In 1835 a special Gold Medal competition was held to determine the title "Champion of Pipers". It was open to former winners of the prize pipe, and was intended to "serve as a stimulus for good pipers to continue their attention and improve their play". [HSSPMB: 67]. Despite fears that an excessive number of competitors would appear, only five came forward on the day. These were John Ban Mackenzie, then piper to Breadalbane (winner in 1823); John MacGregor (V), former piper to Atholl (winner in 1811); John Gordon, piper to McInroy of Lude (winner in 1826); William Mackay, piper to the Celtic Society (winner in 1820); and Donald MacRae from Applecross, who was then aged 80, and blind, and had won the prize pipe in 1791! MacRae (1755-1854) did not perform in public, but was presented with a special silver medal in recognition of his long piping career. He had been Pipe Major to the 72nd Seaforth Highlanders (1784-89), and the 78th Rossshire Buffs (1793-1802), and on this occasion, two of his piping sons, Alexander and John, also competed in the competition for the prize pipe. [HSL 268, 19: 1835 Accounts; PT Sept 1972: 32; Int. Piper August 1981: 14].

The Gold Medal was won by John Ban Mackenzie playing The Gordon's Salute. Dalyell privately considered that...

"John MacGregor showed higher proficiency, in taking into account the perfect tune of his performance and of his instrument. The drones were scarcely heard from the perfection of the unison." [Dalyell Gen 369: 49].
John MacGregor and John Gordon were awarded 3 guineas each. William Mackey, who was eliminated at the rehearsal, was given £2. [1835 Accounts (op. cit.)]. The experiment was not repeated while the Edinburgh competition lasted, but the title "Champion of Pipers" was bestowed on three further occasions at the Northern Meeting in Inverness - in 1867 (Donald Cameron), 1873 (Ronald Mackenzie), and 1876 (Duncan MacDougall). All were pupils of John Ban Mackenzie. In 1896 a formal clasp competition for former winners was introduced at the Northern Meeting. [Campbell A 1955(a) (b) (c)].
Dancing

J.F. and T.M. Flett in their useful review of Highland dancing at the Edinburgh competitions [Flett 1956] successfully disprove the prevalent notion that competitive Highland dancing was a product of the Victorian era. In actual fact, as early as 1783 in Edinburgh "several of the pipers afforded no small entertainment by giving a specimen of their agility and spirit in Highland dancing" [E.E.C. 27/10/1783], and with the introduction of cash prizes in 1829, the first generation of competitive Highland dancers took to the boards.

In the earliest years of the competition it was the pipers themselves who provided both the music and the dancing. In 1784 Faujas St. Fond witnessed "a lively and animated dance formed by one half of the pipers, while the others played suitable airs" [St. Fond 1784: 252], and throughout the entire course of the competition the pipes continued to play for the Gille Cealum, or Sword Dance. From 1801, however, all other dances were accompanied by an instrumental band, which by 1835 had grown to an 16-piece orchestra comprising violins, horns, cellos, basses and flute, but not, as Collinson has maintained, bellows-blown pipes. [Collinson 1975: 182; HSSPMB: 125].

Specialist Highland dancers started to appear at the competition as early as 1810, but it was with the introduction of dancing prizes in 1829 that numbers soared to the extent that the organisers were forced to curb stage...
appearances. (The Flatts estimate that some 170 dancers performed between 1816 and 1844 [Flett J. & T.: 349]). Prizes came about as a direct result of public lobbying. A letter to the organisers in 1817 complained that

"... two thirds of the audience ... comes merely to see the dancers, and they have always been disappointed in never seeing any prize bestowed upon the best dancers". [Flett J. & T: 347].

The organisers took heed, and spurred also by a perceived decline in dancing standards, introduced four prizes valued at 10 guineas in 1829 (increased to eight prizes in 1841). [HSSPM 62; HSL 268, 17: 1829; 19: 1844]. Adjudication, however, did not take place at the public contest, but rather at a private sitting two days before the main event. Selected exhibition dances continued to be performed in public.

