# Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies ${ }^{1}$ 

Vol. 19: An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear<br>(Fort William \& East Lochaber)

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Extended ${ }^{2} 2^{\text {nd }}$ Edition
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## Executive Summary

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic speaking at the end of the $19^{\text {th }}$ 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.

Both the district of East Lochaber and its capital Fort William have kept their Gaelic traditions longer than many comparable areas in the Highlands. Nonetheless the language experienced a considerably weakening during the decades. Quite recently, however, attitudes became more favourable towards Gaelic. Some positive signs of recovery (on a comparatively low level) have already surfaced in the 2001 census. The consolidation of Gaelic-speaking intensity since 1991 in the town of Fort William is in itself an achievement. But overall, there is still a mountain to climb to improve the status of the language in all of East Lochaber. Recent substantial improvements in educational provision may help to redress the balance in favour of Gaelic in the future.

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## Foreword to the First Edition

Since 1881 every decennial population census in Scotland included a question about the "Gaelicspeaking" 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 so-cio-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 $20^{\text {th }}$ 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 reanimation 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 socalled 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, Am Màirt 2024
Kurt C. Duwe

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## 1 Introduction

Loch Abar (Lochaber) lies in the very centre of the Western Highlands at the southern edge of the Great Glen. For a long time, these merely were 200,000 hectares of vast open mountain and moorland with a few scattered townships. Then in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rising in 1745 the traditional clan system was destroyed, and military fortification took place in "The Garrison" An Gearasdan, as Fort William was known locally. The industrial revolution then changed society and economic circumstances substantially. First came the Caledonian Canal, then the West Highland Railway arrived, and more recently, hydroelectric power, aluminium smelter and the paper mill. On top of that An Gearasdan became the hub of the tourist industry with all-year services after winter sports entered the slopes of Aonach Mòr beneath Beinn Nibheis (Ben Nevis).

It could easily be forgotten that not long ago Gàidhlig was universally spoken throughout the glens and even in the streets of An Gearasdan. Today some positive signs are surfacing to prove that everything may not be lost in Tir nam Beann, Tir nan Gleann is nan Gaisgeach (The Land of the Bens, the Glens and the Heroes). This volume is dedicated to describing the history of Gàidhlig in this district since 1881 - hopefully the recent positive mood towards the language will prevail and possibly rise again.


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of An Gearasdan (Fort William) and Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) ${ }^{3}$

[^2]
## 2 The Historical Background

Gàidhlig was widespread and almost universally spoken in the Western Highlands at the turn of the $19^{\text {th }}$ century. Loch Abar an Ear and its main township An Gearasdan made no exception to this rule. But English nonetheless had been advancing decades earlier. In the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) for example the local minister reported about the parish of Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie): "The prevailing language is the Gaelic, but the English is gaining ground. The people are very desirous to acquire the English language.....The intercourse with the south country by steam-boats, and the number of schools in particular, have tended to spread the English language among the inhabitants; but they prefer to receive religious instruction in Gaelic."

Through the following decades a dramatic decline in Gàidhlig speaking commenced in this district. This development was not halted until the start of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century (fig. 2).


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in rural Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) in comparison with An Gearasdan (Fort William) ${ }^{4}$

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

In the 1881 census for the first time a question about the Gàidhlig language was introduced. Results showed that over $80 \%$ of the population spoke "habitually Gaelic" in this region. The vast majority of speakers had already made some acquaintance with English as the "Gaelic only" returns in 1891 and especially in 1901 were very small (tables 2 to 4 ). The language held its ground in these days rather well when considering the strong economic growth around An Gearasdan with a significant in-migration of English monolingual speakers. Not until 1931 Gàidhlig lost its status of majority language (table 1) although the number of speakers around had seen an increase since 1921. Official and social pressures nonetheless were constantly pushing the local language into the background and the number of Gàidhlig-speaking homes dwindled day by day. The ignorance of the education system did its part too to support this trend.

[^3]| An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject $\backslash$ Census | $\mathbf{1 8 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 2 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 3 1}$ |
| Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) | 4,478 | 4,820 | 3,800 | 3,318 | 2,752 | 3,082 |
| \% of total population | $80.9 \%$ | $73.9 \%$ | $65.0 \%$ | $61.4 \%$ | $51.1 \%$ | $38.8 \%$ |

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William \& East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more 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, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore some "corrected" 1891 details about three enumeration areas in this district are cited below ${ }^{5}$ (Duwe, 2006):

1. Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry): This north-western portion of the parish of Cill Mo Naomhaig extends from the fertile Gleann Mòr (Great Glen) to the mountains at the head of Loch Shubhairne (Loch Hourn). Apart from the village of Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) settlements were tiny and far between in 1891. The glens to the west including Gleann Chuaich (Glen Quoich) were already cleared and only home to a few shepherds and gamekeepers at the time. The Gäidhlig language was still widely used in this Highland glen at the time of the census: "Apart from the relatively large number of people originating from outside the Gaidhealtachd the vast majority was speaking the traditional tongue. Only among the very young the language had already retreated in favour of English monolingualism. Geographically English monolingual people were mostly confined to the village of Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) and the remote shepherd huts in Gleann Chuaich (Glen Quoich) further west. All Gàidhlig monolingual persons found were females and older than 24 years of age. In original census report terms the enumeration district in total had a population of 392 persons of all ages. 272 enumerated inhabitants spoke "Gaelic and English" and 10 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an "official" share of Gäidhlig speakers of $71.9 \%$." In real terms even $76.5 \%$ of all usually resident persons spoke Gäidhlig at the time!
2. An Gearasdan \#3 (Fort William \#3): The town of An Gearasdan (Fort William) forms the economic and administrative centre of the Highland district of Loch Abar (Lochaber). "In 1891 the town was the second most important population centre in the county of Inbhirnis (Inverness). The lowest part of the town between An t-Sràid Ard (High Street) and the seashore was situated within census enumeration district no. 3. Most of the residents in this part of An Gearasdan were labourers in small industrial workplaces (distillery, railway, gasworks, etc.) or acted as servants in the various hotels. The Gàidhlig language was still used extensively in this part of the town at the time setting aside the large community of residents originating from far away places in Lowland Scotland or even England. With the exception of children under the age of 10 Gàidhlig was overwhelmingly used by the usually resident population. According to census material just two usually resident women spoke "Gaelic only" in this part of the town: A 48-year-old wife of a railway worker had a birthplace on the Hebridean island of Na Hearadh (Harris). Another 38 -year-old monolingual woman originated also in the islands. Official census figures reported 291 bilingual inhabitants and five monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers out of a total population of 389 persons ( $74.8 \%$ )". The usually resident population, however, consisted of 273 Gàidhlig-speakers ( 82.7 \%) including two persons "with no English"!
3. Gleann Nibheis \& Achadh an Todhair (Glen Nevis \& Achintore): The area lies in the centre of the district of Loch Abar (Lochaber) and occupies land south and east of the town of An Gearasdan (Fort William). It includes the remoter settlements around Blàr Mac Faoilteach (Blarmachfoldach) and dwellings

[^4]within Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis). In 1891 most inhabitants were occupied with crofting with some persons engaged as shepherds and gamekeepers. In addition, three persons were working at the weather observatory on Beinn Nibheis at census night. "The local population was almost exclusively Gàidhlig speaking with a few inhabitants unable to speak English (mainly among the very young and the very old). The handful of English monolingual persons came mainly from three households the most prominent of which was of course the one at the observatory on Beinn Nibheis (Ben Nevis)! The crofting settlements were thoroughly Gaiddhlig speaking with Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) and Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis) boasting $100 \%$ of Gäidhlig speakers among the usual resident population. Ten persons were returned as not speaking Gàidhlig. These included a lady from England (living on private means) and her servant, a contractor's wife (born in Kirkcudbrightshire) and three of her children, a 6 year old crofter's nice (born in Glasgow) as well as a 15 year old herdboy born in Malta. In addition, two of the three persons on duty at the observatory on Beinn Nibheis (Ben Nevis) could not speak Gàidhlig. Fourteen residents were reported as not speaking English. Three children younger than 10 and eleven adults beyond the age of 44 belonged to this tiny monolingual group. In original census report terms the district had a population of 271 persons of all ages. 240 enumerated inhabitants spoke "Gaelic and English" and 14 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an "official" share of Gàidhlig speakers of $93.7 \%$." Even this high figure was an under-estimate of $2.1 \%$ compared with the share of the usually resident population!

| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Gleann Garadh - 1881-1911 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{6}$ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ${ }^{7}$ |  |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ${ }^{8}$ |  |  |
|  | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| Lagan a Deas \& Leitir Fheàrna (South Laggan \& Letterfearn) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 38 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 41 \\ \mathbf{9 1 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 93 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 36 \\ \mathbf{6 7 . 9 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 9.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Lagan a Tuath \& Dearg Allt (North Laggan \& Deargalt) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 53 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 57 \\ \mathbf{8 9 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 55 \\ \mathbf{8 4 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 6 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27 \\ \mathbf{4 7 . 4} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ \mathbf{2 5 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ \mathbf{1 7 . 1 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Manndalaigh (Mandally) | $\begin{gathered} 68 \\ \mathbf{6 3 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 56 \\ \mathbf{6 7 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60 \\ 61.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 46 \\ 43.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 8.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 3.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 6.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Garadh Ualach \& Àrdachaigh (Garryualach \& Ardochy) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 48 \\ \mathbf{9 0 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ \mathbf{7 7 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} 36 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ \mathbf{8 4 . 6 \%} \end{gathered}$ | - | - | - |
| Inbhir Garadh \& Faicheam (Invergarry \& Faichem) | $\begin{gathered} 143 \\ \mathbf{7 0 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 156 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 6} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 119 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 93 \\ \mathbf{6 1 . 6 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 2.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 1.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 7.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Innis Lagain \& An Tom Donn (Inchlaggan \& Tomdoun) | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ \mathbf{9 6 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 73.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 32 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | - | - | - |
| Gleann Chuaich (Glen Quoich) | $\begin{gathered} 27 \\ 56.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ \mathbf{5 7 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ \mathbf{5 0 . 0} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 4.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | - |

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gà̀dhlig-speakers as share of population in Gleann Garadh according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

Very detailed local information is available in census publications until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2, 3 and 4). Although all official percentages of Gäidhlig speakers were notoriously underestimating the real strength of the language (children less than 3 years of age and visitors were included in the population base) the temporal evolution of language knowledge and the incidence of monolingualism can clearly be depicted from official figures. By looking at the census results

[^5]on enumeration district level the geographical distribution and its variability become even more evident than in the less detailed census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901.

