellow if you can. Come, throw yourself against him. Run at him. Kick the ball back. Well done! You aren’t doing anything. To make a goal. This is the first goal, this the second, this the third. Drive that man back. The opponents are, moreover, coming out on top. If you don’t look out, he will make a goal. Unless we play better, we’ll be done for. Ah, victory is in your hands! Ha, hurrah! He is a very skilled ball player. Had it not been for him, we should have brought back the victory. Come, help me. We still have the better chance.

This passage and its setting – a Latin school book – furnished good evidence that football was not only a popular game, but was also approved in the Grammar School at Aberdeen when Wedderburn was Master and first published his Vocabula in ca. 1633.

On December 5, 1638, at the Glasgow Assembly for the deposition of the bishops, Robert Hamilton of Glassford (Lanarkshire) ‘was found to be according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day.’ Sabbath footballing continues with a record of the Presbytery of Garioch (Aberdeenshire) from the year 1648 when various parishioners of Rayne and Culsalmond were found guilty of ‘scandalous behaviour in convening themselves upon the Lord’s day to a public footballing’. Finally, on September 17, 1656, an act of Parliament was passed for the better observation of the Lord’s Day, according to which boisterous games were prohibited. Under February 9, 1691, Sir John Foulis of Ravelston (Midlothian) debits himself as follows on behalf of his fourth son, William, born in 1674 and at that time about seventeen years of age: ‘To William for ye football –0 – 14 – 0.’

During the eighteenth century football maintained itself as a popular rural sport, and it is from this time that our relatively complete or picturesque accounts of the old time games have come down. Among the various anecdotes told of the Reverend Michael Potter, ordained to the parish of the village or ‘kingdom’ of Kippen (Stirlingshire) in 1700, the following is especially to the point:

It had been the practice with some of the parishioners for years to play football on Sunday afternoons. Mr Potter disapproved of this, and he therefore one Sunday afternoon embraced the opportunity of going down when the people were engaged in the sport, and begged to be permitted to take part in the game. The players were somewhat astonished, but made no reply, neither complied nor refused. Mr Potter said it was proper that all their employment should begin with prayer, and he therefore pulled off his hat and began to pray. By the time he had concluded, the most of the players had skulked away, and the practice was in future discontinued.

In 1708 football and golf are noted as sports to which the common people of Scotland were much addicted. To the Reverend John Skinner seems to belong the honour of writing the first Scottish football poem; his lively dialect piece, The Monymusk
Christmas Ba’ing, 40 was composed in the author’s seventeenth year (ca. 1738) and celebrates the game as played at Monymusk (Aberdeenshire). It is in a sense a predecessor of the football poems of Scott and Hogg. The observations of Skinner’s anonymous editor may well be quoted here in part, since they are based on the one hand on the contents of the poem itself, on the other upon local tradition:

It may be proper, at the same time, to state, that at that period, and from time immemorial, it had been the practice in most of the country parishes in Aberdeenshire, for parties of young men to assemble, about the Christmas season, to try their strength and agility at the athletic exercise of football. The contest generally took place in the kirkyard of the parish. It was while our author resided at Monymusk, and in consequence of having witnessed one of the scenes, that the humorous and descriptive poem alluded to made its appearance. It seems to have been designed as a humble imitation of the old poem, ascribed to James the First of Scotland, called ‘Christ-kirk o’ the green’, 41 of which our author was so fond, that before he was twelve years of age, he had it all by heart, and afterwards gave an elegant translation of it into Latin verse, which has been much admired by some of the ablest judges of such compositions. 42

A typical stanza is the eighth:

The hurry-burry now began,
Was right weel worth the seeing.
Wi’ routs and raps frae man to man,
Some getting, and some gieing;
And a’ the tricks of fit [foot] and hand,
That ever was in being;
Sometimes the ba’ a yirdlins [along the ground] ran,
Sometimes in air was fleeing [flying],
Fu’ heigh that day.

The popularity of football during this period did not escape the notice of Sir Walter Scott, who describes it as being in his day still a ‘favourite Border sport’. 43 In The Lay of the Last Minstrel (completed in 1805) football is one of the sports indulged in during a Border truce:

Some drove the jolly bowl about;
With dice and draughts some chased the day;
And some, with many a merry shout,
In riot, revelry and rout,
Pursued the football play.
(V, vi, 19-23)

Perhaps the most famous of all old-time Scottish football matches was that of Carterhaugh (Selkirkshire), played on December 4, 1815, near the confluence of the Ettrick and Yarrow Water. Some two thousand spectators were reported present, including many of the titled and landed gentry. The opponents were from the Vale of Yarrow with representatives of the sutors of the town of Selkirk, and a well contested game ended in victory for the latter. The ancient banner of Buccleugh was displayed while the then duke started proceedings by throwing the ball between the two
parties. That this revival of ancient military custom might not want poetical celebrity, verses, composed specially for the occasion by Scott and by Hogg, were distributed among the spectators. Scott’s poem On the Lifting of the Banner of the House of Buccleugh had as a stirring chorus:

Then up with the banner, let forest winds fan her,
She has blazed over Ettrick eight ages and more;
In sport we’ll attend her, in battle defend her,
With heart and with hand, like our fathers before.  

