Executive Summary

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

This issue is concerned with the main township in the Outer Hebrides. Stornoway and its neighbouring settlements around Laxdale, Newmarket and Sandwick have experienced a dramatic decline in Gaelic-speaking intensity in the past. The comparatively small decrease between 1991 and 2001 can in all probability be attributed to the influx of Gaelic-speakers from other parts of the islands. Especially at young age Gaelic is very much a minority issue and almost no Gaelic-speaking children below the age of 3 were recorded in 2001. There is much room for improvement regarding the state and status of the language on the doorstep of Comhairle nan Eilean.

© 2006 Text Copyright Kurt C. Duwe. All rights reserved except private and non-commercial use. Any other use has to be cleared by the author at Jägerstr. 120a, 21079 Hamburg, Germany (duwe@linguae-celticae.de) and it may also fall under restrictions of the Crown Copyright of census data. Individual reports may be downloaded from the Linguae Celticae website: [http://www.linguae-celticae.org/GLS_english.htm](http://www.linguae-celticae.org/GLS_english.htm)

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

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 place-names 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
Kurt C. Duwe
# Table of Contents

*Executive Summary*  
1

*Foreword to the First Edition*  
2

*Foreword to the Second Edition*  
2

*Acknowledgements*  
2

*Table of Contents*  
3

1 **Introduction**  
4

2 **The Historical Background**  
5

  2.1 From Victorian times until the Second World War (Census 1881-1931)  
5

  2.2 Developments in the late 20th century (Census 1951–2001)  
9

  2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001  
12

3 **The Situation of 2001 in Focus**  
14

  3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001  
14

  3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments  
18

4 **Future Perspectives**  
20

I. **Supplementary Tables**  
21

II. **Literature and Data Sources**  
30

III. **Some Valuable Comments about Census Information**  
41

IV. **List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames**  
43

V. **List of Tables**  
47

VI. **List of Figures**  
49

VII. **List of Abbreviations**  
50

*Index of the Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies*  
51
1 Introduction

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

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

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

![Overview map of area under investigation on the island of Leòdhas (Lewis)](image)

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

---

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

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

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

Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 – town and rural part of Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) civil parish

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Steòrnabhagh (Civil Parish)</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)</td>
<td>9,102</td>
<td>10,241</td>
<td>11,337</td>
<td>11,780</td>
<td>11,386</td>
<td>10,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td>87.6 %</td>
<td>86.8 %</td>
<td>87.3 %</td>
<td>87.7 %</td>
<td>85.2 %</td>
<td>85.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3 There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.
Before addressing the official enumeration district figures for 1881-1901 it is really worthwhile to look more closely at the original 1891 census forms which provide interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors and counted also children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. The respective “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration districts in this part of the island are cited below 4 (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Steòrnabhagh # 1** (Stornoway # 1): This enumeration district was centred in South Beach Street. “Apart from the very young the Gàidhlig language was almost universally spoken by locally born inhabitants. Bilingualism, however, was much the norm rather than an exception. Gàidhlig monolingual persons were more or less confined to the older generation. - The language, however, was not the preferred tongue in every quarter. Whereas 90% of people in Sràid an Rubha (Point Street) spoke Gàidhlig, just 40% in Rathad a’Gharaidh (Garden Road) did so. On the other hand roughly 80% spoke the language independent of occupation of the residents. In total 20 usually resident persons were enumerated as speaking “Gaelic only”. Most of them were women and originated mainly from rural parishes of the island.” In this district, too, the official census figure of 74.0% Gàidhlig speakers was an underestimate. In real terms 80.6% of the usually resident population spoke the language in this part of Steòrnabhagh.

2. **Cùl ri Grèin & Steinis** (Coulregrein & Steinish): The language was universally spoken in every household except one in these communities in the neighbourhood of Steòrnabhagh. “The latter was the farm at Plasterfield House where two Lowlanders had made their home. - Both were born in non-Gàidhlig speaking areas in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire respectively. - The strength of the language was perhaps surprisingly high in a place on the doorstep of the largely “anglophile” society of Steòrnabhagh. But perhaps the use of Gàidhlig in the town was much more widespread as some sources would like people to believe. - A significant proportion of residents did not speak English. These monolingual speakers were mainly children below school age or members of the older generation.” The difference between the realistic percentage of 98.8% Gàidhlig speakers in the usually resident population and the official figure of 91.1% is staggering indeed.

