History and Culture of the St Kildans to 1930

Mary Harman

Ph. D.
University of Edinburgh
1993
Chapter 13 Customs and Beliefs; Stories and Songs

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a diversity of customs and traditions enriched the lives of the St Kildans; during the nineteenth century many of these were eroded or lost through the disapproval of the church: 'they neither dance, nor sing, nor play games' (Heathcote 1900a 194).

Customs and Beliefs

Martin (1753, 62) refers to a game, probably a form of shinty, involving 'short clubs and balls of wood' which was played with enthusiasm on the beach, for prizes such as eggs, birds, hooks or tobacco. The people were also expert swimmers. MacDonald and MacKinnon (1982, 463-377) record the playing of shinty on the beach in Eigg at New Year.

The festivals of Christmas, New Year, Easter, Michaelmas (September 29), St Brendan (May 16) and St Columba (June 9) were kept (Martin 1753 44, 48; 1716, 287; Buchan 1727, 32; MacAulay 1764, 78, 81-2). Christmas and New Year's day were occasions for feasting, drinking, singing and dancing; Easter was observed with more solemnity. On St Columba's and St Brendan's days all the milk was given to the Steward in a 'treat'; in the mid eighteenth century he distributed it equally to all the people. At Michaelmas there were races on the ponies from the shore to the houses, every one taking a turn, riding with no saddle or bridle, only halters. A large triangular loaf was made, which was to be eaten within the day, shared by all the household. The custom of horse racing and the baking of the strùan or St Michael's cake, together with feasting and dancing, took place elsewhere in the Western Isles (Carmichael 1928, I 198-209). By 1758 this special cake was no longer made on St Kilda, and by 1799 (Campbell 1799, f35) the only holy days observed were Christmas, Good Friday, and Michaelmas, when the islanders fasted rather than feasting. The St Kildans continued to keep the 'old style' or Julian calendar until late in the nineteenth century; although Connell (1887, 72) noted that 'all the festivals are no more'. Murray (10.1.1887) accompanied the men in January to Soay to catch sheep for a New Year feast. The MacLachlans held school treats on New Year's day (MacLachlan 1.1.1907, 1.1.1908, 21.1.1909).
On the eastern slope of Mullach Geal is an area which was regarded as special in several ways (p 66-7; MacAulay 1764, 86-90). There was a little green plain there, called 'Liani-nin-ore' (Lèana nan Ortha) or 'Plain of Spells', where formerly the cattle were sained with salt, water and fire whenever they were moved from one grazing area to another. Here also is Tigh an Triar (House of the three or Trinity: Mathieson 1928, 127). Below this was another area, fertile in appearance, which the St Kildans obstinately refused to cultivate, on the grounds that it was sacred to a divinity whose name was forgotten, and that to till it was to invite disaster. Nearby was Clach a' Bhainne or the milking stone, where they used to pour milk for the gruagach or 'brownie' on Sundays, or, according to Mathieson (1928, 126) after the first spring milking, when they heard the fairies beneath rattling their spoons. Milk was offered to a gruagach in many other townships in the Western Isles (Martin 1716, 110; Carmichael 1928, II 306-7).

Another stone with unusual properties was the Clach an eòlais, a large stone not far from the burial ground. Anyone who stood on it on the first day of the quarter could foresee all that was to happen during that quarter (Sands 1977a, 81).

Some had the 'second sight' without seeking it. Martin (1753, 67) noted that only Roderick the Imposter (p 106) and a woman claimed to have it; within living memory a group of men on Soay had 'seen' the body of one of themselves floating in the sea shortly before his death by drowning. One of Roderick's descendants was the 'last pretender' to possession of this faculty in 1758 (MacAulay 1764, 240). However, Barbara MacPherson, widow of the missionary Alexander MacLeod (p 315), found that the people of St Kilda commonly had a presage of their own deaths; some months before the event, a person found he was accompanied by his own 'double' which mimicked his actions. One man tested it, by wearing straw rope garters instead of his usual ones, and the image appeared similarly attired (MacLeod 1763, 8).

In 1797 Clarke (1824, 277) was introduced to two men with the 'sight', one of whom sometimes saw other people clad in a winding sheet, before their deaths. MacKenzie (MacLean 1838, 22) was told by two men that they had each seen on separate occasions, a corpse being carried by a group of people; both visions foretold deaths.

296
Various manifestations of second sight, usually foretelling a death, have been related in the past in the Highlands and Islands (for instance: Martin 1716, 300-334; MacLeod 1763); they still occur and are not uncommon.

Occasionally there was an omen of an event, rather than a foresight; the cuckoo, an uncommon visitor, was regarded on St Kilda as foretelling the death of MacLeod or his Steward, or the arrival of an eminent stranger, and before 1697 a cuckoo had appeared before the deaths of the two last MacLeods (1664, 1693) and the two last Stewards (?, 1685), and before the arrival of several strangers (Martin 1753, 26). This belief survived: the cuckoo was seen before Norman MacLeod's death in 1895 (Kearton 1897, 128) and had not visited the island again by 1899 (Heathcote 1900a, 81) but in 1927 Cockburn heard one and neither MacLeod nor MacKenzie died (MacGregor 1931, 168); perhaps it was in honour of Seton Gordon's visit in June.

Stray herons, which lately have been recorded every year (Harris and Murray 1978, 14) were believed to be witches from Stornoway (Kearton 1897, 128).

MacKenzie (1911, 6) refers to a semi-transparent stone, valued both on St Kilda and in other parts of the Highlands. It could be obtained by boiling a raven's eggs and returning them to the nest. The raven would get a 'clach aotaig' (clach eiteig) to try to revive the eggs, and it could be taken from the nest. Possibly the stone found in the 'Amazon's House' was such an amulet (p 82).

Martin (1753, 15) heard several traditions concerning the Banaghaísgeach (Female Warrior: 'Amazon'). In Gleann Mór was her house or dairy, within which there were places for her to lay her helmet and sword. She was reputed to have enjoyed hunting, and in her day the area between St Kilda and Harris was dry land, where she hunted deer. Unfortunately Martin would 'trouble his reader with no more' of the traditions about the 'Amazon', and all are now lost.

A custom in which Martin (1753, 61) was invited to take part was proof of a youth's eligibility for marriage. This test of balance took place on the 'lintel' of the natural 'doorway' on the west side of Ruaival. The young man stood 'on his left foot, having one half of it over the rock, he then draws the right foot towards the left, and in this posture bowing, puts both his fists further out to the right foot' and thus became 'worthy the finest woman in the world'.
MacLennan (1925, 193, 350) gives the phrase *troigh is dòrn gulbann*: 'a foot and a fist from the toe' for this action. MacAulay (1764) makes no mention of this rite at all; it had been abandoned by 1799 (Campbell 1799, f 31). Martin refers to the stone as the 'Mistress-stone'. By the late nineteenth century the location was confused; Ross (1884, 84) refers to Stac Biorach as the 'Lover's or Mistress Stone' and Heathcote (1900a, 145) was shown a stone on the ridge near Claiigeann Mòr as the site. Martin only gives the name in English; possibly the name has some connection with a story told by Sands, identifying the lintel as a petrified maiden (see below).

Atkinson (1838, 219) noted in 1831 that the men assembled at a house slightly larger than the others; here they sat on the wall head and between them organised community affairs such as apportioning fowling rocks and settling disputes. Without mentioning the word, he compared it with Parliament, but Milner (1848, 2057) refers to their 'annual Parliament' though Sands (1877, 33) implies that he first named the assembly 'Parliament'. According to him, it was an almost daily meeting and was conducted in loud voices. Sometimes a minor matter was discussed at great length, but decisions could also be made swiftly (Ross 1890, 48-50).

**Traditional tales**

Campbell (1799, f 84) describes a gathering where stories were told; MacDonald (nd, /) says they were told at carding parties. The story of the burning of the people in a church has been recorded in Gaelic on tape (SSS SA 1952/132, SA 1961/19), but the other stories given here are known only in English texts. There are two main written sources of traditional stories gathered before the evacuation in 1930: a letter from Anne Kennedy, niece of the catechist, in 1862 (Kennedy and Thomas 1874, 702-11), and a book by Sands (1877a, 102-6), who spent a winter on the island in 1876/77.

Anne Kennedy was given her stories by Euphemia MacCrimmon, the oldest woman on St Kilda at eighty years; Carmichael (1928, 380-1) said she had some beautiful songs. Sands must have heard tales from many different people. Table 19 gives parallels for some of the stories.

**Severing the hand to gain possession of the island**

First recorded by Morrison (1975 286-7), early in the nineteenth century.
St Kilda was claimed by both the MacDonalda of Sleat and the MacLeods of Dunvegan and Harris. It was agreed that the argument should be settled by a boat race: two boats the same size were to be built by the same person and allocated by casting lots. The two were to start at the same time and whoever arrived first and lit a fire was to be regarded as owner. MacLeod was ashore first and lit a fire and thus the islands came into the hands of the MacLeods. There is another version of this story in which the islands would go to whoever touched land first, after a similar race. Again the MacLeods won, but by a trick, as the MacDonald boat was to the fore when they neared the island, but one of the MacLeod crew cut off his hand and flung it ashore, so that a MacLeod hand first touched land (MacLeod nd 166).

MacCrimmon confuses this with the historical raid of Coll MacDonald or MacGilleaspuig in 1615 (pp 102-4); according to her, Colla Ciotach and his brother Gillespuig Og were racing for St Kilda: it was Coll who cut off his hand and threw it ashore at the point called Gob Cholla. This neatly explains Coll’s nickname ‘Ciotach’ (left handed), and the two brothers may just be Coll himself, personified in different versions of his name.

The story occurs in several other places and is often associated with the MacDonalds. The hand appears in heraldic devices. (D A MacDonald, School of Scottish Studies pers comm). St Moluag’s sacrifice of a single finger is an interesting variant.

The Burning of the Population in the Church (MacLean 1838, 20-21)

Several hundred years ago, two men from Lewis, Duigan and Fearchar mòr visited St Kilda. On a certain day the two went up to the top of Aois-mheall: they were no sooner up than down they came in a flurry, crying that the Sassenachs were coming, and, in the same breath, imploring the poor simple natives, who believed them implicitly, to betake themselves to the chapel . . . . The inhabitants were no sooner in the chapel than the Lewis-men secured the door - set fire to the fabric, and burned every [one] living in the island except one young woman who happened to be absent. This woman, smelling that all was not right, concealed herself in a cave on the south side of the bay, preserving life for several months by stealing during [the] night from the ruffians’ store. The Land Stewart’s Birlin was seen at the set time making towards the island; the two men hurried to the beach to meet him and tell him a made-up tale; by this time the solitary woman made her appearance - the men were astonished - the secret was disclosed; - the stewart gave his verdict, namely, that Duigan and Fearchar mòr be both left upon Stac-an-ármín where they could get nothing but raw birds. Upon
reaching Stac-an-ármín, Fearchar mòr said to Duigan, "Do not forget your flint and steel." On hearing this the steward seized the fire-raisers, which when Fearchar mòr saw he gave a desperate leap into the fathomless main and was seen no more! Duigan was left on So’a, where he built a wall, to protect him from the north wind, which bears his name to this day, as also the cave in which he spent the remainder of his sorry existence.

MacCrimmon adds that Dugan and Fearchar were gathering heather which they used to set fire to the church. When the Steward left, he took the woman away and St Kilda was left uninhabited. Another version was recorded by John MacInnes from Norman MacQueen (MacInnes and MacQueen 1961, 215-219) in 1961, and his uncle, Donald MacQueen, had a similar version; both have variations from, and additions to MacLean’s version. Both agree that the two men used to go to the Flannan Isles to steal sheep. The girl who escaped was nearly discovered one day when the two men smelt her fire; she covered the pot with her clothes to smother the smoke. The MacQueens agree that the girl hid in a cave, while MacCrimmon said that she hid in a ‘teampull’ on Ruaival, which Thomas identifies as St Brendan’s – there is a cave in the cliff very close to St Brendan’s called Uamh Cailleach Bheag Ruaival; a name which probably commemorates this event. According to Norman MacQueen, Dugan was ‘there [Soay] alive for years: he used to eat the sheep and the birds. His ribs are there still; I myself have handled the ribs.’

MacGregor (1931, 128) relates a story of two St Kildans who rowed to the Flannan Isles in a day, (a distance of some fifty miles), took about a dozen sheep, and rowed back the next day. Probably this was an element which had become separated from the Dugan and Fearchar story.

The story of a group of people being burnt in a church or cave, occurs in several places (Table 19). Not all of these incidents are historically attested, but the stories together show that the burning of people in a place of refuge, usually a church, occurs several times in Highland traditional history, particularly within the MacLeod areas; some of these incidents include the element of a single person escaping.

If this story was transplanted to St Kilda and given local detail after the smallpox epidemic, when new people may have brought their own stories with them, that would explain why Martin, Buchan and even MacAulay, do not mention it. Thus it was possibly established in local tradition in the later eighteenth century.
The Killing of the Son of the King of Norway

Effie MacCrimmon told this story:

A son of the king of Lochlin was wrecked on a rock a little west of St Kilda. He came ashore in a small boat, and while he was drinking out of a water-brook a little west of the present church, those who were then the inhabitants of St Kilda came on him and caught him by the back of the neck, and held his head down in the brook until he was drowned. The rock on which he was wrecked is called Sgeir mac Righ Lochlain or Rock of the Son of the King of Lochlan (Norway or Scandinavia), until this day.

Sgeir Mac Righ Lochlainn is a small rock to the south of Soay. It is not known why the people killed this unfortunate castaway.

Thomas says that 'it would take many a page to relate all that is said to have happened in the isles to a son of a king of Lochlain; but in every place he appears to have come off "second best"'.

The Cave of the Irishman

A more fortunate castaway was an Irishman, who was crossing an inlet with a keg of whisky to visit friends one Christmas morning. He was storm driven to St Kilda, where he was rescued from a cave at the foot of cliffs. Almost a year passed before an opportunity arose for him to return home (Wilson 1842, 67).

Calum Mór's House (p 179)

This building was said to have been built by one man in a single day (Kearton 1897, 82). MacGregor (1931, 128) states that it was a return for the help of a friend who plucked his sheep along with the rest when a group of men went to Boreray for that purpose. When they came back, they found the house ready for occupation. Possibly Calum is to be identified with the man left on Hirt when eighteen men were storm-stayed on Boreray (Carmichael 1941, 112-3).

The First MacDonald on St Kilda, and Refreshment from a Fairy Woman

Effie MacCrimmon related a story including several elements:

The first MacDonald who came to St Kilda was with his brother on the shore [of Uist?], gathering seaweed; he struck his brother on the head, and he thought he had killed him. He fled to St Kilda and had a family there. He had a son named Donald. Donald and another man, named John MacQueen, were going up to Oiseval, the most eastern hill, to hunt sheep. As they were passing a little green hillock they heard churning in the hill. John MacQueen cried, 'Ho! wife, give me a drink.' A woman in a green robe came out and offered him a drink [of milk]; but although he had asked for it, he would not take it. She then offered it to Donald, and he said he would take it with God's blessing, and drank it
off. They then went to their hunting, when John MacQueen fell over a precipice and was killed; and it was thought he met his fate for having refused the drink.

Donald MacDonald lived in St Kilda till he was an old man. He then went to Harris, where he was seized with the smallpox, and died there, about 133 years ago.

His clothes were brought back, and this started the smallpox epidemic of 1727 (pp 108-9). If this were true, then Donald MacDonald, and possibly his father too, would have been alive when Martin visited, and would be among those described as first or second generation immigrants. If the accident or murder took place in Uist, as Thomas suggests, that would be consistent with the claim of one of the St Kilda families to be related to Clanranald (p 155).

MacKenzie (MacLean 1838, 22) also had the story of the fairy refreshment, but in his version the men’s names are not recorded. The one who refused the milk was told by the woman that he would not survive long for mocking her, and indeed he died in his house that night. According to MacCrimmon and Sands, when new houses were being built in the late 1830s, this very hillock was cut into to make a level space for foundations, and an ancient structure similar to the Amazon’s house was found.

Other examples of this story are very similar, apart from the one from Shawbost, where a solitary woman was offered refreshment: the donor reassured her by invoking the curse of barrenness upon herself if it should do the recipient any harm.

This story is one example of the delicate relationship between humans and fairies, and the penalty paid for upsetting the latter.

As the basic story is clearly widespread, it may, if such an incident did not actually occur on St Kilda, have been transplanted. It is very like the Berneray version and could well have come with immigrants from the Sound of Harris, and been given local detail. This may be true also of other stories involving fairies, recorded by Sands.

"The Gift of the Gab"

One day a St Kilda woman was sitting alone in a hut, rocking her child in a cradle, when two strange women, dressed in green, entered the door, and, by some magical power, deprived her of the power of speech, so that she could not call to her neighbours; but she heard one of the women say to the other, 'This child, I see, has drunk of the milk of the cow that ate the moth'an, and we can do nothing for him except give him the talent for language.' When the child
grew into a man, it is related that he possessed an extraordinary fluency, could compose a rhyme on any subject at the shortest notice, and would talk more than any six men on the island — a questionable gift for his neighbours. His mother died in Harris when the grandfathers of old men were living.

The mothan was used in a variety of charms and if eaten by a cow protected not only the animal but also those who drank her milk, and her calf (Carmichael 1928, II 329-330; 1941, 132-3).

"A changeling"

It was in the harvest time, when a couple went into a croft in front of the village to pull their corn. The woman carried an infant, and before beginning her work she walked up to a hillock to lay her child upon it. The man looked alarmed, and earnestly entreated her not to lay the infant in that place. 'Mind your own business,' said she. 'Take your own way, then, as you always do,' he answered. In a short time she went to take the child off the hillock again, when her husband beseeched her, for the love of God, not to remove the child for a little. Happening to be in a more compliant temper, she did as she was asked; and it was a fortunate thing for her, because the man being gifted with the second sight, had seen the fairies come out of the hillock, take away the child, and leave an ugly goggle-eyed brat of their own in its place.

This is another example of a hillock in the village area being associated with fairies.

The story of the changeling child is a common and widespread one. The mothan and charms or spells could be used to prevent such an occurrence in some circumstances. Carmichael (1954, 254-269) gives several examples of incidents in the Hebrides where these precautions had been forgotten, and subterfuge was necessary to beguile the fairies into replacing the human child and reclaiming their own.

"A Water Bull"

One day a man who came down from the lag, or hollow at the back of the village, with a burden of peats on his back, saw a door open in the side of a small conical hill. With great presence of mind he whipped out his knife, and stuck it in the ground at the foot of the door, and as he gazed, lo! a spotted bull came out and dropped a cow. This cow in course of time produced a calf which had no ears.

There is a story about a man who shot a tarbh uisge, or water-bull, with a bow and arrow, in a lake on the top of Sgal.

J F Campbell (1890, xci) remarks that 'there are numerous lakes where the water-bulls are supposed to exist, and their progeny are supposed to be easily known by their short ears. When the water-bull
appears in a story he is generally represented as friendly to man. Fairy cattle and water bulls were widespread in the Hebrides, though probably no other water bull has ever inhabited such a small body of water as that on Mullach Sgar, where a pool sometimes lies in winter.

A more alarming tale concerned a beast on Boreray:

"The Devil in the Shape of a Bull"

Long, long ago, a party of St Kildians happened to be in the island of Boreray, and were living in the Taigh an Stallir, or the Hermit's House, and being short of provisions, one of them expressed the wish that they had the fattest ox in Clanranald's herd, when, on the instant, the lowing of an ox was heard outside. 'There,' said one of the party, 'now your wish has been granted; go out and kill him.' The man was too frightened to go out, but next morning the marks of cloven hoofs were to be seen in the mud outside.

It is not clear from the story that the beast was identified with the devil by the St Kildans, but perhaps Sands gathered this from his informant.

"The Well of Youth"

Once on a time an old fellow, in going up Connagher with a sheep on his back, observed a well which he had never seen or heard of before. The water looked like cream, and was so tempting, that he knelt down and took a hearty drink. To his surprise all the infirmities of age immediately left him, and all the vigour and activity of youth returned. He laid down the sheep to mark the spot, and ran down the hill to tell his neighbours. But when he came up again neither sheep nor well were to be found, nor has anyone been able to find the Tobar na h-oige to this day. Some say that if he had left a small bit of iron at the well - a brog with a tacket in it would have done quite well - the fairies would have been unable to take back their gift.

The Soay Giant and the Petrified Maiden

On the summit [of Ruaival] a great number of huge blocks of trap have been piled up . . . One of the blocks rests like a lintel on two others . . . Whilst a girl was engaged snaring puffins on the cliffs about a mile from this spot, a strange man suddenly jumped to her from the island of Soa, another mile or so distant, and the prints of his heels are still to be seen in the place where he alighted. The girl was so frightened that she leapt to this mount; but fell petrified on the awkward place in which she now lies.

Songs

In the seventeenth century the St Kildans were fond of music, song and dancing. The only instrument they had was the jew’s harp, though visitors sometimes brought pipes or a violin. Some had a talent for
composition, their subjects being mainly love songs, and laments for relatives, extolling their courage, abilities, and affection for their family. The women sang while harvesting, working at the quern, spinning or waulking cloth; the men sang while rowing (Martin 1753, 38, 47, 57, 63; Martin 1716, 294; MacAulay 1764, 216-8). This general enjoyment of music continued into the early nineteenth century (Brougham 1871, I 101; Campbell 1799, f 52-6).

In the 1830s MacKenzie (1911, 4) encouraged the people to tell their stories and sing, during the winter evenings. His collection of songs, mostly laments, is the largest single surviving group. In 1865 Carmichael (1941, 106) and Euphemia MacCrimmon aroused strong disapproval by recalling and recording songs and poems 'for the people of St Kilda have now discarded songs and music, dancing, folklore, and the stories of the foolish past'. Although a few more songs were recorded subsequently, generally the people did not sing secular songs (Ross 1890, 36; MacDonald 1988, 140-1).

Campbell (1799, f 83) participated in a cheerful gathering, mainly of women, one evening, where songs were sung, tales told, and there was dancing to a sung accompaniment (probably port a beul). By 1842 (Wilson 1842, 24) dancing was apparently regarded as frivolous and was abandoned.

Nearly forty songs and verses composed on St Kilda have been recorded, some of them only in English paraphrases. They are important in being almost the only expressions of their own feelings by the St Kildans themselves. All known texts are given in Appendix 3. Table 20 shows a list with dates of publication. This shows that two thirds of the songs were collected before 1843, and that two of them exist in several versions.

The songs fall into four groups: numerous elegies, several love songs, several religious songs, and a small miscellaneous group; a few of those known only in English are probably considerably different from the Gaelic songs on which they are based.

Of the elegies, one commemorating the death of a youth on Soay is recorded from nine sources. The authorship is uncertain. Three early versions which are almost identical (MacDiarmid, Stewart, Campbell) give it as a lament of a young widow for her husband, but others (Scots Magazine, MacLean, and, much later, Connell) give it as the lament of a widowed mother for her son; and three early versions
(Scots Magazine, MacKenzie) give the name of the lad as Iver. Several
lines which do not occur in other versions have been omitted from the
following:

Last Summer a-twelve-month left me sad and forlorn - the
scramble for eggs caus'd all my woe and distress. In the
Island of Soay, I left my dear love - I left the youth who was
firm, who strengthen'd my weakness, and gather'd my sheep from
the hill. In the cave that is narrow, thou wert left, my love,
and mournful I stay behind.

The waves buffet thy body; thy limbs they tear and
destroy. Curst be the cliff where thy feet lost their hold ..
. I lost my sweet Iver: Ah! me, he'll never return.

My share of the eggs I shall never receive; the strong
and alive will have them - for thou my son art gone! My share
of the fowls now fly in the air - up to the clouds they
ascend; there they sport and they flutter; but I am sad and
forlorn! Thy mother's best blessings attend thy dear ghost -
In the world everlasting may thy rest be serene. Thou wouldst
not harrass nor distress; thou wouldst not come home with a
lie.

The elegy recorded by Campbell (1799) in English is derived from
this one but much of it is almost certainly Campbell's invention.

Another example was composed by Christian Campbell, for her
husband:

Alas! I am sad: sorrow overwhelms me; my strength fails; I
cannot climb the higher grounds. I have lost my delight! my
mind is oppress'd; my spirit is heavy, and my pipes are not in
tune. I knew thee well at a distance - thy cheeks were
blooming; thy beautiful locks in curling ringlets hung.

Alas! that I was not near thee, when the knot loosen'd
and thy hold gave way - I would fly with a rope to thy aid.
Tho' my joints were lengthen'd, I would strive to relieve you;
I would strive to relieve you unless my body would fail.
Though not tall from earth, I delight to see thee - I would
love thee more than a tacksman, though no cattle were counted
for thee. Though distress'd by hunger, I fear'd not thy return
with the night, no angry reproachful words flow'd from thy
lips to my harm.

... Though not tall in thy stature, thou wert handsome and
lovely. Well could I know thee alone collecting the fuel for
fire: - Alas! lonely and mournful at home, I weep and lament
my fate. I am not single in sorrow - many women are afflicted
with me.

Could I get them to purchase, you would not want linen or
clothes - for beneath the sun I saw none I could compare with
my love, and for him I would like to provide. ... When
fatigued with the toil of the day, I retire alone to my bed.
Ah! wet is my pillow; in copious floods my tears of sorrow
fall. But 'tis god who afflicts me - beneath his rod of
affliction I groan.
Other earlier or contemporary elegies composed elsewhere sometimes contain similar formulas such as two by John MacCodrum (c.1693-1779):

'There is a load on me and a stitch torturing me with pain... Thou wert not insignificant to see on the sward' (Elegy for Alexander MacDonald of Balranald) and 'I have nothing in return, now that my support has forsaken me, but dullness of hearing and of sight and of vigour' (Elegy to Sir James MacDonald of Sleat) (MacCodrum and Matheson 1938, 84-9, 150-9) and and one by Mary MacLeod (Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh c1614-post 1705) 'This is a sore tale for the wife thou hast left' (Elegy for Iain Garbh Macleod of Raasay) (MacLeod and Watson 1934, 26-31)

All but one of the love songs are by women. One well known one was composed by Marion Gillies, celebrating her affection for Robert Campbell who visited in 1799 (p 125). His account suggests a brief flirtation rather than a long term commitment, though Seton (1878, 55) states that he returned in 1800 but the islanders were alarmed by guns on his vessel and hid. Marion had been betrothed (or, possibly, married) to John or Angus Gillies, but according to the song, determined to forsake him for Campbell of Islay.

I love the youth whose locks are brown; great is the love I bear to him. I gave him a kiss in the evening; ah! how he then embraced me. Happy indeed was our meeting, though revilers make free with our fame. Is it wonderful that I should rejoice? Good cause have I to be gay since first the youth beheld me, - since the day he gave me his heart, and promised his faithful love. His ribbons stream on my shoulders, - they brightly encircle my head, and bind in ringlets my hair. ...

I detest them who hearken; - I hate all who listen and tell. They delight to defame, - scandal is for ever their theme. ...

Were I blest with the power of writing, I would soon send to ---- a letter, to tell my love of my state, and inform him how every tongue speaks to his undoing and mine. ...

With thee I would fly through the world. When shall I hear from my love, - when will he rush to my arms? Though I had for my portion all the riches possessed by the wealthy son of Bernera, I could yield it all for thee, and be happy, - I would yield it, my dear, to live with thee in a desart, where no step could approach us, and no voice of man could be heard.

Though I delight to be merry, I will henceforth shun the young men. He who has wooed and won me; to him I will be faithful. I will not join in their follies, - no more rejoice in their sports. Angus descended from the tribe of Gillies. Angus of the dark brown locks, once I was thought to be thine, nor did I spurn at thy suit. But he, my beloved, came from his Isle; I will listen no more to thy voice.
Another song takes the form of an exuberant conversation between Euphemia MacCrimmon's parents before their marriage, so this must have been composed in the late 1760s or 1770/1. Extracts follow:

**He:** Away bent spade, away straight spade,
     Away each goat and sheep and lamb;
     Up my rope, up my snare, -
     I have heard the gannet upon the sea!

     Thanks to the being, the gannets are come,
     Yes, and the big birds along with them;
     Dark dusky maid, a cow in the fold!
     A brown cow, a brown cow, a brown cow beloved,
     A brown cow, my dear one, that would milk the milk for thee

**She:** Thou art my handsome joy, thou art my sweetheart,
     Thou gavest me first the honied fulmar!
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

**He:** Thou art my turtle-dove, thou art my mavis,
     Thou art my melodious harp in the sweet morning.
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

**She:** Thou art my treasure, my lovely one, my huntsman,
     Yesterday thou gavest me the gannet and the auk.
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

Two of the religious poems were composed during MacKenzie's revival in the early 1840s. One is by Neil Ferguson:

    Alas, oh Lord, won't you help me
    From my thoughts to an awakening
    Before the time comes when I die
    When there won't be time for repentance

The other, by Finlay MacQueen, describes the nativity and the spread of the gospel to foreign lands and to St Kilda. A shorter poem is in a similar vein:

    God of the moon, God of the sun,
    God of the globe, God of the stars,
    God of the waters, the land, and the skies,
    Who ordained to us the King of promise.

    It was Mary fair who went upon her knee,
    It was the King of life who went upon her lap,
    Darkness and tears were set behind,
    And the star of guidance went up early.

    Illumed the land, illumed the world,
    Illumed doldrum and current,
    Grief was laid and joy was raised,
    Music was set up with harp and pedal-harp.
In the 'miscellaneous' group, the 'New Year's Day' incantation is very similar to those recorded in Barra (Carmichael 1928, I 150-1) South Uist (Shaw 1955 24) Benbecula (Carmichel 1928, I 152-5; 1928, II 376) and Lewis (MacLean 1982, 362-5). This version from Benbecula is almost identical:

Now since we came to the country
To renew to you the Hogmanay,
Time will not allow us to explain,
It has been since the age of our fathers.
Ascending the wall of the house,
Descending at the door,
My carol to say modestly,
As becomes me at the Hogmanay.
The Hogmanay skin is in my pocket,
Great the fume that will come from that;
No one who shall inhale its odour,
But shall be for ever from it healthy.
The house-man will get it in his grasp,
He will put its point in the fire;
He will go sunwise round the children,
And very specially round the goodwife
The wife will get it, she it is who deserves it,
The hand to distribute the Hogmanay.

Since drought has come upon the land,
And that we do not expect rarity
A little of the substance of the summer,
Would we desire with the bread.
If that we are not to have it,
If thou mayest, do not detain us.

Another song was apparently composed at a time when there was a dearth of birds on St Kilda, though there is no clear reference to it in the song. There are references to fowling:

The killers of the solan goose -
Much fair fame is theirs to tell of.

Thou wouldst bring the razor-bill
From the ledges of the Dunan,
And didst thou but get practice
Thou wouldst harry the fulmar.

One song refers to Saint John's Wort, valued as a charm against witchcraft, the evil eye, second sight and death; and with the positive property of ensuring peace in the home and fruitfulness of stock and crops. It is only effective when found accidentally (Carmichael 1928, II 96-7)

Saint John's wort, Saint John's wort,
My envy whosoever has thee,
I will pluck thee with my right hand,
I will pluck thee with my left hand,
Whoso findeth thee in the cattle fold,
Shall never be without kine.

Very little music has been recorded: there are tunes to accompany five songs, and one for which no words are known.

Wells

Within historic times in Scotland, some wells were and still are believed to have curative properties, often for specific ailments, and small gifts of pins, rags, pebbles and coins might be left by them (Walker 1883, 155). Three wells on St Kilda had special properties, and a fourth, Tobar Childa Chalda, near the village, was in daily use. It was the subject of a strange couplet known to Watson (1926, 98) during his childhood in Easter Ross in the late nineteenth century:

'Tobar Childa Challda, allt Chamshroin a lobbair'
an old St Kildan had a different version:
'Tobar ghilldeir chaldair, allt chamar nan ladhar'

Martin (1753, 16) refers to the Well of Youth, in a place of difficult access on the north east side of the bay; his description locates it on Oiseval, whereas Sands' story locates it on Conachair and indicates that it was a magic well which appeared only once.

The well at St Brendan's, now a small pool, was used to summon a fair wind for sailing to Harris: each man 'stood astride the water, and when the last man so stood the wind immediately changed into the desired direction' (Mathieson 1928a 125).

The best known of all the wells was Tobar nam Buadh: Well of the Virtues or of the Excellent Qualities. Martin (1753, 16) implies that Harris people went to use it; possibly they travelled as part of the Steward’s crew, and they found it effective against 'windy-cholics, gravel, and head-aches'. MacAulay (1764, 94) mentions a Harris man who went specifically in hopes of curing a disease from which he had been suffering for some time. He says it was supposed to cure deafness and nervous diseases. Nearby was an altar where offerings were laid: shells, pebbles, rags, pins or nails, and, rarely, copper coins of low value. A poem about Tobar nam Buadh (Appendix 3) was probably written by Rev Dr John MacDonald, the 'Apostle of the North' in the 1820s (p 316). When Rev John MacKay went to St Kilda to celebrate communion in 1925 (SG 3.9.1925), Lachlan MacDonald was his guide to Tobar nam Buadh (pers comm).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Persons involved (if known)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Severing the hand to gain possession of land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Rona</td>
<td>Ness/Sutherland men</td>
<td>Ref</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutherland</td>
<td>MacKay/anonymous chief</td>
<td>Temperley et al. 1978, 173-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lismore</td>
<td>S Moluag/S Mahac or S Columba</td>
<td>Campbell 1885, 321-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulster</td>
<td>MacDonnell/De Burgh</td>
<td>Day 1986, 92-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burning people in Church/Cave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toe Head</td>
<td>MacLeod/MacGhittich</td>
<td>Grant 1959, 64-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigg Cave</td>
<td>MacLeod/MacDonald</td>
<td>Robertson 1898, 196-9; Grant 1959, 135-6; MacKinnon and MacDonald 1974, 141-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpan Church</td>
<td>MacDonald/MacLeod</td>
<td>Grant 1959, 137-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilnave Islay</td>
<td>MacDonald/MacLean</td>
<td>MacLeod nd, 140-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilchrist,</td>
<td>MacDonald/MacKenzie</td>
<td>Clark &amp; Fraser 1992, 110-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urray</td>
<td></td>
<td>MacDonald 1889, 11-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairy Dairymaid with Milk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berneray, Harris</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dix &amp; Paterson 1975, 132-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawbost, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
<td>MacPhail 1897, 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achadh na ghirt, probably Glenshiel</td>
<td>Kennedy &amp; Thomas 1874, 707</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benbecula</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carmichael 1954, 254-269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Bornish, South Uist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carmichael 1954, 254-269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sollas North Uist</td>
<td></td>
<td>Swire 1966, 97-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robertson 1898, 206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20 List of songs and sources

* These songs have music recorded.
E English text only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elegies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sann thall ann an Sòa*</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elegy by Christian Campbell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lament for John of t. yellow hair</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach a Righ</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bheir mi toiseachd so thuiridh</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S goirt a dh’hairich mi bhliadhn</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S tric mi ’g amharc gach là</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha’n e uisge nan gleannta</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S tric mi amharc, ’s gur cruaidh</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nuair dh’halbh uait an todha</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S mi gun suigeart’s mi gun sòlas</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S gur mise tha gu dubhbach</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur mise tha fo ghruaim</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sann Di b-noine roimh'n Domhnach</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S mor a briseadh a dh’eirich</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is olc leum mar thachair</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bithidh mo bhrathair air thus</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur a mise tha air mo chlisgeadh</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tha mo cheist a Leodach</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha b’e Sgioba na faiche</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sann an caolas an lionaidh</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love Songs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tha Fleasgach anns a’bhaile so*</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Kilda Song*</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love song by Marion Gillies*</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torram Hirteach</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oran Luathaidh Iortach</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oran Luaidh Iortach</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The St Kilda maid’s song</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Poems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bha sgeula air thoillseachadh</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ochoin a Thì nach foir thu mi</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dia na gile, Dia na greine</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuallan na Calluinn</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eala bhi</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na Fir Chrotha</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oran Irteach*</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobair nam Buadh (MacIain 1886)</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MacDiarmid c.1770: Thomson 1992
Scots Mag 1802/1818: Leyden and Campbell 1802, Viator 1818
Carmichael 1860s: (1928, 1941, 1954)

Melodies: Atkinson 1831, f 73; MacDonald 1895, Appendix 24, 30
Chapter 14 Religion, Education, and Health

Apart from the ownership of the island and arrangements for paying rent, organised and long term contact with the mainland was, until the twentieth century, almost entirely in the hands of those concerned with the spiritual welfare of the islanders and with their education. A resident nurse was provided by the Government from 1914.

Religion: Ministers and the Church

A list of clergy resident on St Kilda is given in table 21, and details of their families are given in figures 80 and 81, with references.

In the late sixteenth century (Anon 1595) the islanders supported an old priest or clerk who guided them in the keeping of holy days. There is said to have been a 'priest' present in 1615 (Buchan 1727, 36-7) who was so ignorant that he could not teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments. If it is true that an elderly cleric was stationed there, he is unlikely to have been an ordained priest, as sixteenth century accounts (Boece 1527; Anon 1595; Monro 1961, 78) are agreed that a priest went in midsummer to baptise any children who had been born since his last visit. He also celebrated marriages as requested, and administered the sacraments, using his discretion. Monro implies that the visit was not invariably annual, saying that if the priest did not go, the people baptised their own children. He also says that they were 'scant learnit in ony religion', so any cleric based there in his day was not very diligent.

By 1673 the Reformation had affected the island; according to Moray (1678, 929) marriages were solemnised by the ground officer, and when children were fifteen or sixteen they went with the steward to Harris to be baptised there, which suggests that the people no longer had the privilege of a regular visit from any sort of clergyman. MacAulay (1764, 271-2) knew of this practice and was told that Iain Mór Macleod (d. 1649) was sponsor at the baptisms of an old man and his son, and on the same occasion several marriages contracted on St Kilda were declared legal. They were 'much given to keeping of Holy-days; having a number of little Chappels, where sometimes they watch whole nights, making merry together with their offerings.'

In 1697 John Campbell, the minister of Harris, who had been to St Kilda before, was accompanied by Martin Martin (1753, 43-7, 1716, 287) who recorded that the people believed in 'God the Father, the Son and
Holy Ghost; in a future state of happiness and misery, and that all events, whether good or bad, are predetermined by God.' They had prayers in the morning and evening, and 'begin their labours always in the Name of God.' A brass crucifix kept in Christ's church was used in celebrating marriages and in making an end to disagreements. The people stopped work at noon on Saturday and on Sunday they assembled in the burial ground, Christ's Church being too small to hold everyone, to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. They fasted on Fridays (Adv Ms 33.3.20).

Baptisms were performed by the Ground Officer or a neighbour, another neighbour and his wife acting as godparents, bringing the two families into a special relationship with each other. The officer might also perform marriages; with everyone assembled he conducted a ceremony finishing with the couple putting their hands on the crucifix and swearing fidelity. The marriages might be ratified by the minister when he came. Mr Campbell married fifteen couples in this way in June 1697. By 1799 the crucifix had been taken away (Campbell 1799, f 37).

Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter, St Columba's day, St Brendan's day and Michaelmas were kept as festivals. By the end of the eighteenth century these were reduced to a few days kept by fasting (p 295).

In 1704 when the General Assembly decided to send someone to St Kilda to instruct the people in religion, Alexander Buchan, an army veteran (1727, 39-44) offered his services. When church funds failed he was supported by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and was ordained in March 1710. By 1727 he felt that the islanders could be regarded as 'Reformed Christians . . .; yea, and Presbyterians too', and had so endeared himself to the people that they would not allow him to leave, even briefly to attend to his affairs on the mainland. The decimation of his flock by smallpox in 1727 (pp 108-9) must have been a great blow to him, and may have contributed to his death early in 1729.

The following year Roderick MacLennan and his wife went to St Kilda. Lady Grange (Mackenzie, 1817, 339) wrote that the minister was 'a serious and devout man', and he spent what time he could spare visiting her; the sympathy of the MacLennans may well have been the reason for their removal in 1743, to Tongue.
In 1733 (Scott, 1928, 193-4) Alexander MacLeod, advocate, (fig 36) who had supported Buchan, gave to the SSPCK £333 6s 8d, the interest from which was to be used to support a clergyman on St Kilda, preference to be given to those whose name was MacLeod. In 1739 the Society increased the annual salary to £25.

Alexander MacLeod, a Skyeman educated at King's College, Aberdeen, took up the post of catechist in 1743. His son, Donald, later became proprietor of St Kilda (p 120). Alexander died before 1758, but there was a missionary present when MacAulay visited in that year, whom MacAulay (1764, 24) described as a man of sense, virtue and piety, though in poor health. The next incumbent recorded by Scott (1928, 194) is Donald MacLeod, a Skyeman educated at King's College Aberdeen, given as catechist in 1774, but other evidence suggests that one Angus MacLeod had been catechist from about 1768. As he was also known as 'MacDhonil Oig' some confusion may have arisen. Originally from Bracadale he studied law in Inverness and afterwards went as a farmer to South Uist. According to Buchanan (1793, 143) he 'failed in his circumstances'. In Uist he was appointed catechist in 1768, possibly to go to St Kilda, as Clarke (1824, 267-8) noted in 1797 that the 'present minister' had been there for ten years, and his father for sixteen. In 1785 he petitioned the Presbytery to consider his old age and ill health, and soon after the appointment of Lauchlan, his son, to replace him, he died.

Lauchlan was educated at a parish school in Skye, and ordained by the Presbytery of Skye in 1788. Clarke met the minister, his wife, three small children, and his mother. Buchanan (1793, 143) said that he was illiterate 'farther than his little knowledge of the English language'. Neither Brougham (1871, I 108) nor Campbell (1799, f9-11) found him very prepossessing, though Campbell was impressed by the service he held in his kitchen. His salary then was still £25 a year but by 1815 (MacCulloch 1819, 23-4, 1824, 17, 89) it had risen to £35. Lauchlan was away when MacCulloch called, but his wife received the visitors. After resigning in 1820, he left the island in April 1821. In 1827 he was on the superannuated list of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools (Ann. Rept 16 1827, 48-9).

In the 1820s the teacher, Alexander MacKenzie, held meetings on Sundays for reading and prayer, but Rev Dr John MacDonald (the Apostle of the North) found when he made several visits to St Kilda (1932, 88-
that the islanders' knowledge of Christianity was superficial. He endeavoured to convey to them the true meaning of the scriptures and encouraged them in the practical demonstration of their beliefs.

The chapels having fallen into disrepair in the eighteenth century, both services and school classes were held in the common barn. The house formerly occupied by the missionary was private property. Dr MacDonald toured the country, preaching in an effort to raise funds to pay for the building of a new church and manse. Building was in progress in 1827, and completed before 1830, when MacDonald made his last visit, accompanying Neil MacKenzie, the new minister, his wife and baby to St Kilda.

Despite MacDonald's visits, MacKenzie (1911, 29-38) felt that the spiritual health of the people was in a poor state, their understanding being still very imperfect. He began a programme of meetings both on Sundays and week days which were well attended, but not until 1838 was he satisfied that some were fit to be admitted as full members of the church. In that year a Kirk Session was constituted and communion first celebrated. Dr Dickson from Edinburgh and Dr MacLeod (Caraid nan Gaidheal) from Glasgow, together with other passengers from the 'Vulcan', were present. The SSPCK gave a communion cup, server and font to be used in the church, a pulpit was installed, and a Mr Ewing in Glasgow sent a hand bell to call the people to church. (MacLean 1838, 50; Connell 1887, 142-3).

In the winter of 1840/1 there was an extraordinary outbreak of religious fervour. Services were accompanied by public proclamations of unworthiness and repentance, groaning, weeping and occasionally fainting. In the summer this excitement died down, but occurred again over the winter of 1841/2. MacQueen (nd, 4-5) notes that little work was done during those years. MacKenzie at last felt that a proper appreciation of the scriptures had been truly instilled in the people, and that his work was now finished. When he left in 1843 or 1844, he had not only consolidated spiritual reform, but he had also been responsible for totally rebuilding and relocating the village, and reorganisation of the arable land holdings within a new enclosing dyke.

When a Free Church deputy visited St Kilda in 1846, he found that all the people wished to join the Free Church. At that time the
proprietor would not allow the church to be used, and no one was appointed until 1859 when Duncan Kennedy went to the island as catechist. Two years after his departure John MacKay was sent as minister in 1865 (Ewing 1914, II 235).

Sands (1877a, 29, 115) described MacKay as 'a well meaning but feeble-minded, irresolute but domineering fanatic' and Connell (1887, 37-8, 54-5) agreed that he was under the influence of his servant, Ann MacDonald. MacDiarmid (1878, 241) described him as of 'kindly disposition, fair intelligence, but far from robust-looking, and apparently rather deficient in vigour and action', and Connell contrasted the energy of MacKenzie with the inertia of MacKay. He was not unchallenged: Donald Ferguson, a church elder, had apparently told him that if his sermons did not improve he would have to look for another job (Connell, 1887, 87). Murray (1.10.1887) commented that the sermons were 'poor feeding for the people or, rather, good food spoiled in the serving out. Ecclesiastically matters are asleep'. He found the minister and his servant kind but he was depressed by the dissension among the people, some of it caused by gossip from the manse. On Sundays MacKay held three long services, and on Wednesday evenings the elders held a prayer meeting. Rigid adherence to restrictions on any form of work on the Sabbath prevented the immediate unloading of much needed supplies when boats arrived late on a Saturday or on a Sunday (MacDiarmid 1878, 234; Connell 1887, 21). MacKay did not leave the island until he retired in 1889. In 1886 his salary was £80 annually (Connell 1887, 53).

His replacement was Angus Fiddes, a younger and more energetic man. He continued the three long services which occupied most of Sunday (Elliott 1895a, 119). Though the prevailing Sabbath gloom and silence observed by Sands had lifted and people would converse cheerfully to friends (Kearton 1897, 10-11), they were no less devout. Heathcote (1900, 80) believed them to be 'the most truly religious people' he had ever encountered. There was some serious disagreement between the islanders and Fiddes before he left in 1902 (Aberdeen Daily Journal 17.1.1903).

The missionaries of the twentieth century were younger men; most of them were married and some had young families; indeed in 1909 and 1918 there were births in the manse for the first time since
Buchan

Alexander Buchan = Katherine Campbell
Helen Margaret Jean George Dougal + 8 more

MacLennan

Roderick MacLennan = F

MacLeod

Donald MacDonald Alexander MacLeod = Barbara
of Tormore

Diana = Donald Donald Mary Margaret
of Achnagoyle, of Canna?
Colbost and St. Kilda

John MacPherson Donald Alexander
of St. Kilda and Glendale

MacLeod

John Her MacLeod of Geots

John of Geots Donald Elizabeth MacLeod

Lauchlan Mackinnon Donald Og ? = Florence
Sage

Margaret = Angus Ann Neil Mackean
Dunegan

Alexander Lauchlan = Marion

Angus Donald Norman Flora Roderick Alexander Roderick

Mackenzie

Neil MacKenzie James Crawford = Jane MacPherson

Neil = Elizabeth

Neil Mary Eliza James Jane Nigel Mary Anne Patrick Helen Eleanor
and
Bannatyne MacPherson Banks and William H. MacKenzie
Margaret

Sources: Buchan 1727; 1752; Scott 1923 23; 1928 192-4; 1950 683-690;
McKinnon and Morrison vol III 270-279; McKinnon 1954, 26-34
Lawson, pers. comm.

Fig. 80
MACKAY

John Mackay = Catherine Ross
Isabella = William Hurro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John</th>
<th>Margaret</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella = Neil Ross Hurro McDonald</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FRASER

John Fraser = Annabella

MACLACHLAN

Archibald MacLachlan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John = Ann Maclean</th>
<th>John Scroggie = Mary Craig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter = Alice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flora (Susan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MACLEAN

John Maclean = Karim Sinclair

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dugald = Mary MacNiven</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MACARTHUR

Archie MacArthur = Flora Kennedy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finlay Gilles = Caterine Gilles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caterine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MACKINNON

Alexander MacKinnon = Mary Barr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marion Finnie</th>
<th>Hugh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

CAMERON

Donald Cameron = Christina MacPhie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donald = Mary Flora MacCorquodale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MACLEOD

John MacLeod = 1) Katie MacDonald 2) Elizabeth Gamble

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John = Alexander</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chasie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Census records; NTS archives; MacLeod 1988; Cameron 1973

Fig. 81

319
Mackenzie's stay. Accounts by MacLachlan (1906-9), Cameron (1973) and MacLeod (1988) indicate that faith was tempered with tolerance and humour.

The Church and Manse

In 1826 plans were drawn up by Robert Stevenson (NLS Ms 5862.9, fig 82) for a new church and manse. These show similarities to Telford's plans (fig 83) for the churches and manses built in a number of places in the Highlands and Islands between 1823 and 1835. Those on St Kilda were a little more modest, and cheaper, being completed by 1830 for a cost of £600.

The church is a simple building 30' by 17'9" internally, with a high ceiling (fig 84). It was originally lit by four lancet windows, one of which was later converted into a door through to the school. It had plastered walls, bare rafters, and a sloping earth floor. There was a door through to the manse opening onto the landing by the pulpit (MacDiarmid 1878, 240). By 1885 there was a central gangway of rough concrete and the walls were whitewashed (Connel 1887, 84). A stove sent 'recently' for the church was regarded as 'godless' by the minister's housekeeper and was never installed. In 1898 when the schoolroom was added, the church was refurbished: lined throughout with matchboarding, a level wooden floor inserted, and a carpet at the pulpit end (Heathcote 1900, 97). Possibly the minister's private entrance was removed at this time.

When the people left in 1930 the church had served the community for just one hundred years.

In MacKenzie's day the manse had four rooms, with outhouses. The walls were finished in plaster directly onto the masonry, and there was a damp problem, but the house was carpeted and furnished (Wilson 1842, 11). An extension was built in 1838 or 1839 (MacLean 1838, 46). These were probably the additions shown on Sharbau's plan of 1860 (fig 39) and in a photograph of 1886 (Wilson 1886, 6192): a porch, and a narrow block, probably outhouses, attached to the east gable. After MacKenzie left the building was empty for some time and by 1861 needed replastering and some new windows (Power 1983, 21.7.1861). Two men were working on both manse and church for two months in 1883, but in 1896 Fiddes felt that more work was necessary (MacKenzie ms). He installed the stove intended for the church (Ross 1890, 150). Part of the eastward extension was enlarged and converted into two extra
Plans for Church and Manse  Robert Stevenson 1827

Fig. 82
rooms, probably in 1908 when contractors were working on the manse during the missionary's holiday (MacLachlan 11.6.1908; fig 81). It may have been then that the bathroom with flush toilet was installed, fed by water piped from the Minister's well (Atkinson 1949, 221; MoD plan 1969).

Communion plate and tokens

Five communion vessels used on St Kilda are now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland (fig 85).

Communion tokens are the only mass produced items made specifically for use on St Kilda. Two types are known to have been produced, both for the Free Church of Scotland. These tokens (fig 85) conform to the commonest type issued in the nineteenth century in both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church; they are of tin lead alloy and both bear the name of the congregation and the text 'This do in remembrance of me' (Luke xii 19 and 1 Cor. xi 24). Neither is dated, but they must have been produced after 1846. Inscriptions in Gaelic are exceptional: very few of the Highland and Island congregations in any of the churches had Gaelic tokens, other examples being Church of Scotland congregations at Aberdeen, Bernera (Harris) and Kintail, and Free Church congregations at Carloway, Tarbert (Harris) and Inverness (Kerr and Lockie 1942-3, 49-146; 1944-5, 26-80).

Education

A list of teachers known to have worked on St Kilda is given in table 22.

There is no record of the St Kildans receiving any sort of formal education before 1704. Martin (1716, 63) notes in 1697 that 'writing was most astonishing to them; they cannot conceive how it is possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of his mind in such black characters upon white paper'. When he suggested that they could learn to read or write within two years, this was regarded as impossible.

However, within a few years Buchan (1727, 41-3, 49-52) had by his own account taught many of the people to read and write, though he sent some of his own children to schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In 1710 he was officially appointed teacher. His instructions included the following: he was to erect a school in which he was to teach the inhabitants, especially 'the younger sort'; in winter he was to teach in one session, but when the days were longer, in two, if the parents could spare them so long; he was to encourage any who came to him
wanting to learn, and he was to go from house to house teaching and instructing in religion. Teaching was to include reading and writing in English.

Buchan's successor, Roderick MacLennan, was probably responsible for teaching Neil MacLeod, the Steward's son, during his summer visits. In 1773, MacLeod told Boswell and Johnson (1934, 388) that he had lived for some time in St Kilda, and there had first read Horace and Virgil.

Perhaps Buchan's best pupils perished in the smallpox epidemic; MacLennan's successors seem to have been less well educated and less diligent in teaching, for in 1758 MacAulay (1764, 219) found that all but three or four of the people were 'perfectly illiterate'.

In 1821 it was suggested to the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools (GSR 1822, 36) that the island would be a suitable place for a school, there being 58 children between the ages of 5 and 16. Mr MacLellan, the tacksman, had undertaken to put up a building for the accommodation of both teacher and school, together with the provision of a patch of ground, grazing for cattle and sheep, and fuel supplies. Accordingly Alexander MacKenzie was sent out in June 1822. When Rev Dr John MacDonald and Mr MacLellan inspected the school in September they were impressed by the enthusiasm and progress of the pupils (GSR 12 1823, 37). By 1823 60 people were able to read the Bible (GSR 14 1824). School was held from 7 to 9 am, 12 to 1, and for two hours in the evening, presumably to avoid infringing too much on the working day (GSR 14 1825, 35). By June 1825 nine scholars had left, 'being able to read fluently'. In the previous winter MacKenzie had held a night school but in summer there was no mid day school as the scholars were herding cattle (GSR 15 1826, 30-1). By 1827 at least one person in every household could read the Bible (Kennedy 1932, 284). MacKenzie lived in the house 'lately used by the missionary' and taught in the barn, which was common property (MacDonald 1823, 8).

However, Neil MacKenzie (1911, 32) found that very few people could read; he taught reading, writing and arithmetic and by his own account long before he left in 1843 most people could read fluently and write in Gaelic. MacLean (1838, 39) saw a new one room school 9' by 8', with one window, in which MacKenzie taught, though Wilson (1842, 12) says he taught in the church. The schoolroom mentioned may
have been the small building of which one end survives in the glebe wall, with a window space, and turf on the wall head suggesting a thatched roof.

Despite all this instruction, when Otter drew up an agreement in 1860 whereby provisions were exchanged for work, the sixteen men who participated all put a cross by their name (RHASS papers). In 1859 MacRaild reported that Kennedy was doing his best and that the people could generally read the Gaelic Bible; in the early 1860s his neice, Anne Kennedy, was teaching, with a salary of £10 in 1863 (RHASS papers).

When the Education Act was passed in 1872, MacLeod negotiated with Harris Parish Council for exemption for St Kilda on the grounds that education was being supplied, and thus avoided paying school rates (SRO AF 57/04).

In 1884 the Ladies’ Highland Association started sending teachers to St Kilda, generally young men who stayed for nine or ten months from one summer to the next. They taught in the church, or in winter, in the Factor’s House, where they stayed. The role of teacher was gradually combined with that of minister or missionary, or their wives. Sometimes the work was shared: Peter MacLachlan did most of the teaching, his wife taking classes in sewing and singing. In the 1900s, other teachers came for a few weeks in the summer.

Though attendance generally was good, school work often took second place when help was required with unloading boats, agricultural work or fowling; on such occasions the school might be closed for lack of pupils (Murray 28.10.1886; 5.5.1887; MacLachlan 9.11.1907, School Log Book 1901-1930).

In the 1900s His Majesty’s Inspectors of Schools made regular visits to St Kilda; some examples of comments from their reports follow: the junior classes should practice speaking English (1901); reading and arithmetic were slightly better than the previous year but written and spoken English required greater efforts (1906); special mention was made of the good use by pupils of the school’s excellent library (1907); progress was rated as ‘good to fair’, even the weakest having a passable knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic (1922); and knowledge of geography was good, but history and singing were poor (1927) (School Log Book).
Pl. 39 Church interior R L Atkinson 1938

Pl. 40 School children and George Murray N MacLeod 1886
Pl. 41

School interior

R L Atkinson
1938

Pl. 42 Schoolchildren R C MacLeod of MacLeod 1907
A number of letters written by St Kildans, mostly by men, from the 1860s onwards survive (MacLeod Muniments, MacKenzie mss, RHASS papers). Though the punctuation and syntax are sometimes unconventional, probably because the correspondent was communicating in an unfamiliar language, the message is generally clear. In July, 1897, for instance, Finlay MacQueen wrote to Mr MacKenzie:

Dear Friend,

I hope you got a good passage, from our Island, and has arrived all safe at home. I am at present the same as when you saw me and all the family & the rest of the inhabitants now we got some of the turf, and the weather is fine, but today is not we were at Soa cutting the lambs and did good work. now as you ordered me I send you the tweeds to send to Mr Kearton you will get my name on the so I hope you will send them I must close with my fondest wishes to you

I remain yours
loving friend
Finlay MacQuien

also I am going to send you the clock to be cleaned, she is not keeping the time I hope you will do this for me

A school exercise book used by Donald Gillies in 1930, when he was twelve years old, also survives (SRO GD 1/817/1). It contains exercises in spelling, grammar, dictation and composition, the last about different aspects of island life: 'A Rainy Day'; 'A Sail to Boreray'; 'A Trip to the Dune'; 'Sheep Shearing' and 'A Trip to Boreray'.

In 1898 a schoolroom was added to the church, a light high ceilings room, timber lined, with a fireplace, an outside door and a door through into the church (Heathcote 1900, 92-6; fig 84).

Health

Two complaints are particularly associated with, though not peculiar to St Kilda: the 'boat cold' and the more serious infant tetanus. Both have been described by many authors: Gibson (1926, 50-62) and Collacott (1981, 224-7) summarise the evidence for the latter.

Martin (1716, 38-40) noted that the St Kildans 'were not infested with several diseases which are so predominant in the other parts of the world'. Like his contemporaries, he did not realise that lack of exposure to an infection was accompanied by a lack of resistance, and he found the existence of the 'boat cold' hard to credit, as did many later visitors. The 'boat cold' or chatan nan gall (cold/cough of the strangers/foreigners) affected the whole population soon after the arrival of a boat at the island. MacAulay (1764, 200-209) observed it
himself; on the third day after his arrival, some people had symptoms of a violent cold; within eight days all were affected, some having fever and headaches as well. Mrs MacLeod, widow of the missionary Alexander MacLeod, told him that she had been immune to it during her first three years on the island, but thereafter she succumbed with the rest. The people had pointed out to Martin that babies, who were affected as much as everyone else, would scarcely be capable of simulating the cold. Various explanations, none entirely satisfactory, were suggested by different authors, among them that the cold resulted from the exertion and wetting involved in helping the steward to land, or from the consumption of alcohol and change of routine accompanying his visit. The people themselves believed that they were infected by those who lodged with them.

Morgan (1862, 185) observed the whole population affected ten days after the visit of the 'Porcupine' in June, 1860. Ross (1884, 82) noted that the people could distinguish between colds associated with boats from different places, and that colds from Glasgow or Liverpool were not as severe as those from Harris. Seton (1878, 233) was the first to mention the parallel example of Tristan da Cunha. Later other examples were cited, such as Tahiti (Dixon 1886, 286), Wharekauri, New Zealand (Chudleigh 1886, 484), and the 'shore cough' which sailors often contracted after the isolation of a long sea voyage (Anon 1926, 81).

It is now generally recognised that communities which have not been exposed to an infection will have little or no resistance and may suffer severely when a new one is introduced. There is no reason to doubt accounts of the universal and virulent affects of cnatan nan gall.

A similar lack of resistance, probably combined with malnutrition, was responsible for the devastating effects of the smallpox epidemic in 1727. Smallpox was serious enough in larger populations; on St Kilda only 30 of well over 100 people survived, 11 of these escaping infection altogether because they were on Boreray or Stack an Armin (p 108).

Martin (1716, 39) recorded one earlier case when a man was infected by two of the Steward's party who were not fully recovered from it, but MacAulay (1764, 197-9) declared that smallpox was unknown before the epidemic. In June, 1873, seventeen people, including all
the children, were vaccinated against smallpox by Dr Webster of Dunvegan and the rest later in the year by Dr Murchison from Harris (Seton 1878, 235). One doctor who came to vaccinate was drunk (MacLeod 1953, 246) and by 1899 the people refused to allow their children to be vaccinated (Heathcote 1900a, 70-1).

MacKenzie (1904, 399) noted that 'when hooping cough, measles or scarlet fever visit the island, there are more than the average number of deaths', and Sands (1877a, 13) observed that the people had a great terror of infection and would avoid a visitor whom they suspected of having been in contact with 'fever'. Increased contact through the summer steamers and fishing boats in the winter was probably responsible for later epidemics, including typhus and whooping cough in 1892 (Dougall, 1892, 1388), influenza in 1901 (School Log Book), 1913 and 1914 (SRO AF 57/13, AF 57/17), mumps in 1920 (SRO AF 57/22), whooping cough in 1921 (Anon 1921, 416), pneumonia in 1924 (SG 2.10.1924), and influenza in 1926, when four elderly people died (SG 3.6.1926). Fiddes (MacKenzie ms) attributed an epidemic of 'fever' in autumn 1896 to the use of surface water in winter, when the cattle were within the head dyke.

Martin (1753, 38-42, 58; 1716, 284-5) says that the people suffered from 'fluxes, fevers, pleurisies and the spleen'. The 'spotted fever' and 'leprosy' have been considered above (pp 151-3).

Both MacAulay (1764, 210) and MacDonald (1827, 26) observed that the adults were very healthy, and Clarke (1824, 273) Atkinson (1831, 31) and Sands (1877a, 24) all remark on their excellent teeth. However, MacKenzie (1904, 31) during his long stay noted dyspepsia, nervous disorders, 'spotted fever' and swelling and bowing of the limbs (possibly rickets). Two young women died of 'green sickness' (anaemia). Surgeon Scott (MacDiarmid 1878, 251) reported that rheumatism and dyspepsia were common, but skin disease was not; in 1884 and 1885 Acheson (MacNeill 1886, 8-9) found, in addition to the rheumatism and dyspepsia, anaemia and palpitation in children, and incipient scurvy. The lack of fruit and green vegetables in the diet caused some deficiency diseases; but considering the high consumption of flesh and eggs, anaemia is surprising.

