

Executive Summary

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

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



¹ Original census data shown or used were supplied and/or published by the General Register Office for Scotland. 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.

Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

Almost two years have passed since the publication of the first volume of this series. In the meantime, a lot of "new" material has surfaced which merits to be publicised to a wider audience. In addition, two years are sometimes a very long time when looking at the actual state of a dynamic process: the 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 so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For those unfamiliar with the language: Every Gaelic expression is written in *italics* and the other place names are mainly examples of anglicisation efforts of early cartographers.



Acknowledgements

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

Wedel, An Dàmhar 2003 Hamburg, An t-Sultain 2005 Hamburg, Am Màirt 2024

Kurt C. Duwe



Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
Foreword to the First Edition	2
Foreword to the Second Edition	2
Foreword to the Extended Second Edition	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
1 Introduction	5
2 The Historical Background	6
2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)	6
2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)	12
2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001	15
3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus	17
3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001	17
3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments	21
4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond	23
I. Supplementary Tables	25
II. Literature and Data Sources	36
III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information	47
IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames	49
V. List of Tables	54
VI. List of Figures	56
VII. List of Abbreviations	57
Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies	58



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.

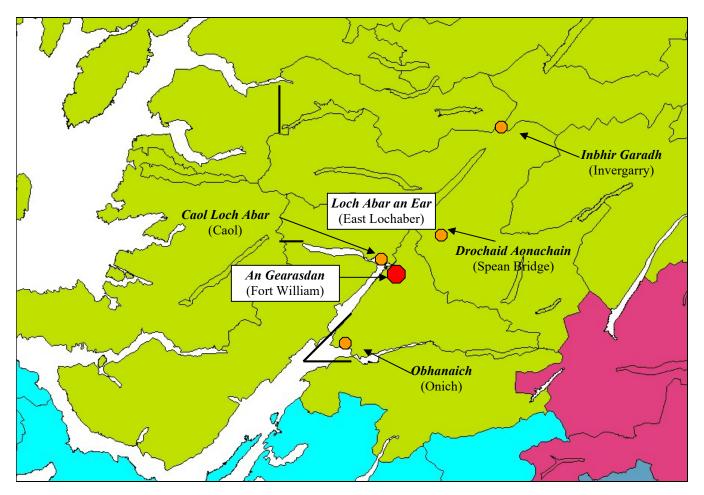


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) and *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber)³

³ Digital boundaries are courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

2 The Historical Background

Gàidhlig was widespread and almost universally spoken in the Western Highlands at the turn of the 19th 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^{st} century (fig. 2).

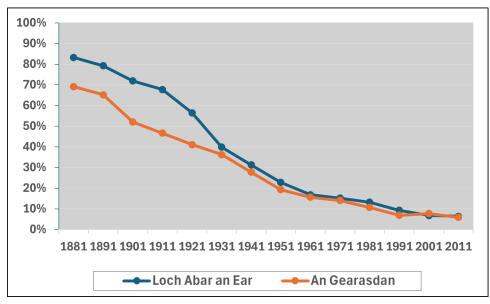


Fig. 2: *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2011 in rural *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in comparison with *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)⁴

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.



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

An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear											
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931					
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 below⁵ (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 *Gàidhlig* 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 Gàidhlig speakers of 71.9 %." In real terms even 76.5 % of all usually resident persons spoke Gàidhlig at the time!*
- 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

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.

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 Gàidhlig speaking with Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) and Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis) boasting 100 % of Gàidhlig 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 perso district	ons and pe is of <i>Glean</i>	0		U I	kers in						
Area ⁶	All per	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig⁷</i> Monolingual share o all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers									
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911				
Lagan a Deas & Leitir Fheàrna	38	41	93	36	4	2	_				
(South Laggan & Letterfearn)	100 %	91.1 %	65.5 %	67.9%	9.8 %	2.2 %	_				
Lagan a Tuath & Dearg Allt	53	57	27	14	6						
(North Laggan & Deargalt)	93.0 %	89.1 %	47.4 %	25.5 %	17.1%						
Manndalaigh	68	56	60	46	5	2	3				
(Mandally)	63.0 %	67.5 %	61.9 %	43.0%	8.9 %	3.3 %	6.5%				
Garadh Ualach & Àrdachaigh	48	21	36	22							
(Garryualach & Ardochy)	90.6 %	77.8 %	94.7 %	84.6%							
Inbhir Garadh & Faicheam	143	156	119	93	4	2	7				
(Invergarry & Faichem)	70.1 %	72.6 %	65.4 %	61.6%	2.6 %	1.7 %	7.5%				
Innis Lagain & An Tom Donn	30	25	25	32							
(Inchlaggan & Tomdoun)	66.7 %	96.2 %	73.5 %	66.7%			_				
Gleann Chuaich	27	24	39	15	1	_					
(Glen Quoich)	56.3 %	57.1 %	66.1 %	50.0%	4.2 %	_	_				

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in GleannGaradh 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 *Gàidhlig* 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



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.

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.

