

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 15: *Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh* (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway)

Author: Kurt C. Duwe

Extended² 2nd Edition

March 2024

Executive Summary

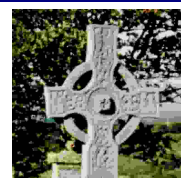
This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the 19th century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from 1881 until 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 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 is very much a minority issue and almost no Gaelic-speaking children below the age of 3 were recorded in 2001. There is much room for improvement regarding the state and status of the language on the doorstep of Comhairle nan Eilean.

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² Tables were extended with more census results of enumeration districts provided for 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1981.



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.

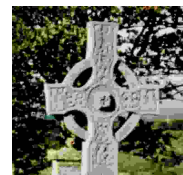
Foreword to the Second Edition

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!!!!

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!*

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Hamburg, *An t-Sultain* 2005
Hamburg, *Am Màirt* 2024

Kurt C. Duwe

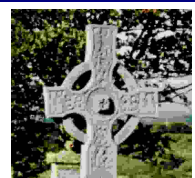
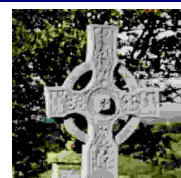
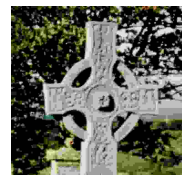


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1 Introduction

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 today. The 7,500 inhabitants live now not only within the old walls of the burgh, but developments have spread further to neighbouring places like *Lacasdal* (Laxdale) and *Sann-dabhaig* (Sandwick).

With the local government reorganisation of 1974 *Steòrnabhagh* became the administrative centre of the new local authority *Comhairle nan Eilean* (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.

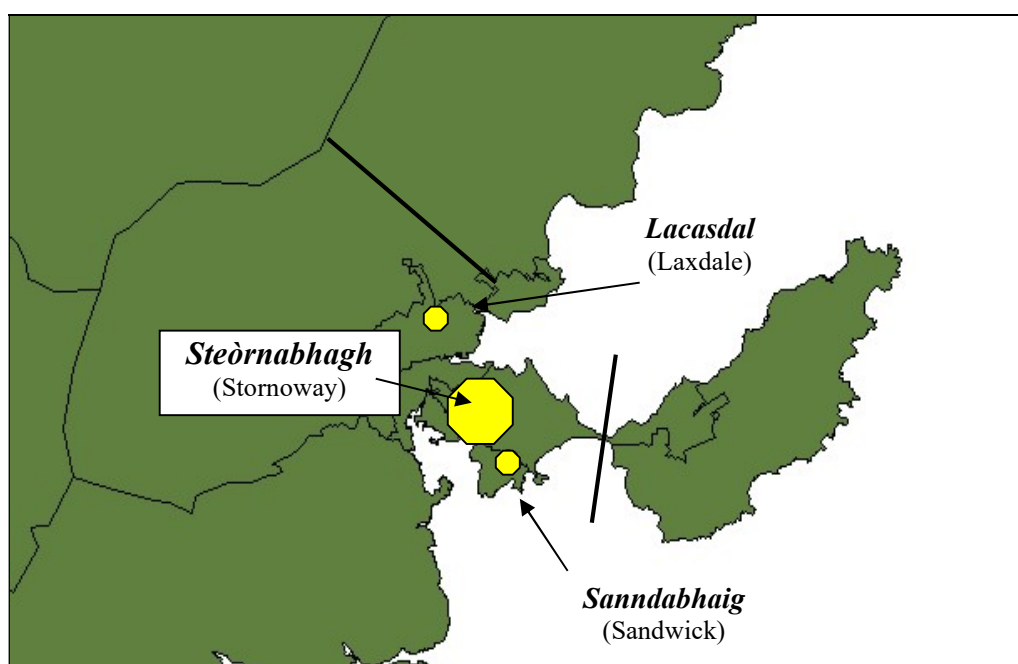
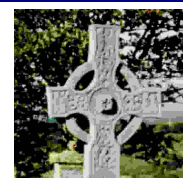


Fig. 1: Overview map of area under investigation on the island of *Leòdhas* (Lewis)³

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.

³ 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 *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) has been for centuries the gateway from *Leòdhas* to the outside world. Therefore, at any time of its history it welcomed a large number of incomers which made the town a small microcosm of the seafaring nations of their time. The received wisdom in the 19th century was that *Steòrnabhagh* 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).

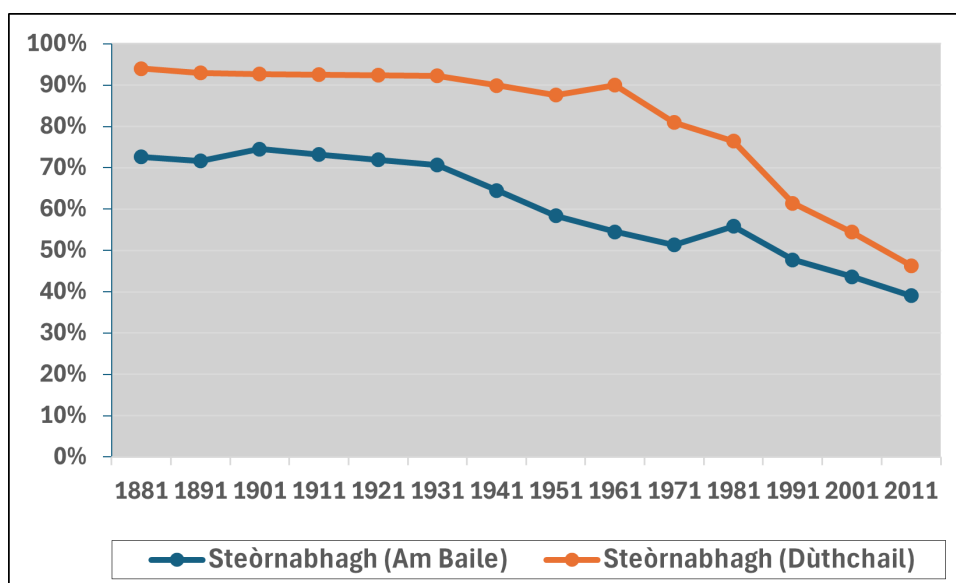


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 – town and rural part of *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) civil parish⁴

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

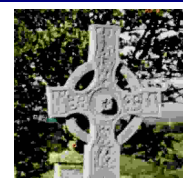
Generally speaking, approximately a quarter of the inhabitants of *Steòrnabhagh* was reported as “English only” speaking (fig. 3) during the different census enumerations until 1931. This share of exclusively English-speaking townspeople therefore did not increase until the Second World War.

<i>Steòrnabhagh (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 *Steòrnabhagh* and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1911 it is really worthwhile to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms which provide interesting additional information. Gener-

⁴ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

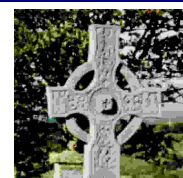


ally, the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors and counted also children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. The respective “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration districts in this part of the island are cited below ⁵ (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 Shanndabhaig & 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 Shanndabhaig 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). The small burgh of **Steòrnabhagh** (Stornoway) was divided for census reasons into seven enumeration

⁵ 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.



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 ⁶	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁷				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁸		
	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%

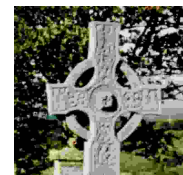
Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in parts of the town of *Steòrnabhagh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

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.

⁶ Due to considerable boundary changes intercensal comparisons are only tentatively possible.

⁷ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

⁸ 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 ⁹	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁰				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹¹		
	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 & Buaile 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>Geirsìadair</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%

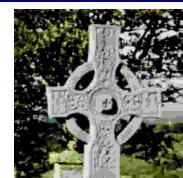
Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

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.

⁹ Enumeration division or village.

¹⁰ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹¹ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



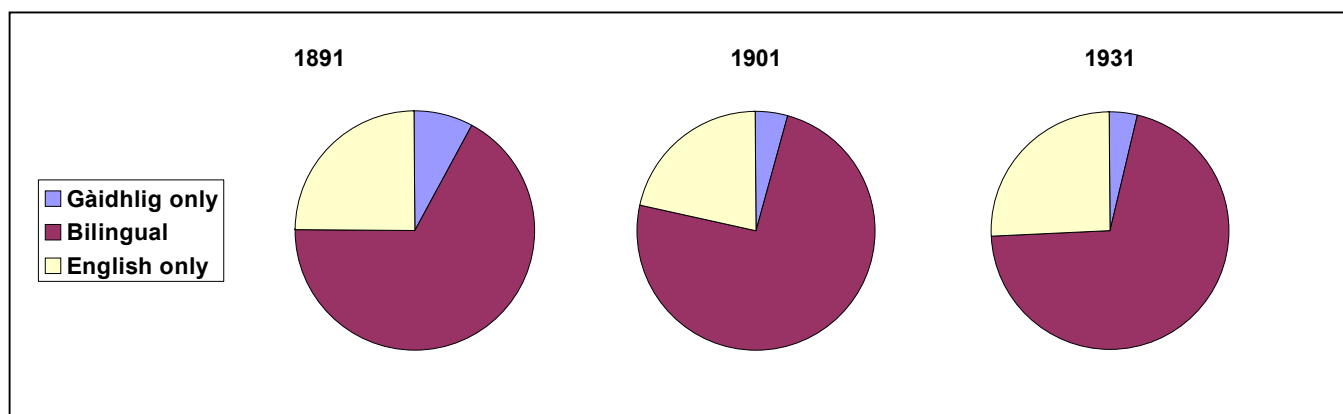


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the town of *Steòrnabhadh* according to census results in 1891, 1901 and 1931

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

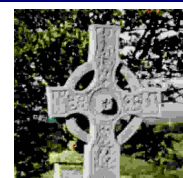
The Second World War caused many substantial upheavals both economically and socially in Scottish society especially in the urban context. *Steòrnabhadh* experienced a strong population growth from 3,770 in 1931 to 4,954 inhabitants in 1951. This was the main reason of the strong decline in Gàidhlig-speaking 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 *Lacasdal* (Laxdale), *Beinn na Saighde* (Newmarket), *Bruach Mhàiri* (Marybank) and *Sanndabhaig* (Sandwick) became more and more some kind of suburbs of *Steòrnabhadh* 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).