The ecclesiastic parish of Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) was predominantly Gàidhlig speaking during this period (table 2). Most English monoglots were recent imports from the Lowlands. They either worked as shepherds or gamekeepers on the local estates or belonged even to the "higher society" around Invergarry House. On the other hand, almost all Gàidhlig speakers were bilingual except from some families in Lagan a Tuath (North Laggan) and Dearg Allt (Deargalt).

The more easterly portion of the ecclesiastic parish of Cill Mo Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) was also a staunchly Gàidhlig speaking district (table 3). Except in the vicinity of An Gearasdan around Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) almost all residents spoke the traditional language. In 1891 in a number of locations this fact was only hidden in the old census figures because a large number of temporally residing workers was present (and counted!) along the newly erected railway line between An Gearasdan and Glaschu (Glasgow)! The number of Gàidhlig monolingual persons on the other hand was almost negligible except in a few more remote places.

Further south the ecclesiastic parish of Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) included the fast-growing town of An Gearasdan which still remained predominantly Gàidhlig speaking at the turn of the century (table 4). In the surrounding district the language was almost universally spoken by the resident population. These speakers were overwhelmingly bilingual with only remarkable numbers of "Gaelic only" speakers in the communities on the north shores of Loch Liobhuinn (Loch Leven). A rather peculiar "English" stronghold at the time happened to be the enumeration district centred on Achnacarry House where a huge number of servants outnumbered the locally born population.


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

The period 1911 to 1931 saw the language slowly retreating in the area. Gàidhlig monolingualism dwindled to a mere 20 in 1931. With intensified industrial developments a strong influx of people from all over Scotland further diluted the Gàidhlig speaking intensity from $61.4 \%$ in 1991 to $38.8 \%$ in 1931 although the number of Gàidhlig speakers decreased only marginally by just 236 persons!

| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Cill Mo Naomhaig - 1881-1911 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{9}$ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ${ }^{10}$ |  |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ${ }^{I I}$ |  |  |
|  | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| An Claigeann \& Inbhir Lòchaidh (Claggan \& Inverlochy) | $\begin{gathered} 56 \\ \mathbf{6 2 . 9} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 63 \\ \mathbf{5 4 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 65 \\ 51.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 55 \\ 45.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 4.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | - |  |
| Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy) | $\begin{gathered} 94 \\ \mathbf{8 3 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 121 \\ \mathbf{9 1 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 68 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 48 \\ \mathbf{6 5 . 8 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 2.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 2.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig \& Breac Leitir (Kilmonivaig \& Brackletter) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 82 \\ \mathbf{9 0 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 78 \\ \mathbf{9 8 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 72 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 41 \\ 64.1 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ \mathbf{1 2 . 1 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | $\begin{gathered} 152 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 123 \\ \mathbf{6 9 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 114 \\ \mathbf{6 6 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60 \\ \mathbf{5 3 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 8.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Inbhir Làir \& Monadh Easaidh (Inverlair \& Munessie) | $\begin{gathered} 73 \\ \mathbf{9 1 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 51^{12} \\ \mathbf{6 4 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 48 \\ \mathbf{7 8 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 44 \\ \mathbf{8 9 . 8 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ \mathbf{1 1 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 6.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 4.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Fearsaid Mhòr \& An Coire Odhar (Fersit \& Corrour) | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ \mathbf{8 8 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 63^{9} \\ \mathbf{6 9 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 52 \\ 64.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 68 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 6 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 3.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Creag Uanach \& Loch Trèig (Craiguanach \& Loch Treig) | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ \mathbf{8 3 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 53^{9} \\ \mathbf{5 8 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} 31 \\ \mathbf{8 1 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 22 \\ \mathbf{7 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ \mathbf{1 6 . 1} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 4.5 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Gleann Glaoidh (Glen Gloy) | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 71.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ \mathbf{9 5 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27^{10} \\ 52.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ \mathbf{6 2 . 5 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 31.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 3.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Leitir Fhionnlaigh \& Gleann Fionntaig (Letterfinlay \& Glen Fintaig) | $\begin{gathered} 49 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 0} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 54 \\ \mathbf{7 5 . 0} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 56^{13} \\ 54.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31 \\ \mathbf{5 3 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 3.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Geàrr Lòchaidh \& Sròn na Bà (Gairlochy \& Stronaba) | $\begin{gathered} 67 \\ 71.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 88 \\ \mathbf{7 8 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} 76^{10} \\ 75.2 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 73 \\ \mathbf{7 9 . 2 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 3.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Blàr Dhobhair \& Allt Dobhair (Blarour \& Aldour) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 40 \\ 74.1 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 52 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 51 \\ \mathbf{7 0 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 50 \\ \mathbf{6 4 . 9 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 2.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Inbhir Ruaidh \& Drochaid Ruaidh (Inverroy \& Roy Bridge) | $\begin{gathered} 157 \\ \mathbf{8 7 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 154^{9} \\ \mathbf{8 5 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 132 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 97 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 9 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ \mathbf{1 9 . 5} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 3.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2 \\ 2.1 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Both Fhionndain (Bohuntin) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 97 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 85 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 4} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 59 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 53 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 0 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39 \\ \mathbf{4 5 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ \mathbf{1 5 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \mathbf{2 0 . 8 \%} \end{gathered}$ |
| Gleann Turraid \& An Annaid (Glenturret \& Annat) | $\begin{gathered} 44 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ \mathbf{9 6 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 36 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 35 \\ \mathbf{9 7 . 2 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 8 \\ \mathbf{3 0 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ \mathbf{1 1 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 8.6 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Bun Ruaidh \& Achadh Luachrach (Bunroy \& Achluachrach) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 77 \\ \mathbf{9 1 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline 112^{9} \\ \mathbf{6 0 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 90 \\ \mathbf{8 3 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 94 \\ \mathbf{7 7 . 0 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 5.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 6.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Monadh Lagain \& An Tulach (Murlaggan \& Tulloch) | $\begin{gathered} 94 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 102^{9} \\ \mathbf{5 8 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 73 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 54 \\ \mathbf{8 7 . 1 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 5.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cill Mo Naomhaig according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

[^6]| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Cill Mhàilidh - 1881-1911 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area ${ }^{14}$ | All persons speaking Gàidhlig ${ }^{15}$ |  |  |  | Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ${ }^{16}$ |  |  |
|  | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 |
| An Gearasdan \#1 <br> (Fort William: West Side of Burgh) | $\begin{gathered} 787 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 0} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 920 \\ \mathbf{6 2 . 7} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 481 \\ \mathbf{5 6 . 3} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 306 \\ \mathbf{5 0 . 7 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 43 \\ 4.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 3.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 2.9 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| An Gearasdan \#2 <br> (Fort William: East Side of Burgh) |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 302 \\ 46.3 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 250 \\ 40.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 1.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 1.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| An Gearasdan \#3 <br> (Fort William: Low \& Middle St) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 341 \\ \mathbf{8 3 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 296 \\ \mathbf{7 6 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 303 \\ 52.2 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 412 \\ \mathbf{5 3 . 4 \%} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 1.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 5.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 4.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Banbhaidh \& Muir Siorlaich (Banavie \& Muirshearlich) | $\begin{gathered} 236 \\ \mathbf{8 5 . 8} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 226 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 116 \\ \mathbf{7 9 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 105 \\ \mathbf{7 0 . 5 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 2.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 4.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 2.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| A'Chorpaich \& Taobh Lòchaidh (Corpach \& Lochyside) | $\begin{gathered} 283 \\ \mathbf{8 4 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 256 \\ 74.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 261^{17} \\ 75.4 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 230 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 8 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 5.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 3.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 3.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Ceann Loch Iall \& Fasadh Feàrna (Kinlocheil \& Fassiefern) | $\begin{gathered} 124 \\ \mathbf{9 0 . 5} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 87 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 91 \\ \mathbf{7 3 . 4} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 112 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 8 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 3.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | - | - |
| Srathan \& Gleann Deasairidh (Strathan \& Glen Dessary) | $\begin{gathered} 32 \\ \mathbf{8 8 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} 34 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 4} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ \mathbf{7 8 . 8 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 7 \\ 20.0 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 5.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 3.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Achadh nan Sabhal \& Murlagan (Achnasaul \& Murlaggan) | $\begin{gathered} 27 \\ \mathbf{8 1 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 27 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | - | - |
| Ceann Breac \& Coire Buidhe (Ceannbreac \& Corrybuie) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 28 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 18 \\ \mathbf{8 5 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 16 \\ \mathbf{8 8 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ \mathbf{5 6 . 5 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 4 \\ \mathbf{2 2 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 6.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Achadh na Cairidh \& Bun Arcaig (Achnacarry \& Bunarkaig) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 49 \\ \mathbf{7 9 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 45 \\ 45.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39 \\ 49.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 33 \\ 35.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 6.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | - | - |
| A'Mhòigh \& Gleann Mäilidh (Moy \& Glen Mallie) | $\begin{gathered} 94 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 87 \\ \mathbf{8 7 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 131 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 95 \\ \mathbf{8 2 . 6 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2 \\ 2.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Ach' an t-Suidhe \& Beinn Nibheis (Achintee \& Ben Nevis Observatory) | $\begin{gathered} 85 \\ 62.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 8 \\ \mathbf{8 0 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 7 \\ 70.0 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 77 \\ \mathbf{6 8 . 1 \%} \end{array}$ | - | - | - |
| Gleann Nibheis \& Lùb Eilde (Glen Nevis \& Lubeilt) |  | $\begin{gathered} 59 \\ \mathbf{9 5 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 59 \\ \hline \mathbf{7 4 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 6.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 5.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Blàr Mac Faoilteach (Blarmachfoldach) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 87 \\ \mathbf{9 8 . 9} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 84 \\ \mathbf{9 6 . 6} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} 66 \\ \mathbf{9 3 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 91 \\ \mathbf{7 8 . 4 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 8 \\ 9.5 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Innseagan \& Ach' an Todhair (Innseagan \& Achintore) | $\begin{gathered} 153 \\ \mathbf{8 8 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 103 \\ \mathbf{9 1 . 2} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 101 \\ \mathbf{8 0 . 8} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 63 \\ \mathbf{7 4 . 1 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 1.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 1.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | - |
| Innis an Ruighe \& Lunn Dà Bhrà (Inchree \& Lundavra) | $\begin{gathered} 88 \\ \mathbf{9 8 . 9} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 80 \\ \mathbf{9 6 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 62 \\ \mathbf{9 5 . 4} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 49 \\ \mathbf{7 7 . 8 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 8.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \mathbf{2 5 . 8} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 8.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Obhanaich \& Bail'a'Chaolais a T. (Onich \& North Ballachulish) | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 312 \\ \mathbf{8 6 . 9 \%} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 274 \\ \mathbf{7 2 . 7} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 291 \\ 76.8 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 266 \\ \mathbf{7 1 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 33 \\ \mathbf{1 2 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38 \\ \mathbf{1 3 . 1} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 0.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ \mathbf{1 0 0 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ \mathbf{5 5 . 0} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline 17 \\ \mathbf{9 4 . 4} \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 38.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ \mathbf{2 7 . 3} \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 17.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | - |

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cill Mhàilidh according to local census data from 1881 to 1911

[^7]
### 2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951-2011)

The effects of the disruptions caused by World War II were severely felt when results of the first antewar census in 1951 were published. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers was almost cut by half from $38.8 \%$ to $21.8 \%$ in the area. In the 1961 census there were only a few CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) with more than 20 \% of Gàidhlig-speakers (table 16). Decline continued until the 1971 census. There was only an artificial increase in urban areas because the census question had been changed from "speak Gaelic" into "able to speak Gaelic". The real picture of the state of Gäidhlig became clear when the generational differences became public. Whereas Gàidhligspeakers had a strong presence in the generation aged 65 or more less than $10 \%$ of young people knew some Gàidhlig (tables 17 and 19) in 1971.

This fact was not changed within the coming years as census results in 1981 and 1991 revealed. Locally the language was still kept alive by considerable minorities in a few places like Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy), Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) and on the north shore of Loch Iall (Loch Eil) but generally Gàidhlig became totally irrelevant in most communities of the area (tables 18 and 20). On the educational side there was some voluntary second language tuition at Lochaber High School and infrequently and intermittent some primary school lectures took places in a few locations such as Caol Loch Abar. This was not anything near enough to buck the statistical trend in the younger generation let alone produce competent fluent speakers. Figure 4 underlines this for the school-aged population of An Gearasdan (Fort William) in 1981.

| An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject $\backslash$ Census | $\mathbf{1 9 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 6 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 1}$ |
| Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) | 2,024 | 1,672 | 1,955 | 1,655 | 1,134 | 909 | 843 |
| Percentage of total population | $21.8 \%$ | $16.5 \%$ | $14.2 \%$ | $11.9 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ | $6.9 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ |

Table 5: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William \& East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2011


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 town of An Gearasdan (Fort William)

Progress came rather late in the district. Cròileagan were founded in Caol Loch Abar (Caol) and An Gearasdan in the late 1990s which proved to be very popular with local parents. At last also a Gàidhligmedium unit opened in Fort William Roman Catholic School in the 1994/95 school year. This was followed by the introduction of a local authority Gàidhlig nursery in An Gearasdan a few years later. Positive results could be recorded in the 2001 census in the town itself and its "suburb" of Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy): The share of Gäidhlig-speakers in these areas rose for the first time since census records began in 1881 ! Details of the 2001 census results are described in chapter 3 of this report.


Fig. 5: Percentage of Gäidhlig-speakers in age groups between 1971 and 2001 - An Gearasdan ${ }^{18}$


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in age groups between 1971 and 2001 - Loch Abar an Ear

[^8]In the following decade further positive developments took place in the pre-school sector with four cròileagan or sgoiltean-araich in the area: An Gearasdan, Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore), Caol Loch Abar (Caol) and Drochaid Aonachain/Drochaid Ruaidh (Spean Bridge/Roybridge). For example, in 2003/2004 19 pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 in An Gearasdan. Several primary schools also introduced the language. In addition, Lochaber High School introduced Gàidhlig as compulsory subject for all pupils in secondary stage S1 ensuring that all children of the area received at least some tuition in the language. Gàidhlig takes also a more prominent place on road-signs in the district west of Caol Loch Abar on the main road to Malaig (Mallaig) and in Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry). Above else in 2006 plans were mooted to establish a Gàidhlig medium unit at the primary school of Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge). But this plan was subsequently dropped.

2011 saw the population rising by 1.000 inhabitants to 14.006 . Just 11.027 of these were born in Scotland ( $78.7 \%$ ) compared with $84.5 \%$ ten years before. Still a decrease of Gàidhlig speaking was reported in the area. In tables 13 and 14 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given.

| Census Data Zones | An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear-Census 2011 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Knowledge of Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  | Gàidhlig as home language (\% of speakers) |
|  | Young age (3-15) |  | All ages |  | Difference (Language viability indicator) |  |
| Drochaid an Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | 8 | 7.6\% | 68 | 9.9\% | -2.3 \% | 22.9 \% |
| Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry) | 6 | 6.3\% | 62 | 9.7\% | -3.3 \% | 34.1 \% |
| Drochaid Ruaidh (Roy Bridge) | 8 | 8.2\% | 60 | 10.0\% | -1.8\% | 33.3 \% |
| Banbhaidh (Banavie) | 19 | 14.5\% | 101 | 10.9\% | + 3.6 \% | 42.3\% |
| A'Chorpaich \& Caol (Corpach \& Caol) | 66 | 9.1\% | 421 | 9.5\% | -0.4 \% | 38.9 \% |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 72 | 8.5\% | 408 | 8.4\% | + 0.1 \% | 33.6 \% |
| Ach' an Todhair (Achintore) | 11 | 8.7\% | 20 | 2.7\% | + 6.0 \% | 32.7 \% |
| Obhanaich (Onich) | - | 0.0\% | 45 | 8.8\% | -8.8 \% | 17.2 \% |
| In comparison: <br> Gaidhealtachd (Highland) |  | 7.3 \% |  | 7.4 \% | - 0.1 \% | 45.1 \% |

Table 6: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in selected census data zones in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

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 6 for selected local data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones shows a mixed picture.

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 a third of Gàidhlig speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 6.

### 2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

The important aspect of Gàidhlig literacy is outlined below - information on the ability to read and/or write Gàidhlig is available from census records from 1971 onwards. This data is a very good indicator for the success (or lack of it) of educational provision in the local schools. Figures 7 and 8 provide details about literacy levels in different generations for the town of An Gearasdan and the surrounding district. Only a minority of speakers could actually read Gàidhlig text in the first census enumerations. Gradually the situation in the younger groups improved, however, with 2001 showing the best results so far. Generally, 60.3 \% of Gàidhlig-speakers in An Gearasdan could read Gàidhlig in 2001. The corresponding figure for Loch Abar an Ear was 56.4 \% (table 7).


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (19712001): An Gearasdan (Fort William)


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (19712001): Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber)

The information on writing ability was also testimony of the lack of formal education for Gàidhligspeakers in the past (table 6). A little more than a quarter of speakers in the area could write Gàidhlig in 1971! These figures improved considerably through the decades and in 2011 even a majority of speakers in An Gearasdan could write Gàidhlig as well.

|  | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to read Gàidhlig |  |  |  | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with abil- <br> ity to read Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 1}$ |
| An Gearasdan <br> (Fort William) | 240 | 194 | 138 | 161 | 193 | $43.2 \%$ | $46.9 \%$ | $52.2 \%$ | $60.3 \%$ | $67.0 \%$ |
| Loch Abar an Ear <br> (East Lochaber) | 640 | 557 | 436 | 362 | 328 | $46.5 \%$ | $44.8 \%$ | $49.9 \%$ | $56.4 \%$ | $59.1 \%$ |

Table 7: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

|  | Number of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> with ability to write Gàidhlig |  |  |  | Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with abil- <br> ity to write Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | 1981 | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 1}$ |
| An Gearasdan <br> (Fort William) | 145 | 153 | 124 | 135 | 161 | $26.1 \%$ | $37.0 \%$ | $47.1 \%$ | $50.6 \%$ | $55.9 \%$ |
| Loch Abar an Ear <br> (East Lochaber) | 425 | 405 | 323 | 282 | 276 | $30.9 \%$ | $32.6 \%$ | $37.0 \%$ | $43.9 \%$ | $49.7 \%$ |

Table 8: Number of people able to write Gäidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gäidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

## 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

Comparing both areas - An Gearasdan and Loch Abar an Ear - the urban parts of the district have kept their language intensity much more successful than the smaller rural communities which once were the centres of Gäidhlig community life.

In An Gearasdan (Fort William) in general the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- There was still a decrease in Gàidhlig language abilities (fig. 9) from older to younger generations with a second positive peak in school-aged generations. Intergenerational difference was still slightly negative. But a remarkable share of roughly $6 \%$ of the pre-school children knew the language.
- A considerable increase in Gàidhlig-speaking occurred since 1991 (table 8) especially in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of Gäidhlig-speakers was up by over 4 \%.
- Results differed throughout the town. The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly $4 \%$ to some $12 \%$. Corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic" category varied between around $8 \%$ and more than $16 \%$.
- Literacy in the language was already considerably high with $60.3 \%$ of speakers being able to read and $50.6 \%$ of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years one child was able to speak Gàidhlig and three children could understand spoken Gàidhlig.
- In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig (7.4 \% of the population) 145 inhabitants ( 4.0 \%) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth - area of $\boldsymbol{A n}$ Gearasdan (Fort William) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 |  |  |  |  |  | 1991 |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Diff. } \\ 2001 \text { - } \\ 1991 \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Knowing ${ }^{19}$ Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak \& read Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak Gàidhlig |  |  |
| 0-2 | 3 | 2.3 \% | - | - | 1 | 0.8 \% | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| 3-4 | 11 | 11.0 \% | - | - | 9 | 9.0 \% | - | - | +9.0 \% |
| 5-11 | 33 | 9.4 \% | 19 | 5.4 \% | 25 | 7.1 \% | 4 | 0.9 \% | + 6.2 \% |
| 12-15 | 24 | 11.3 \% | 17 | 8.0 \% | 19 | 8.9 \% | 12 | 4.3 \% | + 4.6 \% |
| 16-24 | 28 | 7.5 \% | 15 | 4.0 \% | 22 | 5.9 \% | 24 | 4.5 \% | + 1.4 \% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3-24 | 96 | 9.2 \% | 51 | 4.9 \% | 75 | 7.2 \% | 40 | 2.8 \% | + 4.4 \% |
| All ages | 412 | 11.4 \% | 161 | 4.5 \% | 267 | 7.4 \% | 264 | 6.9 \% | + $0.5 \%$ |
| Difference |  | - 2.2 \% |  | 0.4 \% |  | 0.2 \% |  | 4.1 \% |  |