Tuberculosis was unknown until a young man suffering from it returned home in 1928; he died, but Mary Gillies had contracted the disease: she died in July 1930 (SRO AF 57/26/27).
Mitchell (1865, 899-902) found no evidence of problems arising from marriage of close relatives; of fourteen couples in 1860, five were second cousins, and none closer. He did learn of one woman who was 'of weak mind', Kirsty MacLeod, who went to Harris in 1860 or 1861, and provided Carmichael (1928, II 379) with useful material. She is probably the same Kirsty MacLeod who is listed in the Harris census of 1871 as an imbecile. Sands (1877a, 23-4, 135-6) refers to an old man who was an imbecile, generally harmless (Roderick Gillies) and Murray (5.3.1887) noted that Mrs Ann Gillies was partly deranged. John MacKinnon was listed as mentally deficient in 1930 (SRO AF 57/26). His name does not appear in the school register. His parents and two of his great grandparents were first cousins; two other great grandparents were first cousins once removed; one was sibling to Roderick Gillies and the other to Ann Gillies. Sands also listed several people with physical disabilities: a woman with a deformed foot, her daughter with a deformed chest, an old man (John MacDonald) blind from cataract and Donald MacQueen who had a rupture.

MacAulay (1764, 199-200) is the first to mention infant tetanus: The St Kilda infants are peculiarly subject to an extraordinary kind of sickness: On the fourth, fifth or sixth night after their birth, many of them give up sucking; on the seventh, their gums are so clenched together, that it is impossible to get anything down their throats: Soon after this symptom appears, they are seized with convulsive fits, and after struggling against excessive torments, till their little strength is exhausted, die generally on the eighth day. It is unlikely that Martin, with his interest in medicine, would have omitted to mention this if it occurred in his day, so probably the tetanus bacillus travelled to St Kilda in the early eighteenth century, possibly with people sent to augment the population after the smallpox, or perhaps carried by migrating birds.

Later visitors were more interested in the boat cold and the high infant mortality was not remarked again until 1822 (MacDonald 1827, 26). MacKenzie (1911, 13), who lost three of his own children in infancy, noted that no special clothing was provided for new born babies, who were wrapped in a piece of cloth for the first ten days of life, until, as Connel said later (1887, 110) they had proved their 'right to wear the clothing of a decent Christian baby'.
Many nineteenth century visitors wrote of this scourge and there was much speculation as to the cause. Some attributed it to the foetid air within the houses and initial feeding with melted butter and milk instead of breast feeding, but there was no improvement after new houses were built in 1860. The diet of the mothers was suggested, and the treatment of the umbilicus considered, though it was believed to be the same as elsewhere in the Western Isles. Mitchell (1865, 902) stated that the disease did not occur throughout the Long Island but was known in Uig and Barvas in Lewis, the Faeroe Islands and parts of Iceland; and Morgan (1862 179-183) cited the Westmann islands, Dublin Lying-in Hospital and the West Indies as parallels. More recently, Ferguson (1958, 140-146) has shown that in the second half of the nineteenth century the number of babies dying between 4 and 14 days after birth (not necessarily diagnosed as having tetanus) in most parts of rural Lewis, in Harris and South Uist was between 30 and 40 per 1000 live births, far lower than on St Kilda, but twice the rate on the east coast of Ross and Cromarty. On the other hand it occurred rarely or not at all on Foula and Fair Isle, where conditions were similar to those on St Kilda (Gibson, 1926, 54).

Between 1830 and 1891, of 160 baptisms and births recorded, 92 died within the first few weeks of life, many simply being recorded as '8 days', and most of these deaths were probably the result of tetanus. In some years no babies survived, the worst record being between 1866 and 1870 when all fourteen whose birth is recorded died (Lawson pers comm; fig 48). Morgan (1862 178) learned that of fourteen children born to Malcolm and Betty MacDonald, twelve had died of tetanus. In 1876 Sands (1877a, 12-13) attended the funeral of the infant Mary Gillies and saw two small boxes in the grave opened for her: her father, twice married, had lost eight children. Murray (12.1886) attending the burial of twelve day old Anne MacKinnon, likewise saw the coffins of her brothers when she was buried.

Some mothers tried to avoid the risk by going to Harris to have their babies. Four births are recorded in Harris between 1868 and 1875 (Lawson pers comm) and Sands (1877a, 71; Holohan, 1985, 52-3) met two women returning home in 1876 after spending the winter in Harris. Mary MacDonald's son Donald survived, but Marion MacQueen lost hers twelve days after his birth. Some of the women who spent months in Harris, which they found a poor place, probably stayed with Donald.
MacKinnon, who had left St Kilda before 1840, in Obbe. His daughter Janet practised as a midwife, going on to train in Glasgow in the 1880s. One of the women who went was Donald MacKinnon’s sister-in-law and three others were married to his nephews (Lawson pers comm).

Gibson (1926, 50-62) suggests that tetanus was the result of mismanagement of the umbilical cord. Two women he spoke to in the Western Isles had been accustomed to dressing the cord with a rag which had a hole burnt through it, and in Barvas this was often smeared with butter. He suggests that on St Kilda fulmar oil was substituted, and that the midwife would keep a supply, probably in the usual gannet’s stomach, which she would replenish as necessary. Hanging in the house, this would provide an ideal cultural medium for the tetanus bacillus, and a source of infection for practically every baby. Whether Gibson was correct in his theory that 'the fulmar gull squirted its ruby jet across a page of medical history' can now only be a matter of opinion.

The midwife reigned supreme: some time before 1830 a group of men told Mrs MacDonald of Balranald that they could no longer have children because their midwife had died, and in the 1860s two girls offered the same explanation for not marrying to Captain Otter’s pilot (Carmichael 1941, 107; 1928, II 166). The midwife whom Morgan (1862, 178) interviewed in 1860 must have been Betty MacDonald (Scott), who had been practising for thirty years, initially probably as a young apprentice. She was one of those lost on the 'Dargavel' in 1863 (p 335). It was Rachel, Donald Ferguson’s wife (Collacott 1985, 182) with whom the first nurses sent to the island had to compete until she died in October 1891.

There were resident nurses in the 1880s and from 1914 (table 23). In 1877 Emily MacLeod, sister of the proprietor, went to St Kilda and supervised the post natal care of Anne MacQueen who survived (MacLeod 1953, 245-7). She made several further visits, and offered to pay for one of the women to visit Skye to learn English and then train as a nurse in Glasgow, but none would leave the island. About 1879, she employed Mrs Anne McKinlay, a trained nurse aged 65, who despite her age stayed on the island for nine years, though by 1887 she was not in good health herself (Murray 12.4.1887). Neither she nor her immediate successors were popular and when Nurse Chishall left in 1892 she was not replaced. Fiddes’ petition to Queen Victoria for the provision of a nurse in 1890 was unsuccessful, but he collected funds
to pay the expenses of Nurse Chisnhall from the Glasgow Sick-poor and Private Nursing Association. Both she and Fiddes took advice from Professors Reid and Taylor in Glasgow as to the treatment of the babies. Between 1891 and 1892, of five births, one baby was still born, two died of tetanus (two of these three were not registered at all) and the only two whom the nurse was permitted to treat from the first survived. Fiddes himself continued postnatal treatment with scrupulous care after Nurse Chisnhall left, and was able to report in 1894 that the five babies born since her departure had all survived. No further cases of infant tetanus were recorded.

From 1914 a resident nurse was provided. Doctors who visited in an official capacity or as tourists were in demand. There were deaths which only rapid communication and transport could have avoided: in 1922 Donald Gillies died on Boreray, of appendicitis, and early in 1930 Mary Gillies was taken off by a fishery cruiser; she died in hospital.

According to Martin (1716, 284) fulmar oil and giben were used to relieve aches and pains, and these prized products were exported. Clarke (1824, 270) remarked on the 'large bunches of long bladders' full of fulmar oil, which was used for rheumatism, sprains and swellings as well as lighting. These local remedies were gradually superseded: the list of goods required for 1873 (MacKenzie mss) includes 4½ lb Epsom salts and 9 pint bottles of castor oil. In 1903 the estate sent out 'medecine, plasters, pills and 26 bottles embrocation' (MM 2.652/19).

The St Kildans visited various hospitals. Payments (£5/2/6) were made by the MacLeod Estate to the Gesto Hospital for treatment of a St Kildan in 1887-8 (MM 2.630/10). Before 1890 Norman Gillies had apparently been to Glasgow Infirmary for a hip operation (Ross 1890, 153). In 1906 young Neil Gillies was in hospital in Glasgow but it was not possible to treat his leg (MacLachlan 21.8.1906). In 1908 young Norman MacQueen's leg was broken when his father was throwing bales of cloth down from the loft, and father and son went, with Norman's elder brother as interpreter, by trawler to Aberdeen, where Norman was left for several weeks (MacLachlan 25&31.5.1908). At the end of 1928 Neil Gillies died in hospital in Oban (SG 11.1.1929).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Alexander Buchan (1640/5 – 1729)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Roderick MacLennan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>Alexander MacLeod (? – c1758)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1758?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 1768</td>
<td>Angus MacLeod (MacDhonil Oig) (? – c1785/88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785/1788</td>
<td>Lauchlan MacLeod left 1821 (1762-1832)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>No resident clergyman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Peter Davidson (did not go to St Kilda) (1788-1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Neil MacKenzie (1795-1879)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Islanders joined the Free Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>No resident clergyman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Duncan Kennedy, catechist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>A Cameron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>John MacKay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Angus Fiddes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>(1900 Islanders joined United Free Church)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Lachlan MacLean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912?</td>
<td>John Fraser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Peter MacLachlan (1856-1921)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Dugald MacLean (1858-1924)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Calum MacArthur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Alexander MacKinnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Donald Cameron (1885-1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duncan Munro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Cameron 1973, *; Clarke 1824, 267-8; Connell 1887, 143; Ewing 1914, II 235; MacAulay 1764, 241; MacDonald 1823, 28; MacLachlan 1906-9; Muir 1861, 214; 1885, 61; Scott 1923, 93; 1928, 100, 193-4; 1950, 689-90; School Log Book; Seton 1878, 209; Steel 1988, 103; NTS Archive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Alexander Buchan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Alexander MacKenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Neil MacKenzie and D MacQueen, D MacKinnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Carmichael &amp; MacEwen; M Ferguson, M MacQueen, N Ferguson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Duncan Kennedy and his niece, Anne Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863 - 1884</td>
<td>No resident teacher (1872: Education Act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Kenneth Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Hugh MacCallum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>George Murray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Rae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>John Ross, MacFarlane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Angus Fiddes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>James MacKenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Campbell (Mary C MacKenzie summer 1902)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>? (Edith Findlay summer 1903)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>MacDonald (Kathleen M Kennedy summer 1904)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>R MacDonald (W Gollan summer 1905)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Peter and Alice MacLachlan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Annie MacLean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Calum MacArthur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Mary MacKinnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Mary Cameron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>John MacLeod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Dugald Munro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: School Log Book; Logie 1889, 39; MacQueen nd; Ross 1889-90
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Nurse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879/80?</td>
<td>Mrs Ann McKinlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Mrs Urquhart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Nurse Chishall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>No resident nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Mrs M E McLennan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19nn</td>
<td>Mrs J M MacKenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Nurse MacDougall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Nurse Littlejohn (ill early 1928, temporary replacement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Nurse Williamina Barclay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Gibson 1926; Stornoway Gazette 30.8.1923; 25.6.1925; 7.6.1928; 1.6.1928; SRO AF 57/1
Chapter 15 Communications

'The seais are stark and verie evill entering in ony of the saids Iles'. Thus wrote Dean Monro in 1549 (1961, 78). The sea about St Kilda is often 'evill', but there are periods of relative calm, and occasionally of glassy stillness.

How much traffic was there between St Kilda and the Hebrides or the mainland?

In the sixteenth century Monro says the Steward went once a year, taking a chaplain, and this is generally repeated in later accounts. By the late seventeenth century, it was customary for the Steward to take also a large following of poor people, probably mostly from Pabbay, and they were quartered with the islanders. There are a number of indications that contact between St Kilda and 'the Continent' was not always limited to the Steward's annual visit. Some of the islanders travelled to the Hebrides or beyond, and people other than the Steward visited them. The eighteenth century saw the beginning of an increase in such contacts, and by the late nineteenth century there was a flood of visitors. Informal postal arrangements through Dunvegan followed by the establishment of a post office in 1900 allowed the people to keep in touch with friends and relatives elsewhere, and for brief periods in the twentieth century rapid communication was possible without a vessel of some sort, during the times when wireless stations were in operation. However, until the end of the nineteenth century, the island was without planned communication with any other community for many months between autumn and spring, and the problem of winter communication was never satisfactorily resolved.

The people had at least one boat of their own almost continually throughout their recorded history, but there are few references to their making voyages to the Long Island. The distance may be considered a sufficient deterrent, but it is worth pointing out that for at least five hundred years it was considered reasonable for small groups of men to sail every year in late summer from Ness, Lewis, across forty miles of ocean to Sula Sgeir, a rock so small that it could not be seen when they set out (p.347).

Boats

A boat is essential to make effective use of the grazing on Boreray and Soay, and to harvest birds from these islands and the
stacs; without a boat, life on Hirt would be possible, but much poorer. References to numbers of boats, new boats and losses of boats are noted in table 24.

The St Kildans have usually had at least one boat of their own since Monro's time. In 1697 (Martin 1753, 49, 59-60) it was sixteen cubits long, and was very curiously divided into apartments proportionable to their lands and rocks; every individual has his space distinguished to a hair's breadth, which his neighbour cannot encroach so much as to lay an egg upon it.

Each partner provided a turf to cover the boat and protect it from the sun in summer. 'The cubit, or lave keile (lámh choille) is the distance from the elbow to the fingers' ends; this they only use in measuring their boats'. This is usually between 18 and 24 inches, giving an overall length of between 24' and 29'4". Martin does not mention the use of sails, but says (1716, 291) that the men were stout rowers. They did not use a compass, but steered by the sun, moon and stars, though they relied mostly on the course of groups of seabirds in flight. On one occasion they had been driven to Uist, where they had been kindly received, as they had themselves been hospitable when a group of Uist men were storm-driven to St Kilda.

Moray (1678, 927) describes their landing on Boreray:

When they come near the rock, they turn the boat and set the side to the shore, two men, one at each end of the boat, with two long poles keeping it off; that the waves dash it not so violently against the rock, when it rises; at which time only the fellow, who is to land, makes his attempt. If he miss his landing place he falls into the sea; and the rest of the people hale him aboard ... when he safely lands, the rest of his fellows land one by one: except so many as they leave to attend their little boat, which ordinarily is of six oars.

When they had finished their work, they lowered any eggs or birds into the boat, and 'the ablest fellow is always left behind; who, having none to help him, must throw himself into the sea, and so recover the boat.' Moray also mentions their hunting seals in a narrow geo on Soay, generally with four men in the boat, a hazardous operation.

MacLeod (1756-75) recalls the usual method of getting a boat ashore and launching it:

They always land and hawl up their boats upon a certain rock which has a sloping descent towards the sea. Their method of drawing on their boats is so peculiar that I shall endeavour to give some idea of it. The boats that belong to the Island and such as are sent thither have a hole made on purpose
through that end of the keel which is towards the stem: through this hole a rope is put before the boat bound for St. Kilda is launcht out to sea: there are also two ropes fixt to the stern on the outside, one of which goes along each side of the Boat, and when they are prepared to draw the Boat the ropes are thrown to the inhabitants on shore, who take hold of them and draw on the boat, for the water is so deep at the landing place that they cannot take hold of the boat itself untill it is got on dry ground: the ropes fixt to the stern are designed to keep it endways to them when it is in the water. When they launch out their boat the same method is used for security because the rock is so steep that when the people apply their force to the boat, it might slip out through their hands to sea before they had men or oars on board if some of 'em had not hold of the rope to stop its too rapid motion.

Martin (1716, 76) refers to a Harris man and his son who had spent a year on the island working on the boat. The boy was instrumental in exposing Roderick the Imposter, so this was before 1693 (p 106). Presumably this was not just routine maintenance, which might have been done during the Steward’s extended stay, if the islanders could not manage it themselves. Any work requiring much new timber would involve importing wood.

An accident which Martin does not mention in 1698, but includes in his book of 1703 (1716, 286), may have taken place between those years. All the men had gone to Boreray in mid-March; the boat was left tied and the rope broke, the men being marooned until the end of May, when the Steward came out on his usual trip and rescued them. Possibly Martin (1716, 293) was referring to the same incident when he says 'some years ago' the boat was broken on the west side of Boreray and the men had to climb a cliff to safety. They may well have been without a boat for several years after that, as the rentals record in 1712 the cost of a boat bought for the people 'after their remarkable disaster in the island of Borera' (Morrison 1966, 332). A boat was in use just before the smallpox epidemic in 1727 as many of the survivors were those who had been stranded all winter on Boreray or on Stac an Armin. Possibly after that the boat was not properly looked after as in 1735 the rents were given up to buy another boat (Morrison 1968, 73).

By 1758 there was only one boat, and the St Kildans' way of keeping it safe from winter storms may have contributed to its decay, for MacAulay says (1764, 142, 266, 192-3) that they filled it up with earth and stones in a secure place, and he comments that 'the St Kilda boat is peculiarly subject to casualties' another of which occurred
the year after his visit. On October 6th, 1759, nineteen men set out for Boreray; ten were landed, and when the weather blew up, the other nine sheltered in the boat for three days in the lee of a rock, till at last, in desperation, they steered for the beach, though the storm had not abated. Three men were washed away; the other six got ashore, but the boat was broken. The men on Boreray were marooned until the Steward came in June in the following year. MacGillivray (1842, 65) may have a confused version of the Boreray incidents in his story of boats being wrecked on Stac Lee on two separate occasions.

Perhaps it is such an event which is remembered in a song (Carmichael 1941, 112-3; p 301), about a time when eighteen men were storm-stayed on Boreray for eighteen weeks, only one man, Calum, being left on Hirt. On another occasion (Carmichael 1941, 107) eighteen men went to Uist for seed corn after their own crops had been destroyed by a bad storm. They were all lost, with the boat, on the return voyage. There is no other record of this disaster, which must have taken place before 1830. Although Carmichael does not say so, this may have been the time when the boat, bound for Obbe Harris, was driven off course to Hougharry North Uist, some time in the early nineteenth century, this being the last time that a woollen sail was seen in the Western Isles (Carmichael, 1972, 124). At one time sails were normally made locally of wool, and Grant (1959, 360) notes the purchase of thirty yards of white plaiding for a sail for 'MacLeod's Birlinn' in 1706. As Carmichael points out, a wet woollen sail would be so heavy and awkward that it could be dangerous. It continued in use on St Kilda well into the nineteenth century, for in 1831 Atkinson (1831 f 33) noted the square woollen mainsail, which was 'curiously varied' and in 1838 MacLean (1838, 46) saw the sail

Made up of 21 patches of varied sizes and shades, like what you would fancy Joseph's coat to have been, and of coarse plaiding, the contribution of 21 partners, in proportion to their share of land and rocks severally. The reefs are as varied as the sail, and of old garters or woollen ropes.

In 1815 MacCulloch (1819, 26) observed that only one of the two boats was serviceable,

And their indifference to this kind of property and the accommodation it affords, is marked by their improvidently suffering the other to go to decay on the shore for want of a few trifling repairs. With the effective one they make a voyage once or twice in the year to the Long Island.
There they sold wool, feathers, cheese, and bought various goods. By 1831 the only boat was a heavy ship's boat of six oars. Atkinson (1831, 32-3) found the islanders very awkward oarsmen, but expert at landing and embarking: the procedure for landing was evidently the same as that described by Moray, but Atkinson adds that the first person ashore took a coil of rope, which was held taut between him and the boat, thus assisting others to land.

In 1838 the name of the boat was the 'Lair Dhonn' (Brown Mare) (MacLean 1838, 39, 42, 46-7). MacLean refers to the 'subtacksman's boat', so possibly there were two, one held in common, and one belonging to Donald MacKinnon, or perhaps MacLean was referring to his being 'in charge' of the communal boat.

From 1860 onwards, the islanders received a number of new boats, as table 24 shows, many of them paid for from the Kelsall Fund (fig 86). Sands (1877, 42, 64, 71) intended his boat, which was paid for by public contributions, to be suitable for the Atlantic. It was specially built by a man at Ardrishaig on Loch Fyne who had been to St Kilda and knew the seas there. MacDiarmid (1877, 22-5) felt that none of the four boats he saw were suitable for an independent voyage to the Western Isles, and suggested that the people should be given something larger, though he admitted that that would require a better landing place. Gordon Cumming (1883, 328, 337) records that in 1883 there was one boat larger than the rest, and that in April that year five men had sailed in her to Dunvegan to ask for assistance, being without meal or seed corn and potatoes.

Connell (1887, 57, 61) relates:

A few years back this singular people chopped up one of their boats into firewood. The boat was a gift from people in the South, and on the islanders being remonstrated with on the enormity of their conduct they coolly replied that the boat did not quite suit their purpose, and they had made up their mind to burn it, so that their kind friends in the South might have a chance of giving them a better one.

The four boats they had were unlikely to survive for long: [They] are simply going to wreck in their hands, and one apparent reason is that they are common property. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and so the boats are allowed to lie and rot uncared for on the beach.

This was not entirely true: a photograph of 1886 (GWW 6203 or 5) is titled 'Mending the Boat', but no doubt it was the reason why boats were sent to Dunvegan for repair in the 1890s.
To Darrach & Espe

21 Aboyne Boat 30 x 10 x 4½ with Breast
Suspended Yard, 6' Spauling, Anchor & Poles
6 Wld Bar & E. Boat 8½ Boat 8½ Anchor & Poles
Rudder & Filler, 8' f. Sheet, 8' Falling Sheet
12 Anchors as per Contract

1 Punt 1½ -
1 Chain 2' 3/4 New. 3½ for 50

Freight a bout 2½ the paid - 2½. Mr. Shieley
18 July 1851

Settled, B. D. Parkinson
9th July 1851
50 16 6

Messrs. Darrach & Espe

Glasgow, 1 July 1851

To DAVID HUTCHESON & CO., Glassco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARKS AND NO.</th>
<th>GOODS</th>
<th>WEIGHT</th>
<th>MEASUREMENT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain Outer RN 1 Boat 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Charger Paid at
Tonnage Duty, Forwarding, and Carriage.

Settled, For DAVID HUTCHESON & Co.

Fig. 86

345
In November 1896 Donald Ferguson (Ground Officer) wrote to MacKenzie to report that two of the boats were so badly damaged that they could not be used without repair, and that only 'the old white boat' remained in use. He said that some of the men were not willing to repair them and were asking for new boats, and there are letters written in that autumn asking for three boats, of 15'6" to 16' length, with four oars and a helm, each for three different groups of men, who intended to use them for fishing. There is evidence for some division in the community at the time, reflected in this scheme for separate ownership of boats by different groups. Apparently MacKenzie sent them the address of a boat builder (MacKenzie mss). It must have been about this time that a boat was presented to the people by the Congested Districts Board; this needed repair in 1902. By 1908 the boat held in common was worn out 'from tear and wear' and a new one built by Marr of Leith, was paid for by the Kelsall Fund (RHASS papers). MacGregor's photograph (SEA C15528) of the jetty in 1930 shows four boats drawn well up on the slip.

Kearton (1897, 123) says that the St Kildans followed the same method of landing on Boreray and Soay as described by early authors. This can be seen in photographs and sketches by Heathcote (1900, 120-9) and Pike's film (1908), which show that the methods of landing and embarking had not changed since Moray's time apart from the last man not jumping into the sea.

Although many authors record the skill of the St Kildans in landing and embarking, some report that they were indifferent seamen: Atkinson (1831, 48), who came from a major seaport, was not impressed by their boat handling:

We had an opportunity of remarking on their miserable ignorance of naval tactics, which renders them the most awkward, timid sailors I ever met with: they pull six oars at a time; two men sitting on the same bench, but as their oars are inconceivably heavy and clumsy, and they ingeniously contrive never to dip two of them together, the progress of the boat is attended by a continued splash, except when the rowers are being relieved by their six companions, and then there is no cause to complain of unnecessary agitation of the water, for they gossip and chat and idle about, till you long to see them splashing again.

Connell (1887, 31-2) made the same point: 'It is painful to see the clumsiness with which they set to the task of getting the boat into the water and plying the oars. Evidently the St Kildians are not
on good terms with the ocean'; but Ferguson (1885, 20) disagreed: 'I never before saw a boat handled with such rare pluck and skill; indeed, I never saw a boat venture out in such a sea'. It was so rough that the passengers of the 'Dunara Castle' were unable to land, but perhaps the anxiety of the people to collect provisions overcame their caution.

**Landing Place**

Many people commented on the lack of a good landing place or a sheltered area in which a boat could be anchored. Martin (1753, 9-13) mentions the 'Gallies Dock' where the Steward's boat was secured. This is not now identifiable. He also describes being carried ashore from the boat, which was brought up beside a rock called the Saddle, but kept off it with long poles. When the weather was suitable, a boat could be brought ashore up a gently sloping rock, probably the rock marked 'Lech' (Slab) on the mid-nineteenth century map. Martin and later authors agree that everyone helped to haul the boat up above tide level, though sometimes small boats required less community effort. Morgan (1861, 105, 110) describes how he and his companions were brought ashore in their small tender:

> As we approached, six or eight men came down to the rocky margin of the sea, to point out to us the best landing place. It is situated to the north of the harbour, and consists of a perfectly smooth shelf of rock sloping downwards towards the water, covered with short tangle, and very slippery ... The St Kildeans walked fearlessly into the surf, and, catching the boat as she rose on a wave, carried her and ourselves out of reach of the spray.

When they left, they were relaunched in a similar fashion:

> They speedily hauled [the boat] a short way up the slippery ledge of the rock, set her high and dry on her keel, and persuaded us to "take our seats". In another moment they ran down with her towards the sea, and launched her with such an impetus as fairly carried us beyond the reach of the surf.

Hall Maxwell, after a conversation with John MacPherson MacLeod and Norman MacRaild, his factor, in November 1859, noted that among projects which would benefit the islanders would be the building of a slip or means of hauling up boats which would allow the people to use larger boats. Maxwell must have discussed this with Captain Otter, who took up the scheme with enthusiasm and in 1860 engaged men from Skye to blast large boulders and clear a small area of shore adjacent to
the landing rock. He put up a breakwater and a crane to raise and lower the boats from higher ground, but this was partly destroyed in the hurricane of October 1860 (RHASS papers).

In 1877 MacDiarmid (1878, 250) recommended making a safe anchorage for a vessel, and there was some correspondence between Government departments. In 1883 Donald MacDonald (1884, 871) told the Napier Commission that a pier was needed. Two years later MacNeill (1886, 7) recommended that improvements should be made to the landing place and included different schemes in his report. The files were brought out again in 1898 when the Congested Districts Board asked about earlier plans, and in 1899 a lengthy correspondence took place over whether the supervisor superintending the building of a small jetty and boat slip might have an extra wages allowance for remoteness (SRO AF 57/5). Matthews and his companion (Matthews 1969, 78-9) spent the winter on the island. He found, like MacKenzie in the 1830s, that the men would not be given orders, but they would work willingly alongside him. By April 1901 (SRO AF 57/6) the jetty was proving useful though not finished. It was completed in 1902 (Wiglesworth 1903, 7-8) (fig 87).

Traffic

A list of known visitors is given in Appendix 4.

The Steward is known to have made an annual visit from at least the mid-sixteenth century, usually accompanied by a clergyman. Others, such as Coll MacDonald, and the troops searching for Prince Charles Edward Stuart, visited once for specific purposes. Fishermen working in the area would have found the island useful to replenish supplies, particularly water, and there are indications of international fishing round St Kilda and to the west in the seventeenth century, and evidence of efforts to encourage local fishing in the eighteenth century. Some people made landfalls unintentionally, perhaps storm driven such as the Icelandic bishop (p 88) and a hapless Irish reveller (p 301). Carmichael (1954, 294-5) recorded an incident which must have occurred early in the nineteenth century or before, when four men were storm driven from Uig in Lewis to St Kilda. Relatives, having searched locally, even as far as the Flannan Isles, sent to Duncan MacInnes in Benbecula, famous for augury; he 'saw' the men safe on St Kilda and foretold correctly that they would arrive home in March. Other unintending visitors had been wrecked. There are a number of records of shipwrecked sailors arriving at St Kilda, and many more

348
Plan of the Jetty

End of 1901 jetty (exposed at low water)

Fig. 87
must have gone unrecorded in early times. Some people went in connection with their work: from 1705 a succession of ministers, missionaries or catechists stayed on the island. They might occasionally be visited by colleagues. In the early and late nineteenth century school teachers were stationed on the island, and from the 1880s there was usually a nurse also. From the 1870s there were also visits by doctors, and various Government officials.

The first person known to have visited to satisfy his curiosity, and who afterwards wrote a lengthy account was Martin Martin, who published A Late Voyage to St Kilda in 1698. This book, together with his Description of the Western Isles of Scotland (1703), was reprinted several times and must have contributed to an increased interest in the island in the eighteenth century, which, in turn, encouraged more people to visit it and to record their observations and experiences. By the late nineteenth century, after the steamer services had begun in 1877, an ever increasing number of visitors was contributing to a large volume of literature. In 1885 McNeill (1886, 7) estimated that at least two hundred people had visited the island, and in 1902 Freer (1902, 391) noted that while recently only three people had visited Eriskay within two years, over three hundred had been to St Kilda in a fortnight. Many of these visitors have been noted here and their accounts have contributed to this work. The visitors included a number of naturalists, and the 1880s saw the first of many papers devoted exclusively to aspects of natural history (for instance: Seebohm 1884, Dixon 1885, Barrington 1886).

There are records of St Kildans visiting the Hebrides, and beyond, especially within this century. In the seventeenth century some islanders went to Skye for a formal baptism (p 313). Martin (1753, 41, 49, 63) recorded visits to Harris and Skye; the Ground Officer occasionally went to Skye with companions. One man had been taken to Glasgow, where he found many things strange to him (Martin 1716, 296-9). In the eighteenth century, Buchan (1727, 40) took two young men to Edinburgh in 1710. Smallpox broke out in 1727 after the clothes of a man who went to Harris were retrieved by his friends the following year.

In 1815 MacCulloch (1819, 26) found that the people went once or twice a year to the Long Island to buy and sell commodities; this is supported by MacQueen (nd, 1). Regular visits were made in the 1850s
(MacKenzie 1921, 23). In April 1862 a boat bound for Harris was blown off course to Uist (Seton 1878, 59; RHASS papers), and on a similar voyage the following year it was lost with all hands.

Apparently the islanders rarely ventured so far in their own boats again: the last recorded instance was in 1883 (MacKay 1884, 864). In the 1870s some women went to Harris to have their babies (p 334). Once the steamer services started in the 1880s it was easier for the islanders to travel, and by the 1890s islanders were occasionally going to the mainland for hospital treatment (p 336). In the twentieth century some visited Harris on whalers (MacLachlan 1906-9) and Rachel Gillies paid a brief visit to Fleetwood on a trawler in 1928 (Daily Mail 28.5.1928).

There was some emigration from the island from at least the late eighteenth century (p 157), and in the twentieth century other islanders visited their relatives and went to the mainland for holidays.

Although the records indicate that there might be periods of over a year when little national news reached the island, the Steward’s visits and the St Kildans’ own visits to the Hebrides provided opportunities for the exchange of local news and comparisons of lifestyles. As few of the islanders spoke anything but Gaelic until the late nineteenth century, conversation with other visitors was more limited. From the 1880s an influx of summer visitors, visiting fishing boats, and access to newspapers increased the information available.

Ewen Gillies shared his experiences of world travel on his return visits in 1873 and in the 1880s. On clear days the length of the Long Island can be seen from Hirt: the islanders must always have been aware of larger lands and communities on their horizon, and although their comprehension of these may have been limited by their own experience, it is clear from MacKenzie (1911, 28-29) that they were not as naive as some visitors believed.

Postal Service

Until the 1850s most of the few messages to and from St Kilda were between the minister or missionary, or the teacher, and their colleagues, and there is scarcely any record of these exchanges, which were probably conveyed by the Factor when he made his visit.
The history of the postal services has been studied in depth by MacKay (1963, 1978). After the emigration of some people to Australia in 1853, there was exchange of news between the people at home and relatives in the Antipodes. From 1873, when John MacKenzie, postmaster at Dunvegan, took over as Factor, mail was carried by him twice a year. There was no demand for change until in 1876 and 1877 Sands campaigned for a regular and more frequent postal service. A fortnightly service for Fair Isle started late in 1877 but ironically St Kilda was considered too isolated for officially organised communication. However, in 1878 the Post Office surveyor of the Scottish district reported that letters sometimes lay for months at Dunvegan or in Harris, and he suggested that two trips, in the spring and autumn, should be made, to supplement the factor's visits. A Post Office official, finding that mail had been received in April and June 1878, concluded that the Post Office could not afford to make special provision for a service which would carry no more than 120 letters a year.

In the 1880s and 1890s the steamer service increased to six trips, providing a regular summer service for mail. Letters for the island increased in number, and the outgoing mail was swelled by letters from tourists; in 1897 the figures were 208 and about 500 items respectively. At the same time mail in both directions was being carried by fishing boats from Aberdeen and Fleetwood. In 1899 John MacKenzie applied to the Post Office for the establishment of a sub-post office on St Kilda, and though the volume of mail was considered too small for such a measure, the sending of sealed mail bags to a place where there was no official to receive them was regarded as irregular, so in July 1900 Angus Fiddes was appointed sub-postmaster at a salary of £5 a year. A date stamp and a mail bag seal were sent out, and a room in the Factor's House became the post office. Here Fiddes sold stamps and the recently introduced postcards. The missionaries who succeeded him also took over the post office, until December 1906 when Peter MacLachlan resigned in favour of Neil Ferguson, son of the Ground Officer. He remained postmaster until the post office was closed at the evacuation in 1930.

There were attempts in 1903, 1906 and 1912 to arrange for a regular winter service by the lighthouse supply ship which called at the Flannan Isles, fifty miles away, but the Northern Lighthouse Board
resolutely refused to commit their vessel to any extra expense or responsibility, particularly at a time when adverse weather conditions might disrupt their own essential schedule. Winter mails continued to be carried by trawlers from Fleetwood and Aberdeen, and the Post Office paid a nominal fee for this informal service, which was irregular, depending on the movements of fish and the goodwill of company owners and skippers.

In 1910 Neil Ferguson's salary was increased to £10 and he also received payments for ferrying mailbags between the trawlers and the jetty, and for house to house deliveries. In 1913 the post office was moved to a new purpose built corrugated iron shed beside Neil Ferguson's house, No 5.

During the war the islanders became accustomed to a regular and frequent service all the year round, but after the war the winter service reverted to the haphazard arrangements, mainly via Fleetwood. In the early 1920s this was satisfactory, but in 1928 and 1929 the system broke down and there was no contact with the island for over two months. This probably contributed to the death of Mary Gillies from tuberculosis in 1930.

It was clear that by now on humane grounds a more reliable and regular winter service was required, and in the early summer of 1930 it was decided that the Post Office and the Scottish Health Department would jointly pay for a monthly winter service by trawler at £15 per trip. Only one Fleetwood company was willing to undertake this, but it proved unnecessary, since the people left in August. News of the evacuation aroused considerable interest and one result was a number of letters and cards sent under cover to Neil Ferguson for dispatch by the last mail. With the assistance of Alasdair Alpin MacGregor 900 lb of mail was stamped on August 27th, the largest mail ever dispatched. By now, Neil's salary had risen to £15 4s 0d, with a bonus of £10 13s in 1926, when his payments for ferriage and delivery amounted to £8 19s 4d, so in the last few years he was receiving £30 or more for his postal duties.

The Post Office refused to re-open the St Kilda establishment after the evacuation, but up to 1939 private stamps were used to mark the mail of the summer visitors before it was posted in official boxes.
The Wireless

In May 1912, in response to a story that the St Kildans were starving, both the Government and the Daily Mirror went to their aid. The paper started a fund to provide a wireless station to guard against similar emergencies in future, and eventually this was set up in July 1913 (fig 88). Two 75' masts were put up near the Factor's House and the equipment installed in one of the rooms, the post office moving to new premises. There were initial maintenance problems, but over the winter of 1913-14 the station was in use. In the spring the Daily Mirror decided to dispose of it, and as no one was willing to take it over, it was closed down. However, in January 1915 it was reopened by the Admiralty, who set up a War Signal Station which remained, with a small garrison, until February 1919. The wireless station was the cause of the only 'engagement' with the enemy involving St Kilda, when in May 1918 a submarine fired 72 shells in an attempt to destroy the station, which was put out of action for a while. No one was hurt, though considerable damage was done. At the end of the war the station was dismantled.

Mailboats

Lady Grange (p 110) was the first person to send a form of mailboat: it is recorded (Buchanan 1793, 144) that she spent much time tying letters round pieces of cork with yarn and throwing them into the sea in the hope that they might be passed on to her friends in Edinburgh.

In 1876, John Sands, stranded on the island over the winter, had a similar idea (Sands 1877, 109-121). In December he made a miniature ship, and put a letter in her hold, hoping that she would be found in a place that had a post-office, so that his friends would have news of him, and the public be told that the island was short of food.

In January 1877 the situation became more urgent after a group of shipwrecked Austrian sailors arrived. Sands had made a second boat, and at the captain's request he added a letter to the Austrian Consul in Glasgow, and launched her when the wind was from the north-west, hoping it would carry her to Uist or some other place where there was a post office. She had a small sail, and "Open this" printed on the deck with a hot iron. They also sent off a life-buoy from the Austrian ship, with another bottle, and a sail attached.
The lifebuoy, sent on January 30th, reached Birsay in Orkney and was sent to Lloyd's agent in Stromness on February 8th, while the 'canoe' was sent on February 5th and was found at Poolewe on 27th by a Mr John MacKenzie, who posted the letters. Help came as a result of the lifeboat message, HMS 'Jackal' arriving on February 22nd. She took the sailors and Sands to Oban, and left some supplies.

The next record of mailboats being used is in September 1885, when three were sent after a storm had destroyed a boat and damaged some crops. Two of the boats reached Lewis and Harris within two weeks and assistance was sent. One of these boats is described as being about a yard long; two bottles, each containing a letter, were secured in a small hold by a hatch, and the boat had a sail and a piece of iron on the base. The words 'St Kilda - Please open' were cut into the wood (McNeill 1886).

Table 25, derived mainly from MacKay (1963, 54, 68) shows some details for those boats recorded as being sent before 1940. He notes that John MacRitchie of Barvas found mailboats in two successive years and requested some reward for passing them on to the Post Office; in February 1906 the G.P.O. authorised the payment of 2/6 to anyone finding a boat, but no records of such payments have survived. By 1896 mailboats appear, from Kearton’s account (1897, 28-31), to have been used for ordinary communication rather than only in emergency: apparently two thirds of those sent were found and their contents sent on. Kearton illustrates one sent in March 1897 with a letter for him. It was sent by Neil Ferguson and is very similar to the one he sent to Messrs Gowans in February 1911, with a note saying all was well.

This and other surviving boats (figs 89, 90) show that there were two types of boat: the boat shape with a hold cut for the receptacle for the letters, and the timber baulk with letters in a separate tin which was protected by a tight canvas binder. Both types of 'boat' were tied to a float, which was also of two different types. These examples show that the use of a sail was abandoned, though sometimes there was a flag attached to the float. Although many of these boats were found in the Hebrides, the inscriptions, usually 'St Kilda Mail Please Open', were apparently always in English rather than Gaelic.

John MacInnes recorded a conversation in 1961 with Donald MacQueen of No. 10 (1981-2, 446-450) about mailboats. He described the shaping of a boat with a hold, and making a float from a sheepskin, left in a
tanning solution for a week and then stretched before being gathered round a wooden stopper which had a hole through it to blow up the float. The hole was caulked with a piece of rope. He and one of his brothers had made such a boat to send to a tourist from London; after reaching Shetland in two days it was duly sent on to the man who acknowledged receipt of it by conventional mail the following year. This must have been before 1909, when both Donald MacQueen’s brothers who had survived infancy were drowned. Although some accounts refer to sheep bladders being used as floats, this description and all the floats in museums confirm that normally a sheepskin, rather than a frail bladder, was used.

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards a number of boats were probably sent for the amusement of tourists and to earn some money: Donald MacQueen gained £1 from his efforts, refusing a larger sum for a few hours’ work.
GLASGOW sent 1911 by Neil Ferguson.

DUNVEGAN CASTLE sent 1930 by Neil Ferguson and MacGregor.

Top of the front.

Please open.

Oban: boat only.
LONDON: BRUCE CASTLE MUSEUM since 1907

ST. KILDA MAIL
PLEASE OPEN.

NTS COLLECTION

EDINBURGH R.M.S VGA.10

ST. KILDA MAIL
PLEASE OPEN

FORT WILLIAM: FLOAT ONLY

Fig 56
Table 24 Details of boats: numbers, new boats, losses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>One only</td>
<td>Martin 1753, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697 -</td>
<td>'Some years ago' boat lost at Boreray, men stranded</td>
<td>Martin 1716, 286, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>New boat bought for £8.2.9</td>
<td>Morrison 1966, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>New boat bought for £7.4.6</td>
<td>Morrison 1968, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740s</td>
<td>use of 'boats' implies more than one</td>
<td>Macleod 1756-75 f 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>One only</td>
<td>MacAulay 1764, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Boat wrecked returning from Boreray, 10 men marooned over winter. Held 19</td>
<td>MacAulay 1764, 192-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780s/90s</td>
<td>Several men drowned when boat returning from Boreray capsized</td>
<td>MacKenzie 1911, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C18th</td>
<td>'Many years' before 1842: boat lost Stac Lee, one survivor; another boat lost previously, marooned crew rescued by Steward [Version of Boreray losses ?] 18 men to Uist for seed corn, lost on return voyage. No date.</td>
<td>MacGillivray 1842, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Two boats</td>
<td>Clarke 1824, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Three boats, sheltered over winter in boathouse; one held 16.</td>
<td>Campbell 1799, 11, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-10</td>
<td>Given two boats by proprietor</td>
<td>MacDonald 1811, 818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Two boats, only one serviceable</td>
<td>MacCulloch 1819, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Two boats</td>
<td>Kennedy 1932, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>One boat, 2-3 tons, 6 oars, sail Held at least 16.</td>
<td>Atkinson 1831 ts 32-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>One boat implied. Held 11. People requested a new boat.</td>
<td>MacLean 1838, 39, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>One boat, held at least 19</td>
<td>Wilson 1842, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Two boats, both usable, one held at least 14</td>
<td>Milner 1848, 2058-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>One boat, 8 oars, sail, held at least 19</td>
<td>MacKenzie 1921, 93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1860 Three boats, one large, two small. RHASS papers
Large one destroyed by storm, October
Replacement bought in Uist: 5 tons, for
£21.5.6 with gear, from Kelsall Fund

1861 New 30' boat (Dargavel) built by Darroch RHASS papers
and Espie, Glasgow, for £45.16.6 with
gear, from Kelsall Fund through Otter

1863 Dargavel lost in April with all hands: RHASS papers
7 men, 1 woman, on voyage to Harris
New boat for £24.15.6 from Kelsall Fund
through MacRaild

1865 New small boat built by D MacDonald,
Skye, for £8.0.0.
from Kelsall Fund through MacRaild

1869 Two new boats and gear built by John
McNeil, Colbost, for £50.0.0 from
Kelsall Fund through MacDonald, Tormore

1875 New boat given by Young of Wemyss Bay Sands 1877, 6

1876 New boat built in Ardrisaig given
through Sands, lost in storm before 1883 Gillies 1884, 873

1877 Four boats, two almost new; rumour that
Government giving another later in 1877 MacDiarmid 1878, 249

1882 New boat sent by Kelsall Fund MacKay 1884, 868

1883 'Four or Five boats' MacKay 1884, 868

1885 Old boat, previously noted unseaworthy, destroyed in storm, four excellent boats
left, one large and nearly new

pre 'a few years ago' boat (gift) chopped Connell 1887, 57
into firewood, considered unsuitable

1886 Four boats, owned in common Connell 1887, 61

1890 One 25' boat in good order, one boat
repaired in Skye for £10.0.0 through
Kelsall Fund; requesting new 21' boat

1891 New 25' boat built by J McKenzie & Co, Leith, for £40.0.0 through Kelsall Fund;
wrecked and sent Dunvegan for repair

1892 New boat returned, request for another
RASS papers

to be repaired

1894 Only one boat used, two others rotting
for want of care Steele Elliott 1895, 118

361
1896 Two boats damaged beyond repair in gale, MacKenzie mss. including 1891 boat, one old boat left. Three groups men requested boats.

1902/3 Request for payment of repair of boat given by Congested Districts Board. RHASS papers.

1908 New 25' boat built by James G Marr, Leith, for £43.2.6 from Kelsall Fund. RHASS papers.

1920s Four boats shared by families in 1920s. MacDonald 1988, 127.
Finsbay [MacDonalds & F Gillies]
Grosebay [MacDonalds & JF Gillies]
Cruisgean [Fergusons & Gillies]
Lochmaddy [MacDonalds, F MacQueen & MacKinnons]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sent</th>
<th>Found</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>? 12</td>
<td>9 1877</td>
<td>Sortlund, Verbacle, Norway</td>
<td>Sands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 1</td>
<td>2 1877</td>
<td>Birsay, Orkney</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 2</td>
<td>2 1877</td>
<td>Poolewe, Ross-shire</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 9</td>
<td>9 1885</td>
<td>Gallan head, Uig</td>
<td>A G Ferguson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 9</td>
<td>9 1885</td>
<td>Taransay, Harris</td>
<td>John MacKay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 9</td>
<td>9 1885</td>
<td>West Coast of Lewis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 2</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Malvarg (Miavaig?) Lewis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 3</td>
<td>3 1897</td>
<td>Vallay, North Uist</td>
<td>Finlay MacQueen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 7</td>
<td>12 1898</td>
<td>Knockintorran, North Uist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 7</td>
<td>10 1899</td>
<td>Haugesund, Norway</td>
<td>Finlay MacQueen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 1</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Borge, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 1</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Lower Barvas, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 4</td>
<td>6 1905</td>
<td>Bigton, Dunrossness, Shetland.¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 1</td>
<td>20 1906</td>
<td>Lower Barvas, Lewis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 12</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>noted by MacLachlan</td>
<td>Donald MacQueen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? ? 1907</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>took a month; ²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Shetland in 2 days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 2</td>
<td>2 1911</td>
<td>Veilish, North Uist</td>
<td>Neil Ferguson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 3</td>
<td>11 1912</td>
<td>West Coast North Uist (5½) days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 1</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Shetland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 8</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>N W Norway ⁴</td>
<td>N Ferguson and A A MacGregor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 8</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Off west coast of North Uist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 8</td>
<td>31 1931</td>
<td>Flodda Is. Grimsay, North Uist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 7</td>
<td>11 1934</td>
<td>Extreme N coast Norway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 7</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Offshore, Borge, Lewis</td>
<td>Neil Gillies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Photo Shetland Museum, Lerwick
² Now in Bruce Castle Museum, London No. M 4705 Class 569
³ Now in Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries No. A 679a
⁴ Now in Dunvegan Castle

Chapter 16 Comparative islands and communities

There are many islands and communities similar to St Kilda, some more and some less remote. For reasons of space, only a few can be considered here. In general it is important to remember that islands, whether near to or far from other land, are easily approached by boats in suitable weather, but they may be isolated for long periods by bad weather and sea conditions, and often an artificial landing place makes a considerable difference to communication. Access is now much easier by aeroplane or helicopter, but this was scarcely relevant when St Kilda still had native inhabitants.

'It is curious . . . to reflect on the coldly scientific manner of our approach . . . the islanders remained little more than a peculiar element in the mammalian fauna. If we thought of them at all, it was as incidental curiosities which we might glimpse briefly on our way to more important fields of study. We were concerned chiefly with photographing them and recording them as curiosities' (Holdgate 1958).

The attitude of Holdgate and his colleagues soon changed when they met the 'curiosities' and friendships formed, but he speaks for many visitors to islands and 'different' communities all over the world. Holdgate was a member of an expedition visiting Tristan da Cunha. Rose Rogers (1926) wife of the missionary stationed there from 1922 to 1925, also wrote an account of the island.

Tristan da Cunha

Tristan da Cunha, the peak of a volcano in the middle of the south Atlantic, is 1,320 miles from the nearest inhabited land, St Helena. Only a small coastal plain is cultivable. Two smaller islands, Nightingale and Inaccessible, lie about twenty miles away (fig 89).

Tristan was colonised in the 1810s. The community grew rapidly, but with groups emigrating in the 1850s and 1889 to America and South Africa, the maximum population up to 1925 was 135, recorded in that year (fig 93). In 1885 fifteen men were lost at sea together with their boat.

The islanders grew potatoes and vegetables, and kept cattle, sheep, pigs and donkeys. In the nineteenth century they thrived, but in the twentieth continuous cropping and severe overgrazing took their toll; yields were poor, and the stock had a high mortality. A diet of potatoes, with some fish and occasionally mutton or beef, and seabirds
and eggs in season, led to digestive troubles, and there were years of hunger. In the warm climate, and with little salt, birds and eggs did not keep long.

In the nineteenth century fresh provisions were traded with passing vessels for goods such as flour and cloth, and the timber, canvas, nails and paint necessary to make the light canvas covered boats the islanders used for fishing and for visiting the other two islands. There they harvested eggs and seabirds, also available on Tristan itself, and culled the cattle and sheep pastured on Inaccessible. Precious driftwood was collected round all three islands. As shipping routes changed vessels called less frequently; with a scarcity of produce the islanders had less to exchange, but still needed materials for making and maintaining boats, and they acquired a reputation for begging and theft. Goods received in barter were divided equally among the families, regardless of the number in each family.

No mail was received between 1906 and the end of the first World War. In 1925 the islanders sent a petition to the Government requesting an annual mail service. While the Government had every sympathy with this request, they could only undertake to try to arrange a visit by one of His Majesty's ships every three or four years, and to take advantage of any other opportunity for communication that might arise. From 1851 to the 1930s there was a resident missionary/teacher at intervals. On several occasions the islanders were given the opportunity to be resettled in South Africa, but the majority refused and the community stayed.

In the second World War a Naval garrison was stationed on the island, and in 1949 the Tristan da Cunha Development Company established a crawfishery, with a canning factory on the island. This provided paid employment for many islanders, together with regular communication. Resident 'incomers' increased: an Administrator, nurse, clergyman, teacher, doctor, Agricultural officer, meteorologist, radio operator, Company manager and accountant were all accompanied by their families. A shop was opened. In 1956 there was no pier or jetty, boats being launched from the beach in suitable weather.

In October 1961 the whole population was evacuated to Britain after the volcano began to erupt. Despite reluctance on the part of the Government, the islanders finally returned home in 1963.
The history and lifestyle of Tristan da Cunha, for the century up to 1940, is strikingly similar to that of St Kilda in many respects, one of the major differences, apart from their geographical situation, being the Tristan islanders' enjoyment of music and dancing.

The Faeroe Islands

The following (in the 'ethnographic present') is based largely on Williamson's book, which records Faeroese life into the late 1940s. This and other accounts describe many cultural features common to the Faeroes and the Highlands and Islands generally, though some aspects, such as the fowling, occur in limited areas, and some are peculiar to the Faeroes (Jackson 1991, Williamson 1970, Nørrevang 1977).

The Faeroes are much larger and more remote than St Kilda, the eighteen main islands together having an area the same as that of Shetland, which, 200 miles distant, is the nearest land (fig 89). Of volcanic origin, the islands are characterised by steep slopes and cliffs, most of the land lying between 1,000 and 2,500 feet; only valley floors and small areas of coastal plain are suitable for cultivation. Faeroe was first inhabited by Irish monks, but did not support a self perpetuating population until Norse colonists settled in the ninth century. The islands remained under Norwegian government until 1536 when Norway fell under the rule of Denmark. A measure of independence was gained in 1948.

For centuries the islanders were supported largely by their own subsistence economy, growing barley, keeping cattle, sheep and geese, and exploiting the bird colonies and, locally, fish, seals and whales. Potatoes were introduced in the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth century the islands paid tax in wool, fish, barley, butter, whales, seals and seabirds, the first two being most important. In the eighteenth century besides imports of necessities such as hemp, iron, tar, glass, nails and leather, there were luxury items such as tea, sugar and tobacco.

The settlements are mainly villages close to arable ground which is surrounded by a dyke; beyond is the outfield, used for grazing. Rights in grazing, peat cutting and fowling sites are related to the proportion of infield owned. In many villages land is divided equally among a person's children; as a result, an individual may own many small and scattered patches. A few stones mark boundaries. The sloping ground is drained by a system of close-set parallel ditches which are
recut regularly; potatoes are sometimes grown on 'lazy-beds'. Cultivation relies almost entirely on spades, rakes and and instrument used for breaking up clods. Dung, seaweed and offal are used as fertiliser. Barley is seldom grown now, but formerly a rotation of crops provided for a year of barley followed by several fallow years when a haycrop was taken from the field. Barley was cut green and after drying in sheaves for a few days the ears were separated by hand, then dried on a bed of straw in a kiln very similar to those of the Hebrides, save that the floor of the drying platform was of poles with gaps between. Threshing and winnowing took place on the lower floor. Hand querns were used, but from the eighteenth century horizontal watermills were often used for milling.

A very large number of sheep is kept; in some islands sheep are owned individually, and in others the flock is owned in common by a village, people having shares according to their land holdings. Most of the sheep graze on the outfield, but some are brought into the infield in winter. In some areas sheep are lowered on ropes to inaccessible slopes or ledges to take advantage of precious grazing. The wool is plucked and various plants provide different dyes. For few months in summer cattle are grazed on the outfield; sometimes a twice daily walk of several miles is necessary to milk them. In winter cattle are kept on hay in a byre. Ponies are used for transport, with panniers or small carts. Pony races take place on St Olaf's Day (July 29th).

The old houses had a stone cellar, used for storage and as a byre and workshop; the dwelling, above, was wooden, with a turf roof. Slatted timber outhouses have a similar function to cleitean; they allow the wind to pass between the laths and are used for drying mutton, storing crops, or even drying the washing. They are often sited on cliff tops or beside swift streams, which provided an air current. Wooden locks were used on the storehouses.

Peat is used for fuel, and when dry, the peats are stacked, sometimes with a loose stone wall around them, or put in a stone storehouse similar to a cleit; throughout the year regular trips to the moor are necessary to collect fuel for two or three days.

There is a heavy reliance on fishing and whaling for food, the driving, killing and division of groups of pilot whales being well organised since at least 1584.

368
There are large seabird colonies, mainly auks, petrels and gulls. Fulmar colonised the Faeroes in the mid nineteenth century and now are numerous. There are also shags and small numbers of cormorants, and a gannet colony, in existence by 1500, contains up to 2,000 nest sites. These birds are exploited by sophisticated fowling methods.

Puffins are taken in greatest numbers; in an average year, about 400 or 500,000 birds are taken. Fulmar may now be more important than guillemots, though young fulmar are no longer taken. Young shearwaters and young kittiwakes are taken, the kittiwakes being of minor importance except in poor years. Shags and cormorants, and in winter some gulls, are eaten. Up to about 1,000 young gannets are taken; formerly adult birds were also killed. Most of the birds are salted for the winter. Very large numbers of guillemot eggs and smaller quantities of puffin and kittiwake eggs are gathered, and preserved in a mixture of water, salt and peat ash.

Much of the fowling occurs on steep slopes, cliffs, and sea rocks, where ownership of sites is strictly controlled, but some takes place at sea, where fowling is free to all.

There is considerable reliance on the skilful use of the flevg net, a triangular net supported by forked arms on a long pole, the butt end of which helps in manoeuvring on the cliffs, as in swinging out from an overhang, for instance. The birds are caught on the wing; on ledges, as they fly past; some sites on cliff edges are used when birds are blown in updraughts; birds are also caught from boats. For puffins, traditional sites for fleyging are strictly adhered to, as any change upsets the birds. Guillemots are fleyged on ledges or from boats. A stick with a hook on the end is used for taking puffins and young shearwaters from their burrows; the latter are also caught outside at night. The twentieth century saw the introduction from Iceland of the use of multiple nooses on boards floating in the sea, popular because not subject to land ownership regulations. At sea rafts of unfledged guillemots are herded by boats into inlets and many killed.

Cliff work is a well organised communal activity. Long ropes are used, and sometimes men are let down in stages to reach all possible areas; cliffs are also climbed from boats. Climbing up may be made easier using pins fixed in the rock, and, to get up a short shear face, a rope may be supported by a block on the end of a pole held at
its base by several men. Ropes let down from cliff tops are wound round two stout pegs driven into the ground to help those at the top control them, and at the edge, the rope runs over a piece of wood or a running block, to avoid fraying. The man on the lower end is in a harness with bands around the waist and thighs, and loops around the shoulders; this helps him to stay upright and leaves the hands free. On the ledges men may remove the rope for easier movement, but there is great consciousness of safety; a man using a fleeg net on a narrow ledge may have as safety belt attached to a peg in the rock, for instance. Difficult gullies may be crossed using a pole and rope for support. Birds and eggs are carried in two bags slung at the fowler's side, and sometimes lowered into boats. On some difficult cliffs fowling may take days and the men stay in caves, or sheds built on the ledges.

The gannets, on rocks by Mykines island, were harvested twice, but the April hunt for adults has been given up. In autumn, fledging young are killed at night, the men being lowered down a cliff to the ledges, and in the early morning the birds are either thrown into the sea for collection by boat, or, if the weather is unsuitable, laboriously hauled up the cliff. Young birds are also taken on a stack during the day, when they are herded into the centre of the level summit. A second stack was raided formerly; a rope cast over it from the adjacent island allowed fowlers to ascend the stack from a boat.

The feathers, especially the soft feathers from auk breasts, are used for stuffing pillows and quilts, and exported. Small but fat storm petrel chicks are sometimes taken and dried, and, with a wick threaded through them, used as candles.

The Faeroese are very careful to conserve the bird colonies; puffins are taken in burrows early in the season, when it is believed that a mate can be replaced; later, during the breeding season, any bird carrying fish is spared, and in some places puffins are encouraged to nest in new areas by making shallow artificial burrows with a special scoop.

Thus, recently major changes in fowling have occurred; the exploitation of a new species: the fulmar; the cessation of part of the gannet hunt, and the introduction of floating multiple snares, for instance, all demonstrating that while some old techniques are used, fowling is not static. There are many similarities to the St Kildan
fowling, and some differences. The Faeroese flevg net takes the place of the noose on the rod, not used in Faeroe; there is no reference to the use of dogs, or of multiple snares on land; both these methods fail to discriminate between breeding and non-breeding birds. The St Kildans, less used to the sea, did not catch fledging birds on the water. The use of ropes and harnesses in Faeroe is more sophisticated than the climbing on St Kilda, and in Faeroese communities, where probably more able bodied men are available, more are involved. There is a hint that greater attention is paid to safety in Faeroe.

In the 1930s people in Faeroe and, later, Iceland, became ill after the fulmar harvest; in Faeroe, 32 people died. The disease was identified as psittacosis and as a result, in Faeroe the taking of young fulmar has been forbidden since 1936, and fulmar fowling has been illegal in Iceland since 1939. Fisher noted in 1952 that there was no sign of psittacosis in fulmar in Britain, and that this is most easily accounted for if Rasmussen's explanation is accepted. He suggested that the Faeroese birds were infected by sick parrots jettisoned from cargoes of diseased birds exported to Europe after an outbreak in Argentina in 1929. It was thus a matter of chance that British fulmar were not affected, and there remains a possibility of infection from Faeroese colonists (Fisher 1984 382-5).

**Mingulay**

At the south end of the Long Island, Mingulay is very similar in many respects to Hirt. The area at sea level is almost the same as that of Hirt, but the island is lower, rising to a maximum of 895' (figs 90, 91). A ridge of hills surrounds a broad eastward facing glen with a sandy beach at its foot: here was the settlement, just above the shore. On the south side of the hills another area of low lying ground was used for shielings. To the north, west and south the coast is rocky, with cliffs ranging from 100' to 700' high in the north and west coasts, while landing is possible in places on the east and south coasts.

There is no historical record of a gannetry anywhere in the Barra Isles, and the fulmar did not colonise these islands until early in the present century, but auks are present in large colonies on both Mingulay and Berneray, the islands now supporting a total of about 22,000 guillemots, 20,000 razorbills, 11,000 puffins and 7,000 kitiwakes (Cunningham 1983, 128-138).
LOCATION OF COMPARATIVE ISLANDS: HEBRIDES

Fig 290
The natural similarities between St Kilda and Mingulay makes this the best single island in the Western Isles for comparison with St Kilda. There is an interesting contrast in the amount of information available: records for the southern isles of Barra are scanty.

In 1549 (Monro 1961, 72) all these islands belonged to the Bishop of the Isles: Mingulay was inhabited and cultivated, good for fishing, and good corn. Sibbald (MacFarlane 1907, 177), at the end of the seventeenth century, found that all the islands produced crops and dairy products. The rent paid was half the annual crop, butter, cheese and anything else produced during the year. Each island had an officer responsible for collecting these commodities. By then the islands belonged to MacNeil of Barra (Martin 1716, 94-99). Martin was confused about the identity of individual islands, but from his account it is clear that in both Mingulay and Berneray seabirds were caught and were preserved using the salty ash of seaweed, within a bag or package of cow hide. In Berneray, the people were diligent in manuring their arable land with dung, seaweed and sand, and were careful to avoid letting MacNeil or his Steward see the true quantity of fish they caught.

Martin's account of the climbing of Lianamul is very similar to his account of the climb of Stac Biorach; a group of men approached the rock in a boat; one man man landed, and, using a horse hair rope, helped the others ashore; then he led the climb. His only reward was a few more birds than the general share, and the prestige. Martin refers to the leader as 'Gingich', a term used by MacAulay (1764, 188-9) for the leader of rock climbs on Hirt.