The Ettrick Garland, to the Ancient Banner of the House of Buccleugh by Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, opened in more sombre mood:

And hast thou here, like hermit grey,
Thy mystic characters unrolled;
O’er peaceful revellers to play,
Thou emblem of days of old?
All hail! Memorial of the brave,
The liegeman’s pride, the Border’s awe!
May the grey pennon never wave
On sterner field than Carterhaugh!  

Scott’s poem in particular breathes a spirit of great enthusiasm both for football and the house of Buccleugh, and it is consequently not surprising that Lockhart could write thus of his distinguished father-in-law:

The author of ‘the Lay’ would rather have seen his heir carry the Banner of Bellenden gallantly at a football match on Carterhaugh, than he would have heard that the boy had attained the highest honours of the first university in Europe.  

In the sentiments here ascribed to him, Scott is clearly one of the forerunners of countless parents whose sons are today at the public schools and universities.

During the first half of the nineteenth century football continued to be played in Scotland and was apparently particularly popular, but with the coming in of the Association and the Rugby Union games after the sixties and seventies, the old, popular forms of football gradually died out in Scotland as in England.  

And finally, looking back to football in the yards of the old High School of Edinburgh in the first quarter of the century, we may close this chapter with two stanzas of a poem by George McCrie, read by him in 1866:

What sound was that which thundered in mine ear?
I heard, and boyhood rushed through every vein;
I saw the football flying to the sphere,
I heard it bounding on the yards again:
Now comes the rush, the shouting, and the strain.
The shin’s disaster, and the answering wail,
Blest he who caught the ball from all the train,
Led off the van, pursued its muddy trail,
And, victor, droved the bladder thundering to the Hale!
But wod the day when some adventurous kick
Sent it careering o’er the southern wall;
Need then for those who knew the bolder trick
To climb the rampart at the general call,
Perched on the parapet, huzza’d by all,
With balanced care, their perilous way they steer;
But, disappearing, soon the glorious ball
Mounts once again – to many a deafening cheer –
Up from that chaos dread which lay beyond the sphere! 49

Notes

1 In the present volume all references to the Scottish Fastens-een game have been assembled and discussed under the general heading ‘Shrove Tuesday Football’ in Chapter XI below; see Scottish place names on pp.101-02, note 16. Much of this Scottish Fastens-een material I have, however, previously discussed in ‘Scottish Popular Football, 1424-1815’, American Historical Review XXXVII (1931), 1-13.


3 Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (1424-1567), II (1814), 5b, chap. 18; the same is also given in Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 7, note:
Item. It is statut and the king forbiddes that na man play at the football under the payne of iiii d. to be raysit to the lorde of the lande als oft as he be tayntyt, or to the shref of the land or his ministeries gif the lordis will not puniss sic trespassouris.

4 Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (1424-1567), II, 48a and b (‘the fut ball and the golf’)

5 Ibid, II, 100, chap 6.


7 Thomas Dickson ed., Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 330; see also ibid, p. ccliv, for references to the earlier legislation already noted.

8 John Small, ed, The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas (Edinburgh, 1874), I, 118-19 and note ad loc., p. 153:
Delivereres hes oft tymes done me gude,
Quhen I wes young and stede in tendir age;
He gart me ryn full rakles – be the Rude! –
At ball and boull. Thairfoir greit weill that page.
This brokin schyn, that swellis and will nocht swage,
Ye beir to him! He brak it at the ball,
And say to him that is sal be his wage,
This breissit arme ye beir to him at all.

9 Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, vv. 3411-13, ed F. Hall, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., 37, 1869, p. 505:
Thocht I preich not, I can play at the caiche;
I wait thair is nocht ane amang yow all,
Mair fairlie can play at the fut-ball.

10 The Historic of Squyer Meldrum, vv. 1047-48, David Laing ed., The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay (Edinburgh, 1879), I 193:
He wan the pryse above tham all,
Baith at the buttis and the futeball.