3. **Mol Shanndabhaig & Tolm** (Lower Sandwick & Holm): The communities in this rural part of the island were essentially bilingual. A few persons spoke only Gàidhlig; even fewer people spoke only English according to the census in 1891. “The two major settlements of Mol Shanndabhaig and Tac Thuilm were exclusively Gàidhlig-speaking. But even in the farm houses at Buaile na Cloiche (Stoneyfield) and Tolm (Holm) just two genuine English monolinguals were recorded – a farm manager and his wife from Northeast Scotland. Interestingly all their children – even their 11 year old daughter – were bilingual. They had apparently learned the language from their peers in the community. - The remaining persons with no “Gaelic” or “G&E” marks on their enumeration sheets were three-year old twins at Buaile na Cloiche (Stoneyfield). They were traced, however, in the 1901 census and found to be speaking Gàidhlig and English 10 years later. - In original census report terms the enumeration district in total had a population of 229 persons of all ages. 203 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 11 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 93.4%. A comparison with the more realistic statistics of this fact-sheet reveals that this percentage was an under-estimate of 4.7% caused by the inclusion of under-three olds and visitors in the official population base.”

---

4 After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.
Detailed local information is available in census reports especially until 1901 providing a good impres- 
sion of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2-3). 
The small burgh of Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) was divided for census reasons into seven enumeration 
districts. In all parts of the town roughly 75 % of the total population were reported as speaking Gàidhlig 
(table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration district</th>
<th>All persons speaking Gàidhlig</th>
<th>Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1: Tràigh bho Dheas (Enumeration district around South Beach St)</td>
<td>331, 74.0 %</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2: Tràigh bho Thuath (Enumeration district around North Beach St)</td>
<td>290, 80.1 %</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3: Sràid na h-Eaglaise (Enumeration district around Church St)</td>
<td>372, 68.1 %</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#4: Sràid Leòdhais (Enumeration district around Lewis St)</td>
<td>381, 70.8 %</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5: Sràid Ùr (Enumeration district around New St)</td>
<td>448, 71.5 %</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6: Sràid Ceann a’Bhàigh (Enumeration district around Bayhead St)</td>
<td>247, 72.2 %</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#7: Sràid an Eilein (Enumeration district around Island St)</td>
<td>310, 72.9 %</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in parts of the town of Steòrnabhagh according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

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

5 Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.
6 Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.
7 The census of 1881 was concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.
8 Enumeration district #1 included Garden Rd, Esplanade St, James St, Point St, Castle St, Bank St and Quay St.
9 Enumeration district #2 included Cromwell St.
10 Enumeration district #3 included Francis St and Matheson Rd, Kenneth St.
11 Enumeration district #4 included parts of Keith St and Bells Rd.
12 Enumeration district #5 included parts of Keith St, part of Bayhead St and Scotland St.
13 Enumeration district #6 included part of Stag Rd.
14 Enumeration district #7 included Immersligach, Newton St, Sea View Terrace and Kipper Rd.
### Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal – 1881 - 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration district</th>
<th>All persons speaking Gàidhlig</th>
<th>Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanndabhaig &amp; Cnoc Shanndabhaig (Sandwick &amp; Sandwickhill)</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93.1 %</td>
<td>82.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mol Shanndabhaig (Lower Sandwick)</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95.4 %</td>
<td>96.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolm &amp; Buaile na Cloiche (Holm &amp; Stonefield)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89.5 %</td>
<td>93.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruaich Mhàiri &amp; Caisteal Leòdhais (Marybank &amp; Lewis Castle)</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87.2 %</td>
<td>81.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mealabost (Melbost)</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.5 %</td>
<td>96.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bràigh na h-Aoidhe (Branahuie)</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91.1 %</td>
<td>95.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinis (Steinish)</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89.8 %</td>
<td>97.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cùl ri Grèin (Couregrein)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92.7 %</td>
<td>93.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Gleann Ùr (New Valley)</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89.4 %</td>
<td>95.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geirsidair (Gershader)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93.8 %</td>
<td>97.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89.1 %</td>
<td>88.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88.5 %</td>
<td>94.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Sanndabhaig & Lacasdal according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