Table 9: Knowledge of Gä̀dhlig in younger age groups in An Gearasdan (Fort William) in 2001 and 1991

[^9]The more rural area of Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) presented the following main characteristics according to 2001 census results:

- In contrast to An Gearasdan there was a constant decrease in Gàidhlig language abilities (fig. 10) from older to younger generations with especially high percentages in the generations born during or before World War I.
- Intergenerational language difference was still markedly negative (table 9) but on a far more favourable level as in 1991.
- Roughly $6 \%$ of pre-school children at least understood spoken Gàidhlig which is a very high rate when compared with other mainland districts.
- A considerable decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking still occurred since 1991 (table 9) especially in older age groups. However, in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers was up by $0.5 \%$.
- Results were not the same over the whole area. The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly $2.7 \%$ in Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy) to some 12.8 \% in Ceann Loch Iall (Kinlocheil). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic" category varied between around $6.6 \%$ in Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy) and more than $22 \%$ in Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge).
- Literacy in the language was less common than in An Gearasdan with $56.4 \%$ of speakers being able to read and $43.9 \%$ of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years quite a respectable number were recorded with $2.3 \%$ able to speak Gäidhlig and $5.3 \%$ understanding spoken Gàidhlig.
- In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig (6.7 \% of the population) 397 inhabitants ( 4.1 \%) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

There were already remarkable signs of a halt in decline of Gàidhlig in the whole investigation area. This was especially the case in An Gearasdan itself and neighbouring urban communities like Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) and Caol Loch Abar (Caol).


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth - area of Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to Census 2001

| Age group | 2001 |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline 1991 \\ \hline \text { Able to speak } \\ \text { Găidhlig } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | Diff. <br> 2001- <br> 1991 <br> n/a |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Knowing ${ }^{20}$ Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak \& read Gàidhlig |  | Able to speak Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  |
| 0-2 | 16 | 5.3 \% | 1 | 0.3 \% | 7 | 2.3 \% | n/a | n/a |  |
| 3-4 | 15 | 6.9 \% | 1 | 0.5 \% | 12 | $5.5 \%$ | - | - | +5.5\% |
| 5-11 | 45 | 5.7 \% | 27 | 3.4 \% | 35 | 4.5 \% | 39 | 4.3 \% | + 0.2 \% |
| 12-15 | 53 | 10.5 \% | 30 | 6.0 \% | 38 | 7.5 \% | 38 | 6.9 \% | + 0.6 \% |
| 16-24 | 38 | 4.5 \% | 21 | 2.5 \% | 30 | 3.5 \% | 51 | 4.1 \% | - 0.6 \% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3-24 | 151 | 6.4 \% | 79 | 3.4 \% | 115 | 4.9 \% | 128 | 4.4 \% | + 0.5 \% |
| All ages | 1,039 | 10.8 \% | 362 | 3.8 \% | 642 | 6.7 \% | 870 | 9.6 \% | - 3.1 \% |
| Diff. |  | -4.4 \% |  | -0.4 \% |  | -1.8\% |  | -5.0\% |  |

Table 10: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) in 2001 and 1991

[^10]
### 3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units - this enables the compilation of "Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age" tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary schools. 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). Additionally, a column is provided in table 11 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.

| Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Primary School(s) | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { "Pre-School" } \\ \text { Age 0-4 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | 'Primary'" Age 5-11 |  | 'Secondary'" <br> Age 12-15 |  | 'Parents'" <br> Age 25-34 |  |
| Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) | - | - | - | - |  | 27.2 \% | 2 | 8.3 \% |
| Drochaid Ruaidh (Roy Bridge) | 1 | 4.3 \% | 2 | 5.9 \% | 4 | 14.8 \% | 5 | 10.9 \% |
| Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | 1 | 1.5 \% | 3 | 3.2 \% | 1 | 2.1 \% | 8 | 5.5 \% |
| Banbhaidh <br> (Banavie) | 3 | 4.6 \% | 5 | 4.8 \% | 9 | 11.3 \% | 12 | 8.8 \% |
| Caol Loch Abar \& Taobh Lòchaidh (Caol \& Lochyside) | 9 | 6.2 \% | 10 | 3.5 \% | 17 | 8.7 \% | 20 | 5.3 \% |
| Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | 16 | 10.3 \% | 19 | 17.6 \% | 13 | 17.8 \% | 25 | 10.5 \% |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 11 | 8.3 \% | 19 | 10.1 \% | 14 | 12.4 \% | 31 | 9.1 \% |
| Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore) | 3 | 3.1 \% | 15 | 9.2 \% | 10 | 10.0 \% | 15 | 7.4 \% |
| Obhanaich \& Bail'a'Chaolais Tuath (Onich \& North Ballachulish) | - | - | 1 | 3.2 \% | 1 | 3.0 \% | 2 | 5.3 \% |

Table 11: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

Looking at the different age groups the following statements can be provided:

- Pre-school children: A considerable number of children aged below 5 had some knowledge of the language. At the time of the census a local authority sgoil-araich existed as feeder for the Gäidhlig-medium unit in An Gearasdan. Its roll was 22 in 2000/2001. In addition, cròileagan existed in Caol Loch Abar and Achadh an Todhair Uachdar. These developments are clearly seen in the census data.
- Primary school children: In total 51 children attended the Gàidhlig-medium unit in $A n$ Gearasdan which came from all over the area including some from neighbouring Aird Gobhar (Ardgour). The uptake of GME was comparatively higher (see fig. 11) in An Gearasdan than in nearby An t-Oban which points to a substantially higher profile of Gàidhlig in Loch Abar. The additional second language provision for other pupils, however, was not very intensive as census results reveal.
- Secondary school children: With the exception of Gleann Garadh (pupils then went to Kilchuimen Academy in Fort Augustus) the whole area was served by Lochaber High School in An Gearasdan (Fort William) for secondary education. In 2000/2001 three children were categorised as "fluent speakers" and additional 38 pupils received second language tuition in stages S1 and S2. As Gäidhlig was not a compulsory subject only one in eight of secondary pupils received language lessons.
- Parents: There was still a "residual language community" in the area with almost $10 \%$ of the "parental generation" having some knowledge of Gàidhlig.

In conclusion: Educational provision for Gàidhlig language tuition in the "urban parts" of the area was on a remarkable level by Highland standards in 2001. The more rural parts fared far less satisfactory as Gäidhlig teaching was concerned.

## 4 Future Perspectives - 2011 and beyond

Well over $10 \%$ of Scottish-born residents in the area still had some knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2011. The language viability indicator $\left(\mathrm{LVI}^{21}\right)$ still points to a weak intergenerational language-maintenance (table 13) which is due to lower language intensity in younger age groups. Roughly a third of Gàidhlig speakers used the language at home in 2011.

| Area | An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear - Census 2011 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Knowledge of Gàidhlig |  |  |  |  | Gàidhlig as home language (\% of speakers) |
|  | Young age(3-15) |  | All ages |  | Difference (Language viability indicator) |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 72 | 8.5\% | 408 | 8.4\% | + 0.2 \% | 33.6 \% |
| Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) | 118 | 8.9\% | 777 | 9.1\% | - 0.2 \% | 35.7 \% |
| In comparison: <br> Gaidhealtachd (Highland) |  | 7.3 \% |  | 7.4 \% | - 0.1 \% | 45.1 \% |

Table 12: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in An Gearasdan (Fort William) and Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

Locally the LVI was generally negative except in An Gearasdan in 2011. The percentages of knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups (table 5) only occasionally exceeded $10 \%$. Later years did show an apparent increase of teaching activities. The overall temporal evolution of Gàidhlig-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 12 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 147 pupils attended the standalone GMU in An Gearasdan and 60 children visited the sgoil-àraich. On secondary level all pupils attended either Gàidhlig medium instructions or had second language tuition at Àrdsgoil Loch Abar (Lochaber Highschool).

In conclusion: Some positive signs of recovery (on a comparatively low level) have already surfaced in the 2011 census. The increase of Gàidhlig-speaking intensity since 1991 in the town of $\boldsymbol{A n}$ Gearasdan is in itself an achievement. But overall, there is still a mountain to climb to improve the status of the language in all of Loch Abar an Ear. Recent substantial improvements in educational provision may help to redress the balance in favour of Gàidhlig in future.

[^11]

Fig. 11: Share of primary school children attending Gàidhlig-medium classes in An Gearasdan and An tOban (September 1992 - September 2023) ${ }^{22}$

[^12]
## I. Supplementary Tables

| Census | Civil Parish |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cill Mhàilidh <br> (Kilmallie) | Cill mo-Naomhaig <br> (Kilmonivaig) |
| 1881 | 2,911 | 1,567 |
| 1891 | 3,193 | 1,627 |
| 1901 | $2,323^{23}$ | 1,477 |
| 1911 | 2,189 | 1,129 |
| 1921 | 1,753 | 999 |
| 1931 | 2,051 | 1,031 |
| 1951 | 1,338 | 686 |
| 1961 | 1,142 | 531 |
| 1971 | 1,455 | 500 |
| 1981 | 1,276 | 379 |
| 1991 | 882 | 252 |
| 2001 | 696 | 213 |
| 2011 | 607 | 238 |

Table 13: Number of Gäidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2011

| Census | Civil Parish |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cill Mhàilidh <br> (Kilmallie) | Cill mo-Naomhaig <br> (Kilmonivaig) |
| $1881^{24}$ | $80.7 \%$ | $81.3 \%$ |$|$| 1891 | $61.0 \%$ | $72.8 \%$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1901 | $59.1 \%$ | $66.4 \%$ |
| 1911 | $48.4 \%$ | $56.5 \%$ |
| 1921 | $40.6 \%$ | $35.6 \%$ |
| 1931 | $21.4 \%$ | $22.5 \%$ |
| 1951 | $17.3 \%$ | $15.0 \%$ |
| 1961 | $13.9 \%$ | $15.0 \%$ |
| 1971 | $11.8 \%$ | $12.3 \%$ |
| 1981 | $8.4 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ |
| 1991 | $6.9 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ |
| 2001 | $6.1 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ |
| 2011 |  |  |

