

**Position, Commission and Production: a self-reflexive investigation into the generation of ethnographic knowledge through documentary production for BBC Alba**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis takes as its object of study issues emerging from the synthesis of documentary practice and theoretical discourse. Its context is formed by the production of four published works commissioned and broadcast by the BBC in 2011/2012. These comprise: a drama-documentary, an observational documentary and two radio programmes. The programmes gathered archival and recorded memories and oral histories from Scarp, a small, now abandoned, island off the coast of Harris in the Outer Hebrides whose oral history and memories are in danger of being lost forever.

The thesis argues for the acknowledgment of the 'situatedness' of the producer by exploring background, cultural positioning and professional training, specifically within the context of Gaelic culture and broadcasting. The thesis makes the specific claim that the published works and the research appendices, in combination with the critical essay, make an important contribution not only to our understanding and ethnographic knowledge of island cultures on the west coast of Scotland, but also to our understanding of the processes of media production and representation as critically reflected upon by an academic practitioner.

Through a cross-disciplinary engagement with debates within documentary, ethnography and oral history, this thesis will also demonstrate that narrative, subjectivity, generic delivery, commissioning constraints and intervention need not exclude television programmes, and the research produced to create them, from containing valuable ethnographic information that (under academic analysis) makes a contribution to our understanding of culture. A self-reflexive methodology reveals the extent to which the producer intervenes in, changes, and brings their own subjective perspective to, any work of ethnographic data gathering or oral history collection, and how this research is constrained by the commissioner.

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## Introduction

This submission for a PhD by Published Work takes as its object of study the epistemological issues emerging from the synthesis of theoretical discourse and media practice. The specific context of this project is formed by the production of four published works in 2011/2012.

*Leasan sa Bhàs (A Lesson in Death)*. Duration: 1 hour. Broadcast on BBC Alba 19<sup>th</sup> September 2011, repeated 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2011 and subsequently available on BBC iPlayer. Production Credits: Writer and Producer.

*Rèiteach (Betrothal)*. Duration: 30 minutes. Broadcast on BBC Alba 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> August 2011 and subsequently available on BBC iPlayer. Production Credits: Writer, Producer and Director.

*Beatha-Phòsd sa Sgarp (Married Life in Scarp) – Programme One*. Duration: 20 minutes. Broadcast on BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, 26<sup>th</sup> December 2011 and subsequently available on BBC iPlayer. Production Credits: Producer.

*Beatha-Phòsd sa Sgarp (Married Life in Scarp) – Programme Two*. Duration: 20 minutes. Broadcast on BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2012 and subsequently available on BBC iPlayer. Production Credits: Producer.

The programmes were made by Sorbier Productions (n.d.) where I am co-director and Development Executive of Factual Programmes.

All four documentaries were commissioned and broadcast by the BBC, recognised as one of the pre-eminent broadcasters in the world. *Rèiteach* was nominated for Best Single Factual Documentary in the Celtic Media Festival 2012.

Presented with these four programmes are appendices that constitute a number of research artefacts prepared prior to, and during, the production of the programmes. These appendices give insight into media production, from pitching through to final edit script, and supplement the ethnographic knowledge contained in the programmes by providing full transcripts of the interviews of Scarp islanders.

The thesis argues for the acknowledgment of the 'situatedness' of the producer by exploring background, cultural positioning and professional training, specifically within the context of Gaelic culture and broadcasting. The thesis makes a specific claim that the published works and the research appendices, in combination with the critical essay, make an important contribution not only to our understanding and ethnographic knowledge of island cultures on the west coast of Scotland, but also to our understanding of the processes of media production and representation as critically reflected upon by an academic practitioner.

The four programmes are thematically similar and recorded in the same geographical area: Scarp, a small island off the west coast of Harris. The island had previously sustained a population of over 200 people, but by the 1970s, life there was becoming unsustainable. There was no natural harbour, so the open-sided, heavy fishing boats had to be lifted out of the water every night after a days fishing. The demographics of the island increased as the young people left to find jobs elsewhere and it became impossible to lift the boats to safety. As other houses on mainland Harris benefited from electricity to install washing-machines and televisions, the island remained unconnected to the grid and still lacked telephone lines. In 1972 the population gave way to the inevitable and the island was evacuated; a traumatic event similar to the evacuation of St Kilda forty years previously. Today there are only 29 people left alive from Scarp. They hold the oral stories, traditions, songs and memories of this place. As they die, their memories are lost.

Scarp is an area of interest in the study of the Gàidhealtachd (the Gaelic heartland). The data collected here provide ethnographic and oral history to supplement existing works on Highland and Island communities, including their rituals from birth to death, how the island functioned as a community, and the islanders' perceived relationship to the rest of Scotland. The two television programmes also contribute to discourse around how the landscape of the Gàidhealtachd is used in film and television programmes to contextualise the lived experience, and position islanders within their land. Here, too, contradictions between how the Gàidhealtachd was, and may still be, regarded as part primitive, part heroic, is investigated through film.

As with other culturally endangered communities, Scarp offered a significant opportunity for me as a documentary maker to explore the ways in which commissioned broadcasting might also serve the purpose of recording what Gruber (1970) called 'salvage ethnography'. The impetus to consider broadcast programming as a form of testimony or evidence of a declining culture drew strength from my personal involvement with the culture itself.

The works reflect my professional background in the BBC and personal involvement with the Western Isles and my concern for their threatened culture, a concern that is itself grounded in my genealogical and familial connection with the islands. The population of the Western Isles has fallen by 43% from 1901 to 2001 and is still in decline, with the mid-year estimates for 2011 showing a decrease of 0.4%. The population is also ageing considerably more than the national average (Comhairle nan Eilean Siar n.d.). With a declining and ageing population, the Gaelic language is in a fragile state, despite government help to promote both its teaching in schools and the support of other Gaelic-language initiatives. With the loss of the older population, who were the oral story tellers, many aspects of the area's heritage and culture are disappearing.

Although I was not brought up in the Gàidhealtachd, both of my parents are from

the Isle of Lewis and both are native Gaelic speakers. I spent summer holidays on the islands, and although not fluent, I know enough Gaelic to be able to work in the language. Holidays on the islands conform to all the clichéd memories of childhood with endless sunshine and constant happiness. Life on Lewis was very different from my life in Edinburgh. As a child I enjoyed the freedom to roam the moors all day, returning to the croft to be fed on fresh fish and home baking. There were magical memories of picnics, jokes, songs and impromptu dancing as villagers spent weekends in rotation helping their neighbours bring in the peats or dip the sheep.

To me it was romantic and idyllic, and even as a child I knew it was not going to last. The villages were changing. The summers could be kind, but the winters were harsh. People began buying logs and coal in place of peat, Raeburns were replaced by conventional ovens, and baking came from the Co-Op van. As the older generation died out, so did the old ways of life. People had jobs; crofting could no longer fulfil the aspirations of a generation brought up with the introduction of white goods and holidays abroad. Whilst enjoying all these modern trappings on the mainland, I wanted desperately for the islands to stay in their idealised time-warp.

In my subsequent professional life I joined the BBC in 1989. The BBC, at that time, had a rigorous process for mentoring and encouraging talent. I was initially employed as a researcher in radio and television before working as a director on the Gaelic-language current affairs programme *Eòrpa* (1994-1996), on the Gaelic cultural event *The National Mod* (1993, 1994) and as a director on a four-part documentary series about the history of women in the islands, *Eideadh nan Guth* (1994). During this time I worked with established directors and producers, who introduced me to a particular 'craft' of working in Gaelic broadcasting.

Having worked in Gaelic for three years I then worked in a number of different genres at BBC Scotland: current affairs, children's programming, arts

documentary, and finally within the documentary unit.

The confluence of documentary production, commissioning practices and personal immersion within a disappearing culture has suggested that the thesis should be framed by rigorous engagement with theoretical and historical debates around the status of the producer of ethnographic film. This recognises from the outset that the thesis has been formed through an iterative process that acknowledges the transformative capacity of theory: the published works were produced within a context constrained by the dictates of commercial broadcasting. This thesis encompasses the media practices by which the published works were originally created, but takes the view that objects of study cannot remain unchallenged or unchanged when seen through the lens of academic discourses. In other words, the process of engaging with a retrospective analysis of the published works has illustrated the centrality of the concept of *self-reflexivity* to the development of an innovative methodology for synthesising theory and practice. As a working methodology, self-reflexivity requires full recognition of the 'situatedness' of discourse. This can be understood in two distinct but complementary ways. Self-reflexivity refers, firstly, to the act of critical reflection on the processes of production, and, secondly, to the more specific recognition that all forms of discourse are constrained by the subjectivity of the producer. In both senses, the production of knowledge is arrived at through recontextualising prior practice within academic frameworks. In this specific instance, the 'insider situatedness' of the producer within the socio-geographical area suggests that the status of knowledge produced in the published works should be tested against those academic disciplines that have interrogated the notion of the documentary maker as objective recorder.

Approaching the four published works and appendices as a corpus for self-reflexive analysis, the epistemological status of the producer has been central to academic enquiry in the fields of ethnography, documentary and oral history. Key issues such as objectivity, subjectivity, directorial control, ideological intent,

intervention, validity and historical veracity indicate that the idea of a sole creative practitioner able to impose an objective authorial vision has been widely interrogated. This thesis is informed by intellectual engagement with disciplines that have offered rich material for conceptualising my practice.

The thesis will argue that the published works, research, interview transcripts and critical analysis together contain valuable ethnographic information that makes a contribution to our understanding of culture in the Western Isles. It further argues that the self-reflexive interrogation of the research and production process by an academic practitioner contributes to our understanding of the creative process, and, specifically, with regard to media practice within BBC Alba. While it is concerned with distinctive disciplinary issues, common themes around intervention, interviewing, narrativity, observation and participation, evidence and testimony, historical record, 'truth', memory, knowledge and the meaning of subjectivity emerged.

To address this contention the thesis is structured into three chapters, with an introduction and conclusion. The introduction establishes the methodology behind the thesis and, by introducing the concept of self-reflexivity and creative practice, offers a way of synthesising theory and practice within an interpretative framework that properly integrates both. Chapter One establishes key theories around documentary and places these within the context of creative practice. The chapter looks at my position and where the production of knowledge was constrained by working within a brief commissioned by BBC Alba. It also analyses the production process of all four works, looking at intervention, subjectivity and genre, and considers the tensions between how an academic would interpret knowledge as opposed to a filmmaker.

Chapter Two considers the key theories around ethnography, arguing through this that the pre-production process in the published works constituted valid field research into this area of the Western Isles, and that the published works, the

transcripts, and the gathering of other artefacts add significantly to knowledge on the ethnography of the Scarp. The chapter further discusses where commissioned programming breaks from ethnography, and the additional ethnographic significance included in the appendices.

Chapter Three looks at the validity of oral history and how it differs from written history. It reflects on the existing literature and ethnography on the Gàidhealtachd, and considers how my position as both insider and outsider and filmmaker shaped the delivery of the knowledge gathered during the making of the four published works, and how the works add to the existing knowledge on the Western Isles.

The conclusion is used to outline further areas of research and study that have emerged from this thesis. It suggests future areas of development for archiving and documenting disappearing cultures and engaging communities with this work, and suggests possible research as practice projects, and potential commissions.

## **Methodology**

This written thesis investigates my works self-reflexively, which is appropriate given that anthropology can be said to have pioneered self-reflexive methodology. This methodology emerged after the ‘crisis of representation’ (Denzin 1997, 2000, 2003, Van Maanen 1995, 1988) of the mid-1980s, which finally began to admit the impossibility of objectivity, and therefore asked more challenging questions about where the power lies when researching ‘others’. Moreover, documentary, too, has played a significant role in moving reflexivity forward. Dziga Vertov ‘revealed the process of documentary organisation’ (Chapman 2007: 15) in *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), becoming simultaneously one of the first documentary makers, and also the first to consider self-reflexive techniques and examine reflexivity as a general process.

Ethnographic film makers have experimented with reflexivity using a number of different techniques. Jean Rouch's film *Chronicles of a Summer* (1960) used self-reflexive elements to try to encourage a collaborative approach to ethnographic film making. I suggest that, unlike the films of Vertov, Rouch, and film makers involved in direct cinema in the 1960s, my programmes are not themselves explicitly reflexive. They do not conform to Jay Ruby's requirement for self-reflexivity in ethnographic films; that the film maker is easily visible to the audience (1980). How Ruby thought this 'awareness of self' would be manifest is sometimes unclear, other than in the more obvious ways, as suggested by Rouch's (2003) and MacDougall's (2003) physical placing of themselves in their ethnographic films. This results in a particular stylistic delivery, which I would argue today signifies a particular genre, with its own expectations and signals given to the audience. The four programmes do not use self-reflexive techniques for a number of reasons, not least the requirement of the commissioner and channel, and the expectations and viewing literacy of the audience. *This thesis*, though, is self-reflexive and performs the role of revealing the person behind the camera, making clear my biases and subjectivity and how they have impacted on the research.

Concerns around the need for the researcher to make their influence clear began early in the 20th century with Malinowski, who wrote that:

In ethnography where a candid account of such data is perhaps even more necessary, it has unfortunately in the past not always been supplied with sufficient generosity and many writers do not ply the full searchlight of methodic sincerity, as they move among their facts, but produce them before us out of complete obscurity. (1922: 2-3)

The debate continued for over fifty years, before a new self-reflexivity began to be discussed by Honigmann (1976) and Nash and Wintrob (1972). They, and others, resolved that through reflexive practice and methodology, the

ethnographer could be taken out from behind the production process and their presence and influence revealed. In practice, this resulted in films that kept equipment like boom-mics in shot, and included the interviewer asking questions. This would also allow for accountability, which asks that the audience be allowed to understand the context within which the work they are viewing is produced.

Anthropologists were keen to separate 'film-as-record from film-as-a-constructed text' (Hockings 2003: viii), raising as this did the spectre of Hollywood-style treatments and a devaluing of the data recording at the expense of the visual. From an inherent distrust of the role and intervention of the film maker, especially 'non-scientific' film makers (i.e. non-anthropologists), discourse grew around how to deal with the film maker's presence and their interaction with the subject. As ethnography struggled to come out of the dark ages of the 1970s and 1980s, three options became clear: the ethnographer could produce texts on behalf of others, in partnership with the other, or the author/ethnographer could produce an autoethnographic, or self-reflexive, text 'based on his or her personal experiences' (Denzin 1997: xvi).

As we have seen, this self-reflexive methodology became more common in ethnographic films throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a way of answering criticism of the objectification of people and cultures and the imposition by the film maker of 'Western ideology' upon tribal societies. However, there is still no guarantee as to whether the degree of transparency offered by reflexivity influences the degree of power held by the film maker. Nolley acknowledges that whilst reflexive strategies might offer some recognition of the rights of indigenous people:

...there is no way for western film makers to escape the fact of their final controlling power over the films they construct. (1997: 283)

Denzin identified six styles of reflexivity in new ethnographic writing (by which we could also include recording): subjectivist, methodological, intertextual, feminist

or standpoint, queer and feminist materialist (1997: 217). The one which I have identified as being the most relevant to both my work, and reflection on it is subjectivist reflexivity, which is associated with 'self-critique and personal quest, playing on the subjective, the experiential, and the idea of empathy' (Marcus 1994: 569). This research method insists that one reflect on past events that informed our 'subjectivities' (Monaco 2010) and involves reflecting on life experiences that show the deep connections between the producer and the subjects (Behar 1993, Goodall 2000).

Goodall (2000) discussed self-reflexivity in terms of the authorial voice one constructs, this being the voice behind the work. The voice is built from one's personal story and defines character. Character itself emerges from three 'positionings' (Chiseri-Strater & Sustain 1997): fixed, subjective and textual. Fixed positioning consists of unalterable facts such as age, sex, nationality etc.; subjective positioning refers to 'life history and personal experiences' (Chiseri-Strater & Sustain 1997: 58); and textual positions refer to language choices. For self-reflexive purposes the subjective positioning is, I propose, the most valuable, taking into account as it does how life shapes the individual and their opinions.

Self-reflexivity has garnered criticism, leading to charges that it can be lacking in clarity (Van Maanen 1995, Denzin 1997). To dwell on the producer is thought to be narcissistic and subjective; revealing the process 'untidy' and confusing for the audience (Rosenthal and Corner 2005). The possibility for self-reflexivity to become overly 'reflexive', and not 'scientific' (Clifford & Marcus 1986), is always there, particularly as Ruby (1980) advocates a period of over-compensation, a positive embracing of narcissism which could set in place what could be termed a New Ethnography. The writing style of self-reflexivity, which shifts from the third person to the first, was criticised by both Hufford (1995) and Coffey (1999) who consider it to be egocentric and self-indulgent. Bruner (1993), in addressing these concerns, points out that self-indulgence is not sought, but that the author must be present in the text in a balanced way. However, ethnography itself can

no longer count self-reflexivity as a luxury, a 'privileged understanding done at one's leisure' (Lee & Ackerman 1994: 351), as there have been too many changes, both to the world we live in, the technology we use to record it, and the exposure of the 'subjects' to the processes behind production for the status quo to be maintained.

This thesis, then, looks towards a New Ethnographic approach towards multiple validities (Saukko 2003). In this it differs from a positivist notion of science which seeks to create one validity based on a fixed reality and moves towards the acceptance of the potential for an infinite number of truths and validities (Baudrillard 1994). By moving away from a single validity to multiple validities, we can acknowledge that different people in different contexts can arrive at significantly different results, as with the case of Margaret Mead (2001) and Derek Freeman (1983, 1998) in their research in Samoa.

This thesis is predicated on the view that there are strong parallels between production processes and ethnographic research processes. As ethnography has itself developed towards a recognition of the 'situatedness' of the investigator, the concept of multiple validities has been foregrounded. The corollary to this is that the documentary validity can stand as just one possible truth. In order for this to be clear, there needs to be an understanding of the influences that shape the arrival at this 'truth'. I hope to avoid the accusations of 'self-indulgence' sometimes levelled at self-reflexive investigation by using the programmes as case studies to investigate 'validities', and how the subjective bias this brings inform programme decisions.

A self-reflexive methodology also admits for engagement with discourse around PhD by Practice, an area that has struggled to find a methodology that equates artworks with print-based research publications. Bell (2006) asks the fundamental question of what makes practice research, and argues for a research model that is 'shaped by professional considerations rather than by

traditional disciplinary and academic ones' (2006: 89). There is general consensus that the process of creation and reflection is at the core of research as practice (Knudsen 2004, Schon 1983), and that by writing about one's work, the work is immediately positioned as an object and an 'interpretative position' where the artist is now a 'critical interpreter of her art-making relative to the world' (Grushka 2005: 36).

PhDs by Published Works differ in that they constitute a retrospective reflection on the process and cannot therefore argue for methodologies and methods decided upon prior to the artefact's creation. Instead, this thesis's methodology seeks to find innovations in art practice, which can only be identified by understanding how practitioners work (Davies 1993). By close investigation of the production of the four programmes and gathering of the research, a methodology that acknowledges the importance of the producer, both on the completed works and also in the gathering and construction of oral testimonies and ethnographic knowledge, will be admitted.

Oral history is still a relatively new discipline, often sitting outside the established field of history. Current debate proposes an inter-disciplinary response to concerns over the methodologies used to gather and interpret oral histories, and it has been suggested that oral history practice look to other disciplines, including ethnography, to suggest ways in which it can benefit history discourse (Thompson 2000, Frisch 1972, Portelli 1991, Grele 1975, 1991). This thesis responds by suggesting that self-reflexive practices used in ethnography and documentary are equally applicable to illuminating and understanding the role of the interviewer in the collection and treatment of oral testimonies.

The published works allow for a cross-disciplinary dialogue that engages with documentary making, oral history and ethnography to assess the similarities in methodology between documentary as research practice, and ethnographic and oral history fieldwork. The works will suggest ways in which documentary

practice should inform debates around agreed good practice. This will allow documentary practice to inform discourse around participant observation and consider the subjective relationships and responses of interviewees and how intervention shapes narrative. In doing so, this thesis will agree with Morris that there is:

...no reason why documentaries can't be as personal as fiction film making and bear the imprint of those who made them. Truth isn't guaranteed by style or expression. It isn't guaranteed by anything.  
(1989:17)

## **Chapter One – Documentary: Commission, Position and Production**

This chapter begins by exploring key theoretical debates in documentary film making that involve the intricacies of 'representations of reality', 'truth', intervention and subjectivity. It will then critically situate my work within the output of BBC Alba and within the field of creative documentary and BBC production and craft, and analyse production decisions within the context of the commissioner, broadcasting restraints, and my creative practice.

Bruzzi (2000) argues that documentaries traditionally embodied values of completion and an explanation of the social world; documentary should tell us what is out there. Given this, it is the role of the documentary maker to construct 'reality' by giving it a form and structure that speaks to the audience in a way that is easily and quickly understood. Thus, by collecting material, framing and editing, it changes from being a record of actuality into being a documentary (Kilborn & Izod 1997). The work that goes into transforming actuality into a documentary ought not to hide the relationship that the film has with the real world, so that the completed documentary will still represent the 'fragments of reality' that Vertov (1992) referred to. This chapter looks towards a New Ethnographic approach to 'validities' which allows for programme delivery that traverses genre and embraces fictive elements, whilst yet recording and broadcasting ethnographic content.

### **Reality, Objectivity and Intervention**

Some of the earliest theoretical discourse around this topic derived from one of the first documentaries, *Nanook of the North* (Flaherty 1922), dismissed by John Grierson for its sentimental vision of the Inuit. Flaherty had found the Westernisation of contemporary Inuit life both sully and depressing, which resulted in his decision to collaborate, or collude, with Nanook in celebrating a 'nostalgic life' (Barbash & Taylor 1997), a life which was disappearing, or elements of which had already disappeared. The resulting film, which involved building character, narrative and story arcs, led to Flaherty being discredited for many years for filming a construct, or 'ethnofiction'.

There is now a general consensus amongst documentary theorists that, because of the agency of others, documentaries can never be anything other than a *representation of reality*, interpreting the world through the eyes of the film maker. They cannot attain the objectivity that was once claimed for them, and to which it was previously suggested all documentaries should aspire (Godmilow 1997, Bruzzi 2000). Neither did Bruzzi consider truth and reality to be lost by intervention, putting her in direct opposition to Barnouw (1974), who considered that intervention results in a loss of integrity. Winston, too, argues that the 'creative treatment' leaves no 'actuality' in its wake (Winston 1995). Proponents of direct cinema remained convinced for a long time that their limiting of intervention resulted in a greater objective truth. However, the methods used by direct cinema have subsequently been derided: Morris (1989) thought direct cinema set documentary making back twenty to thirty years, whilst Carroll went further, suggesting that 'direct cinema opened a can of worms and then got eaten by them' (1996: 225). Even a cursory look at some of the films lauded by direct cinema film makers – like the Maysles brothers, Richard Leacock and Robert Drew – leads one to question their assumptions. In *Titticut Follies* (1967), a penetrating film by Fred Wiseman that looked at the treatment of inmates in a state hospital for the criminally insane, there is multiple evidence of intervention: choices as to where to put the camera, when to zoom, when to cut, whom to interview and how to edit the finished film.

As both programme makers and theorists came to accept the inherent subjectivity and intervention that documentary making brings, the discussion widened to look at 'truth' and 'validity'. Corner (1996) discussed the 'problematic duality' of documentaries given that they are both artifice and evidential. Similarly to the development towards a New Ethnography, which admits a number of 'truths', 'validities' or 'multiple realities' and strives to 'be truthful to the lived realities of other people' (Saukko 2003: 15), documentary poses the question of the difference between fiction and non-fiction. Theorists who argue that documentaries are non-fiction assert that their function is to arrive at an authentic telling of a real event; and, whilst post-modernist thinking led to a challenge to the idea of a 'referential truth', documentary has always claimed a

strong connection to the 'socio-historical world'. Renov (1993) found non-fiction to have a number of fictive elements, including character construction, story arc, poetic language, musical accompaniment, camera angles and editing. Rouch found fiction to be the pathway to 'penetrate reality' (2003: 6), which traces a direct line back to Flaherty, whilst Ponech suggests that:

A wholly non-fictional motion picture need not be wholly factual. It need not contain a single purely objective, unmanipulated representation or statement. (1997: 203)

Carroll argues similarly that 'on the grounds of formal differentiae, one cannot distinguish fiction films from non-fiction films' (1997: 173). He dismisses the notion of the term 'documentary', Grierson's well-known term for a 'creative treatment of actuality' (1979) and suggests instead that Grierson, like the Lumière brothers and many after them, explicitly intended to be artistic. Their films were not reproductions of what was in front of the lens, but *interpretations* of it.

This thesis argues that the four published works are subjective, and this subjectivity arises from my position, which itself is shaped by the commissioning restraints of BBC Alba.

### **The Commissioner: BBC Alba**

The commitment to Gaelic broadcasting can be traced to a European drive towards supporting indigenous language, which was itself seen as a way of building a cohesive European Union (Collins 2002). Broadcasting was and is seen as critical in the preservation of language, and critical to helping answer questions of how a nation is defined (Cormack 2008). The acknowledgement of the importance of Gaelic broadcasting was outlined in the Broadcasting White Paper of 1978, a precursor to the 1990 Broadcasting Act (Sections 183 and 184 plus Schedule 19). The Act established a Gaelic Television Fund of initially £9.5

million per annum, and increased the amount of Gaelic television transmitted in Scotland from 100 to 200 hours. This new fund was overseen by the Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig (CTG, later the GTC) in what was clearly a public service funding model. The need to support Gaelic was further embedded within the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (adopted 1992), giving rise to an understanding from the Scottish Executive for a commitment to Gaelic to preserve the language, and improve its status.

CTG-funded output began in 1993, at a critical time in the BBC's history. The same Broadcasting Act that promoted Gaelic broadcasting also stipulated that 25% of the BBC's output had to be provided by independent production companies. Under John Brit, the BBC embraced (or enforced) Producer's Choice – whereby production and broadcast separated, with production competing with emerging independents for commissions. As Born (2004) explains, this was a time of almost unparalleled centralised commissioning. To those of us working in BBC Scotland at the time it marked a move towards commissioning that looked towards market forces and audience, and there was real concern that quality was being sacrificed on the altar of commerciability. The creativity of producers waned, as decisions were predominantly made from up high and imposed on us below. It also felt as though the BBC lost confidence in its ideas, and began to be driven by ratings, looking across the water to America to try to emulate their successes. I recall going to hear Peter Salmon, producer of 999, a drama documentary series about the emergency services, talking about his time in an American hotel, just watching television and seeing how they did it over there. The implication, whether intended or not, was that they were doing it better. His response was to import ideas from America and commission and encourage similar programming. The nineties, then, was the time of generic docu-soaps, the beginning of reality TV, and a reliance on formulaic output that was safe, in that it appeared to satisfy its audience. Having previously worked on network features programmes, moving to work in Gaelic television in 1993 felt safeguarded from the ratings drive imperative that

dominated the rest of the BBC. The increase in spend on Gaelic resulted in some challenging, ambitious and brave programming. BBC Scotland made *Eòrpa* (1993) and *Speaking our Language* (1993), STV made *Machair* (1993), the first (and only) Gaelic soap, which together ate up a significant amount of the Gaelic budget (*Machair* cost £77,000 per episode). There were rocky times, where the lack of a cohesive scheduling structure and an ambivalence about the amount of money being spent on *Machair* led some to question the quality of Gaelic output, whilst acknowledging that the economy of the Highlands and Islands had benefitted (Cormack 2008). There was also resentment from BBC colleagues whose favourite joke was to suggest we post out videos (as they were then) of the programme to all our viewers – as that would surely be cheaper than broadcasting them. Gaelic programming was integral to the renaissance of Gaelic, and brought Gaelic culture and language to the fore. The importance of *Eòrpa* cannot be underestimated. It was a bold commission that sought to position Gaelic culture, and by extension Scotland, within Europe.

Gaelic output continued on BBC, STV and the other UK terrestrial channels, but pressures on STV and other commercial channels led to a sizeable drop in Gaelic outputs, until BBC Scotland became the main broadcaster of Gaelic-language content. This changed with the opening of the spectrum, when a new Gaelic-language digital television channel was launched in September 2008 to provide Gaelic-language content to Scotland's Gaelic-speaking community. It broadcasts for up to seven hours a day and since June 2011 has been available on Freeview. It is a multi-genre channel, with most of the programmes made in Scotland. It averages around 530,000 viewers each week, although much of this number is pulled in from non-Gaelic speakers who are either watching the programmes out of interest, or are brought to the channel to watch its sports provision. Currently, there are fewer than 60,000 Gaelic speakers in Scotland. Programmes have English subtitles and the channel has an annual budget of around £12 million. The radio programmes were broadcast on BBC Radio nan Gàidheal, BBC Scotland's Gaelic-language radio station.

The service remit of BBC Alba is to 'reflect and support Gaelic culture, identity and heritage,' (BBC Trust 2012) and promote awareness of this across the UK. It is there to support the Gaelic language, encourage learners and provide economic opportunities for Gaelic speakers. Its service license includes the objective to show 'high-quality, original, challenging, innovative and engaging' programmes. BBC Alba and BBC Radio nan Gàidheal are the BBC's main outlets for recording and broadcasting events of particular significance to Gaelic speakers. As part of this, the performance measurement framework uses a range of metrics based around the four drivers of public value: quality, reach, impact and value for money. The broadcasters provide a public service to inform, entertain and educate, but also provide an important supplementary service beyond this broadcast audience, which is to archive content. At present much of this archive remains within the BBC, but the broadcaster makes it available on request, and, moving forward, is pursuing ways to ensure that this content is open access.

Providing programming for a minority-language channel brings specific requirements. There is an expectation that much of the content will be in Gaelic. This can limit production choices. If, for instance, a number of interviews are in English, there is a greater imperative to include a voice over, as this will be in Gaelic. The fact that the demographics of the core audience (aside from sport) are so well known means that the commissioning editors can be very specific about what sort of programming they are looking for. Therefore, the commissioning briefs that they send out in advance of the opening of the pitching process are very specific.

The station goes on air at 5pm with children's programming until 7pm. From 7-8pm two half-hour human interest documentaries, 8-9pm the Gaelic news and current affairs, 9-10pm an hour-long documentary, 10-11.30pm a music programme, before it goes off air. Some of the documentaries are bought in and re-subtitled; some are entertainment programmes like cookery or gardening;

others are directed specifically at the female audience, a noted need for the channel to cater for.

I am a director and Development Executive at Sorbier Productions, a trusted supplier to BBC, ITV and Channel 4. These channels only accept programme submissions from production companies on their 'list', with whom they have previously had a relationship, and can be reasonably assured of their track record. The production company has strong island connections. Patsi Mackenzie, the main company director, is from Lewis and we met and worked together when she presented *Eòrpa*. Marion Macdonald, another company director and editor, is also a Gaelic speaker from South Uist. Patsi set up the company in December 2005 and immediately won commissions for Gaelic programmes.

Although it is not the intention of this thesis to look at audience and reception, it is useful to note that there is triangulation between commissioner, producer and audience. Viewers tend to tune in for specific programmes, or genre of programmes. They know that at 9pm will be the 'heritage' documentary, whilst at 7.30pm they can expect something more like factual entertainment. The commissioner tells the production company exactly what type of programme they want, for which slot, and how much money they have to spend per hour. When we were making *Leasan sa Bhàs* the commissioning editor had concerns about our concept. They saw it very much as an historical 'whodunnit', whilst I was moving further towards a programme that looked at this event within the context of Scarp. Whenever the commissioning editor felt I was straying too far from the murder and becoming too 'arty', he urged me to 'remember the man from Coatbridge' – shorthand for 'make sure you are delivering to audience expectations'. Interestingly, the same commissioning editor who insisted we did not get too highbrow now trumpets *Leasan sa Bhàs* as being an example of how Gaelic television can aspire to and execute films that could sit on BBC 4.

Gaelic television has a strong resonance with its audience, and the practitioners have a strong affinity with them too. They share the same collective memories and it is perhaps unsurprising that directors have, over time, built up a set of informal protocols of how Gaelic programmes should be shot and edited, look and feel. There remains a particular colour palette used when shooting Gaelic music that uses blue gels, and, often, sets constructed around objects to do with the water or activities carried out on water: nets, boats, rocks and barrels. Sets often feature places from a shared culture; the music programme was called *Talla a' Bhaille* – or *the Village Hall* (Smith 1991-1994) – a studio programme designed to look like a village meeting place, where the audience were in shot, singing along. In documentary too there was a 'Gaelic look'; interviewees were often situated in their homes or crofts, interview clips were longer than in other documentaries as there is a respect given to the manner of telling the story, and an appreciation of 'good Gaelic', rather than a need to have a particular incident told succinctly. Programming, because it is predominantly shot in the Highlands and Islands, is often embedded within the landscape. In *Leasan sa Bhaàs*, similarly to other Gaelic films like *An Iobart* (1996) and *Seachd: The Inaccessible Pinnacle* (2007) the landscape is fundamental to the narrative, where the real and the story meld.

This 'Gaelic look' is, I would argue, present in much Gaelic television and film. The content often influences the look and a not insignificant amount of film and television work seeks to preserve old stories or uses them as a basis for inspiration. A number of Gaelic films worked with a bard like Aonghas Pàdraig Caimbeul. Martin-Jones (2010) talks of the recurrence of storytelling in Gaelic films and broadcast demonstrating the importance of the 'act of mythologising Gaelic culture and folklore in these films' (162). *Leasan sa Bhàs* is part of this oeuvre of film making; it conforms to a Gaelic style that values story telling and then places this narrative within the context of the landscape. How 'true' these stories are is complicated, with Caimbeul acknowledging that this 'valorisation' of

the oral over the written history can be illusionary as ‘there is a whole world of difference between a story and the truth’ (Cited in Martin-Jones 2010: 161).

### **My position**

I joined BBC Scotland having completed an English degree and then a secretarial postgraduate diploma. I knew that I wanted to work for the BBC, but in 1988 also knew that my chances of getting a foot in the door were probably better if I went in as a typist – an almost comically outdated notion today, but still, even in the 1980s, a realistic career path. I worked as a radio production assistant for a year before getting a job as a researcher and moving on from there to direct and produce, first in radio, then in television. The BBC that I joined in the late 1980s was a very different organisation to the one that is here today. Once in, you were pretty well guaranteed a job for life, a clear professional development route, and once you had done your time, the prospect of one of the most generous pension fund in the UK. Training and staff development was superb, with frequent week, or fortnight, long training sessions in London. These courses ensured that standards, quality and a continuation of the craft were promoted.

During the years in which I worked in television, documentary itself was changing, with a pushing against boundaries and the introduction of a less formal execution towards a much freer style and delivery. Some of these changes crossed over to Gaelic programmes, although they still remain conservative. Indeed, sometimes it seems that whilst technical advances have continued to inform and shape Gaelic programming, editorial shifts have largely passed it by. This is partly down to the limited budgets often allocated to Gaelic programmes, but it also reflects the tastes of the practitioners, commissioners and audience. As we have seen, Flaherty had a romantic approach to the Inuit whom he filmed for *Nanook of the North* (1922) and also the Irish islanders in *Man of Aran* (1934). There can be no doubt that Flaherty cherished the people about whom he was making films, and he admitted that his view was coloured by his underlying

sadness at the demise of a way of life he regarded as somehow superior to that of the West. I share Flaherty's sentiment, in my case forged by family connections to the area and executed within the context of early 1990s BBC production values and practices.

Nostalgic engagement with the area is evident in shot choices, music selection, and the way that stories are cherished, influences from my childhood, and an underlying grief that the way of life is dying out can be detected. I am the repository for all family information: war diaries, letters, photos, family trees and recordings made of my grandparents talking in Gaelic about their lives. I grew up hearing stories round the kitchen table, and have tried to capture these. It was therefore a given that my treatment of oral stories, and the people telling them, would be sensitive, but also, I hope, empowering. In all four programmes (whilst I acknowledge that the process is not entirely collaborative), I was concerned to ensure that this was the islanders' story as much as anyone's, and theirs to tell. I cannot film islanders as 'others' when I am culturally, historically and genetically part of that 'other' myself.

### **The commission**

The process of the commission began over twenty years ago when I was told the oral story of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century murder on Scarp. The unsubstantiated story was that in the 1890s, a sewing mistress murdered the schoolmaster as he was about to discover that she had been embezzling school funds to pay for her opium addiction. The murder was committed by shaving the tops of matches into the schoolmaster's supper, which led to a slow and agonising death.

I originally considered treating the story as a work of fiction as it involved so many dramatic elements: isolation, both geographic and cultural, intrigue, drug-addiction and murder, and I considered it easier to examine themes of loneliness, desperation and a clash of cultures through invented characters and narrative. The intention was to write it up as my screenplay for my major project towards

the MA Screenwriting that I undertook in 2009. From a determination to write this story as a fictional account, it became clear that it would be as satisfactory to present this as a drama-documentary. After all, both non-fiction and fiction start and end with telling stories and use fictional devices (Renov 1993).

The known, or filmable, elements were covered in a fairly standard documentary way, with interviews, sequence construction, etc. The dramatic reconstructions would fill in the imaginatively-realised elements of the story; that is, the past, which accessing archive and memories could not supply. These reconstructions would also suggest a motivation, in the absence of any written records, for why people behaved as they did. Whilst initially I was drawn to this story because of all the Gothic horror elements involved, the more I wrote, the more intrigued I was by the story of the island itself and the people, both indigenous and incomers, who lived there. The notion of oral history telling, and whether it was reliable, was also a growing area of interest. As I researched the story, it became clear that there were some archival records that allowed some degree of verification. There were also a number of articulate islanders with a rich source of oral memories that, although inconsistent, indicated that whilst there was no single truth, there was enough that was common in the stories to suggest that something did happen. It also became clear that by uncovering the genesis of this oral story, much could be revealed about the Western Isles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and by investigating the ramifications of such an event on a small community more than a hundred years ago, much could also be learned about the present-day islanders. A visit to the island, with its ruined street of blackhouses and the imprints left by runrigs, showed a whispered memory of a people whose lives I had grown up hearing about and whose stories were in danger of being lost. This research led to the one-hour drama-documentary *Leasan sa Bhàs – or A Lesson in Death*.

Whilst researching this story, I became aware of a piece of lost archive featuring a wedding from Scarp. This archive, filmed in 1952, showed the last wedding on

the island. Serendipitously, the now elderly woman whose marriage was featured would be attending the wedding of her granddaughter the very month we were filming. This then became the genesis of a pitch for a second documentary, *Rèiteach* – or *Betrothal*, a half-hour semi-observational documentary. The pitch for *Rèiteach* was simple both in concept and execution. The archive film would be the catalyst for a programme that compared island courtship and wedding rituals between two family members divided by sixty years. The present-day wedding was shot over two days in a traditional observational documentary style; we filmed what happened, and followed, rather than led the action. Two sit-down interviews were conducted, one with the grandmother and the other with the granddaughter. Similar questions were asked, with the intention to intercut between the two responses.

Finally, the extended interview done with Janet Morrison, the 92 year-old grandmother, was far more wide-reaching than the simple story of the wedding. It ended up capturing the memories of a woman who had lived through many changes and collected important data in relation to her schooling and life both on Harris and Scarp. This interview was commissioned by Radio nan Gàidheal as two separate radio programmes, *Beatha-Phòsd sa Sgarp (Married Life in Scarp – Programme One)* and *Beatha-Phòsd sa Sgarp (Married Life in Scarp – Programme Two)*.

Thus from one commission, I arrived at four. This commissioning process serves to underline a number of points about making programmes: firstly, the importance of a commercial imperative. Programmes need funding, and unless one is in the privileged position of being able to self-fund, the realities of budgets have to inform decisions. BBC Alba has a limited commissioning budget, approximately £4 million per annum, much of which goes on buying sporting rights. Therefore to attempt to make a one-hour drama documentary on £80,000 was a challenge. The wedding documentary also received a relatively tiny budget of £15,000, and could not have been made had we not been able to share crew costs, transport

and accommodation costs across both documentaries. Ironically, it was the two twenty-minute radio programmes that paid relatively well for what they were, bringing in an additional £3,000 each. The result was that we were able to offset some costs from the much more expensive drama-documentary against the other three programmes.

This does not mean to say that production is all about costs, but it would be disingenuous to suggest that they do not inform thinking. Had the supplementary programme ideas not been creatively worthwhile, I would not have compromised my reputation and professional pride simply to eke out more money. The opportunity to win further commissions resulted in programmes which were every bit as thoughtful and delivered with as much care and attention as the original pitch. It was the low-budget half-hour observational documentary that was nominated at the Celtic Media Festival, not the one-hour, higher-production-value drama documentary.

## **The Production Process**

### **Production**

Prior to filming it was envisaged that I would write and produce the two television programmes and that Paul Holmes would direct both. I was responsible for the content, whilst he was primarily concerned with the creative execution of the visuals. We both mainly agreed on the way *Leasan sa Bhàs* should proceed, but there was some divergence of opinion. Holmes, whose background is in drama, was keen to experiment visually. He referenced films like Andrei Tarkovsky's *The Mirror* (1975), feeling that it offered an interesting cinematic approach to memories. His was an oneiric approach, where he sought a dreamlike quality to our treatment of oral, or quasi-dream, stories. Part of his visual treatment also included a very stylised treatment of interviewees. Again, he wanted to enhance the feeling of dreamlike separation between real and unreal, memories and truths. To further this, he proposed recording the interviews as sound only, so

that there was never a visual cutting up of the interviewee's face. Here he was partly influenced by *Senna* (2010), Asif Kapadia's documentary about the racing driver Ayrton Senna which featured only non-synch interviews.

The discussions between us revolved mostly around how stylised and cinematographic the end product should be. The editorial commissioner for BBC Alba was wary of our being too 'arty' and thus risking losing the core audience. I was also in favour of seeing the interviewee's face, as it gives authority to what they are saying, and because the Gaelic audience would feel deprived if they did not see the people being interviewed. As the producer, my role was to find a way to encourage the director's vision, but also act as intermediary between his ideas and what would be palatable to the commissioner. A compromise was reached: to record interviews with sound and vision and record interviewees afterwards in the same location, but not speaking. We could experiment in the edit about using synchronised or non-synchronised interview clips. In the end the documentary is visually not as experimental nor as visually challenging as the director had in mind. We both came to see that the audience would not respond well to it, and it needed a more conventional treatment.

With regard to *Rèiteach* it was again proposed that I would produce and he direct. However, it became clear that the subject, treatment and genre were not something he was comfortable with. I therefore produced and directed.

The pre-production phase is a time for both creative and practical considerations to be considered and resolved. It is also the start of directorial intervention. During pre-production for *Leasan sa Bhàs*, I spoke to every islander who was willing to meet with me in order that I could choose people to interview on screen from this pool. I chose people whom I considered to be genuine, trustworthy, articulate, and also with something slightly different to say from other interviewees. Chapter Three will detail more fully the process of choosing and rejecting interviewees, but it is important to note here the significant intervention

made by the producer initially deciding whose voice is to be heard and whose will be ignored.

I travelled to Harris to meet with potential interviewees and to recce Scarp. Spending time on location is a luxury, but it is only by visiting that one can 'get a feel' for a place, which itself transfers to a look and feel of a programme. Walking amidst the ruined village of Scarp could not help but stimulate the imagination. During my first visit to Scarp, on a beautiful June day, I walked across to the Mol Mhòr, the beach where the Atlantic hammers the shore, leaving flotsam and jetsam behind. The Mol Mhòr aptly illustrated the geographical experience of living on an island with no trees, where coffins could only be built from the remains of wood swept ashore by the Atlantic. From here, except for the hazy jagged tips of St Kilda, there is nothing until America. The walk inspired both the visuals for *Leasan sa Bhàs*, and also a theme of people drifting, washing up in lonely places further and further away from urban life. This notion of isolation, and people adrift, is woven throughout the programme. In the absence of any diaries left by Annie Jane or Abercrombie, we have no idea why they moved so far from home, we cannot say if they felt this drift, so this theme is a creative invention, albeit one based on the available facts.

Research gave only a brief account of the lives of Abercrombie and Annie Jane Murphy. Suggesting possible life trajectories for them both forms a significant intervention in the original oral story. Flesh is put on the bones of these 19<sup>th</sup> - century ghosts, but the flesh is speculative and derives from my knowledge, research, and, ultimately, instinct as to what happened. This intervention is profound. Whilst I was visiting one interviewee, they showed me a letter that they had received the previous week from an elderly ex-Scarp resident. In it she writes that she had heard that a researcher was looking into the story. She then writes what her memory of the murder was, but mentions that she had spoken to another islander who had a slightly different memory, and she was now wondering if her version was incorrect. This demonstrates that the act of

remembering is precarious; when faced by contradictions, however slight, there is a tendency to go with the majority view. This concerns me and also reveals a conflict when capturing oral histories. Had I not made the television programme, there is every chance that this oral history would have been lost, yet, by making it, and adding significant details to it, I have changed the oral history and even altered people's original memory of it as the supremacy of the broadcast programme overshadows the ephemeral quality of the spoken story. This desire to separate 'fact' from 'imagination' affected the genre.

### **Genre**

Frow argues that genre is a 'set of conventional and highly organised constraints on the production and interpretation of meaning' (2005: 10). Discourse around television genre still tends to position itself within the context of literary theory although more recent film and television theorists have attempted to categorise genre in a more subject-specific way that acknowledges that genre is not fixed. They explore genre within the context of television production and consumption and look towards how institutions and audiences are involved in deciding on and labelling genres (Allen 1985, Kackman 2005). Whilst attempting to define what elements constitute a television genre, some theorists have argued for a 'repertoire of elements' (Lacey 2000: 133) that consist of character types, setting, iconography, narrative and style, whilst others (Feuer 1992) argue that it is pointless to insist on generic purity.

In the context of my own practice, BBC Alba's website sets out their needs in the winter 2013 commissioning round. Although it does not go as far as the BBC site, which specifies this through genre, it does, for example, ask for:

Factual entertainment or lifestyle series appealing particularly to female audiences Scotland-wide. (MG Alba Commissioning Round n.d.)

Most broadcasters specify their programming needs through genre, although there can be, and often are, differences between their own internal classification of what type of programme falls into which genre and those of other broadcasters'. Therefore, far from being universally agreed, genres can often be channel specific.

Genre is also useful during the production process, as the producer/director looks to the conventions of that genre when considering which elements they will utilise, and where there will be differences. The film maker is opting for certain conventions and signals whereby the viewer will understand the 'text' within this genre. They do this in the knowledge that they are helping the audience make a decision as to whether they wish to view the programme, based on their expectations and ability to engage in genre-based viewing (Altman 1996). The audience can often categorise the genre of programme very quickly, often aided by the 'inter-textuality relay' (Neale 1990, 2000) provided by the broadcaster's publicity, marketing, TV listings and trailers, all of which help to create expectations for the audience.

### **Drama documentary**

One issue relating directly to my practice that illustrates the instability around genre concepts is the use and function of reenactments or dramatic reconstructions.

Reconstructions appear more often in historical films, or films of memory, where there are little supporting visual elements or evidence. Marcus and Fisher (1986) argue for their use, so long as testimony was agreed to be somebody's account, saying that it 'expands the significance and the hearsay testimony and compensates for the limitations of its reliability' (1986: 75). Paget suggests that whilst drama documentary might look and feel like a fiction film its documentary status rests on its 'pre-film researching into the event' (2013: 76).

To a degree, genre becomes a definitional problem. Is a film still a documentary if it includes a piece of fiction? To restate, documentary 'truth' need not necessarily be predicated on a non-fiction delivery. If the point of a documentary is to collect pieces of evidence, dramatic reconstructions are merely an expression of the evidence. This

is not to say that dramatised reconstructions are not without problems (Corner 2009). They can distort rather than illuminate 'reality', although Kilborn acknowledges that documentary has always been interpretational and that there is a 'reality-bending side to documentarists' work' (2004: 20).

There is now a much greater mixing of genre in documentary film making. Hoffer, Musburger and Nelson (1985), and Turner (1989) all recognise that hybridity and overlap which lead to hybrid genres like drama documentary are becoming more prevalent. Recent films like the so-called 'genre-breaking' *The Ambassador* (Brugger 2011) play with fantasy, fiction and truth, using a constructed fabrication to explore a real issue. The film uses hidden cameras to suggest secret filming, but it has subsequently been revealed that some of those 'exposed' by the hidden camera interviews were actors. The resulting furore over the film currently ongoing in the Danish press suggests that such extensive blurring is not without problems and can lead to discussion as to whether the term documentary is still relevant (Dover 2004). Nichols's suggestion that film can do nothing more than leave an impression of authenticity (1991, 1993, 2001) may be the best response to complex genre-blurring documentaries.

Tunstall sets out the seven different programme genres, arguing for their distinction and 'particular requirements' which, he maintained 'cut its producers off from other producers' (1993: 2). From my experience, this is no longer the case. When I began at the BBC one worked in departments; I worked in Features, Children's, Gaelic and Current Affairs. But even during my time there, things were changing. The idea of a 'talent manager' was beginning to raise its head, with the associated notion that staff need no longer stay fixed in one genre, but could move about, bringing different skills and working practices with them. This meant that documentary practitioners often have shared valued, and similar experiences, traditions and even, especially in Gaelic, ideologies.

Morris, whose film *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) includes stylised reenactments of the

shooting of a police officer, was conceived by Morris as being impressionistic, blurring the line between fiction and fact. He rejected claims that he invented 'reenactment television', arguing that there were no reenactments in the documentary, in that he is not showing people what happened, but instead showing 'pictures of belief, untruth, falsehood, confusion', aiming to cast doubt, to provide 'dreamscapes' to go with the interview material (2006). Therefore his dramatic content 'works in service of ideas rather than facts' (ibid).

Lanzmann (1990, 2006) refused to consider reconstructions or dramatised content in his epic film *Shoah* (1989), arguing against constructing the past, believing that the interviews provided the drama (2006). Yet he did ask the train driver, when they were shooting the arrival of a train into Treblinka, to imagine he was back in the winter of 1942 and that the wagons were filled with Jews. Lanzmann's striving for authenticity also meant excluding helicopter or car shots, which he considered to be 'moral and artistic crime'. Whilst not doing any reenactments he did contextualise settings, like the barber shop, for an interview with the man who cut hair in the gas chambers. But he maintains an abhorance of 'illustrating', wanting only to provide context, calling the moment with the barber a 're-staging' of the truth.

Joshua Oppenheimer's film *The Act of Killing* (2012) pushes reenactment to the extreme. In the film he encouraged Anwar Congo to reenact genocide and atrocities by restaging them absurdly. Oppenheimer called it 'a documentary of the imagination...it is a film that looks at the stories we tell about our reality that we can make our reality visible' (2013: 77). Oppenheimer talks of putting reality through a prism – 'a mixed up medley of contradictions and the absurd, and that out of this incoherence we can understand reality better' (ibid). Bell's film *The Enigma of Frank Ryan* (2012) is narrated in flashback, a mix of drama and archive footage. His decision to use drama was born from the content – so many events and therefore 'ripe for a filmic treatment' (Bell n.d.). He considers his film to be a drama with documentary inserts, with the script informed by the historical record. Bell rejected the traditional 'voice of God' style, which he found didactic, and instead employed 'fictive

techniques', signposting his hybrid strategy from the start. He admits that the script takes liberties that historians could not, but argues for the legitimacy of created scenes that exist only in the filmmaker's mind. In a further conversation with McGarry (Bell n.d.) Bell makes an impassioned plea to historians to use film to supplement historical knowledge, arguing that both need to communicate knowledge, and both construct narrative structures.

### **Treatment and genre**

By the end of pre-production a shooting script was completed for *Leasan sa Bhàs* (Appendix 4), which, as an observational documentary, *Rèiteach* did not have. This script was a working document and it was expected that things would change during production and again during the edit. It acted as a guide between the producer and director of the content to be covered and the visual treatment of the programme. The script represents a very clear indication of the control that the producer and director had on the production process and actively demonstrate the degree of intervention. It demonstrates that *Leasan sa Bhàs* was a constructed, crafted programme with multiple interventions. Some of these interventions derive from the genre within which the programme was conceived and executed.

The treatment of the dramatised elements changed from pitch to execution. The script that I had prepared initially for my MA Screenwriting included dialogue, numerous characters and had a strong story arc. By the time we came to production, we had already decided not to include dialogue. For us, this seemed a step too far down the road of suggesting that what we were offering was 'true'. To help the audience understand that this was not meant to give closure to the story, we treated the drama elements very differently to the other footage. They were slowed down in the cutting room, so that the footage has a jerky, step-printed quality which we felt visually gave it even more of a sense of being distant from reality. We also opted not to include synch sound, and laid music under all of the drama. The colour grade used is different from the rest of the

documentary. It is more desaturated with a browner finish which gives an aged quality, mimicking found archive. All of this helped to achieve a different tone and rhythm to the rest of the documentary, and allows the viewer to understand that this was merely an 'imagining', tonal, suggestive and ephemeral.

As already remarked, the decision to use dramatised elements was embedded within the treatment. It was important for me, from the start, to acknowledge the potentially unstable role of oral history in the documentary – and nowhere is this more evident than in the personalities and characters of Annie Jane and Abercrombie. I tried, where possible, to validate the content of the oral stories, and I argue that the depth of historical research was thorough and therefore offers some degree of confirmation of the 'truth' of some of the story. The school log book gave particularly valuable insight into both the running of the school, the deterioration of Abercrombie's handwriting, and the way he interacted with the parents. The character of Abercrombie is of course clearer, as we have his words and writing. Annie Jane's personality is arrived at much more from her behaviour (bigamist marriage, children out of wedlock etc.) and by trying to find an explanation for her arrival in such a remote place. The information gathered resulted in the drawing up of casting notes (Appendix 8) which demonstrate how the information gathered, discussed and considered becomes distilled into concrete characters. They have, at this point, become 'film' characters, something we were anxious to ensure the viewer recognised. We never hear them speak: the line 'the master is dead' is spoken by the interviewee Norman MacLennan, not the actor playing Annie Jane. All of this is in recognition of the transformative power of the reconstruction to set out 'the truth'. There is no conclusion at the end of the programme; it is clearly interpretative, to the degree that by the end of the documentary the suggestion of the supernatural signals even more the extent to which this mystery has not been solved – just interpreted.

*Rèiteach*, as an observational documentary, follows the action and constructs

visual sequences in the edit. Shooting ratios in this genre can be anything as high as 30:1, as opposed to approximately 10:1 in drama documentary. In terms of ethnographic film making this higher shooting ratio would seem to conform more to the principle of watching action unfold, but in production terms the need for a high shooting ratio is predicated as much on not missing any action, and therefore ensuring that in the edit a better story can be told and described visually.

Building rapport and a relationship with the subjects is one of the most important elements of observational documentary. With *Rèiteach* I had to gain Joan's trust in order that we could then negotiate access, and so that she was clear as to our purpose in filming. In the months prior to the wedding, Joan's fiancé was at sea. so I only met him three days before we were due to start filming. It had been my intention to interview the groom and to include sound bites of his account of falling in love and preparing for marriage alongside Joan and Janet. However, two days before the wedding he withdrew from the film, although remained happy for the wedding to be covered and Joan interviewed. His opting out of the film created a better end product. By focusing, out of necessity, on the two women's stories, it became a more intimate, simpler story of a grandmother and granddaughter united in family, culture and shared expectations. In a nod to Chapter Two, which discusses the ethnography of the films, it is important to acknowledge here that the discussion of love and marriage through an entirely female viewpoint was not an ethnographic choice (in the way that Margaret Mead had focussed on young women in Samoa), but a production need to turn what at first seemed like a problem into a benefit.

The most profound intervention in *Rèiteach* concerns the way that I used the archive film of Janet's wedding. All the interviewees knew that the film had been found, and that this was the basis for the programme. It was always my intention to show the archive to the individuals for the first time on camera in order to film their responses. It is interesting to note Janet's reaction. Initially she does not

recognise herself. My understanding is that there were no photographs taken on the wedding day, so Janet had only ever had her own memories of what the day was like, or what she looked like as she travelled to Scarp. In the same way that my intervention in *Leasan sa Bhàs* has forever changed the oral story of the schoolteacher's murder, so too has my intervention in *Rèiteach* permanently altered both Findlay MacLennan's and Janet's memories of the wedding in 1952, where once more, visuals have superseded memory.

### **Post production**

If, as we have seen, Bruzzi (2000) suggests that documentaries have traditionally meant completion, then the journey can be said to begin in pre production and end in post production. Films can be a physical journey, but more often they constitute more of an abstract journey. The journey in *Leasan sa Bhàs* was to uncover a past crime and travel through an island's history. In *Rèiteach* there was a, much telescoped, journey from engagement to marriage. These journeys, although not literal, are constructed in the edit. It is unsurprising, then, that ethnographers have traditionally had the greatest issues with intervention in post production, as it is in post production that artistry can be used, visual sequences can be manipulated, and other components like music, spot effects and voice over can be introduced. Programmes can be restructured and themes given differing prominence. Individual personalities are condensed by situations and shot choice, feelings can be exaggerated by music and visual representations and 'characters' can be built. Intervention during post production can profoundly alter the whole message of a programme.

Prior to the edit I wrote up an edit script for both programmes (Appendices 5 & 6). Of all the scripts written during the production process, this is the most 'firm'. This is predominantly a financial consideration. Editing is expensive, so a producer ought to come to the edit prepared with a script that suggests a structure, complete with time-codes. For both of these programmes I worked with paper transcripts of the interviews, using the English translation rather than

the Gaelic, as my language skills are not quite up to editing in the language. I worked with these scripts, choosing the interview clips to use, and deciding how to construct them in order to tell the best story. Visuals tend to be slotted in around the backbone of the interviews.

Given that interviews last approximately 15 to 20 minutes, sometimes longer, the notion of choosing only three or four clips has, not unreasonably, led to both ethnographers and film makers (Wiseman, Drew, Leacock) to a concern about the degree of subjectivity that therefore enters during the editing process. There can be no doubt that choosing what to allow your interviewee to say holds power and responsibility. However, if you look closely at the process it cannot, I believe, be said to wield as much power as is sometimes suggested. Out of any given 20-minute interview, some of the questions function as warm-ups to the interviewee to ensure that they are comfortable in front of camera; some are unusable. At times the interviewee does not articulate well, at which point the interviewer re-asks the question in a slightly different way. This functions to clarify an answer, not to insist on your own interpretation being imposed on the interviewee. Sometimes the information given in some answers forms part of a written commentary that will be used in the voice over, as it can be condensed, or is general and therefore not necessarily to attribute directly to the person. Often the same answer is given by multiple interviewees, and the director chooses the clip where it is articulated better. Therefore, out of this long interview, perhaps only four or five minutes are 'fit for purpose' – by which I mean, compelling, new, clear and different from other clips.

This is not to say there is no subjective intervention. What I am arguing is that there is often only a limited amount of material that is useable for television. People ramble, stray off topic, and sometimes misunderstand the question. So therefore, the intervention is as much in the choosing of the interviewees and the asking of the question. The subjective intervention that takes place during the edit is only one part of a greater intervention. I further argue that there is less

intervention in terms of editing interviewees in Gaelic programmes compared to their English-language equivalents as interviews are often left longer with fewer internal edits to remove hesitation. For example, the interview clip of Norman MacLennan (15'12") is left deliberately long, as often happens in Gaelic broadcasting, to allow the audience to enjoy the full story.

It would be misleading to suggest that the possibilities for editing raw material any number of ways is not there. How one chooses to edit rushes depends on one's own set of production ethics. For example, it would have been entirely possible for me to edit *Rèiteach* into a very different film. It is always a possibility, and a production choice, to focus on the things that went wrong. But I had built trust with both Joan and Janet, and it would have been morally wrong to turn the documentary round in this way. Also, when you work in such a small community, if trust is broken with one person, then you run the risk of finding doors shut the next time you try to film, so protected self-interest does play a (limited) part.

Once all the interview clips have been chosen, the visuals and commentary can begin to be written around them. This is done prior to the edit, and in most instances it is this script that will appear as the 'first cut' – i.e. the first pass at constructing the programme. This takes three to four days. Re-editing after the initial first cut can be limited, or radical. *Rèiteach* had minimal restructuring after the first cut. There was some tweaking; additional interviewee clips were added and some music sequences introduced, but in essence it remained fairly much as per the editing script and first cut. *Leasan sa Bhàs* was restructured more as we tried, without entirely succeeding, to resolve the long travelling sequences with over-loaded script filling in the background to Annie Jane's and Abercrombie's life. These sequences remain the least satisfactory of the film. Given a bigger budget there would have been more drama reconstruction and less reliance on seemingly interminable travelling shots.

Evidential editing (Nichols 2001) is also constructed during the edit. These shots

lend credibility, persuade and convince viewers of the content that they are watching. *Leasan sa Bhàs* had numerous evidentiary shots, which aimed to give credence to a little-documented story: hence the long sequences showing the birthplaces and movements of Abercrombie and then Annie Jane. By showing where they came from and where they lived, the intention was to paint a picture of their lives, whilst also demonstrating to the audience that they can trust what the film is saying as it has been properly researched.

Another important, and contentious, element is the introduction of music. Music changes sequences. It can help condense them, so rather than the long one take of the ethnographic purists, music quickens the edits and can result, for example in *Rèiteach*, with a marquee being decorated in seconds rather than a day. The music imposes a mood on the audience; as it does in the sequence with Joan and Janet looking at her wedding dress (13'17"). It had been hoped that *Leasan sa Bhàs* would have music composed specifically for it, but it was a casualty of our stretched budget. I happened on the music by Jóhann Jóhannsson without knowing anything about it other than it fitted tonally with the film; it seemed to echo the sound of running water and brooding rainclouds. Months after transmission I saw an interview with him in the documentary *Screaming Masterpiece* (2005), a film about the Icelandic music scene by Ari Magnusson, and I understood how influenced Jóhannsson is by the landscape and geography of Iceland, and that the music I had chosen had been written about a culture and geography similar to that experienced by the Scarp islanders.

After the edit is completed, the narration can be given another rewrite which forms the basis for the voice over. In documentary the aspiration is often towards no voice over. This was not an option in both of these programmes given the amount of English speakers in the films. The narration was needed in order to increase the Gaelic content in the programmes. *Leasan sa Bhàs* could also not have functioned without it as there was so much complicated back story to the lives of the two protagonists that needed explanation. The narration for both

programmes was complicated as I wrote the script in English and it was then translated into Gaelic. This caused significant problems as Gaelic is, on average, approximately two to three seconds longer per sentence. This resulted in external intervention during the dub when the executive producer had to cut parts of the script; this was not an ideal way to work.

To illustrate the complexity of intervention available in visual documentary it is useful to compare the films to the two radio programmes, which exhibit minimal post production, in that they were barely edited, there was no voice over, no contextualisation; they were simply left to run. They are the ideal as described by anthropologists and the practitioners of direct cinema, inasmuch as they are effectively broadcast rushes, with no internal editing, no non-diegetic sound, etc. As a consequence, I never attended the edit; I simply counted the pages of transcript and drew a line at the half-way point. As a documentary maker, I cannot engage much with these programmes aesthetically. I disengaged with the linear, sometimes long-winded and unfocussed telling of a life history. How much better to have crafted this into something more polished that could have engaged with a wider audience? If this represents limited intervention, and an anthropological ideal, it makes different demands on the listener, or more importantly, radio that does not speak beyond its limited cultural and geographical sphere.

## **Conclusion**

By examining the main theoretical debates in documentary film, this chapter has established the context in which the four programmes can be evaluated in terms of their subjectivity and intervention. Notions of 'reality' and 'authenticity' have been the benchmark for distinguishing documentary from other filmic practices, yet debate shows these to be negotiated concepts. Documentary practice raises significant questions about the politics of representation, alerting the practitioner to the

sensitivities around representing 'others' in visual discourse. Chapter Three will extend this analysis to embrace the field of 'others' in oral history.

The production processes of the four programmes encompass varying degrees of intervention. Investigating the four works has allowed for a discussion as to whether there is a sliding scale of intervention, and whether this is aggravated or mitigated by different genres, and if this results in a more or less objective truth.

The chapter argues that all programmes were constructed and narrativised; however, I suggest that the scale of intervention, despite the different genres, is similar for all programmes, as they are all subject to producer intervention through all the processes of production.

This chapter has explored the commissioning process and the commissioner in order to make explicit the degree of influence broadcasting constraints, budget and commissioner have on the production process. The chapter acknowledges that a producer has to work within these constraints, but argues that their subjectivity is still the defining motivator in the execution of the programmes. The thesis contends that nostalgia for a lost culture registers my position as both insider and outsider and that protocols learned working in Gaelic television and BBC Scotland in the 1990s have shaped my engagement with the culture and the execution of my documentaries.

By reviewing academic debates and investigating the commissioning process the thesis is allowing for an investigation through self-reflexivity of my media practice in order to situate discourse in the next chapter around the ethnographic nature of these broadcast works.

## **Chapter Two – Ethnography and the Ethnography of the Programmes**

There is a tribe known as the ethnographic film makers, who believe they are invisible...They worship a terrifying deity known as Reality, whose eternal enemy is its evil twin Art. They believe that to remain vigilant against this evil, one must devote oneself to a set of practices known as science. (Weinberger 1994: 3-4)

This chapter will first examine the key theories around ethnography (which when discussing documentary is taken to mean visual ethnography) then explore the degree to which the processes and research, the appendices and the published works, constitutes ethnographic knowledge of the Western Isles. The chapter will not revisit the history of ethnography except in a limited way to suggest the common features of ethnographic films, if any exist, arguing that there are no 'rules' for ethnographic film making, and historically complex discourse around whether films that purport to be ethnographic are 'science' or 'art' (1994, Heider 1976, Collier & Collier 1986, Ruby 1980, 2000, 2005) are no longer relevant, as is the discourse around objectivity.

This chapter will consider the degree to which constraints imposed by filming documentaries with ethnographic content for a commissioner, here BBC Alba, within a set budget and timescale and with other broadcast restraints, impinged upon, or changed the ethnographic knowledge gathered.

### **What is Ethnographic Documentary?**

Ethnography as a methodology rests on a number of criteria. It constitutes iterative-inductive research, involving close and continued contact with people on a day-to-day basis to reveal their culture. Today, it is said to result in research that acknowledges the role of theory and the researcher's own role (reflexivity), viewing humans as part object, part subject (Pink 2007). However, this inclusion

of the importance of the role of the researcher has only recently been arrived at. In order to reach this position, theorists have had to struggle with, and ultimately reject, notions of objectivity in ethnographic research, and attempt to lay to rest the science/art dichotomy that has dogged the subject throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It used to be said that ethnography was concerned with ‘strange rituals in “exotic cultures”’ (Barbash & Taylor 1997: 4), with people who appeared very different to Western eyes. During the 1920s the discipline began to be established by anthropologists like Malinowski, whose British Social Anthropology dominated the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. He introduced a methodology that insists that an account of research methods and the experiences by which researchers reached conclusions, should be included in written accounts. He argued that in order to try to understand a culture, researchers needed to spend time with the people they were researching, recording the everyday by participation and observation. His methodology was rooted in functionalism and positivism, seeking a scientific understanding of society which ignored outside influences, process or change. This study was meant to be detached and objective, used to record ways of thinking and feeling, not individual impressions or reactions. Malinowski was ‘striving after the objective, scientific view of things’ (1922: 6) and attempting to understand the exotic through direct, systematic observation. Essential to this was a recognition of the importance of the background of the ethnographic film maker and their positioning within social sciences as a ‘scientific’ researcher. It was from their academic practice, and their insistence on rigour in the field, that their credentials were guaranteed. Although this empirical-positivist stance has since been challenged, Malinowski's fieldwork principles are still often used, as it is considered of great importance to conduct participant observation over a lengthy period of time. This thesis will argue that Malinowski's methodology is not unlike the research carried out during the pre-production process in programme making.

Film has been used to record events almost from the outset of ethnographic practice. AC Haddon brought a camera with him during his 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait, where he immediately saw the power of this new medium in capturing cultures and their rituals. Using film was not easy, as technologies were clumsy, time-consuming and expensive. From the start, the use of film and video in ethnographic research has been a fraught area. Initially it was used simply to record data, and ethnographers and anthropologists were quick to distinguish it from scientific enquiry and rigour, using it only to supplement the written monographs that were the result of the research.

The debate about the validity of ethnographic films, or indeed what constituted an ethnographic film, consumed many anthropologists. It was regarded by Loizos (1993) as a subset of documentary film, whilst others thought footage was ethnographic if it was of interest to ethnographers, or used to represent ethnography, by which they meant it was ethnographic only when used as such (Pink 2007). Heider (1976) was very concerned with drawing distinctions between film and ethnographic film, insisting that film was only ethnographic if it was objective and unedited, driven by ethnographic principles rather than cinematic intentions. Both he and Rollwagen (1988) believed that the difference between documentary and ethnographic films was to do with the anthropological understanding of the person behind the camera, and that this person (an anthropologist) should strive for the highest level of ethnographic practice. Subscribing to the commonly held anthropological viewpoint that science trumps art and aesthetics, Heider argued that film is only a tool in reaching towards an ethnographic goal. In doing so he rejected 'naïve ethnographic films' by film makers who are taught to 'translate or distort reality for aesthetic effect' (Heider 1976: 6). In order to be scientific, and therefore ethnographic, he believed that films needed to be holistic. In doing so he set out principles of ethnographic film making that dominated the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: he insisted on keeping distortion to a minimum, filming whole events, and presenting these unedited and in chronological order. This in turn led to many 'agreed' practices including no

close-ups, filming whole contexts, and using only synchronised sound. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, debates focussed on the science/art dichotomy, looking towards a scientific approach whose goal was to produce valid results understood to be the 'truth' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Rollwagen (1988) goes further than most by questioning whether ethnographic films can exist at all. Barbash & Taylor (1997) considered only raw footage to constitute objective data, although they did acknowledge that film brings people and cultures alive on the screen, capturing the sensation of living presence. Both Loizos (1993) and Chiozzi (1989) suggested that ethnographic films ought to extract themes from a written ethnographic report. Collier & Collier (1986) argued against the use of film even for data collection, saying that it was impossible to use ethnographic films as research, as they could never be observational because of the selection that goes into building a narrative.

There is also an added element of conflict for the anthropologists when it comes to the competing demands of television versus the requirements needed to be ethnographic. Television is problematic because it has a 'strong empowering capacity of its own' (Crawford & Turton 1997: 127) with an emphasis on storytelling. They wrote that anthropologists are communicators whereas film makers are artists, a friction that they call the 'compulsion to explain' versus the 'compulsion to entertain' (Crawford & Turton 1997: 261). This viewpoint is echoed by Singer (1997), who considers television to be 'ephemeral' and driven by its need to entertain. Much of the debate around the issue railed against the amateur anthropologist who lacked professional discipline, and the input of professional anthropologists, finding the needs of television significantly different from those of anthropologists.

Crawford & Turton (1997) suggest that television's need for story interferes with its ethnography. Wright goes further, citing television's need to mold ethnographic footage into 'familiar story-lines' (Wright 1997: 274), thus inhibiting

the ethnographic worthiness of a television documentary. There is a worry that narrative corrupts footage into fantasy and that television's mass-market appeal limits its ethnography.

Thus as ethnography has struggled with notions of representation, it has struggled more when those being represented have been recorded on film or for television.

### **Objectivity in ethnographic documentary**

As ethnographic film making struggled to adapt to new technologies and grapple with important theoretical issues, so, too, did documentary film. Grierson is said to have coined the term in 1926, describing it as 'the creative treatment of actuality' (Rotha 1952: 70). It is this word 'treatment' that has led to so much conflicting thought, as it signifies intervention and opens up discourse on representation of reality, and questions about subjectivity and objectivity. Documentary makers and ethnographers were concerned by the response of subjects to the camera and how it influenced behaviour. Therefore, they set about doing what they could to ensure that the camera was as limited and discreet a tool as a pen and notepad. Both film makers and ethnographers began to look at a sliding scale of intervention, questioning the bond between what they captured and the historical world. For ethnographers, one way of trying to mitigate against intervention and the subjectivity this resulted in was to insist that the camera was merely an extension of the 'ethnographic gaze' (Crawford & Turton 1997: 10). The limitations of film were summed up by de Brigard, who felt that human behaviour in documentary films is subject to such a degree of directorial distortion as to render the film 'scientifically worthless' (de Brigard 2003: 19). Not everyone agreed, with Ruby suggesting that these anthropologists were engaged with 'naïve empiricism and/or positivism/pragmatism' (1980: 161), which disavowed moral positions and resulted in a flawed understanding that one could study humans as though they were inanimate objects.

This positivist-empiricist approach resulted in an agreed filming method that favoured a locked-off camera touched as infrequently as possible, long sequences edited together in chronological order and non-diegetic sound. Fuchs insisted, too, on a purist line of anti-æsthetics in the filming, arguing that an ethnographic film must have:

Unity of place, time, group, and action, together with strict obedience to the chronology of action in the final version of the film. Artificial manipulation in either shooting or cutting is not permitted. (1988: 222)

Barbash & Taylor (1997) agreed that following these protocols resulted in non-selective, non-constructed research films, although others, including Comolli, (1980) thought Bazin (1967) naïve for thinking that because the camera films a 'real event it provides us with an objective and impartial image of that reality' (Comolli 1980: 135). Pink (2007) argued that even research footage is constructed and that ethnographic footage cannot necessarily exist as observable facts, suggesting that ethnographers need to look at how knowledge is produced, which is through interaction and discussion, or fieldwork.

In France, the anthropologist Jean Rouch took some inspiration from direct cinema when shooting ethnographic films in Africa and Paris. His *cinéma vérité* films strove towards a better understanding of 'truth'. Rouch, provocatively, had no issues with admitting to subjectivity, and extended this by encouraging and facilitating the subjectivity of the subjects. He made sure to show them the film, increasing their awareness of their 'performance' and their part in the action. Both he and the ethnographers David and Judith MacDougall (1996, 1994, 1998) were concerned about how the subjects of ethnographic films were being portrayed, and began to include themselves in the films, and enable the subjects to film themselves. David MacDougall sought to break down the barriers between film maker and subject, suggesting that they were not entirely separate, that films are a record of the meeting of different peoples writing that:

No ethnographic film is merely a record of another society; it is always a record of the meeting between a film maker and that society. (2003: 125)

They hoped that this level of self-reflexivity and self-consciousness about the equipment would 'alter the relationship of subject and object of documentary address' (Rabinowitz 1993: 126). They were not alone; other film makers such as Asch (*The Ax Fight* 1975) also included themselves in their films, hoping to mitigate against the accusation that film was art, not science.

### **Self-reflexivity and voice**

During the 1990s, a reflexive approach came more to the fore as visual ethnography recognised that its purpose was not just to collect data, but to create knowledge. Ethnographers began to characterise their representations as 'selective constructs, partial truths and ultimately literary works – fictions' (Pink 2007: 173). Clifford & Marcus (1986) argue that it addressed concerns that ethnographic film represented a middle-class Western need to 'explore, document, explain, understand, and hence symbolically control the world' (Ruby 2005: 41). Alongside this was a growing awareness that the 'native' was never seen objectively, but always through the eyes of the anthropologist. Earlier, Honigmann (1976) and Nash & Wintrob (1972) had begun to seek a solution to this, and had also opted for a more reflexive approach that involved the subjects in the ethnographic work. They saw this approach as being fundamental to addressing this predisposition in ethnographic and documentary film to investigate the 'other' in terms of what 'we' do and say about 'them'.

The reflexive approach results in a methodology where the filming process itself becomes part of the narrative, in order to better understand how the knowledge was produced. At its heart is a more active participant observation, the purpose of which is not just to try to ensure people forget the observer is there and therefore began to act naturally, but also to recognise that the researcher is

there, and, by being present, is part of the story. Malinowski's fieldwork, with the need to immerse oneself in the culture of study, is still regarded as being relevant, but functionalism is now largely discredited, and research is conducted with an awareness of the limitations of people studying other people. The Chicago School was at the forefront of this 'engaged participant observation', teaching their students that it was essential to begin to interpret and understand meaning. It involved gaining access, gaining rapport, becoming accepted, building relationships and, sometimes, making friends. At its core, participant observation acknowledged that:

...meaningful interpretations of human experience can only come from those persons who have thoroughly immersed themselves in the phenomenon they wish to interpret and understand. (Denzin 1989: 26)

Ruby (1980, 2005) believed not only that ethnography needed to be reflexive, but that in order to be reflexive, one needs to reveal one's methodology. This was about more than just an awareness of the effects of a camera on subjects; it was a matter of the producer making their self-awareness public in order to show the audience the epistemological assumptions that caused them to ask the questions they did, and construct the film they made.

Questions of voice, authority and authorship have been at the heart of ethnographic discourse for over a hundred years. The question of who can represent someone else, with what intention, in what 'language' and in what environment continues to be debated. From the post-modern ethnographers came the suggestion that no voice was of greater importance or more trustworthy than anyone else's, against which is Travers's assertion that the last word always resides with the author (2001). He thought it more honest to present a consciously authorial voice than a thinly disguised one. Participant observation, it is argued, challenges this authorial voice, although there is still concern that the film maker will remain the 'author' with the subjects there just to 'rubber-stamp'

an idea of collaboration (Barbash & Taylor 1997). However, within this need to collaborate, there has to be an acceptance that there is a difference between being there as a film maker and there as an anthropologist. Directing people where to stand, sit, or speak, the act of signing release forms, and, in particular, the control of editing, all result in a different relationship, even between collaborators. Participation is harder, and the act of collaboration in filming could result in conflict as agendas and ethical considerations arise (Pink, 2007).

As ethnography found less to research in distant countries and moved closer to home, issues of 'voice' changed. Now ethnographers, and film makers, had to wrestle with the challenges of an insider perspective. The act of looking closer to home has not been without criticism, with Löfgren (1987) suggesting that we now turn our gaze to the 'primitive within'. This internal gaze can raise issues, especially when the ethnographer is from within the community. With an insider approach it is harder to maintain detachment (Henning 1981), and invariably the researcher is more active and participatory in the community under study. Aguilar (1981) and Hastrup (1987) believed that only outsiders can read a society's 'unconscious grammar', as an insider fails, in their familiarity, to see the unfamiliar. Yet the insider approach is also seen as a positive, bringing a closeness to the subject area and subject that can provide a better perspective and a true rapport, and can be more trustworthy. Researchers can become 'key informants' (Henning 1981) with associated better access and ability to interpret responses more subtly. The research too can be more ethical, as an insider knows they cannot walk away from the locale on completing their work. Whether it is a good or a bad thing, there is now a general consensus on the need for a researcher (or film maker) to confront their own role within whichever society, near or far, that they are involved with and to analyse their impact on the people and topic.

### **Ethnographic versus production fieldwork**

In 1988 a 'vitriolic exchange' took place in the *Visual Anthropology* newsletter

(Autumn 1988 and 1989, cited in Singer 1997: 265) about Robert Gardener's film *Forest of Bliss* (1987). The article asked whether it was anthropological, art, neither or both. The main concern was whether a film maker could ever make an ethnographic film if they were not themselves ethnographers. This was neither a new debate, nor one that disappeared after the 1980s when there was ongoing concerns were raised that television cast documentaries as ethnographic simply by wheeling in an anthropologist for authenticity (Banks 1997: 116). The example that is offered by anthropologists as 'good' television is the BBC 2 series *Under the Sun* (1990s), because the series was made 'by' anthropologists working 'with' professional film makers. I raise this because my first research job in documentary was on the programme *Ninety-Minute Patriots* (MacQueen 1993) which was shown as part of the *Under the Sun* strand and turned the ethnographic spotlight on the Scots. I was the sole researcher/ethnographer on this film, thus, perhaps, inadvertently establishing my credentials as an 'ethnographic film maker' early on in my television career, and questioning the earlier supposition that only a trained academic could be considered to be capable of advising a film maker.

I argue, given my insider status within the Western Isles, that ethnographic fieldwork and the pre-production research in my work are very similar, and, further, that my connection to the culture and area results in my having a much deeper understanding and commitment to the people involved. My immersion in this geographical area, and within the culture, concurs with Malinowski's insistence on a year's fieldwork.

Of course, I am not arguing here that I am an ethnographer simply because I have had immersion in the 'field', but, given the argument that an ethnographic documentary is one that contains information of interest to an ethnographer, that the content recorded is therefore by this definition ethnographic. There is also much more information and data collected than exists in the programmes. The interview transcripts of the people from Scarp (Appendix 9) provide significant

additional material.

But if I am not an ethnographer, I am a film maker and also one who has a significant attachment to, and emotional investment in, the area. Whilst my familial relationship to the islands ensured that people opened up to me, at every point the process was with a programme outcome in mind, not an ethnographic one. There is undoubtedly conflict between an ethnographic imperative and that of a programme maker; this is perhaps most evident with the treatment of the *Rèiteach*. Thematically the programme sought to illustrate the way in which falling in love, getting engaged and marrying has changed little through the ages. This somewhat sentimental treatment would play well with the audience, given that the programme was specifically meant to appeal to women. This does mean that the ethnographic content is compromised in the broadcast. This ethnographic failing, though, is remedied by providing the full transcript of Janet's interview (Appendix 7).