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

15 Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.
16 Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.
17 The census of 1881 was concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig. Results are therefore not directly comparable with later census figures.
1.2 Developments in the late 20th century (Census 1951–2001)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td></td>
<td>76.2 %</td>
<td>73.2 %</td>
<td>68.9 %</td>
<td>67.2 %</td>
<td>55.7 %</td>
<td>50.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of Steòrnabhagh and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001

As already mentioned in Vol. 14 of this series the language situation in the younger age groups was not at all satisfactory in the school catchments of Lacasdal and Sanndabhaig (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961). The results of this survey in 1957/58 for Steòrnabhagh provided a stark contrast to the rest of the island where almost all primary school pupils were considered as having Gàidhlig as first or preferred language. The headmaster of Stornoway Primary School considered only 28 out of his 667 primary pupils as first language speakers of Gàidhlig (4.2 %). The children with first language of English on Leòdhas were almost totally confined to the burgh. Almost two thirds of them did not even understand some Gàidhlig and only some 11 % spoke Gàidhlig fluently. Although in half of these families both parents spoke the language they had not bothered to pass the language on to their children. This negative attitude unfortunately was to extend further to the neighbouring districts during the forthcoming decades and this was felt first in the schools of Lacasdal and Sanndabhaig.
Until 1981 the percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers were gradually decreasing in the CCED of Stornoway Central to 68.3%. The burgh itself reported some 58.2% in 1981 and a somewhat surprising increase compared with the 1971 figure (table 14). But this effect was only due to the change in the population base for the 1981 census: It counted only persons having their usual address at a certain location and not as previously those who were present at census night. This discarded the accidental visitor and included all those who were absent from home due to a variety of reasons. In 1975 Steòrnabhagh became the administrative centre of Comhairle nan Eilean and from here the Bilingual Education Policy was to change the primary school environment in the islands considerably. However, this project was not to reach the primary school on the doorstep. When the 1981 census was taken the literacy of school children in Steòrnabhagh and the nearby townships was found to be very poor indeed (figures 4 and 5).

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

**Fig. 5:** Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)
As might have been expected the unhindered anglicisation process caused a substantial decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking intensity between 1981 and 1991 (table 14). In the town itself the share of the population fell by 12 % to 46.2 %, in its “suburbs” the decline was even more staggering by a rate of 19.2 % to just 49.1 % respectively. In the end the language was in a minority position for the first time!

18 Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.
Developments in the educational sector were slow to come by and those were hindered by some very severe criticism from local quarters. The town which should have been the “capital” of the Gàidhealtachd in the 20th century was one of the toughest grounds language supporters had to cope with. Nonetheless cròileagan were established in Lacasdal and Sanndabhaig and even in Steòrnabhagh a local authority Gàidhlig nursery was founded at last in the late 1990s. On the primary school level GME was introduced in Steòrnabhagh (starting in 1989), Lacasdal (1991) and Sanndabhaig (1996). Uptake of this educational option remained, however, comparatively low at around 10% with a slightly better picture at Lacasdal where roughly a fourth of pupils received Gàidhlig-medium education.

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

1.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

Further light on the state and status of the language can be shed by looking at literacy levels because this information became available from 1971 onwards: Census questions were introduced then for the first time on the ability to read or write Gàidhlig (see tables 5 and 6 below). Here it becomes quite clear that since 1971 literacy has improved considerably in the area. The reading incidence increased by some 12% until 2001, the writing capabilities improved even by more than 20%. Figures 8 and 9 provide the main answer for this positive phenomenon. In all ages a certain increase in literacy was detected. The figures of the primary school population rocketed from almost zero to about 70% of pupils. In this respect the educational quality for Gàidhlig-speaking children has considerably improved in the area. However, the overall level is unsatisfactory with only one fifth of all children speaking the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig</th>
<th>Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>1,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacasdal &amp; Sanndabhaig</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig</th>
<th>Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacasdal &amp; Sanndabhaig</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2001)
Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): town of Steòrnabhagh

Fig. 9: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig
2 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.

