

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 24: Taobh Sear Rois & An t-Eilean Dubh (Easter Ross & Black Isle)

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Extended² 2nd Edition

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Executive Summary

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

This study is concerned with the eastern districts of the old county of Ross & Cromarty. At the turn of the 19th century almost half of the population still spoke Gaelic in Easter Ross and the western parts of the Black Isle. After World War II the language was effectively dead as a community language by any standards. Nowadays Easter Ross is on the brink to achieving language viability (on a comparatively low level). Gaelic on the Black Isle, however, does not show any sign of recovery. But the potential for a breakthrough both in Gaelic medium education and in second language teaching is still there. It is only a matter of policy (and an increased pool of suitable teachers). The support of parents and whole communities has achieved remarkable results in the past – Easter Ross could be a prime example of successful language recovery.

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



Foreword to the First Edition

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

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

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

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



Acknowledgements

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

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

Kurt C. Duwe

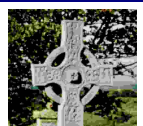


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1 Introduction

The relatively fertile eastern part of *Ros is Cromba* (Ross & Cromarty) is subject of this study³. The country between the Firths of Dornoch and Cromarty is commonly called *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) in contrast to the more rugged west coast area of *Taobh Siar Rois* (Wester Ross). A district of its own is the peninsula of *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) further southeast which is described in this volume as a separate entity.

The area generally is by far the most populous part of the old county of *Siorrachd Rois* (Ross-shire) boasting quite a few traditional market towns like *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) and *A'Chananaich* (Fortrose). Historically even more important are the former county “capitals” of *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and of course *Cromba* (Cromarty). In more recent decades the main focus of activities moved from agriculture to light industry and even construction work for oil field exploration and exploitation in the North Sea. *Inbhir Gòrdain* (Invergordon) and *Alanais* (Alness) experienced a considerable increase in population during the “oil bonanza” in the 1970s. Nowadays some 44,000 people live in the towns and villages in the area effectively creating the second most important population and commercial centre of the Highlands after the capital *Inbhirnis* (Inverness).

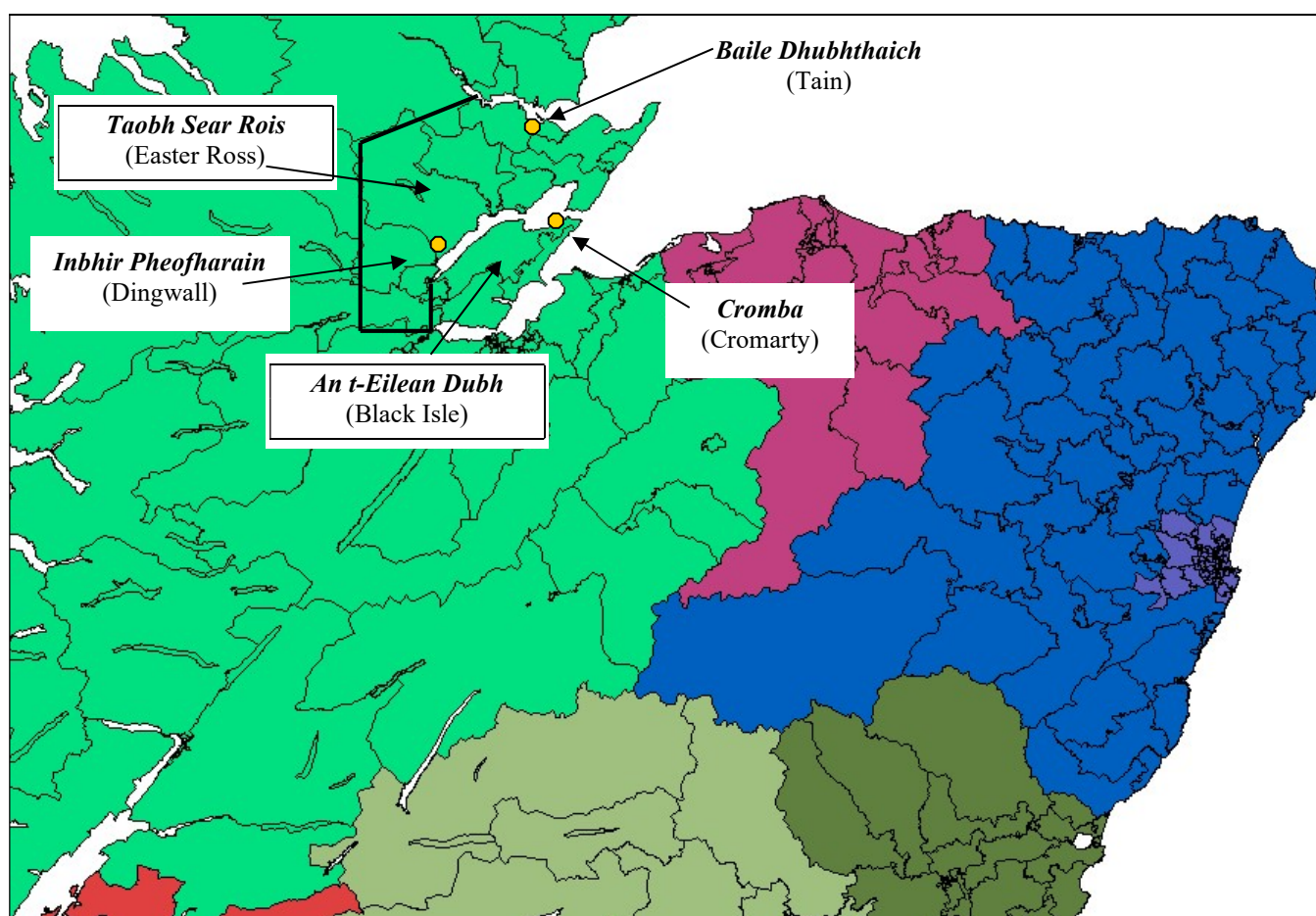


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas⁴

³ Despite being traditionally part of *Ros is Cromba* the communities of *Cinn Chàrdainn* (Kincardine) on the southern side of *Strath Uachaill* (Strath Oykell) are considered in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) in Vol. 22 of this series.

⁴ Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



Although easily reached from the sea (and therefore being subject of strong anglicisation forces in trade and administration for centuries) the population of the area kept its *Gàidhlig* tongue until very recently. The last traditional strongholds were of course some secluded western glens like *Srath Chonnain* (Strathconon) but also fishing villages like *Baile a'Chnuic* (Hilton of Cadboll) where the language was being used as a working language in everyday life until after World War II.

In recent decades people became far more sympathetic towards the local language with some progress being made in education and official support. All this of course is a far cry from conditions at the beginning of the 20th century (Watson, 1904): “*At the present day both Gaelic and English are spoken over the whole of the county (i.e. of Ross & Cromarty), with this qualification, that in the eastern part English is predominant, while Gaelic still prevails on the West Coast and in Lewis.*”



In recent years bilingual roads signs were introduced in some locations in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Duwe, 2015)



2 The Historical Background

Gàidhlig has been the vernacular of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) for many centuries. As stated in the Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-1799) the tongue was spoken universally (and often exclusively) in most villages and hamlets. Generally, the rural communities were close-knit and adhered to Gàidhlig as the means of communication. The southern parish of *Urrath* (Urray) was no exception (1793): “*Gaelic is the vernacular language of the whole parish, except in gentlemen’s families. Several of the inhabitants read the English Bible, and can transact business in that language, but they, as well as the bulk of the people, prefer religious instruction in Gaelic*” English made inroads only in the market towns where both languages were used at that time. A notable exception from the rule was the string of communities on the east side of *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) which had been settled by “lowlanders” already centuries earlier (Withers, 1984). A fitting account is given in the Old Statistical Account about the parish of *Ros Mhaircnidh* (Rosemarkie) (1794): “*It is somewhat remarkable, that in this, as well as the neighbouring parishes of Cromarty and Avoch, the ministers preach only in English, which is the common language of the people In this parish, no Gaelic is to be found, but among a few servants who came from the Highlands ...*” The general distribution of language strength did not change very much in the early part of the 19th century as the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) reported. Comments on the status in *Eadardan* (Edderton) for example read: “*The language generally spoken is Gaelic and ... the Gaelic language has lost scarcely any ground within the last forty years.*” Things were to change, however, with increased means of communication and, more effectively, with open hostility in education and official proceedings towards Gàidhlig in the time to come.

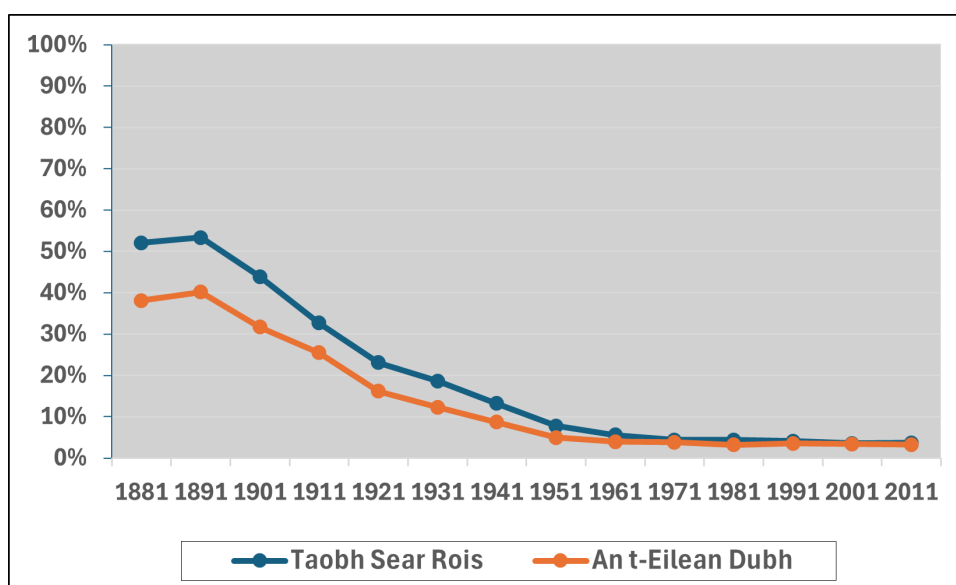


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) and *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) ⁵

Figure 2 illustrates quite drastically how Gàidhlig retreated in the area since the 1881 census first recorded the number of speakers in Scotland⁶.

⁵ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.

⁶ In 1881 enumerators were asked whether people „spoke habitually Gaelic“. Therefore, figures in this census were under-estimations of the real state of affairs.



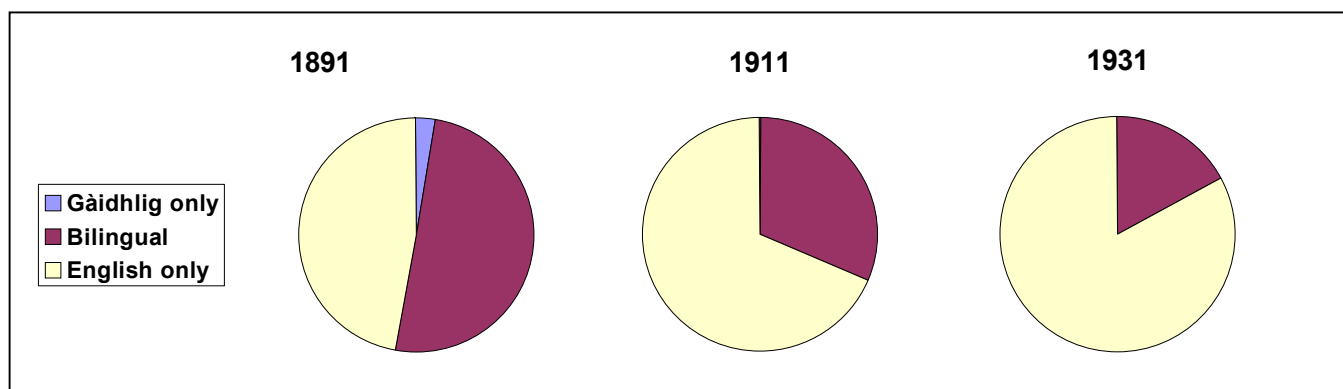


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

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

At the end of the 19th century Gàidhlig had to survive amidst public apathy and semi-official hostility. The most powerful weapon to “eradicate the cruel and vulgar tongue of Erse” was the 1872 Education Act which introduced compulsory education without any regard to the mother tongue of the local children. In 1878 (Campbell, 1945) the then Inspector of Schools for Ross, Caithness and Sutherland Mr. D. Sime wrote officially: “I should regard the teaching of Gaelic in schools in any shape or form as a most serious misfortune.” Combined with the ever-increasing influence of English in day-to-day transactions and the status of the *Beurla* as the language of progress and the great British Empire the local language could not really compete on level ground.

During a short period of 40 years the number of Gàidhlig speakers on the east side of *Siorrachd Rois* (Ross-shire) dwindled from 17,300 in 1891 to just 4,700 in 1931. Whereas almost half of the population spoke Gàidhlig in 1891, only one in six spoke the language at the 1931 census (table 1). Before the turn of the 19th century there were even a few hundred people who did not speak English (fig. 3); on the eve of the Second World War there were effectively no “Gaelic only” speakers left (tables 23, 25 and 27). The last of “native Easter Ross Gaelic speakers” were born in the 1920s (fig. 10) – most of them did never have the opportunity to learn to read or even write their mother tongue. The language lingered on most effectively in remoter parts like the inland parish of *Cunndainn* (Contin) and the north-eastern fishing villages in *Manachainn Rois* (Fearn).

<i>Taobh Sear Rois & An t-Eilean Dubh</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881 ⁷	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	17,541	17,317	13,408	9,912	6,698	4,688
% of total population	47.6 %	49.1 %	40.0 %	30.5 %	21.1 %	16.7 %

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *Taobh Sear Rois & An t-Eilean Dubh* (Easter Ross & Black Isle) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

More local detail of language strength can be obtained by looking at the various data in the census publications of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. Thankfully then the number of Gàidhlig speakers were published separately for towns, villages, civil and ecclesiastic parishes as well as local registration districts. The tables 2-7 give a comprehensive insight into conditions locally.

⁷ In 1881 the census question was concerned with people “habitually speaking Gaelic”, therefore figures returned were an underestimation of the actual number of Gaelic speakers.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Eadardan, Baile Dhubhthaich & An Tairbeart – 1881 - 1911							
Area ⁸	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁰		
	1881 ¹¹	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Eadardan & Baile a'Bhlàir</i> (Edderton & Balblair)	206 52.8%	159 53.9%	147 51.0%	107 40.5%	8 5.0%	8 5.4%	–
<i>Baile an Lìghe & Innis an t-Samhraidh</i> (Ballaigh & Inchintaury)	68 57.1 %	86 72.9%	60 60.6%	41 47.7%	15 17.4%	2 3.3%	–
<i>Creag Ruadh & Dalais Beag</i> (Craigroy & Little Dallas)	106 75.1 %	77 69.4%	74 70.5%	52 52.0%	1 1.3%	–	–
<i>Dùnaidh & An Fheàrna</i> (Dounie & Fearn)	57 41.0 %	58 50.0%	48 56.5%	35 36.8%	–	–	–
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	301 17.3 %	654 39.9%	497 30.2%	360 22.5%	7 1.1%	5 1.0%	1 0.3%
<i>An Cnoc Breac</i> (Knockbreck)	71 42.0 %	93 62.8%	51 32.3%	22 19.3%	2 2.2%	2 3.9%	–
<i>Monadh an Fhraoich</i> (Heathmount)	115 79.9 %	69 51.5%	45 40.9%	29 30.5%	4 5.8%	–	–
<i>Coille Mhùiridh & Àird Làraich</i> (Hartfield & Ardlarach)	87 52.4 %	69 41.6%	70 42.9%	53 45.7%	1 1.4%	–	1 1.9%
<i>Mòraistidh & Tàrlagaidh</i> (Morangie & Tarlogie)	61 41.2 %	55 42.3%	44 26.0%	28 25.5%	2 3.6%	–	–
<i>Baile a'Cheathraimh & Baile nan Gall</i> (Balcherry & Balnagall)	65 67.7 %	54 60.7%	32 43.8%	28 32.6%	–	2 6.3%	–
<i>Alltaidh</i> (Aldie)	82 44.3 %	98 50.8%	76 43.9%	35 25.4%	2 2.0%	2 2.6%	–
<i>Inbhir & Baile nan Sginnearach</i> (Inver & Skinnerton)	456 92.1%	367 85.0%	295 81.9%	205 68.6%	86 23.4%	30 10.2%	8 4.2%
<i>Gàthan</i> (Geanies)	182 83.5%	147 55.7%	122 55.7%	63 34.2%	12 8.2%	1 0.8%	–
<i>Baile na Bruaiche & Àrbol</i> (Balnabruich & Arbol)	137 74.5 %	133 78.2%	74 59.2%	53 54.6%	7 5.3%	2 2.7%	–
<i>A'Chreag</i> (Rockfield)	271 69.1 %	218 57.4%	168 45.3%	131 47.6%	27 12.4%	–	3 2.3%
<i>Nis Tairbeirt</i> (Tarbat Ness)	153 69.2 %	108 52.7%	70 41.7%	38 22.1%	3 2.8%	–	–
<i>Port Mo Chalmaig</i> (Portmahomack)	258 53.9%	309 49.0%	209 47.0%	164 39.3%	6 1.9%	–	–

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Eadardan, Baile Dhubhthaich & An Tairbeart (Edderton, Tain & Tarbat) between 1881 and 1911

⁸ Enumeration division or burgh.