The Steward of the Barra Isles took grain, butter, cheese and fish, and each family paid him an 'Omer' of barley. An 'inferior officer' - perhaps similar to the Ground Officer of Hirt - had a share of this produce. The MacNeil apparently ran a 'marriage bureau' for those of his tenants who were bereaved; he assigned second partners to them. He also replaced any cattle they lost and took into his own household elderly tenants who could no longer support themselves.

In 1793 (MacQueen 1793, 328-9) all the southern isles were regarded as difficult of access because of strong currents around them. A priest went twice annually, with additional visits if requested to administer extreme unction. The islands were good for crops and grazing, but grazing was precious: on Mingulay men climbed
an adjacent stac to haul up wedders on a rope and so use the luxuriant grass on top. The large populations of seabirds on both Mingulay and Berneray were harvested for food and the feathers sold locally at 6d per lb. Nicolson (1840, 201-2) adds that eggs were harvested. Fowling was dangerous and two deaths had occurred in this way.

From the mid-nineteenth century the census returns show that Mingulay was supporting more people than St Kilda (fig 93). Muir (1885, 53-5, 255-260) visited Mingulay in 1866. He landed in the bay, where he saw the huddle of houses. The people lived by fishing, and growing potatoes, oats, rye and barley. Each crofter had two or three cows and at least one pony, supported by good grazing. There was plenty of peat from which to cut fuel. Muir, who had travelled extensively in the Highlands and Islands, observed that the people and their homes looked exceedingly poor. A school supported by the Ladies Highland Association had been held since 1850 in a building similar to the houses. The first teacher was surrounded on his arrival by the children, who wanted 'to see the school they had been told they were going to have. They thought he had it with him packed up in his trunk'. Carmichael visited Mingulay several times between 1865 and 1871, and recorded various aspects of life, including songs sung by the women while they were carding and spinning, and at a waulking (1941, 89; 1954, 61). Elwes (1869, 26-28) recorded that recently the sea had swept over an island in the Sound of Mingulay and washed all the sheep off it, though it had always been considered safe for grazing, and was, he reckoned, nearly 100' high. This may well have been Geirum Beag (89') or else Geirum Mór, the only other island in the Sound, with a grazing area on top entirely over 125'.

Elwes was told that in the late eighteenth century, puffins had increased considerably, and shearwaters deserted Mingulay almost entirely. Formerly a barrel of young shearwaters was part of the rent paid by each tenant. Both they and young kittiwakes were very highly esteemed. Elwes met an old man who had been one of the best fowlers in his day: probably Roderick MacNeill, who gave information to Carmichael and to Campbell of Islay when they were storm-stayed in 1871. He was then 92. According to Carmichael (1928a xxiv, 1928b 352) the quantities of shearwaters formerly paid for lands of different values varied from a quarter barrel to two barrels: he says 'probably not less than twenty barrels of these birds went to MacNeill yearly',
all from Grianamul (probably Lianamul). The proprietor used to go to Mingulay for a month, two weeks each side of Lammas day, and the people were not allowed to go to the rocks till he left. By the 1870s fewer birds were killed. Carmichael adds that ropes were not used to climb on Mingulay, the people clambering among the rocks (1884, 456).

Harvie-Brown and Buckley (1888, lxxvii-lxxx), who visited in 1871 and 1887, also compared St Kilda with Mingulay, which they found 'Of fresher interest, and much more primitive than St Kilda, especially as regards the cottars' and crofters' houses. The picturesqueness of St Kilda bay and village will not for a moment compare with that of Mingulay. At present it grazes about 200 sheep, but could carry more. A score of these are grazed upon the summit of the Stack of Arnamull, and about five had on Lianamull. It also carries about a score of good-looking highland ponies, and some cattle. The ponies have only about a fortnight's work to do in each season carrying down the peat, cut high upon the hills. Lobster fishing is well prosecuted by the people of both Mingulay and Barray [Berneray].'

Some of the older peat hags were almost worked out, but new ones were being opened and there was no shortage of peat.

There had once been a rope bridge across to Lianamul, but now both Lianamul and Arnamul were climbed from a boat. Manx shearwaters had once inhabited the top of Lianamul, but had been replaced by puffins. Harvie Brown considered that the stac was the most densely packed guillemot station he had ever seen, with numerous very suitable ledges, 'along many of which two men could crawl abreast on hands and knees'. People also took eggs from the great cliff of Aoinaig, though not as often as formerly. Gordon (1937, 127) was told that in the nineteenth century guillemots and razorbills were caught with a noose on the end of a rod, and puffins taken from their burrows.

Freer (1903, 392-404) noted in 1898 that a well known as Columcille's well was regarded with especial reverence, and the water used as 'holy water'. The people crossed themselves with it when passing, and carried it in the prows of their boats. She considered the people to be 'exceptionally well-off and comfortable. . . . So far are they from exploiting the stranger, as is the custom in St Kilda, that we had the greatest difficulty in persuading them to take payment even for laborious services, and to prevent them from robbing
themselves to give us such necessaries as added greatly to our comfort.' Months might pass without a visit from a priest, but by 1898, a house with chapel above were under construction. MacGregor (1971, 144) states that this was never completely finished, and that the workmen were among the last inhabitants of the island. A school with adjoining schoolhouse was built, probably in the late nineteenth century.

Accounts vary as to which year most of the people left Mingulay, but there seems to have been a major move in 1907 or 1908, when a number of families squatted on Vatersay, which was then a farm. In 1909 the Congested Districts Board bought Vatersay and settled 58 families on it, including many from Mingulay, the last families leaving in 1911 (Murchison 1959, 313-40).

A number of people, including Freer, MacKinnon (1983, 5-6, 42-47) and MacGregor (1935, 230-7) have told the story of the depopulation of Mingulay by disease in the distant past, and its resettlement. Traditionally, MacNeil had noticed that for some time there had been no communication from Mingulay, and sent a boat to investigate. One man, MacPhee, landed, and found all the houses empty except one where the family lay dead, there being no-one to bury them. The boat crew, when they heard his news, refused to take him back in the boat, fearing infection, and MacPhee was abandoned. MacGregor was told they threw him a smouldering peat before returning to Kismul. After some time a boat was sent to see how MacPhee was faring, and when he was found alive, MacNeil asked him if he would stay on the island. MacPhee chose companions to resettle the island. The old houses were burned and a village built on a new site.

There were fairies on Mingulay, and a waterhorse which lived in a bottomless well on MacPhee's Hill. At least one case of 'second sight' is recorded. (Carmichael 1954, 117, MacGregor 1949, 174-5).

The village on Mingulay is a cluster of buildings and small enclosed yards on either side of the main burn, snug against the ridge which divides the east facing glen into two (pl. 43). Blown sand now encroaches on the eastern edge of the village. The drystone walls of the thirty-odd buildings are well preserved, though some details are obscured by sand and collapsed walling. Some are clearly not houses, but byres or stables, and at least three are almost certainly kiln-barns. The census returns indicate a maximum of 34 dwellings, most of
which must have had two rooms each with at least one window. Most of the buildings in the village which are likely to be dwellings have the common pattern of a central doorway with a window on either side; almost all must have had hipped gables. There are indications of change before the people left; some houses have fireplaces in the gable ends; one has mortared chimneys and a mortared house has pointed gables with chimneys. The burial ground is at the heart of the village. Some distance upstream is small horizontal water mill.

The gently sloping ground above the village is surrounded by a head dyke and divided into small areas (pl. 44). There is evidence of a higher dyke enclosing a larger area.

Other buildings, high up in the east glen near Hecla, on the south side in Skipisdale (pl. 45), and near Hecla Point, are less well preserved, but most show subrectangular or oval plans. These structures, which are on slight mounds of bright green turf, were probably shielings. Some have fold areas associated with them. They are well placed for keeping stock away from the main arable area. Their shape and pattern is not uniform, and they are not necessarily all contemporary. The lower part of Skipisdale and lower slopes of Hecla are covered by a system of large adjoining enclosures containing ‘lazy beds’. When these were cultivated the amount of grazing would be considerably reduced, and it is unlikely that shielings would be contemporary with such widespread cultivation.

On the upper slopes of the hills there are areas of old peat cuttings. Associated with these are oval features, mostly low mounds surrounded by stones, but some are simply oval settings of stones. They are on dry sites, and many are well placed to take advantage of the drying effect of wind. These are almost certainly sites for peat stacks. Although most people in the Western Isles now take their peats home by lorry or trailer, this was not always the pattern, and peats were sometimes stacked where they were cut, and taken home daily by the sackful for immediate needs.

Thus life on Mingulay was very similar to life on St Kilda, though there was less reliance on seabirds and tweed on Mingulay, and probably more reliance on fishing. Contact with neighbouring islands was easier, though Mingulay could be isolated by bad weather for many weeks at a time (Carmichael 1940, 4). From 1833 the lighthouse boat calling regularly at Berneray provided an indirect means of
Pl. 43 Mingulay: village from the north

Pl. 44 Mingulay: village, arable and grazing from the north-east
communication. One of the greatest differences between the islands, reflected in the information now available about them, was the attention St Kilda received from visitors and from the Government. Mingulay had no steamer service, no local postal service, no resident nurse, and no resident priest. No parliamentary questions refer to Mingulay. Visitors were rare. Twenty years before the St Kildans appealed for assistance in leaving their island, the people of Mingulay had quietly gone elsewhere.

Shiant Isles

The Shiant Isles in the North Minch are four miles east of Park, Lewis, and twelve miles north of Trotternish, Skye (figs 90, 92). Garbh Eilean is about 1 mile long and 1/2 mile wide; it is triangular, rising from a rocky coast at sea level on the southwest side to nearly 500' at the north-east corner, most of the shore being steep crag or cliff. At the south-east corner a pebble bar joins Garbh Eilean to Eilean an Taighe lying to the south, about 1 mile long and up to 1/4 mile wide, rising from a rocky shore at sea level on the west side to 400' on the east side which drops to the sea in cliffs. 1/2 mile to the east Eilean Mhuire is of uneven triangular shape, and consists of an undulating plateau 50' above sea level, rising to a maximum of 90'. There are large auk colonies: 8,000 guillemots, 3,500 razorbills, about 90,000 pairs of puffins, and in addition 1,170 pairs of kittiwakes (Cunningham 1983, 127-138).

On Eilean Mhuire are the remains of St Mary's chapel. A number of mochds in the vicinity may be associated with this or may be the remains of seasonal dwellings. Almost the whole island plateau is covered with old cultivation ridges. On Eilean an Taighe is the only house still habitable, and the ruins of several dwellings and outbuildings (pl 46). Extensive areas were cultivated. On Garbh Eilean there are the remains of several small buildings, probably shielings and fishermen's huts, and further areas of cultivation.

Monro (1961, 85) noted in 1549 that the islands were very good for growing corn, and for grazing and fishing. Martin (1716, 26-7) confirms that Eilean Mhuire and Eilean an Taighe were valued for growing crops and grazing, Garbh Eilean being used only for grazing.

Walker (1980, 25) gives the population in 1764 as 22, and O'Farrell (1852) noted that about 80 years before 1852 there had been five families on the Shiants. By 1797 there was only one family on the
Pl. 45 Mingulay: Skipisdale, the shieling area, from the north

Pl. 46 Shiant Isles: house, old settlement behind, from the north
islands (Simson 1797, 276) and they continued to be occupied by a single family until about 1903; at least three different shepherds with their families lived there in succession, though there was a gap of about twenty years in the mid-nineteenth century when the islands were uninhabited. The Shiants continue to be valued for the grazing, the tenant visiting them at intervals during the year with assistants to attend to lambing, gathering and shearing.

Although there are large seabird colonies there are few references in the literature to fowling. Before 1797 the daughter of the shepherd had fallen to her death while collecting eggs; MacKenzie (1921, 71) was told in the mid-nineteenth century by people from Park that they went to the islands to take boatloads of puffins for eating and for their feathers. The birds were killed or stunned by lads lying on the slopes and hitting the puffins with a fishing rod as they flew past; the dead and stunned birds were collected at the bottom of the slope and loaded into boats. Families from Rhenigidale in Harris used to take puffins from the Shiants up to about 1910 (Angus Campbell pers comm).

North Rona

North Rona is 45 miles north-north-east of the Butt of Lewis (figs 90, 92). It is an irregular triangle about 1 mile long along its southern base, rising along the north-east edge to a ridge 260' high, with a rounded summit 355' high at the east end. The southern slope is gentle, but the north-eastern slope drops steeply in the central section to the isthmus of the low peninsula to the north. Most of the island is bordered by cliff, but landing is possible in calm weather on low sloping rocks on the northern peninsula and in places on the southern edge. There is no shelter for a long term anchorage. There are colonies of over 3,000 pairs of kittiwakes, 17,800 guillemots and 1,200 razorbills on the cliffs and 4,750 pairs of puffins on steep slopes, besides fulmars which colonised the island in the nineteenth century, and smaller petrels (Benn, Murray and Tasker 1989, 36). There are no land mammals other than domestic sheep; grey seals now breed on the island in the autumn.

On the south facing slope there are the remains of a settlement, consisting of a small chapel within an oval burial ground and three groups of dwellings with associated buildings, all surrounded by extensive cultivation strips and contained within a head dyke (pl 47).
Fig. 92
On Fianuis, the northern peninsula, there are several structures which may have been shielings, and traces of a complex pattern of dykes (pl 48).

Nisbet and Gailey (1962, 111-115) suggest that the corbelled oratory within the burial ground, traditionally associated with Saint Ronan, was built in the seventh or eighth century AD, and that the adjoining nave was added in the twelfth century. The dwelling complexes may have their origins in mediaeval dwellings with subsequent alterations and additions.

Monro (1961, 87-88) writing of 1549, notes that Rona was inhabited; barley was grown and there was good pasture for cattle and sheep. Rent was paid in good quality bere meal, cattle, sheep, dried mutton and dried seabirds. The inhabitants also took whales and large fish. Morrison (1907, 212) wrote in the late seventeenth century that the five tenants of Rona depended on seabirds to a great extent, catching them in gins and at night. He mentions oil from gannets, which must have been taken from Sula Sgeir, and this, together with Monro's reference to whales implies that a boat was available. MacKenzie (1908, 28) adds that sea bird feathers contributed to the rent and that there was no peat moss, the people relying on drift wood for fuel. There had been five families for generations and there was a limit of 30 persons imposed on the population; if it rose above that number, one or more had to emigrate to Ness. Daniel Morrison, minister of Barvas, held Rona as part of his glebe (Martin 1716, 19-25). He described three enclosures in the village in which each of the five tenants had a dwelling, barn and byre, with a porch on either side of the door. The houses were thatched with straw. In the 1680s rats had got ashore and a passing ship took the only bull; the rats consumed provisions and the cows ceased to give milk and the whole community perished from starvation.

Colonists sent out by Morrison, or their descendants, apparently suffered another calamity: all the men were drowned while seal hunting and their families returned to Ness (MacCulloch 1824, 312; Robson 1991, 174). In 1764 the population was 9 (Walker 1980, 25). In the 1790s the island was rented to the Murrays of North Dell, Ness. They kept a shepherd there and each year sent a boat to collect corn, butter, cheese, a few sheep, birds, feathers, and sometimes a cow (MacDonald 1797, 270-1). Wool was also sent off the island (MacCulloch
Pl. 47 North Rona: village from the north

Pl. 48 North Rona: Fianuis, the shieling area, from the south-east
1824, 315). There was a succession of shepherds who stayed with their families for several years at a time until 1844. There have been no permanent inhabitants since 1844. The island continues to be used for grazing sheep and generally an annual visit is made to shear sheep and remove some of the stock.

**Sula Sgeir**

Sula Sgeir is 11 miles to the west of Rona and 40 miles north of the Butt of Lewis (figs 90, 92). It is just over 1/2 mile long and at most 300 yards wide, and is surrounded by cliff or steep rocks. It rises to a maximum height of 230' at the southwest end. There are nesting on it about 9,000 pairs of gannets and 25,000 guillemots, together with increasing numbers of fulmars, about 1,000 kittiwakes, 800-900 razorbills and 500 pairs of puffins (Benn, Murray and Tasker 1989, 36).

Monro (1961, 88) refers in 1549 to men going from Ness at fledging time to stay for seven or eight days on the island to take birds and feathers; according to him and to Walker (1980, 48) eider down was obtained in significant quantities. There is no further reference to the harvesting of birds until 1797 when MacDonald (1797, 270-1) recorded that the boat going to fetch produce from Rona called at Sula Sgeir for birds and feathers, and that 'for a few years back' men had gone from Ness in an open six-oared boat to collect birds, some landing while others tended the boat.

According to MacDonald (1978, 190) the tenant who rented Rona and Sula Sgeir early in the nineteenth century assumed the right to harvest birds from the rock, and gannet 'poachers' were in trouble in 1811 and 1821. The collecting of birds and feathers by the tacksman continued until the latter part of the nineteenth century (MacCulloch 1819, 205; Muir 1885 98-9). By the end of the century one or more groups of men were going annually from Ness. In 1850 an Ordnance Survey officer described the bothies in which the hunters stayed for up to three weeks and noted that one building known as the Teampull was reserved for prayer on the Sabbath (Carbery, 1850). Swinburne (1885, 51-67) was told that men from Ness spent seven or eight days in early September killing young gannets which were salted for the winter. No other birds would be available in any number in the late summer.
More details are given in an account of 1912 (Highland News 7.9.1912). In that year ten men left Ness on August 13th, taking provisions and fuel in their boat which they hauled up onto the rock. Some birds were readily accessible but most were on ledges and the fowlers were lowered down the cliff face and took the birds using a noose on the end of a rod. Once a number had been collected they were hauled to the top of the cliff in a bundle. Normally 1,000 or 1,500 birds was considered a reasonable total catch but in that year the fowlers took 2,200. Their return was delayed for eleven days by bad weather and they were absent for four weeks. The feathers were used locally and sold in the south, and oil extracted from the birds was used as a tonic for stock and in carding wool. Each man could expect £4 or £5 as a share of the bird sales. In 1915 the birds sold at a shilling each.

Apart from the war years and other occasional gaps, the hunt has continued to this day (Beatty 1992; Harman in prep.). A group of about ten men, taking fuel and provisions, including fresh water, stay in the bothies on the rock, generally for two to three weeks. For about ten years after 1945 several boats went with smaller parties. There have been a number of changes since 1912. The crew make use of tinned food and bottled gas, besides taking more traditional supplies. Light mattresses are used instead of straw, and polythene sheeting and artificial textile provide better wind and waterproofing of the bothies than was possible formerly. After the second World War a battery operated radio provided contact with Ness and more recently radios and personal stereo sets provide entertainment. From the 1950s the crew have been landed from a boat and left on the rock, the date for collecting them being agreed by radio; the days of hauling the boat up the rock have gone. There have been innovations in the fowling equipment: besides the snares on rods, pincers worked by a spring, like long-handled pruners, are also used to catch birds; a wire cable or 'Blondin' is used to transport sacks of birds from higher ground to the processing areas; blow lamps are used to complete the singing after plucking, and a wooden chute is constructed annually above the landing rock to facilitate hauling gear up the rock and sliding gear and the salted gugas down at the end of the trip. The work remains very similar: the birds are collected from the ledges; they are killed and the heads cut off. Groups are taken to the top of the cliff and
then transported to the processing area near the bothies. Here the birds are plucked and singed, then gutted, the oily offal being used to feed the fire. Then the tails and wings are removed, and the carcass split down the back with a knife and the rib cage removed. Finally they are salted and stacked on two stone bases beside the chute site, ready to leave the island.

Each hunter receives a share of about 100 birds; the rest are sold on the return to Ness (pl 49). In 1992 they were rationed to 2 per person and cost £6 each. In the 1950s the numbers taken increased to about 4,000 in some years but are now limited to 2,000 by licence from Scottish Natural Heritage. The protection of Birds Act 1954 would have made the guga hunt illegal but from 1955 it was permitted under 'The Wild Birds (Gannets on Sula Sgeir) Order' and similar provisions have been made in subsequent Acts.

**Flannan Isles**

The Flannan Isles or Seven Hunters lie twenty miles west and slightly north of the nearest land, Gallan Head in Uig, Lewis (figs 90, 92). There are three groups of islands and rocks. All the islands rise precipitously to over 125', and have flat or gently sloping summits. The only evidence of occupation is on the two largest, Eilean Mór, which is just under 1/2 by 1/4 mile, and Eilean Taighe, which is 1/2 mile long but 300 yards wide at most. The islands support large colonies of auks: 10,000 guillemots, 3,500 razorbills and 3,600 pairs of puffins, together with nearly 2,000 pairs of Kittiwakes (Cunningham 1983, 127-138).

On Eilean Mór there are a small chapel and two ruined bothies (pl 50), and a lighthouse completed in 1899. On Eilean Taighe there is a ruined bothy. There has been no detailed study of the older structures other than those of Muir (1861, 178-82: 1885, 60) and Thomas (1870, 162). The chapel is very small, but broadly comparable with some Irish mediaeval buildings. The bothies show some similarities to the cells on Skellig Michael; it possible that they are early Christian buildings and have been re-used extensively.

Monro (1961, 80-1) makes no mention of the chapel or of fowling, but says that the islands were 'holy' and supported wild sheep put there beyond living memory in 1549. MacLeod of Lewis sent men to hunt the sheep with dogs. In the late seventeenth century Morrison (1907, 211-2) and Martin (1716, 15-19) refer to a chapel used by St Flannan.
Pl. 49  Fowlers returned from Sula Sgeir unloading gear and gugas

Pl. 50  Flannan Isles: fowlers' bothy
Men went in the summer to take sheep and also birds, taking great quantities of birds, eggs, feathers and down. They worked in pairs to kill the birds, one hitting them with a rod as they flew past while his partner collected them as they fell. Various rituals, regarded as extremely important, were observed by the fowlers, including making a circuit of the chapel on their knees while praying, both when they arrived and every morning and evening during their stay.

Fowling continued to be important well into the nineteenth century, the islands being well known also for fattening sheep, which fetched a very good price (Walker 1980, 34, 42, 48; Monro 1792, 282; MacCulloch 1819, 198-9; Hayes 1852). By the mid-twentieth century the grazing was the most important aspect, and sheep no longer bred there but were taken out annually and exchanged for the previous year's group which were well fattened. Despite the effort involved it was worth putting even 3 sheep on Roareim and 3 on Sgeir Toman; Eilean Mór grazed about 25. The men who went to exchange the sheep took the opportunity to gather a few sackfuls of puffins, guillemots and shags (Stewart 1933, 49-53; Atkinson 1949, 160-176; Gunn 1949, 250-273). The present grazing tenant has not visited the islands for about twenty years and there are no longer any sheep on the Flannan Isles.

Mingulay and the four Lewis islands and island groups are particularly good examples of many Hebridean islands with similarities to Hirt and adjacent islands. Moisley (1966, 44-68) has noted the desertion of other Hebridean islands which once held thriving populations, such as Taransay, Pabbay, Boreray (Uist) and the Monach Isles, and since then Scarp has been abandoned. Some offshore islands are now even abandoned as grazing islands, such as the Flannans and Mealasta island, Lewis. The occupation and evacuation of St Kilda are thus part of an historic trend for the establishment of diffuse largely self-sufficient settlements followed by a retreat to a smaller number of the larger islands and a greater reliance on communication and trade with the mainland. Elsewhere, small remote communities such as those on Foula, Fair Isle and Tristan da Cunha have survived.
Population figures for some comparative islands.
People are intrigued by extremities: the expressions 'Land's End to John o'Groats', and 'Bho Hirt gu Peirt' [from Hirt to Perth] convey something of the aura which these places have. St Kilda was referred to even in 1527 as 'the last and outmaist isle', and in the 1930s as the island on the 'Edge of the World'. Of the small isolated Scottish islands, only St Kilda combines the features of distance, wealth and variety of natural life, and a comparatively well documented human population with a poignant end to their residence on the island. This has led to an extraordinary number of visitors who have left an extensive literature about all aspects of St Kilda. I have followed a well-trodden path, but in this work have added some aspects hitherto neglected and expanded others.

Though other authors have considered the natural environment, they have not always related it to the life of the people, apart from observations about fowling, and I have attempted to do this to a minor degree. This is the first time that copies of all the large scale maps and the more interesting small scale maps have been brought together for comparison. They are important not only cartographically, but also for their place name evidence and historical evidence. Although Coates (1990) has produced his book on place names since this work was begun, he has omitted a few names, and he has not had the advantage of visiting the islands, which would have allowed him to make some of the observations included here, relating a few names to topographical features.

I have tried to bring together as much evidence as possible for the prehistoric and mediaeval periods of the islands' history, in the context of that of the Long Island, and, without trespassing on the present excavation programme, have been able to provide more detail than has been available before. In considering the historic period, I have made use of sources hitherto neglected, and have been able to clarify events in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, besides adding much detail for the later nineteenth and twentieth century. Here the MacLeod Muniments and the papers in the care of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland were particularly useful.
Lawson (1981 and 1993) has published work on the families of St Kilda, and has allowed me to use his unpublished work; many have considered the fluctuations in population; I have added to this, and have gathered details of the attitude to the major events in an individual's life: birth, marriage and death. In considering the character of the people, I have not glossed over some of the less attractive aspects. It was surprising to find how many people had left the island other than in the major emigrations of 1853, 1924 and 1930, and this is a topic worthy of further investigation.

In all aspects of the daily life of the people: their homes, furnishings, food and clothing, and their diverse occupations in gaining their livelihood, I have been able to augment previous accounts by bringing together more evidence than in previous accounts, particularly in the area of material culture: buildings, utensils and products. The catalogue of items from the island in public and private collections is of especial value.

Hitherto no collection of oral tradition and customs has been attempted; fortunately enough has been recorded to form the basis for useful work.

Others have considered the religious influences on the people and aspects of their health in more detail. I have tried to present a balanced view, and have included brief observations on some of the people who served St Kilda in various capacities. Some aspects of these topics I have regarded as external influences and have given them less emphasis than the culture of the people.

Though MacKay (1963) has made a full assessment of the postal and wireless services to the island, and 'mailboats' have been described by many authors, no-one has gathered information about the numbers and type of boats available for the St Kildans' use, nor has information about St Kildans visiting the mainland been considered.

Hitherto those writing about St Kilda have tended to consider the islands in isolation, often reflecting their perception of them as remote. It is true that they are separated from the Long Island by forty miles of sea or more, but the sea, though often regarded as an obstacle and so a divisive feature, is a highway for those accustomed to travelling by boat, and in the past has been a cohesive factor for the west coast of Scotland and for the north east Atlantic. Comparisons with other islands show that St Kilda is not unique in the
sense that there are other islands and archipelagos which have or are supporting human populations in similar circumstances, and beyond the Hebrides some of these places have attracted visitors and generated literature to a similar degree. Thus the islands should be seen as part of a larger community, in many respects sharing the lifestyle of their neighbours. Fowling was practised wherever there were large seabird colonies; St Kilda was only peculiar in the extent of its dependence on fowling and the range of species involved. Some of the detailed information available for St Kilda can be used, with caution, to augment knowledge of the Long Island.

This is the first detailed and comprehensive account of the history and culture of St Kilda since Seton’s book (1878), and it represents an advance on Seton’s work in integrating evidence from a wide variety of sources.

I hope that this study of St Kilda, its history and its people, will not only throw light on the diversity of its past, but, drawing as it does on diverse and rich sources of evidence, will encourage a better use of those sources to develop a greater knowledge of St Kilda and the St Kildans.
Bibliography

If authors are known to have visited the islands before 1940, the date(s) of visit(s) are given in [bold] in brackets immediately after the author's name. In some cases these are significantly different from the date of publication.

Abbreviations:

AF    Agriculture and Fisheries Department of Scottish Office
Adv. ms. Advocates manuscript (held in National Library of Scotland)
DNB   Dictionary of National Biography
GSR   Gaelic School Report(s)
NLS   National Library of Scotland
NMRS  National Monuments Record of Scotland
NTS   National Trust for Scotland
PP    Parliamentary Paper
PRO   Public Record Office
PSAS  Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHMS Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RMS   Register of the Great Seal of Scotland
SEA   Scottish Ethnological Archive
SG    Stornoway Gazette
SRO   Scottish Record Office
SSS   School of Scottish Studies

Acland, Anne 1981 A Devon Family: The Story of the Aclands Chichester: Phillimore and Co.

Admiralty 1865 Chart 2474 Hebrides or Western Isles from Barra Head to Scarpa Island and subsequent editions

1911 Chart 1144 Plans in the Hebrides and subsequent editions


Anderson, James M 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission pp 3157-9

Anderson, Joseph 1885 'Notice of a bronze Cauldron found with several small kegs of butter in a moss ... Skye' PSAS 19 1884-5, pp 309-15

Anonymous 1595 The Description of the Isles of Scotland (probably 1577-95) printed as appendix to Skene, W F Celtic Scotland 1880 vol 3 pp 428-440

1594 A Short Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, lying in the Deucalidon Sea, being above 300. Also the Iles of Orkney and Shetland or Hethland printed as part of 'Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland composed together' London, 2nd edition by Simon Stafford 1603. Also as an addition to Monipennie's 'Scots Chronicles' 1612, reprint in Miscellanea Scotica 1818, Vol I pp 175-191 Glasgow: John Wylie and Co
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Journal/Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>A Voyage to Scotland, the Orkneys and the Western Isles of Scotland</td>
<td>London: C Corbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>'The Story of Lady Grange'</td>
<td>Chambers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>'Rarity of second attacks of Whooping Cough Epidemic'</td>
<td>British Medical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Journal II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>'St Kilda'</td>
<td>British Medical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Journal II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arnet, H ed. year Extracts from the records of the Burgh of</td>
<td>Edinburgh 1701-1718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Memoir relative to the construction of the Map of Scotland published</td>
<td>Arrowsmith,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by him in 1807 London</td>
<td>Aaron 1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>A few Weeks' Ramble among the Hebrides in the Summer of 1831</td>
<td>Atkinson, George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms account, typescript copy in NTS Archive.</td>
<td>Clayton [1831]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soc. Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Island Going</td>
<td>Atkinson, Robert L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>'A Short Visit to St Kilda by a Lady: 1874'</td>
<td>Church of Scotland Missionary Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>'Note on the Flora of St Kilda'</td>
<td>Journal of Botany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>The Northern Institution and its Leading Members 1825-1835</td>
<td>The Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inverness: Inverness Courier</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>'Ascent of Stack na Biorrach, St Kilda'</td>
<td>Alpine Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>The Birds of North Rona and Sula Sgeir</td>
<td>Peterborough: NCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>'Colla Ciotach'</td>
<td>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Blankenhorn, V S 1979 'From the Farthest Hebrides' (Review article) The Scottish Review 16 pp 53-5

Boece, Hector 1527 Scotorum Regni Descriptio f xiii: part of: Scotorum Historiae Prima Gentis Origine cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustracione non vulgari Paris another edition 1574, (f 8)

Brougham, Lord [1799] 1799 letter to Robert Lundie NLS Ms 1675

1871 Memoirs of the Life and Times of Lord Brougham written by himself I London and Edinburgh


Buchanan, George 1762 The History of Scotland Edinburgh

Buchanan, John Lane 1793 Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790 London: GGJ and J Robinson, J Debrett

Buchanan, Margaret 1983 St Kilda: A Photographic Album Edinburgh: William Blackwood


Cameron, Mary [1919-1926] 1969 'Our Childhood on St Kilda' Scots Magazine March 1969 pp 565-571

1973 Childhood Days on St Kilda Gairloch (reprint of Cameron, 1969)

Campbell, Alexander 1818 Albyn’s Anthology Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd

Campbell, Archibald 1885 Records of Argyll Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons

Campbell, John Francis 1890 Popular Tales of the West Highlands 2nd edition 4 vols. Paisley: Alex. Gardner

Campbell, John Lorne 1984 Canna Oxford: Oxford University Press

Campbell, R N 1974 'St Kilda and its Sheep' in Jewell et al. 1974 Island Survivors pp 8-35

Campbell, Robert [1799] 1799 An Account of the Island of St Kilda and Neighbouring Islands, Visited August 1799 NLS Ms 3051

1809 Map of the Islands of St Kilda, Borrera, etc, taken Aug 1799 in Arrowsmith 1809, p 20 and plate opposite

397
Campbell, Robert 1945 Obituary: 'John Mathieson FRSE FRGS' Scottish Geographical Magazine 61 p 71

Carbery 1850 Account of Sula Sgeir in Ordnance Survey Name Book for Ness, Lewis, copy in NMRS


Carruthers, R [1834] 1843 The Highland Notebook; or sketches and anecdotes Edinburgh: A and C Black

Celoria, Francis 1966 Report on a preliminary Survey of the Archaeology of St Kilda University of Keele Typescript report in NTS Archive

Chambers, William 1874 'The Story of Lady Grange' Chambers Journal 551 July 14 1874 pp 449-452

Chudleigh, R Augustine 1886 'The Strangers' Cold' Brit Med J Sept 4 p 484

Clark, Gilbert and Fraser, I A 1990 'The Battle of Traigh Gruinneart' Tocher 44 pp 110-7


Clegg, E J 1984 'Some Factors Associated with Island Depopulation and the Example of St Kilda' Northern Scotland 6 pp 3-11


Coates, Richard 1990 The Place-names of St Kilda Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press


Collacott, R A 1981 'Neonatal Tetanus in St Kilda' Scottish Medical Journal 26 pp 224-7

Connell, Robert [1886] 1887 St Kilda and the St Kildians London and Glasgow: Thomas D Morison
1974 St Kilda Archaeological Survey II
copies of both in NTS Archive

1979 'Archaeology' in A St Kilda Handbook ed. Small, Alan Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland


Crawford, Iain A 1971-1981 Excavations at Coileagan an Udail North Uist Interim reports, privately produced


Cumming, C F Gordon 1883 In the Hebrides London: Chatto and Windus


D.R.M. 1876 'Cumha Hirteach' An Gaidheal 5 p 54

Darling, Frank Fraser 1941 Island Years London: George Bell & Son

1947 Natural History in the Highlands and Islands London: Collins

Davidson, J 1969 Notes made after visiting St Kilda in connection with second edition of OS map Ms in NMRS

Davison, C 1924 A History of British Earthquakes Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Day, Catharina 1986 Ireland London: Cadogan Books

Dix and Paterson, I 1975 Tocher 20 pp 132-5

Dixon, Charles 1885 'The Ornithology of St Kilda' Ibis 3 pp 69-97, 358-362

Dixon, Harold G 1886 'The Strangers' Cold' British Medical Journal p 286

Dougall, John 1892 'Epidemic on St Kilda Island' British Medical Journal p 1388

Dryden, James 1930 'St Kilda's Floating Mail' Gibbons Stamp Monthly Dec. 1930

399

Dun, Finlay 1848 *Orain na h-Albain* Edinburgh: Wood and Co

Dunlop, Jean 1978 *The British Fisheries Society 1786-1893* Edinburgh: John Donald

Dwelly, Edward 1920 *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*

Earwood, Caroline 1991 'Two Early Historic Bog Butter Containers' *PSAS* 121 pp 231-240

Elliot, J Steele [1894] 1895a 'St Kilda and the St Kildans' *Journal Birmingham Nat Hist and Phil Soc.* 1 pp 113-135

1895b 'Observations on the Fauna of St Kilda' *The Zoologist* 19 pp 281-286

Elwes, Henry John 1869 'The Bird Stations of the Outer Hebrides' *Ibis* 5 pp 20-37

Elwes, J 1912 'Notes on the primitive breeds of Sheep in Scotland' *Scottish Naturalist* x 1912 pp 25-29


Erskine, William 1798 letter to Mrs Lundie NLS Ms 1675

Evans, W 1906 'Some Invertebrata, including Oxodes borealis from St Kilda' *Annals of Scottish Nat Hist* 15 pp 93-8


Fenton, A and Hendry, C 1984 'Wooden Tumbler Locks in Scotland and Beyond' *Review of Scottish Culture* 1 pp 11-28

Ferguson, M. 1885 *Rambles in Skye, with a sketch of a trip to St Kilda* Irvine

Ferguson, T 1958 'Infantile Tetanus in some Western Isles in the Second half of the Nineteenth Century' *Scottish Medical Journal* 3 pp 140-146

Fergusson, Donald A, MacDonald, Angus John and London, Jean F G 1978 *From the Farthest Hebrides* Toronto: MacMillan

Hamp, Eric P 1991 'A Few St Kilda Toponyms and Forms' Nomina 14 1990-1 pp 73-6


1966 'The Mullach Sgar Complex, St Kilda, Outer Hebrides' Scottish Journal of Geology 2 2 165


Harman, Mary 1977 'An Incised Cross on Hirt, Harris' PSAS 108 1976-7 pp 254-8

in prep. detailed survey of history and cultural remains of Lewis offshore islands

Harris, M P 1984 The Puffin Calton: T and A D Poyser

Harris, Michael P and Murray, Stuart 1978 Birds of St Kilda Cambridge: Institute of Terrestrial Ecology NERC


Harvie-Brown, John Alexander and Buckley, Thomas Edward [1887] 1888 A Vertebrate Fauna of the Outer Hebrides Edinburgh

Hay, G D 1978 'Scottish Wooden Tumbler Locks' Post Mediaeval Archaeology 12 pp 125-7

Hayes, Michael 1852 Account of North Rona in Ordnance Survey Name Book for Ness, Lewis, copy in NMRS

Heathcote, Evelyn [1898-99] 1900 'A Night in an Ocean Cave' Wide World Magazine Aug 1900 pp 91-96

1901 'A Summer Sojourn in St Kilda' Good Words XLII 1901 pp 460-467


1900b 'On the Map of St Kilda' Geographical Journal XV London 1900 pp 142-144 + map
Heron, Robert 1794 General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides Edinburgh: John Paterson

Holbourn, Ian B 1938 The Isle of Foula Lerwick: Johnson and Greig


Holohan, Ann Maclean 1985 'St Kilda: Childbirth and the Women of Main Street' Scottish Medical Journal 30 pp 50-53

1986 'St Kilda: Emigrants and Disease' Scottish Medical Journal 31 pp 46-49

Hornung, M 1974 'The Soils of Hirta' in Jewell et al. 1974 Island Survivors pp 70-

Innes, Hammond 1962 Atlantic Fury London: Collins (Novel)


Johnson, Samuel and Boswell, James 1930 Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. London: Oxford University Press


1899 'Strange life of Lone St Kilda' Wide World Magazine II 1898-9 pp 69-77

Kennedy, Anne and Thomas, F W L [1857-1862] 1874 'Letter from St Kilda with notes by F W L Thomas' PSAS 10 1872-4 pp 702-711

Kennedy, John 1932 The Apostle of the North; the Life and Labours of the Rev. Dr. J MacDonald Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Co.

Kerr, R and Lockie, J R 1943 'Communion Tokens of the Church of Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' PSAS 77 pp 49-146

1945 'Communion Tokens of the Free Church of Scotland' PSAS 79 pp 26-80

Kissling, Werner 1943 'Character and Purpose of the Hebridean Blackhouse' Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute LXXIII 1943 pp 75-100
Knox, John 1787 A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 London

Laing, D 1876 'Mrs Erskine, Lady Grange in the Island of St Kilda' PSAS XI pp 596-608

1878 'Lady Grange in Edinburgh' PSAS 12 pp 312-314

Lamb, H H 1982 Climate, History and the Modern World London: Methuen

Lawson, W M 1981 'Families of St Kilda' St Kilda Mail 5 pp 38-43

1993 St Kilda and Its Church Northton: Bill Lawson Publications

1993 Croft History: Isle of St Kilda Northton: Bill Lawson Publications


Leydon, John and Campbell, Alexander 1802 'St Kilda Elegies' Scots Mag December 1802 pp 976-7

Lind, James and Stewart, CP 1953 Lind's Treatise on Scurvy ed C P Stewart, D Guthrie, Edinburgh: University Press

Logie, D W [1889] 1889 An Account of a trip from Stirling to St Kilda in S.S. Hebridean of Glasgow 12-17 Aug. 1889 Stirling

Low, Frank [1929] 1929 Film: Scottish Film Archive 940

MacAdam, W I 1882 'On the results of a chemical investigation into the composition of the 'Bog Butters' and of 'Adipocere' and the 'Mineral Resins' PSAS 16 1881-2 pp 204-223

1889 'Notes on the Analysis of Additional Samples of Bog Butter found in different parts of Scotland' PSAS 23 1888-9 pp 433-4

MacAulay, Kenneth [1758] 1764 The History of St Kilda London: Becket and de Hondt

MacCallum, H [1885] 1907 'St Kilda' Caledonian Medical Journal VII pp 18-24

MacCodrum, John and Matheson, W 1938 The Songs of John MacCodrum Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society

MacCulloch, John [1815] 1819 A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland London: Hurst, Robinson and Co. vol II and map vol III p 75

1824 The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland London Vol III
MacDiarmid, John [1877] 1878 'St Kilda and its Inhabitants' Trans Highland and Agricultural Soc. Scotland X 1878 pp 232-254

MacDonald, Aidan 1973 'Annat in Scotland: A Provisional Review' Scottish Studies 17 pp 135-146

MacDonald, Angus John and MacDonald, Archibald 1911 The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Co Ltd


MacDonald, C R 1886 'St Kilda: Its Inhabitants and the Diseases peculiar to them' British Medical Journal II 1886 pp 160-163

MacDonald, D A and MacKinnon, Hugh 1982 'Shinty in Eigg' Tocher 36/7 1981-2 pp 365-377

MacDonald, Donald 1797 Parish of Barvas in Old Statistical Account ed. John Sinclair 1791-9 Vol XIX pp 263-273

MacDonald, Donald 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission pp 870-3

MacDonald, Donald 1978 Lewis: A History of the Island Edinburgh: Gordon Wright


MacDonald, J 1811 General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides Edinburgh

MacDonald, John [1820s] 1823 Journal and report of a Visit to the island of St Kilda appendix to SSPCK 'Sermon preached by Rev. W A Thomson, June 6 1822'

1827 Journal appended to Gaelic School Report 16 1827 and see Kennedy 1924

MacDonald, Keith Norman (ed) 1895 The Gesto Collection of Highland Music Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren and Sons

MacDonald, Kenneth 1889 'A Modern Raid in Glengarry and Glenmorriston' Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XV 1888-9 pp 11-35

MacDonald, Lachlan [1906-1930] 1988 Autobiographical notes in Quine, D A St Kilda Portraits Ambleside pp 115-147

405
MacDonald, Reginald Henry 1962 Notes on the Kingsburgh Family Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MacFarlane, Walter 1908 Geographical Collections Edinburgh 3 vols. Scottish History Society

MacGregor, Alastair Alpin [1930] 1931 A Last Voyage to St Kilda London: Cassell and Co

1931 'The Folklore of St Kilda' Scottish Field October pp 128-9; November pp 168-9

1935 Summer Days Among the Western Isles Edinburgh: Chambers

1949 The Western Isles London: Robert Hale

1969 The Farthest Hebrides London: Michael Joseph

1969 'St Kilda's Mailboats' Country Life Oct.2

1971 Islands by the Score London: Michael Joseph

MacGregor, D R 1957 St Kilda Village map privately produced for National Trust for Scotland

1960 'The Island of St Kilda - a survey of its character and occupancy' Scottish Studies 4 1960 pp 1-48

MacGillivray, J [1840] 1842 'Account of the Island of St Kilda, chiefly with reference to its natural history' Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal 32 1842 pp 47-70

MacIain 1886 Note Celtic Magazine 11 1885-6 pp 124-6

MacInnes, John 1899 The Brave Sons of Skye Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Donald [1886-1920s] 1961 tape recordings School of Scottish Studies Archive nos SA 1961/20, SA 1961/21

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Donald 1982 'St Kilda Mail' Tocher 36-7 1981-2 pp 446-450

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Norman [1903-1925] 1961 tape recordings School of Scottish Studies Archive SA 1961/18, SA 1961/19

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Norman 1961 'A Folktale from St Kilda' Scottish Studies 5 1961 pp 215-219

MacIntosh, C Fraser 1897 Antiquarian Notes Inverness

MacIver, Evander 1905 Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman Edinburgh: Constable

MacKay, James A 1963 St Kilda, Its Posts and Communications Edinburgh: Scottish Postmark Group

406
MacKay, John 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission pp 864-870

MacKay, W R 1985 'Early St Kilda - A Reconsideration' West Highland Notes and Queries 26 pp 13-19, 27 pp 17-21


MacKenzie, Sir George of Tarbat 1681-4 An Account of Hirta and Rona published in MacFarlane, W 1908 Vol 3 p 28

MacKenzie, Sir George Steuart of Coul [1800] map in Wilson, James, 1842

1817 'An Account of the Misfortunes of Mrs Erskine of Grange, commonly known as Lady Grange' Edinburgh Magazine 1 pp 333-9 (published under 'Gael')

MacKenzie, Hector Rose 1885-6 'St Kilda' Celtic Magazine 11 pp 9-16, 62-69, 121-126

MacKenzie, John T [1873-1890s] 1884 Statement to the Napier Commission Appendix XII pp 38-41


MacKenzie, Murdoch 1798 letter NLS Adv ms. 21.1.5.f 224


1906 'Bardachd Irteach' Celtic Review 2 pp 328-342

MacKenzie, Osgood Hanbury [1853] 1921 A Hundred Years in the Highlands London: Edward Arnold

MacKenzie, William Cook 1905 'Notes on the Pigmies Isle, at the Butt of Lewis' PSAS 39 pp 248-258

The Lady of Hirta (Novel)

MacKenzie, William 1880 'Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio' Trans Gaelic Soc Inverness 9 1879-80 pp 19-74
MacKenzie papers 1872-1897 letters sent to J T MacKenzie, factor, in NTS Archive

MacKinnon, Donald 1954 'The MacPhersons of Skye' Scottish Genealogist 1, 2-3 pp 26-34

MacKinnon, Donald and Morrison, Alick nd-1974 The MacLeods: The Genealogy of a Clan five volumes: Vol 1 nd, Vol 2 nd (this volume exists in two different editions, neither of which is dated, though there are substantial differences in the order of pagination. One has 131 pages, the other has 129 pages; the former has been used in this work), Vol 3 nd Vol 4 1974 by Morrison only

MacKinnon, Hugh and MacDonald, D A 1974 'The Eigg Cave Massacre' in Scottish Traditional Tales Edinburgh: School of Scottish Studies pp 141-2

MacKinnon, Nan 1983 various tales in Tocher 38 pp 3-11, 42-47

MacLachlan, Alice [1906-9] 1906-9 Diaries typescript copy in NTS Archive

MacLaren, A 1974 'A Norse House on Drimore machair, South Uist' Glasgow Archaeological Journal 3 pp 9-18

MacLean, Calum I and Gillies, Donald [1891-1930] 1952 tape recording School of Scottish Studies Archive SA 1952/132/3

MacLean, Calum I and Gillies, Kate [1895-1930] 1952 tape recording School of Scottish Studies Archive SA 1952/132/4

MacLean, Charles 1977 Island on the Edge of the World Edinburgh: Canongate

MacLean, Finlay, MacDonald, Donald and Paterson, Ian 1982 'Duan na Calluimm' Tocher 36-7 1981-2 pp 362-5

MacLean, Lachlan [1838] 1838 Sketches on the island of St Kilda Glasgow: McPhun

MacLennan, Malcolm 1925 Gaelic Dictionary Edinburgh: John Grant

MacLeod, Alexander 1988 Biographical notes on John MacLeod in Quine, D A St Kilda Portraits Ambleside pp 198-213

MacLeod, Brenda 1953 'Aunt Emily goes to St Kilda' Countryman Summer 1953 pp 245-7

MacLeod, Donald 1814 'Notices on the present State of St Kilda' Scots Magazine Dec. 1814 pp 912-913

MacLeod, Iain N 1980 'Meirlich Dhun Bheagan' Gairm 111-2 pp 257-9

MacLeod, John 1792 Parish of Harris OSA 1791-9 ed John Sinclair XIII pp 342-392

408
MacLeod, John  1910  Reminiscences  Elgin: Moray and Nairn Newspaper Co Ltd

MacLeod, Mary and Watson, J Carmichael  1934  Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod  Glasgow: Blackie and Son

MacLeod Muniments: Papers held at Dunvegan Castle: references from list compiled by National Register of Archives of Scotland

MacLeod, Neil  c 1756-1775  letter  NLS Adv ms. 21.1.5 ff 183-5

MacLeod, Roderick Charles  1938  The Book of Dunvegan  vols I and II  Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club  
and  The MacLeods: Their History and Traditions  Edinburgh


MacLeod, William (Theophilus Insulanus)  1763  A Treatise on the Second Sight, Dreams and Apparitions  Edinburgh: Ruddimans, Auld and Co.

MacPhail, M  1897  'Folklore from the Hebrides'  Folklore 8 pp 380-6

MacQueen, Edward  1793  Parish of Barra:  OSA 1791-9 ed John Sinclair XIII pp 326-342

MacQueen, Kelman  nd  Memoirs of his Ancestors typescript in NTS Archive


Martin, Martin  [1697]  1697  'Several Observations on the North Islands of Scotland'  Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society 19 1697 pp 727-729


1716  A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland  

Matheson, William  1952  'Mary Macleod: Her family connections; her forgotten songs'  Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 41 1951-2 pp 11-25

Mathieson, John  [1927]  1928  'Antiquities of the St Kilda group of Islands'  PSAS 62 1927-28 pp 123-132

The text continues with similar entries for other authors and works.
1928 Map of St Kilda or Hirta Ordnance Survey

and Cockburn, A M, Gladstone, J and Gordon, S. 1928 'St Kilda' Scottish Geographical Magazine 44 1928 pp 65-90


1930 'The Evacuation of St Kilda' Scottish Geographical Magazine 46 1930 pp 359-74

1930 'Lone St Kilda' Scottish Motor Traction Magazine Aug. 1930 pp n.n. 44

Megaw, B R S 1969 'The Date of Pont's Survey and its Background' Scottish Studies 13 pp 71-4


Milner, W M E 1848 'Some Account of the people of St Kilda, and of the Birds in the Outer Hebrides' The Zoologist nn 1848 pp 2054-2062

Mitchell, Arthur 1865 'Consanguineous marriages on St Kilda' Edinburgh Medical Journal 10 April 1865 pp 899-904

1901 'List of Some Accounts of Visits to St Kilda 1549-1900' PSAS 35 pp 440-2

1902 'The Prehistory of the Scottish Area' PSAS 36 1901-2, pp 11-65

Mitchell, W R 1990 St Kilda: A Voyage to the Edge of the World Oban: Oban Times

Moir, D G, Young, A, Bartholomew J C, Simpson D C and Smith, R L 1973 The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850 Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Geographical Society

Moisley, H A 1966 'The Deserted Hebrides' Scottish Studies 10 1966 pp 44-68

Monro, Donald 1961 Description of the Western Isles of Scotland ed R W Munro Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd

Monro, Hugh 1792 Parish of Uig OSA 1791-9 ed John Sinclair XIX pp 280-288

Moray, Robert 1678 'A Description of the Island of Hirta' Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London 12 1678 pp 927-929
Morgan, John E [1860] 1861 'The Falcon among the Fulmars; or six hours in St Kilda' MacMillan's Magazine June 1861 pp 104-111

1862 'The Diseases of St Kilda' British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review 29 1862 pp 176-191

Morrison, Alick 1974 The MacLeods - the Genealogy of a Clan Vol IV

1966 'The Contullich Papers' Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 44 pp 310-348

1968 'The Harris Estate Papers' Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 45 pp 33-97

1969 'The Island of Pabbay' Clan MacLeod Magazine 6 pp 17-23

Morrison, Donald 1975 The Morrison Manuscript ed N MacDonald and Alec Morrison

Morrison, John 1907 Description of the Lews in MacFarlane, Walter Geographical Collections 2

Muir, Thomas Smyth [1858] 1858 St Kilda, a Fragment of Travel by 'Unda' Edinburgh

1861 Characteristics of Old Church Architecture Edinburgh

1885 Ecclesiological Notes on Some of the islands of Scotland Edinburgh


Munch, Peter A 1971 Crisis in Utopia London: Longman and Co.

Munro, Jean and Munro R W 1986 Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493 Edinburgh: Scottish History Society

Munro, R W 1979 Scottish Lighthouses Stornoway: Thule Press

1982 Hirta or Harris? West Highland Notes and Queries 18, Oct 1982 pp 16-19

1982 Earthquake Shocks West Highland Notes and Queries 18, Oct 1982 p 27


Murray, A ? 1735 A Politicall Whim concerning St Kilda one of the Western Isles of Scotland written in the year 1735 NLS Adv.ms 29.1.1. vii ff 169-72
Murray, George [1886-7] 1887 Diary typescript extracts in NTS Archive

Murray, George Augustus Frederick John (Duke of Atholl) [1860] 1860 letter 6.6.1860 Atholl Archive Box 58 Bundle 30 Document 10


Napier Commission 1884 Highland Crofters: Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland Parliamentary Accounts and Papers 34

Nicol, Thomas 1931 By Mountain, Moor and Loch to the Dream Isles of the West Stirling

Nicolson, John 1937 'John Sands' Shetland Times 3.7.1937

Nicolson 1840 Parish of Barra in New Statistical Account Edinburgh 1845


Norrevang, Arne 1977 Fuglefangsten på Faeroerne Copenhagen: Rhodos

O'Dell, A C and Walton, K 1962 The Highlands and Islands of Scotland London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons

O'Farrell 1852 Account of the Flannan Isles in Ordnance Survey Name Book for Uig, Lewis, copy in NMRS

Ordnance Survey 1970 Maps: Scale 1:10560 (6 inches to 1 mile): Sheet NA 00 SE; Parts of sheets NA 10 NW, NE, SW and SE; Parts of sheets NF 09 NE and NF 19 NW

1973 Map: Scale 1:25,000 (Pathfinder) Sheet 1373 St Kilda NA 00/10 and NF 09/19

Pennie, Iain D 1958 'Early Medicine in the Highlands and Islands' Scot Med Journal 3 1958 pp 398-408

1964 'Scottish Ornithologists: 1 Sir Robert Sibbald' Scottish Birds 3 pp 159-167

1966 'Scottish Ornithologists: 2 Martin Martin' Scottish Birds 4 pp 64-73

Pike, Oliver G 1908 Film Scottish Film Archive 988

c.1917 Film Scottish Film Archive 978

Pickard-Cambridge, O 1905 'Spiders of St Kilda' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 14 pp 220-3
Pomfret A A 1931 'The Evacuation of St Kilda' Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service 17 1931

Poore, M E D and Robertson, V C 1949 'The Vegetation of St Kilda in 1948' Journal of Ecology 37 July 1949, 82-99

Powell, L F 1940 'The History of St Kilda' Review of English Studies 16, pp 44-53

Powell, Michael 1990 Edge of the World London: Faber and Faber

Power, William A 1983 The Log of the Olivia Richmond

Quine, David A 1982 St Kilda Revisited Frome: Dowland Press

Quine, David A 1988 St Kilda Portraits Ambleside: Quine

Quine, David A 1991 'Australian MacQueens - Links with St Kilda' St Kilda Mail 15, pp 4-9

Rees, Sian E 1979 'Stone Ard points from Orkney and Shetland' Tools and Tillage III 4 249-254

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1912 Vol 1 (1306-1424); 1892 Vol 7 (1603-1620)

Richards, Eric 1992 'The decline of St Kilda: Demography, Economy and Emigration' Scottish Economic and Social History 12 pp 55-73

Robertson, Anne S 1983 'Roman Coins found in Scotland 1971-82' PSAS 113 pp 405-485

Robertson, C M 1899 'Topography and Traditions of Eigg' Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 22 1897-8 pp 193-210

Robson, Michael 1991 Rona: The Distant Island Stornoway: Acair

Rogers, Rose Anne 1926 The Lonely Island London: Allen and Unwin

Romilly Allen, J 1880 'Notes on Wooden Tumbler Locks' PSAS 14 1879-80 pp 149-162

Ross, Alexander [1883] 1884 'A Visit to the Island of St Kilda' Trans Inverness Scientific Soc. and Field Club 3 pp 72-91

1895 Scottish Home Industries

Ross, John [1889-90] 1890 St Kilda as it now is manuscript account in NTS Archive


Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1984 Argyll Vol 5
Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland Papers: collection of letters, receipts, etc relating to Kelsall Fund

Rutherford, I 1964 *At the Tiller*

Ryder, Michael 1974 *Some Wool Cloth from St Kilda* Scottish Studies 18 pp 133-135

Sands, John [1875-1877] 1877a *Out of the world; or, Life in St Kilda* Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart

1877b *Life in St Kilda* Chambers' Journal 1877 pp 284-287, 312-316, 331-334

1878 *Notes on the Antiquities of the Island of St Kilda* PSAS 12 1876-8 pp 186-192

School Log Book 1901-1930 Ms volume in Western Isles Library

School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh Photographic Archive


Scott, W R 1914 *Report to the Board of Agriculture on Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands* Parliamentary Paper

Scottish Ethnological Archive, Royal Museum of Scotland Photograph collection

Seebohm, Henry 1884 *On a new Species of British Wren* Zoologist 8 pp 333-5

Seton, George [1877] 1878 *St Kilda Past and Present* Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons

Seton-Watson, R W 1931 *The Strange Story of Lady Grange* History 16 pp 12-24

Seymour, W A 1980 *A History of the Ordnance Survey* Folkestone: Wm Dawson and Sons

Shand, Alexander Innes 1897 *The Lady Grange* London: Smith, Elder and Co. (Novel)

Sharbau, H [1860] 1860 *Plan of St Kilda Village* Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Mss collection 158. copy SRO (RHP 6778)

Shaw, Margaret Fay 1955 *Folk Songs and Folk Lore from South Uist* London

Shepherd, I A G and Tuckwell, A N 1977 *Traces of Beaker-period cultivation at Rosinish Benbecula* PSAS 108 1976-7 pp 108-113
Shepherd, I A G 1975 'Rosinish, Benbecula' in Discovery and Excavation in Scotland eds M E C Stewart and C M Lythe Edinburgh: Council for British Archaeology Scottish Regional Group p 50

Simson, Alexander 1797 Parish of Lochs OSA 1791-9 ed John Sinclair XIX pp 274-9


Small, Alan ed. 1979 St Kilda Handbook Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland


Smith, R Angus [1873] 1875 'A Visit to St Kilda in 1873' Good Words pp 141-144, 264-269

1879 A Visit to St Kilda in the Nyanza Glasgow: Robert MacLehose


Spackman, R A 1982 Soldiers on St Kilda Uist: Uist Community Press

Steel, Tom 1965 The Life and Death of St Kilda Edinburgh: The National Trust for Scotland

1988 The Life and Death of St Kilda revised edition Glasgow: Fontana/Collins

Steer, K A and Bannerman, J W M 1977 Late Mediaeval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands Edinburgh: RCAHMS


Stewart, Alexander 1877 'The St Kilda Maids' Song' Gael 6, April 1877 p 125

Stewart, Alexander, and Stewart, Donald 1804 A Choice Collection of the Works of the Highland Bards Edinburgh: T Stewart

Stewart, Malcolm 1931 Bibliography of St Kilda in St Kilda Papers Oxford: Oxford University Press
1933 Ronay Oxford: University Press

1938 'Natural History notes on Scottish Islands' Scottish Naturalist x pp 107-114

Stone, Jeffrey 1989 The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland: Sixteenth Century origin of a Blaeu Atlas Tring

Svensson, Roland 1954 Lonely Isles Stockholm

Swinburne, J 1885 'Notes on the Islands of Sual Sgeir ... and North Rona' Proc Royal Physical Society Edinburgh 8 pp 51-67

Swire, Otta F 1966 The Outer Hebrides and their Legends Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd

Tasker, Mark L, Moore, Peter R and Schofield, Richard A 1988 'The Seabirds of St Kilda' Scottish Birds 15 pp 21-29

Taylor, A B 1961 Early Maps of Scotland Scottish Geographical Magazine 77 pp 37-43


1969 The Name 'St Kilda' Scottish Studies 13 1969 pp 145-158


Thomas, Frederick W L [1860] 1860 'Notice of Beehive Houses in Harris and Lewis' PSAS 3 1860-62 pp 127-144

1862 'Notice of a Beehive House in the island of St Kilda' PSAS 3 1860-62 pp 225-232

1868 'On the Primitive Dwellings and Hypogea of the Outer Hebrides' PSAS 7 1866-68 pp 153-195


1993 The MacDiarmid Ms Anthology Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society

Trollope, Anthony (1878) 1878 How the 'Mastiffs' went to Iceland London: Virtue and Co.

Turner, G A 1895 'The Successful Preventive Treatment of the Scourge of St Kilda (tetanus neonatorum) with some considerations regarding the management of the cord in the newborn infant' Glasgow Medical Journal 43 March 1895 pp 161-174

Turrill, W B 1927 'The Flora of St Kilda' Rep Bot Exch Club Br Isles 8 428-444
'Viator' 1818 'St Kilda Poetry' Scots Mag March 1818 pp 241-2

Wager, L R 1953 'Extent of Glaciation in the Island of St Kilda' Geol Mag 90 177-80


Walker, J Russell 1883 'Holy Wells' in Scotland' PSAS 17 1882-3 pp 152-210

Waterston, James 1905 'Notes on the Mice and Birds of St Kilda' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 14 pp 199-202

1906 On some Scottish Siphonaptera Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 15 pp 211-214

Watson, W J 1904 Place names of Ross and Cromarty Inverness: Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Co Ltd.

