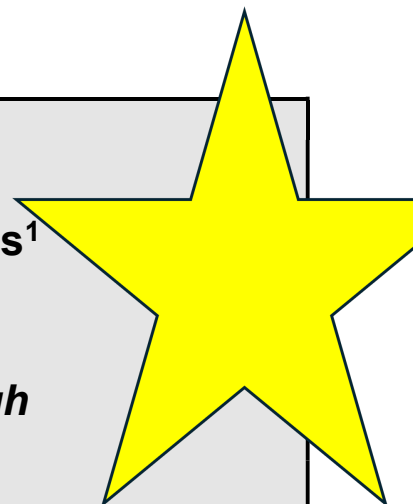


Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹**Vol. 15: Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh
(Isle of Lewis: Stornoway)**

Author: Kurt C. Duwe

3rd Edition

June 2024

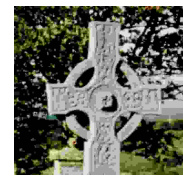
**Executive Summary**

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the 19th century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from 1881 until today. The most relevant information is gathered comprehensively for the smallest geographical unit possible and provided area by area – a very useful reference for people with interest in their own community. Furthermore, the impact of recent developments in education (namely teaching in Gaelic medium and Gaelic as a second language) is analysed for primary school catchments.

This issue is concerned with the main township in the Outer Hebrides: Stornoway and its neighbouring settlements around Laxdale, Newmarket and Sandwick. These locations have experienced a dramatic decline in Gaelic-speaking intensity in the past. The comparatively small decrease between 1991 and 2001 can in all probability be attributed to the influx of Gaelic-speakers from other parts of the islands. Especially at young age Gaelic was still very much a minority issue in 2001. For example, almost no Gaelic-speaking children below the age of 3 were recorded in 2001. There was much room for improvement regarding the state and status of the language on the doorstep of *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (Western Isles Council). Slight glimmers of hope, however, provided the most recent census results in 2022.

© 2024 Text Copyright Kurt C. Duwe. All rights reserved except private and non-commercial use. Any other use has to be cleared by the author at Jägerstr. 120a, 21079 Hamburg, Germany (duwe@linguae-celticae.de) and it may also fall under restrictions of the Crown Copyright of census data. Individual reports may be downloaded from the Linguae Celticae website: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLS_english.htm

¹ Original census data shown or used were supplied and/or published by the General Register Office for Scotland and National Records of Scotland. The use of this material in this study is permitted under Licence No. C02W0003665. Crown Copyright of census data is acknowledged.



Foreword to the First Edition

Since 1881 every decennial population census in Scotland included a question about the “Gaelic-speaking” population. Despite some difficulty in interpreting this data (what really means to tick a box being able to speak Gaelic) this long-term data set holds a wealth of sociological and historical information. The series highlights the circumstances in which people speaking this Celtic language have lived and still live today. In most cases this data has been used only either for very problem-specific socio-linguistic studies or they were the basis of regional or Scotland wide analysis. However, it proved very difficult for people who were interested in their own local area to have a comprehensive overview of the number and distribution of Gaelic-speaking people right on their doorstep. This series is planned to cover all regions of Scotland where Scottish Gaelic (*A’Ghàidhlig* to be correct in its own words) was still spoken by a substantial part of the population at the start of the 20th century. Accordingly, besides the main “Highland counties” of Sutherland, Ross & Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll the fringe areas of Bute (including the Isle of Arran), western Caithness, Nairn, North Dunbartonshire and more particularly Highland Perthshire will be covered. It is hoped that these small reports will be of interest not only to science people but also to those who have to cope with opinions like “Gaelic was never spoken here” in their own local community.

Foreword to the Second Edition

Almost two years have passed since the publication of the first volume of this series. In the meantime, a lot of “new” material has surfaced which merits to be publicised to a wider audience. In addition, two years are sometimes a very long time when looking at the actual state of a dynamic process: the re-animation of Scottish Gaelic in a number of places. Therefore, a second edition of the series is now being elaborated. Hopefully it will prove to be as popular as its predecessor.

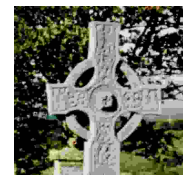
Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

I am very glad to present an extended and actualized edition of the *Gàidhlig* Local Studies after more than two decades since the first publication. Of course, new data and information had been waiting to be incorporated in this compendium of language development in Scotland. Maybe rather unexpectedly, many additional figures from the past became available, too – especially from the 1881, 1911 and 1981 censuses. As always, I wish happy reading – a few surprises wait to be discovered!!!!

Foreword to the Third Edition

Perhaps fittingly the third edition of this popular series is published right after the 2022 census data are available with some silver lining on the horizon for *Gàidhlig*. We have strived to add new figures and tables to the reports, making them even more attractive and informative. Enjoy!!!

Important note: Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore, *Gàidhlig* placenames or expressions are preferred, and the so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For those unfamiliar with the language: Every Gaelic expression is written in *italics* and the other place names are mainly examples of anglicisation efforts of early cartographers.



Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to many organisations which have been very kind in providing information about the subject. I am very grateful for this active encouragement. Very special thanks go of course to the General Register Office for Scotland for the opportunity to use the census material in this study. The team at the Demographic Dissemination Branch has been very supportive. Crown Copyright on the census data is acknowledged gratefully. Very worthwhile was also the relentless assistance of Mrs. Melissa Barlow of the University of Texas and Mrs. Liz Mackie of the University of Aberdeen who both proved to be very successful in unearthing rare material of more than a century ago. And last but not least thank is also due to the many individuals with whom I spent endless hours of discussion witnessing true Highland hospitality. *Tapadh leibh a h-uile duine!*

Wedel, *An Dàmhar* 2003
Hamburg, *An t-Sultain* 2005
Hamburg, *An t-Og-mhios* 2024

Kurt C. Duwe

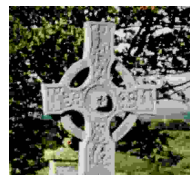
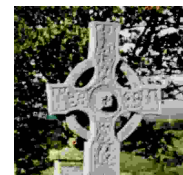


Table of Contents

<i>Executive Summary</i>	1
<i>Foreword to the First Edition</i>	2
<i>Foreword to the Second Edition</i>	2
<i>Foreword to the Extended Second Edition</i>	2
<i>Foreword to the Third Edition</i>	2
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	3
<i>Table of Contents</i>	4
<i>1 Introduction</i>	5
<i>2 The Historical Background</i>	6
2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)	6
2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2022)	10
2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2022	14
<i>3 Future Perspectives – 2022 and beyond</i>	16
<i>I. Supplementary Tables</i>	18
<i>II. Literature and Data Sources</i>	25
<i>III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information</i>	36
<i>IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames</i>	38
<i>V. List of Tables</i>	42
<i>VI. List of Figures</i>	44
<i>VII. List of Abbreviations</i>	45
<i>Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies</i>	46



1 Introduction

The town of *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) is the only urban settlement in the whole of the Outer Hebrides and as such the major focal point of the island of *Leòdhas* (Lewis). It always set the pace of economic and social development in this peripheral region of Scotland. The town is the most important gateway to or from the mainland, in the past by ship, today by ferry from *Ulapul* (Ullapool), or by plane.

As a busy harbour town *Steòrnabhagh* saw many people coming and going over the centuries. It was traditionally inhabited in part by a privileged community of incomers who mostly were Scots with English mother tongue. Trade, small manufacturing (until recently fisheries) and local administration provided many jobs also for the people from adjacent crofting communities which remained staunchly *Gàidhlig* speaking until perhaps 1981. The 7,500 inhabitants now live not only within the old limits of the burgh, but developments have spread further to neighbouring places like *Lacasdal* (Laxdale) and *Sanndabhaig* (Sandwick).

With the local government reorganisation of 1974 *Steòrnabhagh* became the administrative centre of the new local authority *Comhairle nan Eilean Siar* (Western Isles Islands Council). It superseded the old county councils of Ross & Cromarty and Inverness-shire which had governed (and neglected) the islands of the Outer Hebrides for centuries. In the past decades this town became the focal point for economic and social developments of the islands.

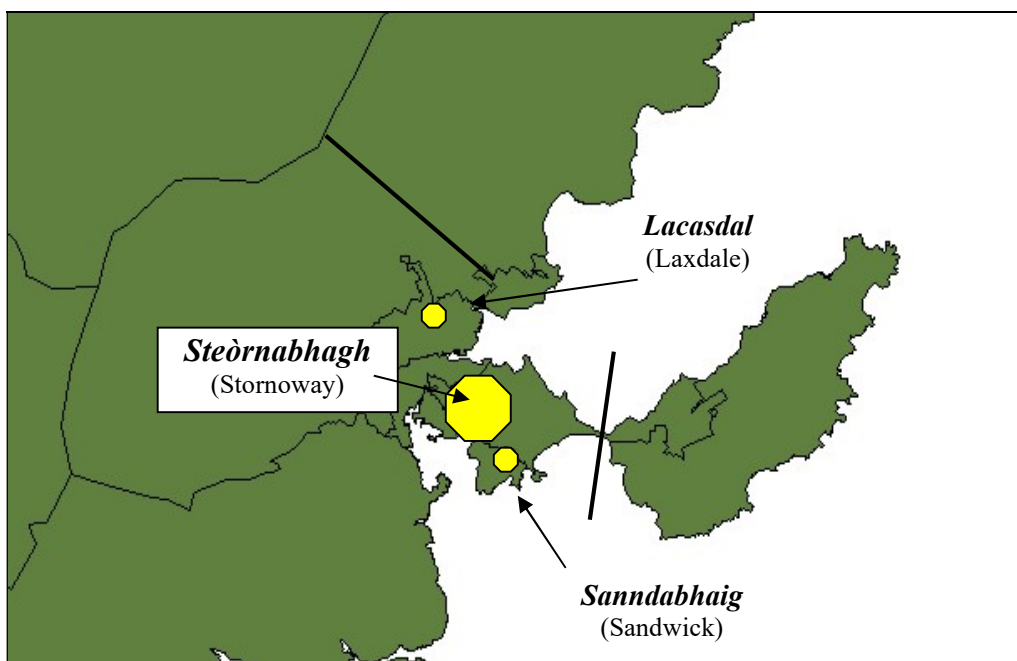
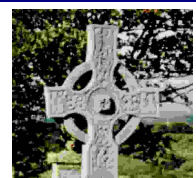


Fig. 1: Overview map of area under investigation on the island of *Leòdhas* (Lewis)²

With this background in mind the following short chapters will look into the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19th century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail. Information from other available studies of language use and especially educational provision for *Gàidhlig* is used where considered as useful.

² Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



2 The Historical Background

The harbour town of *Steòrnabhadh* (Stornoway) has been for centuries the gateway from *Leòdhas* to the outside world. Therefore, at any time of its history it welcomed many incomers which made the town a small microcosm of the seafaring nations of their time. The received wisdom in the 19th century was that *Steòrnabhadh* was an “English town”. For example, E. G. Ravenstein mentioned in his statistical survey in 1879 that “two-third said to have no Gaelic” in the town (Withers, 1984). Later census figures, however, proved that this was essentially not the case (see below).

The influence of the *Gàidhlig* language was very strong at least until the Second World War. After the war English monolingualism, however, made strong inroads also in the neighbouring rural district of this part of the island (see fig. 2).

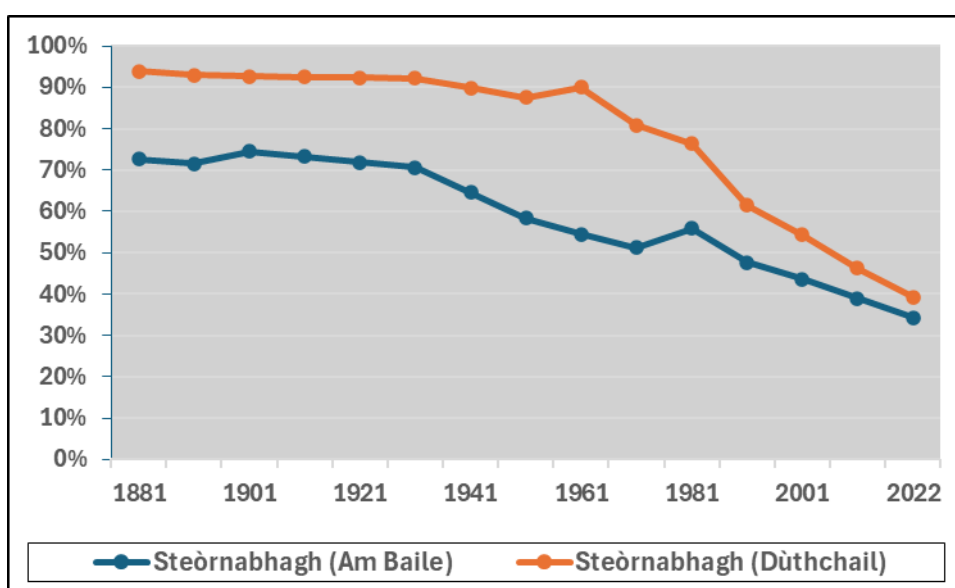


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2022 – town and rural part of *Steòrnabhadh* (Stornoway) civil parish³

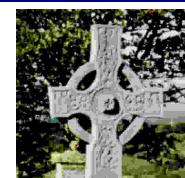
2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)

Approximately a quarter of the inhabitants of *Steòrnabhadh* was reported as “English only” speaking (fig. 3) during the different census enumerations until 1931. This share of exclusively English-speaking townspeople therefore did not increase until the Second World War.