## **Ethnography of the Programmes**

### **Radio programmes**

*Beatha-Phòsd sa Sgarp*: Programmes One and Two offer an interesting comparison with the two television programmes. The radio commission was a financial bonus and an easy pitch to the broadcaster, clearly fitting their remit. The one-hour interview with Janet Morrison for *Rèiteach* was conducted by Janet's nephew, Gaelic broadcaster Hugh Dan MacLennan. The interview was recorded for the wedding documentary, but Hugh Dan was keen that we capture as much as possible of Janet's life for posterity. To an extent, this interview was part of an informal negotiation between the Morrisons and us for their participation. We paid very little in interview fees, but in return they had a copy of the wedding archive, all the present-day wedding footage and Janet's interview. The next chapter will discuss the intervention and the role of the interviewer in conducting the interview, so I limit my comments here to the ethnographic validity

of the data collected, and what was done with it. It details a life covering schooling, work, courtship and marriage in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I had envisaged crafting the radio documentaries: eradicating the interviewer's voice, adding sound effects, like the sound of waves, birds, etc., and, where appropriate, music. However, the commissioner wanted the programme as a straight, unadulterated interview as they had previously broadcast long-form interview programmes and had received a positive response from the audience.

Therefore the only craft involved in shaping the two 20-minute programmes was to remove the wedding content and then cut the interview content exactly in half, effectively uncut rushes. Therefore the radio programmes are, in their content, execution and archiving thereafter, more easily defined as ethnographic than the two television programmes, in that they capture the culture of a people that has now disappeared. They also hold most strongly to an oral history interview, or to agreed ethnographic good practice, by which I mean they were broadcast unedited with every pause kept in. Significantly, all Gaelic contracts include a clause that producers sign to give permission for the material to be used for educational or cultural reasons.

### ***Leasan sa Bhàs***

My original intention was to treat the story of the murder as a work of fiction, but this changed as I became drawn into the factual possibilities. The change of intent can be evidenced with regard to the various pre-shooting scripts. The first (Appendix 1), which was submitted as the major project for an MA Screenwriting in 2009, still contains considerable amounts of fictionalised content, extensive dialogue, secondary cast and dramatically-hyped scenes. The characters of the two protagonists, Annie Jane Murphy and John Abercrombie, were fleshed out and a fictionalised back story created that presented behaviours and motive. In subsequent drafts there is a move away from fictionalised elements where dialogue is eventually eradicated, and a move away from fiction towards drama documentary.

The tag line that appears on *Leasan sa Bhàs*'s BBC site reads: 'A bizarre story of addiction, lust and murder, on Scarp in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Fact or island folklore?' (*Leasan sa Bhàs* n.d.). This tag line is notable for its salacity; four out of the 19 words are dramatic: 'bizarre', 'addiction', 'lust', 'murder'. This clearly establishes the programme as a murder mystery, although the final short sentence does offer up the suggestion that it is an oral history. Looking at the pre-title sequence also plays to the attention-grabbing mystery of the programme and, in doing so, conforms to the commissioning expectation. Going back to the original treatment which won the commission (Appendix 2), it states that the programme is: 'A perfect murder mystery for BBC Alba – set in one of the most beautiful and intriguing parts of the Outer Hebrides – and what's more, it's *true...*' However, further down the treatment, the importance of oral history is set out: 'At the heart of the story is the oral history told by Scarp islanders and Abercrombie's own log-book.'

Visually the pre-title sequence reveals no ethnographic content, as we can see from a breakdown of the shots:

(Wide Shot = WS, Mid Shot = MS, Close Up = CU, Out Of Vision = OOV, In Vision = IV, Point Of View = POV, Voice Over = V/O)

**Shot 1** – CU hand – Music

*Mix to*

**Shot 2** – WS hands

*Mix to*

**Shot 3** – MS Abercrombie's head

*Mix to*

**Shot 4** – CU Abercrombie's head

*Mix to*

**Shot 5** – Annie Jane finds body

*Mix to*

**Shot 6** – Different angle of above

*Mix to*

**Shot 7** – Annie Jane lifts head

**(OOV)** – Norman MacLennan: “He died suddenly and she ran outside shouting, ‘the master is dead, the master is dead.’”

*Mix to*

**Shot 8** – Annie Jane exits shot

*Mix to black*

**Shot 9** – IV interview clip of Norman MacLennan: “Oh, I believe it, without a doubt it wasn’t a lie.”

*Mix to black*

**Shot 10** – IV interview clip of Findlay MacLennan: “What type of poison was it? How can we be sure it was narcotic poisoning?”

*Mix to black*

**Shot 11** – IV DJ MacLennan: “She may have poisoned him with matches, match heads.”

*Mix to black*

**Shot 12** – IV interview clip with Frances Bakewell: “It was a woman standing in the doorway in the shadows and the growing darkness.”

*Mix to black*

**Shot 13** – Annie Jane, POV of the grave.

**OOV** – DJ MacLennan: “As I heard it, the woman threw letters on top of his coffin...”

*Mix to*

**Shot 14** – MS Annie Jane crumpling letters

*Mix to*

**Shot 15** – Coffin with letters

**OOV** DJ MacLennan cont.: “...letters she had received from opium dealers in Glasgow.”

*Mix to*

**Shot 16** – Annie Jane’s face

**OOV** - Frances Bakewell: “I knew that it was not a fleshly person. And there was a sadness to her and a desperation...”

*Mix to*

**Shot 17** – Annie Jane’s hands on her stomach, then walking away

**OOV** – Frances Bakewell cont.: “...and a hungriness. It’s what the Buddhists call a hungry ghost.”

**OOV** – Findlay MacLennan: “There’s no doubt that there was something far wrong in the home and in the schoolhouse.”

*MIX TO BLACK AND TITLE*

The pre-title sequence for *Leasan sa Bhàis* is exclusively concerned with the crime mystery. In this short sequence the viewers will come to know that there has been a murder, that drugs are involved, and that there is a tempting suggestion of something supernatural. The shot choices, too, are designed to bring the viewer in and hook them. They are visually very particular, given that they consist only of the dramatised reconstruction and present-day interviews. Stylistically, they give the viewer clues too: the dramatised elements are mixed into and out of, and the interview sequences are mixed into and out of black – something that is not common in factual programmes, so will suggest to the audience that they are not watching a straightforward documentary. The shots themselves are dramatic, and the music heightens this. Therefore I would conclude that watching the pre-title sequence, the viewer would have no notion of this programme having ethnographic content.

Throughout the programme there is a tension that derives from the initial commission. Whilst the murder mystery provides the backbone to the programme, from the start I make clear that this programme will be as much about the island, as “we must understand the island itself” to understand what happened (04’16”). The historic crime is used to segue into information about Scarp as it was in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The viewer learns about crops, fishing, the parliament, education, religion, teaching and the aspirations of the

islanders. The programme has another ethnographic shortcoming with its absence of women. As noted previously the story of the murder was regarded as an embarrassment, particularly by the women folk, and none, although they were approached, were willing to be interviewed. The approach was made, in all instances, through a male family member, so it may have been that decisions were being made 'for' the women. The lack of a female recollection is a disappointment, not just in broadcast terms, where the preponderance of male voices sits ill with the audience, but also limiting in terms of academic inclusion, in that one very significant part of the population is omitted. The lack of female voices was the main reason for including a woman's voice over. Frances Bakewell's presence might also seem questionable – she is an outsider, does not speak the language, and had no involvement in the passing down of the story. However, I argue that she is important and that her inclusion is crucial, not just because she is female. If this documentary is about the island, then it is appropriate that the new owner be interviewed. Equally, if the documentary is also about oral history, then surely her recollection of the night she saw the ghost, and the consequences for the continued deterioration of the school house because of it, is a valuable addition to any discourse on oral history, which has to acknowledge that stories change over time, and that this change is responsible for the richness of the stories passed down?

One sequence in the documentary speaks particularly of my position within the community. Gillies Campbell, the artist whose father had been the schoolmaster, best mirrors my subjective position within the community. Like me, Gillies spent time on the island, but was not born there and left at a young age. He was to an extent an outsider. His is a particularly nostalgic view of Scarp, a view not unlike my own towards Lewis. His interview mirrors my preoccupation with preserving the past and mourning its demise. He also provides the strongest visual ethnographic content. He is seen painting stones with chalks (07'02") in the manner that the children did when he was young and later, weighing down the sailing boats that the children used to play with (29'08"). For me, nothing in the

film sums up my intent to capture and understand about island culture more than Gillies' final interview clip:

“The children that played on the shore, the children of ‘Sgoil air an traigh’ (School on the beach) were in fact the last generation, the lost generation in a sense, because they were denied the life that they were prepared for on this beach.” (51’33”)

This programme contradicts some major ethnographic protocols but I argue that the content is nonetheless ethnographically valuable. This is despite inclusion of the contentious issues of aesthetics, which here includes music, non-diegetic sound, crafted visual sequences, other forms of visual intervention and, importantly, the dramatised elements. Flaherty was influenced by film language from fiction films, staging events, constructing visual sequences and using music.

The shooting style, genre, execution and tone of *Leasan sa Bhàs* and *Rèiteach* are significantly different, as described in Chapter One. This difference was determined in pre production when genre and style were discussed, and these choices resulted in a number of technical choices that would facilitate these aesthetic choices. *Leasan sa Bhàs* was shot using a Sony digi-beta with 35mm adaptor. The inclusion of the adaptor meant that we could use 35mm lenses with different focal lengths, chosen for the cinematographic look of the resultant footage. This had immediate shooting implications with regard to portability and speed, as the camera required a box of lenses and was itself significantly heavier than more portable cameras. Because of the lenses the camera was never used handheld, but always either mounted for travelling shots, or on a tripod. Therefore, there is no visual suggestion that what we filmed was about covering action. It also precluded any notion of self-reflexive filming. There are no moments where the audience is aware of the camera's presence, for example snapping the camera off tripods to chase action.

For every filming set-up, the shot was executed once on a longer lens, and then incrementally with lenses with shorter focal length, if appropriate. This is time-consuming, and meant that for every shot filmed, the expectation is that it will be used. To offer a comparison, for *Rèiteach* in any given hour I would film up to 45 minutes of rushes. For *Leasan sa Bhàs*, one hour would give approximately six shots. Each shot becomes like a crafted photograph; there is nothing random about the composition; they work hard in terms of establishing tone and providing a subtext to compliment the script. Visually, this documentary is not dynamic; stylistically we did not want to use zooms, which are suggestive of a much more fly-on-the-wall, 'grabbed' film making approach. This choice very firmly set out the aesthetic feel and itself provides the audience with clues as to what sort of documentary it is. The intention here was that the visuals be made deliberately static to echo the emptiness of the island and the still nature of what is left behind once human habitation leaves.

Because the island is now abandoned, we did not have the opportunity to film action sequences, other than a brief sequence in the boat, of islanders at work and play. We have anecdotal references to how they carried out their duties on the island and some recreation of children's play from Gillies Campbell. This does seem problematic, given ethnography's dictum to record, rather than construct, life. Yet, the issues I faced were similar to those faced by Flaherty in both *Nanook of the North* (1922) and *Man of Aran* (1934). Both were filmed when the culture had already begun to disappear and the possibility of filming real-life events was no longer viable. Flaherty's response was to recreate some of it: the seal hunt, for example. I chose not to, but allowed the audio (in contrast to the deteriorating village scape) to 'speak for itself'.

The interviews with the islanders today are ethnographically interesting in themselves. They reveal not just how they lived, but how their upbringing on the island shaped them; they 'capture the feelings, the sounds, and the speech of a culture from the intimate ground of those inside it' (Hockings 2003: 70). This is

evident in Norman MacLennan's recitation of the influence of the people of Scarp. His knowledge was supplemented by a comprehensive amount of information that he stored in ring-binders kept in his kitchen drawer, including old letters and photographs of many of the island men who had travelled the world as scholars or missionaries. Norman MacLennan died six months after we finished filming, so his testimony was captured just in time.

The appendices include full transcripts of all of the interviews, which themselves give an enormous amount of ethnographic information, which together, possibly provide the most detailed information on growing up on Scarp and growing up away from Scarp recorded. For example in Findlay MacLennan's transcript there is detailed information of being a 'Highland copper' in London, at some very significant moments of history.

### **Rèiteach**

The tag-line that appears on the BBC *Rèiteach* is: 'Two weddings: more than 50 years between them. And the grandmother is looking at the wedding footage for the first time ever' (BBC 2012b). This corresponds well with the programme treatment (Appendix 3) which states that: 'This documentary will have at its heart the written and filmed record of an extraordinary and unique event...Interviews with some of the original Scarp wedding guests will bring to life this culturally significant day and Janet's personal, oral testimony will be preserved forever.'

Unlike the pre-title sequence for *Leasan sa Bhàs*, I suggest that the ethnographic credentials of *Rèiteach* are clearer.

**Shot 1** – travelling shot from the boat, which firmly places the geographical location of the documentary, establishes that the island is only accessible by boat, and, by the inclusion of shots of ruined houses, also gives a visual clue that the island is abandoned.

*Cut to*

**Shot 2** – archive footage intercut with the present day shot, and also shows arriving at the island by boat. This inter cutting between past and present is consistent in the pre-title sequence and deliberately sets up the theme of the documentary – that of a comparison between two weddings separated by 60 years.

**OOV** – Findlay MacLennan: “Everyone who attended will remember it all their lives as it was very special.”

The first V/O is one of the original wedding guests discussing the previous wedding. It is deliberately teasing, trying to engage the viewer’s interest. It also clearly sets out that the documentary is about an event in the past that people will “remember”. It therefore clearly defines the parameters of the content of the documentary.

*Cut to*

**Shot 3** – present day shot of the island.

**OOV** – Joan Morrison: “Her wedding was quite memorable and I hope mine will be memorable too.”

The second V/O features Joan Morrison, the granddaughter whose wedding will be the present day comparison for the archival one of her grandmother. This V/O establishes that the documentary is about a wedding, but by repetition of the word “memorable” – which follows on from Findlay MacLennan’s use of the word “remember” - firmly establishes that this is a film not only of the present day, but of a time past that is, for the most part, remembered orally.

*Cut to*

**Shot 4** – archive

**OOV** – Janet Morrison: “Oh, it was a fine day. It couldn’t have been better on Scarp on 19<sup>th</sup> June.”

The final V/O is Janet Morrison Joan’s grandmother, whose wedding is featured in the archive. Inclusion of her V/O is juxtaposed with her granddaughter, complimenting the visual inter cutting between past and present. Visually the archive complements her story, firmly embedding her in the past.

The pre-title sequence is, arguably, the most important part of any programme. It is in this brief sequence that a viewer will decide to stay with the programme or change channel. Given that the pre-title sequence is approximately 30 seconds long, it offers significant information on content, tone and intent. It is clear that this is a documentary set on an abandoned island. It is clear that the content is about two weddings. It is obvious that there are archival elements and that much of the programme will be to do with oral memories. Unlike *Leasan sa Bhàs*, the shots are cut, not mixed. Stylistically, the visuals are fairly straightforward, so the audience can be clear that they are being offered a documentary.

It is significant that the pre-title sequence does not include any footage from the present-day wedding, drawing attention to my emphasis on the importance of finding and broadcasting the archive. The modern-day wedding is there to allow comparison, whereas the previous wedding is significant in that it was the last one on Scarp.

It is structured both in terms of content and visually as a dialogue between past and present – thus offering up a direct comparison between the two cultural events. As acknowledged, this structure and treatment is constructed for the audience, and for the simplicity of story telling, so, whilst the interview content itself is ethnographic, the finished work has had a narrative imposed. Interview content is juxtaposed, so that as Janet talks about the courtship, so does Joan; when one discusses the wedding dress, it cuts to the sequence of Janet and Joan unravelling the story of the old wedding dress. Visually, too, there are segues which help to re-enforce this counterpoint. When Gillies Campbell talks about the tablecloths being used as flags on the washing line (11'20"), it cuts to a shot of the marquee of the new wedding, through washing blowing on the line (12'16"). There are direct mixes between the road to Hushinish in the present day (20'14") with the archive footage (20'57") and again an intercut between guests walking to the party in the archive (22'15") and modern-day guests entering the marquee (22'57").

*Rèiteach* is an observational documentary, a genre heralded by some ethnographers as the 'jewel in the crown of the ethnographic film canon' (Banks 1997: 124), which suggests limited intervention. It is illustrative here to compare *Rèiteach* with two other ethnographic documentaries filmed in similar settings that investigate similar themes and are also regarded as being observational documentaries. The first is Flaherty's film *Man of Aran*, filmed over two years from 1932. The second is Paul Hockings and Mark McCarty's film *The Village* (1968). Both were filmed in Gaelic-speaking rural Irish locations. Both looked at a vanishing way of life. Hockings's film is prefaced by a written commentary that specifies that the film's themes are the waning of traditional culture, present-day life and reasons for immigration. Both films are æsthetic and cinematic. Both are regarded as being ethnographic. Hockings writes of the process whereby he and McCarty made *The Village*, which he considers to be shot in a cinéma vérité style. He argues that the film upholds 'certain principles of anthropological veracity' (2003: viii) as he aimed to integrate with the people, learning their language and showing them what he and McCarty had shot. They never staged events, only filmed what was happening; no-one was paid; and there was no script. Hockings describes a similar process to that which I followed when filming the wedding preparation and event. No actions were repeated for the benefit of the camera; there was no script; and everything that we shot would have happened had we been there or not. We did, though, offer a limited payment to the interviewees, commensurate with BBC guidelines.

Hockings is confident that the presence of his camera did not alter behaviour, saying that people got used to him being there very quickly. I would suggest that this was also the case whilst filming the sequences in *Rèiteach*; we quickly became part of the background; arguably the wedding photographer and guests with cameras caused more interference. This is not to say that behaviours are not altered by the presence of a film crew. In most cases interviewees respond 'unnaturally', less because of the presence of the camera crew, but more

because of the interview and the intensity of the manner in which you ask questions and listen.

*Rèiteach* did include staged events. The interviews were set up and controlled by us. The decision to show the grandmother and another interviewee, Findlay MacLennan, the wedding footage for the first time whilst the camera was running was staged. The scene that I consider to be the most 'staged' is that between Joan and Janet looking at the wedding dress (13'17"). When we arrived at the grandmother's house we were told that she had just looked out her old wedding dress. As it was challenging to demonstrate intimacy and interaction between the two women once the 'action' (by which I mean the wedding) began, it felt important to establish the two of them together. The scene has a degree of awkwardness, yet remains one of my favourites. To me it symbolised the thematic heart of the programme which is that love, marriage, ritual is essentially the same today as it has been for hundreds of years – admittedly a television confection, not ethnographically correct.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the main theoretical issues considered by anthropologists, ethnographers and visual ethnographers to assess the role documentaries might play in ethnographic study. The chapter has also examined the growing recognition accorded to visual ethnography, although it remains anchored to the tradition of supporting written ethnography. The move away from a positive-empiricist way of engaging with research, which in turn has led to a greater, yet still debated, acceptance of visual ethnography and the work of film makers in recording culture, argues also for a greater admission of self-reflexivity. Issues of representation have moved from an expectation of a scientific objective study towards an understanding of the inherent subjectivity of any research. This creates a space in which visual ethnography is no longer

confined to the demands of objectivity and singular 'truth', where a broader range of documentary production might be considered.

The chapter defines ethnography as research involving close and continued contact on a day-to-day basis with a people to reveal their culture. I argue that the time I spent researching the four programmes equates to the fieldwork carried out by ethnographers. I further argue that aesthetics and interpretation need not necessarily exclude a documentary from being regarded as containing significant ethnographic material.

A number of ethnographers would dispute television's ability ever to communicate ethnographic knowledge given their perception that television is an 'ephemeral' medium whose major purpose is to entertain (Singer 1997: 265), rather than analyse, the data collected. Therefore, this chapter asked whether my programmes simply record ethnographic data, or communicate ethnographic knowledge. By broadcasting to the area of 'study' and beyond, I argue they do communicate knowledge, and go far beyond simple recording of data. Similarly to the ethnographic requirement, all four programmes, including the unedited rushes, have been lodged both with the broadcaster and the individuals who took part in the programmes. This provides an archive of recorded material for future use.

## **Chapter Three – Oral History, the Gàidhealtachd and Research**

This chapter looks at the issues surrounding oral history, and the methodologies around interviewing. As the oral history collected in the published works is from the Western Isles, the chapter will also look at the cultural geography, issues of language, and the identity of the area. Whilst oral history has its enthusiasts (Frisch 1998, Rosenstone 1995, Grele 1991, 1998, Howarth 1998), it is not universally accepted by historians as a valid scholarly tool, and there is still a battle underway for its acceptance (Ritchie 2003). Oral history suffers from the paradox that it 'is of such self-evident importance and interest that it has proven difficult for people to take it very seriously' (Frisch 1998: 32). Thus historiography can be said to privilege the written text. Multiple methods of gathering, storing and communicating information are beginning to challenge the dominance of the written word in defining historical accounts – online databases, social media, digital archives. One of the areas of greatest acceleration is in oral history, the capturing of verbal testimony of those who experienced, or have been told about, historical events.

### **Who Does Oral History?**

Oral histories are 'reminiscences, hearsay, or eyewitness accounts' (Vansina 1998: 12) of events that have, typically, not been previously recorded formally. Its growth came at a time when the historical profession shifted away from:

...presenting facts as received wisdom to presenting theoretical analyses as specific to a given time and place and society. In this, oral history has played a vital role. (Dunaway & Baum 1996: 9)

More often it gives a voice to those outside the hierarchy, allowing for a far greater number of voices to be heard, and for these voices to be recorded in multiple modes of communication. It can also be argued that oral history shows

evidence from a new direction and allows a multiplicity of standpoints to be recorded, especially standpoints around children, family life and communities (Portelli 1983, 1991). Yet there is a fear of this very populism, which cautions against giving too much credence to forgotten stories that are often recorded through sifting of memories. There is a concern, too, that capturing oral history involves non-specialists (i.e., not historians), although it has also been suggested that there is a cherishing of 'scholarship while opening up the discourse to non specialists' (Blatti 1990: 615). If, though, this scholarship opens up, then it is not unreasonable to demand that theory and appropriate methodologies be agreed and practised, or, at the very least, that there be a much greater degree of discussion as to what these methodologies may be (Grele 1998). The debates amongst historians as to what constitutes 'fact', 'interpretation', 'narrative' and 'analysis' are complex and nuanced. However, my interest in oral history is confined here to its appearance within ethnographic documentary programme making. For this, the work of Glassie (1982) is instructive. He found details of history in everyday life, in artefacts, songs and even place names, and searched for patterns and structures in human activity. By foregrounding the folk stories and folk tellers, Glassie sought to limit the role of the scholar, whom he considered an intrusion whose intervention could distort the story. His concern was with the 'wholeness' of culture, mirroring ethnographic understanding.

In his work *Hard Times*, which captured the voices of black Americans during the Great Depression, Terkel (2001) wrote that his work was not history, but memory, searching not for facts, but for the truth behind the facts. Portelli (1991) also cautions that oral history tells us less about events and more about their subjective meaning. The process whereby people make sense of the past, and how this past then becomes present, is 'what happens to experience on the way to becoming memory, as opposed to history' (Frisch 1998: 33). The idea that people recollecting past events or experiences provides 'historical information' must be viewed with an understanding of the method by which the information is gathered. This requires an acknowledgement that the information provided

contains dimensions of ideology, memory and subconscious desires and that the interviews 'reveal the contradictions between ideology, myth and reality' (Grele 1998: 48).

It is from this need to question the epistemological status of memory that much of the debate around subjectivity arises, leading to criticisms of oral history as being based on material that is problematic, subjective and unreliable (Portelli 1991). How accurate is memory when so much is dependent upon the context of the person whilst the memory was becoming fixed, their recall ability, which might be lessened by age, and the context within which they are being asked to recall an event? This could be resolved by focussing on referencing and cross-checking memories with other evidential data. Others, like Grele, are less concerned with the status of historical memory, arguing that whilst oral history might be unreliable, conventional history is itself written from sources that are not in themselves reliable. He is concerned that 'in the search for objectivity, the very subjectivity of the lives under examination is lost' (1991: 69).

Underpinning Grele's thinking is a requirement for an acknowledgement of the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, the conflict between the desire for objectivity and the acceptance of the subjectivity of the testimony and the manner in which the data is collected, analysed and presented. One methodology that could achieve this is a reflexive methodology that embraces, whilst making explicit, the creative and cooperative nature of oral history (Thomson 2000). To explore this further, the use of interviewing will be addressed to assess how this methodology works in documentary practice.

### **Interviewing**

Oral history is, in essence, interviewing: recording on paper, audio or video recollections with individuals who have not written down records of events as they happened, but are revisiting them, often after a passage of time.

Descriptions of events (that have previously been missed or ignored) can be

captured, and, often, artefacts that have previously been kept privately, such as photographs, personal archive or documents, can also be accessed. The question of whether or not these records constitute 'memories' or 'historical fact' is complicated in academic terms by the presence, and position, of the interviewer in the relationship. In my view oral history does more than collate memories: it *generates* them.

Most writings on oral history accept that the interviewer comes with bias and subjectivity, that they are credible but with a 'different credibility' (Passerini 1998). The relationship between interviewer and interviewee need not necessarily be construed as a negative (Portelli 1991), especially where the interaction between the two is evidenced in recorded interviews. With some concluding that it is impossible to dismiss the role of the interviewer, there have been renewed calls for the methodology for conducting the interviews to make explicit the involvement of the interviewer, and give clarity to the process. Grele (1991, 1998) urged that practitioners of oral histories take a closer look at the interviewing techniques of other disciplines, especially ethnography.

Sipe, himself a practitioner, points out the benefit of filming oral history, arguing that only thus can oral history's 'reflexive dimension' (1998: 379) be expressed. This makes 'explicit the human role in the creation of history' (ibid). It is also important not to take the memories at face value, but to contextualise them within the dominant cultural histories. Imagination, symbolism and desire may all come through these memories if one accepts that memory is not a passive repository for facts, but a creative interpretation of meaning.

The subjectivity of the interviewer is also present in regard to their position as the agent who chooses whom to interview. Various solutions to limit the problem of the interviewer's choice have seen a suggestion that an agreed percentage of any given interviewee group (e.g., members of the same village) should be selected for interview in order that the selection be statistically viable and able to

establish a representative view of an event, thereby providing a methodology that can tabulate data (Lummis 1983). This option might limit bias and mitigate against the single, subjective memory and help to generalise memory, but it also denies the interviewer the opportunity to ensure that the memories recorded are the most salient.

The consideration of how to treat the material once the interview process has been completed (Thompson 2000, Grele 1991 and Frisch 1998) is also important. Just as in early anthropology, the collected oral history material has often provided a starting point for annotated notes, papers or interpretation. There is debate as to whether recorded oral memories have any interpretive value before analysis by a 'professional'. Many consider that only once notated can the interviews begin to be considered a scholarly resource, and that it is in the careful editing of the documents and analysis of the data at which insight can be arrived (Grele 1991, Benison 1971).

That interviews are constructed narratives leads Grele to acknowledge that the interviews are constructed by the interviewer-historian 'after the fact' (1998: 43). This suggestion, that the interviews begin to add value once transcribed and analysed by a historian, is not universally accepted. Cutler (1996) suggests that oral history transcripts should be treated like raw material and allowed to stand without additional commentary. Transcription can diminish the worth of the interviews immediately, as this results in a loss of the subtle clues, like eye-contact, body-language, pauses, pace, where one can see and hear for oneself the process whereby a memory is regenerated (Sipe 1998, Lummis 1983). This is a particular feature in consideration of how oral history is represented in visual records.

### **'Films of memory'**

Ethnographic documentaries concerned with cultures that have disappeared cannot document that culture through filming everyday acts, like cooking and

fishing, as observational practice would dictate. The visual ethnographer must construct the historical past through the ruins, the remnants and the memories of the people. Such films, therefore, do not document the disappeared culture but rather its 'referents' (MacDougall 1994: 261). These referents often include objects from the past, reminiscences and objects which evoke or resemble those of memory. Film makers have become adept at using visual shorthand to signify the past. It is common practice to use referents to educe and bring to life a filmed situation, with these referents adding the illusion of 'fact' whilst remaining at best contemporary substitutions. Old objects are used to evoke the past; ruined landscapes to suggest the passing of time. MacDougall calls these 'signs of resemblance' which are actually 'signs of absence' (MacDougall 1994: 262-263). Music often features in 'films of memory' to evince an emotional response from the audience which itself is a way of evoking past experiences and emotions. The use of objects and locations in this way is widespread, but not without problems. MacDougall observes that the 'patina of age on an old object tends to exaggerate its status as a sign' (1994: 261). The problem, he suggests, is how to read these 'signs': a problem for both the film maker and the audience, since there is scope for multiple readings of the references.

Ethnographic films parallel the reflexivity of oral history because, though the written word can preserve narratives, recording them instates the lost oral dimension. Filming oral testimony (which involves placing the subject within a very particular location) gives the spoken word greater contextualisation, offering the visual reference and also capturing 'human interaction and settings' (Sipe 1998: 382). Yet set against this is the concern that, by capturing the story filmically, 'collective memory' is fabricated. As MacDougall says, 'images of film and television combine the durability of artefacts with the force of oral traditions' (1994: 268). But the value of oral history is in the nuanced and subtly different deliveries of the stories told. This can halt once a story is set down in film and broadcast, as the impact of history films or television series can have a profound effect on the public's perception of certain historical events (Sipe 1998). The risk

that a film then stands in for the totality of historical account, effectively effacing the polyvocal speakers whose testimony has been subsumed, should be borne in mind by the film maker.

### **The Western Isles perspective**

We know that the Highlands of Scotland are romantic. Bens and Glens, the lone shieling in the misty island, purple heather, kilted clansmen, battles long ago, an ancient and beautiful language, claymore and bagpipes and Bonny Prince Charlie. We know all that, and we also know that it's not real. (Womack, 1989)

The Gàidhealtachd, a description that can either be applied to the geographical area otherwise known as the Highlands and Islands, or to a community defined by culture and the Gaelic language, has had a strong role in constructing the narrative of the Scottish identity (Chapman 1978, Cormack 1994, Croom 1978, MacDonald 1997, Withers 1993, Womack 1989). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century its distance from the capital allowed Edinburgh, and southern Scots, to affect a romanticised independence from England, whilst not in any way threatening the benefits of union (Chapman 1978). The result of this was, and sometimes still is, an idealised and contradictory view of the area, both as reality and myth (Chapman 1978, Womack 1989).

There has always been, and still exists, an ambiguity in how the rest of Scotland responds to the Gàidhealtachd. The Gàidhealtachd is framed by its geographical area and, as we have seen in previous chapters, many Gaelic films and television programmes continue to include the land as a primary character in the work, giving it heroic status.

This confusing mythologising of the Gàidhealtachd is most tangibly expressed in the number of icons regarded as representing Scotland which derive from the

area, such as whisky, tartan and bagpipes (Macdonald 1997). As Chapman writes: 'the face that Scotland turns to the rest of the world is, in many respects, a Highland face' (1978: 9). Yet too often there persists a misunderstanding about the Gàidhealtachd that seeks to extend the apparent wild remoteness of the area to the people, labelling them as backward and unsophisticated, ridiculed as 'teuchter' or a 'rude savage in an uncultivated landscape' (Withers, 1992: 147). Mewett (1993) and Chapman (1978) wrote of a perception of islanders as culturally backward. Blaikie looked at the part photography played in perpetuating this perception, that the Western Isles were an 'antique curiosity held in aspic' (Blaikie 2001: 347).

The English-speaking cultural dominance of the United Kingdom has put pressure on the culture and language of the Gàidhealtachd, with 19<sup>th</sup>-century education policies considered at the forefront of the suppression of the language (Wither 1988). Alongside this, economic imperatives and industrialisation have resulted in an exodus of people which may be primarily remembered at its emotional height in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century clearances, but has continued (Burnett 2011). A counterpoint to rural migration was an movement of outsiders into the area, 'white settlers' (Jedrej and Nuttal 1996) who were not always accepted or assimilated easily into the community, but have helped reverse depopulation. This dual pressure on language and emigration has resulted in a substantial drop in the number of Gaelic speakers since the 1950s, which has led to questions about whether its distinct culture and identity can be regarded as meaningful given the decline in the number of native speakers (Burnett 2011). Kenneth MacKinnon, speaking at the Mod in Oban in 1956 said: 'without the knowledge of the Gaelic language, we cannot be true Highlanders or islanders' (Cited in Burnett 2011: 243). The health of the Gaelic language need not, though, be the only measure of whether the culture is surviving. Rogerson and Gloyer (1995) argue against looking only at the number of Gaelic speakers to measure the cultural vibrancy of the Gàidhealtachd, focusing instead on the development in the arts, media and education.

Today, approximately half of Gaelic speakers live outwith the geographical area of the Gàidhealtachd. This, and the increase in the number of bilingual schools teaching Gaelic to families who have never spoken Gaelic, has resulted in it becoming harder to talk about native Gaels 'bounded by the Gàidhealtachd' and complicates our understanding of who Gaelic belongs to, as it is less clear as to who the 'insider' and the 'outside' is (Oliver 2005). Macdonald (1997, 1999) suggests that Gaelic may not be so central to the identities of the younger generations from traditional Gaelic communities, and also suggests that Gaelic may be shifting from a language of interaction to a more symbolic marker of identity.

The lives of people living in the Highlands and Islands gave rise to numerous popular autobiographies that give insight into a fast diminishing way of life (MacIver 1990, MacInnes 1997), and whilst anecdotally interesting they tend not to offer much by way of the broader issue of their communities. More scholarly investigations from anthropology and sociology look deeper into issues of identity (Mewett 1982, Parman 1990, MacDonald 1997, Burnett 1998). Mewett's description of island life and how a sense of belonging arises reminds me very much of my childhood spent in Lewis, as does Parman's (1990) description of 'Ciall' on the Isle of Lewis, where she looks at the construction of culture. Macdonald spent time on the Isle of Skye in a community she called 'Carnan' and described perceptions around Gaelic culture and way of life as healthy, traditional and wholesome, whilst acknowledging confusion over unpacking the notion that this culture was both 'traditional' and 'authentic' whilst islanders themselves could also be considered modern.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen significant changes to the Gàidhealtachd. Through the 1970s and 1980s Gaelic has moved from being a language spoken within the Gàidhealtachd communities, with little reach beyond this, to a recognised language of Scotland through the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act (2005). The 1970s saw the beginning of a Gaelic renaissance with a growth of language

activism and a nurturing of traditional culture. The opening of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in 1973, bilingual education, and agencies set up to promote the language such as Comunn na Gàidhlig, helped promote the language and culture. Macdonald argues that the Gaelic renaissance was part of a 'wider movement of ethno nationalism within the established nation states of Europe. (1997: xvi) and formed part of Scotland's attempt to re-identify itself.

This confidence in the language and culture is manifest in a different engagement with the area which is often still rooted in the land, to provide notions of identity through the idea of roots and identity. Basu looked at how this is attracting a new migration, or 'roots tourism' (2007: 7) which sees migrants returning to hunt down a 'more authentic sense of home' (2997: 8). He highlights a genetic connection to the ancestral identity that needs to find itself in the places from the past. Thus a profound 'resonance' is felt at certain sites: something strange and affecting, which is rationalised as 'race memory', 'ancestral memory' or 'genetic memory'. (Basu 2007: 161). This 'genetic memory' is employed in *Leasan sa Bhàs* in tracing the journeys of Annie Jane and Abercrombie; as though by standing in the places they stood we could somehow recapture an essence of them.

Into this cherishing of Highlands and Islands culture and language, and an imperative to collect stories that may be lost, the four published works, and the various appendices offer important information on Scarp. If, as Blaikie (2001) argues, that St Kilda has become the archetype for a notion of island life, then the information provided here must at least demonstrate that with Scarp's similar iconography, with its daily parliament, religious observance and reliance on the sea for sustenance was not unique to St Kilda. The programmes and interviews record rich anecdotal stories, supplemented by extracts from the school log book which shows how the ebb and flow of the seasons dictated the day's work at the morning parliament, sending children to school, or down to the shore to help with boats and fishing, or into the hills to help with crops and animals. The extended

interviews (appendix 9) provide glorious detail of life on the island, whether it is Gillies Campbell's story of how island schoolteachers used to keep each other abreast of 'suprise' visits from the school inspector, or Donald John MacInnes talking about the commerce along the 'sea road' or his father, the 'King of Scarp'. This was no island backwater but a vibrant community with a well-stocked shop, doctors' visits and policemen visiting to carry out the law. It was also, ultimately, a place that became too hard to sustain as modernity, holidays and white goods became available to all.

*Reiteach's* description of the last wedding on Scarp is detailed, supplemented by archive and enriched by the memories of a number of guests. It provides useful information on how betrothals and weddings were carried out, and can add to existing works on custom and culture of the islands.

## **Research and Interviewing**

### **Research – *Leasan sa Bhàs***

*Leasan sa Bhàs* took six months to research, turning a two-sentence oral story into an evidenced exploration of the murder, and the environment within which it took place. When hearing oral stories one does not often have the finance needed to pursue this degree of enquiry. In most cases, the story is taken at face value, as their purpose was often to tell the 'news'. The research that I undertook initially was to find out more about the two protagonists: the schoolteacher John Abercrombie and the sewing mistress Annie Jane Murphy. I needed to ascertain whether they were real people and whether John Abercrombie had died in the manner suggested by the oral story. Working as a detective, I needed to place them both at the scene and try to uncover a narrative to explain how two people from the central belt came together on an outlying island on the west coast. I also researched the island, as only by doing so could I begin to understand the importance placed on oral story telling, but also whether the island's history allowed for two incomers to live amongst them, and

how these incomers might have been viewed.

My first research was background reading (Wilson 2007, Lawson 2008, MacLeod 2009, Gordon 1995, MacLennan 2001). My main secondary source was *Hebridean Island: Memories of Scarp* (Duncan 1970), written by a Scarp schoolteacher from the 1930s. In his book Duncan detailed the rituals and traditions of the island, set down how life worked on a day-to-day basis, and noted any oral stories. The appendix includes a one-paragraph mention of John Abercrombie, who died in suspicious circumstances. I read every book I could about Scarp, which helped with later interviewee research, and also read books that gave a glimpse of what island life was like in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, including a book written by an outsider arriving to teach in a South Uist school in the 1880s (Rea 1997).

The primary research involved many hours online at *Scotland's People* (n.d.), the online archive resource for births, deaths, marriages, wills and census records. Through a laborious process I first tracked John Abercrombie, from his birth in the Central Belt, to his time as a teacher in various schools, before he appeared in Scarp where his death record shows him to have died of 'narcotic poisoning'. Annie Jane Murphy's name was revealed during a search of marriage records. She appeared as a 22 year-old sewing teacher, marrying the elderly Abercrombie in a marriage record from 1886. For me, the revelation that he had married the sewing teacher and had died from poisoning was thrilling. It did not confirm that a murder had been committed, but that there was a basis for the oral history.

Annie Jane's was a more complex history, with children born out of wedlock, a speedy transactional marriage, then her second, bigamous marriage to John Abercrombie on Scarp. Other archival evidence included old police records which were saved from a North Uist bonfire in the 1970s and remain some of the only existing records of police logs from the islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The final piece of factual evidence was the school log book, which gave daily updates in

John Abercrombie's own hand detailing what went on in the school. This diary shows the appointment of the sewing teacher: it also records the steady decline in the school under Abercrombie's tutelage, the erosion of trust between him and the islanders, and the more interpretative evidence of his declining handwriting.

### **Research – *Rèiteach***

The research into *Rèiteach* was less than the process undergone prior to filming *Leasan sa Bhàs*. The programme was built around the found archive of Janet Morrison's wedding, and the serendipitous wedding of her granddaughter. Given that this was an observational programme, the only research was to ensure that the people involved were comfortable with our presence, find out the limits of intrusion that they were prepared to tolerate during their wedding, and arrange for permission to shoot at locations like the church and the hotel.

Television is driven by story and character. Choosing characters might seem artificial and distorting, but even MacDougall, who remains highly regarded in the ethnographic community, effectively chose 'characters' in his films. He did so by choosing whom to involve in his films and whom to entrust with a camera. Typically, characters are subjects who will engage the audience because the audience cares for them, finds them amusing or unpleasant. Neither Joan nor Janet conforms to a televisual ideal of 'character', but the story could only be about them. Their intimacy and 'character' was revealed in editing: leaving Joan in shot when she cries (10'23"), the sequence with the dress (13'17"), and the kiss as Joan reaches the altar during the ceremony (18'25). This 'character building' is not, I argue, distortion. Joan and Janet loved each other and shared a special bond, but they seldom articulated this. The visuals provide a representation of the affection they have for each other. In production terms, it also helped the theme of the programme and offered the audience the opportunity to empathise with and warm to the two women.

## **Interviewing**

Unlike interviewing for an oral-history project, interviewing for programme inclusion is selective. I pre-interviewed everyone by telephone before deciding whether to include them in the programmes, not as an 'audition', but to allow me to build up as many potential interviewees as possible, before selecting the ones who gave the broadest range of content. This meant that between the telephone pre-interview and the actual recorded interview, interviewees had weeks, and in some cases months, to consider their story and search their memories. The content did not change, not least because my pre-interview notes shaped my interview questions and I could then be sure that I covered the same ground as before. Once we arrived on location it usually took up to one hour to set up the camera and equipment for the interview. I spent this time talking with the interviewee, putting them at ease, and also conducting further pre-interviews with them. This was important, as most of the interviews were in Gaelic and I am not fluent. The result of this is that during the interviews I was not listening to the detail of the answers, as I could not fully understand them, but concentrating on the face of the interviewee. This must constitute an intense 'conversation' for the person being questioned. Another result of my lack of total fluency was that I had to wait until the interviewees came to a natural stop. Where interviews are in English I can sometimes interrupt, or rephrase questions to try to encourage a more succinct response. Here, I went at the interviewee's pace – a practice less well suited to television, but eminently suitable for the collection of oral histories.

These were not oral history interviews, as everyone who was interviewed needed to have something to add about the 'murder'. However, this does not mean that the information collected is tainted, just that it cannot be deemed to represent a 'whole'.

### ***Leasan sa Bhàs***

The first person I visited was Angus Duncan, whose father (of the same name) had been a schoolmaster on Scarp. Angus was hesitant and uncomfortable

speaking of something he did not feel he had insight into. He was interesting in terms of his life history and time spent on Scarp, and his testimony would be useful to record at some future date, but he would not have made a good television interviewee. I also pre-interviewed, but opted not to include John MacLeod. He had lived on the island briefly as a young child and told the most outrageous version of the story of the murder. According to him, Annie Jane was what he rather crudely termed a 'bed', a word from the war that signified a promiscuous woman. Annie Jane was living on a very small island in a very religious community and the likelihood of her sleeping with the village men seems unlikely. When I spoke to other islanders about John MacLeod, they were dismissive, both of this story and of his other claims for the island. These two potential interviewees were rejected one on the basis that they had little to add to the story of the murder, or I felt their testimony was untrustworthy. If I was wrong, and I may well have been, then my subjective distrust has resulted in an important element of the oral history being ignored.

I was unable to interview any women islanders, an omission that I regret. All of the women whom I approached declined to take part in the programme. Most of them were elderly, and they expressed (indirectly through other islanders) their shame that this had happened on Scarp and their wish that the story would disappear. I also pre-interviewed many other people for background information, including an active policeman and a police historian, to ensure that I understood more about policing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I also spoke at length with Bill Lawson, who runs the Western Isles genealogical centre, Co Leis Thu? (Who Are You?) He provided considerable background information regarding the parish of Scarp in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was also able to pinpoint the location of the workhouse where Annie Jane's mother was staying at her death.

The interviews conducted in the homes are stylistically similar, positioning the interviewee foreground in their formal front room. As is common in many island homes, the furniture is brown and dark; the interviewee sits in a pool of light in

contrast to this. Compare this with an interview that is done hand-held, where there is an immediacy and the audience is given to understand that the interview is spontaneous, captured rather than set up. By opting to do our interviews with a camera on a tripod in a particular setting with particular lighting, I felt that we were referencing the cultural practice of ceilidhs – story telling and sharing news round the fire of a dark room in a black house. Oral story telling in the islands is important; people listen when someone talks. It is a performance, mannered and respected, not grabbed. This same respect for the person telling the story is evident in our interview treatment. During the interview with Findlay MacLennan, he decided twice that he needed to supplement his story by referring to poetry, which he found and proceeded to read all the way through. To have interrupted him would have been disrespectful, and would have broken the pace of the interview, which was asking him to return to a childhood he had seldom spoken about. To me, the interview location and treatment give the interviews themselves a credibility and demonstrate a respect in the stories being recounted.

Other interviews were conducted on the island. Donald John MacLennan, whose family was the last to leave in 1972, had previously taken me to the island, where I had asked him why he had allowed his family home to go to ruin. He responded that the place was dead without the people, so it ‘might as well all go back to dust’. Islanders grow up with the concept of dùthaich, a sense of kinship with your land. This is such a strong image and illustrates so well this cultural aspect of an islander, that I opted to film his interview framed by the disintegrating remains of his old family home (04’26”). This acts as a ‘sign of absence’ as described by MacDougall (1994: 262-263). The production decision to place the interview here worked on many levels. It prefaced his final interview clip where he repeats his wish for his house to disappear. It adds visually to the thematic imagery of both the physical and cultural abandonment of the island, and also refers to the self-abandonment of the two protagonists. The imagery also threw back to the flotsam and jetsam on the Mol Mòr and forward to the idea

of making toy boats out of discarded tins.

The island now belongs to an American couple who have spent hundreds of thousands of pounds renovating the mission house – the small church building that was used by the congregation for worship. Burr Bakewell, the owner, restored it in order that people could have somewhere to shelter when they were visiting, and so ex-Scarp islanders could be married and buried on the island. This renovation work is in stark contrast to the lack of repairs done to the school. When I first visited in 2009, the school was still roofed and the benches and tables were still set out in rows much as it would have been before the island was abandoned in the 1970s. Two years later, the roof had collapsed, breaking all the school furniture. Sheep carcasses, bones and rubbish were in every room. It struck me at the time that it seemed odd that the owner was prepared to let one building rot, whilst there were, in the words of one ex-islander, ‘unlimited’ funds being poured into the mission house. During our week filming on the island, Mr. Bakewell and his wife were on the island. He had always been adamant that he did not want to appear in the film, but his wife, Frances, agreed to talk to me. That was when she told me the story of the ‘Hungry Ghost’, the ghost, she believes to be Annie Jane Murphy, and gave this as the reason for the school being allowed to disintegrate.

This interview, which had not been anticipated, substantially changed the structure of the programme and ran as a counter-story to the existing theme of an island which was deserted. This image of a school, the heart of an isolated community, and its future, being left to rot became an important symbol, which adds substantially to the oral histories collected during the interviews, providing a visual layer of context to the spoken word.

The ghost story made an impression on Gillies Campbell, the artist whose father had taught in the school in the 1950s. His revisit to the island and the recounting of the ghost story stayed with him, so much so that when he arrived back at his

studio he felt compelled to paint the hungry ghost. These paintings appear in the film, again adding texture and colour to an oral story (07'19"). I, too, was struck by the addition of a ghost to the original story and petitioned to change the title from *Leasan sa Bhàs* to *The Hungry Ghost*. However, the title did not work in Gaelic, and the original working title remained. In my head, however, I always think of the documentary as being of the hungry ghost, and this sense of loss and darkness affects the documentary tonally. It is also a magnificent addition to the oral story.

### ***Rèiteach*/Radio programmes**

Janet Morrison is a widow of 94 who we realised would be challenging to interview. The conclusion, as we have seen, was to have her nephew conduct the interview. This decision no doubt changed the content that was collected. The questions that I would have asked would have been different from those put by Hugh Dan. I would have asked much more detailed questions about domestic life and more intimate questions about betrothal and marriage, questions that a nephew would not have been comfortable asking his elderly aunt. I did the interview with Joan, which was difficult. She was exhausted from spending the day decorating the marquee and nervous about her wedding the next day, so it lacked a certain fluency. The interview content was limited to her courtship and wedding, unlike Janet's, which covered her whole life. In this it is a capturing of an oral history related to a very specific event. It was also conducted in a very specific way. I asked questions that I knew I would be inter cutting with those of her grandmother. I was actively seeking areas of similarity and difference. So, broadly speaking, the two interviews were very much predicated on the other, rather than being a stand-alone individual interview about an experience of betrothal and marriage.

## Conclusion

This chapter has identified a number of challenges and issues around oral history which are shared with both ethnography and documentary practice. Questions around subjectivity, memory and how to conduct and analyse interviews are similar, and sometimes identical, to those that dominate in ethnographic and documentary discourse. Issues around the relationship between the interviewee and interviewer also cross disciplines. This chapter also looked at the positives, and potential pitfalls, of recording oral history by audio or video/film, and how the subjectivity of memory is investigated both academically and in 'films of memory'.

Current debate proposes an inter-disciplinary response to concerns over the methodologies used to gather and interpret oral histories, and a number of academics conclude that oral history practice should look to other disciplines, including ethnography, to illuminate ways in which it can benefit interview methodologies (Thompson 1978, Frisch 1998, Portelli 1983, 1991, Grele 1991, 1998). Interrogation of the four published works offers to bring originality to the questions raised in this chapter regarding an inter-disciplinary approach to conducting oral history. Analysing the production process has demonstrated how the techniques of oral history are applicable to documentary film making in order to assert that documentary film practice can reciprocally benefit the methodology of oral history. The works looked at how memories were gathered, and the extent to which these memories were interrogated or evidenced by supporting archive.

This chapter reviewed the research and interviewing processes for *Leasan sa Bhàs* and *Rèiteach*, in order to argue that the interviews collected significant oral histories. The chapter offered a self-reflexive examination to argue that the intervention of the producer, or oral researcher, inevitably changes the stories that are being collected, but that this change is entirely appropriate, given that oral histories are themselves changed by everyone who tells and re-tells the story. This suggests that the methodology for collecting oral history

acknowledges the duality of the interviewer both as the collector of oral history, and creator of new or changed stories.

The chapter looked at the research that was conducted to support an oral history, and investigated how using supporting evidence can help ameliorate the problems of capturing memories. This adds weight to discussions on oral history collation which recommends supplementary research in order to evidence, where possible, oral histories. The chapter also analysed the reasons for the location-placing of interviews, and argued that the visual positioning of interviewees can complement the techniques of oral history by offering subtext and contextualising the interview.

Many of the contradictory statements that arise when talking of the Highlands and Islands are at play in *Leasan sa Bhàs*. Interviews are often framed by the geography; there is an untamed, uncivilised undercurrent, the weather dictates the daily rhythm, people are buffeted and behaviours dictated. The programme also plays with the idea that the physical environment, the isolation and beauty impacts and affects people. My initial treatment of the story as a work of fiction had envisaged the thematic contrast between good and evil, romance and the primitive, a geographical heaven, contrasted with the constrained and stifling hell that I imagined Annie Jane and Abercrombie must have lived in. On the surface this appears to add to the mythologising of the islands, and does nothing, as a work of ethnography or oral history ought, to challenge these. Yet in the stories of the islanders themselves we see a re-addressing of the notion of Scarp as being backward and inaccessible. Post-hoc rationalisation could even suggest in the work an unconscious idea of the 'insider' and 'outsider' that positions Abercrombie and Annie Jane as 'white settlers', incomers who tried to change the island, but were themselves brought down by it.

Whilst the programmes were not undertaken as a form of qualitative research on community life, the information gathered in the published works and appendices

nonetheless constitutes qualitative social research on Gaelic – in that they record community life, albeit at times a historically, and the impact on a community of the loss of their land.

## Conclusion

This submission for a PhD by Published Work took as its object of study the epistemological issues emerging from the synthesis of theoretical discourse and media practice. It brought together some common themes from the disciplines of ethnography, documentary and oral history, which themselves complemented the practice of documentary making and allowed for a cross-disciplinary dialogue to investigate methodological similarities in these fields.

The four published works and appendices that are submitted with this written thesis are significant in themselves in that they collect important archival material and oral history interviews of a disappearing culture. The thesis further argued that an examination of the four published works, and their production processes, demonstrates that documentary can be both artefact and analysis with regard to ethnographic film making. The thesis has demonstrated that narrative, subjectivity, generic delivery, commissioning constraints and intervention need not exclude television programmes from being accepted as ethnographically informative.

The thesis looked towards a New Ethnographic methodology of self-reflexivity to bring the programme maker out from behind the recording equipment to make visible their subjectivity and make explicit the extent of their intervention and role in constructing a narrative around ethnographic and oral history content.

The thesis examined generic and commissioning constraints and questioned the claim that narrativised content might invalidate claims of ethnography. It concluded that the ethnographic documentary need no longer be confined to a single 'truth', but that a broader range of generic production and subjective interpretation is equally valid.

The status of the producer was investigated through both the critical appraisal

and the four published works. The thesis argued for an acknowledgement of the 'situatedness' of the producer by examining background, cultural positioning and professional training, which can then allow for an understanding of the extent to which the producer (and, by extension, the ethnographer and the oral historian) intervenes, changes and brings their own subjective perspective to any work. In doing so, the thesis agrees with Crawford & Turton that bias is 'not necessarily an evil. It might even be important in directing the gaze' (Crawford & Turton 1992: 12). The thesis acknowledges that any intervention changes stories and memories and that broadcast visual storytelling can supplant memories and oral histories.

Inherent in this thesis has been an exploration of my hybrid position of both practitioner and researcher. It has examined the tensions between producing commissioned programmes and subsequently arguing for their ethnographic or oral history value. It has admitted to areas where the constraints of commissioned broadcast has resulted in programmes that fulfil audience and commissioner expectation (the decision to focus on the similarities between Joan and Janet's wedding), and therefore compromise the ethnographic content. The decision to include the full transcripts is seen as a way of ensuring that the primary ethnographic and oral history knowledge gathered during interview is available for academic research into this fast vanishing area of the Western Isles. The thesis has also revealed my hybrid position as both of, and outwith, the Gàidhealtachd, and explored how this has shaped the programmes. I have acknowledged my own nostalgia for the geographical area and the people, which has determined how I engage with both the people, and the content.

The thesis argued that although the programmes were not made with academic research in mind, my position, both as insider and outsider, and as someone who is passionate about recording oral histories before they die out, has resulted in the collection of important knowledge: oral testimony from Scarp islanders and ethnographic information on wedding rituals, and made available in the

appendices. By exploring my professional background, I have contributed to the knowledge on documentary practice, and added to debates around landscape in Gaelic programming.

The thesis clearly defines areas of cross-disciplinarity and suggests where media practitioners can aid ethnography and oral history, and further proposes that broadcast programmes, particularly television documentary, use the pre-production, production and post production processes to gather ethnographic data and evidence oral histories. The degree of self-reflexivity demonstrated in this thesis, in conjunction with academic theories and a close investigation of practice, suggests that this methodology can offer a way for media practitioners to engage with the notion of programme making as research.

This thesis established the research value of the works, in terms of self-reflexive practice, new knowledge on practice within BBC Alba, and the process traced through the appendices from script to screen, and how these iterations demonstrate the creative practice of an individual working first within the academy (for MA Screenwriting) then for BBC Alba. Although the programmes themselves cannot be said to offer any generalisable findings, by exposing my approach to documentary making, the arguments that I make about the nature of my own work can help inform how others think about documentary production. The exploration of the decisions on why to use drama documentary, and the treatment of this, contribute to discourse in this area. This thesis also adds to debates around the nature of practice as research and methodologies used to investigate this.

From this project a number of areas for further research are suggested. Since the broadcast, a relative of Annie Jane Murphy has been in touch and has provided information on Annie Jane's life after leaving the island. This may lead to either a programme proposal to BBC Alba to do a follow up, or a submission to a network channel, given that the people involved live in England and Wales. I

am due to begin filming a new documentary for BBC Alba in July 2014, which will collect data on the Gaelic arts Renaissance, which will again, more consciously, place the interviewees within their landscape. The thesis also suggests areas of exploration with regard to practice as research, which could explore, through a non-commissioned documentary, the areas of ritual and life in Scarp, to consider the degree to which the structure and process change without the restraints of a commission.

Unlike the well-documented evacuation of St Kilda, archiving the events leading up to, and the consequences of, the evacuation of Scarp has been neglected. This needs to be remedied as a matter of urgency given the age of the remaining Scarp islanders. Given that the four published works retrieved intangible and tangible cultural heritage, the collection and preservation of material culture can now be considered. The interview transcripts offer a substantial amount of information on life in Scarp, and could form part of the European Ethnological Research Centre, run by Dr Gary West at the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University. This project will be collecting personal stories from people across the whole of Scotland, resulting in books and other output. The history of Scarp through the voices of the remaining islanders may be within their scope.

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## **Appendix 1 MA Screenwriting submitted draft**

# A Lesson in Death

## SCENE 1 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 02'00”

### EXT-DOCTOR'S DOOR-NIGHT

It is July 1889. Night-time, but it's still light. A young boy, around ten years old, is knocking hard on the doctor's door. This is SEAMUS COULL. Between knocks he bends over and takes hungry gulps of air.

### CAPTION – 15<sup>th</sup> July 1889

Inside a lamp is lit. The door opens.

An elderly woman, THE HOUSEKEEPER, is there in her nightgown.

HOUSEKEEPER (In Gaelic)  
What is it, who's there making all  
that noise when the doctor is  
upstairs asleep?

SEAMUS (In Gaelic)  
He's needed. He must come  
quickly. On Scarp. The schoolmaster.  
He's ill. They say he's maybe dying.

The Housekeeper looks at the boy, making up her mind whether he's to be believed.

SEAMUS (In Gaelic)  
I've come all this way. Two  
hours it's taken.

The Housekeeper issues him inside with a nod of her head.

### INT-DOCTOR'S HOUSE-NIGHT

The boy stands in the small hallway watching the housekeeper's legs disappear up the steep stairway.

He hears mumbled voices. Then the clatter of the doctor's footsteps coming across the upstairs floor, then down the stairs.

DOCTOR MacLEOD reaches the boy. Looks at him.

MACLEOD  
It's Seamus isn't it?  
Can you manage the journey  
back? Or would you rather  
rest here until morning?

Seamus shakes his head, no. He wouldn't miss this for anything.

### **EXT-MOORLAND ROAD-NIGHT**

It is pitch dark now. A lantern lights the way for the Doctor and Seamus in a rickety dog-cart. Seamus is asleep against the doctor.

### **EXT-PIER-NIGHT**

Dawn is breaking. Both the Doctor and Seamus are being helped up from a boat. The doctor runs up the one ragged village street that lies parallel to the water. All the buildings are blackhouses; low stone buildings with turf roofs.

Figures stand in every doorway, backlit by the open fires inside.

The doctor passes a more solid building. This is the Missionhouse. The missionary, PETER TOROMOD is at the gate. He moves forward when he sees the doctor.

TOROMOD  
You're here Macleod. I pray to  
God you're not too late.

The two men, followed by a straggling line of villagers, move to the next building. A pleasant, well constructed high-roofed building. This is the schoolhouse.

The men catch sight of a shadowy figure in the doorway. It slides off at their approach.

### **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE BEDROOM – NIGHT**

The room is in darkness.

There is the sound of a match being struck and an oil-lamp is lit.

In the dusky light a figure is revealed slumped across a desk. This is the schoolteacher JOHN ABERCROMBIE, aged 51.

The doctor drops his bag, moves across and takes Abercrombie's pulse. He drops his wrist, then lifts up the schoolmaster's eyelids. He frowns. Moves in closer, and smells the schoolteacher's breath.

The doctor rises slowly with his back to Toromod.

DOCTOR  
I'm taking this man to Stornoway.  
The surgeon there can  
perform an autopsy. There's  
something...

He shakes his head.

From the bedroom doorway there is a rustle of skirts. The doctor turns and stares at the retreating figure.

DOCTOR (Con't)  
...something very wrong  
here.

## **SCENE 2 – Super 8 film island with lit lamps receding = 01'00**

### **NARRATION**

*On the tiny island of Scarp far away from the rest of industrialised, bustling Britain, the village teacher, Dominie Abercrombie, lay dead.*

*In this isolated place, where homes were still lit by oil and heated by peat; where disease was rife and life was often short, the death of the schoolteacher should have been unremarkable.*

*Yet, though used to death, this time the doctor and the villagers whispered that Dominie Abercrombie was not just dead. But murdered.*

*The puzzle of the Dominie's death was made more acute by the uncomfortable knowledge that if it was murder, then the killer must have lived amongst the people living on the island.*

*Clues that could have pointed to a culprit were not available in the 1880's. But using 21<sup>st</sup> century expert witnesses, original sources and by investigating the islanders' oral history, the answer to a mystery that has lain undisturbed for over one hundred years may finally be revealed.*

## **SCENE 3 – Arial shots of Scarp = 01'00"**

### **NARRATION**

*Scarp lies just half a mile off the west coast of the Isle of Harris. A small island, less than three miles wide, it is separated from the mainland by a narrow sound of water whose rough tides dictate whether the island can be reached by boat, or marooned in the stormy Atlantic Ocean. Uninhabited now, this island maintained life for hundreds of years and for the people living here this stretch of water was their lifeline. It brought supplies and people to and from the island.*

*This volcanic island, with its asbestos rock and ancient gneiss stones formed 2700 million years ago proved a fertile place with a rich soil for crops and the bountiful harvest from the sea. But life was never easy. The last villagers left the island in 1971 and much of the village is now in ruins. Secrets lie buried in the earth like the crumbled stones of the village houses.*

## **SCENE 4 – Dramatic reconstruction of a boat journey to the island across the Sound = 01'30"**

### **EXT-BOAT-DAY**

Abercrombie is sitting at the prow of a flat-bottomed rowing boat. He is sombrely dressed and is as stiff and formal as his dark suit. In sharp contrast are the two fishermen pulling on the oars behind, who are dressed in knitted jerseys and wool trousers.

Abercrombie flinches when some spray tops the boat and soaks his leg.

The two fishermen are talking in Gaelic. But in whispers, not wanting to draw attention to themselves.

The boat is travelling across the small Sound between mainland Harris and the Island of Scarp. This is Abercrombie's first look at the place that is to be his new home. As his eyes search the small island he holds his travelling bag closer.

### **EXT-VILLAGE-DAY**

The boat sets down on the beach. One of the rowers jumps onto land and turns to offer Abercrombie his arm. He shrugs it off, but stumbled, wetting his shoes.

Six villagers, men and women run down and lift the boat further up the beach.

Abercrombie makes his way up the one street. He looks about him at the blackhouses with their peat fire and animals.

A small girl is watching him from a doorway. Beside her is a pig. As Abercrombie stares both girl and pig start. Then race each other to get inside the blackhouse first.

He walks past the mission house where a bell is ringing.

Then he reaches the schoolhouse. A tidy building. Well-kept and fairly new. Like all the buildings in the village it is a few steps from the shore, looking out back across the Sound. Behind the schoolhouse is the graveyard, stones peering up through the machair flowers. Beyond that, on the beach, men are mending nets, children gathering seaweed.

He looks around the playground. At the door marked girls, and the other marked boys.

Then his eye is drawn to the beach again. The men and children have noticed him and watch him warily. One lifts a hand to wave. Abercrombie ignores it, shakes out his wet trousers and enters the schoolhouse.

He shuts the door behind him.

### **NARRATION**

*In July 1886 when John Abercrombie arrived to take up his position as schoolmaster, Scarp was overcrowded. The crofters and cottars grew what they could, fished where they would and supplemented their income working away in the herring industry for months at a time.*

*Alongside the traditional blackhouses were two more substantial structures. The missionhouse, where the villagers heard services on Sundays and Wednesdays, and the schoolhouse, where John Abercrombie moved in during the summer holidays.*

*Because Scarp was a poor place, where too many people struggled to make a living from a land that was already over-worked. The population had grown from 156 in 1871 to nearly 220 ten years later –supplemented by families cleared from elsewhere in Harris to make room for sheep. Fathers allowed sons to build houses on their croft, and the patches of cultivated soil grew less and less.*

*The census shows that in a village of 41 houses there were only 20 windows. Disease was rife. Scarlet fever raged and eyesight was destroyed by the suffocating peat smoke that clogged the living quarters.*

#### **SCENE 5 - Super 8 of the ruined village = 00'30"**

##### **NARRATION**

*The schoolhouse lies deserted now. The roof among the school-desks, and the plaster on the floor. In Abercrombie's day a peat fire would have kept out the worst of the cold and his living quarters would have seemed luxurious compared to those of the villagers.*

*It was a hard place, where life was tough and often taken young. But never in as unusual circumstances as that of the schoolmaster whose death was so mysterious, that islanders talk about it to this day.*

#### **SCENE 6 – Interview: Donald John MacInnes, ex-islander = 01'00**

##### Set Up:

DJ outside his ruined house with him looking out over the Sound. Various archival material/photos etc from him to be used as cut-aways, or other visual content.

##### **NARRATION**

*Donald John MacInnes and his family were the last islanders to leave Scarp, sailing to a new life on Harris on a dark December night in 1971. His house like so much of Scarp is in ruins.*

##### **INTERVIEW DJ MACINNES**

Explain about the island.

Explain about leaving.

Explain about that there had been a number of missionaries and school-teachers throughout the years. But none of them had suffered the fate of John Abercrombie. Even when he was at school children still thought they saw bodies in the plaster walls of the schoolroom, and thought that perhaps it was him.

#### **SCENE 7 – Archive schools = 00'30"**

##### **NARRATION**

*Abercrombie's journey to Scarp began in 1872 with the passing of the Education Act, Scotland.*

*The Act made schooling compulsory for all children between the ages of five and 13.*

*What it didn't do was protect or acknowledge the Gaelic language. As a consequence, children with no English were often taught by teachers, or Dominies as they were known, with no Gaelic whose job it was to drum into them the rudiments of maths, history, Latin and English.*

*After the Act, schools sprang up across the Highlands and Islands, often to the same design, and school boards were formed to appoint and monitor education.*

## **SCENE 8 – Film school logbook = 00'20"**

### **NARRATION**

*Headteachers were required to keep a log-book where they recorded attendance, and any other matters that occurred. It is through the pages of the Scarp logbook that we can catch a glimpse of what life was like for John Abercrombie through the three years he taught there.*

## **SCENE 9 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 02'00"**

### **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE STUDY-DAY**

Abercrombie is sitting in his study, writing up his log book. His ponderous clock chimes 9am. He checks this with his fob, then leaves the study.

### **EXT-SCHOOLYARD-DAY**

Abercrombie is standing in the playground looking down on the village. He pulls out a whistle from his pocket and blows.

### **INT-BLACKHOUSE-DAY**

It is dark and smoky. One small window lets in a drizzle of sunshine.

The peat fire is burning in the middle of the floor. An old woman comes out from a box-bed.

Seamus is eating an oatcake. His mother is trying to brush his hair. His father is putting on a solid pair of boots.

FATHER (In Gaelic)  
I would rather the boy stays with  
me today. We've only two weeks  
to do the planting.

MOTHER (In Gaelic)  
You know he has to go. Didn't  
the Minister himself say from the  
pulpit last week that the  
attendance was a disgrace  
to us and to God.

Seamus's father snorts. Pulling at his boot.

SEAMUS (In Gaelic)  
I'd rather go with you father  
I've no need of his learning  
And he's awfully handy  
with the belt.

FATHER (In Gaelic)  
Ach, well. Your mother's right.  
You'll go and you'll not give  
him any excuse to wallop  
you. You'll maybe come with me  
this evening, after lessons, and  
give a hand then?

Seamus nods and with a push from his mother he is out the door.

### **EXT-VILLAGE STREET-DAY**

From out of the houses children are running bare-footed to school. Each of them carries a peat.

They run past Abercrombie, who is still blowing his whistle.

The children chatter in Gaelic. Abercrombie hears and swipes one across the head.

ABERCROMBIE  
English, English here. Keep your  
Gaelic for the fields.

### **INT-SCHOOL-DAY**

Each child drops their peat by the fire, then takes to their seat.

They bring out their slate and look to the front.

Abercrombie comes in and turns straight to the blackboard where he begins writing out Latin verbs.

ABERCROMBIE  
So, which one of you will continue  
the declension?

His voice is weary. Anticipating the silence.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
Come on. We have gone over  
this for over a week. Which one  
of you will continue the declension?

Abercrombie is roaming the desks looking at each of the children. Their heads are bent. He whacks a table with his belt. The children jump.

There is a welcome distraction as the children notice a stranger at the window.

Abercrombie follows their gaze and recognises JAMES PETERSON, the School Inspector. He is dressed in tweeds and carrying a brown satchel. He smiles warmly at the children, and shakes Abercrombie's hand.

**SCENE 10 – Inspector’s report film = 00’20**

**NARRATION**

*Schools were regularly visited by Inspectors who tested the children and wrote reports for the school board. These men travelled across Scotland, journeying to the most remote schools in order to ensure that standards were being maintained.*

**SCENE 11 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01’30”**

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE STUDY-DAY**

Abercrombie and Peterson are sitting on either side of the fire. Peterson has his satchel open and is looking through papers.

PETERSON

The attendance officer reports  
that he is called here every week.  
It’s little wonder that their marks  
are so low. They’re never here.

ABERCROMBIE

They pay no heed to education.  
They’d rather be in the fields, or  
at the shore helping their families.  
They resist English and sit sullenly  
when they are here.

PETERSON

There has been a complaint made  
that you’re heavy-handed?

Abercrombie looks up. Peterson holds his stare.

PETERSON (Con’t)

Corporal punishment has its  
place, John, I’m not saying that.  
But there are other ways. You  
could try and make the children  
more receptive by other means?

Abercrombie is looking morosely into the fire.

ABERCROMBIE

You don’t know Peterson. What  
it’s like here. I haven’t been to the  
mainland since Easter. The Minister  
only comes once a month. And  
that, and your visits, are the only  
chance I have at conversation.

PETERSON  
The villagers, surely...

ABERCROMBIE  
Villagers....we've nothing...nothing  
in common. Do you see how they  
live?

He looks away moodily.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
I sit here alone listening to the howl  
of the Atlantic and grow weary of  
fish. Potatoes and fish.

Peterson is shuffling in his seat. Embarrassed and awkward.

PETERSON  
Well, Man, you just have to try  
that's all. Why the teacher who  
was here before you made friends.  
He was well-liked. He even married a villager.  
But it's you that will need to extend  
the hand of friendship first.

Abercrombie is still looking at the fire.

ABERCROMBIE  
Aye, aye. You may be right. I'll  
maybe try harder with them.

## **SCENE 12 – Interview: Angus Duncan, grand-son of schoolmaster = 01'00"**

### Set Up:

A Duncan in his house, looking at photos of his grandfather.

### **NARRATION**

*Angus Duncan's grandfather was the Dominie in Scarp both before and immediately after Abercrombie. His father wrote a book detailing the life of the schoolmaster on Scarp. A life which Angus's grandfather clearly found stimulating and enjoyable.*

### **INTERVIEW A DUNCAN**

My grand-father much admired. Popular school-teacher with a nickname.  
Remembered fondly.

Difficult job, the children often away and ill. Scarlet fever rife. But he did well with them, achieved good results. You only have to look at the Inspector's reports to see that Abercrombie was struggling.

## **SCENE 13 – B&W Archive of blackhouses = 00'30"**

### **NARRATION**

*And it is little wonder that Abercrombie struggled with his new posting. He had come from a mainland with electricity, flushing lavatories – where the first computer had just been patented - to a place of almost unimaginable privation.*

*Like so many people in the Highlands and islands, the people of Scarp lived in Blackhouses. Dark dank places, where the animals lived in one end, the people in the other. By the end of winter, the manure was so deep that they villagers took down the gable wall in order to let the slurry out.*

### **SCENE 14 – Dramatic Reconstruction of man writing = 00’30”**

### **NARRATION**

*An 1892 report by the County Sanitary Inspector for Inverness, visiting crofters’ houses at the time described the blackhouses:*

### **Actor’s voice reading out report as it is written.**

*“...filthy...low rough constructions without chimneys or windows, interiors dark and grimy with smoke, the walls streaming with moisture, and the atmosphere heavy with the exhalations from the dung, which is only removed from the house once a year.”*

### **SCENE 15 – Archive footage crofters and black houses, fishing etc = 00’30”**

### **NARRATION**

*This was a time and a place where there was still a belief in witchcraft and second sight. Twitching eyes foretold death, and the sayings of mystics were held to be true. Where illness was often treated by a village herbalist and where only the men had shoes and were carried to the boats on the backs of the women in order to protect the leather.*

*As a lone English speaker surrounded by cautious or even suspicious Gaelic-speakers he must have found life very lonely indeed.*

### **SCENE 16 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Abercrombie alone = 00’20”**

Abercrombie looks out to sea from highest point of the island, and watches the villagers working together to put out a fire.

### **NARRATION**

*From the top of the island, on a good day, he could see all the way to St Kilda. And look down on a village whose rituals and ways were completely alien to him. His eyes must have been drawn to the narrow Sound, across which lay civilisation and a friendlier world often. A world he now had cause to visit.*

### **SCENE 17 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Doctor = 01’30”**

### **EXT-DOCTOR’S DOOR-DAY**

Abercrombie is lifting up his hand to knock at the door. Before his hand falls, he bends over in pain.

The door is opened by the housekeeper.

HOUSEKEEPER  
Mister Abercrombie. Come  
away in.

Abercrombie is ushered through to the surgery – a room warmed by a fire. Doctor Macleod is sitting by his desk. When he sees Abercrombie he gets up and goes to him, his hand outstretched.

MACLEOD  
Come in, John, take a seat. How  
good to see you. Are you here on  
business? Or is it pleasure taking  
you across the water?

ABERCROMBIE  
It's you I'm here to see. I...

At this Abercrombie bends over in pain once more.

MACLEOD  
Let me take a look at you.

ABERCROMBIE  
It's here my...

Abercrombie clutches his stomach again.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
This last couple of months. I've been  
in pain.

MACLEOD  
Are you eating?

Abercrombie nods.

ABERCROMBIE  
Aye. Not that I can take  
much pleasure in it though.

MACLEOD  
And are you drinking?

Abercrombie looks at him sharply.

MACLEOD (Con't)  
Fluids, John.

Abercrombie nods.

ABERCROMBIE

There are days now, when I struggle  
to get out of bed. I can't eat. The pain...  
it cuts into me.

MACLEOD  
I'll get Jessie to make up a  
tonic for you. Keep away from  
rich foods. Avoid cream and  
stick to boiled fish.

ABERCROMBIE  
Aye, well, there's plenty of fish  
on the island to feed me 'till  
I reached a hundred.

Macleod laughs.

MACLEOD  
And you will, John, you will.

#### **SCENE 18 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Abercrombie returns to the island – 00'20"**

Abercrombie is on the boat returning to the island. He is staring behind him, looking longingly at the receding mainland.

##### **NARRATION**

*Whether he did watch what he ate, or whether it was what he ate John Abercrombie died on the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1889.*

#### **SCENE 19 – Film of Death Certificate – 00'20"**

##### **NARRATION**

*The doctor who had hurried across the Sound to try and save him was left with nothing else to do but to decide what killed him. And it is here that the first clue is found. Written down as cause of death the doctor entered "Narcotic Poisoning".*

#### **SCENE 20 – Interview: Dr M Nicholson, Medical historian = 01'00"**

##### Set up:

Dr Nicholson reading the with death certificate at the Centre for the History of Medicine.

##### **NARRATION**

*Narcotic poisoning was unusual enough to warrant a report to the Procurator Fiscal, but what constituted narcotic poisoning in the 1880's? Dr Malcolm Nicholson, medical historian thinks he can find an answer.*

##### **INTERVIEW**

Reasons that could lead to narcotic poisoning.  
What would have caused it.  
Could it have been self-induced.

**SCENE 21 – Interview: DJ MacInnes, ex-islander = 00'10”**

Set Up:

DJ at his home.

**NARRATION**

*And it isn't just the experts who think that the cause of death pointed to something suspicious.*

Interview clip

No-one really talked about it openly, only in whispers. But the villagers were sure of one thing. He had definitely been done away with.

**SCENE 22 – Dramatic Reconstruction, death = 00'20”**

**INT-MISSION HOUSE-NIGHT**

**NARRATION**

*But if it was murder, then who, on this island of only 200 people, surrounded by water, could possibly have done it.*

Abercrombie is laid out on a table.

Villagers are all around the table keeping watch, singing gently in Gaelic.

The door opens and the gust of wind blows out the candles.

All the villagers turn to look at the person who has come in.

Fearful they look back at the table. Keening in Gaelic more softly, but with a greater intensity.

**NARRATION**

*The islanders have only ever suspected one person.*

**SCENE 23 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Annie arrives = 01'30”**

**EXT-BEACH-DAY**

A pair of red shoes, revealed beneath a heavy skirt, are placed carefully onto the beach.

A young woman is leaning on a fisherman's arm as he helps her out of the boat.

She turns her face to the wind and takes a long look at Scarp village.

A gust of wind blows her hat off and into the sea. The tide takes it away for a moment, before it sinks. This is ANNIE JANE MURPHY, aged 23.

**NARRATION**

*On April third 1887, just under a year after Abercrombie's appointment to the school, the island welcomed another incomer. Annie Jane Murphy, who would live on in the imaginations of the islanders and would change the life of John Abercrombie forever.*

#### **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE STUDY-DAY**

Abercrombie takes out his log-book, and marks the entry, that the new sewing mistress is arrived today.

#### **EXT-VILLAGE STREET-DAY**

Annie Jane bustles up the sloping street, past the blackhouses, towards the school. The back of her green skirt is swishing in the dirt, her shoes an unusual flash of colour. Behind her the village children are competing to carry her bags.

She looks back at them and laughs.

Seamus reaches the schoolhouse first where Abercrombie is waiting in the playground.

SEAMUS

Sir, sir, it's the new sewing-mistress.  
She's come early. She's here.

Abercrombie nods stiffly and walks to the gate to meet Annie Jane who is thanking the children for carrying her bags.

ABERCROMBIE

Welcome to Scarp. May I  
offer you a hand with your luggage?

MURPHY

Thank you.

Annie Jane leaves all her bags and floats in through the gate. Still laughing back at the children. Abercrombie picks up the bags as best he can, and then shoos the children.

#### **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE-DAY**

Abercrombie is examining Annie Jane's references. She is sitting primly, looking all around her at the posters on the walls, and the Latin phrases on the board.

ABERCROMBIE

These all seem to be in order Miss...

MURPHY

Murphy. Miss Murphy.

She smiles.

MURPHY (Con't)

Can you tell me about my duties  
here? How you find the children?

ABERCROMBIE

The children are taciturn and lazy.

They take after their parents in that sense. They all speak Gaelic. I'm afraid you will need to have a taste for contemplation and solitude if you're to find comfort here Miss Murphy.

MURPHY  
Solitude is just what I need Mr Abercrombie. You could say it's what I crave.

**SCENE 24 – Archive Aberdeen 1880's = 00'20"**

**NARRATION**

*Annie Jane was living in a cramped house in Aberdeen before she swapped grinding poverty for a new life. For her, the change in the smoky atmosphere of the bustling city to the clear air of Scarp may have come as a welcome relief and might even have reminded her of her more rural childhood.*

**SCENE 25 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Annie and John = 01'30"**

**EXT-HILLSIDE-DAY**

Annie Jane is sitting atop the highest peak.

She is stitching. Carefully weaving a subtle tapestry of the machair flowers that she has arranged on the stone beside her. She is in a dream, her hair flowing out from under her bonnet. She is humming quietly to herself.

She hears a footstep, which startles her and turns to see Abercrombie reaching the top of the hill.

MURPHY  
Mr Abercrombie. You startled me.

ABERCROMBIE  
It's John. You may call me John.

MURPHY  
Well...John...you still startled me. What brings you up here?

ABERCROMBIE  
Oh...the day. It's so often rough, but on days as these, then the island has a certain beauty.

MURPHY  
Oh, indeed. It's beautiful in all weather I think.

Abercrombie follows her gaze across the sound. But is drawn back to her eyes settling on the sampler she is stitching.

ABERCROMBIE  
May I take a look?

Murphy gives him the sampler with a smile.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
It's these flowers? You're stitching  
flowers? To what purpose?

Murphy laughs and takes back the sampler.

MURPHY  
For pleasure John. Because  
it gives me pleasure to make  
beautiful things. To have beauty  
round me.

ABERCROMBIE  
But surely it's wasteful. Think of  
the use that thread could have been  
put to...

Murphy collects her things and prepares to leave.

MURPHY  
Wasteful? What's wasteful surely  
is to ignore the glory that is around us.  
I don't consider it waste, but be assured  
Mr Abercrombie that the money for  
the thread will come out of my own pocket.

Murphy leaves. Abercrombie watches after her.

## **SCENE 26– Various certificates/Film locations = 01'00"**

### ***NARRATION***

*Annie Jane Fraser was born in the summer of 1861 in Killin Perthshire. Her father was a farmer, her mother, Letitia, the daughter of a ship's surgeon. Her father died three months after her birth and so her mother took the baby and moved to Insch, Aberdeenshire to live with her maternal grandmother. Both her granny and her mother worked as teachers and were wealthy enough to employ a live-in servant.*

*In what was presumably a workplace romance, Letitia met and married the headteacher of the Insch School when Annie was 11. The 1881 census shows Annie now 20 living with her mother and her step-father Alexander Mackenzie. She is recorded as being a dressmaker.*

**SCENE 27 -Archive – women in factories etc = 00'20"**

**NARRATION**

*Work and life choices for women at this time were limited unless you were rich. For the less well-off, there was always the prospect of domestic service, or employment in one of the growing number of factories opening up across Britain.*

**SCENE 28 – Interview: Dr Helen Corr, Historian = 01'00"**

Set Up:

Dr Helen Corr looking through books of photographs.

**NARRATION**

*Dr Helen Corr has made a study of working women from that time, and believes Annie's career choice was fairly straight-forward.*

**INTERVIEW**

What was open to women at that time.

Coming from a family of scholars natural that she would end up teaching. Not much choice for women at the time.