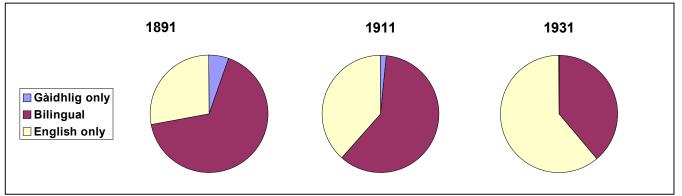


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

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 person districts of					kers in		
Area ⁹			aking <i>Gà</i>	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ¹¹			
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
An Claigeann & Inbhir Lòchaidh	56	63	65	55	3	_	_
(Claggan & Inverlochy)	62.9 %	54.8 %	51.2 %	45.1%	4.8 %		
Tòrr Lunndaidh	94	121	68	48	3	2	1
(Torlundy)	83.2 %	91.7 %	86.1 %	65.8%	2.5 %	2.9 %	2.1%
Cill Mo-Naomhaig & Breac Leitir	82	78	72	41	2		5
(Kilmonivaig & Brackletter)	90.1 %	98.7 %	100 %	64.1%	2.6 %		12.1%
Drochaid Aonachain	152	123	114	60	11	1	
(Spean Bridge)	82.6 %	69.5 %	66.3 %	53.1%	8.9 %	1.1 %	_
Inbhir Làir & Monadh Easaidh	73	5112	48	44	6	3	2
(Inverlair & Munessie)	91.3 %	64.6 %	78.7 %	89.8%	11.8 %	6.3 %	4.5%
Fearsaid Mhòr & An Coire Odhar	22	639	52	68	2		1
(Fersit & Corrour)	88.0 %	69.2 %	64.2 %	71.6%	3.2 %	_	1.5%
Creag Uanach & Loch Trèig	35	539	31	22	1	5	1
(Craiguanach & Loch Treig)	83.3 %	58.2 %	81.6 %	75.9%	1.9 %	16.1 %	4.5%
Gleann Glaoidh	25	22	27 ¹⁰	30	7	1	
(Glen Gloy)	71.4 %	95.7 %	52.9 %	62.5%	31.8 %	3.7 %	—
Leitir Fhionnlaigh & Gleann Fionntaig	49	54	5613	31	2	1	
(Letterfinlay & Glen Fintaig)	86.0 %	75.0 %	54.4 %	53.4%	3.7 %	1.8 %	_
Geàrr Lòchaidh & Sròn na Bà	67	88	76 ¹⁰	73		3	2
(Gairlochy & Stronaba)	71.3 %	78.6 %	75.2 %	79.2%	_	3.9 %	2.7%
Blàr Dhobhair & Allt Dobhair	40	52	51	50		1	
(Blarour & Aldour)	74.1 %	71.2 %	70.8 %	64.9%	_	2.0 %	_
Inbhir Ruaidh & Drochaid Ruaidh	157	1549	132	97	30	4	2
(Inverroy & Roy Bridge)	87.7 %	85.6 %	71.0 %	71.9%	19.5 %	3.0 %	2.1%
Both Fhionndain	97	85	59	53	39	9	11
(Bohuntin)	100 %	93.4 %	100 %	93.0%	45.9 %	15.3 %	20.8%
Gleann Turraid & An Annaid	44	26	36	35	8	4	3
(Glenturret & Annat)	86.3 %	96.3 %	100 %	97.2%	30.8 %	11.1 %	8.6%
Bun Ruaidh & Achadh Luachrach	77	1129	90	94	6	6	1
(Bunroy & Achluachrach)	91.7 %	60.2 %	83.3 %	77.0%	5.4 %	6.7 %	1.1%
Monadh Lagain & An Tulach	94	1029	73	54	6	1	
(Murlaggan & Tulloch)	94.0 %	58.0 %	82.0 %	87.1%	5.9 %	1.4 %	_

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

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.

	Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers in districts of <i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> – 1881 - 1911												
Area ¹⁴	All pers	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ¹⁶									
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911						
An Gearasdan #1			481	306		18	9						
(Fort William: West Side of Burgh)	787	920	56.3 %	50.7%	43	3.7 %	2.9%						
An Gearasdan #2	68.0 %	62.7 %	302	250	4.7 %	5	3						
(Fort William: East Side of Burgh)			46.3 %	40.3%		1.7 %	1.2%						
An Gearasdan #3	341	296	303	412	5	18	18						
(Fort William: Low & Middle St)	83.8 %	76.1 %	52.2 %	53.4%	1.7 %	5.9 %	4.4%						
Banbhaidh & Muir Sìorlaich	236	226	116	105	6	5	3						
(Banavie & Muirshearlich)	85.8 %	93.8 %	79.5 %	70.5%	2.7 %	4.3 %	2.9%						
A'Chorpaich & Taobh Lòchaidh	283	256	26117	230	13	8	9						
(Corpach & Lochyside)	84.2 %	74.4 %	75.4 %	72.8%	5.1 %	3.1 %	3.9%						
Ceann Loch Iall & Fasadh Feàrna	124	87	91	112	3	_	_						
(Kinlocheil & Fassiefern)	90.5 %	82.9 %	73.4 %	86.8%	3.4 %								
Srathan & Gleann Deasairidh	32	35	34	26	7	2	1						
(Strathan & Glen Dessary)	88.9 %	94.6 %	94.4 %	78.8%	20.0 %	5.9 %	3.8%						
Achadh nan Sabhal & Mùrlagan	27	27	26	22	_	_	_						
(Achnasaul & Murlaggan)	81.8 %	93.1 %	100 %	100%			_						
Ceann Breac & Coire Buidhe	28	18	16	13	4	1	_						
(Ceannbreac & Corrybuie)	100 %	85.7 %	88.9 %	56.5%	22.2 %	6.3 %	_						
Achadh na Cairidh & Bun Arcaig	49	45	39	33	3	_	_						
(Achnacarry & Bunarkaig)	79.0 %	45.5 %	49.4 %	35.5%	6.7 %	_	—						
A'Mhòigh & Gleann Màilidh	94	87	131	95	_	1	2						
(Moy & Glen Mallie)	94.0 %	87.0 %	82.9 %	82.6%		0.8 %	2.1%						
Ach' an t-Suidhe & Beinn Nibheis		8	7		_								
(Achintee & Ben Nevis Observatory)	85	80.0 %	70.0 %	77			_						
Gleann Nibheis & Lùb Eilde	62.5 %	59	59	68.1%	4	5							
(Glen Nevis & Lubeilt)		95.1 %	74.7 %		6.8 %	5.0 %							
Blàr Mac Faoilteach	87	84	66	91	8	1	1						
(Blarmachfoldach)	98.9 %	96.6 %	93.0 %	78.4%	9.5 %	1.5 %	1.1%						
Innseagan & Ach' an Todhair	153	103	101	63	2	1	_						
(Innseagan & Achintore)	88.4 %	91.2 %	80.8 %	74.1%	1.9 %	1.0 %	_						
Innis an Ruighe & Lunn Dà Bhrà	88	80	62	49	7	16	4						
(Inchree & Lundavra)	98.9 %	96.4 %	95.4 %	77.8%	8.8 %	25.8 %	8.2%						
Obhanaich & Bail'a'Chaolais a T.	312	274	291	266	33	38	2						
(Onich & North Ballachulish)	86.9%	72.7 %	76.8 %	71.3%	12.0 %	13.1 %	0.8%						
Ceann Loch Mòr	16	11	17	15	3	3							
(Kinlochmore)	100%	55.0 %	94.4 %	38.5%	27.3 %	17.6 %	_						

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



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.