<i>Steòrnabhadh (Civil Parish)</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	9,102	10,241	11,337	11,780	11,386	10,360
% of total population	87.6 %	86.8 %	87.3 %	87.7 %	85.2 %	85.5 %

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of *Steòrnabhadh* and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

³ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

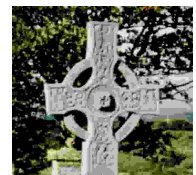


Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1911 it is worthwhile to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms which provide interesting additional information. Generally, the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors and counted also children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. The respective “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration districts in this part of the island are cited below ⁴ (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Steòrnabhagh # 1** (Stornoway # 1): This enumeration district was centred in South Beach Street. *“Apart from the very young the Gàidhlig language was almost universally spoken by locally born inhabitants. Bilingualism, however, was much the norm rather than an exception. Gàidhlig monolingual persons were more or less confined to the older generation. - The language, however, was not the preferred tongue in every quarter. Whereas 90 % of people in Sràid an Rubha (Point Street) spoke Gàidhlig, just 40 % in Rathad a’Gharaidh (Garden Road) did so. On the other hand, roughly 80 % spoke the language independent of occupation of the residents. In total 20 usually resident persons were enumerated as speaking “Gaelic only”. Most of them were women and originated mainly from rural parishes of the island.”* In this district, too, the official census figure of 74.0 % Gàidhlig speakers was an under-estimate. In real terms 80.6 % of the usually resident population spoke the language in this part of *Steòrnabhagh*.
2. **Cùl ri Grèin & Steinis** (Coulregrein & Steinish): The language was universally spoken in every household except one in these communities in the neighbourhood of *Steòrnabhagh*. *“The latter was the farm at Plasterfield House where two Lowlanders had made their home. - Both were born in non-Gàidhlig speaking areas in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire respectively. - The strength of the language was perhaps surprisingly high in a place on the doorstep of the largely “anglophile” society of Steòrnabhagh. But perhaps the use of Gàidhlig in the town was much more widespread as some sources would like people to believe. - A significant proportion of residents did not speak English. These monolingual speakers were mainly children below school age or members of the older generation.”* The difference between the realistic percentage of 98.8 % Gàidhlig speakers in the usually resident population and the official figure of 91.1 % is staggering indeed.
3. **Mol Shannabhaig & Tolm** (Lower Sandwick & Holm): The communities in this rural part of the island were essentially bilingual. A few persons spoke only Gàidhlig; even fewer people spoke only English according to the census in 1891. *“The two major settlements of Mol Shannabhaig and Tac Thuilm were exclusively Gàidhlig-speaking. But even in the farmhouses at Buaile na Cloiche (Stoneyfield) and Tolm (Holm) just two genuine English monolinguals were recorded – a farm manager and his wife from Northeast Scotland. Interestingly all their children – even their 11-year-old daughter – were bilingual. They had apparently learned the language from their peers in the community. - The remaining persons with no “Gaelic” or “G&E” marks on their enumeration sheets were three-year old twins at Buaile na Cloiche (Stoneyfield). They were traced, however, in the 1901 census and found to be speaking Gàidhlig and English 10 years later. - In original census report terms, the enumeration district in total had a population of 229 persons of all ages. 203 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 11 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 93.4 %. A comparison with the more realistic statistics of this factsheet reveals that this percentage was an under-estimate of 4.7 % caused by the inclusion of under-three olds and visitors in the official population base.”*

Detailed local information is available in census reports especially until 1911 providing a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2-3).

⁴ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.



The small burgh of *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) was divided for census reasons into seven enumeration districts. In all parts of the town roughly 75 % of the total population were reported as speaking Gàidhlig (table 2).

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in parts of the town of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Enumeration division ⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁷		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
#1: <i>Tràigh bho Dheas</i> (Enumeration district around South Beach St)	250 89.6 %	331 74.0 %	368 70.2 %	424 72.7%	22 6.6 %	6 1.6 %	9 2.1%
#2: <i>Tràigh bho Thuath</i> (Enumeration district around North Beach St)	209 71.6 %	290 80.1 %	243 72.1 %	308 75.9%	63 21.7 %	11 4.5 %	9 2.9%
#3: <i>Sràid na h-Eaglaise</i> (Enumeration district around Church St)	159 44.7 %	372 68.1 %	347 75.8 %	322 79.5%	33 8.9 %	27 7.8 %	21 6.5%
#4: <i>Sràid Leòdhais</i> (Enumeration district around Lewis St)	381 77.9 %	381 70.8 %	430 81.3 %	709 83.4%	46 12.1 %	25 5.8 %	65 9.2%
#5: <i>Sràid Ùr</i> (Enumeration district around New St)	458 85.8 %	448 71.5 %	615 77.6 %	272 65.1%	40 8.9 %	44 7.2 %	9 3.3%
#6: <i>Sràid Ceann a' Bhàigh</i> (Enumeration district around Bayhead St)	200 75.8 %	247 72.2 %	395 76.0 %	436 78.1 %	34 13.8 %	29 7.3 %	13 3.0%
#7: <i>Sràid an Eilein</i> (Enumeration district around Island St)	277 89.4 %	310 72.9 %	432 78.5 %	377 73.2%	26 8.4 %	25 5.8 %	21 5.6%
<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway Burgh)	1,934 76.6%	2,379 72.4%	2,830 76.3%	2,848 76.3%	264 11.1%	167 5.9%	147 5.2%

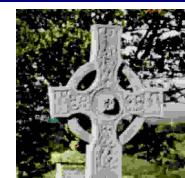
Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in parts of the town of *Steòrnabhagh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

In the small neighbouring townships around *Sanndabhaig* (Sandwick) and *Lacasdal* (Laxdale) the language was even stronger (table 3). Over 90 % of the total population spoke the language and there were also very significant numbers of Gàidhlig monolingual persons enumerated – notably in places like *Steinis* (Steinish), *Mealabost* (Melbost) or *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* (Branahuie). Between 1891 and 1901 there was even an increase reported of Gàidhlig speaking intensity both in the town and its adjacent crofting townships.

⁵ Due to considerable boundary changes intercensal comparisons are only tentatively possible.

⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

⁷ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁸	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁰		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Sanndabhaig & Cnoc Shanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick & Sandwickhill)	344 93.0 %	296 82.2 %	315 88.7 %	274 90.4%	54 18.2 %	29 9.2 %	20 7.3%
<i>Mol Shanndabhaig</i> (Lower Sandwick)	148 95.5 %	146 95.4 %	119 96.0 %	169 91.8%	7 4.8 %	15 12.6 %	7 4.1%
<i>Tolm & Buaille na Creige</i> (Holm & Stonefield)	55 74.3 %	68 89.5 %	77 93.8 %	117 91.4%	4 5.9 %	16 20.8 %	13 11.1%
<i>Bruach Mhàiri & Caisteal Leòdhais</i> (Marybank & Lews Castle)	99 77.3 %	102 87.2 %	115 81.6 %	72 77.4%	28 27.5 %	14 12.2 %	3 4.2%
<i>Mealabost</i> (Melbost)	188 93.1 %	171 94.5 %	148 96.7 %	123 94.6%	68 39.8 %	22 14.9 %	17 13.8%
<i>Bràigh na h-Aoidhe</i> (Branahuie)	145 94.2 %	164 91.1 %	145 95.4 %	98 94.2%	57 34.8 %	17 11.7 %	20 20.4%
<i>Steinis</i> (Steinish)	82 94.3 %	88 89.8 %	98 97.0 %	122 92.4%	30 34.1 %	30 30.6 %	25 20.5%
<i>Cùl ri Grèin</i> (Coulregrein & Plasterfield)	213 88.4 %	230 92.7 %	163 93.1 %	150 88.8%	30 13.0 %	13 8.0 %	20 13.3%
<i>An Gleann Ùr</i> (New Valley)	149 93.7 %	160 89.4 %	158 95.8 %	134 93.7%	37 23.1 %	23 14.6 %	10 7.5%
<i>Geirsadair</i> (Gershader)	63 95.5 %	76 93.8 %	84 97.7 %	61 96.8%	15 19.7 %	11 13.1 %	9 14.8%
<i>Lacasdal</i> (Laxdale)	154 93.3 %	98 89.1 %	97 88.2 %	113 86.3%	14 14.3 %	8 8.2 %	5 4.4%
<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket)	291 93.0 %	316 88.5 %	339 94.7 %	307 94.2%	84 26.6 %	52 15.3 %	55 17.9%

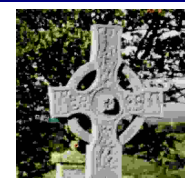
Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Gàidhlig culture in the town was still vibrant until the outbreak of the Second World War although in the late 1930s Carl Borgstrøm reported in his linguistic study on the dialects of the Outer Hebrides. “...Stornoway in Lewis is the biggest town of the islands; in this town with its many hotels, shops and offices the use of Gaelic is much on the decline. Everywhere else, even in the smaller towns like Tarbert, Gaelic is still the language of everyday use, though some persons have the habit of changing frequently from Gaelic into English and back again” (Borgstrøm, 1940). The fact remained that *Steòrnabhagh* lived its own life right side by side with the rest of the islands which was dominated by the Gàidhlig language.

⁸ Enumeration division or village.

⁹ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁰ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



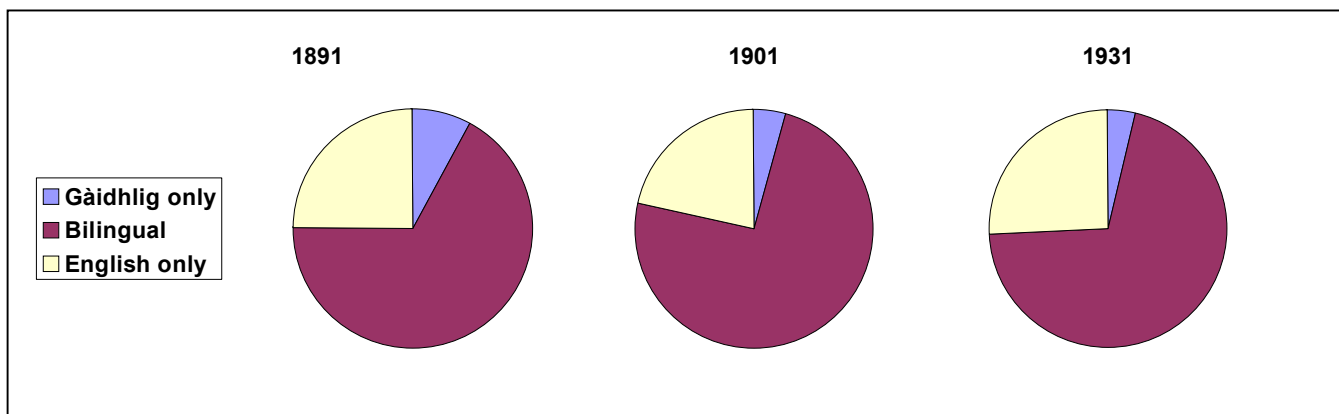


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the town of Steòrnabhagh according to census results in 1891, 1901 and 1931

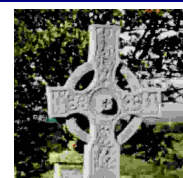
2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2022)

The Second World War caused many substantial upheavals both economically and socially in Scottish society especially in the urban context. Steòrnabhagh experienced a strong population growth from 3,770 in 1931 to 4,954 inhabitants in 1951. This was the main reason of the strong decline in Gàidhlig-speaking in the town during this period (58.3 % in 1951 as against 70.7 % in 1931). Gradually the town expanded and the neighbouring townships around *Lacasdail* (Laxdale), *Beinn na Saighde* (Newmarket), *Bruach Mhàiri* (Marybank) and *Sanndabhaig* (Sandwick) became more and more some kind of suburbs of Steòrnabhagh itself. The census of 1961 for the first time made a distinction between the burgh and the surrounding settlements (which were then part of the county council electoral division of Stornoway Central). At that time 57.3 % of the inhabitants (aged 3 and over) were Gàidhlig-speaking in the town; the corresponding figure for the neighbouring areas was still a respectable 79.5 % (table 15).

Steòrnabhagh (Civil Parish)								
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022
Gàidhlig-speakers (3+)	9,751	9,312	8,370	8,625	7,196	6,004	5,484	4,410
Percentage of total population	76.2 %	73.2 %	68.9 %	67.2 %	55.7 %	50.0 %	43.5%	37.4%

Table 4: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of Steòrnabhagh (including *Am Bac & An Rubha*) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2022

As already mentioned in Vol. 14 of this series the language situation in the younger age groups was not at all satisfactory in the school catchments of *Lacasdail* and *Sanndabhaig* (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961). The results of this survey in 1957/58 for Steòrnabhagh provided a stark contrast to the rest of the island where almost all primary school pupils were considered as having Gàidhlig as first or preferred language. The headmaster of Stornoway Primary School considered only 28 out of his 667 primary pupils as first language speakers of Gàidhlig (4.2 %). The children with first language of English on Leòdhais were almost totally confined to the burgh. Almost two thirds of them did not even understand some Gàidhlig and only some 11 % spoke Gàidhlig fluently. Although in half of these families both parents spoke the language, they had not bothered to pass the language on to their children. This negative attitude unfortunately was to extend further to the neighbouring districts during the forthcoming decades and this was felt first in the schools of *Lacasdail* and *Sanndabhaig*.