Table 14: Gäidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2011

[^13]| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear | Total Popula- | Gàidhlig and Eng- | Gàidhlig but no |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area | tion | lish | English |
| 1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) | 5,533 | 4,478 |  |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 3,605 | 2,911 |  |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 1,928 | 1,567 |  |
| --- Burgh (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 1,594 | 1,140 |  |
| --- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| Baile a'Chaolais \& Aird Gobhar (Ballachulish \& Ardgour) - part - | 464 | 416 |  |
| Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh) | 1,991 | 1,465 |  |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) - part - | 563 | 407 |  |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 261 | 230 |  |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) | 1,375 | 1,160 |  |
| --- Registration districts (not identical to the above) ----- |  |  |  |
| Loch Abar (Lochaber) | 1,375 | 1,160 |  |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 2,221 | 1,683 |  |
| 1891 | 6,410 | 4,534 | 286 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 4,205 | 3,074 | 119 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 2,205 | 1,460 | 167 |
| --- Burgh (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 1,870 | 1,172 | 48 |
| --- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| Baile a'Chaolais \& Aird Gobhar (Ballachulish \& Ardgour) - part - | 480 | 322 | 43 |
| Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh) | 2,142 | 1,412 | 62 |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) - part - | 501 | 3,339 | 41 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 286 | 198 | 14 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) | 1,704 | 1,121 | 126 |
| --- Registration districts (not identical to the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| Loch Abar (Lochaber) | 1,704 | 1,121 | 126 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 2,414 | 1,606 | 76 |
| 1901 | 5,849 | 3,606 | 184 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 3,797 | 2,200 | 123 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 2,052 | 1,416 | 61 |
| --- Burgh (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 2,087 | 1,045 | 41 |
| --- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| Baile a 'Chaolais (Ballachulish) | 466 | 313 | 58 |
| Baile Donnchaidh (Duncansburgh) | 2,372 | 1,271 | 48 |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) - part - | 617 | 407 | 20 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 959 | 616 | 17 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) | 1,435 | 1,009 | 41 |
| --- Registration districts (not identical to the above) ------ |  |  |  |
| Loch Abar (Lochaber) | 1,435 | 1,009 | 41 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) - part - | 3,305 | 1,868 | 65 |
| ----------- Electoral divisions------------ |  |  |  |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) | 645 | 434 | 20 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North) | 805 | 570 | 30 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South) | 630 | 439 | 11 |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North) | 441 | 333 | 4 |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South) | 1,239 | 803 | 77 |

Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 - selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, burghs or census registration districts)

| Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear | Total Population | Gàidhlig and English | Gàidhlig but no English |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Census/Selected Area |  |  |  |
| 1911 | 5,404 | 3,224 | 94 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 3,704 | 2,138 | 51 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 1,700 | 1,086 | 43 |
| 1921 | 5,393 | 2,724 | 28 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 3,624 | 1,742 | 11 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 1,769 | 982 | 17 |
| 1931 | 7,944 | 3,062 | 20 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 5,049 | 2,038 | 13 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 2,895 | 1,024 | 7 |
| --- Small Burgh (included in the above) An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 2,524 | 913 | 4 |
| 1951 | 9,301 | 2,024 | - |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 6,248 | 1,338 | - |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 3,053 | 686 | - |
| --- Small Burgh (included in the above) | , 6 | 515 |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 2,674 | 515 | - |
| 1961 | 10,132 | 1,670 | 2 |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 6,701 | 1,140 | 1 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 3,531 | 530 | 1 |
| --- Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above) -- |  | 424 |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | 2,714 1,662 | 424 241 | - |
| Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | 1,210 | 145 | - |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) | 469 | 100 | - |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North) | 333 | 94 | 1 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South) | 951 | 214 | - |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North) | 625 | 150 | 1 |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South) | 484 | 96 | - |
| Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber) | 1,280 | 210 | - |
| $1971{ }^{25}$ | 13,816 | 1,950 | $5^{20}$ |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP | 10,480 | 1,450 | 5 |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP | 3,335 | 500 | * |
| --- Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above) -- |  |  |  |
| An Gearasdan (Fort William) | 4,215 | 550 | 5 |
| Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | 3,775 | 525 | * |
| Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | 885 | 110 | * |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) | 460 | 85 | * |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North) | 665 | 125 | * |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South) | 405 | 80 | * |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North) | 325 | 60 | * |
| Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South) | 1,895 | 245 | * |
| Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber) | 1,190 | 165 | * |

Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 - selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions and burghs)

[^14]| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland Census 1981: Loch Abar an Ear ${ }^{26}$ - Part A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Map | Census output area ${ }^{27}$ | Age groups |  |  |  | Born in Scotland ${ }^{28}$ |
| No |  | 3-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | $65+$ |  |
| $51+52$ | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 1.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 6.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 9.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28 \\ 28.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 54 \\ 10.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 53 | Baile a'Chaolais Tuath (North Ballachulish) | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 6.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 12.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 11.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 26.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 17.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 54 | Obhanaich \& Corran (Onich \& Corran) | $\begin{gathered} \hline 6 \\ 7.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 21.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 25.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 29.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40 \\ 23.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 01 | Druim Earbann (Druimarbin) | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 5.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 11.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 22.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ 11.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 02 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 10.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 9.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 13.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 27.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 33 \\ 12.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 03 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 5.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 9.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 9.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 11.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31 \\ 10.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 04 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 6.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 8.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 9.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 1 \\ 7.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 8.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 05 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 7.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 8.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 20.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 38.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 56 \\ 14.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 06 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 9.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 11.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 8.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 41.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 54 \\ 14.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 07 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 7.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 12.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20 \\ 30.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 19.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 43 \\ 16.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 08 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 4.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 3.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ 23.5 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 25.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 8.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 09 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ 13.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 9.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 10.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 35.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 39 \\ 12.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 10 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 3.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ 15.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 16.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 34.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 51 \\ 13.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 11 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 18.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 5 \\ 13.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 22.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 27.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 37 \\ 25.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 77 | Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy) | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 5.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 10.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 13.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 43.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 14.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 78 | An Claigeann (Claggan) | - | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 11.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 25.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 34 \\ 39.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 57 \\ 22.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 79 | An Claigeann (Claggan) | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 2.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 10.0 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 8.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 22.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 25 \\ 7.9 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 80 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 3.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 8.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21 \\ 17.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 20.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 43 \\ 11.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 81 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 0.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 3.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7 \\ 8.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 23.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ 8.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 82 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 12.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 7.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 15.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 24.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 43 \\ 15.3 \% \end{gathered}$ |

Table 17: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 - Part A

[^15]| Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland Census 1981: Loch Abar an Ear ${ }^{29}$ - Part B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area ${ }^{30}$ | Age groups |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Born in } \\ \text { Scotland }{ }^{31} \end{gathered}$ |
| No | Census output area ${ }^{3}$ | 3-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | $65+$ |  |
| $55+56$ | Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 4.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 12.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 23.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ \mathbf{5 1 . 1 \%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 49 \\ 22.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 57 | Bun Arcaig \& Muir Siorlaich (Bunarkaig \& Muirshearlaich) | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 6.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5 \\ 11.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 21.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 44.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ 22.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 58 | Ceann Loch Iall \& Druim Beag (Kinlocheil \& Drumbeg) | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 23.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 7.3 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 42.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4 \\ 30.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 29.8 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 59+60 | A`Chorpaich (Corpach) | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 8.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 10.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 32 \\ 15.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 29 \\ 37.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 104 \\ 15.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 61-62 | Banbhaidh (Banavie) | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 5.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 10.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 25 \\ 15.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 44 \\ 40.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 110 \\ 15.9 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 63+64 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | $\begin{gathered} 32 \\ 7.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 47 \\ 17.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 26 \\ 17.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ 47.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 126 \\ 15.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 65+66 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | $\begin{gathered} 23 \\ 8.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ 7.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 47 \\ 21.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ 31.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 116 \\ 14.7 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 67+68 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 4.9 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 24 \\ 9.5 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ 20.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 50 \\ 44.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 128 \\ 14.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 69+70 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside) | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 4.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18 \\ 10.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15 \\ 15.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 13 \\ 22.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 53 \\ 10.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 71 | Gèarr Lochaidh \& Sròn na Bà (Gairlochy \& Stronaba) | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ 7.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 11.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 10 \\ 9.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6 \\ 20.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30 \\ 14.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| 75+76 | Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | $\begin{gathered} 16 \\ 9.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12 \\ 9.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19 \\ 20.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \\ 20.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 64 \\ 16.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 72 | Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy) | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 20.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1 \\ 5.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 18.8 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8 \\ \mathbf{5 3 . 3} \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20 \\ 29.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 73 | Drochaid Ruaidh \& Gleann Ruaidh (Roybridge \& Glen Roy) | - | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 7.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \\ 20.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14 \\ \mathbf{7 3 . 7 \%} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28 \\ 19.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| 74 | Drochaid Ruaidh \& Tulach (Roybridge \& Tulloch) | - | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 6.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17 \\ 42.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 \\ 16.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 22 \\ 30.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Total | Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) | $\begin{gathered} \hline \hline 336 \\ 6.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 369 \\ 10.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 492 \\ 17.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 511 \\ 33.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1,657 \\ & 14.2 \% \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |