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

Table 4: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of *Steòrnabhadh* (including *Am Bac & An Rubha*) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951–2011

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 *Lacasdal* and *Sanndabhaig* (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961). The results of this survey in 1957/58 for *Steòrnabhadh* 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 *Leòdhas* 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 *Lacasdal* 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 *Steòrnabhadh* 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 *Steòrnabhadh* and the nearby townships was found to be very poor indeed (figures 4 and 5).

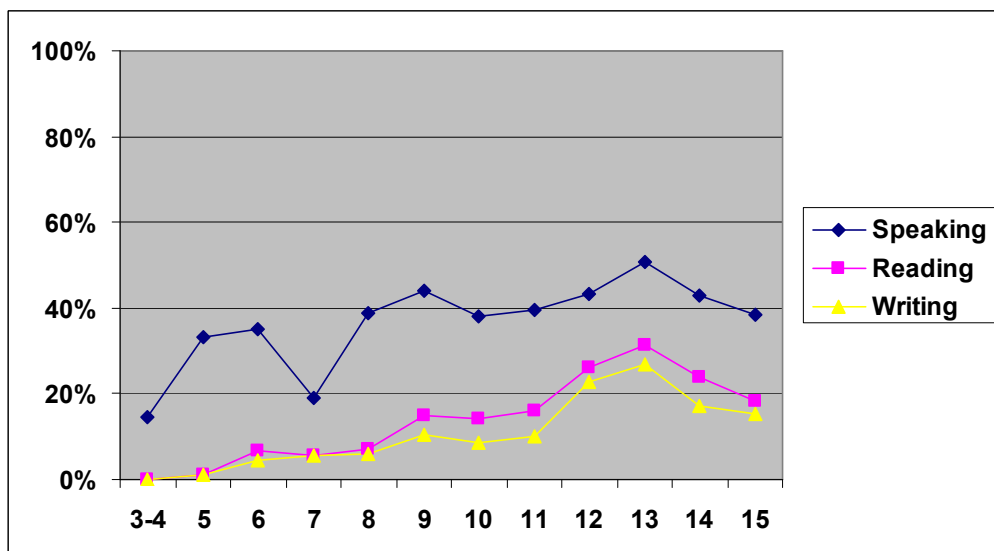


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – town of *Steòrnabhadh*

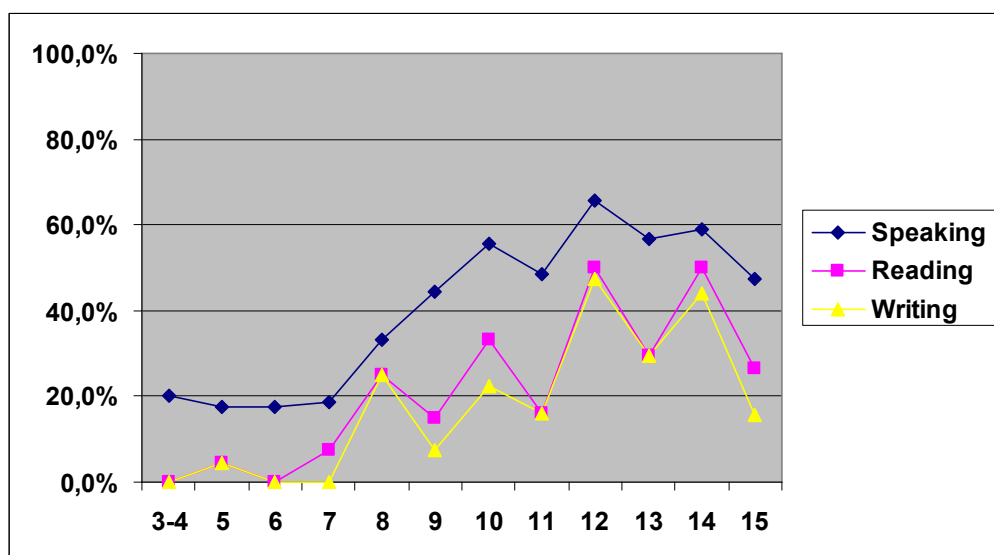
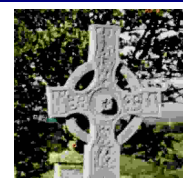


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* (Laxdale & Sandwick)



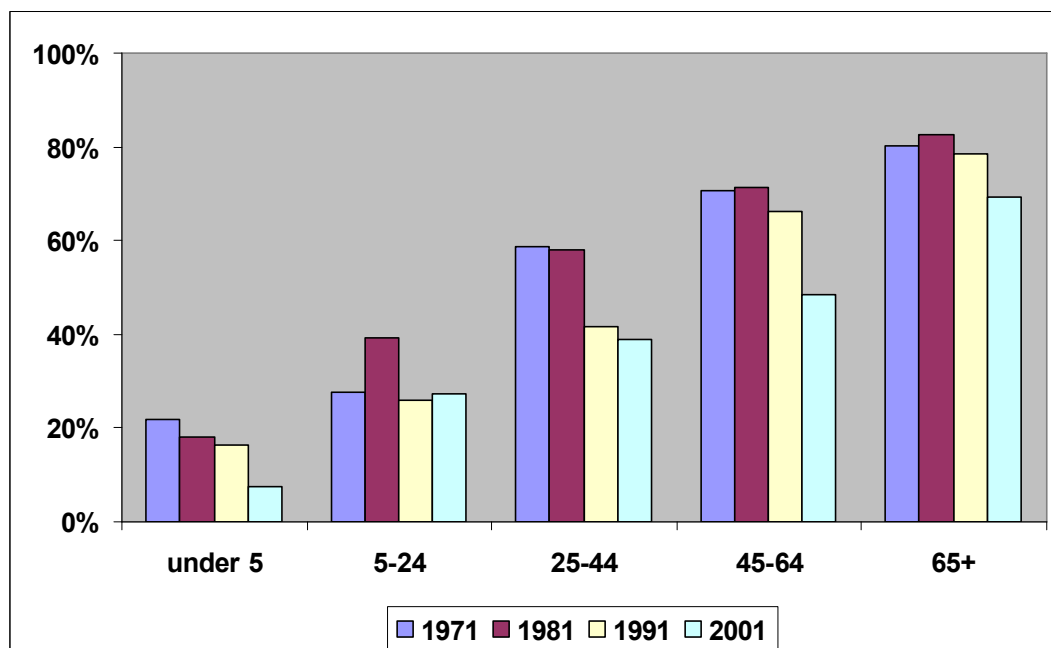


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – town of Steòrnabhagh¹²

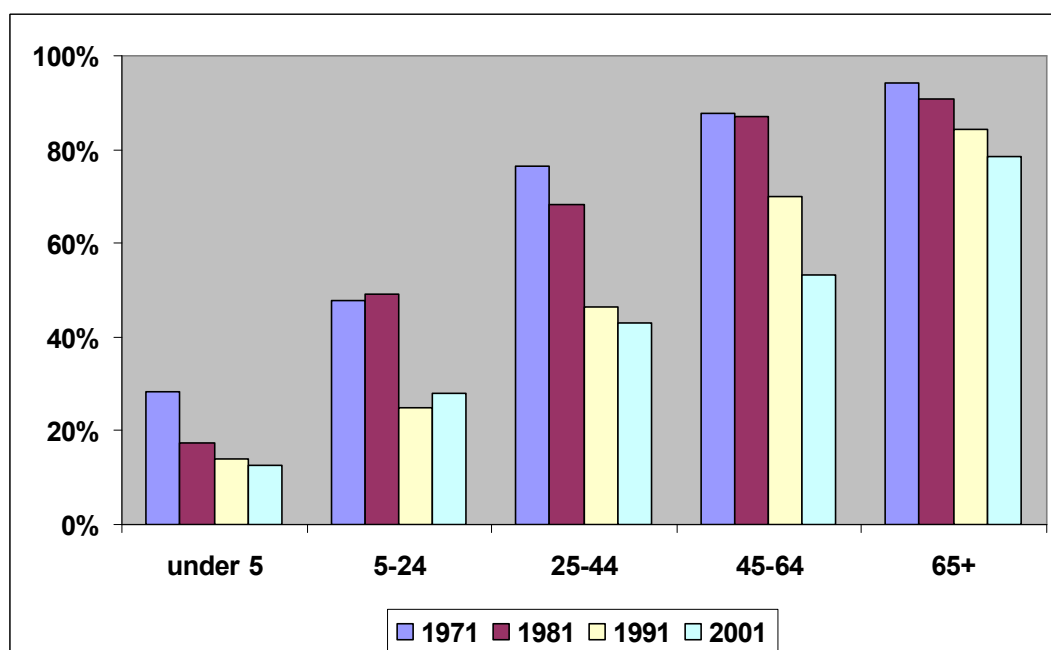
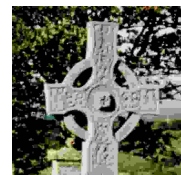


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Lacasdál & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)

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!