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

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

¹¹ Speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of <i>Manachainn Rois, An Eig, Lagaidh & Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹²	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹³				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁴		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Loch Slinn & Baile Chèirigh</i> (Lochslin & Pitkerrie)	111 54.7%	116 64.1%	75 48.4%	71 48.0%	–	–	–
<i>Baile an Droma & Ràthan</i> (Hill of Fearn & Rhynie)	259 55.2 %	208 52.8%	166 44.7%	115 29.4%	7 3.4%	–	–
<i>Alan & Feàrna</i> (Allan & Fearn)	191 68.2 %	105 42.0%	64 27.9%	58 29.3%	2 1.9%	–	–
<i>Cathaball & Lòn Tulaich</i> (Cadboll & Loans of Tullich)	239 66.8 %	147 51.2%	107 42.6%	73 31.9%	1 0.7%	–	2 2.7%
<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll)	375 96.2%	315 91.8%	234 64.6%	238 55.5%	10 3.2%	30 12.8%	10 4.2%
<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore)	309 71.0%	301 67.7%	222 56.6%	199 51.0%	14 4.7%	7 3.2%	5 2.5%
<i>Seannduaig</i> (Shandwick)	133 64.3%	162 90.5%	146 78.5%	139 74.3%	12 7.4%	4 2.7%	3 2.2%
<i>Ràth Riachaidh & Baile a'Bhealaidh</i> (Rarichie & Broomton)	162 64.8%	137 54.2%	92 39.3%	53 35.1%	1 0.7%	2 2.2%	–
<i>Baile Chailnidh & Cinn Dèis Bhig</i> (Pitcalnie & Ankerville)	121 48.8 %	105 43.4%	84 40.0%	75 29.0%	–	–	–
<i>Baile na Bruaiche & An Eig</i> (Balnabruich & Nigg)	187 63.4 %	139 54.3%	131 50.0%	83 36.1%	2 1.4%	1 0.8%	–
<i>Allt nan Albannach</i> (Scotsburn)	164 58.0%	90 32.7%	78 29.5%	59 25.5%	10 11.1%	–	–
<i>Baile MhicDhuibh</i> (Pitmaduthy)	143 60.3 %	110 49.5%	68 30.4%	53 28.8%	–	–	–
<i>Meitheid</i> (Meddat)	71 62.8 %	55 37.9%	58 37.9%	28 21.5%	–	–	–
<i>Am Bog & Calrosaidh</i> (Arabella & Calrossie)	53 27.3 %	59 25.9%	64 36.6%	29 18.7%	4 6.8%	–	–
<i>Baile Mhuilinn Anndra & Caoldaraidh</i> (Milton & Kildary)	157 46.0 %	123 35.7%	117 34.1%	74 24.0%	1 0.8%	1 0.9%	–
<i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Balnagown)	107 45.1 %	95 52.5%	57 39.9%	44 28.9%	–	–	–
<i>An Cladach & Deilgnidh</i> (Barbaraville & Delny)	126 43.6 %	108 42.5%	94 34.4%	48 20.1%	6 5.6%	3 3.2%	–
<i>Tulach & Cail Fhraochaidh</i> (Tullich & Heathfield)	101 45.1 %	83 43.9%	68 38.2%	33 21.7%	–	–	–
<i>Srath Uaraidh</i> (Strathrory)	20 36.4 %	23 41.8%	16 33.3%	4 11.8%	1 4.3%	–	–

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Manachainn Rois, An Eig, Lagaidh & Cill Mhoire an Ear* (Fearn, Nigg, Logie Easter & Kilmuir Easter) between 1881 and 1911

¹² Enumeration division.

¹³ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁴ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Ros Cuibhne, Alanais, Cill Tighearna & Fothraididh – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁵	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁶				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Ard Rois & Srath Rùsdail</i> (Ardross & Strath Rusdale)	119 60.4%	144 87.8%	93 48.2%	66 34.7%	35 24.3%	2 2.2%	–
<i>Achadh an Dùnaidh & Neo na Cille</i> (Auchandunie & Nonikiln)	256 53.0%	195 47.4%	181 43.3%	94 24.5%	4 2.1%	1 0.8%	1 1.1%
<i>An Neo Mhòr & Ruigh a'Chuilinn</i> (Newmore & Rhicullen)	179 44.0 %	125 38.1%	118 37.8%	70 24.9%	2 1.6%	3 2.5%	–
<i>Dail Mòr & Ros Cuibhne</i> (Dalmore & Rosskeen)	133 43.3 %	125 47.5%	91 30.1%	79 25.6%	1 0.8%	–	–
<i>Alltan an t-Salainn</i> (Saltburn)	56 10.3%	201 41.3%	144 31.9%	97 24.3%	3 1.5%	1 0.7%	–
<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	171 15.7%	323 30.6%	254 25.0%	187 18.2%	1 0.3%	–	1 0.5%
<i>Ceann na Drochaid</i> (Bridgend)	353 49.2%	327 46.4%	291 39.6%	207 28.0%	7 2.2%	1 0.3%	–
<i>Alanais & Cnoc na Cùil</i> (Alness & Coulhill)	205 37.8%	260 53.2%	203 42.4%	143 30.3%	5 1.9%	3 1.5%	–
<i>Conntulaich & Cille Mhuire</i> (Contullich & Kildermory)	159 64.6%	187 64.5%	102 47.4%	82 35.8%	9 4.8%	3 3.0%	–
<i>Taigh an Fhuamhair & Gleann Ghlais</i> (Novar & Glen Glass)	121 49.6%	120 46.2%	87 33.2%	49 24.9%	2 1.7%	1 1.1%	–
<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	283 53.5%	349 58.0%	243 41.0%	165 33.3%	11 3.2%	1 0.4%	–
<i>Fòghlais, Cill Tighearna & Àird Ilidh</i> (Foulis, Kiltarn & Arduillie)	125 44.3%	128 44.6%	113 37.3%	66 23.5%	–	2 1.8%	–
<i>An Claon & Gleann Fòghlais</i> (Mountgerald & Glen Foulis)	172 67.7%	145 67.8%	84 40.2%	58 29.1%	3 2.1%	1 1.2%	2 3.4%
<i>Suardal & Coire Bhacaidh</i> (Swordale & Corryvrackie)	67 57.3%	117 59.1%	86 55.8%	53 32.7%	3 2.6%	–	2 3.8%
<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer)	254 58.8%	303 52.9%	290 46.5%	238 33.8%	11 3.6%	8 2.8%	2 0.8%
<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Achterneed)	169 64.8%	170 74.6%	145 70.7%	69 48.3%	4 2.4%	2 1.4%	–
<i>Innis Ràineach & Fothraididh</i> (Inchrannie & Fodderty)	191 71.8%	145 60.7%	101 51.5%	86 54.1%	8 5.5%	2 2.0%	2 2.3%
<i>Am Bràighe & Dabhach Gartaidh</i> (Brae & Docharty)	139 72.8%	106 72.6%	81 55.9%	65 48.9%	69 65.1%	1 1.2%	–
<i>Loch a'Ghiuthsaich</i> (Loch Ussie)	175 65.8%	145 75.5%	109 55.1%	97 57.7%	6 4.1%	2 1.8%	–
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh)	297 66.1%	289 69.3%	199 50.8%	140 36.4%	17 5.9%	14 7.0%	1 0.7%

Table 4: Numbers and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in Ros Cuibhne, Alanais, Cill Tighearna & Fothraididh (Rosskeen, Alness, Kiltarn & Fodderty) between 1881 and 1911

¹⁵ Enumeration division.

¹⁶ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Cunndainn, Urrath & Inbhir Pheofharain – 1881 - 1911							
Area ¹⁷	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ¹⁸				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ¹⁹		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Cunndainn (Contin)	555 71.5%	213 60.0%	167 52.0%	126 42.3%	12 5.6%	5 3.0%	1 0.8%
Sgatail & Tarbhaidh (Scatwell & Tarvie)	270 79.6%	182 76.8%	131 67.2%	105 71.4%	11 6.0%	4 3.1%	3 2.9%
Allt a'Ghiùthsaidh & Srath a'Bhàthaich (Aultguish & Strathvaich)	56 94.9%	98 89.9%	63 94.0%	50 83.3%	15 15.3%	–	–
A'Ghairbhe & An Goirtean (Garve & Gortan)	201 85.9 %	207 84.5%	171 66.8%	116 52.0%	6 2.9%	–	2 1.7%
Srath Brain & Loch Luinncheirt (Strathbran & Loch Luichart)	114 64.8%	125 67.2%	107 72.3%	91 72.2%	3 2.4%	1 0.9%	–
Achadh na Sine & Fànaich (Achnasheen & Fannich)	117 71.8%	99 61.5%	93 63.7%	68 66.0%	2 2.0%	5 5.4%	2 2.9%
Sgàrd Ruaidh & Gleann Oirrin (Scardroy & Glen Orrin)	45 95.7%	32 74.4%	48 75.0%	41 65.1%	2 6.3%	–	1 2.4%
Srath Chonnain (Strathconon)	101 90.2%	78 74.3%	98 71.0%	84 58.3%	22 28.2%	5 5.1%	1 1.2%
A'Ghlaic Odhar (Glackour)	133 95.0%	73 67.0%	29 64.4%	35 81.4%	4 5.5%	7 24.1%	1 2.9%
Inbhir Pheofharain (Dingwall)	511 26.4%	951 41.3%	791 31.4%	664 25.2%	18 1.9%	21 2.7%	4 0.6%
Inbhir Pheofharain Dùthaich (Dingwall Landward)	95 33.0%	160 53.7%	122 45.2%	88 34.0%	4 2.5%	1 0.8%	2 2.3%
An Lagaidh & Mòrdun (Marybank & Muirton)	310 70.9%	175 60.6%	150 51.4%	102 40.3%	15 8.6%	2 1.3%	–
Urrath (Urray)	257 76.3%	179 71.3%	139 57.4%	144 60.5%	34 19.0%	10 7.2%	2 1.4%
Aird nan Crasg & Òrd (Ardnagrask & Ord)	320 54.1%	216 65.5%	168 55.6%	152 47.1%	32 14.8%	4 2.4%	1 0.7%
Allt a'Bhàthaich & Ruigh an Dùin (Aultvaich & Rheindown)	248 86.7%	191 82.3%	192 72.5%	101 62.3%	10 5.2%	25 13.0%	7 7.0%
Am Blàr Dubh & Tarradal (Muir of Ord & Tarradale)	293 72.7%	340 57.2%	312 56.8%	244 51.6%	25 7.4%	7 2.2%	–
Arcan (Arcan)	220 62.7%	287 62.8%	251 62.4%	147 38.8%	27 9.4%	9 3.6%	1 0.7%

Table 5: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cunndainn, Urrath & Inbhir Pheofharain (Contin, Urray & Dingwall) between 1881 and 1911

In northern *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) percentages (tables 2-5) in larger burghs like *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) and Inbhir Gòrdain (Invergordon) were already comparatively low. In some fishing villages like *Baile a'Chnuic* (Hilton of Cadboll), however, Gàidhlig remained strong even until 1911. A

¹⁷ Enumeration division or burgh.

¹⁸ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁹ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



similar conclusion may be drawn for the southern parts of *Taobh Sear Rois* (table 3) where the county capital of *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and the popular spa *Srath Pheofhair* (Strathpeffer) were already considerably anglicised before 1900. The more secluded upland localities like *Srath Chonnain* (Strathconon) and *Ceann Loch Luinncheirt* (Kinlochluichart) remained strongly Gàidhlig-speaking in contrast. In 1891 even in some locations the number of monolinguals among the Gàidhlig-speaking population was remarkable. A closer look at individual census forms sheds new light on the conditions of the traditional language in the village of *Baile a'Chnuic* (Hilton of Cadboll):

“The small fishing village of Baile a'Chnuic (Hilton of Cadboll) lies on the east coast of the county of Ros & Cromba (Ross & Cromarty). It is part of a line of hamlets which occupy the North Sea coast of the fertile parish of Sgìre na Manachainn (Fearn). The village was home to a close-knit community where almost everyone was occupied with fishing or at least with related work like boatbuilding. The usually resident population of the fishing village of Baile a'Chnuic (Hilton of Cadboll) was overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking. The few inhabitants “with no Gaelic” were found mostly at very young age in a handful of households. A small number of older people did not even speak English Only eight usually resident persons did not have a “G” or “G&E” mark on their registration sheets. The largest group of these “non-Gaelic” speakers was made up of six children aged between 3 and 12 living in four different households. In addition, a fisherman (originally from Nairnshire) and his wife did not speak Gàidhlig although their children were reported as bilingual. Seven persons did not speak English. The youngest monolingual person was 46 years old – she was a fisherman’s wife and was born in Brùra (Brora). Two other monolingual persons came also from a nearby fishing community, i.e. Eurabol (Embo). Another “Gaelic only” return was reported also with a birthplace in the parish of Dòrnach (Dornoch). Many of these older people were “living on parochial relief” according to the census records. (Duwe, 2006).

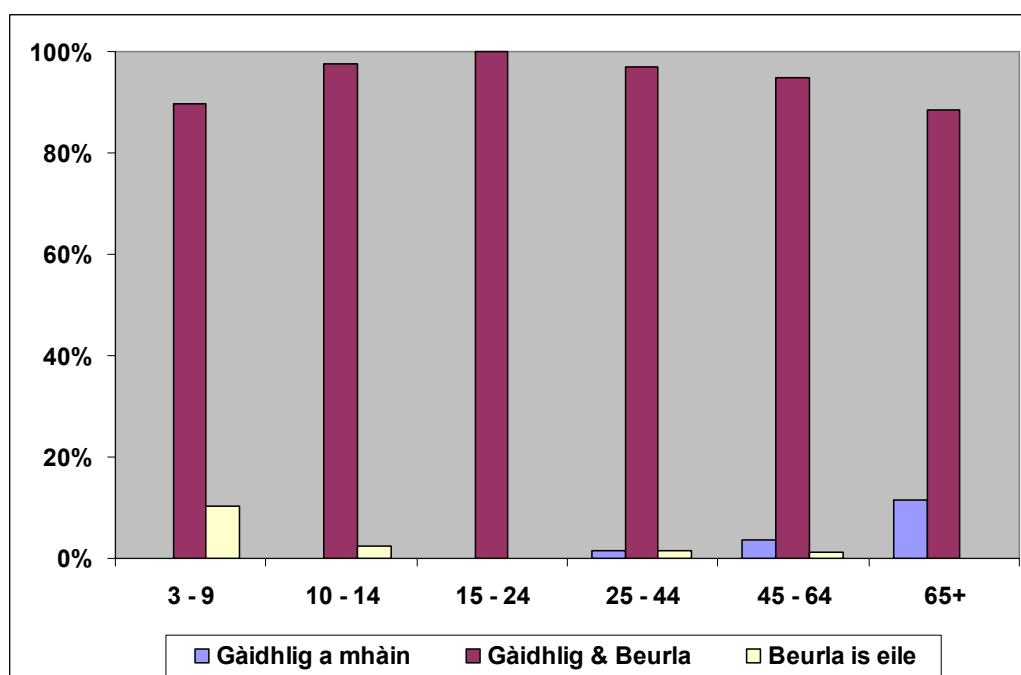


Fig. 4: Age profile in *Baile a'Chnuic* (Hilton of Cadboll) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) Gàidhlig, (2) Gàidhlig & English, or (3) no Gàidhlig at all



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of <i>Ruigh Sholais, Cill Earnain and Urchadain & An Lagaidh – 1881 - 1911</i>							
Area ²⁰	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²¹				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ²²		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge)	299 65.9%	235 52.7%	229 51.2%	160 38.5%	6 2.6%	4 1.7%	–
<i>Bràigh Fhionndain</i> (Brae Findon)	69 56.1%	82 63.1%	51 48.6%	34 29.8%	3 3.7%	1 2.0%	1 2.9%
<i>An Cùil Bhàicidh</i> (Culbokie)	361 78.5%	316 68.0%	231 55.3%	153 43.0%	8 2.5%	7 3.0%	–
<i>Baile a' Bhàird</i> (Balvaird)	262 69.1%	321 81.9%	211 66.1%	162 55.5%	38 11.8%	13 6.2%	3 1.9%
<i>Am Bog Buidhe</i> ¹⁶ (Bogbuie)	225 84.0%	241 82.5%	185 81.5%	143 67.8%	15 6.2%	7 3.8%	4 2.8%
<i>Baile Ùr Ceann na Coille</i> ²³ (Newton of Kinkell)	131 65.5%	90 84.9%	69 85.2%	60 72.3%	10 11.1%	1 1.4%	–
<i>Baile Ùr Sgìre na Tòiseachd</i> ¹⁶ (Newton of Ferintosh)	160 72.7%	115 74.2%	114 73.5%	86 66.7%	12 10.4%	3 2.6%	–
<i>Baile Dhonnchaidh</i> ¹⁶ (Duncanston)	188 79.7%	97 52.2%	78 46.2%	63 31.8%	5 5.2%	1 1.3%	–
<i>Baile an t-Arbhar</i> ¹⁶ (Corntown)	117 64.3%	93 59.6%	83 45.9%	62 30.0%	3 3.2%	1 1.2%	–
<i>Jemimaville & Bràigh Langail</i> (Jemimaville & Brae Langwell)	67 20.7%	112 32.9%	87 36.0%	68 26.2%	7 6.3%	1 1.1%	1 1.5%
<i>A' Bhruthach & Cùrabol an Ear</i> (Brae & Easter Culbo)	155 55.6%	172 59.9%	81 39.7%	64 36.8%	3 1.7%	1 1.2%	1 1.6%
<i>Cùl a' Chùdainn & Ruigh Sholais</i> (Cullicudden & Resolis)	270 54.4%	173 40.4%	138 40.4%	106 35.2%	2 1.2%	1 0.7%	–
<i>Baile a' Bhlàir & Cùrabol an Iar</i> (Balblair & Wester Culbo)	109 33.5%	153 53.9%	104 42.8%	86 39.3%	3 2.0%	2 1.9%	–
<i>An Caisteal Dearg</i> (Redcastle)	113 35.3%	193 62.5%	139 48.4%	145 45.0%	6 3.1%	2 1.4%	–
<i>An Leatach</i> (Lettoch)	141 52.4%	121 67.6%	121 57.6%		5 4.1%	–	
<i>Cùil Challaidh</i> (Kilcoy)	187 67.3%	192 81.0%	146 82.5%	88 40.6%	20 10.4%	6 4.1%	1 1.1%
<i>An Tòrr</i> (Tore)	117 60.9%	121 62.1%	125 48.3%	129 53.5%	7 5.8%	1 0.8%	3 2.3%

Table 6: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Ruigh Sholais, Cill Earnain and Urchadain & An Lagaidh* (Resolis, Killearnan and Urquhart & Logie Wester) between 1881 and 1911

²⁰ Enumeration division.