The "Highland Reel" was the staple of early performances, and it was not until the appearance of "Madame Frederick" of the Theatre Royal in 1799 to exhibit "strathspeys, jigs and other dances with her accustomed dexterity" [Cal Marc 8/8/1799], that the dancing repertoire became more varied. Thereafter a variety of dances were exhibited, ranging from the Twasome (a form of Strathspey-minuet), to the Fling and Reel of Tilloch, to the spectacular Gille Calum, to the even more unusual "Broadsword Exercise", an archaic exercise in swordsmanship specially revived for the event. [Flett J. & T.: 354, 5; Logan 1876 II: 315].
The dancing on the whole provided a welcome and necessary respite from the onslaught of martial music. As Sir John Sinclair delicately put it: "the peculiar music of the piobrach ... perhaps may have something monotonous to the ear unaccustomed to it. The dancing, however, is at once relished by strangers, as well as by natives." [Cal. Mar. 2.8.1822]. Not all spectators, however, relished these performances as thoroughly as most. Sir John Carr wryly declared in 1809 that "in the course of their springs and caperings" the dancers "would doubtless have alarmed the sensitive feelings of a member of the Society for the suppression of vice ... for the wounded delicacy of the ladies of the pit." [Carr 1809: 178]. Another surprised spectator discovered in 1817 that "the exposed limbs of the dancers are sometimes exhibited to the view in a manner altogether superfluous ..." [Flett J. & T.: 350].

At the expense of the occasional flushed cheek in the pit, however, these Edinburgh exhibitions, combined with the boom in Highland Games from the 1820s, undoubtedly helped promote competitive Highland Dancing. A particularly influential figure at the time was John Grant, dancing master in Elgin, described by Logan as a good fiddler and excellent dancer. [Logan 1876 II: 314]. He won the inaugural contest in 1829, amid allegations by his fellow competitors that his style was "ridiculous" and "inconsistent". [Dalyell Gen 358D: 84]. The controversy possibly lay in Grant's introduction of steps inconsistent with traditional style, and from which might derive some of
the more balletic features now evident in Highland dancing. Dalyell described his 1829 performance as "more in the style of one of the high dances common 30 years ago, a kind of pas seul of considerable execution"; and his 1832 performance was designed to "exhibit every different species of Highland dancing." [Dalyell Gen 356D: 84, 360D: 40].

However justified Grant's innovative approach, it underlines the fact that the early nineteenth century was a time of experimentation and change, with new steps, and new dances. This legacy endures.
The first-listed objective of the HSL on its foundation was the restoration of the Highland Dress, proscribed by Act of Parliament in August 1746. In 1782 the Marquis of Graham successfully moved for the repeal of this Act [Adam 1960: 370,4], and from then onwards the HSL showed an enduring concern for the tartan, and the kilt.

Hugh-Trevor Roper in his meticulous, if acerbic, appraisal of the early nineteenth century "tartan industry" [1983: 15-41], condemns the HSL and like bodies for their deliberate creation of a bogus Highland identity with little bearing on historical reality. The kilt or phillibeg was in fact a creation of the early eighteenth century, and prior to that the brescan, or kilted plaid, was the dress of the commonality. There is indeed no evidence that particular tartans, setts or patterns were appropriated to any particular clan until after the Forty-five, and we might view with some scepticism the Highland Society's instruction to Highland chiefs in 1783 to "revive the ancient practice of dressing their pipers in the particular ensigns of their respective families." [E.E.C. Oct. 27, 1783].

The valiant achievements of the kilted Highland Regiments during the Napoleonic Wars, and the publication of General Stewart of Garth's Sketches of the Highlanders (1822), did much to promote the image of the kilt as the
authentic Highland garb. Chiefs and commoners alike discovered an interest in the Highland Dress, and from the early nineteenth century, tartan manufacturers were kept busy with orders for new designs. In 1819 the largest manufacturer, Wilsons of Bannockburn, sent a "key pattern book" to the HSL, and the Society duly went about "authenticating" the patterns therein contained. [Trevor-Roper 1983: 30, 2; HSL 268: Box 15]. The Society itself led by example. By 1785 it had kitted-out its piper, Neil MacLean, in a uniform comprising kilt, coat, waistcoat, plaid, sporran and Highland pistol, with further outlay on "covering the piper's red coat". (Fig. X). [HSL 268, 24: 1785, 6, 7]. At the competitions the kilt was keenly promoted. Where competitors had arrived in Falkirk in the early days, thinking that "nothing more would be attended to than the simple merits of the competition", and clad in homely Lowland attire, by 1786 the wearing of the kilt was compulsory. [EpC Oct 27 1783, Cal Mero July 29 1786]. Dress prizes valued at 6 guineas were introduced in 1818, and by 1826 it was felt that these had produced a "very remarkable" improvement in sartorial standards. [Letter Gordon/ Wedderburn, 27 Oct 1826, 268: 2]. In 1835 the experiment was extended to cover seven prizes in three categories of "Best dressed at Master's expense", "Best dressed at own expense", and "Best dressed in home-made tartan" [Dalyell Gen 369D: 41]. A certain degree of confusion prevailed as to what, exactly, was "best dressed", and it was necessary to warn
competitors in 1838 that:
"the display of the mere ornamental parts deserved less praise and reward than the style of wearing and correctness of the useful parts." [Cal Merc July 26 1838].