Table 18: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 - Part B

[^16]| Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness) (Population aged 3 years and over) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Area | $\begin{gathered} \text { 1961/71 } \\ \text { Code } \end{gathered}$ | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
| An Gearasdan (Baile Beag) (Fort William (Small Burgh)) | FW | $\begin{gathered} 424 \\ 16.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 555 \\ 14.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 413 \\ 10.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 264 \\ 6.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 266 \\ 7.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Caol Loch Abar (Caol CCED) | CA | $\begin{gathered} 241 \\ 14.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 525 \\ 15.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 414 \\ 11.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 297 \\ 12.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 213 \\ 7.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Gleann Garadh (Glengarry CCED) | GL | $\begin{gathered} 100 \\ 21.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 85 \\ 19.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 52 \\ 19.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35 \\ 12.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28 \\ 10.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy CCED) | IL | $\begin{gathered} 145 \\ 12.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 110 \\ 12.9 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 113 \\ 11.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 76 \\ 7.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 72 \\ 7.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Tuath) <br> (Kilmallie (North) CCED) | KN | $\begin{gathered} 95 \\ 28.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 60 \\ 18.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 58 \\ 20.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 31 \\ 14.1 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 28 \\ 7.8 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Mhàilidh (Deas) <br> (Kilmallie (South) CCED) | KS | $\begin{gathered} 214 \\ 22.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 245 \\ 13.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 293 \\ 13.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 228 \\ 10.0 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 176 \\ 7.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Tuath) (Kilmonivaig (North) CCED) | CT | $\begin{gathered} 151 \\ 24.2 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 125 \\ 19.7 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 104 \\ 15.6 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 51 \\ 7.4 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 36 \\ 5.2 \% \end{gathered}$ |
| Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Deas) (Kilmonivaig (South) CCED) | CD | $\begin{gathered} 96 \\ 19.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 80 \\ 19.8 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 78 \\ 12.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 58 \\ 7.5 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 41 \\ 5.7 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber CCED) | NL | $\begin{gathered} 210 \\ 16.4 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 145 \\ 12.6 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 135 \\ 11.3 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 94 \\ 7.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 47 \\ 4.2 \% \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |

Table 19: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions from 1961 to 2001

| Loch Abar an Ear: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| Age group | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1 3}^{\mathbf{3 2}}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |  |
| $\mathbf{0 - 2}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 7 | $2.3 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{3 - 4}$ | 10 | $2.4 \%$ | 4 | $1.6 \%$ | - | - | 12 | $5.5 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{5 - 2 4}$ | 235 | $7.2 \%$ | 197 | $5.8 \%$ | 128 | $4.8 \%$ | 103 | $4.8 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 4 4}$ | 325 | $13.5 \%$ | 261 | $10.8 \%$ | 177 | $6.4 \%$ | 116 | $4.5 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{4 5 - 6 4}$ | 455 | $23.0 \%$ | 371 | $17.2 \%$ | 296 | $12.7 \%$ | 161 | $6.0 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ | 345 | $37.9 \%$ | 409 | $33.9 \%$ | 269 | $19.5 \%$ | 243 | $14.5 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total (3 years +) | 1,375 | $15.2 \%$ | 1,242 | $13.2 \%$ | 870 | $9.3 \%$ | 635 | $6.8 \%$ |
| Born in Scotland | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 1,209 | $14.5 \%$ | 837 | $10.4 \%$ | 598 | $7.7 \%$ |

Table 20: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to data from 1971 to 2001

[^17]| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <br> An Gearasdan |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Map No | Census output area | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |  |
| 01 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | 18 | $7.1 \%$ | 23 | $7.4 \%$ | 37 | $12.0 \%$ |
| 02 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (U. Achintore) 1 | 31 | $9.1 \%$ | 25 | $6.9 \%$ | 14 | $4.3 \%$ |
| 03 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (U. Achintore) 2 | 27 | $6.9 \%$ | 25 | $6.6 \%$ | 23 | $6.5 \%$ |
| 04 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (U. Achintore) 3 | 25 | $6.0 \%$ | 16 | $3.8 \%$ | 27 | $7.1 \%$ |
| 05 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (U. Achintore) 4 | 63 | $13.4 \%$ | 21 | $5.4 \%$ | 19 | $5.0 \%$ |
| 06 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 1 | 56 | $12.9 \%$ | 38 | $10.3 \%$ | 28 | $8.3 \%$ |
| 07 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 2 | 43 | $13.9 \%$ | 34 | $8.7 \%$ | 31 | $7.2 \%$ |
| 08 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 3 | 25 | $7.4 \%$ | 20 | $5.8 \%$ | 19 | $5.4 \%$ |
| 09 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 4 | 42 | $11.6 \%$ | 15 | $4.3 \%$ | 15 | $5.1 \%$ |
| 10 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 5 | 45 | $11.5 \%$ | 22 | $5.9 \%$ | 38 | $12.2 \%$ |
| 11 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) 6 | 38 | $21.8 \%$ | 25 | $13.9 \%$ | 16 | $10.3 \%$ |

Table 21: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in An Gearasdan (Fort William) according to data from 1981 to 2001

| An Gearasdan: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: | :---: |
| Age group | $\mathbf{1 9 7 1 3}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 9 9 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |  |  |
| $\mathbf{0 - 2}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 1 | $0.8 \%$ |  |
| $\mathbf{3 - 4}$ | $-(+2)$ | $1.1 \%$ | 5 | $3.3 \%$ | - | - | 9 | $9.0 \%$ |  |
| $\mathbf{5 - 2 4}$ | $100(+1)$ | $8.4 \%$ | 104 | $7.2 \%$ | 40 | $3.2 \%$ | 66 | $7.0 \%$ |  |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 4 4}$ | 135 | $11.4 \%$ | 104 | $8.5 \%$ | 67 | $5.4 \%$ | 62 | $5.9 \%$ |  |
| $\mathbf{4 5 - 6 4}$ | 155 | $19.9 \%$ | 105 | $14.7 \%$ | 87 | $10.3 \%$ | 68 | $7.4 \%$ |  |
| $\mathbf{6 5 +}$ | $160(+2)$ | $41.5 \%$ | 95 | $29.1 \%$ | 70 | $22.5 \%$ | 61 | $13.3 \%$ |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total (3 years <br> and over) | $550(+5)$ | $14.1 \%$ | 413 | $10.7 \%$ | 264 | $6.9 \%$ | 266 | $7.7 \%$ |  |
| Born in Scotland | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 403 | $12.2 \%$ | 263 | $7.9 \%$ | 256 | $8.6 \%$ |  |

Table 22: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in An Gearasdan (Fort William) between 1971 and 2001

[^18]| Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ${ }^{34}$ Loch Abar an Ear |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Map No | Census output area | 1981 |  | 1991 |  | 2001 |  |
| 51 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) 1 | 43 | 10.9 \% | 28 | 7.2 \% | 9 | 4.0 \% |
| 52 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) 2 | 25 | 7.1 \% | 14 | 3.6 \% | 8 | 2.1 \% |
| 53 | Baile a 'Chaolais Tuath (North Ballachulish) | 27 | 12.5 \% | 27 | 8.4 \% | 12 | 3.7 \% |
| 54 | Obhanaich (Onich) | 37 | 15.9 \% | 25 | 11.2 \% | 18 7 | 8.0 \% |
| 55 | Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry) | 10 | 15.9 \% | 9 | 17.0 \% | 7 | 7.1 \% |
|  | Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) $b$ | 42 | 20.7 \% | 5 | 4.0 \% |  |  |
| 56 | Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) a |  |  | 21 | 21.0 \% | 21 | 12.6 \% |
| 57 | Muir Siorlaich (Muirshearlich) | 27 | 16.9 \% | 14 | 7.2 \% | 6 | 3.1 \% |
| 58 | Ceann Loch Iall (Kinlocheil) | 31 | 24.2 \% | 17 | 13.5 \% | 22 | 12.8 \% |
| 59 | A 'Chorpaich (Corpach) 1 | 60 | 14.6 \% | 37 | 9.3 \% | 25 | 6.7 \% |
| 60 | A'Chorpaich (Corpach) 2 | 43 | 11.4 \% | 51 | 13.9 \% | 36 | 9.7 \% |
| 61 | $A^{\prime}$ 'Chorpaich (Corpach) 3 | 39 | 12.4 \% | 37 | 8.7 \% | 27 | 6.1 \% |
| 62 | Banbhaidh (Banavie) | 67 | 14.9 \% | 42 | 9.5 \% | 17 | 4.7 \% |
| 63 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 1 | 58 | 13.7 \% | 57 | 13.6 \% | 34 | 9.8 \% |
| 64 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 2 | 58 | 12.4 \% | 38 | 9.6 \% | 19 | 5.0 \% |
| 65 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 3 | 57 | 13.3 \% | 47 | 12.8 \% | 17 | 5.1 \% |
| 66 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 4 | 59 | 14.0 \% | 40 | 10.4 \% | 35 | 9.3 \% |
| 67 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 5 | 63 | 10.1 \% | 42 | 13.0 \% | 23 | 10.1 \% |
| 68 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) 6 | 61 | 10.5 \% | 19 | 8.1 \% | 25 | 6.9 \% |
| 69 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside) | 46 | 8.6 \% | 32 | 9.3 \% | 18 | 5.3 \% |
| 70 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside) |  |  | 22 | 8.1 \% | 42 | 10.9 \% |
|  | Am Blàr Mòr (Blar Mor) | 12 | 15.8 \% |  |  |  |  |
| 71 | Geàrr Lòchaidh (Gairlochy) | 30 | 11.4 \% | 14 | 5.1 \% | 11 | 4.2 \% |
| 72 | Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy) | 22 | 23.4 \% | 6 | 5.6 \% | 3 | 2.7 \% |
| 73 | Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge) 1 | 26 | 15.6 \% | 13 | 9.8 \% | 15 | 11.2 \% |
| 74 | Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge) 2 | 26 | 18.1 \% | 18 | 10.4 \% | 7 | 3.2 \% |
| 75 | Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) 1 | 21 | 13.5 \% | 19 | 9.8 \% | 14 | 6.0 \% |
| 76 | Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) 2 | 35 | 12.1 \% | 26 | 7.8 \% | 14 | 4.4 \% |
| 77 | Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy) | 22 | 11.2 \% | 13 | 5.2 \% | 13 | 5.3 \% |
| 78 | An Claigeann (Claggan) 1 | 53 | 19.1 \% | 45 | 14.0 \% | 45 | 7.4 \% |
| 79 | An Claigeann (Claggan) 2 | 31 | 9.3 \% | 16 | 5.0 \% | 26 | 7.7 \% |
| 80 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) 1 | 42 | 13.7 \% | 33 | 11.5 \% | 26 | 11.2 \% |
| 81 | Inbhir Lȯchaidh (Inverlochy) 2 | 43 | 11.3 \% | 27 | 7.7 \% | 28 | 7.8 \% |
| 82 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) 3 | 28 | 8.3 \% | 16 | 4.4 \% | 18 | 4.7 \% |

Table 23: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) between 1981 and 2001