²¹ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

²² Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

²³ Most or all parts of the associated enumeration divisions belonged to a detached part of Nairnshire until 1901.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Crombaidh, Ros Mhaircnidh, Abhach and An Cnoc Bàn – 1881 - 1911							
Area ²⁴	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ²⁵				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ²⁶		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty)	132 9.7%	128 9.6%	87 7.0%	63 5.7%	1 0.8%	–	–
<i>Baile Ùr & Neamhaididh</i> (Newton & Navity)	77 25.4%	76 26.2%	44 16.8%	33 14.6%	–	–	–
<i>Uadal & Baile an Fhraoich</i> (Udale & Muirton)	92 27.0%	109 30.4%	39 13.6%	45 16.2%	1 0.9%	–	–
<i>Athaigh</i> (Eathie)	4 1.9%	55 25.2%	30 16.2%	31 20.9%	–	–	–
<i>Ros Mhaircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	24 6.3%	48 13.0%	52 13.0%	44 11.1%	2 1.7%	–	–
<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose)	14 2.9%	70 13.9%	68 10.2%	72 19.2%	–	–	–
<i>Druim Mhaircnidh</i> (Drummarkie)	15 12.8%	24 22.0%	21 18.4%	9 15.5%	–	–	–
<i>Radharaidh</i> (Raddery)	9 5.8%	29 20.0%	27 26.7%	22 16.5%	–	–	–
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch)	33 3.6%	83 6.7%	50 3.9%	47 3.3%	–	–	–
<i>Ruigheas & Baile Dhonnchaidh</i> (Rhives & Rosehaugh)	97 12.3%	115 19.6%	92 16.3%	49 13.1%	–	–	–
<i>Poll Lòchaidh</i> (Munlochy)	263 54.1%	277 61.7%	191 45.8%	142 38.0%	18 6.5%	4 2.1%	2 1.4%
<i>Baile Mac Duibh & Suidhe</i> (Belmaduthy & Suddie)	280 63.9%	223 49.0%	138 38.8%	78 26.2%	9 4.0%	2 1.4%	–
<i>Ceasaig a Tuath & Cill Mhoir</i> (North Kessock & Kilmuir)	154 29.2%	272 57.7%	177 41.6%	135 32.4%	28 10.3%	4 2.3%	–
<i>Baile Lùib & A'Ghlaic Mòr</i> (Charleston & Glackmore)	374 90.8%	268 83.0%	171 56.3%	113 42.3%	10 3.7%	2 1.2%	–

Table 7: Number and percentage of all Gàidhlig-speakers in Crombaidh, Ros Mhaircnidh, Abhach and An Cnoc Bàn (Cromarty, Rosemarkie, Avoch and Knockbain) between 1881 and 1911

On *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) (tables 6-7) the century old Gàidhlig/English divide still was in place during this period. Only a few inhabitants on the eastern part of the peninsula were reported as Gàidhlig speaking around the townships of *Abhach* (Avoch), *A'Chananaich* (Fortrose) and *Cromba* (Cromarty). A few hundred yards to the west, however, Gàidhlig still kept its prevalence in the mainly rural communities between *Ruigh Sholais* (Resolis) and *An Cnoc Bàn* (Knockbain).

Percentages of Gàidhlig speakers decreased with every decennial census thereafter. *Cunndainn* (Contin) was the last parish in the whole area to lose its Gàidhlig speaking majority in 1921 (table 16). World War II was to accelerate decline, however, at unprecedented speed.

²⁴ Enumeration division.

²⁵ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

²⁶ Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.



2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2011)

Between census enumerations in 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was cut by more than half from 16.7 % to 7.1 % in the area. Decline was almost identical everywhere with just three parishes recording more than 10 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (tables 17 and 19): *Cunndainn* (Contin), *An Eig* (Nigg) and *Manachainn Rois* (Fearn). In 1961 essentially rock-bottom was reached and figures fluctuated around the 4 % mark (table 8) thereafter.

<i>Taobh Sear Rois & An t-Eilean Dubh</i>							
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	2,036	1,454	1,290	1,667	1,728	1,546	1,678
Percentage of total population	7.1 %	5.2 %	4.3 %	4.2 %	4.0 %	3.5 %	3.6 %

Table 8: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Taobh Sear Rois & An t-Eilean Dubh* (Easter Ross & Black Isle) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2011

Why did decline did not proceed further? The answer lies mainly in the history of secondary education. Rather early *Gàidhlig* was introduced as a subject in some secondary schools in *Taobh Sear Rois*, notably *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and *Alanais* (Alness). Census after census reported some significant number of speakers in the 11-15 age cohort (see for example fig. 5 concerning 1981). This factor somewhat glossed over rather artificially the passing of the last generation of mother tongue speakers in places like *Baile a'Chnuic* (Hilton of Cadboll) and *Bràigh an t-Sratha* (Braeintra).

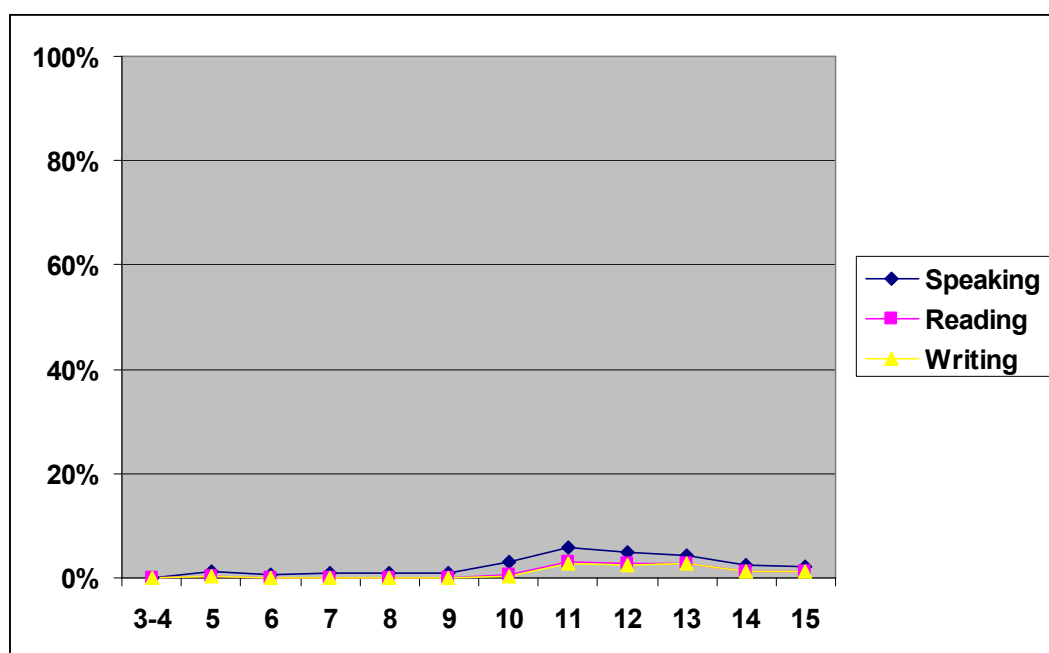


Fig. 5: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig* in different age groups in 1981 – district of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross)

Around 1981 *Gàidhlig* still had a few footholds in the area especially in western glens (tables 30 and 31) with more than 10 % of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Achadh na Sine* (Achnasheen) and *Allt a'Ghiùthsaidh* (Aultguish). Sadly, there was no young generation to replace the *Gàidhlig* speaking elders.



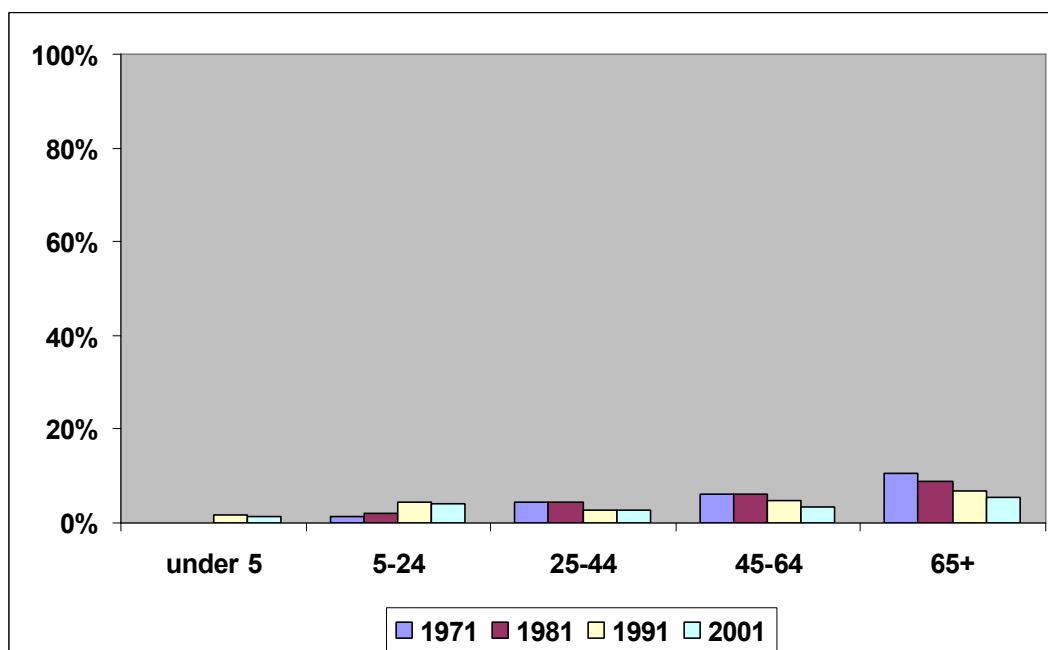


Fig. 6: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross)²⁷

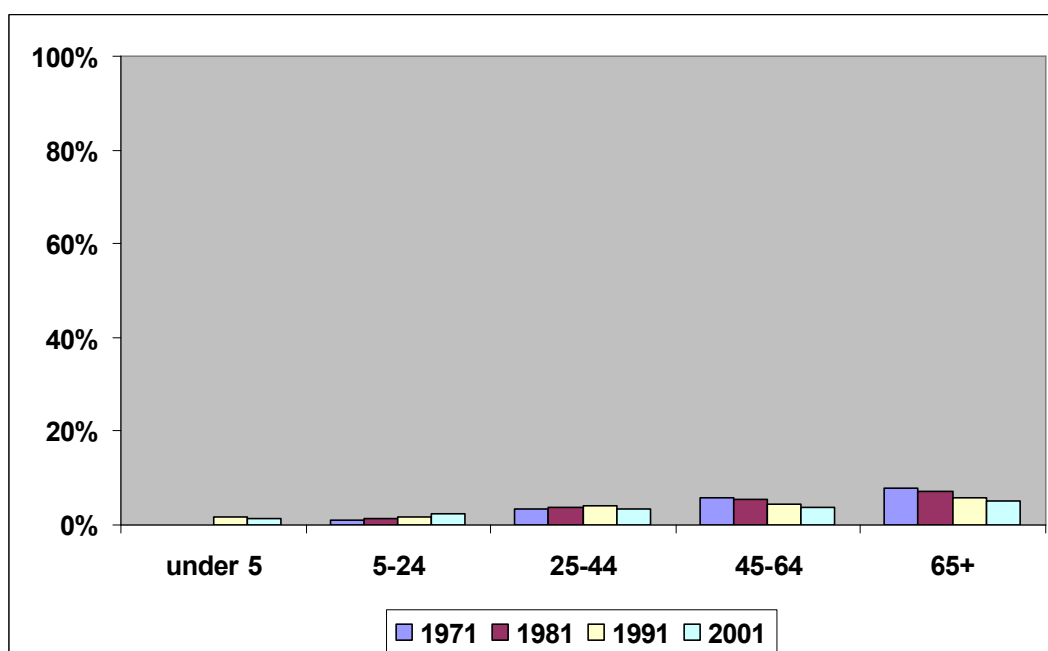


Fig. 7: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle)

The first fluent Gàidhlig speaking children for decades originated from *cròileagan* which were opened in “urban” environments during the 1980s. *Taobh Sear Rois* was on the forefront of the Gàidhlig play-group movement and demand swiftly exceeded supply of suitable personnel. The same applied to the Gàidhlig medium units which opened afterwards in local primary schools. The first such GMU was opened in *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) as early as 1987. In 1991 and 1992 respectively units in *Inbhir*

²⁷ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



Gòrdain (Invergordon) and *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) followed suit. The notorious teacher shortage, however, meant that the Invergordon unit had to close three years after its opening. The Dingwall and Tain GMUs survived and prospered from then on. In the late 1990s even *Gàidhlig* medium nurseries were opened by the local authority in both locations providing much sought after places for to-be-Gaels of the future.

Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the incidence of *Gàidhlig*-speaking by age group for the last 4 census dates. Whereas percentages declined in older age groups a certain improvement could be reported in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) since 1991. As nothing really happened educationally on *An t-Eilean Dubh* results remained essentially unaffected by the “Gaelic renaissance”. More details of the 2001 census results are outlined in chapter 3 of this study. Since 2001 the presence of *Gàidhlig* in the whole area remained very low key although some further language activities started. Some second language tuition in a few primary schools began under the GLPS scheme (“Gaelic Language in the Primary School”) and initiatives started to increase the uptake of *Gàidhlig* learner classes at secondary level. The language itself was also getting a more prominent place in daily life as bilingual signs on some major roads reminded people of the very existence of *Gàidhlig* in the area.

2011 saw the population rising since 2001 and there was even an increase of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area. In tables 17 to 20 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given. 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 tables 9 and 10 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones show a rather heterogeneous picture mainly caused by differences in educational services.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in this area just less than 40 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in tables 9 and 10.



Census Data Zones	Rois an Ear & An t-Eilean Dubh – Census 2011 – Part A					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Eadardan & Mòraistidh (Edderton & Morangie)	26	8.8%	90	5.6%	+ 3.2 %	31.8 %
Baile Dhubhthaich (Tain)	17	4.0%	120	4.5%	- 0.5 %	34.0 %
Inbhir & Port Mo Chalmaig (Inver & Portmahomack)	14	8.1%	49	4.1%	+ 4.0 %	51.4 %
Cathaball & Seannduaig (Hilton of Cadboll & Shandwick)	10	5.1%	56	4.2%	+ 0.9 %	44.4%
An Eig, Feàrna & Caoldaraidh (Nigg, Hill of Fearn & Kildary)	13	4.4%	69	3.8%	+ 0.6 %	22.9 %
Alltan an t-Salainn (Saltburn)	6	2.6%	64	3.9%	- 1.3 %	45.5 %
Inbhir Gòrdain (Invergordon)	16	3.5%	113	4.6%	- 1.1 %	44.3 %
Alanais (Alness)	29	2.9%	251	4.4%	- 1.5 %	28.1 %
Ard Rois & Suardal (Ardross & Swordale)	13	7.0%	45	3.8%	+ 3.2 %	33.3 %
Am Baile Nodha (Evanton)	4	2.2%	48	4.7%	- 2.5 %	36.4 %
Inbhir Pheofharain (Dingwall)	88	11.3%	365	7.0%	+ 4.3 %	40.2 %
Fothraididh & Srath Pheofhair (Fodderty & Strathpeffer)	14	5.3%	93	5.4%	- 0.1 %	52.2 %
Cunndainn & A'Ghairbhe (Contin & Garve)	22	7.2%	118	6.4%	+ 0.8 %	19.5 %
An Cladach & Urrath (Barbaraville & Urray)	11	5.3%	92	5.1%	+ 0.2 %	45.8 %
Am Blàr Dubh (Muir of Ord)	15	3.7%	109	4.6%	- 0.9 %	32.1 %
Baile Màiri (Maryburgh)	23	8.2%	147	7.6%	+ 0.6 %	46.5 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	32.8 %

Table 9: 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 – Part A



Census Data Zones	Rois an Ear & An t-Eilean Dubh – Census 2011 – Part B					
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Drochaid Sguideil (Conon Bridge)	13	5.0%	92	6.2%	- 1.2 %	57.4 %
An Cùil Bàicidh (Culbokie)	-	0.0%	60	5.4%	- 5.4 %	30.6 %
An Todhair & Ceann na Coille (Tore & Easter Kinkell)	4	3.4%	30	4.2%	- 0.8 %	45.0 %
Baile Bhlàir & Cùl a'Chudainn (Balblair & Cullicudden)	2	1.7%	33	4.0%	- 2.3 %	25.0 %
Crombaidh (Cromarty)	3	2.3%	30	3.4%	- 1.1 %	26.3 %
Ceasag a Tuath & An C. Dearg (North Kessock & Redcastle)	11	5.8%	124	7.8%	- 2.0 %	52.4 %
Poll Lòchaidh (Munlochy)	8	5.3%	37	4.3%	+ 1.0 %	48.1 %
Abhaich & Ratharaidh (Avoch & Raddery)	13	4.1%	60	3.5%	+ 0.6 %	30.8 %
A' Chananaich (Fortrose)	1	0.6%	33	2.5%	- 1.9 %	17.4 %
Ros Mhaircnidh (Rosemarkie)	1	1.1%	28	4.2%	- 3.1 %	33.3 %
<i>In comparison:</i> Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 10: 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 – Part B

2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2011

The 1971 census was the first such enumeration where Gàidhlig speakers were also asked to report on their reading and writing abilities. Both areas (*Taobh Sear Rois* and *An t-Eilean Dubh*) then reported values well below the Scottish average (tables 9 and 10). Very few of the mother tongue speakers had ever had a formal language lesson in school (let alone instruction in their mother tongue). Accordingly, it was to be expected that less than 25 % of “native” speakers could read written text in Gàidhlig and almost none considered themselves able to write in their mother tongue (Census 1971, Unpublished Tables of CCEDS Tarbat, Fearn, Nigg and Kinlochluichart, General Register Office, 1975).