Until 1981 the percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers were gradually decreasing in the CCED of Stornoway Central to 68.3 %. The burgh itself reported some 58.2 % in 1981 and a somewhat surprising increase compared with the 1971 figure (table 14). But this effect was only due to the change in the population base for the 1981 census: It counted only persons having their usual address at a certain location and not as previously those who were present at census night. This discarded the accidental visitor and included all those who were absent from home due to a variety of reasons. In 1975 *Steòrnabhagh* became the administrative centre of *Comhairle nan Eilean* and from here the Bilingual Education Policy was to change the primary school environment in the islands considerably. However, this project was not to reach the primary school on the doorstep. When the 1981 census was taken the literacy of school children in *Steòrnabhagh* and the nearby townships was found to be very poor indeed (figures 4 and 5).

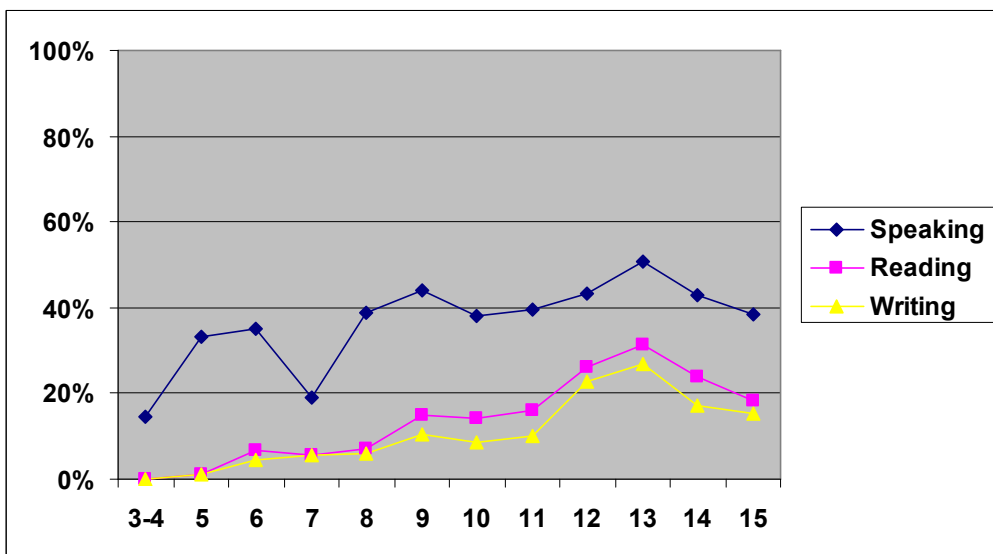


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – town of *Steòrnabhagh*

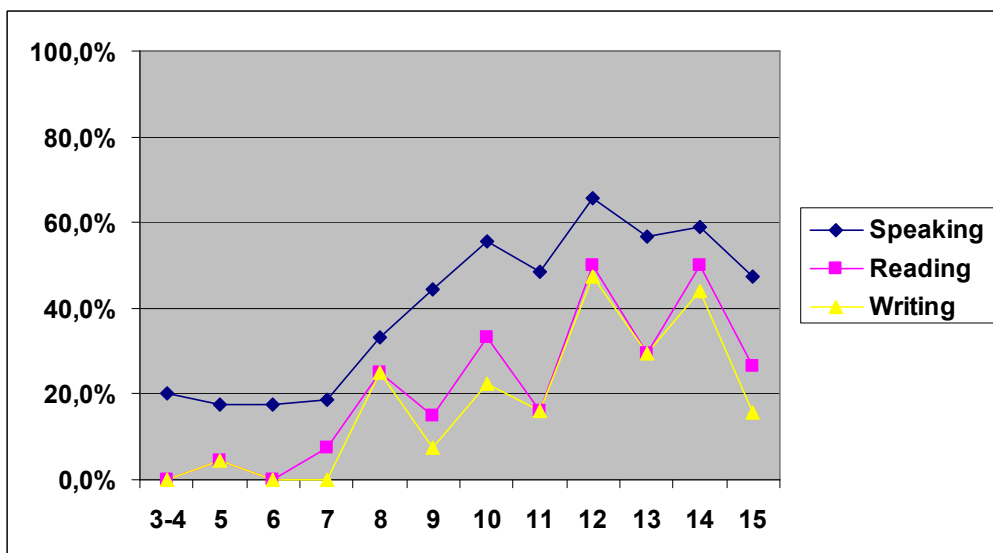
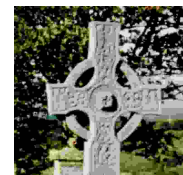


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – *Lacasdál & Sanndabhaig* (Laxdale & Sandwick)



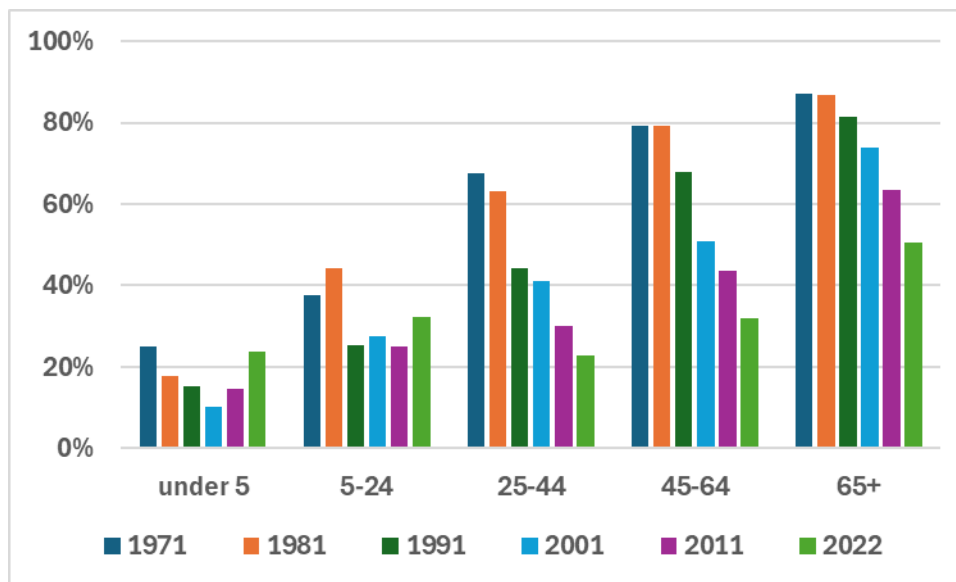


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2022 – Steòrnabhagh, Sanndabhaig & Lacasdail¹¹

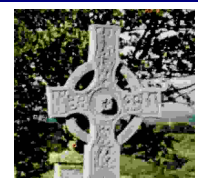
As might have been expected the unhindered anglicisation process caused a substantial decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking intensity between 1981 and 1991 (table 14). In the town itself the share of the population fell by 12 % to 46.2 %, in its “suburbs” the decline was even more staggering by a rate of 19.2 % to just 49.1 % respectively. In the end the language was in a minority position for the first time!

Developments in the educational sector were slow to come by and those were hindered by some very severe criticism from local quarters. The town which should have been the “capital” of the *Gaidhealtachd* in the 20th century was one of the toughest grounds language supporters had to cope with. Nonetheless *cròileagan* were established in *Lacasdail* and *Sanndabhaig* and even in *Steòrnabhagh* a local authority Gàidhlig nursery was founded at last in the late 1990s. On the primary school level GME was introduced in *Steòrnabhagh* (starting in 1989), *Lacasdail* (1991) and *Sanndabhaig* (1996). Uptake of this educational option remained, however, comparatively low at around 10 % with a slightly better picture at *Lacasdail* where roughly a fourth of pupils received Gàidhlig-medium education.

At first glimpse very unexpectedly the 2001 census reported almost a halt in the decline of Gàidhlig-speaking in both areas (*Steòrnabhagh* -1.5 % and its environs -1.2 %). Looking at the different age groups (figures 6 and 7) this decrease was primarily caused by those aged between 45 and 64. The younger population saw even a slight increase (albeit on a very low and laudable level of 20 %) and the middle-aged group of 25-44 provided almost no change since 1991. This positive outcome of the census could neither be attributed to a substantially improved educational provision nor to a newly found enthusiasm towards Gàidhlig in the population. It is highly probable that many islanders (with higher incidence of Gàidhlig-speaking) made *Steòrnabhagh* their new home and outnumbered English monoglots in the incomer balance.

Developments after 2001 were still not very encouraging. For example, the Gàidhlig-medium day nurseries in *Lacasdail* and *Steòrnabhagh* still had relatively small rolls. In 2003/2004 some 22 children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 which pointed to the same level of Gàidhlig-medium intake as in previous

¹¹ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



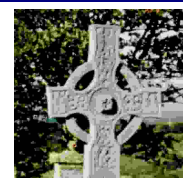
years. On the other hand, an audit by the Western Isles Childcare Partnership (2004) saw that a slim majority of parents preferred *Gàidhlig* or bilingual childcare/pre-school services in the greater *Steòrnabhagh* area (52.0 %).

2011 saw the total population of the *Steòrnabhagh* parish rising from 12,015 in 2001 to 13,009. Just 11,350 of these were born in Scotland (87.2 %) compared with 90.6 % ten years before. Consequently, this led to the expected further decrease of *Gàidhlig*-speaking percentages in the area.

Census Data Zones	Steòrnabhagh					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) Census 2011
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig Census 2022				Difference (Language viability indicator)	
	Young age (3-15)		All ages			
Sanndabhaig (Sandwick)	82	43.6%	488	45.0%	- 3.4 %	65.2 %
Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)	61	39.4%	432	51.3%	- 12.0 %	63.2 %
An Gleann Ùr (New Valley)	59	50.9%	448	49.9%	+ 0.9 %	60.2 %
Lacadal an Iar (Laxdale West)	27	37.5%	228	45.6%	- 8.1 %	55.9 %
Lacadal an Ear & Steinis (Laxdale East & Steinish)	43	45.7%	318	49.0%	- 3.3 %	69.1 %
Raon na Creadha (Plasterfield)	24	51.1%	260	47.0%	+ 4.0 %	56.3 %
Steòrnabhagh a Tuath (Stornoway North)	37	59.7%	293	48.9%	+ 10.8 %	50.2 %
Steòrnabhagh Meadhonach (Stornoway Central)	40	46.5%	408	48.4%	- 1.9 %	64.8 %
Steòrnabhagh an Ear (Stornoway East)	23	42.6%	250	45.4%	- 2.8 %	60.4 %
Steòrnabhagh an Ear-Thuath (Stornoway Northeast)	35	41.2%	387	52.2%	- 11.0 %	57.9 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Na h- Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles)		57.2 %		57.2 %	+ 0.0 %	76.8 %

Table 5: Intergenerational viability in 2022 and Gàidhlig as home language in 2011 for selected census data zones comparison with the whole *Na h-Eileanan an Iar* (Western Isles)

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 and 2022 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, from 2011 onwards the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. Accordingly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures



of *Gàidhlig* knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 5 for selected local data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones showed massive negative values in all areas in 2011 and improved slightly until 2022. Unacceptably low figures of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the younger generation were recorded in 2011 – at least when considering *Steòrnabhagh* as the “capital” of a traditional *Gàidhlig* heartland. The pupil rolls at the two GMU (Gaelic medium units) during 2010/2011 were still moderate: *Steòrnabhagh* with 51 pupils (17.6 %) and *Lacasdal* (Laxdale) with 49 pupils (21.5 %).

However, things moved slightly more positive in the years thereafter. For example, the Gaelic medium pupil rolls rose in *Steòrnabhagh* to 109 pupils (29.4 %), and in *Lacasdail* to 49 pupils (34.0 %) in 2022/2023. Between 2011 and 2022 the proportion of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the 3-4 age group rose from 14,7 % to 34,2 %: a staggering achievement.

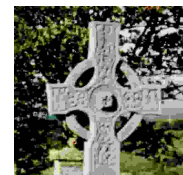
But conditions in school are not the only factor of language maintenance. A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area roughly 60 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers living in households where the language was used. This compares with some 80 % to 90 % recorded in the more rural parts of *Leòdhas*. This information is also provided in table 5. Sadly, this question was not asked again in the 2022 census.

2.3 Development of literacy in *Gàidhlig* between 1971 and 2022

Further light on the state and status of the language can be shed by looking at literacy levels because this information became available from 1971 onwards: Census questions were introduced then for the first time on the ability to read or write *Gàidhlig* (see tables 6 and 7 below). It is quite clear that since 1971 literacy has improved considerably in the area. The reading incidence increased by some 12 % until 2001, the writing capabilities improved even by more than 20 %. Figure 7 provides the main answer for this positive phenomenon. In all ages a certain increase in literacy was detected. The figures of the primary school population rocketed from almost zero to about 70 % of pupils. In this respect the educational quality for *Gàidhlig*-speaking children has considerably improved in the area. However, the overall level is unsatisfactory with only one third of all children speaking the language.