[^19]| $\begin{gathered} \text { Map } \\ \text { No. } \\ \hline 01 \end{gathered}$ | Output Area | Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Young age } \\ (0-24) \end{gathered}$ |  | All ages |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Difference } \\ \text { (Language viability } \\ \text { indicator) } \end{gathered}$ | Born in Scotland (Language community indicator) |
|  | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) | 12 | 13.3 \% | 50 | 16.2 \% | - 2.9 \% | 18.2 \% |
| 02 | Achadh an T. Uachdar 1 (Upper Achintore) 1 | 3 | 3.7 \% | 30 | 9.3 \% | -5.6\% | 10.8 \% |
| 03 | Achadh an T. Uachdar 2 (Upper Achintore) 2 | 6 | 5.5 \% | 37 | 10.5 \% | - 5.0 \% | 10.5 \% |
| 04 | Achadh an T. Uachdar 3 (Upper Achintore) 3 | 16 | 9.0 \% | 35 | 9.2 \% | - 0.2 \% | 9.8 \% |
| 05 | Achadh an T. Uachdar 4 (Upper Achintore) 4 | 7 | 4.8 \% | 30 | 7.9 \% | - 3.1 \% | 9.1 \% |
| 06 | An Gearasdan 1 (Fort William) 1 | 12 | 11.4 \% | 41 | 12.1 \% | - 0,7 \% | 13.9 \% |
| 07 | An Gearasdan 2 <br> (Fort William) 2 | 10 | 11.1 \% | 55 | 13.3 \% | - 2.2 \% | 15.7 \% |
| 08 | An Gearasdan 3 (Fort William) 3 | 8 | 4.8 \% | 34 | 9.7 \% | -4.9 \% | 10.2 \% |
| 09 | An Gearasdan 4 (Fort William) 4 | 10 | 10.9 \% | 28 | 9.5 \% | + 1.4 \% | 10.9 \% |
| 10 | An Gearasdan 5 (Fort William) 5 | 14 | 15.2 \% | 49 | 15.7 \% | - 0,5\% | 17.4 \% |
| 11 | An Gearasdan 6 (Fort William) 6 | 1 | 3.1 \% | 23 | 14.7 \% | -11.6 \% | 17.0 \% |

Table 24: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in An Gearasdan (Fort William) according to census data of 2001

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Map } \\ & \text { No. } \end{aligned}$ | Output Area | Knowledge of Gäidhlig in 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Young age$(0-24)$ |  | All ages |  | Difference (Language viability indicator) | Born in Scotland (Language community indicator) |
| 51 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | 1 | 2.1 \% | 23 | 10.1 \% | -12.6 \% | 10.7 \% |
| 52 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | 2 | 1.9 \% | 29 | 7.7 \% | - 5.8 \% | 10.7 \% |
| 53 | Baile a'Chaolais Tuath (North Ballachulish) | 2 | 2.2 \% | 28 | 7.7 \% | -5.5\% | 10.8 \% |
| 54 | Obhanaich (Onich) | 2 | 5.1 \% | 27 | 12.0 \% | - 6.9 \% | 16.3 \% |
| 55 | Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry) | - | - | 10 | 10.1 \% | -10.1 \% | 13.7 \% |
| 56 | Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) | 6 | 11.8 \% | 29 | 17.4 \% | - 5.6 \% | 20.7 \% |
| 57 | Muir Siorlaich (Muirshearlich) | 2 | 4.9 \% | 13 | 6.7 \% | - 1.8 \% | 9.0 \% |
| 58 | Ceann Loch Iall (Kinlocheil) | 6 | 14.3 \% | 31 | 18.0 \% | -3.7 \% | 27.1 \% |
| 59 | A'Chorpaich 1 (Corpach) 1 | 7 | 5.9 \% | 35 | 9.4 \% | -3.5 \% | 10.4 \% |
| 60 | A'Chorpaich 2 (Corpach) 2 | 10 | 11.0 \% | 48 | 13.0 \% | - 2.0 \% | 14.8 \% |
| 61 | A'Chorpaich 3 (Corpach) 3 | 6 | 4.8 \% | 53 | 11.9 \% | - 7.1 \% | 12.1 \% |
| 62 | Banbhaidh (Banavie) | 2 | 2.0 \% | 32 | 8.9 \% | - 6.9 \% | 9.6 \% |
| 63 | Caol Loch Abar 1 (Caol) 1 | 4 | 4.3 \% | 49 | 14.1 \% | - 9.8 \% | 14.7 \% |
| 64 | Caol Loch Abar 2 (Caol) 2 | 9 | 6.3 \% | 37 | 9.7 \% | -3.4\% | 9.8 \% |
| 65 | Caol Loch Abar 3 (Caol) 3 | 4 | 4.1 \% | 26 | 7.8 \% | -3.7 \% | 7.0 \% |
| 66 | Caol Loch Abar 4 (Caol) 4 | 10 | 8.1 \% | 54 | 14.3 \% | - 6.2 \% | 15.0 \% |
| 67 | Caol Loch Abar 5 (Caol) 5 | 5 | 5.4 \% | 34 | 10.7 \% | - 5.3 \% | 10.5 \% |
| 68 | Caol Loch Abar 6 (Caol) 6 | 7 | 5.3 \% | 39 | 10.8 \% | - 5.5 \% | 9.9 \% |
| 69 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside) | 2 | 2.2 \% | 23 | 6.8 \% | -4.6 \% | 7.3 \% |
| 70 | Am Blàr Mòr (Blar Mor) | 9 | 9.4 \% | 63 | 16.4 \% | - 7.0 \% | 15.5 \% |
| 71 | Geàrr Lòchaidh (Gairlochy) | 1 | 1.6 \% | 19 | 7.2 \% | - 5.4 \% | 9.2 \% |

Table 25: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) 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) |
| 72 | Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy) | 2 | 6.7 \% | 10 | 8.9 \% | - 2.2 \% | 9.8 \% |
| 73 | Drochaid Ruaidh 1 (Roybridge) 1 | 3 | 9.1 \% | 30 | 22.4 \% | -13.3 \% | 26.9 \% |
| 74 | Drochaid Ruaidh 2 (Roybridge) 2 | 4 | 7.4 \% | 17 | 7.8 \% | - 0.4 \% | 12.2 \% |
| 75 | Drochaid Aonachain 1 (Spean Bridge) 1 | 1 | 1.6 \% | 23 | 9.9 \% | - 8.3 \% | 13.4 \% |
| 76 | Drochaid Aonachain 2 (Spean Bridge) 2 | 4 | 4.4 \% | 36 | 11.3 \% | - 6.9 \% | 14.0 \% |
| 77 | Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy) | - | - | 16 | 6.6 \% | - 6.6 \% | 8.2 \% |
| 78 | An Claigeann 1 (Claggan) 1 | 20 | 12.7 \% | 63 | 10.3 \% | + 2.4 \% | 12.9 \% |
| 79 | An Claigeann 2 (Claggan) 2 | 8 | 8.4 \% | 33 | 9.8 \% | - 1.4 \% | 10.2 \% |
| 80 | Inbhir Lòchaidh 1 (Inverlochy) 1 | 1 | 2.1 \% | 36 | 15.5 \% | -13.4 \% | 17.6 \% |
| 81 | Inbhir Lòchaidh 2 (Inverlochy) 2 | 13 | 11.7 \% | 41 | 11.4 \% | + 0.3 \% | 11.9 \% |
| 82 | Inbhir Lòchaidh 3 (Inverlochy) 3 | 12 | 11.4 \% | 40 | 10.4 \% | + 1.0 \% | 11.0 \% |

Table 26: Intergenerational viability and Gäidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to census data of 2001 - Part B

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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 Gael$\underline{\mathrm{ic}}$ " 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 Gäidhlig 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 Gaelicspeakers 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 $2^{\text {nd }}$ 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 Gäidhlig language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of Alba Nuadh (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
4. During Word 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 Gaidhlig 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 rec-
ord 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 croileagan 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 lists 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 An Gearasdan |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1961 \\ & 1971 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 01 | Achadh an Todhair (Achintore), Druim Earbainn (Druimarbin) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH01A } \\ & \text { 23AH01B } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 01 \mathrm{C} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000396 } \\ & \text { 60QT000397 } \\ & \text { 60QT000398 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 02 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH02A } \\ & \text { 23AH02B } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 02 \mathrm{C} \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000399 <br> 60QT000400 <br> 60QT000401 |
| 03 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AH} 03 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 03 \mathrm{~B} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 03 \mathrm{C} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000402 60QT000403 60QT000404 |
| 04 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH04A } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 04 \mathrm{~B} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000405 } \\ & \text { 60QT000406 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 05 | Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore), An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH05A } \\ & \text { 23AH05B } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 05 \mathrm{C} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000407 60QT000408 60QT000409 |
| 06 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH06A } \\ & \text { 23AH06B } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 06 \mathrm{C} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000410 <br> 60QT000411 <br> 60QT000412 |
| 07 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH07A } \\ & \text { 23AH07B } \\ & \text { 23AH07C } \\ & \text { 23AH07D } \end{aligned}$ | 60QT001367 <br> 60QT000413 <br> 60QT000414 <br> 60QT000415 |
| 08 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AH} 08 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 08 \mathrm{~B} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000416 } \\ & \text { 60QT000417 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 09 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH09A } \\ & \text { 23AH09B } \\ & \text { 23AH09C } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000418 60QT000419 60QT000420 |
| 10 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH10A } \\ & \text { 23AH10B } \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 10 \mathrm{C} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 60QT000421 } \\ & \text { 60QT000422 } \\ & \text { 60QT000423 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| 11 | An Gearasdan (Fort William) | FW | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 23 \mathrm{AH} 11 \mathrm{~A} \\ \text { 23AH11B } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60QT001368 } \\ & \text { 60QT000424 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for An Gearasdan (Fort William) - 1961-2001