1926 The History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland Edinburgh

Weir, Tom 1958 'Beathe ur air seain Eilean' Gairn 3 pp 271-273


Wiglesworth, J [1902] 1903 St Kilda and its Birds Liverpool

Williamson, Kenneth 1958a 'Ancient St Kilda' Scottish Field March 1958 pp 46-49

1958b 'Life on St Kilda' Scots Mag Oct. 1958 pp 25-25

and Boyd, John Morton 1960 St Kilda Summer London: Hutchinson and Co

and Boyd, John Morton 1963 A Mosaic of Islands


Wilson, George Washington 1886 Photographs (taken by N Macleod)

Wilson, James [1841] 1842 A Voyage round the Coasts of Scotland and the Isles Edinburgh II pp 1-113

1842 'Additional Notice Regarding St Kilda' Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal 32 pp 178-180
Appendices

Comparison of Measurement and Coinage systems 419
List of Placenames 421
Full texts of songs 442
List of Visitors 511
Catalogue of sources for historical research 526
  Printed books and articles 527
  Manuscript and typescript records 548
  Sound recordings 562
  Maps 563
  Plans 565
  Drawings, sketches, etchings 568
  Photographs 570
  Films 581
  Objects in museums 582
Appendix 1

Tables of equivalents for Scots, Imperial and Metric measures and Scots, old Sterling and Decimal currency systems

Measures of Length

St Kilda: Lamh choille or cubit is distance between elbow and fingertips (Martin 1753, 49) - usually between 18 and 24 inches (45.7 cm - 60.9 cm)
St Kilda yard = 4 feet = 122 cm (Scots Ell = 37.2 ins = 94.5 cm; English Ell = 45 ins = 114.4 cm)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperial</th>
<th>Metric equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inch</td>
<td>0.0254 m (2.54 cm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 inches = 1 foot</td>
<td>0.3048 m (30.48 cm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feet = 1 yard</td>
<td>0.9144 m (91.44 cm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,760 yards = 1 mile</td>
<td>1609 m (1.609 km)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measures of Weight

St Kilda stone = 24 lb = 10.9 kg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperial</th>
<th>Metric equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ounce (oz)</td>
<td>.0283 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 oz = 1 pound (lb)</td>
<td>.4536 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 lb = 1 stone (st)</td>
<td>6.3503 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 st = 1 hundredweight (cwt)</td>
<td>50.802 kg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measures of Capacity

St Kilda Amir = nearly 2 pecks
St Kilda Maile = 10 pecks (Martin 1753, 48-9) [? mala: bag, sack]
Scots omer = 2 pecks in Invernessshire (NSA XIV 1845, 211)

For barley, oats, malt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scots</th>
<th>Imperial</th>
<th>Metric equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 peck</td>
<td>2.912 gallons</td>
<td>13.24 litres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pecks = 1 firlot</td>
<td>11.65 gallons</td>
<td>52.96 l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 firlots = 1 boll</td>
<td>46.6 gallons</td>
<td>211.84 l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scottish National Dictionary X 1976, 316-7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperial</th>
<th>Metric equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 pints = 1 gall</td>
<td>4.546 litre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gallons = 1 peck</td>
<td>9.09 l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pecks = 1 bushel</td>
<td>36.37 l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boll: a boll of oats, barley or potatoes contains c 6 imperial bushels; a boll of meal weighs c.140 lb; there is much local variation. (Scottish National Dictionary II 1941, 203)
Currency systems

In 1707 the following prevailed; although Scots currency was abolished by the Act of Union in that year it continued in use for some time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scots</th>
<th>Sterling equivalent</th>
<th>[Decimal equivalent]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 penny (d)</td>
<td>1/12 penny</td>
<td>0.035 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pennies  = 1 bodle</td>
<td>1/6 penny</td>
<td>0.07 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 d or 2 bodles  = 1 plack</td>
<td>1/3 penny</td>
<td>0.14 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 d or 2 bawbees = 1 shilling</td>
<td>penny (d)</td>
<td>0.42 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 shillings = 1 pound</td>
<td>1s 8d</td>
<td>8.3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 shillings 4 pence = 1 merk</td>
<td>1s 11/3d</td>
<td>5.5 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the end of the eighteenth century Scots currency had been abandoned. Decimal currency was introduced in February 1971.

Sterling currency

Decimal equivalent

1 penny (d) = 0.42 p.
12 d = 1 shilling = 5 p.
20 s = 1 pound (£) = 5 p.

usually expressed as £0 0s. 0d. or £0/0/0 or £0.0.0 £0.00

NB 1 guinea = 21 shillings = £1.05
Appendix 2: List of Placenames

from original sources: some late nineteenth century and twentieth century sources which were clearly repetitive and contained few names have been omitted.

The main list of names is taken from the maps by the Ordnance Survey (1970) and Mathieson (1928). There are minor variations in spelling, and these are noted, Mathieson's version being given in [ ]. He included on his map an inset showing the village area at a larger scale, and on this he gives names which are omitted from the 1970 map for reasons of space. In the list these are followed by [Mathieson 1928].

Each name is followed by a suggested meaning and derivation; unless otherwise stated, derivations are based on Dwelly's Gaelic English dictionary, and W J Watson's 'Place names of Ross and Cromarty' (1904).

For those with no knowledge of Gaelic it should be explained that in Gaelic all nouns are either masculine or feminine, and the definite article, nouns and adjectives decline: the form of the word changes according to gender, whether it is in the singular or plural, and how it is being used; thus Gleann Mòr (masculine) is simply 'Glen Large'; while Abhainn Mhór (feminine) is 'Stream Large', and Abhainn a' Ghlinne Mhóir is 'Stream of Glen Large', Ghlinne Mhóir being the possessive form of Gleann Mòr. Dwelly's dictionary and any good Gaelic grammar will give guidance concerning these changes.

The list is arranged by island: Hirt, Dun, Soay and its stacks, Boreray and its stacks; within each island the names are given in alphabetical order, ignoring the definite article (Am, An, A', An t-, Na, Na h', Nam, Nan). Names which are related are cross-referenced: for instance Abhainn a' Ghlinne Mhóir is derived in part from Gleann Mòr.

At the end of the main list there is another list of 'lost' names; these are names which are found in the early literature but are not on the two recent maps. Any which can reasonably be equated with names on those recent maps are given as a cross reference with the appropriate name in the main list, and this is noted in the list of 'lost' names. Some of the remainder can be located reasonably accurately and these are given in a separate map (Fig 21)

Hirt  ?Hirtir (Prest's saga early C13)  Hert (Reg.Sig.Mag. 1.1.1372/3)  Heryce/Hyrte (Reg.Sig.Mag. 9.1.1372/3)  Hirth (Fordun 1380)  Hirtha (Boece 1527)  Hirta/Hirt (Monro 1549)  Irt (Anon 1577-95)  Hirta (Anon 1594)  Hirta (Reg.Sig.Mag. 7.3.1610)  Zirta (MacLeod 1615)  Art (Williamson 1615)  Hirta (Moray 1678, 927)  Hirt (local)/Hirta (Martin 1697)  Hirta from Irish Ier, = West (Martin 1703)  Hirta/Hirta (Adv ms 33.3.20)  Hirta (Adv Ms 15.1.1)  Hirta (Buchan 1727)  Hirt/Hirta (MacAulay 1764)  Herta (Buchanan 1793)  Uirt/Huirt (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911 not recorded here from literature after 1830  Hirt was also called 'the Country' when the people were at sea, as they didn't like to mention the name (Adv ms 33.3.20)

St Kilda  St. Kilda/St Kilder (Martin 1697)  St Kilda/St Kilder - from Kilder, who lived here, and from him the large well Tonbir Kilda has also its name (Martin 1703)  St Kilda/Saint Kildar
Abhainn Alltan Stream of Brooks (abhainn G: river, stream; allt G: mountain stream, rill, brook)

Abhainn bheag see An t-Sruthan, Abhainn Mhór

Abhainn a' Ghlinne Mhóir River of the Big Glen (abhainn G: river, stream; Gleann Mór) The Glen R. (Martin 1697, map) The Glen River (MacAulay 1764) Glen Burn (Ross 1889) Glen River (Heathcote 1900) see Gleann Mór


Abhainn Mhóir Big River (abhainn G: river, stream; mór G: large, great) Avon More (Anon pre 1840) Abhain mhor (Maclean 1838) Amhruinn Mhor (Ross 1889) Abhain Mor (Heathcote 1900 map) Amhum mhòr - could be mis-typed MacLachlan 1906-9) [contrast with the Abhainn Bheag or An t-Sruthan to the east]

Abhainn Riasg [Matheson 1928] Stream of the marshes or moors (abhainn G: river, stream; riasg G: moor, marsh, sedge, peat moss)

Abhainn Ruaival Stream of Ruival (abhainn G: river, stream; and Ruival) see Ruival

Aird Uachdarachd Upper Promontory (airde G: height, promontory; uachdarachd G: state of being higher, superior)

Airigh Mhóir/Amazon’s House Big Shieling (àiridh G: shieling, summer pasture; mór G: large, great) Tigh na Banaghaisgeach /Airidh na Banaghaisgeach House or Shieling of the Female Warrior or Heroine (taigh G: house; bana-ghaisgeach G: heroine, female warrior) (Warrior’s House Campbell 1799) Areyvore (Anon pre 1840) 'Giantess' House' (Mackenzie [1830-43] 1911) Tigh na Banaghaisgeach /Airidh na Banaghaisgeach (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Airidh Mhòr (Sands 1878) Airidh mhòr (Steele Elliott 1895) see Gleann Mór and (pp 93-98)

Baghan Little Bay (bághan G: little harbour, creek; OR baghan G: stomach) [but seems to be applied to a small rock]

Beul na Geo Mouth of the Cleft (beul G: mouth, opening; gjá ON: cleft)

Am Blaid The Mouth - perhaps the mouth of the glen - the way over to Gleann Mór (blad G: mouth, wide mouth) Col (Ross 1889) probably refers to this.

Na Bodha Sine [Matheson 1928] Nipple Rocks (bodha G: rock over which the waves break; sine G: teat, nipple)

Bradastac Steep Stack (bratti ON: steep; stakkr ON: stack. Taylor 1967, 141) Bragstack (Anon pre 1840) Brata Stac (Heathcote 1900 map) see Geo Bhradastac

Am Broig The Shoe or Hoof (bròg G: shoe, hoof) see Geo a' Bhroige

Calum Mór House Big Malcolm's House (Calum G: Malcolm; mór G: large, great) The Strong Man's House (Kearton 1897) (p 301)

Cambir Crest or Ridge (kambr ON: crest or ridge. Taylor 1967, 141) Camper (MacAulay 1764 but he says p 28: 'a rivulet runs through [Glen Mor] and discharges itself into the sea, near the small creek they call Camper, or crooked landing place, where the people make a shift to put in, if under an unavoidable necessity of making so desperate an experiment, or if the sea be quite smooth' so he appears to have understood it to be a different feature from that now called Cambir). Camber - Thomas: from Norse Kambr, a crest or ridge (Seton 1878) Camber (Murray 1886) Cambargh (Heathcote 1900 map) Cambergh (MacLachlan 1806-9) see Geo Chaimbir

Caolas an Duin Kyles of Dun / Straits of Dun (caolas G: strait, ferry; and Dun) see Dun: Caolas an Duin

Carn Mór Great Cairn or Pile of Rocks (càrn G: cairn, heap or pile of stones; mór G: large, great) Carnmhor (Murray 1886) Cairn Mor (Heathcote 1900 map)

Clash na Bearnaich Fissured Gutter (clais G: furrow, hollow, gutter; beàrnach G: notched, abounding in fissures)

Claigeann Mór Big Nob (claigionn G: skull, commonly applied to a knob shaped hill; mór G: large, great) Craig Mor (Heathcote 1900 map)

Claigeann an Tigh Faire Nob of the Watch House (claigionn G: skull, commonly applied to a knob shaped hill; taigh G: house; faire G: guard, watch) Tigh an fir faireadh [the Watchman's House] (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911)

Na Cleitean The Cliffs (klettr ON: cliff, rock) The Cleit (Heathcote 1900 map)

Cnoc a'Bheannaichta Hillock of the Blessed (cnoc G: hill, knoll; beannaichte G: blessed, holy, happy) (pp 66-7)
Cnoc na Gaoithe Knoll of the Wind (cnoc G: hill, knoll; gaoth G: wind)

Cnoc Sgar O.S. 1970 probably a mistake for Loch Sgar Matheson 1928 Bare Knoll (cnoc G: hill, knoll; skall ON: bald head, bare hill top. Taylor 1967, 141)

Conachair possibly Roarer, from the noise of the winds roaring up or down its slopes (cona-ghaothach G: tempest, raging gale; or conghair G: uproar, clamour, tumult - as MacLean 1838, 43 suggests) Conagir/Conagor (Martin 1697) Conagir (Adv ms 33.3.20) Conagra (MacAulay 1764) Conarga (Buchanan 1793) Conagra (?Campbell 1799) Conochan (MacCulloch 1819) Congar (MacDonald 1822) Conichan (Stevenson 1826) Conichar/Conachar (Atkinson 1831) Conagar (Anon pre 1840) Conachan (MacGillivray 1842) Conagger (Wilson 1842) Conaker (Milner 1848) Conagra (Muir 1861) Mullach Onachail (MacDiarmid 1877) Conaghan (Sands 1878) Conagher/Conaghair (Seton 1878) Conachar/Conagher/Conagher (Murray 1886) Conachair (Ross 1889) Conacher/Mullach Conacher (Steele Elliott 1895) Conagher (Kearton 1897) Conachair (Heathcote 1900 and map) Conacher (MacLachlan 1906-9) Conachir (Admiralty 1909) and Glacan Chonachair

Not far from Geo-nam-plaideachan 'is a bare and high rock, called Con'-ghàir, which being as it were a fissure from the highest mountain, and from the gàir or boiling noise the sea makes here unceasingly, gives it its name, Con'-ghàir (also noted as Conna-ghair). (Maclean 1838, 43) This sounds as though he was applying the name to a stack adjacent to the Conachair cliff - possibly he was between Bradastack and the main island though this is really below Mullach Mòr - but it is west of Geo nam Plaiden, and that seems to be the direction in which they were travelling, as they landed in 'Dickson's Bay'.

Creagan Breac Speckled Small Crag (creag G: crag, rock, cliff; breac G: spotted, speckled)

Creagan Dubh Black or Dark Small Crag (creag G: crag, rock; dubh G: black, dark)

Na h-Eagan The Ridges (egg ON: edge, ridge)

The Gap only in English on O.S. 1970 and Matheson 1928. Probably Bearraidh na h-Eige Precipice of the Edge (bearraidh G: precipice; egg ON: edge, ridge) Berenahake / Beren-na-hake (MacLachlan 1906-9) Lookout Gap (Admiralty 1909) see Bearraidh na h-Eige

An Gearraidh [Matheson 1928] The Park, or The Grazing (gearraidh G: enclosed grazing, or grazing and arable, between the crofts and the open moor - gardr ON: enclosure) contrast with An Gearraidh Ard

424
Gearraidh Ard [An Gearraidh Ard Matheson 1928] The High Park (gearraidh G: enclosed grazing, or grazing and arable, between the crofts and the open moor - gardr ON: enclosure; ard G: high) contrast with An Gearraidh

Geo na h-Airde Cleft of the Promontory (giá ON: cleft; airde G: height, promontory) Geò-na-h-àirde: the creek of the eminence (Maclean 1838) see Gob na h-Airde

Geo na Bà Glaise Cleft of the grey Cow (giá ON: cleft; bó G: cow; glas G: grey, pale, sallow) Uamh na bà glas [Cave of the grey cow] (Heathcote 1900 map)

Geo Bhradastac Cleft of the Steep Stack (giá ON: cleft and Bradastac) see Bradastac

Geo a'Bhroige Shoe cleft (giá ON: cleft; bròg G: shoe, hoof) see Am Broig

Geo Brababy Cleft ? (giá ON: cleft; and possibly connected with breabail G gurgling noise, or prabair G: worthless fellow; or pràpadh G: tangling, disordering) Compare with Geodha Bratabili in ness, Leis: bilidh possibly connected with hlid N: steep slope (Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Geo na Capuill Cleft of the mare/horse (giá ON: cleft; capull G: mare, sometimes horse)

Geo Chaimbir Cleft of the Cambir (giá ON: cleft; and Cambir) see Cambir

Geo Chalum McMhuirich [Geo Chalum M'Mhuirich Matheson 1928] Malcolm Murchison's Cleft, or Cleft of Malcolm, Murdo's son (giá ON: cleft; Calum G: Malcolm; McMhuirich G: Murchison or mac Mhuirich G: son of Murdo)

Geo Chruadalian ?Dangerous Cleft (giá ON: cleft; cruadal, cruadalachd G: hardship, danger, difficulty) but possibly the same as Uamh Cruaidh [Hard or difficult cave] (Heathcote 1900 map) which is in the same location

Geo Chrùbaidh [Geo Chrubi Matheson 1928] Cleft of the Bending or crouching (giá ON: cleft; crùbadh G: bending, crouch, crinkle)

Geo Chille Brianan Cleft of Brendan's Church (giá ON: cleft; cill G: cell, church and Brianan) see names of Chapels or Churches at end of Hirt section

Geo Creag an Arpaíd Cleft ? (giá ON: cleft; and ?) possibly from Creag an Alrigod, Rock of the Silver, an unlocated name - see end of list or Cleft of the Crag of the Great Black-backed Gull (creag G: crag, rock, cliff; farspag G: Great Black-backed Gull Coates 1990, 90)

Geo na Eáige possibly for Geo na h-eige, Cleft of the Edge/Ridge (giá ON: cleft; egg ON edge, ridge) see The Gap
Geo an Eireannach  Cleft of the Irishman (gíá ON: cleft; Eireannach G: Irishman) Damph-an-Eirianich (Wilson 1842) Irishman’s Cave (Heathcote 1900 map) so called because ‘An Irishman was crossing an inlet of his own green isle, with a keg of whisky to make merry with his father and other friends one Christmas morning, but being carried out to sea by a squall, he was driven he knew not where, till he found himself at the mouth of a cave in St Kilda. He was described by the natives from the cliffs, who at first entertained a superstitious fear of an individual who they thought must either have dropped from the clouds, or risen from the sea, but so soon as they perceived his boat, they lowered their ropes, and drew him up when he was almost gone from want. He remained with them for about a year, before an opportunity occurred of his being conveyed to his own country (Wilson 1842 67).

Geo Gharran Buidhe  Cleft of the tawny horse (gíá ON: cleft; gearran G: horse, gelding; buidhe G: yellow)


Geo na Lashulaich  Cleft ? (gíá ON: cleft; possibly connected with lasail G: fiery, inflammable)

Geo Leibli  Cleft ? (gíá ON: cleft; bli may be from hlíd N: steep slope Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Geo na Mol  Cleft of the Shingle (gíá ON: cleft; mol G: shingle, shingly beach)

Geo Mór  [Matheson 1928] Big Cleft (gíá ON: cleft; mór G: large, great)

Geo na Muirbhuaile Bream  Cleft (gíá ON: cleft; and muirbhuaile G: bream Matheson 1928) The two bream occurring most commonly in the area are black or red sea bream

Geo Oscar  Cleft of the Leap, Cleft of the Ruinous Fall, Cleft of the Champion (gíá ON: cleft; oscar G: leap, ruinous fall, champion)

Geo nan Plaidean  Cleft of the Blankets (gíá ON: cleft; plaide G: blanket, plaid) “Geó-nam-pláideachan: the creek of the blankets . . . where the natives lie the whole night in narrow cliffs, with blankets to cover them from the sea spray, watching the arrival of the Fulmer in the morning” (MacLean 1838, 42)

Geo nan Rôn  Cleft of the Seals (gíá ON: cleft; rôn G: seal) Uamh na Ron [Seal Cave] (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Geo Rubha Mhuirich  [Geo Rudha Mhuirich Matheson 1928] Cleft of Murdo’s Point (gíá ON: cleft; rudha G: point of land, promontory; Muireach G: Murdo) see Rubha Mhuirich
Geo an t-Samh Cleft of the Sorrel/ Surge/ Stink (già ON: cleft; samh G: common sorrel, surge of waves, stink) or Cleft of the Open Sea (haf Scand: open sea as suggested by Fraser (Coates 1990, 87)

Geo na Seanaig Cleft of the little old woman (già ON: cleft; and seanag G: little old one [feminine])

Geo nan Sgarbh Cleft of the Cormorants (già ON: cleft; skarfa ON: cormorant)

Geo Sgeir Chaise Cleft of the steeper rock (già ON: cleft; sker ON: skerry, rock; caise G: more or most steep)

Geo na Stacan Cleft of the Little Stac (già ON: cleft; stakkr ON: stack)

Giasgeir Skerry of the Geo or Cleft (già ON: cleft; sker ON: skerry, rock. Taylor 1967, 143) noted as Lasgol by Heathcote (1900)

Glacan Chonachair Conachair Gulleys (glac G: hollow valley, defile and Conachair) see Conachair

Glacan Mór The Big Gulleys (glac G: hollow valley, defile; mór G: large, great)

Glacan Oiseval Oiseval Gulleys (glac G: hollow valley, defile and Oiseval) see Oiseval

Gleann Mór Big Glen (gleann G: valley, dell; mór G: large, great) Gleann na Bana-ghaisgeach The Glen of the Female Warrior (gleann G: valley, dell; bana-ghaisgeach G: heroine, female warrior) The Female Warrior's Glen (Martin 1697) Glen of the Female Warrior (Adv ms 33.3.20) Female Warrior's Glen (MacAulay 1764) Glen na Bannagashich? (Anon pre 1840) North Glen (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) Female Warrior's Glen (Muir 1861) Glen Mór (MacDiarmid 1877) Glen Mór (Sands 1878) Glen Mór or the Amazon's Glen (Seton 1878) Glen Mhor (Ross 1889) The Glen (Heathcote 1900 map) The Glen/Female Warrior's Glen (MacLachlan 1906-9) contrast with Glean Beag for An Lag bho'n Tuath and see Airidh Mhòr and (pp 93-8)

Gob na h-Airde Point of the Promontory (gob G: beak, mouth, point; airde G: height, promontory) Runahardveg? (Anon pre 1840) Cop a’sairde (Admiralty 1865) Cop a’s airde (Heathcote 1900 map) see Geo na h-Airde

Gob Chathaill Point of ? the Wailer (gob G: beak, mouth, point; and perhaps caothaill G: referring to the cries from the manx shearwater colony on Carn Mór) or Chair Point (cathair G: chair Coates 1990, 96) Possibly the same as Gob Cailleach (Heathcote 1900)

Lag Aitimir Hollow ? (lag G: hollow, pit, dell and ?)

An Lag bho’n Tuath The Northward Hollow (lag G: hollow, pit, dell; bho G: from; tuath G: north) Glen Beag (Ross 1889)
Laimhrig nan Gall  Landing place of the Strangers (laimhrig G: landing place; gall G: lowlander, stranger, foreigner) probably the same as Bid a Ghaul (Ross 1889) and Landing Place of the Englishmen (Heathcote 1900 and map) which are in the same location

Leac Mhina Stac  Mina Stac Slab (leac G: flag, slab, flat stone; and Mina Stac)  see Mina Stac

Leacan an Eitheir  Slabs of the Boat (leac G: flag, slab, flat stone; eathar G: vessel, boat)

Leacan an t-Sluic Mhóir  Slabs of the Big Cavern (leac G: flag, slab, flat stone; sloc G: pit, hollow, cavity, hole; mór G: large, great) probably referring to the adjacent 'tunnel', a vast natural arch

Leathad a' Ghlinne  Broad Slope of the Glen (leathad G: hill side, slope, broad slope and gleann G: valley - from Gleann Mór)

Leathad na Guiltichean  Broad slope of ? (leathad G: hill side, slope, broad slope and ? )

Leathad a'Sgithoil Chaoil  Broad Slope ? of the Narrow Bothy (leathad G: hill side, slope, broad slope; ?sgithiol G: shieling hut; caol G: small, slender, thin, narrow, though sgithiol is masculine so the form of the article is wrong)

Loch a' Ghlinne or Glen Bay (loch G: lake, arm of the sea; gleann G: valley, dell)  Loch a Gleanna (Anon pre 1840) McLeod’s Bay (named by MacLean and friends in 1838 in commemoration of Dr MacLeod's visit (MacLean 1838, 43) McLeod’s Bay (MacGillivray 1842) West Bay/McLeod's Bay (Wilson 1842) Glen Bay (MacLachlan 1906-9) Bagh a Glinne (Admiralty 1909) see Gleann Mór

Loch Hirta or Village bay (loch G: lake, arm of the sea and Hirt)  Dickson’s bay (MacLean 1838) Dickson’s Bay (MacGillivray 1842) East or Village Bay/Dickson’s Bay (Wilson 1842) Village Bay (Admiralty 1865) Village Bay (Kearton 1897) Village Bay (Heathcote 1900 and map) The Bay/The Loch (MacLachlan 1906-9)

Loch Sgar  [Matheson 1928] (loch G: lake, arm of the sea; skalli ON: bare hill top) probably for Loch or pool on Mullach Sgar; associated with a water bull (p 303)  see Mullach Sgar

Lover’s Stone  equated with the Mistress’ Stone equated with Stac Biorrach by (Connell 1887) Lover’s Stone placed at a new site (Heathcote 1900 and map) Lover’s Stone [almost certainly Heathcote site] (MacLachlan 1906-9) (pp 297-8)

Mina Stac  Lesser Stack (minni ON: lesser; stakkr ON: stack. Taylor 1967, 141) or Mouth or Opening Stack (mynastakkr Coates 1990, 99) Minastack (Anon pre 1840) Miana Stac (Admiralty 1865) Mian-a-Stac/Miana Stac (Heathcote 1900 and map) see Leac Mina Stac
Mol Carn na Liana  Shingle of the Heap of Rocks of the Plain (mol G: shingle, shingly beach; càrn G: cairn, heap or pile of stone; lian G: plain, field)

Mol Ghiasgar  Shingle of the Skerry of the Cleft (mol G: shingle, shingly beach; già ON: cleft; sker ON: skerry, rock, as in Taylor 1967, 143)

Mullach Bi  Pillar Summit (mullach G: top, summit, hill; high G: pillar, post) Mullach Bith/Mullach Bich (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Mullach Geal  White Summit (mullach G: top, summit, hill; geal G: white) Mulach-geall (MacAulay 1764) Mullach-geal from mullach, top, and geal, white (MacLean 1838, 3) Druim Geal (MacDiarmid 1877) Mullách-geal (Seton 1878) Mullách-geal (Connell 1887) (Mullach) Geal (Steele Elliott 1895) Mulloch Geal (Admiralty 1909)

Mullach Mór  Big Summit (mullach G: top, summit, hill; mór G: large, great) Mullach Mor (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) Mulloch More (Wilson 1842) Mulach Mor (Ross 1889) Mullach Mor (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Mullach Sgar  Bare Summit (mullach G: top, summit, hill; skalli ON: bald head. Taylor 1967 141) Mullach-scaill from mullach, top, and scaill, bald (MacLean 1838, 3) Mullach Skaill (MacDiarmid 1877) Sgal/Sgar (Sands 1878) Mullách scail - bald top (Seton 1878) Scal (Murray 1886) Scal (Ross 1889) Mullach-Scaill (Steele Elliott 1895) Mullach Sgail (Heathcote 1900 and map) Mullach Sgail (MacLachlan 1906-9) Mullach Sgall (Admiralty 1909)

Na Mullichean Mór  The Big Summits (mullach G: top, summit, hill; mór G: large, great)


Poll a'Choire  Cauldron Pool (poll G: hole, pool; coire G: cauldron, kettle, vat)

Ruaival  Red Hill (raudafjall ON: red hill. Taylor 1967 140) Ruaimhail/Ruainhaill (MacAulay 1764) Ruaveil (Ruadh-mheall) (Kennedy 1822) Rueval? (Anon pre 1840) Rua'-mheall from ruadh, roy, or madder colour, and mheall, a conical hill (Maclean 1838, 3) Ruaival (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Ruaidh
Bhail (Sands 1878) Ruival (Murray 1886) Ruaval Point (Connell 1887) Ruaidbhhal (Ros 1889) Ruadhval/Ruadval (Heathcote 1900 and map) Ruadval (MacLachlan 1906-9) Ruibhhal (Admiralty 1909)

Rubha Challa or Point of Coll [Rudh Challa Matheson 1928] (rudha G: point of land, promontory and Coll) Ruchell (Anon pre 1840) Rudhen Cholla/Rudha-cholla (Maclean 1838) Point of Coll (Heathcote 1900 map) Point of Coll (MacLachlan 1906-9) almost certainly the same as Gob Cholla (Kennedy [1862] 1874) see also Tobar Cholla (unlocated)

Rubha Ghill [Rudh Ghill Matheson 1928] Stream Point (rudha G: point of land, promontory; ghil ON: ravine with a stream at the bottom) or White Point if ghile G whiter Coates 1990, 101, though Coates suggests yellow, but this is not the usual meaning of geall or Point of the Wager or Bet (geall G: promise, pledge, wager Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Rubha Mhuirich Murdo's Point [Rudha Mhuirich Matheson 1928] (rudha G: point of land, promontory; Muireach G: Murdo)

Rubha an Uisge Point of the Water/Wave/Rain (rudha G: point of land, promontory; uisge G: water, wave, rain) Ruenuiskey (Anon pre 1840) Rudha an Uisg (Admiralty 1909)

Sgeir na Caraith Skerry of the ? fish trap (sker ON: skerry, rock; caraith G: mound thrown across over a river or estuary to catch fish)

Sgeir Dhomhuiull [Sgeir Dhomhuiull Matheson 1928] Donald’s Skerry (sker ON: skerry, rock; Domhnall G: Donald)

Sgeir Mhor Big Skerry (sker ON: skerry, rock; mor G: large, great) [below Carn Mór] Sgurr Mor (Admiralty 1865) Sgurr Mor (Heathcote 1900 map)

Sgeir Mhor Big Skerry (sker ON: skerry, rock; mor G: large, great) [at end of Kyles of Dun]

Sgeir nan Sgarbh Rock of the Cormorants (sker ON: skerry, rock; skarfa ON: cormorants) Skernaskarar (Anon pre 1840) Skart Rock (Heathcote 1900 map)

Sgeir Thormoid [Matheson 1928] Norman's Skerry (sker ON: skerry, rock; Tormoid G: Norman)

An t-Sruthan [Matheson 1928] The Burn or The Rivulet (sruthan G: streamlet, brook, rivulet) [almost certainly the same as 'Abhain bheag', the 'little stream', probably the one flowing from Tobar Childa; as opposed to the Abhainn Mhór] (Maclean 1838)

Stac a’ Langa Long Stack or Stack of the Guillemot (stakkr ON: stack; langa ON: long or possibly langach G: guillemot - it supports a fairly large colony of guillemots) (Gaelic) Stacklanga (Anon pre 1840) Stac Lang (MacLachlan 1906-9)
Tarn [in Gleann Mór]

Tarn [between Mullach Mór and Conachair] Though no longer distinguishable on the ground, this may well be the site of Poll na Ban-tighear a [The Lady’s Pool] (Sands 1878) where Lady Grange’s peats were cut. (pp 65, 110, 440)

Souterrain Taigh an t-sithiche / Tigh fo Talamh [Fairy’s House or House Under the Ground] (Sands 1878) Tigh na Sithich (Ross 1889) The Fairy’s House (MacLachlan 1906-9) (taigh G: house; sithiche G: fairy, elf; fo G: under; talamh G: earth)

Tigh an Triar House of the Three: perhaps of the Trinity (taigh G: house; triuir G: three persons) (p 296)


Tobar Childa [Matheson 1928] Well Cold Well (tobar G: well, spring; kelda kalda ON: cold well. Taylor 1967, 141) St Kilder’s Well/Kilder’s Well (Martin 1697) Tonbir-Kilda (Martin 1703) Tober Childa Chalda (MacAulay 1764) Tober Childa Chalda (Muir 1861) (p 310)

Tobar a’Chleirich [Matheson 1928] The Clergyman’s Well (tobar G: well, spring; cleireach G: clerk, clergyman, writer) Toberi Clerich (MacAulay 1764)

Tobar na Cille [Tobar na Gille Matheson 1928] Well of the Church (tobar G: well, spring; cill G: cell, church)


Tobar Chonastan [Matheson 1928] Well ? (tobar G: well, spring and ?)

Tobar a Mhinisteir [Matheson 1928] The Minister’s Well (tobar G: well, spring; ministear G: clergyman, minister, servant)

An Torc The Boar (torc G: boar, hog) Sgurr Tor (Heathcote 1900 map)

Tot a Chombaiste Knoll of the ?compass (tobhta G: little knoll, turf; combaiste G: compass, circle)

431
Uamh Cailleach Bheag Ruaival Little Old Woman's Cave, Ruaival (uaimh: cave, den; cailleach: woman, old woman, spinster; beag: little, short, small; and Ruaival)

Dun Fort or Fastness (dùn: hill, fortified house or hill, castle, fastness; sometimes with fir-bholg: the ancient Irish) Down (Martin 1697) Dun-fir-Volg (applied to fort) (Martin 1703) the Down (Adv ms 33.3.20) Dun-Fir-Bholg (MacAulay 1764) Dunfir Volg (Buchanan 1793) Dun fir Bhorg (Campbell 1799) Dunfir Bhorg (?Campbell 1799) Dun (MacCulloch 1819) Doun/Dun Island (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) Dun (Wilson 1842) Dun (Milner 1848) Dun (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Dun (Admiralty 1865) Dun (MacDiarmid 1877) The Dun (Sands 1878) The Dune (Seton 1878) The Dun (Murray 1886) Dun (Ross 1889) Dun/Doon/the Doon (Steele Elliott 1895) the Doon (Kearton 1897) Dun/Dùn Heathcote 1900 and map) The Dùn/The Dùn/The Dune (Maclachlan 1906-9) Dun (Admiralty 1909)

Caolas an Duin Kyles or Straits of Dun (caolas: strait, ferry; and Dun) Caolas between Dun and the mainland (Murray 1886) Caolas-an-Dun -Dun Strait (Connell 1887) Caolis an Dun (Ross 1889) Dùn Passage (Heathcote 1900)

A’ Bhi The Pillar (bìgh: pillar, post)

Bioda Mòr Big Peak (bioda: pointed top, hill top; mòr: large, great) Biodag More (Admiralty 1909)

A’ Chlaisir ?The Cleft (from clais: furrow, gutter, streak, groove)

Cul Cleite Back of the Cliff or Rock (cul: back; klettr: ON: cliff, rock)

An Fhaing The Fold or The Obstacle or The Raven or The Prison (fang: sheep fold, difficulty, raven, prison)

Geo Ghiasgeir Cleft of the Skerry of the Geo or Cleft (gìá: ON: cleft; and gìá: ON: cleft; sker: ON: skerry, rock. Taylor 1967 143)

Geo na Ruideig Cleft of the Kittiwake (gìá: ON: cleft; ruideag: G: kittiwake)

Giumachsgor Lobster skerry (giomach: lobster; sgòr: concealed rock jutting into the sea; steep precipitous height on another hill.

Gob an Dùin Point of Dun (gob: beak, mouth, point; and Dun) Gob an Dun (Murray 1886) Gob an Dun (Admiralty 1909) see Dun

Gob na Muce Pig’s Snout (gob: beak, mouth, point; muc: G: sow, pig)
**Hamalan** Anvil Rock? *(hamarr ON: hammer shaped rock, or crag sticking out like an anvil) or Little Islet (G diminutive of holm N: islet Coates 1990, 80-81)*

**Na Sgarain** The Fissures *(sgar G: fissure in wood, seam or joint as in boat)*

**Seilg Geo** Geo of Seals *(sela-gja ON: geo of seals. Taylor 1967, 143)*

**Sgeir Cul an Rubha** [Sgeir Cul and Rudha Matheson 1928] Skerry at the back of the Point *(sker ON: skerry, rock; cul G: back; rubha G: point of land, promontory)*

**Natural Arch Toll saDuin** [Hole of Dun] *(Admiralty 1909) (toll G: hole, hollow, and Dun)*

**Levenish** ? Grey Island *(liath G: grey; innis G: island Coates 1990, 62) or Grey Cape *(nes ON: ness, cape) Levinis (Martin 1697)*

**Lavinish** *(MacAulay 1764) Lavinish (Campbell 1799) Lavinish (?Campbell 1799) Levenish (MacCulloch 1819)*

**Levenish** *(Stevenson 1826) (Labelled and referred to as Sulisker by Atkinson 1831) Levenish (Anon pre 1840) Levenish (MacGillivray 1842) Levenish (Milner 1848) Levenish (Admiralty 1865) Levenish (Seton 1878) Levenish (Ross 1889)*

**Levenish** *(Steele Elliott 1895) Rock Lavenish (Kearton 1897)*

**Stac/Levenish/Levenish** *(Heathcote 1900 and map) Levenish (Maclachlan 1906-9)*

**Na Bodhan** The Skerries *(bodha G: rock over which the waves break)*

**Soay** Sheep Island *(saudr ON: sheep; ey ON island) Soa (Moray 1678, 927) Soa (Adv Ms 15.1.1) Soa (Martin 1697)*

**Soa** *(Adv ms 33.3.20) Soay (?MacLeod 1746 Adv ms 21.1.5) Soay/Soa (MacAulay 1764) Soay (Buchanan 1793)*

**Soay** *(Campbell 1799) Soa (?Campbell 1799) Soa (MacCulloch 1819) Soay (MacDonald 1822) Soa (Stevenson 1826) Soa (Atkinson 1831) So’a from south and a for an island (MacLean 1838, 3)*

**Soa I.** *(Anon pre 1840) Soay (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) Soay (MacGillivray 1842) Soa (Wilson 1842) Soa (Milner 1848)*

**Soa** *(Muir 1861) Soay (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Soay (Admiralty 1865) for Sanda-ay Sheep or Wether island [Norse] (Thomas 1874) Soa (MacDiarmid 1877) Soa (Sands 1878) Soa (Seton 1878) Soa (Murray 1886) Soa (Connell 1887)Soa (Ross 1889)*

**Soa** *(Steele Elliott 1895) Soa (Kearton 1897) Soay (Heathcote 1900 and map) Soay (MacLachlan 1906-9)*

**The Altar** Altar *(Heathcote 1900 map)*

**An Airde** The Promontory *(airde G: height, promontory)*

**Bearraidh na Creige Chaise** Precipice of the Steepest Cliff *(bearraidh G: precipice; creag G: crag, rock, cliff; caise G: more or most steep).*
A' Chala  The Hussy? or The Shore - possibly to indicate a landing place (*caile* G: hussy, strumpet; *caladh* G: harbour, port, shore though it is given the wrong gender)

**Cnoc Glas**  Grey Hill  (*cnoc* G: hill, knoll; *glas* G: grey, pale, sallow)

**Creagan**  Cliffs  (*creag* G: crag, rock, cliff)

**Geo Phursan**  Pursan's Cleft  (*giá* ON: cleft; and Pursan) see Phursan a' Chaim and Gob Phursan

**Geo nan Ròn**  Cleft of the Seals  (*giá* ON: cleft; *rón* G: seal)  [possibly the narrow geo where seals were hunted (p 290)]

**Geo Ruadh**  Red Cleft  (*giá* ON: cleft; *ruadh* G: red, ruddy)

**Glamisgeo**  Noisy Cleft or less likely, Glám'm's Cleft  (*glám* ON: noise; *giá* ON: cleft; or *Glám'm* ON personal name, rather rare. Taylor 1967, 142) or Jaws of a Vice Chasm  (*klambsgiá* Coates 1990, 157)

**Gob na h-Airde**  Point of the Promontory  (*gob* G: beak, mouth, point; *airde* G: height, promontory)

**Gob a' Ghaill**  Point of the Stranger  (*gob* G: beak, mouth, point; *Gall* G: lowlander, stranger, foreigner)  Cop na Bheurla [Point of the Englishman]  (Heathcote 1900 map)

**Gob Phursan**  Pursan's Point  (*gob* G: beak, mouth, point; and Pursan) see Phursan a' Chaim and Geo Phursan

**Laimhrig Adinet**  ? Landing Place  (*laimhrig* G: landing place and possibly *dionaid* G: secure place [dion aite] possibly secure for birds  Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

**Laimhrig na Sròine**  Landing Place of the Neb  (*laimhrig* G: landing place; *sròn* G: nose, promontory)


**Mol Shoay**  Beach of Soay  (*mol* G: shingle, shingly beach; and Soay)

**Poll Adinet**  Pool  ?  (*poll* G: hole, pool; and possibly *dionaid* G: secure place [dion aite] possibly secure for birds  Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

**Pursan a'Chaim**  ? of the Fraud or Deceit  ( ? and *cam* G: fraud, deceit; possibly connected with *peursa* G: signal pole Iain Fraser pers comm. 1991)  see Geo Phursan and Gob Phursan

**Scarpalin**  Sharp Rock or Sharp Slope  (*skarpr* ON: sharp; *klein* ON projecting rock, or *lein* O.Norw: slope, or *hlidin*: slope. Taylor 1967 142)
Tigh Dugan  Dugan’s Home (taigh G: house; and Dugan)  Dugan’s Cave  (Kearton 1897)  [the outlaw] (pp 299-301)

Tobar Ruadh  Red Well (tobar G: well, spring; ruadh G: red, ruddy)  [There is a trickle of water with iron staining here]

Am Plastair  ? Smooth Stack or ? The Splashed One (bladh G: smooth; stakkr ON: stack or connected with plais G: splash)  Plaste  (MacAulay 1764)  Plaste  (Campbell 1799)  Plasta  (Wilson 1842)  Plasta  (Seton 1878)  probably same as Blath Stac  (Heathcote 1900 map)

Sgeir Mac Righ Lochlainn  Skerry of the Son of the King of Norway  (sker ON: skerry, rock; mac G: son; righ G: king; Lochlann G: Scandinavia)  Sgeir Mac Righ Lochlainn  (Kennedy [1862] 1874)  Sgurr Mac Righ Lochlin/Sgurr Mac Righ Lochlain  (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Stac Biorach  Pointed Stack (stakkr ON: stack; biorach G: sharp pointed)  Stacki-birach/Stack-Birach/Stakbirah  (MacAulay 1764)  Stack Birah  (?Campbell 1799)  Stack Bioroch and ‘the Thumb rock’  (Atkinson 1831)  Stackbirrch  (Anon pre 1840)  Stacca-biorrach i.e. the pointed rock  (Maclean 1838, 3)  Stachbiorrach  (MacKenzies [1830-43] 1911)  (Stack)  Biorach  (Wilson 1842)  Stack Biorach  (Seton 1878)  Stack Beeruck  (Steele Elliott 1895)  Stack Biorach  (Kearton 1897)  Stac na Biorrach/Stac na Biorrah  (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Stac Dona  Bad or Evil Stack (stakkr ON: stack; dona G: evil, bad, dangerous)  Stacka Donna  (Moray 1678, 927)  Stacka Donna  (Adv Ms 15.1.1)  Stackdonn/Stakdon  (Martin 1697 text and map)  Stacka donna/Stackdon  (Adv ms 33.3.20)  Stacki-don  (MacAulay 1764)  Stack-don  (Campbell 1799 also marks The Thumb)  Stack Donne  (?Campbell 1799)  Stack Donna  (Atkinson 1831)  Stackdonna  (Anon pre 1840)  Stack Donadh  (Wilson 1842)  Stack Donadh  (Seton 1878)  Stac Donadh  (Heathcote 1900 map)

Soay Stac (stakkr ON: stack; and Soay)  Soa Stack  (Atkinson 1831)  Soa Stack  (Anon pre 1840)  Stack Soa  (Wilson 1842)  Stack Soa  (Seton 1878)  Soay Stac  (Admiralty 1865)  Soay Stac  (Heathcote 1900 map)

Boreray  Fort Island (Borg ON: a fort; ey ON: an island)  Burribaugh  (Williamson 1615)  Burra  (Moray 1678, 927)  Burra  (Adv ms 15.1.1)  Borera  (Martin 1697)  Borera/Boreray/Borreray  (Martin 1703)  Burra  (Adv ms 33.3.20)  Boreray  (?MacLeod 1746  Adv Ms 21.1.5)  Boreray/Bocra  (MacAulay 1764)  Boreray  (Buchanan 1793)  Boreray  (Clarke 1794)  Borrira  (?Campbell 1799)  Borera  (MacCulloch 1819)  Boreray  (MacDonald 1822)  Boreray  (Stevenson 1826)  Boreray/Borrera  (Atkinson 1831)  Boreray  (Anon pre 1840)  Boreray/Borrera  (MacKenzies [1830-43] 1911)  Boreray  (Maclean 1838)  Boreray/MacGillivray  (1842)  Borrera  (Wilson 1842)  Borrera  (Milner 1848)  Boreray  (Kennedy [1862] 1874)  Boreray  (Admiralty 1865)  Boreray  (Sands 1878)  Borrera  (Seton 1878)  Boreray  (Murray 1886)  Boreray  (Connell
1887) Boreray (Ross 1889) Borrera (Steele Elliott 1895) Borrera (1897) Borray (Heathcote 1900 and map) Borrera/Borera (MacLachlan 1906-8)

Clagan na Rùsgachan [Clagan na Ruskochan Mathieson 1928] Nob of the fleeces? (claiigonn G: skull, commonly applied to a knob shaped hill; and rùsgadh G: peeling, fleecing, fleece) (Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Clais na Runaich Hollow of the Inclination or Desire? (clais G: furrow, hollow, gutter; runaich G: wish, desire, resolve, purpose) or possibly Hollow of the Mackerel (reannach G: mackerel Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Cleitean McPhaidein MacFadyen’s Cleits (cleit G: shed; MacPhaidein G: MacFadyen)

Clesgor Rift of the Cliff (klifs-sgor ON: rift of the cliff; Taylor 1967, 144) Clesgoth (Heathcote 1900 map)

Coinneag Bay of a Woman? (possibly konu ON of a woman; vik ON: bay. Taylor 1967, 144) or possibly Frothy Bay (cuinneag G: milk pail; as suggested by MacLeod (Quine 1982, 45))

Creagan Fharspeig Crag of the Great Black-backed Gull (creag G: crag, rock, cliff; farspag G: great black-backed gull)

Creagan na Rubhaig Bana Cliffs of the Pale or Waste Rope? (creag G: crag, rock, cliff; rubhag G: thong of hemp or flax;バン G: white, pale, waste) or Cliffs of the Little White Point (diminuitive of rubha G: point Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)


Geo an Araich Cleft of the Lookout or Cleft of the Tether or Cleft of the Stranger or Cleft of the Apparition (gé ON: cleft; ārach G: watchman, grazier or ārach G: tie, band, restraint; or atharrach G stranger, alien; or arrach G: apparition, spectre, runt)

Geo an Fheachdaire Warrior’s Cleft (gé ON: cleft; feachdaire G: warrior)

Geo na Leachan Móire Cleft of the Big Slabs (if nan leacan móra: gé ON: cleft; leac G: flag, slab, flat stone; móir G: large, great)

Geo Sgarbhstac Cormorants’ Stack Cleft (gé ON: cleft; and Sgarbhstac see Sgarbhstac

Geo Shunadal Sunadal Cleft (gé ON: cleft; and Sunadal see Sunadal

Geo na Tarnanach Cleft of the Thunder (gé ON: cleft; tairneanach G: thunder, thundering noise)
Gob Scapanish  Point of the Point of Caves (gob G: beak, mouth, point; skalp-eid ON: sword sheath, something hollowed; nes ON: ness, cape. Taylor 1967, 143) or possibly Point of Sharp Headland (skarpnes N: sharp headland Coates 1990, 73)

Laimhil  ?  (possibly connected with: làmh G: hand, arm; or laibh G: clay, mire, dirt)

Mullach an Eilean  Summit of the Island (mullach G: top, summit, hill; eilean G: island, isle)

Mullach an Tuamail  Summit abounding in Hollows or Bumps (mullach G: top, summit, hill; tuamail, tuamach G: abounding in graves, tombs, cavities, or mounds)

Na Roàchan  obscure  (possibly connected with rothach G: wheeled; Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Rubha Bhrengadal  [Rudha Bhrengadal Mathieson 1928] Point of Brengadal (rudha G: point of land, promontory; bringudal ON dale of the breast. Taylor 1967, 144)

An t-Sail  The Heel or The Sea? (sail G: heel; or sàl G: sea)

Sgarbhstac  Cormorants' Stack (skarfa ON: cormorant; stakkr ON: stack) Scarastac (Admiralty 1865) Scarrastac (Heathcote 1900 map)

Sunadal  ?  dale  (? and dalr ON: dale. Taylor 1967, 144) Sunadail (Heathcote 1900 map) Coates rejects Sun Valley (sunnudalr) and suggests Vertigo Slope from sundl Icelandic: vertigo and hallr ON: slope

Tigh Stallar  Stallar's House:  ?  Steward's House or Smuggling House (taigh G: house; stallari ON: king's marshal or similar officer: Taylor 1967, 132; or from taigh stall G: a distillery or smuggling bothy and therefore a secret, hidden house) or House of the Overhanging Rock or Crag (Stalla G: overhanging rock, lofty precipice) Taigh Stallir Stallir-House (Martin 1697) Stallir's house (Adv ms 33.3.20) Staller, or the man of the rocks (MacAulay 1764) Stall house (Atkinson 1831) Tigh a Stalair : bed spaces called: Rastalla, Ralighe, Beran, Shimidaran, Leaba nan Con, or the dog's bed, Leaba an tealich, or the Fireside bed; Bar Righ was the name of the door (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Taigh an Stallir (Sands 1878) Staller's Ho. (Heathcote 1900 map)

Rastalla  Stallar's Mound or Fort (rath G: fortress, artificial mound or barrow, and Stallar)

Ralighe  ?  (?) connected with laighe G: lying, reclining Coates 1990, 77)

Beran  Cranny (beàrn G: fissure, crevice Coates 1990, 77)

Shimidaran  obscure

Leaba nan Con  The Dogs' Bed (leabaidh G: bed, couch; cù G: dog

Leaba an tealich  The Fireside Bed (leabaidh G: bed, couch; teallach G: hearth, fireplace)
Bar Righ  Top of the Bothy (bàrr G: top; righe G: sheiling, bothy)

Udraclete  Outer Cliff (útarr ON: outer; klettr ON: cliff, rock)

Stac an Armuinn  The Warrior’s Stack or The Hero’s Stack (stakkr ON: stack; ãrmunn G: hero, warrior, brave man) or possibly Steward’s Stack (ãrmadr ON: steward (MacLennan 1979, Coates 1990, 63) Stack-Narmin/Armin (Martin 1697 text and map) Stack N’armin (Martin 1703) Stack na Armin (Adv ms 33.3.20) Stack-in-Armin/Armin (MacAulay 1764) Stack narmin (Campbell 1799) Stack Narmen (?Campbell 1799) Stack an armin (MacCulloch 1799) Stack N’armin (Martin 1803-43, 1911) Stack Narmin (MacGillivray 1842) Stack Narnin (Wilson 1842) Stacharumil (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Stac and Armin (Admiralty 1865) Stack-an-Armin (Seton 1878) Stack Armin (Sands 1878) Stack Anarmu (Murray 1886) Stack ’n Armin (Ross 1889) Stack-an-Armin (Steele Elliott 1895) Stac an Armine (Heathcote 1900 and map) Stack an Armine (MacLachlan 1906-9)

Am Biran  The Spike (bioran G: stick, staff, sharp pointed thing)

Rubha Bhriste  [Rudh Bhriste Mathieson 1928] Broken Point (rudha G: point of land, promontory; briste G: broken)

Stac Lee  ? Sea Stack or Water Stack or Grey Stack (stakkr ON: stack; lì G: colour, hue, water, the sea; liath G: grey) Stack-Ly/Stakley (Martin 1697 text and map) Lij/Stakley (MacAulay 1764) Stack-ley (Campbell 1799) Stac Lii (MacCulloch 1819) Leey (Anon pre 1840) Lee Rock (MacDonald 1822) Stack Lea (Atkinson 1831) Leey (Anon pre 1840) Stucklia (Mackenzie [1830-43] 1911) Stac-ilia, the hoary rock (Maclean 1838, 3) Stack Ly (MacGillivray 1842) Stack Leath/Stack Ly (Wilson 1842) Stac Lii (Admiralty 1865) Stack Lii - (Leathad) (Seton 1878) Stack Lee (Murray 1886) Stack Ly (Ross 1889) Stack Li (Steele Elliott 1895) Stack Lee (Kearton 1897) Stac Lii (Heathcote 1900 and map)

Geo Lee  Sea Cleft or Water Cleft or Grey Cleft (or Cleft of Stac Lee) (gji ON: cleft; lì G: colour, hue, water, sea; liath G: grey)

Rubha Langa  [Rudh Langa Mathiseon 1928] Long Point or Point of the Guillemot (rudha G: point of land, promontory; langa ON: long or possibly langach G: guillemot)

Unlocated Names

Names of Chapels or Churches

St Brianan (Martin 1697) St Brianns (Adv ms 33.3.20) Brendan’s temple - in gaelic Brianan (MacAulay 1764) St Brianan (Clarke 1794) St Brianan’s (MacDonald 1822) Kilbrinan (Anon...
pre 1840) church dedicated to 'Brenan' (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) St Brimmin (Wilson 1842) St Brendan (Muir 1861)
Brendan (Sands 1878)

Christ’s Chapel Christ Chapel/Christ’s Chappel/Christ Church (Martin 1697) Christ’s Church (Adv ms 33.3.20) Christ’s church (MacAulay 1764) Christ’s Church (?Campbell 1799) Christ’s Church (MacDonald 1822) church dedicated to Mary (Mackenzie [1830-43] 1911) Cill-chriosd (MacLean 1838) St Mary (Wilson 1842: info probably from MacKenzie) Christ Church (Muir 1861) Teampull na Trionaid (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Christ (Sands 1878)

St Columba (Martin 1697) St Columbs (Adv ms 33.3.20) Columbciille (MacAulay 1764) St Columbia (Muir 1861) Columba (Sands 1878)

St Peters (Adv ms 33.3.20)

St Johns (Adv ms 33.3.20)

St Clemens (Adv ms 33.3.20)

Names of Fields

Multus Agris (Martin 1697); Multum agria (MacAulay 1764) Tilled earth or barren earth (mold ON: earth-mould; akri ON: tilled ground; magr: ON barren: Taylor 1967, 128)

Multa Terra (Martin 1716); Multum taurus (MacAulay 1764) Dry earth or Turf soil (mold ON earth-mould; purr ON: dry: Taylor 1967, 128; and tory Faroese: turf: Coates 1990, 151)

Multum favere or Multum fodere (MacAulay 1764) Fair earth (mold ON: earth mould; fagr ON: fair: Taylor 1967, 128)

Queen o Scot (MacAulay 1764) Enclosure at .. possibly the hollow or nook (kvín á ON: enclosure at; Taylor 1967, 128; skot Icelandic: nook or skúti Faroese: sheltered hollow: Coates 1990, 152)

Land dotteros or the Doctor’s ground (MacAulay 1764) Possibly Daughter’s land or Land of the Rent or Rift (land ON: land; döttir ON daughter: Taylor 1967, 128 or dottur : rent, tear: Coates 1990, 149)

Lan-phalin, or Paul’s division (MacAulay 1764) Possibly Paul’s land, or slumped land (land ON: land; döttir ON: daughter: Taylor 1967, 129 or dottur: rent, tear: Coates 1990, 149) Possibly implies an enclosure (lann G: enclosure, especially a religious one; Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Other Names not on Mathieson’s Map

Hirt

Baradh nan Glacha (Ross 1889) Ridge of the Gulleys (bàrr G: top; glac G: hollow, valley, defile

Clach a’ bainne (Mathieson 1928 b) The Milk Stone (clach G: stone; bainne G: milk) (p 296)
Clach an eòlas (Sands 1878) Stone of Knowledge (clach G: stone; eòlas G: knowledge) (p 296)

Conirdan Conirdan (Martin 1697)

Cop Caillach (Heathcote 1900 map) Point of the Old Woman (gob G: beak, mouth, point; cailleach G: woman, old woman, spinster) see Gob Chathaill

Creag-an-airgid from creag, a rock, an, prep. airgid, silver - the sheep-silver or mica (MacLean 1838, 3) Craiganarrogitch: silver craig (Wilson 1842, 67)

gnocan sithichean 'green mounds looked upon as the abodes of fairies scattered in arable land' (MacKenzie [1830-43] 1911) Fairy Hillocks (cnoc G: hill, knoll; sithiche G: fairy, elf)

(Landing place) Lech (Anon pre 1840) Slab (leac G: flag, slab, flat stone) The Saddle (Landing rock, village bay) (Adv ms 33.3.20) (MacAulay 1764)

Lasgol (Heathcote 1900 map) obscure: refers to Giasgeir

Leathadmor (Heathcote 1900 map) Big Broad Slope (leathad G: hill side, slope, broad slope; mór G: large, great)

Liani-nin-ore (plain of spells) (MacAulay 1764) (lian G: plain, field; or G: prayer, petition, incantation)

The Mistress Stone The Mistress Stone (Martin 1697) Lover's Stone (Morgan 1861) Mistress' Stone - also referred to as Lover's Stone and equated by Connell with Stac Biorrach (Connell 1887) Lover's Stone (Kearton 1897) (p 297)

Oshval Point (Ross 1889)

Pollnaneug? (Anon pre 1840) Pool of Death or Pool of the Spectres (poll G: hole, pool; eug G: death, ghost, spectre) or Pool of the Notch (poll G: hole, pool; eag G: nick, notch, gap; Iain Fraser pers comm 1991)

Poll na Ban-tighearna (Sands 1878) The Lady's Pool (poll G: hole, pool; baintighearna G: lady, gentlewoman) (pp 65, 110, 431)

Rathad nan Each - a pass at the Cambir (MacGregor 1931) Track of the Horses or Path of the Horses (rathad G: road, way, path; each G: horse)

Stronabec? (Anon pre 1840) Small Point (sròn G: nose, promontory; beag G: little, short, small)

Tobar-Cholla (MacLean 1838) Tobar Cholla (Kennedy [1862] 1874) Coll's Well (tobar G: well, spring; and Coll) see Rudha Cholla and (pp 298-9)
Well of youth (Martin 1697) Well of youth (Atkinson 1831) Tobir na h’oige (MacGillivray 1842) Tobair na h’oige (Sands 1878) (tobar G: well, spring; òige G: youth) (p 304)

Uamh Baidh (Heathcote 1900 map) Cave of the Bay (uaimh G: cave, den; bàgh G: bay, harbour)

Uamh Cruaidh (Heathcote 1900 map) Difficult Cave (possibly the same as Geo Chruadalian) (uaimh G: cave, den; cruaidh G: hard, difficult, distressing)

Dun

Sean Tigh (Sands 1878) Old House (sean G: old, aged, ancient; taigh G: house)

Sgor (Connell 1887) Rock (sgor G: concealed rock jutting into the sea, steep slope on another hill)

Soay

Laidh (Heathcote 1900 map)

Blath Stac (Heathcote 1900 map) for Am Plastair

Boreray

Boreray Caolas: Sound of Boreray (Kennedy [1862] 1874)
Appendix 3

Copies of the original texts of songs, given in the order indicated in table 1 (p 443). Here only the published texts, Gaelic and English, are given, and they are reproduced as published. Occasionally MacKenzie gives alternative words, which are indicated by an *.

Copies of the music are reproduced at the end: only the earliest example of each tune is given.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Source 1853</th>
<th>Source 1802/18</th>
<th>Source 1804</th>
<th>Source 1818</th>
<th>Source 1830s</th>
<th>Source 1838</th>
<th>Source 1848</th>
<th>Source 1857</th>
<th>Source 1880</th>
<th>Source 1887</th>
<th>Source 1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Sann thall ann an Sòa*</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elegy by Christian Campbell</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lament for John of t. yellow hair</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach à Righ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S goirt a dh'fhairich mi bhliadh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S tric mi 'g amharc gach là</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha'n e uisge nan gleannnta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S tric mi amharc,'s gur cruaidh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nuair dh'halbh uait an todha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S mi gun suigeart's mi gun sòlas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S gur mise tha gu dubhach</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur mise tha fo ghruaím</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sann Di h-aoine roimh'n Dombnach</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'S mor a briseadh a dh'eirich</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is olc leam mar thachair</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bithidh mo brathair air thus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur a mise tha air mo chlisgeadh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tha mo cheist a Leodach</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha b'e Sgioba na faiche</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sann an caolas an lionaidh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Elegies**

- 'Sann thall ann an Sòa*
- Elegy by Christian Campbell
- Lament for John of the yellow hair
- Ach à Righ
- 'S goirt a dh'fhairich mi bhliadh
- 'S tric mi 'g amharc gach là
- Cha'n e uisge nan gleannnta
- 'S tric mi amharc,"s gur cruaidh
- 'Nuair dh'halbh uait an todha
- 'S mi gun suigeart's mi gun sòlas
- 'S gur mise tha gu dubhach
- Gur mise tha fo ghruaím
- 'Sann Di h-aoine roimh'n Dombnach
- 'S mor a briseadh a dh'eirich
- Is olc leam mar thachair
- Bithidh mo brathair air thus
- Gur a mise tha air mo chlisgeadh
- Tha mo cheist a Leodach
- Cha b'e Sgioba na faiche
- 'Sann an caolas an lionaidh

**Love Songs**

- Tha Fleasgach anns a' bhaile so*
- St Kilda Song*
- Love song by Marion Gillies*
- Iormar Hirteach
- Oran Luathaidh Iortach
- Oran Luaidh Iortach
- The St Kilda maid's song

**Religious Poems**

- Bha sgeuila air fhoillseachadh
- Ochoin a Thi nach foir thu mi
- Dia na gile, Dia na greine

**Various subjects**

- Nuallan na Calluinn
- Eala bhi
- Na Fir Chrotha
- Oran Iortach*
- Tobair nam Buadh (Maclain 1886)

---

MacDiarmid c.1770: Thomson 1992
Scots Mag 1802/1818: Leyden and Campbell 1802, Viator 1818
Carmichael 1860s: (1928, 1941, 1954)

Melodies: Atkinson 1831, f 73; MacDonald 1895, Appendix 24, 30
ORAN HIRTEACH
or an Elegiac ode, composed by a young woman in St Kilda
upon the loss of her husband

'Sann thall ann an Sòdhaigh dh'fhàg mi’n t-òg nach robh leum Nach, Làmh a dhèanamh na h-acfuinn 's a thoirt dachaigh na sprèidhe. 'S ge do chaiddh thu sa' chreag ud, cha b’e 'n t-eagal a leugh thu, 'Sann a rinn do chas straonadh, 's cha dh'fhéadh thu riamh èirigh. Bha t'fhuill air a’chlaich ud, bha do lot an dèidh leumadh; Bha thu muigh air bhàrr stuaighe, 's muir gad fhuasgladh o chèile. Nuair a thàinn’ do mhàthair, cha do chàirich i ’m brèid oirr’, Nuair a thàinn’ do phiuithar, bha sinn dubhach le chèile, Nuair a thàinn’ do bhràthair, cha do chumhaing e ’n èigheadh; Bha sinn dubhach is craiteach gad amharc an cèin uainn. A seachd beannachd nan càirdean, 's a lon làidir na feuma, Tha mo chuid-s’ do na h-eunaibh anns na neulaibh ag èigheadh, Tha mo chuid-s’ do na h-uighibh aig a’bhuidheann as treubhaich: 'Sann thall ann an Sòdhaigh dh'fhàg mi’n t-òg nach robh leum Nach.