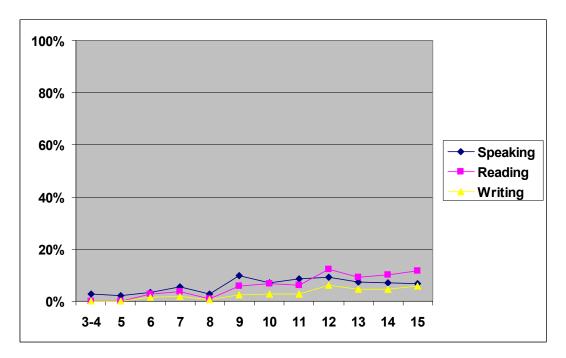
2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

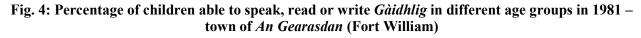
The effects of the disruptions caused by World War II were severely felt when results of the first antewar census in 1951 were published. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was almost cut by half from 38.8 % to 21.8 % in the area. In the 1961 census there were only a few 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 *Gàidhlig* became clear when the generational differences became public. Whereas *Gàidhlig*speakers 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 \ Census 1951 1961 1971 1981 1991 2001 2011												
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







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 *Gàidhlig*-medium 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 *Gàidhlig*-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.

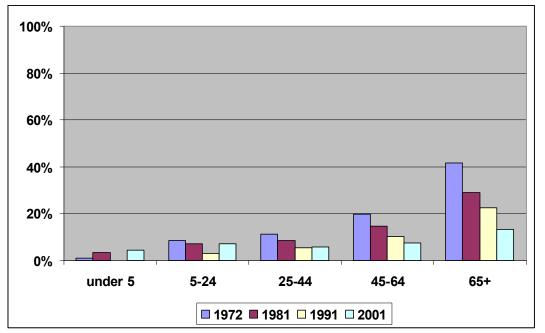


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in age groups between 1971 and 2001 – An Gearasdan¹⁸

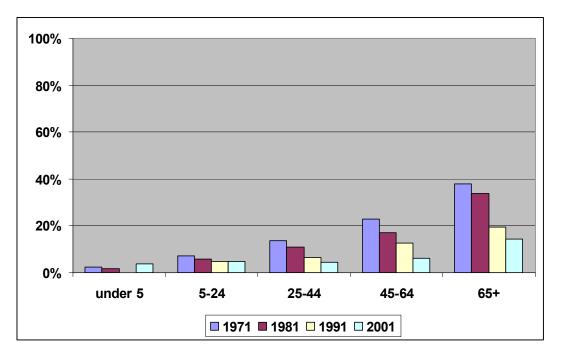


Fig. 6: Percentage of *Gàidhlig-speakers* in age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Loch Abar an Ear*



¹⁸ Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.

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.

		An Gea	rasdai	n & Loch	Abar an Ear – Co	ensus 2011
Census Data Zones		Kno	<i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language			
		ng age I-15)	All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	(% of speakers)
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: 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).

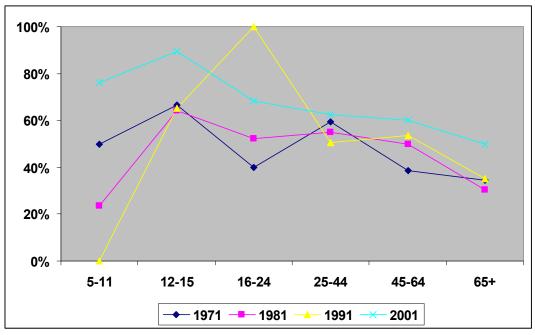


Fig. 7: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)



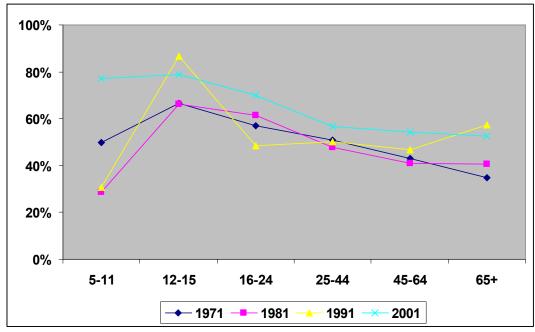


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber)

The information on writing ability was also testimony of the lack of formal education for *Gàidhlig*speakers 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 <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>						Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with abil- ity to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>					
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011		
An Gearasdan	240 194 138 161					43.2%	46.9%	52.2%	60.3%	67.0%		
(Fort William)												
Loch Abar an Ear	640	557	436	362	328	46.5%	44.8%	49.9%	56.4%	59.1%		
(East Lochaber)												

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

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>						Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with abil- ity to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>					
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011		
An Gearasdan (Fort William)	145	153	124	135	161	26.1%	37.0%	47.1%	50.6%	55.9%		
<i>Loch Abar an Ear</i> (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 Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakersfor 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.

<u>IMPORTANT NOTICE:</u> 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 Gàidhlig 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.
- <u>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 *Gàidhlig-speakers was up by over 4 %*.</u>
- 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.



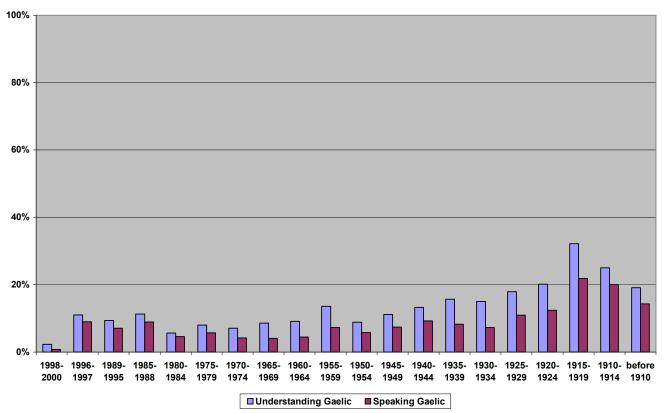


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) according to Census 2001

Age group			20	01			19	91	Diff.
		ving ¹⁹ dhlig	Able to speak &Able to spearead GàidhligGàidhlig		-		o speak Ihlig	2001 – 1991	
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 Gàidhlig in younger age groups in An Gearasdan (Fort William) in 2001 and 1991



¹⁹ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig* and/or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.

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 *In-bhir 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 *Torr 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 *Gàidhlig* 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).