| Census Output Areas in Loch Abar an Ear - Part A |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1961 \\ & 1971 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1981 \\ & 1991 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 2001 |
| 51 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | NL | $\begin{array}{\|c} 23 \mathrm{AE} 02 \\ 23 \mathrm{AF} 01 \\ 23 \mathrm{AE} 03 \mathrm{~A} \\ 23 \mathrm{AE} 03 \mathrm{~B} \end{array}$ | 60QT001365 60QT000390 60QT000391 |
| 52 | Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | NL | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 23 \mathrm{AE} 04 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AE} 04 \mathrm{~B} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AE} 04 \mathrm{C} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AE} 04 \mathrm{D} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000392 <br> 60QT000393 <br> 60QT000394 <br> 60QT000395 |
| 53 | Baile a'Chaolais Tuath (North Ballachulish), Obhanaich (Onich), Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore) | NL | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AH} 18 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 18 \mathrm{~B} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60QT001324 } \\ & \text { 60QT000142 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 54 | Obhanaich (Onich), Coire Uanain (Coruanan), Innis Righ (Inshree), Aiseag a 'Chorrain (Corran Ferry) | NL | 23 AH 17 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001458 } \\ \text { 60QT001459 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 55 | Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry), Ȧird Garadh (Ardgarry), Faicheam (Faichem), Sgiathairigh (Skiary), Achadh Luachrach (Achadhluachraich), Bàrrasdal (Barrisdale), An Tom Donn (Tomdoun) | GL | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \text { 23AL01 } \\ \text { 23AL02A } \end{array}$ | 60QT000155 |
| 56 | Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry), Manndalaigh (Mandally) | GL | 23AL02B | 60QT000156 |
| 57 | Bun Arcaig (Bunarkaig), Loch Arcaig (Loch Arkaig), Canaich (Caonich), Muir Siorlaich (Muirshearlich) | KN | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AK01 } \\ & \text { 23AJ16 } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000149 } \\ \text { 60QT000148 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 58 | Ceann Loch Iall (Kinlocheil), An Coire Beag (Corrybeg), An Druim Beag (Drumbeg), Achadh do Liubha (Achdalieu) | KN | 23AJ15 | 60QT000147 |
| 59 | A'Chorpaich (Corpach) | KS | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ04A } \\ \text { 23AJ04B } \\ \text { 23AJ04C } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000437 } \\ \text { 60QT000438 } \\ \text { 60QT000439 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 60 | A'Chorpaich (Corpach) | KS | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ05A } \\ \text { 23AJ05B } \\ \text { 23AJ05C } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000440 } \\ \text { 60QT001371 } \\ \text { 60QT001372 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 61 | A'Chorpaich (Corpach), Banbhaidh (Banavie) | KS | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 23AJ06A } \\ & \text { 23AJ06B } \\ & \text { 23AJ06C } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 60QT000441 60QT001543 60QT001544 |
| 62 | Banbhaidh (Banavie) | KS | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ07A } \\ \text { 23AJ07B } \\ \text { 23AJ07C } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001373 } \\ \text { 60QT000442 } \\ \text { 60QT000443 } \end{array}$ |
| 63 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AJ08A } \\ & \text { 23AJ08B } \\ & \text { 23AJ08C } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000444 } \\ \text { 60QT000445 } \\ \text { 60QT000446 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 64 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ09A } \\ \text { 23AJ09B } \\ \text { 23AJ09C } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { 60QT000447 } \\ \text { 60QT000448 } \\ \text { 60QT001374 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) - 1961-2001 - Part A

| Census Output Areas in Loch Abar an Ear - Part B |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | 61-71 | 1981-91 | 2001 |
| 65 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ10A } \\ \text { 23AJ10B } \\ \text { 23AJ10C } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000449 } \\ \text { 60QT000450 } \\ \text { 60QT000451 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 66 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | 23AJ11A <br> 23AJ11B <br> 23AJ11C | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000452 } \\ \text { 60QT000453 } \\ \text { 60QT000454 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 67 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ12A } \\ \text { 23AJ12B } \\ \text { 23AJ12C } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000455 } \\ \text { 60QT000456 } \\ \text { 60QT000457 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 68 | Caol Loch Abar (Caol) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ13A } \\ \text { 23AJ13B } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000458 } \\ \text { 60QT000459 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 69 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 23AJ14A } \\ \text { 23AJ14B } \\ \text { 23AJ14C } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000460 } \\ \text { 60QT001545 } \\ \text { 60QT001546 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 70 | Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside), Am Blàr Mòr (Blar Mor) | CA | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \text { 23AJ14D } \\ \text { 23AJ14E } \\ \text { 23AJ17 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000461 } \\ \text { 60QT000462 } \\ \text { 60QT000463 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 71 | An Lagan (Laggan), Geàrr Lòchaidh (Gairlochy), Sròn na Bà (Stronenaba), Inbhir Glaoidh (Invergloy), Leitir Fhionnlaigh (Letterfinlay), Magh Comair (Mucomir) | CT | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AK02 } \\ & \text { 23AK03 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { 60QT000150 } \\ \text { 60QT000151 } \end{array}$ |
| 72 | Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy) | CT | 23AG01 | 60QT000140 |
| 73 | Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge), Gleann Ruaidh (Glen Roy) | CT | 23AG02 | 60QT000141 |
| 74 | Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge), Coire Odhar (Corrour), Achadh na Daraidh (Achnaderry), Tulach (Tulloch), Achadh Luachrach (Achluachrach) | CT | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 23AG03 } \\ & \text { 23AG04 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001456 } \\ \text { 60QT001457 } \end{array}$ |
| 75 | Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | CD | 23AK04 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT001462 } \\ \text { 60QT001463 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| 76 | Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge) | CD | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AK} 05 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AK} 05 \mathrm{~B} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AK} 05 \mathrm{C} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 60QT000152 } \\ & \text { 60QT000153 } \\ & \text { 60QT000154 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 77 | Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy), An Lagan (Laggan), Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis), Achadh an t-Sith (Achintee), Blàr Mac Faoilteach (Blarmachfoldach) | CD | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 23AH19 } \\ & \text { 23AH20 } \\ & \text { 23AH21 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 60QT000143 } \\ \text { 60QT000144 } \end{array}$ |
| 78 | An Claigeann (Claggan) | KS | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AH} 12 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 12 \mathrm{~B} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 12 \mathrm{C} \end{aligned}$ | 60QT001541 <br> 60QT001542 <br> 60QT000425 <br> 60QT000426 |
| 79 | An Claigeann (Claggan) | KS | $\begin{aligned} & 23 \mathrm{AH} 13 \mathrm{~A} \\ & 23 \mathrm{AH} 13 \mathrm{~B} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { 60QT000427 } \\ \text { 60QT000428 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) - 1961-2001 - Part B

| Census Output Areas in Loch Abar an Ear - Part C |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Census output area | Area Codes |  |  |
|  |  | 61-71 | 1981-91 | 2001 |
| 80 | Inbhir Lochaidh (Inverlochy) | IL | 23AH14A | 60QT000429 |
|  |  |  | 23AH14B | 60QT001369 |
| 81 | Inbhir Lochaidh (Inverlochy) | IL | 23AH15A | 60QT000430 |
|  |  |  | 23AH15B | 60QT000431 |
|  |  |  | 23AH15C | 60QT000432 |
| 82 | Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy) | IL | 23AH16A | 60QT001370 |
|  |  |  | 23AH16B | 60QT000433 |
|  |  |  | 23AH16C | 60QT000434 |
|  |  |  | 23AH16D | 60QT000435 |

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) - 1961-2001 - Part C


Fig. 12: Overview map of census output areas in An Gearasdan \& Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William \& East Lochaber) (Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 to A-4) ${ }^{35}$

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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 | Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich: Gaelic playgroup association |
| Comhairle nan Eilean | Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of <br> (CNE) - later: |
| the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations) |  |
| Comhairle nan Eilean Siar |  |
| (CNES) |  |
| Croileagan | 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 | Gaidhlig-medium education <br> GMU |
|  | Gadidhlig-medium unit: Class(es) with Gàidhlig-medium education but as <br> part of an English medium school |
| GROS | General Register Office for Scotland |
| LVI | Language viability indicator |
| LCI | Language community indicator |
| Mòd | 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 |
| Sgoil Araich | Gaelic speaking nursery school |
| Sràdagan | Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children |
| Vi | Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901 |

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[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Original census data shown or used were supplied and/or published by the General Register Office for Scotland. The use of this material in this study is permitted under Licence No. C02W0003665. Crown Copyright of census data is acknowledged.
    ${ }^{2}$ Tables were extended with more census results of enumeration districts provided for 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1981.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Digital boundaries are courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II - values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ 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 $1881,1891,1901$ and 1911.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ Enumeration division.
    ${ }^{7}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are marked by bold figures.
    ${ }^{8}$ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above $10 \%$ are marked by bold figures.

[^6]:    ${ }^{9}$ Enumeration division.
    ${ }^{10}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are marked by bold figures.
    ${ }^{11}$ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above $10 \%$ are marked by bold figures.
    ${ }^{12}$ At census date a strong labour force was present working on the West Highland railway in 1891. Therefore percentages are heavily distorted and they underestimate the strength of Gàidhlig among the local population.
    ${ }^{13}$ In 1901 some work was underway on the railways in the area. Here again a few temporally present railway workers were counted in the census and distorted census figures.

[^7]:    ${ }^{14}$ Enumeration division.
    ${ }^{15}$ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above $50 \%$ are marked by bold figures.
    ${ }^{16}$ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above $10 \%$ are marked by bold figures.
    ${ }^{17}$ Census figures for the enumeration district Kilmallie 14 were incomplete in 1901. Close examination of census sheets revealed 253 "Gaelic and English" speakers and 8 "Gaelic only" returns. Census statistics in official reports, however, reported only 153 bilingual Gàidhlig speakers and 9 monolingual Gàidhlig speakers in this district.

[^8]:    ${ }^{18}$ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.

[^9]:    ${ }^{19}$ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

[^10]:    ${ }^{20}$ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.

[^11]:    ${ }^{21}$ 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.

[^12]:    ${ }^{22}$ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

[^13]:    ${ }^{23}$ Figures in 1901 are slightly incorrect because 99 Gàidhlig speakers from enumeration district Kilmallie 14 (Corpach \& Lochyside) were overlooked in the census statistics. The realistic percentage would be $63.8 \%$.
    ${ }^{24}$ The 1881 census question was concerned with "habitually" speaking Gaelic.

[^14]:    ${ }^{25}$ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.

[^15]:    ${ }^{26}$ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.
    ${ }^{27}$ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.
    ${ }^{28}$ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

[^16]:    ${ }^{29}$ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.
    ${ }^{30} \mathrm{~A}$ more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.
    ${ }^{31}$ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.

[^17]:    ${ }^{32}$ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5 .

[^18]:    ${ }^{33}$ Additional approximated returns on "Gaelic only" are given in brackets. Speakers of Gàidhlig but not English in 1971 are distributed in age groups according to the general distribution for the counties of Inverness-shire and Ross \& Cromarty.

[^19]:    ${ }^{34}$ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

[^20]:    ${ }^{35}$ Digital boundaries are courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