Lon is a rope made of raw hides by the St Kildians. It is the most necessary and useful part of their furniture. A young woman, who is possessed of one, is reckoned well-portioned. In searching for fowls or eggs, one or two men take hold of one end of this rope, and another person is let down into the cliffs of the rocks by its other end.

Thomson 1991, 47 From an anthology compiled by Ewen MacDiarmid c.1770. MacDiarmid seems to have been interested in collecting Gaelic poems from at least as early as 1762. He was a native of central Perthshire and served, from 1771-2, as minister of the Gaelic Chapel of Ease, Ingram Street, Glasgow, briefly at Arrochar, and then in Comrie, Strathearn. He died November 1801. Thomson suggests that a possible source for this and other poems from Skye and Canna may have been Rev. William MacLeod, formerly minister of Bracadale in Skye and from 1767 of Campbeltown (Thomson 1991, 1-8) [MacLeod was minister Bracadale 1749-1767]
An Eighteenth Century Elegy

"Isabella the blue-eyed, why stands that tear within its' cell
Isabella, thou daughter of beauty, why are thine eyes fixed upon vacancy?

And what sounds dost thou listen for in the breezes of the mountain?
Iver was the pride of our isle, firm he trod the rock,
The crimson of the starfish shone on his cheek
And the yellow ringlets shaded his dark eye.
When we sailed for the island of the north
He was the first to plunge into the sea.

   Alone he dared to climb the rugged steep
And in vain the precipice slippery with the ooze of the ocean,
Protected the young gannet.

His step was rapid as the petterel's
And his voice was like the breezes of summer.
But the spirit of Iver fled,
No longer he joined the dance
And the music of his voice was hushed.

While the sun shone, his door was closed,
But the passer by heard from within the voice of sorrow.
The maidens gathered round him and would have aswaged his sorrow.
Isabella the blue eyed alone laughed at his woe,
she only refused the tear of pity.

When the storm howled and the ghosts danced in the air,
We have often seen him alone sitting upon the high rock,
We have marked him speaking to the white moon,
And caught his notes in the breezes of the night.
But when the sun rose or the storm was at an end
We have seen him returning wet with the spray of the ocean
The maidens gathered around him and
endeavoured to aswage his sorrow.

Isabella the blue eyed alone laughed at his woe,
But why does the tear stand within it's cell, why are her eyes fixed upon vacancy?

Or what sounds does she listen for in the breezes of the mountain.
The Cliffs of Soa are high and green sea washes their feet,
The sharp rock entered his bosom and the white waves shrouded his limbs,
The green turff was stretched over him and the grey stone raised to mark his head.
The yellow weed now decks his sod,
The maidens gathered round, each dropt a tear of pity.

Isabella the blue eyed alone laughed at his fate, but
his ghost now visits her in the storm
And she hears his groans in the pauses of the gale.
For this it is Isabella, the blue eyed, that the tear stands within its cell
For this it is thou daughter of beauty that thine eyes are fixed upon vacancy,
And these are the sounds that thou listenst for in the breezes of the mountain."

Campbell 1799, ff 53-56
St Kildan Elegy, by Rachel Maclver, a Widow, on the melancholy occasion of her only Son's being lost in the Isle of Soay.

Last Summer a-twelve-month left me sad and forlorn - the scramble for eggs caus'd all my woe and distress. In the Island of Soay, I left my dear love - I left the youth who was firm, who strengthen'd my weakness, and gather'd my sheep from the hill. In the cave that is narrow, thou wert left, my love, and mournful I stay behind.

The waves buffet thy body; thy limbs they tear and destroy. Curst be the cliff where thy feet lost their hold - Accurs'd be the rock where thy steps lost their way; and whence my beloved thou couldst not arise. The currents ran high, the billows dash'd on the rock, and the boat in the struggle was lost. I hate the frail planks, which denied me kindness. I hate the soft timber which withstood not the shock of the storm - I lost my sweet Iver: Ah! me, he'll never return. Thy mother can't see thee; thou canst not return to her arms: she cannot close thy eyes, nor draw the shroud on thy face.

My share of the eggs I shall never receive; the strong and alive will have them - for thou my son art gone! My share of the fowls now fly in the air - up to the clouds they ascend; there they sport and they flutter; but I am sad and forlorn! Thy mother's best blessings attend thy dear ghost - In the world everlasting may thy rest be serene. Thou wouldest not harrass nor distress; thou wouldest not come home with a lie.

At home or abroad, I had cause to be glad - thou wouldest not, dear son, disturb me; thy actions never merited shame. Thou art gone! lov'd Iver, bless sure is thy lot: Ah! me, I will remain behind.

Leyden, Scots Magazine December 1802, 976-977
Translated by the Rev. Alexander Campbell of Skye, collected by Lauchlan MacLeod, missionary on St Kilda, before 1800.
Cumha le mnaoi òig ann an Irt d'a fear fein a chailleadh ann an Sòa* 'nuair bha e 'g iaraidh
Eun 'measg nan Creag

'S ann thall ann an Sòa
D’fhág mi’n t-Og nach robh leumnach,
Làmh a dheanamh na h-acfhuinn
'S a thoirt dhachaidh na spreidhe.
Làmh a dheanamh, etc

'S ge do chaidh thu sa chreig ud,
Cha b’è’n t-eagal a leugh thu.
'S ann a rinn do chas sraonadh,
'S cha do d’fhéud thu riamh eirigh.

Bha t’fhuil aird chloich ud,
Bha do lot ann dèigh leumaidh.
Bha thu 'muigh air bhàr stuaighe,
'S muir ’gad thuasgladh o chèile.

'Nuair a thainig do mhàthair,
Cha do chàirich i’m breid oir.
'Nuair a thainig do phiuthair,
Bha sinn dubhach le cheile.

'Nuair a thainig do bhràthair,
Cha do chaomhinn ’e’n eughadh.
Bha sinn dubhach, as cràiteach,
Gad amharc ann cèin uainn.

A sheachd beannachd nan càirdean
'S a lon làdair na feuma.
Tha mo chuid-s’ de na h-eunaibh
Anns na neulaibh ag eughach.

Tha mo chuid-s’ de na h-uibhribh,
Aig a’bhuidhinn a’s treubhaich’.
'S ann thall ann an Sòa
D’fhág mi’n t-oig nach robh leumnach.


* A small island near St Kilda
Lon, a rope of raw hides, used by the St Kildians

Stewart and Stewart 1804, 508-9
CUMHA' LE MNOAI OIG ANN AN IRT

d'a fear fein 'a chaileadh ann an Soa
'nuair bha e 'g iaraidh ubhinn measg nan Creag

Gur a thall ann an Sòa,
D’fhàg mi’n t-Oganach clèusda’,
Urradh dheanadh mo thacar,
'Stabbhairt dhachaidh na spreidhe.

'S ge do chaidh thu sa chreig ud,
Cha b'è’n t-eagal a leugh thu.
'S ann a rin do chas sraonadh,
'S cha do d'fheud thu riamh èirigh.

Bha t'fhuil air a'chloich ud,
Bha do lot ann dèigh leumaidh.
Bha thu 'muigh air bhàr stuaighe,
'S muir 'gad thuasgladh' o chèile.

'Nuair a thàinig do mhàthair,
Cha do chàirich i'm breid oir.
'Nuair a thàinig do phiuthair,
Bha sinn dubhach le cheile.

'Nuair a thàinig do bhràthair,
Cha do chaomhainn è'n èughadh.
Bha sinn dubhach, a's cràiteach,
Gad amharc ann cèin uainn.

A sheachd beannachd nan càirdean
'S a lon làdair na feuma.
Tha mo chuid-s' de na h-eunaibh
Anns na nèulaibh ag eughach.

Tha mo chuid-s' de na h-uibhribh,
Aig a'bhuidhinn a's treubhaich'.
'S ann thall ann an Soa
D’fhàg mi’n t-Ognach clèusda'.

Soa, one of the islets of St Kilda
Lon, a rope or thong made of raw hides, used by the natives of St Kilda, while in the perilous search for eggs and feathers in the face of the rocks which overhang the Atlantic ocean.

Campbell 1818, 28-29
[Lament of a young married woman on the death of her husband, who was killed in falling over the rocks of Soa while in the act of searching for eggs.
Taken down by the Editor from the mouth of Margaret MacDonald, one of the domestics of Donald MacDonald, Esq. of Balranald, North Uist, in September 1815.]
Lament of a young married Woman
on the death of her Husband, who was killed in falling over the rocks of Soa while in the act of searching for eggs.

It was o'er in yon Soa
I left lately my dearest,
Who, in rural employ,
Was to excellence nearest.

He miss'd but a step,
And as lightning his motion,
He dash'd down yonder rock,
And his blood dy'd the ocean.

Unkerchief'd, thy mother
Appear'd in wild anguish;
Thy sister came weeping,
Together we languish.

Thy brother came mournful,
Nor lessen'd our wailing,
While afar we beheld thee
With tears unavailing.

Thou sevenfold blessing
Of thy much-lov'd kindred,
Who clung to thy lon,
Which from poverty hinder'd.

My share of the sea-birds
Now scream, on high thronging;
My portion of eggs
To the strongest belonging.

I left on yon Soa,
Him who late me protected:
'Reft of all, now, alas!
I'm forlorn and neglected.
Bliadhn' an t-samhradh-sa 'n uiridh,
Rinn na h-uibhean mo léireadh;
Gur ann thall ann an Soádh, dh'fhag
Mì 'n t-òg nach robh leumach.

Is tu nach falbhadh le m'fhacal,
Is tu nach innseadh na breugan;
Gur diombach do'n eug (mì)
Cha'n fhear gaoil domh fein e.

'N uair thug e uam Iomhar,
Fath mo mhisnich gu léir e;
Bidh mo chuid de na h-uibhean
Aig a'mhuinntir as tréine.

Bidh mo chuid de na h-ianaibh,
Anns na nialaibh ag eigheach;
Thu bhi muigh sa' gheodh' chuinge,
'S gur ciannail dubhach ad dhéidh mì.

Bha do buill' air a chloich ud,
'S bha do lot an deigh leum air;
Thu bhi muigh air na stuaidhan,
'S muir 'g ad fhuaasgladh o chèile.

'N uair thainig do phiuthar
Cha robh sin subhach le céile;
Cha tig thu gu d'mhathair
Gus càradh do léine.

Ach seach(d) beannachd do mhathar
'G ad chumail samhach ri cheile.

MacKenzie 1906, 339
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843
'S gur ann san t-samhradh a shiubhail
Rinn na h-uibhean mo léir-chreach,
'N uair a thugadh uam Iomhar,
Fath mo mhisnich gu léir e.

'S gur ann thall ann an Soádh
Dh'fhag mi('n) t-òg nach robh leumach;
Is tu nach falbhadh le m'fhacal
'S nach innseadh na breugan.

Thu bhi muigh sa' gheodh chumhainn,
Gur cianail dubhach ad dhéidh mi;
'S thu bhi muigh feadh nan stuadhan,
'S am muir 'g ad fhuasgladh o chéile.

Ach seach(d) beannachd do mhathar,
'G ad chumail samhach ri chéile;
Gu robh fhuil air a chloich ud,
'S lotan an déidh leum air.

'S gur diombach de 'n eug mi;
Cha chaomhail leam fein e;
Nach leig thu gu d'mhathair,
Gu i chàradh do lèine.

Bidh mo chuid de na h-eunaibh
Anns na neulaibh ag eigheach;
Is mo chuid de na h-uibhean
Aig a' bhuidhinn as tréine.

MacKenzie 1906, 339-340
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843
Dh’fhag mi thall ann a’ So’a,
Macan òg nach robh leumrach;
Thu bhi mach sa Gheo’-chumbann, [Gheo-chumbainn
Gur aonail dubhach nad dheigh mi!

Cha tig thu gud’mhàthair,
Ged is fail’neach a’leirsinn;
’Stu nach òladh le macaibh,
’Snach innseadh dhachaidh na breugan.

Dh’fhag thu d’fhuil air a cloich ud, [cloichna
Rinn do chorpan a reubadh;
’S fuar do leaba fo’n tuinne, [leabaidh fa’na tuinn
Stu nad spurt aig na beistean! [beisdean

MacLean 1838, 40-41;
Connell 1887, 154 repeats this with minor variations, together with a
version he collected himself.
Elegaic song sung by an old woman, Margaret MacLeod. It was composed
by a mother to an only son, who fell down the rock So’a, and was
killed. MacLean took down three verses of it.
Chaidh an Cumha so a dheanamh le mnaoi òig Hirteich d' a fear-pòsda; do' n do thachair dol leis a'chreig anns an robh e ag ianach ann an Sòthaidd, aon de na h-eileannan beaga, creagach, a tha laimh ri eilean Hirt; an t-aite anns an cùl a mi an luchd-seinn òran agus shalm, a's fonnmhoir, 'sa 's réidhe, 's a a's binne guth dheth na chuala mi riamh

D.R.M.

'S ann air tràigh eilean Shòthaidd
'Dh'fhàg mì mòganach glèusda;
Urra 'dheanadh mo thacar,
'S tabhairt dhachaidh na sprèidhe.

Fonn - Fàth mo dhìachainn 'mo leònaidh!
Mo chreach bhròin, 's mo chreach leòridh!
Mo chridh' adhalait' an dòlas,
Cha tog ceol, no cung leigh e.

Ged a thuit thu bho 'n chreig ud,
Cha b'e 'n t-eagl a léum thu;
'S ann a rinn do chas sraonadh,
'S cha do dh'fhaoad thu riamh éiridh

Dhòirteadh d'fhuil air a chloich ud,
Bha do lot an deigh léumadh,
Bha thu muigh air bhàrr stuaide,
'S muir ga d'fhuaasgladh bho chéile

Thàinig thugam do mhàthair,
Gun i 'chàradh a brèid oírr',
'S ruith do phiuthar 'n uair 'chual' i,
Ach b'fhad' uainn far an d' éug thu

'N uair a thàinig do bhràthhair,
B' àrd a ràin ga do léirsinn,
'S gath 'n ar cridhe ga shàthadh,
'Faicinn d' àmhghar an cén uainn.

'S e 'tha 'torradh mo thruaighe
Mar 'thuit fuear-bhùille 'n éig ort,
Gun neach fagus, a ghaoil, ort,
'Bheireadh faochadh 'n a d'fhéum dhut.

A sheachd beannachd nan càirdean,
'S a lon làdir na féuma
Tha mo chuid-sa de 'n ianlaith
Feadh na h-iarmailt ag éigheach

Tha mo chuid-s' dheth na h-uibhean
Aig a' bhuidhinn a 's tréubhaich';
Cha'n 'eil dhòmhs' ach 'bhi riaraicht'
Le cruaidh dhioghlum na h-éiginn.
Eòin nan spéur, 's iasg nan cuantan,
Leam bu shuarrach gu léir iad,
Na 'm biodh laimh rium mar 'b'àbhaist
Pearsa ghràidh fir mo spèise.

Ach cha ghluais guth mo bhròin-sa
Dhachaidh beò thu gu d' chéile -
'S ann air tràigh eilean Shòthaideh
'Dh'fhàg mi m' òganach gléuada.

D.R.M. 1876, 54
(The Widow’s Lament)

Gur ann thall ann an Soa
Dh fhag mi ’n t-og nach robh leumrach
Fear nach fhalbhadh le m’fhacal
’S nach innseadh dhachaidh na breugan.

Bethedh mo chuid de na h-eunlaithibh
’S an iarmailt ag èigheach
Bithidh mo chuid de na h-uidhean
Aig a bhuidhiann as treuna.

’Sa sheachd beannachd aig do mhathair
Ga d’chumail sàmhach ri chèile
Thu bhith muigh fo na stuaisdhibh
Agus a mhuir ga d’fhuasgladh ochèile.

Cha tig thu gu d’mhàthair
Gu càradh do léine
Thu bhith muigh ’s a Gheo-chumhainn
Gur cianail dubhach na d’ dhéigh mi.

Connell 1887, 152-153
Recorded by Connell in 1886 from the widow of Donald MacQueen (Kirsty Gillies, aged 75 in 1886). "The Widow’s Lament" as my informant called the song, is supposed to be very old. It expresses the feelings of a widowed mother at the loss of a favourite son on the cliffs of Soa.
A St Kildan Elegy, by Christian Campbell,
a young Woman, whose Husband, soon after their Marriage,
fell over a Rock and was Drowned

Alas! I am sad: sorrow overwhelms me; my strength fails; I cannot climb the higher grounds. I have lost my delight! my mind is oppress'd; my spirit is heavy, and my pipes are not in tune. I knew thee well at a distance - thy cheeks were blooming; thy beautiful locks in curling ringlets hung.

Alas! that I was not near thee, when the note loosen'd and thy hold gave way - I would fly with a rope to thy aid. Tho' my joints were lengthen'd, I would strive to relieve you; I would strive to relieve you unless my body would fail. Though not tall from earth, I delight to see thee - I would love thee more than a tacksman, though no cattle were counted for thee. Though distress'd by hunger, I fear'd not thy return with the night, no angry reproachful words flow'd from thy lips to my harm.

How painful, alas! is my moan; though painful and thrilling I must bear with my lot. I must bear with my lot, though the darts, all afflicting, should penetrate and pierce my soul.

Though not tall in thy stature, thou wert handsome and lovely. Well could I know thee alone collecting the fuel for fire: - Alas! lonely and mournful at home, I weep and lament my fate. I am not single in sorrow - many women are afflicted with me.

Could I get them to purchase, you would not want linen or clothes - for beneath the sun I saw none I could compare with my love, and for him I would like to provide. Though thy years were few, thy labours in spring were immense; and great was thy strength to carry the burden and creel. When fatigued with the toil of the day, I retire alone to my bed. Ah! wet is my pillow; in copious floods my tears of sorrow fall. But 'tis God who afflicts me - beneath his rod of affliction I groan.

I will praise the Almighty, who thus pains and afflicts me, above what I knew when a maid - above what I knew, when a girl without thought, I heedless sported along.

Leyden, Scots Magazine December 1802 976-977
Translated by the Rev. Alexander Campbell of Skye, collected by Lauchlan MacLeod, missionary on St Kilda, before 1800.
Lament, composed by a disconsolate Father, from under whose foot, while catching Solan Geese, along with his two sons, a piece of rock gave way, and killed one of them.

John, of the light yellow hair, well couldst thou climb the rocks; firm were thy steps on the lofty cliffs of St Kilda. Thy death bereft me of comfort; my support is lost; my strength hath mournfully failed. Thou art silent, my son! Though thy wounds were deep, I heard not thy moan. Woe to me; thou couldst not complain. I laid my hand on thy bruised body; alas, it was lifeless and cold.

Thou stood'st on the tottering crag behind me. I shook with terror lest thy feet might fail, - often did I turn, and beheld thy steps with fear; - the slippery rock was unsteady, and my pain was increased. He was skilful in every useful work - mighty was his strength, and his hands well formed for labour. Great cause have I to be sad; I grieve because he can never arise. As I looked around, the cliffs had a threatening aspect, - dark rolled the waves below, and gloomy was the face of the sea. Sorrow clouded my sight, - grief sorely stung my soul, - with the throbbing of fear I started; - I dreaded my all was gone, and that I was left to bewail their fate in anguish.

John! thick grew the fair locks on thy head! The sight of thy father rejoiced thee, - strong was thy arm to support him, - thou wouldst never leave him, - his absence gave pain to thy heart. Thy brows were never seen to lower, nor did anger ever frown on thy face. Thou wert faithful to me, my son! Dreadful was the fatal hour which ended the course of thy life, - never can I cease to lament! Dreadful was the force of the stone that fell, - it rushed down with a tremendous noise. Unhappy that I am, my foot moved it from its place! It struck at once my beloved son, - it overwhelmed the strength of the brave. But thou art in peace,- I am sad, and alone.

'Viator', Scots Magazine March 1818, 242-242
Translated by the Rev. Alexander Campbell of Skye, collected by Lauchlan MacLeod, missionary on St Kilda, before 1800. Composed 'not many years' before 1800.
Ach (a) Righ, 's goirt mo thuireadh,
Ged 's goirt, 's eigin domh fhulang,
Ged dh'fhalbh mo chràobh mhullaich féin.

Thug sud leagail air m'inntinn,
'S chaidh mo bheadradh a dhìth orm,
'S truime m'inntinn na piob chaidh gun ghleus.

Is nach mi bh'air do chùlaibh,
An uair dh'fhàilig do dhùirn thu,
Agus acfhuinn lan lùis bhi 'n ad dhéidh.

'S mi chuireadh ri t'fhasdadh,
No dhiobradh mo pearsa,
Is cha bhitheadh deò neirt agam féin.

Na h-earb* a gaol an fhir-phòsda; [Na creid
Ach dealachadh cho òg,
Rinn mo chridhe leonadh gu m'eug.

Ge nach b'ard thu o'n talamh,
Bu docha leam na fear-baile thu,
Ged bhitheadh tu falamh o spreidh.

Ge nach b'chraobh a bha àrd thu,
Bu chraobh mhaith a chum stà thu,
Dh'aitnishinn thu a(n) gàradh leat fein.

Gur flìuch cluasag mo leapa,
An déidh mo chur 's mi tìgh'n dachaidh,
'S iomadh té bha 'n a dalta dhomh féin.

MacKenzie 1906, 329-330
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
By a woman to her husband, who lost his life by falling over the rocks when in search of birds.
Bheir mi toiseach mo thuiridh
Dha mo chuileana gaolach;
An dithis bha tapaidh,
'S a bha air leacaig 'n an sineadh.
Cha 'n e clann rinn mi fhagail,
Ach fir dhaicheil dheas dhireach;
Gu ma geal a gheibh 'n anam
Ann gleannan na saorsa.
Fhir nach (dh')bhagair mo bhualadh,
'S nach chuir grualmean air m'inntinn,
Dh'aithnichinn t'iomram air bata
Tigh 'n far thonnan a chaolais.
'G a iomradh 's 'ga eigheach,
'S tu bu bhinn leam bhi 'g eisdeachd;* [cluinntinn
'S mor bha theist aig an tuath ort,
'S bu tu ruagair' nan caorach.
Dh'aithnichinn bris-cheum do choise,
'S bu leat an toiseach a dheanamh;
Gun luadh air m'oganach tapaidh
B'e fath nan creach thu bhi dhith.
Chaill do mhathair a fradharc,
'S chaidh a roghainn a dhith orra;
Chuir thu moille air a h-astar
'S cha dirich cas-bheinn an fhraioch i.

MacKenzie 1906, 330
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Elegy made by a woman here to her husband and brother who were lost together in the rocks. Her name is 'Marad Ni'n Ruairi Mhoir'.
'S goirt a dh’fhairich mi bhliadhna,
'S cha b’e biadh a bha ’n aire orm;
Cha b’e crodh air na blàraibh,
Ged a dhràbhadh iad seachad.
Ach mì bhi ’g amharc, ’s gur cruaidh,
Far na sguabadh a mach sibh;
Ach gur muladach tha mì
Ann am 'àros, ’s tha sac orm.
’S gu bheil mise fo mhi-ghean,
’S mi dìreach na cas-bheinn.

MacKenzie 1906, 331
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Poem made by the widow of a man called Somerled (Somhairle) after his death, which took place one evening as he and his daughter intended to watch the Lamhaidh. As they passed a ledge, a wave swept them both into the deep.
'S tric mi 'g amharc gach là,
A ruin, an roilig do bhàis
'S ann a muigh air an tràigh chaidh cunnart oirbh.

Thu bhi muigh gu fliuch fuar
Ann an lomall a'chuaín
'S gu 'n ann a t'fhardaich, a luaidh, an fuireachd ort.

Do chlann bheag air mo sgàth,
'S nach urr' iad do stà,
Bhi 'g an iomain gu càch, gur duilig leam.

Co sheall anns a' ghréin,
No cheangail oirre bréid,
Nach bitheadh mo sgeula duilig leatha?

Bhi faicinn an t-sliochd,
Rinn i arach fo crios,
Aig tè eile gum mhios, gur duilig leatha.

Lamh deanaimh an stà,
Thoirt an fhraoich chum an làir,
Cha bhiodh tu a d'thàmh, 's cha b'fhurasd' leat.

Lamh deanaimh nan cruach
'S a cheangal nan sguab,
'S tu nach leigeadh orm cruas, 's bu duilig leat.

Ormsa thainig a 'chlaoidh,
'S cha b' e roinn chur a m' mhaoín,
So tha mise 'g a caoidh, gu muladach.

MacKenzie 1906, 331-332
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Elegy made by the widow of a man called Somerled, who together with
his daughter was swept off a ledge to his death, after the death of
her second husband, who was drowned in the loch when attempting to
land with a swell on the shore.
Cha ’n e uisge nan gleannta
Dh’fhag mo cheann-sa cho tinn;
Ach na thriall uam dhachaidh
Air an astar nach till.

Cha ’n ann chionn mi ’g a ràdh,
Tha meur an t-snath orm a dhith;
Cha deach cist’ ort no anart,
Ach filleadh tana gun dion.

Ged bhiodh fuachd ann is frasan,
Cha ruig thu fasgadh mo thaoibh;
Seachd beannach(d) do mhàthar
’G ad chumail sàmhach, a laoigh.

Ach a Thi na leig uait mi
Ged sguabadh tu mi.

MacKenzie 1906 332
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Composed by ...on the death of her daughter.
'S tric mi 'g amharc, 's gur cruaidh leam,
Far na sguabadh a mach thu;
Far na choinnich an t-aog thu,
'S nach do fhaod thu tigh 'n dhachaidh.

Chaidh mi 'n iomall nan càirdean,
'S tha mis' an dràst gun chul-taice;
'S gur maír g ni bun as an t-saoghal,
Ged chinneadh caoirich is mairt leis.

B'fhearr bhi tric air na gluinibh
Gul an urnuigh bheir ceart leis,
Na bhi le* moit no le* ardan,
Chuir Dia mu lar e 's bu cheart sin.

Fhuair mi roimhe('n)tùs mòig' e
'M fleasgach ..... a bha tapaidh;
Is o nach b'airidh mi fein air,
Thug Mac Dhe uam e dachaidh.

MacKenzie 1906 332-333
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Elegy composed by Mairi Ni'n Shomhairle to a man who went out to waylay the Lâmhaidh, and was precipitated into the sea and drowned.
'N uair dh'fhalbh uait an todha,
'S nach robh mo lo(mha)in ri feum dhuit,
Chaill mi iuchair mo dhoruis,
Is pairt dh'onoir mo cheud ghraidh;
Chaill mi'n stiuir bha air m'far(d)aich,
Is cuid am bàta an aite eigheach;
Chaill mi cearcall-èarraich mo thighe,
Is m'alghear gu leir leat.

'N uair thilleas mi dachaidh
0 thional eunlaidh is uibhean;
Gun tein' gun lòn air mo chionn,
'N uair thig mi á eilean;
Cha choinnich (thu) air traigh mi,
Is bidh mo chridhe bristeadh
A' faicinn mo phàisdean.

MacKenzie 1906, 333-334
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Verses made by a man here to his wife who lost her life in Congar. Her husband, having laid snares for the fulmar, went away with the boat to Boreray. On their return, they saw on object on the sea, below where he laid the snares, which they took to be a drowned sheep, and which they passed as the swell would not permit them easily to go where it was. When they were approaching the shore he was singing a song which he composed on the death of a son who lost his life by falling off a horse which was frightened by foolish boys. The name he gave to the verses he called 'Iorram na Truaighe'. His brother, observing that his wife was not down with the other wives as she was wont to be, said to him, 'I am afraid that you never had reason to sing Iorram na Truaighe till now.' The suspicion was too true. The object they took to be a sheep was his own wife.
MacKenzie 1906, 334
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Verses composed on the following occasion. A man and his son went to
the Dùn in spring to waylay the Làmhaidh. The son was below in the
rock and the father on the end of the rope above. Being encumbered by
the rope he put it off. These birds come in a body. In his eagerness
to catch one going away he overbalanced himself and fell into the sea.
His poor father saw him struggling with the billows till his strength
failed, when he sank to rise no more. His mother made the poem.
"S gur mise tha gu dubhach
0 shiubhail an t-aon la;
0 chaill mi mo phiuither
A bha gu subhach 's gu faoilidh;
Bha gu miseach ciatach,
Bha gu fialaidh ro'dhaoine.
Cha leig mis' thu air di-chuimhn'
Ged liathainn san t-saoghal.
0 dh'halbh a d'mhnaoi oig thu,
'S e mo bhron-sa mar thachair,
'S cha'n 'eil deò ann an sheorsa (?)
Mar tha smuaintean a' bhàis,
H-uile là tigh'n a steach orm.
Chaidh mi'n iomall nan càirdean,
0 là chàradh an leac ort.
Chi thu, 'Righ, mar tha mise,
'S mi 'g am chlisgeadh 's 'g am chiùradh;
Mar tha mi 'g ionndrainn na gibe ud
Tha fo'n lic air a dunadh.
Chaidh mi 'n iomall nan càirdean,
Mar tha 'm bàs air mo spùilleadh;
'S tric 'n am chridhe-sa sàthadh,
'S e mo bhrathair-sa b'fhiù sud.
Bu tu sguid-fhear na guaille,
An am gluasad a'bhàta,
Le ar ruigheachd a'chruaidheachd,
Bhiodh tu shuas air ramh-bràghad;
'S gu'm (bu) bhinn thu gu éigheach,
An às eirigh na bàirinn.
Bha thu foinnidh, deas, treubhach,
Gur maireg céil' rinn thu fhagail.
Gnìos an aigh, cha bu bheag orm
Thu thigh'n thugam air chéilidh;
Mar bu mhiannach leam tachairt,
Thu thigh'n dachaithd là féille.
Bu tu an solu(s) ro' d' chairdean,
'S mor a'bhearn thu 'g an treigsinn,
Och is Och! mar a tha mi
'S mi 'g 'ur n-àireamh le chéile.

MacKenzie 1906, 334-335
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.
Lines composed by Anna nighean Fhionnlaidh mhic Dhomhnail, to the memory of her brother and sister who died within a short time of one another.
RINNEADH AM MARBH-RANN SO LEANAS LE BEAN
ARAIDH AIR BAS A FIR

Gur mis’ tha fo ghruaím;
’S tric snidh’ air mo ghruaídh;
Cha chaidil mi uair gun dùsgadh.

Lamh a dheanadh an stà,
Bu mhaith t’fheum anns gach àit,
Cha bu lapach an dàil na tùirn thu.

Mi ri amhairc leam fhéin,
Do chuid uidheam ri stéil,
Lamh deanaimh an fheum gun dùil ris.

’S an tulach ud shuas,
Chuir mi m’aighear ’s mo luaidh,
Fo lic dhainginn nach gluais ’s nach tionndaidh.

Ciste chaol an da thaoibh,
Chuir mi lasaich* chuim, [lasgaidh
Nach fidir thu caoidh no ionndrainn.

Mo thraighe mi féin!
Gun hear-tighe ’n ad dheidh,
Gur dubhach tha céis do ghiúlain.

Gu’n dhubb sud mo ghruaídh,
’S cha till thu a d’shnuadh,
Chaoimh-fhir a bha suaire a d’ghiùlan.

Ach a Thi as mor gloir,
Neartaich fein a shlochd òg,
Tha gun taice gun sgòrradh cúil.

’S tric mi smuaineach leam fhéin
Air grad theachd mhic Dhé,
’S a ghiorrad gus (’n) éigin cunntas.

Mackenzie 1906, 335-336
Recorded by Neil Mackenzie between 1829 and 1843.
This elegy was made by a certain woman on the death of her husband.
'S anns san tulaich ud shuas
Chuir mi m'aighear 's mo luaidh
Fo lic dhainge an nach gluais 's nach tionndaidh
Gur ann an ciste chaoil an dé thaobh chuir mi tasgadh mo chúim
Cha'n fhidir thu caoidh no ionndrain.

Mi faicinn leam féin
Do chuid uidheam ri stéidh
Làmh a dheanamh an fheum gun dùil ris
Làmh an t-sonais 's an àigh
Bu mhaith d'fheum anns gach àit
Cha bu lapach thu 'n dail na tuirneil.

Ach a Thi 's mòr glòir
Noartaich Fèin an sliochd òg
Gun tacsu 's gun sgòra cuil riu
'S mi faicinn leam fèin feartan Mhic Dhe
'S a ghorrad gus an pill sinn cumntas.

Connell 1887, 157
Nothing is known about the authorship of this lament, but it is believed to be very old.
'S ann Di-h aoine roimh 'n Domhnach,  
Fhuair sinn sgeula gun sòlas  
Bhi caoidh a fhir orduitd(?)  
Thug deoir air mo ghruidh.

'S truagh nach mi bh'air ceann t'acair  
'N uair chaidh thu as t'fhacail (fhacil?);  
Dheanaimh dichioll (air) t'fhasdadh,  
Gu do sheachnadh o'n uair.

Tha do phaisdean gun taice,  
A chuid tha làidir is lag dhuibh,  
Ma chas deannadh an tapaidh,  
'S nach bu la pac sa' ruagadh.

Tha do bhean air a ciùrradh,  
O beulaobh 's o culpaobh,  
'S i bhi caoidh a fir ducaich (?),  
Dh'fhalbh a cuid as gach uair.

Mo cheist, colann na ceille,  
'S e do bheul nach robh breugach,  
O! 's tu nach labhradh na breugan,  
'S tu nach labhradh a'cheilg.

(Ach go ro-bheusach suairce)  
Brathair mo mhathar,  
A ghortaich 's a chràidh mi,  
Bidh a m'fhaire gu brath thu,  
Gus a(n) càirear mi's uain.

MacKenzie 1906, 338-339  
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843.  
Elegy on the death of Neil MacDonald, who lost his life by falling  
over a rock when killing the fulmar, by a female relation of his own.
'S mor a(m) briseadh a dh’ eirich,
Dh’ fhairich sinne gu leir e,
Ceann ar Creidimh air eugadh,
'S nach 'eil slàn e.

'N àm bhi dunadh do chiste,
'S a bhi togail do lice,
Bha na fir air droch mhisnich,
Bhi 'g ad fhàgail.

Is ann bhiodh thu s(a’) chlosaid,
A’ leughadh ’n ad aonar;
Thug thu t’uidh* d’Ti mhor ud,
              [for aigne
              B’e ro fhearr leat.

'N uair thigeamaid dhachaidh,
'M beul na h-oidhche 's sinn acrach,
Bheireadh tu nasgaithd
   An gràine dhuinn.

B’e sud ceann a(n) rheumaich,
'S nan diolachà déirce;
'S tric fheasdaill thu fein e,
'S gun e t’airidh.

Sud m’athchuing’ air Criosd
Do chlann dhol air éiridh (?),
'S gu’n dean iad tolinntinn
   Do do ghràdhaig.

---

MacKenzie 1906, 340-341
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843
Composed by Christian Gillies on the death of Mr MacLeod, missionary,
St Kilda, the grandfather of the present proprietor (1843).
Is olc leam mar thachair,
Ceile mo leapa
Air a ghlasadh gun airidh (?)

Their gach te rium ni mo ruigheachd
Gur ro-righinn leam fein t'eirigh;
Cha dh'fhéithe fhada is tha mi,
Am luidhe a taobh a tighe gun eirigh.

Cha dean leighean slàn mi,
Ged do bhiodh làmh rium na ceudan:
'S ann tha mo dhuil a dhol dachaidh,
Gu meach'nais a(n) Dé mhoir.

'S gur truagh nach taitneadh mo hheus riut,
Cha dh'theid a fhalach an cóil mi,
Is mo dhroch chuis dhomh 'g a stéidheadh.

MacKenzie 1906, 341
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843
The following fragment was composed by a female called Cathrin Og
(elsewhere said to be the woman who composed the verses on Mr MacLeod), about sixty years ago.
Bithidh mo bhrathar air thus
   Gu bu chomain sud dhuin
   Gu bu shilteachd do shuil mam chradh.

D' e cha deach mi steachd
   Sann a ghaoil na do theach
0 la thugadh tu mach as marbh.

Mi mam Dhomhul ur og
   Bheathaich mi thu gle og
Gur e Ruaire thug bron seach cach.

MacKenzie 1906 341-342
Found with Neil MacKenzie's papers, but not in his handwriting.
This elegy was made by a certain woman who was in the place, whose
name was Anne daughter of Ludovick (Maoldonuich) to her brother and
her two sons.
Gur a mise tha air mo chlisgeadh
Smi ri leughadh do litreach
Gad a ghleidh mi mo ghibtean
Fhuair mi fios air a bhron.

Tha mo cheist an tog speiseil
Cha do rinn thu riamh eucoir
Bu tu beannachd na feumach
A reir sna bha d’bhoca.

Tha mo cheist an tog fearlail
Stric a fhuair mi cheanal
Agus seudan gun da cheanach
On fhear tha Shiol Leoid.

Co bhean no co mhathair
Rinn gillean riamh arach
Nach creid mar a tha mi
Smi air fagail mo dheo.

MacKenzie 1906, 342
Found with Neil MacKenzie’s papers, but not in his handwriting.
Tha mo cheist a Leodach
Ga math gha tig a cota
Na fhuair mi gha do sholos
Na aobhar broin domh tras.

Lamh gheal bu mhaith gu sgriobha
Gu m-aluin as a rile thu
Nam tarruing dhuit na file
Co t-aon neach bheireadh barr ort.

Gur mise mhathair mhuladach
Commhuidh ris an turaman
Smuaineachadh air m uireasaibh
Thuit buileach orm a garadh.

Cha gharadh a rinn clachairean
Dh'aireamh mi san fhacal ud
Ach aileachd na fear mhaiseach
Chuir mi tasgaidh uam a caradh.

MacKenzie 1906, 342
Found among Neil MacKenzie’s papers but not in his handwriting.
This elegy was made by the same woman to the same man; this refers to other verses on p 342.
CHA B'E SGIÖBA NA FAICHE

Cha b'e sgioba na faiche
Ghabh Di-Ciadaoín an t-aiseag:
Gura sgeula nan creach mura beò sibh.

Gur h-e chum sibh cho fad uam
Am muir ard 's a' ghaoth chas oirbh,
Chor 's nach d'fhaod sibh a' cheartair thoir seòl dhi.

Gur h-e turas gun bhuanachd
Thug air falbh an duin uasal
Gus an aon mhac thoir uamsa 's o Dhomhnall.

Dh'fhalbh mo mhac 's mo thrúir bhràithrean,
Aon mhac peathar mo mhàthar,
Sgeul is cruaidh' thig no thàinig, m'fhear pòsda.

'S e chuir mi tharraing na luatha
'S a thoir treis air an ruamhar
Na fir a bhith uam 's gun bhrath beò orr.

Mi gun sùgradh gun mhire
Am shuidh air urlar a'ghlinne;
Tha mo shùilean a' sileadh, 's tric deòir orr.

Carmichael 1941, 112-113
Eighteen men of the people of north St Kilda went to Boreray to fetch wethers. They were eighteen weeks storm-stayed in Boreray. There was left at home in St Kilda only one man called Calum (Malcolm). The woman of the island were so displeased with Calum that they were making tunes and verses and songs to him, one woman putting him down and another bringing him up, one woman dispraising him and another praising him.
It was no crew of landsmen

It was no crew of landsmen
Crossed the ferry on Wednesday:
'Tis tidings of disaster if you live not.

What has kept you so long from me
Is the high sea and the sudden wind catching you,
So that you could not at once give her sail.

'Tis a profitless journey
That took the noble man away,
To take our one son from me and from Donald.

My son and my three brothers are gone,
And the one son of my mother's sister,
And, sorest tale that will come or has come, my husband.

What has set me to draw ashes
And to take a spell at digging
Is that the men are away with no word of their living.

I am left without fun or merriment
Sitting on the floor of the glen;
My eyes are wet, oft are tears on them.
"S ann an caolas an lionaidh
A bhual Dia am Fear-gleidhidh
Mhòr thu [two complete lines forgotten]
(Cha'n è m'athair no mo bhràthair,
No na dh'fhag mi do chloinn òg
Chuir falt mo chinn anns na tollaibh
Air a lomadh gun fheoil)

Cha'n è curam an fhearainn
Chuir an t-eallach mòr s'orm
Mi smuainicheadh a cheangal
"S e bàs Iain a rinn falbh
Ged a bhitheadh tu gun dinneir
"S tu nach innseadh e orm
Cha'n è iomairidh na spréidhe
Chuir na deòir so gu m'shròn.

Connell 1887, 156-157
These verses were composed, it is said, by a St Kilda woman who lived several generations ago. Her husband, the "John" of the poem, set out one night with his father and a boy for Caolas an Dun to catch guillemots. The father lowered his son and the boy to the crevice or Sgor, where they were to await the return of the guillemots at dawn. There being only one rope, John, the elder of the two, generously gave the use of it to the boy, who was less experienced. When the dawn broke, the guillemots alighted on the rock in great numbers, but the boy being unable from his inexperience to kill any, John stretched himself over a ledge to do the work himself. He fell into the sea a great depth below, and was drowned.
ORAN IRTEACH

Tha fleasgach anns a' bhaile so
Ris an can iad Dònall,
'S nam faigheadh e saoghal
Gu'n saothraichedh e mòine.

Inn ala o ro i, o ro i al ala,
Inn ala o ro i, uru rui, uru i,
Inn ala o ro i, o ro i al ala.

Gu d'thugainnse comhairl' ort,
Nan gabhadh tu uam i,
Bhi gu h-éalamh misneachal
Ag dol am measg nan gruagach

Inn ala etc.

Ge do bhiodh tu bruithinn rium
'S a' briotas rium 'an cómhuidh,
Cha d' thugadh tu na h-uibhean domh
'Nuair shuidheadh tu Di-dònach.

Inn ala etc.

'S truagh nach 'eil mo leannans'
Ann an iochdar Leac-na-gàdaig,
Aicinn air a smioradh air
Is mise bhi gu h-àrd oírr'

Inn ala etc.

Gillies 1786, 47-8
In Our Ain Clachan Lives a Youth

Tha fleasgach anns a' bhaile so.
Ris an can iad Dònall
'S nam faigheadh e saoghal
Gu'n saothraicheadh e moine
Inn ala oro i, o inn al ala
Inn ala oro i, uru ru i uru ru i
Inn ala oro i, o inn al ala

Ge do bhiodh tu bruithinn rium,
'S a briotas rium 'an còmhnaidh,
Cha tugadh tu na h-uidhean domh,
'Nuair shuidheadh tu Di-dònach

'Struagh nach eil mo leannans',
Ann an iochdar Leac-na-gàdaig,
Acfhùinn air a smioradh air,
Is misi bhi gu h-ard oírr.

In our ain clachan lives a youth
Whose crackin maks me weary.
He'll keep his eggs aye to himsel,
But ca's me his ain deary.

My lad is gifted wi' the gab,
His tongue it winna weary:
It's lang ere gabbin clears a rent,
But he'll ca' me his deary.

My Donald will perform sic feats,
The thochts o't maks me cheery;
Wi' open mou' and closed fists,
This hero is my deary,

0 for a tow a mile in length,
I wad suspend my deary;
I'd fling him frae the eagles's crag,
And duck him till he's weary.

I think I see my Donald Du
As he draps frae the eyrie;
I doot your gabbin will be sma',
When ye win up, my deary

Dun 1848, 18-19
St Kilda Song

By the stream so cool and clear,
And thro’ the caves where breezes languish,
Soothing still my tender anguish,
Hoping still to find my lover,
I have wander’d far and near,
O where shall I the youth discover

Sleeps he in your breezy shade,
Ye rocks with moss and ivy waving,
On some bank where wild waves laving,
Murmur through the twisted willow;
On that bank, O were I laid,
How soft should be my lover’s pillow!

Johnson, James, 'The Scots Musical Museum' 1853 Vol II, 250 no 241
originally the 'Scots Musical Museum' was published between 1787 and 1803, vol II in 1788, Vol IV in 1792.
Vol IV, 225 Notes: This song is a translation, by Mr MacDonald, of a favourite Gaelic song sung by the natives of St Kilda, the most remote of the Western Isles of Scotland, to the same air which is inserted in the Museum. Mr Charles Stewart reprinted the words and music from the Museum, in the second volume of his Vocal Miscellany, published in 1798
Additional notes by the Editor, David Laing, Vol IV 1853, p 307-8
The translator, or author of this song, is Andrew MacDonald, son of George Donald, a gardener near Leith, where he was born in 1757. Studied at University of Edinburgh, received deacon’s orders in the Scottish Episcopal Church, added ‘Mac’ to his name. For some time he was minister of an Episcopal chapel in Glasgow, but the congregation was not able to support him, and he finally settled in London, where he died in 1790.
This song by him was published in 'The Miscellaneous Works of A. MacDonald; including the Tragedy of Vimonda, and those productions which have appeared under the signature of Matthew Bramble, Esq.' London, 1791, 123
I love the youth whose locks are brown; great is the love I bear to him. I gave him a kiss in the evening; ah! how he then embraced me. Happy indeed was our meeting, though revilers make free with our fame. Is it wonderful that I should rejoice? Good cause have I to be gay since first the youth beheld me, - since the day he gave me his heart, and promised his faithful love. His ribbands stream on my shoulders, - they brightly encircle my head, and bind in ringlets my hair. Amazing is my love for the youth, - it exceeds what my song can unfold. Who in dress can be like him? well it suits his stately form. Pleasant, my beloved, were thy witty sayings; Oh, how I rejoiced in thy mirth! - To thine the jests of others were trifles, -'tis with thee I would love to be gay; - I detest them who hearken; - I hate all who listen and tell. They delight to defame, - scandal is for ever their theme, but I can free thee, my darling, I can free thee from their spiteful malice, and the evil reports which they have spread; - I disdain their wicked tales, and despise their taunts. Thou wouldst not offer to hurt me, - thy pleasure was not to do harm, but to solace and gladden my bosom with the joys and raptures of love. Were I blest with the power of writing, I would soon send to ------- a letter, to tell my love of my state, and inform him how every tongue speaks to his undoing and mine. But he comes with revenge, - he comes, and they are silent; unbounded is the love I bear to thee, the youth I admire; - I do not always proclaim it, yet it dwells warm in my heart, where it glows with unceasing regard. With thee I would fly through the world. When shall I hear from my love, - when will he rush to my arms? Though I had for my portion all the riches possessed by the wealthy son of Bernera, I could yield it all for thee, and be happy, - I would yield it, my dear, to live with thee in a desert, where no step could approach us, and no voice of man could be heard.

Though I delight to be merry, I will henceforth shun the young men. He who has wooed and won me; to him I will be faithful. I will not join in their follies, - no more rejoice in their sports. Angus descended from the tribe of Gillies. Angus of the dark brown locks, once I was thought to be thine, nor did I spurn at thy suit. But he, my beloved, came from his Isle; I will listen no more to thy voice.

Sad am I on the hill; - I view with sorrow the deep, - with melancholy steps I slowly descend the glen, when I think of the youth I love. Oh how sweet were his lips! - how pleasant his speech; - his words must be true, - falsehood cannot dwell in his heart. Great, mighty, my beloved, is the affection I bear thee; who does not know my love? I know our hearts burn with a mutual flame. Ah! if they keep us asunder, - if wedlock join not our lots, hard then is our destiny, - cruel, too cruel our fate. They will treat us without mercy; - what will become of me! Save me, my love! Defend me from shame! Come, Oh hasten to my arms!

'Viator', Scots Magazine March 1818, 241-242
Translated by the Rev. Alexander Campbell of Skye, collected by Lauchlan MacLeod, missionary on St Kilda, in 1799 or 1800. The gentleman was Robert Campbell of Shawfield and Islay (1775-1814).
Oig-fhear a chùl duinn!
fear dh’n d’thug mi loin ro mhòr:
Dhùraichd in dhuit pòg san anamoch,
ged bhi’ cùch ga sheanchas oirn:
Oig-fhear a chùl duinn!
fear dha’n d’thug mi loin ro mhòr:
Cha’n ioghnadh mise bhi uallach
’on a thainig an duin’uasal;
Tha do ribinin mun cuairt dhomh,
cumaidh iad mo ghruaig air doigh.
Oig-fhear a chùl duinn!
fear dha’n d’thug mi loin ro mhor

Campbell 1818, 90-91
The set of the air was noted down from the singing of Miss MacLeod of Roudle, in Harris, September 1815, and she learned it from a St Kilda woman, who composed verses to suit the melody, one of which is given. [Campbell prints further verses which were written for his book.]
'Gu robh Iain Mac Gilliosa
Uair is uairigin a liobh rium,
Ach o'n thain a t-Iarl a Ile
Sguiridh e dha bhriodal beoil.'

John the son of Gillies
Was time and times endearing me,
But since the Earl has come from Islay
He will cease beguiling me.

Carmichael 1928; 319
This beautiful song and air were composed by Marion Gillies, a St Kilda maiden. The people of the Isles say that she was the most beautiful woman they ever saw.
LUINNEAG IORTACH

Cha 'n ioghnadh mise 'bhi uallach,
0 na thainig an duin' uasal,
Tha do ribeanan mu'n cuairt domh
'S cumaidh iad mo ghruag air dòigh

Refrain: Mo ghaol òigear a chul duinn,
Air 'n do ghabh mi loinn 's mi og;
Dhurichdinn duit pog 'san amnoch,
Ged robh cäch ga sheanchas òirn.

'S gu'n robh Iain Mac-Gill-Iosa,
Anns an fhoghar rium a'fìdreadh,
Ach o'n thainig an t-Iarl Ileach,
Cha 'n eisd mi ri 'bhriodail beòil.

Sguiridh mi 'shògradh nan gillean,
Cha 'n fhuiling mi rium am mireadh;
O'n tha 'n Caimbeulach ga m'shireadh,
Cha teid mi tuilleadh 'nan còir.

Ged a gheibhinn fein an tailllear,
'S na choisinn e riamh le 'shnàthaid,
'S mor gu'm b'anna 'bhi air àiridh,
'Bleodhan bhà do Choinneach og.

Ged a gheibhinn a chuid uile
Cha biodh ann ach ni gun buhinnig,
B' annsa giomanaich a' ghunna
'Bheireadh fuil air damh na cròic'.

Ach beul sios air luchd na farchluais,
'S luchd nam breug cha'n iad a's fhasa;
'S mi gu'n suibhlaadh fada 's farsuing
Airson cantannas do dheòil.

Ach na 'm bithinnsa cho finealt
'S le ite goèidh gu'n deanainn sgriobhadh,
Chuirinn litrichean do dh-ile,
Nach i 'n shirinn thog iad òirn.

Mo cheisd iasgair na h-abhunn,
Cha tric a thainig a falamh;
'S cha bu mhios' thu 'm beinn a' cheathaich,
A' toirt fal' air fear nan croc.

MacKenzie 1879-80, 22-23
Said to be the composition of a St Kilda woman to a gentleman who had visited the lonely isle. This gentleman, it would appear, was one of the Campbells of Islay.
Mo ghaol òigeàrn a chuil duinn,
Dha'n tug mi mo loinn 's mi òg;
Dhùraiginn dhuit pòg 's an anamoch,
Ged bhiodh càdh ga sheanachas oirn.

Domhnull duallach Mac Ghilliosa,
Bha mi uair a bha mi strith riut;
'S o'n thainig an Tighear a Ile
Sguiridh me dheth d'bhriodail bèoil.

Ged a gheibhinn do chuid uile,
Cha bhiodh ann ach ni gun bhuinig;
B' annsa giomanach a g hunna,
Bheireadh fuil air fear nan cròc.

Mo cheist air iasgair na h-amhuinn,
Cha tric a thainig thu falamh,
'S cha bu mhios thu 'm beinn a cheathaich,
Gu fear an langain a lèon.

Gur a mise 'th' air mo sgaradh,
Direadh 's a'tearnadh a gheannain,
'S mi ri cuimhneachadh mo leannain,
'S cha robh car an cainnt do bheòil.

'S gur a mise tha gu h-uallach,
O la thainig an duin' uasal,
'S do chuid ribinnean mu 'n cuairt dhomh,
'S cumaidh iad mo ghruag air dòigh.

Thog iad ormsa mar sgeula,
Gu 'n robh mo chríosan ag eiridh;
Giulainidh mise sud eutrom,
O nach dean e eucoir oirn.

Ach nam bithinnse cho finealt,
'S gu 'n deannainn an line a sgrióbhadh,
Chuirinn litir gu ruig Ile
Nach i 'n fhirinn chuir iad oirn.

Sguiridh mi 'shugradh ri gilean,
Ged bu mhaith leam a bhi mire;
O'n tha 'n Caimbeulach 'ga 'm' shireadh,
Cha teid mi tuilleadh nan còir.

MacDonald 1911 lxii, 365-366
This song by a lowly St Kilda maiden who had fallen in love with Campbell of Islay, on the occasion of a visit by him to the lonely isle, and deserted a former lover.
IORRAM HIRTEACH

Esan: Bhuam cas-chrom, bhuam cas-direach,
Bhuam gach mis is ciob is uan;
Suas mo lòin, nuas mo ruba, -
Chuala mis an gug sa chuan!

Buidheachas dh'an Tì, thàine na gugachan,
Thàine 's na h-eòin mhòra cuide ri;
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, bó sa chro!
Bò dhonn, bó dhonn, bó dhonn bheidireach,
Bò dhonn, a rùin, a bhligheadh am bainne dhut,
Hò rò rì rì ri roideachag,
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, bó sa chro!
Na h-eòin a'tighinn, cluinnim an ceòl!

Ise: Nàile, 's e mo chuat am buachaill
Bhagradh am bata 's nach buaileadh!
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Esan: Mhoire, 's i mo rùn an cailin,
Ge dubh a cùil is cubhr a caill!
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Ise: Is tu mo lurain, is tu mo leannan,
Thug thu thòis dhomh am fulmair meala!
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Esan: Is tu mo smùidein, is tu mo smeòirein,
Is mo chruit chìùil sa mhàdaînn bhòidhich!
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Ise: M'eudail thusa, mo lur 's mo shealgair,
Thug thu 'n dé dhomh 'n sùl 's an gearribhall.
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Esan: Thug mi gaol dhut 's tu 'nad leanabh,
Gaol nach clàon gun téid mi 's talamh.
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Ise: Is tu mo chugar, is tu mo chearban,
Thug thu am buidh dhomh 's thug thu an gearribhreach.
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Esan: Mo shùgradh sùl thu 's mo shùgh sòlas,
'S m'fhairchill bhinn thu 'm beinn a cheòthaich.
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, etc.

Ise: Tì dha d'chùmhnadh, Dùl dha d'chomhnadh,
Sporrad Naomh a bhith chul do lòin!
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, bó sa chro!
Bò dhonn, bó dhonn, bó dhonn bheidireach,
Bò dhonn, a rùain, a bhligheadh am bainne dhut,
Hò rò rì rì ri roideachag,
Cailin dubh ciair dubh, bó sa chro!
Na h-eòin a'tighinn, cluinnim an ceòl!

486
Recorded by Alexander Carmichael from Eibhrig Nic Cruimein, Euphemia MacCrimmon, cottar, aged eighty-four years, on 22nd May 1865. She said that the 'comradh,' conversation, was composed by her own father and mother before they were married.

[An earlier manuscript of the collector's contains the second and third sections of this song (i.e. those beginning 'Buidheachas' and 'Naile'), and also this note: This is all I have been able to get of the song; I wish much I could get the whole, but I have no idea where to find it. The old man Ruairidh Domhnallach [Roderick MacDonald], aged eighty-five, in Clachan a'Ghluib, North Uist, from whom I got these verses, heard the song many years ago from a servant he had from St Kilda. I would walk forty miles to procure the rest of the song. I doubt not but the gannets are meant by the phrase 'na h-eòin mhóra.']

(Euphemia MacCrimmon’s parents were Donald MacCrimmon and Catherine MacKinnon, and as their eldest recorded child was born in 1772, the song must have been composed in the late 1760s or 1770/1)

St Kilda Lilt

He: Away bent spade, away straight spade,
     Away each goat and sheep and lamb;
Up my rope, up my snare, -
     I have heard the gannet upon the sea!

Thanks to the Being, the gannets are come,
     Yes, and the big birds along with them;
Dark dusky maid, a cow in the fold!
     A brown cow, a brown cow, a brown cow beloved,
A brown cow, my dear one, that would milk the milk for thee
     The birds are a-coming, I hear their tune!

She: Truly my sweetheart is the herdsman
     Who would threaten the staff and would not strike!
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

He: Mary, my dear love is the maid,
     Though dark her locks her body is fragrant!
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

She: Thou art my handsome joy, thou art my sweetheart,
     Thou gavest me first the honied fulmar!
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

He: Thou art my turtle-dove, thou art my mavis,
     Thou art my melodious harp in the sweet morning.
     Dark dusky maid, etc.

She: Thou art my treasure, my lovely one, my huntsman,
     Yesterday thou gavest me the gannet and the auk.
     Dark dusky maid, etc.
He: I gave thee love when thou wast but a child,
Love that shall not wane till I go beneath the earth.
   Dark dusky maid, etc.

She: Thou art my hero, thou art my basking sunfish,
Thou gavest me the puffin and the black-headed guillemot.
   Dark dusky maid, etc.

He: The mirth of my eyes and the essence of my joy thou art,
And my sweet-sounding lyre in the mountain of mist.
   Dark dusky maid, etc.

She: May the Being keep thee, the Creator aid thee,
The Holy Spirit be behind thy rope!
   Dark dusky maid, a cow in the fold!
A brown cow, a brown cow, a brown cow beloved,
A brown cow, my dear one, that would milk the milk for thee,
Ho ro ru ra ree, playful maid,
   Dark dusky maid, a cow in the fold!
The birds are a-coming, I hear their tune!
ORAN LUATHAIDH IORTACH

Agus O iorrach a' chuain,  
Agus O snà hiùra bho' aich,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

Dhèanainn an clò bàn dhuit,  
Snàth mar an sioman reamhar,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

Dhèanainn dhuit an cuaran iteach,  
A luaidh 's a liosdaidh nam fearu,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

Bheirinn dhuit a' mhogais phriseil,  
'S am ball sinnsir bh'aig mo sheanair,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

Mo ghaol sealgair a' bhigein,  
'S moiche thig thar linne choimhich,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

Mo ghaol maraiche nan tonn,  
'S mòr am fonn bhiodh air a mhalaigh,  
Agus O iorrach a' chuain.

St Kilda Waulking Song

I would make the fair cloth for thee,  
Thread as the thatch-rope stout.

I would make the feathered buskin for thee,  
Thou beloved and importunate of men.

I would give thee the precious anchor,  
And the family gear which my grandfather had.

My love is the hunter of the bird,  
Who earliest comes over foreign sea.  

My love the sailor of the waves,  
Great the cheer his brow will show.

Carmichael 1941, 114-115
The song was composed by a maiden of St Kilda, who had been carried away and married in Lewis. She was not happy in Lewis, and yearned for her native home and her St Kilda lover.

*thrò (?) cf. treó, Eriu, xiii. 214
A St Kilda Waulking Song

Hill hu hill ho
Hill ho ro bha ho
Hill hu hill ho
Thou wouldst be my support (?) didst thou come.

I should prefer all the cattle I have got
To be in St Kilda plucking the guillemots,
Hill hu ho

Along with the grey-billed solan goose
Which snatches the fish from the surface of the current.
Hill hu ho

Thou youth with the top-boots,
Thou wilt go to the byre before I can sit down [thou
Hill hu ho

Thou wouldst dance strongly and vigorously,
Without ever bending thy knees.
Hill hu ho

Thou wilt bring the fulmar and the garefowl,
And the cormorant from the point of the cape.
Hill hu ho

Thou wilt go to the great mainland of Kintail
Along with tall Ivar of the Brae. [With Ivar of Ardbrae?
Hill hu hill ho
The St Kilda Maid’s Song

Over the rocks, steadily, steadily;
    Down to the clefts with a shout and a shove, O!
Warily tend the rope, shifting it readily,
    Eagerly, actively, watch from above, O!
    Brave, O brave, my lover true, he’s worth a maiden’s love
    (And the sea below is still as deep as the sky is high above!)

Sweet ’tis to sleep on a well-feathered pillow;
    Sweet from the embers, the fulmar’s red egg, O!
Bounteous our store from the rock and the billow;
    Fish and birds in good store, we need never to beg, O!
    Brave, O brave, my lover true, he’s worth a maiden’s love;
    (And the sea below is still as deep as the sky is high above!)

Hark to the fulmar and guillemot screaming,
    Hark to the kittiwake, puffin and gull, O!
See the white wings of the Solan goose gleaming;
    Steadily, men, on the rope gently pull, O!
    Brave, O brave, my lover true, he’s worth a maiden’s love;
    (And the sea below is still as deep as the sky is high above!)

Deftly can my love hook torsc, ling and conger,
    The grey fish and hake, with the net and the creel, O!
Far from our island be plague and be hunger;
    And sweet our last sleep in the quiet of the kiel, O!
    Brave, O brave, my lover true, he’s worth a maiden’s love;
    (And the sea below is still as deep as the sky is high above!)

Pull on the rope, men! pull it up steadily;
    There’s a storm on the deep – see the skart claps his wings, O!
Cunningly guide the rope, shifting it readily;
    Welcome my true love, and all that he brings, O!
    Now God be praised, my lover’s safe, he’s worth a maiden’s love
    (And the sea below is still as deep as the sky is high above!)