**SCENE 29 – Archive Kids sewing = 00'30"**

**NARRATION**

*Part of the curriculum introduced after the Education Act included the teaching of sewing and mending for girls. This would have been a not insignificant skill as there would have been little enough money for new clothes in most households. It would have been no great leap for Annie to move from being a dressmaker to a sewing teacher. It is likely too that she would have taught in her step-father's school.*

**SCENE 30 – Newspaper Archive = 00'30"**

**NARRATION**

*Annie may have read of the job advert in one of the local newspapers like The Highland News. A post offering full-board may have tempted her. Or she might have wanted to get far away from Aberdeen.*

*Whatever her motivation, having decided to accept the position on Scarp she would have had a long journey to a world very different from her own.*

*Abercrombie's logbook notes only her arrival. Thereafter we can only guess at what her life would have been like for her in Scarp.*

**SCENE 31 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 03'00"**

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE KITCHEN-NIGHT**

Abercrombie and Annie Jane are seated together at the kitchen table eating. He puts down the book that he was reading.

ABERCROMBIE  
So Miss Murphy. How do you  
find yourself settling in here? Are you  
missing your family at all?

Annie Jane had been looking out of the window, but pulls her gaze back to Abercrombie distractedly.

She sounds tense.

MURPHY  
Oh, please. I think it's time you called  
me Annie Jane. The children do. The  
missionary does. I think you might too?

Abercrombie seems to sit straighter.

ABERCROMBIE  
Annie Jane....well...yes...  
I am curious, did you ever...

Annie Jane starts, standing up, moves to the window looking out to where she can hear some fiddle music drifting up the street.

MURPHY  
Can you hear...

ABERCROMBIE  
It's the villagers. You will  
find that of an evening they  
tend to come together and meet  
in each others houses. They  
sing, dance, tell stories. I've no  
doubt they drink too.

And tonight, I am told, there's  
a tinker come. So they'll be  
buying trinkets and catching  
up on the news.

Annie Jane reaches to pull on the Paisley shawl that is hanging over the back of her chair.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
Miss Murphy...Annie Jane. You've  
not finished your dinner.

Annie Jane is laughing now with pleasure

MURPHY  
Oh, John. That can wait. There'll

be fish and potatoes tomorrow, and  
the night after. But a tinker...with  
things to sell...

### **INT-BLACKHOUSE-NIGHT**

Inside the blackhouse all is music and smoke and light. Huddled round a fire the villagers are listening to the tales of the TINKER – a Gaelic-speaking middle-aged man who is bringing them up to date with news.

To the side, sitting on the settle are more men. One is gently playing a fiddle. He is in his twenties. This is CALUM MACDONALD.

Annie Jane appears in the doorway, and has time to look around the room before she is noticed by Calum and some of the children.

As all eyes turn to her the tinker stops his story. Annie Jane smiles too brightly.

Calum stands and brings her into the hub.

MACDONALD  
Please sit down...join us.

Annie Jane is resisting. Not wanting to join the silent throng.

MURPHY  
No, no. I was just wanting to see  
what....there are some things I thought  
I might buy?

Annie Jane looks at the tinker and gestures with her head outside. The tinker stands and follows her.

### **EXT-BLACKHOUSE-NIGHT**

Annie Jane is pushing whatever she bought from the tinker into her skirt pocket. Patting this down she starts as Calum comes out.

MACDONALD  
Did you get what you were after?

MURPHY  
Yes...yes thank you. I did.

The tinker doffs his hat, but he looks at Annie Jane shrewdly.

TINKER  
I'll be back over in about six weeks.  
Shall I be seeing you then?

MURPHY  
Oh, well...you know. Perhaps.

### **EXT-SHORE-NIGHT**

Abercrombie is sitting by a gravestone looking out over the Sound. The water is alive with phosphorescent sea creatures.

He looks behind him and sees Annie Jane put something back into her pocket. Then watches as her head tilts back and she closes her eyes.

ABERCROMBIE  
Did you enjoy the Ceilidh?

MURPHY  
I would have done so had it  
not all been conducted in Gaelic.

Annie Jane looks around the graveyard.

MURPHY (Con't)  
It surprises me that such a rough  
unromantic people choose to offer  
their dead such a view.  
How much more peaceful than laying  
them to rest behind the church where  
the sound of the waves would be denied  
them.

Abercrombie looks at her in confusion. Looks at the graveyard and back out to sea. He snorts.

ABERCROMBIE  
You think it's romantic? No.  
Down here in the machair is the  
Only place deep enough to  
bury the dead. It's necessity  
brings them here. There's no place for  
romance on Scarp.

## **SCENE 32 Aerial shots of Lewis/Harris = 01'30"**

### **NARRATION**

*The Schoolmaster and sewing mistress would have realised soon enough that it was not only the language difference that isolated them. They were sitting in the middle of a land rife with tension and on the brink of rebellion. Conditions across all the islands were poor, with too many people scrabbling around for too little reward in order to feed their families.*

*John Napier, who set up the Napier Commission – tasked to investigate the condition of crofters - gave an account of Scarp from 1883. Summer grazing had been lost to sheep and crofters were in fear of eviction by the dreaded tacksmen. Tenants owed arrears of up to a year, and lived by what they could catch from the sea.*

*Although the subsequent Crofters Act of 1886 – described by some as the crofter's Magna Carter – gave some security of tenure, land agitation in the islands continued.*

*The result was described as a general lawlessness which had a terrible affect on the education of children – kept at home to help forage for food, or too malnourished to be able to concentrate on schoolwork. A few miles from Scarp a visitor wrote an account of children vomiting water, which they drank to excess in order to try and fill their stomachs.*

**SCENE 33 – Archive, people packaging goods = 00’20”**

**NARRATION**

*The cry of hunger and distress echoed over the land and reached Glasgow where ex islanders and relatives quickly dispatched sacks of oatmeal and tins of syrup and treacle to feed the starving.*

**SCENE 34 – Dramatic Reconstruction Inspector = 01’30”**

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE-DAY**

Annie Jane is preparing a mixture of syrup and oats over the schoolroom fire. More children approach her with a tin of treacle.

Children are sitting at their desks eating the sweet concoction.

Abercrombie is patrolling the room, tutting as the syrupy-mess drips onto schoolbooks.

There is a knock at the door and Peterson the Inspector comes in, shaking off the rain from his Ulster.

Annie Jane is looking flustered, her hair escaping from her bonnet. Abercrombie and Peterson walk past the starving children.

**INT-SCHOOL STUDY-DAY**

Abercrombie and Peterson are seated either side of the fire. Both have a glass of whisky in their hands.

**PETERSON**

...they just think they can get away with anything. You're lucky here John, that the locals are relatively uninvolved. I've recently come from a school where the marines are stationed outside, in case of trouble. Are you feeling their hostility?

**ABERCROMBIE**

They've never been what you'd call friendly. But now, you can see the anger in their eyes. And the children... well, it seems they only come to school so that Annie Jane, Miss Murphy, can mix up the food for them.

Both men look into the fire, lost in thoughts.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
I was surprised to see you. I had  
been told that it was dangerous to  
roam the country.

PETERSON  
Aye, well, I'm no longer travelling  
by local boat. The navy have offered  
me protection in their ships. If you  
look out there...

He gestures through the front window.

PETERSON (Con't)  
...you can see the Seahorse anchored.  
in the Sound. I can't tell you John,  
how much safer I feel with the military  
by my side.

ABERCROBIE  
Aye. The Minister said you'd had trouble.

PETERSON  
They were young lads. As it  
was they seemed more scared  
of me than I was of them. But  
that's the trouble. The rule of  
law has broken down.  
Now there's nothing but...

Here he puts his gun on the table.

...this and the soldiers. And  
everyone knowing that  
something will break soon.

### **SCENE 35 – Interview: Dr John MacInnes, Land Historian = 01'00**

#### Set Up:

Filmed at the Pairc Memorial, a memorial in Lewis to commemorate the land struggle.

#### **NARRATION**

*Thirty miles away from Scarp in South Lochs, a memorial stands to commemorate a particular episode in the land struggle. Dr John MacInnes, a land historian, believes it represents the battles that were taking place throughout the island at that time.*

#### **INTERVIEW**

What it was like

What it must have been like for outsiders

The role of church and school during this time

**SCENE 36 – Dramatic Reconstruction Annie and John New Year = 00’30’’**

**EXT-SCHOOLHOUSE-NIGHT**

Annie Jane and Abercrombie are at the schoolhouse gate, watching the villagers celebrate New Year.

The young boys are going round the houses knocking on doors and running away.

**NARRATION**

*And for the two people in the school, watching the celebrations of the turn of the year, they must surely have felt that they only had each other to turn to.*

Other villagers are following up the street, flaming peats in their hands which they take into every house.

Except the schoolhouse, which is left unvisited.

Annie Jane and Abercrombie stand together, alone.

**ABERCROMBIE**

It may be quieter than you are  
used to in Aberdeen. But  
I wish you all the best for  
1889. May it bring us  
both health and happiness.

**SCENE 37 – Film of certificates etc = 00’30’’**

**NARRATION**

*During their times together, sitting on either side of the schoolhouse fire, they would have begun to find out about each other. Annie would have shared her upbringing with John and he in turn would have told her about his early life.*

*We know that he was born on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1837 in the town of Polmont, Stirling. He was a twin, but his brother David did not survive long.*

**SCENE 38 – Archive teaching colleges = 00’30’’**

**NARRATION**

*He learned his teaching craft here, at Moray House College, where his name can be still be seen in the register. Then the 1861 census finds him working as a teaching assistant in Lasswade, outside Edinburgh. We can follow him through the censuses travelling further north until he turns up in Scarp, unusually for that time, still unmarried at the age of 50.*

**SCENE 39 – Dramatic Reconstruction log book = 00’30”**

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE STUDY-NIGHT**

Abercrombie is writing up the logbook.

Annie Jane is seated by the fire darning. As the light fades she jumps up, reaches into her pocket and begins to light the lamps.

As she lights the lamp by Abercrombie’s desk he reaches out and gently lays his hand on hers.

The exchange a look.

**NARRATION**

*As we have seen from his log-book, he catalogued a school where children were increasingly absent. Compared to the high regard the previous teacher was held, it does suggest that his teaching was less than inspirational. Alone, unable to speak the language, it is small wonder that he falls for the charms of the new, sparkling, city-bred 23-year-old sewing teacher.*

**SCENE 40 – Interview: A Duncan, schoolteacher’s grand-son = 01’00”**

No Set up required – name Aston only

Interview

My grand-father was married three times. Then when he arrived on Scarp he married a local girl. She was working as a sewing teacher in the school. He married a local girl, he married the sewing teacher. Why not. They would have worked together, and had much in common.

**SCENE 41 – Wedding Certificate/Filming Amhuinnsuidhe Castle = 00’20”**

**NARRATION**

*And so it was for John and Annie. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1988, just a year and two months after arriving on the island they were married in Amhuinnsuidhe. It seems as though their happiness was complete.*

**SCENE 42 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Marriage = 01’30”**

**EXT-CART-DAY**

Annie Jane and Abercrombie are seated on a dog-cart. The road is bumpy and Annie Jane is gripping the side.

The dog-cart travels through a small village, past a small shop.

MURPHY  
Wait...hold on, wait.

She jumps out of the cart and makes her way back to the shop.

ABERCROMBIE  
Annie. For God's sake. We'll be  
late. What is it you're...

He breaks off as she turns.

MURPHY  
Just some things I need John. I'll  
only be a minute. Please.

Abercrombie is in the cart, smacking his gloves on his legs. The ring of a bell tells him that Annie Jane has left the shop. The cart shifts as she climbs on board.

She puts out a hand and covers his with hers.

#### **INT-CHURCH-DAY**

Annie Jane and Abercrombie stand before the Minister.

MURPHY  
...I do solemnly declare that I,  
know of no lawful impediment why  
I, Annie Jane Murphy, may not be joined  
in matrimony to John Abercrombie...

As she speaks a cloud scuds across the sky and the light from the window darkens. The church is left in semi-darkness.

#### **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE BEDROOM-NIGHT**

Annie Jane and Abercrombie are in bed. He rolls off his new wife with a grunt.

She pulls down her nightgown.

Abercrombie turns round to sleep.

Annie Jane pushes back the heavy woollen bedclothes and gets up.

From the doorway she is silhouetted, kneeling down she opens the bottom drawer of the chest of drawers and pulls something out.

#### **SCENE 43 – Genealogical records = 01'00”**

\*\*\*\*This may be done in an interview with a genealogist, Bill Lawson\*\*\*\*.

#### **NARRATION**

*But things were not as they seemed. A closer look at the wedding certificate gives us the first clue that something was very wrong in the life of the new Annie Jane Abercrombie.*

*Her parent's surname, like hers, is given as Murphy when it should have read Fraser. She is listed as a spinster. But she was not. Her wedding certificate is a lie.*

*Five years before beginning her appointment in Scarp, whilst still living in Bank Street, Aberdeen with her mother, Annie Jane Fraser wed a grocer's assistant from Edinburgh. The wedding between her and Hugh Murphy took place on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1883. Just nine days later Annie gave birth to a son, Hugh Alexander Murphy. The birth certificate includes a written note that her new husband Hugh Murphy is not the father of the child.*

#### **SCENE 44 – Film at old address = 00'20**

##### **NARRATION**

*Here at 34 Bank Street Annie Jane and her husband with her small son appeared to make a go of things. Two years later she gave birth to a daughter, Ruth Murphy on March 17<sup>th</sup> 1885. After that Hugh Murphy disappears without a trace.*

#### **SCENE 45 – Interview: Bill Lawson, Genealogist = 01'00”**

##### Set up:

Bill Lawson looking through various records.

##### **NARRATION**

*Bill Lawson is an expert in tracing people and places. He can think of only a few reasons why Hugh Murphy should disappear so completely.*

Interview

We need to ask where the children went.

Where did Hugh go.

There has to be something suspicious here.

#### **SCENE 46 – Super 8 of boat journey = 00'20”**

##### **NARRATION**

*But whilst we can only try and guess at what was going on in the life of Annie Jane, her appearance on Scarp, and in the schoolteacher's bed may well have had a profound affect on him.*

#### **SCENE 47 – Dramatic Reconstruction Log-book – 01'00”**

##### **INT-SCHOOL STUDY-NIGHT**

Abercrombie is at work writing up his log-book.

Annie Jane is watching from the doorway. Her face is in shadow. He is unaware of her looking.

From his log-book we see him write that attendance is down.

Annie Jane moves from the door to the window. Through this she watches a number of island families board the waiting boats and fill them with their luggage.

She turns and leaves John.

**NARRATION**

*Annie Jane and John must have settled quickly into their lives as newly-weds. At the turn of the year a number of families migrated to the mainland to relieve the over-crowding on the island.*

*But whilst the log-book tells us what went on in the school, it may also reveal something else.*

**SCENE 48 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01'00"**

**INT-SCHOOL KITCHEN-NIGHT**

Annie Jane has her back to the door, crouched by the stove. She is stirring a shiny black pot. She turns towards the open study door.

MURPHY

John. Leave that now. Your supper's Ready...John did you hear?

She leaves the kitchen, where the table is set for two.

**INT-SCHOOLROOM STUDY – NIGHT**

John is still at his desk, still laboriously filling in the log-book.

MURPHY

Did you not hear me?

Abercrombie is still writing. Annie Jane is looking over his shoulder.

MURPHY (Con't)

You need to look to your writing  
John. The children write more  
neatly than you now.

Abercrombie lifts up his writing hand, and watches the small tremor. With his other hand he tries to stop the shaking. A drop of ink falls onto the logbook.

He groans then clutches his stomach.

MURPHY (Con't)

Is it no better? You'd maybe  
better think about taking  
something?

ABERCROMBIE

I'm thinking of going to the doctors.

Perhaps you could come? It's been a while since you left the island.

MURPHY  
Aye, well. Let's not be rushing off.

She smiles and squeezes his shoulders.

MURPHY (Con't)  
At least, not until you've had your dinner.

#### **SCENE 49 – Interview: Kathryn Thondycraft, handwriting expert – 01'00”**

Set up:

Kathryn Thondycraft looking at the log-book with forensic equipment.

##### **NARRATION**

*The change in writing in his log book is revealing. Kathryn Thondycraft specialises in examining writing. Her results are intriguing.*

INTERVIEW

Does the writing change  
In what way does it change  
What can you say about the deterioration in writing

#### **SCENE 50 – Log book, TBC = 00'20”**

##### **NARRATION**

*We know too from Abercrombie's log-book that by now he was suffering from acute stomach pain. He visited the doctor a number of times in the run up to his death. It seems likely that whatever was causing his writing to deteriorate, and necessitate visits to the doctors, was ultimately responsible for his death. And according to locals, there is no mystery at all about who that was.*

#### **SCENE 51 – Interview: DJ MacInnes, ex-islander = 00'30”**

No set up needed – Aston only

Interview clip

Who did it?

Well she did of course.

Why? The story I heard was that she was addicted to opium, and had been stealing the school funds. She panicked thinking he'd find out, and so she killed him.

#### **SCENE 52 – Archive opium addiction = 01'30”**

Archive stills of tinctures etc

## **NARRATION**

*At first this seems wildly unlikely. But it is not so far-fetched as it seems. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, opium, in the form of tinctures, was widely available in grocers, pharmacists or sold by travelling salesmen. It was the most widely used drug of the day.*

*It was rarely smoked and tended to be eaten raw, or as Laudanum, a tincture of raw opium with distilled water and alcohol. It was cheap and commonplace, costing around a penny for 30 grams. You could choose from a bottle of a "Pennyworth of Peace" or "Godfrey's Cordial". It was taken as a self-medicating panacea for all ills, but most often by the working classes for fatigue and depression.*

*Slowly, as the 19<sup>th</sup> century unfolded, the questions began to be asked about its physiological and psychological side-effects. Dr Thompson wrote in 1840 that it "acted as an aphrodisiac and subverted all morality".*

## **SCENE 53 – Archive, newspaper = 00'20"**

### **NARRATION**

*And in 1882 Dr Lawson was hanged for the murder of his brother-in-law. His defence "morphio mania" – his over-powering need for money to feed his addiction.*

*If Annie Jane were taking opium, then it is more than likely that her mania would begin to be obvious to those around her.*

## **SCENE 54 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01'30"**

### **EXT-HILLSIDE-DAY**

Annie Jane is sitting on top of the hill overlooking the village. She is stitching more flowers onto her sampler.

The blues are very blue, and the reds very red. She is sewing fast and intensely.

Abercrombie is looking for her. Calling.

Annie Jane is muttering incoherently and twitching. Her needle pricks her fingers and a drop of blood drips onto the sampler. She watches mesmerised.

John rounds the corner. He is very out of breath, red-faced and retching.

ABERCROMBIE  
For God's sake Annie. We've  
need of you. The lessons began  
a half-hour ago.

He sees her sampler and snatches it from her.

ABERCROMBIE (Con't)  
This bloody thing...!ll...

Annie Jane is sobbing now as he throws the sampler on the ground.

### **EXT-VILLAGE STREET-DAY**

The weather is changing. A great storm is coming in off the Atlantic. Abercrombie is battling back to the school. He collides headlong into Calum.

CALUM  
Mr Abercrombie...I'm sorry...  
are you...can I help sir?

Abercrombie grasps Calum's arm. He is violently sick on the road. He lurches on.

### **EXT-GRAVEYARD-DAY**

The storm is howling round the island. The waves crashing on the beach.

The machair graveyard is at the mercy of the winds and slowly the topsoil is blown away and the graves exposed.

Bones appear, glaring white amongst the machair flowers.

Annie Jane is curled round a gravestone. She is watching the exposed bones and she is terrified. As the storm breaks round her she curls up into a ball and weeps.

### **SCENE 55 – Archive plus Footage Lewes Castle = 01'00”**

#### ***NARRATION***

*In a strange twist Annie Jane and John spent their lives walking on ground bought with the proceeds of the drugs trade.*

*In 1844 James Matheson, part owner of the extremely successful Jardine Matheson Company bought Harris and Lewis with the money he'd earned trading opium.*

*His company forced open trade with China and in what the historian Saul David considered to be one of the most unforgivable acts of empire – ensured that a multitude of Chinese became addicts. The culmination of Jardine Matheson's expansion was the Opium Wars. With his fortune, made in the East at the expense of so many, he not only bought the island, but spent hundreds and thousands of pounds building an extravagant castle.*

### **SCENE 56 – Dramatic Reconstruction, Inspector coming = 01'00”**

#### **EXT-VILLAGE STREET-DAY**

A boat is pulling up on the beach. Two sturdy shoes land on the shore.

Peterson walks up the beach. The villagers avoid him. Looking out to sea at the military boat that he travelled on.

He walks up the road. In the doorways sit the village women.

Animals are wandering lethargically along the road being shooed by unshod, ill-clothed children.

A small boy approaches the Peterson and tugs at his coat.

Peterson roughly pulls it out of his hand. Then, sighs and reaches into his pocket and gives the boy a biscuit. The child runs off with it, cramming it in his mouth.

**NARRATION**

*As the time drew nearer, so the locals have it, for the visit from the inspector and the yearly check of the accounts, Annie Jane became more and more desperate. If she were indeed an opium addict, then she would be increasingly befuddled, increasingly paranoid, and more likely to think of extreme measures.*

**INT-SCHOOLROOM-DAY**

There are not many children in the schoolroom. Abercrombie is at the blackboard doing some mathematics.

Annie Jane is standing by the window, ignoring the children gathered round her, who have stopped doing their stitching and are instead whispering to one another.

Annie Jane hears the creak of the gate and sees Peterson's face against the window.

She jumps back, startled.

**SCENE 57 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01'30"**

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE STUDY- NIGHT**

Abercrombie is in the study writing up his log-book.

He groans in pain, clutching his stomach.

His hand slips causing a blue line to cover the page.

The pen slips to the floor.

**NARRATION**

*According to islanders, the result of her actions were obvious on the night of the 14<sup>th</sup> July when John Abercrombie finally died.*

**EXT-DOCTOR'S DOOR-NIGHT**

It is night-time, but it's still light. Seamus is knocking hard on the doctor's door. Between knocks he bends over and takes hungry gulps of air.

Inside a lamp is lit. The door opens.

**EXT-MOORLAND ROAD – NIGHT**

The Doctor and Seamus are in a rickety dog-cart. Seamus is asleep against the doctor.

## **EXT-PIER-NIGHT**

Both the Doctor and Seamus are being helped up from a boat. The doctor runs up the one ragged village street. Figures stand in every doorway backlit by the open fires inside.

The doctor passes the Missionhouse. Toromod joins him joined by a straggling line of villagers, move to the schoolhouse.

A shadow is at the doorway. Annie Jane's skirts are visible.

## **INT-SCHOOLHOUSE BEDROOM – NIGHT**

The room is in darkness.

There is the sound of a match being struck, and an oil-lamp is lit.

Abercrombie is revealed slumped across a desk.

The doctor drops his bag, moves across and takes his pulse. He drops the wrist, then lifts up the schoolmaster's eyelids. He frowns. Moves in closer, and smells the schoolteacher's breath.

The doctor rises slowly and with his back to Toromod.

DOCTOR  
I'm taking this man to Stornoway.  
The surgeon there can  
perform an autopsy. There's  
something...

He shakes his head.

From the bedroom doorway there is a rustle of skirts. The doctor turns and stares into Annie Jane's eyes.

DOCTOR (Con't)  
...something very wrong  
here.

## **SCENE 58 –interview: Dr J MacInnes, historian, folklorist = 01'00"**

### Set Up:

Dr MacInnes looking through books with depictions of giants and battles.

### **NARRATION**

*At the heart of this story is the tale passed down through generations of Scarp Islanders. But in a community of story-tellers, used to immortalising battles and making giants of heroes, just how much credence should be placed on their telling?*

Interview

How much credence should we give to this

It is an island of story-teller, how significant is this oral history  
Why would the adults not have told the children what had happened  
Would they have found out about the death certificate and woven a story  
How married were they still to traditions of evil eye etc.

**SCENE 59 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01’30”**

**INT-MISSIONHOUSE-DAY**

The villagers are gathered around the coffin singing psalms.

They are exchanging looks as they sing.

**INT-SCHOOLHOUSE-DAY**

Annie Jane and the Doctor are in the kitchen sitting opposite each other at the table. Annie is stitching, keeping her hands busy.

DOCTOR  
And he was no better? Was  
he regular about taking the tonic  
I prescribed?

Annie Jane looks up and shrugs.

MURPHY  
You know John. Such a hard-  
worker. I told him to take it easy.  
To take care of himself.

The Doctor is looking awkward.

DOCTOR  
Forgive me Mrs Abercrombie, but  
I must ask. Did John drink? Or  
take anything...I don't know...  
were you aware of...  
anything?

Annie Jane jerks her head up and looks askance at the doctor.

MURPHY  
Lord no. John was...he was a  
very upright man Doctor. He'd  
sooner cut off his hand than take  
a drink.

DOCTOR  
Be that as it may Mrs Abercrombie,  
I smelt something on his breath. It  
gives me grave cause for concern.

## **INT-MISSION HOUSE-NIGHT**

Abercrombie is laid out on a table whilst the villagers keep a silent vigil around him.

The door opens and the gust of wind blows out the candles.

All the villagers turn to look at Annie Jane.

She walks up to her husband and leans over him. There is a muted intake of breath from the villagers.

She closes his eyes. And then, turns and leaves.

### **NARRATION**

*We know that this did give concern – enough to order an autopsy which resulted in a cause of death entered as narcotic poisoning. But a trawl through the records suggest that despite the suspicious death, no further investigation was carried out. Given the times, this is, perhaps, no great surprise.*

## **SCENE 60 – Archive Police = 00'40**

### **NARRATION**

*Policing in the Highland and Islands in the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was at best a patchy affair. A policeman had to do his rounds of the island, by bicycle, all year, ensuring that he called in to each village at least once. That said, there was very little crime. And as we saw, at this time the local bobby would have found the policing supplemented by militia from Edinburgh and Glasgow there to tackle the land raiders.*

## **SCENE 61 – Interview: Dr David Barrie, criminal historian = 01'00”**

### Set Up:

Dr Barrie watching the archive.

### **NARRATION**

*Dr David Barrie, a criminal historian, thinks that not only would the police have had little investigating tools, but the islanders' reticence may well have meant no-one came forward to share their misgivings.*

### **INTERVIEW**

It must have gone to a coroner's office

Autopsy

Fatal Accident enquiry in Lochmaddy?

But probably no real follow-up.

Relatively routine.

## **SCENE 62 – Dramatic Reconstruction, murder = 01'30”**

## **INT-SCHOOL KITCHEN-NIGHT**

Annie Jane still has her back to the door, crouched by the stove. She is stirring a shiny black pot. She turns towards the open study door.

MURPHY  
John. Leave that now. Your supper's  
ready...John did you hear?

She reaches over to the drawer in the kitchen table and opens it. Checking that Abercrombie has not come in she pulls out a box of matches.

Very carefully she takes a bone-handled knife and begins to shave off the heads off the matches onto a plate.

She tips this carefully into her hands and then into a soup bowl.

Then she fills this up with soup.

**NARRATION**

*But if Annie Jane Abercrombie did murder her husband, then the question remains. How did she manage it in such a remote island? Well, the islanders were in no doubt at the time how she did it.*

**INT-SCHOOLROOM STUDY – NIGHT**

John is still at his desk, still laboriously filling in the log-book.

MURPHY  
John. Did you not hear?

Abercrombie is still writing. Annie Jane is looking over his shoulder.

MURPHY  
You need to look to your writing  
John. The children write more  
neatly than you now.

Abercrombie lifts up his writing hand, and watches the small tremor. With his other hand he tries to stop the shaking. A drop of ink falls onto the logbook.

He groans then clutches his stomach.

MURPHY (Con't)  
Is it no better? You'd maybe  
Better think about taking  
Something?

ABERCROMBIE  
I'm thinking of going to the doctors.  
Perhaps you could come? It's been  
a while since you left the island.

MURPHY  
Aye, well. Let's not be rushing off.

She smiles and squeezes his shoulders.

MURPHY (Con't)  
At least, not until you've had  
your dinner.

### **SCENE 63 – Archive, matches = 00'40"**

#### **NARRATION**

*In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, matches were a fairly common household item. Their invention proved both popular and enormously helpful. But there was one problem. These matches were made using white phosphorus – and each pack contained enough phosphorus to kill a person. Many of the people involved in their manufacture fell ill with “phossy jaw” a debilitating bone disorder that could be fatal.*

### **SCENE 64 – Interview: Dr M Nicholson, medical historian= 00'40"**

#### Set Up:

Over archive of matches etc and photos of “phossy jaw” with name Aston for Dr Nicholson.

#### **NARRATION**

*And it was the heads of these matches that Annie Abercrombie was said to have scraped off into her husbands food and drink.*

Interview

If administered orally what would the effects be  
What would the symptoms be  
Could it kill  
Would it be noted down as narcotic poisoning

### **SCENE 65 – Dramatic Reconstruction = 01'00"**

#### **EXT-VILLAGE STREET-DAY**

Annie is retreating down the street. She is hand-in-hand with two children. We don't see their faces.

She reaches the beach and looks around her.

Three fishermen are sitting mending their nets. They ignore her.

Annie Jane keeps staring straight ahead.

The fishermen whisper. One stands and begins to push his boat out down the beach.

The sand protests.

#### **EXT-BOAT-DAY**

Once the boat is in the water he turns and with his head beckons to Annie Jane and the children.

She lifts up her skirt and her two red shoes lift into the boat.

The children follow.

As the fisherman begins to pull on the oars the boat sails out into the Sound. Annie Jane is resolutely facing towards the mainland.

The boat, the children and Annie Jane disappear into the mist.

**NARRATION**

*With her husband dead, and the murmured suspicions of the villagers, Annie left the island soon after.*

*She appears next in the 1891 census once more staying with her mother in Portree, Skye. There are no servants now. Both seem to have lost what little money and status they had. They are not alone in the house. Annie's two children, Hugh and Ruth, now aged eight and six have been re-united with their mother.*

*After that the trail goes cold. Letitia Mackenzie, her mother, dies a pauper in a Harris poor-house. But Annie Jane and her children disappear, as her two husbands did before her*

*Possibly she went to America. Perhaps like so many she sought a new life in a new country where she could hope to bury the secret and perhaps her guilt.*

**SCENE 66 – Film, graveyard = 00'30"**

**NARRATION**

*And what of John Abercrombie? After the autopsy his body was sewn back together and taken home to the islands. Placed here, in a land where he never spoke the language, and met an agonising death, he lies. With him lies the secret of his life and death on Scarp.*

**Appendix 2** *Leasan sa Bhàs* commissioning  
pitch



## **Programme Proposal: Leasan sa Bhàis? (A Lesson In Death?)**

Prepared for: MG ALBA Commissioning Round, Jan 2010  
Prepared by: Sorbier Productions  
Dur: 1 x 59'  
Genre: Drama documentary  
Category: Compelling Scottish story; female appeal  
Tx: 9pm  
Budget: £83, 500  
Development option: £2.5k\*

### **BEACHD-SMUAIN / CREATIVE SUMMARY**

Bàs nàdurra, neo murt? Sin a' cheist anns a phrògram làidir seo, a' toirt seann sgeulachd chaillte beò as ùr ann an riochd tarruingeach. Nuair a thainig John Abercrombie a dh'Eilean Sgarp as t-samhradh 1886, bha e slàn, fallainn. Mus robh trì bliadhna air a dhol seachad, bha e marbh. Còir is ceud bliadhna as deidh a' bhàis, tha daoine aig a bheil ceangal teaghlaich ri Sgarp fhathast a' ceasnachadh mar a dh'èirich dha Abercrombie – an deach cur às dhà le murtair air an eilean? Boireannach, aige sin?

A perfect murder mystery for BBC ALBA – set in one of the most beautiful and intriguing parts of the Outer Hebrides – and what's more, it's *true*...

John Abercrombie arrived on the island of Scarp in the summer of 1886 a healthy man. Three years later he was dead. Over one hundred years after his death the scattered relatives of his island pupils still whisper about the night he died and wonder...was there a female murderer lurking unknown amongst them?

### **THE STORY**

It is late at night and a young boy is knocking on the Doctor's door. The schoolteacher is unwell and close to death. But the journey from Tarbert takes hours, as this is 1889 and the schoolteacher lives on the tiny island of Scarp, just off the Isle of Harris. They arrive too late: 52-year-old John Abercrombie lies dead; sprawled across his desk. As the Doctor examines the corpse more closely his suspicions are aroused and he demands a post-mortem. In doing so he prompts the question: did Abercrombie die a natural death, or was he murdered in his home? This brilliant new Gaelic drama-doc reveals a largely forgotten tale of dark intrigue for the first time: a story of lust, deceit, opium addiction and a schoolmaster murdered by a mystery woman. At the heart of the story is the oral history told by Scarp islanders and Abercrombie's own log-book. Both note the arrival in April 1887 of Annie-Jane Murphy, the new

sewingmistress. A marriage certificate a year later has her marrying Abercrombie in Amhuinnsuidhe. But our genealogical investigations show that things were not quite as they seemed. Annie-Jane had a colourful past, which the wedding certificate does not reveal. If archive backs up oral tradition, at least in as much as revealing a woman with a complex past, then it also gives credence to another aspect of the islanders' stories who maintain that Annie-Jane *poisoned* the schoolteacher with the sulphurous tips of matches. Abercrombie's log-book shows many visits to the Doctor because of stomach complaints. Chillingly, 'narcotic poisoning' is noted in his death certificate.

The story of the death of the schoolteacher, or "Dominie", unfolds in tastefully styled drama reconstruction and highly engaging interviews, lined with voice-over. Contemporary materials provide the background source around which is woven dramatic episodes from the lives of the main protagonists. The film breaks down into the "known" and the "imaginatively realised". Wherever possible, real-life incidents are used to place these excerpts within a convincing historical setting.

As we enter the Abercrombies' lives through the highly crafted drama, the interviews explore what clues there are available that would allow us to judge whether something deeply sinister really *did* take place on Scarp. Our investigation uses expert witnesses and analyses original materials...death, birth and marriage certificates; census information, log books and Inspector's reports and other written archives. The voice-over leads the viewer on a journey of discovery as the film breaks into distinct parts. First we ask *whether* Abercrombie died a natural death. Then we look at *who* could have killed him. This is followed by an investigation into *why* he might have been killed, before the final revelation is in the manner of the murderer herself .....superb winter viewing for BBC ALBA delivered with characteristic excellence by a hand-picked Sorbier team.

#### **SOME ENVISAGED INTERVIEWEES:**

Donald John MacInnes, Chief Executive of Scotland Europa, based in Brussels. He was brought up on Scarp in the 50s and 60s – attending school in the original schoolhouse.

Angus Duncan; lives in Edinburgh and edited *Hebridean Island: Memories of Scarp*, written by his father.

Bill Lawson, genealogist

Dr Malcolm Nicholson, Director for The Centre for the History of Medicine at the University of Glasgow. He will throw light on John Abercrombie's Death Certificate and discuss the implications of the noted cause of death.

Dr Helen Corr, Department of Geography and Sociology at Strathclyde University. She has written extensively about Scottish women in employment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and will be able to look at what career options there were for

Annie Jane Murphy and what would have led her on the path to her employment on Scarp.

Kathryn Thondycraft, handwriting expert who will look at Abercrombie's log-book and note any patterns of change, and summarise her conclusions on the writing deterioration.

Dr David Barrie; has written extensively on crime and policing in Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Director: Paul Holmes

(Exec) Producers: Patsi Mackenzie & Diane MacLean

Cinematographer: Ian Dodds

A development option\* is also offered; please note in direct relation to our proposal for *A' Ghloinne*. Paul Holmes is the proposed director for that project and by engaging him simultaneously for the drama elements of this one, very attractive savings are possible and certain practical issues immediately overcome. Although entirely different in scope and genre, the respective locations and meticulous preparatory work already carried out, mean that both projects are very well advanced to date and that a certain amount of "doubling up" could be factored in. With £5k development made available to Sorbier across both pieces (for final scripts, genealogical research into the fate of Annie-Jane Murphy, recces and casting) then MG ALBA could eventually be in receipt of an hour long drama documentary plus a ten minute feature of international quality, for a price of circa £150, 000. **Both are embedded in the culture, yet with far wider reaching appeal.**

*Leasan 'sa Bhàis? (A Lesson In Death?)* is an original idea proposed to Sorbier by Diane MacLean, to whom it reverts in its entirety if declined.

LEASAN SA BHAIS/LESSON IN DEATH MG ALBA PROPOSAL

© D. Maclean / Sorbier MMX

## **Appendix 3** *Rèiteach* commissioning pitch

- **Programme Proposal: An Rèiteach**

**Prepared for:** MG ALBA Commissioning Round, June 2010  
**Prepared by:** Sorbier Productions  
**Dur:** 1 x 30' additional prog (produced by “Leasan sa Bhàs” team)  
**Genre:** Documentary / Factual / Core Gaelic audience appeal – submitted as time perishable – filming August 2010  
**Tx:** As specified by funder  
**Budget:** £17, 500

### BEACHD-SMUAIN / CREATIVE SUMMARY

**1952 ... agus tha banais uabhasach sònraichte a’ tachairt anns na h-Eileanan an Iar. Airson an uair mu dheireadh fhad’s a tha daoine fhathast a’ tàmh air Sgarp, tha càraid a’ pòsadh ann – ach, ‘s e seo a’ *cheud treap* a thachair rèiteach as an 20mh linn as a’ choimhearsnachd seo. Gu fortanach, tha comas aig fear as a sgìre a’ chùis a chlàradh air fiolm. A-nise, airson a’ cheud uair a-riamh, tha cothrom aig a h-uile duine am fiolm sin fhaicinn – *nam measg bean na bainnse i-fhèin, aig pòsadh a h-ògha, 58 bliadhna as a dheidh*. Clàraidh sinne mar a chì iadsan còmhla, agus cluinnidh sinn mar a thachair ann a 1952. Prògram làidir dha rìreabh ‘son na Gaidheil – sgeulachd bhòidheach agus cuimhneachain pearsanta, prìseil.**

The year is 1952, and Janet MacDonald is preparing for her big day. But her “rèiteach” and wedding are extremely unusual. The groom is a native of Scarp, and this will be the first wedding on the island in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But it will also be the *last* one, whilst the island is still inhabited. And now, for the first time ever, this exceptional day can be seen on film – in the company of Janet herself – who has never before actually seen it. A poignant and moving, pure form Gaelic programme capturing distinct moments in time – and a bonus piece in addition to our current production “*Leasan sa Bhàs*” which begins filming just as this proposal is being submitted.

## THE STORY

When Janet Macdonald married John Macdonald on Scarp in 1952, it was a cause for great celebration. Whilst other islanders had married, it had been many years since a bride had come from outwith the community. So a “rèiteach” was held – a traditional ceremony to welcome a new bride into the Scarp community’s midst.

The whole marriage was witnessed and recorded by Dugald Campbell, who was the Scarp school-teacher at the time. His writings ensure that an event that will never take place again, will never be forgotten. But Campbell did more than just take notes regarding what he saw; he arranged to have the Scarp ceremony *filmed*. When he left the island shortly afterwards, he took the film with him, and on his death it passed to his son Gillies. Since then, it has lain in an attic gathering dust. Until now. **Sorbier is presently having the film transferred; in the meantime we propose this entirely separate, added half hour from the team currently making “Leasan sa Bhàs.” It was during our pre-production that the film and the story came to light. We feel that they present a golden opportunity to secure a trophy archive piece for BBC ALBA, that will delight the core audience and beyond.**

And here’s why. In August 2010, Janet’s grand-daughter will marry in Harris. There, in a marquee on the beach, the recently recovered footage of the Scarp wedding will be shown to all the guests on DVD and Janet, now in her 90s will see the film of her own wedding for the very first time in her life.

This documentary will have at its heart the written and filmed record of an extraordinary and unique event. The old film, and the latest wedding, make the perfect foundation for a cheering, simply constructed piece in its own right. Interviews with some of the original Scarp wedding guests will bring to life this culturally significant day and Janet’s personal, oral testimony will be preserved forever.

Janet is the Aunt of Gaelic broadcaster Hugh Dan MacIannan, who is to be MC at the August wedding and has helped advance the idea to date. Janet lives in Harris, and has clear recall of her special day, and of having the “wedding tea” in Manish. There is only one photograph left in her possession however, and she is deeply excited at the prospect of seeing the film. Gillies Campbell, owner of the film, also remembers attending the wedding as a very young boy and will travel north this summer once again.

This is literally a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.

**Proposed with the same personnel as “Leasan sa Bhàs.”**

## **Appendix 4** *Leasan sa Bhàs* pre-shooting script

**THE LESSON**

**SCRIPT FIRST DRAFT**

**JUNE 2010**

### **OPENING DRAMATIC TEASER**

Graveyard. Feet. Digging. Minister's voice in Gaelic. Woman in red shoes come into frame and throw letters into grave.

### **OPENING IN VISION TEASER CLIPS**

#### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

The story I heard was that she came out of the house screaming: "The master is dead, the master is dead."

#### **DONALD JOHN MACLEOD**

His cousin told him that Abercrombie had committed suicide after marrying his "maid". But villagers talked about it and whispered that she'd poisoned him.

#### **DJ BRUSSELLS**

It's a story that has it all, drugs, death and who knows...

### **V/O SETTING UP STORY**

Scarp on the west coast of Harris is empty, the last residents leaving in the 1970s. When they packed up, it wasn't just their belongings that they carried over the Atlantic to their new homes, but memories. These tales, handed down through the generations told of heroic deeds, new worlds. And just sometimes, hinted at a darkness at the heart of this small community.

One such story is the tale of a 19<sup>th</sup> century school teacher John Abercrombie, and the sewing-mistress Annie Jane Murphy. It is a tale of addiction, isolation and death. Lurking behind it all might be a crime that was never punished, but which has not been forgotten by the ancestors of this small island.

### **WHAT THEY HEARD**

#### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

Well, most people had heard the story of John Abercrombie, but may different versions. He heard the story since he was a boy. Mr Abercrombie and his wife were not Harris people, she was supposed to have poisoned him and he is buried in Scarp.

#### **DJ BRUSSELLS**

.She murdered him. Story this old guy had was that as he was being buried she threw the letters into his open grave.

#### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

He had heard something sketchy, about the wife poisoning him.

But the story would have brought shame on the people of the island. They put a higher value on things, so there would have been a comment made, but people would not have talked about it round the fire. Certainly people he know wouldn't have wanted to talk about it, it would have been odious, and a bit of history best forgotten.

#### **KENNETH MACLENNAN**

My cousin used to say that something had happened with the other schoolteacher. He died and they blamed his wife, that she gave him something. If I ever heard it I have completely forgotten it.

## **V/O SETTING UP MEMORIES OF SCARP**

But whilst many never heard the story in the first place, and others have forgotten it, there are enough oral memories still today. But the story has never been truly investigated. Yet there are enough written records still available to attempt to find out what happened on Scarp in 1889 and how it all came about.

Scarp lies just half a mile off the west coast of the Isle of Harris. A small island, less than three miles wide, it is separated from the mainland by a narrow sound of water whose rough tides dictate whether the island can be reached by boat, or marooned in the stormy Atlantic Ocean. Uninhabited now, this island maintained life for hundreds of years and for the people living here this stretch of water was their lifeline. It brought supplies and people to and from the island.

This volcanic island, with its asbestos rock and ancient gneiss stones formed 2700 million years ago proved a fertile place with a rich soil for crops and the bountiful harvest from the sea. But life was never easy. The last villagers left the island in 1971 and much of the village is now in ruins. Secrets lie buried in the earth like the crumbled stones of the village houses.

## **MEMORIES OF SCARP**

### **DONALD JOHN MACLEOD**

Looked after by a grandmother, but spent every holiday on Scarp. Everything came around Scarp. They were still burning the wood that came ashore during the wars in 1951.

It is a fantastic place, the last parliament in Scotland before the Jam Factory in Edinburgh.

Communal approach, all the bodachs went to the parliament, in a ruin, all had their own stone, and they decided what to do that day. A representative from every household there. Once they'd decided they went back and the women prepared lunch for them to take out to wherever they had decided to go.

Grandmother illiterate didn't have knitting patterns, but said everything was based on a star. She's knit one in, then knit in another wee star.

### **KENNETH MACLENNAN**

He left Scarp in September 1967. Born on 20 June 1941 and 26 when he left. He went to the school there, and then to big school in Tarbert at 12 years old.

He remembers the coronation and gathering driftwood for the beacons.

### **DJ BRUSSELS**

Describes life on the island. What they used to do. What it was like in the 60s. What was so special about it.

### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

Norman says he's the oldest man around – at 86. His father left Scarp as a 3-year-old boy in 1886. Scarp was over-crowded at the time, but the land-lord allowed 10 families to set up crofts in previously evicted land. They were a lot better off because there was no land on Scarp. Initially there were 8 crofts, but the landlord (Dunmore? Check) divided them up by two so there are still 16 to this day. There was no means to carve out a livelihood. His grandfather was a joiner so had access to materials, so he built the first white house on Harris and he's still living in it today.

In 1882 there was a shop on Scarp, you could order stuff. The shop-owner disappeared, in 1884 and all they found was his cap.

### **CALUM MACKAY**

Family used to live in croft number 1 – the village had no end and no beginning – it was a run-rig system. Behind the missionhall, a white house. One gable end fell in – so most of it is gone now. Built by his grandfather in 1920. Lots of black houses were inhabited in the late 50s. He remembers being in one. Born in 1955, left in 57 when family moved to Crawader to the Gamekeeper's cottage beyond Huishinish. 250 deer. They stayed there 4 years but then went to Amninsuidhe family there until 1992.

### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

He knows what the place was like having lived there from the age of 0-9. Mother worked for Angus Duncan. Describes life there.

### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

Says the nearest comparison for Scarp is St Kilda. The kids stayed there until they were 12 and didn't see anything – except maybe go to Stornoway and Harris once. They had no visual sense, so when sailors returned to the island and tried to describe a pyramid..... They were in a self-contained bubble.

### **V/O SETTING UP JOHN ABERCROMBIE**

Self-contained bubble it may have been, but it even back in the 1880s it couldn't exist without outside help.

Alongside the traditional blackhouses were two more substantial structures. There was the missionhall, where the villagers heard services delivered by the missionary on Sundays and Wednesdays, and the schoolhouse, where John Abercrombie moved in on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1886.

At that time Scarp was a poor place, where too many people struggled to make a living from a land that was already over-worked.

The census of 1881 shows that in a village of 41 houses there were only 20 windows. Like other blackhouse villages in the Hebrides, disease was rife. Scarlet fever raged and eyesight was destroyed by the suffocating peat smoke that clogged the living quarters.

So just what had brought Abercrombie from the Central belt in Scotland, where he was born, to this exposed island? To find out we need to look at the records and trace his journey north.

We know that he was born on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1837 in the town of Polmont, Stirling. He was a twin, but his brother David did not survive long.

He learned his teaching craft here, at Moray House College, where his name can be still be seen in the register. Then the 1861 census finds him working as a teaching assistant in Lasswade, outside Edinburgh. We can follow him through the censuses travelling further north until he turns up in Scarp, unusually for that time, still unmarried at the age of 50.

### **JOHN ABERCROMBIE**

#### **BILL LAWSON**

General genealogy stuff tracing his birth, census etc.

1881 census shows him in Caol Stockinish, a thriving place at the time.

### **JOHN MURDO MORRISON**

Found this old police report – on a bonfire, burned. Interested in the story. Got Abercrombie's bookshelves here.

Look at the report. Shows Abercrombie as a merchant. What can that possibly mean?

### **BILL LAWSON**

And there he is in not a top job. A non-Gaelic speaker living on an island. He wouldn't have belonged to the community. He would have been an outsider and kept out.

### **V/O SETTING UP EDUCATION**

Abercrombie's journey to Scarp really began in 1872 with the passing of the Education Act, Scotland. The Act made schooling compulsory for all children between the ages of five and 13.

What it didn't do was protect or acknowledge the Gaelic language. As a consequence, children with no English were often taught by teachers, or Dominies as they were known, with no Gaelic whose job it was to drum into them the rudiments of maths, history, Latin and English.

After the Act, schools sprang up across the Highlands and Islands, often to the same design, and school boards were formed to appoint and monitor education.

Headteachers were required to keep a log-book where they recorded attendance, and any other matters that occurred. It is through the pages of the Scarp logbook that we can catch a glimpse of what life was like for John Abercrombie through the three years he taught there.

### **RECONSTRUCTION WITH LOG-BOOK**

Before Abercrombie came to the school-teacher was William Duncan, who had brought rigour to the island and instigated a strict regime.

### **EDUCATION**

#### **ANGUS DUNCAN**

Angus went into the background on his grandfather. His grandfather was the schoolteacher on Scarp both prior to and immediately after Abercrombie. Angus's father was born on Scarp and married a local woman. His grandfather was well-respected and a keen ornithologist/botanist. It is from his grandfather's time that the young men of Scarp became the well-educated lot that we see today! He 'opened Scarp up'.

He discussed the policy to try and outlaw Gaelic by sending English-speaking schoolteachers.

(He has various artifacts from other schools and can talk about what his grand-father's life was like.

He has some photos from the 1920's. His grandfather and grandmother retired to Primrose Cottage – the red corrugated roved place.)

#### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

His mother worked with Duncan in the schoolhouse. He married a local and was a man who did a lot for the island, an ornithologist who brought a wide remit into his teaching.

Duncan had a great understanding of the community.

#### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

There was one story told of a schoolmaster who came ashore and asked where the pub was...and then left the next day.

Most people spoke English and they were taught all kinds of stuff, including the 3rds, Latin, navigation and music.

Duncan was a real task-master. Abercrombie was more lax in his teaching. These were poor people who had no employment other than fishing and living off the croft.

### **CALUM MACKAY**

The school teacher's job was to convey what needed to be taught. The issue was getting them to school. After the education act of 1872 attendance became compulsory. You blew the whistle and rang the bell at 10am in the morning. Compulsory officers became truancy officers. You were answerable to the local board. Not sure that they could penalise. What penalty could you impose on those people?

At time the school teachers' income was largely through grants.

### **V/O SETTING UP SCHOOL LIFE**

The schoolhouse lies deserted now. The roof among the school-desks, and the plaster on the floor. In Abercrombie's day a peat fire would have kept out the worst of the cold and his living quarters would have seemed luxurious compared to those of the villagers.

It was a hard place, where life was tough and may well have been lonely for the English-speaking schoolmaster. Through his log-book we can glimpse his difficulties.

### **EXCERPT DIARY**

Jan 18<sup>th</sup> Despite the nearness of the school, difficult to secure early attendance.

April 12<sup>th</sup>. A good many absent today planting potatoes.

These problems were nothing new. Duncan had found it hard to ensure attendance. Even in the 1950s the school-teacher could not always guarantee a full-classroom

### **SCHOOL LIFE**

#### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

There were two schools operating on scarp, his dad's school – the brain drain, and the school on the shore, where children learned through play about the annual cycle of the island, mirroring what was going on around them. There was an enormous amount of flotsam and jetsam washed up on the Mol Mor. They also saw aircraft carriers going overhead. They used the flotsam to play and to absorb their culture.

They didn't play in the playground, but went to the shore to play. Girls in scarp used rounded stones as dolls; the boys used them as sheep. They all drew faces on them.

Used national dried milk tins, bent to make boats. His mother used to appear every day at 10.30 with national dried milk. There was a pool in Scarp with a stone that looked like a pier. They would catch cuddies and collect crabs

Photos show the interior of the schoolhouse – ruined though – but the cupboard where his mother used to produce chocolate on a Sunday.

There was no electricity, coal supplied for the school.

Kids taught in English, but his father spoke Gaelic in order to gain their confidence.

### **KENNETH MACLENNAN**

About the school, I wasn't paying too much attention, playing around in old games, football and cricket and the population was going down. The girls were coming to school in Tarbert and not coming back – going to college or the hotels. Same with the boys who were good at school, only the dunces left. Hard work gathering and stacking peats and pushing bags home in barrows and helping round up the cows and feed the sheep.

Used to play on the shore, but when he was younger. The teachers weren't staying too long. Campbell stayed for eight years, other wouldn't stay so long. The winters were hard sometimes. Sometimes you'd go 6 and 7 days without getting across.

### **V/O SETTING UP THAT THINGS WERE GETTING WORSE**

But whilst the teachers struggled against the demands of the land and sea, it is clear from reading Abercrombie's log-book that his problems went far beyond the taxing issue of attendance.

He is accused of beating a child with a rod – this in a time when corporal punishment was acceptable. His entries become vindictive, his exasperation evident.

Aug 23<sup>rd</sup>. Parents are getting excessively callous about the educational interests of their children.

Things seems to come to a head when he is summoned to the school board in Tarbert where a complaint from the parents is heard, although, perhaps predictably for the time, the outcome was that the parents were:

...cautioned to be more careful in the future about making complains.

But whilst he appears to be losing his grip on the school, records show that his isolation as the only non-Gaelic speaker was about to end.

### **V/O SETTING UP ANNIE**

Annie Jane Fraser was born in the summer of 1861 in Killin Perthshire. Her father was a farmer, her mother, Letitia, the daughter of a ship's surgeon. Her father died three months after her birth and so her mother took the baby and moved to Inch, Aberdeenshire to live with her maternal grandmother. Both her granny and her mother worked as teachers and were wealthy enough to employ a live-in servant.

In what was presumably a workplace romance, Letitia met and married the headteacher of the Inch School when Annie was 11. The 1881 census shows Annie now 20 living with her mother and her step-father Alexander Mackenzie. She is recorded as being a dressmaker.

We meet up with her next at 34 Bank Street where Annie Jane marries grocer's assistant Hugh Murphy. Days later she gives birth to a son, and two years after that has a daughter.

Yet the paperwork shows that something isn't quite right.

### **ANNIE**

#### **BILL LAWSON**

Contract marriage was declared in front of witnesses. Perfectly valid, but unusual. Her uncle was a Custom Officer – which meant that there was money coming in. That was a decent job at that time.

She has a child, marries someone who isn't the father. She's the informant on the child's birth certificate. So who's the father. Her mother and uncle probably paid Hugh Murphy to marry her.

Her first marriage was an irregular marriage, by declaration before witnesses, which was perfectly legal, but had you noticed that the witnesses were her mother and her uncle? Could one deduce a certain amount of pressure being applied? It is slightly weird that they both claimed afterwards to be single, yet it could hardly be a marriage in name only when they had Ruth two years later – if indeed Murphy was her father – I noticed that it was Annie Jane who signed the birth certificate – a perfectly normal procedure, but in these circumstances, it does make you wonder!

### **V/O MOVING HER LIFE FORWARD**

Work and life choices for women at this time were limited unless you were rich. For the less well-off, there was always the prospect of domestic service, or employment in one of the growing number of factories opening up across Britain.

Part of the curriculum introduced after the Education Act included the teaching of sewing and mending for girls. This would have been a not insignificant skill as there would have been little enough money for new clothes in most households. It would have been no great leap for Annie to move from being a dressmaker to a sewing teacher. It is likely too that she would have taught in her step-father's school.

Annie may have read of the job advert in one of the local newspapers like The Highland News. A post offering full-board may have tempted her. Or she might have wanted to get far away from Aberdeen.

Whatever her motivation, having decided to accept the position on Scarp she would have had a long journey to a world very different from her own.

### **ANNIE**

#### **BILL LAWSON**

Wouldn't have employed married woman coming up without their husband, so would have left the kids.

#### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

It is interesting to look into the history of the woman. Person like that, why would they come to Scarp. Outsider from the beginning.

She was from outside. Her mores and way of living would not have been that of the community.

#### **DONALD JOHN MACLEOD**

Why did a seamstress go to Scarp? She was his mistress – his mattress as the German's called the Gestapo's women.

### **V/O SETTING UP OPIUM**

Whatever drove Annie up to Scarp, the oral history would suggest that she failed to make a new start. It appears that rumours dogged here there.

### **OPIUM**

#### **DJ BRUSSELS**

Told the story from Angus MacLennan the evening of a drugs raid on Scarp (1960s need to find out more). Went next door to ask him what he thought about the drugs and his neighbour said: 'huh, drugs, nothing new on Scarp' then proceeded to tell him about the Schoolmaster.

She used to send a 14-year-old boy down to Glasgow to get her drugs from dealers. She got into debt and they started sending her letters of demand. So then they started writing to Abercrombie asking him to dock her wages. She intercepted these letters but realised that she had to get rid of him

### **V/O HISTORY OF OPIUM USE**

At first this seems highly unlikely. But it is not so far-fetched as it seems. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, opium, in the form of tinctures, was widely available in grocers, pharmacists or sold by travelling salesmen. It was the most widely used drug of the day.

It was rarely smoked and tended to be eaten raw, or as Laudanum, a tincture of raw opium with distilled water and alcohol. It was cheap and commonplace, costing around a penny for 30 grams. You could choose from a bottle of a "Pennyworth of Peace" or "Godfrey's Cordial". It was taken as a self-medicating panacea for all ills, but most often by the working classes for fatigue and depression.

Slowly, as the 19<sup>th</sup> century unfolded, the questions began to be asked about its physiological and psychological side-effects. Dr Thompson wrote in 1840 that it "acted as an aphrodisiac and subverted all morality".

If Annie Jane were taking opium, then it is more than likely that her mania would begin to be obvious to those around her.

### **DRAMATIC RECONSTRUCTION HIGHTENED COLOUR OF ISLAND**

#### **V/O WHERE COULD SHE HAVE GOT IT**

But just where could Annie Jane have got access to the drug? Although there was a shop in the village, it would not have kept drugs, even legal ones. But just because the island seems isolated to us today, it would not have been as cut off as it appears back in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when people travelled by sea easily and frequently between the isles and the mainland.

### **OPIUM**

#### **DONALD JOHN MACLEOD**

The rich used opium then. So he could have got it in Amhinnuidhe. Remember, Scarp men had sailed the seven seas, so not much they didn't know.

#### **BILL LAWSON**

Mentioned that the main source of income in the 1880s in Scarp was lobster fishing, so there was a ready-made transport link between the island and Glasgow.

Both Annie and Abercrombie – whenever they wanted to travel off the island to Tarbert would have gone via Amhuinnuidhe Castle. Seasonal.

staff there – so this might be the route for drink/drugs.

#### **DAVID CONNOR**

Opium at that time was not illegal, so if anyone was using it they would not necessarily have kept it a secret.

### **V/O SETTING UP INSPECTOR'S REPORT**

Schools were regularly visited by Inspectors who tested the children and wrote reports for the school board. These men travelled across Scotland, journeying to the most remote schools in order to ensure that standards were being maintained.

A good school report could make all the difference in the world to how comfortable your year was.

### **INSPECTOR'S REPORT**

#### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

Told story of school inspection "A deep depression coming in from Loch Maddy"

#### **V/O**

Not just in Campbell's years that school teachers were pre-warned.

Abercrombie too notes the imminent arrival of what should be an unannounced visit by the inspectors.

#### **ANGUS DUNCAN**

He talked about how Abercrombie was having difficulties with attendance, much more so than his grandfather. He knows from some of his grandfather's log-books that inspections were important. Schoolteachers could be given bonuses if they got a good report.

#### **CALUM MACKAY**

Can talk about what it would mean if the school-teacher lost their grant. How this process would have happened, and his reading of the log-book.

### **EXCERPT FROM THE LOG-BOOK**

1888 Aug 21<sup>st</sup> HM Inspector

This school has fallen off considerably since last inspection. Arithmetic exceedingly discredited. The infant class should be taught better and it is much to be regretted for the sake of the scholars that neither English, navigation, nor history, nor geography were progressed. The teacher complains of the state of the attendance. The managers should appoint a native pupil teacher. The manager has lost the special grant under article 19.

### **V/O SETTING UP DRINKING**

And it would appear that word of the poor inspection was rare enough, and catastrophic enough to be passed on to other teachers – perhaps as a reminder not to fail.

#### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

I heard a story of a school-master who was an alcoholic, and received a very poor Inspector's report. As he was duty-bound to do he glued it into the school log-book, but then next day glued up the pages together so no-one could see it.

### **EXCERPT FROM LOG-BOOK**

May 1<sup>st</sup> In transferring names of boys and girls to new register pages 3 and 4 were fastened and numbers 4,5,7,12, and 13 marked present in a mistake. The matter will be properly treated at the beginning of next quarter.

### **V/O DRINKING**

This excerpt does seem similar to the one told by Gillies' father. And if it is true that the log-book was stuck together, could there be any truth that the school-teacher in question was an alcoholic. Was Annie Jane not the only one seeking oblivion?

### **CALUM MACKAY**

Sometimes school teachers got sent to islands for their own good. Sent to isolated communities, dry ones, if they had alcohol problems. It potentially reduced the opportunities if you were sent to a dry island.

### **V/O LOG BOOK WRITING**

It becomes very apparent by studying the log-book that even although he was on a dry island, it seems unlikely that Abercrombie took the pledge.

### **DJ BRUSSELS**

DJ looked up the log-book and you can really see the writing deteriorate. His uncle became the pupil-teacher then at the age of just 16.

### **KATHRYN THORNYCROFT**

Writing is erratic. Indicates someone with on-going alcohol problems.

### **V/O HIS LIFE**

And it is little wonder that Abercrombie struggled with his new posting. He had come from a mainland with electricity, flushing lavatories – where the first computer had just been patented - to a place of almost unimaginable privation.

Like so many people in the Highlands and islands, the people of Scarp lived in Blackhouses. Dark dank places, where the animals lived in one end, the people in the other. By the end of winter, the manure was so deep that they villagers took down the gable wall in order to let the slurry out.

An 1892 report by the County Sanitary Inspector for Inverness, visiting crofters' houses at the time described the blackhouses:

### **Actor's voice reading out report as it is written.**

"...filthy...low rough constructions without chimneys or windows, interiors dark and grimy with smoke, the walls streaming with moisture, and the atmosphere heavy with the exhalations from the dung, which is only removed from the house once a year."

### **V/O JOURNEYS**

Once more, questions as to how Abercrombie got drink need to be asked. Could this explain the entry in the 1882 Police report of him as a merchant? Did he perhaps set up a shop in order to import drink without the community being aware that their school-teacher had a problem.

As ever with Scarp all roads point to one place. Amhuinsuidde Castle, the heart of the North Harris estate, and the entry and exit point for any journeys to and from Scarp.

### **JOURNEYS**

### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

There was no road between Scarp and Tarbert and no good anchorage for a boat on Scarp. In the estate Scott would send his boat twice a week to Tarbert to get messages.

In the 1820s all along the road from Tarbert to Huishinish was cleared. So nothing other than estate houses left.

### **DONALD MACLEOD**

No major anchor boats on Scarp, so they had to be pulled up every evening – a hell of a job. On the Atlantic, so could be flat calm in the evening, but 40 feet waves next day. Oars had to be a foot longer than normal ones, because they rowed the Atlantic.

### **KENNETH MACLENNAN**

Went lobster fishing with three other lads and was a proper crofter. Used to be on the ferry boat. An open boat all you could use there with an outboard motor.

### **V/O**

And it was at Amhiansuidde Castle that the fate of Abercrombie and Annie Jane was sealed.

### **V/O SETTING UP WEDDING**

According to the islanders' oral history these two damaged individuals, alone in the school-house and presumably miserable were about to confirm the old adage that misery likes nothing better than company.

### **BILL LAWSON**

Only two ministers in North Harris, one Free Church, the other Church of Scotland. – so either you wait for the rare Minister visit to get married on the island, or you go to him. At that time there was a road to Amhinnsuidhe, so the Minister could get there.

Abercrombie must have been a fussy type not to have married before.

### **V/O SETTING UP OTHER WEDDING**

Weddings on the island were always important. And rare. William Duncan, the school master before Abercrombie had married a local, and bringing new people into the island was hugely important then and throughout the time of the island's inhabitation.

### **WEDDING**

#### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

There were about 80 people on the island when his family arrived, 60 when they left. Janet's wedding was the first in 50 years. Most men who got married tended to leave the island. There were 13 children in the school (great photograph).

But things were not as they seemed. A closer look at the wedding certificate gives us the first clue that something was very wrong in the life of the new Annie Jane Abercrombie.

### **V/O BUT SOMETHING WRONG**

Her parent's surname, like hers, is given as Murphy when it should have read Fraser. She is listed as a spinster. But she was not. Her wedding certificate is a lie.

### **BILL LAWSON**

Reveals death certificate of first husband, which shows that she married Abercrombie bigamously. It is strange that she used her married name on the marriage certificate, yet still claimed to be single. So she was a bigamist.

#### **V/O WHAT HAPPENED NEXT**

And things continue downhill after that.

#### **WHAT HAPPENED NEXT**

##### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

He was found dead on the hearth and that the police came, or the doctor. Not sure whether it was true or not, but he went to the school once and someone pointed out the exact place where Abercrombie had died.

#### **V/O DEATH CERTIFICATE**

In black and white, Narcotic poisoning. And it doesn't seem to be accidental either. All fingers point to Annie Jane as the reason.

##### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

If there was a relationship between the schoolmaster and her over the year before they got married, that would have raised eyebrows. As soon as anything happened at the school – like him having stomach pains – then the islanders may well have put two and two together and made five.

Narcotic poisoning has to be a supposition – to be so specific. Where would you get poison on Scarp other than from matches? Not easy to find anything poisonous on Scarp.

##### **DAVID CONNOR**

Narcotic poisoning: the only person who could have come up with this would have been the Dr. He would have read papers in the Lancet possibly that described narcotic poisoning. He may even have taken samples. 1880 seems like a long time ago, but even compared to the 1850s police work had improved hugely. There were telegrams etc.

In my experience, sudden deaths (where a doctor is not prepared to issue a Death Certificate) are usually reported by the Doctor to the Procurator Fiscal, who in turn notifies the police. Pronouncing life extinct is one thing, but certifying death (i.e. giving the cause of death) is something completely different.

#### **V/O MATCHES**

What is known is that Abercrombie visited the doctor in Tarbert complaining of severe stomach pains. Could this be proof that he was indeed being poisoned?

##### **NORMAN MACLENNAN**

These stories are often exaggerated to suit the occasion. There was lots of handing down of stories, and people used to spin stories to frighten people. They said the wife murdered him by feeding him some poison. Where would she have got poison on Scarp?

##### **DJ BRUSSELLS**

I was told that she murdered him by scraping off the tops of matches.

#### **V/O**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, matches were a fairly common household item. Their invention proved both popular and enormously helpful. But there was one problem. These matches were made using white phosphorus – and each pack contained enough phosphorus to kill a person. Many of the people involved in their manufacture fell ill with “phossy jaw” a debilitated bone disorder that could be fatal.

### **V/O POLICE PROCEDURE**

Policing in the Highland and Islands in the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not nearly as amateur as we might expect. A policeman had to do his rounds of the island, by bicycle, all year, ensuring that he called in to each village at least once. .

### **POLICE PROCEDURE**

#### **DAVID CONNOR**

There would definitely have been an investigation. Narcotic poisoning is a hell of a thing to put on a death certificate. If the Dr had any uncertainty, any doubt he wouldn't have put his name to it. So that's why an enquiry must have been made. It also suggests that some sort of medical research was done.

Described procedure from the time. The procurator Fiscal would have had to be told of a sudden death, where the Dr was not prepared to submit a cause of death. This would then have necessitated a policeman going out to investigate.

The policeman would have made enquires – he'd have gone there in uniform.

The standard police procedure would be for the body to be kept there – and for things not to be touched or to move evidence.

Alexander Mchardy, the Chief Constable of Highlands was very astute. Not the dark ages, quite a sophisticated police force.

The fact that it was reported to A Chisholm (Procurator Fiscal of Lochmaddy) means it has been reported. He had quite considerable power and he would have decided what the cause of death was.

The officer on Harris at that time, stationed at Tarbert. Constable Donald MacKenzie had joined (aged 23) on 1st May 1878,. PC MacKenzie, a native of Lochs, Lewis, was promoted to Merit class Constable in February 1889 and he remained at Tarbert until 1892.

Scarp, and Harris in general, would have come under the jurisdiction of the Lochmaddy Sheriff court, and thus of the Procurator Fiscal at Lochmaddy. He would liaise closely with the (then) Divisional Police Inspector at Lochmaddy. Police Divisions and their Headquarters in the Highlands tended to match the locations of Sheriff Courts (e.g. Portree, Fort William, Inverness, and of course Tain, Dingwall, Stornoway in Ross-shire).

### **V/O POLICE RECORD**

Although all records from this time have been lost, John Murdo's records from 1882 show another investigation on Scarp, by the same policeman that would have investigated this crime.

#### **EXCERPT Scarp Police Report – 1884**

June 17<sup>th</sup> Tuesday. At 9am called at the Post Office. Sent a telegram to Insp Mackenzie, Lochmaddy about case of Malcolm Macdonald, mysterious death and patrolled about the village thereafter left station at 3pm and proceeded by West Tarbert and Amnhimsuide road to Scarp. Detained waiting the ferry at Huishinish over night. Travelled 20 miles, on duty 15 hours.

June 18<sup>th</sup> At 4am left Huishinish.

### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

There would have been no analysis of specimens from the toxicology aspect. So on the evidential side the stomach and blood specimens would not have been investigated.

At that time the policeman was a member of the community, very much acting like today's community police man. So they were there to help more than enforce the law. There were there to be called upon when something out of the ordinary happened and act on their suspicions. They Procurator Fiscal would have had to have been told as they were the prosecuting arm of the law. So they would have had to have sent a report to them.

If I was a wagering man I'd bet that the policeman would go on what he was told. He would just report what people told him and duty bound to report the matter. But there is a lot of supposition.

Police didn't have the power to prosecute.

### **V/O ORAL HISTORY**

At the heart of this story is the tale passed down through generations of Scarp Islanders. But in a community of story-tellers, used to immortalising battles and making giants of heroes, just how much credence should be placed on their telling?

### **ORAL HISTORY**

#### **CALUM MACKAY**

As with many stories of that type they tend to change a lot. Even ordinary stories acquire spin and back in the day... This man who met his death theories and versions abound. Actual detail not written down.

#### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

The handing down of the murder story was quite typical of the times. People passed things on in a whispered way. They kept things hidden.

Very suspicious of these stories, they tend to gather moss.

#### **DJ BRUSSELS**

Angus MacleNNan was not the sort of bloke to make it up, he was a factual character. But how much was embellished over time?

Most people on Scarp don't know this story, he's asked around when he was in his twenties.

### **V/O LEAVING/THE END**

With only oral history and some records to go on, we can never know for sure what happened. But it does seem certain that something was going on.

#### **DAVID CONNOR**

If it is narcotic poisoning it begs the question:  
Who by? Suicide/Accidental/Murder

If it was suicide then that was a crime at the time.

If it was accidental then that would have had serious implications for the rest of the island/world

If it was a deliberate crime.....

### **FINLAY MACLENNAN**

He's been dealing with facts all his life, not supposition, but this is just that The aspect about it really is that this is an insular island, with a strength of comradeship, companionship, fellowship. You would have wanted to live in accordance to the standards of these islanders and they wouldn't want to entertain standards that were not those of their community.

The whole thing does tend to give support for something going on.

He's not condemning any small insular type of place. There's been a lot said about the relationship of these two people. Their behaviour and conduct would have been different. The school was in decline. He wasn't doing his job as he should Would she really have poisoned him over a long period with the heads of matches? In his experience most prisoners do it once, quickly, to avoid added risk of being caught at it.

### **V/O LEAVINGS**

With her husband dead, and the murmured suspicions of the villagers, Annie left the island soon after.

She appears next in the 1891 census once more staying with her mother in Portree, Skye. There are no servants now. Both seem to have lost what little money and status they had. They are not alone in the house. Annie's two children, Hugh and Ruth, now aged eight and six have been reunited with their mother.

After that the trail goes cold. Letitia Mackenzie, her mother, dies a pauper in a Harris poor-house. But Annie Jane and her children disappear, as her two husbands did before her

### **BILL LAWSON**

Letitia died at Borrisdale in Harris, but at that time there were no houses there other than a fairly ruinous building sometimes used as a poorhouse. Why Letitia would have been there I have no idea. I shall ask around, but am not too hopeful. I suppose the fact that she died there need not mean that she lived there for any length of time. I certainly cannot connect her with Harris in any other way.

### **V/O END OF THE ISLAND TOO**

Not just Annie Jane. The island too empties, and like the ghosts of the school-teacher and his wife, their past haunts the island.

### **DJ BRUSSELS**

Talk about leaving his house and wanting it to go back to the earth.

### **KENNETH MACLENNAN**

His mother died and so his father came across with me. The move was heartbreaking. Dad over 70 and they packed their belongings into a boat and left. Tall, thin fisherman. He couldn't manage to leave. But everyone knew they couldn't carry on unless there was a bridge.

Not far, but it was a very, very different world.

### **GILLIES CAMPBELL**

These people on Scarp (has photos of them all, coronation day, school, in boats) were the last and lost generation. They lost that heritage – mostly from being successful and moving away from the island.

V/O ABERCROMBIE

And what of John Abercrombie? Villagers say that he is buried on Scarp, in an unnamed grave. Placed here, in a land where he never spoke the language, and met an agonising death, he lies. With him lies the secret of his life and death on Scarp.

And Annie? She seems to have disappeared.

**BILL LAWSON**

I have looked for Annie Jane, Hugh and Ruth in records in Britain, Canada and USA without success so far. Given her record, she may have married yet again? – so we may be looking under the wrong surname.

Possibly she went to America. Perhaps like so many she sought a new life in a new country where she could hope to bury the secret and perhaps her guilt.

Had you noticed that her father died a year after his marriage, her first husband got ditched very quickly and her second husband also died a year after their marriage? Not a family to marry into lightly!

**V/O LAST PLACE SHE WAS SEEN**

Very fabulous last v/o with shots from Portree.