	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>					
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022
<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway)	1,390 53.1 %	1,582 51.8 %	1,673 67.6 %	1,485 65.1 %	1,275 64.7 %	1,050 69.7 %
<i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Laxdale & Sandwick)	1,040 55.8 %	1,005 59.9 %	726 57.8 %	755 67.2 %	708 63.1 %	687 71.6 %

Table 6: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2022)



	Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	680 26.0 %	1,003 32.8 %	965 39.0 %	1,091 47.8 %	967 49.0 %	819 54.4 %
Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)	495 26.5 %	637 37.9 %	516 41.1 %	549 48.9 %	548 48.8 %	547 57.0 %

Table 7: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2022)

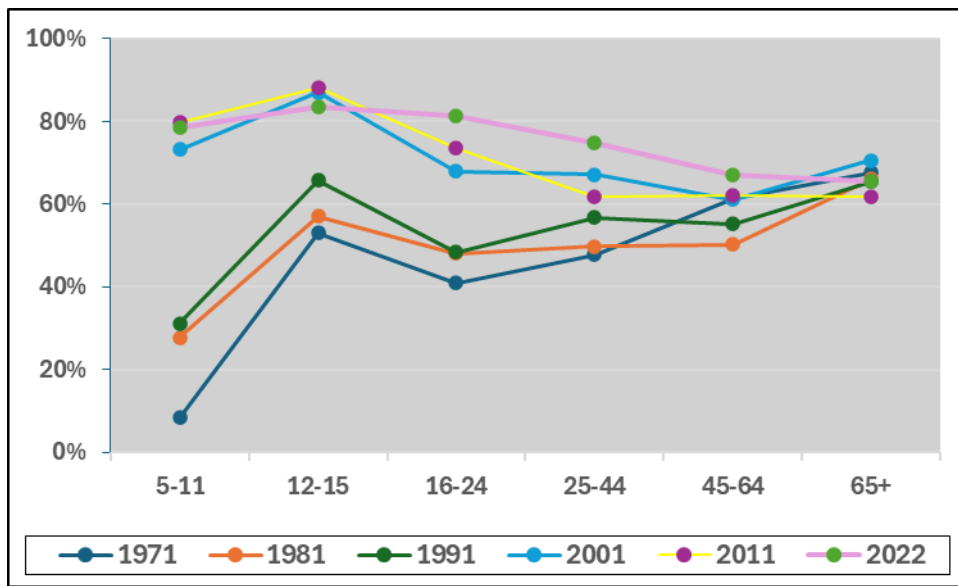
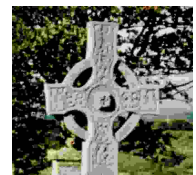


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2022): Steòrnabhagh, Sanndabhaig & Lacasdail



3 Future Perspectives – 2022 and beyond

The 2022 census results provide the background on which future language development will be based. The language viability indicator LVI¹² was very negative in 2011, but it improved considerably in 2022. About half of the young people understands spoken Gàidhlig (table 8) in both areas. This, however, is a smaller percentage than in the Outer Hebrides as a whole and, of course, still in negative figures. Compared with some districts on the West Coast of the Highlands, the situation is still remarkably less encouraging.

Area	Steòrnabhagh					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers) Census 2011
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig Census 2022				Difference (Language viability indicator)	
	Young age (3-15)		All ages			
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	229	45.8%	2144	48.3%	- 2.5 %	59.5 %
Lacasdál & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)	202	44.0%	1368	49.3%	- 5.3 %	62.6 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Na h- Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles)		57.2 %		57.2 %	+ 0.0 %	76.8 %

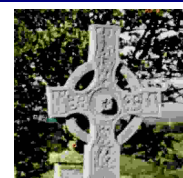
Table 8: Intergenerational viability in 2022 and Gàidhlig as home language in 2011 regarding Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) and Lacasdál & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick) in comparison with the whole Na h-Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles)

The strength of the language in the individual communities varies considerably in the settlements adjacent to Steòrnabhagh. In general, however, figures are in the range between 40 % and 60 %. Intergenerational viability is poorly maintained almost everywhere with LVI values usually in negative figures.

Future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 14 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2022-23 session 109 pupils (29.4 %) attended the GMU in Steòrnabhagh and 49 pupils (34.0 %) were recorded in the Lacasdál GMU.

In conclusion: Steòrnabhagh and its neighbouring settlements around Lacasdál and Sanndabhaig have experienced a dramatic decline in Gàidhlig-speaking intensity in the past. Especially at young age Gàidhlig is still very much a minority issue. Just only slowly educational improvements could be reported in the early 2020s.

¹² LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined based on knowledge of Gàidhlig in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.



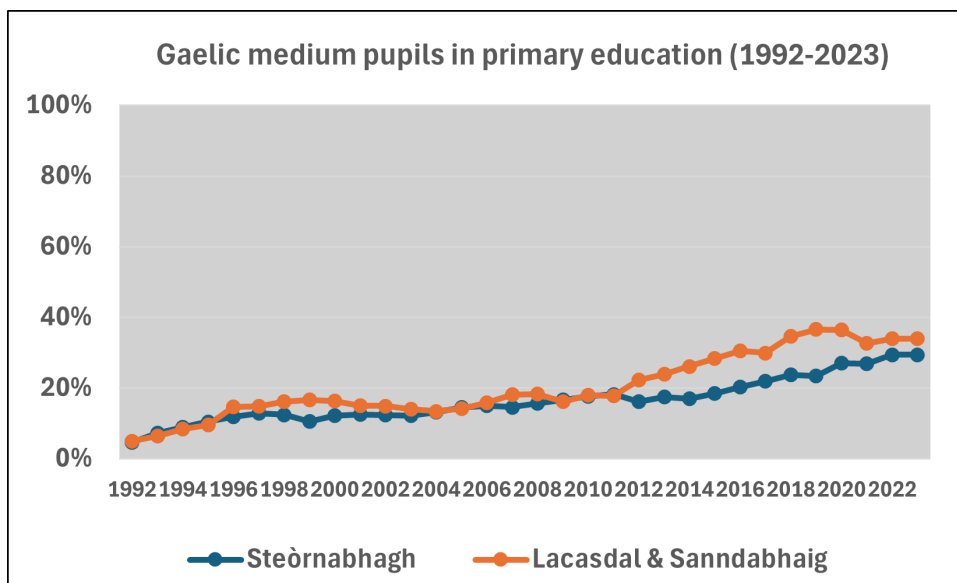
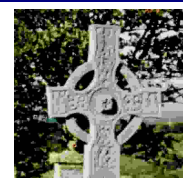


Fig. 8: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Steòrnabhagh* and *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* (September 1992 – September 2023)¹³

¹³ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

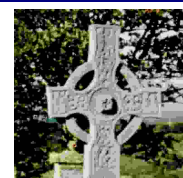


I. Supplementary Tables

Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: <i>Steòrnabhaigh (Civil Parish)</i> ¹⁴	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	10,299	9,102	
----- Villages and burgh (included in the above) ---			
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Burgh)	2,693	1,956	
<i>Am Bac</i> (Back) <i>Vi</i>	582	505	
<i>Pabail Iarach</i> (Lower Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	431	409	
<i>Pabail Uarach</i> (Upper Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	481	439	
<i>Col</i> (Coll) <i>Vi</i>	491	475	
<i>Gàrrabost</i> (Garrabost) <i>Vi</i>	309	294	
<i>Lacasdál & Beinn na Saighde</i> (Laxdale & Newmarket) <i>Vi</i>	569	520	
<i>Sannabhaig</i> (Sandwick) <i>Vi</i>	525	489	
<i>Suardail & An Cnoc</i> (Swordale & Knock) <i>Vi</i>	496	472	
<i>Tolastadh</i> (Tolsta) <i>Vi</i>	597	559	
<i>Tunga</i> (Tong) <i>Vi</i>	454	432	
<i>Bhatasgair</i> (Vatisker) <i>Vi</i>	396	383	
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ---			
<i>Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway)	7,399	6,294	
<i>An Cnoc</i> (Knock) neo/or <i>An Aoidh</i> (Eye)	2,900	2,808	
1891 Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway) CP	11,799	5,871	4,370
----- Villages and burgh (included in the above) ---			
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Burgh)	3,386	2,161	264
<i>Am Bac</i> (Back) <i>Vi</i>	596	150	412
<i>Pabail Iarach</i> (Lower Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	481	192	254
<i>Pabail Uarach</i> (Upper Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	523	301	191
<i>Col</i> (Coll) <i>Vi</i>	525	37	461
<i>Gàrrabost</i> (Garrabost) <i>Vi</i>	385	60	304
<i>Lacasdál & Beinn na Saighde</i> (Laxdale & Newmarket) <i>Vi</i>	548	390	103
<i>Sannabhaig</i> (Sandwick) <i>Vi</i>	491	374	60
<i>Suardail & An Cnoc</i> (Swordale & Knock) <i>Vi</i>	579	377	162
<i>Tolastadh</i> (Tolsta) <i>Vi</i>	699	221	431
<i>Tunga</i> (Tong) <i>Vi</i>	539	219	300
<i>Bhatasgair</i> (Vatisker) <i>Vi</i>	439	45	369
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ---			
<i>Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway)	8,375	4,352	2,678
<i>An Cnoc</i> (Knock) neo/or <i>An Aoidh</i> (Eye)	3,424	1,519	1,692

Table 9: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, villages and burgh)

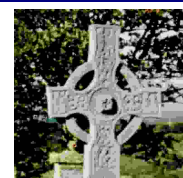
¹⁴ Figures include returns from the outlying districts of *Am Bac* (Back) and *An Rubha* (Point) in this parish (see volume no. 14 of this series for details).



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1971: Steòrnabhagh (Civil Parish)	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1901 Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) CP	12,983	7,696	3,641
----- Villages and burgh (included in the above) ---	9,131	4,994	3,474
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Burgh)	3,852	2,702	167
<i>Am Bac</i> (Back) <i>Vi</i>	648	292	330
<i>Pabail Iarach</i> (Lower Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	505	271	215
<i>Pabail Uarach</i> (Upper Bayble) <i>Vi</i>	566	283	255
<i>Col</i> (Coll) <i>Vi</i>	686	487	168
<i>Gàrrabost</i> (Garrabost) <i>Vi</i>	490	162	285
<i>Lacasdal & Beinn na Saighde</i> (Laxdale & Newmarket) <i>Vi</i>	434	349	57
<i>Port nan Giùran</i> (Portnaguran) <i>Vi</i>	340	100	203
<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick) <i>Vi</i>	438	365	44
<i>Seisiadar</i> (Sheshader) <i>Vi</i>	311	158	126
<i>Suardail & An Cnoc</i> (Swordale & Knock) <i>Vi</i>	704	421	228
<i>Tolastadh</i> (Tolsta) <i>Vi</i>	719	421	231
<i>Tunga</i> (Tong) <i>Vi</i>	530	45	440
<i>Bhatasgair</i> (Vatisker) <i>Vi</i>	537	285	218
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ---			
<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway)	9,035	5,863	1,813
<i>An Cnoc</i> (Knock) neo/or <i>An Aoidh</i> (Eye)	3,948	1,813	1,828
----- Electoral areas (included in the above) ---			
<i>Am Bac</i> (Back)	3,177	1,573	1,396
<i>An Rubha</i> (Point)	3,948	1,813	1,828
<i>Steòrnabhagh Meadhonach</i> (Stornoway Central)	2,006	1,008	250
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh – Tuath</i> (Stornoway Burgh - North)	2,392	1,749	123
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh – Deas</i> (Stornoway Burgh - South)	1,319	914	44
1911 Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) CP	13,438	9,094	2,686
1921 Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) CP	13,366	9,919	1,467
1931	12,116	9,293	1,067
<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway Landward)	8,346	6,768	927
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Small Burgh)	3,770	2,525	140
1951	12,791	9,301	450
<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway Landward)	7,837	6,450	412
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Small Burgh)	4,954	2,851	38
1961	12,717	9,139	173
<i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac)</i> (Stornoway (Back)) CCED	2,334	2,094	72
<i>Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach)</i> (Stornoway (Central)) CCED	2,756	2,078	6
<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha)</i> (Stornoway (Point)) CCED	2,398	2,144	70
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Small Burgh)	5,229	2,823	25
1971 ¹⁵	12,232	8,275	95
<i>Baile Steòrnabhaigh</i> (Stornoway Small Burgh)	5,150	2,620	20
<i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac)</i> (Stornoway (Back)) CCED	2,170	1,915	*
<i>Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach)</i> (Stornoway (Central)) CCED	2,770	1,865	*
<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha)</i> (Stornoway (Point)) CCED	2,120	1,875	*

Table 10: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, electoral areas, burgh or villages)

¹⁵ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971. The figures in the table should be read as “between 8,259 and 8,291” and “between 79 and 111” respectively.