Stewart, 1877, 125
I send you a translation of a curious old St Kilda song. The original
Gaelic song is as old at least as the middle of the last century, much
older perhaps, though it is impossible to fix the date of its
composition with anything like exactness. I first heard it sung some
five-and-twenty years ago by one of the sailors of the revenue cruiser
Harriet, Captain MacAlister, as I was being rowed across Oban bay on
a beautiful moonlight night after dining on board the cutter, which
was anchored off Ardintraive, in Kerrera. The man who sung it was not
a St Kilda man himself, but a native either of Lewis or Harris. The
air as I recollect it was one of the wildest and eeriest I ever
listened to afloat or ashore, the burden or refrain particularly being
manifestly an imitation, and a very successful imitation too,
consciously or unconsciously, of the loud discordant clamour of a
flock of sea-fowl over a shoal of fish on which they are in haste to
gorge themselves to repletion, as is their habit. My translation is
tolerably literal, and will give your non-Celtic readers a good idea
of the kind of ditties in which the native Outer Hebridean delights.
Bha sgeula air fhoillseachadh
Air machaire nan coiltichibh;
Is buachaillean na h-oidhche,
Ghabh oillt is crith.

Na gabhaidh sgàth deth,
'S e thubhairt na h-aingle,
Tha slaint' air foillseachadh
Bha seinn a glioir ann.

Is rugadh an trath-sa dhuibh,
Ann am baile Dhaibhidh,
An Slanuighhear grasmhор,
'S an stabull neo-dhòigh(eil).

Gu ceartas a dhioladh,
'S gu saoradh o phiantaibh,
'S an lagh a choimhlioinadh,
A bha dian air an tòir.

Bha thrusgan cho suarach,
'S e paisgte ma chuairt da,
'S cha sheomar duin' uasail
A fhuair e gu còmhnuidh.

Bha reul na h-oidhche
Mar chomharra cinnteach,
'S i falbh air loine,
Roimh Dhruidhean an dòchais.

Cha luaithe chaidh innseadh
'Luchd-àitich na tire,
Bha('n) cridhe fo mhi-ghleus,
'S a(n) Righ gun bhi Dòigheil.

Thainig guth anns an oidche
Gu Ioseph "Gabh greim air,
Is falbh leis an naoidhean,
Is naimhdeas cho mor da."

Bha sgeul ud cho priseil,
Cha d'fhan e san tir-sa;
Tha e 'g imeachd 's na Innsibh,
'S h-uile mir do'n Roinn-Eòrpa.

Is thainig i ('n) tòbh-sa,
Cha d'fhadadh air chúl e;
Tha slainte ri fhaotainn
Do ais is do dh'òige.

Tha ('n) sgeul ud air innseadh
An Sgriobtur na firinn,
Ma bheirear a ris sinn
Gur e Criosd t'fhear-pòsda.
Cha dean beatha no bàs,
No nithe tha làthair,
Air sgaradh gu bràth
O Ard-righ na glòire.

Cha’n fhaca ’s cha chuala,
Cha’n urrainn neach luadh air,
Sonas tha shuas ann,
Do’n t-sluagh a gheibh cóir air.

Cha chuala mi riamb e,
Aithris air trian deth;
Tha sonas neo-chriochnaicht’ ann
Gu sior(ruidh) cha traogh air.

MacKenzie 1906, 336-338
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie in 1842/43
Composed by Finlay MacQueen, younger, in 1842.
AIR FONN

Ochoin a Thi nach foir thu mi
O’m smuaintean gu faireachadh,
Mu(‘n) tig a(n) t-am a theid mi dhith
’S nach bi ann tim gu aithreachas.

MacKenzie 1906, 338
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie, 1841/43
Composed by Neil Ferguson, 1841
DIA NA GILE

Dia na gile, Dia na greine,
Dia na cruinne, Dia nan reula,
Dia nan dile, tir, is neamha,
Dh'orduich dhuinne Righ na feile.

'S i Moire mhin chaidh air a glun,
'S e Ti nan dul a chaidh na h-uchd,
Chaidh durc'h is diuir a chur air chul,
'S chaidh reul an iuil an aird gu much.

Dh'fhoillsich fearann, dh'hoillsich fonn,
Dh'hoillsich doltrom agus struth,
Leagadh bron is thogadh fonn,
Chaidh ceol air bonn le clar is cruth.

God of the Moon

God of the moon, God of the sun,
God of the globe, God of the stars,
God of the waters, the land, and the skies,
Who ordained to us the King of promise.

It was Mary fair who went upon her knee,
It was the King of life who went upon her lap,
Darkness and tears were set behind,
And the star of guidance went up early.

Illumed the land, illumed the world,
Illumed doldrum and current,
Grief was laid and joy was raised,
Music was set up with harp and pedal-harp.

Carmichael 1928, 166-167, 380
Recorded by Alexander Carmichael from Oighrig MacCrimthain, cottar, Island of St Kilda. [She had some beautiful St Kilda songs, but the people of St Kilda deprecated all secular music, poetry, and old lore.]
Thainig mise 'n so d'ur n-ionnsaidh,
A dh'urachadh dhuibh na Calluinn;
Cha ruiginn leas sud innseadh,
Bha i ann o linn mo sheanar.
Theid mi deiseal air an fhardaich,
Is tearnaidh mi aig an dorus;
Gabhaidh mi null mar is coir dhomh,
Culaibh comhla fhir an tighe.
Craicionn Calluinn 'na mo bhaca,
Is maith an ceol thig o'n shear ud;
Cha'n 'eil neach gheibh (fh)àileadh
Nach bi gu bràth dheth fallan.
Gheibh fear a(n) tighe 'n a laimh e,
Is sparraidh e cheann anns an teallach;
Theid e deiseal air na paisdean,
Ach gu h-àraidh gheibh a bhean e.
Gheibh a bhean, is i as fhiach e,
Lamh riarchaidh na Calluinn.
Leis an tart tha air an dùthaich,
Cha'n 'eil dùil againn ri drama;
Rud beag de thoradh an t-samhraidh,
Tha mi 'n geall air leis an aran.
Is ma (tha) sud againn ri fhaotainn
Ma (dh')fhaodas sibh, na cumaidh maille air.

MacKenzie 1906, 328-329
Recorded by Neil MacKenzie between 1829 and 1843
New Year's Day Incantation which was used on St Kilda till 1830. It was customary for one half of the houses to prepare for the Calluin, year about in rotation, and the other half to go with this Nuallan from house to house to those whose turn it was to make ready. After collecting the bread, the cakes were compared one with another. The biggest (bannock) was deemed to be the best, as it indicated the greatest skill in baking, and also the liberality of the goodwife of the house. Some of these bannock or barley cakes were as broad as the stone of the quern, or about the size of a shield, and frequently contained about seven pounds of meal. The cheese and bread were then equally divided among all the men, and carried home to be used.
EALA-BHI, EALA-BHI

Eala-bhi, eala-bhi,
Mo niarach neach aig am bi,
Buaineam thu le mo lamh dheas,
Teasdam thu le mo lamh chli,
Ga ba co a gheabh thu 'n cro an ail,
Cha bhi e gu brath gun ni.

Saint John's Wort

Saint John's wort, Saint John's wort,
My envy whosoever has thee,
I will pluck thee with my right hand,
I will pluck thee with my left hand,
Whoso findeth thee in the cattle fold,
Shall never be without kine.

Carmichael 1928, 102-103, 379
Recorded by Alexander Carmichael from Ciorsdai MacLeod, cottar, Island of St Kilda. [She had much lore about the 'sluagh,' hosts, the fairies, and the second sight, which she told realistically.]
Some disease occurred among the wild birds of St. Kilda, greatly lessening the food supply of the people of the island. The following poem was made on that occasion.
The Brave Men

The brave men are
On the flat of the moor,
And the beautiful woman
On the flat of the glen,
With their grey plaids
And their pure-white feet,
And though sweet is the ...
It is venison I sought.

O hi ri-ag ho ro-ag ho ro
Sna hi ri ri ri-ag ho ro ho hu

My love are the households
On whom gloom would not settle,
Who would procure venison
Where lead would not reach the birds,
And who would not require powder
To wake them into activity,
The killers of the solan goose -
Much fair fame is theirs to tell of.

O hi ri-ag ho ro-ag ho ro
Sna hi ri ri ri-ag ho ro ho hu

But a man of Clan Farquhar,
I would not leave thee neglected in a corner,
Seeing I am so persuaded
That thy conduct is faultless;
Thou wouldst bring the razor-bill
From the ledges of the Dunan,
And didst thou but get practice
Thou wouldst harry the fulmar.

O hi ri-ag ho ro-ag ho ro
Sna hi ri ri ri-ag ho ro ho hu

And a man of Clan Donald,
'Twere not right to rebuff him;
Thou art fashioned like a bull,
Thick of neck and broad of shoulder;
If I be not mistaken
Thou art the mightiest of thy clan,
Stouter the calf of thy leg
Than a well-matured body!

O hi ri-ag ho ro-ag ho ro
Sna hi ri ri ri-ag ho ro ho hu

500
Fa li'il o ro,
Fa li'il o ro,
Mor 'is mis tha foth mhulad 'smi air uilin a chrualich,
Fa li'il o ro,
Fa li'il o ro,
Mor is mis tha foth mhulad 'smi air uilin a chrualich,
Fa li'il o rù,
I ri u li rin eile,
Fa li'il o ro,
Fa li'il o ro.

Campbell 1818, 50-51
This is the only stanza which the Editor took down of the verses chanted to this exquisite melody, from the mouth of Margaret MacDonald, one of the domestics of Donald MacDonald, Esq. of Balranald, North Uist, in September 1815. The remaining stanzas shall be given in a future volume of this work.
'S tu Tobar nam Buadh tha shuas 's ghleannan,
'S neo thruaillidh fallain do stor;
Chuala mi d'fhuaim mas d'fhuaire mi faisg ort,
'S gur fuaran gasd' thu thà beo.
Sruthadh bho chearnaidh ard tha creagach,
De lan co-fhreagar gach uair;
'S mar rinneadh le cach, le'm laimh bheir mis ort
Mar a'inn "Sàr uisge uam Buadh."
'S tu 'n tobar tha fiorghlan, aotram, soillear,
Gun aon ni foilleil fo d'ghruaidh,
Tha sír shruthadh sios gu fial o chruinnich
Am fearrann air thus o'n chuan,
Gun rodadh, gun traoghadh, a ghna ro mhilis,
A ghna cuir thairis gach uair;
'S mur tig ort crith-thalmhain 'sgealbas creagan,
Cha 'n fhalbh thu 'm feasd gu la luain.

Ged thu 'n gleann fàsail, cail-eigin folaitc',
A'n ait nach fuirich mor shluagh,
Cha tig iad na'd choir le onfhais mara,
Mor stoirms is feallsanachd cuain.
Tha spreidh agus daoine daonan faisg ort,
Is oighridh thaitnic gun ghruaim,
Is gheabhtair an taobhs iad daonan 's treisead -
Sid chum na Hiortaich cho buan.

Mac Iain 1885-6, 124-126
The late Rev. Dr. MacDonald of Ferrintosh visited St. Kilda in 1822. He went one day to see a well which had the reputation of possessing some remarkable virtue, taking for his guide a little boy, Donald MacKinnon, who afterwards left his lonely native island, and for some time resided in the parish of which the "Apostle of the North" was pastor. Ultimately he settled in Harris, where he resided in 1875.

On nearing the well, the minister heard some peculiar sound, and, on asking his guide what it was, the latter replied, "It's the noise of the water of the 'Well of Virtue' gushing out of the rock." On reaching the well, the minister drank heartily of its cooling water. "And at length," says MacKinnon, "he asked me the name of the well; for he seemed to have forgotten it, and I told him that it was called the 'Well of Virtue.' He then took a book out of his pocket, and began to write something in it. I did not know then what he was doing, for I knew nothing of writing, as I had never seen any; and, thinking that the holy man was going to do me some bodily harm, I ran home to my father's house in great terror, and hid myself under a bed...how long I remained under my father's bed I cannot tell, but one thing I do remember...it was with great coaxing the minister and my father induced me to leave my hiding-place." The minister was composing a long song about the well; this was all that MacKinnon could remember when Maclain recorded it from him "some twenty years ago".
TOBAR-NAM-BUAIDH

Tobar-nam-buaidh tha shuas 'sa ghleannan
'S neo-thruailliadh fallain do stòr
Chuala mi fuaim mu' dh'fhuair mi faisg'ort
Gur fuaran gast' thu bha beo.

A sruth o chàrn tha àrda creagach
Do làn co-threagradh gach uair
Mur tig ort crith-thalmhainn a spealgas creagan
Cha'ñ fhailbh thu'm feasd gu là luain

An tobar tha fiorghlan, eutrom, soilleir
Gun aon ni doillear fo d'ghruaidh
Tha sior shruthadh sios gu fior o 'n chruinnicheadh
Riamh am fearann 's an cuan.

Gun reothadh, gun traoghadh, a ghnàth cuir thairis
Do làn àrd charraig na linn
Gach neach ud a tha do 'n àros mhilis
Bithidh shlàinte fallain a choaidh.

Fhreagair Eubha a rithist gu diadhaidh, modhail
'S ro fhialaidh an Cruith-fhear glic
Ard nachdaran glòrmarh dheonaich dhuinne
Làn chòir air craobhan an lios.

Aon chraobh àluinn tha 'sa mheadhon
Thubhairt Dia, "Na beanabhsa ris"
Ma bhriseas sibh àitheantean, dàna, ciontact
Thig às an-iodhdmhor o 'n mheas.

Connell 1887, 154-155
Robert Connell recorded this from Kirsty Gillies, Donald MacQueen's widow, in 1886, when she was 75. A Baptist missionary named Alexander MacKenzie, who labourd in St Kilda some time prior to the first visit of the Rev. Dr. MacDonald in 1822, is reputed to be the author of this song on the well, though it is possible MacKenzie may only have improved upon an older version.
St. Kilda Song.

By the stream so cool and clear, And thro' the caves where

Slow with Expression

brezes lane, Sotth-ing still my ten-der an-guith,

Hoping still to find my lover, I have wander'd far and

near, O where shall I the youth discover.

Sleeps he in your breezy shade,
Ye rocks with moss and ivy waving,
On some bank where wild waves laving,
Murmur through the twisted willow;
On that bank, O were I laid,
How soft should be my lover's pillow!

Johnson, James 'The Scots Musical Museum' 1853, Vol II, 250
It was o'er in yon Soa I left late my \n
—

Though he dash'd down yonder

rocks, and his blood die'd the ocean.
I'll never return more!

Fa li' il o ro, fa li' il o ro; Moris mis tha futh mbulad'snair

I'll never return more to my native shore! Farewell, thou adored fadali.

I must leave thee! I'll never return more to my native shore! My duty com.

pels me, but why should I grieve thee? I'll never return more! I feel a foreboding I'll

never return more! Ah no! never more!
"Native Land, adieu!"

Rather Slow and
Pensive.

Oig—fhear a chult duine! fear dha’n d’thug mi lein ro mhob; Dhuras Cheid in bhult p’gh am.

Na...five land, a...diu! Friends of youth fore—sell to you! Think, and kindly name a

stranger, tis—taint far, but ev...er true. Na...five land a...diu! Friends belov... fore—

lein ro mhabh: Cha’u lugh cho bhi aitich on a thanga in da’inh uair;

—well to you! Tears may dry and hearts re—co...ver, When the pain of part...ing’s o...ver;

Tha de... v...bin... mon cuairt dhomh; cuamh haid mho...rag air doigh. Oig—fear a chult duine!

But, believe a... friend and lover, Absent lang and far from view. He is ave with you,

fear dha’n d’thug mi lein ro mhob;

weeping, sighing still a...diu!
The St. Kilda Wedding

Heen garra hurrara heu illy la lally, Heen garra hurrara
heu illy la lally; Heen garra hurrara heu illy la lally, heen
garra hurrara heu illy la lally

The former of these, is I believe a love song, & the words are pretty correct. The other is a celebrated St. Kilda song which Ian McLeod sung in going to St. Kilda, but of which I only remember the chorus part.

Atkinson 1831, f 73
IN OUR AIN CLACHAN LIVES A YOUTH.

A St Kilda Song.

Arranged by Finlay Dona.

My lad is gifted wi' the gab,
His tongue it winna weary:
Its lang ere gabbin clears a rent,
But he'll ca' me his dearly.

Inn ala, dec.

My Donald will perform sic feats,
The thocht o't makes me cheery;
W' open mou' and closed fists,
This hero is my deary.

Inn ala, dec.

My lad is gifted wi' the gab,
His tongue it winna weary:
Its lang ere gabbin clears a rent,
But he'll ca' me his dearly.

Inn ala, dec.

O for a tow a mile in length,
I wad suspend my deary;
I'd fling him frae the eagie's crag,
And duck him till he's weary.

Inn ala, dec.

My Donald will perform sic feats,
The thocht o't makes me cheery;
W' open mou' and closed fists,
This hero is my deary.

Inn ala, dec.

Ge do bhiodh tu bruithinn riu,
'Sa hreisint riuss tu n'cinneadh,
Cha teagadh tu sa h-uidhean dothaun.
'N easniu sheiladh tu gur dothaun.

Inn ala, dec.

'Strouagh nach eil me leasaig.
A chon an cheach Leac-nsa-gaidh.
Ach buinn air na sm'iodh na' an.
Is wist bh' go h' a'rd bearr.

Inn ala, dec.
**ORAN H-IRTEACH:**

St. Kilda song.
With chorus in imitation of the Birds.

**A ST. EILDA SONG:***

Slow with feeling.

MacDonald 1895, Appendix 24, 30
Appendix 4 List of Visitors

This is not a comprehensive list, though it probably includes the majority of recorded visits up to the mid nineteenth century. There is no hope of compiling anything approaching a comprehensive list after the start of the regular steamer visits in 1877.

1202 Gudmundre Arason? (Icelandic bishop) + crew
1527 Boece 1527 Priest in summer
1549 Monro 1961 Steward and chaplain in summer
1615 Coll MacDonald, Henry Williamson and others

late C17? Boat’s crew from ? South Uist
1686 Martin 1697, 45 French and Spanish sailors shipwrecked at Rockall, came in pinnace
late C17 (before 1693) Martin 1697, 75-6 Man and son from Harris stayed a year, mending boat

pre 1697 John Campbell, minister, Harris
1695 Martin 1697, 21 A cock-boat from a ship for water to Soay; crew took eggs, attacked by St Kildans
1696 Martin 1697, 46 Ship anchored, some of crew ('lowlanders') landed
1697 John Campbell and Martin Martin, and Steward, Alexander MacLeod + his retinue - 40-60 people.

early C18 Buchan 1727, 24 Steward John MacLeod and his retinue. 'No other but the Steward and his retinue ever comes to that place, and seldom or never does any of the natives come out of that island'.

before and in 1746 Neil MacLeod (?MacLeod Adv Ms 21.1.5)
1746 Four ships - the Furnace, the Terror, the Eltham and the Looe went, and men were landed to search for Bonny Prince Charlie. General Campbell and Captain Ferguson landed, and about 100 men

before 1758 MacAulay 1764, 94 person long afflicted with a distemper took it into his head to go from Harris to St Kilda to see if Tobar nam Buaidh would help.
1758 MacAulay 1764 Rev. Kenneth MacAulay
1763 Theophilus Insulanus 1763, 17-18 Florence MacLeod, spouse to present minister of St Kilda
1766 Glasgow Journal April 17-24 notes lucrative fishery off St Kilda, but British involvement denied by a reader June 5-12, who implied Dutch fishing round there.

1767 Glasgow Journal May 7-14 Fishermen dug up coin hoard.

1790 Buchanan 1793, 138 As no stranger sailing by ever ventures to land on this boisterous island to barter with the natives (have to purchase necessaries from steward) p 144 met a woman who had served Lady Grange.

1795 MacDonald 1811, 817 James MacDonald, author of 'General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides'.

1797 Clarke 1824 Edward Daniel Clarke went with Honourable Berkley Paget, son of Lord Uxbridge, Mr MacLean of Coll (p 237-8) Mr Ritchy (Captain of Revenue Cutter) p 274 vessel from Norway had visited same year.

1799 Brougham 1799 NLS ms 1675 party heading for Iceland was to be: 'Mr John Joseph Henry (nephew of Lord Moira); physician: Dr James Miller of Paisley; Draughtsman: Mr Saunders, Harper: Le Sieur Revellet, Steward: Mr Fortune - Captain Stuart, Company: Captain Strond of the N York, Lieut O'Hara of the N York, Robert Campbell of Shawfield, Charles Stuart (son of Sir C the general)' and Brougham.

1790s Brougham 1871 I 107; Steward's dairymaid from Long Island Campbell 1799 f 24 two dairymaids.

1800 Wilson 1842, 3; Sir George MacKenzie of Coul.

1809 someone must have gone as MacDonald (1811, 817) got a population figure.

1811 MacDonald (1811, 818) says: 'a young man of knowledge and enterprise from Edinburgh has taken a part of the lands in lease, and bound himself to build a good house, and to improve the island in various ways'.

1812 Acland 1981, 50 Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, wife and son Thomas aged 3.

1815 MacCulloch 1819, 23 John MacCulloch (1824 p 186). More than a year since anyone had visited before him.

1818 Scots Magazine 1818 148 Messrs Allan and Bullock, natural historians.

1821 Gaelic school report someone visited.

1822 MacDonald 1827, 7-8 visited 16.8 - 27.8, with Mr McLellan, the tacksman.

1823 Kennedy 1932, 108-124 MacDonald again, 13.5 - 3.6, with Mr McLellan.
1827 Kennedy 1932, 275-293 MacDonald again, 9.7 - 15.7, with his son, and Mr McLellan.
p 280 8 workmen on the island, building the manse and church

1830 Kennedy 1932, 138-147 MacDonald again, 1.7 - 12.7, with Mr MacKenzie, his wife and child, Mrs MacKenzie's mother and sister, Mr Bethune, tutor in Mr McLellan's family, and Major J M McNeil.

1825/6 Stevenson must have visited

1830s? MacKenzie 1921, 84 In 1853, a man of Gairloch parish told William Grant of Poolewe, who went in 1853, that the last time he had been there, when in the service of MacDonald of Lochinver, he was twenty days beating about St Kilda in the 'Rover's Bride' and never could land.

1831 Atkinson f 1 G C Atkinson with brothers Isaac and Richard, and artist Edward Train
f 4 called on Mr Allan in Edinburgh, who had been to St Kilda.
f 50 their boatman was John MacDonald (from Harris, presumably) Minister told them that once a gentleman had come in his yacht and lay in the bay a fortnight, for the purpose of exploring the islands.
ff 31-2 some shipwrecked sailors had been with them six weeks one winter - within memory of people who related incident

1830-43 MacKenzie 1911, 14 about this time (1840) the proprietor, along with his kind lady.
p 16-17 annual visit by proprietor's agent
'This was our only regular way of maintaining intercourse with the outside world, but at times we got items of news from passing vessels. In 1837 we heard this way of the death of William IV ... It was very seldom that passing vessels paid us a visit. Occasionally a yacht would pay us a visit. At times we had to provide for shipwrecked sailors. Their vessels were not wrecked on the island, but at Rockall or elsewhere; or had to be abandoned on account of injury by storms, and the men arrived in boats. The largest number for whom we had to provide for some months were the crew of a Swedish vessel, none of whom could speak English. About the beginning of March they were able to leave us in their own boats, which was fortunate, as we were getting very short of provisions' One year factor' boat failed to arrive.
Mentions a vessel which came (probably more than once) and he thought, had at one time been a privateer, but was now engaged in smuggling spirits. The cargo was trans-shipped into luggers, in which it was taken to the Long Island. The crew of this vessel were very kind to the people of the island, who did washing and some other things for them. In doing that work they thought they saw very distinct evidence that in addition to smuggling, they at times made some return to their former trade. Visits from such vessels were rare.
p 21 1834 Sir Thomas Dyke Acland visited. (the people decided to build new houses) As soon after as possible, the father of Mr MacDonald, lately tenant of Kingsburgh, but now

513
of Seaport in Skye, came to the island and divided the land among them.

The only occasion when people showed signs of real alarm was when a yacht visiting the island brought with them a brass band, and marched up to the village with sound of trumpet and drum.

The only occasion when people showed signs of real alarm was when a yacht visiting the island brought with them a brass band, and marched up to the village with sound of trumpet and drum.

1834 Carruthers 1843, 255 This solitary and remote island was first visited by a steam vessel on the 28th of July 1834.

1834 Acland 1881, 63 Late August/early September Sir Thomas Dyke Acland and family in 'The Lady of St Kilda': two masted schooner of 186 tons, Captain Moresby in command.

1838 MacLean (MacLean seems to have been on the same boat on which MacKenzie travelled back in 1838 with Dickson, MacLeod, and all the furniture etc)

They reached St Kilda on July 28th 1838, on the Vulcan steamer; party was: Rev. Dr. Dickson, Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. MacLeod, Glasgow; J Cross Buchanan, Glasgow; W Cross Buchanan, Glasgow; - Smollet, Dumfartonsshire; John MacLeod, Glasgow; Isaac Buchanan, Canada; Dunn, Canada; Charles Dickson, Edinburgh; - Fratwell, Edinburgh; Mrs Ramsay, Edinburgh; Misses Thomson, Edinburgh (daughters of the great Dr A Thomson; - Stenhouse, Glasgow; - McKirdy, Glasgow; - Payne, Glasgow; - Ferrie, Glasgow; - Goppy, Glasgow; - Young, Glasgow; - Finlay, Glasgow; - Stevenson, Glasgow; R B Stewart, Glasgow*; - Lawson, Edinburgh; - Leechman, Glasgow; - Playfair, Glasgow; McNaughtan, London; - Lindsay, Greenock; Mr and Mrs Alves, Edinburgh; - Broom, Glasgow; Wallworth, England, three; - Eccles, Glasgow; and Mr McConnell, one of the proprietors of the Vulcan.

* R B Stewart was father of A B Stewart of Ascog Hall visited 1878 (Seton 1878, 346)

It occurs to the writer, that the Government ought to instruct one of their revenue cutters, who, at any rate, are slumbering at anchor, or cruising at will . . to touch once in six months at St Kilda. The expediency of this will appear when we find that some years ago nine shipwrecked mariners were cast upon its rocks, who did not, could not leave it for four months. This surplus population was so great, and so unlooked-for, that it really bade fair to starve the whole island.'

Register Rev Bethune of Bernera, and Isabella Nicolson of Bernera (married Donald MacKinnon)

Christmas time Seton 1978, 56-7 the 'Charlotte' of Hull, Captain John Bremman (?) was wrecked on Rockall, eighteen of crew found their way to St Kilda, rescued, stayed eleven days, Donald McKinnon went with them in their own boat to Pabbay, whence they went to Portree. MacKinnon sold boat for £9 and returned to St Kilda in another. Never got any reward for hospitality.
John MacGillivray arrived very late Monday June 29th, left Saturday, 4th July. He and who else? - 'we' - sailed in a boat 'sufficiently large for our purpose' which they procured at Pabbay.

On way out fell in with a large yacht belonging to the tacksman of St Kilda, who was on board - yacht arrived a short time before them, together with the Prince of Wales gun-brig.

p 70 he seems to have left in another boat accompanied by two St Kildans, and towed by the Pabbay boat until abandoned in heavy weather, but the three of them got to Shillay and then Pabbay all right.

August James Wilson on 'The Princess Royal'.
[Seton 1878, 25 Sir Thomas Dick Lauder on same boat]

Single annual visit from Harris

p 36 Mrs MacLeod, the wife of the proprietor, visited the island some seasons back.

p Sir George Steuart MacKenzie of Coul visited c1800

p 63-4 about eighteen months before our visit a suspicious looking brig was dodging in and out of sheltered places round the island for ten days without sending a boat ashore. Eventually Mr MacKenzie went on board - found captain and crew armed to the teeth, but when they saw peaceful nature of minister and St Kildans, 'they put their weapons aside, and received them with the most courteous kindness and hospitality' No English spoken, nor any language Mr MacKenzie could understand. Cruised off island and was observed to communicate with a smaller boat which seemed to come from the direction of the mainland. Probably a Spanish smuggler.

p 76 MacKenzie's diary for April records boat from Harris coming (1841)

NMS catalogue PZ puffin snare got by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder in 1841

pre 1843 Ross 1884, 85 Party of Spanish sailors shipwrecked and landed on the west side, stayed five months on the island.

1842 Mitchell 1900-01, 441 Frédéric Mercy and Sir Thomas Kennedy in the yacht 'Kitty'


1846 Register Rev Roderick MacLeod of Skye married couple 7.8.


Milner 1848, 2056-2060 W M E Milner and who else (we: brother and a Mr Graham- ?taxidermist) hired 'a very comfortable little cutter, formerly the mail-packet between Skye and Harris, manned by an able crew of five men, which in most seasons of the year is necessary, for the navigation is dangerous, from the currents and storms rising up very suddenly.' Taken to St Kilda, back to Rodel, on to Stornoway and then to Lochinver, for £17, starting at Ob, and accompanied by Neil MacKenzie, anxious to visit flock, and Mr MacDonald, clergyman of Harris (useful as interpreter). Left
Ob June 12th, 6am, close to St Kilda by early afternoon, overtaken by storm, cast anchor in bay 4pm. Left at 5am June 15th, very calm, arrived Ob 11pm. Milner from Nunappleton, Tadcaster

1849 Register Rev Mr MacGillivray from Fife married couples 10.7.

c 1849/50 MacKenzie 1921, 84 Lord Breadalbane’s yacht with two or three ministers including Rev. James Noble, Free Church Minister, Poolewe.

c 1850 MacQueen nd, 9 deputation from Free Church annually - c 1850 included Mr Allan Sinclair of Clunies and Breadalbane, Mr McGilvray from Glasgow

between 11.1851 and 1852 MacQueen nd, 9 Rev. Roderick MacLeod of Snizort, Skye (1843-1868) and Rev W S McDougall of Raasay (Nov 1851-1855) inspected school (Free Church ministers)

p 7 After the minister left other masters came. One Carmichael and one McEwan were there - McEwan was two years there. At Disruption islanders joined Free Church. These masters belonged to Established Church. A deputation from Free Church came every year and Communion was then held.

When I was about 22 or 23 a deputation came - Mr Allan Sinclair of Clunies and Breadalbane was one (Marquis of Breadalbane was one of his elders) - Mr McGilvray - from Glasgow was another. Mr McGilvray bought all our tweeds and gave 2d a yard more than the factor

1851 Mitchell 1900-01, 441 Alexander Gregor to take census, in 'Porcupine' or 'Jackal'

1853 MacKenzie 1921, 74-95 Mary Hanbury MacKenzie and her son Osgood Hanbury MacKenzie, in the 'Jessie', with Osgood's tutor, George Ross the keeper, Simon Fraser the butler, Ali and Duncan, hall-boys, and crew: Skipper Ali Ban, Alexander Fraser and Sandy MacLean (from Longa Is.), with extras Alexander MacMillan and William Grant, and, from Lochmaddy, a pilot, Colin MacLeod. OHM was 11 years old.

1853/4 Seton 1878, 113; Mitchell 1900-01, 441 Rev Dr MacLauchlan or MacLachlan and a small party of friends

1858 Muir 1885, 61 Thomas Muir July 9th Went in the Fowey a small trading sloop, which he had engaged for the voyage at Stornoway. Skipper; Kenneth MacDonald, crew: John MacDonald and Alexander MacKinnon, accompanied by John Norman MacDonald, minister of Harris, James Stewart, parish schoolmaster, and Donald MacKinnon, the 'minister's man', and a native of St Kilda.

On arrival, they found Mr Alex. Davidson, Free Church Minister in Harris, and Mr Norman MacRaid, factor of St Kilda; both had arrived on their annual visit a day or two before.

It must have been Muir who noted on Sharbau's plan: 'St Kilda. Visited Thursday, Friday, July 8, 9 1858'.
1860 Morgan 1861, 104-5 John E Morgan and a friend visited June 17th 1860, in the 'Falcon' a cutter-yacht of twenty five tons, with a skipper, a pilot, and two sailors.

p 106 about ten days before (so c. June 7th) Captain Otter in the 'Porcupine' with the Duke of Atholl and Mr Hall Maxwell on board; must have stayed at least two days as the Duke stayed two nights in Betty Scott's house. He attended a wedding, presumably that of Calum MacKinnon and Marion Gillies on June 4th, so Rev. James Reid of Portree must have been in the party too. (Lawson papers)

Murray 1860 No minister for two years previous

Seton 1878, 58 Captain Thomas and Mrs Thomas went in June 1860 in Porcupine - about a fortnight after Duke of Atholl Captain Otter was working round St Kilda. Captain Thomas visited, through him, in September (Otter letter 22.12.1860) and presumably Mr H. Sharbau, who made a survey of the village in July, 1860, went independently, unless Thomas made an earlier visit.

Otter must have been there again before Aug 9, and at the beginning of October 1860, and again at the beginning of November with supplies. He did not go in 1861. No record of further visits.

Seton 1878, 255 mason from Nairn to construct landing place

1861 Power 1983 1861, July 21st in the 'Olivia', accompanied by 'we' went ashore, but 'Bob and Andy' were on the boat

Seton 1878, 59 Alexander Grigor to take census, in 'Porcupine'

Register Rev. John Sinclair MacPhail of Sleat married couples 15.6

1862 Kennedy and Thomas 1873-4, 702 Miss Anne Kennedy

1863 Mitchell 1900-01, 441 Captain Otter and Mrs Thomas in the 'Seagull', ashore for 20 hours

1864 Seton 1878, 62-3 'Janet Cowan' of Greenock, Captain James McKirdy went on rocks on April 7 1864 at St Kilda while on a voyage from Calcutta to Dundee. All crew saved, stayed 7 days, borrowed boat, and all set off in that and one of ship's boats for Lewis; reached Scarp, and next day went on to West Loch Tarbert, and then made their way to Greenock, via Stornoway.

1865 Carmichael 1941 IV p 106 Alexander Carmichael visited on May 22 - with a 'crowd of naval officers and seamen' and he records:

1928, 166 brief conversation between John MacDonald 'the kindly humorist, and the unsurpassed seaman and pilot of Admiral Otter' with two 'beautiful St Kilda maidens'

1954, 294-5 that once at the beginning of winter four men were storm-driven from Uig in Lewis, and nothing was seen of them, and no wreckage; men went to the Flannan isles but they were not there. A messenger went to Duncan MacInnes, Alan's son, Balivanich, Benbecula, famous for augury, and he said that at that very moment they were skinning a mart in St Kild, and they would come home in March; which they did, at the end of March. No clue as to date.
1868 Elwes 1869, 29 May 22nd Henry John Elwes in HMS 'Harpy', a paddle steamer commanded by Captain Bell.

1871 Seton 1878, 59 Mr Alexander Grigor to take census, in 'Jackal'

1873 Smith 1879, 12 R Angus Smith with Mr Young and four members of his family on Young's yacht the 'Nyanza' - only there for a day. Must have been mid June as he mentions (p 33) seeing a woman (Rachel MacCrimmon) few days after mother's death (which was June 10th) (Sands 1877, 6 mentions Mr Young of Wemyss Bay who gave a boat)

Seton 1878, 235 June Dr Webster from Dunvegan
August Dr Murchison from N Harris

Logie 1889, 34 about 1873, a reverend doctor of Highland proclivity and small party of friends visited and gave the St Kildans an assortment of crockery.

1874 Baillie, Lady of Polkemmet 1875, 254 visited Aug 26th 1874 - and party of 16 (+servants) in yacht 'Griffin' p 256 during our visit, another steam yacht, 'The Calder', came into the bay - an event not known before in St Kilda. The owner and his party we found were friends (Seton 1878, 64) Sir William Baillie went too, they were with the late Mr Baird of Cambusdoon

1875 Mitchell, 1900-01, 441 Sir Patrick Keith Murray in the 'Crusader' (July)
An anonymous visitor, who had a doctor in his party (?Seton ref - could be Sir P K M)

Seton 1878, 64 Dr Murchison of Harris, twice
Sands 1877, 6 John Sands left Dunvegan June 1st on the 'Janet', chartered by Factor
p 10 arrived June 3rd, early morning
p 25 a doctor had been sent to the island to vaccinate the children, but he was drunk.
p 60 July 29th the yacht 'Crusader' came in, belonged to a baronet, Sands got a lift back with him

1876 - p 71 Sands went out again, 1877 engaged two men to take gift of boat (and himself) to St Kilda from Obbe, for £8, but his responsibility for them ended once they were in the bay. The 'Janet' was in Obbe with factor bound for St Kilda too and the skipper agreed to take the men back.
p 72 in fact they were towed out by the 'Janet' on 22nd, and she returned on 24th, and for the next eight months no vessel ever came near island, though factor had promised to come back in autumn.
p 101 old man remembered when a ship was wrecked on the island, and a number of sailors succeeded in landing in the glen, and stayed there three days without food or shelter until some women went over there and the men followed them back to the village where they were looked after. All spoke English. Lent a boat to go back to mainland
p 110-111 Jan 17th 1877 nine Austrians, survivors of wreck of 'Peti Dabrovacki', arrived in a boat. Stayed till help came.
p 119 Feb 22nd HMS Jackal arrived, removed men (and Sands)
no shipwrecked sailors had landed on the island for thirteen years.

Sands knew of seven vessels (five of them steamers) calling in summer 1877; never so many in one season before

1877 MacDiarmid

MacDiarmid 1877, 1-2 June 12-14th MacDiarmid in 'Flirt'
commanded by Lieut. O'Rorke

Seton 1878, 64 June 15th Lord and Lady MacDonald, Miss MacLeod of MacLeod, Rev. Archibald McNeill minister of Sleat, Mr MacDonald of Tormore, in 'Lady of the Isles' 2 weeks later

Emily Macleod left on first passenger steamer

1877 or before Seton 1878, v, 64, 338, 343 Alexander Carlyle Bell, Rev Eric J Findlater (on three different occasions), Mr Bouverie Primrose Secretary to Board of Manufactures, Mr Walker of Bowland, Chairman of the Board of Supervision, Captain MacDonald of fishery cruiser 'Vigilant', Commissioners of the Northern Lighthouses in the 'Pharos', Rev Dr McLauchlan, Rev Roderick MacDonald of South Uist, formerly of Harris, had paid several visits to island

1878 Trollope

Trollope 1878, 1 Passengers on the 'Mastiff', including Mr and Mrs John Burns of Castle Wemyss (hosts), Admiral Ryder, Admiral Farquhar, Capt. Dennistoun R.N. Capt Colquhoun, Mr Albert Grey (MP), Mr R Shaw Stewart, Mr Anthony Trollope, Mr Campbell Finlay (Australian), Mrs H Blackburn (drew pics), Miss Campbell of Blythswood, Miss Stuart (of Montford), Miss Reddie (of Wemyss Bay), Mr James Cleland Burns, Mr George A Burns and the commanders of the vessel: Capt Kerr and Capt Ritchie, a nautical authority.

MacKay, 1963, 12 Mr Benthall, GPO official, on Dunara Castle
1879 Smith 1879, 65 Professor M Forster Heddle, University of St Andrews, and Miss Emily MacLeod was on same boat p 69 Captain MacDonald of Stein there at the same time as Heddle and Miss MacLeod

1881 (BMJ 1886) James Brydon, doctor, Hawick, on steamer

1882 MM 637/5/3 dealer from Harris went out and bought cattle.

1883 PP 1884, 864 June 2 Lord Napier and Ettrick, Sir Kenneth S MacKenzie, Donald Cameron of Lochiel MP, C Fraser-Mackintosh MP, Sheriff Nicolson, Professor MacKinnon Ross, 1884, 72 Visited June in Henry Evans' yacht, with Mr McWhirter, R.A. and Mr Whyte, Inverness.

p 73 They asked at Obbe for an old pilot, Johnny MacRae, but he was away, and they got another, a cousin of J M, who had often visited St Kilda before.

p 84 A Skyeman, who had been often on the island for various lengths of time, gave me his opinion 'They are the best fed people in creation. I speak the truth, master'

Barrington 1913, 197 with an interpreter, late summer 1883

p 202 he also went in 1896 (and possibly in between?)

Napier 1884, 865 'Dunara Castle' and 'Hebridean', owned by two different companies, each came twice a year, in June, July and August

1884 or 5? Ferguson 1885, 10 left Dunvegan June 10th on Dunara Castle, also bound for St Kilda were Mr MacKenzie, with several tradesmen who were to remain on the island for some time to do some repairs to the cottages, and Colin Campbell, a well known Skye piper.

p 13 At Tarbert joined by Lord provost of the capital of one of the northern counties, an exceptionally well built, big, jovial, frank gentleman, on first trip to St Kilda.

p 14 several yachts came into the bay (on a Sunday!) with parties on board for the Dunara, including the Marquis of Ailsa in his yacht,

p 15 and Miss MacLeod of MacLeod and a Miss Ashley. There were about 50 passengers for St Kilda.

p 16-17 they seem to have got there first thing Monday 12 June.

p 19 Miss Ashley had her own steam yacht, 'An active nice looking young lady' who was sketching all round islands.

pp 21, 23 they weren't able to land at all, weather too bad.

1884 Acheson in MacNeill 1886, 8 Acheson had been out with HMS 'Jackal' in September 1884

1885 MacDonald, 1886, 11 C R MacDonald, MD visited in June

Connel 1887, 13 end of August, visited by factor's smack, and Mr Cartwright's yacht the 'Firefly'

p 15 Connel was on board the 'Hebridean' in October

MacKenzie, H R 1885-6, 15-16 'Hebridean' Captain MacCallum, sent October 15th from Glasgow with supplies given by Sir William Collins (publisher), Principal Rainy and others, arrived October 18th
HMS 'Jackal' left Tuesday Oct 20th with Mr Malcolm MacNeill on board - Commissioner for the Board of Supervision MacNeill 1886, 6 reported that he and Commander Osborne landed when HMS 'Jackal' arrived on October 22nd.

p 8 J Acheson MD also landed.
p 7 estimated that in 1885 at least 200 tourists visited

1885-6 MacCallum 1907, pp Hugh MacCallum, to teach

1886 Connel 1887, 29 Robert Connel went with John T MacKenzie and his son, on 'Robert Hadden' - only other passenger George Murray

p 33 Mr McCallum (Argyllshire man) was the schoolmaster - must have been leaving.
p 49 Men unloading boat still on 16.6. 1886. on 17.6 Mr Henry Evans arrived in his steam yacht.
p 53 'Robert Hadden' was there until 20th June at least

p 56 a few years ago a certain noble Duke visited the island on his way to Iceland (one of Trollope's companions?)
p 166 Connel was there for fifteen days.

Murray 1886-7 27.6 1886 he arrived at St Kilda on 9.6.1886, on the 'Robert Hadden', from Dunvegan

5.8.1886 'Hebridean' came into bay, with many passengers, including Miss Rainy who inspected school(probably Mr MacLeod the photographer was on board too - he is mentioned on 7, 10, 11, 14 and 15.8.1886)

21.8.1886 'Dunara Castle' arrived with many passengers, including two doctors

2.9.1886 'Hebridean' arrived with a number of passengers, including, returned from Australia, an old man and a comparatively young wife.

1.10 1886 On 24.9. the 'Robert Hadden' came in, landed 25, couldn't leave owing to contrary winds until 29.9.

1887 or before Sutherland 1888, 218 Dr Sutherland

Glasgow Museum catalogue James MacNaught Campbell

1889 Logie 1889, and others went Aug. 12-17 on the 'Hebridean'
p 49 mentions a Mr MacFarlane, the schoolteacher, who had staying with him a Mr Gibson for a month, who had come to collect fauna. One of the passengers, Mr Oldham, arranged for Mr Gibson to collect all the shells he could before leaving.

Gibson, Alexander H 1893, 155-158 staying Aug 1889
Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, catalogue Wallis 1931 objects given by H M Wallis, collected on St Kilda 15.8.1889

1889-90 Ross 1890, 3 mentions 'Mr MacBraynes' officers and men - trips leaving Oban on a Friday, back Sunday forenoon, with 4 or 5 hours ashore on St Kilda.
p 54-55 Steamers and yachts call during June, July and August. People getting more used to steamers, less excited, but still quite excited about yachts, though sometimes disappointed in expectations.
p 89 consternation caused when a group of fishermen landed to see if there was any spare tobacco - landed in Glen Bay, women very agitated.
1890 or earlier? PSAS 64 1929-30, 245 cloth given by J Boyd Jamieson, made more than 40 years ago

1890 R Jobling (draughtsman)
Register Rev Angus Stewart of Whiting Bay, Arran married couple 24.6

1890-92 Turner, 1895, 166-7 Aug. 1890 – June 1892, with summer 1891 off: Nurse Chisnhall

1892 or before PSAS 27 1892-3, 244 brooch given by R W Cochran-Patrick
pre 1894 (some years before 1894) Elliott 1895, 284 Mr G A Panton

1894 Steele Elliott 1894, 114 mentions six or eight calls made by steamers during months June to September; he went on first call of season; he and a friend stayed three weeks in June.

1895 Cockburn 1935, 513 Sir Archibald Geikie

1896 Kearton 1897, 1 Richard and Cherry Kearton and friend Mr John Young went June 13, first trip of season, J T MacKenzie (another friend) going same time also two Glasgow pressmen - hoax about sixteen Spanish sailors castaway on island.
p 27 Mentions 'Jew pedlar' who had come on steamer on which Keartons left, with a bundle of gaudy wares
p 38 Sandy Campbell, piper, had visited seventeen years in succession as Factor's gillie.
p 50 while Keartons there a 'smart little yacht' put in, with 'impetuous Irish skipper' on board
p 51 'A little while back the inhabitants of a large Northern English town by some means or other got to know that the reigning Queen of Hirta was to be married on a certain date. A crowd of holiday makers straightway charted a steamer, and departed to witness the sight with something like a hundred pounds' worth of presents for the bride; but they were baulked of their pleasure, as the young woman's father would not allow his daughter's marriage to be made the subject of entertainment to a mob of vulgar Sassenachs.

Barrington 1913, 202 Richard Barrington
Cockburn 1935, 513 Sir Archibald Geikie
Praeger 1897, 53 May R Lloyd Praeger (botanist)

1898 Heathcote 1900, 6-9 He and his sister stayed in 1898; John MacKenzie jun. went same time; two young Englishmen also went and got lodgings in a native cottage, and a group of masons and carpenters going to build a schoolhouse.
p 12 They met a Dr MacPhaill there.
p 60 they went again in 1899, also an uncle, who was paying his first visit to St Kilda (could be Reginald, or Norman or Canon R C MacLeod of MacLeod)
p 65 Heathcotes stayed 10 days first visit, 1898
p 70 a few years ago one of them accused of sheep-stealing; inspector of police went to take offender into custody; no one would point out where he lived, and when he did see him, everyone refused to allow the policeman to take him away.
p 76 'last summer' a schoolmistress sent for a time to
relieve the minister and teach the girls to sew.
p 85 'last winter' engineer who was looking after
construction of the pier stayed over winter
p 95 1899 foreman of workmen building new school was John
MacDonald
p 106 1899 - there in July - also visiting three young
Englishmen - "the boys".

1899 Wiglesworth 1903, 52 Mr Wheat (ornithologist)

1900 Ferguson, 1958, 141 Dr Fletcher, District Medical Officer
Matthews, 1969, 78-9 Matthews' father - probably sapper then -
spent eleven months on St Kilda with a companion to supervise
building of pier.

1901 or 2 Gillies D J 1988, 39 Rev Ross (?Rev James Ross of
Cowcaddens? - 'late' in 1930 SG 10.10.1930))

1902 Wiglesworth 1903, 4 He and Robert Newstead visited - arrived
June 5 on 'Hebrides', Newstead stayed four days, returning on
'Dunara Castle', but Wiglesworth stayed three weeks, returning
on 'Hebrides' on 26th. He stayed with Donald
Ferguson.
Denny, 1902, 258 Alfred Denny, professor of biology, University
College, Sheffield, on steamer

pre 1903 Kennedy 1924, 20 William Stewart Kennedy

1905 Evans 1921, 67 Rev. James Waterston visited June

1906 Evans 1921, 67 Rev James Waterston visited
Hewitt 1907, 239 C Gordon Hewitt from Manchester visited June
SG 24.8.1928 Dr Johnston for Local Government Board to vaccinate
islanders
Goudie 1907 Zillah Goudie 'Guardian' 3.1907

1906-9 MacLachlan

pre 1908 Annals of Scottish Natural History 1908 35-6 Harry Brazenor,
dealer in birds and eggs

1908 Oliver G Pike 1946, 178-197 visited
Register Rev Malcolm MacLennan of St Columba's, Edinburgh,
marrried couples 11.8.

1909 Register Rev Rod. MacKenzie of Ferintosh and Maryburgh,
Aberfeldy, married couple 10.8

1910 Oliver G Pike 1946, 178-197 visited

1911 Evans 1921 67 W Eagle Clarke visited, September.

1912 (BMJ 1912, 1201, 1249-51) Dr C J Gordon Taylor, with Daily Mirror
expedition.
c 1912 PSAS 99 1966-7 Captain Murdoch, captain of fishery
cruiser 'Minna'
1913-14 Spackman 1982, 8 Gustav Flick
1914 Register Rev Donald Alexander MacDonald of Kilmuir married couple 21.5

1915-18 Spackman 1982, 8 Captain Frank Athow
1916 Register Rev Walter Calder, of Lawers, married couples 10.7
1918 A Nisbet (NTS Ms.) there Aug, Sept, Oct supervising work on gun, with masons
Register S Morris Crow, chaplain of Episcopal Church, Stornoway, married couple 11.12

1919 SG 3.10.1919 James Mather investigating war damage for Government Valuation Department
SG 12.12.1919 Four men from Messrs John Lownie and Sons, contractors, Edinburgh, August-September

1920s Gibson, 1926, 50 George Gibson, doctor

1920 SG 23.7.1920 July Rev Malcolm MacLeod, Lochgilphead, Mr Macfarlane Fisher, dental surgeon, K Baronn, HMI
SG 3.9.1920 September Sir Reginald MacLeod of MacLeod

1921 Aug 23 Dr Shearer on Dunara castle

1922 SG 15.6.1922 June Dr Shearer
SG 27.7.1922 July A G Ferguson, Rev James Barr, Rev Ewan Grant, Govan
Mylne 1983, 37 John P Ritchie, egg collector and ornithologist (also went in 1930)

1923 Kennedy 1924, 19 August William Stewart Kennedy went on steamer - very crowded. He had been before. Doctor on same boat
SG 24.5.1923 May Steamer 'Scarpedon' of Blue Funnel Line, with directors of Messrs Alfred Holt and Co Liverpool, and c.150 guests. Took William MacDonald and daughter off to Stornoway
SG 21.6.1923 notes St Kilda was filmed (By Paul Robello and Bobbie Mann)
SG 28.6.1923 June Dr Sutherland, Assistant County Medical Officer, The Sanitary Inspector, 2 officers of Inverness-shire Constabulary to see requirements of Sheep Dipping Act carried out
SG 16.8.1923 August Rev. J D MacInnes, Munlochy U F Church

1924 SG 10.7.1924 July Norman Robertson, factor for Lord Leverhulme
Register Rev Duncan MacLeod, Tarbert married couple 21.7
Gillies, DJ 1988, 45 Rev Barr

1925 SG 25.6.1925 June A G Ferguson in 'Colonsay'
SG 3.9.1925 September Rev John MacKay, Kinloch, Lewis
Highland Folk Museum Catalogue 1959:38 George MacFarlane of Glen Elgin, 108 Causewayhead Road, Stirling bought tweed in July

1926 SG nn.7.1926 July Mr I M Moffat-Pender 'the Gaelic author' in his yacht 'Am Moal Ruadh'
1927 Mathieson 1928, SG 3.6.1927, 26.8.1927 John Mathieson and Alexander Murray Cockburn from 22.4 – end 9; Mrs Mathieson from June-August; also John Gladstone and Seton Gordon
SG 24.6.1927 June A G Ferguson in 'Colonsay' with 2 guests, crew of five
SG 22.7.1927 July Rev Malcolm MacLean, Applecross, and four old men from Scarf, given a lift in yacht, not named
SG 29.7.1927 July William Hamilton Bell HMI
SG 9.9.1947 August-September Rev John Fraser of Rosehall U F Church, stayed 10 days, returned on a whaler

1928 SG 1.6.1928 May Constable MacKay from Lochmaddy
SG 6.7.1928 June A M Cockburn, Rev Finlay MacQueen of East Rew, Victoria, Australia and his sister, and Mr S J Cook, elder of Mr MacQueen's church; Drs MacDonald, Sutherland, Heatherington and Greer, from Bath, Clackmannan and Stobhill
SG 27.7.1928 July Rev Donald Morrison of Wick staying on island
SG 24.8.1928 August Dr Johnston of Stobhill, retired (last visited 1906) and Mr Simpson, postmaster Lochmaddy, making annual official visit

1929 SG 5.7.1929 July Rev A Campbell, Luss, Rev D B Baxter, Largs, Rev T MacDonald, Blairlogie, Dr James Smith of Falkirk (3rd visit)
Frank Lowe, amateur film maker, and his bride

1930 SG 21.2.1930 February Dr Shearer of Department of Health for Scotland
Bailey, 1990, 2-nn April J Leslie Bailey on 'Henry Melling'
Shaw 1980 510-14 May Margaret Fay Shaw (Mrs Lorne Campbell), also Factor MacKenzie, and official from Department of Health on 'Hebrides'. Some of crew named: Captain Macmillan, First Officer: Mr Clelland, Chief Steward: Mr Blair, wireless operator: Alastair MacRae
SG 20.6.1930 June Tom Johnston, Under Secretary of State for Scotland, with his daughter, on fishery cruiser 'Minna'
T W B Ramsay, Compton MacKenzie and party, A G Ferguson, on 'Dunara Castle'
St Kilda Mail 1990, 8 end August Jessie K Donaldson and James Annand on 'Dunara Castle' (later married)
Mylne 1983, 37 end August John P Ritchie egg collector and ornithologist on 'Dunara Castle'—also made film (see 1922)
Hamilton 1990, 15 September Colin Hamilton, auctioneer with Dowell's, to value houses.

SG 10.10.1930 Rev James Johnston, Strathpeffer, spent 13 days on St Kilda 'some years ago'. also Rev James E MacPhail of Pilrig who collected money to repair church and manse, late Rev James Ross of Cowcaddens, late Rev Alexander Lee
Appendix 5  A Catalogue of Historical Source Material
A list of sources, with locations of unique or rare items.

Contents
Printed books and articles in 'academic' journals  527
Unpublished manuscripts and typescripts  548
Sound recordings  562
Maps  563
Plans  565
Drawings, sketches, etchings and paintings  568
Photographs  570
Films  581
Objects in museums  582
St Kilda

A Bibliography of Historical Sources

Printed books and articles in 'academic' journals. If authors are known to have visited the islands before 1940, the date(s) of visit(s) are given in [bold] in brackets immediately after the author's name. In some cases these are significantly different from the date of publication.

Abbreviations:

DNB: Dictionary of National Biography
GSR: Gaelic School Report(s)
PP: Parliamentary Paper
PSAS: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RCAHMS: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RMS: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland
SG: Stornoway Gazette

Acland, Anne 1981 A Devon Family: The Story of the Aclands Chichester: Phillimore and Co.


Anderson, James M 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission PP 3157-9

Anonymous 1595 The Description of the Isles of Scotland (probably 1577-95) printed as appendix to Skene, W F Celtic Scotland 1880 vol 3 pp 428-440

C 1594 A Short Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, lying in the Deucalidon Sea, being above 300. Also the Iles of Orkney and Schetland or Hethland printed as part of 'Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland composed together' London. 2nd edition by Simon Stafford 1603. Also as an addition to Monipennie’s 'Scots Chronicles' 1612, reprint in Miscellanea Scotica 1818, Vol I pp 175-191 Glasgow: John Wylie and Co

1751 A Voyage to Scotland, the Orkneys and the Western Isles of Scotland London: C Corbet

1846 'The Story of Lady Grange' Chambers Edinburgh Journal 114 March 7 pp 145-148

1898 'St Kilda, a Rock in the British Atlantic' Eclectic Magazine CXXXI New York p 87

1906 Holiday Tours to the Western Highlands and Islands, Including the Romantic Island of St Kilda Glasgow

1921 'Rarity of second attacks of Whooping Cough Epidemic' British Medical Journal II p416
1926  'St Kilda'  British Medical Journal II p 80-1

Anderson, Iain F.  1937  Across Hebridean Seas  London

Andrew, K M  1970  'Kingdom of the Birds'  Scots Mag  Aug pp 414-423

Arnet, H  ed.  year  Extracts from the records of the Burgh of  Edinburgh  1701-1718

Arrowsmith, Aaron  1809  Memoir relative to the construction of the  Map of Scotland published by him in 1807  London


Baillie, Lady, of Polkemmet [1874]  1875  'A Short Visit to St Kilda by a Lady: 1874'  Church of Scotland Missionary Record  Jan. 1875 pp 254-257

Baldwin, John  1974  Seabird Fowling in Scotland and Faroe  Folk Life  12 pp 60-103


1913  'Ascent of Stack na Biorrach, St Kilda'  Alpine Journal  27 pp 195-202

Barron, J  1912  The Northern Institution and its Leading Members 1825 - 1835  Inverness: Inverness Courier

Barry, John  1980  'Aircraft Wrecks of St Kilda'  After the Battle  30 pp 28-43

Baxter, Colin and Crumley, Jim  1988  St Kilda Biggar: Colin Baxter Photography

Beare, T Hudson  1908  'Notes on the Coleoptera from St Kilda'  Annals of Scottish Nat Hist  17 pp 30-5

Black, Ronald  1974  'Colla Ciotach'  Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness  48 1972-4 pp 201-243

Blair, James  1962  'At Last - St Kilda'  Scots Mag  Feb pp 377-384

Blankenhorn, V S  1979  'From the Farthest Hebrides'  (Review article)  The Scottish Review  16 pp 53-5

Boece, Hector  1527  Scotorum Regni Descriptio f xiii: part of:  Scotorum Historiae Prima Gentis Origine cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari  Paris another edition 1574, (f 8)

Boyd, John Morton  1952  'St Kilda in 1952'  Scottish Field  Oct. 1952
1953 'The Sheep Population of St Kilda 1952' Scottish Naturalist pp 25-28

1957 'Animals and Humans at St Kilda' Discovery Aug. 1957 pp 344-348

1957 'An Expedition to Hirta' Scottish Field Oct. 1957 see also Williamson, Kenneth

Brash, I 1965 'St Kilda - Please Open' Scots Mag May pp 160-163

Brazenor, H. 1908 'Proposed Dealers' Raid on the Birds of St Kilda and the Outer Hebrides' Annals of Scottish Natural History 17 pp 35-36

Brougham, Lord [1799] 1871 Memoirs of the Life and Times of Lord Brougham written by himself I London and Edinburgh


Buchanan, George 1762 The History of Scotland Edinburgh

Buchanan, John Lane 1793 Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790 London: GGJ and J Robinson, J Debrett

Buchanan, Margaret 1983 St Kilda: A Photographic Album Edinburgh: William Blackwood

Burrill, John E. O. 1958 'Gunners on St Kilda' Journal of the Royal Artillery 85 pp 97-101

Cameron, Mary [1919-1926] 1969 'Our Childhood on St Kilda' Scots Magazine March 1969 pp 565-571

1973 Childhood Days on St Kilda Gairloch (reprint of Cameron, articles in Oban Times, 1969)

Campbell, Alexander 1818 Albyn's Anthology Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd

Campbell, John Lorne 1953 'Smallpox on St Kilda' Scots Mag May pp 168-172

1984 Canna Oxford: Oxford University Press

Campbell, Ralston 1946 'Dr Johnson was Wrong' Scots Mag Dec pp 203-208

Campbell, R N 1974 'St Kilda and its Sheep' in Jewell et al. 1974 Island Survivors pp 8-35

Campbell, Robert 1945 Obituary: 'John Mathieson FRSE FRSGS' Scottish Geographical Magazine 61 p 71
Carmichael, Alexander [1865] 1928-1972 Carmina Gadelica
Vols. I (1928a), II (1928b), IV (1941), V (1954) and VI
(1971) Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd

Carruthers, R [1834] 1843 The Highland Notebook; or sketches and
anecdotes Edinburgh: A and C Black

Chambers, William 1874 'The Story of Lady Grange' Chambers Journal
551 July 14 1874 pp 449-452

Charnley, Bob 1989 Last Greetings from St Kilda Glasgow: Stenlake
and McCourt

Charnley, Bob 1993 A Voyage to St Kilda Portree: Maclean Press

Chudleigh, R Augustine 1886 'The Strangers' Cold' Brit Med J Sept 4
p 484

Clarke, Edward Daniel [1797] 1824 The Life and remains of Edward
Daniel Clarke ed. William Otter London

Clegg, E J 1977 'Population Changes in St Kilda During the 19th and

Clegg, E J 1982 'Further Studies on the Population of St Kilda:
Coefficients of Inbreeding and a Partial Pedigree' Proc
of the Indian Statistical Institute Golden Jubilee
International Conference on Human Genetics and
Adaptation 1 ed KC Malhotra and A Basu pp 9-14

Clegg, E J 1984 'Some Factors Associated with Island Depopulation
and the Example of St Kilda' Northern Scotland 6 pp 3-11

Coates, Richard 1988 Notes on the Past of the Gaelic Dialect of St
Kilda Brighton: University of Sussex Cognitive Science
Research Reports 81

Coates, Richard 1990 The Place-names of St Kilda Lampeter: Edwin
Mellen Press

Cockburn, A M [1927-8] 1934 'The Geology of St Kilda' Trans Royal
Soc Edin 35 part 2 no.21 pp 511-547

Collacott, R A 1981 'Neonatal Tetanus in St Kilda' Scottish Medical
Journal 26 pp 224-7

Connell, Robert [1886] 1887 St Kilda and the St Kildians London and
Glasgow: Thomas D Morison

Cottam, B 1979 'Archaeology' in A St Kilda Handbook ed. Small, Alan
Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland

Cumming, C F Gordon 1883 In the Hebrides London: Chatto and Windus

D.R.M. 1876 'Cumha Hirteach' An Gaidheal 5 p 54
Denny, Alfred 1902 'Outpost of the Britsh Isles' Travel VII Oct 1902 pp 258-263

Dixon, Charles 1885 'The Ornithology of St Kilda' Ibis 3 pp 69-97, 358-362

Dixon, Harold G 1886 'The Strangers' Cold' British Medical Journal p 286

Dougall, John 1892 'Epidemic on St Kilda Island' British Medical Journal p 1388

Dryden, James 1930 'St Kilda’s Floating Mail' Gibbons Stamp Monthly Dec. 1930


Dun, Finlay 1848 Orain na h-Albain Edinburgh: Wood and Co

Dunlop, Jean 1978 The British Fisheries Society 1786-1893 Edinburgh: John Donald

Dwelly, Edward 1920 The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary

Elliot, J Steele (1894) 1895a 'St Kilda and the St Kildans' Journal Birmingham Nat Hist and Phil Soc. 1 pp 113-135

1895b 'Observations on the Fauna of St Kilda' The Zoologist 19 pp 281-286

Elwes, Henry John 1869 'The Bird Stations of the Outer Hebrides' Ibis 5 pp 20-37

Elwes, J 1912 'Notes on the primitive breeds of Sheep in Scotland' Scottish Naturalist x 1912 pp 25-29


Evans, W 1906 'Some Invertebrata, including Oxodes borealis from St Kilda' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 15 pp 93-8

Ewart, J Cossar 1913 'Domestic Sheep and their Wild Ancestors' Trans Highland Agricultural Society Scotland 2 25 pp 160-191


531
Fea, J 1787 Considerations on the Fisheries London
Fenton, A and Hendry, C 1984 'Wooden Tumbler Locks in Scotland and Beyond' Review of Scottish Culture 1 pp 11-28
Ferguson, M. 1885 Rambles in Skye, with a sketch of a trip to St Kilda Irvine
Ferguson, T 1958 'Infantile Tetanus in some Western Isles in the Second half of the Nineteenth Century' Scottish Medical Journal 3 pp 140-146
Fergusson, Donald A, MacDonald, Angus John and London, Jean F G 1978 From the Farthest Hebrides Toronto: MacMillan
Finlay, Campbell K year 'The St Kildans Today' Scots Mag pp 94-97
1951 Portraits of Islands London 1952 The Fulmar London: Collins
Forbes, Robert 1895 The Lyon in Mourning ed. Henry Paton Edinburgh: Scottish History Society
Forsyth, Robert 1808 The Beauties of Scotland vol 5 T Bonar and J Brown
Fraser, I 1978 Placenames Tocher 28 pp 258-9
Freer, Ada Goodrich 1903 Outer Isles Westminster: Constable and Co.
Fullerton 1848 A Parliamentary Gazetteer of Scotland several vols
Gaelic School Reports Annual Reports of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools: 11, 1822; 12, 1823; 13, 1824; 14, 1825; 15, 1826
Gauld, W W 1989 'In the Lee of Rockall' Northern Studies 26 pp 43-55
Gibson, George 1928 'The Tragedy of St Kilda' Caledonian Medical Journal April 1928 pp 50-62
Gillies, A 1894 Evidence to Napier Commission PP pp 873-5

532
Gillies, John (ed.) 1786 A Collection of Ancient and Modern Gaelic Poems and Songs transmitted from gentlemen in the Highland of Scotland, etc. Perth


Gilmour, H 1958 'Mail Boat from St Kilda' Post Office Magazine Dec 1958

Gordon, Seton [1927] 1933 Islands of the West London


Grant, I F 1959 The MacLeods: The History of a Clan London: Faber and Faber

Grimshaw, Percy H 1907 'On the Diptera of St Kilda' Annals of Scott Nat Hist 16 pp 150-8

Gwynne, D and Milner, C 1974 'The Plant Communities' In Jewell et al. 1974 Island Survivors pp 36-70


Hamp, Eric P 1991 'A Few St Kilda Toponyms and Forms' Nomina 14 1990-1 pp 73-6


1966 'The Mullach Sgar Complex, St Kilda, Outer Hebrides' Scottish Journal of Geology 2 2 165


Harman, Mary 1977 'An Incised Cross on Hirt, Harris' PSAS 108 1976-7 pp 254-8

Harris, M P 1984 The Puffin Calton: T and A D Poyser

Harris, Michael P and Murray, Stuart 1978 Birds of St Kilda Cambridge: Institute of Terrestrial Ecology NERC


Harvie-Brown, John Alexander and Buckley, Thomas Edward [1887] 1888 A Vertebrate Fauna of the Outer Hebrides Edinburgh

Hasler, H G 1949-1950 'Westabout to Rockall' Yachtsman's Annual pp 7-29

533
Hay, G D 1978 'Scottish Wooden Tumbler Locks' Post Mediaeval Archaeology 12 pp 125-7

Heathcote, Evelyn [1898-99] 1900 'A Night in an Ocean Cave' Wide World Magazine Aug 1900 pp 91-96

1901 'A Summer Sojourn in St Kilda' Good Words XLII 1901 pp 460-467


1900b 'On the Map of St Kilda' Geographical Journal XV London 1900 pp 142-144 + map

1901 'Climbing in St Kilda' Scottish Mountaineering Club Climbing Journal VI pp 146-151

Heron, Robert 1794 General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides Edinburgh: John Paterson

Higgins, L R 1971 A Tangle of Islands

Holohan, Ann Maclean 1985 'St Kilda: Childbirth and the Women of Main Street' Scottish Medical Journal 30 pp 50-53

1986 'St Kilda: Emigrants and Disease' Scottish Medical Journal 31 pp 46-49

Hornung, M 1974 'The Soils of Hirta' in Jewell et al. 1974 Island Survivors pp 70-

Huxley, Julian 1939 'Birds and Men on St Kilda' Geographical Magazine X 1939 pp 69-82

Innes, Hammond 1962 Atlantic Fury London: Collins (Novel)

1967 Sea and Islands London: Collins


Johnson, Samuel and Boswell, James 1930 Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. London: Oxford University Press


1899 'Strange life of Lone St Kilda' Wide World Magazine II 1898-9 pp 69-77

534
Kennedy, Anne and Thomas, F W L [c1857-1862] 1874 'Letter from St Kilda with notes by F W L Thomas' PSAS 10 1872-4 pp 702-711

Kennedy, John 1932 The Apostle of the North; the Life and Labours of the Rev. Dr. J MacDonald Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Co.