## **Appendix 5** *Leasan sa Bhàs* edit script

**Leasan sa Bhàs or The Hungry Ghost**

**Script @ 25/07 - matching latest DVD copy . Highlit comments, reflect FURTHER suggested amendments**

TIMECODE	V/O or CONTRIBUTOR?	NARRATIVE	VISUALS and ANY MUSIC / NOTES
00:00"	NONE	NONE - start of pre-title sequence	Boat and rigging - seascapes and boat sailing Music led by cello
			DRAMA Pull out from Abercrombie's hand - JA dead in chair
	NORMAN	<b>Bhàsaich e gu h-aithghearr agus thainig i fhèin a-mach agus bha i 'g èigheach "the master is dead, the master is dead"</b>  <i>He died suddenly - and she herself ran outside shouting 'the master is dead, the master is dead.'</i>	
		.	drama continues under Norman - we see Annie Jane stand up having looked at JA's corpse
	NORMAN	<b>O tha mi ga chreidsinn ceart gu leòr, tha. Cha b'e bhreugan a bh'ann.</b>  <i>"Oh, I believe it... without doubt, Oh I do indeed. those were not lies."</i>	Sync
	DOMHNALL IAIN	<b>Gun do phuinnsinnaich i è le maidsaichean, cinn mhaidsaichean.</b> That she poisoned him with matches, the ends of matches.	Sync <b>+ very brief drama shots</b>
	FRANCINE	It was a woman standing in the doorway, the growing darkness.	sync
	DOMHNALL IAIN (underlay)	<b>Thilg am boireannach a bha còmhla ris gun do thilg i litrichean a bha i faighinn bho na opium dealers a bh'aice ann an Glaschu</b> The way I heard it, she threw the letters on top of the grave,...before the grave was filled.... letters she had been getting from the opium dealers she had in Glasgow.	EXT. GRAVEYARD - DRAMA - DAY We see ANNIE tearing up letters and throwing them into a grave-sized hole.
01:50"	FINLAY	<b>Dè seòrsa puinnsean a bh'ann? Dè chinnt' a th'ann gur e narcotic poisoning a bh' ann?</b> What type of poison? How can we be sure it was narcotic poisoning?	sync
02:04"	FRANCINE	I knew that it was not a fleshly person ....	<b>spins out slightly</b>
		KEEP SOME OF THIS	sync – + needs music to run all way
<b>03:26"</b>	Finlay	<b>Chan eil teagamh sam bith —gu robh rudeigin ceàrr, am broinn an taighe agus a-mach as an taighe, as a sgoil.</b>	

		<del>There is no doubt</del> <del>---(as you say)</del> that there was something far wrong, in the home, and in the school house.	
		<b>TITLE SLIDE</b> <b>Death in the Schoolhouse</b>	
01:59"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Scarp. Eilean beag far taobh an iar na Hearadh ann an Innse Gall. Àite fad às ach àite torach seasmhach. Faodaidh atharrachadh tighinn air a' chruth-tìre gu luath ge-tà oir 's e an t-side a tha riaghladh chùisean an seo, 's ged a tha e toirt ùine faighinn ann chan eil mòran cothrom air fhàgail ma thionndaidheas i. Tha sprùilleach bho cho fad às ris a' Charibbean agus bho ioma ceàrnaidh eile a' tighinn air tìr ann agus aon latha ann an **** 's ann an seo a thàinig fear John Abercrombie, aois 56, 's a bheatha fhèin na sprùilleach, air tìr. Tha eachdraidh fhada aig an eilean ach bha na 3 bliadhna a chuir Abercrombie seachad ann nas iomraitiche nan còrr. Tha e air a thiodhlacadh air an eilean 's ged is ann ainneamh a bhruidhneas neach air chan eil e air a dhol a diochuimhn'. 'S ann anmoch san 19mh linn deug anns a' choimhearsnachd dhlùth sa a thàinig an sgeulachd annasach seo am follais. Sgeulachd fear is tè le beatha an-fhoiseil a thug iad fad is farsaing air feadh Alba gus an do thriall iad an seo gu oir na dùthcha. 'S e sgeulachd murt a th' ann ach sgeulachd an eilein cuideachd agus sgeulachd nan ginealach mu dheireadh de Scarpaich a chùm an stòiridh beò bhon uair sin. Tha sinn a' siubhal air ais gu àite air nach tàinig mòran atharrachadh, far an toir na sgeulachdan dhuinn sealladh sònraichte air a' bheatha bh' ann.</b></p> <p>Scarp. An island off Harris in the Outer Hebrides. Forbidding. But fertile and sustaining. Changes faces, quickly. A long way to get there, little chance of leaving. Mol Mòr. Washes up detritus from Caribbean and further away. One day in DATE the sea delivered John Abercrombie, aged 56, washed up himself. Only there for three years in a continued history of hundreds, but three years that rocked the island. Rarely talked about, buried, but never forgotten</p> <p>In the late 19th century a bizarre story unfolded in the close knit, almost overcrowded island community on Scarp; a story of human flotsam, of a man and a woman whose restless lives took them all over Scotland, and finally ended here, in this place on the western extremes of the British Isles. A murder story. This is their</p>	<p>GVs - Mol Mòr / shoreline etc –</p> <p>+ drama shots of JA walking on beach</p> <p>further beach-y GV's</p> <p>JA's feet on sand</p> <p>GVs</p>

		story, but it is also the story of the island, and the last generation of Scarpaich whose oral history tradition has kept this story alive for more than a century. Back in time to a place little changed. Where their stories can shed light on the past.	
03:07"	FINLAY	<b>Chuala mi rudeigin mu dheidhinn, ma 's e sin am fear thathas ag ràdh a chaidh a mhurt, ach 's e glè bheag a chuala mise mu dheidhinn.....cha robh iad a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn.</b>  <i>I did hear tell of him, if that's the fellow they say was murdered, but I heard very little really - they didn't speak of it as such.</i>	
03:16"	NORMAN	<b>Bha mi ann o chionn dhà neo trì bliadhnaichean is bha 'n fhear a bha còmhla rium bha e 'g ràdh, gun d' fhuair a chorp marbh air beulaibh an teine, an àite teine.</b>  <i>I was last there two or three years ago and the man who was with me, he was saying that his dead body was found in front of the fire, the fireplace.</i>	
			<b>JA smoking at doorway</b>
03:36"	FRANCINE (starts under drama)	Logically, or intellectually or even historically I think there is room enough to believe that a man's life ended sooner than it might have and that there was a residue of suspicion about someone else he was involved with.	
			drama - JA dead - close on open eyes
04:05"	VOICE-OVER	<b>Chan e John Abercrombie an aon fhear a thàinig air tìr an seo ge-tà. Goidid às a dhèidh thàinig boireannach 's ged nach abrar a h-ainm tha i air a cuimhneachadh mar a' bhana-mhaighstir fuaigheil le cleachdadh marbhtach is rùn a' mhurtair. Tha na thachair às dèidh sin falaichte ann an dìomhaireachd ach beò fhathast ann an cuimhne iadsan a bhuineas dhan eilean agus an sliochd.</b>  But it was not just John Abercrombie who was washed up on Scarp. He was joined later by a woman whose name was never spoken aloud, remembered only as the sewing mistress with a deadly habit and murderous intent.	drama  GVs
04:26"	DOMHNALL IAIN	<b>'S e nàbaidh a bh'againn ann a shin, 's e dh'innis a sgeulachd dhomh. Tha mi creidse bha mise mu fichead bliadhna dh' aois aig an àm nuair a chuala mi a' sgeulachd, cha robh mi air a' cluinntinn ron a' sin idir agus sin a chur beagan de dh' iongnadh orm ach 's e duine toinisgeil a bh' ann nuair a dh' innis e a' sgeulachd dhomh bha e gu math</b>	

		<p>furasta a chreidsinn, chaidh e fhèin a bhreith ann a sheo dìreach dhà no trì bhliadhnaichean an dèidh an sgeul, a' rud a thachair, agus dh' innis e dhomh an sgeulachd mu dheidhinn, mu dheidhinn an tidsear a bh' ann aig an àm sin, Abercrombie, agus am boireannach a bha a' fuireach còmhla ris,</p> <p><i>It was just our neighbour next door there, it was him who told me about this story. I believe I was about twenty years old when I heard the story, I had not heard it before then at all and that's what slightly surprised me, but he was a sensible man when he told me the story, it was easy to believe him... he was born just a few years after it happened and he told me about Abercrombie and the woman who lived with him.</i></p>	
			drama of them on beach to bridge this
05:06"	NORMAN	<p>Bhiodh seanachasan a' dol air siud 's air seo a mharbh e, tha cuimhne 'm aon chaileach is a biadh agus dha na balaich is cha robh e uabhasach toilichte ris, thuirt e, 'oh a mhàthair, seo rud a mharbh Cromach',</p> <p><i>There were old tales going around here and there about what killed him, I remember one old woman giving food to the boys and one lad, he wasn't very taken with the meal and he said " oh mother, this is what killed the Cromach,/ the Cromie"</i></p>	
05:22"	DOMHNALL IAIN contd/	<p>Agus gur e cleachdadh air choireigin a bh' aice mu dheidhinn opium a bh' ann agus gur e adhbhar ceangailte ris a' sin a bh' ann....</p> <p><i>that she poisoned him and that it was some kind of habit she had to do with opium, and the reason had some connection with that.</i></p>	
05:56"	VOICE-OVER	<p>Sgeulachd a bh' air chall ach a bh' air a toirt air ais thugainn an-dràsta 's a-rithist tro bheul-aithris. Sgeulachd nàr a chaidh a cumail am falach ach a bha beò anns gach tobhta, gach cuimhneachan is gach taibhs. Ach an e murt dha-rìreabh a bh' ann? Agus an urrainn dhuinn gu bràth an fhirinn a lorg? Beag air bheag bho iomraidhean eachdraidh, fiosrachadh tasglann, is cuimhneachan nan daoine tha a sgeulachd a' tighinn beò a-rithist (bho dhorchadas na 19mh linn deug).</p> <p><i>A story lost for decades. Remembered fleetingly by oral history telling. Ashamed, buried, but there in the stones, the memories</i></p>	<p>GVs SCARP - pretties / abandoned tractor etc</p> <p>sea / boat</p> <p>The bodaich on the boat .....this upsound will work fine; clean in brief and/or teased in and out of the V/O - it adds a lot</p>

		<p><i>and the ghosts. But was it actually murder? And can we every find out the truth? Through drips of history, the place, the people's memories, and written archives, the story begins to emerge from the darkness of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.....</i></p>	
06:52"	DOMHNALL IAIN	<p><b>'O chionn fhada bhiodh iad math air sgeulachdan innse, bhiodh iad a' dol, tha mi a' creidsinn, do dhà no trì thaighean cèilidh anns an àite agus 's ioma oidhche sin bhiodh iad a' dèanamh, ag innse naidheachdan agus sgeulachdan dha chèile agus tha mi a' creidsinn teaghlaich na daoine sin, bhiodh a chuimhne sin aca fhathast agus grunn dhen a chaidh a bhreith air an eilean tha seo tha iad math air sgeulachdan innse.</b></p> <p><i>Long ago they would have been good at telling stories, they would go I believe to two or three ceilidh houses in the place, and many a night they did that, telling each other news and stories and I suppose those people's families, they would still have that memory and many who were born on this island excel at telling stories.</i></p>	
	<b>upsound and / or supplementary line of V/O</b> ????		<b>bodaich on the boat - ditto</b>
07:38"	NORMAN	<p><b>An aon dòigh air a robh cuimhneachadh air 's ann tro seanachas so tha tòrr dheth air a dhol air chall</b></p> <p><i>The only way to remember it is by story- telling. So a lot of it has been lost.</i></p>	<b>sync leads to GVs</b>
			<b>GVs &amp; shot of JA and AJM</b>
05:59"	DOMHNALL IAIN	<p><b>Mach air an uinneag ann a sheo chì thu air mo chùlaibh beanntan Uig ann an Leòdhas ....</b></p> <p><b>Seo an taigh far an deach mo bhreith agus mo thogail. Aig an àm sin cha robh e buileach cho fosgailte sa tha e an-diugh ach chaidh a thogail an toiseach ann an 1882 ....</b></p> <p><b>Bhiodh m'athair ag ràdh an còmhnaidh, seo agad an sealladh is fheàrr a th'agad ann an Alba.</b></p> <p><b>Chaidh mo dhà sheanair a bhreith ann a sheo agus 's è mairseanta a bh'as a dàrna fear aca agus 's e "Rìgh a Sgarp" a bh'aca air – "Tormod 'an Doinn"</b></p> <p><b>Bùth aige as am meadhan an taigh againn</b></p>	

		<p><b>bha bhùth aige, 's bhiodh e reic iasg agus gach nì eile dha na teaghlaichean agus dha na bailtean eile bh'as a Sgarp cuideachd.</b></p> <p><i>Out of the window there you can see behind me the Uig mountains in Lewis.</i></p> <p><i>This is the house where I was born and brought up, at that time it wasn't quite so open as it is today but it was first built in 1882.</i></p> <p><i>My father always said that it's here, here you have the best view in Scotland.</i></p> <p><i>Both my grandfathers were born here and one of them was a merchant and they called him the "King of Scarp".... (GIVES PATRONYMIC NAME – "Tormod 'an Doinn" ?? CAN WE CHECK??)</i></p> <p><i>in the middle of his house he had a shop, and he sold fish and everything else too, to the families in Scarp and to the other villages round here.</i></p>	
08:44"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>An-diugh tha an t-eilean air a chòmhdach le dìtheanan, làn ainmhidhean agus tha e na dhachaigh do chaoraich croitearan na Hearadh. Bha crìonadh an t-sluaigh a' ciallachadh gum b' fheudar dha na daoine mu dheireadh an t-eilean fhàgail ann an 1971, ach anns an 19mh linn deug bha baile beòthail an seo air a dhìon bho ghèiltean na h-àird an iar ann am fasgadh Beinn *****. Bha beatha chruaidh aig a' chòrr is 200 neach a bha a' fuireach sa bhaile is iad an urra gu mòr ri beartas a' chuain.</b></p> <p><i>The island is now home to a rich native flora and fauna, and flocks of sheep belonging to the local crofters. A declining population forced the inhabitants to abandon Scarp in 1971, but in the late 19th century, a thriving village lay in the lee of the [hill name], sheltered from the vicious westerlies coming in from the Atlantic. With more than 200 souls, the village stretched the island's meagre resources to the limit. Hard life, riches from sea supplementing poverty of the soil.</i></p>	<b>GVs</b>
		<b>ADDITIONAL BRIEF LINE OF V/O RE THE STORY?</b>	<b>Drama of them eating</b>
09:28"	<b>DOMHNALL IAIN</b>	<p><b>Anns an naoieamh linn deug 's e am muir air a robh a h-uile duine siubhal, cha robh raitheadan ann an uairsin mar a tha fios aig a h-uile duine. Bha Sgarp an uairson feumail, agus bha tòrr a' fuireachd ann – timchioll air dà cheud gu leth duine</b></p>	<b>DI sitting on the boat</b>

		<p><b>fuireachd ann aig an àm sin.</b>  <i>Scarp then was a place of real value and many people lived there ..... there were about two hundred and fifty living there at that time.</i></p>	
09:43"	FINLAY	<p><b>Na cuimhneachain a th'agamsa air a Sgarp se àite gu math sona bh'ann agus àite bha math airson clann fhad 's a bha iad a' fàs suas.</b>  <i>My memories of Scarp are such it was a terribly contented place, and a good place for children growing up.</i></p>	
			<b>Abercrombie on the beach - music / tonal change</b>
10:02"	FINLAY	<p><b>Bha caoraich, bha crodh ann agus bha iasgach ri dhèanamh. Agus bha iad a' cuir bhuntàta agus sìol, airbhear agus eòrna agus ma bha iad airson tobhar airson an t-sìol sin dh' fheumadh iad a dhol a-mach a bhuan feamad agus an fheamad, an fheamainn a thoirt suas gun a feannagan far an robh iad a' cuir rudan den t-seòrsa sin.</b>  <i>There were sheep, cattle and fishing. And potatoes were planted, as was seed, hay and barley and if they required fertiliser for the crops they had to go and fetch seaweed and to haul the seaweed up to the ground where they planted those kinds of things...</i></p>	GVs
			boat sailing round the sound
10:29"	FINLAY	<p><b>A bharrachd air a' sin...a thaobh airgead a dhèanamh, bha a chuid bu mhotha aca, bha iad a' dol a-sàs ann an giomaich, ag iasgach ghiomach agus bhiodh ceithir dhaoine anns an eathar ag iasgach airson an giomach. Ge bith dè bha iad a' dèanamh, dh' fheumadh iad a bhith an ceann a chèile.</b>  <i>Apart from that, to make money, most of them were involved with lobster fishing and there were four to a boat, catching lobster. Whatever they did they had to do it together.</i></p>	GVs
10:45"	NORMAN	<p><b>Cha robh e furasda a bhith beò air Sgarp. Bha e, cha b' e àite math airson eithearaichean a bh' ann – cha robh acarsaid ann is dh' fheumadh iad na h-eithearaichean a tharraing suas a h-uile oidhche is bha mòine duilich dhaibh, bhiodh iad taobh a-muigh an eilean, is mu dheireadh bha tòrr aca ga buan air tìr mòr mu choinneamh Sgarp air tìr mòr na Hearadh</b>  <i>It wasn't easy to live on Scarp. It was, it was not a good place for small fishing boats there was no anchorage... they had to drag the boats up the shore every night. And working the peats was tough so that eventually many of them cut them on the mainland.</i></p>	

	VOICE-OVER GILLIES INTRO?	One man who remembers this is the artist Gillies Campbell. His father taught in the schoolhouse in the 1950s. Memories as fresh today as then, etc etc	<b>Worth inserting one or two of his images around here?? LET'S DECIDE WHAT WE ARE DOING WITH THESE ....</b>
11:24"	GILLIES	<i>I suppose there are other islands around the Hebrides that have been very similar in the structure of their communities. Taransay comes to mind, as does Mingulay I think..." and of course there is the inevitable St Kilda further out on the horizon here, which we can obviously see from Scarp on any decent day if one was out at the back of the island.</i>	
			<b>GVs breather</b>
	GILLIES	<i>A community that was probably defined in a sense by the parameters of the island and it was quite unique in that we could be isolated for several weeks at a time in winter time because of the sound out here, which is a very stormy piece of water.</i>	
	<b>VOICE-OVER ONLY, FOR THESE SEQUENCE S - DI was repetitive when carrying it on his own but can be paraphrased in part if req'd in V/O</b>		<b>GVs and upbeat music - Di on boat</b>
			<b>GVs cont/ cut in with JA on the windswept beach – AND AJ</b>
13:18"	<b>NORMAN - this line needs extending slightly back the way - too heavily tweaked</b>	<b>‘S e Cromie am far-ainm a bha e ‘g ràdh air Abercrombie, bha h-uile duine le far-ainm orra. S e Cromie a bh’ air, a bh’ aca air.</b> <i>Everyone had a nickname. And so his was "Cromie", they called the old fellow Cromie.</i>	<b>part sync</b>
10:33"	VOICE-OVER	<b>Rugadh John Abercrombie agus a chàraid do John agus Ealasaid Abercrombie ann am Polmont ann an Siorrachd Shruighlea ann an 1832. Tha John Abercrombie aois 29 a’ nochdadh anns a’ chunntas-sluaigh ann an 1861 agus e ag obair mar neach-cuideachaidh clas ann an Lasswade, ann am Meadhan Lodainn.</b> <i>John Abercrombie and his twin brother were born in 1832 in Polmont, Stirlingshire, to John and Elizabeth Abercrombie [occupations?</i>	<b>GVs JA's home</b>

		<i>Chemical/mineral GVs etc] At the age of 29, Abercrombie appears in the 1861 census, working as a teacher's assistant in Lasswade, Midlothian.</i>	
14:14"	NORMAN	<b>A' chiad sgoil a thàinig dhan Sgarp, 's e 'Gaelic School Society' a bh' ann. Bha sin bliadhnaichean bhiodh iad a tighinn ann dhà neo trì bhladinaichean is dheidheadh iad dhà neo trì bliadhnaichean gun duine idir ann. Agus passaig iad acht an fhoghlaim ann an 1876 chaidh taighe sgoile a thogail ann an Sgarp an uairsin.</b> <i>The first schooling that came to Scarp, it was the Gaelic School Society. That was years they used to come for two, or three years and they would go two or three years without anyone at all there, and they passed the Education Act in 1876 and a schoolhouse was built on Scarp then.</i>	sync leads to drama - slates being set out
14:37"	FINLAY	<b>Bha foghlam uabhasach cudromach dha na h-eileanaich, gu h-àraid anns a' Scarp agus tha mi smaoineachadh, mar eisimpleir dheth, 's è, bha grunn d a dh' fhàg a' Scarp agus a chaidh a-steach airson foghlam; anns a mhinistreachd, teagaisg agus ann an dreuchdan eile agus a' rinn glè mhath dhaibh fhèin.</b> <i>Education was terribly important to the islanders, especially in Scarp and I think as an example of that, many who left Scarp and took out further education such as for the ministry, teaching and other professions and who did extremely well for themselves.</i>	
	<b>Can be dipped for V/O if required</b>		<b>Abercrombie teaching Latin</b>
			<b>Short GV interlude - Polmont to Scarp</b>
	<b>VOICE-OVER TBC - &amp; ALSO TO SET UP GILLIES'S NEXT SENTIMENT ..?</b>	<b>Importance of Schoolteacher – one man holding the education of children in his hands. Power for good or ill. Abercrombie, after training in probably Edinburgh taught at blah, and blah, follow through the census never marrying and often on the move."for whatever reason" etc Then in XXXX we find him close now to where his life will change .....</b>	
16:56"	GILLIES	I believe that in a sense there was a school down here on the shore.  The "play cycle" mirrored entirely the life cycle of the island; the annual cycle of the crops, the cultural cycle, Hallowe'en, Communion, Christmas, all sorts of things, peats, the going to the creels, all of that was reflected in our	

		<p>play,</p> <p>Teaching us as children all the skills necessary to survive was a school above the shore that was actually dealing with the academic aspect of education. Down here on the beach, there was a school evolving in a very natural way.</p>	
			Harris GV sequence & JA in situ - empty piano music
17:05" ish	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Chan eil iomradh air idir anns a' chunntas ann an 1871 agus nuair a tha e a' nochdadh a-rithist ann an 1881 aig aois 43 Bha e ag obair na neach-teagaisg ann an Caolas Stocanaidh air taobh an ear na Hearadh. Chan e àite torach a th' anns an sgìre seo idir ach 's ann dha na Bàigh a thàinig mòran theaghlachan a fhuair iad fhèin gun dachaigh aig àm nam fuadaichean.</b></p> <p><i>There is no record of Abercrombie in the 1871 census, and when he re-emerges ten years later, at the age of 43, he is working as the teacher at Kyle Stocanis, on the East coast of Harris.</i></p> <p><i>This area, the Bays of Harris, possessed no fertile machair. During the Highland Clearances, when hundreds of crofters were forced from their homes in the west, it was settled by newly homeless families.</i></p> <p><b>Tha iomradh ann an leabhar-aithris a' Chonstabail **** ag innse mar a thachair e ris a' mharsanta, John Abercrombie, air an *****. Carson nach tuirt Abercrombie gur e tidsear a bh' ann? Saoil an robh obair eile aige a bharrachd air an seo mar a bh' aig mòran eile aig an àm sin? Chan eil soilleireachd sam bith ann a thaobh dè bha e dèiligeadh ris ann. An robh e 's dòcha a' toirt bathair air tìr anns a' phòrt an seo? Ma bha dè bh' ann? Biadh do mhuinntir a' bhaile no rudeigin dha fhèin? Rudeigin a chuidicheadh leis a' bheatha aonaranaich a bh' aige air an eilean ach rudeigin a bheireadh, aig a' cheann thall, droch ainm dha agus a thogadh aire luchd-riaghlaidh na sgoile?</b></p> <p><i>An entry in Tarbert PC [Name]'s log describes how he met up with 'John Abercrombie, merchant', on [date]. Why did he not describe himself as the teacher? It is likely that he had a business on the side, like many people, but exactly what he was dealing in is unclear. Was</i></p>	<p>GVs and suggestive drama shots</p> <p>profile shot Calum establisher?</p>

		<p><i>he landing merchandise in the harbour here? If so what? Foodstuffs for the villagers, or something for himself? Something to help with the loneliness of the island, but something that would damage his reputation and get back to the school board?</i></p> <p><b>Agus carson Scarp? Uill tha tuairmse no dha ann. Chan eil na tha sin ag atharrachadh anns a' bheatha seo agus tha e cheart cho buailteach gum biodh na tha fìor an-diugh fìor aig an àm ud cuideachd.</b></p> <p><i>Why Scarp? Well, there are a few clues. Nothing much changes, and what is true today, could easily have been true then.</i></p>	
17:59"	CALUM	<p><b>Dh'fhaodadh a bhith, gun deach a ghluasad dhan Sgarp bho àite eile 's dòcha far nach robh e a' dèanamh na h-obrach mar bu chòir ach am faicaibh duine an dèanadh e na b' fheàrr ann an àite leithid do Sgarp far nach robh ach, far nach biodh ach e fhèin dìreach an aon neach-teagaisg. Agus far a bheil coimhearsnachd beag agus far an robh coimhearsnachd gu math dlùth.</b></p> <p><i>It may have been the case that he was removed to Scarp from elsewhere, perhaps where he had been failing in his work to see whether or not he could perform any better in a place like Scarp...where he would be the only schoolteacher and where the community was small and where the community was very tightknit.</i></p>	
18:30"	VOICE-OVER?	<p>And of course a stranger like Abercrombie would have had other communication difficulties - such as remained the case over subsequent decades - <b>OR SOMETHING LIKE THIS - works really well in Gaelic as follows:</b></p> <p><b>Agus bhiodh trioblaidean eile aig Abercrombie mar a bh'aig gu leòr eile dhe sheòrsa thairis air na bliadhnaichean as dèidh sin - leis nach robh Gàidhlig aige.</b></p>	blackboard activity
18:47"	GILLIES	<p><i>I suppose in a sense my family were outsiders coming into the island. Particularly my mother who had no Gaelic...my father was a Gaelic speaker and I think that meant that very quickly we integrated into the island. I know to start with my mother found it very difficult being on an island where most, well the conversation was entirely in Gaelic usually.</i></p>	
19:16"	CALUM	<p><b>Agus tha mi creidsinn airson a' chuid mhòr dhan pàrantan eadhon 's ann gu math lapach a bhiodh a Bheurla aca. Agus bha seo a' tachairt tric aig an àm, gum biodh tidseir aig nach robh Gàidhlig air a chur a-steach gu sgoiltean anns an t-suidheachadh</b></p>	

		<p><b>a bha sin.</b>  <i>And I suppose for the vast majority of parents, any English they spoke would have been rather poor. And this was common practice at the time, a non-Gaelic speaking teacher would be placed in a school in exactly that situation.</i></p>	
	VOICE MAY NEED RE-WORKED HERE	<p>Yet, the language barrier didn't necessarily preclude good teaching. There had been excellent ones before, and after. Experience couldn't be further from past teachers etc.  <b>TALK UP "UNIQUE WAY OF ISLAND LIVING" AGAIN BEFORE GILLIES ??</b></p> <p><b><u>In Gaelic the full thrust of the above would be:</u></b></p> <p><b>Ach cha robh cion cànan a' ciallachadh gur e droch thidsear a bh' annad. Bha fìor dheagh thidsearan bho thìr-mòr air a bhith ann roimhe agus bha iad ann às a dhèidh. Ach a rèir coltais bha mar a thachair do Abercrombie gu tur eadar-dhealaichte seach eòlais chàich air an àite fiù 's ged a bhiodh e cothromach gu leòr a ràdh gur e eilean le cleachdaidhean gun choimeas a bha seo.</b></p>	spooky music and hand-held cutaways –and drama
20:33"	GILLIES	<p><i>For instance, the island had a parliament, and the parliament met pretty well daily during the summertime.</i></p>	
20:41"	FINLAY	<p><b>Rud ris an canar a' phàrlamaid bheag, a bhiodh aca 'sa Scarp, far am biodh iad a' bruidhinn anns a mhadainn ma rudan a bha ri 'n dèanamh, air a dhèanamh air feadh a' latha no dìreach làithean an dèidh sin.</b>  <i>What they referred to as the 'little parliament' which they had on Scarp, where they talked in the morning of things that had to be done, over that day, or the days to come.</i></p>	
20:52"	GILLIES	<p><b>And at that meeting, that daily meeting, which generally took place in the morning around 10am, decisions would be taken as to whether there was a clipping to be organized at the back of the island, or whether we were to go across to Cravedale to cut peats.</b></p>	
	GAELIC VOICE-OVER TO REPLACE THE REST	<p><b>Mar bu trice bhiodh aon de na sgoilearan an uair sin a' dol sìos chun na "pàrlamaid" aig àm fois airson faighinn a-mach de òrdain an latha.</b>  <i>One of the school pupils would generally nip</i></p>	GVs

	<b>OF GILLIES' WORDS</b>	<i>down to the so-called "parliament" at interval time and find out what the orders for the day were.</i>	
21"32"	FINLAY	<b>Bha mi glè òg aig an àm sin ach tha cuimhne 'am bhith dol dhan a phàrlamaid a bh' ann còmhla ri m' athair agus seann daoine nan suidhe is nan sineadh air an fheur agus...no balla, suidhe air balla, a' bruidhinn mun siud is mun seo.</b> <i>I was very young at the time but I remember going to the parliament they had, with my father and an elderly man .... they sat together, reclining on the grass and ... or a wall, it may have been a wall, talking of this and that.</i>	
21:48"	GILLIES	<i>And if they came back with the news that there was going to be a clipping or a dipping or a trip to the peats in Cravedale my father just closed the school and off we went to the clipping or to the peats.</i>	
22:04"	NORMAN	<b>Dh'fheumadh iad a bhith cruaidh air na sgoilearan o chionn bha e na chleachdadh aig daoine a bhith cumail a' chlann às a' sgoil ag obair an fhearainn, ag obair san fhoadhar is san earraich.</b> <i>They had to be strict on the scholars because the people had a habit of keeping the children off school to work the land, working in the autumn and spring.</i>	
	VOICE-OVER	<b>Ma bhathas an dòchas gum biodh buannachd ann do Abercrombie a bhith ann an coimhearsnachd iomallach dhlùth cha robh iad a' dol a mhaireachdainn fada. A rèir beul-aithris bha e trom air an deoch agus bha buaidh air leth aige seo air a shlàinte agus air a sheasamh sa choimhearsnachd.</b> <i>If there were hopes that Abercrombie would benefit from an isolated location in a tightknit community, then these were not to last long. According to oral tradition, he was known to drink. And that this would have had a catastrophic effect on his health, and his standing in the community.</i>	<b>GVs and drama him with bottle</b>
22:44"	<b>GILLIES</b>	<i>And the story seemed to be that this individual was fond of a dram and was losing his grip on the school.</i>	ditto contd
23:02"	VOICE-OVER	<b>An e alcolach a bh' ann an John Abercrombie? Tha cuid den bheachd gur e. Ma chaidh a ghluasad le Bòrd na Sgoile dhan Scarp airson stad a chur air a chuid òl cha b' urrainn dhaibh a bhith air àite na b' fheàrr a thaghadh .</b> <i>Was John Abercrombie an alcoholic? Some believe so. If the school board transplanted Abercrombie to Scarp to discourage his drinking, they could hardly have chosen a</i>	<b>JA having a puff &amp; AJ cooking</b>

		<i>better spot.</i>	
23:36"	DI	<b>Cha=robh deoch làidir idir anns an eilean nuair a bha mise fàs suas, no ron a' sin a' bharrachd</b> <i>There was no alcohol at all on the island when I was growing up, or before that either...</i>	
23:41"	FINLAY	<b>Cha robh daoine ag òl anns a' Scarp idir. Cha robh deoch ri fhaighinn. Bhiodh botal 's maithte anns na taighean aig àm na Bliadhna Ùr, no leth bhotal ach a thaobh deoch, bhiodh e duilich fhaighinn agus an aon dòigh air a' faigheadh e e, duine anns a' Scarp deoch a-steach 's ann tron a' phost.</b> <i>There might be the odd bottle in the houses at New Year, or a half bottle, but in terms of drink it would be very difficult to procure, and the only way an inhabitant of Scarp could get a hold of drink would be by post.</i>	GVs
24:07"	DI contd/	<b>Ach dìreach mur a biodh banais ann, no pòsadh no aig àm na bliadhn' ùra, 's e an aon àm den bliadhna far am biodh deoch aig duine sam bith.</b> <i>But just if there was a wedding or a marriage or at the time of New Year, it was the only time of year that anyone at all had drink.</i>	under GVs
	V/O ????	<b>THINK IT NEEDS BRIEF V/O RE "OR, OTHER SUBSTANCES" TO SET UP HERE ??</b>	drama AJM with bottle
24:30"	NORMAN	<b>Ma bha e faighinn drugaichean tro'n phost tha mi creidsinn air dòigh air choireigin. O chionn cha b'urrainn dha fhaighinn botul uisge-beatha gun fhios do chuideigin</b> <i>If he was getting drugs through the post I believe in some way or other. Because he would not be able to get a bottle of whisky without someone knowing.</i>	
24:43"	FINLAY	<b>Agus ma bha sin a' tachairt shaoilinn gum biodh fios aig a phost fhèin gun robh rudeigin den t-seòrsa sin a' tachairt. Bha e dol tro làimhean a h-uile triop a thigeadh e, a h-uiole rud a thigeadh tron a phost, bhiodh e dol tro làimhean agus bhiodh amharas mhath aigesan gum biodh rud den t-seòrsa sin a' tighinn a-steach leis an obair a bh' aige.</b> <i>And if that was indeed going on, I'd say the postman must have had a good idea that something was afoot. It had to pass through his hands, every item that was carried by the post went through his hands and he would have had strong suspicions had anything like that been coming I, in the course of his work.</i>	
24:51"	VOICE-OVER BRIEF		sailing shots & GVs

	?		
25:30"	FINLAY	<p>Faodaidh sinn a' ràdh gun robh na Scarpaich glè mhòr a' coimhead suas ris na ministeirean, maighstir sgoile agus missionaraidh agus dotairean. Feadhainn a bh' anns na professions, faodaidh mi ràdh, agus ma leig fear a bha a' teagaisg anns a' Scarp, ,maighstir sgoile anns a' Scarp, mur a robh e a' leantainn ris an iomhaigh a bh' aca, na daoine sin, cha bhiodh iad uabhasach toilichte mu dheidhinn.</p> <p><i>We could say that the Sgarpaich greatly revered the ministers, the schoolmasters, the missionary and the doctors. Those who were in the professions as I'll call it, and if a man who was teaching on Scarp ,a schoolmaster on Scarp if he did not fall in with that image the image those people had of him, they'd be very unhappy about it.</i></p>	
25:54"	VOICE-OVER	<p>Chan eil sinn an urra ri beul-aithris fhèin ge tà. Tha aon rud sònraichte ann a bheir dhuinn dealbh air saoghal dorcha Abercrombie, agus 's ann às a seo as urrainn dhuinn cur ri sgeulachdan nan eileanach agus 's ann a gheibh sinn toiseach tuigse air na bha e ag òl.</p> <p><i>But we are not just relying on oral history. There is one important primary source that can shine a light into Abercrombie's dark world. It is from here that we can begin to add weight to the islanders' oral history, and the beginning of a case to be made for Abercrombie's drinking.</i></p>	GVs and goes to logbook
26:17"	CALUM	<p>'S e leabhar-là an dòigh a bh' aca air rudan cudromach a bha tachairt as a' sgoil a sgrìobhadh sìos gus am biodh cuimhne orra. Agus a' coimhead air ais orra, còrr air 100 bliadhna air ais, tha iad gu math cudromach a thaobh eachdraidh cuideachd, o chionns gheibh sinn fiosrachadh mu dheidhinn dè bha tachairt aig an àm, 's dòcha nach fhaigheamaid ann an àiteachain eile.</p> <p><i>The daily log was their means of recording significant events as they occurred in the school, so that it would be remembered. And looking back on it now, over a hundred years since...we can glean information of what went on at the time, which would be impossible to determine otherwise.</i></p>	sync goes to logbook
26:38"	VOICE-OVER - this has been very well written in Gaelic to reflect what	<p>Tha an leabhar-aithris seo a' toirt dhuinn dealbh air fear a bha call a ghreim air a bheatha. Tha a làmh-sgrìobhaidh dona, chan eil a' chlann a' frithealadh na sgoile, tha e call smachd a dh'aindeoin 's cho cruaidh 's a bha e. Thòisich Bòrd na Sgoile ris an aire a thoirt ri na bhathar a' cumail a-</p>	more logbook

	<b>you had sketched - please confirm any more info to be inserted but it works well and carries it through</b>	<b>mach a bha dol air adhart.</b> <i>Log book showing a man who was losing his grip. Handwriting askew, children not attending, discipline failing, despite his heavy-handedness. History of school board, visits to the school etc.</i>	
	<b>V/O contd/ ?????</b>		<b>AJ with the 'opium'</b>
	<b>BRIEF V/O</b>	<b>set up Kathryn ?</b>	<b>GV(s) TO BREAK UP</b>
27:54"	KATHRYN	<i>I was asked if there was any difference in between 1886 and 1889, in this gentleman's hand-writing. There were notes about the visitation of the school inspector and about the children. And I did notice some differences. The hand-writing in 1886 was beautifully formed; quite tight, neat copperplate writing. Quite close together. Then I noticed 1888 - the writing was very, very similar but was much looser, slightly larger and more spread out.</i>	sync and logbook
28:33"	VOICE-OVER	<b>Bha an t-uamhas eas-aonta ma-thà eadar Abercrombie agus na h-eileanaich bhon toiseach. Eas-aonta mu chuid òl, mu chlàr-ama na cloinne agus eas-aonta mun chànan. Ach bha aon rud eile ann a dh'adhbharraich an trioblaid a bu mhotha eadar e fhèin is pàrantan na cloinne... cha robh diù sam bith aig Abercrombie airson an lagh. Ma bha thu gu bhith soirbheachail an seo dh'fheumadh tu co-fhaireachdainn a bhith agad....</b>  <i>So from the start there was tremendous friction between Abercrombie and the islanders.</i>  <i>Friction over his drinking, friction over the children's timetable, and friction over the language. But there was to be a much greater source of conflict between the headmaster and his pupils' parents...</i>  <i>Abercrombie had an attitude towards the rule of law and friction arose. To be a successful teacher here you needed empathy...</i>	<b>Abercrombie with cane – music &amp; change</b>
28:51"	CALUM	<b>Tha e soilleir mura h-eil agad ach aon neach-teagaisg, gu bheil e uabhasach cudtromach gum bith an duine sin a' deanamh na h-obrach ann an dòigh a tha ionchuidh – oir tha foghlum gu lèir an urra ris an duine sin.</b>	

		<p><i>Well, clearly where you have only one school-teacher it's vitally important that that person carries out their work in an appropriate way. Since the entire education is the responsibility of that one person, and that was the situation in those small, remote schools.</i></p>	
			ditto
29:17"	CALUM	<p><b>Agus glè thric, bha e doirbh do luchd-teagaisg a' chlann fhaighinn dhan sgoil. Ach saoilidh mi nuair a bha esan a' teagaisg as a Sgarp gu robh e gu sònraichte doirbh dha a' chlann fhaighinn dhan sgoil.</b></p> <p><i>And very often it was difficult for teachers to get the children to attend school. But I think when he was teaching in Scarp that it was exceptionally difficult for him to get the children to school.</i></p>	
29:31"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Carson nach robh a' chlann ag iarraidh a dhol dhan sgoil? Chan urrainn gun robh iad ro thrang fad na bliadhna ag obair air croitean an cuid pàrantan. Tha e coltach gun robh na h-eileanaich a' leigeil leis a' chlann fuireach far na sgoile agus gun robh iad fiù 's a' brosnachadh sin.</b></p> <p><i>Why was it that the children were reluctant to come to school? It can't simply have been that they were too busy working on their parents' crofts, all year round. It seems likely that the islanders were indulging, even encouraging this truancy.</i></p>	sets out books on benches – GREAT
29:54"	CALUM	<p><b>Am beachd a tha sinne faighinn 's è dìreach nach robh clann airson a dhol dhan sgoil aig an àm a bha sin idir.</b></p> <p><i>The received opinion we have is that the children simply did not want to go to school, at that time....</i></p>	
30:02"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Tha an fhianais air fad a' sealltainn gun robh Abercrombie a' dol fodha agus an sgoil cuide ris. Agus ged nach robh an dealbh seo neo-àbhaisteach aig an àm cha robh guth ri chluinntinn ann an ceàrnaidhean eile air obair dhrugaichean is murt. Mar is trice 's e rud eile a bh' ann. Cherchez la femme...</b></p> <p><i>Evidence shows that Abercrombie was sinking, and with him the school. And yet, not unique at the time. Other places don't shimmer with the hint of drugs, and murder. As is so often the case, it's another element. Cherchez la femme.....</i></p>	JA at desk
30:12"	<b>VOICE-OVER - does this need talking up /</b>	<p><b>Ach / agus tha e coltach gur e dìreach sin a rinn Abercrombie.....</b></p> <p><i>But / and it appears that's just what Abercrombie did.</i></p>	Annie sewing / logbook

	<b>explaining more?</b>		
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>A rèir an leabhair-aithris a sgrìobh Abercrombie fhèin thàinig neach-teagaisg fuaigheal, Annie Jane Murphy, dhan sgoil air an ***** / TBC as dèidh sin, bhiodh i-fhèin is Abercrombie pòsda - agus an ceann ***** bhiodh esan marbh. Cò bh'as an tè seo? Agus ciamar a thainig i gu bhith fuireachd ann an coimhearsnachd cho iomallach, cuide ris-esan?</b></p> <p><i>According to this log, written by Abercrombie himself, a new sewing mistress, Annie Jane Murphy, was appointed to the school on the [Date]. [time] later she and Abercrombie would be married, and [time] later he would be dead. So who was this woman, and how did she end up like Abercrombie, an outsider in such a remote community?</i></p>	<p>piano music &amp; GVs light drama shots</p> <p>leads to driving shots and piano contd/</p>
30:52"	contd/	<p><b>Rugadh Annie Jane Murphy do Charles is Laetitia Friseal air an ** den luchar **** ann an Cill Fhinn ann an Siorrachd Pheairt. Bhàsaich Teàrlach goirid às dèidh sin agus ghluais a màthair i gu *** far an do chuir i seachad a h-òige ag obair air tuathanas ann an *** ann an Siorrachd Inbhir Nis.</b></p> <p><i>Annie Jane Murphy was born in Killin, Perthshire, daughter of Charles and Laetitia Fraser in July [insert date]. Her father died soon after her birth, and her mother moved her here [Place] where she spent her younger years living on a farm in [insert place], Invernesshire.</i></p>	GVs
	contd /	<p><b>Coltach ri Abercrombie 's e creutair an-fhoiseil a bh' ann an Annie Jane. Tè gun fhreumhan ann an àite sònraichte sam bith a bha daonnan air a ceusadh ri linn trioblaidean de a dèanamh fhèin. Fiù 's nuair a bha i na pàiste cha do dh'fhuirich i ann an aon àite barrachd air beagan bhliadhnaichean. Tha an cunntas-sluaigh ann an 1871 a' sealltainn gun do ghluais an teaghlach gu An Innis ann an Siorrachd Obar Dheathain gus a bhith cuide ri a seanmhair Margaret Mitchell. Bha Laetitia a' cumail a teaghlach le bhith ag obair na tidsear sa sgoil anns an Innis.</b></p> <p><i>Like Abercrombie, Annie Jane was a wandering soul, a rootless drifter who was tortured by her own demons. Even as a child she never stayed in one place for more than a few years.</i></p> <p><i>The 1871 census records that the family had moved to Inch, Aberdeenshire, to be with her mother, Margaret Mitchell. Once here, Laetitia</i></p>	<p>driving shots intercut with drama - <b>ALL OF THIS SECTION IS TOO LONG AND REQUIRES ALTERNATIVE TEXTURE SOMEHOW</b></p> <p>eerie shivery music &amp; Gvs change - Aberdeen - beauty shop &amp; EXTs</p> <p>Shots of Inch school and graveyard.</p>

		<p><i>supported the family working as a teacher in the local school.</i></p> <p><b>Ann an 1881 aig aois 20 bha Annie Jane a' dèanamh a beò-shlaint mar neach fuaigheal aodaich. Agus mar bu dual dhith fhèin, bha màthair Annie-Jane air pòsadh a-rithist ri fear Alexander MacKenzie ceannard na sgoile anns an Innis.</b></p> <p><i>By 1881, aged 20, Annie Jane had a job as a dressmaker. Meanwhile, in a strange echo of Annie-Jane's future life, her mother Laetitia had replaced her dead husband and was now married to Insch head teacher Alexander MacKenzie.</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER contd/	<p><b>'S fheudar nach do chòrd am pòsadh seo ri Annie Jane agus ann an 1883 ghluais i leatha fhèin gu baile mòr truailte Obar Dheathain.</b></p> <p><i>This new marriage does not appear to have suited Annie Jane. By 1883 she was on the move again, this time on her own. This time her journey ended up in the flourishing, vice-ridden port city of Aberdeen...</i></p>	Aberdeen port
	VOICE-OVER contd/	<p><b>Bha a' chiad dachaigh aig Annie Jane air Correction Wynd ri taobh Sràid an Aonaidh. An-diugh se gnìomhachas maise-gnùis a th' air an làraich ach aig an àm sin 's e àite fìor mì-thlachdmhor a bh' ann.</b></p> <p><i>The site of Annie-Jane's first flat is now occupied by a beautician. But in the 1870s Correction Wynd, beside Union St, was an insalubrious part of town.</i></p> <p><b>An e siùrsach a bh' ann an Annie Jane? Carson a ruith i air falbh bho a màthair agus a h-oide? An robh i teicheadh bho dhochann no droch-dhiol gnèitheach?</b></p> <p><i>Was Annie Jane earning her living as a prostitute? And why had she run away from her mother and her new husband? Was she fleeing some kind of violent or sexual abuse..?</i></p> <p><b>Ge bith dè an fhreagairt thuit i trom ann an 1883 agus phòs i fhèin agus fear- bùtha à Dun Èideann Hugh Murphy an seo ann an oifis-clàraidh Obar Dheathain.</b></p> <p><i>Whatever the answer, by 1883 she was heavily pregnant, and in January she and a grocer from Edinburgh by the name of Hugh Murphy, were married here, in the Aberdeen register office.</i></p>	Correction Wynd/ shop

	VOICE-OVER	<p>Sia latha as dèidh dhith pòsadh bha gille beag aice air an robh an t-ainm Hugh Alexander MacKenzie Murphy. Gu h-inntinneach chan eil an duine aice a nochdadh air an teisteanas-breith mar athair a pàiste.</p> <p><i>Annie Jane gives birth, 6 days after her wedding, to a baby boy, Hugh Alexander MacKenzie Murphy. Importantly, Her husband is not listed in the birth certificate as the father.</i></p> <p><b>Uncle – excise man – bought the husband???</b></p>	Gloomy GVs Union St
	VOICE-OVER	<p>Ghluais Annie Jane agus am bèibidh gu teanamant air Sràid a’ Bhanca faisg air docaichean a’ bhaile às aonais an duine aice. Às dèidh a’ phòsaidh chaidh Hugh Murphy air ais a Dhùn Èideann a dh’obair mar modail airson neach-ealain. Bha e fhèin is Annie Jane pòsda gu laghail gus an do bhàsaich e sa Ghrassmarket ann an ****</p> <p><i>Annie Jane and the baby moved into a tenement in Bank Street, close to the city docks, without her new husband. After the wedding Hugh Murphy went back to Edinburgh, to work as an artist’s model. He and Annie-Jane remained legally joined in this marriage of convenience until he eventually died in the Grassmarket in [date].</i></p> <p>An dèidh dà bhliadhna eile bha nighean bheag aig Annie Jane, Ruth Elizabeth MacKenzie Murphy. Chan eil fhios idir cò a b’ athair dhi no cò athraichean na cloinne seo.</p> <p><i>Two years later, Annie Jane gave birth to a daughter, Ruth Elizabeth MacKenzie Murphy. The true father or fathers of these two children have never been identified.</i></p>	Bank St, Docks and garden - <b>ALL OF THIS SECTION IS AGAIN TOO LONG AND ALSO REQUIRES SOMETHING TO BRIDGE IT BACK TO FINLAY REFERENCING ABERCROMBIE</b>
34:19"	FINLAY	<p>‘S maite gun robh e leisg, ‘s maite gun robh rudeigin na luib ach nuair a tha thu a’ cuir a h-uile càil an ceann a chèile, tha sinn glè chinnteach nach robh e a’ dèanamh a dhreuchd mar bu choir dha agus nach robh sìth no rèite eadar e fhèin is am boireannach a bha fuireach còmhla ris.</p> <p><i>Maybe he was lazy, maybe something else was happening to him but when you put everything together and consider it, it is quite clear that he was not carrying out his job. And that there was little peace or harmony between him and this woman he lived with.</i></p>	
34:37"	VOICE-	<b>Chan eil e idir clàraichte ciamar a choinnich</b>	Back to travelling shots

	OVER	<p>i fhèin is Abercrombie an toiseach agus cha mhotha na sin a tha fios againn carson a cho-dhùin i a màthair a leantainn gu teagasg agus gu ceannard sgoile a phòsadh. Ach dà bhliadhna an dèidh dhi a nighean a bhith aice thog Annie Jane oirre gu ruige Scarp. Ann an ùine gun a bhith ro fhada bha fathannan ann gun robh barrachd anns a' chàirdeas eadar an dithis na dìreach co-obraichean. 'S ann mun aon àm a thòisich beatha Abercrombie ri tuiteam às a chèile.</p> <p><i>It's not recorded how she and Abercrombie first met, or what made her decide to take up her mother's vocations of teacher and headmaster's wife. But two years after the birth of her daughter, Annie Jane uprooted and went to Scarp. Soon there were rumours that her relationship with the headmaster was more than that of colleagues - and he was clearly failing.</i></p>	
36:14"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Bha Abercrombie agus Annie Jane a-nis le cinnt a' dol an aghaidh gach rud a bha na h-eileanach chùramach a' seasamh air a shon. Bha iad mar-thà air an sgaradh bhuapa le cion cànan agus a-nis bha iad a' cur ris a sin le na cleachdaidhean aca. Tha fios gun robh iad gu cinnteach a' faireachdainn air leth agus air an cronachadh leis na Scarpaich.</b></p> <p>Abercrombie, and now Annie Jane were set on a further collision with the religious, hard-working islanders. Isolated by language, and now by habits, they must have felt their isolation and reproof of the Sgarpaich.</p>	sewing drama - think this needs extended here
35:21"	FINLAY	<p><b>Bha sin a' bristeadh iomhaigh a' mhaighstor-sgoile ann an sùilean nam pàrantan a bh'as a Sgarp</b></p> <p><i>This ruined the image of the schoolmaster, in the eyes of the Scarp parents.</i></p>	
35:27"	GILLIES	<p><i>For an outsider to run adrift of that - of the island community I think it would have been very difficult – it would have been difficult to live within the community. If one were to talk down to the islanders or try to change them in some wy. Because really they knew their island and they knew what was best for them.</i></p>	
	V/O BRIEF ?? MAYBE IT REQ'D		Mission house shots – breather
35:57"	FINLAY	<p><b>Cha robh duine, fhads is aithne dhòmhsa , no boireannach anns an Scarp nach robh dol a thogail “taigh leughaidh”, mar a chanadh iad, dhan an eaglais bheag a bh' anns a' Scarp. Bhiodh iad a' seasamh glè dhlùth ri rachdan agus àinteana a Bhiobail</b></p>	<p>GVs leads to sync leads to bedroom drama</p> <p>half mis through logbook</p>

		<p>agus rud sam bith a bha a' briseadh sin, cha bhiodh e dol a' rèir a chreideamh a bh' aca. Agus air an dòigh sin, ma leig esan a-steach boireannach ris nach... 's nach robh iad pòsta, cha bhiodh iad a' coimhead air a' sin mar rudeigin a bha còir a dhèanamh anns a choimhearsnachd anns a' robh e.</p> <p><i>There wasn't a single person, as far as I'm aware, who did not attend the "reading house" as the little Scarp church was known. They adhered firmly to the outlooks and authority of the Bible and anything that contradicted that, that contradicted their own faith, and in that way, if he took in a woman who was not... and they were not married, they would not see that as the done thing at all, in the community where he was.</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER	<p>An àite piseach a thoirt air a sheasamh tha e coltach gun do dh'fhàs Abercrombie na bu leisge buileach an dèidh do Annie Jane nochdadh air an eilean. Tha an leabhar-aithris ag innse dhuinn mu thrioblaid às dèidh trioblaid a bharrachd air a bhith toirt iomradh air gun robh ise math dh'fhaoidte fhathast pòsda aig fear eile.</p> <p><i>Instead of improving, Annie Jane's arrival appears to have precipitated Abercrombie to greater indolence. The log books note crisis after crisis - and reminder of her possible bigamy ...</i></p>	drama half mix through logbook
36:51"	FINLAY	<p>Bhiodh pàrantan iomaganach agus dragh orra mu an rud a bha a' tachair anns... anns a' sgoil 's mar a chuala mi airson an inspector a bha dol timcheall aig an àm, cha robh esan toilichte leis. Bha e fada, fada bhuidhe</p> <p><i>The parents would have been worried and deeply concerned about what was happening in, in the school. And as far as I've heard regarding the inspector who was doing the rounds at the time, he was not at all happy with him, he was failing very, very badly.</i></p>	sync
37:10"	VOICE-OVER	<p>Tha an leabhar-aithris cuideachd a' toirt iomradh air gun robh Abercrombie fada fada ro chruaidh air a' chlann agus mu dheireadh mar a bhiodh dùil thàinig cùisean gu buil.</p> <p><i>The logbook suggests that, even by the standards of the day, Abercrombie was beating the children excessively. Finally, inevitably, events came to a head.</i></p>	Logbook/cane shots - can vary music here there is more coming
	VOICE-OVER	<p>Chuir na pàrantan gearan foirmeil a-steach agus air an ** chaidh ceannard na sgoile a ghairm gu coinneamh de Bhòrd na Sgoile. Choisich e an uair sin 14 mìle dhan Tairbeart gus coinneachadh ri sluagh a'</p>	driving shots in deepest Harris

		<p><b>bhaile a bha cho feargach leis.</b>  <i>The parents felt strongly enough to make an official complaint, and on [insert date] the Head teacher was summoned to an emergency meeting of the School Board. He then walked the 14 miles to Tarbert, to face the angry villagers.</i></p>	
38:12"	GILLIES	<p><i>I recall very vividly the arrival of a school inspector in Scarp. Several days before the inspector phoned to say he was coming, my father had received a telegram from Lochmaddy, from the headteaching in Lochmaddy which read : "There is a deep depression approaching from Lochmaddy" which immediately alerted him to the fact that the inspectors were in the islands and liable to descend on the schools.</i></p>	goes to sync
			Ja in silhouette goes to logbook and AJ on beach
	<p><b>VOICE-OVER - need to make a call on what's being said here and by whom etc - the end para works very well though</b></p>	<p><b>Ach 70 bliadhna ron a sin bha an suidheachadh air Scarp nas teann buileach leis an luchd-sgrùdaidh a' tadhail nas bitheanta 's nas bitheanta.</b>  <i>But seventy years before, the situation on Scarp was even more tense, as the inspectors' visits became more and more frequent.</i></p> <p>INSPECTOR VO  ??[record of visits]</p> <p>ABERCROMBIE'S VOICE  ??[record of visits]</p> <p>And when the inspectors weren't there, the School Officer was...</p> <p>ABERCROMBIE'S VOICE  [voice montage of the the different visits by the School Officer]  ????????????????????????????????</p> <p><b>Bha fathannan ann gun robh Abercrombie a' sgrìobhadh breugan ann an leabhar-aithris na sgoile gus dealbh nas tlachdmhor a dhèanamh air an t-suidheachadh. Anns na **** bliadhna bho thàinig Abercrombie dhan Scarp bha an sgoil phròiseil shoirbheachail a bh' aig cridhe na coimhearsnachd air cruth-atharrachadh gu bhith na adhbhar nàire an teis-meadhan a' bhaile.</b></p> <p>There were even stories of Abercrombie falsifying the daily school log to try and paint a rosier picture of the situation in the school.</p>	beach shots / INTs schoolhouse

		[sums up statistics comparing previous teacher and Abercrombie's tenure...] In the [insert number] short years since Abercrombie arrived, the school had been transformed from a successful, proud, foundation of the community, to a pariah institution, right in the centre of the village.	
39:56"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Chan ann mar sin a bha cùisean a-riamh eadar Abercrombie is Annie. Ged nach eil fhios againn an robh iad a' suirghe mus tàinig ise chun an eilein tha clàran oifigeil a' dearbhadh gun do phòs iad air an ***** ann an Abhainn Suidhe mu ** mìle air falbh. Seo am baile a bu mhotha a b' fhaisg orra air tìr mòr na Hearadh, agus 's ann ann a bha an rathad mòr bhon Tairbeart a' tighinn gu crìoch. Ach cha do mhair an toileachas ro fhada oir an taobh a staigh *** bha Abercrombie marbh agus bha na fathannan a' dol am meud .....</b></p> <p><i>It was not always thus between Annie and Abercrombie. Although it's not known whether they became lovers before or after her arrival on the island, official records do show that, in [insert date] they were married. The ceremony took place in the village of Amhuinnsuidhe. At [x] miles away, this was the nearest large settlement on Harris, and the termination point of the road from Tarbert. But the celebrations, such as they were, did not last long. Within [insert time], Abercrombie was dead, and the island rumour mill went into overdrive...</i></p>	<b>Amhuinnsuidhe shots</b>
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Gu cinnteach cha robh am pòsadh laghail ge-tà oir cha do dhealaich Annie riamh bho Hugh Murphy. Chuir ris a sin na fathannan gun robh i a' gabhail dhrugaichean.</b></p> <p><i>Certainly, the marriage was not valid in the eyes of the law, as Annie Jane had never been divorced from [insert name] Murphy. Add to this the persistent rumours that she was taking drugs.</i></p>	<b>wedding drama &amp; full bedroom stuff</b>
41"20"	V/O ???????		<b>dark shots and sheep's skull etc - foreboding music</b>
			<b>AJ with bottle &amp; spoon ... reprise</b>
42:00"	NORMAN	<p><b>An aon drugs a chuala mise riamh sa Sgarp sin tombaca dubh, bha gu leòr dhan sin a' dol ach an còrr chan eil beachd sam bith agam gu robh duine ri drugs ann neo ri deoch – cha ghabhadh a faighinn dhaibh.</b></p> <p><i>The only drug I ever heard of in Scarp was black tobacco, there was plenty of that about</i></p>	

		<i>but the rest, I am of the opinion that no-one was on drugs or drink there, it couldn't be got for them.</i>	
42:18"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Cha robh casg ge-tà idir air a bhith a' cleachdadh opium anns an 19mh linn deug. Bha e cumanta a bhith ga ghabhail ann an cruth Laudanum airson togail a thoirt do neach ge bith an robh iad a' fulang le cnatan no cràdh mionnaich. Ach bha dòigh-beatha an eilein gu tur eadar-dhealaichte seach bailtean mòra Ghlaschu is Lunnainn agus 's ioma rud a chleachdadh daoine spaideil a' bhaile mhòir air nach robh guth aig na Scarpaich.</b></p> <p><i>But opium use was not prohibited in the late 1800s. In the form of Laudanum, the tincture was a commonplace tonic for all manner of complaints, from the common cold to menstrual cramps. But life on Scarp was not the same as that in a metropolis like Glasgow or London. There were many things that sophisticated urban Victorians had, that Sgarpaich did without.</i></p>	<b>her collapsing – let it live again a little under Finlay</b>
42:32"	FINLAY	<p><b>Fhads is aithne dhòmhsa cha robh lusan no càil eile anns an eilean a bha na dhrogaichean.</b></p> <p><i>As far as I am aware there were no such plants or anything on like that on the island - plants that were used as drugs</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Air eilean beag mar seo cha robh dòigh aig Annie air a chleith gun robh i fo smachd dhruagaichean. Chan eil fhios an robh i gam faighinn tron phost, no air bàta a Ghlaschu no fiù 's bho chuideigin aig Caisteal Abhainn Suidhe ach bha aon rud cinnteach ge bith ciamar a fhuair i iad dh'fheumadh iad tighinn tron phort bheag seo ann an ceann a deas na Hearadh dìreach beagan mhiltean bho Scarp. Seo aon de na puirt nàdarra is fheàrr air an eilean agus tha mòran de na h-aibhnichean air an eilean a sruthadh ann a' ciallachadh gu bheil e an-diugh air cliù a chosnadh mar phrìomh àite airson iasgach bhradain. Ach anns na làithean ud 's ann an seo a bhiodh a' mhòr chuid de bhathar air a ghluasad air ais 's air adhart às an Scarp agus 's fheudar gun robh beachd aig na h-eileanaich gun robh rudeigin ceàrr.</b></p> <p><i>On such a small island, Annie Jane had no way of concealing her addiction. Not something that could be kept hidden</i></p> <p><i>She may have procured them by post, or by boat from Glasgow, or from a contact within Amhinsuihee castle. Either way, the deliveries would have passed through this small harbour on the south settlement of Harris only a few</i></p>	<b>AJ on beach</b>

		<i>miles from Scarp. Blessed with one of the island's best natural harbours, into which pour the confluences of South Harris' many rivers, and nowadays one of the most sought after salmon beats in Scotland, Amhinnisuihe was the principal staging post for any goods moving in or out of Scarp. Islanders must have figured something was wrong.</i>	
43:20"	FINLAY	<b>Ma bha i ri opium no rud den t-seòrsa sin , chan eil rian nach biodh e mothaichte air dòigh air choireigin naur a bhiodh i timcheall daoine eile. Ach 's e a' rud, 's mait' gun robh ise ga glasadh fhèin suas anns an taigh agus nach robh mòran aice ri dhèanamh ri daoine eile</b> <i>If she was taking opium or something like it, there's no doubt that they'd have noticed in some way, if she was in amongst the people. But the thing is, perhaps she was locking herself up in the house and took very little to do with other people.</i>	
	VOICE-OVER	<b>Mas e rud a bh' ann air an robh fios aig a huile duine bhiodh e gun teagamh sam bith air buaidh a thoirt air sgrùdadh nam poileas nuair a chaidh iad chun an eilein às dèidh an tachartais eagallaich. Cùis a bha an impis tachairt. A bheil còir againn gabhail ris a bharrachd air gun robh i pòsda gu mì-laghail, gur dòcha gun e siùrsach a bh' innte, gun robh i fo bhuaidh dhruagaichean, gun e murtair cuideachd a bh' ann an Annie ...?</b> <i>If it was an open secret and would inevitably influence the police investigation when tragedy brought them to the island. Tragedy that was just about to fall. Are we to believe that she was not only a bigamist, possibly a prostitute and an opium addict into the bargain, but also a murderer..?</i>	driving shots
	VOICE-OVER	<b>An e phosphorus a bh' ann – stuth eile a bha furasta fhaighinn agus a bha fìor phuinnseanta. Nan gabhadh cuideigin gu leòr dheth math dh'fhaoidte gun cuireadh e crìoch air gun teagamh sam bith. Mas e murt a bha fainear do Annie Jane ge-tà an e seo an dòigh-muirt a b' èifeachdaiche?</b> <i>Could it have been phosphorus - another easily attainable and highly toxic substance? It's certainly possible that, if sufficient amounts entered a man's system, it might be enough to kill him. But assuming this was Annie Jane's intention, was this really the most effective murder weapon?</i>	sewing scene - blood - firelight - candle - lantern
44:47"	DI	<b>Gun do phuinnseanaich I è le maidsaichean, le cinn maidsaichean</b> <i>That she might have yes, poisoned him with</i>	

		the tips of matches.	
44:57"	FINLAY	<p><b>Shaoilinn sa ma bha ise dol ga mharabhadh – ga mhurt – shaoilinn gu robh I air a dheanamh na b'aithgearra na sin.</b></p> <p><i>I'd imagine that if she intended to kill him, to murder him, I'd imagine she'd have done it much quicker than that.</i></p>	<b>under the drama</b>
	FINLAY	<p><b>Chan eil rian ma bha ise toirt dha phosphorus...chan eil fhios 'am dè cho trice 's a bha idol dha fhaighinn, ma thachair e, ach ma bha i a' dèanamh sin bha an cothrom aigesan air dòigh a bhith amharasach gun robh e faighinn rudeigin anns a bhiadh, no ge bith ciamar a bha i dha ghabhail, bha e toirt buaidh air, agus droch bhuidh air</b></p> <p><i>If she was feeding him phosphorous...I don't now how often she'd have been able to obtain it but to carry it out in that way...have him a chance to become suspicious that his food was being tampered with, or however it was that he was consuming it...that something was causing him harm and great harm at that</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Ach tha teisteanas bàis Abercrombie ag ràdh le cinnt gur e puinnseanachadh le drugaichean a chuir às dhà. Ma bha Annie Jane fo bhuidh opium 's dòcha gun robh gu leòr aice dheth airson Abercrombie a mharbhadh a dh'aona ghnòthaich no gun fhiosta – roghainn eile 's dòcha seach a bheachd mu na maidsichean? Air no an e an deoch-làidir fhèin a bh' ann?</b></p> <p><i>But this is not the cause of death that was recorded in Abercrombie's death certificate, which states categorically that it was 'narcotic poisoning' Insert: <b>Computer shot of Abercrombie's death certificate...?</b> If Annie-Jane was addicted to opium, perhaps she possessed the drug in sufficient quantities to kill Abercrombie either deliberately or by accident – possible alternative to matches? Or was it simply the drink?</i></p>	<b>DEATH CERTIFICATE??</b>
			AJ o beach - throws pebbles in the sea
46:10"	FINLAY	<p><b>Cha robh poileasman as a Sgarp ann – am poileasman a bh'ann 's ann as an Tairbeart a bha e.</b></p> <p><i>There was no policeman in Scarp – he had to come from Tarbert</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Le sin, air an *** chaidh an Constabal ***a bh' air coinneachadh ri Abercrombie ann an Caolas Stocainis bho chionn * bliadhna na 14 mìle bhon Tairbeart gu ruige Huiseanais air chois agus an uair sin tarsainn air eathar gu ruige an Scarp a thòisicheadh a chuid rannsachaidh. 'S e latha eile a bh' ann an</b></p>	<b>GVs</b>

		<p>uair sin gun guth air DNA agus glè bheag de forensics ri làimh. Cha robh aige ach làrach muirt a bha a-nis làithean a dh'aois, cha robh am prìomh neach-amharais a' dol a thoirt cuideachadh sam bith seachad agus bha na h-eileanaich amharasach cuideachd.</p> <p><i>So, on [insert date], PC [insert name], the same policeman who had met Abercrombie in Kyle Stockanish [insert time] years before, journeyed the 14 miles from Tarbert to Hushinish on foot, before crossing over to Scarp in a boat, to conduct an investigation in very different times. Can imagine it from previous journey to Scarp to investigate a missing person. No DNA, and limited forensics available. Reliant on a murder scene that was already days old, with suspicious villagers and a non-co-operative prime suspect.</i></p>	
47:01"	FINLAY	<p>'S e an fhianais a bhiodh aig a phoileas agus rudan a chaidh a' ràdh ris le daoine a bha a' fuireach no a-mach às a' Scarp, bhiodh esan a' cuir a h-uile càil an ceann a chèile agus an uairsin dheidheadh aithris gu fear casaid a chrùn.</p> <p><i>The testimony received by the policeman, based on what he had been told by those living on, or near, Scarp ... he'd have collated that information and relayed it to the Procurator Fiscal.</i></p> <p><b>Ach 's e rud a th' ann, narcotics, bhruidhinn thu air narcotics; dè narcotics? Dè am puinsean a bh' ann? Dè seòrsa puinean a bh'ann? Dè chinnt' a th'ann gur e narcotic poisoning a bh' ann?</b></p> <p><i>But the thing is, speaking of narcotics - what narcotics? What was this poison? What type of poison? And what certainty can we ever have, that it WAS narcotic poisoning?</i></p> <p><b>An dotair, chur e sin air an death certificate. Ach chur an dotair air an death certificate e, o chionn gun deach a ràdh ris gun robh iad amharasach, ge bith cò thuirt ris e, gun e siud a thachair. Cha robh an dotair, cha tug e fuil, cha tug e càil às a chorp a dh' innseadh dha.</b></p> <p><i>The doctor put that on the death certificate. But the doctor put it on the death certificate because he had been told of such suspicions. The doctor did not take any blood samples, or anything else from the body that might have futher informed him.</i></p>	<p>sync</p> <p>drama</p>
	FINLAY contd/ - THIS MAY BE IN	<p>Agus dheidheadh e timcheall na daoine mar sin...agus feadhainn eile a bhiodh ann. Agus bheireadh e bhuaipe an uairsin,</p>	back to sync

	<b>WRONG PLACE - EITHER NEEDS SWAPPING TO END OF COMMENT RE POLICEMAN OR LINE OF V/O TO LINK AND MAKE SENSE</b>	<p>bheireadh e bhuap statements, sgrìobhadh e sios a h-uile càil a bha iad a' dol a' ràdh agus aig a' cheann mu dheireadh bhiodh esan a' coimhead air a' sin, ma chuireadh e gu casaid a chrùn e agus bhiodh e a' feuchainn ri inntinn a dhèanamh suas dè an fhianais, dè cho cinnteach 'sa bha e mu dheidhinn na rudan a bha iad ag ràdh ris agus dè cho creidmheach sa bha tòrr dhen a chaidh a' ràdh ris.</p> <p><i>And he'd have gone round the islanders and any other people who were there. And he'd then take, he'd have taken statements from them. He'd write down everything they said and at the end of the day, he would refer to that, before it went to the Proc Fisc and he'd be trying to make up his mind about the evidence ... how certain he could be of the evidence they were giving, and how truthful were the things that had been said to him.</i></p>	drama - ends on JA's eyes
48:39"	<b>VOICE-OVER - THIS IS BECOMING A BIT LABOURED SO CAN WE TIGHTEN / RE-WORD</b>	<p>But there are reasons, beyond island rumour to support the doctor's conclusion - evidence in Abercrombie's logbook. The evidence suggests Abercrombie was taking a gradually, systematically, increasing dose of some intoxicant over the two years that followed his wedding.</p>	logs  drama -
		[Handwriting in log-book shows. Loops. Indicative of drink or drugs. Definitely shows addiction. More handwriting analysis shots.	
	<b>VOICE-OVER (TRY AND SHORTEN)</b>	<p>Fianais làidir gur e an opium a thug buaidh re ùine agus am bàs aig a' cheann thall do Abercrombie ach mas e Annie Jane a bha ga thoirt dha dh'fheumadh adhbhar a bhith aice. Bha sgeulachdan ann gun robh i ann am fiachan riuthasan ann an Glaschu a bha cumail na drugaichean rithe, gu robh i a' goid airgead na sgoile agus leis an eagal a bh' oirre gun tigeadh na bha seo a-mach gun do mhurt i e. No an e rud a bh' ann nach e clann-sgoile a-mhàin a bha faighinn a' bhata bhon cheannard? An do bhris am boireannach bochd seo sios mu dheireadh thall 's gun i ach air a bhith ruith bho aon bhurraidh gu burraidh eile fad a beatha? No an e bh' ann gun robh iad le chèile cho domhainn ann an sloc fo bhuaidh deoch làidir is drugaichean 's gun tug e am bàs mu dheireadh gu aon dhiubh ge bith an ann gun fhiosta no a dh'aona ghnothaich?</p> <p><i>Powerful circumstantial evidence of progressive opium poisoning. But if Annie Jane was plying her husband with her personal</i></p>	

		supply of the drug, she will have had to have some kind of motive. Stories that she was in debt to Glasgow dealers, embezzling school funds – and it was the potential discovery of this that led her to kill him. Or maybe this heavy-handed man didn't limit his use of the cane to his pupils. Did this woman snap – run away from one bully to another? Or were they living in hell, dual addictions that ended one of their lives either by deliberation or accident?	
	KATHRYN	When somebody writes it's all in-built, naturally in-built formations in your mind – and you write without thinking. And we found even with drugs and alcohol, you're still doing the same formations but obviously, the impact of these items have loosened your writing slightly. I did notice in 1889 the same formations, but the words were slightly larger – some of the letters were slightly more accentuated for example the letter "l" at the end of the word "small" in 1886 there was quite a tight loop on the end. The word "school" in 1888-9 there was a much more accentuated loop on the end – the same with a lower case "d" – the "n" of the word "children" – I noticed were much tightly formed letters in 1886. 1888/89, they were getting looser and bigger and more accentuated.	sync
			blackboard - JA writing
	KATHRYN	The three possibilities of the increased size, layout of the writing over the years could be - drugs, alcohol or old age	
		Old age you would tend to see a little more tremor or hesitation where in this writing there wasn't really much tremor and hesitation. There was still the beautifully formed letters	
	KATHRYN	I would go to probable that this gentleman was being affected by some kind of abusive substance.	
			KATHRYN WORKING
51:47"	NORMAN	<b>Chan eil mi creidsinn gun deach càil a chuir ris an t-seanachas.</b> <i>I do not believe there was anything added to the story to embellish it.</i>	
	VOICE-OVER	<b>Dh'fhaodadh gur e an deoch làidir a thug buaidh air làmh-sgrìobhaidh Abercrombie cho math ri cuideigin a bhith ga phuinnseanachadh a dh'aona ghnothaich. Mar sin an e na fathannan a thug buaidh air co-dhùnidhean an dotair ?</b> <i>The handwriting samples could just as easily suggest a deterioration due to Abercrombie's reputed drinking habit, as deliberate poisoning. So were the doctor's conclusions just the product of local gossip-mongers?</i>	
52:00"	FINLAY	<b>Cha bhithinn airson a' facal 'gossip' a thoirt</b>	

		<p>ann idir o chionn 's e rud ubhasach cudromach a tha seo, gun deach duine a mhurt anns an eilean agus bhiodh e gu math na bu doimhne nan inntinn na rud a bhiodh iad a' bruidhinn air bho latha gu latha. Thachair e aon uair agus air an dòigh sin bhiodh an inntinn gu math trom air a' rud a thachair agus mar a thachair e...ma thachair e.</p> <p>I don't want to use the word 'gossip' because this is pretty serious stuff, that a man was murdered on the island and it would have lain far more heavily o their minds than the day to day stuff they normally talked of. It happened this once and it would have left their minds very heavy - if indeed it happened.</p>	
52:22"	VOICE-OVER	<p>Dìreach mar a tha fasan an t-seanachais air sioladh às, tha cuideachd agus coimhearsnachd an eilein. Tha e air a bhith bàn bho 1971, nuair a dh'fhalbh na daoine mu dheireadh.</p> <p>Just like the oral tradition that sustained life here, the Sgarpaich themselves are dying out... reminder evacuation in '71 etc Re the evacuation etc</p>	pace-y music & GVs
52:38"	FINLAY	<p>Thogadh m' athair 's mo mhàthair anns an eilean agus bha càirdean as an eilean agus tha mi glè chinnteach gun robh e duilich dhaibhsan dìreach, ann am priobadh na sùla bha thu a' faicinn gun robh thu gam fàgail agus gun robh Caolas na Scarpa gu bhith eadar iad fhèin agus mi-fhèin. Bha sin duilich</p> <p><i>My father and mother were raised on the island and there were relatives on the island, and I am quite sure it was difficult for them to leave...It was just in the blink of an eye you found that you were leaving them behind and that the Kyle of Scarp was to lie between them and me. That was very hard...</i></p>	
52:57"	GILLIES	<p><i>The children that played on the shore .... The children of 'sgoil air an tràigh' were the last generation .... The lost generation in a sense. Because they were denied the life that they prepared for on this beach. Politics and probably economics have denied them that.</i></p>	wee jump cut to cover
53:24"	DI	<p>Tha am baile fhathast a' coimhead math – tha dà fhichead bliadhna bho dh'fhalbh sinne as a seo, sinne an teaghlach mu dheireadh a dh'fhalbh às. Tha mi smaoinichadh g'eil e nas fheàrr dìreach leigeil leis a dhol air ais mar a bha, air ais dha na clachan 's air ais dhan talamh. Bu thoigh leam dìreach fhàgail, dhol air ais mar</p>	<i>Ruined shots of DI's house. etc</i>

		<p><b>a bha e.</b>  <i>The village still looks good but forty years since we left here, we were the last family to leave it...I think it is far better just to let it go back to the way it was, back to the stones and the ground - and back into the ground....I would like to just leave it, let it go the way it is.</i></p>	
53:44"	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Chan eil adhbhar againn idir creidsinn gun deach Annie-Jane a tìodhliageadh air a Sgarp idir. Eu-coltach ris an duin' aice, is esan na laighe - a-rèir coltais - fo mhachair thorach an eilein fhathast.</b>  <i>There is nothing to suggest that AJ died on Scarp,, unlike her husband, who's body is said to lie under Scarp's fertile machair .</i></p>	Gvs after fade
53:55"	NORMAN	<p><b>Tha mi creid gun deach e a tìodhliacadh a Sgarp.</b>  <b>Cha ghabh e lorg an-diugh, cha robh iad an uair iad a' cur clachan cinn ceart air uaigh. Clach chruinn maol a bha dol ann is bha na ceudan air a tìodhliacadh ann is cha lorgadh tu iad.</b>  <i>I believe that he is buried on Scarp. There is nothing to see today, since in those days they didn't mark the graves with proper headstones. They just placed round, plain stones on stop and hundreds were buried there so there's no chance of tracing his.</i></p>	
	VOICE-OVER	<p><b>Chan eil fhios le cinnt dè thachair às dèidh seo. Tha clàraidhean a' sealltainn gur ann an seo ann am Boradail faisg air Roghadal ann an ceann a deas na Hearadh a bha an teaghlach mu dheireadh. Chan eil ann a-nis ach beagan thobhtaichean ach anns na bliadhnaichean mu dheireadh den 19mh linn deug bha taigh nam bochd an seo agus bha e na dhachaigh fhuar mì-chomhfhurtail do mu 16 neach. 'S ann an seo a bhàsaich Laetitia aig aois **. Carson nach robh Annie Jane a' coimhead às a dèidh? Feumaidh le cinnt gun robh ise air turas cudromach a dh'àite eile ... turas nach robh a màthair fallainn gu leòr airson a ghabhail cuide rithe.</b>  <i>What happened next is uncertain. The last record we have of any of the family is here, in Borrowdale neat Rodel on the south coast of Harris. Now there is only a handful of ruins, but in the 1890s there was an poorhouse here, which housed some 16 occupants in damp, cramped conditions. This is where Laetitia died, at the age of [insert age] of [insert illness]. Why was Annie Jane no longer able to look after her? It can only be that she was undertaking another, perhaps this time more significant journey, one that perhaps Laetitia</i></p>	gravestones etc

		<i>was too old or too ill to make.</i>	
54:49"	voice can be manipulated to suit here	reference letters thrown in, again?	AJ at grave
55:10"	DI	She threw (in) letters she was getting from the opium dealers she had in Glasgow. <b>That's how she ended the story</b>	
	FINLAY	Thachair e aon uair agus air an dòigh sin bhiodh an inntinn gu math trom air a' rud a thachair agus mar a thachair e...ma thachair e.	
	VOICE-OVER - better to say that she was not fated to STAY on Scarp, either? Having already ref'd the fact that she was not buried there etc	Ach cha robh e an dàn do Annie Jane bàsachadh air Scarp. A rèir a' chunntais-sluaigh ann an 1891 3 bliadhna às dèidh do Abercrombie bàsachadh bha i a' fuireach ann am flat bheag ann an Port Rìgh san Eilean Sgitheanach. 'S ann anns a' flat seo a tha an-diugh os cionn bùth gruagaire a thàinig Laetitia agus a' chlann aig Annie a dh'fhuireach cuide ri the aig a' cheann thall. <b>But Annie-Jane wasn't fated to die on Scarp.</b> <i>Three years after Abercrombie's death she is reported in the 1891 census as living in a small flat in Portree, above what is now a hairdresser's shop. She was joined here by her mother Laetitia and her two children.</i>	GVs Portree etc
55:50"	VOICE-OVER	<b>Bha a' chùis iongantach mu bhàs John Abercrombie air a dùnadh agus cha deach casaid riamh a chur às leth Annie. Ach chan eil teisteanas bàis ann airson Annie idir agus chan eil i fhèin no a cuid chloinne a' nochdadh às dèidh sin air a' chunntas-sluaigh. Tha coltas ann gun do rinn i mar gu leòr eile aig an àm sin 's gun do thog i oirre gu ruige Canada ann an oidhirp uair eile beatha ùr a thòiseachadh dhi fhèin 's dha teaghlach.</b> <i>The strange case of John Abercrombie's death was closed, and Annie Jane was certainly never prosecuted. But there is no death certificate for her, nor are there any further census records for her or her children. The likelihood is that, in common with so many people at the time who were running away from their pasts, she registered her and her children her children for transatlantic passage, and set off for Canada, to try once again to start her life afresh.</i>	
		<b>FADE DOWN AND UP – FALSE END</b>	
57:00"	VOICE-OVER	<b>Ach am faodadh e bhith nach do dh'fhàg Annie Jane gu tur Scarp? Oir chan eil an t-eilean gu buileach falamh. Cheannaich na Bakewells e ann an **** agus tha e air a chleachdadh aig amannan rè mìosan an t-samhraidh.....</b>	music change and GVs Scarp

		<i>But could it be that Annie Jane did not leave Scarp, entirely? Since the island is not completely empty, either. Bought by the Bakewells in XXXX, sometimes it is used in warmer months.</i>	
57:07"	FRANCINE <b>(can obviously be tightened if nec)</b>	<p>it must have been about midnight and the light was drawing in and I was gazing at the schoolhouse and suddenly I was aware, staring at a shape, a figure, a person, it was a woman standing in the doorway in the shadows in the growing darkness.</p> <p>She was tall and had a cloak and a skirt, a long skirt. And I couldn't see her face, there was a hood on her cloak and her arms were on her waist. She was staring out and must have been aware that she was being seen and she drew back into the shadows and disappeared.</p> <p>I knew it wasn't a fleshly person and it was quite an eerie feeling, she didn't seem a happy soul at all. And there was a sadness to her and a desperation and a hungriness of someone unable to detach from a very unpleasant experience. It's what the Buddhists call a "hungry ghost".</p> <p>And I told my family, when I got back to them, that I had seen this ghost and the children refused after that to ever go back into the schoolhouse.</p>	
		<b>END ROLLER &amp; FIN</b>	

## **Appendix 6** *Rèiteach* edit script

## SCRIPT FOR AN REITEACH

Opening Sequence  
Montage old and new Scarp

Hugh Dan goes into the house  
V/O  
Important day. Grand-daughter getting married. Bustle

Music Sequence  
Joan describes colour sequence, then music sequence with balloon.  
V/O 1'16 – 1'41

JANET  
"Many used to come to the communions from everywhere. I didn't know half the people and someone said oh they're from Scarp. And the church was full. I never used to invite people in, but Iain asked to come to my house with me, and so I asked him."

"What age were you?"  
"35"

JOAN  
"I met Campbell when I was working in the Trading Post. Friend came in, and asked me for my phone number for him. I gave him the wrong number!"

Music Sequence  
Shots of Scarp  
V/O

JANET  
"Everyone was wondering why Iain was stopping off so many times, bringing his lorry backwards and forwards. But they eventually found out, that he had a Girlfriend in Mannish. My Granny said not to pull the wool over his eyes"

JOAN  
"He was down in South Shields. I went down to Newcastle on valentine day and he asked me to marry him. It was very romantic."

Photo of Iain  
4'49 – 4'53

JANET  
"He asked me to marry him after a year and I was happy enough to say yes. My granny was in bed and she was saying he's a decent man."

PICTURE SEQUENCE  
Marquee and getting ready. 5'27-5'50  
V/O

HD AND JANET  
"Janet You were saying to me that you remembered someone taking photos at the wedding."  
"I remember someone took one of myself and Iain."  
"Did you hear that perhaps there was a film?"  
"I didn't say anything, my love!"

#### SCARP SEQUENCE SETTING UP GILLIES

6'24 – 6'43 (see gillies 6/33)

Artist, film etc

#### GILLIES

Head teacher in Harris had a camera. Came and took the film as a favour to my father

Hd

Here's the film.

Who'se that

I don't know

It's you

Yes, me and in the hat, there's Ian, there's the boat and the piper.

Very stylish people.

Yes, yes

How were you?

Very happy.

#### ARCHIVE FILM

08'23 – 09'11

#### JOAN

It was so emotional seeing the film. So lucky to get it. She means a lot to me (cries)

09'43 – up archive film

10'07 – segue through to water, scarp by boat, Gillies and boat

#### GILLIES

10'33

"I remember the boats coming down the sound. Piper on board. Women stayed at home and plucked chickens, and ran up the table clothes on the washing line to make it look like flags.

#### MUSIC VISUAL SEQUENCE

11'24 – 11'32 Washing and marquee

#### JOAN

"It's so important to get everyone that you love together in the one place. I knew my granny from Harris wouldn't be able to travel up to Stornoway, so when I saw the marquee just had to have it, knew she'd be able to make it."

#### ACTUALITY

Joan and bridesmaid talk about the dress.

#### Music sequence

Joan and Janet look at dress. No v/o

#### JANET

"I GOT MY DRESS IN Murdo Maclean's Shop. A cousin of mine came with me. I have it there in the box in one piece.

"The dress cost 47 pounds, a large amount then."

#### JOAN

"When you try it on...it's your important day and it's your important dress, it's your one sentimental reminder."

JANET

"It was the best bargain I ever got. I was happy with him and I was happy in Scarp. There you are."

MUSIC SEQUENCE

Morning of wedding, bride getting ready.  
No v/o

JANET

"Oh well I am happy seeing my grand-daughter so far and seeing her getting married. I had hope that everything will go well for her. That is what I wish anyway."

"Joan went to Lewis to find a man!"

"Yes, to Lewis to find a man, oh it's not that what happens..."

MUSIC SEQUENCE,

Coming down stairs  
15'15 hello dad, 15'26 photographs, 15'35 enter church

JOAN

Macdonald wedding's don't happen very often."

SET UP FINLAY WATCHING ARCHIVE

15'47-16'02 v/o

FINLAY

It was a very big day on Scarp. This kind of thing only happened very rarely, this was the last wedding on Scarp and for that reason, it was quite rightly renowned."

MUSIC SEQUENCE WEDDING

16'31 – 16'41

JANET

"We got married at the beginning of Spring. I got in touch with the Minister in the Free Church in Leverburgh and he said that would be alright. We gave him the date and Iain came with me and we decided that would be our day."

MUSIC SEQUENCE WEDDING

Joan walks up the aisle

JOAN

"I think the church service is the most important part. It's where you do your vows and show your commitment to each other."

WEDDING CEREMONY

17'43 "Do you Campbell Morrison...."

JANET

"My auntie was very upset, she was sorry that I was going. But the old lady was not like that. She said "How will things be if you stay here...but if you get married and you have children that will be just so." And it occurs to me very often how wisely she spoke because she told me that children will be all the support you need."

WEDDING CEREMONY

18'47 "Do you Joan Macdonald.:"

Possible v/o as they sing hymn at 19'33 – 19'52

#### DRIVING SHOTS LIKE FILM

19'52 driving from tarbert

20'23 Archive – Janet begins 21'37

#### JANET

“There hadn't been such an event in a long while. No such thing as a wedding of its kind there. And everyone was really perfectly happy, oh yes indeed and everyone was so kind to us in every way.

#### SEQUENCE

People going into the tent.

22'08 – 22'25

#### FINLAY

“The wedding was held in the school and the tables were laden with food and there was beer, and I suppose a bottle or two of whisky. That was the night, I think that the licencing laws in Scarp were broken.”

#### ACTUALITY SEQUENCE.

“The VIPs have arrived.”

22'57 – 23'04 possible v/O

#### GILLIES

There was a feast on the island in the schoolhouse, three sittings. Over 200 people on the island. After there was a dance in the playground. My father playing the pipes, and eightsome reels went on all through the night. It was a wonderful event.”

#### MUSIC SEQUENCE

23'28 – 23'54 Sequence with hand-shaking and kissing

v/O ?

#### FINLAY-

“We were amongst people we knew as well as strangers we'd never met before, but that said we were all related to one degree or another, and they all came to the wedding on Scap.

#### ACTUALITY

HD and JANET talk about the wedding and how it's been.

#### MUSIC SEQUENCE

25'05- 25'16 piper pipes Joan and Campbell to table.

Possible v/O

#### FINLAY

“I remember when we went to the schoolhouse where the wedding was being held there wasn't enough room in the schoolhouse and when the dancing started they did it outside, it was an excellent night.”

#### MUSIC SEQUENCE

Piped to seats, sweet children

v/o 25'45 – 26'05

#### JOAN

It's been a fantastic day, so busy. I just wanted to relax. My granny's come a long way, her wedding was memorable, and I hope mine will be memorable too in its own way."

ARCHIVE MUSIC

26'40 – 27'05

V/O

JOAN

"Oh, it was a good day, indeed, a good day was had by all in June."