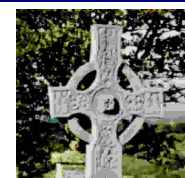
District Council of <i>Leòdhais</i> (Census 1961)					
Age	Population	Speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> only		Speaking both <i>Gàidhlig</i> and English	
3-4	488	203	41.6 %	203	41.6 %
5 – 9	1,252	37	3.0 %	1,079	86.2 %
10 – 14	1,554	-	-	1,451	93.4 %
15 – 24	1,579	3	0.2 %	1,384	87.7 %
25 – 44	3,461	15	0.4 %	3,176	91.8 %
45 – 64	4,776	18	0.4 %	4,618	96.7 %
65 and over	2,867	139	4.8 %	2,682	93.5 %
3 and over	15,977	415	2.6 %	14,593	91.3 %

Table 11: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* for the area of the former Lewis District Council in 1961 – results are exclusive of the Small Burgh of Stornoway but include outskirts like *Sannabhaig* and *Lacasdal*

Percentage of population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty ¹⁶					
Age group	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
3-4	74.4 %	73.2 %	76.8 %	65.5 %	63.0 %
5-9	56.1 %	44.5 %	43.8 %	24.6 %	16.7 %
10-14	32.5 %	17.4 %	9.2 %	3.6 %	1.6 %
15-19	34.4 %	11.8 %	4.6 %	0.8 %	0.4 %
20-24	38.1 %	15.0 %	4.2 %	0.8 %	0.5 %
25-29	46.6 %	17.7 %	5.7 %	1.3 %	0.8 %
30-34	48.9 %	24.4 %	11.8 %	2.0 %	1.3 %
35-39	49.4 %	33.8 %	16.1 %	3.4 %	1.3 %
40-44	57.2 %	39.8 %	25.9 %	5.7 %	2.5 %
45-49	61.0 %	38.2 %	34.2 %	11.1 %	3.8 %
50-54	68.2 %	50.5 %	40.8 %	17.1 %	8.3 %
55-59	65.7 %	52.9 %	41.4 %	26.8 %	14.0 %
60-64	73.9 %	61.5 %	51.9 %	35.3 %	23.6 %
65-69	71.8 %	65.3 %	57.7 %	37.9 %	34.9 %
70-74	72.1 %	67.2 %	66.3 %	51.9 %	43.5 %
75-79	77.5 %	69.4 %	70.2 %	61.2 %	44.0 %
80 and over	83.0 %	72.9 %	76.9 %	65.6 %	57.4 %
Total “Gaelic only”	52.2 %	35.6 %	28.3 %	15.5 %	12.8 %

Table 12: Percentage of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty according to census data from 1891 to 1931

¹⁶ Island of *Leòdhais* (Lewis) with civil parishes of *Barabhas* (Barvas), *Na Lochan* (Lochs), *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) and *Uig* (Scotland Census Office, 1932).



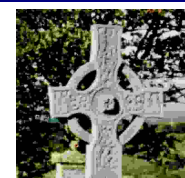
Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Steòrnabhagh, Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> ¹⁷						
Map No	Census output area ¹⁸	Age groups				Born in Scotland ¹⁹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
1 - 15	<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway)	702 37.6%	755 58.2%	858 75.7%	787 84.7%	3.032 62.1%
51+52	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket)	61 53.5%	53 69.7%	54 88.5%	28 96.6%	190 73.4%
53-55	<i>Rathad Thunga, Gleann Dubh & Grianan</i>	74 67.3%	53 77.9%	70 88.6%	53 93.0%	239 82.1%
56-58	<i>An Gleann Ùr, Geirsiadar & Lacasdal</i> (Laxdale)	59 42.4%	62 68.1%	68 81.9%	50 89.3%	343 68.5%
59-61	<i>Cnoc Mhàiri & Bruaich Mhàiri</i> (Marybank)	37 39.8%	35 66.0%	53 89.8%	28 100.0%	150 65.5%
62-64	<i>Raon na Crèadha</i> (Plasterfield)	66 45.2%	80 69.0%	60 85.7%	81 91.0%	285 71.3%
65-67	<i>Bràigh na h-Uidhe, Steinis & Mealabost</i> (Melbost)	36 35.0%	45 54.9%	43 78.2%	35 85.4%	149 63.7%
68-70	<i>Mol Shanndabhaig & Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick)	35 43.2%	47 70.1%	55 79.7%	47 87.0%	180 71.7%
71+72	<i>Tolm & Sanndabhaig</i>	53 47.3%	49 74.2%	71 81.6%	46 93.9%	217 72.1%
Total	<i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Laxdale & Sandwick)	421 46.9%	424 68.5%	474 84.2%	368 91.3%	1.645 71.3%

Table 13: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Steòrnabhagh, Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Stornoway, Laxdale & Sandwick) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

¹⁷ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

¹⁸ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

¹⁹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Ross & Cromarty) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Steòrnabagh (Am Baile)</i> (Stornoway Small Burgh)	ST	2,848 57.3 %	2,640 54.0 %	3,084 58.2 %	2,576 49.1 %	2,280 44.1 %
<i>Steòrnabagh (Meadhonach)</i> (Stornoway (Central) CCED)	SC	2,084 79.5 %	1,868 71.1 %	1,693 68.3 %	1,307 50.4 %	1,171 48.9 %
<i>Steòrnabagh (Am Bac)</i> (Stornoway (Back) CCED)	SB	2,166 97.6 %	1,951 94.4 %	2,075 88.3 %	1,819 75.0 %	1,421 65.7 %
<i>Steòrnabagh (An Rubha)</i> (Stornoway (Point) CCED)	SP	2,214 97.1 %	1,911 94.3 %	1,813 84.2 %	1,494 66.4 %	1,101 57.1 %

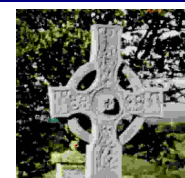
Table 14: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001

<i>Steòrnabagh (Am Baile): Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ²⁰		1981		1991		2001	
0-2²¹	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1.5 %
3-4	25 (+12)	21.8 %	27	18.0 %	18	16.3 %	14	12.5 %
5-24	425 (+2)	27.5 %	676	39.3 %	406	26.1 %	325	27.3 %
25-44	690 (+1)	58.6 %	756	58.0 %	576	41.8 %	536	38.4 %
45-64	855 (+1)	70.7 %	837	71.5 %	834	66.2 %	642	47.5 %
65 +	625 (+4)	80.1 %	788	82.5 %	742	78.6 %	763	68.1 %
Total (3 years and over)	2,620 (+20)	54.0 %	3,084	58.2 %	2,576	49.1 %	2,280	44.1 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	3,045	62.3 %	2,582	52.5 %	2,172	48.1 %

Table 15: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Steòrnabagh (Am Baile)* according to data from 1971 to 2001

²⁰ Speakers of Gàidhlig but not English in 1971 are distributed in age groups according to general distribution for the counties of Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty (approximate numbers are given in brackets).

²¹ Information only available since 2001.



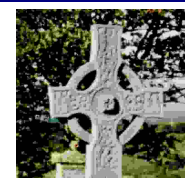
<i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	5.3 %
3-4	25 (+2)	28.4 %	13	17.3 %	9	13.9 %	13	23.2 %
5-24	410 (+0)	47.7 %	406	49.3 %	192	24.8 %	163	29.0 %
25-44	425 (+0)	76.6 %	422	68.2 %	360	46.5 %	310	43.6 %
45-64	605 (+0)	87.7 %	484	86.9 %	384	69.8 %	348	54.1 %
65 +	395 (+1)	94.3 %	368	90.9 %	363	84.2 %	337	79.9 %
Total (3 3 years and over)	1,865 (+3)	71.0 %	1,693	68.3 %	1,307	50.4 %	1,171	48.9 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,645	71.3 %	1,251	53.8 %	1,118	49.5 %

Table 16: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to data from 1971 to 2001

Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i>									
Map No	Census output area ²²	1981		1991		2001			
51	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket) 1	198	70.7 %	97	47.8 %	63	45.0 %		
52	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket) 2			48	55.8 %	51	66.2 %		
53	<i>Rathad Thunga</i>	243	77.4 %	129	55.8 %	52	41.9 %		
54	<i>Gleann Dubh</i>			74	52.1 %	135	66.5 %		
55	<i>Grianan</i>					52	37.4 %		
56	<i>An Gleann Ùr</i>	239	64.8 %	110	56.1 %	92	53.2 %		
57	<i>Geirsiadair</i>			81	39.9 %	32	33.7 %		
58	<i>Lacasdal</i> (Laxdale)			44	40.7 %				
59	<i>Cnoc Mhàiri</i>					98	48.0 %	45	37.5 %
60	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank) 1	147	63.1 %	98	48.0 %	22	37.9 %		
61	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank) 2					23	32.4 %		
62	<i>Raon na Crèadha 1</i>					294	69.2 %	81	49.7 %
63	<i>Raon na Crèadha 2</i>	294	69.2 %	49	48.0 %	40	39.6 %		
64	<i>Raon na Crèadha 3</i>			89	44.7 %	101	57.5 %		
65	<i>Mealabost</i> (Melbost)			156	55.5 %	81	44.3 %	39	38.2 %
66	<i>Bràigh na h-Uidhe</i>	156	55.5 %	38	23.6 %	54	42.5 %		
67	<i>Steinis</i>			25	29.4 %				
68	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick) 1					182	67.2 %	88	41.9 %
69	<i>Mol Shanndabhaig</i>	220	70.1 %	71	50.7 %	42	35.6 %		
70	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick) 2					50	54.3 %	40	49.4 %
71	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick) 3					220	70.1 %	71	50.7 %
72	<i>Tolm</i>	220	70.1 %	73	57.5 %	76	55.9 %		

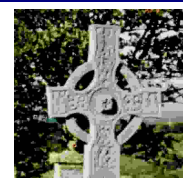
Table 17: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to data from 1981 to 2001

²² Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig Census 2022					Home language Gàidhlig (% of speakers) Census 2011
		Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
01 - 15	<i>Steòrnabagh</i> Stornoway	229	45.8 %	2,144	48.3 %	- 2.5 %	43.9 %
51 - 52	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket)	22	40.0 %	203	51.0 %	- 11.0 %	25.0 %
53 + 54	<i>Gleann Dubh</i> (Black Glen)	8	22.9 %	57	43.5 %	- 20.6 %	61.0 %
55 +56	<i>An Gleann Ùr</i> (New Valley)	23	46.0 %	141	53.6 %	- 7.6 %	85.5 %
57	<i>Geirsiadair</i> (Guershader)	10	100.0%	45	52.9 %	+ 47.1 %	71.9 %
58	<i>Lacasdál</i> (Laxdale)	8	40.0 %	101	51.3 %	- 11.3 %	66.2 %
59	<i>Cnoc Mhàiri</i> (Maryhill)	3	60.0 %	66	55.5 %	+ 4.5 %	54.4 %
60 - 61	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank)	3	21.4 %	64	38.8 %	- 17.4 %	53.2 %
65 + 67	<i>Mealabost & Steinis</i> (Melbost & Steinish)	3	17.6 %	50	44.2 %	- 26.6 %	75.6 %
66	<i>Bràigh na h-Uidhe</i> (Branahuie)	23	62.2 %	107	52.7 %	+ 9.5 %	69.8 %
68, 70 - 71	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick)	10	35.7 %	86	50.9 %	- 15.2 %	61.9 %
69	<i>Mol Shannabhaig</i> (Lower Sandwick)	11	73.3 %	61	59.8 %	+ 13.5 %	67.4 %
72	<i>Tolm</i> (Holm)	24	41.4 %	138	45.8 %	- 4.4 %	61.2 %

Table 18: Intergenerational viability in 2022 and Gàidhlig as home language in 2011 in selected output areas in Steòrnabagh, Lacasdál & Sanndabhaig (Stornoway, Laxdale & Sandwick)



II. Literature and Data Sources

Am Bratach (1992-2019): *Monthly Community Newspaper for Northwest-Sutherland. Srath Nabhair* (Strathnaver), Sutherland, 1992-2019.

An Comunn Gaidhealach (1936): *Report of the Special Committee on the Teaching of Gaelic in Schools and Colleges. An Comunn Gaidhealach*, 1936.

Borgstrøm, Carl Hj. (1940): *A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland. Vol. I. The Dialects of the Outer Hebrides.* Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Norwegian Universities Press, Oslo, 1940.

Borgstrøm, Carl Hj. (1941): *A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland. Vol. II. The Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire.* Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Norwegian Universities Press, Oslo, 1941.

Campbell, John L. (1950): *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life, Past, Present, and Future. Second Edition, Revised and Extended.* Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1950.

Carmichael, Alexander (1899): *Introduction. Carmina Gadelica, Vol. I,* Edinburgh, 1899.

Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich (1992-2005): *Aithisg na Bliadhna – Annual Report (several volumes 1992/1993 to 2004/2005).* Inbhirnis (Inverness), 1992-2005.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1992): *Plana Leasachaidh Deich Bliadhna airson na Gàidhlig ann an Iar Thuath Chataibh (A Ten Year Gaelic Development Plan for North & West Sutherland).* Buidheann Obrach Gàidhlig Iar Thuath Chataibh (North West Sutherland Gaelic Working Group). *Comunn na Gàidhlig, Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh* (Kinlochbervie), 1992.

Comunn na Gàidhlig (1998-2002): *Number of Pupils in Gaelic Medium Education in Scotland (Primary, Secondary and Nursery Classes) and Number of Pupils in Secondary Education Learning Gaelic (as Fluent Speakers or Learners) for School Years 1998-1999 to 2001/2002 Inclusively.* Compiled by Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde, Jordanhill Campus. Inbhirnis (Inverness), 1998-2002.