Kennedy, William Stewart 1924 Ultissima Thule Edinburgh

Kerr, R and Lockie, J R 1943 'Communion Tokens of the Church of Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' PSAS 77 pp 49-146

Kissling, Werner 1943 'Character and Purpose of the Hebridean Blackhouse' Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute LXXIII 1943 pp 75-100

Knox, John 1787 A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786 London

Laing, D 1876 'Mrs Erskine, Lady Grange in the Island of St Kilda' PSAS XI pp 596-608

Lawson, Rod nnnn 'A Flight to St Kilda in July 1902' Paisley

Lawson, W M 1976 'Na Hiortaich' Gairm 94 pp 168-173


Logie, D W [1889] 1889 An Account of a trip from Stirling to St Kilda in S.S. Hebridean of Glasgow 12-17 Aug. 1889 Stirling

Lungatoo, F M 1906 'St Kilda Mail via Shetland' St Martins Le Grand 16 pp 211-212

MacAulay, Kenneth [1758] 1764 The History of St Kilda London: Becket and de Hondt
MacCallum, H [1885] 1907 'St Kilda' Caledonian Medical Journal VII pp 18-24

MacCulloch, John [1815] 1819 A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland London: Hurst, Robinson and Co. vol II and map vol III p 75

1824 The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland London Vol III

MacDiarmid, John [1877] 1878 'St Kilda and its Inhabitants' Trans Highland and Agricultural Soc. Scotland X 1878 pp 232-254

MacDonald, Angus John and MacDonald, Archibald 1911 The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Co Ltd


MacDonald, C R 1886 'St Kilda: Its Inhabitants and the Diseases peculiar to them' British Medical Journal II 1886 pp 160-163

MacDonald, Donald 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission pp 870-3

MacDonald, J 1811 General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides Edinburgh

MacDonald, John [1820s] 1823 Journal and report of a Visit to the island of St Kilda appendix to SSPCK 'Sermon preached by Rev. W A Thomson, June 6 1822'

1827 Journal appended to Gaelic School Report 16 1827

and see Kennedy 1924

MacDonald, Keith Norman (ed) 1895 The Gesto Collection of Highland Music Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren and Sons

MacDonald, Lachlan [1906-1930] 1988 Autobiographical notes in Quine, D A St Kilda Portraits Ambleside pp 115-147

MacDonald, Reginald Henry 1962 Notes on the Kingsburgh Family Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MacFarlane, Walter 1908 Geographical Collections Edinburgh 3 vols. Scottish History Society

MacGregor, Alastair Alpin [1930] 1931 A Last Voyage to St Kilda London: Cassell and Co

1931 'The Folklore of St Kilda' Scottish Field October pp 128-9; November pp 168-9

1969 The Farthest Hebrides London: Michael Joseph
1969 'St Kilda's Mailboats' Country Life Oct.2 pp nn-nn

MacGregor, D R 1960 'The Island of St Kilda - a survey of its character and occupancy' Scottish Studies 4 1960 pp 1-48

MacGillivray, J [1840] 1842 'Account of the Island of St Kilda, chiefly with reference to its natural history' Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal 32 1842 pp 47-70

MacIain 1886 Note Celtic Magazine 11 1885-6 pp 124-6

MacInnes, John 1899 The Brave Sons of Skye Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Donald 1982 'St Kilda Mail' Tocher 36-7 1981-2 pp 446-450

MacInnes, John and MacQueen, Norman 1961 'A Folktale from St Kilda' Scottish Studies 5 1961 pp 215-219

MacIntosh, C Fraser 1897 Antiquarian Notes Inverness

MacIver, Evander 1905 Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman Edinburgh: Constable

MacKay, James A 1959 'Hiort an Diugh' Gairm 30 pp 145-147

1963 St Kilda, Its Posts and Communications Edinburgh: Scottish Postmark Group


1978 Islands Postal History: Harris and St Kilda Dumfries: James A MacKay

MacKay, John 1884 Evidence to the Napier Commission pp 864-870

MacKay, W R 1985 'Early St Kilda - A Reconsideration' West Highland Notes and Queries 26 pp 13-19, 27 pp 17-21


MacKenzie, Sir George of Tarbat 1681-4 An Account of Hirta and Rona published in MacFarlane, W 1908 Vol 3 p 28,

MacKenzie, Sir George Steuart of Coul [1800] 1817 'An Account of the Misfortunes of Mrs Erskine of Grange, commonly known as Lady Grange' Edinburgh Magazine 1 pp 333-9 (published under 'Gael')

MacKenzie, Hector Rose 1885-6 'St Kilda' Celtic Magazine 11 pp 9-16, 62-69, 121-126
MacKenzie, John T [1873-1890s] 1884 Statement to the Napier Commission Appendix XII pp 38-41


1905 'Notes on the Birds of St Kilda' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 14 pp 75-80, 141-153

1906 'Bardachd Irteach' Celtic Review 2 pp 328-342

MacKenzie, William Cook year The Lady of Hirta (Novel)

MacKenzie, William 1880 'Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio' Trans Gaelic Soc Inverness 9 1879-80 pp 19-74

MacKinnon, Donald 1954 'The MacPhersons of Skye' Scottish Genealogist 1, 2-3 pp 26-34

MacKinnon, Donald and Morrison, Alick nd-1974 The MacLeods: The Genealogy of a Clan five volumes: Vol 1 nd, Vol 2 nd (this volume exists in two different editions, neither of which is dated, though there are substantial differences in the order of pagination. One has 131 pages, the other has 129 pages; the former has been used in this work), Vol 3 nd Vol 4 1974 by Morrison only


MacLean, Charles 1977 Island on the Edge of the World Edinburgh: Canongate

MacLean, Lachlan [1838] 1838 Sketches on the island of St Kilda Glasgow: McPhun

MacLennan, Malcolm 1925 Gaelic Dictionary Edinburgh: John Grant

MacLeod, Alexander 1988 Biographical notes on John MacLeod in Quine, D A St Kilda Portraits Ambleside pp 198-213

MacLeod, Brenda 1953 'Aunt Emily goes to St Kilda' Countryman Summer 1953 pp 245-7

MacLeod, Donald 1814 'Notices on the present State of St Kilda' Scots Magazine Dec. 1814 pp 912-913

MacLeod, Donald James 1952 'Eilean Hiort' Gairm 1 pp 15-17

538
MacLeod, John 1792 *Parish of Harris* OSA 1791-9 ed John Sinclair XIII pp 342-392

MacLeod, John 1910 *Reminiscences* Elgin: Moray and Nairn Newspaper Co Ltd

MacLeod, Mary and Watson, J Carmichael 1934 *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* Glasgow: Blackie and Son

MacLeod, Roderick Charles 1938 *The Book of Dunvegan* vols I and II Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club

MacLeod, Roderick 1986 'Domhnallach na Toiseachd ann an Hiort' *Gairm* 130 pp 136-142, 131 pp 252-258, 132 pp 344-350


MacLeod, William (Theophilus Insulanus) 1763 *A Treatise on the Second Sight, Dreams and Apparitions* Edinburgh: Ruddimans, Auld and Co.

McNeill, Malcolm 1886 *Report on the Alleged Destitution* PP 57

McOwan, Rennie 1975 'Night on Bird Island' *Scots Mag* Feb pp 460-469


Major, John 1740 *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiæ* Edinburgh (first edition 1521)

Martin, Martin [1697] 1697 'Several Observations on the North Islands of Scotland' Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society 19 1697 pp 727-729


1716 *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland* London: Bell, Varnam and Osborn, Taylor, Baker and Warner (first edition 1703)

Matheson, William 1952 'Mary MacLeod: Her family connections; her forgotten songs' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 41 1951-2 pp 11-25

Mathieson, John [1927] 1928 'Antiquities of the St Kilda group of Islands' *PSAS* 62 1927-28 pp 123-132

539
1928 Map of St Kilda or Hirta Ordnance Survey

and Cockburn, A M, Gladstone, J and Gordon, S. 1928 'St Kilda' Scottish Geographical Magazine 44 1928 pp 65-90


1930 'The Evacuation of St Kilda' Scottish Geographical Magazine 46 1930 pp 356-7

1930 'Lone St Kilda' Scottish Motor Traction Magazine Aug. 1930 pp 6-7


Milner, W M E 1848 'Some Account of the people of St Kilda, and of the Birds in the Outer Hebrides' The Zoologist nn 1848 pp 2054-2062

Mitchell, Arthur 1865 'Consanguineous marriages on St Kilda' Edinburgh Medical Journal 10 April 1865 pp 899-904

1901 'List of Some Accounts of Visits to St Kilda 1549-1900' PSAS 35 pp 440-2

Mitchell, W R 1990 St Kilda: A Voyage to the Edge of the World Oban: Oban Times

1992 Finlay MacQueen of St Kilda Oban: Oban Times

Moir, D G, Young, A, Bartholomew J C, Simpson D C and Smith, R L 1973 The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850 Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Geographical Society

Moisley, H A 1966 'The Deserted Hebrides' Scottish Studies 10 1966 pp 44-68

Monro, Donald 1961 Description of the Western Isles of Scotland ed R W Munro Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd

Moore, Peter 1987 'Gannet Hunter's Bothy on Stac Lee, St Kilda' Vernacular Buildings 11 pp 12-14

Moray, Robert 1678 'A Description of the Island of Hirta' Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London 12 1678 pp 927-929

Morgan, John E [1860] 1861 'The Falcon among the Fulmars; or six hours in St Kilda' MacMillan's Magazine June 1861 pp 104-111
Morrison, Alick 1974 *The MacLeods - the Genealogy of a Clan* Vol IV
1966 'The Contullich Papers' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 44 pp 310-348
1968 'The Harris Estate Papers' *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 45 pp 33-97
1969 'The Island of Pabbay' *Clan MacLeod Magazine* 6 pp 17-23

Morrison, Donald 1975 *The Morrison Manuscript* ed N MacDonald and Alec Morrison

Muir, Thomas Smyth [1858] 1858 *St Kilda, a Fragment of Travel* by 'Unda' Edinburgh

1861 *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture* Edinburgh

1885 *Ecclesiological Notes on Some of the islands of Scotland* Edinburgh


Munro, Jean and Munro R W 1986 *Acts of the Lords of the Isles* 1336-1439 Edinburgh: Scottish History Society

Munro, R W 1982 *Hirta or Harris?* *West Highland Notes and Queries* 18, Oct 1982 pp 16-19


Nicol, Thomas 1931 *By Mountain, Moor and Loch to the Dream Isles of the West* Stirling

Nicolson, John 1937 'John Sands' *Shetland Times* 3.7.1937

Oswald, D A 1925 'St Kilda' *Scots Mag* Sept pp 419-421

Pennie, Iain D 1964 'Scottish Ornithologists: 1 Sir Robert Sibbald' *Scottish Birds* 3 pp 159-167
1966 'Scottish Ornithologists: 2 Martin Martin' *Scottish Birds* 4 pp 64-73

Pike, Oliver G 1946 *Nature and My Cine Camera*

Pickard-Cambridge, O 1905 'Spiders of St Kilda' *Annals of Scottish Nat Hist* 14 pp 220-3

541
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title / Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pomfret A A</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>'The Evacuation of St Kilda' <em>Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service</em> 17 1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poore, M E D and Robertson, V C</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>'The Vegetation of St Kilda in 1948' <em>Journal of Ecology</em> 37 July 1949, 82-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell, L F</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>'The History of St Kilda' <em>Review of English Studies</em> 16, pp 44-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell, Michael</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td><em>Edge of the World</em> London: Faber and Faber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power, William A</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>The Log of the Olivia Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quine, David A</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>St Kilda Revisited <em>Frome: Dowland Press</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quine, David A</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>St Kilda Portraits <em>Ambleside: Quine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quine, David A</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>'Australian MacQueens - Links with St Kilda' <em>St Kilda Mail</em> 15, pp 4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</td>
<td>1912 Vol 1 (1306-1424); 1892 Vol 7 (1603-1620)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, Eric</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>'The decline of St Kilda: Demography, Economy and Emigration' <em>Scottish Economic and Social History</em> 12 pp 55-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridley, Gordon</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>St Kilda - A Submarine Guide <em>Glasgow: G Ridley</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Alan W</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>'The St Kilda &quot;Mailboats&quot;' <em>Strand Stamp Journal Vol 4 no 2</em> pp 109-111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romilly Allen, J</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>'Notes on Wooden Tumbler Locks' <em>PSAS</em> 14 1879-80 pp 149-162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross, Alexander [1883]</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>'A Visit to the Island of St Kilda' <em>Trans Inverness Scientific Soc. and Field Club</em> 3 pp 72-91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1895 *Scottish Home Industries*


Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland | 1928 | *The Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles* Edinburgh |

Rutherford, I | 1964 | *At the Tiller* |

Ryder, Michael | 1968 | 'The Evolution of the Scottish breeds of Sheep' *Scottish Studies* 12 pp 127-167 |

1974 | *Some Wool Cloth from St Kilda* *Scottish Studies* 18 pp 133-5 |

Sands, John [1875-1877] | 1877a | Out of the world; or, Life in St Kilda Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart |
1877b 'Life in St Kilda' Chambers' Journal 1877 pp 284-287, 312-316, 331-334

1878 'Notes on the Antiquities of the Island of St Kilda'
PSAS 12 1876-8 pp 186-192


Scott, W R 1914 Report to the Board of Agriculture on Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands Parliamentary Paper

Seebohm, Henry 1884 'On a new Species of British Wren' Zoologist 8 pp 333-5

Seton, George [1877] 1878 St Kilda Past and Present Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons

Seton-Watson, R W 1931 'The Strange Story of Lady Grange' History 16 pp 12-24

Seymour, W A 1980 A History of the Ordnance Survey Folkestone: Wm Dawson and Sons

Shand, Alexander Innes 1897 The Lady Grange London: Smith, Elder and Co. (Novel)

Shaw, Margaret Fay 1980 'St Kilda: The Last Summer' Scots Mag Aug pp 510-514

Skene, William F 1880 A history of Celtic Scotland Edinburgh: David Douglas 3 vols

Small, Alan ed. 1979 St Kilda Handbook Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland

Smith, J A 1911 'An Isolated and Intermittent Post Office' St Martins le Grand

Smith, L H M 1983 The Road to the Isles Edinburgh: MacDonald

Smith, R Angus [1873] 1875 'A Visit to St Kilda in 1873' Good Words pp 141-144, 264-269

1879 A Visit to St Kilda in the Nyanza Glasgow: Robert Maclehose

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: Notes of Donations and Purchases for the Museum (now the Royal Scottish Museum) in:
PSAS 3 1857-1860 p 212; PSAS 12 1876-1878 p 185;
PSAS 27 1892-1893 p 244; PSAS 31 1896-1897 pp 153-5;
PSAS 46 1911-1912 p 373; PSAS 51 1916-1917 p 12;
PSAS 60 1925-1926 p 245; PSAS 62 1927-1928 p 134;
PSAS 64 1929-1930 p 245; PSAS 65 1930-1931 pp 14, 298;
PSAS 76 1941-1942 p 133; PSAS 91 1957-1958 p 203;

543
Spackman, R A 1982 *Soldiers on St Kilda* Uist: Uist Community Press

Steel, Tom 1965 *The Life and Death of St Kilda* Edinburgh: The National Trust for Scotland

1988 *The Life and Death of St Kilda* revised edition Glasgow: Fontana/Collins

Stell, Geoffrey P and Harman, Mary 1988 *Buildings of St Kilda* Edinburgh: RCAHMS

Stewart, Alexander 1877 'The St Kilda Maids' Song' *Gael* 6, April 1877 p 125


Stewart, Malcolm 1931 *Bibliography of St Kilda* in St Kilda Papers Oxford: Oxford University Press

1938 'Natural History notes on Scottish Islands' *Scottish Naturalist* x pp 107-114


Svensson, Roland 1955 *Lonely Isles* Stockholm

Tasker, Mark L, Moore, Peter R and Schofield, Richard A 1988 'The Seabirds of St Kilda' *Scottish Birds* 15 pp 21-29

Taylor, A B 1961 *Early Maps of Scotland* Scottish Geographical Magazine 77 pp 37-43

1967 'The Norsemen on St Kilda' *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 17 1967 pp 106-114

1969 *The Name 'St Kilda'* *Scottish Studies* 13 1969 pp 145-158

Tewnion, Alexander 1957 *Unique sheep of St Kilda* *Scots Mag* 1957 pp 430-435

Thomas, Frederick W L [1860] 1860 'Notice of Beehive Houses in Harris and Lewis' *PSAS* 3 1860-62 pp 127-144

1862 'Notice of a Beehive House in the island of St Kilda' *PSAS* 3 1860-62 pp 225-232

1868 'On the Primitive Dwellings and Hypogea of the Outer Hebrides' *PSAS* 7 1866-68 pp 153-195

1993 The MacDiarmid Ms Anthology Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society

Thomson, Robert 1891 A Cruise in the Western Isles Glasgow

Thompson, Francis 1970 St Kilda and other Hebridean Outliers Newton Abbot: David and Charles

Thornber, Iain 1990 'St Kildans No More' Scots Mag Dec pp 278-288

Trollope, Anthony (1878) 1878 How the 'Mastiffs' went to Iceland London: Virtue and Co.

Turner, G A 1895 'The Successful Preventive Treatment of the Scourge of St Kilda (tetanus neonatorum) with some considerations regarding the management of the cord in the new born infant' Glasgow Medical Journal 43 March 1895 pp 161-174

Turrill, W B 1927 'The Flora of St Kilda' Rep Bot Exch Club Br Isles 8 428-444

'Viator' 1818 'St Kilda Poetry' Scots Mag March 1818 pp 241-2

Wager, L R 1953 'Extent of Glaciation in the Island of St Kilda' Geol Mag 90 177-80


Walker, J Russell 1883 '"Holy Wells" in Scotland' PSAS 17 1882-3 pp 152-210

Waters, W E 1964 'St Kilda Winter' Scots Mag March pp 543-545

Waterston, James 1905 'Notes on the Mice and Birds of St Kilda' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 14 pp 199-202

1906 'On some Scottish Siphonaptera' Annals of Scottish Nat Hist 15 pp 211-214

Watson, W J 1926 The History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland Edinburgh

Weir, Tom 1956 note in 'My Month' Scots Mag Oct pp 25-29

1957 note in 'My Month' Scots Mag July pp 286-7

1958 'Beath ur air seain Eilean' Gairm 3 pp 271-273


1982 note in 'My Month' Scots Mag Sept pp 625-631

1984 'The Curse of St Kilda' Scots Mag March pp 630-635
St Kilda and its Birds Liverpool

Williamson, Kenneth 1958a 'Ancient St Kilda' Scottish Field March 1958 pp 46-49

1958b 'Life on St Kilda' Scots Mag Oct. 1958 pp nn-nn

1960a 'From Cleit to Cottage' The Countryman 57 no 3 Aug 1960 pp 505-510

and Boyd, John Morton 1960 St Kilda Summer London: Hutchinson and Co

and Boyd, John Morton 1963 A Mosaic of Islands


Wilson, James [1841] 1842 A Voyage round the Coasts of Scotland and the Isles Edinburgh II pp 1-113

1842 'Additional Notice Regarding St Kilda' Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal 32 pp 178-180
List of periodicals checked

Antiquity 1 1927 - 64 1990
Celtic Magazine 2 1876 - 13 1888
Celtic Review 1 1904 - 10 1915
Folk Life 1 1963 - 28 1990
Folk Lore 1 1890 - 99 1988
An Gaidheal 1 1873, 2 1874, 4 1875, 6 1877
Gairm 1 1952 - 155 1991
Northern Scotland 1.2 1973 - 11 1991
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1 1851 - 121 1991
Scots Magazine 1739 - 1825, 1938 - 1990
Scottish Gaelic Studies 1 1926 - 16 1990
Scottish Geographical Magazine 1 1885 - 106 1990 (not 79, 81, 86)
Scottish Historical Review 1 1904 - 69 1990
Scottish Studies 1 1957 - 28 1984
Tocher 1 1971 - 56 1990
Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 1 1871 56 1990
Transactions of Inverness Scientific Soc & Field Club 1 1875 - 9 1925
West Highland Notes and Queries 7 1978 - series 2: 7 1991
Manuscripts relating to St Kilda

The archives or places holding manuscripts and typescripts of unpublished historical material are listed in alphabetical order.

Atholl Archive

Murray, George Augustus Frederick John (Duke of Atholl) [1860] 1860 letter 6.6.1860 Atholl Archive Box 58 Bundle 30 Document 10

Dunvegan Castle Muniments

Based on National Register of Archives (Scotland) Survey no. 2950

Section One: Correspondence, accounts and reports relating to the island of St Kilda 1775 - 1931

95/1-2 1775 Copy part of extract special retour of Norman MacLeod now of MacLeod, as heir to his father, in lands, including island of St Kilda, Harris, in accordance with charter under the great seal dated 26 July 1746 in favour of John MacLeod.

102 1776 Dec 7 Instrument of sasine in favour of Captain Alexander Mackleod, late of the Mansfield East Indiaman, of the lands and barony of Dunvegan in accordance with a bond of corroboration dated 17 Sept 1776, by the trustees of Norman MacLeod. Reg. P R S 20 Dec 1776

108 1781 March 14, 16 Instrument of sasine in favour of John Hay and other trustees for the creditors of Norman MacLeod of the lands and barony of Dunvegan and the lands and barony of Glenelg in accordance with a disposition in trust and security, dated 3 and 24 December 1779 by the said Norman MacLeod, having regard to a minute of sale, dated 23 July 1779 of the estate of Harris to Alexander MacLeod Reg G R S 12 May 1781

178/1-5 1895 May 11, Aug 22 Testament of Norman MacLeod died 5 Feb 1895 leaving estates in Skye and St Kilda to his eldest son.

381/1-52 1741 - 1810 Papers relevant to the sale of Harris in 1779 to Captain Alexander MacLeod up to and including a final discharge and renunciation of 29 December 1810 by Alexander Hume as heir to the above late owner of Harris. Papers include rentals, legal memorials, inventories, vouchers for payment of purchase price, and the articles of agreement of 23 July 1779.

466/2 No date Rental of Harris, showing the drop in rents since the original lease. Rental of St Kilda is given as £20, a drop of £10.

466/3 No Date Proposals made by Captain Alexander MacLeod, formerly of the Indiaman the 'Mansfield' in negotiations with Mr William Bannatynie Macleod, advocate, and William Dick W.S. as representing Norman MacLeod, concerning the sale of Harris.
466/20 1771 Draft advertisement of lands and barony of Harris and islands belonging to Norman MacLeod

466/22 1772 Description of the 'Main Land' of Harris and islands belonging to Norman MacLeod.

466/23 1772 Jan 30 Copy letter from Capt. Alexander to Norman MacLeod about problems of emigration, not buying Harris, etc.

466/24 1772 Feb 29 Description of Harris

466/25/1-2 1772 Lists of questions from Donald and Captain Alexander MacLeod to Norman MacLeod and vice versa.

466/26 1771 June 2 Answers.

466/28 1773 Aug 16 Discharge and renunciation by Alexander MacLeod of St Kilda of account with Norman MacLeod and tack by 1769 granted by deceased Norman MacLeod and his commissioners. The account is specified.

466/30 1775 draft advertisement of Harris and Glenelg, for sale.

466/37 1779 Sept 25 Copy of agreement for sale of Harris concerning the date of entry of the purchaser, Alexander MacLeod.

489/1 1811 Nov 8 Gesto. Agreement of sale, in letter until properly stamped paper shall be available, between Neil MacLeod of Gesto on the one part and Mr Lauchlan MacLeod, missionary minister of St Kilda and Marion MacLeod or MacLean, his wife, on the other part, of estates and property left to the latter by her brother, Alexander MacLean of the Bahamas.

489/2 1830 Note for the former in submission between Capt Neil MacLeod of Gesto and John Norman MacLeod of MacLeod.

Section Two Estate Papers

10 1750 March 20 Tack by Capt. John MacLeod, younger of MacLeod, to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod for the pennylands of St Kilda and the lands pertaining to him in Harris for 16 years for annual duty of £100 stg.

485/1-127 1683 -1887 Rentals, judicial rentals and arrears of the MacLeod estates as a whole with modern copy of rent roll 1769 - 71.

487/1-32 1664 - 1754 Rentals for Harris.

624/1-27 C19 and C20 list of building and survey plans including Plan of Village of St Kilda, Inverness-shire...

St Kilda

625/1-9 1871-4, 1879, 1898 Notes of accounts on handwriting of Norman MacLeod of MacLeod and Norman Magnus MacLeod of MacLeod.
626/1-7 1871-2 Accounts of Norman MacRaild, factor on St Kilda.

627/1-4 1872-4, 1879, 1887 Accounts of St Kilda produce.

628/1-3 1872-3, 1877 List of supplies ordered and account for supplies from the Highland and Agricultural Society.

629/1-21 1873-4, 1880-94, 1921 Accounts of charge and discharge for St Kilda.

630/1-15 1875, 1880-8, 1890-4 Abstracts of invoices for goods supplied to St Kilda tenants.

631/1-18 1876-1889 Accounts of the smack 'Robert Hadden' sailing to and from St Kilda.

632/1-31 1895 - 1925 (with intervals) Vouchers, showing imports and exports to and from St Kilda.

633/1-3 1873-94 Volume of St Kilda estate accounts.

634 1881 - 1930 Volume of accounts of charge and discharge between MacLeod of MacLeod and tenants of St Kilda.

635 1899 - 1930 Volume of St Kilda accounts - import and export.

636 1909-31 Ledger of St Kilda estate.

Correspondence

637/1/1-6 1870-72 Correspondence of dispute with S.P.C.K. over funds left for provision of minister for St Kilda. The islanders have joined the Free Church and the S.P.C.K. is bound by charter to the Established Church.

637/2/1-2 1872, February 6 J N Menzies to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod concerning amount of St Kilda fund of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland together with memorandum on origin and management of 'the Kelsall Fund'.

637/3 1874, August 16 D MacDonald to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod about question of rent for rocks on which to catch birds on Soay and St Kilda.

637/4/1-13 1876, April 24 - July 3, 1882, 1885 Correspondence between Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (in drafts) and Mr J Sands, Ormiston, Tranent.

637/5/1-7 1877, March - 1900, November 22. Letters (7) from John T MacKenzie, factor, on St Kilda affairs.

637/6/1-6 1877, 1885 St Kilda Manse. Letters (4) from Rev John MacKay to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod, Miss Emily MacLeod and Rev Dr Rainy of the Free Church College, Edinburgh (copy) together with a draft reply from MacLeod. Includes a request in his handwriting, dated 3 September 1885, by the islanders, concerning payment for grazing sheep and catching fulmars.
1885, July 23  Letter from Angus Gillies to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod saying he has lost his only cow in a storm and asking for replacement.

1885-6, 1906  Correspondence, with reports, between Secretary for Scotland and MacLeod of MacLeod concerning St Kilda, the condition of the people and the improvement of a landing place, with, in one case, a draft reply by MacLeod.

----- July 6.  St Kilda  William MacDonald to MacLeod of MacLeod concerning marketable cow and the excellence of the fishing but saying that they require a larger boat.

(1877) Copy letters from Miss Emily Sarah MacLeod mainly to her sister, Mary, from St Kilda together with various fragments, and a letter to a Mr Seton concerning a book he has written on St Kilda. The letters describe people and conditions on the island.

1884-5  Greenock and St Kilda letters from Henry Evans to Miss Emily MacLeod of MacLeod

1887, June 29  St Kilda  Rachel Gillies to Miss Emily Macleod complaining of her treatment by her brother on her return from Australia.

1898, February 7  Rev Dr Robert Rainy to Norman Magnus MacLeod of MacLeod regarding possible addition of hall to church on St Kilda, with copy reply.

1899  Memorial by Reginald MacLeod on the migration of the people of St Kilda.

1899, July 14  Copy letter from Norman Magnus MacLeod of MacLeod to the Secretary of the Congested Districts Board about the proposed scheme to improve landing place.

1899, October 28  Rev William Boyd to Norman Magnus MacLeod of MacLeod sending magazine in which his article on St Kilda appears.

1899, November 18 - December 12  Labour statement for work on St Kilda pier together with letter from Walter S Coles, Scottish Office Consulting Engineer, to Norman Magnus MacLeod enclosing progress reports.

1890, 1891  Free Church Manse, St Kilda. Letters (2) from Rev Angus Fiddes of the Free Church to [Miss Emily Sarah MacLeod?] with reports from the island, together with copy memorial to the Queen, 3 September 1890, requesting the services of a nurse for the island.

1908  Letters from Frank E Lemon, hon. secretary of the RSPB, to Norman Magnus MacLeod concerning proposed raid on birds of St Kilda and the Outer Hebrides.
639/8/1-2 1910, November 25, December 18 Letters (2) from William Eagle Clarke to Norman Magnus MacLeod.

639/9/1-2 1913, September 22 Major A C MacLean, Chief Constable of Inverness, to Norman Magnus MacLeod sending report on sheep-dipping on St Kilda.

639/10 1918, May 15 Rev Alexander MacKinnon to Norman Magnus MacLeod about the bombardment of St Kilda by a German submarine.

640/1/1-4 1904, 1905, 1908 Legislation regarding protection of birds.

640/1/2 1935 Geology of St Kilda. Extract from transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh vol LVIII, Pt II (no 21) 1934-5.

641/1/1-16 1877, 1879, 1889, 1896, 1909 Newspaper cuttings concerning St Kilda.

641/2/1-4 ND Undated newspaper cuttings concerning St Kilda.

642 1930 Volume of press-cuttings concerning the evacuation of St Kilda.

Section Three: Accounts: Estate and Personal

15/1-2 Oct 6 1687 Vouchers for account of Mr Martin Martin

65/1-158 1763 - 1776 includes rental of estates in Skye and Harris for 1769.

92/1-19 1889 - 1927 Accounts of Mr John MacKenzie, factor.

99/1-73 1890 - 1899 Accounts of estate, together with rentals; including accounts and rental for St Kilda.

101/1-42 1900 - 1906 Estate accounts including rentals, and St Kilda accounts for 1902, 1908, 1914-16, 1920, 1925, 1927.

102/1-65 1904 - 36 Estate accounts including St Kilda.

161/1-38 1896-7, 1899-1900, 1902-3 Tax assessments, including one for St Kilda.

Section Four: Correspondence

149 Feb 14 1741 Edinburgh Thomas Hope to MacLeod of MacLeod. He has received a letter from Lady Grange, dated at St Kilda, January 1738, describing her 'miserable condition' and asking him to obtain her release. He therefore requests the laird's help should the bearer, Capt. William Gregory in the sloop Arabella, fail to find Lady Grange at St Kilda.

150 1744, Aug 2. Account for board for Lady Grange, due to Rory MacNeil.
151 1745, May 12  Trumpan  Letter from Rory MacNeil to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod reporting death of 'the first in this familie' on 10 May. he says he will be guided by Waterstein 'seeing you left me no written orders when or how to burie her in caice she should happen to die in this hous but i hope to see her decently interred Wednesday next'.

152 Aug. 16 1745  Account by the same for Lady Grange's burial and previous 9 months board.

153 Nov 26 1763  Charles MacSween to MacLeod of MacLeod protesting about unfair treatment concerning a tack. He vows vengeance and he reminds the laird 'what Guest I brought from Harrish in March 42 or by whose orders I kept her seven months and who wrote me in September 42 to delkiver her to Rory MacNeil'.

673/1-2 1772 Dec 5  Draft letter (from Emilia widow of dec. John MacLeod younger of MacLeod) to Capt. MacLeod of the Mansfield concerning his feu of Harris, together with part of (copy?) letter from the same, unaddressed, concerning the raising of a loan for the benefit of the estate.

682/1-3 1775-6  Correspondence and copy correspondence concerning sale of Harris from which Norman MacLeod of MacLeod wishes to exclude St Kilda, having 'a very strong passion to retain it, on account of its curiosity'.

758 1791 May 31  Talisker  John MacLeod of Talisker to his cousin, Alexander MacLeod, mentioning Norman Macleod, now MP for Inverness ... Harris had been sold to the son of the late Alexander MacLeod of Bernera.

898/1-6 1812 March - August  William Dallas to John Norman MacLeod concerning sale of Colbost, Skiniden and St Kilda and the settlement of account due for survey of MacLeod estate.

1387 1888 April 10  Dover House  Secretary of Scotland to MacLeod with decision regarding St Kilda.

1417/1-2 1876 September 25  Mrs Theodora C Walker to Mrs MacLeod of MacLeod with case containing specimens of St Kilda Birds.

1461/1-49 1831 - 1886  Norman MacLeod to Emily MacLeod his sister - about estate and family matters. Letter of April 16 1886 concerns among other estate matters St Kilda.

1522 1878 March 12  George Seton to Emily MacLeod concerning a book he has written which he has sent her to read.

1758/1-2  Two letters from J Young to Norman MacLeod of MacLeod about objects found on St Kilda and sent to Museum of Antiquities.
1768/1-4 1898 July 12-18 Waternish Letters from A R MacDonald to the same concerning Lady Grange. Asks for copies of certain documents and himself sends copy letter, dated at St Kilda 20 January 1738, from Lady Grange to Lord Tinwald describing her abduction.

1823 1931 February 5 Dept of Health for Scotland Mr John Jeffrey to Sir Reginald MacLeod of MacLeod about the affairs of two former residents in St Kilda, Mr John MacDonald and Mrs Ewen Gillies, his housekeeper.

1824/1-4 1931 July - September Correspondence about St Kilda quern to be lent to Scottish Ideal Home Exhibition.

Section Five: History and Genealogy etc.

40/1-3 N D Notes on Whitehouse and St Kilda, and copies extracts from letters 1813 - 1822, concerning the beautiful Miss MacLeod.

133 1850, 1887 pamphlets and press cuttings including some on St Kilda.

135 1877 Feb 21, April 17, 18, 19, 21, Aug 11, 1878 Feb 3, 1921, 1936 Press cuttings - some on St Kilda.

169 1933 Aug 4 -7 Obituaries from Times and Inverness Courier by MacLeod of MacLeod on Mr John MacKenzie, former factor.

Gladstone Archive

Collection of papers belonging to John Gladstone who accompanied John Mathieson to St Kilda in 1927, now with the Gladstone family at Capenoch. Not seen.

National Library of Scotland

Advocates Manuscripts

31.2.6 p 16 (1549) i copy, c.1680, of 'Description of the Western Isles of Scotland by Sir Donald Monro 'High Dean of the Isles'' originally written 1549. This copy published 1961 by R.W. Munro. Another copy (Adv MS 35.3.12.iii p.297) made in 1749, published in MacFarlane's Geographical Collections III 1908 ii 'The Description of the Iles of Scotland' by an unknown author written probably 1577-82 Published in William Forbes Skene's 'Celtic Scotland' 1880 iii pp 428-40 31pp bought, Sibbald sale, Feb. 1723.

33.3.20 ff.21v, 26v-33 c.1700 Sibbald. 'A Description of the Islands belonging to the Crowne of Scotland taken from severall manuscripts, and the relations of thos that lived in them or frequented them' written probably c. 1700 Volume begins with a brief general account of Scottish Islands followed by detailed descriptions of the Western isles, in particular St Kilda. (ff.21v 26v, 27v.) 37ff.

33.5.15. p.26 c.1683 Sibbald. 'Collections of papers and informations in order to the description of Scotland' by Sir Robert Sibbald c.1682. Transcribed in 1749 (Adv. MS 35.3.12 iii) and published in MacFarlane's Geographical Collections iii 1908 ii + 370 pp.

29.1.1 (i - vii) Correspondence and papers of the Murrays of Stanhope. The great majority relate to Sir Alexander, 3rd baronet (d c. 1743) and to his brother Charles. The family were Jacobites, and there is some correspondence of Sir Alexander with other participants in the '15. The family estates, both in Peeblesshire and Argyleshire, were forfeited in 1767. Vol vii contains papers (a few printed), mostly financial and legal. At the beginning a few earlier papers. 1688-1750, nd. NLS 29.1.1 vii ff.169-72 notes: 'A Politicall whim concerning St Kilda one of the Western Isles of Scotland writen in the year 1735'.

21.1.5 Papers of George Chalmers, the antiquary.'Chalmers Topographical Collections' 21.1.5 letters 1795-9 Forfar, Haddington, Inverness-shire Chalmers worked in the Office of Trade, Whitehall. NLS 21.1.5 ff 183-5 letter, no date, describing St Kilda, ?from Neil MacLeod, minister of Kilfinichen, Mull, NLS 21.1.5 f 224 letter, 7.6.1798 from Murdoch Mackenzie, Minehead, to George Chalmers, enclosing description of St Kilda (ff.183-5).

Other Manuscripts

389 notes on placenames, n.d. Names from map in the book on St Kilda by Norman Heathcote.


3051 1799 'An Account of the Island of St Kilda and Neighbouring Islands. Visited in August 1799 The visit, which covered 10-11 August, corresponds to that paid by John Joseph Henry Brougham and Charles Stuart at that time. The account may, therefore, have been written by one of that party, possibly by Robert Campbell of Shawfield. i = 108 = some blank ff.
5843 Detailed inventory of Stevenson Collection of Plans.
5862 1826 nos. 9-10 plans

National Museums of Scotland, Scottish Ethnological Archive
St Kilda A4 file; T Hetherington 'Glen Mor St Kilda' with sketch map 1973 Ts.

National Trust for Scotland
Anonymous (Celoria, Francis?) 'Report on a Preliminary Survey of the Archaeology of St Kilda' University of Keele 1966 Ts.
Atkinson, G C 'A Few Weeks Ramble among the Hebrides in the Summer of 1831' Ts. of Ms of which the location is now unknown.
Clarke, Janet 'St Kilda 1758-1887' 1970
Cottam, Barry 'St Kilda Archaeological Survey' I 1973, II 1974 Ts.
Craig, Doris Letter concerning father's connection with St Kilda in early C20
Ferguson, Gavin Notes on Fergusons of St Kilda
Long, K D 'St Kilda: A First Supplementary Bibliography' May 1976 Ts.
MacLachlan, Alice 'Diary' August 1906 - May 1909 Ts.
MacQueen, Kelman 'Memoirs of his Ancestors' Ts
Mathieson, John 'Survey of St Kilda - an Expert's Self Imposed Task?' 1927
Murray, George 'Diary' 1886-7 Ts.
Nicoll, Kathleen B 'The Story of St Kilda' Nursing thesis 1963-4 Ts
Nisbet, A 'Diary of Contract Work' 1918
Ross, John 'St Kilda as it now is' 1889-90 Ms.
Rutherford, Henry R 'St Kilda 1970: Conservation of the Built Environment'

Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Ingliston
Deedbox marked 'St Kilda Bequest', containing papers relating to bequest of £700 made by Charles Kelsall, of Hythe near Southampton, in 1857, for behalf of the inhabitants of St Kilda, to the 'Society for the Improvement of the Highlands of Scotland'. This contains fourteen parcels, labelled thus:
St Kilda Kelsall Bequest: Letters, Papers, etc. 1851-1876
Extract from Will, 5th April 1851
Letters from J W Stuart Menteith to J H Maxwell 1857
Letter from Maples, Maples and Pearse 5.12.1857
Various legal papers: 1857 - 1859
Two records of the case in Chancery (bequest contested by residuary legatees)
St Kilda bequest Statement of Accounts 4.12.1867
Memorandum on Origin and Management of Fund 1876 with account
Extract from Minutes of the Highland and Agricultural Society
of Scotland. n.d.
Kelsall bequest: Claim of the Highland and Agricultural Society to apply the funds. n.d.

St Kilda Fund: Subscription Books, Bank Books
3 subscription books, 1860
6 Bank Account Books: Union Bank of Scotland 1860 - 1863
Royal Bank of Scotland 1878 - 1932
Account closed 22.3.1932

St Kilda Fund: Subscribers Letters 1860

St Kilda Fund: Letters from J.M. MacLeod of St Kilda

St Kilda Fund: Letters from Captain Otter R.N. H.M.S. 'Porcupine' to
J Hall Maxwell, 1860 - 1863

St Kilda Fund: Plan of Village 1860, Printed Articles, Memoranda,
Minutes of meetings, Lists etc.
Advertisement for tour to St Kilda, 1877, Martin Orme;
Timetable for sailings of 'Dunara Castle', August, 1890,
Martin Orme.
Memorandum of conversation with Mr MacLeod of St Kilda, 1859
Memorandum of conversation with Mr MacLeod of St Kilda and Mr
Norman McRaild his overseer, Nov 1859.
Cutting from 'North British Daily Mail' 15.10.1860
List of Articles sent to St Kilda 18.10.1860
Distribution of Provisions in St Kilda (1860)
St Kilda Add. Memo. (1860, Otter's hand, notes about clothes,
cheese, straw, building work etc.)
Agreement to build houses and other work etc. St Kilda (1860,
Otter's hand, 'marks' by St Kildan men.
Measurements of Penticle of Land in the Island of St Kilda,
measured from a tracing n.d. (probably 1859/60)
List of Goods for St Kilda per H.M. Gunboat 'Flirt' 1877
Memorandum of conversation with Mr MacKinnon, 2.5.1916

St Kilda Fund: Letters from Alex Cross and Son, David Cross, and

St Kilda Fund: Receipts 1860 - 1908
1861 Clubb and Smith Fenchurch Street for Flour Mill and
Dresser
James Tweedie, Glasgow for windows, doors and furniture
for same
Darroch and Son Glasgow for boat and tackle

557
Edward Weir, High Holborn for Mill, Flour dresser, Winnowing machine
James Tweedie, Glasgow for zinc roofing, nails, oars, fishing tackle
(1861?) note of expenses and subscriptions.
1869 Alexr. Cross and Sons, Glasgow, for Goods
1877 John MacDiarmid for expenses
Alexander Cross and Sons for seed oats etc.
1880 Peterson and Co. Glasgow for 12 loads Canadian Oatmeal
1882 J McKenzie Leith for 25' boat and chain
1891 J MacKenzie and Co Leith for freight of new boat
1908 James G. Marr and Co, Leith, for new boat for St Kilda and tackle

St Kilda Fund: Letters from Miss Emily MacLeod to Fletcher N Menzies, 1877, 1878
St Kilda Fund: Letters from John T MacKenzie, Factor, 1883 - 1906
St Kilda Fund: letters 1860 - 1877
St Kilda Fund: letters 1880 - 1915
File: St Kilda ferry boats 612/3/18

Photographs of St Kilda 18.8.1910
Post Office (Factor's House)
View of the village from the Post office
View of the village from outside no.1
The bay with S.S. 'Hebrides', Dun behind

Scottish Record Office
SRO Records of Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland
AF 57 St Kilda Files (Scottish Office). This series of files which were raised in the Scottish Office cover all matters connected with St Kilda.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref no.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Ref Date Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Provision of nurse</td>
<td>[S.5541/1 &amp; 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1893-4</td>
<td>Provision of supplies - naval visits, [S.5541/4, 5, 6, 7, &amp; 8]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Report on visit by HMS 'Starling' [S.5541/9]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Remission of rates [S.5541/10]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1878-99</td>
<td>Provision of pier and harbour [S.5541/11,12,13, &amp; 14]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Report on visit by HMS 'Bellona' [S.5541/15]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Press cuttings - condition of islanders [S.5541/16]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8 1904-6 Communications with mainland during winter months. Conveyance of mails. [S.5541/17-24, 26-29, 31-33]
9 1906 Report by Captain Christie R.A.M.C. [S.5541/25]
10 1912 Provision of Supplies. Visit and report by HMS 'Achilles' [S.5541/34, 38, 41]
11 1912 Provision of telegraphic facilities [S.5541/40]
12 1912-13 Communications with mainland during winter months. Conveyance of provisions and mails. [S.5541/42, 43, 52, 54, 55]
13 1912-13 Provision of wireless facilities: Application by Daily Mirror to set up a station. [S.5541/44-50, 53, 56]
14 1913 Influenza Epidemic Relief measures. Medical report on health of Islanders. [S.5541/59-61, 63, 67, 68]
15 1914 Illness of individuals. Appeals for medical assistance. Reports by nurses. [S.5541/69-72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78]
16 1914 P.Q. by Mr Hogge. Provision of medical facilities. [S.5541/73]
17 1914 Influenza epidemic. [S.5541/79-82]
18 1914 P.Q. by Mr Hogge. proposal that Treasury take over wireless installation. [S.5541/85, 85A]
19 1916-17 Transport and disposal of cattle from island. [S.5541/87, 88, 89, 90]
20 1919 Proposed government take-over of wireless installation. [S.5541/91, 92, 93]
21 1920 Arrangements for mail service. [S.5541/94]
22 1920 Epidemic of mumps [S.5541/95, 97]
23 1920 Police report on conditions on island. [S.5541/96]
24 1921 Report on pier. [S.5541/98]
25 1922 Proposed visit by medical officer. [S.5541/99]
26 1923-30 Reports on condition of inhabitants. Proposed removal. [RHP 5282 refers] [S.5541/100]
27 1930-31 Removal of inhabitants. [S.5541/100a]
28 1924-30 Mail service. [S.5541/101, 109]
29 1924-9 Fuel supplies. [S.5541/102]
30 1929 Wireless station. Proposed re-establishment. [S.5541/104]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref no.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Reports on visits to and arrangements for the evacuation by the Department of Health for Scotland of the Island of St Kilda. [INT./2/19/]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SRO Records of the Scottish Development Department

DD 15

Ref no. Date Description
64 1930 Reports on visits to and arrangements for the evacuation by the Department of Health for Scotland of the Island of St Kilda. [INT./2/19/]
65 1930 " [INT.2/19/Part A]
66 1930 " [INT.2/19/Part B]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no.</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Miscellaneous records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Miscellaneous records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>817/1</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Exercise book of Donald Gillies, pupil at St Kilda Primary School, given by Dr. A.R. King, 9 Melville Terrace, Stirling FK8 2NE accessed 1977 (File T/995) Book used from April 16th to June 24th 1930.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Western Isles Islands Council Library**

St Kilda School Log Book 1.8.01 - 27.6.30
Sound recordings

Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Department of Human History, Glasgow

A 8037 Conversation between Neil Gillies and Margaret Buchanan about St Kilda, 1980 (copy in School of Scottish Studies)

School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

SA 1952/132 Donald Gillies telling Calum I MacLean a version of Dugan and Fearchar story, heard from his mother. Catherine Gillies reciting seven lines of poem to Tobar nam Buadh 20.10.1952

SA 1961/18 Conversation between Norman MacQueen and John MacInnes, 1961, in Gaelic, about MacQueen's life, fowling for different species of birds, cleitean, and the eating of birds and eggs.

SA 1961/19 Conversation between Norman MacQueen and John MacInnes, 1961, in Gaelic and English, about Soay sheep, exploitation of crofters, historical sites, and story of Dugan and Fearchar Mòr (published Scottish Studies 1961) Conversation between Lauchlan? MacKinnon and John MacInnes, 1961, about churches and placenames

SA 1961/20 Conversation between Donald MacQueen and John MacInnes, 1961, in Gaelic, about fowling and livestock, horses, hair ropes and snares

SA 1961/21 Conversation between Donald MacQueen and John MacInnes, 1961, in Gaelic, about missionary accompanying fowlers, loss of two men fowling, St Kilda mailboats (published Tocher 1981/2), and use of boats.

SA Conversation between Annabelle MacLeod and David Clement, 1978, in Gaelic, mainly about loss of 'Dargavel' in 1863, and drowning of three men near Dun in 1909

SA Conversation between Annabelle MacLeod, Lachie MacDonald and David Clement, 1978, mainly about Dugan and Fearchar

SA Conversation between Lachie MacDonald and David Clement, 1983, partly a discussion of current events, partly a general review of life on St Kilda as Lachie MacDonald remembered it - no details.

PN 144A Donald Gillies telling Iain Fraser some placenames 19.12.1967
List of maps of St Kilda

The date of the field survey is given first

1697 Martin  Martin inserted in Martin, M 1698 A Voyage to St Kilda scale c. 1.7 inches: 1 mile

1758 MacAulay, Kenneth inserted in MacAulay, K 1764 The History of St Kilda London Scale 2 1/4 inches: 1 mile. copied from Martin, with differences in style.

1799 Campbell, R Map of the islands of St Kilda, Borrera, etc etc Scale: 5/8 inch: 1 mile in: Arrowsmith, Aaron 1809 Memoir relative to the construction of the Map of Scotland published by hin in 1807 London, A Arrowsmith p 20

c 1800 MacKenzie, Sir George Steuart of Coul No scale: c 3/4 inch: 1 mile in Wilson, J 1842 A Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland and the Isles II opp p.3

1815 MacCulloch, John No scale: c 1 1/2-2 inch: 1 mile in MacCulloch, J 1819 A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland III 75

1826 Stevenson, Robert St Kilda Scale 3 5/6 inch: 1 Mile National Library of Scotland MS 5862, 10

1831 Atkinson, George Clayton Scale 2 5/6 inch: 1 mile Atkinson, G C 1838 An Account of an Expedition to St Kilda in 1831 Transactions of the Nat. Hist. Soc. of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle II Pl. III

mid C19 Anon A Plan of the islands St Kilda, Borreray, etc Scale c 2 inch: 1 mile MacLeod Muniments, also published in Harvie Brown J A and Buckley, T E 1888 A Vertebrate Fauna of the Outer Hebrides and copy in Scottish Record Office (RHP 8730)

1860 Map of village, showing holdings, from survey by H Sharbau: 1":100' light colour wash. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Manuscript Collection 158 and copy in Scottish Record Office (RHP 6778)

1865 Admiralty Chart 2474 Scotland West Coast Sheet V Hebrides or Western Isles from Barra Hd to Scarpa Is. 1865 survey: St Kilda group from the survey by Capt. A T E Vidal Scale: 3/8 inch: 1 sea mile

1899 J Norman Heathcote The Island of St Kilda Scale: 2 inch: 1 mile published as insert in Heathcote, J N 1900 St Kilda London, Longmans, Green and Co. and with Heathcote, J N 1900 A map of St Kilda Geographical Journal 15 142-144, map 204

1909 Admiralty Chart 1144 1911 Plans in the Hebrides; Vatersay Sound and Castle Bay, Sound of Berneray, St Kilda Village Bay Village bay survey by Capt. B T Somerville 1909. Scale: 3 inch: 1 sea mile (1:24,480)
1927 John Mathieson and A M Cockburn *Map of St Kilda or Hirta and adjacent Islands and Stacs* Scale 6 inch: 1 mile (1:10560) Ordnance Survey 1928 (includes inset of village at 1:2,500) also published in Mathieson et al. 1928 *St Kilda* *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 44, 65-90

1932 First appearance on Ordnance Survey 1 inch: 1 mile map: Popular edition, sheet 22, as inset, based on Mathieson and Cockburn 1928 Scale 1:63,360

1970 Ordnance Survey Maps: Sheet NA 00 SE; Parts of sheets NA 10 NW, NE, SW and SE; Parts of sheets NF 09 NE and NF 19 NW Scale 1:10560 (6 inches to 1 mile)

1973 Ordnance Survey Map: (Pathfinder) Sheet 1373 St Kilda NA 00/10 and NF 09/19 Scale 1:25,000

1976 Ordnance Survey Map: (Landranger) Sheet 18 as inset Scale 1:50,000
Plans and drawings

MacLeod Muniments, Dunvegan Castle

Manuscript copy of plan of village by Mathieson, 1927, with annotations of areas, plan of souterrain inset (copied by Scottish Record Office RHP no.

Ministry of Public Buildings and Works

St Kilda Job no. 68012 DWI Drawing no. ALG/2 D King 1969 1/s":1' shows plan of Manse as existing with proposed alterations superimposed.

National Library of Scotland, Manuscripts Department

5862. 9 Plan and elevation of Church and Manse by Robert Stevenson, 1826 c.3":20'

National Monuments Record of Scotland

IND/151/1 Plans and Elevations of Factor's House as proposed and as existing (copy of 1/s":1' survey by Nature Conservancy)

IND/88/1 Passage grave, plan and notes (souterrain). 1":5' Capt C.T.P. Grant late Indian Army 1924

Series of survey and publication drawings by A L Leith, I Parker, S Scott: survey drawings 1983-5, all pencil on triplex, scale 1:100 unless otherwise specified.

DC 10826 Storehouse: plans, elevations
DC 10827 Church: ground floor plan, elevations
DC 10828 a Village Bay: Bull's House: plan
   b ?Enclosure An Lag
DC 10829 House 8 & Building E: plans
DC 10830 Buildings C, K: plans
DC 10831 Building G: plan and sections
DC 10832 Building C: plan
   Cleit 122/3: plan and section
DC 10833 Buildings O, N, M: plan
DC 10834 Building W: plan and section
DC 10835 Cleit 32: plan and section
   Cleit 85: plan and section
   Cleit 57: plan and section
   Cleit 155: plan and section
DC 10836 Cleit 61: plan
   Cleit 144/5 plan and section
DC 10837 Cleit 68: plan and section
   Cleit 75: plan and section
DC 10838 Cleit 137: plan
   Cleit 142: plan
DC 10840 Cleit 155: door: front, reverse, section: not to scale, pencil on paper
DC 10841 Cleit 70 + souterrain: plan and section
DC 10842 Underground cell, Village bay: plan and section
DC 10843 Gleann Mór structure B: plan
DC 10844  Gleann Mór structure F: plan
DC 10845  Gleann Mór structure G: plan
DC 10846  Gleann Mór structure H: plan
DC 10847  Gleann Mór structure Q: plan
DC 10848  Control points, Village bay: plan 1:2000
DC 10849  Village Bay survey: 1 of 12 1:500
DC 10850  Village Bay survey: 2 of 12 1:500
DC 10851  Village Bay survey: 3 of 12 1:500
DC 10852  Village Bay survey: 4 of 12 1:500
DC 10853  Village Bay survey: 5 of 12 1:500
DC 10854  Village Bay survey: 6 of 12 1:500
DC 10855  Village Bay survey: 7 of 12 1:500
DC 10856  Village Bay survey: 8 of 12 1:500
DC 10857  Village Bay survey: 9 of 12 1:500
DC 10858  Village Bay survey: 10 of 12 1:500
DC 10859  Village Bay survey: 11 of 12 1:500
DC 10860  Village Bay survey: 12 of 12 1:500
DC 10861  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 1 of 12 1:500
DC 10862  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 2 of 12 1:500
DC 10863  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 3 of 12 1:500
DC 10864  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 4 of 12 1:500
DC 10865  Village Bay survey: additional work sheet 4: xerox copy
DC 10866  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 5 of 12 1:500
DC 10867  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 6 of 12 1:500
DC 10868  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 7 of 12 1:500
DC 10869  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 8 of 12 1:500
DC 10870  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 9 of 12 1:500
DC 10871  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 10 of 12 1:500
DC 10872  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 11 of 12 1:500
DC 10873  Village Bay survey: annotated sheet 12 of 12 1:500
DC 10874  An Lag survey: different survey stations 1:500
DC 10875  An Lag survey: annotated sheet 1 of 5
DC 10876  An Lag survey: annotated sheet 2 of 5
DC 10877  An Lag survey: annotated sheet 3 of 5
DC 10878  An Lag survey: annotated sheet 4 of 5
DC 10879  An Lag survey: annotated sheet 5 of 5
DC 10880  Annotated sheet 28
DC 10881  Gleann Mór survey: different survey stations 1:500
DC 10882  Gleann Mór survey: 1:500
DC 10883  Gleann Mór survey: annotated sheet 1
DC 10884  Gleann Mór survey: annotated sheet 2

MS/496/5  Survey drawings with measurements: plan, elevation,
section of Church and of Store

The above used as a basis for ink on triplex publication drawings,
with additional maps, published in Stell and Harman 1988

School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

AIV 3a 1539  Gleann Mór structure A: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1540  Gleann Mór structure B: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1541  Gleann Mór structure C: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1542  Gleann Mór structure D: plan K Williamson 1957

566
AIV 3a 1543 Gleann Mór structure E: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1544 Gleann Mór structure F: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1545 Gleann Mór structure I: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1546 Gleann Mór structure J: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1547 Gleann Mór structure K: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1548 Gleann Mór structure M: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1549 Gleann Mór structure N: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1550 Gleann Mór structure O: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 1551 Gleann Mór structure P: plan K Williamson 1957
AIV 3a 2866 Gleann Mór structure F + mound: plan K Williamson 1957

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Manuscript Collection

468 Plans by Captain F W L Thomas (published PSAS 1868)
    Betty Scott’s Cottage St Kilda: plan 1":10’
    Tigh Dubh with crub: plan 1":10’
    Buaile Chrothaidh with cotanan: plan and section 1":10’
    Buaile Chrothaidh: plan and section 1":10’
    Cleitan: plan, section and isometric sketch 1":5’

Author’s Collection

Plans and some elevations by author of all major buildings - all pre-1930 mortared buildings and dwellings, all Amazon’s House type buildings and gathering folds, bothies on other islands and selection of cleitean.
Drawings, sketches, etchings and paintings

Only items which are of interest because of their age, or more modern items depicting some aspect of historical interest, are listed. The original versions of pictures reproduced in books (such as Sands 1877, Heathcote 1900 and Kearton 1897) are only listed if they are known to be extant.