End credits

27'29 – 28'00

**Appendix 7** *Beatha-Phòsd Sa Sgar*  
Programmes One and Two, full English  
transcripts

(This constitutes the full transcript of the  
interview with Janet Morrison and Hugh Dan  
MacLellan)

**AN RÉITEACH - THE WEDDING – MAIN I/V WITH JANET**

**JANET MACDONALD IN HER HOME - I/V'd by HUGH DAN**

01:06".....(Hugh Dan)... **A' bheil sibh a' stigh?**  
*Are you in?*

01:08"...(Janet)... **Oh tha mi a' stigh**  
*Oh yes I am in.*

01:09"...(Hugh Dan)... **Hello, de seòrsa tigh caoich tha seo? Ciamar a tha sibh?**  
*Hello, what kind of madhouse is this? (gentle teasing her – perfectly natural to say this in Gaelic) How are you?*

(LAUGHTER FROM BOTH)

01:18.....(Janet).... **Oh chaneil guth agam ri radh**  
*Oh I cannot complain.*

01:20"...(Hugh Dan)...**An e tigh caoich no tigh bainnse a th'ann?**  
*Is it a madhouse or a wedding house?!*

01:22"...(Janet)... **'S e, tigh bainnse a th'ann**  
*Yes, it's a wedding house.*

(LAUGHTER FROM BOTH)

01:26"...(Hugh Dan).. **Ciamar a tha sibh?**  
*How are you?*

01:28"...(Janet).....**Oh chaneil, chaneil mi dona..... (H.D)... Uh huh... (Janet)... tha mi glé mhath.**  
*Oh I'm not, I'm not bad.....(H.D).....Uh huh..(Janet)...I am very well.*

01:31"...(HUGH DAN)... **Bheil sibh a' cumail rian air a h-uile duine?**  
*Are you keeping everyone under control?!*

01:33"...(JANET)..... **Oh tha, tha mi feuchainn ris co-dhiubh, tha, (H.D)...uh-huh... (JANET)... oh tha cothrom agam a bhith a' deànamh a h-uile càil dhomh fhéin, tha...(H.D)...uh-huh...**  
*Oh yes I am trying anyway, yes (H.D)... uh-huh... (JANET)... oh I am pretty much able to do everything for myself, yes... (H.D)...uh-huh.*

01:39"...(HUGH DAN)..... **Bheil sibh a' coimhead air adhart dh'an a h-uile càil tha seo?**  
*Are you looking forward to everything then?*

01:41"...(JANET)..... **Tha, tha mi a' coimhead air adhart do na bainnse 's a h-uile càil th'ann mar sin. (H.D)...uh-huh...(JANET)..., tha mi radh rium fhéin dìreach gum bu mhath leam e bhith seachad!**  
*Yes, I am looking forward to the wedding and everything like that...(H.D).....uh-huh..(JANET)... I was just saying to myself I would like it to be over!*  
LAUGHTER FROM BOTH

01:53"...(HUGH DAN)..**A' bheil làn an tìghe agaibh an nise?**

*Have you got a houseful now?*

01:55" ..(JANET)..... 'S è ...

*Yes ...*

01:56" ..(HUGH DAN).... **Co tha, bheil a h-uile duine a' tighinn dhachaidh?**

*Who's .... is everyone coming home?*

01:58" ..(JANET)..... **Oh tha daoine a' tighinn dhachaidh, tha Domhnall lain a' tighinn an diugh..(HUGH DAN... uh-huh) tha e a' tighinn aig half six**

**(HUGH DAN... uh-huh) air..em..a' phlane mu**

**dheireadh...um... 's tha Domhnall ('s a' bhean??) a' tighinn.....?**

*Oh there are people coming home. Domhnall lain is coming today, (HUGH DAN...uh-huh), he is coming at half six*

*(HUGH DAN...uh-huh) on...um.....the last plane.....um.....and Domhnall (and his wife?) are coming .....*

02:13" ..(HUGH DAN).....**So, bheil a h-uile càil air a' chuir air dòigh , bheil thu smaoineachadh?**

*So, has everything been organised, do you think?*

02:16" ..(JANET).....**Oh tha mi a' smaoineachadh gu bheil.**

*Oh I think it has.*

02:18" ..(HUGH DAN).....**A' bheil e coltach ris a' bhanais agaibh fhèin?**

*Is it like your own wedding?*

*(LAUGHTER FROM BOTH)*

02:21" ..(JANET).....**Oh well, he he, well tha iad a' dèanamh a h-uile càil cho nice agus a h-uile duine cho cuideachal, 's tha iad mar sin cuideachd (H.D uh-huh) Air a thachair e dhomhsa, air a' phòs mise 's gun deacha mi dhan a' Scarp.**

*Oh well, well .... they are doing everything so nicely, and everyone is so helpful, and they\* were like that too (H.D uh-huh) \*as in those who were there when she married When it happened with me, when I got married and went to Scarp*

02:37" ..(HUGH DAN)..... **Oh well**

**Oh well.**

**(PAUSE TO PREPARE FOR INTERVIEW)**

03:00" ..Hugh Dan.. **Ceart matha Janet, tha mi dol a' fhaighneachd ceist na dha dhuit mu, dìreach mu dheidhinn rudan a bha tachairt 's rudan a bha dol as na Hearadh.. JANET... seadh... HUGH DAN...rudan a bha dol roimh a' bhanais agad fhéin. Ach bha aon rud a nise chuala mise an diugh agus chaneil fhios am na dh'innis duine dhomh riamh, no 'n e rud a' th'air a dhol as mo chuimhne. Ciamar a thàinig thu fhéin do na Hearadh an toiseach?**  
03:19"

*03:00" ..HUGH DAN.. Right then Janet, I am going to ask you one or two questions about, just about things that were happening and things that were going on in Harris.. [JANET.. I see..] and things that were going on before your own wedding. But there was one thing now that I heard today, and I do not know if anyone ever told me or if it's something that I've forgotten. How did you first come to Harris yourself? 03:19"*

03:20" ..JANET..**Well, mar a thàinig mise dha na Hearadh, thàinig mi dha na, dha na Hearadh 'nuair nach robh mi ach dà bhliadhna. Bhàsaich mo Mhàthair 'nuair a bha mi bliadhna agus 'nuair a bha mi dà bhliadhna thug m'Auntie as, s' ann as a' Chrianlàraich a bha sinn. 'S e ban- Sgiathanach a bha pòsda, 'na mo Mhàthair, aig m' Athair anns na**

**Hearadh. Bheil fios agad, Seonaidh Eóin agus Domhnall Eóin 'se dà bhràthair a' bh' unnta. Agus bha m' Athair an uairsin air an railway as a' Chrìanláraich agus phòs e i seo a Glaschu agus bha sinn as a' Chrìanláraich, bha iad as a' Chrìanláraich, agus rugadh mise 'n uair sin agus bhàsaich mo Mhàthair 'n uair a bhà mi bliadhna. Cha robh fhios aig m' Athair an uairsin de a' thachradh agus dh' fhiarr e air a' phiuthair fhéin 's i ann an Glaschu am biodh i cho math is gun tigeadh i còmhla ris. Agus "oh gu dearbh" ars ise "thig" agus thàinig i còmhla ris ??? an robh i a'g obair agus an uairsin, tha, "de nì sinn, a' dhol dha na Hearadh?". "Oh" ars ise "feumaidh sinn a dhol" ars ise "dha na Hearadh leis an nighean airson bithidh i còmhla ri mo Mhàthair agus ri mo phiuthair". Agus chaidh, chaidh, chaidh i còmhla ris an uairsin agus dhan i còmhla ris suas gun robh mise dà bhliadhna.. Dà bhliadhna bha mi nuair a thàinig mi a' Mhanish agus cha robh sgath? beurla agam, 's e Gaidhlig a bh'ann! ...HUGH DAN... Cha robh sgath? Gaidhlig agaibh. .. JANET... Seadh, seadh, seadh sin tha mi minigeadh, cha robh sgath? Gaidhlig agam. 'se 'bheurla bh'ann. Agus cha robh mo Ghranny, bha m'Auntie all right, cha robh mo Ghranny cha robh i a' tigsinn càil, 's an uair a bhithinn a'g iarraidh càil dheidhinn a null do na chupboard a bh' air taobh an tìghe agus chuirinn mo làmh air agus dh' aithnicheadh i gur h-ann a'g iarraidh biadh a bha mi! (BOTH LAUGH)**

**Agus sin mar dh' fhàs mi suas an uair sin, is bha iad, agus thuirt iad an uairsin gum biodh iad all right agus dh' fhalbh ise air ais a' Ghlaschu agus chaidh i còmhla ri m' Athair airson dreiseag agus air ceann trì bliadhna as deidh sin phòs m' Athair te a Gleann Dail agus dh' fhalbh e as an sin, thug i sin a null e 's chaidh e dh' Americaidh, Americaidh. Agus dhan e, dhan e an Americaidh 's chaneil càil a dh' fhios am, Hugh Dan, duirt? a thachair as deidh sin dha.....hesitating....bha an address aige 's bha e sgrìobhadh thugainn ach cha d'fhuair mi guth tilleadh bhoidhe bho bhàsaich a' bhean aige thall. Sin a thuirt a' litir mo dheireadh 's bha mi bha m'Auntie cuideachd a' sgrìobhadh 's a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn. Cha d' fhuair mi guth a' riamh, Hugh Dan, duirt? a' thachair dha. 06:12"**

03:20"...JANET..Well how I came to Harris, I came to, to, Harris when I was only two years. My mother died when I was a year old, and when I was two years my Auntie took me from .... Crìanláraich, where we were. It was a Skye woman who was then married "as my Mother" to my father in/ or from Harris. You know, Seonaidh Eóin and Domhnall Eóin were two brothers (HER FATHER BEING WHICH ONE ???) .

And my father was on the railway in Crìanláraich and he married this lady from Glasgow, and we were in Crìanláraich, they were in Crìanláraich. I was born then and my mother died when I was a year old. My father didn't know then what would happen, and he asked his own sister who was in Glasgow if she would be so good as to come with him. And "oh indeed" she said "I will" and she came with him. She was working and then it was a matter of, um, "what will we do, go to Harris?". "Oh" she said "we must go" she said "to Harris with the girl as she will be with my mother and my sister". And she went, went, went with him then and she stayed with him until I was two years old. Two years I was when I came to Manish and I did not have (a bit?) of English, it was Gaelic!..HUGH DAN CORRECTS HER ..You did not have (a bit?) of Gaelic! Yes yes yes that's what I mean, I did not have (a bit?) of Gaelic, it was English only I had.

JANET..... And my Granny did not, my Auntie was all right, my Granny she did not understand anything, and when I wanted anything I would go over to the cupboard that was at the side of the house and I would put my hand on it and she would know that I was wanting food. (BOTH LAUGH) And that is how I grew up then, and they were, and they said then that they would be all right, and she went back to Glasgow and she went with my father for a while, and three years after that my father married a woman from Glendale and he went away from there, she took him across and he went to America, America and he stayed, he stayed in America and I do not know, Hugh Dan, what happened to him after that.....hesitating..... He had the address and he was writing to us, but then I never heard from him again after his wife died over there. That is what the last letter said and I was, my Auntie was also writing and speaking about him.. I never heard since, Hugh Dan, (what?) happened to him.... 06:12"

**06:14"...HUGH DAN... Ach, ach, de, an fhuair sibh a riamh a' mach ciamar a' 'landaig' e as**

**an Crianláraich co-dhiùbh, an 'e an obair a' railway?.. 06:20"**

*But, but, what, did you ever find out how he ended up in Crianlaraich anyway, was it the railway work?*

**06:21"....JANET..... Oh 's e railway, 's e a' luaidh, 's e obair a' railway a thug air fuireachd a' sin, agus 's ann an uair sin a bha mise ('s phòs e, 's bha mi seachd?) 's bhàsaich, tha e coltach, an ceann na bliadhna gar bith de thàinig ceàrr, bhàsaich mo Mhàthair. Well b'fhéudar dha 'n uairsin rudeigin a' dheanamh, fhéumadh e.... chuir e 'n uairsin fios dhachaidh gu pheathraichean agus gu a' Mhàthair. "Oh thig dhachaidh ann a seo leis a' nighean" agus (LAUGH) thàinig mi sin, bha mi a' Manish 06:50"**

*06:21".... Oh yes the railway, oh yes my dear, it was the railway work that made him stay there, and it's then I was and he got and she died, apparently, after a year .... whatever went wrong, my Mother died. Well, he had to do something then, he had to ..... He then sent word home to his sisters and to his Mother .... "oh come home here with the girl" and (LAUGH) I came then, I was in Manish ..06:50"*

**06:51"... HUGH DAN...Ach tha fhios gun robh sibh gu math spaideal matha, a' nochdadh ann a Manish gun agaibh ach Beurla..06:55"**

*But I take it you were seen to be very posh then, appearing in Manish with only spoken English?!*

**06:56"....JANET... O bha, garbh spaideal, bha iad as mo dheidh (LAUGH) bhiodh, bhiodh bhiodh iad timchioll orm co-dhiùbh, a' chlann, agus co-dhiùbh sin mar a bhà mi 's bha, bha iad glé mhath dhomh a h-uile duine aca. Bha m'uncle a' sin, 's bha nise a' bhean phòs e i, 's bha nise a' chlann aige ann a sin, nach'eil iad pòsda, pàirt aca, agus bha iad cho math dhomh, a h-uile duine aca. 'S even bha, bha na daoine a bh'ann a Manish fhéin math dhomh. Fhios agad na seann daoine bh'ann bhiodh iad a' falbh 's breith aca air laimh oirm s' dha mo thogail (LAUGH) sin mar a bhà mi 'nuair sin, 's bha mi 'nuair sin fhéumainn..(cuir?)..m'Auntie thàinig i dhachaidh an uairsin agus, tha, thug i dhachaidh aodach. Well chuir i do'n a sgoil mi 'nuair a bha mi seachd bliadhna, tha cuimhne agam, agus tha cuimhne agam dìreach a' latha a chuir i ann mi, dh'fhalbh i leam do na sgoil. Agus bha mi dol (dhachaidh?) , bha m' Auntie eile bha stigh, nuair a dh'fhalbh ise an uair sin a' Ghlaschu. Bha m'Auntie bha stigh bha i cho uallacheal 's gun robh i tighinn comhla riumsa do'n sgoil a h-uile latha, gus an robh mi, bha, bha, mi deich bliadhna co-dhiùbh mus do sguir i (thighinn ann?). 'S bha mi, bha mi 'nuairsin allright mi fhéin, bha mi deànadh a h-uile càil 's bha mi, bha mi 'nuair sin bha m'Auntie a' stigh còmhla rinn 's cha robh i sin uamhasach math idir, 's bha, 's bha mi deànadh cuideachadh leotha leis a h-uile càil, Seonnie a' g obair air an talamh 's mi-fhéin 'g a chuideachadh, mar a bha daoine 'n uair sin. 'S bha mi, bha mi glé mhath dheth, 's nise seo, seo a nis a' rud a thachair (LAUGH) chaidh, lorg lain mi ann a Manish (BOTH LAUGH) 08:38"**

*06:56..JANET..Oh yes, , extremely posh, they were all after me ! (LAUGH) they were, they were, they were all around me anyway, the children, and anyway that is how I was .... and they were, they were, very good to me every one of them. My uncle was there, and, now, his wife, he married her and, now, his children were there, aren't they married too, some of them and they were so good to me, every single one of them. And even the, the people who were in Manish itself were good to me. You know the old people who were there, they used to go and take me by the hand and lift me (LAUGH) That is how I was then and I was then, my Auntie she came home then and, um, she brought home clothes. Well, she sent me to school when I was seven years, I remember, and I remember just the day she sent me there, off she went with me to school. And I was going (home?) My other Auntie who was in, she went then back to Glasgow, my Auntie who was in she was so anxious that she came with me to school every day until I was, I was ten years anyway, until she stopped (coming there?) And I was, I was then allright myself, I was doing everything and I was, I was, then my Auntie was in with us and she was not very well at all. And I was, I was, helping them with everything, Seonnie working on the land and I was helping him myself, as people did then. And I was, I was very well off, and now this, this is now what*

happened (LAUGH) Iain went and "found" me in Manish (BOTH LAUGH) ..08:38

**08:40..HUGH DAN..Tillidh sinn gu na sin gu ta...JANET...Tillidh.... H.D..... Tha sgeulachd no dhà ann...JANET...seadh... H.D.... tha mi tuigsinn. mar an dòigh 's na lorg thu e, mar a' lorg esan thusa, ach ciamar a nise a bha e bhith dol do'n sgoil ann a' Manish, an e sgoil mhór a bh'ann, robh tòrr chloinne ann? 08:54"**

HUGH DAN..We will come back to that, though. JANET... we will... H.D....There are one or two stories... JANET... Yes... H.D... I understand, about the way you found him, how he found you, but now what was it like going to school in Manish, was it a big school, were there many children?

**08:55" ..JANET.. Oh bha, bha dé chuid ann matha, Hugh Dan, bha dé chuid chlann as sgoil 'nuair a bha mise a' dol ann. Oh bhà, bha tòrr ann. Bha, bha tòrr bhalaich mhór ann. Cuimhnich, bha a' strap an uair ud a' dol ach gu dearbha cha robh daoine, bha daoine cho càirdeal an uairsin ri daoine 's bha iad cho caoidhneal. Agus sin e, sin a nise mar a thachair... hesitating...mar a' thachair dhomh 's bha m' Athair a' sgrìobhadh gun a' sud gun a' b'fhéudar dha, féumaidh gun bhual tinneas na rudeigin e 's cha robh duine ann ... (thug?)... gnothaichean mu dheidhinn, 's bha sin duilich, nach cuala sinn, bha Seonnie e fhéin bha a' sgrìobhadh gu a' phiuthair an Americaidh a' foighneachd mu dheidhinn, ciamar a bha e, ciamar a bha e, 's bha i ag innse dha gu robh e glé mhath ach an uairsin codhiùbh cha d' fhuair e ?????? tilleadh air gar bith de thachair, sin mar a bhà, Hugh Dan. 09:50"**

08:55" ..JANET.. Oh yes, there were quite a lot then, Hugh Dan, there were quite a lot of children in the school when I was going there. Oh yes, there were a lot. Yes, there were a lot of big boys. Remember, the strap was used then but indeed people weren't ..... people were then so friendly to one another and they were so kind. And that's it, that's now how it happened... hesitating... what happened to me ..... and my Father, he was writing to me until then until he had to, he must have been taken ill or something and there was no-one... who understood the ... news about him, and that was sad, that we did not hear, Seonnie himself was writing to his sister in America asking about him, how he was, how he was, and she was telling him that he was very well but, anyway, then he had no more... (?????)....., whatever happened, that's how it was, Hugh Dan.... 09:50"

**09:51" ..HUGH DAN.. Ach bha, bha, sluagh, tha fhios, agus teaghlaidhean agus dachaidhean ann a Manish gu deibhinn, nach eil ann an diugh, 's e baile, baile mór a bh'ann? 09:58"**

HUGH DAN... But there was, there was a large population, obviously, and families and homes in Manish, indeed who aren't there today, it was, was it a big village?

**09:59" ..JANET.. Baile mór a bh'ann an uair sin, bha e làn, 's chaneil ann an diugh ach cuibhreach de'n a' bhaile ach a dhà, dà, ann a' Manish - ann Manish agus bha rathad, cha robh, cuimhnich, cha robh rathad ann an uair ud ach tha rathad ann an diugh, rathad a' dol sìos dha 'n a' bhaile, 's tha rathad a' dol sìos dha 'n a' bhaile agus chaneil móran a' dol sìos air. 10:22"**

09:59" ..JANET.. It was a big village then, it was full, but today there is only what remains .of the village but only two, two, in Manish and there IS a road, there wasn't, remember, there was no road then but there is a road today, a road going down to the village, and a there's a road going down to the village and not many go down on it... 10:22

**10:23" ..Hugh Dan.. (Ciamar?) bha sibhse a' deànamh ar rathad dhan a' sgoil? 10:24"**  
( How? ) **did you make your way to school?**

**10:25" ..JANET..... Cha robh dìreach ach a' falbh (oirt) le do bhrògan oirt neo do bhòtanan 's a' tuiteam ort 's bha, bha thu dìreadh na feannagan 's a' h-uile àite suas do na sgoil. Cha**

**robh càil a' dol 'ga do thoirt ann ach sin. 10:38"**

*It was just a matter of taking off there, with your shoes on, or your socks tumbling down as you walked ..... and you were, and there you were ..... climbing over the crofts and everywhere to the school. Nothing else was going to take you there except that.*

**10:39...HUGH DAN..'S de an obair a bha, de bha cumail bi-beò ri muinntir Mhanish?.. 10:43"**

*And what work, what did the people of Manish do for their livelihood?*

**10:44..JANET... 'S e an iasgach, tha iasgach a' ghraidh, agus iasgach agus obair na talmhainn, obair cruaidh 's caoirach gu leòr. 'S e, 's e sin a bh'ann. Cha robh duine, cha robh duine a' deànamh obair sam bith eile ann ach sin. Cha robh a' chòrr ann. 11:01"**

*Fishing, it was the fishing my dear, and fishing and working the land, working with cattle and plenty of sheep. Yes, that is what it was. Nobody, nobody was doing any other work there but that. There was nothing else.*

**11:02"..HUGH DAN..Is a' robh tòrr siubhal ann eadar na bailtean, eadar Manish agus na bailtean eile timchioll as na bàighean ann a shin an uairsin? 11:08**

*And was there much travelling between the villages, between Manish and the other villages around the bays there at the time?*

**11:09"..JANET..Oh cha robh, cha robh, cha robh càraichean fhéin an uair ud ann na busaichean na càil, ach bha am post ann ...'s bha sinn dòigheal gu leòr timchioll air a' sin. Bha, bha, bheil fhios agad bha h-uile duine toirt help do'n a phost fhéin. Bha e, bha e fàgail na litrichean as a' Phost Office 's bha daoine iad fhéin a' dol 'g a iarraidh. 'S e sin mar a bha a' tachairt 's bha daoine cho toilichte 's a' coimhead air a' chéile a h-uile latha. 11:40**

*Oh there wasn't really, there weren't even cars then, or buses or anything, but the postman was there...always there .... and we were happy enough about that. Yes, yes, you know, everyone helped the postman. He left, he left, the mail in the Post Office and the people themselves just collected it. That's what happened, and people were so happy and just going to see each other every day.*

**11:42"...HUGH DAN...De cho fada's a' thug sibh a' dol dhan a' sgoil matha, de 'n aois a bha sibh 'nuair a' chrìochnaich sibh 'nuair a bha sibh ann a' sgoil Manish? 11:45"**

*How long did you spend going to school then, what age were you when you finished, when you were in Manish school?*

**11:46"..JANET.. Oh well bha, bha, dìreach bha mi ceithir deug, Hugh Dan, 'n uair a dh'fhàg mi a' sgoil 's bha mi 'n uairsin còmhla riutha fad an t-siubhail, um, còmhla ri mo Ghranny 's bha ise fàs aosd an uairsin 's bha i, bha i, bha i stigh, bha, bha bha Dollag a stigh, te air a' robh Dollag, m' Auntie. Cha robh ise móran comasach, cha robh i math, 's bha mise muigh 's bhiodh ise a'g obair a' stigh. 'S bha mise muigh còmhla ri Seonnie m' Uncle, bha e math dhomh. 'S bha e math dhomh, bha a' chlann-nighean 'n uair a dh'fhàs iad suas bha iad glé mhath dhomh cuideachd. Tha te ann a' Ceann.....??. Tha Domhnall a' Manish 's a' bhean, agus sin agad, 's tha t-eile aca an Cluer, tha i pòsd an Cluer, Tina a th' orra. Agus, well, bhàsaich Eóin, bhàsaich e 'o chionn trì bliadhna. 12:40"**

*11:46... JANET... Oh well, I was, I was, I was just fourteen, Hugh Dan, when I left school, and I was with them then all the time, um, with my Granny, and she was getting old by then and she was, she was, she was always indoors, Dollag was, was, was always indoors, she was called Dollag, my Auntie. She was not very physically capable, she wasn't well, and when I was outside working and she would work inside. And I was outside with my Uncle Seonnie, he was good to*

me. And he was good to me ..... the girls, when they grew up they were good to me too. One of them is in Ceann .....?? Donald is in Manish, and his wife, and there you are, and another of them is in Cluer, she is married in Cluer, she's called Tina. And, well, Eóin died, he died three years ago ... 12:40"

**12:41"... HUGH DAN.. Mar sin bha sibhse a' coimhead as deidh dhaoine eile agus.. JANET... Bha... H.D....cuid a bha glé òg 12:43"**

Therefore you were looking after other people and...  
JANET... Yes...H.D...some who were very young

**12:45"....JANET..... Bha cuideachd, bha muinntir Dhomhnaill Thàm bha, bha, bha am balach sin agus a' nighean aca agus bhiodh ise a' falbh dha 'n bhùth gu ruig i Geocrab 's bhiodh i 'g am fhàgail 's a' stigh. Oh 's bha, bha, bha 'ad cho coibhneal 's bha a' chlann cho math is dh' fhanadh iad comhla rium, dh' fhanadh iad comhla rium ged a' bhiodh i uaireanan a' thide air falbh. Um, dh' fhanadh a' chlann comhla rium, er, 's tha, thàinig i seo choimhead orm ann a sheo, Hugh Dan, tha, Sarah a' Pitlochry, piuthair Dhomhnaill Thàm. Thàinig i ....bha i stigh...trì seachdainnan, thàinig i a' choimhead orm. Well.. laugh..thubhairt e, Domhnall, Domhnall, bràthair ....gun tig thu a' choimhead air Janet an té bha coimhead oirt 'n uair a bha thu gumath òg co-dhiùbh. "Oh tha mi dol a' dheanamh ann" thuirt i. Agus sin agad a nis mar a' bha tachairt dhomhsa. Agus bha a h-uile duine, mar a' chanadh thu, cho coibhneal dhomh comhla rinn ann a' Manish. 'Se daoine uamhasach snog ... 's a h-uile duine. 13:46"**

12:45"...JANET... I was too, Domhnall Thàm's family, that, that, that boy and their girl and she would go to the shop as far as Geocrab ..... and she would leave me in the house. Oh and they were, they were, they were so kind and the children were so good and they would stay with me, they would stay with me even if she was away for hours. Um, the children would stay with me, er, and, this one came to see me here, Hugh Dan, um, Sarah from Pitlochry, Domhnall Thàm's sister. She came home .....she was home for ..... three weeks, she came to see me. Well...laugh..he said, Donald, Donald's..... brother that you will come and see Janet the one who looked after you when you were very young anyway. "Oh I am going there right away" she said. And there now that's what happened to me. And everyone was, as you would say, so kind to me, with us in Manish. They are extremely nice people ...indeed ,,,,,, and everyone... 13:46"

**13:47"... HUGH DAN.... An 'e saoghal cruaidh a' bh' ann an uair sin? 13:48"**

Was it a hard life then?

**13:49"..JANET.. Oh bha e gumath doirbh bha, bha e gumath sgìth air daoine. Bha, ghaoil bha e gumath sgìth air duine talamh a' thionndadh 's a' g obair air a h-uile càil, 's móine, bha móine cheart cho doirbh agus a' nise a' cur buntàta 's a' cuir corc, is crodh, is oh bha gu leòr obair ann.Cha robh sinn a' smaoineachadh càil dheth. Cha robh ghaoil, cha robh sinn a' smaoineachadh càil dheth. Bha e math. 14:16"**

13:49"..JANET...Oh it was very difficult, it was, it was very tiring for people. Yes love, it was very tiring for people turning the ground and working on everything, and peats, peats were just as difficult and, now, planting potatoes, and planting corn. And cattle and oh, there was plenty of work. We thought nothing of it. No love, we thought nothing of it. It was good. 14:16"

**14:17"...HUGH DAN... Càite a' robh sibh a' smaoineachadh a bha sibh a' dol a' chuir ar aghaidh matha, robh, an tàinig e steach a' riamh oirt gu fàgadh tu Manish? 14:23"**

Which way did you think you were going to turn then, was .... did it ever occur to you that you would leave Manish?

**14:25"..JANET.....Um, cha, cha, well an uair a' bha an cogadh ann chuir iad fios orm 's b' fheúdar dhomhsa an Dotair fhaighinn air son sin. Thuirt mo Ghranny "Cha'n urrainn**

**dhuit an tigh againn fhàgail 's mise cho aosda agus an nighean agam gun i math". Agus thàinig Dotair do'n an tìge agus fhuair mi (loinne?) bhoidhe 'son nach b' urrainn dhomh an tigh fhàgail. Bha iad 'g a'm iarraidh air son a' dhol dha na Wrens an uair ud, 'nuair a bha iad a' togail airson a' chogaidh. Well cha do dh' fhalbh mise, cha do dh'fhàg mise riamh iad gus na dh'fhàg mi iad a' latha a phòs mi. Seo nise, oh a' latha a' phòs mi! Agus sin agad mar a' thachair, Hugh Dan .. 15:04"**

14:25"..JANET.. Um, er, er well during the War they sent for me and I had to summon the Doctor at that point. My Granny said "You cannot leave our house when I'm so old and my own girl is not well". And a Doctor came to the house and I got a (line or letter) from him .... as I could not leave the house. They were wanting me to join the WRNS at that time, when they were calling up for the war. Well I did not go away, I never left them until I left them the day I got married. So there it is, oh the day I got married! And that is what happened, Hugh Dan.... 15:04"

**15:05"...HUGH DAN.. Well tha sinn a' dol a' thighinn gu 'n a' phòs... gu 'n a' bainnse agus gu'n a' phòsadh matha, ach, de mar a' thàinig sibh fhéin agus lain, bràthair mo Mhàthair còmhlaidh air a' cheann thall? 15:17"**

Well we are going to come to the marriage... to the wedding and the marriage, then, but, how did yourself and lain, my Mother's brother, get together eventually?

**15:18"..JANET.. Well bha e iongtach cuideachd. Bhiodh tòrr a' tighinn, em, gu na commanaichean ann a' Manish 's as a' h-uile àite an uair ud 's bha tòrr, tòrr dhaoine a' tighinn as a' Scarp a' Mhanish. Cha robh fhios agamsa air, gu robh a' leithid sin a' tachairt. Bhithinn a' foighneachd "Co an fheadhainn tha sud?" "Oh" as iadsan "tha feadhainn as Scarp ann 's tha feadhainn a' Bearnaraigh na Hearadh ann agus sin mar tha iad a' cruinneachadh". 'S bha, bha, an Eaglais làn, an Eaglais làn, làn ann a' Manish. Cha robh mise a' foighneachd duine, ach an fheadhainn a bha mi foighneachd bha mi 'g an iarraidh. Ach tha e coltach 'nuair a thachair lain rium thuirt e "Cha do dh' fhiarr thu" as esan "orms a' riamh a' dhol do na tìge". (BOTH LAUGH). "Oh well" as a mise "cha do dh'fhiarr gu na sud".16:05"**

15:18".. JANET... Well it was quite surprising. Many used to come, em, to the communions in Manish and from everywhere at that time, and there were many, many people coming from Scarp to Manish. I did not know it, that such a thing happened. I would ask "Who are they?". "Oh" they would say "there are some from Scarp and some from Berneray, Harris and this is how they gather" And, and the church was full, the church full, full in Manish. I didn't tend to invite anyone as such but the ones I was asking in, I wanted them. But seemingly when lain met me he said "You never asked" he said " me to go to the house". (BOTH LAUGH) "Oh well" I said, "I haven't until now!". 16:05

**16:06"...HUGH DAN... De an aois a' bha sibh an uair sin? 16:08"**

What age were you at that time?

**16:09"...JANET..... Thirty five... 16:09**

Thirty five.

**16:10"...HUGH DAN.... An robh gu dearbha? 16:11"**

Were you indeed?

**16:12"..JANET..... Bha, bha mi thirty five an uairsin, agus sin agad a nise mar a' thachair 16:15"**

Yes, yes I was thirty five at that time, and there you are, that's what happened.

**16:16"...HUGH DAN... Tha e coltach, tha 'ad ag innse dhomh gu bheil daoine, muinntir a'**

**Scarp 'g a' ionndrainn 'n uair bhiodh e a' falbh le na giomaich do na Tairbeart .....? 16:22"**

*Apparently, they tell me that people, the Scarp community used to miss him when he used to go fishing lobsters, over to Tarbert .....*

**16:22" ..JANET.....Bha iad 'ga ionndrainn ach càite robh e a' stad, bheil fhios agad. Bha 'ad a' gabhail iongnadh 'nuair, 'nuair a' bhithidh iad a' faighinn a' làraidh air a' shon, bha 'ad, bha 'ad a' gabhail iongnadh oir cha do thill lain idir .....laugh.... 'S cha robh iad a' faighinn a' mach carson. Ach tha e coltach mu dheireadh gun fhuair iad a' mach. Tha e a' dol a' Mhanish an diugh a' choimhead air 'girlfriend' a th' aige ann a' shin. Agus fhuair iad an uairsin a mach aig a' chomanachadh tha e coltach, gur 'e lain a bh'ann 's gu robh e, gu robh e dol do na tigh againn, 's chaidh e a' choimhead air mo Ghranny co-dhiubh. Bha mo Ghranny a's a' leabaidh, oh agus bha i sin a' grath "Smaoinaich an duine a' thàinig as a' Scarp, feuch nach eil thu mealladh an duine sin"..... (HUGH DAN LAUGHS). 17:01"**

*16:22" ..JANET...They were wondering why he stopped off at a different place, you know. They were surprised when, when the lorry should be coming, about him, they were, they were surprised because lain did not come back at all....laugh...And they weren't finding out why. But it appears that eventually they found out. "He's going to Manish today to see a girlfriend he has there". And then they found out at the communions it seems, that it was lain and that he was, he was, going to our house, and he went to see my Granny anyway. My Granny was in bed, oh and she was saying "Imagine - that man who came all the way from Scarp, make sure that you are not pulling the wool over his eyes!" . (HUGH DAN LAUGHS)....17:01"*

**17:03" ..HUGH DAN..Bha sibh a' smaoinachadh gu robh a' Scarp air taobh thall an t-saoghail 'n o' rudeigin 17:05"**

*You felt that Scarp was on the far side of the world in a way?!*

**17:06" ..JANET..... Bha, feumaidh gu robh, feumaidh gu robh ise 'g a' smaoinachadh co-dhiubh, agus sin agad, Hugh Dan, mar a' thachair, a' bhròinean. Meann, sud a' meann a bh'ann, dìreach 's e, 's e, 's e comanachadh a bh'ann ann a' Manish, mar a' choinnich mise ris. Agus thàinig e a' choimhead air mo Ghranny a' bhroinn an tìghe. 17:24"**

*17:06" ..JANET..... Yes, we must have, or she must have been thinking that anyway, and there you are, Hugh Dan, that's what happened, my lad. A purpose, that was the purpose, just it was, it was, The Communions in Manish, that's how I met him. And he came to see my Granny at the house... 17:24"*

**17:26" ..HUGH DAN.. 'S de, de an uairsin na ceumanan a bh' fheúdar dha a' ghabhail mus d' fhuair e air do phòsadh. De seòrsa suirghe a bh'ann a' bharrachd air a' chomanachadh? 17:34"**

*And what, what steps then did he have to take before he was able to marry you? What kind of courtship was it apart from the Communions?*

**17:36" ..JANET... Oh well bhiodh, 'nuair a bhithheadh e a' tighinn gu 'n an Tairbeart an uair ud leis a' làraidh 's a bhithheadh iad a' cuir air falbh nan giomach, bha e a' faighinn, bha bus an uairsin air tòiseachadh, aig lain Dholly, 's bhithheadh e air an Tairbeart 's bhithheadh, bhithheadh e dol a' Mhanish Di-haoine 's mar sin agus 's e sin mar a bha lain a' faighinn ann. Ach tha e 'radh, bha, bhiodh e fhéin a' gradh riumsa, bha e gumath doirbh ann, na, na àiteachan sin, 'eil fhios agad cha, cha robh ann ach claisean 's rud. Bha (cumail/gumath) ach bha (keeping/very) bha tigh Sheonnie na b' fhaisg air, air, air. Well cha robh sinn faisg air a' rathad ann ach bha e gumath faisg air an, air an àite far an tìgeadh e nuas bho'n a' bhus matha. 'S bha e dol, bha iad sin a'g iarraidh air tadhal acasan an toiseachd 's bha e 'nuair sin e fhéin 's bean Sheonnie ' neo Seonnie a' tighinn ...???? 18:29"**

*17:36" ..JANET... Oh well he was, when he would be coming to Tarbert then with the lorry and they were sending away the lobsters, he was getting .... you see, a bus had started then, lain Dholly's*

bus service, and he would call in Tarbert and he would be, would then call in Manish on a Friday and so on, and that is how Iain was getting there. And he says, he was, he himself would say to me, it was very difficult terrain there, those, those places, you know, there was nothing there but furrows and the like. It was very???? but it Seonnie's house was nearer to it, to it, (SHE REFERS TO THE ROAD/ BUS STOP) Well, we were not near the road at all but it was very near to the, to the place where he would come down from the bus, then. And he was going, they were asking him to visit them first and then himself and Seonnie's wife, or Seonnie, would come (over?) 18:29"

18:30..HUGH DAN.. *Bha e 'nuairsin a' tadhal na's tric, na's trice* 18:31" So he was then visiting more often?

18:32"..JANET.. *Bha.. ( laugh)* 18:33  
*He was (laugh)*

18:33"..HUGH DAN.. *Na thuig, na thuig sibh fhéin gumath 'clever' de bha tachairt?* 18:35"  
*Did you, did you yourself understand very quickly what was happening?*

18:36"..JANET.. *Thuig, thòisich, thòisich sinn an uairsin, sin agad mar a' bha tachairt, a' bhròinean, tha iongtach ?????? ach sin, sin a' ghaoil am meann, am meann .....* 18:45"

*I understood, we started, started up together then, that is what happened, my lad, it is amazing - but that, that, my love, is the purpose. The purpose.*

18:46"..HUGH DAN.. *'S an fhuair sibhse, an tug e air ais do'n Scarp sibh mus do phòs sibh, uair 'sam bith?* 18:50"

*And did you get, did he take you back to Scarp before you got married, at any time?*

18:51"..JANET... *Cha tug, cha tug, cha tug* 18:52"  
*He didn't, no, no.*

18:53"..HUGH DAN.. *Cha do dh'fhalbh sibh as a' Manish?* 18:54"  
*You did not leave Manish?*

18:54"..JANET.. *Cha do, cha do dh'fhalbh mi as Manish gu na dh' fhalbh mi latha ud.* 18:56"

*I did not, I did not leave Manish until I went away that day.*

18:57"..HUGH DAN.. *Feúmaidh gu robh sibh a' creidsinn gur e duine math a bh' ann ????* air a' thàinig do'n Scarp? 19:01"

*You must have been thinking he was a good man - coming from Scarp?*

19:02"..JANET..... *Oh bha, bha mi creidsinn gur e duine math, bha, bha, bha mi creidsinn sin. 'S e sin a bh' ann, cha b' e duine (?????) mar sin a bh' annsanann (BOTH LAUGH)* 19:12"

*Oh yes, yes I believed he was a good man, yes, yes, yes I believed that. That is what he was, he was not ????? a man at all. WANT TO CHECK THIS*

19:13"..HUGH DAN.... *Ciamar an uairsin a dh' fhaontaich sibh pòsadh, de, de mar a dh' obraich sin. Na dh' fhiarr e ort pòsadh dìreach.....?* 19:18"

*How then did you agree to get married, how, how did that work? Did he ask you to marry as a natural course of events?*

19:19".. JANET..... *Dh' fhiarr, well, dh' fhiarr an ceann bliadhna as deidh sud dh' fhiarr e*

**orm agus, well, bha mi, bha mi, mar gum bithinn freagaireach gu leòr air a' cheisd, bu robh mi toilichte gu leòr air son sin. Agus thachair sin mar a bhiodh, bha ise as a' leabaidh, mo Ghranny, as a' leabaidh 's bha i 'radh an aon rud "Feuch nach eil thu a' mealladh an duine chòir sin a nis" ????? Chanadh i sin iomadach uair, um, 's bha mise 'radh ri "chaneil". Sin agad a nise mar a bhà. 19:52"**

Yes he asked, well, asked after a year he asked me and, well, I was, I was, agreeable enough to the question, that I was quite happy about that. And that happened, as it did, she was in bed, my Granny in bed and she was saying the same thing "Be sure you're not deceiving? that decent man?!?!? She would say that many times, um, and I was saying to her "No, I am not". There you are, that's how it was.

**19:53"...HUGH DAN... Is an robh, tha fhios gu robh uallach oirbh a' fàgail Granny mar sin? 19:56"**

And were you, I am sure you were anxious leaving Granny like that?

**19:57"...JANET..... Oh bha ach cha robh, cha robh Granny an uairsin a' tuigsinn. Thuir i "Ach" ars' ise "an latha" ars' ise "nach bith sinne ann" ars' ise "càite am bith thu?". Bha i, bha i, 's e cailleach mhath a bh' innte. "Càite, càite faodadh thu" ars' ise "a' dhol, cà', cà bheil thu dol? 'S dòcha, 's dòcha" ars' ise "cha bhith, cha bhith sinne a' seo agus càite, càite an téid thu 'n uairsin? Feúmaidh thu" ars' ise "rudeigin a' dheanamh mu dheidhinn agus mar tha an fhirinn tha e a' radh" ars' ise "théid thu leis an duine seo" (LAUGH) Sin, sin a thuir i riumsa. Agus sin a' rinn mise. 20:37**

19:57"...JANET..... Oh yes, but Granny wasn't, wasn't understanding then. She said "but" she said "the day" she said "that we will not be here" she said, "where will you be?" She was, she was a good old lady. "Where, where could you" she said "go...where, where are you going? Maybe, maybe" she said "we will not, we will not be here and where, where will you go then? You must" she said "do something about it, and as the truth of it goes, says" she said "you will then go with this man" (LAUGH) That, that is what she said to me, and that is what I did 20:37"

**20:38"..HUGH DAN.. Nise 'n uair a dh' fhaontaich sibh pòsadh de cho fad 's a bha e bho'n a' sin gun do phòs sibh? 20:42"**

Now when you agreed to get married, how long was it from then until you got married?

**20:43"...JANET..... Cha robh an uairsin, cha robh, cha robh fada 'sam bith. Phòs sinn an uairsin toiseach an earraich 's mar sin, 's bha sinn a' bruighinn air is 's e, 's e, rinn sinn gur e June, gur e June a dheànamaid 's bha tide mhath an uairsin, well, bha tide mhath ann an uairsin gun teagamh, agus rinn sinn suas ar inntinn an uairsin..em..gun pòsadh agus 's e 19th of June a bh' ann, 1952. Agus chaidh sinn an uairsin, dh' fhéamamaid 'n ar dìthis an uairsin a' dhol gu Ministear ????? agus fhuair mis' ann an touch ris a' Mhinistear a bh' aca a's a' Free Church, 's ann ann a' bhitheamaid a' dol, a' s a' Free Church ann a' Leverburgh, agus thuir e gum biodh sin all right. Well, thug sinne dha an date agus thàinig lain còmhla rium, 's oh bhròinnean, fhuair sinn air adhart glé mhath mar sin. 'S e rinn sinn gur 'e sud a' latha a bh'againn (LAUGH) Sin agad a nis'. 21:48"**

20:43"...JANET..... There wasn't then, there wasn't, there wasn't long at all. We got married then (THE REITEACH???) at the beginning of Spring or so, and we were talking about it and it was, it was, we decided that it would be June, that it would be June we would do it, and weather was good then, well there was good weather then without a doubt, and we made up our minds then..em.. to get married and it was the 19th of June, 1952. And we went then, the two of us then had to go to a Minister ????? and I got in touch with the Minister they had in the Free Church, that is where I attended, the Free Church in Leverburgh, and he said that would be all right. Well, we gave him the date and lain came with me and, oh my lad, we got on very well like that. We decided that would be our day (LAUGH) There you are now. 21:48"

21:59"... JANET..... *Bha, bha, bha réiteach ann 's bha iad a' dol a dheanamh réiteach, 's bha iad a' dol a' dheanamh a h-uile càil timchioll air a' réiteach 's rinn iad sin. Bha, bha iad a' deanamh a h-uile càil timchioll air, na, na nigheanan òga sin a bh' as a' bhaile an uair sin. Bha iad dìreach, bh 'ad 'taken', chaneil fhios cuin a bha réiteach ann... (giggle)... roimh 'na sin 's bha iad dìreach 'taken' leis a' sin. Oh thuirte mise 'n uairsin, thuirte mi 'n uairsin, bha fhios a'm, bha ise ???? bha m'Auntie uamhasach 'down'. Bha i, bha i, bha nàdur bog innte fhéin agus bha i duilich gu robh mi bhith falbh, eil fhios agad? Ach cha robh a' chailleach mar sin idir, bha, bha Granny, bha, sud mar a' bha a' Ghranny a' coimhead air "Ciamar a tha thu gu bhith" ars' ise "mu tha thu dol a' dh'fhuireachd a' seo, chaneil càil a dh' fhios agad ???? ach mu phòsas thu 'is gu 'm bith clann agad" ars' ise "bithidh sin"... 'S tha sin a' cumail rium glé thrì cuideachd, cho glic 's a' bha i a' bruidhinn (mar/air?) a' sin. Ars' ise "mu bhios iad sin agad bithidh tac agad". 23:07"*

21:59"..JANET.....Yes, yes the nuptials ("REITEACH" AS SHE SAYS EXACTLY) were held there and they were going to do the nuptials, and they were going to do everything to do with the nuptials and indeed they did that. They were, they were doing everything about it, the, the, those young girls who were in the village at that time. They were just, they were taken, who knows when there had last been a "rèiteach" before then (giggle), and they were just so taken with that. Oh I said then I said then, I knew, she was ????, (NAME??) my Auntie was very 'down'. She was, she was, she was very soft natured herself, and she was so sorry that I was going, you know. But the old lady was not like that at all. She was, she was, Granny was, that's how Granny looked at it. "How will things be for you" she said, "if you stay here, you don't know at all how they might turn out - but if you get married and you have children" she said "that will be just so ... " And that occurs to me very often too, till this day, how very wisely she spoke (about/like) that. She said " if you go on to have children, you will then have all the support you need". 23:07"

23:08"... HUGH DAN.. *'S de bha tachairt leis a' réiteach fhéin matha, nach robh rudan a' dol far am biodh na daoine a' cruinneachadh..... 23:13"*

*And what would happen with the rèiteach itself then, weren't there various things going on where the people would gather?*

23:14"... JANET... *Oh bha, chaidh, chaidh a h-uile duine, Angie 's iad sin, còmhla riumsa dha 'n Scarp, 's bha a' fear sin math co-dhiùbh a' dol timchioll air gnothaichean, agus chaidh iad comhl' rium dha 'n Scarp ???? sin aca 's Dougal Campbell a bha sud ( H.D... an teacher? ) An teacher, 's bha balach aice nach robh, balach òg. Bha i fhéin airson a' dhol ann ach cha b' urrainn dhith, bha 'm balach òg cha robh e ach dà bhliadhna, Peter, agus bha a' fear eile seachd. Agus oh, bha i deanamh ullachadh gu leòr. Fhuair iad a' sgoil, 's rinn iad sin an uamhas cuideachd, 'g obair timchioll oirnn gun fhuair sinn a' bhanais seachad, 's a h-uile càil gu'n fhuair sinn..... Oh, bh 'ad math dhuinn. 23:53"*

23:14".. JANET..... *Oh there was. They went, everyone, Angie and all of them, they went with me to Scarp, and that man was good anyway at doing things, and they went with me to Scarp ???? they had, and that Dougal Campbell (H.D interjects .....the teacher?). The teacher, and she had a boy who wasn't, he was a young boy. She herself wanted to go there but she could not, the young boy he was only two years, Peter, and the other boy was seven. And, oh, she did an awful lot of preparation. They took over the school, and they did a lot too, working around our needs, until we got the whole wedding over, and everything, until we got..... Oh, they were good to us. 23:53"*

23:54"...HUGH DAN.. *Ach dé thachair ann a' Manish...( JANET... Bha Manish ).....a' bhanais ann 's rudan? 23:57"*

*But what happened in Manish... (JANET... Manish was.)... during the wedding there and so on?*

23:58... JANET..... *Oh bhà, bh 'ad a'g obair ann a' Manish ann a' shin, a h-uile duine timchioll air a' bhanais 's deanamh, deanamh, deanamh biadh 's a' deanamh a h-uile càil, a' deanamh ullachadh 's bha a h-uile duine aca math dhuinn timchioll an dà àite. Seo a nis.*

24:12"

23:58"... JANET..... Oh yes, they were hard at work in Manish there, everyone around the wedding preparations, and making, making, making food and making everything for us, preparing, and they were all so very good to us around the both places. There you are now.  
24:12"

24:13"..HUGH DAN.. *Nach do, nach do thachair rudeigin, gu robh aig lain ri do thaghadh na rudeigin?..* 24:16"

*Didn't, didn't something happen, that lain had to select you or something?*

24:17"..JANET..... *Bha, bha, bha 'ad a' falbh an uair ud air feadh nan tighean, feadh nan tighean, a' lorg am boireannach a bh' ad a'g iarraidh. Duine seo aig a' bhòrd 's rinn e "cò tha thu dol a' fhaighinn?". 's bha, chuir iad Angie air falbh airson a lorg, bha e (toirt?) dhà no trí a mach "Oh cha'n e, cha'n e, cha'n e, an té chearra' th'ann.* 24:37"

24:17".. JANET..... They were, they were, they used to go at that time round the houses, round the houses, looking for the woman they wanted. There was a man there at the table and he said "who are you going to get". And it was, they sent Angie away to look for her, he took two or three out. "Oh it's not, it's not - this is the wrong one". 24:37"

24:38"..HUGH DAN.. *Có bha seo, boireannaich Mhanish 'g an taghadh?* 24:40" *Who were they, the women of Manish being selected?*

24:40".....JANET..... *Seadh, seadh agus, tha, chaidh Angie an uairsin mu'n cuairt 's chaidh e mach 's "'n e seo i, lain?" aige ri lain 's "No" aig lain. " 'S 'n e seo i?" "Cha'n e". " 'N e seo i?". "Cha'n e". Well, an ath thé, 'n e seo i a' réisd?" "Seo i". Well, dh' fhalbh Angie leamsa 's chuir Angie mise ri taobh lain ann a' shin 's bha sinn dìreach math da rìreabh. Bha eathar, a bhròinnean a' .....Uig a' Leòdhas ann.* 25:09"

24:40".....JANET..... Yes, yes and, um, Angie then went about and he went out and "Is this her, lain?" he said to lain. "No" said lain. "And is this her?". "It's not". "Is this her?" "It's not". Well, the next one, "is this her, then?". "This is her". Well, Angie took me aside and Angie placed me beside lain there and we were just so happy indeed. There was ..... a boat, my lad, from.....Uig in Lewis, there. 25:09"

25:10"..... HUGH DAN... *Aig a' réiteach?* *At the nuptials?*

25:11"..... JANET..... *Aye. Aye.*

25:12"..... HUGH DAN.... *' Robh?* *Was there?*

25:13"..... JANET..... *Bha.* *There was.*

25:14"..... HUGH DAN.... *Well, 's e oidhche, oidhche mhór neo, neo, na mhair e barrachd air oidhche, robh, robh* ..... 25:17"

*Well, it was a very big night, night or, or did it last longer than a night, was, was.....*

25:18"....JANET... *Oh well, dh' fhalbh sinn an ath mhadainn co-dhiùbh ach tha mi cinnteach gu robh, ach bha, bha h-uile, 's bha tòrr a's a' Scarp, bha tòrr a's a' Scarp mar sin...* 25:28"

25:18"..JANET..... Oh well, we left the next morning anyway but I believe there was, but there was, there was every, and there were many in Scarp, there were many in Scarp, who attended.  
25:28"

25:29"....HUGH DAN.. *Dé thachair an uairsin matha, 'n uair a' bha a' bhanais fhéin air faire. Ciamar a dh' fhalbh sibh do' nan' Òb 's a' h-uile càil? Dé thachai latha na bainnse?..* 25:35"

25:29"..H.D... *What happened at that time, then, when the wedding itself was over? How did you go to Obbe (LEVERBURGH) and everything? What happened the day of the*

wedding?... 25:35"

**25:36"...** JANET... *Dh' fhalbh sinn dìreach do'n an' Òb air, air, air, air bus agus bha sinn, bha a h-uile duine a' bha dol anna s'in a's a' bhus comhla rinn. Agus 'nuair a thill sinn an uairsin, as deidh, dh' fhiarr iad orn tilleadh gu cupa ti..... 25:52"*

*25:36".... JANET.... We just went to Obbe on, on, on, on the bus and we were, everyone who was going there was on the bus with us. And when we came back then, afterwards, they asked us to come back for a cup of tea..... 25:52"*

**25:53"....** HUGH DAN... *'S dh' fhalbh a h-uile duine a' Mhanish ann am bus? Robh lain còmhla ribh an latha.....an uairsin?... 25:55"*

*And everyone went to Manish on a bus? Was lain with you that day ..... at that time?*

**25:56"....** JANET... *Oh bhà, bhà (H.D...Bhà) lain, agus dh'fhalbh sinn an uairsin 's a' nise 'nuair a thill sinn fhuair sinn cupa ti, air a' rathad (????) (H.D... an déigh pòsadh?) seadh, mus deidhamaid do'n a' Scarp matha. Agus, oh, bha tòrr, sin 'nuair a bha m'Auntie, bha ise duilich mi bhith fàgail an tìghe an uairsin, ach, oh oh, bha i cho 'bright' a' rithisd, bha na boireannaich timchioll oirn ann a' shin 's a' deànadh plòigh. Oh well bha, bha mise air mo dhòigh 's bha mi air mo dhòigh a's a' Scarp 'nuair a' ràinig mi e cuideachd.... 26:29"*

*25:56".... JANET.... Oh he was, he was (H.D...He was) lain, and we went then and, now, when we came back we got a cup of tea, on the roadside (H.D... after getting married?) Yes, before we went to Scarp, you know. And, oh, there was a lot, that is when my Auntie, she was so sorry that I was leaving the house then but oh, oh, she was so bright later on, the women were round us there having fun. Oh well I, I was happy and I was happy in Scarp when I arrived there too. 26:29"*

**26:30"...** HUGH DAN.. *Dé, dé thachair, inns' dhomh mun a' latha fhéin, 'n ann a's a' mhadainn a phòs sibh, , neo dé an àm de'n latha bh'ann? ..26:35"*

*What, what happened, tell me about the day itself, was it in the morning you got married, or what time of the day was it?*

**26:36"...** JANET..... *Tha, tha mi smaoinichadh gur 'e dà, mu, mu, mu eadar, mu dhà uair. Chanain gu robh e mu dhà uair... 26:43"*

*I, I think it was two, about, about, about between, about two o' clock. I would say it was about two o' clock.*

**26:44"....**HUGH DAN... *'S an uairsin air ais a' Mhanish?... 26:45"*

*And then back to Manish?*

**26:46"...** JANET..... *Um.... seadh, air ais a' Mhanish 's cha do rinn sinn càil, mòran tadhal ann, ach dìreach cupan a' ghabhail ann 's a' bhith ann a' shin, agus falbh. Agus 's e, 's e mac Shimoin a chuir mise gu na, gu na rud an uairsin... cha robh càraichean... 27:01"*

*Um...yes, back to Manish and we did not do, we did not stay long there, but just to take a cup (of tea) there and to be there a while, and leave. And it was, it was Simon's son who took me to the, to the event then....there were no other cars....*

**27:02"...** HUGH DAN... *'S e esan an driver a bh'ann?... 27:03"*

*He was the driver?*

**27:04"...** JANET..... *'S e, well, 's e, bha càr aca, cha robh càraichean an uair ud a' Manish, neo 'n àite.... 27:08"*

*He was, well, he was, they had a car, yes. There were no cars at that time in Manish, or anywhere here really....*

**27:09"...** HUGH DAN... *Bha sin fhéin 'na rud annasach..... 27:10"*

*That itself was a rare thing.....*

27:11"...JANET... *Oh bha bha, bhròinnean, agus bha 'nuairsin thàinig balach Shimoin, thuir Simon ris, Simon, sin a', bha a' fear sin cho dòigheal timchioll, bha sinn timchioll a' riamh, bha e cho snog rinn. Bha e, 's ann do'n a' bhùth aige 's ann a' bha sinn a' dol 's bha sin, tha, thuir e gun deidh, deidh am balach leam.....giggle..... a's a' Scarp. "Thigeadh e ann a' shin" ars' esan " 's ma thogras e nach fhaod e dhol ann". Agus "oh well" ars' mise "gu dearbha faodaidh, faodaidh e dhol ann 's bithidh gu leòr a' dol a' null ann". Agus 's e sin a' fear a chuir sinne, chuir e gu na jetty a' Hushinish sinn... 27:52"*

27:11"... JANET... *Oh yes, yes my lad, and then Simon's boy came, Simon told him, Simon, he was, that man was so happy round about, we were always around him, he was always so nice to us. He was, it was to his shop ..... that was where we went and that was, um, he said that, that the boy would take m....giggle..... to Scarp. "Let him take you" he said "and if he wishes he can go there". And "oh well" I said "indeed he can, he can go there and there will be plenty going on over there". And that is the one who took us, he took us to the jetty in Hushinish. ..27:52"*

27:53"..HUGH DAN.. *Co mhead a bh' air a' bhanais agaibh?... 27:54"*

*How many were at your wedding?*

27:55"...JANET... *Oh bhròinnean bha, bha, bha rud nach urrainn dhomhs' innse dhuit ... (H.D...laugh)... bha 'ad eadar Leòdhas 's na Hearradh 's a' h-uile àite ann ... 28:01"*

*Oh my lad, there were, there were, there were so many that I can barely count for you (H.D. Laugh) - they were there from Lewis, Harris and everywhere, they were.*

28:02".. HUGH DAN.. *Ciamar a fhuair iad ann?... 28:03"*

*How did they get there?*

28:03".. JANET.... *Oh... bha dà, dà eathar aca 'n uairsin, 'nuair ud, dà 's 'the lot'..28:10"*

*Oh.... they had two, two boats at that time, at that time, two ..... and the whole lot.*

.....INTERRUPTION WHEN MOBILE PHONE RINGS.....

28:35"...HUGH DAN.. *Nis' tha aon rud a dhi' chuimhnich mi fhéin, Janet, agus 's e sin dressa na bainnse. Cha do dh' fhaighnaich mi dhuibh cà' 'n fhuair sibh dressa na bainnse, an dress a bh' agaibh fhéin?.. 28:45"*

*Now there is one thing I forgot myself, Janet, and that is, the wedding dress. I did not ask you where you got the wedding dress, the dress you wore?*

28:46... JANET..... *Bha, fhuair mi i sin ann a' Steòrnabhagh ann am bùth Murdo MacLean. 'S ann ann a' shin a chaidh mi-fhéin agus cousin dhomh ann a' Scalpay, chaidh i cómhla rium. Chaneil i beò an diugh. Tha, chaidh i cómhla' rium ann a' shin agus chaidh sinn ann a shid agus thuir i "sud àite a's a' faigh thu" ars' ise "rud snog", 's fhuair mi sin, 's tha i agam ann a' shud a's a' bhocsa fhathasd..?????.. ach 's e sin agad e, a' ghaoil. 29:13"*

28:46",JANET..... *Um, I got it in Stornoway in Murdo MacLean's shop. A cousin of mine from Scalpay went with me. She's no longer with us. Um, she went with me there and we went there and she said "there's a place where you will get" she said, "a lovely outfit", and I got that, and I have it there in the box still in one piece - but there you have it, my love. 29:13"*

29:14".. HUGH DAN... *Dé thug a' Steòrnabhagh, tha fhios gu robh e 'car annasach a' dol a' Steòrnabhagh airson rud 'sam bìth, ach airson dressa na bainnse gur 'e latha mór a bha sin... 29:20"*

*What brought (you) to Stornoway, we know it was a bit unusual to go to Stornoway for anything, but for the wedding dress .... that ..... that was a big day?*

29:21" .. JANET..... *Oh 's e, cha, cha robh sinne faighinn a' Steòrnabhagh, cha robh, cha robh sinn a' faighinn a' Steòrnabhagh (????), cha robh busaichean 's cha robh daoine a' dol ann. Cha robh daoine a' dol ann ann ach chaidh mise ann, ann còmhla r' ise, chaidh i còmhla rium ach a' faighinn sud ann. . 'S fhuair mi sud ann am bùth Murdo MacLean. Seo a' nis. 29:42"*

29:21".... JANET.....*Oh yes, we weren't, we never went to Stornoway, we weren't, we weren't getting to Stornoway (????) there weren't any buses and people weren't going there. People weren't going there at all really, but I went there, that day - there I went with her, she went with me so that I would get it. And I got it in Murdo MacLean's shop. There you are.. 29:42"*

29:42" ...HUGH DAN.... *Dé a' shaoil sibh de Steòrnabhagh, a' dol ann? 29:43"*

*What did you think of Stornoway, going there?*

29:44" ... JANET... *Oh thì bha e, bha e...(giggle).. neònach gun teagamh ach, oh, cha robh e, cha robh e 'nuair ud, cha robh e 'nuair ud, Hugh Dan, cho, mar a tha e an diugh. Cha robh uidhir a' dhaoine ann 'of course' 's a' th' ann an diugh ach...um..um... thug e mach as an tigh sinn co-dhiùbh.. (giggle)....30:03"*

29:44..... JANET... *Oh dear me it was, it was...(giggle) strange no doubt but, oh, it was not, it wasn't at that time, it wasn't at that time, Hugh Dan, so, as it is today. There weren't so many people there of course, as there are today...um..um... it took us out of the house anyway..(giggle) 30:03"*

30:04" .. HUGH DAN... *Bha deò leisgeul agaibh a' falbh... 30:05"*

*You had a very good excuse for going?*

30:06" ...JANET..... *Bha dé leisgeul agam, dh' fhalbh a' dh'iarraidh sud, 's sin agad a' nis... 30:10"*

*I had a very good excuse, to go off to get that, and there you are now.*

30:11" .. HUGH DAN... *'Bheil cuimhne agaibh dé, dé chosg e... 30:12"*

*Do you remember how much, how much it cost?*

30:14" ... JANET.... *Um..um..um.. An dress ud a fhuair mi, 's e forty seven pounds, ach bh' e mòr gu leòr an uairsin...30:21"*

*Um..um..um.. That dress was forty seven pounds, a large (amount) then.*

30:22" .. HUGH Dan... *'S e airgead mór a bha sin... 30:23"*

*That was big money!*

30:24" ...JANET..... *'S e, forty seven.. 30:25"*

*It was, forty seven.*

30:25" ..HUGH DAN.... *Feumaidh gu' robh sibh a' smaoineachadh gu robh luach an airgid ann a'n lain 'nuair a chuir sibh a' mach airgead mar sin. 30:28"*

*You must have felt that lain was worth a whole lot, when you spent that much money?!*

30:29" ... JANET... *Well chuir mi mach airgead mar sud, well bha an fheadhainn a bha stigh math dhomh 's thug iad dhomh an airgead. 'S ,nuair a fhuair mi e, cha' mi dha'n, phàigh mi e 'right away'. 'S bha e sud orm, forty seven pounds. 'S mar a bh 'ad a'g radh, 's e airgead mhór a bh' ann do dhaoine 'nuair sin...30:47"*

30:29".... JANET.... *Well I spent that much money, well, the ones in the house were good to me and they gave me the money. And when I got it I went, I paid it right away. And it cost me that, forty seven pounds. And as they used to say, it was big money to people at that time...30:47"*

30:48" ... HUGH DAN.. *'S dòch' gur e sin am 'bargain' 's fheàrr a fhuair thu riamh...?! 30:50"*

Perhaps that is the best bargain you ever bought?!

30:50"... JANET... (giggle)... 30:52"... Well tha mi creidse gur 'e ..30:53"... (BOTH LAUGH)

30:55".... Tha mi creidse dìreach gur 'e, Hugh Dan, am 'bargain a' b' fheàrr a fhuair mise riann, agus bha mi toilichte leis 's bha mi toilichte a's a' Scarp, an dà chuid. Seo a' nis. 31:06"

30:50.... JANET... (giggle)..30:52"... Well I suppose it was..30:53".... (BOTH LAUGH)..30:55".... I suppose it just was, Hugh Dan, the best bargain that I ever got, and I was happy with him and I was happy in Scarp, both these things. There you are. 31:06"

31:07"... HUGH DAN.. Dé 'm beachd a bh' aig daoine eile air an dress 'n uair a thug sibh dhachaidh e? ...31:10"

What did other people think of the dress when you took it home?

31:11"....JANET... Oh bh 'ad, bh 'ad air an dòigh leis, bh 'ad 'g a' 'admireadh', a h-uile duine chitheadh e. Bh 'ad 'g a' choimhead 's, oh bha, bha 'ad air an dòigh leis. Ach sud mar a bhà, a' ghaoil, sud mar a' thachair. 31:24"

31:11"... JANET.... Oh they were, they were delighted with it, they were admiring it, everyone who saw it. They were looking at it and, oh, they were, they were delighted with it. But that is how it was, my love, that is what happened. 31:24"

31:26"...HUGH DAN... Right a' nis, tha sinn a' falbh a' Manish, tha sinn air a' bhus a' deànamh air Huisinish...( Janet... Tha...). De bha dol air a' bhus a' dol a' Huisinish? 31:33"

Right, now, we are leaving Manish, we are on the bus making for Huisinish ( Janet... Yes..). What was going on on the bus, going to Huisinish?

31:34"...JANET..... Oh well 's ann a's a' chàr a bha mise, 'eil fhios agad, còmhla ris a' bhalach eile (H.D...uh-huh) 's ach bha, bha, um gu leòr a' dol a' sin, um, ceòl, um, ceòl 's gnothaichean, ach cha robh uidhir a cheòl an uairsin aig daoine ann. Ach bha feadhainn ann a bha math air òrain 's eile 's bh' ad còmhla rinn, as a' , a' rithisd 'nuair a' ràinig sinn a' Scarp ann a' shin. 31:59"

31:34"...JANET.....Oh well I was in the car, you know, with the "other boy" (H.D...uh-huh) but there was, there was..um..plenty going on there..um..music..um.. music and things, but people did not have so much music to hand at that time, at all. But there were some who were very good at songs and the like and they were with us..in the.. later when we reached Scarp there....31:59"

32:00"...HUGH DAN.... 'S dé bha roimhibh aig Huisinish matha, dé 'chuimhne th' agaibh air a bhith..... 32:02"

And what was the plan at Huisinish then, what memory do you have of being.....

32:03"...JANET..... Tha, chaneil cuimhn' agams ach tha cuimhne agam air dìreach an eathar a bh' ann, 's tha cuimhn' agam air..um.. 'eil fhios agad a' fear ud a' dheàn ?????? . Tha cuimhn' a'm gu' robh esan innte, agus iad sin, 's 'ad a's an eathar, 's oh bhà crowd ann, crowd, a' bhròinnean. .. 32:18"

Um, I cannot remember exactly but I remember just the boat that was there, and I remember... um ... do you know that one who made ??????. I remember he was there, and them, and they were in the boat and, oh, there was a crowd, a great crowd, my dear.

32:19"... HUGH DAN... 'Eil cuimhn' agaibh gu robh piopair agaibh ..um.. 'ga a'r toirt sìos do'n a' chidhe?.. 32:22"

Do you remember that you had a piper ..um.. taking you down to the jetty?

32:24" ...JANET..... *Tha, chaneil fhios a'm có bha sin.. 32:26"*  
*Um...I do not know who that was.*

32:27" .. HUGH DAN..... *Bha pìopair ann matha... 32:28"*  
*There was a piper there, then.*

32:29" .. JANET..... *Robh? Chaneil, cha robh càil a dh' fhios agams air a' sin, Hugh Dan.*  
*..32:31"*  
*Was there? Now I don't, I can't quite recall that at all, Hugh Dan.*

32:32" ...Hugh Dan ... *'S fheúdar gu' robh 'excitement' mór a' dol matha.. 32:33"*  
*There must have been great excitement going on, then.*

32:34" .. JANET....., *Oh bhà, bhà 'n uamhas ann, bhà 'n uamhas dhaoine ann, an uamhas dhaoine dh 'n a, òg a' sin ann, 's bhà 'd sud snog ruinne cuideachd, na, na, na Campbells a' bha sud 's bhà 'd snog, 's fhuair iad a' sgoil 's fhuair iad àite lovely ann a' shin, a's, a's a' ghàrradh na sgoil, agus gàrradh na cloinne. Bha danns ac' (LAUGH)... 32:58"*  
*32:34" ... JANET..... Oh yes, there were many there, there were many people there, many of those young ones there, and they were so nice to us too, those, those, those Campbells and they were very kind, and they took the school and they took a lovely place there in, in the garden (or playground) of the school, and the children's garden (or playground). We had a dance there (LAUGH)*

32:59" ... HUGH DAN.. *Bha sin 'nuair a fhuair sibh an ùrlair. Tha fhios gu robh nis' lain fhéin gumath moiteal a' toirt dhachaidh bean ùr dh' an Scarp. 'S e rud mór a th' ann a' bhith, a bh' ann, tha mi cinnteach, a bhith toirt.. (JANET... Tha... )... boireannach air ais dh' an a' Scarp.. 33:14"*  
*That was when you took to the floor?! We know, now, that lain himself was very proud taking home a new wife to Scarp. That was a pretty big thing, I am sure, to be bringing (JANET.. Yes) a woman back to Scarp.*

33:15" ... JANET..... *Bhà, oh 's e, bhà, bhà dreis mhór nach robh, nach robh uidhir a' rud ann, gnothaich a' bhanais mar sud ann. Tha mi smaoineachadh gu robh iad..um.. gu robh bliadhnaichean móra matha nach robh, agus bh 'ad a h-uile duine, bhròinnean, bh 'ad air, air dòigh ghlan. Oh bhà gu dearbha 's bhà h-uile duine cho snog rinn a's a' h-uile dòigh... 33:39"*

*33:15".... JANET..... It was, and it's, there was, there hadn't been such an event in a long while. There hadn't been any such a thing, there were no such things like that to do with a wedding of its kind, there. I think there were ..um.. long years that there wasn't, and everyone was, my boy, really perfectly happy. Oh yes indeed and everyone was so kind to us in every way... 33:39"*

33:40" .. HUGH DAN... *'Bheil cuimhne agaibh có thug a' null a's a' bhàta, a's an eathar sibh, matha?.. 33:42"*  
*Do you remember who took you over in the boat, in the boat, then?*

33:44" .. JANET..... *Well, chaneil cuimhn' agam air a' sin, có bha 'g a' 'driveadh' idir. Cha'n urrainn dhomh bhith cinnteach le sin idir... 33:49"*  
*Well, I cannot remember that, who was at the wheel of the boat, at all. I cannot be sure with that at all.*

33:50" ... HUGH DAN.. *Well seallaidh sinn sin dhuit ann a' minead ach inns' dhomh aon rud eile ma'r a' bhanais agus an fheadhainn a bhà còmhla ribh. Có phòs còmhla ribh, sibh fhéin? Có 'm boireannach, 'n e, 'n e..? 34:00"*  
*Well we will show you that in a minute but tell me one other thing about*

the wedding and the ones who were with you. Who was with (yourself) getting married? Which woman, was it, was it ...

**34:01" ... JANET..... 'S e, Kirsty.... 34:02" ... It was, Kirsty.**

**34:03" ... HUGH DAN.. Piuthair mo Mhàthair?.. 34:04" ... My mother's sister?**

**34:04" ... JANET..... 'S e, d' Auntie... 34:05" ..**

Yes, your Auntie.

**34:06" ... HUGH DAN... 'S cha b' urrainn dh'a mo Mhàthair fhéin a bhith ann?... 34:07"**

And my Mother herself could not be there?

**34:08.... JANET..... Well bha do Mhàthair air, air, bha i air tighinn a' mach, bha i air tighinn a's an Ospadal agus bha i aig an dachaidh còmhla rinn gun teagamh, ach cha b'urrainn dhith tighinn a' null a' sud. Cha robh i air a' bhith gu math 's bhà i air tighinn dhachaidh a's an Ospadal. Cha bu urrainn dhith tighinn dh'an a' sgoil còmhla' rinn. Tha cuimhn' agam air a' sin.... 34:26"**

34:08"... JANET..... Well your Mother had been, had been, she had just come out of the, she had come from the hospital and she was at home with us without a doubt, but she could not come over there for the event at all. She had not been well, and she had just come home from hospital. She could not come to the schoolhouse with us. I do remember that... 34:26"

**34:27" ... HUGH DAN... 'S có phòs comhla ri lain, có a' fear a' bhà còmhla ris?... 34:30"**

And who was with lain getting married, who was the man with him?

**34:31" ...JANET..... Tha esan, Dolly Dhomhnaill, Mac Dholly Dhomhnaill...(giggle)...Dolly Dhomhnaill Ruairidh, agus bh' e glé snog, bh' e glé shnog, ach 's e Domhnall Thàm a' bha 'supposed' a bhith ann. Ach bhà Domhnall Thàm, tha e coltach, air obair fhaighinn air tìr mór an uair ud, agus chuir e fios thugamsa gu' robh e duilich nach b' urrainn dh'a bhith ann ach "Bithidh do 'chousin' eile ann a' Scalpay ann" ars' esan, 's e thuirt e rium (tha cuimhn' a'm?) agus 's e sin a' fear a bha còmhla rinne aig a' phòsadh... 34:59"**

34:31"...JANET..... It was him, Dolly Dhomhnaill, Dolly Dhomhnaill's son (giggle).. Dolly Dhomhnaill Ruairidh, and he was very nice, he was very nice but it was Domhnall Thàm who was supposed to be there. But Domhnall Thàm it seems had got work on the mainland at that time, and he sent me word that he was sorry he couldn't be there but "Your other cousin from Scalpay will be there" he said, that's what he said to me (I remember?) and that is the one who was with us at the marriage. 34:59"

**36:06" ... HUGH DAN.. Ach 'nuair a' ràinig sibhse 's an eathar, 's a' h-uile duine eile a' bha feitheamh oirbh, 'n e sin a' cheud turas a chuir sibh cas air eilean a' Scarp?.. 36:13"**

But when you reached in the boat, and all the other people who were waiting for you, was that the first time you set foot on the island of Scarp?

**36:14" .. JANET..... 'S ann, sin a' cheud uair a bha mise riamh ann a' shud. 'S e..that was.. 's e a' cheud turas a bha mise riamh ann, agus gu dearbh' bha sinn air ar dòigh glé mhath ann agus..um..um.. Tha Angie cho 'bright' e fhéin an còmhnaidh, bh' e cho toilicht'. Bhà 's Màiread fhéin 's a' h-uile duine ac' 's a' h-uile duine timchioll oirn bha 'd cho... bha sinn a'g obair mar gun canadh thu, còmhla' ri chéile. 'S e, sin mar a bha tachairt an uairsin... 36:43"**

36:14".. JANET..... It was, that was the first time I was ever there. It was..that was... it was the first time I was ever there, and indeed we were very happy there and..um..um.. Angie is so bright himself always, he was so happy. Yes and Màiread herself and every one of them and everyone who was round us they were so... we were working, so to speak, along with each other. Yes, that's how it happened at that time. 36:43"

**36:44" ... HUGH DAN... Ach dé seòrsa beachd a bh' agad air, a' dol ann (JANET..giggle..). Dé bha, dé bha lain air innse dhuit mar a' seòrsa daoine bh' ann neo dé bha tachairt ann, 'son 's e àite air leth a th' as a' Scarp 'o chionn 's gur e eilean a th'ann. Th' e gumath aoncholtach ri Manish. 36:57"**

*But what kind of opinion did you have of it, going there.. (JANET..giggle).. What had, what had lain told you of the type of people who were there or what was happening there, because Scarp is a unique place, as it is an Island. It is very unlike Manish.*

**36:58" ... JANET..... Oh thà, th' e gumath aoncholtach ri Manish. Tha, a' ghaoil, ach oh bhà na daoine cho dòigheal ann 's bh'ad cho ceart air a h-uile dòigh. 'S bha sinn, bha sinn, bha, bha mise faicinn sin mi-fhéin, 's bh'e, bh'e cho, bha e math a' bhith ann. Sin agad mar a' bha mis' (a' bhalaich?).. 37:16"**

*36:58".... JANET..... Oh it is, it is very unlike Manish. Yes, my love, but oh the people were so content there and they were so good in every way. And we were, we were, I was, I was, seeing that myself, and it was, it was so, it was good to be there. That is how I was (my boy?).. 37:16"*

**37:20" .. JANET..... Oh fhuair fàilteachan gu leòr ann a' shin 'nuair a chaidh sinn ann. 'Dearbha bha h-uile duine romhainn a' sin, fireannaich 's mnathan 's clann 's a h-uile càil. Bhà gu dearbh' bha h-uile duine cho coibhneil. Oh, 's e sin a' th'againn ri rath mu'n deidhinn... 37:35"**

*37:20".... JANET..... Oh we got plenty welcomes there when we went there. Indeed everyone was before us there, men and women and children and everything. Yes indeed, everyone was so kind. Oh, that is what we have to say about them....37:35"*

**37:36" .. HUGH DAN... 'S dé, dé cheud rud a' rinn sibh 'nuair a' chaidh sibh suas a' leathad?...37:39"**

*And what, what was the first thing you did when you went up the brae?*

**37:40" .. JANET..... Cha do rinn ach a' bhith (giggle).. a' coiseachd a' null gu na tigh(ean) 's iad 'g ar coinneachadh a' sin cuideachd. 'S, oh, stigh dh' an tigh 's ..um...sud a' thachair dhuinn, an dorus aca a' bhith (giggle)... glaist' oirn.. 37:53"**

*37:40".... JANET..... Nothing but ..(giggle..) walking over to the house(s) and them meeting us there too. And, oh, into the house and ..um..that's what happened to us, their door being (..giggle..) locked on us. 37:53"*

**37:54" .. HUGH DAN... Inns', inns' dhomh mar a thachair leis an dorus matha... 37:55"**

*Tell, tell me what happened with the door, then.*

**37:56" .. JANET..... Oh well cha do rinn 'ad ach rudeigin, chuir iad ceàrr a' rud a's an dorus 's 'nuair a dh'fheuch (????) faighinn a' stigh ann cha'n fhaighinn, cha'n fhaighinn's a mach. Deidh mo chuid aodaich a' chuir orm cha'n fhaighinn a' mach. 38:07"**

*37:56.... JANET..... Oh well they only did something, they put something wrong with the thing on the door and when ??? tried to get in I couldn't, I couldn't get out. After putting my clothes on I couldn't get out... 38:07*

**38:08" ... HUGH DAN...'S a' robh sibh fhéin glaist' a' stigh (a's an tigh?) ? 38:09"**

*And were you yourself locked inside (the house?)*

**38:10" .. JANET..... Bhà, mi glaiste ann a' shud a' stigh gu na (chuir?) iad a' mach (giggle) air an uinneag me (laugh) 38:13"**

*Yes, I was locked in there until they (put) (giggle) me out ( giggle) through the window.. (LAUGH)*

**38:14" ... HUGH DAN.. (SURPRISED)...Mach air an uinneag?.. 38:15"**

Out through the window?

**38:16" ... JANET..... Well 's ann, an uinneag. Ghabhadh an uinneag a bh' air an tigh againn, ghabhadh i cuir suas mar sud.. (POINTING UPWARDS).. 's cha robh agam ach a' dhol a' mach iséal ann a'shin. Sin agad a' nis ..(HUGH DAN LAUGHS)...**

**Bha mi air mo dhòigh glan... 38:25"**

38:16".... JANET..... Well it was, the window. The window that was on our house could be, could be put up like that.. (POINTING UPWARDS) and all I had to do was go out low down there. There you are now.. (HUGH DAN LAUGHS). I was delighted with how it happened.. 38:25"

**38:26" ... HUGH DAN.... 'S càite robh lain an uairsin?... 38:27"**

And where was lain then?

**38:28" ... JANET.....Bha lain, bha e 'n uair ud a' feitheamh rioms' a' muigh. Bha e fhéin air a dhol a' mach ..38:32"**

lain was, he was then waiting for me outside. He himself had gone out.

**38:33" ...HUGH DAN.... 'S cha robh sìon a dh'fhios aige cà' robh thu?.. 38:34"**

And he had no idea where you were?

**38:35" ... JANET..... Oh bhà, bha, bha lorg mhath aige cà' robh mi. Bh' e ann a' shin. 'S an uairsin a dh'iarraidh duine. Sin a nis' an aon, an aon dhealbh a fhuair mise (?????????????????????)...38:47"**

Oh he had, he had, he had a good idea where I was. He was there, and then went to fetch somebody. That now was the only, the only picture that I got.

**38:48" ..HUGH DAN..... 'S chaneil cuimhne 'sam bith agaibh gu' robh cuideigin a' togail film?... 38:51"**

And you don't remember at all that someone was filming?

**38:52" ...JANET..... Chaneil a nise cuimhn' agam air càil de'n a sin, Hugh Dan. Chaneil, a' ghaoil, chaneil. Cha robh, tha mi creidse nach robh mi smaoinichadh air co-dhiùbh..(BOTH LAUGH). Tha fhios nach robh... 39:03"**

Now I don't remember any of that, Hugh Dan. I don't, my love, I don't. I wasn't, I suppose I wasn't thinking of it anyway. ..(BOTH LAUGH)... It would seem that I wasn't.

**39:04" ... HUGH DAN.. Dé bha sibh a' smaoinichadh 's an dorus glaist' gu ta, robh sibh a' smaoinichadh gu robh cuideigin air do chuir dh' an a' phrìosan a's a' Scarp?!... 39:08"**

What were you thinking with the door closed though, were you thinking that they had taken you prisoner on Scarp?!