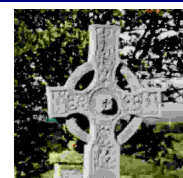
Crofters Commission (1883): *Minutes of Evidence and Report of the Crofters Commission.* 1883.

Dè tha dol? (1982-2006): *Monthly Community Newspaper for Ardnamurchan and Moidart. Ath Tharracail* (Acharacle), Argyll, 1982-2006.

Dixon, John H. (1886): *Gairloch and Guide to Loch Maree.* Co-operative Printing Company Limited. Edinburgh, 1886, reprinted in 1974 by Gairloch Parish Branch, Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society.

Dorian, Nancy C. (1978): *East Sutherland Gaelic: The Dialect of the Brora, Golspie, and Embo Fishing Communities.* Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1978.

Dorian, Nancy C. (1981): *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1981.



Dorian, Nancy C. (1996): *Personal-pattern Variation in East Sutherland Gaelic*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruaraidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

Dorward, D. (2001): *The Glens of Angus: Names, Places, People*. The Pinkfoot Press, 2001.

Dunn, Catherine M. & A. G. Boyd Robertson (1989): *Gaelic in Education*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

Duwe, Kurt (1977): *Die gälische Sprache im heutigen Schottland*. In: Europa Ethnica. Vol. 2/1977, Verlag Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1977.

Duwe, Kurt (1978): *Sprache und Nationalbewegung im heutigen Wales*. In: Europa Ethnica. Vol. 1/1978, Verlag Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1978.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Beschränkte Kulturautonomie – ihre Möglichkeiten und Grenzen – aufgezeigt an den Erfahrungen in Schottland und Wales*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Schottland: Die historische Entwicklung einer widersprüchlichen Nation*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (1987): *Kulturelle Identität als Grundlage autonomistischer Strömungen*. In: Kurt Duwe (ed.) Regionalismus in Europa. Band 4 aus der Reihe: Demokratie, Ökologie, Föderalismus. Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main Bern New York Paris, 1987.

Duwe, Kurt (2003-2024): *Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies. 27 volumes. Electronic publications: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLS_english.htm. Wedel/Hamburg, 2003-2024.*

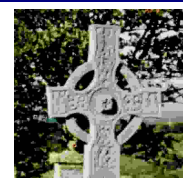
Duwe, Kurt (2005-2008): *1891 Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Profiles. Individual fact-sheets. Electronic publications: http://www.linguae-celticae.de/GLP_english.htm. Hamburg, 2005-2008.*

Gaelic Society of Inverness (1888): Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. 15, 1888.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1953-54): *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 7 (Argyll), 11 (Bute), 18 (Inverness), 26 (Perth & Kinross), 28 (Ross & Cromarty), 32 (Sutherland)*. Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1953-1954.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1954): *Census 1951. Report on the Fifteenth Census of Scotland. Vol. III. General Volume. Population, Age, Sex and Conjugal Condition, Birthplace and Nationality, Gaelic-speaking Population and Housing (Houses, Households and Household Conveniences)*. Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1954.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1966): *Census 1961 Scotland. Vol. VII. Gaelic*, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1966.



General Register Office, Edinburgh (1966): *Census 1961 Scotland. Gaelic, Supplementary Leaflet*, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1966.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Census 1971 Gaelic Report. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.*

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Census 1971 Unpublished Tables. No.800 (Enumerated Population by those Speaking, Reading and Writing Gaelic, by Age and Sex for all Counties except Argyll, Inverness, Perth, Ross & Cromarty and Sutherland) and No. 801 (Enumerated Population by those Speaking, Reading and Writing Gaelic, by Age and Sex for Remaining Local Authority Areas in Perth County and Remaining County Council Electoral Divisions in the Counties of Argyll, Inverness, and Ross & Cromarty). Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.*

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1975): *Index of Scottish Place Names from 1971 Census, with Location and Population (over 100 Persons) Scotland.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1975.

General Register Office, Edinburgh (1976): *Census 1971 Scotland. Report for Highland Region and Orkney, Shetland and Western Isles Islands Areas.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1976.

General Register Office for Scotland (1983): *Census 1981 Gaelic Report.* Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1983.

General Register Office for Scotland (1983): *Census 1981 Small Areas Statistics Table 40 (Output Areas and Civil Parishes), Highland, Western Isles, Argyll & Bute, Dumbaron, Perth & Kinross, and selected areas in North Ayrshire, Moray, and Kincardine & Deeside.* Edinburgh, GROS, 1983.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census – Cunntas-sluaigh 1991. Gaelic Language A 'Ghàidhlig. Scotland Alba.* Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1994.

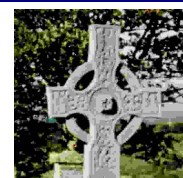
General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census – Cunntas-sluaigh 1991. Topic Monitor for Gaelic Language Scotland. Pàipear Comhairleachaidh Cuspaireil Gàidhlig Alba.* Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *Census 1991 Small Areas Statistics Table 67s (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Electoral Wards). Highland, Western Isles, Argyll & Bute, Dumbaron, Perth & Kinross, and selected areas in North Ayrshire, Moray, and Kincardine & Deeside.* Edinburgh, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1994): *1991 Census. Monitors for Wards (Electoral Divisions) and Civil Parishes in Western Isles Islands Area, Highland Region, Tayside Region, Central Region and Strathclyde Region.* (Five separate volumes). Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1994.

General Register Office for Scotland (1995): *1991 Census. Monitor for Inhabited Islands. Scotland.* Government Statistical Service, Edinburgh, 1995.

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): *Census 2001 Small Areas Statistics Table 206 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands); Univariate Table 12 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes), Key Sta-*



tistics Table 6 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands), Standard Table 206 (Statistical Wards), Theme Table T27 (Council Areas). General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): *Scottish 2001 Census Results OnLine (SCROL): Population Profiles (Information on Gaelic): Percentage of Total Population Speaking Gaelic – of Those Speaking Gaelic Percentage Born Outside Scotland.* Information provided via <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

General Register Office for Scotland (2005): *Scotland's Census 2001 Gaelic Report.* General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2005.

General Register Office for Scotland (2011): *Scotlands People* <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk> . Census records of the census years 1891, 1901 and 1911. General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2011

General Register Office for Scotland (2024): *Scottish 2022 Census Results OnLine (SCROL): Population Profiles (Information on Gaelic): Percentage of Total Population Speaking Gaelic – of Those Speaking Gaelic Percentage Born Outside Scotland.* Information provided via <http://www.scrol.gov.uk>, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2024.

Gillies, William (1993): *Scottish Gaelic.* In: *The Celtic Languages.* Ball, Martin J. & James Fife (eds.). Routledge, New York, 1993.

Grant, N. (1996): *Gaelic and Education in Scotland – Developments and Perspectives.* In: *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruaraidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

Highland Council (2000-2024): *School Statistics 2000/2001 to 2023/2024: Pupils in Gaelic Medium Units.* Information provided via <http://www.highland.gov.uk>. Inverness, 2024.

Holmer, Nils M. (1938): *Studies in Argyllshire Gaelic.* Skrifter Utgivna av K. Humanistika Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. Uppsala, 1938.

Holmer, Nils M. (1957): *The Gaelic of Arran.* Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1957.

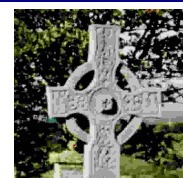
Holmer, Nils M. (1962): *The Gaelic of Kintyre.* Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 1962.

Hutchinson, Roger (2005): *A Waxing Moon. The Modern Gaelic Revival.* Mainstream Publishing Company (Edinburgh) Ltd., Edinburgh, 2005.

James, Clive (1989): *What Future for Scottish Gaelic Speaking Communities?* Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics No. 14, Dept of Geography and Recreation Studies. Staffordshire Polytechnics, 1989.

James, Clive (1991): *Tiriodh agus Colla. A Social and Economic Geolinguistic Study.* Caeathro, Caer-narfon, Cymru (Wales), 1991.

Johnstone, Richard (1994): *The Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic language – Review of Research.* CILT in collaboration with Scottish CILT, Stirling, 1994.



Johnstone, Richard, Wynne Harlen, Morag MacNeil, Bob Stradling & Graham Thorpe (1999): *The Attainment of Pupils Receiving Gaelic-medium Primary Education in Scotland*. Scottish CILT on behalf of the Scottish Executive Education Department, Stirling, 1999.

Kennedy, Michael (2002): *Gaelic Nova Scotia. An Economic, Cultural, and Social Impact Study*. Nova Scotia Museum. Curatorial Report No. 97. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 2002.

Macrow, Brenda G. (1953): *Torridon Highlands*. The Regional Books. Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1953.

MacDonald, Kenneth D. (1968): *The Gaelic Language, its Study and Development*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. and Ian Grimble (eds.): *The Future of the Highlands*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968.

MacDonald, Sharon (1997): *Reimagining Culture. Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance*. Berg, Oxford New York, 1997.

MacKenzie, Hector L. (1978): *Gaelic in Kintyre*. Kintyre Magazine, Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society, No. 31, Campbeltown, 1978.

MacKinnon, Kenneth K. (1974): *The Lion's Tongue. Club Leabhar, Inbhirnis* (Inverness), 1974.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1977): *Language, Education & Social Processes in a Gaelic Community*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Henley & Boston, 1977.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1978): *Gaelic in Scotland 1971: Some Sociological and Demographic Considerations of the Census Report for Gaelic*. Hatfield Polytechnics, 1978.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1984): *1981 Census. Gaelic in the Highland Region. An Comann Gaidhealach*, 1984.

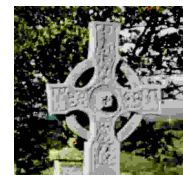
MacKinnon, Kenneth (1988): *Gaelic Language-maintenance and Viability in the Isle of Skye*. Hatfield Polytechnic, Hartford, 1988.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1990): *Language-maintenance and Viability in Gaelic-speaking Communities: Skye and the Western Isles in the 1981 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. XVI, University of Aberdeen, 1990.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991): *Gaelic: A Past & Future Prospect*. Saltire Society. Edinburgh, 1991.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1991): *The Gaelic Speech Community*. In: Alladina, Safder and Viv Edwards (eds.): *Multilingualism in the British Isles: The Older Mother Tongues of Europe*. Longman Linguistics Library, Longman. London and New York, 1991.

MacKinnon, Kenneth (1993): *Scottish Gaelic Today: Social History and Contemporary Status*. In: *The Celtic Languages*. Ball, Martin J. & James Fife (eds.). Routledge, New York, 1993.



MacKinnon, Kenneth (1996): *Social Class and Gaelic Language Abilities in the 1981 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol. XVII, Special Volume: Feill-sgrìbhinn do Ruaraidh MacThomais (Festschrift for Professor D S Thompson), University of Aberdeen, 1996.

MacLeod, Donald J. (1976): *Gaelic in Public Life – A' Ghàidhlig am Beatha Fhollaiseach an t-Sluaigh*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

MacLeod, Donald J. (2003): *An Historical Overview*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

MacLeod, Finlay (1976): *Na Bun-sgoiltean - The Primary Schools*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

MacLeod, Murdo (1976): *A' Ghàidhlig anns na h-Àrd-sgoiltean – Gaelic in Secondary Schools*. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

McLeod, Wilson (2001): *Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric and Public Discourse*. JEMIE Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, Issue 02/2001. European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg, Germany, 2001.

McLeod, Wilson (2003): *Gaelic Medium Education in the International Context*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

Mercer, John (1974): *Hebridean Islands. Colonsay, Gigha, Jura*. Blackie & Son Ltd. Glasgow and London, 1974.

Michie, M. G. (2000): *Glenesk: The History and Culture of an Angus Community*. Compiled by Fenton. A. and Beech, J., Tuckwell Press, 2000.

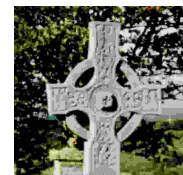
Mitchell, Ian (1994): *How the North's Linguistic Frontier was Re-drawn*. West Highland Free Press, 1994.

Murray, John and Catherine Morrison (1984): *Bilingual Primary Education in the Western Isles, Scotland*. Report of the Bilingual Education Project 1975-81. Acair, Stornoway, 1984.

Murray, John (1989): *Gaelic Education and the Gaelic Community*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

Newton, Michael (1999): *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid* (From the Clyde to Callander). Acair, Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway), 1999.

Nicolson, Margaret & Matthew MacIver (2003): *Contexts and Futures*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): *Gaelic Medium Education*. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.



Nisbet, John (1963): *Bilingualism and the School*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. X, Pt. 5, University of Aberdeen, 1963.

Nisbet, Jean (2003): *Managing Provision: The School Perspective*. In: Nicolson, Margaret and Matthew MacIver (eds.): Gaelic Medium Education. No. 10 of the Series on Policy and Practice in Education. Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2003.

Oban Times (1992-2024): *Weekly Community Newspaper* (covering the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland). Oban, Argyll, 1992-2024.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1879): *On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles: a Statistical Survey*. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1879.

Roberton, Tim (2004): *Moidart*. Comann Eachdraidh Mùideart (Moidart Local History Group), 2004.

Robertson, Boyd (2001): *Regional Languages in Europe – Gaelic in Scotland*. In: Multilingualism Matters 118. The Other Languages of Europe. Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives. Extra, Guus & Durk Gorter (eds.), Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001.