¹² Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



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 *Lacasdal* 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), *Lacasdal* (1991) and *Sanndabhaig* (1996). Uptake of this educational option remained, however, comparatively low at around 10 % with a slightly better picture at *Lacasdal* where roughly a fourth of pupils received *Gàidhlig*-medium education.

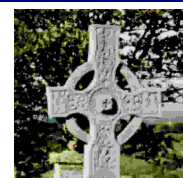
At first glimpse very unexpectedly the 2001 census reported almost a halt in the decline of *Gàidhlig*-speaking in both areas (*Steòrnabhagh* -1.5 % and its environs -1.2 %). Looking at the different age groups (figures 6 and 7) this decrease was primarily caused by those aged between 45 and 64. The 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 *Lacasdal* 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 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. There was the expected further decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, in 2011 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 shows massive negative values in all areas and unacceptably low figures of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the younger generation – 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 %).

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 *Leòdhais*. This information is also provided in table 5.

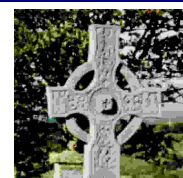


Census Data Zones	Steòrnabhagh – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Sanndabhaig (Sandwick)	29	20.7%	404	47.5%	- 26.8 %	65.2 %
Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)	50	31.1%	484	55.9%	- 24.8 %	63.2 %
An Gleann Ùr (New Valley)	60	32.3%	531	50.4%	- 18.1 %	60.2 %
Lacadal an Iar (Laxdale West)	37	35.2%	300	46.9%	- 11.6 %	55.9 %
Lacasdal an Ear & Steinis (Laxdale East & Steinish)	23	26.7%	339	52.8%	- 26.1 %	69.1 %
Raon na Creadha (Plasterfield)	29	29.6%	399	48.5%	- 18.9 %	56.3 %
Steòrnabhagh a Tuath (Stornoway North)	25	31.6%	330	51.6%	- 20.0 %	50.2 %
Steòrnabhagh Meadhonach (Stornoway Central)	39	45.9%	442	52.0%	- 6.1 %	64.8 %
Steòrnabhagh an Ear (Stornoway East)	17	27.0%	287	47.0%	- 20.0 %	60.4 %
Steòrnabhagh an Ear-Thuath (Stornoway Northeast)	30	30.6%	447	53.8%	- 22.2 %	57.9 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Na h- Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles)	48.8 %		61.2 %		- 12.4 %	76.8 %

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

2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

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 5 and 6 below). Here it becomes 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 %. Figures 8 and 9 provide 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 fifth of all children speaking the language.



	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	1390	1582	1673	1485	1275	53.1%	51.8%	67.6%	65.1%	64.7%
Lacasdal & Sanndabh. (Laxdale & Sandwick)	1040	1005	726	755	708	55.8%	59.9%	57.8%	67.2%	63.1%

Table 6: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2011)

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	680	1003	965	1091	967	26.0%	32.8%	39.0%	47.8%	49.0%
Lacasdal & Sanndabh. (Laxdale & Sandwick)	495	637	516	549	548	26.5%	37.9%	41.1%	48.9%	48.8%

Table 7: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2011)

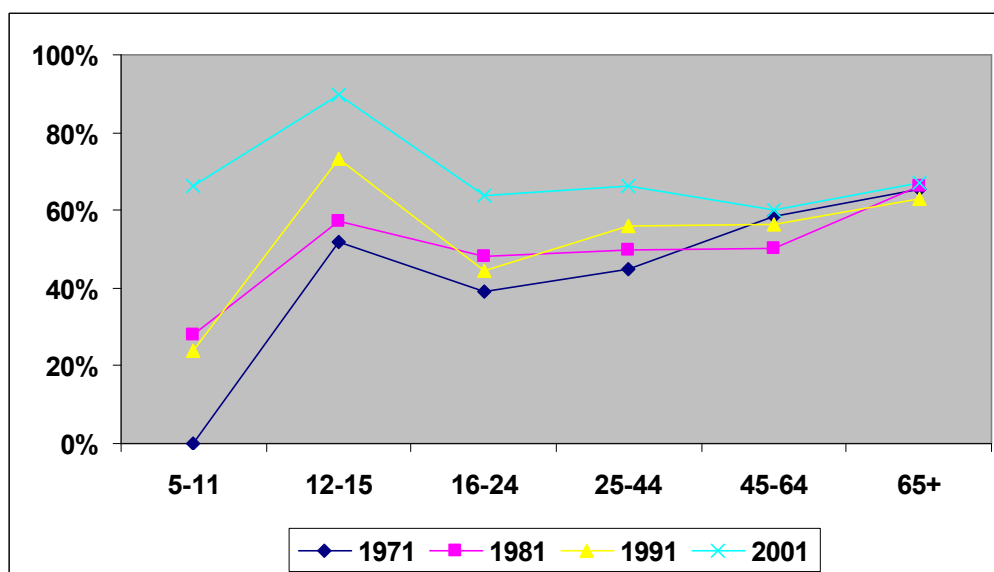
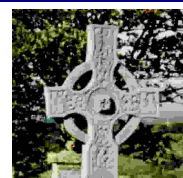


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): town of Steòrnabhagh



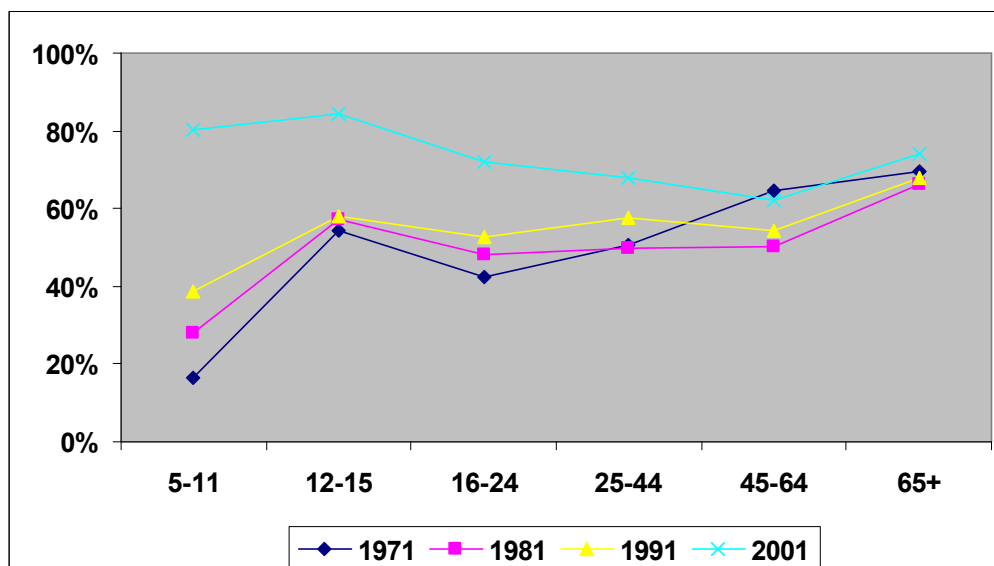
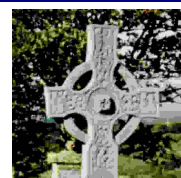


Fig. 9: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig*



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

Census results for 2001 were the most comprehensive and detailed information base ever provided for Scotland. This was also true for the inclusion of questions on *Gàidhlig* language knowledge. Two new aspects were introduced:

1. Persons were asked whether they were “able to understand spoken Gaelic”.
2. Children under the age of 3 were enumerated regarding their language abilities.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes.

The following sections will describe generally the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in local primary school catchments.