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.

2.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001

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

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

Small area statistics for census output areas (table 15) show the share of the population being able to speak the language in different parts of the town ranging from roughly 35 % to some 53 %. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 52 % and 63 %. Looking at the overall picture (fig. 11) the majority of the population lives in neighbourhoods where between 50 % and 65 % know at least some Gàidhlig. A few have somewhat stronger neighbourhoods, a few even less. Accordingly Gàidhlig-speakers in Steòrnabhagh are in a clear minority position although at pensionable age the language is still widespread.

The new categories: Only a negligible number (2) of children under the age of three (1.5 %) were recorded as Gàidhlig-speakers; 13 had some knowledge of Gàidhlig (9.6 %). The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in 2001 recorded 786 persons (14.8 %) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 2,282 (43.0 %) Gàidhlig speakers.
Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to Census 2001

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

Table 7: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) in 2001 and 1991

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

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

The new categories: Only a negligible number (4) of children under the age of three (5.2%) were recorded as Gàidhlig-speakers; 7 had some knowledge of Gàidhlig (9%). The new category of “understanding spoken Gaelic” in 2001 recorded additional 288 persons (11.6%) in the area who were at least competent in some aspects of the language in addition to the 1,175 (47.6%) Gàidhlig-speakers.
Fig. 12: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to Census 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knowing(^{20}) Gàidhlig</td>
<td>Able to speak &amp; read Gàidhlig</td>
<td>Able to speak Gàidhlig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-11</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>35.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-24</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>1,463</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>32.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>- 18.4 %</td>
<td>- 12.2 %</td>
<td>- 19.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig in 2001 and 1991

\(^{20}\) Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.
2.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

Aggregating the information of the small area statistics for the catchments areas of local primary schools provides an interesting avenue to investigate the influence of local authority and parental attitudes towards Gàidhlig. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and for the purpose of this investigation they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). As an additional indicator a column is provided in table 9 with the age group of 24-35 which is meant to represent the language abilities of possible parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary School(s)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cnoc Shanndabhaig (Sandwickhill)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Number and percentage of persons with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

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

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

---

21 Percentages above 50% are given in bold figures.
• **Primary school children:** All primary schools in the area provided GME: Lacasdal (41 pupils in 2000/2001), Steòrnabhagh (42) and Cnoc Shanndabhaig (11). These figures meant a share of the total school populations of 19.1 %, 12.1 % and 10.6 % respectively (see also fig. 14). The remaining pupils experienced “bilingual” mainstream education which by all means meant only a short time for Gaelic as a second language. In this respect levels of a third or even half of the children reported as at least understanding spoken *Gàidhlig* might be considered as surprisingly high.

• **Secondary school children:** In secondary stages S1 and S2 51 out of 256 pupils (19.9 %) were learning *Gàidhlig* as “fluent speakers” at the Nicolson Institute in Steòrnabhagh; the rest had instruction of Gaelic as a second language. The vast majority of those fluent speakers will in all probability have come from primary schools in western *Leòdhas* namely Breascleit, Beàrnaraigh and Uig. 18 pupils from these primary schools had gone through GME before entering the Nicolson Institute in Steòrnabhagh and a further 20 came from the three local *Gàidhlig*-medium units. A census figure of some 50 % of pupils being able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig* is on a comparable level with results in far more anglicised districts like Muile (Mull) and Loch Aillse (Lochalsh). This leaves much room for improvement also in the secondary sector.

• **Parents:** The majority of could-be parents confessed still some knowledge of the language. Intergenerational viability is on the other hand almost non-existent when considering the very low incidence of *Gàidhlig*-speaking at pre-school age in and around Steòrnabhagh.