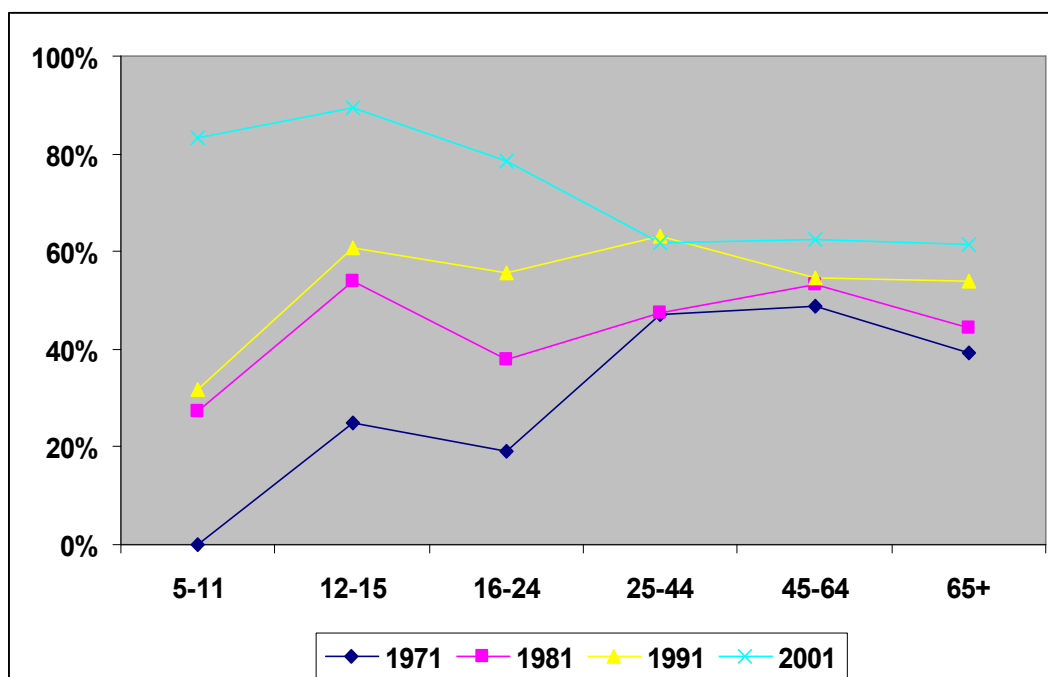


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross)

Gradually literacy levels improved since 1971 (figures 8 and 9) mainly caused by more effective formal education in secondary schools and the growing importance of *Gàidhlig* medium provision in two primary schools. In 2001 more than two thirds of speakers could read, and more than half could write *Gàidhlig* (tables 9 and 10). Until 2011 writing capabilities increased further in both areas.

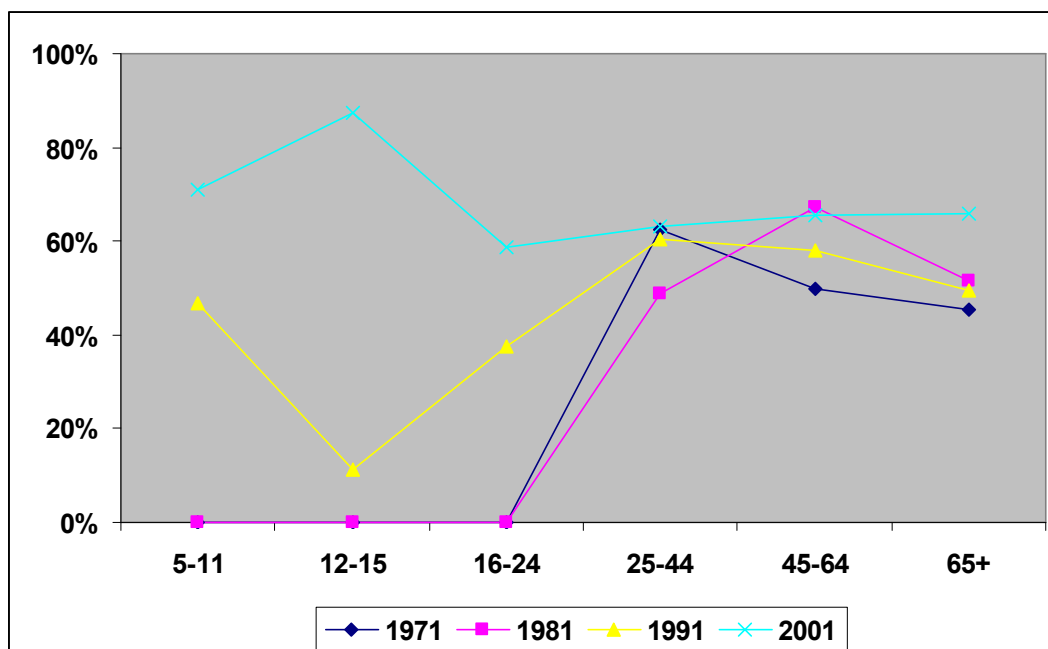


Fig. 9: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle)



	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross)	445	662	718	792	821	42.4%	47.2%	52.5%	67.6%	64.2%
An t-Eilean Dubh (Black Isle)	125	128	189	247	281	47.2%	48.3%	53.3%	65.0%	71.5%

Table 11: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig					Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross)	265	471	549	652	704	25.2%	33.6%	40.1%	55.6%	55.1%
An t-Eilean Dubh (Black Isle)	80	88	155	202	249	30.2%	33.2%	43.9%	53.2%	63.4%

Table 12: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2011)



3 Digression: The Situation of 2001 in Focus

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

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

IMPORTANT NOTICE: The more recent census data of 2011 were not as detailed as 2001 regarding generational differences in language use. Therefore 2001 is used here as baseline for research purposes. The following sections will describe generally the distribution of language abilities (inter-generational and community by community) and the specific conditions of the younger age groups in local primary school catchments.

3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

In *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) 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 roughly a smooth intergenerational distribution of *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 12) with comparatively low percentages. Maxima were reached in the generation born between 1920 and 1930 and at secondary school age. In addition, roughly 52 of pre-school children in the area knew some *Gàidhlig*.
- A further decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking had occurred since 1991 (table 13) by 0.7 %. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was down by just 0.2 %. This was mainly due to slight decreases in the school age percentages caused by the end of *Gàidhlig* medium education in the *Inbhir Gòrdain* area in the 1990s. The number of *Gàidhlig* speakers in the corresponding civil parish of *Ros Cuibhne* (Rosskeen) plummeted from 360 in 1991 to just 183 in 2001 (table 20).
- The local detail of census output areas did show those being able to speak the language rising to some 10 % in *Bràigh an t-Sratha* (Braeintrá) and 7 % in some parts of *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) as well as *Srath Chonnain* (Strathconon). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category showed similar values in the same locations.
- Literacy in the language had improved even further since 1991 with 67.6 % of speakers being able to read and 55.6 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years three were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 16 (1.5 %) could understand spoken *Gàidhlig* in 2001.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (3.6 % of the population) a further 613 inhabitants (1.8 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Generally, the impact of educational provision brought some impact on the composition of the *Gàidhlig* speaking population in *Taobh Sear Rois*. It was very encouraging to see a similar percentage in the young age group as in the language community as a whole (table 13).



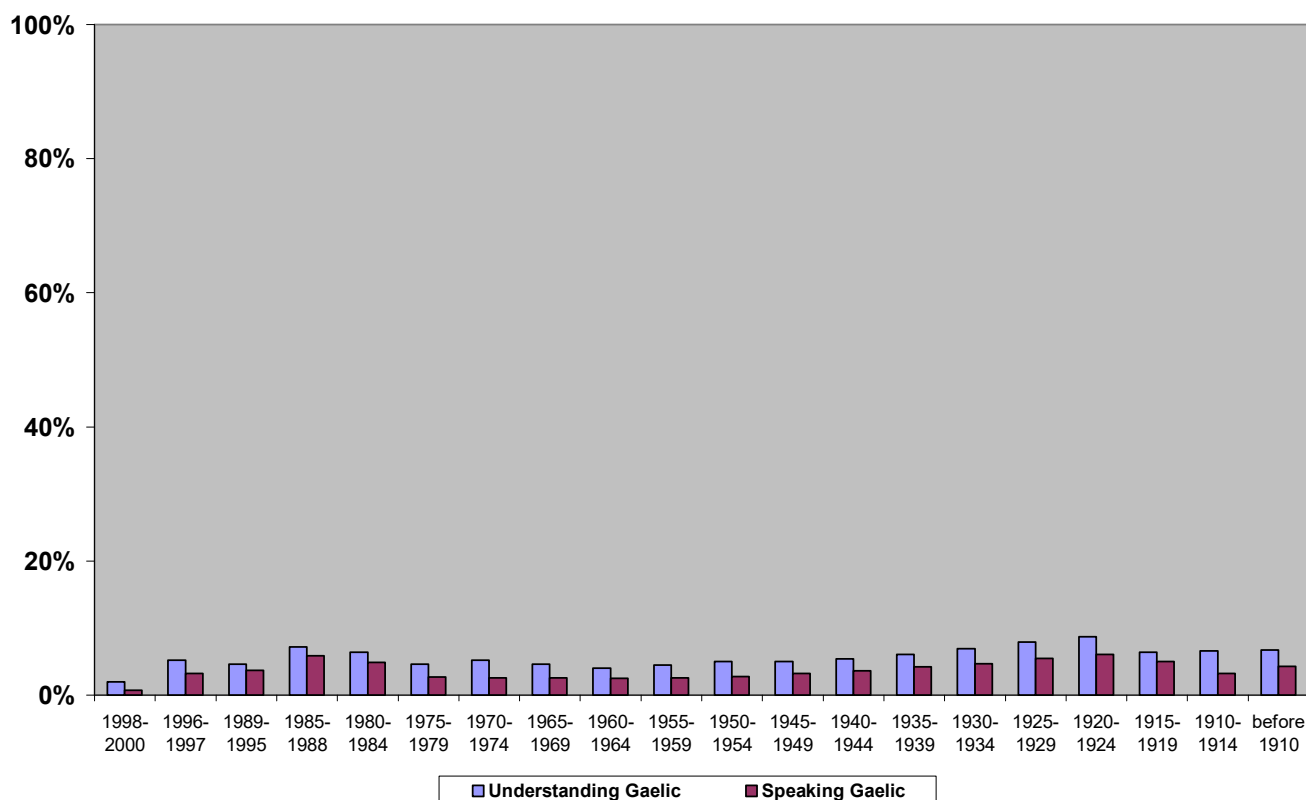


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁸ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	16	1.5 %	-	-	3	0.3 %	-	-	-
3-4	36	4.5 %	4	0.5 %	23	2.9 %	16	1.7 %	+ 1.2 %
5-11	124	4.1 %	84	2.8 %	101	3.4 %	197	5.4 %	- 2.0 %
12-15	136	7.4 %	101	5.5 %	113	6.1 %	152	7.2 %	- 1.1 %
16-24	191	5.7 %	99	3.0 %	126	3.8 %	109	2.6 %	+ 1.2 %
3-24	487	5.4 %	288	3.2 %	366	4.1 %	474	4.3 %	- 0.2 %
All ages	1.785	5.4 %	792	2.4 %	1.172	3.6 %	1.368	4.3 %	- 0.7 %
Difference	+/- 0.0 %		+ 0.8 %		+ 0.5 %		+/- 0.0 %		

Table 13: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) in 2001 and 1991

²⁸ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



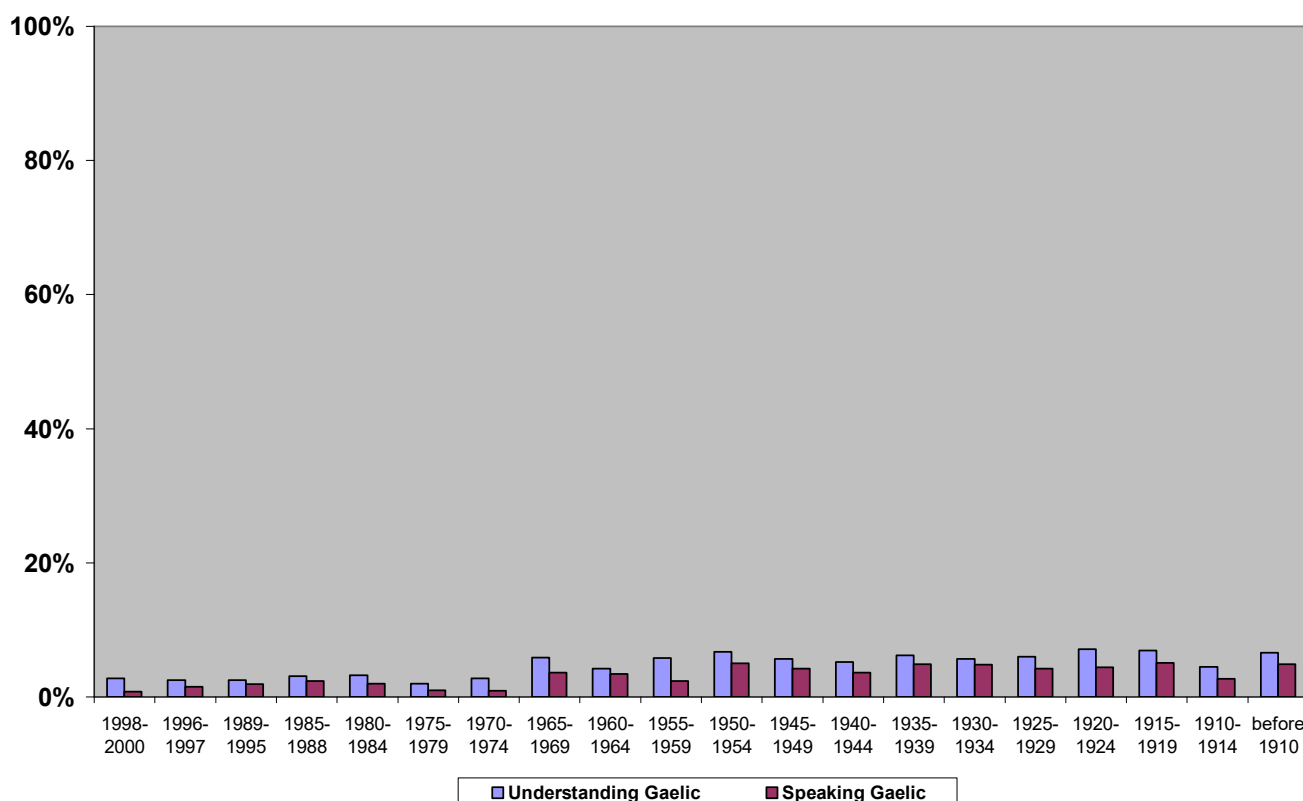


Fig. 11: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ²⁹ <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
0-2	9	2.8 %	-	-	3	0.9 %	-	-	-
3-4	8	3.2 %	1	0.4 %	4	1.6 %	4	1.6 %	+ - 0.0 %
5-11	31	3.2 %	17	1.7 %	24	2.4 %	30	3.1 %	- 0.7 %
12-15	21	3.2 %	14	2.1 %	16	2.4 %	9	1.6 %	+ 0.8 %
16-24	25	2.8 %	10	1.1 %	17	1.9 %	8	0.7 %	+ 1.2 %
3-24	85	3.1 %	42	1.5 %	61	2.2 %	51	1.8 %	+ 0.4 %
All ages	555	5.0 %	247	2.2 %	380	3.4 %	354	3.7 %	- 0.3 %
Difference	- 1.9 %		- 0.7 %		- 1.2 %		- 1.9 %		

Table 14: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) in 2001 and 1991

In contrast to *Taobh Sear Rois* the peninsula of *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) did not experience any educational progress within the last few decades. A few localities of course had the advantage to profit from Gàidhlig medium or secondary language teaching in *Inbhir Pheofharain* or *Inbhirnis*. Census re-

²⁹ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



sults in 2001 therefore were (not surprisingly) rather indifferent as far as *Gàidhlig* was concerned. Stated below are nevertheless some details.

- There was slight increase in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 11) by age with very low percentages overall. Roughly 17 of the pre-school children in the area knew some *Gàidhlig*.
- A further slight decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking occurred since 1991 (table 12) by 0.3 %. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was up by 0.4 %.
- The local detail of census output areas showed those being able to speak the language ranging up to some 9 % in *Ceasag a Tuath* (North Kessock). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category reached maximum values of around 10 % in parts of North Kessock and more than 6 % in *An Tòiseachd* (Ferintosh) and *Drochaid Sguideil* (Connon Bridge).
- Literacy in the language remained satisfactory with 65.0 % of speakers being able to read and 35.2 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years three were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 9 (0.9 %) could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (3.4 % of the population) 175 inhabitants (1.6 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

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 tables 10 and 11 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.

Looking at the different age groups (table 15) the following statements can be provided for ***Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross)**:

- Pre-school children: At the time of the census two *sgoiltean araich* (Gaelic nurseries) existed with 9 children in Tain and 32 children in Dingwall attending. In addition, some *cròileagan* (Gaelic playgroups) existed in the area. The overall distribution of children with some knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in 2001 complied with this pattern very well.
- Primary school children: In the school year 2000/2001 in total 34 pupils attended GME in *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) and 59 in *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall). Apparently, no other significant language teaching was provided in the whole area.
- Secondary school children: Three of the four local secondary schools provided *Gàidhlig* tuition either in GME or as secondary subject (exception: *Inbhir Gòrdain*). The 2000/2001 numbers ran to 27 pupils as fluent speakers (Tain: 12, Dingwall: 15) and 89 pupils with second language tuition (Tain 1; Dingwall 33 and *Alanais* (Alness) 55) in the two stages S1 and S2. Especially in *Inbhir Pheofharain*, *Alanais* and their hinterland census figures are significant.