The situation was unfortunately confounded by the HSL's insistence on awarding dirks, broadswords and powder horns, scarcely "useful parts", as prizes, and by heated debate on vexed questions such as whether the cross-belt should be worn above or below the plaid. (Colonel MacBean of the 78th carried the day on this issue, with the telling point that the plaid must lie over the belt, to be swiftly discarded in the rush to battle!) [Dalyell Gen 369 D: 41]. It is small wonder that certain judges looked on the matter with scant enthusiasm. In 1823, in particular, tempers were frayed when judges themselves were directed to wear the kilt. Two (J.G Dalyell, and Gilbert Innes of Stow) refused, and Dalyell wrote archly to the secretary:

"Mr Graham Dalyell will not affirm that the Society is wrong, but after having studied the musical art thoroughly and practically during 30 years ... he does not conceive that any additional capacity to determine qualifications can be imparted by adopting a particular costume". [Kilberry II; 39].

Society members with a penchant for the Highland Dress joined the Celtic Society, founded in 1820 under the watchful eye of Stewart of Garth. The objective of this body was to promote "the general use of the ancient Highland Dress in the Highlands," to which end they hit on
tartan design, and were copied by James Logan (Clans of the Scottish Highlands, illus. R.R. MacIan, 1843), James Browne (History of the Highlands, 1850), and others. [Trevor-Roper 1983:33-39.]

Such was the rather inglorious history of tartan. Commercial interests and romantic ideals loomed large, and the HSL played its part. The annual competition, with its kilt-clad competitors, was the most public manifestation of the Society's interest, and it too, therefore, was a part of the story.
Piping, Poetry and Song: 1781-1832


Gaelic scholars will be well acquainted with Duncan Ban MacIntyre's impressive series of six poems on the subject Moladh Do'n Ghaidhlig, 's Do'n Phiob Mhoir (Praise to Gaelic and the Great Pipe), recited by him at the piping competitions of 1781, '82, '83, '84, '85 and '89. [MacIntyre D 1834: 170-184]. Each was a fresh composition (his imagination must have been sorely taxed), produced at a time when he was a soldier in the Edinburgh City Guard. His performances were skilful and opportunistic. In 1782 — the year in which legislation against the kilt was rescinded — MacIntyre appeared kilt-clad to recite his new poem on the restoration of the Highland Dress, (Oran Do'n Eideadh Ghaidhealach). He circulated printed copies, and received "a contribution for his encouragement". [HSL 268, 15: 1782]. In 1784 the HSS advertised premia for a poem on the restoration of the Forfeited Estates, and there was MacIntyre with printed copies of his Oran Nam Fineachan a Phuair am Fearann Air Ais o'n Righ, soon to be 50 merks the richer for his efforts. [EEC Sept 29 1784; HSS Sd. Bk. 1: 86; Black 1986: 7].