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

---

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

---

22 Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.
3 Future Perspectives

The 2001 census results provide the background on which future language development will be based. The language community indicator LCI<sup>23</sup> is still on a majority level above the 60% mark but the language viability indicator LVI<sup>24</sup> is very negative. Only a third of the young people understands spoken Gàidhlig (table 10) in both areas and this is far less than in the islands as a whole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
<th>Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young age (0-24)</td>
<td>All ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>3,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacasdal &amp; Sanndabhaig (Laxdale &amp; Sandwick)</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>1,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In comparison: Na h-Eileanan an Iar</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Steòrnabhagh compared with Na h-Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles) according to census data of 2001

The strength of the language in the individual communities varies considerably in the settlements adjacent to Steòrnabhagh (table 21). Census output areas show a few strong LCI values of well over 75% in Gleann Dubh, Beinn na Sàighde and Tolm. In general, however, figures are in the range between 40% and 60%. Intergenerational viability is very poorly maintained almost everywhere with LVI values usually in negative double figures.

Developments after 2001 are still not very encouraging. For example the Gàidhlig-medium day nurseries in Lacasdal and Steòrnabhagh still have relatively small rolls. In 2003/2004 some 22 children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 which point to the same level of Gàidhlig-medium intake as in previous years. On the other hand an audit by the Western Isles Childcare Partnership (2004) saw that a slim majority of parents preferred Gàidhlig or bilingual childcare/pre-school services in the greater Steòrnabhagh area (52.0%).

**In conclusion:** Steòrnabhagh and its neighbouring settlements around Lacasdal and Sanndabhaig have experienced a dramatic decline in Gàidhlig-speaking intensity in the past. The comparatively small decrease between 1991 and 2001 can in all probability be attributed to the influx of Gàidhlig-speakers from other parts of the islands. Especially at young age Gàidhlig is very much a minority issue and Gàidhlig-speaking children below the age of three were almost non-existent in 2001.

---

23 LCI: The “Language Community Indicator” is a measure of the relative strength of the language in the “local” population. It is calculated here by taking the values for Gàidhlig knowledge only for those who were born in Scotland. This is a rough estimation as many who are born in Scotland come from English speaking homes but nevertheless it is a better approximation of language strength than looking simply at the resident population.

24 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 25 years of age and the total population.
I. Supplementary Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: Steòrnabhagh (Civil Parish)(^{25})</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Gàidhlig and English</th>
<th>Gàidhlig but no English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages and burgh (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baile Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway Burgh)</td>
<td>10,299</td>
<td>9,102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am Bac (Back) Vi</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>1,956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabail Iarach (Lower Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabail Uarach (Upper Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>509</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col (Coll) Vi</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gàrrabost (Garrabost) Vi</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacsadal &amp; Beinn na Saighde (Laxdale &amp; Newmarket) Vi</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunndabhaig (Sandwick) Vi</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>489</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suardail &amp; An Cnoc (Swordale &amp; Knock) Vi</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>472</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolastadh (Tolsta) Vi</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunga (Tong) Vi</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>432</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatasga`ir (Vatisker) Vi</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>383</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eclesiastic parishes (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)</td>
<td>7,399</td>
<td>6,294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Cnoc (Knock) neo/or An Aoidh (Eye)</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891 Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) CP</td>
<td>11,799</td>
<td>5,871</td>
<td>4,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages and burgh (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baile Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway Burgh)</td>
<td>3,386</td>
<td>2,161</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am Bac (Back) Vi</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabail Iarach (Lower Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabail Uarach (Upper Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col (Coll) Vi</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gàrrabost (Garrabost) Vi</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacsadal &amp; Beinn na Saighde (Laxdale &amp; Newmarket) Vi</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunndabhaig (Sandwick) Vi</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suardail &amp; An Cnoc (Swordale &amp; Knock) Vi</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolastadh (Tolsta) Vi</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunga (Tong) Vi</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatasga`ir (Vatisker) Vi</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway)</td>
<td>8,375</td>
<td>4,352</td>
<td>2,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Cnoc (Knock) neo/or An Aoidh (Eye)</td>
<td>3,424</td>
<td>1,519</td>
<td>1,692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, villages and burgh)