ScotlandsPeople (2024): Original census records of Scotland covering enumeration districts and individual census sheets from 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921, General Register Office for Scotland, www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk, Edinburgh 2024.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Report*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

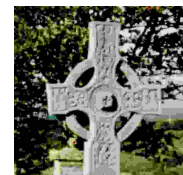
Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881 and Corresponding Particulars in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table II. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastic Sub-divisions, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table III. Scotland in Civil Counties, with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows, in 1881 and Corresponding Population in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table IV. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1871*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table V. Parliamentary, Royal, and Police Burghs in Scotland showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows; also the Parliamentary Districts of*



Burghs and Counties, with the Number of Electors on the Roll, and Members returned to Parliament in 188. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table VIII. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881, and Corresponding Particulars in 1871.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1883): *Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. - Table IX. Scotland in School Board Counties Districts, showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

Scotland, Census Office (1892): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. II - Part I. Ages of the Population, Ages of the Children and Scholars, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Birth-places.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1892.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891, and Corresponding Particulars in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table II. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastical Sub-divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

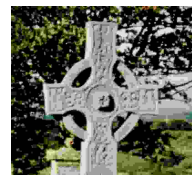
Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Part III. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table IV. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Part V. Parliamentary, Royal, and Police Burghs in Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table VIII. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891 and Corresponding Particulars in 1881.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1893): *Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. - Table IX. Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses,*



Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, and Corresponding Particulars in 1891*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table II. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, and Corresponding Particulars in 1891*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table III. Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Explanation of the Difference between the Civil and School Board Counties*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table IV. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Ecclesiastical Sub-divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

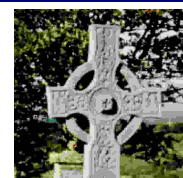
Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table VII. The Municipal and Police Burghs of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1891*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table VIII. Municipal Wards of Burghs so Subdivided (Arranged Alphabetically), Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table IX. County Districts of Scotland with their Electoral Divisions, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table X. Health Board Areas, Counties, Districts and Burghs of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table XI. Scotland in Civil Counties with their Town, Village, and Rural Groups, Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901*. His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.



Scotland, Census Office (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table XII. The Inhabited Islands of Scotland Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1901, with the Corresponding Number of Persons in 1891.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1902.

Scotland, Census Office (1912): *Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 5 (Aberdeen), 6 (Argyll), 8 (Banff), 10 (Bute), 11 (Caithness), 13 (Dumbarton), 16 (Elgin), 20 (Inverness), 26 (Nairn), 29 (Perth), 31 (Ross & Cromarty), 35 (Stirling) and 36 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1912.

Scotland, Census Office (1912): *Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1912.

Scotland, Census Office (1921): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Preliminary Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1921.

Scotland, Census Office (1922): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 6 (Argyll), 10 (Bute), 18 (Inverness), 28 (Perth), 30 (Ross & Cromarty), 35 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1922.

Scotland, Census Office (1923): *Census of Scotland, 1921. Report on the Thirteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1923.

Scotland, Census Office (1932): *Census of Scotland, 1931. Report on the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. I. County Reports. Parts 7 (Argyll), 11 (Bute), 12 (Caithness), 14 (Dumbarton), 23 (Moray, Nairn), 18 (Inverness), 26 (Perth, Kinross), 28 (Ross & Cromarty) and 32 (Sutherland).* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1932.

Scotland, Census Office (1933): *Census of Scotland, 1931. Report on the Fourteenth Decennial Census of Scotland. Vol. II. Populations, Ages and Conjugal Conditions, Birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking and Housing.* His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1933.

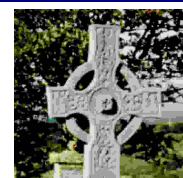
Scottish Council for Research in Education (1961): *Gaelic-speaking Children in Highland Schools.* University of London Press Ltd., London, 1961.

Scottish Office Education Department (1976): *Educational Research 1976: A Register of Current Educational Research Projects.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh, 1976.

Scottish Office Education Department (1994): *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland.* A Report by HM Inspectors of Schools, Edinburgh, 1994.

Smith, John A. (1968): *The Position of Gaelic and Gaelic Culture in Scottish Education.* In: Thomson, Derrick S. and Ian Grimble (eds.): *The Future of the Highlands.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968.

Stephens, Meic (1976): *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe.* Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, 1976.



Stornoway Gazette (1992-2024): *Guth nan Eilean. Weekly Community Newspaper* (covering the Outer Hebrides). Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, 1992-2024.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845). 15 Volumes, Edinburgh, 1831-1845. Electronic version: <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>

The Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1799). 21 Volumes, Edinburgh, 1791-1799. Electronic version: <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>

Thomson, Derrick S. (1976): *Gaelic in Scotland: the Background – Gàidhlig an Albainn: Beagan Eachdraidh*. In: Tomson, Derrick S. (ed.): *Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland*. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.) (1983): *The Companion Guide to Gaelic Scotland*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

University of Strathclyde (1992-2006): *Pupil numbers in Gaelic-medium education and as Gaelic learners in secondary schools* (in numerous reports by Scottish Office, Scottish Executive, Highland Council, *Comunn na Gàidhlig*). Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde, Jordanhill Campus, 1992-2006.

Warrack, A. (1911): *A Scots Dialect Dictionary*. Chambers, 1991.

Watson, W. J. (1904): *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty*. Inverness, 1904 (published by Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society in 1974).

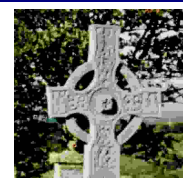
Watson, W. J. (1914): *Bardachd Ghàidhlig – Gaelic Poetry 1550-1900. An Comunn Gaidhealach*. Inverness, 1914.

West Highland Free Press (1982-2012): *Weekly community newspaper* (covering Western Isles, Skye, West Lochaber and Wester Ross). *An t-Ath Leathan* (Broadford), Isle of Skye, 1982-2012.

Withers, Charles W. J. (1984): *Gaelic in Scotland 1698 – 1981. The Geographical History of a Language*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh, 1984.

Withers, Charles W. J. (1989): *On the Geography and Social History of Gaelic*. In: Gillies, William (ed.): *Gaelic and Scotland – Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1989.

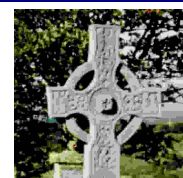
Withers, Charles W. J. (1990): *Gaelic-speaking in Urban Lowland Scotland: The Evidence of the 1891 Census*. In: Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. XVI, University of Aberdeen, 1990.



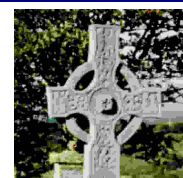
III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

The interpretation of census figures (derived statistics in particular) is not as straightforward as the pure numbers might suggest. The author has taken great pains to compare like with like and the calculated tables with greatest geographical detail and age group information as possible. But the differences of census questions, enumeration districts and information details between years are quite substantial. It is therefore very important to notice the following facts:

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig-speaking* people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): “*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*” Due to the ever-increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke *Gàidhlig* but no English.
3. No data are available on persons speaking *Gàidhlig* outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the *Gàidhlig* language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of *Alba Nuadh* (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
4. During World War II no census was taken. Therefore no figures are available for 1941.
5. In 1971 the wording was changed from “speaks Gaelic” into “is able to speak Gaelic”. This resulted in areas with low density of speakers in a substantial increase of *Gàidhlig*-speakers counted compared with 1961. These were essentially those who could speak *Gàidhlig* but did not have the opportunity to use it. In strongly *Gàidhlig-speaking* areas those who were able to speak *Gàidhlig* were also using the language. So in the islands and on the western seaboard the figures should have remained comparable with previous censuses.
6. In 1981 the population basis was changed from persons present on census night to usually resident persons. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.



7. From 1971 onwards additional questions were asked on the ability of people to read *Gàidhlig* or to write *Gàidhlig*.
8. In 2001 another question was introduced on the ability of a person to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. This may have had an influence on some people with only a small command of the language to record themselves as being able to understand rather than able to speak the language. Without this choice some of them might have enlisted themselves or their children as *Gàidhlig-speaking* in order to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the *cròileagan* movement in the preceding decade.
9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated *Gàidhlig-speaking* population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall “uncertainties” of +/- 1 in general.
11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk>.

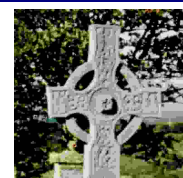


IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

The following list provides detailed information on all postcode names included in individual census output areas and shows the abbreviations/numbers defining output areas in census statistics between 1961 and 2001.

Census Output Areas in <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – Part A</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Baile Ùr: Inacleit & Eilean na Cobhair)</i> Stornoway (Newton: Inacleit & Eilean na Cobhair)	SB	56AJ01A 56AJ01B 56AJ01C	60RJ000115 60RJ000116 60RJ000117
02	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Baile Ùr: Ceann a'Chòinich)</i> Stornoway (Newton: Ceann a'Chòinich)	SB	56AJ02A 56AJ02B	60RJ000118 60RJ000119
03	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a'Bhàigh & Baile Ùr)</i> Stornoway (Bayhead & Newton)	SB	56AJ03A 56AJ03B	60RJ000120 60RJ000121
04	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a'Bhàigh & Baile Ùr)</i> Stornoway (Bayhead & Newton)	SB	56AJ04A 56AJ04B 56AJ04C	60RJ000122 60RJ000123 60RJ000124
05	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a'Bhàigh)</i> Stornoway (Bayhead)	SB	56AJ05A 56AJ05B 56AJ05C	60RJ000125 60RJ000126 60RJ000127
06	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a'Bhàigh, An Caisteal & Cnoc nan Gobhar)</i> Stornoway (Bayhead, Castle & Goathill)	SB	56AJ06A 56AJ06A 56AJ06B 56AJ06B	60RJ000187 60RJ000128 60RJ000129 60RJ000130
07	<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal)</i> Stornoway (Castle)	SB	56AJ07A 56AJ07B 56AJ07C	60RJ000219 60RJ000131 60RJ000132
08	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cùl na Grèine)</i> Stornoway (Coulregrein)	SB	56AJ08A 56AJ08B 56AJ08C 56AJ08D	60RJ000133 60RJ000134 60RJ000135 60RJ000136
09	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cùl na Grèine & Pairc a'Mhanair)</i> Stornoway (Coulregrein & Manor Park)	SB	56AJ09A 56AJ09B	60RJ000137 60RJ000138
10	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Pairc a'Mhanair)</i> Stornoway (Manor Park)	SB	56AJ10A 56AJ10B	60RJ000139 60RJ000140
11	<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal, Cnoc nan Gobhar & Pairc a'Mhanair)</i> Stornoway (Castle, Goathill & Manor Park)	SB	56AJ11A 56AJ11B 56AJ11C 56AJ11D	60RJ000141 60RJ000142 60RJ000143 60RJ000144

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – Part A– 1961-2001*

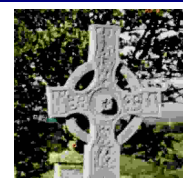


Census Output Areas in <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – Part B</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
12	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar & Pairc a’Mhanair) Stornoway (Goathill & Manor Park)</i>	SB	56AJ12A 56AJ12B 56AJ12C 56AJ12C	60RJ000145 60RJ000146 60RJ000220 60RJ000221
13	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar & Raon na Crèadha) Stornoway (Goathill & Plasterfield)</i>	SB	56AJ13A 56AJ13B 56AJ13C 56AJ13D	60RJ000147 60RJ000148 60RJ000149 60RJ000150
14	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Pairc a’Mhanair & Raon na Crèadha) Stornoway (Manor Park & Plasterfield)</i>	SB	56AJ14A 56AJ14A 56AJ14B	60RJ000222 60RJ000223 60RJ000151
15	<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal & Cùl na Grèine) Stornoway (Castle & Coulregrein)</i>	SB	56AJ17A 56AJ17C	60RJ000155 60RJ000156

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – Part B*– 1961-2001

Census Output Areas in <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part A</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)</i>	SC	56AH25A	60RJ000112
52	<i>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)</i>	SC	56AH25B	60RJ000182
53	<i>Gleann Dubh, Rathad Thunga & Cnoc an t-Soluis</i>	SC	56AH18A	60RJ000091
54	<i>Gleann Dubh</i>	SC	56AH26A	60RJ000216
55	<i>Grianan & Beinn na Saighde</i>	SC	56AH26B	60RJ000113
56	<i>An Gleann Ùr</i>	SC	56AH27A	60RJ000114
57	<i>Geirsiadair, Bruach Mhàiri & Cnoc Mhàiri</i>	SC	56AH27B	60RJ000217
58	<i>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</i>	SC	56AH27B	60RJ000218

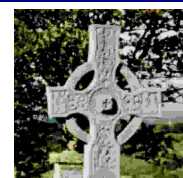
Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part A* - 1961-2001



Census Output Areas in <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part B</i>				
Map No.	Census output area ²³	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
59	<i>Cnoc Mhàiri & Bruach Mhàiri</i>	SC	56AH28	60RJ000183
60	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank)	SC	56AH28	60RJ000184
61	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank)	SC	56AH28	60RJ000185
62	<i>Raon na Crèadha</i> (Plasterfield)	SC	56AJ15B	60RJ000152
63	<i>Raon na Crèadha</i> (Plasterfield)	SC	56AJ15C	60RJ000153
64	<i>Raon na Crèadha</i> (Plasterfield)	SC	56AJ15D	60RJ000154
65	<i>Mealabost</i> (Melbost)	SC	56AH24A	60RJ000109
66	<i>Bràigh na h-Uidhe, Raon na Crèadha & Stornoway Airport</i>	SC	56AH24B	60RJ000111
67	<i>Steinis</i>	SC	56AH24B	60RJ000110
68	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick)	SC	56AH22A	60RJ000181
69	<i>Mol Shanndabhaig, Buaille Cloiche & Tac Thuilm</i>	SC	56AH22A	60RJ000105
70	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick)	SC	56AH22B	60RJ000106
71	<i>Sanndabhaig</i> (Sandwick)	SC	56AH23A	60RJ000107
72	<i>Tolm & Ceann nam Buailtean</i>	SC	56AH23B	60RJ000108

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part B* - 1961-2001

²³ Placenames are given according to official information by the Ordnance Survey and used in modern maps. The placenames in the Outer Hebrides do have officially *Gàidhlig* names. „English“ versions are only used in addition for major settlements. Therefore the old anglicised names are provided in table A-2 for a few prominent locations only.