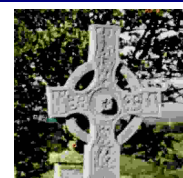
3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

Although some of the highlights of the census results of 2001 have already been mentioned in chapter 2 it is worthwhile to look at the results in some more detail. Section 3.2 will deal especially with the young generation in school catchments but at this stage we will concentrate on more general conclusions from the 2001 census information:

Steòrnabhagh: The abilities to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* were constantly increasing with age (fig. 10) with only a handful of pre-school children knowing something of the language. There was nonetheless only a small difference in *Gàidhlig*-speaking percentage between 2001 and 1991 by less than 5 % for the whole population (see possible explanation in chapter 2.2). Even an increase of around 12 % at school age (table 7) can be stated although speaking incidence was still on a low level by *Leòdhas* standards. The new category of understanding spoken *Gàidhlig* did show a proportion of the inhabitants of over 57 % whereas *Gàidhlig*-speakers were in a minority at 43 %. Inter-generational difference (table 7) in *Gàidhlig* knowledge between those aged 3 to 24 and the total population here was still at a high rate of –18 %. Literacy was relatively high in the area with 65 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers able to read and 48 % also able to write in the language.

Small area statistics for census output areas (table 16) showed the share of the population being able to speak the language in different parts of the town ranging from roughly 35 % to some 53 %. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 52 % and 63 %. Looking at the overall picture (fig. 11) most of the population lived in neighbourhoods where between 50 % and 65 % knew at least some *Gàidhlig*. A few had somewhat stronger neighbourhoods, a few even less. Accordingly, *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Steòrnabhagh* were in a clear minority position although at pensionable age the language was still widespread.

The new categories: Only a negligible number (2) of children under the age of three (1.5 %) were recorded as *Gàidhlig*-speakers; 13 had some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* (9.6 %). The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in 2001 recorded 786 persons (14.8 %) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 2,282 (43.0 %) *Gàidhlig* speakers.



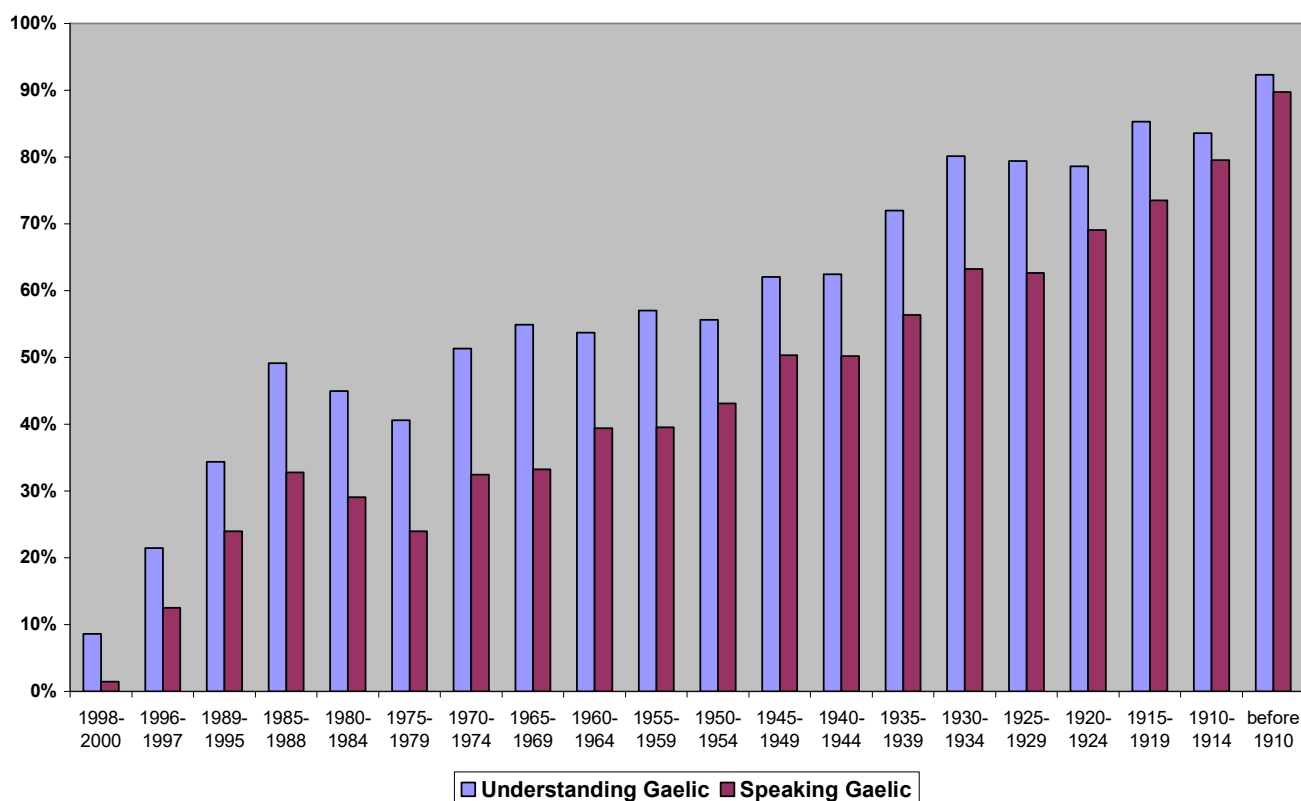
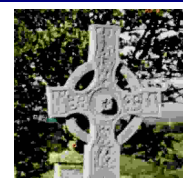


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹³ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	13	9.0 %	1	0.7 %	2	1.8 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	25	21.8 %	4	3.6 %	14	13.0 %	18	16.3 %	- 3.3 %
5-11	140	33.8 %	64	15.7 %	95	23.8 %	57	11.1 %	+12.7 %
12-15	126	50.2 %	74	29.1 %	88	33.7 %	76	22.6 %	+11.1 %
16-24	226	42.6 %	90	17.1 %	142	26.7 %	273	38.4 %	-11.7 %
3-24	517	39.7 %	232	17.8 %	339	26.0 %	424	25.4 %	+ 0.6 %
All ages	3,068	57.8 %	1,485	28.0 %	2,282	43.0 %	2,576	47.7 %	- 4.7 %
Difference	- 18.1 %		- 10.2 %		- 17.0 %		- 22.3 %		

Table 8: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) in 2001 and 1991

¹³ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



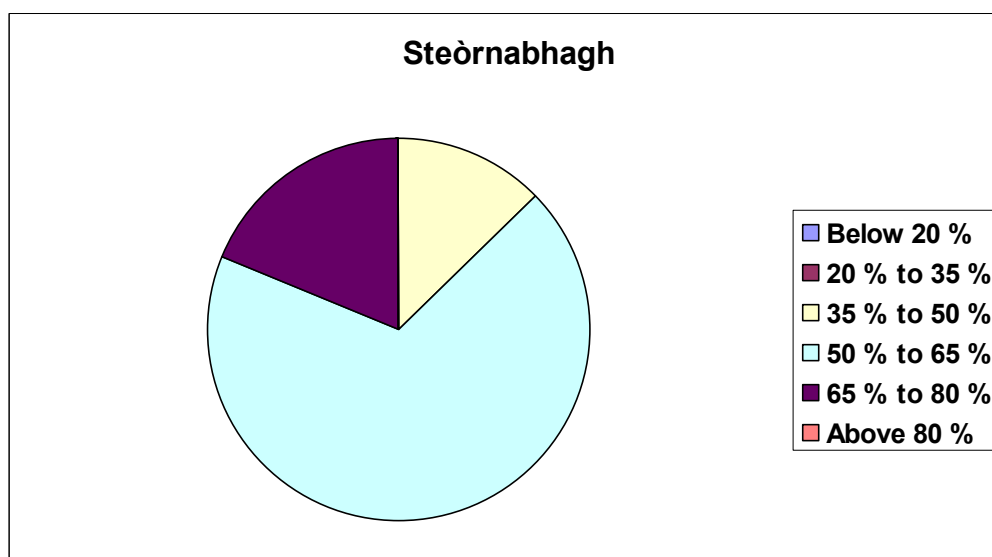
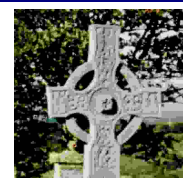


Fig. 11: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)* according to Census 2001

Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig: Also, in these adjacent settlements the abilities to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* were constantly increasing with age (fig. 12) with slightly more pre-school children knowing something of the language. There was (like in *Steòrnabhagh*) only a small difference in *Gàidhlig*-speaking percentage between years 2001 and 1991 by 1 % for the whole population. An increase of around 10 % at school age (table 8) could also be stated which was also experienced in the age group of 3-4. The new category of understanding spoken *Gàidhlig* showed a proportion of the inhabitants of over 59 % whereas *Gàidhlig*-speakers were in a minority at 48 %. Inter-generational difference (table 9) in *Gàidhlig* knowledge between those aged 3 to 24 and the total population was at a high rate of –18 %. Literacy was relatively high in the area with 67 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers able to read and 49 % also able to write in the language.

Small area statistics for census output areas (table 17) did show the share of the population being able to speak the language in different parts of the area ranging from roughly 29 % in *Steinis* to some 66 % in *Gleann Dubh*. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category varied between around 39 % in *Steinis* and 78 % in the more northerly settlements in *Gleann Dubh* and *Beinn na Saighde* (Newmarket). Looking at the overall picture (fig. 13) roughly a third of the population each lived in neighbourhoods where between 35-50%, 50-65% and over 80% knew at least some *Gàidhlig*. Accordingly, *Gàidhlig*-speaking incidence in the immediate surroundings of *Steòrnabhagh* is very uneven ranging from extremely anglicised areas to settlements near *Tunga* where the language is still an important factor in everyday life.