**39:09" .. JANET..... Oh cha robh, cha robh mi ach a' smaoinichadh dìreach nach robh ann ach rud airson plòidh a bh' aca fhéin. Sin a' smaoinich mis'.Ach co-dhiùbh bha sinn air ar dòigh glé mhath 's bha oidhche glé mhath againn. Sin agad na's urrainn dhomhs' a' ghrath mu dheidhinn.. 39:23"**

Oh I wasn't, I was only just thinking that it wasn't anything .... but something they did themselves just for fun. That is what I thought. But anyway we were very happy and we had a very good night. That is all I can say about it.

**39:24" .. HUGH DAN... Chaidh sibh sìos an uairsin do'n an tigh sgoile..???. 39:25"**

You then went down then to the schoolhouse..???

**39:26" .. JANET..... Chaidh, dh'an an tigh sgoile 's bha a h-uile càil aca roimhinn ann a' shin, a' h-uile càil. 'S bha a' h-uile càil, chaidh a' h-uile càil cho matha a thogradh thu... 39:34"**

We did, to the schoolhouse and they had everything there in front of us, everything. And

everything went just as well as you would like.

**39:35" .. HUGH DAN... 'S 'n e, 'n e nàdur ann an dòigh gur e banais eile bh' agaibh an uairsin a's a' Scarp, seach gu robh am pòsadh air, air an t-Òb 's an uairsin a h-uile càil eile a' tachairt.. (JANET... oh 's e).. air dòigh a' tòiseachadh as ùr?... 39:44"**

*And was it, in the nature of, in a way that it was another wedding you had then in Scarp, as the marriage was in, in*

*Obbe and then everything else happening..(JANET...oh it was).. in a way starting afresh?*

**39:45" .. JANET..... 'S e, dìreach mar gum biodh banais eile. 'S e agus bha e math da-rìreabh 's bh' ad dòigheal 's fhuair a h-uile duine aca a bha falbh as, fhuair 'ad dhachaidh dòigheal ann. Fhuair, fhuair. Oh bhà, bh' ad air dòigh glé mhath ann... 40:01"**

*Yes, just as if it were another wedding. Yes and it was extremely good and they were happy and everyone who was leaving it, they got home there happy. They did, they did. Oh they were, they were very happy there.*

**40:02" ...HUGH DAN.. 'S na dh'fhan daoine thairis air oidhche, 'n e sin a th'ann, 'n e sin a thachair? 40:04**

*And did people stay beyond one night, is that what it is, is that what happened?*

**40:05" .. JANET..... Um, cha do, cha do, feadhainn aca, feadhainn, dh'fhan dhà neo thri dìreach dh' fhan air an oidhche, dh' fhan 'ad gu madainn ach dh' fhalbh a' chuid bu mhotha aca, Hugh Dan ???.. Oh sin agad e 's bha mis' air mo dhòigh ann glé mhath gu dearbh', fad nam bliadhnaichean.. 40:23"**

*JANET..... Um, they didn't, they didn't, some of them, some, two or three stayed just, stayed on the night, they stayed until morning but most of them went, Hugh Dan ???.. Oh there it is and I was very content there indeed, for all those years.*

**40:24" .. HUGH DAN... Bha saoghal mór roimheamh ann an uairsin.. (JANET... Bha).. a's a' Scarp. Dé cho, cho, cho furasda 's a bhà e dhuibh"settleigeadh" ann?... 40:31"**

*HUGH DAN.... There was a big world before you there at that time.. (JANET...Bha)... on Scarp. How, how, how easy was it for you to settle there?*

**40:32" .. JANET..... Och bha glé mhath, cha do, cha do chuir e cúram sam bith orm a bhith ann, bha mi air mo dhòigh ann. Bhà, 's nis' a' chlann a' dol dh' an a' sgoil 's a' chlann agad mach 's a' steach as a' shin 's as a' sgoil 's a' h-uile càil. Oh bhà math, bha math an uairsin, 's bhà 's daoine, daoine a'g obair 's daoine(le?) gu leòr eatharaichean 's a h-uile càil ann. Bhà, ach th' e gumath dona an diugh... 40:59"**

*40:32"..... Och it was very good, it didn't, it didn't worry me at all being there, I was content there. Yes, and then the children going to school and your children out and in from there in school and everything. Oh it was good, it was good then, and people were, people working and people (with?) plenty boats and everything there. It was, but it is no such thing today, it's bad... 40:59"*

**41:01" .. HUGH DAN.. 'Robh beatha na, na's, um, chaneil fhios a'm an 'e na's fhas agaibh a's a' Scarp. 'Robh cùisean na's fhasa a's a' Scarp na bh'ad a' Manish a thaobh (...beò?)... 41:09"**

*HUGH DAN.... Was life more, more, um, I don't know if it's, easier for you on Scarp? Were matters easier on Scarp than they were in Manish as regards (...living?)*

**41:10" ...JANET.. Och well..um.. cha, cha robh 'ad ach dìreach mar 'n aon rud. Bha sinn a' deànamh a, bha, bha h-uile rud a' bha mis' a' deànamh a' Manish bha, bha, well dh' fhéumadh tu cuideachadh a's a' Scarp an aon rud..um..timchioll airson fearann 's mòine 's a' h-uile càil. So, 's e sin a bha sinn a' deànamh a' Manish.. 41:31"**

*JANET.. Och well.. um.. they were only just about the same thing. We were doing the, everything, everything I was doing in Manish it was, it was, well you had to help on Scarp the same way..um.. around the land and peats and everything. So, that is what we did in Manish.*

**41:32".. HUGH DAN.. Ach a' chuimhn' a th' agams' air a' Scarp bha Calum, m'Athair, 's a' Scarp.. 41:34"**

*But what I remember of Scarp, Calum, my Father, was in Scarp.*

**41:35".. JANET.. Oh bhà, 's bh' e, bh' e math airson buntàta 's a h-uile càil. Bhà, bh' e math, 's sin agad e. Ach, oh, bh' e math air a' h-uile dòigh.. 41:43"**

*Oh yes, and he was, he was good at potatoes and everything. Yes he was good, there it is. But oh, he was good in every way.*

**41:45".. HUGH DAN.. 'S dé, robh rudan àraid mu'n a' bhanais a's a' Scarp..um..nach robh tachairt an àiteigin 'sam bith eile, 'n e, 'n e, 'n e na h-aon chleachdaidhean a bh' ann? .. 41:51"**

*And what, were there unusual things about the wedding on Scarp..um..that were not happening in any other place, were the customs the same?*

**41:52".. JANET... 'S e, 'n aon chleachdaidhean a bh' aca, 'n aon rud, um, Hugh Dan, an aon rud, a' ghràidh, bha, 'n aon sheòrsa, cha robh atharrachadh 'sam bith ann... 42:00"**

*Yes, they had the same customs, the same thing, um, Hugh Dan, the same thing, my dear, yes, the same kind, there was no difference at all.*

**42:01".. HUGH DAN.. Nis' chuir sibh bliadhnaichean gumath sona, mar a' tha mi tigsinn, seachad a's a' Scarp.. 42:04"**

*Now you spent very happy years, as I understand, in Scarp.*

**42:05"...JANET.... Chuir, mi bliadhnaichean gumath son' ann. 42:07"**

*I did, I spent very happy years there.*

**42:08".. HUGH DAN.. Dé cho fad' 's a bha sibh ann, matha?... 42:09"**

*How long were you there for, then?*

**42:10".. JANET.. Ochd deug, eighteen, ochd deug, bha mi ochd bliadhna' dheug ann mu'r tàinig sinn a' seo. Bhà, bhà. 42:17"**

*Eighteen, eighteen, eighteen, I was eighteen years there before we came here. Yes, yes.*

**42:18"...HUGH DAN.. 'S 'n e àite math a bh' ann airson teaghlach a' thogail?.. 42:20"**

*And was it a good place to bring up a family?*

**42:20"...JANET..... Oh 's e, 's e, àite math furasd. Bha na balaich a'g iarraidh gu muir co-dhiùbh (giggle). Bhiodh 'ad sin aig a' mhuir gun teagamh ach, oh 's e, bhròinnean, bh' e, bh' e, bh' e math airson clann, 's fhaodadh thu a leigeal a' mach 's mar sin 's bha..um.. bha math anna dòigh, air a h-uile dòigh. Ach uaireannan bha, bhiodh an tide fiadhaich ann 's bha sin nàdur mar bh' e cho fada tuath a' sud. Ach cha robh sinn a' smaoineachadh càil dheth. Cha robh... 42:50**

*42:20"...JANET..... Oh it was, it was, a good easy place. The boys were always wanting to go to sea anyway (giggle). They would be at the sea no doubt but it was, my lad, it was, it was, it was good for children, and you could let them out and that and it was..um.. it was good in such a way, in every way. But sometimes it was, the weather would be wild there and that was natural the way it was so far North there. But we did not think anything of it. We did not... 42:50"*

**42:51"...HUGH DAN.. Dé bha sibh a' smaoineachadh 'nuair a thigeadh mo leithid's ann air saor làithean an uairsin, a' stamhradh?... 42:55** *What were you thinking when the likes of me used to come there on holidays then, in the summer?*

**42:56".. JANET..... Oh cha robh, bha sinn, bha sinn a' toirt àite dh' an a h-uile duine (both**

*giggle) a thigeadh ann, Hugh Dan. Bhà h-uile duine a' faighinn fàilte mhath ann 's bh' ad air an dòigh ann. Bhà. Th' ad a' dol ann fhathasd, th' ad a' dol ann fhathasd. Nach 'eil 'ad a' dol ann le na h-eathraichean 's sin. Ach, oh, bha mis' ann na bliadhnaichean ud 's chòrd e glé mhath rium. Bha mi air mo dhòigh ann. 43:20"*

*42:56"... JANET..... Oh no, we were, we always offered a place to everyone (both giggle) who would come there, Hugh Dan. Everyone was getting a good welcome there and they were happy there. Yes. They are still going there, they are still going there. Aren't they going there with the boats and that. But, oh, I was there those years and I enjoyed it very much. I was happy there. 43:20"*

**43:22"... HUGH DAN.. Ach, b' fheúdar, b' fheúdar dhuibh falbh air a' cheann thall.. 43:24"**  
*But you had, you had to go eventually.*

**43:24"... JANET..... B' fheúdar, 'n uair a thòisich na daoine falbh as, b' fheúdar dhuinn falbh as cuideachd. 43:29"**

*Yes, we had to, when the people started leaving it, we had to leave it too.*

**43:31"... HUGH DAN... 'N e, 'n e rud a bh'ann nach robh chòrr cothrom ann, robh sibh airson falbh?... 43:35"**

*Was it something that couldn't be avoided, did you want to go?*

**43:36"... JANET..... Oh bhà, dh' fheúmamaid, a' ghaoil, falbh, dh' fheúmadh, dh' fheúmamaid falbh, Hugh Dan, dh' ar clann gu feúmadh iad obair fhaighinn ??? sgoil 's eile. Cha, cha robh e furasd a bhith ann 'nuair a bha thu a' faicinn a h-uile duine, na nàbaidhean a bha cho dòigheal ri do thaobh a' falbh, cha robh e furasd dhuit a' bhith ann. Cha robh, cha robh. Ach gu dearbh' 'fhads a bha sinne ann, ann, mis' ann, bha na bliadhnaichean gumath sona dhomh ann. 'S bh' ad a' h-uile duine aca cho gasda rium, h-uile duine... 44:08"**

*43:36"... JANET..... Oh yes, we had to, my love, go, had to, we had to go, Hugh Dan, for our children as they had to get work (???) school and such like. It was not, it was not easy to be there when you were seeing everyone, the neighbours who were so happy beside you, going, it wasn't easy for you to be there. It wasn't, it wasn't. But indeed while we were there, there, I was there, the years were very happy for me there. And every one of them was so kind to me, every one.... 44:08"*

**44:09"... HUGH DAN.... Dé seòrsa faireachdainn a bh' agaibh a' fàgail a' Scarp, a' robh e coltach ri bhith a' fàgail Manish?... 44:13"**

*What sort of feeling did you have leaving Scarp, was it like leaving Manish?*

**44:15"... JANET..... Cha robh ('fhios 'ad??) gu robh an cianalas orm a' fàgail a' Scarp. Bhà, bhà an cianalas orm a' fàgail a' Scarp ach cha robh cianalas orm 's mi a' dol còmhla ri Iain dh' an a' Scarp.. (both smile)... Cha robh, cha robh ach bha'n cianalas orm a' falbh as a' Scarp agus, agus a' tighinn a' seo, dh' an na tighean a bha seo. Bha gu leòr air tighinn ann an uairsin nach 'eil ann an diugh. Thà, ghaoil, 's sin e. 44:42"**

*44:15"... JANET..... No it wasn't, (you know??) that I was homesick leaving Scarp. I was, I was homesick leaving Scarp but I was not homesick when I first went with Iain to Scarp.. (both smile)... I wasn't, I wasn't but I was homesick leaving Scarp and, and coming here, to the houses that were here. There were plenty who had come to it then, who are not here today. Yes, love, and that's it... 44:42"*

**44:43... HUGH DAN.. Ach 's e saoghal eile bh' agaibh an uairsin, a' tighinn..um.. (JANET... 's e)...gu'n an Tairbeart a' seo..(JANET..'s e).. 44:47"**  
*But it was another world you had then, coming..um..(JANET..'s e) to Tarbert here... (JANET..'s e)....*

**44:48"..JANET..... 'S e, 's e (????) ach fhuair sinn air adhart glé mhath ann 's bha, bha sinn a' cuimhneachadh air daoine glé shnòg ri mo thaobh's..um..fh' ads a bha mi ann.**

**Feadhainn eòlach 's a h-uile càil, 's bh' ad cho dòigheal rinn 's th' ad sin fhathasd. Chaneil dragh againn do dhuine a th' ann, th' ad glé shnog ach chaneil, chaneil 'd an diugh, an fheadhainn òg, th' ad a'g obair 's chaneil e furasda dhaibh a bhith, chaneil e furasda dhaibh a bhith, bhith, bhith matha a' tighinn a chéilidh air daoine mar a' chleachd. Ach bha mis' air mo dhòigh, bha mi air mo dhòigh a's a' Scarp 'fhads a bha mi ann... 45:24"**

44:48"..**JANET**..... It was, it was (????).. but we got on very well there and we were, we were remembering very nice people beside me..um.. while I was there. Acquaintances and everything, and they were so (kind?) to us and they are still that. We don't have a problem with anyone who's there, they are very nice but it's not, it's not today, the young ones, they are working and it is not easy for them to be, it's not easy for them to be, to be, to be, then, coming to visit people as it used to be. But I was content, I was content on Scarp while I was there... 45:24"

**45:25"..**HUGH DAN**.. 'S dé cho tric 's tha a' Scarp a' tighinn a' steach oirt a nis... 45:28"**  
And how often does Scarp come to your mind now?

**45:29"..**JANET**..... Dearbh' thà glé thric cuideachd, Hugh Dan..um.. bithidh mi cuimhneachadh air glé thric, agus bith' mi cuimhneachadh air Manish cuideachd, cho truagh 's a thà e (????) nach eil daoin' ann. Chaneil ann ach an dà thigh, tigh, tigh Dhomhnaill agus tigh Sheonnie Alain a' nis (????) 's bha tòrr anna shin fhéin. Chaneil duine a' nis ann. Sin agad, a' ghaoil, mar a' tha..(????).. 45:55"**

45:29"..**JANET**..... Indeed it does very often too, Hugh Dan..um..I remember it very often, and I remember Manish too, how poor it is ..(????).. that there are no people there. There are only the two houses, houses, Donald's house and Seonnie Alan's house, now..(????).. and there were a lot there. There is nobody there now. That is, my love, how it is...(????).. 45:55"

**45:56"..**HUGH DAN**.... Dé's motha, mu dh' fhaodas mi ceist car mi-mhodhail fhaighneachd (BOTH LAUGH) dé's motha a tha gabhail tarraing, 'n e Manishneo Scarp? ..46:04"**

What more, if I can ask an impertinent question (BOTH LAUGH) what draws you more, is it Manish or Scarp?

**46:06"..**JANET**..... Well um..um..um.. 's e Scarp 's motha tha 'ga mo tharraingsa. Bha mi ùine, bha mi air falbh 's bha mi a's a' Scarp. Bh' e 'ga mo tharraing. Sin agad mar tha mis' a' faireachdainn. 'S ann, a' ghaoil, 's ann.,, 46:19"**

46:06"..**JANET**..... Well um..um..um.. it's Scarp that draws me most. I was such a long time, there, I felt I was away .... and I was in Scarp. It was drawing me. That is how I feel. It is, my love, it is. 46:19"

**46:21"..**HUGH DAN**.. 'Bheil sannt sam bith agaibh uair sam bith togail a' mach 's falbh, tha fhios 'am gu bheil na balaich agaibh fhéin a' dol a null an dràs 's a' rithisd. 'N còrdadh e ribh uair sam bith, bheil sibh smaoineachadh, a dhol ann, seallaidhean fhaicinn a' rithisd?... 46:35** Do you have any desire at any time to get up and go, I know your own boys go over now and again. Would you enjoy it anytime, do you think, to go there, to see sights again?

**46:36"..**JANET**..... Chaneil, chaneil mi..um..um..tha mise cho dona a's na càraichean, Hugh Dan, chaneil mi math ann agus tha sin dh' m' fhàgail a' stigh, tha mi creidsinn, gu tric. Ach co-dhiùbh tha, tha còir agam a bhith taingean mar a thà mi, a h-uile cothrom tha seo agam. Sin, a' ghaoil, ,nas urra dhomhsa ghrath... 46:57"**

46:36"..**JANET**..... I'm not, I'm not..um..um.. I am so bad in the cars, Hugh Dan, I'm not good at all and that is leaving me inside, I believe, often. But anyway I should, I should be thankful how I am, all I need, I have here. That, my love, is all I can say.. 46:57"

**46:58"..**HUGH DAN**... Mar sin, a's a' latha mór a bh' agaibh ann a Manish agus a's an t-Òb, 's a' dol dh' an a' Scarp, 's e sin a' rud 's fheàrr a rinn sibh a' riamh a'n e?... 47:05"**

So, on the big day you had in Manish and in Obbe, and going to Scarp, that was the best thing you ever did, was it?

47:06?...JANET..... 'S e, rud 's fheàrr a rinn mis' a' riamh, 's e. Agus tha, bha a h-uile duine, bha 'n teaghlach, bha 'n teaghlach math dhomh. Bha 'n teaghlach, an triùir aca, math dhomh, an dà bhalach a bh' agam 's a' nighean. Tha h-uile, tha h-uile duine aca cho math dhomh fhathas agus 's e, 's e, 's e rud mór tha sin. Agus leis a' sin cha robh deànamh, cha robh càil a' deànamh dragh dhomh, mar gun canainn. Bha na balaich bh' ad cho dòigheal 's bha Domhnall lain a' dol a null tric, 's bh' e, bh' e sgrìobhadh dhachaidh 's bhiodh e 'phónadh'. Agus bha Domhnall timchioll fad' an t-siubhail 's bh' e cho dòigheal 's bha (?????) air falbh ach bha i cuimhneachadh. Bha i cuimhneachadh air 'phónadh' a h-uile turus, a' h-uile seachdain. Mar sin, mar sin, 's e sin a bha 'ga mo, 'ga mo chumail, tha mi smaoinneachadh, glé mhath dheth cuideachd. Sin a' nis, sin a' nis, a' ghaoil, na's urra' dhomhs' a ghrath...48:06

47:06"...JANET..... It was, the best thing I ever did, it was. And, um, everyone was, the family, the family were good to me. The family, the three of them, were good to me, the two boys I had and the girl. They're all, they're all so good to me still and that's, that's, that's a big thing. And, so, it was not, nothing was worrying me, so to speak. The boys they were so content and Donald John was going over often, and he was, he was writing home and he was phoning. And Donald was around all the time and he was so content and (?????) was away but she was remembering. She was remembering to phone every time, every week. So, so, that is what was, what was keeping me, I think, very well off too. There now, there now, love, that is all I can say. 48:06"

48:07"... HUGH DAN.. **Ach a nist' tha chuidhle air a' dhol mun cuairt agus tha banais mhór eile agaibh.. (JANET... Tha)... Dé nis tha sibh a' faireachduinn mu'n a' bhanais tha dol a' seo?...48:13"**

And now the wheel has turned round and you have another big wedding.. (JANET... Yes)..What now do you feel about the wedding that's going on here?

48:14"... JANET..... Uh, well thà mi toil..., tha mi toilichte gu leòr..um..um.. Hugh Dan gu bheil mi faicinn an ogha agam 'so far', gun do ràinig mi seo agus gu bheil mi ann an dòigh..?????????????????.. gu faic mi i gu bheil i pòsadh. O' chionn, bh' ad timchioll orm bho bh' ad òg, an dithis ac', 's bh' ad a' mach 's a' stigh 's bha, tha mi toilicht' a' nise gu bheil is a' cuir aghaidh air pòsadh, 's tha sinn an dòchas gum bith a h-uile càil, gun téid a h-uile càil gu math leatha. Sin a tha mis' a' guidhe co-dhiùbh... 48:50"

48:14"...JANET..... Uh, well I am happy...I am happy enough..um..um.. Hugh Dan that I am seeing my grand-daughter so far, that I reached this far and that I am well ??????????????????.. that I will see her getting married. Because, they were round me since they were young, the two of them, and they were out and in and, I am happy now that she has decided to get married, and we hope that everything, that everything will go well for her. That is what I (wish/hope) anyway....48:50"

48:51"...HUGH DAN... **Chaidh (Joan?) pios na's fhaide na chaidh sibh fhéin, tha i air a' dhol a' Leòdhas a' lorg fear!... 48:55"**

(Joan?) went a bit further than you went yourself, she has gone to Lewis to find a man!

48:56"... JANET..... Tha.. (laughing)...a' Leòdhas a' lorg fear, tha i sin. Oh nach e sin tha tachairt co-dhiùbh. Ach tha mise, sud mar tha mis' a' faireachduinn, 's tha mi faireachduinn gu, tha mi 'n dòchas gum bith a h-uile càil gu dòigheal. Sin, sin, sin a' (robhainn?) a th' agams (an eartair?). Oh 's e, ach co-dhiùbh, um, sin agad e, Hugh Dan. H-uile càil, 's théid a h-uile càil seachad...49:25"

48:56"... JANET..... Yes.. (laughing)...to Lewis to find a man, she's there. Oh isn't that what happens anyway. But I am, that is how I feel, and I feel that, I hope that everything will be in order. That, that, that is the (wish/hope?) that I have (for tomorrow?) Oh yes, but anyway, um, there it is, Hugh Dan. Everything, and everything will pass.. 49:25"

49:26"... HUGH DAN.. **Bithidh e math. Tha mi cinnteach gun còrd e ris a h-uile duine...(JANET... Tha mi 'n dòchas). 49:29"**

*It will be good. I am sure everyone will enjoy it...( JANET... I hope so).*

**9:29:..HUGH DAN.. *Right, tha sinn a' dol a nist', gabhaidh sinn ceum. Dé mu dheidhinn sùil a thoirt air ais g'n a' bhanais agaibh fhéin matha ..(JANET LAUGHS).. Seall mi dhuibh na dealbhan?... 49:36"***

*Right, we are going now, we will take a step. What about taking a look back to your own wedding, then? (JANET LAUGHS) Will I show you the photos?*

**49:37".. JANET.....(LAUGHING)... *Seallaidh, rud beag a' chuireigin dheth.. 49:40"*** Yes, some small part of it anyway.

**49:41".. HUGH DAN..*Faic sibh dé tha sibh a' smaoinichadh dheth, matha.. 49:42"***

**JANET.. 49:43"... *Seadh... (SMILES).. 49:44"***

*See what you think of it, then.*

JANET..

Yes

BRIEF PAUSE----- CHATTING

**50:36".. HUGH DAN.. *Nis, Janet, bha sibh a' grath rium gu robh cuimhn' agaibh gu robh cuideigin aig a' bhanais le camera, bheil sin ceart? An e sin an aon rud tha sibh a' cuimhneachadh mu, mu dealbhan 's ....? 50:46"*** Now, Janet, you were saying to me that you remembered that someone was at the wedding with a camera, is that right? Is that the only thing you remember about, about photos and...

**50:47".. JANET..... (SPEECH NOT VERY CLEAR).. *'S e sin tha mis' a' cuimhneachadh.***

***Cha 'n fhaca mise duine a' togail dhealbhan gun do thog iad mi-fhéin is lain 50:58"***

*That is what I remember. I did not see anyone taking photos until the one of myself and lain*

**50:59"..HUGH DAN... *'S e dealbhan eile a bha sin, ach chuala sibh an uairsin 's dòcha gu robh dealbhan ann?.. 51:04"***

*Those were other photos, but you heard then perhaps that there were photos?*

**51:05"..JANET.....*Cha 'n fhaca mise 'g aon dhiubh. Cha'n fhac', a' ghaoil, cha'n fhaca mise 'g aon dhiubh... 51:10"***

*I did not see any of them. I didn't, my love, I did not see any of them*

**51:11"..HUGH DAN..*Mar sin dé. dé chanadh sibh na'n canain 'sa riut gu bheil na dealbhan agam a's a' ?????? seo?... 51:16"***

*So what, what would you say if I said to you that I have the photos in this (computer?)*

**51:17"..JANET..... *Oh well, chanain's d' idir (BOTH LAUGH) 51:20"***

*Oh well, what would I say (BOTH LAUGH)*

**51:22"..HUGH DAN.. *Bha dùil a'm gu robh barrachd spéis agaibh dhomh 'na sin, gu robh sibh 'ga mo chreidsinn, a h-uile facal a bha mi grath... 51:26"*** I thought you were more fond of me than that, that you were believing me, every word I was saying (*jokingly*)

**51:27".. JANET..... (giggling)...*Well bha mi 'ga do chreidsinn ach bha sin, 'nuair nach fhac, 'nuair nach fhac mi aon co-dhiùbh an uair ud, a' latha ud fhéin, bha mi smaoinichadh nach robh 'g aon mu'n cuairt, gus a' robh an té a thog a' ????? bha sud dhuinn. Sin an aonan a bh' agamsa co-dhiùbh... 51:43"***

*51:27"..JANET..... (giggling)... Well I was believing you but that was, when I didn't see, when I didn't see one anyway then, that day itself, I was thinking there weren't any about, until the one who took that ????? of us. That's the only one I had anyway..51:43"*

51:44".. HUGH DAN.. *Well tha sinn a' nist', tha na, tha na dealbhan a chaidh a' thogail troimh teaghlach a (bhan-sgoile?), teaghlach a' Chaimbeulaich..(JANET..Oh 's iad)... tha sinn a' nis air na dealbhan sin a lorg, criomagan de na dealbhan sin a lorg.. (JANET...tha, tha )... agus, tha, chaneil mi dol a dh' innse dhuibh dé th' ann, ach thà mi dol 'g a shealltainn dhuibh a' nist' An còrdadh sin ribh?... 52:03"*

51:44"..HUGH DAN... *Well we are now, the, the photos that were taken through the family of the (head-mistress?), the Campbell family, (JANET..oh yes it's them)... we have now found those photos, found some portions of those photos..(JANET.. yes, yes) and, um, I am not going to tell you what it is but I am going to show it to you now. Would you enjoy that?... 52:03"*

52:04".. JANET..... *Còrdaidh e, riums fhaicinn co-dhiùbh.. 52:05"*

*I will enjoy, seeing it anyway.*

52:06... HUGH DAN.. *Well feuchaidh sinn faic mi faigh mi seo gu dol (JANET... seadh) 's mar an obraich e chaneil fhios a'm dé nì mi, ach co-dhiùbh feuchaidh sinn air (JANET ... feuchaidh) 52:13"*

*Well we will try and see if I can get this going (JANET.. yes) and if it does not work I don't know what I'll do, but anyway we will give it a try. (JANET...we will try)*

#### HUGH DAN SHOWING JANET THE FILM

55:10".. HUGH DAN.. *Seo, seo a nist' a' film, tha mi smaoinichadh, seo a' nist' a' film, agus tha e tòiseachadh 'nuair tha sibh a' tighinn a' Huisinish. Sin a' cheud dhealbh a th' againn... JANET... 's e... 55:20"*

*Here, here now is the film, I think, here now is the film, and it starts when you are coming to Huisinish. That is the first photo we have... JANET... Yes...*

55:34".. HUGH DAN.. *Sin a nist' an ceann latha dh' an a' bhanais... JANET... 's e... HUGH DAN.. 19th of June... JANET... 19th of June. 55:41"* There now is the (start/end) of the wedding day.. JANET..yes... HUGH DAN.. 19th of June.. JANET.. 19th of June.

55:48"..HUGH DAN.. *Sin a' rathad, tha mi smaoinichadh, bho Amhuinnsuidhe gu Huisinish... JANET... oh 's e... 55:52"*

*That is the road, I think, from Amhuinnsuidhe to Huisinish... JANET... oh yes.....*

56:00".. HUGH DAN.. *An aithne dhuibh na daoine' tha seo?.. (JANET SHAKES HER HEAD)... 'N toir sinn sùil orra có, có iad. Tòisich...tòisichidh mi a' rithisd air agus chi sibh, agus théid agam air a' stad ach a faic sinn có na daoine th' ann. ... JANET.. seadh... 56:15"*

*Do you recognise these people?...(JANET SHAKES HER HEAD).. Will we take a look at them who, who they are. I shall, shall start again and you will see, and I will be able to stop it so that we can see who the people are... JANET... Yes.*

56:22"..HUGH DAN.. *'Nuair a thig e gu na daoine, sin a' rathad a' dol sìos ... JANET... 'S e... 56:25"*

*When it reaches the people, there is the road going down... JANET... Yes*

56:32"..HUGH DAN..*Nis' có, 'n aithne dhuibh có an duine a tha seo tha 'n a shuidhe a's an eathar? 56:36"*

*Now who, do you know who this man is who is sitting in the boat?*

56:38".. JANET.. ..... *No, cha 'n fhaithnich, no. 'S dòcha gu bheil mi glé eòlach air, ach*

**chaneil mi 'ga aithneachadh a' nis ?????? No. 56:45"** No, I don't know him, no. It may be that I know him very well, but I don't recognise him just now. No.

**56:47" ...HUGH DAN.. An aithne dhuibh an duine sin, 'n e fear a' mhuinntir a' Scarp tha seo?..56:49"**

*Do you know that man, is he one of the people of Scarp?*

**56:50" ... JANET..... Tha mi smaoinichadh g' ur e, ann a' shin, mu tha mi ceart, a bheil?... 56:53"**

*Yes I think he is, there, if I am right, am I?*

**56:54" .. HUGH DAN.. Bheil fhios agaibh có th' ann? Th' e 'na shuidhe a's an eathar ann a' shin?... 56:57"**

*Do you know who it is? He is sitting in the boat there.*

**56:59" ... JANET..... Chaneil, chaneil, chaneil fhios 'am ach tha mi deànamh aithneachadh .... 57:05"**

*I don't, I don't, I don't know but I recognise - now do I ...*

**57:07.. HUGH DAN.... Sin a' nist' a' tighinn a null gu na Scarp... JANET... 'S e, 's e, uh huh, oh 's e 's th' ad aig?????.. 57:13"**

*There we are now coming over to Scarp... JANET... yes, yes, uh huh, oh yes and they are at ????*

**57:14" .. HUGH DAN.. Nis 'n e sin cidhe Huisinish, a' shed tha sin, an 'e?... 57:17"** Now is that Huisinish quay, that shed, is it?

**57:18" .. JANET..... Tha e coltach ris co-dhiùbh. 'S e, cha chreid mi nach e. 'S bithidh iad..um.. bithidh muinntir Huisinish ann a' shin cuideachd... 57:25"** It looks like it anyway. It is, I believe it is. And they will be..um.. the Huisinish people will be there too.

**57:26" ..HUGH DAN.. Bheil cuimhn' agaibh air a' seo a' nis, am piopaire 's a h-uile càil a' tighinn sìos gu 'n a' chidhe ann a' Huisinish?... 57:30"** Do you remember this now, the piper and everything coming down to the quay in Huisinish?

**57:31" .. JANET..... Chaneil, chaneil cuimhn' agams air a' sin idir.. 57:33"** No, no I do not remember that at all.

**57:34" ..HUGH DAN.. 'N aithne dhuibh am boireannach sin matha?... 57:35"** Do you know that woman, then?

**57:57" .. JANET..... Well tha mi deànamh aithneachdainn oirre ach ??????????????... H.D..... Sin sibh fhéin... 57:40"**

*Well I seem to recognise her but ??????????????????.. H.D..... That's yourself.*

**57:42" ... JANET... Aw, 's mis tha sin leis an, le, leis an ad orm... 57:45"** Aw, that' s me with the, with, with the hat on.

**57:46" ... HUGH DAN.. 'S có 'm boireannach tha seo còmhla ribh?... 57:47"** And who is this woman with you?

**57:48" ... JANET.. Bha mi smaoinichadh gur 'e, um, 's dòcha gu bheil mi ceàrr, bha mi smaoinichadh gur 'e bean, Màthair Alex a' Phaddy shios a' sud a bh' ann. Chaneil mi cinnteach... 57:56"** I was thinking it was, um, I might be wrong, I was thinking it was the wife, Mother of Alex a' Phaddy down there, I am not sure.

57:57"...HUGH DAN.. *An té tha seo, seo, Màthair Alex a' Phaddy? ...* 57:59" *This one here, here, Alex a' Phaddy's Mother?*

58:00"...JANET..... *Bha mi smaoinichadh gur 'e ach 's dòcha gu bheil mi cearr.. H.D.... uh huh... JANET...Oh chaneil, 's dòcha gu bheil... 58:04"* *I was thinking it was but I might be wrong...H.D..uh huh.....JANET... Oh it's not, maybe I am.*

58:05".. HUGH DAN... *Agus a nis' an e Carstiona, piuthair mo Mhàthair, bh' air an taobh eile?.. 58:09"*  
*And now was it Christina, my Mother's sister, who was on the other side?*

58:09".. JANET..... *'S e, Carstiona, 's e, Carstiona. ... 58:12"*  
*Yes, Christina, yes, Christina.*

58:13".. HUGH DAN... *Có 'm balach òg tha seo a' nist' a, a tha 'na shuidhe air an eathar? Bheil, bheil cuimhn' agaibh air balach òg a bhith a's an eathar? 58:19"*  
*Who is this young boy, now, who, who is sitting on the boat? Do you, do you remember a young boy being in the boat?*

58:20".. JANET..... *Oh bhà, tha cuimhn' a'm air Coinneach Lachie 's "the whole lot" aca 's balach Dhomhnail (Ruaidh), tha cuimhn' agam orra sin..... 58:26"* *Oh yes, I remember Coinneach Lachie and 'the whole lot' of them and Domhnall (Ruadh's) boy, I remember them.*

58:27"... HUGH DAN.. *' Bheil cuimhn' agaibh gu' robh Fionnlagh MacGill-Fhinnein ann?... 58:29"*  
*Do you remember that Finlay MacLennan was there?*

58:31"... JANET..... *Robh esan ann? Cha robh cuimhn' agam air a' sin idir... 58:33"* *Was he there? I do not remember that at all.*

58:34"...HUGH DAN.... *Tha e 'grath gu' robh.... 58:34" .....* 58:35"..JANET..  
*Seadh? Oh, 'n robh?.. 58:37"*  
*He says that he was .....Yes? Oh, was he?*

58:38".. HUGH DAN... *'S cà' n fhuair sibh an ad tha sin, 'n ann am bùth Murdo MacLean a fhuair sibh an ad? 58:41"*  
*And where did you get that hat, was it in Murdo MacLean's shop you got the hat?*

58:41".. JANET..... *(LAUGHING)... Oh cha'n ann, oh cha 'n ann... 58:43" (LAUGHING)...*  
*Oh it wasn't, oh it wasn't.*

58:44".. HUGH DAN... *Co a's a' thàinig an ad, matha?.... 58:45"*  
*Where did the hat come from, then?*

58:46".. JANET..... *'S e, 's e, 's e... 's e té a lorg dhomhsa sin, a' nurse a bh' ann a' Manish, agus thuirt i gu faigheadh i ad dhomh agus gum biodh, bha còt' agam fhéin agus fhuair i ad dhomh. Cheannaich i e ann a' Steòrnabhagh tha mi creidsinn. Ad 'pink' 's còta gorm, tha, Hugh Da, a bh' orms'... 59:05"* *It was, it was, it was... it was someone who found that for me, the nurse who was in Manish, and she said she would get a hat for me and that there would, I had a coat myself and she got a hat for me. She bought it in Stornoway I suppose. A pink hat and a blue coat, um, Hugh Dan, is what I wore.*

59:06"...HUGH DAN... *Ach tha style uamhasach air na boireannaich tha seo, tha, tha, tha éideadh, éideadh spaideil air a' h-uile duin' agaibh.... 59:12"* *But those women are wearing*

astounding style, the, the, the clothing is smart on every one of you.

59:13"... JANET..... *Oh thà, thà, thà aodaichean math air a h-uile duin' againn...* 59:17"  
*Oh yes, yes, yes we are all wearing good clothes.*

59:18"... HUGH DAN.. *Nis' an aithne dhuibh a' fear a tha sin a tha gabhail drama as, leis a' bhotal?...* 59:21"

*Now do you know that man who is taking a dram out of, with the bottle?*

59:22".. JANET..... *'N e, 'n e, 'n e lain...????... a th'ann?... (H.D...'n e?)... (JANET...tha mi smaoineachadh)...* 59:28"

*Is it, is it, is it lain...????.....? (H.D..is it).... (JANET..I think so .....*

59:29".. HUGH DAN.. *Cha robh mise eòlach air co-dhiùbh ach tha (????) latha mór gu bhith aige...* 59:35"

*I didn't know him well anyway but it (seems) he is going to enjoy a big day.*

A FEW SLIGHT INTERRUPTIONS ON THE SOUND

59:37".. JANET..... *Well tha, th' e coltach, coltach ris gun teagamh (giggling)...* 59:39"  
*Well it looks like, looks like it no doubt (giggling)*

59:42".. HUGH DAN... *Nist' sin lain.. (JANET... lain).. agus seo a nist' am bàt' a' tighinn dh' an a' Scarp, an eathar, agus am piopaire..* 59:49" *Now there's lain.. (JANET... lain)... and here now is the boat coming to Scarp, the boat, and the piper.*

59:50".. JANET..... *'S e, 's e, 's e gun teagamh...* 59:51

*It is, it is, it is no doubt.*

59:52".. HUGH DAN.... *Dé na faireachdainn a bh' agaibh a' dol suas a' slip ann a' shin a' nist' s a h-uile càil, a' saoghal, mar a bha na daoine*

*a' cruinneachadh a' sin còmhla ribh?... 59:59" What feelings did you have going up the slip there, now, and everything, the world, the way the people were gathering there with you?*

01:00:01".. JANET..... *Oh bhà, bhà, bhà toilichte. Latha, latha, latha toilicht' a bh' againn air fad. Sin a chanas mise. Dìreach latha toilicht' a bh' againn air fad, a' faicinn sin a' tachairt....* 01:00:12"

*Oh it was, it was, it was happy. A day, day, day that was happy, we all had. That's what I say. Just a happy day we all had, seeing that happening.*

01:00:13"... HUGH DAN.. *Nis' 'n e am piopaire sin a' maighistir sgoile, 'n e sin an Caimbeulach?...* 01:00:16"

*Now is that piper the school master, is that the Campbell man?*

01:00:17"... JANET..... *Oh 's e, an Caimbeulach, 's e, 's e, bh' e, bh' e uamhasach (snog?) timchioll air a h-uile càil de 'n a' sin...* 01:00:23" *Oh it is, the Campbell man, it is, it is, he was, he was, extremely (nice?) round all these things.*

01:00:25"... HUGH DAN... *Nis' bha sithain 's a' h-uile càil agaibh, cà' 'n fhuair sibh na sìtheanan mór a bha sin a bh' agaibh?...* 01:00:29"

*Now you had flowers and everything, where did you get the big flowers there that you had?*

**01:00:31" ... JANET..... Oh well chaneil fhios a'm. 'S e cuideigin a thug dhuinn 'ad ach cha 'n urrainn dhomh 'rath, Hugh Dan, có idir thug dhomh 'ad. Chaneil fhios a'm...**

**01:00:40"**

*Oh well I do not know. It was someone who gave them to us but I cannot say, Hugh Dan, who at all gave them to me. I do not know*

**01:00:41" ... HUGH DAN... Nist' a's an dealbh tha sin tha lain a' coimhead uamhasach spaideil cuideachd... (Janet giggles)... le ad agus còta mór agus tha (còta) bharrachd air. Cà' 'n fhuair esan éideadh na bainnse?.. (Janet... oh)...Cha deach esan gu Murdo MacLean còmhla ribh, an deach?... 01:00:52" Now in that photo lain looks extremely smart too.. (Janet giggles)... with a hat and a greatcoat and he has an extra (coat). Where did he get the wedding clothes?.. (Janet...oh)... He didn't go to Murdo MacLean with you, did he?**

**01:00:53" ... JANET..... Oh cha deach, cha deach gu dearbha... (BOTH LAUGH)... Oh cha deach, a' ghraidh (Laughing) cha deach...01:00:59" Oh he didn't, he didn't indeed.. (BOTH LAUGH)... Oh he didn't, my dear (Laughing) he didn't.**

**01:01:00" ... HUGH DAN... Có fhuair an deisa dha 'san matha?... 01:01:01" Who got the suit for him, then?**

**01:01:02" ... JANET..... Oh féumaidh gur e, 's e fhéin a dh' fhiarr an deis aige fhéin...**

**01:01:04"**

*Oh it must have been, he asked for his own suit himself.*

**01:01:05" ... HUGH DAN.. Bh' e 'na chleachdadh ad a bhith air, tha cuimhn' a'm fhéin ad a bhith aige 'n còmhnaidh aig an eaglais... 01:01:09 It was usual for him to have a hat on, I remember myself that he always had a hat at church.**

**01:01:10" ... JANET..... Tha, sguir e dh' an ad sin cha chreid mi. Bhiodh, bhiodh uaireannan, bhiodh.... 01:01:15"**

*Yes, he stopped with that hat, I think. He did, he did, sometimes, he did.*

**01:01:16" .. HUGH DAN.... 'S e duine gumath spaideil a bh' ann.. 01:01:17" He was a very smartly dressed man.**

**01:01:18" .. JANET..... Oh 's e, bh' e, bh' e snaiseal 'n a chuid aodaich. Bhà, bhà's bhà cho coibhneil air a h-uile dòigh. Falbh, falbh, bha sinn a' falbh suas gu na tighe, ach bha do Mhàthair gun teagamh cha, 's dòcha gu robh, chaneil fhios a'm a' robh i a' seo.**

**01:01:40"**

*Oh yes he was, he was handsomely dressed. Yes, yes and he was so kind in every way. Going, going, we were going up to the house, but your Mother no doubt wasn't, maybe she was, I do not know if she was here.*

**01:01:41... HUGH DAN.... Nis' sin an tigh, 'n e sin a' cheud turas a chunna' sibh an tigh, an dachaidh a bha gu bhith agaibh?..01:01:45"**

*Now there's the house, was that the first time you saw the house, the home you were going to have?*

**01:01:46" .. JANET..... Oh 's e, ???? a' latha ud a chaidh sinn ann. A' latha ud a chaidh sinn ann, sin a' latha a chunn' mis an tigh sin.. 'S ann, 's gu dearbh' bha sinn air ar dòigh ann, over the years. .. 01:01:57"**

*Oh yes ???? that day that we went there. That day that we went there, that was the day I saw that house. It was, and indeed we were content there, over the years.*

**01:01:58" .. HUGH DAN.. 'S a' robh e coltach, 'n e, 'n e sud a' seòrsa tigh a bha sibh a' smaoineachadh a bh' ann, ge'd nach robh sibh air fhaicinn?.. 01:02:02" And was it like, was**

that, was that the kind of house you thought it would be, although you had not seen it?

**01:02:04" .. JANET..... Oh cha robh, a' ghaoil, cha robh mise..um..ge'd nach robh mis' air fhaicinn cha robh càil a dh'fhios a'm dé seòrsa tigh a bh' ann.01:02:09" Oh no my love, I wasn't..um..although I hadn't seen it I had no idea what kind of house it was.**

**01:02:10" .. HUGH DAN.. Chaneil e coltach ri na tighean a bha a' Manish, a' bheil?.. 01:02:11" It's not like the houses that were in Manish, is it?**

**01:02:13" ..JANET..... Well thà. er, bha feadhainn a' bhà Manish glé choltach ris cuideachd. Bha tigh aig Aonghas Ruadh 's ann glé choltach ris an tigh ud a bhà e. 01:02:20"**

Well yes, er, some that were in Manish were very like it also. Aonghas Ruadh had a house and it was very like that house.

**01:02:21" ..HUGH DAN... 'S e tigh zinc a bh' ann?.. 01:02:21" It was a zinc house?**

**01:02:22" .. JANET..... 'S e, 's e zinc a bh'ann, 's e agus bh' e, bh'e, bh'e glé bhlàth, le tòrr teine shìos 's shuas 's stove mhath againn ann, 's bh' e math da rìreabh... 01:02:32" Yes, yes it was zinc, yes and it was, it was, it was very warm, with a lot of fires down and up and we had a good stove in it, and it was good indeed.**

**01:02:34" .. HUGH DAN.. Nist' fhad's a bha 'm piopair' aig an doras ann a' shin, am piopair', seinn, a' cluich, seinn na pioba, taobh a' muigh, dé bha dol a' stigh? 01:02:40" Now while the piper was at the door there, the piper, sounding, playing, sounding the pipes, outside, what was going on inside?**

**01:02:42" .. JANET..... Oh bhà (giggle) bhà gu leòr, tha mi creidsinn (both giggle) bhà gu leòr (laughing)dh' an a h-uile rud. Gàgail gu leòr 's danns 's uamha (H.D.... uh huh) ????? a' dol a' stigh a' sud. Oh bhà 's bh' ad air an dòigh glé mhath ann. Latha math ac' ann a' June, 's dé 'n còrr a dh' iarradh thu, Hugh Dan... 01:02:59" Oh there was (giggle) plenty, I suppose (both giggle) there was plenty (laughing) of everything. Plenty whooping and dancing and joy, yes. (H.D)..uh huh) ????? going on in there. Oh yes and they were very happy there. They had a good day in June, and what more could you ask for, Hugh Dan.**

**01:03:00" ... HUGH DAN.. Nis' an ann an uairsin , cuin', cuin', a chaidh ar glasadh dh' an an rùm ?????.. 01:03:03" Now was it then, when, when, were you locked in the room?**

**01:03:04" .. JANET..... Well an uair, an uair ud, 'nuair a chaidh, 'nuair ud 'nuair a chaidh sinn suas dh' an tigh, dh' an an dachaidh. Fhios agad bh' ad air (suss?) a mach 's féumaidh gun rudain cuideigin a' ghlàs a bh' air an doras. 'S nuair a chuir mise dhiom an t-aodach sin 's a chuir mi orm an t-aodach eile, cha'n, 'nuair a dh' fheuch iad an uairsin ris an doras fhosgladh cha'n fhaighinn's a' mach, ach b'fhéudar dhomh a dhol an uairsin a' mach air an uinneag. So 's ann an uairsin.01:03:29"**

Well when, then, when we went, then when we went up to the house, into the home. You know, they had (sussed?) it out and it must have been that somebody did something to the lock that was on the door. And when I took off those clothes and put on the other clothes, it wouldn't, when they tried then to open the door, I couldn't get out, but I had to go then out the - by the window. So it was then.....

01:03:29".. HUGH DAN.. *Well seall dhomh, dé 'n uinneag air an d' thàinig sibh a' mach. 'N e sud an uinneag?* (pointing).. 01:03:32"  
Well show me, which window did you come out on? Is that the window? (pointing)

01:03:33"... JANET..... *'S e, 's e..* (pointing) *'s e, sin an uinneag air an tàinig sinn a' mach.* 01:03:35"  
It is, it is (pointing) it is, that is the window that we came out on.

01:03:36"... HUGH DAN.. *Air cùl, cùl a' a' phiopair'?*.. (JANET.. *seadh* ).. *Thàinig sibh a' mach air a' (????) ?..* 01:03:38"  
Behind, behind the piper?.. (JANET.. Yes)..You came out on the (????)

01:03:39".. JANET..... *Thà, thàinig mi mach ann a' shin* (both laughing) *'s chuir iad an uinneag an àrd, an àrd airson gu faighinn a' mach 's gu faighinn an aodach orm.* 01:03:46  
Yes, I came out there (both laughing) and they put the window up, up so that I could get out and get my clothes on.

01:03:47".. HUGH DAN.. *'S a' robh lain taobh a' muigh an tìghe an uairsin?.* 01:03:48" *And was lain outside the house then?*

01:03:49".. JANET..... *Bhà, bhà, lain a' muigh an uairsin 's (????) sinn a' null an uairsin cho àluinn gu 'n a' tigh sgoile, 's a h-uile càil cho càilear ann, 's an tìde cho àluinn. Sin agad a' ghaoil na b' urrainn dhomhs' a ghrath.* 01:04:02"  
He was, he was, lain was outside then. We (????) over then so lovely to the school house, and everything so pleasant there, and the weather so lovely. That, love, was all I could say.

01:04:03".. HUGH DAN.. *'S na theich a' chlann agaibh fhéin a mach air an uinneag sin uair sam bith, 's sibh as an déidh?..* 01:04:06"  
*And did your own children scarper out that window at any time, and you chasing them?*

01:04:07".. JANET..... *Oh cha do theich gu dearbh'* (both giggle). *No. Oh cha do theich gu dearbh'.* (H.D... *Bha'd ro mhodhail?*) 01:04:12" *Oh they did not indeed (both giggle) No. Oh they did not indeed. (H.D... They were too well behaved?)*  
01:04:13".. JANET..... *Bha, bha cha deach, a' ghraidh, 'ad a' mach air a' sin a' riamh.* Never. 01:04:17"  
Yes, yes they did not, my love, go out through there ever. Never.

01:04:18".. HUGH DAN.. *Well, sud an piopaire matha, agus an deidh sin chì sinn na daoine a' sgaoileadh, 's ann, 's ann, 's dòch' a' dol sìos gu'n an tigh sgoile a bh' ad an uairsin.* 01:04:26"  
Well, there's the piper then, and after that we can see the people dispersing, it's, it's, perhaps going down to the schoolhouse they were then.

01:04:27".. JANET..... *Oh 's ann, 's ann a' dol sìos gu'n an tigh sgoile bhiodh iad an uairsin, a' dol dh' an a' rud. Tha Lachie ann a' shin, chaidh e seachad, um..um.. choinnich mi esan* (H.D.. *A's an dealbh sin?*).....(JANET.. *Seadh*)..... (H.D.. *uh huh*).. 01:04:38"  
*Oh it is, it is going down to the schoolhouse they would be then, going to the thing. Lachie is there, he went past, um..um.. I met him (H.D.. In that photo?)..... (JANET... Yes)... (H.D...uh huh)*

01:04:40".. HUGH DAN.. *'S a' bheil sin a' toirt air ais thugabh mar a thachair..*(JANET... *Tha a h-uile càil an uairsin... (JANET...Thà nise, thà)..* 01:04:44" *And does that bring back to you what happened ..(JANET.. Yes) everything at that time..(JANET.. Yes, now, yes)*

**01:04:46".. HUGH DAN.. Sud a' nis, na meatagan cuideachd, tha mi faicinn gu robh meatagan oirbh.. 01:04:48**

*There now, the gloves also, I am seeing that you had gloves on.*

**01:04:49".. JANET..... Thà, meatagan orm cuideachd.. 01:04:51 "**

*Yes, I have gloves on too.*

**01:04:53".. HUGH DAN... 'N e cleachdadh a bha sin, 'neo rud a bhà sibh a' deànamh dìreach airson na bainnse? 'S e meatagan geal a bh' ann. 01:04:58"**

*Was that the custom, or something that you were doing just for the wedding? They were white gloves.*

**01:04:59".. JANET..... 'S e, 's e, rud a bha sinn a' deànamh airson na bainnse. Ach, oh bhròinnean, bha latha math againn... 's gu dé na b' fheàrr a' dol dh' an a' Scarp ach 19th June. 01:05:09"**

*Yes, yes, something we did specially for the wedding. But, oh my lad, we had a good day...and what would be better than going to Scarp on 19th. June.*

**01:05:12".. HUGH DAN.... Sud a nist' Carstiona, sibh fhéin ..(JANET.. 's e) agus Màthair Alex a' Phaddy 01:05:16"**

*There now is Christina, yourself ..(JANET.. Yes) and Alex a' Phaddy's Mother.*

**01:05:17".. JANET..... 'S e, ma's i, ma's i tha sud. Smaoinaich mise gu'r th' i co-dhiùbh ach 's dòcha gu bheil mi ceàrr. Oh, gheibh mi mach fhathasd có th' ann.. 01:05:23"**

*Yes, if that's, if that's her. I thought it was anyway but perhaps I am wrong. Oh I will find out yet who it is.*

**01:05:24"..HUGH DAN.... Tha sibh a' coimhead gumath dòigheal a' sin 's gu robh sibh air ar dòigh glan. 01:05:26"**

*You look very happy there and ..... that you were very content.*

**01:05:27"..JANET..... Oh bha mi air mo dhòigh glan a' dol ann, bh' e mìorbhaileach. Bha mi air mo dhòigh glan a' dol ann 's bhà mi, bhà mi tùrsach a' falbh (leis.. or.. a's) (giggle). Sin a chanas mis', sin a chanas mise, Hugh Dan. Ach cha robh do Mhàthair comhl' rinn thall a' sud idir. Bha i, bha i timchioll air, a'm broinn an tighe còmh' rinn ach cha b' urra' dhith dhol dh' an a' sgoil, cha robh i math. Agus a' deidh sin a rithist chaidh i dh' an an Ospadal, bha i dreiseag a's an Ospadal cuideachd 01:05:56"**

*Oh I was very happy going there, it was wonderful. I was very happy going there and I was, I was extremely sad leaving it. That's what I say, that's what I say, Hugh Dan. But your Mother wasn't with us over there at all. She was, she was around, inside the house with us but she couldn't go to the schoolhouse, she just wasn't in good shape. And after that again she went to hospital, she was a long while in the hospital too.*

**01:05:57"... HUGH DAN.. Ach cha do ghabh sibh fhéin aithreachas 'sam bith a' riamh a' dol dh' an a', 'son mar a thachair... (JANET.. no) pòsadh (J...No) coinneachadh ri lain (J...no) pòsadh lain (J...no), togail an teaghlaich a's a' Scarp? 01:06:06**

*But you yourself did not feel any regret whatsoever - ever going to there, for what happened...(JANET...No) marrying (J...No) meeting lain (J...No) marrying lain (J...No), bringing up the family in Scarp?*

**01:06:07".. JANET..... Oh bhà, bhà mi cho son' ann, bha mi cho sona 's a' ghabhadh. Cha robh e a' cuir dragh sam bith orm, 's bhà mi faicinn muir gumath mór ann iomadach latha. Cha do chuir e dragh sam bith orm. 01:06:17"**

*Oh yes, yes I was so content there, I was as content as could be. It wasn't worrying me at all, and I was certainly witness to many a rough sea there, many times. But it didn't worry me at all.*

**01:06:18:.. HUGH DAN..... 'S bha tòrr rudan a thachair timchioll air a' Scarp cuideachd, nach robh.. (JANET...Bhà) Daoin' a' call am beatha (????) 01:06:22**

*And there were a lot of incidents that happened around Scarp, too, weren't there?... (JANET... Yes) People losing their lives...?*

**01:06:24".. JANET..... Bhà, bhà air an taobh thall aig àm an t-shàmhraidh ann a' June neo ann a' July 's 'ad aig..um..aig na caoraich. Tha cuimhn' a'm, cha robh duine a's a' bhaile ach mi-fhéin, mi-fhéin agus bean Andy agus a' fear a bh' ann a' seo air a' bhàta. Bh' e dreis air a' bhàta agus fhuair e tigh a's a' Scarp agus bh'e ann a' rud , agus thuirt e gun do thachair rudeigin ann, mach, 'eil fhios agad, air an tràigh gu (Flodaidh?) mar gu robh an t-eilean a' bha sin. Bha 'n tràigh cho fad' a' muigh agus th' e coltach gun deacha feadhainn um..um.. feadhainn Ghallda gu'n an tràigh, agus chaidh a' fear a bha seo gu'n an tràigh agus chaidh e fodha a's a' gheanmhaich.. (H.D..chaidh a' shlugadh?)... (JANET.. chaidh a' shlugadh)..... ((H.D...Tha cuimhn' a'm fhéin air a' sin a' tighinn dhachaidh) Agus 's ann a' rithisd, cha chreid mis' nach ann ann a' Tarbert Argyll a fhuair 'ad an corp aige... (H.D.. Gu sealladh orm) (JANET.. whispering.. Tha mi smaoineachadh gur h-ann)Oh bh'e duilich. Agus bha esan (pointing behind her) a' cuir na glainne a' fear ud, agus, tha, thuirt e gu, gun do phonadh 'ad Huisinish 's gun tuirt 'ad ann a' Huisinish gu'r e am balach a bha seo gun deach a' shlugadh a's a' gheanmhaich, 's..er.. bh'e air chall ann a' shin 's bh' ad 'ga lorg, Cha do lorg 'ad, ach chuala sinn a' rithisd gu'r ann a' sud a chaidh a' lorg, an corp aige. Bh' e duilich. Agus sin a' nise mar a bha tachairt an còmhnaidh. Cha robh 'ad eòlach air a' ghnothaich**

**01:07:54"**

*01:06:24".. JANET..... Yes, Yes on the far side in summertime in June or in July when they were with..um.. up tending with the sheep. I remember, there was nobody in the village except myself, myself and Andy's wife and the man who was here on the boat. He was a while on the boat and he got a house in Scarp and he was into something, and he said something happened there, out, you know, on the shore to (Flodda?) as it were, that Island. The tide was so far out and it seems that some..um..um..some mainland folk went to the shore, and this man went to the shore and he sank in the sand (H.D..He was just swallowed up?)..(JANET..He was swallowed up) (H.D..I remember that myself, coming home) And it was later, I believe it was in Tarbert Argyll they found his body..(H.D..Oh my goodness) (JANET..whispering..I think it was. Oh it was desperately sad. And he (pointing behind her) was trying with the binoculars that one and, um, he said that, that they phoned Huisinish and that they said in Huisinish that it was this boy that he was swallowed up by the sand and..er.. he was lost there and they were looking for him. They didn't find, but we heard later that it was there it was found, his body. It was sad. And that is what was happening always. They didn't know about these matters.*

**01:07:55".. HUGH DAN.. Ach bha muinntir Scarp fìor eòlach air a' mhuir timchioll a' sin? 01:07:57"**

*But the people of Scarp were very familiar with the seas around there?*

**01:07:58".. JANET..... Oh bhà, bha sinne cho eòlach a' dol a' sud air a' mhò..., dh' an a' mhòine. 'S cha robh e cuir cùram sa' bith oirn..um.. ach bhà eathraichean math aca an uairsin ach chaneil eathar fhéin ac' an diugh. Nach 'eil 'ad a' deànamh te shuas anna (????) th'e coltach leam, shuas ann an Uibhist ach chaneil daoine' ann airson a bhith tarraing nan gnothaichean sin. 01:08:16"**

*Oh yes, we were so familiar with going there to the peats. And it didn't cause us any trouble..um.. but they had good boats then .... and they haven't even got a boat today. Here though, aren't they making one at the moment, up in (????) it would appear, up in Uist? but there are no such people to be carrying out those things these days.*

**01:08:17".. HUGH DAN... Ach bha lain fhéin (JANET..oh) agus na daoine bho'n tàinig e, math (JANET..oh) aig,, aig muir. 01:08:20"**

*But lain himself was (JANET..oh) and the people he came from, good (JANET..oh) at, at sea.*

01:08:21" .. JANET..... *Oh bhà esan math aig muir, bhà, 's bha fhios aige gu..oh bhà. 'S e tòrr a th' ann, a ghaoil. Bhà, bh' e math aig a' mhuir, bhà. (Cha'n iarradh na balaich nach robh 'ad a'g obair?) nach b' fhéumadh e earaichean a dheànamh dhaibh le "tinichin" (both giggle). Cha chreid mi nach robh te aig Gillies fhéin dhiubh (H.D. uh huh) Cha chreid mise nach robh e air, uh, te a dheànamh, uh, le seòl timchioll (far am biodh e-fhéin) comhl' ris (giggle) 'Nuair a bh' e, 'nuair a bh'e 'na chnapal. Bhà. 01:08:51"*

*Oh he was very capable at sea, yes, and he knew that..oh yes. It's a lot to be thankful for, love. Yes, he was very good at the sea, yes. Those boys wanted nothing else, but to be working. He used to make boats for them with tins (both giggle). I believe Gillies himself had one of them. (H.D..uh huh) I believe he had, uh, made one, uh, with a sail around - where he himself would go along with him. (giggle) When he was, when he was a youngster. Yes.*

01:08:52" HUGH DAN.. *Mar sin a bheil sibh a' smaoineachadh, a' coimhead air a' bhanais sin 's a' h-uile duine air an dòigh 's air an éideadh cho spaideil 's a' h-uile càil, bheil sibh a' smaoineachadh gu'm bith a' bhanais a tha gubhith againn ann a' sheo air a' (???) ann a Seilbost cho math's a bha a' bhanais agaibh fhéin*01:09:05

*So do you think, looking at that wedding and everyone happy and so smartly dressed and everything, do you think the wedding we're going to have here on the (???) in Seilbost will be as good as your own wedding was?*

01:09:06" .. JANET..... *Oh well thà mi 'n dòchas gum bith, tha, tha barrachd, tha barrachd gnothaichean... acasan air na bh' againne, Hugh Dan. Ach mu bhios i cho snog ri sin bithidh i snog gu leòr* 01:09:16

*Oh well I hope it will be. They have, they have more, more than we ever had, Hugh Dan. But if it is even as good as that one (I.E. HER WEDDING) then it will be very nice indeed.*

01:09:17" .. H.D. *Ach tha sibh a' coimhead air adhairt ris?*01:09:18...01:09:19..JANET..*Thà, tha mi coimhead gu bheil mi 'n dòchas gu'm bith 'n tid' ann.* 01:09:21

*But you are looking forward to it? Yes, yes I'm looking forward - and I do hope the weather will be favourable.*

01:09:22" .. HUGH DAN..*'S leig sibh seachad a' nis am birthday agaibh. Inns' dhomh a' latha mór a bh' agaibh an t-sheachdainn's a chaidh.* 01:09:26" *And you've just had your birthday now go past....*

01:09:27" .. JANET..... *Oh cha robh càil. a' ghaoil, ach mar seo, gabhail cupa té's gnothaichean dh' an t-seòrs' sin 's a' cuimhneachadh..um.. Innsidh mi dhuit cho math 's bhà 'n Crutheadair dhomh, uh, gu'n tug e gu'n a seo mi, agus gu robh e cho math dhomh air a h-uile dòigh, na'm bithinn 'ga fhaicinn. Sin, sin tha mis' a' smaoineachadh. Agus sin mar tha mise 'ga fhaicinn, gu bheil an Crutheadair toirt dhomh an cothrom tha seo 's gu bheil mo chuimhn' agam fhathasd, Hugh Dan. Mo thàileantean 's gu bheil fhios agam dé tha mi deànamh (giggle). Sin tha, sin tha fhios agams.* 01:10:00"

*Oh it was nothing my love, but just like this, taking a cup of tea and things of that kind and remembering..um..I will tell you though, how very good the Lord ("Creator") has been to me..uh.. that he took me this far, and that he was so very good to me in every way, if I could see more of it. That, that is what I think. And that is how I see it, that the Creator has granted me these abilities and that I have my memory still, Hugh Dan. My faculties - and that I know exactly what I am doing (giggle) That, that much I know.*

01:10:00" .. HUGH DAN..*Tha fhios agaibh dé tha a h-uile duine eil' a' deànamh cuideachd!* 01:10:02"

*You know what everyone else is doing too!*

01:10:03" .. JANET..... *(laughing) Well, thà, tha fhios agam dud tha pàirt (????) a' deànamh cuideachd. Ach 's e gu robh mo chuimhne 's mo thàileantean agam fhéin agus*

gu 'm urrainn Domhnall 's Mairi tha faisg orm, m' fhàgail a' stigh leam fhéin.. "so far". 'O chionn, mar a bithinn, seall an te sin a bhà ri mo thaobh "for years"..um..um.. thà, nighean Dhomhnaill Néill, Kennag. Tha i' a's a' Home 's tha i ann airson cóig bliadhna, agus chaidh i dh' an a' Home. 'S tha cóigear theaghlach aice agus 's e 'n aon latha a' thàinig, thàinig mi-fhéin's i fhéin g'an tigh seo.. 1970..31st July., tha cuimhn' a'm g'ur e sin a' latha a thàini sinn. Agus bha ise air tighinn..um.. cha robh eathar aca' san, 's e bh' aca' san ach làraidh, ach bha làraidh 's eathar againne ri fhaighinn. Agus bha iadsan ann roimhinn agus thàinig an duine aic 'ise a's a' mhadainn a' cuir fàilt' oirn ann a' sheo, 'nuair a chual' 'ad gu robh sinn air a thighinn. Agus bha i a's an tigh sin (pointing) "so many years" ach thà cóig bliadhna bho dh' fhalbh i sud. Tha is' air a cuimhn' a chall 's b' fhéudar a' chlann-nighean a cuir, chuir iad dh' an a' Home i. Seo a' nis. 01:11:14"

JANET..... (laughing) Well, yes, I know what this fellow and that fellow are up to, too. But the main thing for myself is I have long had my memory and faculties and that Donald and Mary who are near me, could leave me in on my own.. independent .... so far at least. Because, if I wasn't, look at that one who lived beside me for years..um..um.. Donald Neil's daughter, Kennag. She is in the Home and she's been there for five years, yes, and she went to the Home. And she has five of a family and it was on the exact same day that she and I came here, me to this house..1970..31st July., I remember that was the day we came. And she had come..um.. they did not have a boat, it was a lorry they had, but we had a lorry and a boat to organise. And they were here before us and her husband came in the morning to welcome us here, when they heard that we had come. And she was in that house (pointing) so many years but there's five long years since she went away there. She has lost her memory entirely and her girls had to.. they had to put her into the Home. There you are now.

01:11:15".. HUGH DAN.. Well tha mi air-leth toilichte gu'n fhuair sinn an cothrom seo a shealltainn dhuibh.. (JANET.. Thà) 's tha mi 'n dòchas gu'n do chòrd e ribh. 01:11:20"  
Well I am really pleased that we got the chance to show you this (JANET... Yes) and I hope you enjoyed it.

01:11:21".. JANET..... Oh, chòrd gu dearbha, Hugh Dan, chòrd e math rium fhaicinn.  
01:11:23"

Oh, I enjoyed it indeed, Hugh Dan, I enjoyed very well seeing it.

01:11:24"..HUGH DAN.. 'S tha mi 'n dòchas gu 'n còrd a' bhanais ribh cuideachd. 01:11:25"  
And I hope you enjoy the wedding as well.

01:11:26"..JANET..... Oh tha mi 'n dòchas gu 'n còrd, gu 'm bith e dòigheal. Tha mise coma mu bhios 'ad dòigheal. Bithidh, bithidh mi ann an "corner a' m ait'eigin. (BOTH LAUGH) ... "Na mo shuidhe. 01:11:35" Oh I hope I will enjoy it, that it will be happy. I do not care at all, so long as they're happy. I shall, I shall be sitting in a corner somewhere (BOTH LAUGH) Just sitting.

01:11:36".. HUGH DAN.. Thig mi dhannsa còmhla ribh.! 01:11:37"  
I shall dance with you!

01:11:38".. JANET..... (LAUGHING).. Oh bhròinnean, thig ach bithidh mi, bithidh mi timchioll, bithidh thu timchioll oirn co-dhiùbh ach oh, oh tha mi 'n dòchas gu 'm bith 's gu m bith an tioradh ann ann a' shud thall, Hugh Dan. Th' e breàgha thall a' sud tha fhios a'm cuideachd. 01:11:52"  
(LAUGHING).. Oh my lad, you will but I will, I will be there, and you will be around us all anyway but oh, oh I do hope it will be, special, and that it will be dry weather over there, Hugh Dan. It is a lovely spot over there I know, too.

01:11:53".. HUGH DAN.. Chaneil e cho breàgha ris a' SAcarp gu' ta. 01:11:54" It's not as beautiful as Scarp, though.

01:11:55".. JANET..... *Chaneil e cho breàgha ri (????) Well tha tràighean aca 'san cuideachd, th' e breàgha. Có 'n te bha grath rium, bha Morag Munro, nach do phòs am balach aice. Bhà i 'grath rium "fhuair sin" a 's ise "là da rìreabh ann". Phòs e bean Leòdhasach, nach e?* 01:12:10" *It is not quite. Well, they have beaches too, it is lovely. Who was saying to me? It was Morag Munro, didn't her boy get married. She was saying to me " we had" she said "a truly lovely day". He married a Lewis wife, didn't he?*

01:12:11".. HUGH DAN.. *Chaneil càil ceàrr air a bhith a' pòsadh Leòdhasaich an dràs 's a' rithisd.* 01:12:13"

*There is nothing wrong with marrying Lewis folk now and again!*

01:12:14".. JANET..... *Chaneil, chaneil (BOTH LAUGH) Chaneil, chaneil, ach co-dhiùbh a' luaidh Hugh Dan, tha thu glé mhath 's tha sinn toilicht'. Mu bhios an t-slàint' aig a' h-uile duinn' againn 's a' h-uile càil gu math, 's e sin a' h-uile càil. Sin a' ghaoil a', sin an gnothaich an diugh, agus iomadach duine, a' ghaoil, nach 'eil sin aca.*

*Tha (????) aois na's òige na mise, agus bithidh a' nise do Mhàthair , bithidh i a' phone... bithidh mi phonadh th' ice (BOTH GIGGLE) Féum... féumaidh mi phonadh th'ice mun a' seo, a'g innse mun a' seo.* 01:12:50 *There's not, there's not (BOTH LAUGH) There's not, there's not, but anyway my dear, Hugh Dan, you are doing good and we are happy. If we all have our health and everything is well, that is everything. That, love, is the, that is the thing nowadays, and many people, love, have not got that at all. There are many at an age younger than me ..... and now your mother will be, she will be phone... I will be phoning her (BOTH GIGGLE) I must, I must phone her about this, really I must, to tell her about this.*

01:12:51".. HUGH DAN.. *Féumaidh sibh, féumaidh sibh innse dhith.* 01:12:52" *You must, you must tell her.*

01:12:53".. JANET.. *Oh féumaidh, bithidh i air a' dòigh glan. Ach cha do, cha do thachair dh' ise, bha i aig an tìgh cuideachd, ach cha do thachair dh' ise a dhol còmh' rinn a' null a' sud idir. Bhà i meadhanach an uair ud, a' là ud.* 01:13:04"

*Oh I must, she will be completely happy. But she didn't, she didn't happen to, she was at home too, but she didn't happen*

*to get over there with us at all. She was very poorly at that time, that day.*

01:13:05".. HUGH DAN.. *Well, 's fheàrr dhomh falbh 's a' film a shealltainn dhith matha (Both Giggle) neo bithidh i gearainn.! 01:13:09"*

*Well, I had better go and show her the film, then (both giggle) or she'll have something to say to me*

01:13:11".. JANET..... *Oh bithidh, gun teagamh (both giggle) Bithidh i a gearainn ceart gu leòr mu'n a' fhaic i e, ach bh' e glé mhath 's bh' e glé mhath dhiut fhaighinn. Bh' e iongantach mar a fhuair thu e cuideachd.* 01:13:22"

*Oh she will, no doubt (both giggle) She will be complaining right enough if she doesn't see it, but it was very good and it was very good of you to get it. It was amazing how you got it, too.*

01:13:22".. HUGH DAN.. *Bh' e àraid, nach robh? .. JANET... Nach robh?... H.D.. Bhà..* 01:13:25" *It was strange, wasn't it?... JANET... Wasn't it?... H.D. Yes.*

01:13:26".. JANET..... *Um... am balach beag sin ann a' shin, bh' e tighinn dh' an an tìgh againn a' h-uile latha a dh' iarraidh bainne.. A' fear sin, Gillies, 's bh' e toir' leis an fhear òg air laimh, Peter. Agus a' latha seo chaidh e dhachaidh..um.. thuirt a Mhàthair ris "Did you ask for Effie?", fhios agad, Oighrig (H.D. nodding) a' robh i, uh, na b' fheàrr neo cìamar a bhà i. "Well, Mum, I'm telling you I forgot about it but three minutes will take me to Janet!" Agus dh' fhàg a 'm balach beag aig a Mhàthair agus thill e. "I'm asking, Janet, for Effie". "Oh well" a's a mis' "Effie is much better today. She's in Hospital and she's got on much*

**better". "Oh very good", 's dh' fhalbh e 'n a ruith, trì minead. Bha 'd, sin mar an eòlas a bh' agams orra. 'S thàinig 'ad a choimhead orm, chaneil fhios agams nach eil fear dhiubh a' teagaisg, a bheil? Tha fear dhiubh ..... 01:14:18" Um.. that little boy there, he would come to our house every day to get milk. That one, Gillies, he used to take the young one with him by the hand, Peter. And this day he went home..um..his mother said to him "Did you ask for Effie?", you know Effie (H.D. nodding) if she was better, or how she was. "Well Mum I have to tell you, I forgot about it but just three minutes will take me to Janet and I'll find out!" And he left the little boy with his mother and he came back. "I'm asking, Janet, for Effie. How is she?" "Oh well" I said "Effie is much better today. She's in hospital but she's got on much better. "Oh very good", and he went away, running, three minutes. They were, that's how very well I knew them. And they came to see me often. I think one of them might now be a teacher is he? One of them is.....**

**01:14:19.. HUGH DAN.. Well th' e àraid gur e sin, gu' r ann troimh an teaghlach sin (JANET.. 's ann, tha..) a fhuair sinn a' film, agus bha mac le, bha fear dh' an na mic aig na balaich a' cluich camanachd còmhla rium fhéin a's a' University. 01:14:30"**

*Well it's strange that it's that, that it was through that family (JANET...it was, yes) that we got the film, and there was a son of, one of the sons of the boys played camanachd with myself in University.*

**01:14:31".. JANET..... Um..um.. nach 'eil sin fhéin mìorbhuileach a' nist, seall sin. 01:14:34"**

*Um..um.. isn't that itself marvellous now, look at that.*

**01:14:35".. HUGH DAN. Mar a chaidh an cearcal mun cuairt, dìreach. 01:14:36" How the wheel has turned, indeed. ("WHEEL OF FORTUNE" - common Gaelic saying - "chaidh a' chuibhle mu chuairt" - to describe passage of time and also in some contexts, "what goes around comes around")**

**01:14:37".. JANET..... Mar a chaidh e mun cuairt, chaidh, mar a chaidh e mun cuairt. Oh th' e iongantach 's th' e mìorbhuileach. Thà, ghaoil, 's tha sinn toilichte 's ... Thàinig 'ad aon uair a choimhead orm, thàinig 'ad, bha (????) bh' e a's a' University an uairsin. Cha chreid mi nach tuirt a' fear òg rium gu' r e..um..teagaisg a bh' ad. Bha mi smaoinich' gu' n tuirt. Chunnaic Domhnall lain e, bh' e bruidhinn ris. 'S ann 'n uair a bhàsaich a' nighean a bha sud aige..um.. nighean Mairi Effie, chaidh e gu'n an tiodhlacadh a' sin agus cò thàinig a bhruidhinn ris ach esan. Cha do dh' aithnich e (????) 01:15:08"**

*How it turned, it went, how it turned. Oh it is wonderful and it is marvellous. Yes, love, and we are glad and..they came once to see me, they came (????) was, he was in University at that time. I think the young one said to me that it was..um..teaching they were. I was thinking he did. Domhnall lain saw him, he was talking to him. It was when the girl he had, died, ..um.. Mairi Effie's girl, he went to the funeral there and who came to talk to him but him. He did not know (him, at first?)*

**01:15:09.. HUGH DAN.. Well tha mis' a' smaoinich gun tig tòrr a bharrachd dhaoin' a choimhead oirbh an déidh dhaibh a' film seo fhaicinn! 01:15:13" Well I think a lot more people will come to see you after they see this film!**

**01:15:14".. JANET..... 'S dòch gu'n tig (BOTH LAUGH) 'S dòch' gu'n tig barrachd a choimhead orm na thàinig a' riamh! 01:15:17"**  
*Perhaps they will (BOTH LAUGH) Perhaps more will come to see me than ever did!*

**01:15:18".. HUGH DAN. 'S fheàrr dhuibh a bhith deasail air a' shon matha. 01:15:19"**  
*You had better be ready for it, then!*

**01:15:20"..JANET.. (LAUGHING).. 'S fheàrr...oh gu sealladh oirn. Oh well a bhròinnean cò a smaoinich air a sud. Cha do smaoinich mis' air a leithid a' riamh, gu robh càil air fhàgail**

**aig na daoine còmhla ri sin, 's bh' ad cho gasd. 01:15:33"**

(LAUGHING).. Yes I had better...oh my goodness.. Oh well, my dear, who would think of that. I didn't think of such a thing ever, that the good folk had anything such as this left over .... and they were all so kind.

**01:15:34".. HUGH DAN.. Ach th' e math seo a bhith agaibh, a nist' 01:15:35"**

*But it is good that you have this, now.*

**01:15:36"..JANET..Thà. 'Fhios agad, bh' ad cho laghach rinn, an tigh-sgoile fhaighinn dhuinn agus rud airson sin, 's 'ad a faicinn gu robh sinn air eilean 's gu robh sinn fad' bho chéile 's a' h-uile càil. Agus tha mise toilicht'. 01:15:50"**

*It is. You know, they were so very decent to us, to get the school house organised and so forth, when they saw we were over on an Island and that we were so far from each other and everything. And I am glad.*

**01:15:52"..HUGH DAN.. Mórán taing, Janet..... H.D. Many thanks, Janet.**

**01:15:53"..JANET..Well bheir mise mórán taing dhuit fhéin, Hugh Dan, airson a' leithid sin fhaicinn 's gu-leòr timchioll air, 's gu 'n fhuair thu 'n duine, am balach sin airson (giggle) Bh' e fhéin a's a' Scarp, nach robh? (H.D. Bhà).. Bh' e fhéin a's a' Scarp, th'e coltach. 01:16:07**

*Well I give yourself many thanks, Hugh Dan, to see such a thing and plenty about it, and that you found the man, that boy for (giggle). He was in Scarp himself, wasn't he? ... (H.D... Yes).. He was in Scarp himself, it seems. (REFERS TO GILLIES I THINK ...)*

**01:16:08.. HUGH DAN.. Chaneil duine 's am bith 's aithne dhomh a' call a cheangal ris a' Scarp, na 'n buineadh 'ad dh' an a' Scarp. 01:16:13"**

*I can think of nobody I know who loses their attachment to Scarp, if they do belong to Scarp.*

**01:16:14"..JANET.. Bha balaich Calum Blackie, an ceathrar ac', ann, an t-sheachdainn seo. (H.D. uh huh). Bh' ad, bha Aonghas ann, 's an teaghlach 's a bhean 's bha, bha, bha Roddy 's a bhean 's a' chlann ann agus bhà, dé 'n t-ainm a th' ac' air an fhear eile, a' fear a tha 'na 'theachar' aca ---Aonghas. (H.D.Aonghas, uh huh). Bhà Aonghas ann, bha "whole lot" ac' ann. Cha chreid mise nach tuirt Dollag gu robh twenty-six ann, 's dh' fhan 'ad ann gu Diluain. Monday. 01:16:42"**

*Calum Blackie's boys, the four of them, were there this week (H.D. uh huh) They were, Angus was there, and the family and his wife and Roddy and his wife and children were, were, were there and, what is the name of the other one, the one who is a teacher---?? Angus?*

*(H.D. Angus, uh huh) Angus was there, the whole lot of them were there. I believe Dollag said there were twenty-six there, and they stayed until the Monday...Monday.*

**PAUSE WHILE H.D. PREPARES TO WATCH THE FILM WITH J**

COMMENTING ON THE FILM

**01:17:05" ,, JANET.. Bithidh na balaich, bithidh iad air an dòigh cuideachd, sin fhaicinn.**

**01:17:09" The boys will be, they'll be very happy too, to see that ....**

**01:18:34".. JANET.. Seall air Lachie ann a' shin, seachad. 01:18:35** Look at Lachie there, going past.

**01:19:57".. HUGH DAN.. Sud a' nist' an ceann latha, nach e, sin date na bainnse? (JANET... 's e, 's e, 'se) 01:20:01**

*That now is the exact date, isn't it, the date of the wedding? (JANET.. It*

is, it is, it is)

**01:20:36" .. HUGH DAN.. 'N e sud a 'sheda' mhór a bh' aig Huisinish.. (JANET.. 's e) 'N e sin mullach a' chidhe? (JANET..'Se. 's e, 's e, Hugh Dan)... 01:20:43"**

*Is that the big shed that was at Huisinish (JANET..It is) Is that the top of the quay? (JANET..It is, it is, it is, Hugh Dan.*

**01:20:44" .. HUGH DAN. 'S a' robh a h-uile duine e bha sin air a' bhus? 01:20:45"**

*And were all those people on the bus?*

**01:20:46" .. JANET..... (BOTH LAUGHING).. Oh cha robh, Hugh Dan, oh cha robh. Cha robh, a' ghaoil, cha robh. 01:20:50"**

*(BOTH LAUGHING)..Oh they weren't, Hugh Dan, oh they weren't. They weren't, love, they weren't.*

**01:20:58" .. HUGH DAN.. Nise, tha, sud ad agus na meatagan 's a h-uile càil. (JANET.. 'Se, 's e) 01:21:02"**

*Now, um ..... a hat ..... and the gloves and everything (JANET.. It is, it is)*

**01:21:03" ...HUGH DAN.. Bha sibh uamhasach spaideil, a h-uile duine agaibh. 01:21:04"**

*You were extremely smart, every one of you.*

**01:21:05" .. JANET..... Oh bhà, 's a h-uile càil "up to date" ann. Lovely. 01:21:11"**

*Oh we were, and everything was very "up to date" for then. Lovely.*

**01:21:15" .. HUGH DAN.. 'S duine mór tapaidh, treun a bh' ann lain... (JANET...Bh' ann lain, 's e) 'S beag an iongnadh gu 'n do ghabh sibh notion dhà. 01:21:20"**

*lain was a big, sturdy, strong man... (JANET)... lain was, yes). Little wonder that you took a notion for him.*

**01:21:21" .. JANET..... Oh well ghabh (giggle) ghabh. Bh' e cho coibhneil cuideachd, oh bh' e cho snog (sighs and whispers wistfully) 01:21:31"**

*Oh well I did (giggle) I did. He was so kind too, oh he was so nice. (sighs and whispers wistfully)*

**01:21:45" .. HUGH DAN... Seall na bhà sin de dhaoine. (JANET... Oh bhà, bha'n t-uamhas ann) 01:21:48"**

*Just look at all the people who were there. (JANET.. Oh yes, there were many)*

**01:21:52" .. HUGH DAN.. Bha latha math ann, cha robh droch mhuir ann.. (JANET...Oh dearbh' cha robh)... (H.D. Bha sibh fortanach.) 01:21:56"**

*It was a good day, there wasn't a rough sea or anything (JANET.. Oh indeed there wasn't)... (H.D. You were very fortunate)*

**01:21:57" .. JANET..... "Oh 19th June, was a beautiful day", airson a bhith sud co-dhiùbh. Cha robh na b' fheàrr, Hugh Dan. 01:22:05"**

*Oh 19th June, was a beautiful day, to be there anyway. There was nothing better, Hugh Dan.*

**01:22:13" .. HUGH DAN... Cha 'n fhaca mi riamh cho sona sibh. 01:22:14"**

*I have never seen you so content.*

**1:22:15"..... JANET.. (LAUGHING) Oh well bhà mi, bhà mi, bhà mi toilicht' ann a' shud co-dhiùbh. Bha mi ann 's bha mi glé thoilicht' ann, agus thuair mi air adhairt ann cuideachd, 's fhuair sinn air adhairt. Thàinig sinn a' seo, dh' fhéumamaid. 01:22:33"**

(LAUGHING) Oh well I was, I was, I was very happy there anyway. I was there and I was very happy there, and I got on very well there too, and we all got on. We came here, we had to.