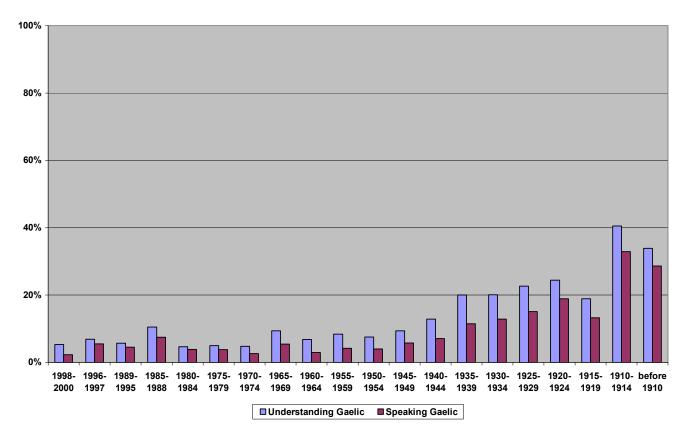


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth – area of *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) according to Census 2001

Age group			20	01			19	91	Diff.
		Knowing ²⁰ Gàidhlig		speak & <i>àidhlig</i>			k Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		2001 – 1991
0-2	16	5.3 %	1	0.3 %	7	2.3 %	n/a	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 and1991



²⁰ Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.

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.

Primary School(s)		"Pre-School" Age 0-4		"Primary" Age 5-11		condary'' e 12-15		arents'' e 25-34
Inbhir Garadh	-	-	-	-	3	27.2 %	2	8.3 %
(Invergarry)								
Drochaid Ruaidh	1	4.3 %	2	5.9 %	4	14.8 %	5	10.9 %
(Roy Bridge)								
Drochaid Aonachain	1	1.5 %	3	3.2 %	1	2.1 %	8	5.5 %
(Spean Bridge)								
Banbhaidh	3	4.6 %	5	4.8 %	9	11.3 %	12	8.8 %
(Banavie)								
Caol Loch Abar & Taobh Lòchaidh	9	6.2 %	10	3.5 %	17	8.7 %	20	5.3 %
(Caol & Lochyside)								
Inbhir Lòchaidh	16	10.3 %	19	17.6 %	13	17.8 %	25	10.5 %
(Inverlochy)								
An Gearasdan	11	8.3 %	19	10.1 %	14	12.4 %	31	9.1 %
(Fort William)								
Achadh an Todhair Uachdar	3	3.1 %	15	9.2 %	10	10.0 %	15	7.4 %
(Upper Achintore)								
Obhanaich & Bail'a'Chaolais Tuath	-	-	1	3.2 %	1	3.0 %	2	5.3 %
(Onich & North Ballachulish)								

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:

- <u>Pre-school children</u>: 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 *Gàidhlig*-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.
- <u>Primary school children</u>: In total 51 children attended the *Gàidhlig*-medium unit in *An 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.



- <u>Secondary school children</u>: 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 *Gàidhlig* was not a compulsory subject only one in eight of secondary pupils received language lessons.
- <u>Parents</u>: 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 *Gàidhlig* 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 (LVI^{21}) 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.

		An Gea	rasdar	n & Loch	Abar an Ear – Co	ensus 2011
Area		Kno	<i>Gàidhlig</i> as home language			
		Young age (3-15)		ages	Difference (Language viability indicator)	(% of speakers)
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: 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 *Àrd-sgoil Loch Abar* (Lochaber Highschool).

<u>In conclusion</u>: 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 *An 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.

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.



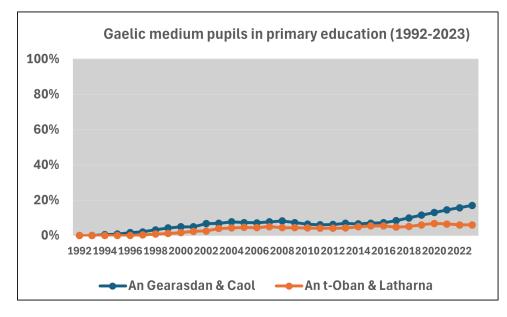


Fig. 11: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *An Gearasdan* and *An t-Oban* (September 1992 – September 2023)²²



²² Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

	Civil	Parish
Census	Cill Mhàilidh	Cill mo-Naomhaig
	(Kilmallie)	(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

I. Supplementary Tables

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

	Civil	Parish
Census	Cill Mhàilidh	Cill mo-Naomhaig
	(Kilmallie)	(Kilmonivaig)
1881 ²⁴	80.7 %	81.3 %
1891	74.0 %	73.8 %
1901	61.2 % ¹⁸	72.0 %
1911	59.1 %	66.4 %
1921	48.4 %	56.5 %
1931	40.6 %	35.6 %
1951	21.4 %	22.5 %
1961	17.3 %	15.0 %
1971	13.9 %	15.0 %
1981	11.8 %	12.3 %
1991	8.4 %	7.8 %
2001	6.9 %	6.7 %
2011	6.1 %	6.8 %

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

²⁴ The 1881 census question was concerned with "habitually" speaking Gaelic.



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 %.

Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig	
An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear	Popula-	and Eng-	but no	
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English	
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic)	5,533	4,4	178	
Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP	3,605		911	
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP	1,928		567	
Burgh (included in the above)	-,		• •	
An Gearasdan (Fort William)	1,594	1.	140	
Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above)	-,-,-,			
Baile a'Chaolais & Àird Gobhar (Ballachulish & Ardgour) - part –	464	4	16	
Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh)	1,991		465	
Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) – part –	563		07	
Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -	261		30	
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig)	1,375		160	
Registration districts (not identical to the above)	1,575	1,1	100	
Loch Abar (Lochaber)	1,375	1	160	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) – part -	2,221		583	
	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)	1.0-0			
An Gearasdan (Fort William)	1,870	1,172	48	
Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above)				
Baile a'Chaolais & Àird Gobhar (Ballachulish & Ardgour) - part -	480	322	43	
Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh)	2,142	1,412	62	
Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) – part –	501	3,339	41	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (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	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (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	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) – part -	3,305	1,868	65	
Electoral divisions	5,505	1,000	00	
Gleann Garadh (Glengarry)	645	434	20	
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath</i> (Kilmonivaig North)	805	570	$\frac{20}{30}$	
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas</i> (Kilmonivaig South)	630	439	11	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath</i> (Kilmallie North)	441	333	4	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas</i> (Kilmallie South)	1,239	803	4 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:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear	Popula-	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	tion	lish	English
1911	5,404	3,224	94
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) CP	3,704	2,138	51
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP	1,700	1,086	43
1921	5,393	2,724	28
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) CP	3,624	1,742	11
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig</i> (Kilmonivaig) CP	1,769	982	17
1931	7,944	3,062	20
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) CP	5,049	2,038	13
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP	2,895	1,024	7
Small Burgh (included in the above)	2,075	1,024	/
An Gearasdan (Fort William)	2,524	913	4
	9,301	2,024	-
Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP	6,248	1,338 686	-
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP Small Burgh (included in the above)	3,053	080	-
An Gearasdan (Fort William)	2,674	515	
1961			2
	10,132	1,670	
Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP	6,701 3,531	1,140 530	1 1
e ,	5,551	550	Ι
Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above) An Gearasdan (Fort William)	2,714	424	
<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol)	1,662	241	-
Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)	1,002	145	-
Gleann Garadh (Glengarry)	469	145	-
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath</i> (Kilmonivaig North)	333	94	- 1
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas</i> (Kilmonivaig South)	951	214	1
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath</i> (Kilmallie North)	625	150	1
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas</i> (Kilmallie South)	484	96	-
Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber)	1,280	210	-
1971 ²⁵	13,816	1,950	5 ²⁰
<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie) CP	10,480	1,450	5
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP	3,335	500	*
Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above)	5,555	500	
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	*
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas</i> (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)



²⁵ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.

(Gaelic knowledge according to <i>Census 1981: Lo</i>					and
Мар				roups	-	Born in
No	Census output area ²⁷	3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	Scotland ²⁸
51 + 52	Ceann Loch Mòr	3	7	17	28	54
31 + 32	(Kinlochmore)	1.7%	6.6%	9.6%	28.3%	10.6%
53	Baile a'Chaolais Tuath	4	7	6	11	29
	(North Ballachulish)	6.1%	12.1%	11.1%	26.2%	17.0%
54	Obhanaich & Corran	6	11	18	7	40
	(Onich & Corran)	7.0%	21.6%	25.4%	29.2%	23.5%
01	Druim Earbann	2	3	9	10	23
01	(Druimarbin)	2.4%	5.9%	11.8%	22.7%	11.4%
02	Achadh an Todhair	14	11	10	3	33
02	(Achintore)	10.3%	9.0%	13.0%	27.3%	12.0%
03	Achadh an Todhair	9	15	4	1	31
03	(Achintore)	5.2%	9.1%	9.1%	11.1%	10.2%
04	Achadh an Todhair	12	14	5	1	29
04	(Achintore)	6.3%	8.6%	9.8%	7.7%	8.0%
05	Achadh an Todhair	15	13	15	13	56
03	(Achintore)	7.6%	8.4%	20.3%	38.2%	14.3%
06	An Gearasdan	17	14	8	17	54
00	(Fort William)	9.9%	11.6%	8.6%	41.5%	14.4%
07	An Gearasdan	9	10	20	8	43
07	(Fort William)	7.4%	12.3%	30.8%	19.0%	16.2%
08	An Gearasdan	7	3	12	5	25
08	(Fort William)	4.2%	3.0%	23.5%	25.0%	8.7%
09	An Gearasdan	23	12	5	7	39
09	(Fort William)	13.6%	9.7%	10.2%	35.0%	12.1%
10	An Gearasdan	5	16	15	19	51
10	(Fort William)	3.5%	15.5%	16.9%	34.5%	13.9%
11	An Gearasdan	9	5	11	10	37
	(Fort William)	18.4%	13.2%	22.0%	27.0%	25.2%
77	Tòrr Lunndaidh	4	6	6	7	19
77	(Torlundy)	5.1%	10.9%	13.3%	43.8%	14.2%
70	An Claigeann		7	14	34	57
78	(Claggan)		11.9%	25.5%	39.1%	22.1%
70	An Claigeann	3	8	9	8	25
79	(Claggan)	2.6%	10.0%	8.7%	22.9%	7.9%
00	Inbhir Lòchaidh	5	7	21	12	43
80	(Inverlochy)	3.8%	8.4%	17.9%	20.0%	11.4%
01	Inbhir Lòchaidh	1	3	7	14	26
81	(Inverlochy)	0.9%	3.3%	8.8%	23.7%	8.0%
82	Inbhir Lòchaidh	13	5	12	14	43
82	(Inverlochy)	12.4%	7.6%	15.4%	24.6%	15.3%

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

 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.

(Gaelic knowledge according to a	age group	os and wh	ether bor	n in Scotl	and
	Census 1981: Loo	ch Abar	an Ear ²⁹	9 - Part E	3	
Map	C 4 4 30		Born in			
No	Census output area ³⁰	3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	Scotland ³¹
55 + 56	Inbhir Garadh	4	9	14	23	49
55 + 50	(Invergarry)	4.3%	12.3%	23.0%	51.1%	22.0%
57	Bun Arcaig & Muir Siorlaich	3	5	8	13	26
57	(Bunarkaig & Muirshearlaich)	6.0%	11.6%	21.1%	44.8%	22.2%
58	Ceann Loch Iall & Druim Beag	10	3	9	4	25
38	(Kinlocheil & Drumbeg)	23.3%	7.3%	42.9%	30.8%	29.8%
59+60	A`Chorpaich	29	19	32	29	104
39+00	(Corpach)	8.5%	10.5%	15.6%	37.7%	15.0%
61-62	Banbhaidh	17	22	25	44	110
01-02	(Banavie)	5.9%	10.7%	15.2%	40.0%	15.9%
63+64	Caol Loch Abar	32	47	26	24	126
03+04	(Caol)	7.4%	17.3%	17.2%	47.1%	15.0%
65+66	Caol Loch Abar	23	14	47	35	116
03+00	(Caol)	8.5%	7.9%	21.5%	31.8%	14.7%
67+68	Caol Loch Abar	18	24	35	50	128
07+08	(Caol)	4.9%	9.5%	20.5%	44.6%	14.7%
69+70	Taobh Lòchaidh	8	18	15	13	53
09+70	(Lochyside)	4.1%	10.8%	15.6%	22.8%	10.2%
71	Gèarr Lochaidh & Sròn na Bà	8	9	10	6	30
/1	(Gairlochy & Stronaba)	7.8%	11.1%	9.4%	20.7%	14.2%
75+76	Drochaid Aonachain	16	12	19	11	64
/3+/0	(Spean Bridge)	9.6%	9.0%	20.9%	20.8%	16.6%
72	Inbhir Ruaidh	9	1	3	8	20
12	(Inverroy)	20.0%	5.6%	18.8%	53.3%	29.9%
73	Drochaid Ruaidh & Gleann	_	3	9	14	28
75	Ruaidh (Roybridge & Glen Roy)		7.3%	20.5%	73.7%	19.7%
74	Drochaid Ruaidh & Tulach		3	17	3	22
/4	(Roybridge & Tulloch)		6.5%	42.5%	16.7%	30.1%
Total	Loch Abar an Ear	336	369	492	511	1,657
	(East Lochaber)	6.4%	10.1%	17.1%	33.3%	14.2%