The new categories: Only a negligible number (4) of children under the age of three (5.2 %) were recorded as *Gàidhlig*-speakers; 7 had some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* (9 %). The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in 2001 recorded additional 288 persons (11.6 %) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 1,175 (47.6 %) *Gàidhlig*-speakers.



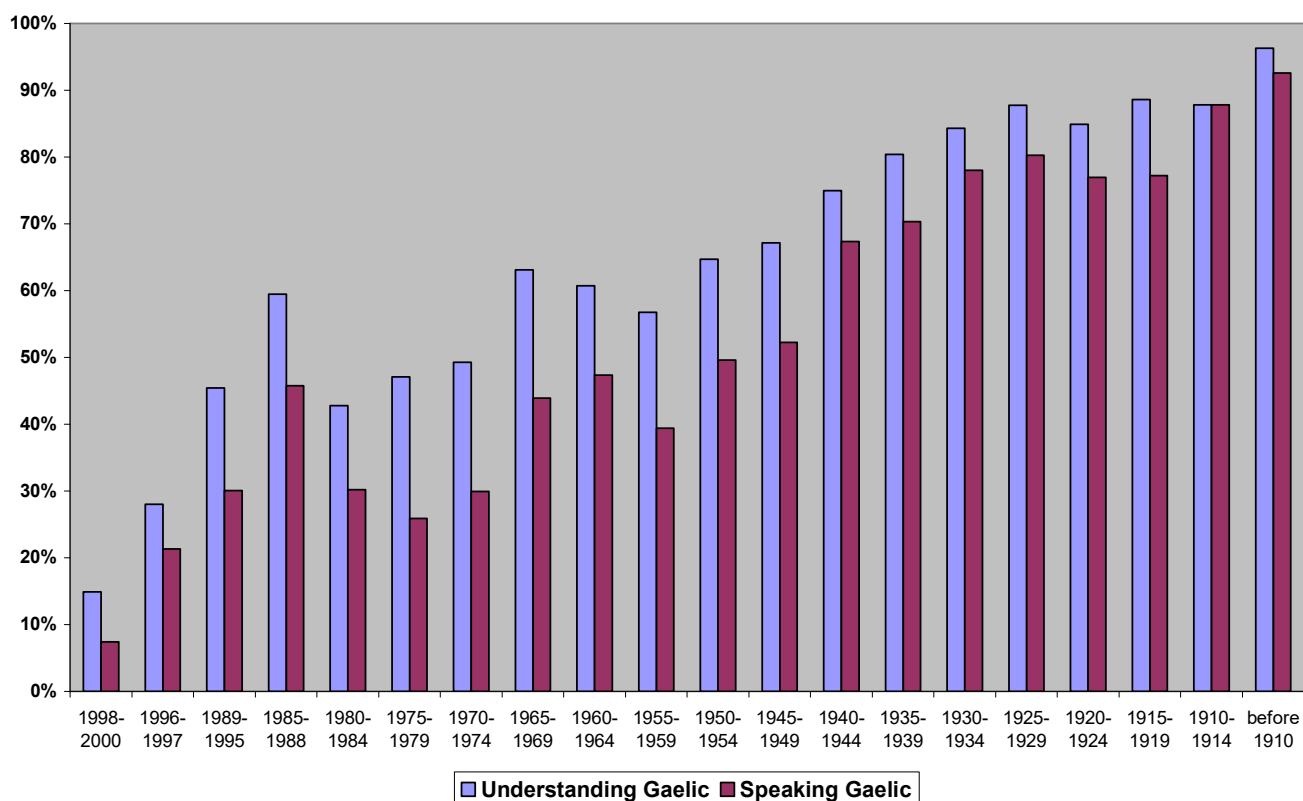
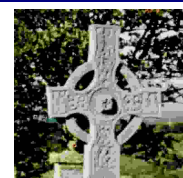


Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁴ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	7	9.2 %	0	0.0 %	4	5.3 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	17	30.4 %	2	3.6 %	13	23.2 %	9	13.9 %	+ 9.3 %
5-11	82	38.3 %	44	20.6 %	56	26.2 %	44	17.7 %	+ 8.5 %
12-15	60	54.1 %	39	35.1 %	48	43.2 %	46	29.1 %	+ 14.1 %
16-24	93	39.1 %	39	16.4 %	59	24.8 %	102	27.9 %	- 3.1 %
3-24	252	40.7 %	124	20.0 %	176	28.4 %	201	24.0 %	+ 4.4 %
All ages	1,463	59.1 %	795	32.2 %	1,175	47.6 %	1,307	48.7 %	- 1.1 %
Difference	- 18.4 %		- 12.2 %		- 19.2 %		- 24.7 %		

Table 9: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* in 2001 and 1991

¹⁴ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



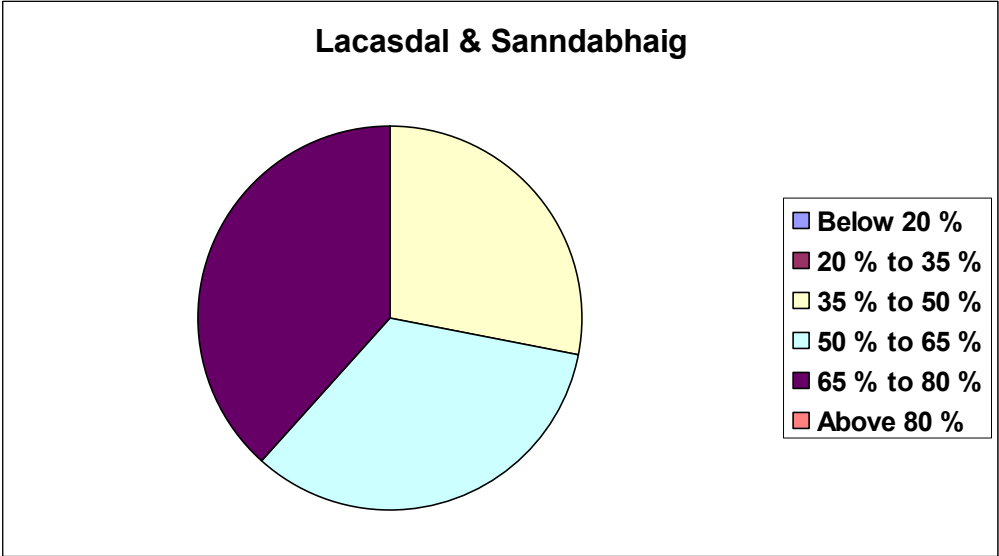


Fig. 13: Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to Census 2001

3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

Aggregating the information of the small area statistics for the catchments areas of local primary schools provides an interesting avenue to investigate the influence of local authority and parental attitudes towards *Gàidhlig*. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and for the purpose of this investigation they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). As an additional indicator a column is provided in table 10 with the age group of 24-35 which is meant to represent the language abilities of possible parents.

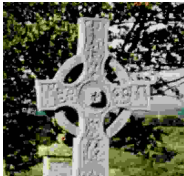
Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas ¹⁵								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
Lacasdal (Laxdale)	17	15.5 %	66	39.1 %	51	50.5 %	166	54.4 %
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	36	18.6 %	106	33.3 %	84	50.0 %	289	54.6 %
Cnoc Shanndabhaig (Sandwickhill)	5	17.9 %	26	51.0 %	15	51.7 %	47	58.8 %

Table 10: Number and percentage of persons with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

Generally, the following conclusions may be drawn for the six school catchments involved:

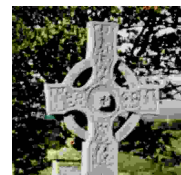
- Pre-school children: Only one in six of the youngest children understood spoken *Gàidhlig* in 2001.

¹⁵ Percentages above 50% are given in bold figures.



- Primary school children: All primary schools in the area provided GME: *Lacasdal* (41 pupils in 2000/2001), *Steòrnabhagh* (42) and *Cnoc Shannadabhaig* (11). These figures meant a share of the total school populations of 19.1 %, 12.1 % and 10.6 % respectively (see also fig. 14). The remaining pupils experienced “bilingual” mainstream education which meant only a short time for Gaelic as a second language. In this respect levels of a third or even half of the children reported as at least understanding spoken Gàidhlig might be considered as surprisingly high.
- Secondary school children: In secondary stages S1 and S2 51 out of 256 pupils (19.9 %) were learning Gàidhlig as “fluent speakers” at the Nicolson Institute in *Steòrnabhagh*; the rest had instruction of Gaelic as a second language. Most of those fluent speakers will in all probability have come from primary schools in western *Leòdhas* namely *Breascleit*, *Beàrnaraigh* and *Uig*. 18 pupils from these primary schools had gone through GME before entering the Nicolson Institute in *Steòrnabhagh* and a further 20 came from the three local Gàidhlig-medium units. A census figure of some 50 % of pupils being able to understand spoken Gàidhlig is on a comparable level with results in far more anglicised districts like *Muile* (Mull) and *Loch Aillse* (Lochalsh). This leaves much room for improvement also in the secondary sector.
- Parents: Most could-be parents confessed still some knowledge of the language. Inter-generational viability was on the other hand almost non-existent when considering the very low incidence of Gàidhlig-speaking at pre-school age in and around *Steòrnabhagh*.