**01:22:51" .. HUGH DAN..... Seall esan.. Look at him (Pointing to the man drinking)..... (JANET... Thà... Yes)... 01:22:54"**

**01:22:59" .. HUGH DAN..... Tha lain fhéin air a dhòigh. 01:23:00"..... lain himself is delighted.**

**01:23:01" .. JANET..... Oh bhà lain air a dhòigh, bhà. Th' ad a' dol suas, 'eil fhios a'd, gu 'n an tigh a nis', dh 'an an tigh sgoile. 01:23:12"**

Oh he was, lain was delighted, he was. There they are - going up, you know, to the house now, and into the schoolhouse.....

**01:23:38" .. HUGH DAN..... Cha mhór nach robh ad air a h-uile boireannach. 01:23:40"**  
Almost every woman wore a hat .....

**01:23:41" .. JANET..... Oh bhà, ad air a' h-uile duine a bh' ann. Bhà. Bh' e àluinn 01:23:45"**

Oh there was, everyone who was there wore a hat. Yes. It was so lovely.

**01:24:09" .. HUGH DAN..... Sin bean na bainnse 01:24:09"**  
There is the bride.

**01:24:10" .. JANET..... Sin bean na bainnse, 's e a luaidh. Oh well, tha sinn toilicht' 's tapadh leibh airson 'na fhoillseadh 's mar a. tha. an dòigh a's an tàinig e timchioll. 01:24:23"**

There is the bride, yes my dear. Oh well, we feel so happy ..... and thank you for showing it and sharing the way..um.. that it came about.

**01:24:24" .. HUGH DAN..... Th' e annasach, nach eil? Annasach. 01:24:26"**  
It is unusual, isn't it? Unusual.

THE END

## **Appendix 8 Casting Notes**

## **Leasan Sa Bhas Preliminary Casting Notes**

### John Abercrombie

Early 50s. Reputed to be an alcoholic. As this is perhaps his only source of nutrition we see him as gaunt, emaciated, pasty, ill-looking. There is a desperation to him, the hunted look of a loser who's at the end of the line; a loser who presents a poor prospect and has never had any success with women until Annie, and whose only solace is in the bottle. He is incapable of controlling either himself or the children in his charge. He is said to have beaten the pupils regularly with the rod, and his demeanour should suggest a man pulled tight, on the verge always of snapping, and given to bouts of uncontrollable rage and violence.

But there should also be intelligence about him – signs of a once dignified bearing, a charisma even, that he had as a school teacher before he slid into the clutches of the drink. And a cunning that reflects the ability renowned of alcoholics to find and conceal their drinking – the deceitful and relentless application of intellect in the service of his vice.

### Annie Jane Murphy

Mid to late 20s. Reputed to be an opium addict. Although she is young, life has aged her beyond her years. Although probably not conventionally pretty or beautiful, there is a sexual allure about her, an animal attraction, that draws men to her. Even in repose, her face should suggest a willingness and desire for sex. But, like Abercrombie, a sensibility, an intelligence that she inherited from her schoolteacher mother.

Annie has most likely been troubled since her youth by sexual attention, and in a way it is the only kind of interaction with the world that she fully understands, despite its disastrous consequences. She has two previous children with two different men, and has been led by the need for respectability to lurch from one catastrophic relationship to another; she has covered up her last marriage of convenience in order to be able to marry Abercrombie, her bigamy being just the latest deceit she has had to spin to try and patch up her life.

Still a young woman, life has been an emotional rollercoaster, mostly going down, and she has for many years been seeking comfort in opium. The habit has gradually taken over her life, and now the endless cycles of lies and felonies that she needs to feed it are pulling her inexorably towards murder.

It is hard to know what their feelings are towards one-another. Abercrombie's are perhaps more deeply felt than Annie, who simply seems to be unable to live without being associated with a man. We will never know. It is possible that these desperate people who have been blown and buffeted around Scotland and who have ended up on the edge of the Atlantic feel warmly and lovingly towards each-other, that they have finally found someone they could be happy with. But that their addictions, desperations, mania and tendency towards violence eventually drive a wedge between them that result in his poisoning at her hands.

## **Appendix 9 Full transcripts of Scarp interviews**

00:44"

Tell me a bit of what your experiences of Scarp were....

00:48

Uill 's ann às a' Sgarp a rugadh mi. Ach cha robh mi ach ... \*RETAKE\*

00:57"

Uill 's ann às a' Sgarp a rugadh mi ach cha robh mise ach mu 2 bhliadhna gu leth nuair a dh'fhàg sinn an t-eilean. Ach riamh bhon a bha mi òg tha mi air a bhith dol air ais ann gu math tric. 'Son iomadh bliadhna bhithinn a' cumail chaorach ann is bhithinn dol ann tron a' bhliadhna ag obair timcheall air na caoraich. Ach chan eil caoraich air a bhith agam o chionn grunn mhath bhliadhnaichean a-nis. **01:20"** Bidh mi fhathasd a' dol ann bho àm gu àm a chuideachadh na daoine aig a bheil caoraich fhathasd. Agus mar sin, bidh mi dol a-null fhathasd uair neo dhà gach bliadhna. **01:28"**

**Well I was born in Scarp, but I was only around two and a half when we left the island. But ever since I was young, I've been back and fore from there fairly regularly. For many years we (I.E. HIS FAMILY) grazed sheep there, and throughout the year I'd tend the sheep there from time to time. But we haven't kept sheep for some years now. 01:20"** I still go over there sometimes, helping out with those who still keep sheep there. So in that sense, I still go maybe once or twice a year.

*Do you have any memories of being there?*

**01:32"**

Chan eil, chan eil cuimhne sam bith agam o chionn bha mi cho òg nuair a dh'fhàg mi agus chan eil cuimhne sam bith agam air a bhith fuireach air an eilean. Tha cuimhne 'm air a bhith dol air ais nuair a bha mi gu math òg bho àm gu àm ach chan eil cuimhne 'm idir a bhith fuireach air an eilean fhèin. **01:48"**

**No, I don't recall anything from my young days and I don't remember living on the island. I remember going back there when I was young from time to time, but I don't recall actually living on the island itself.**

*Presumably you do go back for holidays etc?*

**01:54"**

Uill bhithinn a' dol air ais, mar a tha mi 'g ràdh, bhithinn a' dol air ais bho àm gu àm ach feumaidh mi 'g ràdh nach do chaidil mi air an eilean riamh bhon a dh' fhàg mi nuair a bha mi 2 bhliadhna gu leth ag aois. Cha do chaidil mi oidhche air an eilean riamh on uairsin. **02:08"**

**Well I do go back as I say from time to time, but I have never slept on the island – since I left when I was two and a half. I have never spent a night on the island, not since then.**

*What are your experiences of the school there? How many times have you been in it?*

**02:12"**

Uill tha a' sgoil, tha i tuiteam às a chèile gu ìre mhòr agus bhon as cuimhne leamsa tha i air a bhith tuiteam às a chèile gu ìre choireigin. Bha, chaidh i dùnadh, dhùin i sa bhliadhna 1967, tha mi smaoineachadh, nuair a dh' fhàg na sgoilearan mu dheireadh agus **02:45"** airson grunn bhliadhnaichean as-dèidh sin bha i ann an staid ma gu leòr ach, chaidh obair a dhèanamh oirre cuideachd ach an-diugh tha i tuiteam às a chèile is tha i ann an staid gu math dona. **02:57"**

**Well the school is falling to pieces to a great extent, and that has been the case as far as I can recall. Since it was shut down – it was closed in 1967 ... I think, when the last pupils left and 02:45"** for many years after that it was in a reasonable state but - and some work was carried out there, but today it's dilapidated and in a very poor condition.

*Tell me about the books that are here in the library, what info did they contain?*

**03:05''**

Uill chaidh leabhar-là, mar leabhar-là a bhiodh tu chumail as a h-uile sgoil eile, aig an àm sin. Agus leabhar-là a th' air a bhith air an cumail ann an sgoiltean suas chun latha an-diugh gu ìre choireigin. **03:19''** Ach aig an àm sin bha na maighstirean sgoile, bha iad a' sgrìobhadh gach latha sa leabhar-là agus tha thu fhèin air sùil a thoirt air leabhar-là Sgarp is chì thu gu bheil tòrr dhan rudan a tha air a sgrìobhadh annta, bho latha gu latha, chan eil mòran ag atharrachadh. Tha tòrr annta agus 's e 'n aon rud a th' ann gu ìre mhòr bho latha gu latha. **03:42''** Agus 's e rud bu chudramaiche man leabhar-là 's e gu bheil e 'g innse rudan sònraichte a thachradh as a' sgoil. Mar a tha mi 'g ràdh, glè thrìc cha robh rudan uabhasach sònraichte mach às an àbhaist a' tachairt ann agus ma leughas sinn iad an-diugh, chì sinn tòrr dhan sgrìobhte annta, bho latha gu latha, glè choltach ri chèile, tha na làithean annda a tha tachairt glè choltach ri chèile. **04:13''**

**Well there was a log-book kept - something that was customary in all schools at that time. And a log-book (HE LIT. USES "DIARY") of the kind which is I suppose, still kept today. 03:19" But in those days, the schoolmasters wrote in the log-book every day and you've had a look at the Scarp log-book yourself and you'll notice that many of the things he refers to day to day, have not really changed that much. They are detailed, and also quite repetitive day to day. 03:42" The most important aspect of the book is that it refers to specific incidents that happened in the school. As I said, very often there was nothing out of the ordinary whatsoever and looking back on it, very often you might conclude that one day was pretty much the same as the next. 04:13"**

*How important was it that school teachers kept it up to date?*

**04:17''**

Uill, aig an àm, mar a tha mi 'g ràdh, 's e an leabhar-là an dòigh a bh' aca air rudan cudromach a bha tachairt as a' sgoil a sgrìobhadh sios gus am biodh cuimhne orra. Agus a' coimhead air ais orra, còrr is 100 bliadhna air ais, tha iad gu math cudromach a thaobh eachdraidh cuideachd, o chionns gheibh sinn fiosrachadh mu dheidhinn dè bha tachairt aig an àm, 's dòcha nach fhaigheamaid ann an àiteachan eile. **04:45''**

**Well at the time as I say, the log-book was their means of recording significant events as they occurred, so as to remember them. And looking back on it now, over a hundred years since, they are hugely important in terms of history too, since we can glean information of what went on at the time, which would be impossible to determine otherwise. 04:45"**

*Tell me a bit about how schools functioned back in the 1880s.*

**04:52''**

Tha mi creidsinn ann an \* COUGHS\*

**04:58''**

Uill bha sin goirid as dèidh do achd an fhoghlaim tighinn a-steach agus bha e mar rìghailt a bh' air a h-uile sgoile a dhol dhan sgoil. Ach glè thrìc as na sgoiltean, gu h-àraidh a-muigh air an tuath, cha robh goireasan uabhasach math aca .... agus a thaobh mar a bha 'n sgoil fhèin air a ruith, bha bòrd sgoile ann, agus mar a tha mi tuigsinn a' chùis, **05:25''** bha e an urra riutha-san a bhith cumail sùil air dè bha tachairt as a' sgoil agus a bhith coimhead air ciamar a bha an neach-teagaisg, a' dèanamh na h-obrach a bha romhpa agus cuideachd bha iad a' cumail sùil air co-dhiù robh an clann a bha dol dhan sgoil mar a bha air iarraidh orra aig an àm agus dè an ìre gu robh a' chlann a' faighinn an fhoghlaim bu choir dhaibh faighinn. **05:56''**

**Well this was shortly after the Education Act had been passed and it was the law that each child had to attend school. But very often in school in these remote (LIT. "TO THE NORTH") areas, there were poor resources .... and in terms of how the school itself was run, there was a School Board, and as I understand things 05:25" it was up to them to keep an eye on what went on in the school and to scrutinise how the teachers carried out their work, and also they monitored the children's attendance at school, and to what level the children were being educated as necessary 05:56"**

*How important was education on Scarp?*

**06:05''**

Uill tha mi creidsinn, aig an àm sin nach robh a' chuid mhòr dhan duine a bh' air an eilean, an òigridh a bh' air an eilean, a' smaoinichadh air an t-eilean fhàgail bhiodh a' chuid mhòr aca, tha mi creidsinn, a' fuireach san eilean. Tha e gu math diofraichte mar a bha e, mar a dh'fhàg a' sluagh mu dheireadh an t-eilean. **06:21''** Mar a bha a' chuid mhòr dhan òigridh an uairsin air falbh gu tìr mòr a dh'fhaighinn an fhoghlaim agus bha, glè thrì an uairsin cha robh iad a' tilleadh air ais chun eilean ach còrr is 100 bliadhna air ais cha b' ann mar sin a bha a' suidheachadh. Bhiodh a' chuid mhòr dhan sgoilearan, nuair a dh'fhàg iad an sgoil, bhiodh iad a' fuireach air an eilean fhèin agus dìreach ag obair air an eilean. **06:44''** Ach tha mi smaoinichadh gu robh foghlam a' tòiseachadh a' fàs gu math cudromach aig an àm eadhan ged iad a bha 'ad a' fuireach as an eilean oir bha e mar fhiachaibh dhol dhan sgoil agus bha e mar fhiachaibh gu robh a pàrantan a' dèanamh cinnteach gu robh iad a' dol dhan sgoil. **07:03''**

**Well I suppose at that time the great majority of the island's population, the young folk of the island, did not imagine ever leaving the island. Most of them would I believe, have remained on the island. It really was very different - up to when the last islanders left it. 06:21" By that point, most of the young islanders were leaving for the mainland and pursuing education and, very often then they wouldn't necessarily return to the island ....100 years before that however, the picture was very different. The vast majority of young people would just stay on the island, and work there. 06:44" But education was becoming a priority at that point, even although they might remain on the island ... it was demanded of them and it was their parents' obligation to send them to school. 07:03"**

*How dependent were the islands on the quality of teacher that they had on the island?*

**07:19''**

Uill foghlam far nach eil agad ach aon neach-teagaisg, gu bheil e uabhasach cudromach gum bi an duine sin a' dèanamh na h-obrach ann an dòigh a tha iomchaidh. Bhon, tha foghlam gu lèir an urra ris an duine sin, agus 's e sin an suidheachadh a bh' ann ann an sgoiltean beaga iomallach. **07:36''** Ma bha neach-teagaisg a' tighinn nach robh a' dèanamh na h-obrach mar bu chòir, bha gu cinnteach, bhiodh na sgoilearan a' fulang. **07:46''**

**Well where you have only one school-teacher, it's vitally important that that person carries out their work in an appropriate way. Since, the entire education is the responsibility of that one person, and that was the situation in those small, remote schools. 07:36" If a school teacher did not carry out their work as they should, the pupils suffered. 07:46"**

*Would they have had school inspectors back in the 1880s?*

**08:01''**

Bha, bha luchd-sgrùdaidh nan sgoiltean a' dol mun cuairt. Bhiodh iad a' dol steach dhan sgoiltean a dh' fhaicinn dè bha tachairt agus ma choimheadas tu as a' leabhar-là chì thu na h-aithisgean a bha 'ad a' sgrìobhadh. Bhon, bha e mar fhiachaibh air an neach-teagaisg an aithisg mar a thigeadh i bhon luchd-sgrùdaidh a' sgrìobhadh a-steach dhan leabhar-là agus tha sin a' tachairt as a' Sgarp, tha na h-aithisgean a bhiodh an luchd-sgrùdaidh a' sgrìobhadh tha iad air a bhith sgrìobhadh a-steach dhan leabhar-là. **08:34''**

**Yes, there were schools' inspectors going around. They called at the schools to observe what was going on and if you look at the log-book, you can see the reports they wrote. Because, it was the duty of the teacher to copy the report exactly as it was compiled by the inspector, into the book, and that went on in Scarp; the reports the inspectors wrote have been written into the log-book. 08:34" (HE SEEMS TO SAY THIS AS THOUGH THEY WERE WRITTEN UP AGAIN? RATHER THAN INSERTED INTO THE LOG AS ORIGINALS?)**

*How important was it that you got a good report?*

**08:39''**

Uill bhiodh a' luchd-sgrùdaidh a meas gu robh e uabhasach cudromach tha mi creidsinn agus tha mi smaoinichadh gum biodh na pàrantan agus bhithinn an dòchas cuideachd gum biodh a' luchd-teagaisg dhan bheachd a bha sin cuideachd. **08:56''** Tha mi creidsinn gu robh e a' fàs na bu chudromaiche dhan choimhearsnachd cuideachd mar a bha foghlam air fhaicinn mar rud bu choir dhan a g-uile duine a bhith faighinn. Agus mar sin tha mi smaoinichadh gu robh e gu math cudromach gum biodh na h-aithisgean air, gum na h-aithisgean math. **09:21''**

**Well the inspectors would have held that it was hugely important I suppose, and I reckon the parents - and I hope the teachers all shared that view. 08:56" I suppose it was becoming increasingly important to the community too, that education was seen to be something available to all. And so in that sense I think it was very important that the reports were - that the reports were good 09:21"**

\*SHOT SIZE CHANGE\*

**09:37''**

*Tell me about how a teacher would manage teaching Gaelic speakers in English?*

\*DISCUSS QUESTION\*

**10:22''**

*Tell me how it would have been for an outsider, a non Gaelic speaker coming into the island to teach. Would they have been welcomed?*

**10:30''**

Uill aig an àm bhiodh a' chlann agus na pàrantan – 's e Gàidhlig an cànan a bhiodh aca agus tha mi creidsinn airson a' chuid mhòr dhan pàrantan eadhon 's ann gu math lapach a bhiodh a Bheurla aca. Agus bha seo a' tachairt tric aig an àm, gum biodh tidseir aig nach robh Gàidhlig air a chur a-steach gu sgoiltean anns an t-suidheachadh a bha sin. **11:03''** Agus chan eil fhios 'm an e, dòigh a bh' ann air dèanamh cinnteach gum biodh a' Bheurla air a teagaisg is nach biodh a' Ghàidhlig, neo an e dìreach gu robh e doirbh gu tric luchd-teagaisg fhaighinn aig an robh Gàidhlig. Ach bha suidheachadh a bha sin gu math cumanta ann an iomadh àite agus tha mi creidsinn gu bheil e cinnteach gu robh a suidheachadh a bha sin gu robh e dèanamh cron air a' Ghàidhlig agus nach do chuidich e idir le staid a' chànain. **11:43''**

**Well at the time the children and the parents - Gaelic would have been their language and I suppose for the vast majority of parents, any English they spoke would have been rather poor. And this was common practice at the time, a non Gaelic-speaking teacher would be placed in a school in exactly that situation. 11:03" And I am not sure if this was a means of ensuring that they spoke English and that Gaelic was not taught, or was it just simply that very often, teachers with Gaelic were hard to locate. But the scenario was common in lots of areas and I suppose - it has to be the case that such a situation was damaging to Gaelic and that it did not help the state of the language 11:43"**

*How would they have treated the teachers on the island?*

**11:58''**

Uill aig an àm sin bha inbhe aig luchd-teagaisg tha mi creidsinn agus bhiodh na pàrantan agus tha mi creidsinn a' chlann fhèin, bhiodh iad, gu h-àraidh le luchd-teagaisg a bha tighinn bho thaobh a-muigh an eilean bhiodh iad, tha mi creidsinn, coimhead suas riutha agus bhiodh spèis aig a' luchd teagaisg sin. **12:24''** Tha mi creidsinn cho fad's a bha iad a' dèanamh na h-obrach bu choir dhaibh, bhiodh an nàdar de spèis dhaibh as a' choimhearsnachd. **12:31''**

**Well at the time teachers had status I suppose, and the parents and I suppose the children themselves they would, especially with teachers who had come from elsewhere they'd, I suppose, look up to them and hold them in respect. 12:24" I suppose so long as they**

carried out their work as they were meant to, they'd be held in esteem within the community 12:31"

*Had you ever heard of the school teacher Abercrombie?*

**12:38"**

Uill bha mi air chluinntinn mu dheidhinn ach cha robh mi air mòran a chluinntinn mu dheidhinn gu mionaideach dè bh' air tachairt dha ach bha mi air chluinntinn, o chionn bhliadhnaichean air ais, agus gu robh e air bàsachadh air an eilean agus gu robh amharas ann gur e a phuinnseanachadh a chaidh a dhèanamh air. **12:59"**

**Well I had heard of him, but I hadn't heard much in the way of detail about him - or what had happened to him - but I had heard of him, years ago and that he had died on the island and that there were suspicions he had been deliberately poisoned.**

*Did you hear anything about his wife?*

**13:03"**

Uill co-cheangailte ris a sin, bha mi air a chluinntinn gu robh amharas ann gur e ise air chur às dha. Ach gu o chionn ghoirid, cha robh mi air an t-uabhas a chluinntinn mu dheidhinn a' sgeulachd. **13:20"**

**Well in connection with that, I had heard there were suspicions that she had killed him. But in recent times, I hadn't heard too much about the story.**

*If there was a unsettled relationship, how profoundly would that have set them against the islanders?*

**13:41"**

Uill tha e doirbh ag ràdh, o chionn as a' chiad dol a-mach bha iad air tighinn a-steach bho àite gu tur eadar-dhealaichte agus bhiodh e doirbh dhaibh 's dòcha a' tighinn a-steach dhan choimhearsnachd far am b' aithne dhan a h-uile duine a chèile agus far an robh, gu ire-mhòr, gu robh a' chuid mhòr dhan daoine, bha iad càirdeach ri chèile tha mi creidsinn. **14:06"** Agus mar sin, bhiodh e doirbh do dhuine sam bith a' tighinn a-steach dhan choimhearsnachd co-dhiù agus tha mi creidsinn, i don't know.....**14:20"**

**Well that's hard to say, because in the first place they had come (LIT. "come in") from a completely different place and it would be hard for them to enter a community where everyone knew each other and where there was, to a great degree, where everyone was related to each other, I imagine. 14:06" And in that sense, it would be difficult for anyone at all to come into the community anyway .... I believe ....**

\*DISCUSS WHAT WAS SAID\*

*How perennial was the school attendance problem in Scarp? DO you think that it was it perhaps worse in Scarp at that time?*

**15:02"**

Dh'fheumadh tu coimhead air sgoiltean eile a dh' fhaicinn dè bha tachairt as an fharsaingeachd. Tha fhios 'm, tha mise air sùil a thoirt air leabhraichean sgoile sgoiltean eile agus glè thrìc, bha e doirbh do luchd-teagaisg a' chlann fhaighinn dhan sgoil. Ach saoilidh mi nuair a bha esan a' teagaisg as a Sgarp gu robh e gu sònraichte doirbh dha a' chlann fhaighinn dhan sgoil. **15:32"** 'S e am beachd a tha sinne faighinn dìreach nach robh clann airson a dhol dhan sgoil aig an àm a bha sin idir. **15:39"**

**You'd need to look at other schools to see what was happening generally. I know, I've looked at other school (log) books and very often, it was very difficult for teachers to get the children to attend school. But I think when he was teaching in Scarp that it was**

**exceptionally difficult for him to get the children to school. 15:32" The received opinion we have is that the children simply did not want to go to school, at that time.**

*The teacher who taught after, Angus Duncan, seemed to pull the attendance round. How can there be such a discrepancy?*

**15:56"**

Uill tha mi creidsinn gu robh e an urra ris an duine fhèin. Tha e a-rèir ciamar a bha an neach teagaisg a' dèanamh na h-obrach. 's dòcha gu robh dòighean aig luchd-teagaisg a bha tarraingeach dhan chloinn fhèin ach tha e soilleir nach robh an duine a bha seo, nach robh e comasach air a' chlann a tharraing gus a dhol dhan sgoil aig an àm a bha sin. **16:16"**

**Well I reckon it would have been down to the man himself. It depends how the teacher carried out their work, perhaps teachers had certain working methods that appealed to the children, but it's clear that this man, that he wasn't capable of attracting the children to the school at that particular time.**

*In the log book it is clear that there is a teacher who is slowly slipping his grasp of it because the first school report is reasonable and the second school report is so bad that he lost his grant. What would have the inspectors seen for it to come to that?*

**16:43"**

Uill bhiodh a' luchd-sgrùdaidh, bhiodh iad coimhead air co-dhiù robh a' chlann tighinn dhan sgoil agus co-dhiù robh iad ag obair as a' sgoil, co-dhiù robh iad a' faighinn an fhoghlaim bu chòir dhaibh agus an robh iad a' dèanamh adhartais mar a bha iad-san a' sùileachadh a bhiodh iad. Agus tha e soilleir nach robh na rudan a bha sin a' tachairt. **17:02"** Cha robh e a' tarraing a' chloinn dhan sgoil, agus cha robh an obair a' dol air adhart is cha robh a' chlann a' dèanamh an adhartais mar a bha 'n luchd-sgrùdaidh a miannachadh a bha iad a' dèanamh. **17:12"**

**Well the inspectors, they'd assess whether or not the children were going to school and certainly whether they were applying themselves, certainly whether or not they were attaining the level of education that they should be, and whether they were making progress as they (THE INSPECTORS) saw fit. And it's clear that wasn't happening. 17:02" He wasn't bringing the children to the school at all, and the work wasn't being carried out, and the children weren't making progress as the inspectors wished them to.**

*There's another entry where it says that he has been picked up and has to respond to criticism that he has hit a child with a rod. This is odd because punishment was around at that time, would this have had to have being something specific to be note worthy?*

**17:31"**

Uill feumaidh gur e sin a bh' ann, chan eil e uabhasach soilleir dè th' air a chiallachadh le slat gu robh an sgoilear a bha seo air a bhualadh le slait. Ach bha e, bha luchd-teagaisg an uairsin a' cleachdadh an strap gu laghail ach feumaidh, gu b' e dè a bh' air a chur as a shuim an duine a bha seo aig an àm, feumaidh nach robh e a-rèir riaghailtean na sgoile. **17:57"**

**Well that must have been the case, it's not terribly clear what is meant by a "rod", tha the pupil was hit with a rod. But there was, schoolteachers then used the strap legally but it must have been, whatever this man's motives at the time, they can't have been in line with the school's.**

*It's pretty serious when the parents of the pupils complain to the school board isn't it?*

**18:14"**

Tha dòighean eadar-dhealaichte \*RETAKE\*

**18:23"**

Tha gu dearbha, tha dòighean eadar-dhealaichte aig pàrantan ri dèiligeadh ri suideachadh den t-seòrsa seo an-diugh agus bidh as an t-saoghal anns a bheil sinn beò, bidh pàrantan a' dèanamh

gearain mu dheidhinn luchd-teagaisg, mu dheidhinn sgoiltean is mar sin air adhart. **18:38**" Ach aig an àm a bha sin, an neach-teagaisg a bha sin cha chaidh e air thoirt air beulaibh bòrd na sgoile agus bha bòrd na sgoile bha e na uallach orra-san a' dèanamh cinnteach, bho latha gu latha robh an obair a' dol air adhart gu h-ìomchaidh as a' sgoil. Agus tha mi tuigsinn bhon leabhar-là gun deach esan a thoirt air beulaibh bòrd na sgoile le na pàrantan agus gu robh na pàrantan an làthair cuideachd. **19:05**"

**Yes indeed, parents have different ways of dealing with situations of this kind these days and in the world we live in today, parents readily raise issues and complaints about schools, and so on. 18:38" But at that time, this schoolteacher, he was brought in front of the school Board and the Board were concerned enough to do that, in order to ensure that the day to day dealings of the school were appropriate. And I understand from the log-book that he was hauled before the school Board with the parents - that the parents were present, too. 19:05"**

*We'll never be sure but its safe to assume he had a drink problem, how did schools deal with teachers who had a drink issue?*

**19:45**"

Uill bhiodh an neach-teagaisg nach robh a' dèanamh na h-obrach mar bu chòir, bhiodh iad air an toirt air beulaibh bòrd na sgoile. 'S e sin a chiad a rud a bhiodh air tachairt. Gheibheadh na pàrantan, ma 's e iad-san a bha dèanamh na gearain, gheibheadh iad cothrom fiosrachadh a thoirt do bhòrd na sgoile air dè na gearanan a bh' aca. **20:12**" Agus tha mi tuigsinn gum faigheadh an neach-teagaisg an aon cothrom am freagairt. Agus bhiodh bòrd na sgoile, bhiodh aca ri beachd a thoirt air, robh na gearanan a bh' aig an luchd-teagaisg, aig na pàrantan – robh iad ìomchaidh? **20:28**"

**Well any teacher not doing his job as he should, would be brought in front of the school Board. That would be the first step. The parents would - if they were the ones who had raised a complaint - they would have the opportunity to provide details of the complaint to the school Board, whatever complaint they had. 20:12" And I understand the teacher would have the same right of reply. And the school Board, would have to consider and give an opinion on all of this ... were the complaints of the staff .... of the parents .... were they justified?**

*Taking into account the log-book which shows that the school was on a slippery slope and the fact that there is a history around whether or not she murdered him and the fact that the death certificate quotes poisoning.....What do you think happened on the island?*

**20:48**

Cò aig a bheil fhios? Tha e doirbh ag ràdh 120 bliadhna as-dèidh dha tachairt, tha e uabhasach doirbh dearbhadh sam bith a bhith air a' chùis. Ach tha fiosrachadh a tha sa na leabhraichean sgoile tha e gu math inntinneach. Agus tha e a' dearbhadh mar a tha thu 'g ràdh nach robh an duine a bha seo, a-rèir choltais, a' dèanamh na h-obrach mar bu chòir. **21:13**" Agus gu robh cùisean a' dol air ais as a' sgoil. **21:17**" Tha e doirbh ag ràdh aig an aon àm carson a bha sin a' tachairt? An e dìreach nach robh e comasach, nach robh e uabhasach comasach mar neach-teagaisg neo an e gu robh rudan a bha na phearsanta a bha ciallachadh nach robh e dèanamh na h-obrach bu chòir dha? **21:33**"

**Who knows? It's hard to say, 120 years after the event, it's terribly difficult to prove in any way whatsoever what might have happened. But the information in the school (LOG) books is very interesting. And it proves as you say that this man wasn't, it appears, doing his job as he should have been doing it. 21:13" And that things were regressing in the school. 21:17" It's hard to say why, at that time, this might have been the case? Was he simply incapable, not very good as a teacher ... or was it the case that his private life led to the fact that he could no longer do what he should have been doing?**

*Is it possible that Abercrombie ended up in Scarp because he had 'extra-baggage' with him?*

**21:58''**

Uill tha e doirbh sin ag ràdh – mura biodh fiosrachadh agam mun duine fhèin, barrachd fiosrachadh againn mun duine fhèin, tha sinn a' beachdachadh a-nis air rudan air nach dearbhadh againn. Agus dh'fhaodadh a bhith, gun deach a ghluasad dhan Sgarp bho àite eile 's dòcha far nach robh e a' dèanamh na h-obrach mar bu chòir ach am faicibh duine an dèanadh e na b' fheàrr ann an àite leithid do Sgarp far nach robh ach, far nach biodh ach e fhèin dìreach an aon neach-teagaisg. **22:37''** Agus far a bheil coimhearsnachd beag agus far an robh coimhearsnachd gu math dlùth. **22:47''**

**Well it's difficult to say that - without hard and fast information about the man himself - we're now surmising on things we can't prove. And it may have been the case that he was removed to Scarp from elsewhere, perhaps where he had been failing in his work to see whether or not he could perform any better in a place like Scarp where he wasn't, where he would be the only schoolteacher, 22:37" And where the community was small and where the community was very tightknit.**

*Was it common for teachers back then to multi-skill?*

**22:56''**

Cha chuala mi guth riamh air a sin. Tha mi smaoinichadh mar a tha obair luchd-teagaisg, tha mi smaoinichadh gum biodh obair gu leòr ann gu h-àraidh ma bha thu riuth sgoil leat fhèin. Gum biodh obair gu leòr ann a shin a chumadh a' dol duine sam bith. **23:11''** Agus gum biodh e gu math doirbh do neach-teagaisg a bha dèanamh na h-obrach bu chòir dha a bhith mòran a bharrachd air a sin fhèin. **23:17''**

**I've never heard tell of that. I reckon that given what a teacher's work entails, I think there would have been quite enough work as it was, especially if you were effectively running the school single-handedly. That there would have been enough work to keep any one person going. 23:11" And that it would have been very hard for a teacher who was doing that job, to take on much more other than that itself.**

*Why did the schools need school-mistresses?*

**23:24''**

Uill tha mi smaoinichadh gum biodh daoine a' dol a-steach dhan sgoiltean a theagaisg sgilean sònraichte. Chan eil fhios 'm dè cho farsaing 's a bha seo a' tachairt? Ach an-dèidh sin, bliadhnaichean mòr as-dèidh sin, tha fhios 'm gu robh daoine a' dol timcheall na sgoiltean ag ionnsachadh sgilean sònraichte. Is tha sin a' tachairt fhathasd gu ìre. **23:50''** Gu h-àraidh as na h-eileanan. Ach 's dòcha gu bheil e caran annasach aig an àm far nach robh ach aon neach-teagaisg ann an sgoil bhig gum biodh cuideigin a' dol a-steach ag ionnsachadh fuigheall gu sònraichte agus nach biodh sgilean eile air an teagaisg. **24:09''**

**Well I think people were employed in schools to teach specific skills. I'm not sure of how widespread it was? But later on, many years down the line, I know that people used to go round the schools teaching specific skills. And to a degree that still happens. 23:50" Especially in the islands. But perhaps it was more of an oddity at that time, where a school had only one teacher - in a small school - someone might visit (HE'S DESCRIBING "ITINERANT" IN MORE THAN A DOZEN WORDS, GAELIC STYLE!!) to teach sewing specifically, with no other subject being taught by them.**

*I suppose its only normal that two outsiders would have had a work-place romance life and end up getting married.*

**24:17''**

Uill chan eil càil de fhios dè thachair. \*DISCUSS QUESTION\*

**I dunno guv sorry .....**

**\*\*END OF INTERVIEW\*\***

## **Tape 14 – Leasan sa Bhàs - FIONNLAGH / FINLAY**

14:19:30

What are your memories of Scarp, it's a broad question – but what are your memories?

14:10:39 - Finlay

Tha cuimhneachain a th' agamsa air a' Scarp, gur e àite uabhasach sona a bh' ann agus àite math airson clann nuair a bha iad a' fàs suas. Bha a h-uile càil cho fosgailte agus chitheadh tu fad sam bith a thogradh tu. 10:52 's na taighean, bha na taighean a chòmhnaidh fosgailte dhan a chlann nuair a bha iad a' fàs suas agus an uairsin, aig aois far an robh mise nuair a dh' fhàg sinn a' Scarp, dh' fhàg sinne a' Scarp aig 9 bliadhna, ach aig an aois aig a' robh mi tha mi a' smaoinichadh gur e...gun d' fhuair mi a-steach dha mo bheatha ann a' dòigh cho sona agus cho toilichte 's a ghabhadh a bhith. 11:18

**My memories of Scarp are that it was a terribly contented place, and a good place for children growing up. Everything was so open (*HE MEANS PHYSICALLY*) and you could see for miles around you 10:52" and the houses, the house were always open to the children as they were growing up and then, at the age I was when we left Scarp, at 9 years of age, I think that at that age I suppose .... that I entered life, in the most contented, and happiest way that was possible.**

14:11:19

You were there from when you were born until 9 so you went to school, talk me through what your school life was like then.

14:11:28 – Finlay

Uill, nuair a bha mise anns a' sgoil ann a shin tha mi creidse gun robh mu chòig duine deug anns a' sgoil agus bha na h-aoisean atharraichte. Bha...anns a' sgoil, bha i dìreach a' meadhan a bhaile agus 's e dìreach mar àite cruinneachaidh dhaoine. A bhan-sgoile a bh' againne nuair a bha mi ann, 's ann à Beinn a; Bhaoghla a bha i. 11:55 Bha i cruaidh oirnn ach an dèidh sin 's e bana-sgoil math dha-rìreabh a bh' innte agus bha...anns a' Scarp bha iad a' cuir tòrr meas air foghlam agus bha iad a' faicinn a thaobh foghlam, ma bha duine mar mi-fhìn agus na balaich a bha falbh, gur e foghlam a bheireadh air adhart iad agus ge bith dè bhiodh iad a' dèanamh anns an t-saoghal...as dèidh...mur a biodh foghlam aca chan fhaigheadh iad air adhart mar bu mhath leotha. 12:23

**Well, when I was in school there, I suppose there were about fifteen in the school of differing ages. There was ... in the school, it was just in the centre of the village and it was a sort of gathering place for the people. The schoolmistress I had when I was there, she was from Benbecula. 11:55" She was hard on us, but there again she was an excellent teacher and there was .... in Scarp there was much importance placed on education and they saw that in terms of education, if anyone like myself or any of the boys who were to leave (*THE ISLAND*) .... that education would allow us to progress and no matter what**

**we did in the world ... after that .... if we had no education we would not got on as we might wish. 12:23"**

14:12:24

And how important was education to the islanders?

14:12:28

Oh bha, mar a bha mi ag ràdh, bha foghlam uabhasach cudromach dha na h-eileanaich, gu h-àraid anns a' Scarp agus tha mi smaoinichadh, mar eisimpleir dheth, bha grunn dha dh' fhàg a' Scarp agus a chaidh a-steach airson foghlam; anns a' mhinistreachd, teagaisg agus ann an dreuchdan eile agus a' rinn glè mhath dhaibh fhèin agus bha iad a' faicinn gur e sin an aon dòigh a bh' aca air rudeigin a dhèanamh, air dreuchd fhaighinn, nuair a dh' fhàg iad a' Scarp. 13:02 Anns a' Scarp, nuair a' smaoinicheas tu, ma bha còig duine anns an teaghlach, glè thrice cha bhiodh a' fuireach anns a' Scarp an uairsin ach aon bhalach. Mar bu trice a' fear bu shine, agus ma bha croit ann agus ge bith dè bhiodh ri dhèanamh, iasgach nan giomach agus rudan den t-seòrsa sin, 's ann aigesan a dheidheadh e 's dè bha ceathrar eile dol a dhèanamh?

**Oh yes as I say, education was terribly important to the islanders, especially in Scarp and I think, as an example of that, many who left Scarp and took out further education such as for the ministry, teaching and other professions and who did extremely well for themselves - they saw this [EDUCATION] as the only option for when they left Scarp. 13:02" On Scarp, when you think of it, if there were five in a family, very often only one of the boys would remain on Scarp. Usually the eldest, and if there was a croft and whatever else had to be done - fishing or lobster fishing and things such as that, those tasks would fall to him so what were the other four to do?**

14:13:25

One of the other contributors we spoke to, Gillies Campbell, he said that education was, it was sort of a bitter pill in the way that it did so much for the island but it also, in a sense, caused the island to become depopulated, do you agree with that?

14:13:42 – Finlay

Oh, tha sin ceart, chan eil teagamh sam bith a' sin. Ach an dèidh sin feumaidh tu a' ràdh riut fhèin; mur a' tachradh sin, dè bha iad dol a dhèanamh? Chan urra dhut a bhith ann an àite far nach eil cosnadh, chan urra dhut teaghlach a bhith agad mur a' cùm thu suas ri teaghlach. 14:00 Agus tha e glè mhath a bhith coimhead air ais agus a bhith 'g ràdh bu toil leam na taighean anns a' Scarp, a h-uile gion aca a bhith làn teaghlach timcheall orra agus rudan den t-seòrsa sin ach feumaidh sin an còmhnaidh a bhith coimhead air ciamar a tha iad dol...dè bith beò tha gu bhith aca, ciamar a tha...dè seòrsa beatha tha gu bhith aca, agus an gabhas e dèanamh. 14:24 Nise, faodaidh mi ràdh gur e am freagairt tha mi toirt dhan a cheist; cha b' urra dha seasamh, dh' fheumadh e atharrachadh.

**Oh that's right - there's no doubt about that at all. But having said that you must say to yourself, if it hadn't been the case what were they to do? You can't be in a place where there is no livelihood, you can't have a family if you're unable to support them. 14:00" And it's all very well to look back and express a fondness for the houses of Scarp, imagining each one filled with family and so forth ... but**

**we must always consider how they fared, what was their livelihood ... what sort of life were they to have, or were able to build. 14:24" Now, I must say that my answer to that is that it could never have lasted, it had to change.**

14:14:32

So how did the island work, I mean you're stuck out there in the middle of the sea, did everyone just do their own thing or...how, tell me a bit about how the island actually functioned.

14:14:44

Uill, 's e seòrsa àite bh' anns a' Scarp, bha e iomallach, agus rud eile dheth, uaireanan bha e glaiste a thaobh an aimsir, an t-side, an droch shìde anns a gheamhradh agus eadhainn anns a t-samhradh dh' fheumadh a h-uile duine a bhith 'g obair còmhla ri chèile. 15:01 Bha caoraich agus bha crodh ann agus bha iasgach ri dhèanamh. Agus bha iad a' cuir bhuntàta agus sìol, airbhear agus eòrna agus ma bha iad ag iarraidh tobhar airson an t-sìol sin dh' fheumadh iad a dhol a-mach a bhuan feamad agus an fheamad, an fheamainn a thoirt suas gun a feannagan far an robh iad a' cuir rudan den t-seòrsa sin. 15:24 A bharrachd air a' sin...a thaobh airgead a dhèanamh, bha a chuid bu mhotha aca, bha iad a' dol a-sàs ann an giomaich, ag iasgach ghiomach agus bhiodh ceithir dhaoine anns an eathar ag iasgach airson an giomach. Ge bith dè bha iad a' dèanamh, dh' fheumadh iad a bhith an ceann a chèile. Dh' fheumadh iad a bhith a' cuideachadh a chèile agus sgiobaidhean a' dèanamh siud is seo; 15:49, a' buan na mònach – nuair a bhuanadh iad a mhòine bha iad ag obair mar sgioba, nuair a bha iad ga toirt dhachaigh bha iad ag obair nan sgioba. Agus eadhann bha pàrlamaid aca, rud ris an canar a' phàrlamaid bheag, a bhiodh aca 'sa Scarp, far am biodh iad a' bruidhinn anns a mhadainn ma rudan a bha ri 'n dèanamh, air a dhèanamh air feadh a' latha no dìreach làithean an dèidh sin.

**Well, the kind of place Scarp was, it was remote, and the other thing was, sometimes it was inaccessible due to the weather, the bad weather in winter and even in summer - and everyone had to pull together 15:01" There were sheep and cattle there, and fishing that had to be done. And potatoes were planted, as was seed, hay and barley and if they required fertiliser for the crops they had to go and fetch seaweed and to haul the seaweed up to the grounds ('lazy-beds') where they planted those kinds of things. 15:24" Apart from that, to make money, most of them were involved with lobster fishing and there were four to a boat, catching lobster. Whatever they did, they had to do it together. They had to help one another and make up teams here and there 15:49" cutting the peat - when they cut peat they worked as a team, and when they brought the peat home they worked as team. And they even had their own parliament - what they referred to as the 'little parliament' which they had on Scarp, where they talked in the morning of things that had to be done, over that day, or the days to come.**

14:16:11

And did you ever go to the parliament?

14:16:15

Bha mi glè òg aig an àm sin ach tha cuimhne 'am bhith dol dhan a phàrlamaid a bh' ann còmhla ri m' athair agus seann duine nan suidhe is nan sìneadh air an fheur agus...no balla, suidhe air balla, a' bruidhinn mu siud is mu seo agus bha mi ag

èisteachd ach...tha cuimhne 'am air ach, ag innse na firinn, aig an àm sin bha mi dol ann còmhla ri m' athair seach gur e àite a bh' ann gan tèideadh tu.

**I was very young at the time but I remember going to the parliament they had, with my father and an elderly man .... they sat together, reclining on the grass and ... or a wall, it may have been a wall, talking of this and that, and I was listening but ... I remember but to tell the truth, I only ever really went as it was natural to accompany my father there.**

14:16:47

So tell me why your family left then, why did you leave Scarp?

14:16:54

Tha mi a' smaoinichadh gun robh soighnichean ann gum feumadh daoine fàgail o chionn cha robh càil a' fàs na b' fhasa. Bha an fheadhainn a bha...na fireannaich, bha feadhainn aca a' fàs aosda agus cha b' urra dhaibh an obair a bha ri dhèanamh a dhèanamh. 17:11 Cha robh m' athair na fhear dhen fheadhainn sin aig an àm sin ach tha mi a' smaoinichadh gun robh e a' faicinn nach robh a bheatha a bha roimhe, nach biodh i a' fàs càil na b'fhasa, gum biodh i a' fàs gu math na bu duilghe na bha e aig an àm sin. Agus an uairsin fhuair e fosgladh 'son obair air taobh eile an eilean, ann an àite ris an canar iad Crabhadail agus bha e ann a shin na gheamair airson grunn bhliadhnaichean. 17:39 Ach mu dheireadh bha e shuas ann an *Tealabhal* agus Abhuinnsuidhe.

**There were signs that people had to leave, as nothing was becoming any easier. Those who were .... the men, some of them were becoming quite old and they could no longer carry out the necessary work. 17:11" My father was not one of them at that time, but I reckon he could see that his life ahead, that it would not get any easier, that it would become considerably harder than it was at that time. And then he received the opportunity of a job on the other side of the island in a place known as Cràbhadail, and he was there as a ghillie for a good number of years 17:39" But ultimately he was up in Tealabhal and Amhuinnsuidhe.**

14:17:45

And how did it feel, leaving the island?

14:17:48

Tha mi smaoinichadh gun robh e...thogadh m' athair 's mo mhàthair anns an eilean agus bha càirdean anns an eilean agus tha mi glè chinnteach gun robh e duilich dhaibhsan ach ged a bha mise naoi bliadhna aig an àm sin bha e duilich dhòmhsa cuideachd o chionn na balaich 's na nigheanan, bhiodh tu cluiche còmhla riutha agus bhiodh tu dol dhan sgoil còmhla riutha. 18:09 Bha e dìreach, ann am priobadh na sùla bha thu a' faicinn gun robh thu gam fàgail agus gun robh Caolas na Scarpa gu bhith eadar iad fhèin agus mi-fhèin. Bha sin duilich ach an dèidh sin bha creideamh againn agus nuair a tha thu aig an aois sin, no ar pàrantan agus bha iad fhèin, tha mi a' smaoinichadh gun robh iad a' faireachdainn gun robh rud den t-seòrsa sin a' tighinn nad inntinn agus rinn iad na b' urra dhaibh airson atharrachadh mar a b'fheàrr a b' urra dhaibh.

**I think it was ..... my father and mother were raised on the island and there were relatives on the island, and I am quite sure it was difficult for them to leave but although I was nine years of age at the time, it was hard for me too since the -**

**the boys and girls - you played with them, you went to school with them. 18:09"**  
**It was just - in the blink of an eye you found that you were leaving them behind,**  
**and that the kyle of Scarp was to lie between them and me. That was very hard**  
**.... but there again, we had our faith and when you are that age .... or even our**  
**parents at their age, I think they felt or knew that you were thinking that way,**  
**and they did what they could to effect these changes in the best way they could.**

14:18:40

Well I'll sort of move, well I'll ask you what then kind of people were in Scarp? How would you describe the Scarp people?

14:18:50

Uill, rinn fear a dh' fhàg a' Scarp, a' rugadh 's a thogadh anns a' Scarp ach bha e ann an Cliasamal, rinn esan bàrdachd goirid mun a' Scarp agus tha mi a' smaoinachadh gun robh e ceart ann an tòrr dhen a chur e dhan a' bhàrdachd. Bha... 's e na fireannaich agus na boireannaich, bha iad cho cruaidh 's a gheibheadh tu an t-àite sam bith. 19:16 Bha na fireannaich, bha aca – ge bith dè an aimsir a bh' ann, ged droch mhuir agus stoirm a gheamhraidh – bha aca ri rudan a dhèanamh airson bith beò fhaighinn. 19:28 Agus rud eile dheth, a thaobh nam boireannach, bha iadsan dol a bhuan na mònach, bhiodh iad a' buan na feamad, bhiodh iad a' dol a-mach le clèibh gun a chruidh nuair a bhiodh iad gam bleoighean air cùl an fheansa agus bhon taobh sin bha iad cho cruaidh agus bha iad cho falainn agus làidir tha mi creidsinn cuideachd, leis an obair a bha iad a' dèanamh, cha eil rian aca bhith air a chaochladh, o chionn bha sinne treànadh airson spòrs, ach bha iadsan a' treànadh airson obair o chionn 's e an obair a bha iad...an treànadh a bh' aca 'son sin. 20:03 Agus bha iad fialaidh, bha iad coir, bha iad taiceal agus 's ann glè aineamh a bhiodh daoine dol a-mach air a chèile air doigh sam bith o chionn bha fios aca gum feumadh iad a bhith 'g obrachadh còmhla ri chèile agus a bhith rèidh ri chèile air no cha bhiodh gnothaichean math.

20:25

**Well a man who left Scarp, who was born and raised in Scarp .... he was eventually in Cliasamal, he composed a short poem about Scarp and I think he was right in much of what he said in the poetry. OFFICIAL TRANS TO BE SOURCED?? It ..... the men and the women, they were as tough as could be found anywhere. 19:16" The men had to - no matter what the weather was like - stormy seas or winter storms - they had to do things to earn their keep. 19:28" And another thing was that the women, they went to cut the peat, they harvested the seaweed, they went out with creels to the cattle when they were being milked on the other side of the fence and from that side of things, they were so hardy and they were so healthy and strong I suppose too .... with all that work they had to do they were bound to be .... since .... we maybe trained up for sports, but they trained for work and .... the work they did in its own way it was their training. 20:03" And they were generous, they were kind, they were helpful and only very rarely did people fall out in any way, since they knew they had no choice but to work together, and to be harmonious together otherwise things would not be at all good. 20:25"**

14:20:25

It's interesting because if you look at photos of people from Scarp and you see where it is, sort of on its own, isolated and slightly lonely, it would be easy to then think that it was a very narrow minded, insular, closed community who wouldn't welcome people coming to the island. Would you agree with that or do you think it's very different.

14:20:48

Oh, chan eil sin ceart idir. Bha e dìreach glè atharraichte chionn bhiodh eathraichean tighinn ann, feadhainn a bhiodh ag iasgach nan giomach ann am Breànais agus àitichean eile, bhiodh iad a' tadhal air a' Scarp agus bha iad a' faighinn aoigheachd tha mi creidsinn nach robh iad a' faighinn ann an iomadach àite eile,. 21:07, dìreach airson an adhbhar gun robh e iomallach agus gun robh iad toilichte daoine fhaicinn, feadhainn nach robh anns an eilean. Agus bha sin a-riamh, bhiodh ag ràdh gur e na daoine anns a' Scarp, gun robh iad toilichte a bhith a' measg daoine eile agus 's e mar sin a bha iad air an togail suas agus bha iad ag obair agus ge bith dè bha ri dhèanamh bha iad ag obair còmhla ri daoine eile.

**Oh that's not true at all. It was just a unique place.... fishing boats would call there, perhaps some who were fishing lobster in Brèanis and other places, they'd drop by Scarp and they received hospitality I'm quite sure, the likes of which they'd not find in the majority of places. 21:07" for the simple reason that it was remote, and they were delighted to see new people, people who were not from the island. And that was always, it was always said that the folk of Scarp were very happy to be in the company of others, and that is how they were brought up and they worked, and no matter what, they were always willing to work with others.**

14:21:31

When you were either on Scarp, or since then, did you ever hear anything about the school teacher, John Abercrombie?

14:21:42

Chuala mi rudeigin mu dheidhinn, ma 's e sin am fear thathas ag ràdh a chaidh a mhurt, ach 's e glè bheag a chuala mise mu dheidhinn ach chuala mi barrachd mu dheidhinn as dèidh sin, ach nuair a bha mise fàs suas anns an eilean cha robh...cha robh iad a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn. 22:01 Agus na cuimhneachain a th' agamsa air, dìreach gun deach a' ràdh rium no gun cuala mi am badaigin ach 's e sin uile. 22:11

**I did hear tell of him, if that's the fellow they say was murdered, but I heard very little really but - I did hear more later on as it were, but when I was growing up on the island there wasn't .... they didn't speak of him. 22:01" And the memories I have of are .... just things that were said to me or that I heard here and there, but that's all.**

14:22:21

So you worked as a policeman. Tell me what you think police procedure would have been like in the 1880s on Scarp.

14:22:33

Well, cha robh polisman anns a' Scarp ann, 's ann...am poileasman a bh' ann 's ann air an Tairbeart a bha e agus air an rathad chun an Tairbeart cha robh càraichean ann a th' ann an-diugh 's cha robh e cho furasda faighinn ann. Ach mar a thachradh e cha

bhiodh ceangal sam bith aca agus cha bhiodh poileasman a' dol ann. 22:53 Mur a biodh adhbhar math aige airson a dhol ann, agus sin mar a bhiodh iad ag obair. Ach ciamar a bha esan ag obair? Uill, tha gnothaichean air atharrachadh glè mhòr a-nis ach aig an àm sin, nuair a' smaoinicheas sinn air forensics, DNA agus a h-uile càil eile a tha a' tachairt a thaobh sin, fianais cho math 's a gheibhear agus fianais, a tha mise a' smaoinichadh, a mhaireas agus a' neartachadh obair a phoilis agus na cùrtan. 23:25 Smaoinichinn, tha mi a' smaoinichadh an dràsta, nas motha na rud eile a thachair na mo bheatha's, a thaobh fianais ann an curd, cha robh sin aig a phoileas a bhiodh air an Tairbeart aig an àm sin. Cha bhiodh aigesan ach dìreach rud a chluinneadh e agus a dheidheadh a' ràdh ris 'o dhaoine eile. 23:45 Agus ma 's e smaoinichadh air murt, cha robh forensic ann aig an àm sin, cha bhiodh càil a dh' fhios aca dè bha ann a' stamag an duine, na chorp no na fhuil agus bhiodh esan, an fhianais a bhiodh aigesan 's e an fhianais a gheibheadh e 'o dhaoine eile. 24:01

**Well there was no policeman on Scarp at all .... the only policeman was in Tarbert and on the road to Tarbert, there was no such traffic as there is today, and it was by no means easy to get to. But as it was, there was no real connection between the two places and the policeman didn't visit there. 22:53" Unless there was a really good reason to go, and that's how it worked. And so how did he work? Well, things have changed enormously but at that time, when we consider forensics, DNA and everything that has a similar purpose ... as good a testimony as you can ever have and one that I think will be everlasting (HE MEANS DNA) strengthening the work of the police and the courts. 23:25" I think - right now I think - more than anything else that has happened in my lifetime ....in terms of court evidence. So the policeman in Tarbert had no such thing. He'd only have what he was told, to go on; hearsay from other people. 23:45" And to consider murder, there were no forensics at that time, they would have no idea what the contents of the man's stomach were, what was in his body, in his blood and he [THE POLICEMAN] would be .... the evidence he would glean would be only such as he obtained from other people 24:01"**

TIGHTER SHOT

14:24:15

When I was asking you about Abercrombie and you said that people didn't really speak about it, why do you think that was?

14:24:23

Uill, 's dòcha gun robh iad dhen aon bheachd 's a tha mi-fhèin, nach robh cinnt' aca dè thachair no ciamar a thachair e agus rud eile dheth, shaoilinn gum biodh beagan nàire orra gun do thachair leithid a' rud ann an àite mar a' Scarpa ach chan eil mi...chan eil fhios 'am. Ach mo bheachd fhèin, tha aithne agam air na daoine a bh'anns a' Scarpa agus tha mi smaoinichadh, a chuid bu mhotha aca, smaoinichadh air anns an aon dòigh.

**Well perhaps they were of the same opinion as me, that there could be no certainty as to what happened to him, or how it had happened ... and something else, I'd reckon they'd be a little bit ashamed that such a thing had occurred in a place like Scarp but I am not ... I don't know. But my own opinion is, I know the folk of Scarp and I think, the majority of them, felt the same way.**

14:24:55

In terms of police procedure, you told me that he would only have been brought to Scarp for a reason. The death certificate has narcotic poisoning, but also mentions that it's been referred to the Prosecutor Fiscal. Can you talk me through what that means, and therefore how that would have affected the conduct of the police, since what we do know is that it was reported to the Prosecutor Fiscal...?

14:25:29

Uill mar a thuir mi mur tha, 's e an fhianais a bhiodh aig a phoileas agus rudan a chaidh a' ràdh ris le daoine a bha a' fuireach no a-mach às a' Scarp, bhiodh esan a' cuir a h-uile càil an ceann a chèile agus an uairsin dheidheadh aithris gu fear casaid a chrùnn. Ach 's e rud a th' ann, narcotics, bhruidhinn thu air narcotics; dè narcotics? Dè am puinsean a bh' ann? Dè seòrsa puinean a bh'ann? Dè chinnt' a th'ann gur e narcotic poisoning a bh' ann? An dotair, chur e sin air an death certificate. Ach chur an dotair air an death certificate e o chionn gun deach a ràdh ris gun robh iad amharasach, ge bith cò thuir ris e, gun e siud a thachair. 26:22 Cha robh an dotair, cha tug e fuil, cha tug e càil às a chorp a dh' innseadh dha gur e narcotics a bh' ann agus dè seòrsa narcotics a bh'ann.

**Well as I've already said, the evidence the policeman would have and the things that had been said to him by those who lived on or near Scarp, he'd collate all of that and take it all to the Procurator Fisca. But the thing is, narcotics - you spoke of narcotics - what narcotics? What was the poison? What type of poison? How can we be sure it was narcotic poisoning? The doctor stated that on the death certificate. But the doctor put it on the death certificate since he was *told* it by others, who suspected that it was this that had happened. Whoever it was that said it to him. 26:22" The doctor wasn't - he didn't take any blood, he didn't remove any part of the body which would prove that it was poisoning and what sort of narcotics it might have been.**

14:26:32

But if a doctor...so presumably it was the doctor that didn't feel comfortable signing off the death certificate, tell me about the procedure of what...who has to sign the body dead, and I'm thinking here of when we had our discussions of when somebody was alive until it was at the doctor's...tell me about what would have happened when she came running out of the house, if she did, saying; *the Master's dead! The Master's dead!?* The doctor would have been called, tell me about the processes that would have had to have happened.

14:27:05

Aig an àm sin, cha bhithinn uabhasach cinnteach gun tigeadh an dotair a choimhead air a chorp. Chan eil...Shaoilinn gum biodh fhios aige cò iad, shaoilinn gum biodh fhios aige air rudeigin mun dòigh beatha agus tha amharas agam gun tug an dotair a bhinn a thug e a-mach agus...air a death certificate, gun e narcotics a bh' ann, 27:30, gun d' fhuair e sin chun a phoileas agus casaid a chrùnn 'on an fhianais a thog iad fhèin. Agus 's e rud a bh' ann, 's e rud a thachair as dèidh sin, chaidh e gu fear casaid a chrùnn, 's mait' gun do chur esan aithris no aiseig gun....oifis a chrùnn fhèin ann an Dùn Eideann? Chan eil càil a dh' fhios 'am ach a h-uile...aig an àm sin cha robh aca a thaobh saidheans forensics mar a th' aca an-diugh agus dh' fheumadh iad, ge bith dè

bha iad a' dèanamh, dh' fheumadh iad creideamh air dòigh, ma bha fianais ann a bha creidmheach, dh' fheumadh iad sin fhaighinn bho dhaoine. 28:13

**At that time, I wouldn't actually be too sure that a doctor would come to examine the body. There isn't .... I'd imagine that he'd know who they were [THE ABERCROMBIES] and he'd know something of their lifestyle, and I suspect that the doctor stated the cause of death as he did on the death certificate, that it was narcotics 27:30" that he found it to be that way and said as much to the police and the Proc, based on what had been seen. And the thing was, the thing that happened after that, he went to the Procurator Fiscal and perhaps he sent a report of some kind to the Crown Office in Edinburgh? I have no idea but every ... at that time they had nothing by way of forensic science as they do today, and they had to, no matter what they were doing, they were forced to believe something, if there were credible evidence, it had to be obtained from other people. 28:13"**

14:28:14

One of the stories, and it's only one because people have different memories of...we're told different things, is that she poisoned him by scraping off the tops of phosphorus matches. Do you think, you know, using your policeman's expertise, do you think that that's a likely story?

14:28:36

Tha e duilich a dhèanamh a-mach ach shaoilinn ma bha ise dol dha mharbhadh, dha mhurt, shaoilinn gum biodh i air a dhèanamh na b' aithgearra sin o chionn ma tha i dol a dhèanamh sin, mar a chanas tu, mar as luaithe ni i e 's ann a b' fheàrr dhith fhèin e o chionn chan eil rian ma bha ise toirt dha phosphorus...chan eil fhios 'am dè cho trice 's a bha idiol dha fhaighinn, ma thachair e, ach ma bha i a' dèanamh sin bha an cothrom aigesan air dòigh a bhith amharasach gun robh e faighinn rudeigin anns a bhìadh, no ge bith ciamar a bha i dha ghabhail, bha e toirt buaidh air, agus droch bhuidh air. 29:20 'S e rud a th'ann, tha e glè fhurasta dhòmhsa bhith bruidhinn ann a sheo an dràsta mu obair a' phoileis agus obair a chrùinn, mar a bha e aig an àm sin, ach 's e rud a bh' ann gu bheil adhartas air a dhèanamh ann am bliadhnaichean, faodaidh sinn a' ràdh, còrr is ceud blaidhna air ais, chan e an aon seòrsa obair a th' ann a-nis, an-diugh o chionn tha cinnte againn an-diugh glè thrice – an e phosphorus a bh' ann agus cuideachd gun robh e anns a chorp agus aithnichidh tu le rannsachadh dè bh' anns a chorp, dè phuinnsean a bh' ann. 29:55

**It's difficult to make out but I'd imagine that if she intended to kill him, to murder him, I'd imagine she'd have done it much quicker than that. Since if she was going to do it, the quicker the better for her own sake, since .... there can be no doubt that if she was feeding him phosphorus .... I don't know how often she'd have been able to obtain it but to carry it out in that way .... gave him a chance to become suspicious that his food was being tampered with, or however it was that he was consuming it ... that something was causing him harm. Serious harm. 29:20" Thing is, it's easy for me to sit here discussing it now - police work or the work of the Crown Office - surmising how they were at that time, but the thing is that so much progress has been made over the years, there's no comparison with a hundred years ago and more, and today's work as is carried out. Today we can be absolutely certain whether it is phosphorus and also, that**

**it was in the body and you can tell from examining the body, exactly which position it was.**

14:29:58

I think something that you mentioned to me earlier was that you deal with facts all your life...what are we dealing with in this story?

14:30:10

Beul-aithris, agus glè thrice nuair a thogas cuideigin naidheachd air choireigin no ge bith dè bhios ann, bruidhinnidh daoine eile mu dheidhinn agus tha iad a' leudachadh glè thrice rud a chuala iad agus a' cuir an dreach fhèin air. Chan eil mise ag ràdh nach fhaodadh e a bhith air tachairt ach 's e a' rud a th' ann a thaobh beul-aithris agus a thaobh daoine a bhith a' bruidhinn ri chèile – tha e ag atharrachadh 'on a' rud a thachair an toiseach. 30:48

**Folklore, and very often when a story is picked up or however we want to describe it, other people then talk of it, and it spreads very often - whatever they have heard, and they add their own twist to it. I am not saying that it *couldn't* have happened, but the thing is that where hearsay is concerned and people talk about it to one another - it will inevitably change, from the original incident that took place.**

14:30:58

In as much as it can only be speculation, we are beginning to speculate about the nature of both Abercrombie and Annie Jane. There is, well I don't know if you would consider it proof but certainly it would be seen from inspector's reports and from the school log that he wasn't running the school effectively or efficiently. What do you think the islanders' reaction would have been, had the school master who was failing and whose behaviour might have contradicted those that they were more used to seeing and having in their community?

14:31:41

Cha bhiodh iad toilichte mu dheidhinn, agus mar a thuirt mi mu thràth mu dheidhinn foghlam, bha iadsan a' feuchainn ris an fhoghlam a b' fheàrr a gheibheadh iad dhan a chlann agus bhiodh pàrantan iomaganach agus dragh orra mu an rud a bha a' tachairt anns...anns a' sgoil. 31:59 A thaobh sin chan eil càil a dh' fhios again dè bu choireach nach robh e a' teagaisg a chloinne mar bu choir dha. 'S maite gun robh tinneas air, 's maite gun robh rudeigin eile air tachairt na bheatha a bha ag adhbharachadh sin ach mar a chuala mi airson an inspector a bha dol timcheall aig an àm, cha robh esan toilichte leis. Bha e fadama fada bhuidhe agus bha rudeigin fada, fada cearr a thaobh mar a bha e a' teagaisg a chloinne.

**They would not have been happy about it, and as I said earlier about education, they were trying to attain the best education they could for their children, and the parents would have been worried and deeply concerned about what was happening in .... in the school. 31:59" As regards that, we have no idea *why* he was failing to teach the children as he ought to have been. He may well have been ill, or perhaps something else was going on in his life that was causing it, but as far as I've heard regarding the inspector who was doing the rounds at the time, he was not at all happy with him. He was failing very, very badly and going badly wrong in terms of how he was teaching the children.**

14:32:32

How would they have reacted to this young woman coming up and then presumably very quickly forming a relationship with the school master?

14:32:43

Uill, faodaidh mi a' ràdh gur e, anns a' Scarp a bha a' soisgeul agus creideamh glè mhòr, anns na daoine. Agus cha robh duine, fhads is aithne dhòmhsa, no boireannach anns an Scarp nach robh dol a thogail taigh leughaidh, mar a chanadh iad, dhan an eaglais bheag a bh' anns a' Scarp. Bhiodh iad a' seasamh glè dhlùth ri rachdan agus àintean a Bhìobail agus rud sam bith a bha a' briseadh sin, cha bhiodh e dol a' rèir a chreideamh a bh' aca. 33:22 Agus air an dòigh sin, ma leig esan a-steach boireannach ris nach... 's nach robh iad pòsta, cha bhiodh iad a' coimhead air a' sin mar rudeigin a bha còir a dhèanamh anns a choimhearsnachd anns a' robh e.

**Well, I must say that the Gospel and faith were extremely strong in Scarp, in the folk. And there was not a man, as far as I'm aware, or a woman on Scarp who did not attend the 'reading house' as the little Scarp church was known. They adhered firmly to the outlooks and authority of the Bible and anything that contradicted that, contradicted their own faith. 33:22" And in that way, if he took in a woman who was not .... and they were not married, they would not see that as the done thing at all, in the community where he was.**

14:33:38

Do you think it would have been easy to get drink on the island in the 1880s, were they drinkers themselves...would there have been access to drink?

PAUSE FOR SOUND

14:34:19 – Finlay

Cha robh, cha robh deoch anns an eilean idir agus nuair a bha mise òg 's e an àm, no na h-àmanan a bhite a' faicinn deoch ga òl anns an eilean nuair a dheidheadh iad chun a mhargaid a' reic a chruidh air an Tairbairt agus nuair a thilleadh iad air ais, feadhainn a bh' anns a chogadh agus a fhuair eòlas air drùghag bheag ruma nuair a bha iad anns a' nèibhidh, 's màite gun gabhadh iad glainne no dhà an uairsin agus cuideachd nuair a bhiodh pòsaidhean anns an eilean, sin nuair a bhiodh e ann agus aig àm na Bliadhna Ùr. 34:57 Cha robh daoine ag òl anns a' Scarp idir. Cha robh deoch ri fhaighinn. Bhiodh botal 's maithte anns na taighean aig àm na Bliadhna Ùr, no leth bhotal ach a thaobh deoch, bhiodh e duilich fhaighinn agus an aon dòigh air a' faigheadh e e, duine anns a' Scarp deoch a-steach 's ann tron a' phost.

**No, there was no drink whatsoever on the island and when I was young, the main time when drink might appear on the island would be after the cattle markets, when the cattle were taken to market in Tarbert for sale. And it was when they returned from that, War veterans who had been exposed to the odd tot of rum perhaps while in the Navy, they might have a glass or two then. And also when there were weddings on the island, that's when drink might appear, or at New Year. 34:57" The people of Scarp did not drink. There was no drink to be had. There might be the odd bottle in the houses at New Year, or a half bottle, but in terms of drink it would be very difficult to procure, and the only way an inhabitant of Scarp could get a hold of drink would be by post.**

14:35:16

So how would they have reacted if their school teacher appeared drunk?

14:35:21

Cha bhiodh iad toilichte, mar a thuirt mi mu thràth, bhiodh iad glè mhòr na aghaidh agus rud eile dheth, bha sin a' bristeadh iomhaigh maighstir sgoile ann a' sùilean nam pàrantan anns a' Scarp. Faodaidh sinn a' ràdh gun robh na Scarpaich glè mhòr a' coimhead suas ris na ministeirean, maighstir sgoile agus missionary agus dotairean. Feadhainn a bh' anns na professions, faodaidh mi ràdh, agus ma leig fear a bha a' teagaisg anns a' Scarp, maighstir sgoile anns a' Scarp, mur a robh e a' leantainn ris an iomhaigh a bh' aca, na daoine sin, cha bhiodh iad uabhasach toilichte mu dheidhinn.

**They would not be at all happy, as I've already said, they'd be fiercely against it and another thing, this ruined the image of the schoolmaster, in the eyes of the Scarp parents. We could say that the Scarmites greatly revered the ministers, the schoolmasters, the missionary and the doctors. Those who were "in the professions" as I'll call it, and if a man who was teaching on Scarp, a schoolmaster on Scarp, if he did not fall in with that image, the image those people had of him, they'd be very unhappy about it.**

14:36:00

So a similar question but different. Would she - or was there access to drugs on the island? If she did take opium?

14:36:11

Cha robh, cha robh rian aice. Fhads is aithne dhòmhsa cha robh lus an càil eile anns an eilean a bha na dhrogaichean agus mar a thuirt mi a thaobh deoch làidir, ma bha drogaichean a' tighinn a-steach 's ann tron a' phost a thigeadh iad. Agus ma bha sin a' tachairt shaoilinn gum biodh fios aig a' phost fhèin gun robh rudeigin den t-seòrsa sin a' tachairt. Bha e dol tro làimhean a h-uile triop a thigeadh e, a h-uile rud a thigeadh tron a' phost, bhiodh e dol tro làimhean agus bhiodh amharas mhath aigesan gum biodh rud den t-seòrsa sin a' tighinn a-steach leis an obair a bh' aige.

**No way, no way that she could. As far as I am aware there were no such plants or anything like it on the island - plants that were used as drugs - and as I said in terms of alcohol too, if there were drugs being procured then they too were arriving by post. And if that was indeed going on, I'd say the postman must have had a good idea that something was afoot. It had to pass through his hands, every item that was carried by the post went through his hands and he would have had strong suspicions had anything like that been coming in, in the course of his work.**

14:36:49

And again, would they have been aware, just say she was taking opium she would have been a bit spaced out, do you think that the villagers would have been aware that there was something just not quite right with her as well? And if so, how would they have felt?

14:37:04

Uill, ma bha iad a' faicinn mòran dheth, ma bha i ri opium no rud den t-seòrsa sin , chan eil rian nach biodh e mothaichte air dòigh air choireigin naur a bhiodh i timcheall daoine eile. Ach 's e a' rud, 's mait' gun robh ise ga glasadh fhèin suas anns an taigh agus nach robh mòran aice ri dhèanamh ri daoine eile, nach robh i a' coinneachadh le daoine eile. Chan eil càil a dh' fhios 'am, ach nam biodh i a' measg nan eileanaich shaoilinn gum biodh fhios math aig na h-eileanaich gun robh i air rudeiginich nach robh còir aice bhith ris.

**Well, if they were seeing a lot of her, if she was taking opium or something like it, there's no doubt that they'd have noticed in some way, if she was in amongst the people. But the thing is, perhaps she was locking herself up in the house and took very little to do with other people. I have absolutely no idea, but if she was mingling with the islanders I'd reckon they'd have known fine well that she was up to something she shouldn't have been.**

14:37:36

So in the same way that they knew about drink, particularly, because people were sailors, they had gone to different places, would they have known about drugs and things like opium or would it not cross their mind, or would they be aware that there were things that people could take that made them act a bit strange?

14:37:57

Cha robh drogaichean, fhads is aithne dhòmhsa, cha robh drogaichean riamh anns a' Scarp aig an àm sin agus ge bith dè bha i a' dèanamh a thaobh sin, 's e rud ùr a bhiodh ann dhaibh. Chan eil mi ag ràdh nach biodh fhios aige feadhainn dè an obair a bh' aca a thaobh drogaichean den t-seòrsa sin aig an àm sin, gu h-àraid opium, ach 's e rud eile a th' ann 's maite nach biodh iad cinnteach dè a bhuaidh a bha opium a' toirt oirre. 38:25 Ach chuireadh e iongnadh orm mur a biodh feadhainn às a' Scarp amharasach air gnothaichean den t-seòrsa sin, ged nac biodh cinnt' aca dè bhuaidh a bha opium a' toirt air daoine.

**There were no drugs, that I am aware of, there were never drugs on Scarp at that time and whatever she was up to in that respect, would have been entirely new to them. I'm not saying that there weren't those who were familiar with use of the substances of that kind at the time, especially opium, but the other thing is I'm not sure if they'd have been familiar with the effects of opium. 38:25" But it would surprise me if there were not those on Scarp who were suspicious of such activities going on, although they'd have no certainty of what effects opium had on people.**

14:38:40

OK so I need you to put your policeman's hat firmly on because what we have is no facts but we have a story that has passed down for nearly 130 years, we have a death certificate that says that the Procurator Fiscal was involved and we have a log book that shows that the school was failing, so taking that all on board, what can we say with that with confidence, what happened?

14:39:12

Nuair a' smaoinicheas sinn tha sgoiltean a' fàileigeadh fhathast. Tha daoine airson adhbharan, ge bith dè seòrsa adhbhar a th' ann, adhbharan atharraichte agus diofraichte a tha a' toirt buaidh orra a thaobh corp agus a thaobh inntinn. 39:33 Rud

eile a th' ann a thaobh a bhith teagaisg anns na sgoiltean. 's maite gun robh e leisg, 's maite gun robh rudeigin na luib ach nuair a tha thu a' cuir a h-uile càil an ceann a chèile, tha sinn glè chinnteach nach robh e a' dèanamh a dhreuchd mar bu choir dha agus nach robh sìth no rèite eadar e fhèin is am boireannach a bha fuireach còmhla ris, tha mi smaoinichadh gu bheil sin a' tighinn am follais cuideachd. Ach aig a cheann mu dheireadh, feumaidh sinn a bhith cinnteach ann a' rudan a tha sinn a' cuir às a' leth...ma mhurt i, mar a tha iad ag ràdh gun mhurt i an duine, chan eil fianais air a' sin idir ach chan eil teagamh sam bith, mar a tha thu ag ràdh, nach robh rudeigin a' dol ceàrr am broinn an taighe agus a-mach às an taigh sgoile. 40:24

**When we think about it, schools still fail. People fail for all sorts of reasons, specific reasons and differing reasons whether to do with body or mind. 29:33" Something else about teaching in schools ... maybe he was simply lazy, maybe something else was happening to him, but when you put everything together and consider it, it is quite clear that he was not carrying out his job. And that there was little peace or harmony between him and this woman he lived with, I think that is also very obvious. But at the end of the day, we have to be certain of the accusations we are making.... if she did murder him, as they say, that she murdered this man, we have no proof at all. But there is no doubt, as you say, that there was something far wrong, in the home, and in the school house.**

END OF TAPE 14

## TAPE 15

### IV FINLAY CONTINUED

15:01:00

What would the police have heard or what would he have found when he got to Scarp?

15:01:09

Uill mun deidheadh e dhan a' Scarp dh' fheumadh iad fios air choireigin fhaighinn thuige air an Tairbeart agus bhiodh amharas aige ma dh' fheumadh e dhol ann, mus ruigeadh e a' Scarp. Is spot a' ruigeadh e a' Scarp dheidheadh e a bhruidhinn ris a h-uile duine aig an robh amharas air rus sam bith, no a bheireadh dha tac, taic agus cruthachadh air fianais. 01:39 Agus dheidheadh e timcheall na daoine mar sin...agus feadhainn eile a bhiodh ann. Agus bheireadh e bhuaipe an uairsin, bheireadh e bhuap statements, sgrìobhadh e sìos a h-uile càil a bha iad a' dol a' ràdh agus aig a' cheann mu dheireadh bhiodh esan a' coimhead air a' sin, ma chuireadh e gu casaid a chrùn e agus bhiodh e a' feuchainn ri inntinn a dhèanamh suas dè an fhianais, dè cho cinnteach 'sa bha e mu dheidhinn na rudan a bha iad ag ràdh ris agus dè cho creidmheach sa bha tòrr dhen a chaidh a' ràdh ris. 02:15 Agus mar a thuirt mi mu thràth, a chuid bu mhotha a bh' ann, a gheibheadh e. Cha robh rian aige rudeigin eile fhaighinn, 's e beul-aithris a bh' anns a chuid bu mhotha dheth...no anns a h-uile but dheth!

**Well before he went to Scarp they'd have had to get word of it to him in Tarbert, and so he'd have had his suspicions before he arrived in Scarp. As soon as he arrived on Scarp, he'd have spoken to everyone who had any suspicion to**

recount or who would help .... and so begin to build evidence. 01:39" And he'd go round the islanders ... and any other people who were there. And he'd then take - he'd take statements from them. He'd write down everything they said and at the end of the day, he would refer to that, before it went to the Proc Fisc, and he'd be trying to make up his mind about the evidence, how certain he could be of the evidence they were giving, and how truthful were the things that had been said to him. 02:15" And as I said earlier, the greater part of what he'd be given would be hearsay - most of it was folklore\* - if not all of it!

*\* he uses "beul-aithris" which is lit. 'mouth-reporting' and generally translated as 'folklore' but I think we should stick to 'hearsay' for purposes of trans/subtitling*

14:02:27

So it would have been the islanders gossiping that would have resulted in the narcotics poisoning being noted as the cause of death, is that what you're saying?

14:02:34

Oh, chan eil mi ag ràdh sin idir o chionn 's dòcha gun robh bunait air choireigin anns an robh iad a' stèidheachadh an rud a bha iad ag ràdh, ach bhiodh iad a' bruidhinn mu dheidhinn, agus cha bhithinn airson a' facal gossip a thoirt ann idir o chionn 's e rud ubhasach cudromach a tha seo, gun deach duine a mhurt anns an eilean agus bhiodh e gu math na bu doimhne nan inntinn na rud a bhiodh iad a' bruidhinn air bho latha gu latha. 03:03 Thachair e aon uair agus air an dòigh sin bhiodh an inntinn gu math trom air a' rud a thachair agus mar a thachair e...ma thachair e.