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

 ²⁹ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.
 ³⁰ 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.

former Co	Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness) (Population aged 3 years and over)												
		n aged 3 ye	ars and ove	r)									
	Arrea 1961/71 1071 1091 2001												
Area	Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001							
An Gearasdan (Baile Beag)	FW	424	555	413	264	266							
(Fort William (Small Burgh))		16.5 %	14.1 %	10.7 %	6.9 %	7.7 %							
Caol Loch Abar	CA	241	525	414	297	213							
(Caol CCED)		14.5 %	15.2 %	11.6 %	12.4 %	7.7 %							
Gleann Garadh	GL	100	85	52	35	28							
(Glengarry CCED)		21.3 %	19.3 %	19.5 %	12.6 %	10.7 %							
Inbhir Lòchaidh	IL	145	110	113	76	72							
(Inverlochy CCED)		12.0 %	12.9 %	11.0 %	7.6 %	7.7 %							
Cill Mhàilidh (Tuath)	KN	95	60	58	31	28							
(Kilmallie (North) CCED)		28.5 %	18.5 %	20.1 %	14.1 %	7.8 %							
Cill Mhàilidh (Deas)	KS	214	245	293	228	176							
(Kilmallie (South) CCED)		22.5 %	13.6 %	13.5 %	10.0 %	7.6 %							
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Tuath)	CT	151	125	104	51	36							
(Kilmonivaig (North) CCED)		24.2 %	19.7 %	15.6 %	7.4 %	5.2 %							
Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Deas)	CD	96	80	78	58	41							
(Kilmonivaig (South) CCED)		19.8 %	19.8 %	12.2 %	7.5 %	5.7 %							
Loch Abar Iochdrach	NL	210	145	135	94	47							
(Nether Lochaber CCED)		16.4 %	12.6 %	11.3 %	7.1 %	4.2 %							

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

L	Loch Abar an Ear: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)											
Age group	1971 ³²		19	81	19	91	2001					
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	2.3 %				
3-4	10	2.4 %	4	1.6 %	-	-	12	5.5 %				
5-24	235	7.2 %	197	5.8 %	128	4.8 %	103	4.8 %				
25-44	325	13.5 %	261	10.8 %	177	6.4 %	116	4.5 %				
45-64	455	23.0 %	371	17.2 %	296	12.7 %	161	6.0 %				
65 +	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	n/a	n/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



³² Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.

	Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers											
	An Gearasdan											
Map No	Census output area	19	981	1	991	2	001					
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	197	′1 ³³	19	81	19	91	2001				
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.8 %			
3-4	- (+2)	1.1 %	5	3.3 %	-	-	9	9.0 %			
5-24	100 (+1)	8.4 %	104	7.2 %	40	3.2 %	66	7.0 %			
25-44	135	11.4 %	104	8.5 %	67	5.4 %	62	5.9 %			
45-64	155	19.9 %	105	14.7 %	87	10.3 %	68	7.4 %			
65 +	160 (+2)	41.5 %	95	29.1 %	70	22.5 %	61	13.3 %			
Total (3 years	550 (+5)	14.1 %	413	10.7 %	264	6.9 %	266	7.7 %			
and over)											
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/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

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.



Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers ³⁴ Loch Abar an Ear								
Map No	Census output area		981	1	991	2	001	
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	8.0 %	
55	Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry)	10	15.9 %	9	17.0 %	7	7.1 %	
	Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) b			5	4.0 %			
56	Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) a	42	20.7 %	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'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	<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh</i> (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 Lòchaidh (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



³⁴ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

Map No. 01	Output Area Achadh an Todhair (Achintore)	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001						
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)	
		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 (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

Map No. 51	Output Area Ceann Loch Mòr	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001							
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)		
		1	2.1 %	23	10.1 %		10.7 %		
	(Kinlochmore)								
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	<i>Gleann Garadh</i> (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	<i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blar Mor)	9	9.4 %	63	16.4 %	- 7.0 %	15.5 %		
71	<i>Geàrr Lòchaidh</i> (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 (EastLochaber) according to census data of 2001 – Part A

Map No. 72	Output Area Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy)	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001						
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)	
		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	<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh</i> (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 *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in Loch Abar an Ear (EastLochaber) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



II. Literature and Data Sources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): Census 2001 Small Areas Statistics Table 206 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands); Univariate Table 12 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes), Key Statistics Table 6 (Output Areas, Civil Parishes, Inhabited Islands), Standard Table 206 (Statistical Wards), Theme Table T27 (Council Areas). General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

General Register Office for Scotland (2003): Scottish 2001 Census Results OnLine (SCROL): Population Profiles (Information on Gaelic): Percentage of Total Population Speaking Gaelic – of Those



Speaking Gaelic Percentage Born Outside Scotland. Information provided via <u>http://www.scrol.gov.uk</u>, General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh, 2003.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MacLeod, Donald J. (1976): Gaelic in Public Life – A`Ghàidhlig am Beatha Fhollaiseach an t-Sluaigh. In: Thomson, Derrick S. (ed.): Gàidhlig ann an Albainn. Gaelic in Scotland. Gairm, Glaschu (Glasgow), 1976.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scotland, Census Office (1883): Ninth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1881. Vol. I. -Table V. Parliamentary, Royal, and Police Burghs in Scotland showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows; also the Parliamentary Districts of Burghs and Counties, with the Number of Electors on the Roll, and Members returned to Parliament in 188.. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1883.