It is quite clear that the present state of Gàidhlig within the younger generation and its place in education was far from satisfactory in the vicinity of the headquarters of *Comhairle nan Eilean*.



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

The 2011 census results provide the background on which future language development will be based. Unfortunately the language viability indicator LVI¹⁶ was very negative also in 2011. Only a third of the young people understands spoken *Gàidhlig* (table 11) in both areas and this is far less than in the Outer Hebrides as a whole.

Area	Steòrnabhagh – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	200	32.6%	2544	50.4%	- 17.8 %	59.5 %
Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)	139	28.5%	1419	51.2%	- 22.7 %	62.6 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Na h- Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles)	48.8 %		61.2 %		- 12.4 %	76.8 %

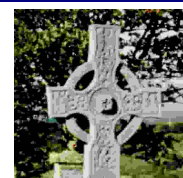
Table 11: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) and *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* (Laxdale & Sandwick) in comparison with the whole *Na h-Eileanan an Iar* (Western Isles) according to census data of 2011

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 very poorly maintained almost everywhere with LVI values usually in negative double 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 *Lacasdal* GMU.

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

¹⁶ LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of 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.



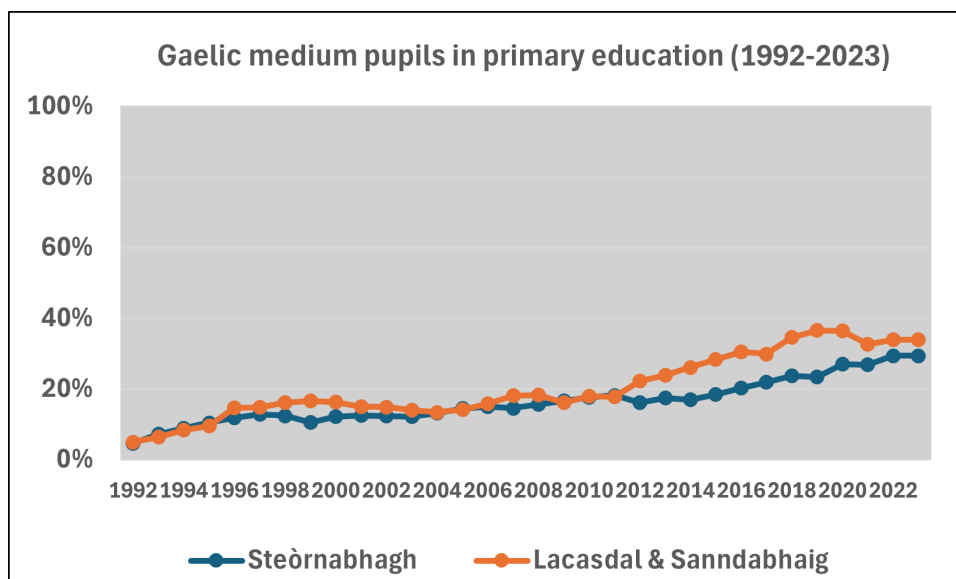
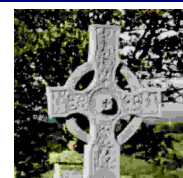


Fig. 14: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Steòrnabhagh* and *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* (September 1992 – September 2005)¹⁷

¹⁷ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

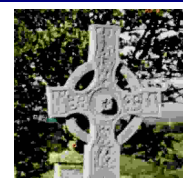


I. Supplementary Tables

Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: <i>Steòrnabhagh (Civil Parish)</i> ¹⁸	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>Lacasdal & Beinn na Saighde</i> (Laxdale & Newmarket) <i>Vi</i>	569	520	
<i>Sanndabhaig</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>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway)	7,399	6,294	
<i>An Cnoc</i> (Knock) neo/or <i>An Aoidh</i> (Eye)	2,990	2,808	
1891 Steòrnabhagh (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>Lacasdal & Beinn na Saighde</i> (Laxdale & Newmarket) <i>Vi</i>	548	390	103
<i>Sanndabhaig</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>Steòrnabhagh</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 12: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, villages and burgh)

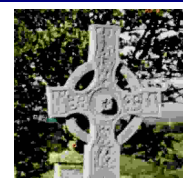
¹⁸ Figures include returns from the outlying districts of *Am Bac* (Back) and *An Rubha* (Point) in this parish (see volume no. 14 of this series for details).



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
Baile Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway Burgh)	3,852	2,702	167
Am Bac (Back) Vi	648	292	330
Pabail Iarach (Lower Bayble) Vi	505	271	215
Pabail Uarach (Upper Bayble) Vi	566	283	255
Col (Coll) Vi	686	487	168
Gàrrabost (Garrabost) Vi	490	162	285
Lacasdal & Beinn na Saighde (Laxdale & Newmarket) Vi	434	349	57
Port nan Giùran (Portnaguran) Vi	340	100	203
Sanndabhaig (Sandwick) Vi	438	365	44
Seisiadar (Sheshader) Vi	311	158	126
Suardail & An Cnoc (Swordale & Knock) Vi	704	421	228
Tolastadh (Tolsta) Vi	719	421	231
Tunga (Tong) Vi	530	45	440
Bhatasgair (Vatisker) Vi	537	285	218
----- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ---			
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)	9,035	5,863	1,813
An Cnoc (Knock) neo/or An Aoidh (Eye)	3,948	1,813	1,828
----- Electoral areas (included in the above) ---			
Am Bac (Back)	3,177	1,573	1,396
An Rubha (Point)	3,948	1,813	1,828
Steòrnabhagh Meadhonach (Stornoway Central)	2,006	1,008	250
Baile Steòrnabhaigh – Tuath (Stornoway Burgh - North)	2,392	1,749	123
Baile Steòrnabhaigh – Deas (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
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway Landward)	8,346	6,768	927
Baile Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway Small Burgh)	3,770	2,525	140
1951	12,791	9,301	450
Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway Landward)	7,837	6,450	412
Baile Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway Small Burgh)	4,954	2,851	38
1961	12,717	9,139	173
Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac) (Stornoway (Back)) CCED	2,334	2,094	72
Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach) (Stornoway (Central)) CCED	2,756	2,078	6
Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha) (Stornoway (Point)) CCED	2,398	2,144	70
Baile Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway Small Burgh)	5,229	2,823	25
1971 ¹⁹	12,232	8,275	95
Baile Steòrnabhaigh (Stornoway Small Burgh)	5,150	2,620	20
Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac) (Stornoway (Back)) CCED	2,170	1,915	*
Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach) (Stornoway (Central)) CCED	2,770	1,865	*
Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha) (Stornoway (Point)) CCED	2,120	1,875	*

Table 13: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, electoral areas, burgh or villages)

¹⁹ 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.



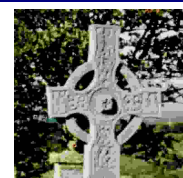
District Council of <i>Leòdhas</i> (Census 1961)					
Age	Population	Speaking Gàidhlig only		Speaking both Gàidhlig and English	
3-4	488	203	41.6 %	203	41.6 %
5 – 9	1,252	37	3.0 %	1,079	86.2 %
10 – 14	1,554	-	-	1,451	93.4 %
15 – 24	1,579	3	0.2 %	1,384	87.7 %
25 – 44	3,461	15	0.4 %	3,176	91.8 %
45 – 64	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 14: 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 *Sanndabhaig* and *Lacasdal*

Percentage of population speaking Gàidhlig but no English in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty ²⁰					
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 15: 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

²⁰ Island of *Leòdhas* (Lewis) with civil parishes of *Barabhas* (Barvas), *Na Lochan* (Lochs), *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) and *Uig* (Scotland Census Office, 1932).