In 1789, surprisingly, he failed in a bid to become the Society's official bard, the post going to the inexperienced Donald Shaw, after a trial recitation of a
poem on the Warlike Exploits of the 42nd Regiment. The Society, however, rewarded him with 100 merks as "some mark of approbation" of his "poetic genius", and hailed his final eulogy on the great pipe "a performance of singular merit". [HSS Sd. Bk. 2: 16; Black 1986: 8]. They did not forget him, either, in his old age, providing him with a small pension until his death in 1812. [Kilberry I: 28-36].

b. 1805-1820. Poetry and Song

In February 1805 the HSS formed a committee concerned with the preservation and collection of "valuable ancient poetry and music hitherto unpublished". Between 1806 and 1810 prizes were advertised for any competitor who would come forward and "Sing or Recite Ancient Gaelic Airs": the aim was to vary the competition format, and promote the collection of poetry. Between 1807 and 1810, 5 guineas were set aside annually from the competition funds for this purpose, the 1810 money being earmarked for the publication of an anthology of Rob Donn's poems. (No publisher could be found.) [Cal Merc July 17 1806; HSSPMB: 6, 7].

While this was a decided departure from the standard fare of the piping competitions, it was in line with the then-current interest in the collection of Gaelic, and particularly Ossianic, verse. In 1797, the year after James MacPherson's death, the HSS established an "Ossian
Committee", headed by Henry Mackenzie, to enquire into the authenticity of MacPherson's alleged translations of the works of Ossian. In 1803 MacPherson's original documents were procured from John Mackenzie, his literary trustee in London. These included the Book of the Dean of Lismore and 18 other valuable manuscripts, which now form the basis of the National Library's Gaelic collection. The Report of the Ossian Committee was published in 1805: its conclusion - that Ossianic poetry existed, but that MacPherson's translations were not genuine. The Report was, in the opinion of Ronald Black "a well-assembled, well-balanced presentation of priceless information". [Black 1986: 13].

The Society countenanced other projects of similar ilk: in 1801 it published Alexander Stewart's Gaelic Grammar; in 1803 it gave 50 guineas to the SSPCK to publish the Old Testament; and between 1806 and 1828 it produced its own monumental, if problem-strewn, Gaelic Dictionary. [Black 1986: 13-32]. Attempts to gather fragments of old and new songs at the piping competition were simply a manifestation of this same interest. Sadly, the competitors were not eager informants. The only payments eventually recorded were in 1819, to Donald MacLennan, piper to Sir George Mackenzie of Coul, who "recited a piece of ancient Gaelic poetry in the best style"; and in 1820, to John Stewart from Eigg, who performed, in slightly poorer style, a series of "wild and discordant screams far from agreeable to hear". [Cal Merc
July 31 1819; July 22 1820; Dalyell 1849: 115]. By this stage the Society's enthusiasm had waned, and the venture lapsed.

c. 1816. Alexander Campbell and Captain Simon Fraser of Knockie

Also included in the Highland Societies' transient interest in Gaelic Song were Alexander Campbell's Albyn's Anthology (2 volumes, 1816 and 1818), and Captain Simon Fraser of Knockie's Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland (1816), both of which received financial backing from the Societies.

Campbell's collection, which marginally predated Fraser's, was the first Gaelic anthology to incorporate both words and music, although Campbell sought to broaden its appeal by including new English Lyrics (by Walter Scott, James Hogg, John Wilson et. al.) alongside the Gaelic. Campbell (1764-1824) was a Perthshire Highlander of diverse talents, evident in several poetry publications (5), and also in his private writings, which are of great interest to pipers. His Notes of My Third Journey to the Borders, [1816(b)] contain valuable information of the Border piping tradition, whilst his Journey Made Through Parts of the Highlands, [1815(a)] contains, amongst other information, a remarkable description of Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon.

Campbell first had the idea of "arranging in systematic view the vocal poetry and melodies of Scotland
and the Isles" in 1790, but was side-tracked by a short-lived medical career and other concerns. It was not until December 1814, aged 50, that he approached the HSS for help with his music collection. With the backing of Henry MacKenzie he was granted 30 guineas "to traverse the principal parts of Argyll and Invernesshire ... where it is thought musical pieces of merit may be most readily obtained". [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 101-4 127].

His report on this collecting tour (the Sketch of a Journey Made Through parts of the Highlands and Hebrides) was examined in December 1815 by John Forbes and J.G. Dalyell, and declared satisfactory. [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 156-8, 199]. The journey, which lasted from July 23rd to October 17th, took him from Loch Awe to Mull and Staffa, the Uists, Harris, Skye, Glenelg and Glengarry. On Staffa he heard the piping of Archibald MacArthur ("awfully sublime"), and at Boisdale the Laird's piper entertained over dinner, "and we had the double gratification of good cheer and excellent piping". He ruminated on the surprising fact that "many blacks have acquired great skill in piping" (a reference to West Indians taught by army pipers); and he collected prodigiously - 191 items of music and song in three months. [Campbell 1815(a): 57, 1816 (a): 54].