**Oh, I'm not saying that at all, because perhaps there was indeed a foundation to what they were saying, but they would *have talked about it*. And I don't want to use the word 'gossip' because this is very important stuff, that a man was murdered on the island and it would have lain far more heavily on their minds than the day to day stuff they normally talked of. 03:03" It happened this once and it would have left their minds very heavy .... the thing that had happened ... and how it .... how it happened.**

14:03:13

Because I suppose this is when we come to the nub of it, you know, no smoke without fire because whatever you say about stories being passed down and being changed as they get passed down, there was something suspicious that happened that resulted in police and procedure happening. Would you concede that much?

15:03:35

Oh, chan eil teagamh san bith air a' sin, bha amharasan ann ach 's e a thaobh amharasan a bhith ceart agus cothromach gun teideadh am poileas ann airson a' rannsachadh. Rannsaich am poileas e nuair a chaidh e ann agus aig a cheann mu dheireadh 's e...thàinig esan...le cinnt'...04:02 STOPS, CHAT ABOUT QUESTIONS AND RETAKE

**Oh there's no doubt about that at all, there were suspicions - but it's whether the suspicions are correct and just, that's why the policeman is called in to investigate. The policeman investigated it when he went there and at the end of the day - he came - surely .....**

15:04:53

Bha, chan eil rian nach robh amharrasan aca...aig cuideigin mu dheidhinn o chionn cha chuireadh iad fios chun a phoileasman gun an Tairbeairt mur a bhiodh iad amharasach mu dheidhinn reudeigin a bha tachairt. Ach aig a cheann mu dheireadh dheidheadh esan timcheall 's chruinnicheadh e a h-uile sgath fianais a bh' ann agus thàinig esan aig a cheann mu dheireadh, thuir e dìreach nach robh fianais gu leòr ann airson càil a dhèanamh mu dheidhinn. 05:20 Agus cha do chur fear casaid a chrùn, ged a chaidh an aithris gu fear casaid a chrùn, cha do chuir esan dhan a chùrt 's cha do thog e fianais, casaid na aghaidh.

**Yes, there can be no doubt that there were suspicions .... that someone had suspicions since they wouldn't otherwise have sent word for the policeman in Tarbert. But at the end of the day, he'd go round and collate each and every shred of evidence there was, and he came at the end, he said that there was not enough evidence with which to take any action. 05:20" And the Procurator Fiscal did not - although the report was sent to him - he did not take it to court or bring any charges.**

14:05:31

Now, interestingly, had the policeman been able to investigate to even a smaller extent, not all the forensic and everything, but he may well have discovered that Annie Jane was a bigamist. Do you think that that is another signifier there .... that as two incomers with very very different morals and different worries and different behaviours from the other people on the island?

14:06:00

Ged nach robh i pòsta agus 's mait' gun robh i pòsta mu thràth gu laghail, ach cha robh i pòsta ris a' fear 's na sgoile ach bhiodh, mar a thuir mi mu thràth, bha daoine sa Scarp aig an àm sin, bha iad a' cumail suas cleachdaidhean agus dòighean nam measg fhèin, bha iad ceart. Bha iad a' smaoinichadh gun robh còir aca bhith dìreach, bhith fuireach...bhith cleachdadh mar a bha iadsan a' cuir sios anns a' Bhìoball a thaobh aintean agus rachdan agus a h-uile càil a bh' ann. 06:43 Ach bha daoine, ged a thigeadh a-steach dhan a' Scarp... a h-uile maighstir sgoile agus ban-sgoile a thàinig dhan a' Scarp, 's ann 'on taobh a-muigh a thàinig iad a-steach ach bha tè no dhà a' rugadh sa Scarp fhèin ach a chuid bu mhotha a bh' aca 's ann 'on taobh a-muigh a bha iad a' tighinn agus bha muinntir a' Scarp a' gabhail riutha glè mhath. 07:04 Ach ge bith dè a bha tachair anns an taigh sgoile aig an àm sin, eadar a' maighstir sgoile agus an tè a bha còmhla ris, bha rudeiginich ceàrr am badaigeanaich chionn 's e chuireadh an dragh oiresan agus a bhiodh na iomagain dhaibh nach robh a' chlann aca a' faighinn an teagaisg a bu choir dhaibh bhith faighinn.

**Although she was not married - she might have been married legally before then - but she wasn't, to the schoolmaster - but as I've said before the Scarpites were at that time, they kept to their customs and their ways, between them. They were upright. They felt that they had to be - to stay with - to maintain as they saw it, what was laid down in the Bible. But people were - although the great, great majority of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who taught in Scarp had come in from elsewhere, one or two had in fact been born on Scarp. But the majority were from outside and the people of Scarp took to them very well. 07:04" But whatever happened in the schoolhouse that time, between the schoolmaster and the woman who was with him, there was something wrong somewhere. Because**

**what would have caused most worry and concern amongst the people, was the fact that their children were not receiving the teaching they should have been.**

15:07:25

So with this all happening, this couple, what would have been the defining feeling of the island because i think you mentioned at one point that they would have found it, and this maybe why they don't talk about it, they would have found it profoundly embarrassing. Tell me what you think the main emotion that the islanders would have felt to have somebody die and the police coming and all the rest of it.

15:07:50

Uill 's e rud a bh'ann nuair a thàinig maighstir na sgoile dhan a' Scarp bhiodh na pàrantan glè mhòr air a thaobh o chionn bhiodh e a' tighinn ann airson feòthas a thoirt dhan a chlann aca fhèin a thaobh foghlam agus bhiodh e glè beathte tighinn dhan a bhaile anns an dòigh sin. 08:14 Agus dè thachradh as dèidh sin a thaobh ma bha rudan a' dol ceàrr? Bha a h-uile sian a' nàire orra, chan e dìreach smaoineachadh gur e seann nàire a bh' air na daoine ann o chionn cha robh iad, anns an taigh sgoile aig an àm sin, cha robh iad a' cumail suas an dòigh beatha agus na cleachdaidhean mar bu choir dhaibh a bhith. 08:38 Ach an dèidh sin, nan tachradh sin, nam biodh esan a' teagaisg na sgoilearan mar bu choir dha tha mi a' smaoineachadh gun toireadh iad mathanas dha airson tòrr rudan eile, nam biodh e a' dèanamh a dhreuch mar bu choir dha.

**Well the thing is when the schoolmaster came to Scarp, the parents would have been hugely on his side, because he was there to provide an improvement in the education of their own children, and he would have been very warmly welcomed in the village, in that way. 08:24" And what then would have happened, if things started to go wrong? They would have been ashamed by it all, in the old-fashioned sense since they weren't .... in the schoolhouse, they weren't keeping up the lifestyle and the ways that they should have been, 08:38" But there again, had it happened as - had he actually been teaching the children to the standard he ought to have been, I think they'd have forgiven him many other things - had he been doing his job properly.**

14:08:55

Final question then; have we got a bigamist drug taking murderess on Scarp?

15:09:04

Cha chuirinn-sa sgilinn dhem airgead orra!

**I wouldn't bet a penny of my own money on it!**

**15:09:12 END OF INTERVIEW**

## Leasan sa Bhàs – Tape 6 transcripts I/IV Dòmhnall Iain Mac Aonghais

06:31:27

So Dòmhnall Iain, tell me, describe to me where we are this afternoon?

06:31:32

Seo an taigh far an deach mo bhreith agus mo thogail, aig an àm sin cha robh e buileach cho fogailte 's tha e an-diugh ach chaidh a thogail an toiseach ann an 1882 agus aig an àm sin bha bùth a' meadhan an taigh ann a sheo agus nuair a bha mise ann 's e rùm cadal a bha sin agus bha trì rùmannan shuas a' staidhre againn agus trì rùmannan shìos a' staidhre.

06:32:00

06:31:32

*This is the house I was born and brought up in. At that time it wasn't as open as it is today, but it was built in 1882, and at that time there was a shop in the middle of the village here, and when I was here that was a bedroom and there were three rooms up the stairs and three rooms downstairs.*

06:32:00

And when was it built?

06:32:08 – I said that

You're sort of stood at your...did you say this was your parent's bedroom, this one? Looking out the window, what would you have been looking out at when you were little?

06:32:17

Mach an uinneag ann a shin a chì thu air mo chùlaibh beanntan Ùig ann a' Leòdhas, tha Scarp dìreach taobh 's iar an eilean eadar na Hearadh agus Leòdhas, na h-eilean beaga a chì thu nas fhaisg oirnn 's e anns na Hearadh tha sin agus Loch Rèasort a' sgaradh na Hearadh agus Leòdhas agus chì thu na tràighean a th'annta. Bhiodh m' athair a' cantainn a' chòmhnaidh gun ann a' seo, seo agad a' sealladh as fheàrr a th' ann an Alba.

06:32:42

06:32:17

*Out the window there you can see behind me the mountains of Uig and Lewis, Scarp is just on the west side of the island between Harris and Lewis. The other little islands you see closer to us, they're in Harris, and Loch Reasort separates the divide between Lewis and Harris and you can see three beaches there. My father always said, this here is the best view there is in Scotland.*

06:32:42

And what about the village itself, how did it look?

06:32:44

Tha am baile a' coimhead math fhathast ach dà fhichead bliadhna 'on dh'fhalbh sinn às a' seo, 's e sinne an teaghlach mu dheireadh a dh'fhalbh às agus tha ceithir de na taighean ann fhathast far a bheil daoine tighinn ann air saor-làithean ach chan eil Scarpaich idir ann an diugh.

06:33:08

06:32:44

*The village still looks good but 20 years ago we left here, we were the last family that left it, and 4 of those houses are still there where people come on holidays, but there are no Scarpaich there today. .*

06:33:08

So how did it look, how did the view from this window down to the village, how did it look?

06:33:31

Oh, mun t-àm seo den bhliadhna bhiodh e, bhiodh an t-àite seo làn feur, eòrna is coirce, buntàta, cuir a h-uile càil dhen a' sin. Cha bhiodh crodh na caoraich idir ann, bha an crodh agus na caoraich a-muigh air taobh eile an t-eilean agus mun àm s' a bhliadhna bhiodh na boireannaich air fad a' dol a bhleoghainn a chruidh a-mach gu na h-àraidhean air taobh eile an eilean.

06:33:38

06:33:31

*Oh around this time of year, the place was all grass, barley and oats, potatoes, and all that kind of thing. There wouldn't be any sheep or cattle, the cattle and sheep were all on the other side of the island and around this time the women folk would be going to milk the cows on the pastures on the other side of the island.*

06:33:38

So Gilles described what his memories of school were like, what are your memories, particularly of school life?

06:33:46

Uill, 's e glè bheag a bh' anns a' sgoil còmhla rium, tha mi creidse 's e sin a' chiad chuimhne bh' agam, sianar no seachdnar, 's dòcha deichnear aig aon àm a bh' anns a' sgoil còmhla rium. Tha mi creidsinn a' chuimhne as motha a th' agam air 's e cho beag sa bh' ann de sgoilearan agus gun robh gach tidsear, bhiodh iad a' fuireach ann dìreach bliadhna no dhà, 's e Dòmhnall Caimbeul fhèin, dh'fhuirich e ceithir bliadhna ann agus an tidsear mu dheireadh a bh' ann, dh'fhuirich i ochd bliadhna ann agus bha foghlam math againn as cuimhne leamsa. 34:19" Tha cuimhnichean math agam air, mar a bha mi ag ràdh ri cuideigin mu thràth, bha a h-uile latha grianach ann an uairsin nuair a bha thu òg. Ach a chuimhne a th' agamsa air a' Scarp agus 's e cuimhne m' òige agus 's e cuimhne math tha sin. Tha mi creidsinn nam bruidhinneadh tu ri daoine a chaidh a thogail ann a sheo agus a bha a' fuireach ann a sheo mar daoine gus an do

dh'fhàs iad aosda, gun canadh iad rudeigin gu math eadar-dhealaichte ris a' sin mu dheidhinn an eilean. Bha e gu math duilich fuireach ann agus gu h-àraid anns na leth cheudan agus as dèidh sin nuair a bha balaich òg a' falbh às, 34:49", bha e duilich dha na daoine na bu shine na h-eathraichean a tharraing a-mach, chan eil acarsaid shàbhailte ann agus bha e duilich dha na sean daoine an uairsin na h-eathraichean a tharraing a h-uile oidhche agus dh'fheumadh iad eathraichean mòra làidir airson an caolas tha seo...a dhol seachad air a' chaolas tha seo.

06:35:06

06:33:46

*I don't remember much of school. I suppose my first memory of it 6 or 7 of us, maybe 10 at one time that were in school with me. The clearest memory I have is how few pupils there were, and that each teacher they would stay just a year or two. It was Donald Campbell himself, he satyed 4 years and the the last teacher there, she stayed 8 years, and we had a good education, as I remember it. 34:19" I have good memories of it, as I was saying to someone before, every day was sunny when you were young. But my memory of Scarp, and it is the memory of my youth, and that's a good memory. I'm sure if you spoke to people that were brought up here and that were staying here as people that grew old here, that they might say something completely different about the island. It could be quite difficult to live there and especially in the 50s and after that when the young boys were leaving. 34:49", it was difficult for the older people to pull the boats out, there's no safe anchor and it was difficult for the elderly to pull the boats out every night and they needed big strong boats for this strait, to cross this strait.*

06:35:06

Gilles described how education was almost like a double edged sword because it educated you but it also made you individuals which almost inevitably meant you left the island. Do you think that effectively meant that the men in particular left?

06:35:28

Cha chreid mi gur e, cha chreid mi gur e foghlam idir ach dìreach goireasan, goireasan air a bha iad a' faicinn, chan eil goireasan sam bith anns an eilean tha seo . Cha robh bùrn againn agus cha robh dealan againn 's cha robh càraichean ann, cha robh rathaidean ann, cha robh càil dhen a' sin ann agus bha iad a' faicinn an uairsin an fheadhainn a bha m' aois fhèin, nuair a dh'fhalbh iad dha a' sgoil dhan an Tairbeart, bhiodh na goireasan tha sin acasan agus bhiodh iad airson fhaighinn dhaibh fhèin agus...35:57", agus nuair a thòisich daoine òg a' falbh às, dh'fhàs e na bu dhuilghe, 's na bu dhuilghe gu h-àraid as aonais goireasan ùr a' tighinn ann idir, idir.

06:36:03

So was it a hard life?

06:36:05

Bha beatha chruaidh ann, ge h-àraid anns a gheamhraidh tha mi creidsinn, chan e gu bheil cuimhne ro mhath agamsa agus air a' sin, dh'fhalbh mise às a' seo dhan a' sgoil nuair a bha mi dusan bliadhna a dh'aois agus an dèidh sin dìreach 's ann dìreach air saor làithean a bhithinn a' tighinn. Ach mo chuimhn'as air, 's e beatha mhath a bh'ann ach tha mi creids' cuimhne mo phàrantan air agus teaghlaichean eile aig an àm sin, 's e beatha chruaidh a bh'ann cuideachd.

06:36:31

So how did the day begin for the men in Scarp?

06:36:35

Uill fad an t-samhraidh gu h-àraid, bhiodh sinn ag aiseig na mòineadh, cha robh mòine air fhàgail 's a Scarp nuair a chaidh sinn a thogail agus 's ann air taobh eile a' chaolais ann a sheo, bhiodh sinn a' buan na mòineadh agus bhiodh sinn ga h-aiseig ann an eathraichean beaga fad an t-samhraidh. An uairsin as t-fhoghar bhiodh sinn a' buan a bhuntàta agus a' buan an coirce agus an eòrna agus anns a gheamhradh...agus an uairsin as t-earrach a-rithist bhiodh sinn a' cuir coirce is eòrna 's buntàta agus sin mar a bha na sèasanan ag obair.

*I think so, I don't think it was education but just facilities, facilities they had seen, there are no facilities in summer. At that time in Autumn we would harvest the potatoes and the barley and oats and in the Winter...and then again in Spring we'd sew the barley and oats and potatoes and that's how the seasons worked.*

06:37:05

And what about for the women, what were their daily lives like?

06:37:07

Na boireannaich gu h-àraid, bhiodh iad a' dèanamh tòrr obair timcheall an earrainn ann a sheo, timcheall nan croitean, bha cuimhn' 'am tòrr cearcan a bhith ann, tòrr caoraich, tòrr crodh, sealltainn as dèidh uain agus laoidhean agus a' bleoghainn a' chruaidh dà uair anns a' latha, a' dol a-mach dhan a bheinn a dhèanamh sin agus air oidhche bha tòrr fighe ann, tha cuimhne 'am air a' sin, a bhith fighe stocainnean 's a h-uile seòrsa rud. 37:34" An clò Hearach bhiodh iad a' fighe cuideachd, fear dhe mo sheanairean, 's e breabadair a bh' ann.

*The women in particular, they would do a lot of work to do with the land here, around the crofts. I remember there being a lot of chickens, lots of sheep, lots of cattle, looking after lambs and calves and milking the cows twice a day, going out on the hills/mountains doing that and in the evening there was a lot of knitting, I remember that, knitting socks and all sorts of things. 37:34" They'd weave the Harris Tweed too, one of my grandfathers was a weaver.*

06:37:40 – STOP

06:37:44

We talked a little bit about life here...how do you imagine it would be for somebody coming in who's not used to the life, would they have been welcomed or would it have been quite difficult to become part of the community?

06:37:58

Bhiodh e furasda dhaibh tighinn a-steach ann a sheo agus bhiodh pàirt, no do phàirt den a choimhearsnachd. Gu math trice bhiodh na tidsearan a' falbh's a tighinn agus missionary na h-eaglais cuideachd agus feadhainn eile agus bha a h-uile duine ag obair a' lùib a chèile agus bha iad ag obair còmhla ri chèile fad, fad an earraich's an t-samhraidh agus an fhoghar agus bha iad, agus bha a h-uile duine gu math càirdeil anns an eilean.

06:37:58

*It would be easy to come in here and to be a part of the community. Often the etachers would come and go and church missionaries too and tohers and everyone worked together and they worked together all the time, through the Spring, the Summer and the Autumn and they were all very friendly on the island.*

06:38:26

So you're standing in effectively the family house, why don't you make this up as your summer residence?

06:38:33

Och, tha mi smaoineachadh gu bheil e nas fheàrr dìreach leigeil leis dhol air ais mar a bha e, air ais dhan na clachan agus air ais dhan an talamh. Ged a dhèanainns' sin cha bhithinn a' tighinn ann ach a t-samhradh agus chan e an aon seòrsa rud a bhiodh ann 's a bh' ann mar a chaidh an taigh a thogail agus mar a bha na daoine fuireach ann airson ceud bliadhna. Bu thoil leam dìreach fhàgail, leigeil leis falbh mar a tha e.

06:38:33

*Och I think it's best just to let it go back to the way it was, back to the stones and back to the earth. Although I'd do that, I'd only come back in Summer and it wouldn't be the same kind of thing, like it was when the house was built and the way people lived for 100 years. I'd like to just leave it, let it go just as it is.*

06:38:56

So do you think in a sense, in terms of what we've been talking about, about this story, do you think Scarp is full of ghosts?

06:39:03

Cha fhaca mi leithid a' rud riamh ann, cha chuala mi leithid a' rud a bharrachd. 39:08"

06:39:03

*I've never seen such a thing, I've never heard of such a thing either.*

06:39:14

Less literally, is it full of memories?

06:39:17

Oh, tha tòrr chuimhnichean agam air rudan ach chan eil càil a chuimh' 'am air taibhsean no càil dheth na rudan sin idir, cha chuala mi leithid a' rud riamh ann.

06:39:17

*Oh I have lots of memories of things but I don't remember anything about ghosts or anything like that, I've never ever heard the likes of it.*

06:39:27

Tell me then about how you know the story of Abercrombie.

06:39:31

Dìreach a' nàbaidh againn an ath dhoras ann a shin, 's e dh' innis dhuinn mu dheidhinn a' sgeulachd a bha sin. Tha mi creidse bha mise mu fichead bliadhna dh' aois aig an àm nuair a chuala mi a' sgeulachd, cha robh mi air a' cluinntinn ron a' sin idir agus sin a chur beagan de dh' iongnadh orm ach 's e duine toinisgeil a bh' ann nuair a dh' innis e a' sgeulachd dhomh bha e gu math furasda a chreidsinn, chaidh e fhèin a bhreith ann a sheo dìreach dhà no trì bhliadhnaichean an dèidh an sgeul, a' rud a thachair, agus dh' innis e dhomh an sgeulachd mu dheidhinn, mu dheidhinn an tidsear a bh' ann aig an àm sin, Abercrombie, agus am boireannach a bha a' fuireach còmhla ris, 06:40:07, bha e ag ràdh, chan robh fios agamsa an robh iad pòsda idir, agus gun do phuinseanaich I e agus gur e cleachdadh air choireigin a bh' aice mu dheidhinn opium a bh' ann agus gur e adhbhar ceangailte ris a' sin a bh' ann. Chan eil mise buileach cinnteach dè an adhbhar a bha sin, ach gun do phuinseanaich I le maidsichean, le ceann maidsichean.

06:39:31

Just my neighbour next door over there, he told us about that story. I'm sure I was about 20 years of age when I heard the story, I'd never heard it before then, and that's what surprised me, because he was a sensible man and when he told me the story it was quite easy to believe, he himself was born here just two or three years after the story. What happened was, and he told me the story about it, about the teacher at that time, and the woman that was living with him. 06:40:07, he was saying, he didn't know if they were married, and she poisoned him and it was to do with some use of opium and that that was the reasoning tied to it. I don't know what reason that was, but that she poisoned him with matches, the heads of matches.

06:40:28

And how would that work they have worked then, how would that have killed him?

06:40:31

Tha mi smaoinichadh gun robh puinnsean anns an t-sulphur a bh' ann a' maidsichean aig an àm sin agus gur e dòigh a bh' ann ma bha thu dol...ma bha thu dol a phuinnseanachadh cuideigin gu faodadh tu dhèanamh, gun gabhadh e dèanamh le maidsichean aig an t-àm a bha sin, chan eil càil a dh'fhios agamsa ciamar a bha iad dha dhèanamh, tha mi smaoinichadh gun ann, bha I dha chur dhan a bhiadh aige 's e thuige Aonghas Mac'Illeannan a dh' innis a' sgeulachd dhomh, gun e sin a rud a thachair agus gun do rinn I e tro dhà no trì mhiosan 's gun robh e a' fàs na bu shine agus tinn, bha e a' fàs tinn agus chì thu sinn anns a' làmh sgrìobhainn aige, anns a' sgoil cuideachd, aithnichidh tu gu bheil a' làmh sgrìobhaidh aige a' fàs nas miosa, 's nas miosa 's anns na mìosan mu dheireadh dheth bheatha.

06:40:31

*I think there was poison in the sulphur in the matches at that time, if you were going to poison somebody, you could do it, it could be done with matches at that time. I have no idea how they did it, I think what she did was that she put it in his food. It was Angus MacLennan who told me the story, that that was what happened and that she did it over 2 or 3 months and that he was growing older and more sick, he was getting sick and you could see that in his handwriting, in school too, you can tell that his handwriting is getting bigger and bigger, worse and worse in the last few months of his life.*

06:41:13 END OF TAPE

**Leasan sa Bhàs – Tape 7 & 8**  
**I/V Dòmhnall Iain**

07:00:49

So tell me the rather dramatic finale to the story.

07:01:12

Uill, mar a chuala mise e, nuair a bhàsaich Abercrombie, an latha a chaidh a thìodhlacadh gun do thilg am boireannach a bha còmhla ris, gun do thilg i litrichean a bha i a' faighinn 'on na dealers a bh' aice ann an opium ann an Glaschu, mar a chuala mise e, thilg i na litrichean air mullach na h-uaigh, mullach na ciste aige mun deach an uaigh a' lìonadh agus sin a chrìoch a chur i air...sin mar a chur ise crìoch air a' sgeulachd co-dhiù.

*Well the way I heard it, when Abercrombie died, the day he was buried the woman that had been with him threw away the letters that she was getting from her dealers in opium in Glasgow, the way I heard it, she threw the letters on the top of the grave, on top of his coffin, before the grave was filled, and that was the end she put on it, well that's how she ended the story anyway.*

07:01:24

And how on earth...how would they have known that woman was taking drugs?

07:01:31

Chan eil fhios 'am a' robh fios acasan air sin ach bhiodh fhios aice fhèin air, nach biodh? 'S e ise bhiodh a' falbh, no am balach a bha còmhla rithe mar a chuala mise, 'se esan a bhiodh a' falbh a' dèanamh sin agus tha mi a' creidse gun cuireadh iad umhail oirre tha mi creidsinn, mar an àite sam bith eile.

*I don't know if they knew that, but she would have known it herself, wouldn't she? It was her who would be going/leaving or the boy that was with her, as I heard it, it was him who would go off doing that and I'm sure they would obey her, just like any other place.*

07:01:48

Now, I know you said incoming would always feel a warm welcome, if those incomers didn't fit in and if they obviously had issues or problems, how would live have been like for them if the didn't they fit into the norm at the time?

07:02:04

Oh, chan eil fhios agamsa, cha chuala mi duine a thàinig a-steach a' seo nach d'fhuair air adhart math ann. Chan eil amharas agam gu bheil, gu robh duine ann a bha mar sin idir. Mar a bha mi 'g ràdh, nuair a bha mi fhèin a' fàs suas bha na tidsearan a bh' againn, bha iad a' tighinn às gach ceàrnaidh de Bhreatainn agus bha h-uile duine aca a' faighinn air adhart, ach ciamar a gheibheadh iad air adhart mar a dh'obraich iad còmhla ris a h-uile duine eile? Uill, dh'fheumadh iad a h-uile càil a dhèanamh dhaibh fhèin agus bhiodh sin duilich dhaibh a dhèanamh, obrachadh air an teuchd fhèin. 02:36" Dh'fheumadh iad bhith 'g obair còmhla ris gach teaghlach eile a bha anns an eilean no chan obraicheadh e idir agus cha b' urra dhaibh fuireach ro fhada mar sin. Dìreach mar coimhearsnachd sam bith eile bhiodh sin.

*Oh I don't know, I've never heard of anyone that came in here and never got on well. I don't doubt that there is, that there was anyone like that. As I was saying, when I was growing up we had the teachers, they would come from every corner of Britain and all of them got on, \*\*but how did you get on with working with everyone else?\* Well, everything had to be done by themselves, and that would be difficult for them to do, working on their feats.*

02:36" *They'd had to work together, with every family that was on the island, or it wouldn't work, but they couldn't stay like that for too long. Just like any other community that was there.*

*\*\*gaelic transcript unclear as to meaning of underlined sentence\*\**

07:02:46

And do you think the story is true?

07:02:50

Tha tòrr firinn, the firinn ann a' tòrr dhen a' sgeulachd ach chan eil fhios 'am a bheil an fhirinn innte air fad mar a chluinneadh tu sgeulachd bho gach taobh agus chì thu gu bheil pìosan dhen a' sgeulachd firinneach, tha mi a' creidse pìos eile dhith, bidh iad tron na bliadhnaichean, bidh daoine a' cuir pìosan rithe tha mi creidsinn agus bhiodh e neònach mur nach tachradh sin. 03:13" Tha daoine ann a' seo math air a bhith ag innse sgeulachdan agus 's toil leotha bhith dèanamh sin, agus 's dòcha uaireannan a' cuir pìosan riutha cuideachd, mar a bhios sin a' tachairt anns gach àite cuideachd.

*There's a lot of truth, there's truth in lots of the stories but I don't know if they are the whole truth, as you'd hear in a story from both sides and you'll see that bits of the story are true, I'm sure another part of the story, that through the years people will add bits to it and it would be strange if that didn't happen. 03:13" People here are good at storytelling, and they enjoy doing it, and sometimes adding bits to the story too, as happens in every area too.*

07:03:24

And why it is with this story that some people seem to have heard it and not others?

07:03:30

Ceist mhath. Chan eil fhios 'am air a' sin idir, siud agad mar a bha mise ag ràdh, bha mise fichead bliadhna a chiad turas a chuala mi fhèin a' sgeulachd agus cha chuala mi m' athair no mo mhàthair a' bruidhinn a-riamh oirre, no feadhainn eile anns an eilean, ach an dèidh dhomh a' cluinntinn dh'fhaighnich mi do dhà no trì dhaoine eile, boireannaich agus fireannaich, boireannaich agus fireannaich agus bha cuimhne acasan air agus air rudeigin a chluinntinn mun a' sgeulachd ach carson nach robhar a' bruidhinn oirre, cha robh...chan eil fhios 'am mun a' sin idir.

*Good question. I don't know why at all, that's like what I was saying, I was 20 when I heard the story for the first time, and I'd never heard my parents speaking of her, or others on the island, but after hearing her, I asked a few people, men and women, men and women that remembered it, and that had heard something about the story, but as to why nobody spoke of her, there wasn't... I don't know about that at all.*

07:04:00

Would it have been shameful though, at the time?

07:04:03

Tha mi a' creidsinn gum biodh, cha bhiodh iad airson, cha bhiodh an tidsear tha sin airson fhaighinn a-mach dè a thachair, tha mi a' creidse gu bheil sin ceart ach cha chuala mise càil mun a' sin a-riamh, gun robh nàire orra mu dheidhinn no càil mun a' sin, chan eil amharas agam gum biodh ach 's dòcha gu robh beagan dhen a' sin ann.

*I'm sure it would have been, they wouldn't have wanted, that teacher wouldn't have wanted to find out what happened, I'm sure that's right but I never heard anything about that before, that she was ashamed or anything about that, I don't doubt that she would have been, but maybe there is a bit of that in it.*

07:04:27

So how important for you, or anyone who has lived on this island, how important is it that you remind each other and tell stories about the island, you know, tell me why you do it and what function it has.

07:04:45

Erm, uill tha sgeulachdan a' fàs suas, tha mi creidsinn sgeulachdan gu h-àraid mu dheidhinn na mara agus timcheall eathraichean agus na bha iad a' dèanamh ann an eathraichean, timcheall dè seòrsa beatha a bh'anns an eilean agus seach gun do bhàsaich a bheatha sin air falbh tha mi a' creidse gum bidh iad airson cuimhne chumail air a' sin, gu h-àraid fhads a bheil daoine beò a chaidh a bhreith agus a thogail anns an eilean, 05:05", bidh iad airson sin a dhèanamh agus 's toil leotha a bhith dha dhèanamh agus 'o chionn fhada bhiodh iad math air sgeulachdan innse, bhiodh iad a' dol, tha mi a' creidsinn, do dhà no trì thaighean cèilidh anns an àite 's bhiodh iad a' cèilidh air a chèile agus 's ioma oidhche sin bhiodh iad a' dèanamh, ag innse naidheachdan agus sgeulachdan dha chèile agus tha mi a' creidsinn teaghlaich na daoine sin, bhiodh a chuimhne sin aca fhathast agus grunn dhen a chaidh a bhreith air an eilean tha seo tha iad math air sgeulachdan innse fada nas fheàrr na tha mise agus bha coir agaibh bruidhinn riuthasan cuideachd.

*Stories grow up, I'm sure stories in particular about the sea and about boats and what they would do on boats, about what kind of life there was on the island, and since that lifestyle died out, I'm sure they'd want to keep a hold of those memories, especially whilst people who were born and brought up on the island are still alive, 05:05", they want to do that and they enjoy doing it, and long ago they were good at storytelling, they would go, I think, to two or three cèilidh houses in*

*the area, and they'd visit each other, and they would do this often, telling each other news and stories and I'm sure those peoples' families, they'd still have that memory, and a lot of the ones that were born on this island they're good at storytelling - a lot better than I am, and you were supposed to speak to them too.*

07:05:39

Is it right that the island was depopulated and would you like to see it still lived in as a fully working island?

07:05:49

Tha sin a-rèir dè cho furasda 's a bhiodh e fuireach ann tha mi creidsinn agus a-rèir dè cho furasda 's a bhiodh e teaghlachan a bhith fuireach ann agus goireasan a bhith ann agus aiseig a bhith ann 's dòcha, dh'fheumadh iad rudan mar sin an-diugh agus dh'fheumadh an dealan a bhith ann agus tha mi creidsinn leis an teicneolas a th'ann an-diugh gum biodh e fada na fhasa fuireach ann, ach chan eil ann ach pìos beag dhen eilean far a' faigh thu air rudan a chuir ann, 06:12", gu h-àraid an taobh seo dhen eilean 's ann far an urra dhut rudan a chuir ann agus cha bhiodh e cho furasda sin a dhèanamh an-diugh. Tha mi creidsinn gum biodh obraichean as ùr ann an-diugh, a thaobh teicneolas ghabhadh dèanamh às a' seo nam biodh daoine a' fuireach ann fhathast. Agus bhiodh e na eilean brèagha fhathast a bhith fuireach ann tha mi creidsinn, ach tha e air bàsachadh air falbh a-nis agus 's *neònach* leam gun till daoine ann tuilleadh. 06:38"

*That depends on how easy it would be to live there I'm sure, and it depends on how easy it would be for families to live there and the facilities there and maybe for a ferry to be there. They'd need things like that today, and they'd need electricity there, and I'm sure with the technology we have today that that it would be much easier to live there, but there's only a small part of the island where you could put things on it, 06:12", especially this side of the island is where you can plant things, and that wouldn't be as easy today. I'm sure there would be new kinds of work today, to do with technology, that could be done from here, if people still lived there. And it would still be a beautiful island to live on I'm sure, but it's died away now, and I don't think anyone will ever be returning. 06:38"*

07:06:45

How was it that you came to see the writing in the log book?

07:06:48

Bha e ann a' leabhar na sgoile agus bha mi a' coimhead tro leabhar na sgoile grunn thursan agus mhothaich mi, mhothaich dhan a làmh sgrìobhadh aig Abercrombie ann an dèidh dhomh an

sgeulachd a chluinntinn choimhead mi an àrd a' leabhar agus mhothaich mi dha, gun robh e a' fàs...an làmh sgrìobhaidh aige a' fàs nas miosa 's nas miosa tron na mìosan mu dheireadh dhe bheatha.

*It was in a school book that I had looked through the school book many times and I noticed Abercrombie's handwriting after hearing the story, I looked up the book and I noticed it, that it was getting bigger, his handwriting getting bigger and bigger through the final months of his life.*

07:07:10

Now, at the time, because there's a suggestion that Abercrombie might have had a problem with drink, was this a place where alcohol was readily accessible in those times?

07:07:23

Cha robh, cha robh deoch làidir idir anns an eilean nuair a bha mise fàs suas, no ron a' sin a' bharrachd ach dìreach mur a biodh banais ann, no pòsadh no aig àm na bliadhna ùra, 's e an aon àm den bhliadhna far am biodh deoch aig duine sam bith agus...cha chuala mi gun robh trioblaid Aber...cha chuala mise gu pearsanta gun robh trioblaid aig Abercrombie leis a' sin ach 's dòcha nach robh gun càil a dh'fhios agamsa air.

*It wasn't, there wasn't any alcohol on the island when I was growing up, or before then either, just when there was a wedding, or a marriage or at New Year..it was the only time of the year where anyone would have alcohol..I never heard that Aber's problem..I never personally heard that Abercrombie had a problem with it, but maybe I just never know anything about it.*

07:07:48

So he wouldn't have come to the shop and bought a bottle in the shop?

07:07:52

Cha robh, cha robh, cha robh uisge beatha na càil ga reic anns a bhùth ann a sheo.  
*No, there wasn't whisky or anything sold in the shop here.*

07:07:58

So where would he have got it, and where would she have got the opium?

07:08:02

Mar a chuala mi 's ann ann an Glaschu a bha i a' faighinn an opium ach chan eil, chan eil fhios 'am mu dheidhinn deoch làidir idir, cha chuala mi càil mun a' sin. 08:10"

*The way I heard it, it was in Glasgow she was getting the opium, but I don't know about the alcohol. I never heard anything about that. 08:10"*

07:08:47 – 07:09:32

Intense look from Dòmhnall Iain

## **#9 – Norman MacLennan**

*Tell me Norman who you are and where you come from and about your family?*

**00:42”**

Teaghlach m’ athair, ‘s ann a Tarasaigh a thàinig iad dhan Scarp aig àm na fuadaichean agus bha ‘ad ann a shin gus an d’ thàinig iad a null ann an 1886, fhuair iad àiteachan air tìr-mòr. Cha robh àite air Scarp, bha cus dhaoine ann agus thug an oighreachd a bh’ ann an uairsin, na Scotsaich, thug iad dhaibh fearainn air tìr mòr na Hearadh. **01:18”** Bha 13 ann an 1886 agus sin cuideachd m’athair, cuideachd mo mhàthair, ‘s ann à Uige a bh’ iad, Lionclait Uige agus phòs iad anns a’ bhaile sa. Uill, chan eil mòran fhios ‘m mu dheidhinn cuideachd mo mhàthair ach gur ann à Uige a bh’ iad, tha fios ‘m air feadhainn aca ach...**01:54”** Cha do chur mise lorg orra mar gun canadh tu. **02:01”**

00:42”

*My father’s family, they came from Taransay to Scarp at the time of the clearances and they were there until they came over in 1886, they got places on the mainland. There was no place on Scarp, there were too many people and the estate owners then, the ‘Scotsaich’, they gave them land on the mainland of Harris. 01:18” There were 13 in 1886 and my father was there, and my mother too - they were from Uig, Lionacleit Uig, and they got married in this village. Well, I don’t know much more about my mother’s family other than that they were from Uig, I know some of them but...01:54” I never found the, as you’d say. 02:01”*

*So your father came here in about 1886, tell me about the house that we are in just now.*

**02:11”**

An taigh anns a bheil sinn an-diugh, s e mo sheanair a thog e. Nuair a thàinig iad a-null ann an 1886/7 agus ‘s e a’ chiad taigh geal a bh’ air ceann a-tuath na Hearadh ach taighean na h-oighreachd ann an Amhuinnsuidhe. Agus bhiodh mo sheanair ann gus an do bhàsaich e is thàinig m’athair ann is bha e ann gus an do bhàsaich e fhèin. **02:39”** Agus thug e bliadhnaichean gun duine idir ann, ach thàinig mise an uairsin nuair a leig mi seachad m’ obair. **02:46”**

02:11”

*The house we’re in today, it was my grandfather that built it. When they came over in 1886/7, and it was the first white house on the North end of Harris apart from the estate houses in Amhainnsuidhe. My grandfather would be there until he died, and my father came and he was in it until he too, died. 02:39” It was years without anyone living in it, but then I came when I retired. 02:46”*

*Tell me what this whole area would have been like in the 1880’s. What would it have looked like when Abercrombie came and visited?*

**03:03”**

Tha mi creidsinn nach fhaca Abercrombie seo riamh, chan eil fhios agam-sa, chan eil mòran eachdraidh air Abercrombie, eil fhios agad, a bh’ air Sgarp airson 3 bliadhna. **03:13”**

03:03”

*I’m sure Abercrombie never saw this, I don’t know, there’s not much history on Abercrombie, you know, that was on Scarp for 3 years.*

03:13”

*But if he had come from Tarbert, what would the road have looked like? Full of houses or..*

**03:18''**

There was no road, cha robh rathad ann.... STOPS TO ASK QUESTION AGAIN

**03:29''**

Tha mi creidsinn, tha droch t-seans' gun d' thàinig e air a' rathad, cha robh rathad ann an uairsin agus bhiodh e le eithear, bhiodh iad a' faighinn bhon Tairbeart le eithear dhan Sgarp e. **03:37''** Ach cha robh an rathad a dhèanamh a-nuas bhon Tairbeart a dh' Amhuinnsuidhe gus an do thogadh Caisteil Amhuinnsuidhe, 1866/7. Agus cha robh a' rathad an uairsin eadar Amhuinnsuidhe agus Huishnish. **03:57''** 'S e Lord Leverhulme a rinn a' rathad 3/5 mìle sìos a Tuisinish. So a' chuid bu mhotha gnothaichean a bh' aca ris an Tairbeart, 's ann le eithear a bh' iad a' dol ann as a Sgarp co-dhiù. **04:13''**

**03:29''**

*I think, there's not a good chance he came on this road, there wasn't a road at that time, and he would have had a boat, they'd get from Tarbert to Scarp on a boat. . **03:37''** The road up from Tarbert to Amhainnsuidhe was never made until they build the Amhainnsuidhe Castle, 1866/7. And the road then wasn't between Amhainnsuidhe and Huishnish. **03:57''** It was Lord Leverhulme that built the road 3/5 miles down to Tuishnish. So for most of their affairs with Tarbert, it was on a boat they'd travel from Scarp anyway. **04:13''***

*So there were times when this place was full of villages? What happened to all the villagers that used to live along this area?*

**04:24''**

Uill chaidh iad am fuadach, chan eil mòran chuimhne neo eachraidh air na daoine a bh' ann an uairsin. Cha eil càil de fhios cuin a chaidh iad an cur às, chaidh an t-àite fuadach. Agus cha robh duine idir ann ach bha daoine sa Sgarp ach chan eil càil de fhios cò iad, bha iad ann o chionn 100 bliadhna tha mi smaoineachadh. O chionn tha feadhainn de àiteachan ann an àiteachan agus tobhtaichean beaga, mar àirighean ach cò bh' ann? Chan eil fhios. **04:58''** Ann an 1920s, the teens anyway, i get mixed up with my Gaelic...**05:13''** Timcheall air 18 is 20, chaidh, tha iad a' cumail a-mach gu robh cus dhaoine ann an uairsin \*\*\* so chaidh na daoine fuadach, a h-uile duine a bh' ann. Agus chaidh tòrr dhan Sgarp is bha iad an uairsin cus dhaoine sa Scarp, bha còrr is 200 duine ann aig aon àm. So thoisich feadhainn a falbh às is chaidh iad a Chanada is àiteachan. **05:42''** Is feadhainn eile a dh'fhuirich fhathasd ann a sheo, chaidh, tha iad a smaoineachadh gun deach iad, feadhainn aca a dh'Astràilia is a Chanada, is chaidh feadhainn a-null a Leòdhas, dh' Uige. Mo shin sheanair is bha e sa bhaile sa agus chaidh fuadach is chaidh e dhan Sgarp is chaidh a Bhrèinis. Bodach air an robh ?? "Tithean"?? Mac 'Ill Mhòire. **06:10''** Agus phòs e, thall, tè à Brèinis cuideachd is 's e nighean mhath a phòs mo sheanair is nuair a thàinig iad às a Sgarp, 's e dhan taigh-sa a thàinig iad far an robh a màthair-se is h-athair-se liuthadach ron sin. **06:28''**

**04:24''**

*Well they were evicted, there's not much history or memories of the people of that time. Nobody has any idea when they were extinguished, the place was evicted. And there was nobody there at all apart from the people of Scarp, but there's no idea who they were, they were there about 100 years ago, I think. Because there's some places in places and there were small ruins, like bothys, but who was it? Who knows. **04:58''** In the 1920s, the teens anyway, i get mixed up with my Gaelic...**05:13''** Around 18 or 20, they made out that there were too many people there at the time\*\*\*so the people were evicted, every single person there. And a lot of them went to Scarp and then there were too many people in Scarp, there were more than 200 people there at one time. So some started to leave and they went to Canada and places. **05:42''** And others that still stayed here, they think they went to, some to Australia and Canada, and some to Lewis and Uig, My great grandfather and he was was in this village, and he was evicted and went to Scarp and to Breanish. An old man they called 'Tithean' Gilmore. . **06:10''** And he married a girl from*

*Breanish, and it was a good woman who married my grandfather and when they came from Scarp, it was to this house they came, where her mother and father had been for many years previously. 06:28"*

*Tell me what you know about the history of education in Scarp?*

**06:40"**

Well, if i had the book i'd be able to tell you a lot more about it....

*Don't worry about it, just roughly....*

**06:50"**

A' chiad sgoil a thàinig dhan Sgarp, 's e 'Gaelic School Society' a bh' ann. Bha sin bliadhnaichean bhiodh iad a tighinn ann dhà neo trì bhliadhnaichean is dheidheadh iad dhà neo trì bliadhnaichean gun duine idir ann. **07:04"** Agus passaig iad acht an fhoghlaim ann an 1876 chaidh taighe sgoile a thogail ann an Sgarp an uairsin. Ro'n sin cha robh ann ach duine thall, bliadhnaichean thall sa bhos. Bha iomradh air ministear bha e foiteach, thàinig e dhan Sgarp, bha iad a' dol timcheall na coithionalan agus thoisich iad, cha robh duine teagaisg ann an Sgarp an uairsin, **07:37"** a teagaisg sa sgoile agus thoisich na Sgarpaich ag iarraidh air maighstir sgoile a chur thuca is gun cuireadh iad le eithear Loch na Madadh e, bha iad ag iarraidh gealladh gun cuireadh iad maighstir sgoile thuca . Cha do gheall e ach thàinig cuideigin an ath bhliadhna a-rithisd, bha sgoil ann bho bhliadhnaichean as-dèidh sin. **08:05"** So, chan eil cuimhne agam-sa cò chiadh fhear, oh aidh, fear à, mac geamair a bh' ann an Crabhadail, 's e a chiad duine maighstear sgoile a bh' ann an Sgarp. **08:18"** Dà bhliadhna neo 3 is bhàsaich e is thàinig fear eile ann, oh chan eil cuimhne agam-sa, bha Duncan is Abercrombie, 's e Cromie am far-ainm a bha e 'g ràdh air Abercrombie, bha h-uile duine le far-ainm orra. **08:35"** 'S e Cromie a bh' air, a bh' aca air.

**06:50"**

*The first school that came to Scarp, was the 'Gaelic School Society'. It was there for years, they'd come for two years or three years and they'd go for two or three years without anyone at all there. . 07:04"* And they passed the education act in 1876 and a school house was then built in Scarp. Before that there were just people here and there. There was a mention of a minister, it was brave/heroic he came to Scarp, they were going round the congregations, and they started, nobody was teaching in Scarp then **07:37"** teaching in the school and the Scarp folk started requesting a head teacher to be sent to them and that they'd send him on the LochMaddy boat, they wanted a promise that they'd send them a head-master. They never promised, but somebody came the following year again, and the school was there for many years after that. **08:05"** So I don't remember who, oh yes, a man from, a son of a gamer in Crabhdail, he was the first head-master that was in Scarp. **08:18"** Two or three years and he died, and another man came, oh I can't remember him, there was Duncan and Abercrombie, Cromie was Abercrombie's nickname, everyone had a nickname. . **08:35"** He was called Cromie, that's what they called him.

*Tell me about what sort of education students got in Scarp?*

**08:53"**

Uill Duncan tha mi creidsinn gur e sgoilear bu mhotha, dh' ionnsaich e Beurla is Gàidhlig is Laideann is navigation is botanic is tòrr dhan rudan sin aige. Agus thug e 2 neo trì, oh chan eil cuimhne 'm cia mhead bliadhnaichean a bha e ann co-dhiù is chaidh e chur dhan t-Òb is bha e ann an shin airson 2 neo 3 bliadhnaichean agus 's e Abercrombie a thàinig a-null na àite. **09:28"** Is ann an 3 bliadhna bha e falbh. Agus cha robh e uabhasach math air teagaisg cha chreid mi. Chur iad Duncan air ais dhan Sgarp an uairsin, bha e ann gu 1900 nuair a bhàsaich e. **09:43"** Uill bha e air retireadh bliadhna neo 2 ro'n sin. **09:46"** So bha grunn mhath tidsearan ann as-dèidh sin, bha aon tè ann 17 bliadhna, tè Uibhisteach, Miss Lamont so chan eil cuimhne 'm air cuin....**10:06"**

**08:53"**

*Well Duncan I'm sure, he was the biggest scholar, he learnt English and Gaelic and Latin and navigation and botanic and he had knowledge of a lot of those things. And he took 2 or 3, of I can't remember how many years he was there, anyway, he was placed in Leverburgh and he was there for 2 or 3 years and it was Abercrombie that came in his place. 09:28" And in 3 years he was away. And he wasn't very good at teaching, I don't think. They sent Duncan back to Scarp then and he was there until 1900 when he died. 09:43" Well, he had retired a year or 2 before that. 09:46" So there were a lot of teachers after that, one woman was there for 17 years, from Uist she was, Miss Lamont so I can't remember when... 10:06"*

*You told me a lovely a lovely story about a man who needed a doctor and when the doctor asked him did he have any English....? Tell me that story.*

**10:22"**

*Fear a thàinig a dh'fhuireach ann an Clismòr agus bha e 90 neo mar sin, bha e bochd is chaidh fios a chur air an dotair oir cha robh, bha an dotair anns an Tairbeart, bha e air falbh air saor-làithean agus thàinig am fear a bha san t-Òb, dotair Uibhisteach a bha san t-Òb a sin a choimhead air a' bhodach. 10:44" Agus nuair a thàinig e dhan taighe, thachair mac a' bhodaich is thionndaidh e is dh'fhaighnich e an robh Beurla aig a' bhodach, 'Oh tha, tha Beurla aig a' bhodach" so chaidh e a-staigh a choimhead air. 10:56" Thàinig e a-mach air ais is thuirt e gun gabh e iongnadh, "he spoke to me in perfect Latin" thuirt e. So, bha Beurla is a' Ghàidhlig agus Laideann aig a' bhodach. S e Duncan a bh'ann ga ionnsachadh. 11:15"*

**10:22"**

*One man that came to live in Clismor, and he was 90, or thereabouts, he wasn't well, and a doctor was called for, because there was no doctor in Tarbert, he was away on holidays and the doctor in Leverburgh came, he was from Uist, and he came to see the old man. 10:44" And when he came into the house, the old man's son met him and he the doctor asked if the old man spoke English. 'Oh yes, the old man has English'. So the doctor went in to see him. 10:56" He came back out and he said incredulously, 'he spoke to me in perfect Latin'. So the man had had English and Gaelic and Latin. It was Duncan that had taught him. 11:15"*

*How would people in Abercrombie's time have travelled, and where would they have gone?*

**11:39"**

*Eithearaichean, cha robh dòigh aca air faighinn air, mura coisicheadh iad taobh siar dhan Tairbeart, 's e eithearaichean a bh' aca mar bu trice.*

**11:39"**

*Boats, there was no other way, unless they walked the West Side to Tarbert, it was usually boats.*

*And the sea was very important to the island?*

**11:56"**

*Oh aye, bhiodh iad uaireannan, nam biodh droch shìde ann dheidheadh iad dhan Tairbeart is mura faigheadh iad dhachaigh, bha iad a cur a' stuth air tìr is bhiodh iad a coiseachd leis a Huishnish. 12:07" A' fàgail nan eithreachan ann gus an robh 'n t-side na b' fheàrr. 12:12"*

**11:56"**

*Oh yes, sometimes they would, if there was bad weather, they'd go to Tarbert and if they couldn't get home, they'd put their stuff on land and they'd walk with it to Hushnish. . 12:07" Leaving the boats there until the weather was better. 12:12"*

*What sort of catch did they get and what happened to it?*

**12:20''**

Oh, sgadain is roinneach is liùthan bhiodh giomaich, s e bu mhotha a bha dol a-steach gu tìr co-dhiù. **12:33''**

**12:20''**

*Oh herring and mackerel and sometimes there would be lobsters, that's most of what came ashore anyway. 12:33''*

*Tell me about what sort of catch the would get and what would happen to it?*

**13:00''**

Uill, bhiodh iad an cur air falbh a h-uile cola-deug, na giomaich ann am bocsaichean is bhiodh iad a dol leotha dhan Tairbeart sna h-eithearaichean is bha iad a falbh air bàta nas motha a Mhallaig tha mi creidsinn agus a' dol air sin air rèile gu Billings Gate. **13:19''** Agus glè thric bhiodh iad a marbh, feadhainn, agus bha iad an uairsin a' faighinn cunntais airson faradh. **\*\* So warning\*\*** go robh iad a dol dhan phrìosan son a bhith cur air falbh giomaich marbh cha mhòr gun deach duine riamh ann. **13:36''**

**13:00''**

*Well they'd go away every fortnight, the lobsters in boxes and they'd go with them to Tarbert in their boats and they'd go on an even bigger boat to Mallaig and I'm sure and then from there on the rails to Billings Gate. 13:19'' And quite often, they would die,(the lobsters!) some, and they'd then get money for the freight. **\*\*So warning\*\*** they were going to prison for selling dead lobsters hardly anyone went there. 13:36''*

***\*\*the gaelic here doesn't quite make sense - so apologies for the ambiguous translation\*\****

*Do you think it was inevitable that Scarp ended up with no one living on it?*

**13:57''**

Yes, tha mi glè chinnteach as a sin. Cha robh e furasda a bhith beò air Sgarp. Bha e, cha b' e àite math airson eithearaichean a bh' ann – cha robh acarsaid ann is dh' fheumadh iad na h-eithearaichean a tharraing suas a h-uile oidhche is bha mòine duilich dhaibh, bhiodh iad taobh a-muigh an eilean, is mu dheireadh bha tòrr aca ga buan air tìr mòr mu choinneamh Sgarp air tìr mòr. **14:28''** Nise as-dèidh an dàrna cogadh, thoisich daoine a' fàs rudeigin mì-chofhurtail ann, bha e duilich obrachadh na thàinig dhachaigh às a' chogadh b' fheàrr leotha fuireach air falbh. Chaidh feadhainn aca a Ghlaschu is àiteachan den t-seòrsa sin. Agus mu dheireadh cha robh duine air fhàgail ach seann dhaoine. Agus theich iad sin cuideachd cha robh air fhàgail mu dheireadh ach glè bheag so... **14:58''** Cha b' urrainn iad a bhith beò air sgath's cho duilich 's a bha na h-eithearaichean obrachadh. **15:03''**

**13:57''**

*Yes, I'm certain of that. It wasn't easy to survive on Scarp. It was, it wasn't a good place for boats - there was no anchor and they had to pull the boats up every night, and peat was difficult for them too, they'd be on the outskirts of the island, and in the end lots of them were cutting the peat on the mainland opposite Scarp. 14:28'' After the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, people began to get uncomfortable there, it was difficult to work and the ones that came from the war preferred to stay away. Some went to Glasgow and places like that. And in the end there was nobody left but old folk. And they left too, there was hardly anyone left so...14:58'' They couldn't survive because of how difficult it was to work the boats. . 15:03''*

*How what do you think it was like for the people who left the island?*

**15:15''**

Tha mi creidsinn dhan seann dhaoine gu robh duilich leotha fhàgail ach bha iad a' faicinn nach b' urrainn dhaibh a bhith beò ann le cho \*\*\* is a bha e. Bhiodh iad sin deònach gu leòr air fuireach ann ach cha b' urrainn iad sin a dhèanamh, bha na fheadhainn òig' coma ged a dh'fhalbhadh às.  
**15:29''**

**15:15''**

*I'm sure it was difficult for the older folk to leave but they could see that they couldn't survive with how \*\*\* it was. They'd have been keen enough to stay but they couldn't do that, the young ones didn't care if everyone left. **15:29''***

\*\*\*word missing in gaelic transcription

*Tell me the story that you heard about Abercrombie?*

**15:39''**

Uill, cha chuala mise mòran mu dheidhinn riamh, bha e fada ro'n àm agam. Bha iad a cur air gum biodh e 'g obair air deoch is air rudan den-t-seòrsa sin ach chan eil mi fhèin a smaoineachadh gu robh an deoch cho furasda faighinn dha. Ma bha e faighinn drugaichean tro'n phost tha mi creidsinn air dòigh a choireigin. O chionn cha b' urrainn dha faighinn botal uisge-beatha is gun fhios do chuideigin. **16:16''** Ach dh'fhaodadh e a bhith drugs a choireigin tron phost ann an parcels, cha bhiodh càil

a dh'fhios aig duine cò bh' ann. Co-dhiù, cha robh mòran anns a' mhaighstir sgoile a-rèir eachdraidh agus bha iad a smaoineachadh nach robh e fhèin is a bhean uabhasach rèidh uaireannan. **16:35''** Ach bhàsaich e aithghearr latha is thàinig i fhèin a-mach is bha i 'g èigheach, 'the master is dead, the master is dead', uill chuala mi, bha mi ann o chionn dhà neo trì bliadhnaichean is bha 'n fhear a bha còmhla rium bha e 'g ràdh, gun d' fhuair a chorp marbh air beulaibh an teine, an àite teine. Agus chan eil mòran cuimhne agamsa air mòran a chuala mi den chòrr dheth. **17:04''** Ach bhiodh seanachan a' dol air siud 's air seo a mharbh e, tha cuimhne 'm aon chaileach is a biadh

agus dha na balaich is cha robh e uabhasach toilichte ris, thuirte e, 'oh a mhàthair, seo rud a mharbh Cromach', so ge b' e dè mharbh e, chan eil càil a dh'fhios. Uill, bha dotair ann agus chaidh medical report a dhèanamh mu dheidhinn, chan eil mòran fhios agam-sa mu dheidhinn.

**17:34''**

**15:39''**

*I never heard much about him at all really, it was well before my time. They made out that he was heavy on the drink and that kind of thing, but I don't think myself that drink was that easy to get. If he was getting drugs it was probably through the post somehow. Because he couldn't get a botal of whisky without anyone knowing it. **16:16''** But it could have been some sort of drugs in the post in the parcels, nobody would know who it was. Anyway, there wasn't much in the headteacher's history and they thought that himself and his wife didn't always get on. **16:35''** But he died suddenly one day and she came out shouting, 'the master is dead, the master is dead'. Well I heard, I was there 2 or 3 years ago, and the man that was with me was saying that they found the body dead in front of the fire, in the place of the fire. And I don't remember much else about any of the other things I heard about him. **17:04''** And there different tales as to how he died, I remember one old woman and her..... and her food for the boys and he wasn't very pleased with her. He said, 'mother, this is what killed Cromie' so whatever killed him, who knows. There was a doctor and a medical report was written about him, but I don't know much about it.*

*Did you hear where he was buried?*

**17:39''**

No i can't remember, chan eil cuimhne 'm gun cuala mi cà 'n deach e a thiodhacadh, tha mi creid gun deach e a thiodhacadh a Scarp. **17:47''**

**17:39"**

*No I can't remember, I don't remember that I heard where he was buried, but he was probably buried on Scarp. 17:47"*

*And would we be able to find his gravestone?*

**17:49"**

*Oh no, cha ghabh e lorg an-diugh, cha robh iad an uair iad a' cur clachan cinn ceart air uaigh. Clach chruinn maol a bha dol ann is bha na ceudan air a tìodhlacadh ann is cha lorgadh tu iad.*

**18:04"**

**17:49"**

*Oh no, you'd never find it today. They didn't live in a time where you put proper gravestones on a grave. A plain round stone would go there and hundreds were buried there and you'd never find them. 18:04"*

*I understand that Abercrombie's is still used today when people are describing something that they don't like. Tell about that.*

**18:17"**

DISCUSS THE QUESTION

**18:38"**

*How much drinking was there on Scarp at that time?*

**18:42"**

None, \*RETAKE\*

**18:48"**

*Chan eil mi smaoinichadh gu robh deoch mòr sam bith a' dol air an eilean. Sa chiad àite cho robh airgead aca cheannaicheadh i agus cha robh i furasda faighinn, dh'fheumadh iad dol dhan Tairbeart. Is ged thigeadh daoine dhachaigh, ged a dheigheadh dhan Tairbeart le giomaich 's dòcha gun ceannaicheadh iad botal uisge bheatha is 's e sin e, cha b' urrainn iad an còrr a cheannachd. Chan eil mi creid gu robh Aberdrombie ris an deoch idir. Ach bha e ri drugs is rudeigin den t-seòrsa sin. 19:19"*

**18:48"**

*I don't think there was much drink on the island. In the first place, they didn't have money to buy it, and it was difficult to acquire, they'd have to go to Tarbert. And although people would come home, even though they'd go to Tarbert with lobster, they'd maybe buy a bottle of whisky but that was it, they couldn't buy anymore. I don't think Abercrombie was on the drink. But he was on drugs and things like that. 19:19"*

*Why do you not think that Abercrombie was drinking?*

**19:27"**

Because, \*RETAKE\*

**19:34"**

*Chan eil mi smaoinichadh gun e deoch a mharbh e o chionn, cha robh e furasda dha faighinn is chan fhaigheadh e gun fhios do chuideigin is chan eil mi smaoinichadh gu robh e ga faighinn gun fhios, o chionn dh'fheumadh a chur dhan Tairbeart thuige. Agus ma 's e drugs, gheibheadh e iad tron phost iad is dhèanadh sin seadh na cùise, chan eil fhios agamsa. Ach tha mi smaoinichadh gun e siud a rud a thachair. 20:05"*

**19:34''**

*I don't think it was drink that killed him, because, it wasn't easy to get and you couldn't get a hold of it without other people knowing and I don't think he was getting it on the quiet, because you'd have to go to Tarbert for it. And if it was drugs, he could get them through the post and that would make sense, but I don't know. But I think that's what happened. 20:05''*

*How would the islanders have treated somebody like that?*

**20:19''**

*Cha bhiodh iad a' cur mòran dragh orra, duine dhan t-seòrsa sin. Bha e leis fhèin bha iad a smaoineachadh, bha e falbh bho s' dòcha na daoine. Chan eil mòran cuimhne agamsa air chluinntinn dè seòrsa duine a bh' ann a bharrachd air gun do bhàsaich e san taigh goil. 20:46''*

**20:19''**

*They wouldn't have bothered them much, that kind of person. He was alone they thought, he was away from...maybe the people. I don't remember hearing much about what type of person he was, other than that he died in the old school house. 20:46''*

*Would the islanders have been taking any type of drugs?*

**20:57''**

*No, an aon drugs a chuala mise riamh sa Sgarp sin tombaca dubh, bha gu leòr den sin a' dol ach an còrr, chan eil beachd sam bith agam gu robh duine ri drugs ann neo ri deoch cha ghabhadh i faighinn dhaibh 21:14''*

**20:57''**

*No, the only drug I ever heard of in Scarp was the black tobacco, there was enough of that going, but the rest, I don't know of anyone who was on drugs or on alcohol. It couldn't be acquired for them. 21:14''*

*Do you believe the story of Abercrombie being murdered?*

**21:26''**

*Oh tha mi ga chreidsinn gun teagamh, oh tha gu dearbha. Cha b' e breugan a bh' ann. 21:33''*

**21:26''**

*Oh I believe it without a doubt, of yes indeed. It wasn't lies.*

**21:33''**

*Why?*

**21:33''**

*Uill bha dotair, chaidh dotair a choimhead air a chorp aige is feumaidh gu bheil e air clàradh b'àiteachan. Was there a police report about it? or medical report? 21:51''*

*Not that we can find....there was a death certificate that said narcotic poisoning.*

*\*CHAT ABOUT WHAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED\**

**21:33''**

*Well there was a doctor, a doctor went to look at his body and it must be recorded somewhere. Was there a police report about it? or medical report? 21:51''*

**22:41''**

*So do you believe the story about Abercrombie is true?*

**22:43''**

Tha mi creidsinn gu bheil an seachas firinne, o chionn bha daoine beò ri mo linn fhèin a bha beò aig an àm agus cha robh iad a falbh ri seanachadh neo breugan neo rudan den t-seòrsa sin. Bha seachas firinneach gun teagamh. **23:05''**

**22:43''**

*I'm sure the tale is true, because there were people alive long before my time that were alive at the time and they didn't tend to make up tales or lies or that kind of thing. Stories were true, without a doubt. 23:05''*

*Do you think the story is true completely or is there a bit of island story telling?*

**23:16''**

O chan eil mi creidsinn gu deach càil a chur ris an t-seachas, cha robh ann ach gun d' fhuair iad marbh a-staigh ann is bha iad a cur iongadh air, gu robh e ri drugs neo ri rudan den t-seòrsa sin ron sin.. **23:29''** So tha mi creidsinn gu robh daoine cur uidhir nach robh, gnothaichean ceart ach chan eil mi creidsinn gur e breugan a bh' ann idir. Neo gu robh breugan timcheall idir as. **23:43''**

**23:16''**

*I don't think anything was added to the story, all it was was that he was found dead inside and they found it strange, was it drugs or something similar before that...23:29''So I'm sure there were people adding to it that weren't, right about things but I don't think it was lies at all. Or that there were lies around it. 23:43''*

*Why do you think that only some people have heard the story?*

**23:50''**

Uill chan eil duine a bha beò ri mo linn-sa nach cuala mu dheidhinn, tha daoine ann an-diugh a tha 'g ràdh nach cuala iad mu dheidhinn ach 's e daoine òga a th' ann is tha seanachas air a dhol a-mach, sguir a sheanachas mu dheidhinn nuair a thàinig iad gu ire. **24:12''**

**23:50''**

*Well there's nobody of my generation that hasn't heard about it, there are people today who haven't heard it bt they're young folk, and storytelling had died out. The tales about him stopped once they reached a level. 24:12''*

*Tell me the importance of story telling to islanders?*

**24:21''**

Uill cha robh dòigh eachdraidh a chumail air cuimhne ach seanachas, cha robhas ga sgrìobhadh rud a tha glè thàmailteach an-diugh. Daoine a bh' ann o chionn 50 bliadhna a dh'fhaodadh a bhith air eachdraidh an eilean is na bailtean sgrìobhadh nach do rinn iad e. An aon dòigh a cuimhne air le bhith seachas. So tha tòrr dheth air a dhol air chall. Chan fhaiceadh duine is chluinneadh duine e co-dhiù. **24:57''**

**24:21''**

*Well there was no other way to keep our tales going apart from through storytelling, they didn't write much, which is a great shame today. The people 50 years back could have written the history of the island and the villages but they didn't. The only way to remember it was through storytelling. So a lot of it has been lost. You wouldn't see or hear it anyway. 24:57"*

**25:48"**

*Tell me why you don't think they could have got substances into Scarp?*

**25:55"**

*Chan eil mi creidsinn gum b' urrainn dha uisge-beatha a dol dhan Sgarp gun fhios do chuideigin. Chan fhaigheadh tu bocsa maidsichean dhan Sgarp an uair ud gun fhios, is mar sin bhiodh e glè dhuilich a chreidsinn a' faighinn botal uisge-bheatha air a dhòigh nach robh fhios aig daoine.*

**26:17"**

**25:55"**

*I don't think anyone could have gotten whisky into Scarp without anyone else knowing about it. You couldn't get a box of matches into Scarp without somebody knowing, and so it would be very difficult to believe that he could get a bottle of whisky in without anybody knowing. 26:17"*

*Did you hear anymore about why the wife might have killed him?*

**26:22"**

*Cha chuala, chan eil dearbhadh sam bith gun d' thug i càil dha, neo ciamar a fhuair e rud a mharbh e, an rud a mharbh e. 26:37"*

**26:22"**

*I never heard, there's no proof that she didn't give him anything, or how he got something that killed him, the thing that killed him. 26:37"*

**26:38"**

*\*CUT AWAYS OF NORMAN'S HANDS\**

**27:03"** (MCU OF NORMAN'S HAND/ARM AS HE TALKS)

*Innsidh mise seachas dhut, nuair a thàinig na daoine a-null dhan Sgarp cha robh obair aca, 's ann air na h-oghreachdan a bha 'ad ag obair, mar ghillies. Agus bha daoine bheartach a bha tighinn dhan chaisteil, bha 'ad a' coimhead sìos air na daoine bochd a bha 'g obair dhaibh.*

**27:22"** *Is bha feadhainn aca a bha mì-mhodhail riutha is cha robh iad math dhaibh. Ach bha aon bhodach ann is bha e dol a h-uile bliadhna a dh' Amhuinnsuidhe, dhan chaisteil a dh' obair agus bha droch thaigh aige, bha an taigh aige dona is bha e fhèin is dà phiuthar a bha fuireach san taigh agus chaidh feadhainn a-steach ann a chèilidh air is bha iad a' trod mar a bha an taigh, cailleachan an robh iad 'g iarraidh taigh cheart a thogail? 27:51"* *Is cha robh esan dha dhèanadh is thuir e, bha e leughadh paipear is thuir e, 'tha mi faicinn gun do bhàsaich Lord Chelsey', thuir aon de na cailleachan, 'cha b'e seo leithid de thaighe, chan eil mi smaoinneachadh nach biodh glè thoilichte a bhith na leithid ag dh' aithghearr' arsa i. 28:12"*

**27:03"** (MCU OF NORMAN'S HAND/ARM AS HE TALKS)

*I'll tell you a story. When the people came over to Scarp, they had no work, it was on the estates they were working, as gillies. And the rich people that were coming to the castle, they looked down on poor people that worked for them. 27:22"* *And there were some that were rude to them, and they weren't good to them. But there was one man and he went to Amhainnsuidhe every year, to the castle to work and he had a dreadful house, it was a state of a house and himself and his two sisters that were living in it and some people went to visit them in the house, and they were complaining of the state of the house, old women who wanted to have proper clean houses. 27:51"* *And he wasn't doing it, he was reading the paper and he said, 'I'm seeing that Lord*

*Chelsey has died'. And one of the old women said, 'it wasn't this kind of house, I don't think he'd be too happy to in this type later on.'* **28:12**"

**28:23**"

*\*CUT AWAYS OF NORMAN'S HANDS FOLDED ACROSS HIS STOMACH\** **28:42**"

**28:43**"

*Bha mi 18 nuair a dh'fhalbh mi is chaidh mi dhan mherchant navy. 1943. Agus thug mi 7 bliadhna aig muir. Thàinig mi an uairsin air tìr ann an Glaschu son a bhith mar \*\*\*\*\* gus an do sguir mi 'g obair.* **29:06**"

**28:43**"

*I was 18 when I left and I went to the Merchant Navy. 1943. And I was 7 years at sea. I then came ashore in Glasgow to be a \*\*\*\* until I retired.* **29:06**"

**29:06**"

*\*CUT AWAYS OF NORMAN'S HANDS FOLDED ACROSS HIS STOMACH\** **29:12**

**29:53**"

*\*CUT AWAYS OF SIDE OF NORMAN'S FACE\** **31:13**"

**31:32**"

*Tell me what kind of man you needed to be to be a good school teacher in Scarp.*

**31:41**"

*Uill aig an àm bha Duncan ann is na daoine sin, dh'fheumadh iad a bhith trom air na sgoilearan o chionn bha e na chleachdadh aig daoine a bhith cumail a' chlann às a' sgoil ag obair an fhearainn, ag obair san fhoadhar is san earraich.* **32:05**" *Chanadh iad aig an taigh cuideachadh am pàrantan leis an obair is nuair a bha Duncan sa Sgarp bhiodh e, droch bheachd aige ris – bhiodh cumail an sgoil Disathairne an-àite an latha a bha iad fuireach dheth airson na h-obair.* **32:23**" *Agus tha mi creidsinn 's dòcha nach robh h-uile duine as an obair ach bha Duncan ris o chionn bha e cruaidh. Is dh'fheumadh duine smachd a bhith aca air a' chloinn.* **32:41**" *Cha deightheadh iad dhan sgoil ach latha a thogradh iad fhèin is bha feadhainn ann air a robh whip-her-in a bhiodh dol timcheall feuchainn ri duine den chloinn a' dol dhan sgoil bu trice na bha iad a' dèanamh ach sguir sin troimhe na bliadhnaichean, fhuair iad, dh'fhàs daoine na bu fàilte an obair na b' fhasa 's dòcha. Bha na clann a' dol dhan sgoil na bu trice, bha iad a' dol ann a h-uile latha.* **33:10**"

**31:41**"

*Well at the time there were Duncan and people like that there, and they had to be hard on the pupils because it was customary for people to keep the children in school, working the crofts in Autumn and Spring.* **32:05**" *They'd say at the house to help their parents with the work and when Duncan was in Scarp he would, he had a bad opinion of it - he would have school on Saturday instead of the day they were meant to have off for work.* **32:23**" *And I'm sure not everyone was for the work but Duncan was for it because he was tough. And someone needed to have control of the children.* **32:41**" *They wouldn't go to school except on days they decided themselves, and there was those who went round who were called 'whip-her-in' that would go round trying to get children to school more regularly than they were doing, but that stopped over the years. They got, people grew more used to the work, or maybe the work for easier. The children went to school more often, they were going every day.* **33:10**"

*How did they used to call the children to the school in the morning?*

**33:16''**

Uill, chan eil càil de dh'fhios agam-sa ciamar a bha feadhainn an toiseach ach nuair a bha Duncan ann bha gleoc aige agus bhiodh e cur balach leis fhèin 'g èibheach timhcheall nan dorsan gu robh e 9 uairean sa mhadainn is 'dh'èirich son dhol dhan sgoil''. Bha e riuth dhan taigh, am balach son an uair innse. Cha robh gleoc aig a h-uile duine ann. **33:44''**

**33:16''**

*I don't know how they were at first but when Duncan was there he had a clock and he would send a boy out by himself at 9am to go round the doors shouting, 'get up so you can go to school'. He would run into the house, the boy, to tell the time. Not everyone had a clock then. **33:44''***

*Did every school teacher who came to the island stay?*

**34:00''**

Oh, mar bu trice, oh bha a h-uile duine aca fuireach airson greis; bliadhna neo dhà 's dòcha. Bha aon fhear a thàinig ann agus nuair a ràinig e tir dh'fhaighneachd e an taigh seinnse b' fhaig air so thuirt iad gur anns an Tairbear. Bha iad ag ràdh gun do dh'fhalbh e làrna-mhàireach. **24:14''**

**34:00''**

*Oh usually, everyone stayed for a while, a year or two maybe. There was one who came and when he reached land he asked where the nearest pub was and they told him it was in Tarbert. They said he left the following day. **24:14''***

**\*\*END OF INTERVIEW\*\***

## **TAPE # 4 Leasan sa Bhàs - Interview with Gillis Campbell as he sits on beach**

I'm Gillis Campbell

**23:37''**

*So Gillis, tell me what it feels like to be here today?*

**23:41''**

Quite an emotional experience, I think every time I revisit the island it's an emotional experience. Partly because of the fact that the island is now empty of people and partly because I have so many fond memories of the whole island and this beach in particular. 24:04''

*So tell me about when you came here?*

**24:08''**

Well, my family came to Scarp in 1949, in the August of 1949. My father took up the teaching post in the school here and at that time I was just a little over 3 years old, so my memories of Scarp sort of grew with me as a child, and I suppose most of the memories I have of Scarp are very much childhood memories. **24:35''**

*What comes back to you sitting here as a 6 year old, what would you have been doing?*

**24:45''**

Well this beach in particular was important for the children at this end of the island, this is the beach we played on most and at the far end of it here there is a rock pool which we called Loch Pròtain as far as I recall. **25:00''** On that little pool we sailed out national milk tin boats, toys were hard to come by in Scarp but improvisation ruled and because we were so fortunate at that time, in having loads of driftwood coming onto Scarp's shores, we were able to fashion all sorts of objects to play with: **25:35''** boats, aeroplanes, we saw aeroplanes passing over because there was still quite a lot of activity after the war. Large boats, steamers out on the horizon, we saw them so we fashioned boats to mimic those and indeed to represent naval boats because again there was still quite a lot of movement between Britain and America at that time. **25:48''** So I suppose all our play was really something that reflected the life of the island, and what we experienced around the island – this was a very insular community, a community that was probably defined, in a sense, by the parameters of the island and it was quite unique in that we could be isolated for several weeks at a time in the winter time because of the sound out here, which is a very rough piece of water sometimes in the winter time. **26:25''**

*Do you think there is another comparison in terms of other places that you can compare this with?*

**26:31''**

I suppose there are other islands around the Hebrides that have been very similar in their structure of their communities. Taransay comes to mind, as does Mingulay I think, and of course there is the inevitable St Kilda further out on the horizon here, which we can obviously see from Scarp on any decent day if one was out at the back of the island. **26:55''** I think all these communities had in common a way of living, a kind of community life that was quite different perhaps from life on mainland Scotland. Even in rural Scotland, in that the political structures of the day, the economic structures of the day really didn't play a very large part in the life of the island. Other than that fishing led to lobsters being sent to Billingsgate and so forth **27:28''** but by and large, the island had its own life which was to a large extent untouched by the political aspects of life in the wider community. **27:38''** And I suppose the unique thing about living on the island was that everybody on the island, every adult seemed to be a surrogate uncle, auntie or grandfather .....that the warmth of the people, the way in which they looked after children. On

this beach for instance we were within sight of several houses up there and therefore, to a large extent, we were safe. **28:03**” The same thing happened at the other end of the island, where the children at the north end played on the other beach very frequently and around the pier, again the houses overlooked the pier. **28:13**” But in retrospect, it seems to me children on Scarp were cared for by whatever adult was closest to them, and took instruction from whatever adult, excepted if they were told not to do something, no matter who it was, they would accept that advice, it was an amazingly harmonious community. **28:39**”

*How would it be living on the island if you were an outsider?*

**28:54**”

I think that would have been very difficult, I \*RETAKE TO INCORPORATE QUESTION IN THE ANSWER\*

**29:07**”

Well I suppose in a sense, my family were outsiders coming into the island. Particularly my mother who had no Gaelic, my father was a Gaelic speaker and I think that meant that very quickly we integrated into the island. **29:25**” But I know that to start with, my mother found it very difficult being on an island where most, well the conversation was entirely in Gaelic usually, except when people met her and then they spoke to her in English. **29:39**” But in a way I think she felt slightly uncomfortable to start with, but gradually became very, very attached to the island and the love with which my parents, or the love they attached to the island was quite incredible throughout their entire lives. They became virtually adopted Scarpachs. **30:00**” For an outsider to run adrift of that, of the island community I think it would have been very difficult. It would have been difficult to live within the community if one were to talk down to the islanders or to try and change them in some way – **30:17**” because really, they knew their island and they knew what was best for them and interference, I think, would have been you know, would not have been tolerated and would have been very difficult to live with; both for the islander and for whoever was coming in as, you know, as an abrasive influence. **30:37**”

*What was school like back then?*

**30:50**”

Well, I suppose, it's difficult to talk about a school when your father was the headteacher, my relationship with the headteacher was obviously different from that of other children. Although within the school, it wasn't; I addressed him as 'Sir' in the same way as all the other children. I think that life in school was really quite a pleasant experience as far as I recall, and it was quite unique in some respects in that the rules that apply within the ... or the rules that applied within the wider context of education didn't exactly apply in the context of Scarp. **31:35**” Particularly issues like, the length of the school day, and when the school closed or when the school stayed open. For instance, the island had a parliament, and the parliament met pretty well daily during the summertime and at that meeting, that daily meeting, which generally took place in the morning around 10am, decisions would be taken as to whether there was a clipping to be organized at the back of the island, or whether we were to go across to Cravedale to cut peats. **32:12**” One of the pupils would generally nip down to the parliament at interval time and find out what the orders for the day were, and if they came back with the news that there was going to be a clipping or a dipping or a trip to the peats in Cravedale, my father just closed the school **32:30**” and off we went to the clipping or to the peats. Sometimes, very occasionally; time we made up by us going to school on Saturday, but that was perfectly acceptable within the framework of the island. **32:47**” People accepted the fact that if my father had to make up so many days with in the school calendar, and therefore it was adjusted to meet the cycle of life of the island. And it seems to me a very sensible thing to do. **33:03**” I suppose also, the school had events from time to time that were quite important like the arrival of inspectors. And that was an interesting, I recall very vividly the arrival of a school inspector in Scarp. **33:20**” He phoned from Tarbert to say he was coming and Norman, the post master, came down to the school to enquire as to whether my father really wanted the inspector to come to the island that day, because he felt if my father

didn't want him then a crew would not be found to pick him up at Hùisinis. **33:41**" So I suppose in that respect you could be protected from the outside world, and indeed there is an interesting side issue to that particular story. Several days before the inspector phoned to say he was coming, my father had received a telegram from Lochmaddy, from the headteacher in Lochmaddy which read, 'there is a deep depression approaching from Lochmaddy', which immediately alerted him to the fact that the inspectors were in the islands and liable to descend on the schools. **34:17**" So you know, all that background to that event makes it quite interesting for me, because as a pupil I remember the gentleman arriving, and his name, oddly enough tickled me, because it was a Mr May. **34:33**" And he arrived in the month of May. So it was something that as children we found quite, you know, quite strange and funny. Little did I know at that time that I was going to follow in that gentleman's footsteps'. But yes I think the school had lots of interesting features. **34:53**" I remember on one occasion the island boats being in a situation where all the outboard engines had broken down.... and seriously broken down to the extent they were unable to get them to work again. **35:10**" And they had to send to England to get parts for them, and this was going to lose the best part of a week to a fortnight's fishing. **35:19**" My father was informed about this, and said to John MacDonald who had mentioned it to him, that all the engines had broken down and dad said, well would he allow him to look at them? **35:33**" And I think at that point the fishermen were a little bit suspicious of the schoolmaster perhaps being able to do something about the engines, however it was a desperate situation so an engine was duly taken along to the schoolroom. And in the course of a morning, the desks were moved aside and put to one side, a table was set out and several other desks were cleared, so that my father could work on the engine and continue to teach the class. **36:05**" What he hadn't revealed at this point was that he had been a chief engineer on an air-sea rescue launch during the War, and was pretty experienced with engines and by the next day that engine was back in operation. **36:21**" So the next engine arrived, again it was placed all round the schoolroom and lots of little bits and pieces and I have to say, I don't think any of us paid any attention to lessons during that period of time. We were all fascinated by all the bits and pieces that my father was playing with. **36:37**" Ultimately that engine kicked off one afternoon in the school and both the boats went back to sea, so that was also perhaps one of the ways in which I suppose our family became involved with the island. We began to, a mutual respect arose very quickly through incidents like that. And consequently our life on the island was quite idyllic. **37:37**"

\*\*END OF TAPE\*\*