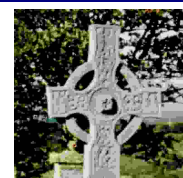
Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Steòrnabhagh</i> ²¹						
Map No	Census output area ²²	Age groups				Born in Scotland ²³
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01	<i>Steòrnabhagh 1</i> (Stornoway)	61 46.9%	31 50.0%	71 81.6%	56 98.2%	215 67.8%
02	<i>Steòrnabhagh 2</i> (Stornoway)	24 47.1%	44 69.8%	47 77.0%	31 91.2%	144 71.3%
03	<i>Steòrnabhagh 3</i> (Stornoway)	24 35.3%	25 43.9%	31 50.8%	20 74.1%	100 53.5%
04	<i>Steòrnabhagh 4</i> (Stornoway)	31 36.5%	24 41.4%	50 67.6%	59 81.9%	156 60.7%
05	<i>Steòrnabhagh 5</i> (Stornoway)	35 43.8%	32 58.2%	35 54.7%	52 67.5%	151 63.4%
06	<i>Steòrnabhagh 6</i> (Stornoway)	26 28.9%	40 51.3%	47 71.2%	78 77.2%	176 58.9%
07	<i>Steòrnabhagh 7</i> (Stornoway)	49 32.2%	51 54.8%	68 82.9%	105 91.3%	274 66.5%
08	<i>Steòrnabhagh 8</i> (Stornoway)	64 38.1%	78 59.1%	37 84.1%	9 100.0%	181 60.5%
09	<i>Steòrnabhagh 9</i> (Stornoway)	50 40.3%	62 69.7%	75 76.5%	71 74.0%	251 63.7%
10	<i>Steòrnabhagh 10</i> (Stornoway)	56 37.6%	51 57.3%	86 89.6%	86 83.5%	269 63.6%
11	<i>Steòrnabhagh 11</i> (Stornoway)	43 37.1%	60 58.8%	74 78.7%	66 85.7%	241 63.9%
12	<i>Steòrnabhagh 12</i> (Stornoway)	51 28.7%	62 59.6%	64 55.7%	68 81.9%	242 55.4%
13	<i>Steòrnabhagh 13</i> (Stornoway)	65 43.6%	70 66.7%	72 79.1%	48 90.6%	253 66.6%
14	<i>Steòrnabhagh 14</i> (Stornoway)	63 33.9%	60 58.8%	78 82.1%	28 70.0%	224 56.4%
15	<i>Steòrnabhagh 15</i> (Stornoway)	60 42.3%	65 57.5%	23 79.3%	10 100.0%	155 58.1%
Total	<i>Steòrnabhagh</i> (Stornoway)	702 37.6%	755 58.2%	858 75.7%	787 84.7%	3.032 62.1%

Table 16: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Steòrnabhagh* (Stornoway) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

²¹ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

²² A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

²³ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



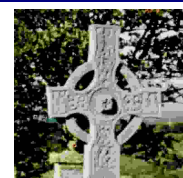
Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i> ²⁴						
Map No	Census output area ²⁵	Age groups				Born in Scotland ²⁶
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
51+52	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket)	61 53.5%	53 69.7%	54 88.5%	28 96.6%	190 73.4%
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 17: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* (Laxdale & Sandwick) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

²⁴ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

²⁵ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

²⁶ 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>Steòrnabhadh (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>Steòrnabhadh (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>Steòrnabhadh (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>Steòrnabhadh (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 %

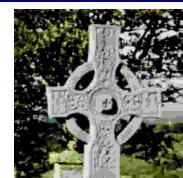
Table 18: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001

Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ²⁷ <i>Steòrnabhadh (Am Baile)</i>							
Map No	Census output area ²⁸	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 1	219	65.2 %	165	50.8 %	141	44.1 %
02	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 2	147	70.3 %	126	58.3 %	92	38.8 %
03	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 3	93	43.7 %	70	45.2 %	59	42.4 %
04	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 4	163	56.4 %	106	41.1 %	133	48.0 %
05	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 5	153	55.4 %	132	40.7 %	106	39.1 %
06	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 6	186	55.5 %	141	48.1 %	194	52.6 %
07	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 7	272	61.5 %	276	48.3 %	207	41.8 %
08	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 8	182	51.6 %	223	42.4 %	198	38.6 %
09	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 9	251	61.7 %	217	53.4 %	165	44.8 %
10	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 10	270	61.8 %	162	48.3 %	135	40.1 %
11	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 11	241	62.0 %	179	52.0 %	146	48.7 %
12	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 12	243	50.6 %	187	42.0 %	241	47.2 %
13	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 13	256	64.3 %	174	43.0 %	227	46.8 %
14	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 14	221	52.2 %	163	46.7 %	138	48.4 %
15	<i>Steòrnabhadh</i> (Stornoway) 15	160	54.4 %	153	41.6 %	100	35.3 %

Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Steòrnabhadh (Am Baile)* according to data from 1981 to 2001

²⁷ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

²⁸ 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.



<i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile): Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ²⁹		1981		1991		2001	
0-2³⁰	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 %

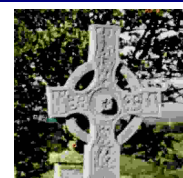
Table 20: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)* according to data from 1971 to 2001

<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 21: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to data from 1971 to 2001

²⁹ 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).

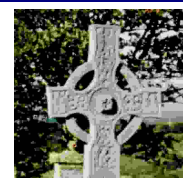
³⁰ Information only available since 2001.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig</i>							
Map No	Census output area ³¹	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>					135	66.5 %
55	<i>Grianan</i>			74	52.1 %	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>	147	63.1 %	98	48.0 %	45	37.5 %
60	<i>Bruach Mhàiri</i> (Marybank) 1					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 %	54	39.4 %
63	<i>Raon na Crèadha 2</i>			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>			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 %	47	39.2 %
69	<i>Mol Shannabhaig</i>					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 %	46	46.9 %
72	<i>Tolm</i>			73	57.5 %	76	55.9 %

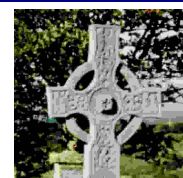
Table 22: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* according to data from 1981 to 2001

³¹ 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.



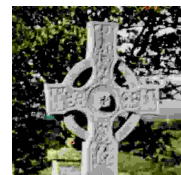
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	Steòrnabhagh 1 Stornoway 1	36	38.7 %	195	60.9 %	- 22.2 %	63.1 %
02	Steòrnabhagh 2 Stornoway 2	23	30.3 %	133	56.1 %	- 25.8 %	58.1 %
03	Steòrnabhagh 3 Stornoway 3	21	55.3 %	75	54.0 %	+ 1.3 %	60.5 %
04	Steòrnabhagh 4 Stornoway 4	27	51.9 %	167	60.3 %	- 8.4 %	65.6 %
05	Steòrnabhagh 5 Stornoway 5	18	31.0 %	143	52.8 %	- 21.8 %	57.7 %
06	Steòrnabhagh 6 Stornoway 6	26	39.4 %	233	63.1 %	- 23.7 %	68.8 %
07	Steòrnabhagh 7 Stornoway 7	60	41.4 %	274	55.5 %	- 14.1 %	56.5 %
08	Steòrnabhagh 8 Stornoway 8	77	35.2 %	278	54.2 %	- 19.0 %	57.9 %
09	Steòrnabhagh 9 Stornoway 9	38	40.9 %	223	60.6 %	- 19.7 %	65.3 %
10	Steòrnabhagh 10 Stornoway 10	19	21.1 %	190	56.4 %	- 35.3 %	57.5 %
11	Steòrnabhagh 11 Stornoway 11	26	38.2 %	181	60.3 %	- 22.1 %	62.2 %
12	Steòrnabhagh 12 Stornoway 12	50	38.2 %	305	59.7 %	- 21.5 %	63.6 %
13	Steòrnabhagh 13 Stornoway 13	42	34.1 %	292	60.2 %	- 26.1 %	63.6 %
14	Steòrnabhagh 14 Stornoway 14	25	34.7 %	174	61.1 %	- 26.4 %	63.9 %
15	Steòrnabhagh 15 Stornoway 15	35	36.5 %	147	51.9 %	- 15.4 %	54.9 %

Table 23: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to census data of 2001



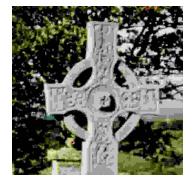
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Beinn na Saighde 1</i> (Newmarket)	16	37.2 %	87	62.1 %	- 24.9 %	62.3 %
52	<i>Beinn na Saighde 2</i> (Newmarket)	12	70.6 %	60	77.9 %	- 7.3 %	81.9 %
53	<i>Rathad Thunga</i>	13	27.7 %	66	53.2 %	- 25.5 %	57.3 %
54	<i>Gleann Dubh</i>	38	64.4 %	158	77.8 %	- 13.4 %	78.7 %
55	<i>Grianan</i>	16	30.8 %	65	46.8 %	- 16.0 %	51.2 %
56	<i>An Gleann Ùr</i>	19	50.0 %	119	68.8 %	- 18.8 %	69.5 %
57	<i>Geirsiadair</i>	13	40.6 %	51	53.7 %	- 13.1 %	58.8 %
58	<i>Lacasdal</i> (Laxdale)	2	11.8 %	56	51.9 %	- 40.1 %	55.6 %
59	<i>Cnoc Mhàiri</i>	8	19.1 %	59	49.2 %	- 30.1 %	50.5 %
60	<i>Bruach Mhàiri 1</i> (Marybank)	7	31.8 %	25	43.1 %	- 11.3 %	41.2 %
61	<i>Bruach Mhàiri 2</i> (Marybank)	5	20.8 %	34	47.9 %	- 27.1 %	55.7 %
62	<i>Raon na Crèadha 1</i>	10	27.3 %	72	52.5 %	- 25.2 %	55.6 %
63	<i>Raon na Crèadha 2</i>	11	30.6 %	55	54.5 %	- 23.9 %	55.6 %
64	<i>Raon na Crèadha 3</i>	13	37.1 %	117	66.5 %	- 29.4 %	69.1 %

Table 24: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Lacasdal* & *Sanndabhaig* according to census data of 2001 – Part A