- **Parents:** Around 5 % of inhabitants aged between 25 and 34 recorded themselves as knowing some Gàidhlig.

In conclusion: A significant impact of the existing Gàidhlig language teaching in *Taobh Sear Rois* could be detected in some school catchments in the area. This is despite the lack of second language tuition in local primary schools and the apparent levelling out of GME rolls (fig. 12) in the district.

Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> ³⁰ (Tain)	6	2.9 %	18	5.4 %	18	7.5 %	16	4.1 %
<i>Inbhir & An Tairbeart</i> (Inver & Tarbat)	-	-	2	2.4 %	-	-	3	3.0 %
<i>Baile an Droma & Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hill of Fearn & Hilton of Cadboll)	6	4.4 %	9	4.1 %	4	3.4 %	12	5.0 %
<i>Caoldaraidh</i> (Kildary)	1	1.0 %	3	1.5 %	6	5.4 %	12	5.7 %
<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> ²¹ (Invergordon)	1	0.4 %	8	2.0 %	8	3.8 %	26	5.0 %
<i>Alanais</i> ²¹ (Alness)	2	0.6 %	8	1.6 %	31	10.2 %	29	4.3 %
<i>Aird Rois</i> (Ardross)	-	-	-	-	7	25.0 %	4	5.8 %
<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	2	1.7 %	2	1.2 %	14	13.2 %	13	5.8 %
<i>Cunndainn & Srath Ghairbh</i> (Contin & Strathgarve)	-	-	2	4.4 %	3	10.3 %	4	6.3 %
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	19	6.5 %	45	11.7 %	32	11.0 %	30	4.9 %
<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer)	8	7.3 %	17	8.0 %	5	3.8 %	16	7.2 %
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh)	3	3.9 %	8	5.2 %	1	1.4 %	12	7.6 %
<i>Bruach Màiri & Srath Chonainn</i> (Marybank & Strathconon)	-	-	1	1.3 %	4	13.3 %	3	2.9 %
<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	1	0.7 %	2	1.0 %	7	5.6 %	10	3.6 %

Table 15: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) according to the census 2001

³⁰ Figures relate to several individual primary schools.



Census results for school catchments in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) were not very encouraging. The handful of children reported in western and southern districts were mainly due to their attendance of Gàidhlig playgroups and secondary schools in *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and *Inbhirnis* (Inverness) respectively. The local secondary school in A'Chananaich (Fortrose) did not provide any Gàidhlig tuition.

Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge)	4	6.1 %	7	6.1 %	2	1.9 %	10	7.1 %
<i>Todhar, An Cùil Bàicidh, Cùl a'Chudainn</i> (Tore, Culbokie & Cullicudden)	9	5.3 %	9	3.2 %	3	1.8 %	12	4.6 %
<i>Cromba</i> (Cromarty)	1	1.2 %	3	2.2 %	2	2.3 %	7	5.0 %
<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose)	1	1.3 %	2	1.4 %	3	3.4 %	6	4.7 %
<i>Abhach & Poll Lòchaidh</i> (Avoch & Munlochy)	1	0.9 %	4	2.4 %	1	0.8 %	7	3.3 %
<i>Ceasag a Tuath</i> (North Kessock)	-	-	6	4.8 %	9	12.3 %	8	7.8 %

Table 16: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) according to the census 2001



4 Future Perspectives – 2011 and beyond

Census details of the 2011 enumeration provide also further information about the current language viability in a community. Just some 5 % of residents in the study area have still some knowledge of Gàidhlig. The language viability indicator (LVI³¹) points generally to medium intergenerational language-maintenance (table 17) especially in *An t-Eilean Dubh* which is due to low language intensity in younger age groups.

Area	Rois an Ear & An t-Eilean Dubh – Census 2011					Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)
	Knowledge of Gàidhlig					
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	
Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross)	334	5.6%	1921	5.2%	+ 0.4 %	38.4 %
An t-Eilean Dubh (Black Isle)	43	2.9%	435	4.5%	- 1.6 %	38.1 %
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)	7.3 %		7.4 %		- 0.1 %	45.1 %

Table 17: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig as home language in Rois an Ear (Easter Ross) and An t-Eilean Dubh (Black Isle) in comparison with the whole Gaidhealtachd (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2011

In 2011 the LVI indicated very clearly regions with positive language viability. Not surprisingly these districts were mainly confined to school catchments with Gàidhlig language teaching, namely *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and *Alanais* (Alness).

Future educational progress: 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 71 pupils (16.8 %) attended the GMU in *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) and 53 pupils (24.9 %) were recorded in the *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) GMU. The numbers of nursery children stood at 27 and 2 children respectively. At this time Gàidhlig was taught as L2 (language 2 from primary stage P1 onwards) in the primary school of Àrd Rois (Ardross). In at least further 12 primary schools in *Taobh Sear Rois* Gàidhlig was taught as L3 (language 3 after French). In total 317 children received Gàidhlig tuition in the secondary departments at *Inbhir Pheofharain*, *Baile Dhubhthaich* and *Alanais* (Alness). However, no Gàidhlig lessons whatsoever were given in *An t-Eilean Dubh*.

In conclusion: Whereby *Taobh Sear Rois* is on the brink of language viability, *An t-Eilean Dubh* does not show any sign of recovery. The potential for a major breakthrough both in Gàidhlig medium and in second language teaching is still there. It is only a matter of policy (and an increased pool of suitable teachers). The support of parents and whole communities has reached remarkable

³¹ 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.



achievements in the past – *Taobh Sear Rois* could be a prime example of successful language recovery.

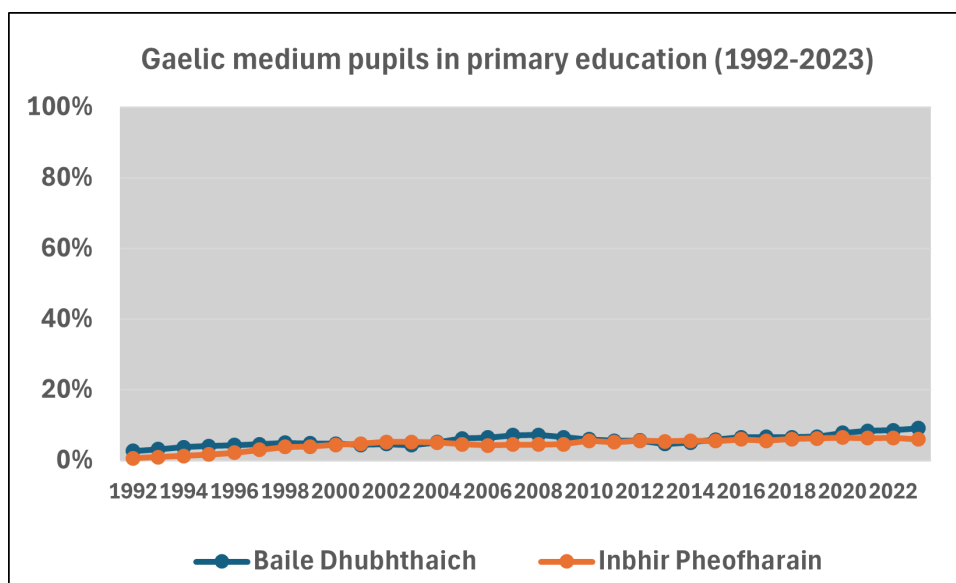


Fig. 12: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in the secondary school catchments of *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain) and *Inbhir Pheofharain* (Dingwall) (September 1992 – September 2023)³²

³² Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton)	<i>Baile Dhubh- thaich</i> (Tain)	<i>An Tair- beart</i> (Tarbat)	<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn)	<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg)	<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie East- er)	<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter)
1881	431	1,016	1,244	1,484	603	436	518
1891	381	1,322	947	1,192	543	314	432
1901	329	1,038	672	868	453	268	352
1911	235	727	492	754	350	168	204
1921	141	513	294	541	227	111	151
1931	108	314	215	386	138	74	88
1951	40	141	59	139	66	29	39
1961	17	104	20	73	37	15	26
1971	15	90	30	55	20	15	10
1981	16	172	11	81	18	19	14
1991	34	138	11	62	9	22	25
2001	9	148	16	58	3	25	22
2011	6	161	28	60	5	18	31

Table 18: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the seven civil parishes of northern Taobh Sear Rois according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton)	<i>Baile Dhubh- thaich</i> (Tain)	<i>An Tair- beart</i> (Tarbat)	<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn)	<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg)	<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter)	<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter)
1881	54.6 %	33.8 %	66.2 %	69.5 %	60.3 %	52.7 %	45.2 %
1891	59.3 %	46.9 %	55.6 %	62.7 %	58.4 %	36.1 %	42.2 %
1901	57.0 %	37.7 %	49.5 %	49.3 %	50.8 %	32.7 %	35.7 %
1911	43.1 %	29.0 %	40.2 %	42.2 %	42.3 %	24.0 %	23.0 %
1921	26.3 %	21.4 %	27.3 %	32.2 %	26.2 %	15.2 %	16.9 %
1931	22.3 %	14.4 %	24.2 %	25.9 %	19.0 %	12.4 %	12.5 %
1951	9.3 %	6.0 %	8.0 %	10.5 %	11.5 %	5.3 %	5.6 %
1961	4.5 %	4.4 %	3.3 %	5.8 %	8.1 %	2.7 %	3.9 %
1971	4.9 %	3.5 %	5.7 %	4.8 %	4.8 %	3.1 %	1.8 %
1981	4.2 %	4.2 %	1.8 %	4.1 %	5.1 %	3.9 %	1.4 %
1991	7.1 %	3.0 %	1.7 %	3.4 %	3.5 %	3.7 %	2.3 %
2001	3.0 %	3.5 %	2.7 %	3.3 %	1.0 %	4.7 %	2.0 %
2011	2.0 %	3.8 %	3.3 %	3.3 %	1.9 %	2.8 %	2.9 %

Table 19: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the seven civil parishes of northern Taobh Sear Rois according to census data from 1881 to 2011



Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen)	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn)	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty)	<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin)	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)
1881	1,272	485	649	606	1,381	1,130	1,745
1891	1,450	567	739	1,093	1,245	1,011	1,477
1901	1,173	392	526	892	951	844	1,248
1911	801	274	342	752	694	688	924
1921	524	138	263	515	470	592	680
1931	387	112	178	415	341	435	469
1951	161	48	75	255	153	247	203
1961	129	27	52	250	110	163	136
1971	145	25	50	240	115	105	105
1981	266	137	77	256	134	73	128
1991	380	126	65	225	91	63	123
2001	193	112	62	280	117	19 ³³	105 ²⁵
2011	209	87	61	315	126	44	133

Table 20: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the seven civil parishes of southern Taobh Sear Rois according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen)	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn)	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty)	<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin)	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)
1881	33.7 %	47.0 %	54.9 %	27.3 %	68.5 %	79.5 %	70.5 %
1891	41.7 %	54.6 %	56.8 %	42.4 %	65.6 %	70.4 %	64.7 %
1901	33.9 %	41.0 %	41.8 %	32.3 %	53.2 %	64.4 %	59.6 %
1911	23.8 %	30.5 %	30.1 %	25.9 %	41.0 %	59.2 %	47.7 %
1921	12.1 %	15.0 %	22.4 %	20.2 %	23.1 %	49.0 %	35.1 %
1931	10.8 %	13.2 %	17.6 %	15.0 %	22.9 %	39.4 %	25.7 %
1951	4.3 %	4.7 %	6.6 %	7.1 %	9.3 %	19.6 %	9.9 %
1961	3.6 %	2.6 %	5.2 %	6.2 %	6.6 %	14.7 %	6.6 %
1971	2.8 %	2.0 %	5.4 %	5.5 %	6.3 %	9.7 %	4.2 %
1981	3.7 %	3.7 %	6.3 %	5.0 %	6.8 %	7.0 %	5.0 %
1991	5.4 %	3.6 %	4.5 %	4.0 %	4.0 %	5.3 %	4.3 %
2001	2.8 %	3.4 %	3.7 %	5.1 %	4.6 %	2.8 % ²⁵	3.2 % ²⁵
2011	2.8 %	2.9 %	3.2 %	5.6 %	4.5 %	4.3 %	3.5 %

Table 21: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the seven civil parishes of southern Taobh Sear Rois according to census data from 1881 to 2011

³³ These are official census figures. A better historical comparison can be assumed by including output areas of *Srath Chonnain* (Strathconon) in the parish of *Cunndainn* (Contin) instead of *Urrath* (Urray). Thereby the figures would read 25 speakers (4.4 %) in *Cunndainn* and 99 (3.0 %) speakers in *Urrath* in 2001.

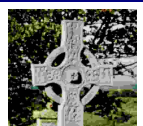


Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Wester)	<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis)	<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan)	<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain)	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch)	<i>Ros Mhaircuidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty)
1881	1,815	601	558	1,071	129	66	301
1891	1,590	610	666	1,001	198	226	313
1901	1,251	410	531	677	162	198	173
1911	925	326	365	468	96	178	149
1921	564	156	262	289	62	111	94
1931	394	105	150	207	39	69	64
1951	150	35	39	62	15	41	40
1961	92	18	44	60	22	30	29
1971	95	15	20	55	15	40	30
1981	105	12	10	54	16	31	37
1991	124	25	12	101	26	41	25
2001	136	20	12	100	25	65	19
2011	149	20	22	104	32	48	19

Table 22: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the seven civil parishes of *An t-Eilean Dubh* according to census data from 1881 to 2011

Census	Civil Parish						
	<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Wester)	<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis)	<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan)	<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain)	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch)	<i>Ros Mhaircuidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty)
1881	71.9 %	42.2 %	52.7 %	57.4 %	7.9 %	4.9 %	15.0 %
1891	68.3 %	45.6 %	70.0 %	60.0 %	10.9 %	16.8 %	15.6 %
1901	59.5 %	39.6 %	56.9 %	45.0 %	8.7 %	13.5 %	9.4 %
1911	46.1 %	34.2 %	46.7 %	34.5 %	5.4 %	13.6 %	9.1 %
1921	29.2 %	17.1 %	34.2 %	20.9 %	4.1 %	8.6 %	5.8 %
1931	22.0 %	12.4 %	21.3 %	17.9 %	2.8 %	5.7 %	5.2 %
1951	9.2 %	5.3 %	6.2 %	5.2 %	1.2 %	3.6 %	3.6 %
1961	5.2 %	2.7 %	7.0 %	5.4 %	1.8 %	2.6 %	3.4 %
1971	5.0 %	2.9 %	4.0 %	4.3 %	1.4 %	3.1 %	4.5 %
1981	4.4 %	2.2 %	1.8 %	3.9 %	1.5 %	2.1 %	4.7 %
1991	4.2 %	3.7 %	2.7 %	5.0 %	2.4 %	2.2 %	2.9 %
2001	4.2 %	2.9 %	2.0 %	4.8 %	2.0 %	2.9 %	2.2 %
2011	4.2 %	2.3 %	3.2 %	4.7 %	2.3 %	2.0 %	2.2 %

Table 23: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the seven civil parishes of *An t-Eilean Dubh* according to census data from 1881 to 2011



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath)</i>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	14,557	7,004	
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	789	431	
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	3,009	1,016	
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbat) CP	1,878	1,244	
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	2,135	1,484	
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	1,000	603	
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	827	436	
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	1,146	518	
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	3,773	1,272	
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,742	301	
<i>Bail' an Todhair</i> (Balintore) Vi	369	273	
<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll) Vi	390	375	
<i>Inbhir</i> (Inver-Skinnerton) Vi	396	268	
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain</i> (Invergordon) Vi	1,119	179	
<i>Port Mo Cholmaig</i> (Portmahomack) Vi	301	152	
<i>Alltan an t-Salainn</i> (Saltburn) Vi	302	31	
1891	13,367	6,288	303
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	642	357	24
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	2,818	1,235	97
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbat) CP	1,703	889	58
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	1,900	1,158	34
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	930	528	15
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	870	300	14
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	1,024	424	8
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	3,480	1,397	53
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,636	617	7
<i>Bail' an Todhair</i> (Balintore) Vi	361	229	8
<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll) Vi	343	305	10
<i>Inbhir</i> (Inver-Skinnerton) Vi	352	240	82
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain</i> (Invergordon) Vi	1,117	332	1
1901	12,606	5,045	108
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	577	319	10
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	2,756	999	39
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbat) CP	1,358	669	3
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	1,759	831	37
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	892	446	7
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	819	268	-
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	985	348	4
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	3,460	1,165	8
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,645	492	3
<i>Bail' an Todhair</i> (Balintore) Vi	332	770	21
<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll)	362	204	30
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain</i> (Invergordon) Vi	1,047	255	-
<i>Port Mo Cholmaig</i> (Portmahomack) Vi	445	209	-

Table 24: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, villages and burghs) in northern parts of *Taobh Sear Rois*.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath)</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	11,837	3,693	38
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	545	235	-
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	2,507	717	10
<i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbat) CP	1,224	488	4
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	1,785	738	18
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	827	347	3
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	700	168	-
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	887	204	-
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	3,362	796	5
1921	12,512	2,495	7
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	536	141	-
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	2,394	513	-
<i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbat) CP	1,075	292	2
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	1,680	538	3
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	867	226	1
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	730	111	-
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	895	150	1
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	4,335	524	-
1931	10,651	1,706	4
<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton) CP	485	108	-
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) CP	2,176	314	-
<i>An Tairheart</i> (Tarbat) CP	890	215	-
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn) CP	1,492	386	-
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg) CP	726	134	4
<i>Lagaidh</i> (Logie Easter) CP	597	74	-
<i>Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Kilmuir Easter) CP	705	88	-
<i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen) CP	3,580	387	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,383	163	-
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain (Baile Beag)</i> (Invergordon Small Burgh)	1,417	116	-
1951	10,370	728	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,600	68	-
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain (Baile Beag)</i> (Invergordon Small Burgh)	1,514	50	-
1961	9,861	421	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,699	62	-
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain (Baile Beag)</i> (Invergordon Small Burgh)	1,641	36	-
1971³⁴	11,230	380	*
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain Small Burgh)	1,940	70	*
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain (Baile Beag)</i> (Invergordon Small Burgh)	2,350	75	*

Table 25: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) in northern parts of Taobh Sear Rois.