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

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

Scotland, Census Office (1892): Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. II – Part I. Ages of the Population, Ages of the Children and Scholars, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Birthplaces. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1892. **Scotland, Census Office (1893)**: Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. – Table I. Scotland in Civil Counties and Parishes Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891, and Corresponding Particulars in 1881. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

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

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

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

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

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

Scotland, Census Office (1893): Tenth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1891. Vol. I. – Table IX. Scotland in School Board Counties and Districts Showing the Number of Families, Houses, Population, Persons Speaking Gaelic, and Rooms with Windows in 1891. Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), Edinburgh 1893.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

- 1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person "<u>speaks Gaelic habitually</u>" and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into "<u>speaks Gaelic</u>" 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.
- Until 1971 it was asked whether the person "speaks Gaelic and English" or "speaks Gaelic but not 2. English" (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all Gàidhlig-speaking people were forced to become bilingual - with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. These "Gaelic only" persons did not, however, present those who had Gàidhlig as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers. This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland (1912): "When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the 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 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke Gàidhlig but no English.
- 3. No data are available on persons speaking *Gàidhlig* outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the *Gàidhlig* language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of *Alba Nuadh* (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
- 4. During Word War II no census was taken. Therefore no figures are available for 1941.
- 5. In 1971 the wording was changed from "<u>speaks Gaelic</u>" into "<u>is able to speak Gaelic</u>". 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 <u>persons present on census night</u> to <u>usually resident</u> <u>persons</u>. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.
- 7. From 1971 onwards additional questions were asked on the ability of people to read *Gàidhlig* or to write *Gàidhlig*.
- 8. In 2001 another question was introduced on the ability of a person to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. This may have had an influence on some people with only a small command of the language to 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 *cròileagan* movement in the preceding decade.

- 9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated *Gàidhlig*-speaking population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.
- 10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall "uncertainties" of +/- 1 in general.
- 11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.
- 12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk.



IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

The following lists provides detailed information <u>on all postcode names</u> 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				
		Area Codes		
	Census output area	1961	1981	2001
		1971	1991	
01	Achadh an Todhair (Achintore), Druim Earbainn (Druimar-	FW	23AH01A	60QT000396
	bin)		23AH01B	60QT000397
			23AH01C	60QT000398
02	Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore)	FW	23AH02A	60QT000399
			23AH02B	60QT000400
			23AH02C	60QT000401
03	Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore)	FW	23AH03A	60QT000402
			23AH03B	60QT000403
			23AH03C	60QT000404
04	Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore)	FW	23AH04A	60QT000405
			23AH04B	60QT000406
05	Achadh an Todhair Uachdar (Upper Achintore), An	FW	23AH05A	60QT000407
	Gearasdan (Fort William)		23AH05B	60QT000408
			23AH05C	60QT000409
06	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH06A	60QT000410
			23AH06B	60QT000411
			23AH06C	60QT000412
07	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH07A	60QT001367
			23AH07B	60QT000413
			23AH07C	60QT000414
			23AH07D	60QT000415
08	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH08A	60QT000416
			23AH08B	60QT000417
09	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH09A	60QT000418
			23AH09B	60QT000419
			23AH09C	60QT000420
10	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH10A	60QT000421
			23AH10B	60QT000422
			23AH10C	60QT000423
11	An Gearasdan (Fort William)	FW	23AH11A	60QT001368
			23AH11B	60QT000424

 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	Area Codes		
	Census output area	1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AE02 23AF01 23AE03A 23AE03B	60QT001363 60QT000390 60QT00039
52	Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AE04A 23AE04B 23AE04C 23AE04D	60QT000392 60QT000392 60QT000394 60QT000393
53	Baile a'Chaolais Tuath (North Ballachulish), Obhanaich (Onich), Ceann Loch Mòr (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AH18A 23AH18B	60QT00132 60QT00014
54	Obhanaich (Onich), Coire Uanain (Coruanan), Innis Rìgh (Inshree), Aiseag a'Chorrain (Corran Ferry)	NL	23AH17	60QT00145 60QT00145
55	Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry), Àird Garadh (Ardgarry), Faicheam (Faichem), Sgiathairigh (Skiary), Achadh Lu- achrach (Achadhluachraich), Bàrrasdal (Barrisdale), An Tom Donn (Tomdoun)	GL	23AL01 23AL02A	60QT00015
56	Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry), Manndalaigh (Mandally)	GL	23AL02B	60QT00015
57	Bun Arcaig (Bunarkaig), Loch Arcaig (Loch Arkaig), Ca- naich (Caonich), Muir Siorlaich (Muirshearlich)	KN	23AK01 23AJ16	60QT00014 60QT00014
58	Ceann Loch Iall (Kinlocheil), An Coire Beag (Corrybeg), An Druim Beag (Drumbeg), Achadh do Liubha (Achdalieu)	KN	23AJ15	60QT00014
59	A'Chorpaich (Corpach)	KS	23AJ04A 23AJ04B 23AJ04C	60QT00043 60QT00043 60QT00043
60	A'Chorpaich (Corpach)	KS	23AJ05A 23AJ05B 23AJ05C	60QT00044 60QT00137 60QT00137
61	A'Chorpaich (Corpach), Banbhaidh (Banavie)	KS	23AJ06A 23AJ06B 23AJ06C	60QT00044 60QT00154 60QT00154
62	Banbhaidh (Banavie)	KS	23AJ07A 23AJ07B 23AJ07C	60QT00137 60QT00044 60QT00044
63	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ08A 23AJ08B 23AJ08C	60QT00044 60QT00044 60QT00044
64	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ09A 23AJ09B 23AJ09C	60QT00044 60QT00044 60QT00137