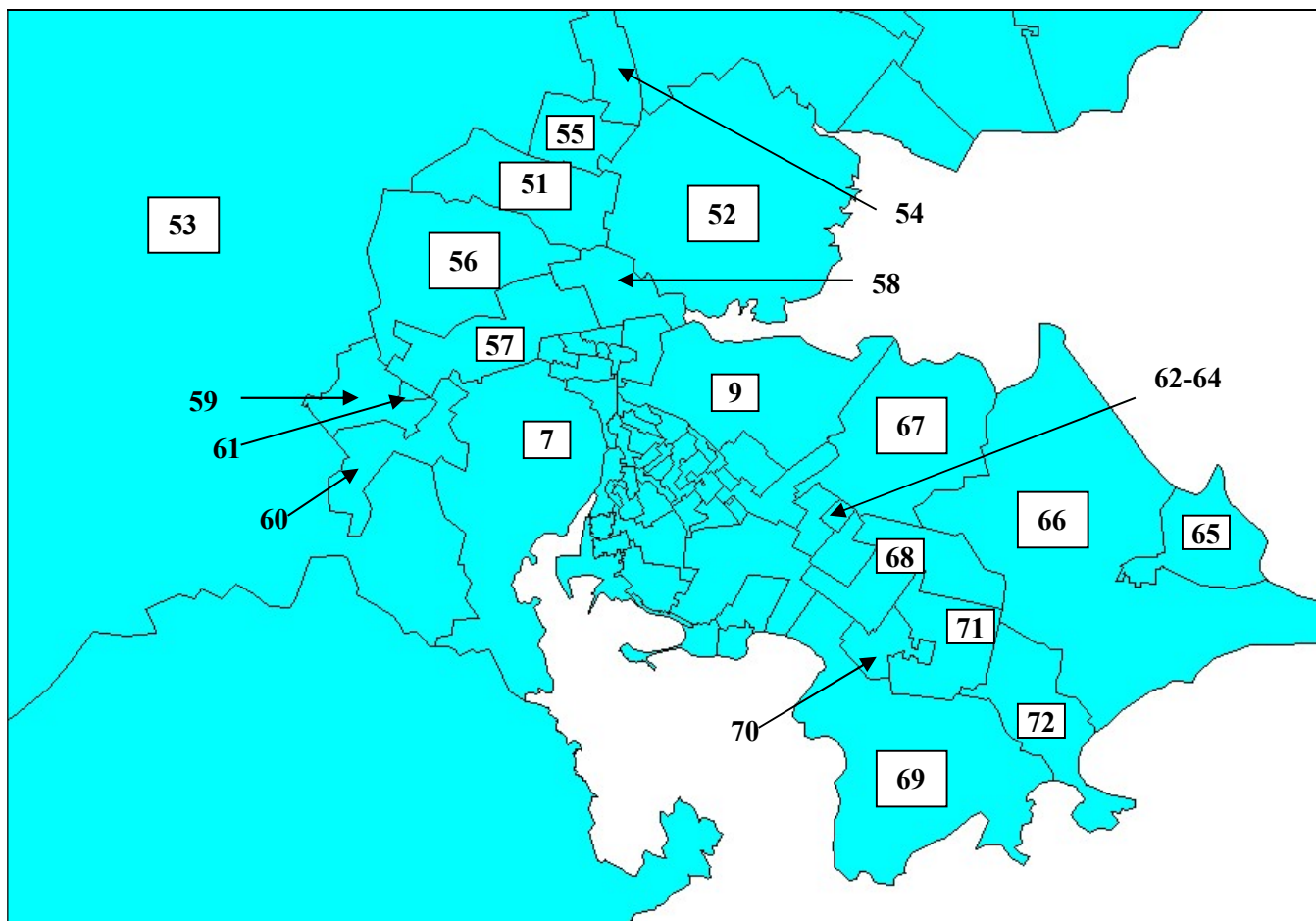
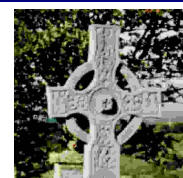


Fig. 9: Overview map of all census output areas for *Steòrnabhagh* - numbers for outlying census output areas of *Lacasdal* & *Sanndabhaig* are provided in tables A-3 and A-4²⁴

²⁴ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



V. List of Tables

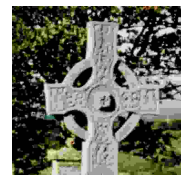
REPORT

1	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> and percentage of total population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> during 1881-1931	6
2	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in parts of the town of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1901	8
3	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as share of population in <i>Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal</i> according to local census data from 1881 to 1901	9
4	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> and percentage of total population speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> during 1951-2022	10
5	Intergenerational viability in 2022 and <i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language in 2011 in selected census data zones comparison with the whole <i>Na h-Eileanan an Iar</i> (Western Isles)	13
6	Number of people able to read <i>Gàidhlig</i> and <i>Gàidhlig</i> readers as a percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (1971-2022)	14
7	Number of people able to write <i>Gàidhlig</i> and <i>Gàidhlig</i> writers as a percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (1971-2022)	15
8	Intergenerational viability in 2022 and <i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language in 2011 in <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway) and <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Laxdale & Sandwick) in comparison with the whole <i>Na h-Eileanan an Iar</i> (Western Isles)	16
9	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, villages and burgh)	18
10	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, electoral areas, burgh or villages)	19
11	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> for the area of the former Lewis District Council in 1961 – results are exclusive of returns from the Small Burgh of Stornoway but include outskirts like <i>Sanndabhaig</i> and <i>Lacasdal</i>	20
12	Percentage of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty according to census data from 1891 to 1931	20
13	Population with <i>Gàidhlig</i> knowledge in output areas of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> , <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Stornoway, Laxdale & Sandwick) according to age group and birthplace in 1981	21
14	Number of persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> and all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001	22
15	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in different age groups in <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)</i> according to data from 1971 to 2001	22
16	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers for the census output areas in <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> according to data from 1981 to 2001	23
17	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in different age groups in <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> according to data from 1971 to 2001	23
18	Intergenerational viability in 2022 and <i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language in 2011 in selected output areas in <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> , <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i>	24



ANNEXES

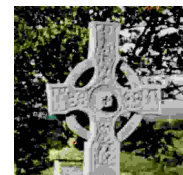
A-1	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)</i> – 1961-2001 – Part A	38
A-2	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)</i> – 1961-2001 – Part B	39
A-3	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> – 1961-2001 – Part A	39
A-4	List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> – 1961-2001 – Part B	40



VI. List of Figures

REPORT

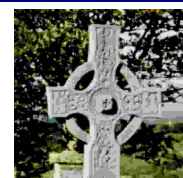
1	Overview map of area under investigation	5
2	Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2022 – town and rural part of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway) civil parish	6
3	Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the town of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> according to census results in 1891, 1901 and 1931	10
4	Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – town of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i>	11
5	Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Laxdale & Sandwick)	11
6	Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2022 – <i>Steòrnabhagh, Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (Stornoway, Laxdale & Sandwick)	12
7	Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2022): <i>Steòrnabhagh, Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i>	15
8	Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> and <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> (September 1992 – September 2023)	17
9	Overview map of all census output areas for <i>Steòrnabhagh</i> - numbers for outlying census output areas of <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> are provided in tables A-3 and A-4	41



VII. List of Abbreviations

There are several abbreviations used in the text which might not be known by every reader. Therefore, this short list intends to facilitate better understanding:

CCED	County council electoral division
CP	Civil parish
CNSA	<i>Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich</i> : Gaelic playgroup association
<i>Comhairle nan Eilean</i> (CNE) – later: <i>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</i> (CNES)	Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)
<i>Cròileagan</i>	Gaelic speaking playgroup
Fèis	Local art festival with normally some Gaelic courses
GLPS	“Gaelic Language for the Primary School”: Course as introduction of Gaelic as second language
GME	Gaelic medium education
GMU	Gaelic medium unit: Class(es) with Gaelic medium education but as part of an English medium school
GROS	General Register Office for Scotland
LVI	Language viability indicator
LCI	Language community indicator
<i>Mòd</i>	Gaelic language gathering (conversation, song and music) comparable to the Welsh Eisteddfod
n/a	Information is not available
OA	(Census) output area: the smallest enumeration unit on which census data are available
P1	Primary school year 1
P2	Primary school year 2
S1	Secondary school year 1
S2	Secondary school year 2
<i>Sgoil Araich</i>	Gaelic speaking nursery school
<i>Sràdagan</i>	Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children
<i>Vi</i>	Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901



Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies

	<u>1st Edition</u>	<u>2nd Edition</u>
Vol. 01 <i>Àird nam Murchan & Loch Abar an Iar</i> (Ardnamurchan & West Lochaber)	October 2003	August 2005
Vol. 02 <i>Eilean Bharraigh</i> (Isle of Barra)	November 2003	September 2005
Vol. 03 <i>Uibhist a Deas & Beinn a'Bhaoghla</i> (South Uist & Benbecula)	December 2003	November 2005
Vol. 04 <i>Iar Thuath Chataibh</i> (North-West Sutherland)	January 2004	November 2005
Vol. 05 <i>Uibhist a Tuath</i> (North Uist)	January 2004	December 2005
Vol. 06 <i>Na Hearadh</i> (Harris)	February 2004	January 2006
Vol. 07 <i>Eilean Leòdhais: Na Lochan</i> (Isle of Lewis: Lochs)	March 2004	January 2006
Vol. 08 <i>Eilean Leòdhais: Uig & Carlabhagh</i> (Isle of Lewis: Uig & Carloway)	April 2004	January 2006
Vol. 09 <i>Taobh Siar Rois: Loch Bhraoin & Geàrrloch</i> (Wester Ross: Lochbroom & Gairloch)	June 2004	January 2006
Vol. 10 <i>Taobh Siar Rois: A'Chomraich, Loch Carrann & Loch Aillse</i> (Wester Ross: Applecross, Lochcarron & Lochalsh)	July 2004	February 2006
Vol. 11 <i>An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Trondairnis, Diùirinis & Minginis</i> (Isle of Skye: Trotternish, Duirinish & Minginish)	July 2004	March 2006
Vol. 12 <i>An t-Eilean Sgitheanach: Port Rìgh, An Srath & Slèite</i> (Isle of Skye: Portree, Strath & Sleat)	August 2004	April 2006
Vol. 13 <i>Eilean Leòdhais: An Taobh Siar & Nis</i> (Isle of Lewis: Westside & Ness)	April 2004	April 2006
Vol. 14 <i>Eilean Leòdhais: Am Bac & An Rubha</i> (Isle of Lewis: Back & Point)	May 2004	April 2006
Vol. 15 <i>Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh</i> (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway)	May 2004	April 2006
Vol. 16 <i>Ile, Diùra & Colhasa</i> (Islay, Jura & Colonsay)	August 2004	May 2006
Vol. 17 <i>Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain</i> (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan)	September 2004	May 2006
Vol. 18 <i>An t-Oban & Latharna a Deas</i> (Oban & South Lorn)	October 2004	June 2006
Vol. 19 <i>An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear</i> (Fort William & East Lochaber)	October 2004	September 2006
Vol. 20 <i>Muile, Tiriodh & Colla</i> (Mull, Tiree & Coll)	July 2004	September 2006
Vol. 21 <i>Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann & Bràighean Mhàrr</i> (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn & Braes of Mar)	December 2004	December 2011
Vol. 22 <i>Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh</i> (East Sutherland & Caithness)	April 2005	January 2012
Vol. 23 <i>Inbhirnis & Loch Nis</i> (Inverness & Loch Ness)	May 2005	April 2012
Vol. 24 <i>Taobh Sear Rois</i> (Easter Ross)	March 2005	February 2012
Vol. 25 <i>Dal Riada & Cinn Tìre</i> (Mid Argyll & Kintyre)	June 2005	April 2012
Vol. 26 <i>Comhal, Siorrachd Bhòid & Dùn Breatainn</i> (Cowal, County of Bute & Dumbarton)	June 2005	March 2012
Vol. 27 <i>Siorrachd Pheairt & Sruighlea</i> (Perthshire & Stirling)	August 2005	November 2008