³⁴ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas)</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	10,378	5,996	
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	1,033	485	
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,182	649	
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,220	606	
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	2,047	1,381	
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,422	1,130	
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	2,474	1,745	
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	1,932	511	
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) Vi	942	434	
<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) Vi	385	253	
<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) Vi	436	259	
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) Vi	420	278	
1891	10,445	5,665	390
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	1,039	551	16
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,301	722	17
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,607	1,071	22
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	2,000	1,182	135
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,298	861	54
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	2,200	1,278	146
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	2,300	933	18
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) Vi	1,014	509	11
<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) Vi	358	186	5
<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) Vi	493	306	1
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) Vi	390	254	17
<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer) Vi	350	151	-
1901	9,870	4,533	146
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	956	385	7
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	985	348	4
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,758	870	22
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	1,787	922	29
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,310	817	27
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	2,094	1,191	57
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	2,519	770	21
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) Vi	1,035	430	4
<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) Vi	354	177	3
<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) Vi	489	221	1
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) Vi	351	173	14
<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord) Vi	307	168	3
<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer) Vi	354	130	-

Table 26: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil parishes, villages and burghs) in southern parts of *Taobh Sear Rois*.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas)</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	9,726	3,639	32
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	898	274	-
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,138	338	1
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,898	746	6
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	1,692	692	2
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,162	677	11
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	1,938	912	12
1921	9,815	2,638	20
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	917	138	-
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,172	262	1
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,551	511	4
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	2,032	469	1
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,207	585	7
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	1,936	673	7
1931	9,041	1,943	7
<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) CP	849	112	-
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,011	176	2
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	2,762	413	2
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	1,488	341	-
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin) CP	1,105	434	1
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray) CP	1,826	467	2
----- included in the above ---			-
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	2,553	389	2
1951	10,718	979	2
----- included in the above ---			.
<i>Cill Teagharna</i> (Kiltearn) CP	1,142	74	1
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) CP	3,604	254	1
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	3,367	232	1
1961	10,881	737	1
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty) CP	1,679	109	1
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	3,752	203	-
1971³⁵	11,905	640	*
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall Small Burgh)	4,230	225	*

Table 27: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) in southern parts of *Taobh Sear Rois*.

³⁵ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1911: <i>An t-Eilean Dubh</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	11,931	4,541	
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	2,525	1,815	
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	1,424	601	
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	1,059	558	
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,866	1,071	
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,691	129	
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,357	66	
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) CP	2,009	301	
----- included in the above –			
<i>A’Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	874	38	
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	1,360	132	
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) Vi	905	32	
1891	11,452	4,382	222
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	2,328	1,490	100
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	1,339	595	15
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	920	589	38
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,698	975	65
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,817	198	-
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,343	224	2
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) CP	2,007	311	2
----- included in the above –			
<i>A’Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	871	116	2
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	1,338	127	1
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) Vi	1,217	72	-
1901	10,740	3,341	64
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	2,102	1,213	38
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	1,036	405	5
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	933	522	9
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,504	665	12
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,852	162	-
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,465	198	-
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) CP	1,848	173	-
----- included in the above –			
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) Vi	1,150	34	-
<i>A’Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	1,065	120	-
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	1,242	87	-
1911 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	9,827	2,491	16
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	2,006	917	8
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	954	324	2
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	782	361	4
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,356	466	2
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,782	96	-
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,309	178	-
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) CP	1,638	149	-

Table 28: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1891 and 1911 – selected areas (civil parishes, villages and burghs) in *An t-Eilean Dubh*.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: <i>An t-Eilean Dubh</i>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1921	9,426	1,531	6
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	1,934	561	3
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	910	156	-
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	767	261	1
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,381	287	2
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,528	62	-
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,287	110	-
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) CP	1,619	94	-
1931	8,401	1,027	1
<i>Urchadan & Lagaidh</i> (Urquhart & Logie Easter) CP	1,792	394	-
<i>Ruigh Sholais</i> (Resolis) CP	846	104	1
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	765	150	-
<i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain) CP	1,155	207	-
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) CP	1,408	39	-
<i>Ros Maircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie) CP	1,203	69	-
<i>Crombaidh</i> (Cromarty) – CP	1,232	64	-
----- included in the above –			
<i>A'Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	875	60	-
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	837	38	-
1951	7,625	382	-
----- included in the above –			
<i>A'Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	882	31	-
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	726	25	-
1961	7,452	294	1
----- included in the above –			
<i>Cill Earnain</i> (Killearnan) CP	0	0	1
<i>A'Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	903	22	-
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	606	21	-
1971	7,310	250	*
----- included in the above –			
<i>A'Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose Small Burgh)	1,060	35	*
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty Small Burgh)	485	25	*

Table 29: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes and burghs) in *An t-Eilean Dubh*.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Ross & Cromarty) Taobh Sear Rois - (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Baile Dhubhthaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Tain (Small Burgh))	TB	59 6.1 %	65 3.5 %	156 4.5 %	134 3.4 %	130 3.8 %
<i>Eadardan & Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Edderton & Tain)	ET	62 3.8 %	35 4.0 %	32 4.0 %	38 4.2 %	27 3.0 %
<i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbert)	TA	20 3.5 %	30 5.9 %	11 1.9 %	11 1.8 %	16 2.8 %
<i>Manachainn Rois</i> (Fearn)	FE	73 6.1 %	55 5.0 %	81 4.3 %	62 3.5 %	58 3.4 %
<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg)	NI	37 8.7 %	20 5.1 %	18 5.3 %	9 3.6 %	3 0.8 %
<i>Lagaidh & Cill Mhoire an Ear</i> (Logie Easter & Kilmuir Easter)	LK	41 3.5 %	25 2.5 %	33 2.3 %	47 2.2 %	47 2.8 %
<i>Ros Cuibhne an Ear</i> (Rosskeen East)	RE	47 6.1 %	20 2.8 %	44 4.2 %	41 3.9 %	24 2.2 %
<i>Inbhir Ghòrdain</i> (Invergordon (Small Burgh))	IG	36 2.3 %	75 3.4 %	69 3.7 %	129 6.6 %	45 2.4 %
<i>Ros Cuibhne an Iar</i> (Rosskeen West)	RW	46 4.2 %	50 2.5 %	153 3.8 %	210 4.8 %	124 2.9 %
<i>Alanais & Cill Teagharna</i> (Alness & Kiltarn)	AK	79 4.1 %	75 3.7 %	214 4.5 %	191 4.0 %	174 3.6 %
<i>Inbhir Pheofharain (Baile Beag)</i> (Dingwall (Small Burgh))	DB	203 5.7 %	225 5.6 %	230 5.1 %	213 4.4 %	224 4.7 %
<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh)	MB	68 8.7 %	50 6.9 %	76 6.6 %	38 2.6 %	62 4.6 %
<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer)	SP	89 8.5 %	80 7.2 %	84 7.2 %	65 4.9 %	81 4.9 %
<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin)	CO	86 13.2 %	55 8.2 %	34 4.7 %	33 3.8 %	19 3.1 %
<i>Ceann Loch Luinncheirt</i> (Kinlochluichart)	KL	83 20.0 %	55 15.1 %	39 13.7 %	30 10.4 %	6 2.1 %
<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)	UR	37 8.0 %	20 4.7 %	49 5.4 %	31 3.0 %	42 3.5 %
<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	MO	93 6.4 %	85 4.5 %	79 5.1 %	92 5.3 %	57 3.3 %

Table 30: 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 in Taobh Sear Rois according to census data from 1961 to 2001



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Ross & Cromarty) <i>An t-Eilean Dubh</i> - (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Urchadain</i> (Urquhart)	UR	92 5.4 %	95 5.3 %	105 4.6 %	124 4.4 %	135 4.4 %
<i>An Cnoc Bàn & Cill Earnain</i> (Knockbain & Killearnan)	KK	103 6.3 %	75 4.4 %	64 3.4 %	113 4.8 %	112 4.3 %
<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch)	AV	22 1.9 %	15 1.5 %	16 1.6 %	26 2.5 %	25 2.1 %
<i>A'Chananaich (Baile Beag)</i> (Fortrose (Small Burgh))	FO	22 2.5 %	35 3.5 %	24 2.6 %	26 2.3 %	29 2.7 %
<i>Crombaidh, Ros Maircnidh & Ruigh Sholais</i> (Cromarty, Rosemarkie & Resolis)	CM	34 3.1 %	20 2.4 %	20 2.0 %	41 2.8 %	62 2.9 %
<i>Crombaidh (Baile Beag)</i> (Cromarty (Small Burgh))	CR	21 3.6 %	25 5.3 %	36 5.8 %	24 3.5 %	14 2.8 %

Table 31: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged three plus) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions in *An t-Eilean Dubh* according to census 1961 to 2001



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Taobh Sear Rois</i> ³⁶						
Map No	Census output area ³⁷	Age groups				Born in Scotland ³⁸
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
35-39	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	33 2.0%	75 5.7%	67 6.8%	61 10.8%	226 5.5%
40	<i>Fothraididh & An Claon</i> (Fodderty & Mountgerald)	6 7.2%	5 7.4%	5 9.4%	2 8.0%	17 10.2%
41+42	<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer)	12 3.7%	11 4.5%	25 10.0%	18 10.2%	65 7.7%
43	<i>Cunndain & Àicheallaidh</i> (Contin & Achilty)	4 2.4%	4 3.6%	9 9.9%	4 10.8%	22 6.3%
44	<i>A'Ghairbhe & Allt a'Ghiuthsaich</i> (Garve & Aultguish)	8 10.4%	2 3.4%	12 14.6%	15 40.5%	34 16.4%
45	<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed)	—	3 5.8%	2 3.6%	5 10.2%	10 5.4%
49-52	<i>Am Blar Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	13 2.2%	16 4.0%	21 6.4%	33 14.3%	82 5.6%
53	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)	—	2 2.9%	3 4.2%	4 12.5%	6 2.1%
54	<i>Bruach Màiri & Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Marybank & Conon Bridge)	13 1.8%	34 6.0%	38 8.3%	41 14.6%	125 6.6%
55	<i>Srath Chonnain & Sgatail</i> (Strathconon & Scatwell)	—	2 2.9%	8 21.6%	5 12.5%	17 9.0%
56	<i>Allt Uaimh & Àird nan Crasg</i> (Aultvaich & Ardnagrask)	2 1.5%	3 3.1%	1 1.2%	18 20.9%	20 5.4%
Total	<i>Taobh Sear Rois – Part A</i> (Easter Ross)	91 2.2%	160 5.1%	195 7.7%	211 13.4%	636 6.1%

Table 32: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 – Part A

³⁶ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

³⁷ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

³⁸ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland <i>Census 1981: Taobh Sear Rois</i> ³⁹						
Map No	Census output area ⁴⁰	Age groups				Born in Scotland ⁴¹
		3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	
01	<i>Eadardan & Mòraistidh</i> (Edderton & Morangie)	1 0.7%	4 3.1%	6 6.5%	6 9.5%	17 4.6%
02-05	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	27 2.1%	51 5.4%	48 7.2%	31 8.0%	150 5.3%
06	<i>Inbhir & Gàthan Nuadh</i> (Inver & New Geanies)	2 1.3%	7 4.9%	3 3.6%	4 7.7%	18 4.4%
07	<i>Port Mo Cholmaig</i> (Portmahomack)	4 2.6%	1 0.7%	1 1.1%	2 2.2%	7 1.6%
08	<i>Baile an Droma</i> (Hill of Fearn)	1 0.6%	1 0.7%	—	3 5.3%	5 1.1%
09	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll)	—	1 1.0%	5 5.1%	16 17.8%	19 4.9%
10+11	<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore)	17 4.8%	18 10.9%	11 9.2%	5 7.8%	52 7.6%
12	<i>Seannduaig</i> (Shandwick)	—	3 6.1%	1 2.5%	6 19.4%	10 5.8%
13	<i>An Eig & Am Bog</i> (Nigg & Arabella)	6 4.2%	4 4.2%	3 4.0%	—	14 4.8%
14	<i>Alltaidh & Am Bac Bàn</i> (Aldie & Bogbain)	3 0.0%	—	8 21.6%	1 4.8%	10 5.4%
15	<i>Caoldaraidh & An Tairbeart</i> (Kildary & Tarbat)	2 0.7%	3 1.1%	6 3.3%	9 7.5%	16 2.1%
16	<i>An Cladach & Ros Cuibhne</i> (Barbaraville & Rosskeen)	2 0.8%	6 3.0%	2 1.8%	2 2.6%	11 2.0%
17	<i>Alltan an t-Salainn</i> (Saltburn)	1 1.1%	2 2.7%	5 5.9%	16 12.6%	24 7.0%
18-21	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	11 0.8%	56 5.1%	37 5.2%	35 8.2%	112 3.6%
22-28	<i>Alanais & Maol nam Fuath</i> (Alness & Milnafua)	71 2.6%	102 5.3%	46 5.3%	23 6.1%	235 4.3%
29	<i>Ard Rois & Achadh an Dùnaidh</i> (Ardross & Achandunie)	3 3.9%	2 3.9%	2 3.6%	5 8.6%	13 7.0%
30	<i>Bràigh an t-Sratha & Srath Rùsdail</i> (Braeantra & Strathrusdale)	12 24.5%	3 6.5%	—	3 12.5%	14 13.0%
31	<i>Fòghlais & Suardal</i> (Foulis & Swordale)	4 4.0%	2 2.0%	1 2.0%	—	7 0.0%
32-34	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	11 3.6%	15 5.4%	24 11.3%	16 15.7%	69 8.2%
Total	Taobh Sear Rois – Part B (Easter Ross)	176 2.2%	281 4.7%	209 5.6%	183 8.2%	803 4.5%

Table 33: Population with Gàidhlig knowledge in output areas of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to age group and birthplace in 1981 – Part B

³⁹ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

⁴⁰ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

⁴¹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath)</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton)	17	4.3 %	11	2.4 %	22	4.5 %
02	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) a	38	4.7 %	30	4.6 %	35	3.8 %
03	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) b	36	3.9 %	32	3.5 %	32	3.4 %
04	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) c	29	3.8 %	30	4.4 %	35	4.6 %
05	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain) d	41	4.9 %	14	2.3 %	24	3.2 %
06	<i>Inbhir</i> (Inver)	15	3.4 %	4	0.8 %	5	1.1 %
07	<i>Port Mo Cholmaig</i> (Portmahomack)	8	1.7 %	12	2.2 %	16	3.1 %
08	<i>Baile an Droma</i> (Hill of Fearn)	4	0.9 %	5	1.1 %	13	2.9 %
09	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll)	19	4.2 %	12	2.3 %	13	2.6 %
10	<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore) a	24	5.4 %	22	5.8 %	14	3.6 %
11	<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore) b	30	8.2 %	20	6.1 %	16	5.2 %
12	<i>Seannduaig</i> (Shandwick)	12	6.1 %	15	6.5 %	4	1.7 %
13	<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg)	13	3.9 %	15	4.5 %	11	3.3 %
14	<i>Alltaidh</i> (Aldie)	10	5.0 %	14	4.9 %	7	2.2 %
15	<i>Caoldaraidh</i> (Kildary)	19	2.1 %	26	2.6 %	27	2.8 %
16	<i>An Cladach</i> (Barbaraville)	9	1.4 %	16	2.2 %	25	2.6 %
17	<i>Alltan an t-Salainn</i> (Saltburn)	21	5.4 %	20	4.9 %	8	1.7 %
18	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon) a	28	3.2 %	49	6.9 %	25	3.1 %
19	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon) b	43	3.6 %	78	6.5 %	20	1.7 %
20	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon) c	27	4.0 %	39	5.5 %	25	3.3 %
21	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon) d	23	3.5 %	21	3.2 %	16	2.5 %
22	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) a	44	5.2 %	28	3.9 %	27	4.2 %
23	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) b	27	2.7 %	38	4.2 %	31	3.5 %
24	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) c	30	4.1 %	29	4.0 %	17	2.4 %
25	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) d	35	3.8 %	22	2.6 %	23	2.9 %
26	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) e	33	4.2 %	36	4.7 %	13	2.1 %
27	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) f	30	3.2 %	41	3.9 %	32	3.4 %
28	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness) g	37	4.5 %	38	5.5 %	20	3.3 %
29	<i>Ard Rois</i> (Ardross)	8	5.1 %	12	7.0 %	8	4.1 %
	<i>Dail Mòr</i> (Dalmore)	2	2.4 %	6	7.7 %	1	1.3 %
30	<i>Bràigh an t-Sratha</i> (Braeintrà)	20	14.0 %	24	14.2 %	18	9.6 %