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					
		Area Codes			
	Census output area	61-71	1981-91	2001	
65	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ10A	60QT000449	
			23AJ10B	60QT000450	
			23AJ10C	60QT000451	
66	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ11A	60QT000452	
			23AJ11B	60QT000453	
			23AJ11C	60QT000454	
67	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ12A	60QT000455	
			23AJ12B	60QT000456	
			23AJ12C	60QT000457	
68	Caol Loch Abar (Caol)	CA	23AJ13A	60QT000458	
			23AJ13B	60QT000459	
69	Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside)	CA	23AJ14A	60QT000460	
			23AJ14B	60QT001545	
			23AJ14C	60QT001546	
70	Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside), Am Blàr Mòr (Blar Mor)	CA	23AJ14D	60QT000461	
			23AJ14E	60QT000462	
			23AJ17	60QT000463	
71	An Lagan (Laggan), Geàrr Lòchaidh (Gairlochy), Sròn na	CT	23AK02	60QT000150	
	Bà (Stronenaba), Inbhir Glaoidh (Invergloy), Leitir		23AK03	60QT000151	
	Fhionnlaigh (Letterfinlay), Magh Comair (Mucomir)				
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),	CT	23AG03	60QT001456	
	Achadh na Daraidh (Achnaderry), Tulach (Tulloch),		23AG04	60QT001457	
	Achadh Luachrach (Achluachrach)				
75	Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge)	CD	23AK04	60QT001462	
				60QT001463	
76	Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge)	CD	23AK05A		
			23AK05B	~	
			23AK05C	60QT000154	
77	Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy), An Lagan (Laggan), Gleann	CD	23AH19	60QT000143	
	Nibheis (Glen Nevis), Achadh an t-Sìth (Achintee), Blàr		23AH20	60QT000144	
	Mac Faoilteach (Blarmachfoldach)		23AH21		
78	An Claigeann (Claggan)	KS	23AH12A	60QT001541	
			23AH12B	60QT001542	
			23AH12C	60QT000425	
				60QT000426	
79	An Claigeann (Claggan)	KS	23AH13A	60QT000427	
			23AH13B	60QT000428	

 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					
			Area Codes			
	Census output area	61-71	1981-91	2001		
80	Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)	IL	23AH14A	60QT000429		
			23AH14B	60QT001369		
81	Inbhir Lòchaidh (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



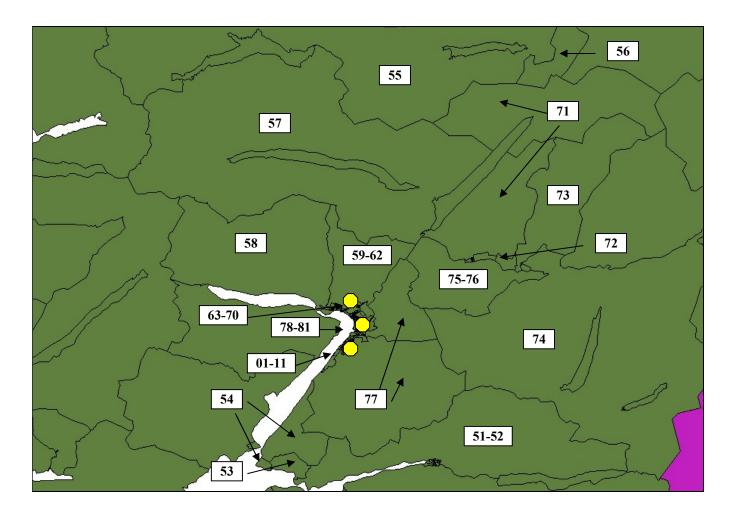


Fig. 12: Overview map of census output areas in An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William & East Lochaber) (Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 to A-4)³⁵

³⁵ Digital boundaries are courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.

V. List of Tables

REPORT

- 1 *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear* (Fort William & 7 East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931
- 2 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in 8 *Gleann Garadh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911
- 3 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in *Cill* 10 *Mo Naomhaig* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911
- 4 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in *Cill* 11 *Mhàilidh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1911
- 5 Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear* (Fort 12 William & East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011
- 6 Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in selected census data zones in 14 comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011
- 7 Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig* 16 speakers for both areas (1971-2011)
- 8 Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig* 16 speakers for both areas (1971-2011)
- 9 Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) in 2001 and 18 1991
- 10 Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in 2001 20 and 1991
- 11 Number and percentage of people with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in selected age groups for pri- 21 mary school catchment areas according to the census 2001
- 12 Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig* as home language in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) 23 and *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011
- 13 Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the two civil parishes in the area ac- 25 cording to census data from 1881 to 2001
- 14 *Gàidhlig*-speakers as percentage of total population for the two civil parishes in the area ac- 25 cording to census data from 1881 to 2001
- 15 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1901 selected areas (civil and eccle- 26 siastic parishes, burghs or census registration districts)
- 16 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1911 and 1971 selected areas (civil parishes, 27 electoral divisions, burghs or inhabited islands)
- 17 Population with *Gàidhlig* knowledge in output areas of *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) ac- 28 cording to age group and birthplace in 1981 Part A
- 18 Population with *Gàidhlig* knowledge in output areas of *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) ac- 29 cording to age group and birthplace in 1981 Part B
- 19 Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population (aged 30 three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to census data from 1961 to 2001
- 20 Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups in *Loch Abar an Ear* 30 (East Lochaber) according to data from 1971 to 2001
- 21Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for the census output areas in *An Gearasdan*31(Fort William) according to data from 1981 to 2001
- 22Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups in *An Gearasdan*31(Fort William) between 1971 and 200131
- 23 Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for the census output areas in *Loch Abar an Ear* 32 (East Lochaber) between 1981 and 2001



- 24 Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *An Gearasdan* (Fort 33 William) according to census data of 2001
- 25 Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East 34 Lochaber) according to census data of 2001 Part A
- 26 Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East 35 Lochaber) according to census data of 2001 Part B

ANNEXES

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



VI. List of Figures

REPORT

- 1 Overview map of the investigation areas of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) and *Loch Abar an* 5 *Ear* (East Lochaber)
- 2 *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 6 2011 in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in comparison with *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)
- 3 Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census 9 results in 1891, 1911 and 1931
- 4 Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 12 town of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)
- 5 Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 *An* 13 *Gearasdan* (Fort William)
- 6 Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 *Loch Abar* 13 *an Ear* (East Lochaber)
- 7 Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups 15 (1971-2001): *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)
- 8 Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups 16 (1971-2001): Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber)
- 9 Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth area of *An* 18 *Gearasdan* (Fort William) according to Census 2001
- 10 Percentage of population able to understand or speak *Gàidhlig* and year of birth area of 20 Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to Census 2001
- 11 Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *An Gearasdan* and *An* 24 *t-Oban* (September 1992 – September 2023)
- 12 Overview map of census output areas in *An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear* (Fort William & 53 East Lochaber)



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
СР	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
(CNE) – later:	the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar	
(CNES)	
Cròileagan	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	Gàidhlig-medium education
GMU	Gàidhlig-medium unit: Class(es) with Gàidhlig-medium education but as
	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

Index of the *Gàidhlig* (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies

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