Ninety one items were published in the two volumes on Albyn's Anthology, fifty-two of them Gaelic Airs. A third volume was proposed for 1819, but remained unpublished. [Campbell 1818: 1]. Three pibrochs were
included - *Pibroch of Donald Dubh*, *MacGregor’s Gathering*, and *MacKrimmon’s Lament* [I: 82, 90; II: 57] - each furnished with new lyrics by Scott, but based on actual pibrochs communicated to Campbell by Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto, with whom he stayed from 23rd to 30th September. The first two, which he transliterated from Gesto’s *Canntaireachd*, (a process "tedious and exceedingly troublesome" [Campbell 1816 I: 90]), faithfully follow the contemporary pibroch formula wherein the urlar was repeated following the doubling of each variation.

In April 1816 the HSL, on the recommendation of Stewart of Garth, subscribed to 50 copies of the work. The HSS provided no further funding (and were anxious to affirm that "Mr C. should understand distinctly that the work is entirely his own"), but Campbell was nevertheless delighted with their assistance, and thanked both societies eloquently in his advertisement for the publication, and in the work itself. [Campbell 1816(a): IX; Letter Forbes/Gordon, Ingl. A.i.18(15); HSL 268, 26: 199].

Campbell’s work was viewed with a more jaundiced eye by his rival in the field, Capt. Simon Fraser of Knockie (1773-1852). Fraser, a noted violin player, was fortunate enough to inherit an impressive collection of Jacobite songs, compiled by his grandfather, Angus Fraser of Errogie, who was a cattle trader in the Highlands between 1715 and 1745. Although born at Ardachy, Fraser moved to Errogie on this grandfather’s death in 1777, and thereafter farmed the nearby tack of Knockie, by Loch Ness. He held
a Captain's Commission in the Fraser Fencibles. [Matheson 1955: 70].

In January 1814 he approached the HSS seeking permission to dedicate his collection of "National Airs" to the Society. [HSS Sd. Bk. 5: 101]. Nothing was forthcoming, however, until December 1815, when Fraser appeared in person with his manuscript, and a letter vilifying Alexander Campbell's efforts. His thesis was that "the peasantry are very loth to make any communications of value to a man going mercenarily to collect" (in reference to Campbell); he, by contrast, was privy to material from an old and "authentic" source, collected by "a man of considerable knowledge and taste" (his grandfather). In his anxiety to denigrate, Fraser even managed to brand Rev. Patrick MacDonald "a disgrace to the country", responsible for a collection of "unintelligible doggerel". [Letter Fraser/Forbes Ingl. A.i. 18(13)].

His collection was voted 10 guineas by the HSS. [HSS Sd. Bk.5: 156]. The HSL examined both Albyn's Anthology and Airs and Melodies, and found the latter a superior production. Fraser, true to form, ran-off and circulated 100 copies of the HSL's criticism in his favour, evoking the extreme ire of Alex. Campbell, Sir John MacGregor Murray, James Hamilton (Secretary of the HSL), and others. He remained, however, unrepentant. [Alburger 1983: 157, 8, citing correspondence, Feb/March 1817, in the Atholl Muniments Room]. In the end both works fared well,
and ran to several editions.

d. 1832. The MacDonald of Dalness Report

A final stirring of interest in musical matters beyond piping came at the 1832 meeting of the competition committee, when Major Menzies and Captain Mackenzie proposed the provision of prizes for fiddle playing, and the encouragement of "the old Scottish harp". Mr MacDonald of Dalness was commissioned to prepare a report on the matter, which was duly accomplished, and sent to the HSL. [HSSPMB: 85, 95].

The report had four principal recommendations:

1. That prizes for the playing of Strathspeys and Reels on the violin should be introduced at the triennial competitions. It was hoped thereby to halt the perceived decline in playing standards, and induce professional players to "devote a portion of their time to this art, from the ambition of acquiring an honourable distinction".

2. That prizes for playing Strathspeys and Reels on the bagpipe should be introduced - a point discussed in Chapter IV.

3. That prizes should be awarded to persons bringing forward "original Highland airs of merit, which have never yet been given to the world".