Table 34: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in northern parts of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to data from 1981 to 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas)</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
31	<i>Fòghlais</i> (Foulis)	7	2.5 %	9	2.6 %	11	2.7 %
32	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) a	25	7.0 %	19	6.1 %	6	1.8 %
33	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) b	22	7.3 %	16	3.7 %	20	4.4 %
34	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton) c	24	9.5 %	28	6.3 %	24	4.6 %
35	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) a	41	5.8 %	34	5.3 %	47	4.5 %
36	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) b	38	4.0 %	39	4.4 %	49	5.2 %
37	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) c	79	7.0 %	65	5.7 %	71	5.9 %
38	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) d	41	4.6 %	43	3.6 %	39	3.8 %
39	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall) e	34	3.9 %	28	3.3 %	50	6.9 %
40	<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty)	16	6.8 %	18	5.2 %	26	4.5 %
41	<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer) a	39	5.1 %	39	7.0 %	31	5.4 %
42	<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer) b	20	6.6 %	24	5.4 %	22	4.7 %
43	<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin)	19	4.7 %	15	3.7 %	13	3.1 %
	<i>Achadh na Sìne</i> (Achnasheen) ⁴²	4	13.7 %	*	*	*	*
44	<i>Loch Luinncheirt</i> (Lochluichart)	11	15.1 %	2	2.5 %	-	0.0 %
	<i>A'Ghairbhe</i> (Garve)	15	10.4 %	25	14.0 %	6	4.4 %
	<i>Allt a'Ghiùthsaidh</i> (Aultguish)	9	23.7 %			7	4.5 %
	<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed)	11	3.4 %	14	4.3 %		
45	<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed)					8	2.6 %
46	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) a	22	6.4 %	10	2.1 %	13	3.7 %
47	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) b	32	8.7 %	15	3.0 %	20	5.5 %
48	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh) c	22	5.0 %	13	2.6 %	29	4.2 %
49	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord) a	23	7.0 %	53	9.2 %	24	3.7 %
50	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord) b	13	3.8 %	17	5.3 %	8	2.4 %
51	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord) c	26	5.3 %	18	4.3 %	13	3.1 %
52	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord) d	17	4.3 %	17	4.2 %	12	2.9 %
53	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)	2	1.3 %	7	3.3 %	13	4.7 %
	<i>Baile a'Bhàird</i> (Balvaird)	5	2.8 %	2	0.8 %	13	4.0 %
54	<i>Bruach Màiri</i> (Marybank)	12	7.2 %	12	4.7 %	9	3.1 %
55	<i>Srath Chonainn</i> (Strathconon)	10	12.8 %	8	10.5 %	5	6.9 %
	<i>Tòrr Àicheallaidh</i> (Torrachilty)	9	5.9 %	9	5.6 %	1	0.7 %
56	<i>Allt Uaimh</i> (Aultvaich)	9	5.3 %	10	2.7 %	14	3.5 %
	<i>Àird nan Crasg</i> (Ardnagrask)	13	17.1 %				

Table 35: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in southern parts of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) according to data from 1981 to 2001

⁴² The village of *Achadh na Sìne* (Achnasheen) is part of the census output area of *Ceann Loch Iù* (Kinlochewe). No detailed figures are available for 1991 and 2001. Results concerning this joint output area are given in Vol. 09 of this series.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>An t-Eilean Dubh</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
61	<i>Ceasag a Tuath</i> (North Kessock) a	23	5.9 %	48	8.6 %	32	6.2 %
62	<i>Ceasag a Tuath</i> (North Kessock) b	13	5.0 %	18	7.1 %	31	8.3 %
63	<i>A'Ghlac Mhòr</i> (Glackmore)	4	2.8 %	2	1.0 %	2	0.9 %
64	<i>Druim Smiotail</i> (Drumsmittal)	2	1.4 %	17	6.6 %	15	4.2 %
65	<i>Cùil Challaidh</i> (Kilcoy)	3	1.5 %	2	0.9 %	4	1.7 %
	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Blairdhu)	7	5.1 %	6	3.8 %	2	1.4 %
	<i>An Todhar</i> (Tore)	5	2.7 %	10	4.7 %	6	2.4 %
66	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) a	20	7.2 %	18	4.0 %	27	5.0 %
67	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) b	25	5.7 %	13	3.4 %	10	2.9 %
68	<i>An Tòiseachd</i> (Ferintosh)	7	3.5 %	4	1.5 %	15	3.9 %
	<i>Alcaig</i> (Alcaig)	8	4.0 %	12	4.5 %	14	4.5 %
69	<i>An Cùil Bàicidh</i> (Culbokie)	7	2.2 %	36	8.7 %	22	4.3 %
70	<i>Cùrabol</i> (Culbo)	8	4.6 %	15	6.0 %	15	4.3 %
	<i>Cùl a'Chudainn</i> (Cullicudden)	11	4.8 %	12	5.0 %	10	2.9 %
71	<i>Baile Bhlàir</i> (Balblair)	3	1.3 %	5	5.1 %	5	2.1 %
	<i>Baile Jemima</i> (Jemimaville)	2	1.5 %	8	4.3 %	7	3.8 %
72	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge) c	11	3.4 %	12	2.6 %	16	3.9 %
73	<i>Poll Lòchaidh</i> (Munlochy)	18	3.4 %	29	5.3 %	20	2.6 %
74	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) a	12	1.9 %	12	2.2 %	10	1.6 %
75	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch) b	6	1.4 %	11	2.0 %	15	2.4 %
76	<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose) a	7	2.2 %	10	2.5 %	15	3.4 %
77	<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose) b	18	2.6 %	16	2.1 %	14	2.1 %
78	<i>Ros Mhaircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	5	1.8 %	7	2.2 %	20	3.3 %
79	<i>Radharaidh</i> (Raddery)	1	0.7 %	5	1.4 %	13	3.3 %
	<i>Athaigh</i> (Eathie)	2	1.6 %	3	2.2 %	9	4.0 %
80	<i>Cromba</i> (Cromarty)	37	5.6 %	23	3.4 %	14	1.9 %

Table 36: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) according to data from 1981 to 2001



<i>Taobh Sear Rois: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	0.3 %
3-4	-	-	2	0.2 %	16	1.7 %	23	2.9 %
5-24	115	1.5 %	240	2.3 %	458	4.6 %	340	4.2 %
25-44	255	4.5 %	415	4.8 %	263	2.7 %	243	2.8 %
45-64	345	6.3 %	396	6.9 %	345	4.8 %	294	3.3 %
65 +	335	10.5 %	349	10.1 %	286	6.5 %	269	5.3 %
Total (3 years and over)	1,050	4.6 %	1,402	4.7 %	1,368	4.3 %	1,169	3.7 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,329	5.1 %	1,309	4.8 %	1,101	4.1 %

Table 37: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) between 1971 and 2001

<i>An t-Eilean Dubh: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	0.9 %
3-4	-	-	1	0.1 %	4	1.6 %	4	1.6 %
5-24	20	0.9 %	29	1.2 %	47	1.8 %	57	2.3 %
25-44	55	3.4 %	65	3.1 %	112	4.1 %	93	3.3 %
45-64	100	5.7 %	93	5.2 %	103	4.5 %	128	3.9 %
65 +	90	7.8 %	97	5.8 %	88	5.8 %	95	5.0 %
Total (3 years and over)	265	3.8 %	265	3.4 %	354	3.7 %	377	3.5 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	247	3.7 %	325	4.2 %	324	3.8 %

Table 38: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) between 1971 and 2001



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	Eadardan (Edderton)	7	5.4 %	29	5.9 %	- 0.5 %	7.3 %
02	Baile Dhubhthaich a (Tain) a	10	3.9 %	44	4.8 %	- 0.9 %	5.2 %
03	Baile Dhubhthaich b (Tain) b	12	3.6 %	52	4.8 %	- 1.2 %	5.1 %
04	Baile Dhubhthaich c (Tain) c	20	8.9 %	45	5.9 %	+ 3.0 %	6.5 %
05	Baile Dhubhthaich d (Tain) d	8	2.7 %	38	5.1 %	- 2.4 %	4.9 %
06	Inbhir (Inver)	-	-	11	2.4 %	- 2.4 %	2.9 %
07	Port Mo Cholmaig (Portmahomack)	2	1.5 %	22	4.3 %	- 2.8 %	4.6 %
08	Baile an Droma (Hill of Fearn)	5	3.5 %	19	4.3 %	- 0.8 %	4.2 %
09	Baile a'Chnuic (Hilton of Cadboll)	1	0.9 %	23	4.6 %	- 3.7 %	5.0 %
10	Baile an Todhair a (Balintore) a	6	4.1 %	23	6.0 %	- 1.9 %	6.9 %
11	Baile an Todhair b (Balintore) b	1	1.0 %	22	7.2 %	- 6.2 %	7.5 %
12	Seannduaig (Shandwick)	1	1.6 %	11	4.7 %	- 3.1 %	4.4 %
13	An Eig (Nigg)	6	7.2 %	17	5.0 %	+ 2.2 %	6.0 %
14	Alltaidh (Aldie)	4	3.8 %	16	5.0 %	- 1.2 %	5.2 %
15	Caoldaraidh (Kildary)	12	3.8 %	37	3.9 %	- 0.1 %	4.3 %
16	An Cladach (Barbaraville)	7	2.5 %	38	3.9 %	- 1.4 %	4.5 %
17	Alltan an t-Salainn (Saltburn)	-	-	13	2.7 %	- 2.7 %	3.1 %
18	Inbhir Gòrdain a (Invergordon) a	12	4.9 %	39	4.8 %	+ 0.1 %	5.0 %
19	Inbhir Gòrdain b (Invergordon) b	11	2.6 %	42	3.6 %	- 1.0 %	4.1 %
20	Inbhir Gòrdain c (Invergordon) c	6	3.1 %	38	5.1 %	- 2.0 %	5.5 %
21	Inbhir Gòrdain d (Invergordon) d	9	3.9 %	27	4.1 %	- 0.2 %	4.3 %

Table 39: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in northern parts of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to census data of 2001



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
22	<i>Alanais a</i> (Alness) a	12	4.5 %	37	5.7 %	- 1.2 %	5.7 %
23	<i>Alanais b</i> (Alness) b	26	7.8 %	50	6.0 %	+ 1.8 %	5.9 %
24	<i>Alanais c</i> (Alness) c	6	2.3 %	30	4.3 %	- 2.0 %	4.9 %
25	<i>Alanais d</i> (Alness) d	6	2.4 %	33	4.1 %	- 1.7 %	4.6 %
26	<i>Alanais e</i> (Alness) e	6	5.0 %	28	4.6 %	+ 0.4 %	4.8 %
27	<i>Alanais f</i> (Alness) f	14	5.9 %	44	4.6 %	- 1.3 %	5.1 %
28	<i>Alanais g</i> (Alness) g	16	6.1 %	37	6.0 %	+ 0.1 %	5.2 %
29	<i>Ard Rois</i> (Ardross)	4	5.6 %	12	4.4 %	+ 1.2 %	4.5 %
30	<i>Bràigh an t-Sratha</i> (Braeindra)	6	10.0 %	18	9.6 %	+ 0.4 %	8.6 %
31	<i>Fòghlais</i> (Foulis)	5	4.8 %	19	4.7 %	+ 0.1 %	5.5 %
32	<i>Am Baile Nodha a</i> (Evanton) a	2	1.6 %	9	2.8 %	- 1.2 %	3.2 %
33	<i>Am Baile Nodha b</i> (Evanton) b	12	9.9 %	30	6.7 %	+ 2.2 %	7.4 %
34	<i>Am Baile Nodha c</i> (Evanton) c	11	6.2 %	44	8.4 %	- 2.2 %	8.9 %
35	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain a</i> (Dingwall) a	18	7.3 %	64	6.1 %	+ 1.2 %	7.7 %
36	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain b</i> (Dingwall) b	25	8.5 %	70	7.5 %	+ 1.0 %	7.5 %
37	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain c</i> (Dingwall) c	32	10.7 %	104	8.6 %	+ 2.1 %	9.6 %
38	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain d</i> (Dingwall) d	19	5.5 %	60	5.8 %	- 0.3 %	5.9 %
39	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain e</i> (Dingwall) e	43	11.6 %	73	8.7 %	+ 2.9 %	9.1 %
40	<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty)	17	9.4 %	38	6.6 %	+ 2.8 %	7.8 %
41	<i>Srath Pheofhair a</i> (Strathpeffer) a	10	5.2 %	42	7.4 %	- 2.2 %	8.2 %
42	<i>Srath Pheofhair b</i> (Strathpeffer) b	10	8.4 %	35	7.5 %	+ 0.9 %	7.8 %

Table 40: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in southern parts of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to census data of 2001 – Part A



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
43	<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin)	5	4.7 %	21	5.0 %	- 0.3 %	6.2 %
44	<i>A'Ghairbhe</i> (Garve)	4	4.2 %	26	6.3 %	- 2.1 %	7.6 %
45	<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed)	4	4.3 %	17	5.5 %	- 1.2 %	6.6 %
46	<i>Baile Màiri a</i> (Maryburgh) a	1	0.9 %	19	5.4 %	- 4.5 %	5.5 %
47	<i>Baile Màiri b</i> (Maryburgh) b	6	6.2 %	26	7.2 %	- 1.0 %	7.2 %
48	<i>Baile Màiri c</i> (Maryburgh) c	8	3.7 %	43	6.2 %	- 2.5 %	6.8 %
49	<i>Am Blàr Dubh a</i> (Muir of Ord) a	6	3.2 %	38	5.9 %	- 2.7 %	6.3 %
50	<i>Am Blàr Dubh b</i> (Muir of Ord) b	3	3.6 %	16	4.8 %	- 1.0 %	5.3 %
51	<i>Am Blàr Dubh c</i> (Muir of Ord) c	4	3.4 %	21	5.0 %	- 1.6 %	5.4 %
52	<i>Am Blàr Dubh d</i> (Muir of Ord) d	4	13.8 %	17	4.1 %	+ 9.7 %	4.0 %
53	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray)	8	4.7 %	32	5.3 %	- 0.6 %	5.9 %
54	<i>Bruach Màiri</i> (Marybank)	4	5.7 %	12	4.1 %	+ 1.6 %	4.7 %
55	<i>Srath Chonainn</i> (Strathconon)	3	8.8 %	14	6.4 %	+ 2.4 %	8.3 %
56	<i>Allt Uaimh</i> (Aultvaich)	4	4.0 %	19	4.8 %	- 0.8 %	5.5 %

Table 41: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in southern parts of Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
61	<i>Ceasag a Tuath a</i> (North Kessock) a	6	4.7 %	42	8.2 %	- 3.5 %	9.0 %
62	<i>Ceasag a Tuath b</i> (North Kessock) b	8	10.1 %	39	10.4 %	- 0.3 %	11.1 %
63	<i>A'Ghlac Mhòr</i> (Glackmore)	2	3.6 %	7	3.1 %	+ 0.5 %	3.2 %
64	<i>Druim Smiotail</i> (Drumsmittal)	2	1.9 %	20	5.6 %	- 3.7 %	6.7 %
65	<i>An Todhar</i> (Tore)	6	3.7 %	30	4.9 %	- 1.2 %	5.5 %
66	<i>Drochaid Sguideil a</i> (Connon Bridge) a	9	6.3 %	37	6.8 %	- 0.5 %	7.8 %
67	<i>Drochaid Sguideil b</i> (Connon Bridge) b		2.9 %	17	5.0 %	- 2.1 %	5.0 %
68	<i>An Tòiseachd</i> (Ferintosh)	12	5.7 %	44	6.3 %	- 0.6 %	6.8 %
69	<i>An Cùil Bàicidh</i> (Culbokie)	3	2.1 %	31	6.0 %	- 3.9 %	6.5 %
70	<i>Cùl a'Chudainn</i> (Cullicudden)	8	4.0 %	36	5.2 %	- 1.2 %	6.4 %
71	<i>Baile Bhlàir</i> (Balblair)	-	-	15	3.5 %	- 3.5 %	3.9 %
72	<i>Drochaid Sguideil c</i> (Connon Bridge) c	5	2.8 %	20	4.8 %	- 2.0 %	6.7 %
73	<i>Poll Lòchaidh</i> (Munlochy)	1	0.5 %	31	4.1 %	- 3.6 %	4.3 %
74	<i>Abhach a</i> (Avoch) a	-	-	15	2.5 %	- 2.5 %	2.2 %
75	<i>Abhach b</i> (Avoch) b	8	4.7 %	25	4.0 %	+ 0.7 %	4.6 %
76	<i>A'Chananaich a</i> (Fortrose) a	2	1.5 %	20	4.5 %	- 3.0 %	5.2 %
77	<i>A'Chananaich b</i> (Fortrose) b	3	2.0 %	20	2.9 %	- 0.9 %	3.4 %
78	<i>Ros Mhaircnidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	6	3.8 %	34	5.6 %	- 1.8 %	6.2 %
79	<i>Athaigh</i> (Eathie)	6	3.1 %	29	4.3 %	- 1.2 %	5.0 %
80	<i>Cromba</i> (Cromarty)	2	0.9 %	27	3.8 %	- 2.9 %	3.9 %

Table 42: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) according to census data of 2001



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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