11 David Murray, Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland, I (Glasgow, 1924) 223.

12 Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles A.D. 1165-1710 (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 324

13 Sir William A. Craigie ed., The Maitland Quarto Manuscript (Scottish Text Soc., New Ser., No. 9, 1920), p. 56, vv. 46-50:
Quhen young men cummis fra the grein
Playand at the fuball had bein
With brokin spauld
I thank my god I want my ein
I am so auld

14 Idem, The Maitland Quarto Manuscript (Scottish Text Soc., New Ser., No. 7, 1919), I, 242, item 77:
Brissit brawnis and broken banis
Stryf discorde and waistie wanis
Cruikit in eild syn halt with all
Thir are the bewteis of the fute ball.

J. A Fairley in Lauriston Castle: the Estate and its Owners (Edinburgh, 1925), p. 60, quaintly enough would cast doubt upon this scandal.


17 Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey ... Earl of Monmouth. Written by himself (London, 1759), p. 92: for ‘Scottes’ of the 1st edition I have adopted the reading ‘scoutes’ of the 2nd (London, 1759, p. 127). As is explained in the Edinburgh edition of 1808 (p. 76, note), allusion is made here to Border sentinels, called ‘scouts’, whose duty it was to stop marauders from passing the fords of the R. Tweed on the way to England. It may be noted that this episode caught the fancy of Sir Walter Scott, who


19 The Dictionary of National Biography under ‘John Carmichael’.


22 William Cramond, ed., The Records of Elgin (New Spalding Club, Publ. No. 35, Aberdeen, 1908), II, passim and esp. p. 158:
   It is ordenit that the superstitious observation of auld reitis and ceremonies espresly forbidden during the tyme callit Yooll that they be altogidder awodit and eschewit.

23 David Mason ed., The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, VI (Edinburgh 1884), 262:
   Playand at the fute-ball … fell in contentioun and contraversie, ilk ane with utheris, and schot and dilaschit pistolettis and hacquebuttis.

24 Publ. In Edinburgh, 1603, p. 120.

25 From the inedit Presbyterie Buik of Aberdein, quoted by Sir J.G. Dalyell, The Darker Superstitions of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1943), p 93.

26 David Mason ed., The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, IX, 301.

27 Dugald Butler, The Ancient Church and the Parish of Abernethy (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 357-358.


29 Ibid, p. 161

30 Especially on Fastens-een; see Chapter IX, pp. 105-06 below.

D[avid] W[edderburn], / Vocabula / Cum allis nonullis / Latinae Linguae / Subsidiis / In eorum gratiam, qui prima / Latini Sermonis tyrocinia / faciunt / (Edinburgh: Andrew Anderson, 1700), p.37. The title of this scarce work, as well as the text quoted below, was most kindly communicated to me by the Glasgow booksellers Jackson, Wylie and Co., from a copy in the University Library of Aberdeen. I originally came upon this item in David Murray, Memories of the Old University of Glasgow (Glasgow: Jackson and Wylie, 1927), pp 432-33, where a translation from an earlier and to me unaccessible edition of the Vocabula is given. In the following transcript of the 1700 edition of the text, I have silently corrected a few obvious typographical errors and expanded one abbreviation:

Sortiamur partes: tu primum socium dilige: Qui sunt nostrarum partium huc se recipient: Quot nobis adversantur? Execute pilam ut ineamus certamen: Age, huc percute: Tu tuere metum: Praeripe illi pilam si possis agere: Age objice te illi: occurre illi: Repercute pilam: Egregie [very well]: Nihil agis [you do nothing]. Transmittere metum pilam [to give the hail]. Nic primus est transmissus [this is the first hail]: Hic secundus, hic terti us est transmissus: Repelle eum, alioqui, adversarii evadunt superiores. Nisi caves jam occupabit metam. Ni melius a nobis ludatur, de nobis actum est. Eia penes vos victoria est. Io triumphe. Est pilae doctissimus [he is a brave ball man]. Absque eo fuisset, reportassimus victoriam [had he not been, we had won]. Age, subservi mihi [take heed and serve me]. Adhuc potiores habemus, scilicet partes [we have yet the likeliest of it].

Robert Baillie, Letters and Journals (Edinburgh, 1775), I, 126.


William Chrystal, The Kingdom of Kippen, Its History and Traditions (Stirling, 1903), pp. 121, 123.


Amusements of Leisure Hours; or, Poetical Pieces, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect (Edinburgh, 1809), p. 14. Some of the material which appears in the anonymous biographical essay is utilised by Charles Rogers, Social Life in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1884), II, 303-04, 352.


45 Scott, Poetical Works, X, 68.

46 The preceding remarks are but slightly adapted from the fine account by James Russel, Reminiscences of Yarrow (Selkirk, 1894), pp. 279-80. For a different, perhaps later revised text of Hogg’s poem, see D.O. Hill ed., The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd (Glasgow, 1840), IV, 345-46.

47 Memoirs, cit. supra, V, 435.


49 Printed in James Crabb Watt, John Inglis, Lord Justice-General of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1893), pp. 32-33, note 1.