Ackroyd, Norman. 'The Furthest Land': a series of 14 etchings with aquatint made after a visit to St Kilda in 1989, includes:

Oiseval from the sea, showing the dyke and a few scattered cleitean. Copy in Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Fine Art department, 90-5

Cleits on Conachair showing cleits in the foreground and on a sloping skyline Copy in Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Fine Art Department, 90-5a

Lazy beds on Dun showing Kyles of Dun and ends of both Dun and Ruaival, with indication of lazy beds on Dun. Copy in Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Fine Art Department. 90-5b

Acland, Thomas Dyke. Sketchbooks of voyage in July 1812 include in book 3; pencil with a grey/brown wash:

Island of Borera & Rocks of the Solan Goose - Stack Levenish Stack Levenish - Island of Borera (in both the stac is Stac Lee)

St Kilda - 2½ miles from the North
Town and Harbour of St Kilda
Principal Square in the Capital of St Kilda
not titled - ? Fowling at the Gap
not titled - ? South side of Dun
title illegible - edge of Oiseval, Boreray, stacs
Part of the great? ....... St Kilda
Isle of Soa
not titled - Sgarbh Stac, Boreray, Stac Lee
West end of Borera
Soa? (pencil only)

Sketchbooks for voyage round the coast and islands of Great Britain in 'Lady of St Kilda' 1834; mostly ink and wash, sketches numbered

53 Bay of St Kilda
54 North . . . of St Kilda
55 not titled - foot of Conachair cliff and boat
56 Soa (from NE, and Cambir)
57 Borera (Clesgor, Stac Lee and Stac an Armin)
58 Borera (Stac Lee and Clesgor)
59 not titled - Stac Lee, Soay and Cambir beyond
60 Stack near Borera (Base of Stac Lee)
61 not titled - part of Borera with cave, large boat with 15 rowers
62 not titled - gap between Borera and Stac an Armin, Hirt behind
63 South Side of bay of St Kilda (west end Dun and arch)
64 Church and Manse at St Kilda
65 St Kilda . . . from SE (Dun and Oiseval, Conachair)
Anon Sketch: Village of St Kilda, 1877 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Manuscript Collection 504

Hawes, Commander sketch of HMS Porcupine off St Kilda in a gale, 1860. photo in Scottish Ethnological Archive, Royal Museum of Scotland.

Jobling, R sketches made in 1890; copies in National Trust for Scotland archive. (not seen)
Photographs of St Kilda taken before 1940

Wherever possible, photographs are listed under the collection holding the original negative, but where prints only are known to be extant, the earliest known copy or 'original' copy is listed. Many places hold photographs copied from other collections, and generally these are not listed if the original is in a public collection. Normally only photographs taken before 1940 are listed, but some taken since are also included if they are regarded as particularly important as, for instance, a record of the condition of a building. The archive collections are listed in alphabetical order.

Aberdeen University Library, George Washington Wilson Collection.
The number at the beginning is the University's reference number, that at the end is George Washington Wilson's number.

C4249 The Burial Ground 6202
C4250 Group of Women 6201
C4251 The School Children 6199
C4252 Getting the Fulmar 6198 C4252X
C4253 Gannets nests 6197
C7106 St Kilda and Stack lee 6193
C7107 Members of Parliament 6191
C7186 Town of St Kilda from NW 6190
C7187 Dividing the Catch of Fulmar 6188

See also Wilson, G. W.

Charnley Collection

Collection of postcards, many copies of photographs in other collections listed here, but some not seen elsewhere, published in Charnley 1989 'Last Greetings from St Kilda' Glasgow: Stenlake and McCourt.

p 4 St Kilda from Dun  J R Russell, Edinburgh
p 5 south side of Dun  D Whyte, Inverness
pp 8, 9 Four pictures of 'Natives of St Kilda' by D.R.M.
p 10 Natives, St Kilda - 1923 - still from Robello and Mann film
p 13 St Kilda: the bay  Valentine photo 1890
p 18 landing stores pre 1901
p 19 landing Stores at St Kilda post 1901
p 22 Village bay with whaling fleet at anchor
p 25 Donald MacQueen fowling
p 28 4 picture postcard; post office (Factor's House), village, school children, parliament 1800-1903
p 29 4 picture postcard; landing place pre 1901
p 30 St Kildans with famous Soay sheep
p 34 Men and Children outside Factor’s House 1900-1903
p 38 Wreck of Factor’s House by shell, 1918
p 43 The Manse
p 46 Islanders with Nurse  Whyte 1884
p 47 'Fairy cave St Kilda'  D.R.M.
p 50 east end of village

570
City of Edinburgh District Council Library, I P Grant Collection

26 Crafts: Weaving: Woman outside No 1 spinning
   Post card: 'Packing the famous St Kilda tweed'.

203 Housing: 'A Deserted Village' (newspaper) looking W from above 2
204   Street, looking west from 1
   Post Office and 5, and 4 half roofed
   Manse and church, sheds and upper glebe from east (post 1918)
   Cleit 85 with door on it

Social Customs: Rock climbing: two pairs of climbers
   St Kilda parliament (mostly visitors?, on jetty)

Types: Rachel Gillies with scythe
   Schoolchildren outside school
   Three people and dogs on Mullach Sgar with turfs in sacks
   Postcard: Village from east - 4 - 16

Sheep farming: -probably St Kilda- man with ?Soay sheep.

Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries

A 679c Bird snaring party on St Kilda
A 7641e Wedding of Neil Ferguson and Mary Ann MacQueen, 192-
A 52-45 GWW 6196 St Kilda Maids and Matrons
A 7641f Postcard: group of 5 men 2 children 1 woman in front of Post Office

National Museums of Scotland, Scottish Ethnological Archive

Alasdair Alpin MacGregor Collection, taken August 1930

C15/24 End of jetty, boats
C15495 Most of street from cleit 61 area
C15496 Part of bay
C15497 Village with Conachair behind
C15498 Most of village and Mullach Sgar
C15499 Beach
C15500 Most of Village and Oiseval
C15501 Burial ground
C15502 An Lag Enclosures
C15503 beach
C15504 Conachair cliffs
C15505 Conachair cliffs (not definitely A A M)
C15506 Man on crag top
C15507 Course of the Amhuinn Mhor
C15508 Amhuinn Mhor
C15509 Rocks and Store
C15510 Cleits 17-20
C15511 Bay with boat
C15512 West side Mullach Sgar/Ruaival
C15513 Soay Sound
C15514 Soay Sound
C15515 Soay Sound
C15516 Part of Soay from Hirta
C15517 Soay from Hirta
C15518 Clesgor, Boreray
C15519 Boreray and stacks from Hirta
C15520 Village bay with boats
C15521 Village bay with boats

571
C15522 West half of village, bay from Conachair
C15523 Village from near St Brendans
C15524 Street, 3 - 7
C15525 Post office and people (last incoming mail before evacuation)
C15526 People sitting outside 5 and Post office
C15527 Sheep awaiting transhipment
C15528 Slip and boats
C15529 Slip and boats
C15530 Boats in bay
C15531 Finlay MacQueen holding stuffed puffin
C15532 Finlay MacQueen with stuffed gannet
C15533 Neil Ferguson with load of wool and dog
C15534 Neil Ferguson with load on back
C15535 Donald J MacKinnon with load
C15536 Two shepherds from Harris
C15537 Granny Gillies knitting (copy of someone else's pic?)
C15539 A St Kilda mailboat at Dunvegan launched by A A MacGregor
C15540 Mailboat launched by N Ferguson
C15541 } 11am 24th March 1897, shown in
C15542 Kearton (1897) frontispiece
C15543 Letter in boat launched by Neil Ferguson (see C15540-2)
C15544 Last cow to leave island
C15545 Soay Cliffs from Hirta (is this Cockburn's?)
C15546 'The Mountain known as Conachair' (no, Oiseval - Cockburn's?)

Copies by A A M of photographs taken by other people
Copies of photographs by P A Jewell
C15543 Soay sheep
C15544 " "
C15545 " "
Copy of photograph by R C MacLeod of MacLeod
C15548 Rachel MacCrimmon at her spinning wheel
C15550 Facsimile of account for Lady Grange's funeral expenses
Copies of photographs by A M Cockburn
C15546 Man plucking sheep
C15547 Puffins on Boreray, Clesgor beyond
C15551 Ruins of Calum Mor's House (structure 57)
C15554 Ewen MacDonald and another on Levenish (scentless mayweed)
C15555 Ewen MacDonald and Finlay MacQueen on Boreray
C15556 Levenish
C15556 'Lover's Stone'
C15558 Rooing sheep
C15560 Levenish
C15562 Finlay MacQueen ascending cliff (probably Cockburn)
C15563 Cliffs (possibly Cockburn)
C15564 'Lover's Stone'
Copies of photographs by Keartons
C15548 Finlay MacQueen launching mailboat, 24.3.1897.
C15553 Cherry Kearton descending St Kildan cliff w camera and tripod
Copy of photograph by Marconi Co. Ltd
C15561 copy of C18890, Neil Ferguson watching wireless operator.

Various sources

C69 Cutting wool off sheep
C5045 Burial ground Annie MacKenzie, Salen, Aros, Mull
C5268 Jetty, 1903 per Gus Maclean

572
Jetty, 1903 per Gus MacLean

Boats coming to 'Hebrides' in 1930 Margaret Fay Shaw

Jetty with people per Norman Chalmers
MacDonald family 1918 - Woman and baby, two children
Visitors, including ? Captain of Dunara Castle outside house

Coffin of Mary Gillies on slip see 'Odyssey' Norman Chalmers

from Donald MacCormick, 18 Baberton Mains Court, Edinburgh
Mrs Norman MacKinnon knitting outside house, dog. Aug 1909
Group of women knitting in Gleann Mor
Mairghread, outside house

East end street 5 - 11 from near cleit 20

Photographs taken between 1918/1930 R Maclean, 67 The Avenue, Cheam, Surrey; correspondence May 1967

People outside 5
Houses: Post office and 5 - 8
Houses: 2 - 8
Woman and two girls outside house
Man by gun
Bridge over Dry Burn
group of sheep behind ?16 - U - V
St Kildans in boats approaching 'Hebrides'

Wireless masts in front of and to west of Factor's House

Neil Ferguson watching Dudley Wood Millar of British Telegraph Instruments Ltd operate transmitter.

D MacLeod collection (Scotsman publications) Most of these can be identified as from books and articles.

Group of people, children
Back to front, group of people outside cleit
Village from sea
group of men (mostly tourists) in boat
same group as 12331, different positions
Climbing at St Kilda
'Over the cliff'
Boreray from St Kilda

Postcards
31/3/19 MacKinnon and Co. Castlebay Barra 'St Kilda Women'
D Whyte Inverness The Village: Islanders, St Kilda
Valentine 11958

National Trust for Scotland

Photographic collection includes a number of St Kilda: many of these are copies of ones noted elsewhere here, but some are not in the other collections. The collection is not catalogued. Photographs not listed.

Newcastle Library or Museum: R C MacLeod of MacLeod collection of photographs not seen
Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland

St Kilda bequest, bundle of photographs taken in 1910

Post Office (Factor’s House) and passengers from 'Hebrides'
View of village from Post office (Factor’s house)
View of village from outside house 1
The bay with Dun, 'Hebrides' lying in bay.

School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographer</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Neg. ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1064</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor M</td>
<td>A1/27/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1065</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor P</td>
<td>A1/27/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1274</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Calum Mór’s house</td>
<td>C4/49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1277</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor F</td>
<td>C4/51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1278</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor K</td>
<td>C4/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1279</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor J</td>
<td>C4/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1280</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor O</td>
<td>C4/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1281</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor M</td>
<td>C4/55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1282</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor P</td>
<td>C4/56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1283</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>C4/57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1351</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/38/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1352</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/38/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1353</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/38/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1354</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/38/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1355</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/38/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1356</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/39/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1357</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/39/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1358</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor B</td>
<td>A1/39/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1359</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor P</td>
<td>A1/39/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1360</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor P</td>
<td>A1/39/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1450</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor O</td>
<td>A1/41/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1451</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor O</td>
<td>A1/41/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1452</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor O</td>
<td>A1/41/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1453</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor K</td>
<td>A1/41/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1454</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor K and L</td>
<td>A1/41/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1455</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor P</td>
<td>A1/41/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1456</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor K</td>
<td>A1/42/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1457</td>
<td>Williamson 1957</td>
<td>Glen Mor K</td>
<td>A1/42/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1972</td>
<td>Cockburn 1927</td>
<td>Boreray bothy interior</td>
<td>A6/233/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 1976</td>
<td>Cockburn 1927</td>
<td>Calum Mor’s house c 1274</td>
<td>A6/233/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3a 4004</td>
<td>Ian Lindsay 1927</td>
<td>Boreray bothy</td>
<td>A6/294/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIV 3c 2114</td>
<td>Cockburn 1927</td>
<td>Tigh Dugan</td>
<td>no number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1217</td>
<td>R C MacLeod</td>
<td>R MacCrimmon, house X</td>
<td>A1/36/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1310</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Manse and church from SW</td>
<td>C4/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1311</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Factor’s House</td>
<td>C4/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1332</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Gun Store Church Manse</td>
<td>C5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1769</td>
<td>M Fay Shaw 1930</td>
<td>Village from south</td>
<td>A6/136/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1961</td>
<td>Cockburn 1927</td>
<td>Village from north</td>
<td>A6/132/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 1966</td>
<td>Cockburn 1927</td>
<td>Head Dyke, An Lag from W</td>
<td>A6/133/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 6100</td>
<td>(MacDonald)</td>
<td>Houses 5 - 2</td>
<td>A2/97/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39a 6104</td>
<td>(MacDonald)</td>
<td>Houses 5 - 16</td>
<td>A 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39c 1303</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>B House W</td>
<td>C4/76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39c 1304</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>Square near cleit 142</td>
<td>C4/77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 39c 1305</td>
<td>Whitaker 1957</td>
<td>B House D</td>
<td>C4/78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AVII 39c 1306 Whitaker 1957 B House C N end C4/79
AVII 39c 1297 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 32 C4/70
AVII 39c 1326 Whitaker 1957 B House V C4/99
AVII 39c 1335 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 26 C5/8
AVII 39c 1462 Williamson 1957 B House W A1/43/1
AVII 39c 1463 Williamson 1957 Cleit 32 A1/43/2
AVII 39c 1965 Cockburn 1927 Cleitean above quarry A6/133/7
AVII 3d 1066 Williamson 1957 Cleits below Claigeann TF A1/27/6
AVII 3d 1231 Whitaker 1957 Cleits An Lag, Oiseval C4/7
AVII 3d 1237 Whitaker 1957 Cleits inside head dyke C4/13
AVII 3d 1246 Whitaker 1957 Cleits on Oiseval C4/21
AVII 3d 1247 Whitaker 1957 Cleits on Oiseval C4/22
AVII 3d 1248 Whitaker 1957 Cleit on Oiseval C4/23
AVII 3d 1255 Whitaker 1957 Cleit Am Blaid C4/30
AVII 3d 1256 Whitaker 1957 The anomalus Cleit C4/31
AVII 3d 1257 Whitaker 1957 Cleit Clach na Bearnach C4/32
AVII 3d 1258 Whitaker 1957 Tigh an Triar C4/33
AVII 3d 1259 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 142 C4/34
AVII 3d 1260 Whitaker 1957 Cleit west of Conachair C4/35
AVII 3d 1261 Whitaker 1957 Cleit S side Conachair C4/36
AVII 3d 1262 Whitaker 1957 Cleit N side Oiseval C4/37
AVII 3d 1263 Whitaker 1957 Cleits Claigeann Mor C4/38
AVII 3d 1264 Whitaker 1957 Cleit Mullach Mor C4/39
AVII 3d 1266 Whitaker 1957 Cleit N side Oiseval C4/41
AVII 3d 1267 Whitaker 1957 Cleit bet Conach/Oiseval C4/42
AVII 3d 1268 Whitaker 1957 Cleits 144/145 C4/43
AVII 3d 1269 Whitaker 1957 Cleit SW slope Conachair C4/44
AVII 3d 1270 Whitaker 1957 Cleit on Oiseval C4/45
AVII 3d 1271 Whitaker 1957 Cleit SW slope Conachair C4/46
AVII 3d 1273 Whitaker 1957 Cleit on Conachair C4/48
AVII 3d 1294 Whitaker 1957 Cleit w hand barrow C4/67
AVII 3d 1295 Whitaker 1957 Cleit w hand barrow C4/68
AVII 3d 1296 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 32 C4/69
AVII 3d 1298 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 6 C4/71
AVII 3d 1307 Whitaker 1957 Cleit site St Columbas C4/80
AVII 3d 1312 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 27) C4/85
AVII 3d 1313 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 4) C4/86
AVII 3d 1314 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 153) C4/87
AVII 3d 1315 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 155) C4/88
AVII 3d 1318 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 68) C4/91
AVII 3d 1321 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 94) C4/94
AVII 3d 1322 Whitaker 1957 Cleit 85 C4/95
AVII 3d 1323 Whitaker 1957 Cleit (struct 86 + door) C4/96
AVII 3d 1345 Williamson 1957 Cleit Mullach Geal A1/31/2
AVII 3d 1346 Williamson 1957 Cleit Mullach Geal A1/37/3
AVII 3d 1349 Williamson 1957 Cleit on Conachair A1/37/6
AVII 3d 1460 Williamson 1957 Cleit Am Blaid A1/42/5
AVII 3d 1464 Williamson 1957 Cleit (struct 73) A1/43/3
AVII 3d 1466 Williamson 1957 Cleit 36 A1/43/5
AVII 3d 1964 Cockburn 1927 Cleit near quarry A6/133/9
AVII 3d 1968 Cockburn 1927 Cleit bet Conach Mull MorA6/132/2
AVII 3d 2133 MacLeod Structure 102 A 135 8
AVII 3d 2123 MacLeod Structure 102
AVII 3d 6379 MacGregor Cleit same as 1968 A6/305/7-12
AVII 3e 1288 Whitaker 1957 Blackhouse 142 C4/62
AVII 3e 1289 Whitaker 1957 Blackhouse 142 drain C4/63
AVII 3e 1292 Whitaker 1957 Cleit door details C4/65
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1293</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Cleit door details</td>
<td>C4/66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1299</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Struct 11 roof detail</td>
<td>C4/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1300</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Struct 11 roof constr</td>
<td>C4/73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1202</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Struct 11 door hinge</td>
<td>C4/75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1317</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Cleit 2</td>
<td>C4/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1319</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Cleit (structure 86)</td>
<td>C4/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1324</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Cleit (st 74) door hinge</td>
<td>C4/97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1325</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Cleit interior</td>
<td>C4/98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3e 1331</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Blackhouse H S. gable</td>
<td>C4/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3f 1286</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Structure 158</td>
<td>C4/60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3f 1336</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Structure 129</td>
<td>C5/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3f 1467</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>Blackhouse A N. end</td>
<td>A1/57/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3f 5596</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>MacGregor</td>
<td>Bull's House</td>
<td>A6/303/32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVII 3.9 7924</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>RMR Milne</td>
<td>Village bay</td>
<td>A6/298/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIX 2a 2058</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>The Altar, Soay and AMC</td>
<td>B4/75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIX 3a 1375</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Souterrain</td>
<td>C4/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIX 3b 1340</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>House 16 Window</td>
<td>C5/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIX 3b 1573</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>House 16 Window, cross</td>
<td>C5/78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 1244</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Fowling rod</td>
<td>C4/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 1245</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Fowling rod</td>
<td>C4/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 2108</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Feet: Ewen MacDonald, 44</td>
<td>A1/57/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 2109</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Fowler: Neil Ferguson s</td>
<td>A2/98/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 2175</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Anchored whale in bay</td>
<td>A6/315/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 2176</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Anchored whale in bay</td>
<td>A6/315/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 3 6102</td>
<td>1905?</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>N MacQueen w puffin rod</td>
<td>A136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 39 2135</td>
<td>1905?</td>
<td>MacLeod</td>
<td>Snaring fulmars in Gap</td>
<td>A1/58/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 39 6099</td>
<td>1920?</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>N MacQueen w fowling rod</td>
<td>A136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 39 6105</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>Whale in bay</td>
<td>A2/98/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII 39 6396</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>MacGregor</td>
<td>Finlay MacQueen fowling</td>
<td>A1/57/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BII13d3 2125</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>MacLeod</td>
<td>Trawlers in bay</td>
<td>A2/98/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a1 1233</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Village from Conachair</td>
<td>A3/6/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a1 6103</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>An Lag enclosures</td>
<td>A1/57/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a1 6372</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>MacGregor</td>
<td>Village from Olseval</td>
<td>A2/98/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a2 1239</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Glen Mor dyke</td>
<td>A1/38/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a2 1350</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>E end village</td>
<td>A1/42/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a2 1459</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>field dyke w.Geo Chruad.A</td>
<td>A1/42/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a2 1461</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>Glen Mor dyke</td>
<td>A1/42/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a3 1531</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>slope below Cliaigenn M</td>
<td>A1/42/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39a4 4841</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Rankin</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>A1/42/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39b1 2056</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Neil Gillies w Soay ram</td>
<td>B4/74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39b1 6095</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>Malcolm MacDonald &amp; cow</td>
<td>A1/43/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39b2 1465</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Williamson</td>
<td>Enclosure NW Tobar Child</td>
<td>A1/43/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIV39b2 6395</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>MacGregor</td>
<td>Sheep roofing</td>
<td>A3/6/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI113a6 1284</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Loom? found str. 128</td>
<td>C4/58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI113a6 1285</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Loom? found str. 128</td>
<td>C4/59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI113a6 1287</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>detail str. 158, 159</td>
<td>C4/61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI113a6 2057</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Wall on Dun</td>
<td>C4/61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI113a6 5597</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>MacGregor</td>
<td>Glebe dyke</td>
<td>C4/61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139a 1240</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Part head dyke</td>
<td>C4/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139a 1241</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>wall of boulders storm b</td>
<td>C4/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139a 1242</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Part head dyke</td>
<td>C4/17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139a 1243</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>Wall at Gob na h-Airde</td>
<td>C4/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139c 1973</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Cockburn</td>
<td>Testing a rope</td>
<td>C4/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139f4 2132</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>MacLeod</td>
<td>Rachel MacCrimmon, BH X</td>
<td>A1/35/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVI1139f4 6094</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>Man carding, boy spinnin</td>
<td>A1/35/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Visitors watch woman spin A2/97/4

1957 Loom frame? C4/93

Packing St Kilda cloth A/13/9

Settle from Factor's H C5/12?

Chair from str. 183 C5/14?

Girdle in str. 182 C4/64?

Iron hammer in str. 146 C4/100

Wooden lock str. 182 C4/64?

Dry burn in spate C4/28

Dry burn C4/29

Dry burn, Cl 20, camp A6/134/14

1920s? Post Office and people A5/178/36

Post Office, man entering A97/2

Post Office, man entering A221/41a

Margt MacDonald+ g.child A6/11/7

Schoolchildren A1/57/1

Woman ?outside Factor's HA2/98/1

Outside Factor's House A3/1/1

People ? in boat A3/13 ?

Tying up wool bale? A3/1/5

People, cow and dogs A3/1/4

Slip, boat, F MacQueen A6/134/13

Jetty construction gang A1/57/5

Packaging St Kilda cloth A10/106/27


Men on street near Store A36/1/2

Girls on street C5/81

Mary Gillies B5/96

Rachel MacCrimmon A4/228/18

2 girls print frocks C5/82

Girls, window A/108 A2/97/3

Slip and two girls A3/2/1

St Kilda women A6/134/11

Mrs N MacKinnon, dog A6/11/10

Maighead outside door A6/11/9

Women knitting Glen Mor A6/11/8

'Parliament' A6/137/6

Part burial ground C20

Tobar a'Mhinisteir C4/24

Tobar Childa C4/25

Tobar Ghille Chille C4/26

Tobar nam Buaidh C4/27

'Lover's stone' A6/137/6

'Lover's stone'

Village under light snow

Glebe area

Village from steamer A20 A1/59/3

Village from glebe A20 A1/59/4

Oiseval, village from sea

577
Shaw, Margaret Faye (Mrs Lorne Campbell of Canna) took photographs in 1930 (Shaw 1980 'St Kilda: The Last Summer' Scots Mag Aug 1980 pp 510-514). Collection not seen.

Shetland Museum, Lerwick

Mailboat sent, and received in Shetland, in 1905

Smith Collection

Part of a collection of lantern slides produced with accompanying text for lectures, by the George Washington Wilson Studio and published by L M H Smith in "The Road to the Isles: The Hebrides in Lantern Slides" 1983, Edinburgh, MacDonald. All but one of these pictures (Plate 54) appear in either the Aberdeen or the Stirling collections. In the following list, the Smith plate numbers are given first, together with the title taken from the text accompanying the slides, then the Wilson picture number is given, where known, in brackets, together with alternative titles from other sources and any explanatory notes.

Smith no. Title

53 St. Kilda and Stack Lee (6193)
54 Town and Bay (? - from Oiseval, similar to 6192)
55 Boreray (6206)
56 Parliament (6195)
57 Hunting the Fulmar (6198 - on Stac an Armin)
58 Gannets' Nests (6197)
59 West Side of St. Kilda (6191 - slopes N of Mullach Mor)
60 Dividing the Fulmar (6188)
61 Maids and Matrons (6201 - Aberdeen: Group of Women)
62 Group with Queen (6196 - Stirling: Maids and Matrons)

see also Wilson, G.W.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's Manuscript Collection, National Museums of Scotland

325 Photographs of St Kildans by Captain F W L Thomas, 1860

Stirling Reference Library

S 914.1 LOG Album containing large prints of Washington Wilson photographs, probably the product of the Washington Wilson studio, and several prints of Valentine photographs. These are all listed here, although the negatives for some of them are in the Aberdeen University Library collection. The numbers are the Valentine and Wilson reference numbers.

Valentine pictures
1109 The Village (from NE -head dyke above House 1 - shows cleit 32)
1110 The Bay (Village and Dun from NW -near head dyke above House 3)
1111 The Bay (from NW -Factor's House, Church, Manse, Store, ship)

Wilson pictures
6188 Dividing the fulmar catch
6190 Town and bay (from Conachair talus)
West side of St Kilda

Town and bay

St Kilda and Stac Lee

Street view

Parliament

Maids and matrons

Gannets' nests

Getting the fulmar

A message from the sea

Burial ground

or 5 Mending the boat

Bay from Dun

Boreray

see also Valentine, J. and Wilson, G W

Valentine, J

Several Valentine postcards are known: some of these seem to be from photographs taken c. 1886. Three large prints are in the Stirling album, and one negative exists in the Valentine collection in St Andrews University.

JV No. Title
1109 The Village (from NE -head dyke above House 1 - shows cleit 32)
1110 The Bay (Village and Dun from NW -near head dyke above House 3)
1111 The Bay (from NW -Factor's House, Church, Manse, Store, ship)
11958 Natives of St Kilda
(and see Charnley collection)

Wilson, George Washington

The George Washington Wilson Studio produced nearly twenty photographs of St Kilda, probably all taken in the summer of 1886 by one of their photographers, Norman Macleod, who certainly took some of them then. Though copies of the photographs must have been sold to many visitors, at present they are best known from three main collections; the Special Collections of Aberdeen University Library hold ten of the original negatives; Stirling Reference Library have an album containing eighteen photographs by the Wilson and the Valentine studios, compiled by David W Logie in 1889 (He also wrote "An Account of a Trip from Stirling to St Kilda in the S.S. "Hebridean" of Glasgow 12-14th August 1889"); and in 1983 L M H Smith published a collection of lantern slides, hand tinted, produced by the Wilson studio and including ten views of St Kilda, one of which does not appear in either of the other collections (The Road to the Isles, Edinburgh, MacDonald). Other collections, such as those of the National Trust for Scotland and the School of Scottish Studies, include copies of photographs from the first two collections.

Wilson numbered and titled his pictures: in the following list his number and title appear first. The Aberdeen negative numbers and the Smith plate numbers are also given where relevant. The Stirling album has the reference number S 914.1 LOG but the individual photographs are not numbered. There is some indication that Wilson changed his collection at times as one number refers to two different photographs, and two different photographs have the same title in different collections.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wilson Title (explanatory notes in brackets)</th>
<th>Stir Aberling deen Smith coll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6188 Dividing the Catch of Fulmar</td>
<td>C 7187 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6190 Town and Bay, from N W (from Conachair talus)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6190 Town of St Kilda, from N W (Mullach Sgar)</td>
<td>C 7186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6191 West Side of St Kilda (slopes N of Mullach Mor)</td>
<td>x C 7185 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6192 Town and Bay, from the S (Giseval)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6193 St Kilda and Stack Lee</td>
<td>C 7106 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6194 Street view in St Kilda</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6195 Members of Parliament</td>
<td>C 7107 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6196 Maids and Matrons (Smith: Group with Queen)</td>
<td>x C 4252 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6197 Gannets’ Nests</td>
<td>C 4253 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6198 Getting the Fulmar (on Stac an Armin)</td>
<td>x C 4250 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6199 The School Children</td>
<td>C 4251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6200 A Message from the Sea</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6201 Group of Women (Smith: Maids and Matrons)</td>
<td>C 4249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6202 The Burial Ground</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6203/5 Mending the Boat (number not clear)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6204 St Kilda from Dun</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6206 The Island of Boreray</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Town and Bay (from Giseval, similar to 6192)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Copies of all known films of historical interest are held by:  
**The Scottish Film Archive. The Scottish Film Council, Glasgow**

Ref no. Title of film, date, film maker, duration and brief description. Films made before 1940 are silent films. Films made after 1940 are listed but not described.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref no.</th>
<th>Title of film, date, film maker, duration and brief description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>988</td>
<td>St Kilda, Its People and Birds 1908 Oliver G. Pike 3 minutes Return of fishing boat to jetty, unloading fish, landing on a rock from a boat. Abseiling down cliff, returning with fulmar in snare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>978</td>
<td>The Island of St Kilda c 1917 Oliver G. Pike 5 minutes View of street; women spinning, knitting, washing clothes, milking; men skinning sheep, cleaning fish, fowling with rods and ropes; children playing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>St Kilda - Britain's Loneliest Isle 1923 Paul Robello and Bobbie Mann 12 minutes (7 on St Kilda) Landing and unloading at jetty, street, cleitean; distributing sweets; carding, spinning, milking; Margaret MacDonald (oldest inhabitant); visit to Post Office; Nurse and Doctor; fowling with rod and ropes; film show for people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>A Cruise to St Kilda and the Western Isles 1925 Ronald L Jay 21 minutes (7 on St Kilda) Almost all St Kilda section copied from 1923 film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>940</td>
<td>St Kilda 1929 Frank Low 10 1/2 minutes Views of Soay, Soay sound, Village bay, street, cliffs; Calum Mor's house, jetty, houses; men carrying birds; women with birds, carding, spinning, knitting; bull? numerous dogs; birds in habitat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>793</td>
<td>(Evacuation of St Kilda) 1930 John P Ritchie 8 1/2 minutes Street scenes, Post Office, furniture and baggage on street, being carried, on jetty, in boats; sheep and cattle; people moving on street, in and out of houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2037</td>
<td>St Kilda Douglas Gray 12 minutes 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>St Kilda Chris Mylne 22 1/2 minutes 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>911</td>
<td>St Kilda - The Lonely Isles Chris Mylne 37 1/2 minutes 1967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Museum Collections

Material from St Kilda in museums and in private hands, including things made and used on the island, and things imported and used on the island, but excluding items which are purely natural history such as bird's eggs and stuffed birds. Table 1 (p 598) provides a quick guide to the types of objects and the collections which hold them.

Numbers and letters in the left hand column are museum reference numbers

City Arts Department, Arts and Museums, Aberdeen.

ABDMS Wooden three tumbler lock, made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right. One tumbler is missing

Ulster Museum, Belfast (none of these seen by author)

191.1949 Cruisgean

192.1949 Puffin snare made of length of cord with each end tied around a rolled rag, and number in words horsehair nooses twisted into the cord.

The following, although listed, could not be found in 1991

190.1949 Horsehair fowling rope

Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan

Horse hair rope made of three strands of cord, probably itself three strand, in two pieces spliced together totalling about 30' (9.2m) in length, with one end spliced back in to make an eye.

Puffin snare made of length of cord with a loop at each end and about thirty four horse hair nooses twisted into the cord.

Bird snare: a single noose made of plaited horse hair, stiffened at one end with strips of quill, for attachment to rod.

Cruisgean: a shallow spouted bowl with a hinged hanging device, all made of iron.

Wooden three tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right.

Mailboat: boat shaped block of wood with hollow for letters, covered by piece of planking with 'PLEASE OPEN' cut on it, and a float made of skin gathered round a wooden plug with a handle for attachment to the boat.
Knocking stone: a large natural boulder with a smooth rounded hollow on one surface. See Kearton 1897, 52 and Mathieson 1928, 131 for photographs.

Royal Museum of Scotland, Department of Archaeology, Edinburgh

Two stones found in circular building by T S Muir PSAS 3 1857-60, 212. See also: Muir, T S and Thomas, F W L 1860 'Notice of a Beehive House in the Island of St Kilda' PSAS 3 1857-60 pp 225-232

AL 85 Circular pink quartzite strike-a-light.
BG 12 Circular flattish stone, not found.

Items found by John Sands in souterrain. PSAS 12 1876-78 185-192 See also: Sands, J 1877 'Out of the World; or, Life in St Kilda' Edinburgh, MacLachlan and Stewart, pp 78-80, and Sands, J 1878 'Notes on the Antiquities of the Island of St Kilda' PSAS 12 1876-78 pp 186-192
HD 19 24 potsherds, mostly coarse wall sherds but including 3 rims and one base sherd.
AC 130, 131, 132 ?Stone spades
HD 20 Animal bones: cattle, sheep and bird.

Items obtained by Mr J Young from an ancient structure, probably the souterrain, presented by Macleod of Macleod. PSAS 31 1896-7, 153-155 See also: Kearton, R and Kearton, C 1897 'With Nature and a Camera' London, Cassell and Co. pp 1, 9, 13-17; Macleod Muniments Section 4 1758/1-2 two letters from J Young to Norman Macleod of Macleod about objects found on St Kilda
HD 241-274 34 potsherds, mostly heavy coarse pottery, including 3 rim and 7 base sherds.
HD 228-230 ? Stone spades.
HD 231 Smoothed stone, triangular section, ? whetstone.
HD 232-3 2 hammerstones, one well used.
HD 234 Flake from waterworn boulder.
HD 235 Piece of broken stone with shallow concavity.
HD 236 Piece of stone with hollow in one surface, natural, possibly used as lamp.
HD 237-8 2 ovoid stones both with one flat end, cracked surfaces; natural lumps of highly weathered dolerite
HD 239 Whetstone, irregular shape, some smooth surfaces, several grooves.
HD 240 Piece of stone with hollow in one surface, possibly used as a lamp.
HD 275-6 Animal bones: cattle, sheep, gannet.
HD 277 Saddle quern, not found.
HD 278 Iron spear head, destroyed 1910.

Items found in souterrain, given by Rev. Angus MacIntyre, through Erskine Beveridge PSAS 46 1911-12, 373
HD 443-4 2 hammerstones.
HD 445 Potsherd.

Item found in souterrain, given by finder Dr A S Clarke 1961
HD 1836 Potsherd, coarse.

583
Items found in various locations, presented by Robert Brydon.

HD 1843 2 wall sherds deep in lower walling of passage portion of souterrain.

HD 1844-5 Wall sherds in walling of one of sleeping chambers of souterrain.

HD 1846 Hammerstone from roof of cleit.

HD 1847 Piece of stone, ?natural, from base of culvert in main wall.

HD 1848 Piece of slag from base of culvert in main wall.

Items from the souterrain NF 100994 given by the National Trust for Scotland. PSAS 110 1978-1980, 536. Labels were found with some of these groups.

Unlabelled, mostly heavy coarse potsherds.

HD 2053 19 potsherds.
HD 2054 6 potsherds.
HD 2055 4 base sherds.
HD 2056 Base sherd.
HD 2057 11 potsherds.
HD 2058 4 rim sherds.
HD 2059 Rim sherd.
HD 2060 Rim sherd.
HD 2061 11 potsherds.
HD 2062 34 small potsherds.
HD 2063 16 potsherds, including one base sherd.
HD 2064 8 rim sherds.
HD 2065 Potsherd, thinner than above, with applied cordon.

Miscellaneous finds under turf.

HD 2066 Rim sherd
HD 2067 3 potsherds
HD 2068 Piece pumice-like slag
HD 2069 Fragment of smooth pebble
  Bone: sheep vertebral fragment

Cutting 2 Turf.

HD 2070 17 potsherds, some very thick.
HD 2071 Potsherd with ? applied wavy cordon.
HD 2072 Piece slag
  Fragment of quartz, ? piece of coal

Cutting 3 Dark soil below turf.

HD 2073 9 potsherds, some very thick.
HD 2074 Potsherd with ? applied cordon.
  Quartz crystal, bone: portion of sheep maxilla.

Outer Passage infill

HD 2075 Rim sherd.
HD 2076 2 potsherds.

Roof of chamber 1

HD 2077 Potsherd.

Mathieson's dump or stone pile (3) Black layer

HD 2078 14 potsherds, some very thick.
HD 2079 Base sherd.
HD 2080 2 pieces black pumice-like slag.
HD 2081 Small piece of bronze.
Mathieson's dump or stone pile (5) Occupation layer

HD 2082  10 potsherds, some very thick.
HD 2083  Potsherd with ? applied cordon.
HD 2084  Rim sherd, decorated with pie crust edge.
HD 2085  4 potsherds.
HD 2086  Rim sherd.

The following items could not be found or identified in 1978 nor in 1991

BG 12  Circular flattish stone, given 1859
HD 277  Part of saddle quern, given 1896
HD 278  Iron spear head (destroyed 1910), given 1896
No no. One of four rude stone implements given in 1877, the others being AC 130-132

Royal Museum of Scotland, Department of History and Applied Art, Edinburgh

RB 2/  Spindle of wood, one end square, the other tapering to a blunt point, with a small quantity of woollen thread wound round it. PSAS 12 1876-8, 185, see also Sands, J 'Notes on the Antiquities of the island of St Kilda' PSAS 12 1876-8, 191

MN 2  Complete horizontal spinning wheel in poor condition. PSAS 99 1966-7, 267

RC 37  Complete horizontal spinning wheel in poor condition. PSAS 99 1966-7, 267

RD 19  Wool winder: a wooden winder shaped like two Ts joined at the foot in a straight line, the cross bars at right angles to each other. PSAS 76 1941-2, 133

VH 48/  Ellwand: a wooden bar, 4 feet (1.219m) long, marked at half and quarter intervals. PSAS 62 1927-8, 134

MP 440   Ellwand: a wooden bar, 4 feet (1.219m) long, marked at half and quarter intervals. PSAS 62 1927-8, 134

NA 508  Piece of pale brown-grey woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with a whitish warp and a brownish-grey weft. PSAS 64 1929-30, 245

NA 517  Piece of pale grey-brown woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with white warp and grey weft with some dark brown/black threads. PSAS 65 1930-31, 14

NA 518  Piece of reddish-brown woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with white warp and reddish brown weft, occasional dark threads. PSAS 65 1930-31, 14

No no. Small fragment of woven woollen cloth, 2 x 2 twill, brown colour probably due to staining. see Ryder, M L 'Some Wool Cloth from St Kilda' Scottish Studies 18 1974, 133-5

NGA 115  Annular brooch, made of copper alloy, with two opposing nicks on the edge to hold the pin, which is missing. PSAS 27 1892-3, 244

585
(Pen)annular brooch of copper alloy, the rounded ends of the circle touching and 'rivetted' by a thick pin passed through holes in each end, the end of the pin bent back and flattened. Brooch pin missing. PSAS 51 1916-17, 12

Annular brooch made of copper alloy, with two opposing nicks in the edge to hold the pin. One end of the stout pin is flattened and curled round the brooch. PSAS 51 1916-17, 12

Narrow annular brooch made of copper alloy, the ring narrowing at one point to hold the pin. One end of the stout pin is flattened and curled tightly round the ring. One surface of the brooch is decorated with a pattern of groups of grooves. PSAS 51 1916-17, 12

Leather sample: a small piece of fine, thin, dark brown leather, probably sheepskin. One edge has been folded and has a few holes for thread through it. See Sands, J 'Notes on the Antiquities of the island of St Kilda' PSAS 12 1876-8, 191

Gannet sternum used as a scoop or spoon. The processes at the 'corners' have been neatly cut off, squaring the posterior end of the bone. PSAS 12 1876-78, 185

Mail boat: boat shaped block of wood with hollow for container, planking cover inscribed 'Please open'. Float missing. PSAS 97 1963-4, 257

Free Church Communion Token, rectangular with cut corners; obverse: St. KILDA, reverse: This Do in Remembrance of Me See note p 597

Material on loan from National Trust for Scotland: see National Trust for Scotland, at end of list.

The following items could not be found or identified in 1991

Tweed specimen PSAS 65 1930-31, 14
Spinning wheel PSAS 91 1957-8, 203

Royal Museum of Scotland, Department of Science, Technology and Working Life: Working Life Section, Edinburgh

Distaff: a wooden rod 30" (775mm) long, one half square sectioned with traces of zigzag decoration on each face. The other half has broken and been mended, bound with a piece of pierced skin, probably part of a riddle. PSAS 12 1876-8, 185

Hand loom, consisting of a tall frame, almost square, to which are attached a warp beam and a cloth beam, a reed and four suspended heddles, worked by four treadles. PSAS 103 1970-71, 245

Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right. The key has two pins.
Wooden four tumbler double sided lock made from a single block, split in half and fitted together again once the necessary channels were cut, and the whole attached to a piece of planking. In working order, for a door hinged on the right. One tumbler is missing. The key has copper pins. PSAS 60 1925-6, 245;

Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right. PSAS 99 1966-7, 267

Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right. PSAS 99 1966-7, 267

Mason’s hammer head: a forged iron head pierced for a haft, one end wedge shaped, the other square. PSAS 100 1967-8, 204

The following could not be found in 1991

Hair rope fragment PSAS 12 1876-8, 185, see Sands, J 'Notes on the Antiquities of the island of St Kilda' PSAS 12 1876-8, 191

Rope section PSAS 65 1929-30, 298

W 1931.878 Rope

Fragment of hair rope

Puffin snare? PSAS 99 1966-7, 268

Float (was attached to mail boat) PSAS 97 1963-4, 257

'Relics' PSAS 101 1968-9, 296

West Highland Museum, Fort William

Mailboat: the boat part is a replacement of the original which was stolen from the museum; the float is of skin tightly bound round a wooden plug which is attached by a rope to the boat.

Length of brown woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with white warp and medium brown weft with brown flecks.

Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Department of Human History, Glasgow

Pair of wool carders: wooden backs with wood handles, the 'combs' made with rows of fine wires through a leather surface; probably manufactured by 'Stead'.

Complete horizontal spinning wheel in working order.

Complete 'muckle wheel' spinning wheel, in working order.

Horizontal spinning wheel, missing the footboard and the flyer unit.

Wooden shuttle: simple shuttle with tapered ends and bobbin of dock stalk; there has been a wire along one edge of the hollow.
4 aa-'91 Wooden shuttle: simple shuttle with tapered ends and bobbin with a small quantity of single ply black woollen thread. There is a wire along one edge of the hollow.

A 7212d Wool winder: wooden winder shaped like two Ts joined at the feet in a straight line, the cross-bars at right angles to each other.

A 7212e Wool winder: wooden winder shaped like two Ts joined at the feet in a straight line, the cross bars at right angles to each other.

A 7212f Hank unwinder base: stable wooden base with socket for hank and unwinder support.

A 7212g Probable hank unwinder: two rods designed to join at right angles in the middle, with sockets for pins to hold hank.

A 7212c Samples of wool, not spun, in various colours: white, pale greyish, greyish, dark brown, crotal brown, black, pale brownish with white hairs, dark bluey-grey.

4z-'91 Three small balls of homespun yarn: very fine white two ply, pale brown (white with a few brown hairs in it) single ply, coarser dark brown two ply.

A 7641c Glove, knitted in two ply wool, wrist in pale crotal brown rib, palm and thumb in paler brown stocking stitch with three ribs on back.

'96-134a Pair of knitted stockings or knee socks, the top, heel and toe in white, the leg and foot in narrow black and white stripes.

A 8412 Blanket made of two lengths of woven woollen cloth sewn together along the selvedges, white, with three brown stripes along the outer selvedges, in 2 x 2 twill and reverse twill.

'80 65a Piece of pale brown woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with a whitish warp and weft of white with some brown mixed in.

'87-52 Piece of pale grey woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with a whitish warp and a weft of pale grey brown with brown flecks.

'86-54a Plaid of black woven woollen cloth with checks of narrow scarlet and bright blue lines in both warp and weft. The ends are turned and oversewn.

A 7212h Plaid of black woven woollen cloth with checks of narrow scarlet and pale green lines in the warp and a scarlet line in the weft. The ends are turned and hemmed, and the length is folded once and the selvedges down one side oversewn.

'90-52d Hat made from skin of Soay sheep: a pill-box shape with the gingery wool on the outer surface.

4ad-'91 Hat made from skin of Soay sheep: a pill-box shape with the gingery wool on the outer surface.
4an-'94 Hat made from skin of Soay sheep: a pill-box shape with the buff-brown wool on the outer surface.

4ao-'94 Hat made from skin of Soay sheep: a pill-box shape with the gingery wool on the outer surface.

'80-65b Annular brooch made from copper sheet, with two opposing nicks on the edge to hold the ferrous wire pin, which has one end twisted round the ring.

'86-54b Annular brooch made from zinc sheet, uneven shape, with two opposing nicks in the edge to hold the ferrous wire pin, which has one end twisted round the ring.

'86-54c Annular brooch made from a thick piece of brass, formerly part of a watch case. The shape is uneven, and there are opposing nicks in the edge to hold the ferrous wire pin which has one end twisted round the ring.

'86-54d Copper pin with rough square head.

'86-54e Copper pin with rough square head.

4ab-'91 Leather shoe made from four main pieces: sole, toe cap, and two sides, stitched with thongs, probably made on the island from imported leather.

4ax-'94 Short length of three-ply hide rope, made as a single piece from sheep skin, not cut from a longer length.

4y-'91 Puffin snare made from a length of cord with a knot at one end and a small loop at the other, and about forty one horse hair nooses at intervals along the length.

'87-47a Bird snare: a single noose made of plaited horse hair, stiffened at one end with strips of quill, for attachment to a rod.

'87-47b Gannet's stomach: a long bag of thin membrane used for holding fulmar oil.

'90-52e Gannet's stomach: a long bag of thin membrane used for holding fulmar oil.

4af-'91 Gannet's stomach: a long bag of thin membrane used for holding fulmar oil.

'77-41am Wooden door key with one tooth and two nails projecting on the blade; attached by a string is a second piece of wood (key ring); both pieces are worn and polished.

'89-74 Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, with bolt but no key, for a door hinged on the right.
'45-43 Wooden single tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the left. Reputed to be from the dwelling used by 'Lady Grange'.

'50-143hz Wooden two tumbler lock: the block, bolt and key without the back plate; one tumbler and the bolt are probably replacements; for a door hinged on the left. The timber is hardwood and the neat workmanship suggests that this may have been imported; reputed to be 200 years old in 1901.

'52-45h Wooden balance consisting of a horizontal bar swivelling on an upright pierced for suspension.

'52-45u Whalebone scoop made from the articular end of a Pilot whale mandible, the anterior part and small parts of the articular end being cut off.

'52-45aj Gannet sternum reputedly used as scoop.

4ae-'91 Riddle made from thin lath ring with pierced sheepskin stretched over it.

4w-'91 Turf; small lump of turf, an example of fuel.

A 679a Mail boat: boat shaped block of wood with hollow to contain rectangular tin, with planking cover with inscription 'St Kilda Mail OPEN', and float made of skin gathered round a wooden plug, pierced for attachment to the boat. Sent in 1911

A 7641a Small wooden trunk; the 'Anchor' Patent Waterproof Travelling Trunk. Used by Neil Ferguson.

A 7641d Alabaster candle holder in the shape of a book: 'A Present from ......s' (illegible). Used in Ferguson household?

A 52-45ah Photograph: 'St Kilda Maids and Matrons' = George Washington Wilson 6196

A 679c Photograph of 'Bird Snaring Party on St Kilda'; nice clear print of group of men, boys, small girls and dogs sitting in sunshine at end of blackhouse. Not seen elsewhere. ?end C19/early C20.

A 7641e Photograph of last wedding to take place on St Kilda, the marriage of Neil Ferguson to Mary Anne MacQueen. In glazed decorative wooden frame. Reproduced: Buchanan 1983 plate 42.

A 7641f Sepia postcard of 'Post office, St Kilda', sent by Alexander Ferguson to his nephew Neil from Glasgow in 1955/6
Envelope addressed to Margaret Maynard 24 Kenneth Drive Lochboysdale S Uist, postmarked St Kilda 21 Ju 57.

A 8032 a - ba: copies of photographs and maps assembled by Mrs Buchanan for exhibition held in St Enoch’s Centre by Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries in 1980, to commemorate 50th anniversary of evacuation.

No no. Registered: 3 communion tokens, Free Church of Scotland, not easily located, not seen. See note p. 899 597

LA 8932 Material on loan from National Trust for Scotland: see National Trust for Scotland, at end of list.

The following items could not be identified in 1980 nor in 1990

'89-76 Wooden lock
4ac-'91 Spindle
4aj-'91 Cruisgean
4au-'94 Spinning wheel
4av-'94 Bottle of fulmar oil
4aw-'94 Bottle of fulmar oil
A48-82 Portion of font from St Brendan’s chapel area.

Items held on loan between 1894 and 1895 were: five brooches (4s to w -’94), one each of silver, copper and zinc, and two of brass; and five copper pins (4ab-'94).

Inverness Museum and Art Gallery

00.983 Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, with key, for door hinged on the right. Bolt missing. Almost certainly from St Kilda.

The following could not be found or identified in 1991:

A brooch given before 1827

Nunnery Museum, Iona (not seen by this author)

Quernstones

Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie.

E 80 Bobbin made from a cut section of umbellifer stalk.

E 90 Machine-made mass produced shuttle of wood with metal ends and a hinged metal shaft for the bobbin, which is a card one holding dark brown wool thread.

FF 85 Puffin snare made of length of cord with a grass tuft at one end and a rag at the other, and about fifty horse hair nooses all now unlooped.

FF 91 [Horse hair fowling rope, made from three strands of a two strand cord, now loosely looped and knotted so the length is difficult to estimate but must be some tens of feet] This unlabelled item is very probably the rope catalogued as from St Kilda.
Plaid made from two pieces of black woven woollen cloth with checks in thin red and sea green lines in the warp and a thin red line in the weft, oversewn down two selvedges, along which are threadbare areas and holes, two of which are neatly patched.

Attached to this is an annular brooch of copper alloy sheet made into a circular tube, with a ferrous pin attached at one end by a coil through and round the tube. Possibly made from a door knob.

Annular brooch made from a solid ferrous metal ring with a wire pin attached at one end by three coils round the ring.

Annular brooch made from a broad and thick brass ring with a brass pin attached by a coil through a hole in the bradth of the ring.

Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, not working as tumblers are stuck. Door hinged on the right.

Length of pale grey woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with a white warp and a grey weft with brown flecks, bought at the Post Office in July 1925.

Half a blanket made of two lengths of woven woollen cloth sewn together along the selvedges, white, with three brown stripes along the outer selvedge in 2 x 2 twill and reverse twill. Woven in 1929, belonged to Mr D Munro, the last missionary.

Piece of medium grey/brown woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill with a white warp and a grey weft with dark brown streaks and flecks.

Photograph of mail boat found on Shetland coast in 1905

Mail Boat launched in June, 1970 and found 28 days later in Shetland

Mailboat consisting of a timber balk, and a cocoa tin, each Class attached to a skin float. Found in 1907 a month after being launched.

Wooden two tumbler lock made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right.

Mail Boat: the 'boat' part only of a mail boat.
No no. Puffin snare: length of cord with grass tufts at each end and about forty horse hair nooses at intervals along the length.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Balfour Wooden double sided three tumbler lock, made from a block nailed to a piece of planking, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the right.

Balfour Piece of stone, with a natural hollow, used as a lamp.

Wallis Bird snare: a single noose made of plaited horse hair, stiffened at one end with strips of quill, for attachment to a rod.

Wallis Puffin snare made of length of cord with few grass stems at one end, and a rag at the other, and thirty three or more horse hair nooses at intervals along the length.

Wallis Piece of horse hair rope, made from three strands, each of a three strand cord.

Wallis Glass phial of fulmar oil; a clear yellow liquid with a sediment.

Scarborough Museum (item not seen by this author)

138.39 'Floating Mail Box': small wooden boat-like object attached by a rope to float of leather and wood.

National Trust for Scotland

The National Trust for Scotland has material from St Kilda, mainly in three groups, one uncatalogued collection on the island, one collection on loan in the Royal Museum of Scotland, and one on loan to Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. Some material from the catalogued collection on loan to Glasgow is in a small exhibition on the island.

A few items are kept in the offices of the National Trust for Scotland

Communion vessels: shallow dish, 14" diameter, flat rim with rolled edge, scratched on base: 'St Kilda'. Slightly battered. Shallow dish, 12" diameter, flat rim with rolled edge, slightly battered. Chalice, 9" high: a deep cup, slightly everted rim, on conical base with decorative ridge and lines. Pair of beakers, 7" high, plain slightly everted cylinders with low stepped bases, and on bases is scratched 'St Kilda' and stamped '487 JAMES DIXON & SONS 86' or '98'. All look very like pewter. The beakers were made after 1833, by James Dixon and Sons, Sheffield (M. Buchanan, pers comm).

Precentor's chair: a type of 'windsor' chair, suitable for domestic use, removed from island by Cameron family after construction of precentor's desk in church. (St Kilda Mail 11, 1987, 25)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>? Stone spade, worn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>? Stone spade, no wear apparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hammerstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Hammerstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hammerstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Whetstone of sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Piece of beeswax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Wooden key for wooden lock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Wooden spade possibly part of scythe handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Two edges of scythe blades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Parts of four or five scythe blades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Iron pot hook and three links of chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Part of scythe blade handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Pale green glass bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Narrow jar neck, dark brown glazed pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pancheon rim sherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Teapot body, brown glaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Pancheon base sherd, dark brown glaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Body sherd,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Body sherd, yellow glazed, white stripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Teapot rim sherd, brown glaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Pancheon base sherd, dark brown glaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Teapot base, dark brown glaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Barrel stave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Salt glazed stoneware jar, nearly complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Scythe sharpener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Wooden bar with notches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Flakes of stone from Mackenzie children's tombstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Fowling rod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Collection of loom reeds and fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Wall paper found in no 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1969. 3 Iron last pliers
1969 ? no no. nose cone of shell

Not numbered: 3 legged iron pot.

**Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries**

Material under loan number LA 8932 includes:

Plaid of black woven woollen cloth with checks of narrow scarlet and greyish blue in the warp and a scarlet line in the weft. Two pieces of cloth are oversewn together along one pair of selvedges, and the ends are turned and hemmed. Belonged to Mrs Gillies [No. 14] (St Kilda Mail 11 1987, 38)

Pair of wool carders: wooden backs, the wooden handles broken off and missing, the 'combs' made with rows of fine wires through a leather surface. Used by Mrs Gillies [No. 14] (St Kilda mail 9 1985, 39)
Spinning Wheel used by Alice MacLachlan. A horizontal spinning wheel in good condition, probably the one she got new through Mr MacKenzie on 22.5.1908 (MacLachlan diary). (St Kilda Mail 14 1990, 55)

Mail Boat owned by MacLachlans (St Kilda 1906-1909). Boat shaped block of wood with hollow to contain rectangular tin, with planking cover with inscription 'St Kilda Mail Please Open' (St Kilda Mail 14 1990, 55)

Coat made of St Kilda tweed. The tweed is a 2x2 twill, with a whitish warp and a grey weft. The coat is well worn and very dirty. The upper part only is lined. Factory woven labels identify it as St Kilda tweed, possibly sold by A G Ferguson.

Iron shoe-last with three projections, one with a medium sized 'sole' on the end, one with a small 'sole', and one with a 'heel'.

Shoe sole shape cut out of sheet iron, 'found on hillside overlooking the camp' 1982. Probably a template.

Sheet of paper and envelope found in precentor's desk in church, noting 'Psalm 122 verses 6-9' signed by Cameron family 7.1.1922.

Items found in jetty during extension in 1969:
- parts of 'Scotsman' for 4.10.1899 and 14.10.1899, 'Black and White Budget No 7: Transvaal special' (magazine), another magazine, penny of 1899

Quantity of material catalogued under numbers up to 978, some numbers covering over 100 pieces of, for example, plain stoneware preserve jars. The range of numbers covers:
1 - 145 Glass
146 - 573 Crockery
574 - 653 Quern Stones, hammer stones, ard points and whetstones
654 - 699 House furniture: slates, sash weights, grate and stove fragments
700 - 807 Household furniture: pots, kettles, cutley, lamps, beds, parts loom, window fittings, door.
808 - 882 Tools, agricultural implements, pothooks, tongs, floats
883 - 892 Unidentified wooden objects, two weights
893 - 897 Parts of wooden cleit doors
898 - 908 Iron objects: fish hooks, heel plates
909 - 923 Parts of leather boots and shoes
924 - 946 Miscellaneous: shoe last, razor, comb, buttons, pipes, unidentified objects
947 - 956 Bones: cat, fish, gannet, whale
957 - 978 Fish hooks, pieces of boat and boat furniture.

Further uncatalogued material.

Known to exist but not located

Blanket: half blanket made from two lengths of woven woollen cloth sewn together along the selvedges, white, with three dark brown stripes along the outer selvedge, in 2x2 twill. Other half in exhibition on island.

595
Pair of knitted gloves, belonging to Mrs Gillies, given by Mrs Craig and Mrs Johnson (St K M 11 1987, 38) (same time as plaid)

Material associated with St Kilda in museum catalogues

University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, Z 34875

Example of a wooden lock 'as still in use in St Kilda', given 1887/8. This is a complicated piece with six tumblers. It is a replica which has clearly never been used and is more intricate than any lock known from St Kilda.

Royal Museum of Scotland: Department of Science, Technology and Working Life, Edinburgh, T1924.146

Wooden three tumbler lock made from a block attached to a base plate by screws, complete with bolt and key, in working order, for a door hinged on the left. This lock, found in the museum store in 1924, was ascribed to St Kilda, but no supporting evidence has been found for this provenance and the lock appears to be a replica for demonstration purposes.

Museums known in March 1991 to have no cultural items made or used on St Kilda in their collections.

Marischal Museum, Marischal College, Aberdeen
Banff Museum
Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Belfast
Dingwall Museum
Dundee Art Galleries and Museums
Fleetwood Museum
Inverurie Museum
Tankerness House Museum, Kirkwall
Museum of Mankind, London
Perth Museum and Art Gallery
Peterhead Arbuthnot Museum
Tolbooth Museum, Stonehaven
Stromness Museum
Items in private hands

Nancy MacDonald

Horizontal spinning wheel in good working order.

Blanket made of two lengths of woven woollen cloth sewn together along the selvedges. White, with three brown stripes along the outer selvedges, in 2 x 2 twill.

Coverlet made from four pieces of woven cloth, sewn together along the selvedges and end to end. Vermilion ?cotton warp, black wool weft, in plain weave. Formerly part of a dress.

Plaid of two lengths of black woven woollen cloth with checks of narrow red and pale blue lines in the warp and red lines in the weft. One pair of selvedges are oversewn and the ends neatly turned and hemmed.

Bill Mitchell

Puffin snare made from a length of cord with each of the ends knotted round a piece of rolled hessian, and number in words horse hair nooses at intervals long the length.

Wooden tumbler lock

Mrs Smith

Piece of black woven woollen cloth, a 2 x 2 twill. Both surfaces have a nap which conceals the threads.

Horse hair rope made of three strands of cord, itself made of three strands. It is 45 feet (13.7m) in length, weighs 2 lb 7 oz (1.1k) and has one end twisted back in to make an eye.

Alasdair Fleming

Spinning wheel (not seen)

Norman Chalmers

Plaid

Note on Communion Tokens

These are the only mass produced item made on the mainland specifically for use on St Kilda. Only two types are known to exist (Kerr and Lockie PSAS 79 1944-5. 70, 80) and there are examples in several collections, including:

Dunblane Cathedral Museum
Royal Museum of Scotland, Department of History and Applied Art, Edinburgh

No exhaustive search for further examples has been made.
Table of objects and museums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Aberdeen</th>
<th>Belfast</th>
<th>Dunvegan</th>
<th>Archaeology</th>
<th>Art Hist + App</th>
<th>Working Life</th>
<th>Fort William</th>
<th>Glasgow</th>
<th>Inverness</th>
<th>Iona</th>
<th>Kingussie</th>
<th>Lewick</th>
<th>Tottenham</th>
<th>Oban</th>
<th>Oxford</th>
<th>Nat Trust Scot</th>
<th>Private colls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wool carders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distaff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spindle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinning Wheel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuttle/Bobbin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool Winder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hank Unwinder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellwand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool Samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheepskin Hat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather Sample</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hide Rope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horsehair Rope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Snare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Snare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowling Rod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannet’s Crop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulmar Oil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knocking Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quern Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riddle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riddle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Lock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail Boat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trunk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communion objects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: P: parts
M: many items