4. That, if possible, harp playing should be
encouraged.

[Dalness Report. HSSPMB: 95-101].

The HSL, which found in the report "many valuable suggestions", consigned it to a sub-committee, and no further action was taken. [HSL 268, 14: 2 Feb 1833]. Prior to every competition from 1835 to 1844 the HSS duly raised the matter, but their expectations were low. "I presume nothing has been determined about Reel playing on the violin ..." wrote Charles Gordon to the London Secretary in 1841; and he anxiously informed Gordon of Carnbuly in 1844 that "we must have competition for Reel and Strathspey playing on the violin, according to the old Neil Gow style, or it will be lost". [Letter HSL268, 26: 5 May 1841; HSSPMB: 1844]. Even a suggestion that the orchestra should be scrapped, and the money saved put towards violin prizes, came to nothing. [HSSPMB: 1844.]

Thus, an interesting proposal foundered.
Fig. III  A set of pipes belonging to the MACPHERSONS of FORTINGALL, bearing inscribed silver plates from prize instruments won at various competitions. [National Museums of Scotland]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIZE</th>
<th>1781-1808</th>
<th>1809-1826</th>
<th>1829</th>
<th>1832</th>
<th>1835-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Prize Pipe + 40 Merks</td>
<td>Prize Pipe + 40 Merks</td>
<td>Prize Pipe + £5</td>
<td>Prize Pipe + £3</td>
<td>Prize Pipe + Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>30 Merks</td>
<td>60 Merks</td>
<td>Dirk + £2</td>
<td>Broadsword + Cash</td>
<td>Broadsword + Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>30 Merks</td>
<td>50 Merks</td>
<td>Sporran + £2</td>
<td>Dirk + Cash</td>
<td>Dirk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45 Merks</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>Pistol + Cash</td>
<td>Pistol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>40 Merks</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>Sporran + Cash</td>
<td>Powder Horn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Competition Data.
The Prize Pipe

Table II/8 provides information on awards made over the course of the Edinburgh competition. The premier award was a specially-made bagpipe with (as in 1784) "an inscription, engraved on a plate of silver, and adorned with ribbons, properly emblazoned". [Scots Mag 46 (Oct 1784): 552]. The 1784 instrument was made by Hugh Robertson, Edinburgh, and the attached plate bore the inscription:

"Presented by the Highland Society of London to John MacGregor, oldest son of John MacGregor senior in Fortingall, determining in his favours, by the Highland Society at Edinburgh, in 1784."
[Scotsman Oct 10 1981].

(This plate is one of nine attached to a prize bagpipe belonging to the MacGregors of Glenlyon, documenting their competitive fortunes. Fig. III).

From 1821 the pipe was adorned with a specially-made banner, initially bearing a 'Scotch Thistle', and later the Coat-of-Arms of the HSL. The winner was usually expected to play on the instrument when presented with it, a difficult task given the notorious unpredictability of the bagpipe. [Dalyell Gen 350D: 26; 369D: 55; 378D: 56].
Secondary Prizes

Prior to 1829 other awards were in cash, presented in "handsome silk purses". In certain years, particularly 1800-1810, theatre takings were so good that the advertised prize money was substantially increased. In 1801, for instance, 2nd and 3rd prizes were trebled, and the remaining competitors enjoyed "a very handsome division". [Cal Merc July 16 1801].

With the placing of the competition on a triennial footing in 1829 the prize money provided by the HSL was again increased (from £26.6.0 to £73.10.0). This allowed for the provision of exceptionally lavish prizes - broadswords, dirks, pistols and powder horns - although the nature of the awards did raise a few eyebrows. "What can be more preposterous", wondered J.G. Dalyell "than to award a broadsword, a dirk, a pistol ... to a ploughman because he plays well on the bagpipes?" [Gen 379D: 14].

Extra Prizes

The judging system whereby a piper could only gain a higher prize than he had previously won, or nothing at all, gradually led to a log-jam of good players who had won the 2nd prize, and were therefore only eligible for the prize pipe. There were six pipers in this position in 1818, five in 1819. [Cal Merc July 25 1818, July 21 1819].

One solution was to single out individuals for special awards. This was the case with Donald Robertson, piper in