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



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



IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath) – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Eadardan</i> (Edderton), <i>Taigh a'Mhonaidh</i> (Aultnamain), <i>Aird Laraich</i> (Ardlarach), <i>Baile an Lighe</i> (Balleigh), <i>Dùnaidh</i> (Dounie), <i>An Garbad</i> , <i>Mòraistidh</i> (Morangie), <i>Tàrlagaidh</i> (Tarlogie)	ET	25AP11 25AP12 25AP13 25AU01	60QT000226 60QT000227 60QT000228
02	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	TB	25AP01 25AP02	60QT001070 to 60QT001077
03	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	TB	25AP03 25AP04 25AP05	60QT001078 to 60QT001083 60QT001288 60QT001289 60QT001690 60QT001691
04	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	TB	25AP06 25AP07 25AP08	60QT001084 to 60QT001090
05	<i>Baile Dhubhthaich</i> (Tain)	TB	25AP09 25AP10 25AP14	60QT001091 60QT001092 60QT001290 60QT001692 to 60QT001695
06	<i>Inbhir</i> (Inver), <i>Gàthan Nuadh</i> (New Geanies), <i>An t-Eireachd</i> (Erracht), <i>An Lòn Dubh</i> (Loandhu), <i>Loch Slinn</i> (Lochslin), <i>Ràthan</i> (Rhynie), <i>Tarail</i> (Tarrel), <i>Toll a_Mhadaidh</i> (Toulvaddie)	ET	25AQ09 25AQ10	60QT000237 to 60QT000240
07	<i>Port Mo Cholmaig</i> (Portmahomack), <i>Rubha Nòis</i> (Seafield), <i>A'Chreag</i> (Rockfield), <i>Am Maol</i> (Petley), <i>Bindeil</i> (Bindal)	TA	25AQ11 25AQ12	60QT000241 to 60QT000244
08	<i>Baile an Droma</i> (Hill of Fearn), <i>Lòn Tulaich</i> (Loans of Tullich), <i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore)	FE	25AQ06 25AQ07	60QT000233 to 60QT000236

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the northern part of *Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross)* – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath) – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
09	<i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton of Cadboll), <i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore), <i>Clais nam Maigheach</i> (Clashnamuiach), <i>Gàthan</i> (Geanies), <i>Baile Chèirigh</i> (Pitkerrie)	FE	25AQ04 25AQ08	60QT001069 60QT001287 60QT001501 60QT001502
10	<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore)	FE	25AQ02	60QT001064 60QT001065 60QT001066
11	<i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore)	FE	25AQ03	60QT001067 60QT001068 60QT001286
12	<i>Seannduaig</i> (Shandwick), <i>Baile an Todhair</i> (Balintore), <i>Ràth Riachaidh</i> (Rarichie), <i>Cnoc an t-Seipeil</i> (Chapelhill)	FE	25AQ01 25AQ05	60QT001063 60QT001336
13	<i>An Eig</i> (Nigg), <i>Cùl an Lios</i> (Culisse), <i>Calrosaidh</i> (Calrossie), <i>Caisteal Chrag</i> (Castlecraig), <i>Baile na Bruaiche</i> (Balnabruaich), <i>Am Bog</i> (Arabella), <i>Baile Chailnidh</i> (Pitcalnie), <i>Baile a'Choillein</i> (Pitcalzean)	NI	25AP17 25AP18	60QT000230 60QT000231 60QT000232
14	<i>Alltaidh</i> (Aldie), <i>Baile a'Cheathraimh</i> (Balcherry), <i>Am Bac Bàn</i> (Bogbain), <i>An Cnoc Breac</i> (Knockbreck), <i>Baile a'Chnuic</i> (Hilton)	FE	25AP15 25AP16	60QT000229 60QT001499 60QT001500
15	<i>Caoldaraidh</i> (Kildary), <i>An Tairbeart</i> (Tarbat), <i>Baile a'Ghobhainn</i> (Balnagown), <i>Bruach Màiri</i> (Marybank), <i>Baile MhicDhuibh</i> (Pitmaduthy), <i>Baile Mhuilinn Anndra</i> (Milton)	LK	25AN17 25AN18 25AN19 25AN20 25AN21	60QT000223 60QT000224 60QT000225 60QT001058 to 60QT001062
16	<i>An Cladach</i> (Barbaraville), <i>Ceann na Creige</i> (Kincraig), <i>Am Blàr</i> (Ord), <i>Ros Cuibhne</i> (Rosskeen), <i>Achadh nan Gearran</i> (Achnagarron), <i>Baile na Giùthsaidh</i> (Balnaguisich), <i>Achadh an t-Sabhail</i> (Achintoul), <i>Tulach</i> (Tullich), <i>Deilgnidh</i> (Delny), <i>Achadh na Monaidh</i> (Mossfield), <i>Coille Mhòr</i> (Coillemore), <i>Cille Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir), <i>Bad Chonachair</i> (Badachonachar), <i>Baile na Tràghad</i> (Balintraid), <i>An Neo Mhòr</i> (Newmore), <i>Ceann Ruighe</i> (Kinrive), <i>Na Pollan</i> (Polls), <i>Ruigh a'Chuilinn</i> (Rhicullen)	LK	25AN13 25AN14 25AN15 25AN16	60QT000220 to 60QT000222 60QT001495 to 60QT001498
17	<i>Alltan an t-Salainn</i> (Saltburn), <i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergor-don)	RE	25AN12	60QT001056 60QT001057 60QT001688 60QT001689

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the northern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part B



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Tuath) – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
18	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	RW	25AN01 25AN02 25AN03	60QT001034 to 60QT001038 60QT001407 60QT001408
19	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	IG	25AN04 25AN05 25AN06	60QT001039 to 60QT001046
20	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	IG	25AN07 25AN08 25AN09	60QT001047 to 60QT001050 60QT001283 60QT001284 60QT001686 60QT001687
21	<i>Inbhir Gòrdain</i> (Invergordon)	RE	25AN10 25AN11	60QT001051 to 60QT001055 60QT001285

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the northern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part C



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas)</i> – Part A				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
22	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness), <i>An Àrd Ruadh</i> (Ardroy)	AK	25AM01 25AM02	60QT000218 60QT000996 60QT000997 60QT001276 60QT001682 60QT001683
23	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	AK	25AM03 25AM04	60QT000998 to 60QT001003 60QT001277
24	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	AK	25AM05 25AM06	60QT001004 to 60QT001006 60QT001405 60QT001406
25	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	AK	25AM07 25AM08	60QT001007 to 60QT001012
26	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	RW	25AM09 25AM10 25AM11	60QT001013 to 60QT001017 60QT001278
27	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness)	RW	25AM12 25AM13	60QT001018 to 60QT001024 60QT001279
28	<i>Alanais</i> (Alness), <i>Maol nam Fuath</i> (Milnafua)	RW	25AM14 25AM15 25AM16	60QT001025 to 60QT001027 60QT001281 60QT001684 60QT001685
29	<i>Ard Rois</i> (Ardross), <i>Dail Mòr</i> (Dalmore), <i>Alanais</i> (Alness), <i>Muileann na Creige</i> (Millcraig), <i>Achadh an Dùnaidh</i> (Achandunie), <i>Cuinglich</i> (Cuillich), <i>Dail Neimhidh</i> (Dalnavie)	AK	25AM17 25AM20	60QT001028 60QT001744 60QT001745
30	<i>Bràigh an t-Sratha</i> (Braeintra), <i>Srathaidh</i> (Strathy), <i>Cnoc Ruadh</i> , <i>Dubh Linne</i> (Dublin), <i>Dail Mòr</i> (Dalmore), <i>Srath Rùsdail</i> (Strathrusdale)	AK	25AM18 25AM19	60QT000219

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the southern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas) – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
31	<i>Fòghlais</i> (Foulis), <i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton), <i>Suardal</i> (Swordale), <i>An t-Allt Ruadh</i> (Redburn), <i>Cùil a'Chairn</i> (Culcairn), <i>Gleann Ghlais</i> (Glen Glass), <i>Ciadail</i> (Katewell)	AK	25AL03 25AL04 25AL05	60QT000216 60QT000217 60QT001335
32	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	AK	25AL01	60QT000993 60QT000994
33	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	AK	25AL02	60QT000215 60QT001272 60QT001273
34	<i>Am Baile Nodha</i> (Evanton)	AK	25AL06	60QT000995 60QT001274 60QT001680 60QT001681
35	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	DB	25AK01 25AK02 25AK03	60QT000970 to 60QT000973 60QT001263 60QT001669 to 60QT001673
36	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall), <i>Baile a'Ghlasaich</i> (Pitglassie)	DB	25AK04 25AK05 25AK06	60QT000212 60QT000974 to 60QT000979 60QT001674
37	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	DB	25AK07 25AK08 25AK09	60QT000980 to 60QT000986 60QT001265 60QT001266 60QT001675 60QT001676
38	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	DB	25AK10 25AK11	60QT000987 to 60QT000990 60QT001267 60QT001677 60QT001678

Table A-5: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the southern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part B



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas) – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
39	<i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall)	DB	25AK12 25AK13	60QT000991 60QT000992 60QT001268 to 60QT001270 60QT001679
40	<i>Fothraididh</i> (Fodderty), <i>An Claon</i> (Mountgerald), <i>Cill Chomhghain</i> (Mountrich), <i>An Claon Uachdrach</i> (Woodlands), <i>Inbhir Pheofharain</i> (Dingwall), <i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain), <i>Cnoc Fearralaidh</i> (Knockfarrel), <i>Dabhach Gartaidh</i> (Dochcarty)	SP	25AK14 25AK15	60QT000213 60QT000214 60QT001332 to 60QT001334 60QT001271
41	<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer)	SP	25AJ01 25AJ02	60QT000963 60QT000964 60QT001261 60QT001665 60QT001666
42	<i>Srath Pheofhair</i> (Strathpeffer), <i>Baile Sheumais</i> (Jamestown)	SP	25AJ03 25AJ06	60QT000210 60QT000965 60QT000966 60QT001262
43	<i>Cunndainn</i> (Contin), <i>Aicheallaidh</i> (Achilty), <i>Tarbhaidh</i> (Tarvie), <i>Creag nan Darach</i> (Craigdarroch), <i>Allt nam Breac</i> (Altnabreac)	CO	25AJ04 25AJ05	60QT000208 60QT000209 60QT001719
44	<i>A'Ghairbhe</i> (Garve), <i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed), <i>Loch Luinncheirt</i> (Lochluichart), <i>Allt Dearg</i> (Aultdearg), <i>Srath Brain</i> (Strathbran), <i>Sgatail</i> (Scatwell), <i>Goirtean</i> (Gorstan), <i>Grùididh</i> (Grudie), <i>Innis Beithe</i> (Inchbae), <i>Allt a'Ghiùthsaidh</i> (Aultguish), <i>Srath a'Bhàthaich</i> (Strathvaich)	KL	25AT01 25AT02 25AT03 25AJ07A	60QT001721 60QT001720 60QT001493
45	<i>Uachdar Niad</i> (Auchterneed), <i>Na Botagan</i> (Bottacks)	SP	25AJ07A 25AJ07B 25AJ08	60QT001494 60QT000211
46	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh)	MB	25AD03	60QT000877 to 60QT000879
47	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh)	MB	25AD04	60QT000880 to 60QT000882

Table A-6: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the southern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part C



Census Output Areas in <i>Taobh Sear Rois (Taobh Deas) – Part D</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
48	<i>Baile Màiri</i> (Maryburgh), <i>Brathann</i> (Braham), <i>Dùn Glas</i> (Dunglas), <i>Tollaidh</i> (Tollie)	UR	25AD05 25AD06	60QT000190 60QT000883 60QT001256 60QT001656 60QT001657
49	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	MO	25AC02	60QT000856 60QT000857 60QT000858 60QT001250 60QT001251
50	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	MO	25AC03	60QT000859 60QT001252 60QT001253
51	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	MO	25AC04	60QT000860 60QT000861 60QT000862
52	<i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Muir of Ord)	MO	25AC05	60QT000863 60QT000864 60QT001254
53	<i>Urrath</i> (Urray), <i>Baile a' Bhàird</i> (Balvaird), <i>Tarradal</i> (Tarradale), <i>Ciarnaig</i> (Highfield), <i>An Neo Mhòr</i> (Newmore)	UR	25AC10 25AC11	60QT001476 to 60QT001479
54	<i>Bruach Màiri</i> (Marybank), <i>Taigh na Fraoich</i> (Tighnafraoch), <i>Allt Ghobharaidh</i> (Aultgowrie)	UR	25AC08	60QT000184 60QT000185
55	<i>Srath Chonainn</i> (Strathconon), <i>Srathan Mòr</i> (Strathanmore), <i>Taigh Sgatail</i> (Scatwell House), <i>A'Chùil</i> (Coul), <i>A'Mhuaigh</i> (Moy)	CO	25AC06 25AC07	60QT000182 60QT000183
56	<i>Allt Uaimh</i> (Aultvaich), <i>Àird nan Crasg</i> (Ardnagrask), <i>An t-Achadh Mòr</i> (Auchmore), <i>Loch Monar</i>	MO	25AB01 25AB02 25AC01 25AC09	60QT000186 60QT001474 60QT001475

Table A-7: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for the southern part of *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) – 1961-2001 – Part D



Census Output Areas in <i>An t-Eilean Dubh – Part A</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
61	<i>Ceasag a Tuath</i> (North Kessock), <i>Baile Thearlaich</i> (Charlestown)	KK	25AA01	60QT000851 to 60QT000854
62	<i>Ceasag a Tuath</i> (North Kessock)	KK	25AA02	60QT000855 60QT001653 60QT001654
63	<i>A'Ghlac Mhòr</i> (Glackmore), <i>Creag Ruairidh</i> (Craigrory), <i>An Leatach</i> (Lettoch), <i>An Raon Dearg</i> (Redfield)	KK	25AA03	60QT001742 60QT001743
64	<i>Druim Smiotail</i> (Drumsmittal), <i>Bog Alain</i> (Bogallan), <i>Druim a Diar</i> (Drumderfit), <i>Baile na Creige</i> (Craigton), <i>Croit na Crìoche</i> (Croftnacrioch), <i>Cill Mhoire</i> (Kilmuir), <i>Loch Lunn-daidh</i> (Loch Lundie)	KK	25AA04	60QT001472 60QT001473
65	<i>An Todhar</i> (Tore), <i>Am Blàr Dubh</i> (Blairdhu), <i>Baile Mhuilinn</i> (Milton), <i>Baile Ghargaidh</i> (Garguston), <i>Achadh an t-Seagail</i> (Ryefield)	KK	25AC12 25AC13 25AC14	60QT000187 60QT000188 60QT000189 60QT001328 to 60QT001331
66	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge)	UR	25AD01	60QT000872 to 60QT000875
67	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge)	UR	25ACD02	60QT000876 60QT001655
68	<i>An Tòiseachd</i> (Ferintosh), <i>Ceann na Coille</i> (Kinkell), <i>Al-caig</i> , <i>Lianaig</i> (Leanaig), <i>Tollaidh</i> (Tollie), <i>Baile a'Bhile</i> (Balavil)	UR	25AD07 25AD08	60QT000191 to 60QT000196 60QT001257
69	<i>An Cùil Bàicidh</i> (Culbokie), <i>Urchadainn</i> (Urquhart), <i>Baile Meadhonach</i> (Balmeanach), <i>Glas Charn</i> (Glascairn)	UR	25AD09	60QT001393 60QT001394 60QT001480 60QT001481
70	<i>Cùl a'Chudainn</i> (Cullicudden), <i>Fionndun</i> (Findon), <i>Breac Loch</i> (Breachloch), <i>Crasgaidh</i> (Crasky), <i>Cùl a'Chudainn</i> (Cullicudden), <i>Cinn a'Bheathchaidh</i> (Kinbeachie), <i>Bràigh an Iar</i> (Wester Brae), <i>Achadh an Fhuarain</i> (Springfield)	CM	25AD10 25AD11	60QT001482 to 60QT001486
71	<i>Baile Bhlàir</i> (Balblair), <i>Baile Jemima</i> (Jemimaville), <i>An Àrdach</i> (Poyntzfield), <i>Uadal</i> (Udale), <i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton), <i>Bràigh Langail</i> (Brae Langwell), <i>Am Muileann Ùr</i> (Newmills), <i>Baile an Aiseig</i> (Ferryton)	CM	25AD12 25AD13	60QT000197 60QT001487 60QT001488

Table A-8: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Black Isle) – 1961-2001 – Part A



Census Output Areas in <i>An t-Eilean Dubh – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
72	<i>Drochaid Sguideil</i> (Conon Bridge)	UR	25AD14	60QT000884 60QT001403 60QT001404
73	<i>Poll Lòchaidh</i> (Munlochy), <i>An Rèim</i> (Allanbank), <i>Uachdar Chlò</i> (Auchterflow), <i>Allt Beag</i> (Littleburn), <i>An Roisgeil</i> (Roskill), <i>Ruigheas</i> (Rhives), <i>An t-Seann Tulaich</i> (Shantulich), <i>An Cnoc Bàn</i> (Knockbain), <i>Bràigh Donn</i> (Braedown)	AV	25AE01 25AE02 25AE03	60QT000198 60QT000199 60QT000200 60QT001489 60QT001900
74	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch)	AV	25AF01 25AF02	60QT000865 to 60QT000868
75	<i>Abhach</i> (Avoch), <i>Cill Fhannaidh</i> (Killen), <i>Baile Bhenneit</i> (Bennetfield), <i>Baile an Uillt</i> (Burnfarm), <i>Cnoc a'Mhonaiddh</i> (Knockmuir)	AV	25AF03 25AF04 25AF05	60QT000869 60QT000870 60QT000871 60QT000201 60QT000202 60QT000203
76	<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose)	FO	25AG01 25AG02	60QT000955 to 60QT000957
77	<i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose)	FO	25AG03 25AG04A 25AG04C	60QT000204 60QT000958 to 60QT000961
78	<i>Ros Mhairnidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	CM	25AG04B 25AG05	60QT000967 to 60QT000969 60QT001667 60QT001668
79	<i>Athaigh</i> (Eathie), <i>Radharaidh</i> (Raddery), <i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Newton), <i>Baile Dhàidh</i> (Davidston), <i>Baile a'Mhonaiddh</i> (Muirton), <i>A'Chananaich</i> (Fortrose), <i>Ros Mhairnidh</i> (Rosemarkie)	CM	25AG06 25AH04	60QT000205 to 60QT000207 60QT000962 60QT001491 60QT001492
80	<i>Cromba</i> (Cromarty)	CM	25AH01 25AH02 25AH03	60QT001029 to 60QT001033 60QT001282

Table A-9: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for An t-Eilean Dubh (*Black Isle*) – 1961-2001 – Part B



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VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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