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
65	<i>Mealabost (Melbost)</i>	7	29.2 %	47	46.1 %	- 16.9 %	58.7 %
66	<i>Bràigh na h-Uidhe</i>	10	34.5 %	69	54.3 %	- 19.8 %	61.6 %
67	<i>Steinis</i>	5	20.0 %	33	38.8 %	- 18.8 %	44.4 %
68	<i>Sanndabhaig 1 (Sandwick)</i>	15	38.5 %	74	61.7 %	- 23.2 %	64.9 %
69	<i>Mol Shanndabhaig</i>	18	45.0 %	58	49.2 %	- 4.2 %	54.8 %
70	<i>Sanndabhaig 2 (Sandwick)</i>	14	56.0 %	55	67.9 %	- 11.9 %	69.7 %
71	<i>Sanndabhaig 3 (Sandwick)</i>	11	44.0 %	64	65.3 %	- 21.3 %	66.3 %
72	<i>Tolm</i>	14	51.9 %	97	71.3 %	- 19.4 %	76.6 %

Table 25: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Lacasdal* & *Sanndabhaig* according to census data of 2001 – Part B



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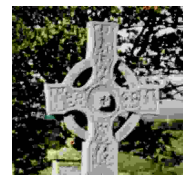
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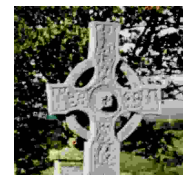
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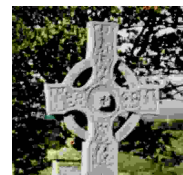
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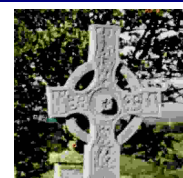
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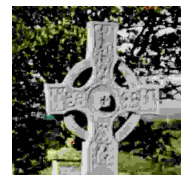
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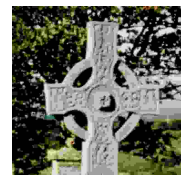
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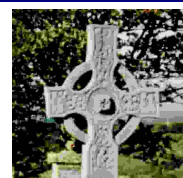
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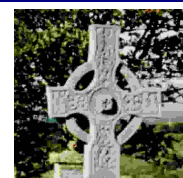
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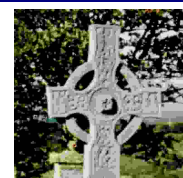
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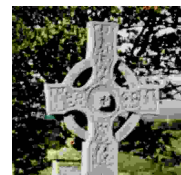
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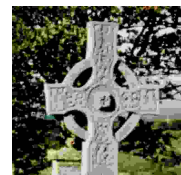
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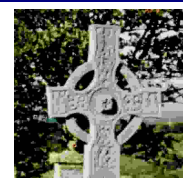
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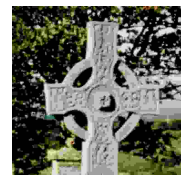
III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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>.

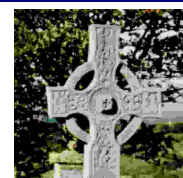


IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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*

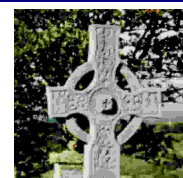


Census Output Areas in <i>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – Part B</i>				
Map No.	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
12	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar & Pairc a’Mhanair)</i> <i>Stornoway (Goathill & Manor Park)</i>	SB	56AJ12A 56AJ12B 56AJ12C 56AJ12C	60RJ000145 60RJ000146 60RJ000220 60RJ000221
13	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar & Raon na Crèadhha)</i> <i>Stornoway (Goathill & Plasterfield)</i>	SB	56AJ13A 56AJ13B 56AJ13C 56AJ13D	60RJ000147 60RJ000148 60RJ000149 60RJ000150
14	<i>Steòrnabhagh (Pairc a’Mhanair & Raon na Crèadhha)</i> <i>Stornoway (Manor Park & Plasterfield)</i>	SB	56AJ14A 56AJ14A 56AJ14B	60RJ000222 60RJ000223 60RJ000151
15	<i>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal & Cùl na Grèine)</i> <i>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</i> (Newmarket)	SC	56AH25A	60RJ000112
52	<i>Beinn na Saighde</i> (Newmarket)	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</i> (Laxdale)	SC	56AH27B	60RJ000218

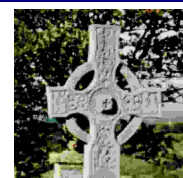
Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part A - 1961-2001*



Census Output Areas in <i>Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part B</i>				
Map No.	Census output area ³²	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, Buailte 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

³² 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.



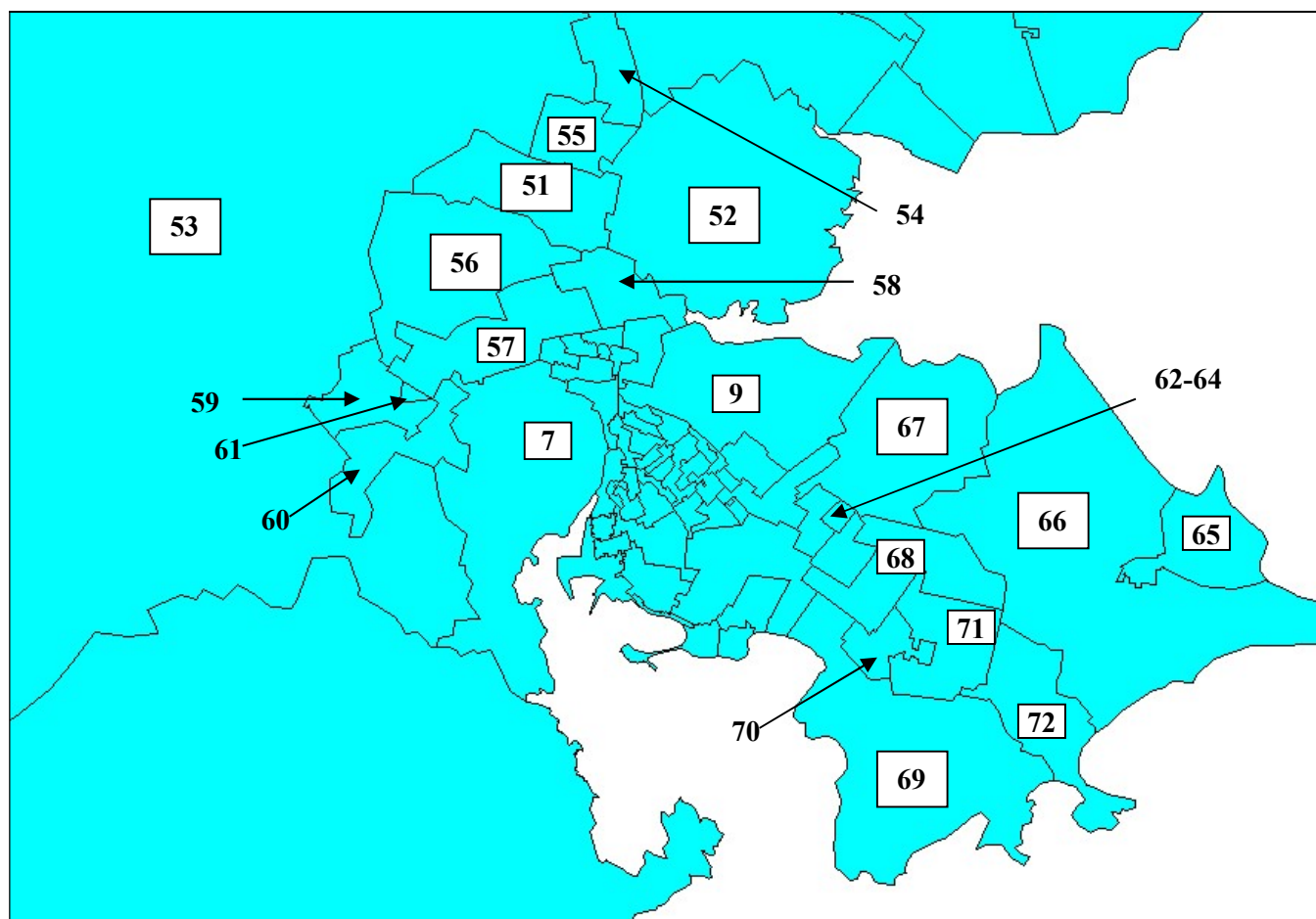
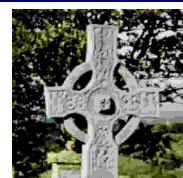


Fig. 15: Overview map of all census output areas for *Steòrnabhagh* - numbers for outlying census output areas of *Lacasdal* & *Sanndabhaig* are provided in tables A-3 and A-4³³

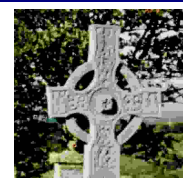
³³ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census



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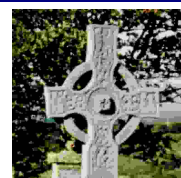
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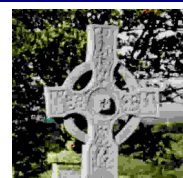
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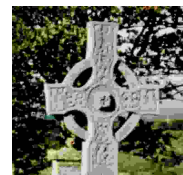
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VII. List of Abbreviations

There are a number of 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



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