\(^{25}\)Figures include returns from the outlying districts of Am Bac (Back) and An Rubha (Point) in this parish (see volume no. 14 of this series for details).
### Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1971: *Steòrnabhagh* (Civil Parish)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census/Selected Area</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Gàidhlig and English</th>
<th>Gàidhlig but no English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1901</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway) CP</td>
<td>12,983</td>
<td>7,696</td>
<td>3,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages and burgh (included in the above)</td>
<td>9,131</td>
<td>4,994</td>
<td>3,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Burgh)</td>
<td>3,852</td>
<td>2,702</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Am Bac</em> (Back) Vi</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pabail Iarach</em> (Lower Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pabail Uarach</em> (Upper Bayble) Vi</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Col</em> (Coll) Vi</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gàrrabost</em> (Garabost) Vi</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lacasdal &amp; Beinn na Saighde</em> (Laxdale &amp; Newmarket) Vi</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Port nan Giùran</em> (Portnaguran) Vi</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sanndabhaig</em> (Sandwick) Vi</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Seisiadar</em> (Sheshader) Vi</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Suartail &amp; An Cnoc</em> (Swordale &amp; Knock) Vi</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tolastadh</em> (Tolsta) Vi</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tunga</em> (Tong) Vi</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bhatasgair</em> (Vatisker) Vi</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway)</td>
<td>9,035</td>
<td>5,863</td>
<td>1,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>An Cnoc</em> (Knock) neo/or <em>An Aoidh</em> (Eye)</td>
<td>3,948</td>
<td>1,813</td>
<td>1,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral areas (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Am Bac</em> (Back)</td>
<td>3,177</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>1,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>An Rubha</em> (Point)</td>
<td>3,948</td>
<td>1,813</td>
<td>1,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh Meadhonach</em> (Stornoway Central)</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh – Tuath</em> (Stornoway Burgh - North)</td>
<td>2,392</td>
<td>1,749</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh – Deas</em> (Stornoway Burgh - South)</td>
<td>1,319</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1911</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway) CP</td>
<td>13,438</td>
<td>9,094</td>
<td>2,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1921</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway) CP</td>
<td>13,366</td>
<td>9,919</td>
<td>1,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1931</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Landward)</td>
<td>12,116</td>
<td>9,293</td>
<td>1,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Small Burgh)</td>
<td>8,346</td>
<td>6,768</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1951</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Landward)</td>
<td>12,791</td>
<td>9,301</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Small Burgh)</td>
<td>7,837</td>
<td>6,450</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1961</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac) (Stornoway (Back)) CCED</em></td>
<td>12,717</td>
<td>9,139</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach) (Stornoway (Central)) CCED</em></td>
<td>2,334</td>
<td>2,094</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha) (Stornoway (Point)) CCED</em></td>
<td>2,756</td>
<td>2,078</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Baile Steòrnabhagh</em> (Stornoway Small Burgh)</td>
<td>5,229</td>
<td>2,823</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1971</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway Small Burgh)</em></td>
<td>12,232</td>
<td>8,275</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac) (Stornoway (Back)) CCED</em></td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach) (Stornoway (Central)) CCED</em></td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,915</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha) (Stornoway (Point)) CCED</em></td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>1,865</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, electoral areas, burgh or villages)

---

26 Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971. The figures in the table should be read as “between 8,259 and 8,291” and “between 79 and 111” respectively.
### District Council of Leòdhas (Census 1961)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Speaking Gàidhlig only</th>
<th>Speaking both Gàidhlig and English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>203 (41.6%)</td>
<td>203 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9</td>
<td>1,252</td>
<td>37 (3.0%)</td>
<td>1,079 (86.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 – 14</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>- (0%)</td>
<td>1,451 (93.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 – 24</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>3 (0.2%)</td>
<td>1,384 (87.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 44</td>
<td>3,461</td>
<td>15 (0.4%)</td>
<td>3,176 (91.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 – 64</td>
<td>4,776</td>
<td>18 (0.4%)</td>
<td>4,618 (96.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>2,867</td>
<td>139 (4.8%)</td>
<td>2,682 (93.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and over</td>
<td>15,977</td>
<td>415 (2.6%)</td>
<td>14,593 (91.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig for the area of the former Lewis District Council in 1961 – results are exclusive of the Small Burgh of Stornoway but include outskirts like Sanndabhaig and Lacasdal

### Percentage of population speaking Gàidhlig but no English in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>57.2%</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 and over</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total “Gaelic only”</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Percentage of persons speaking Gàidhlig but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty according to census data from 1891 to 1931

---

27 Island of Leòdhas (Lewis) with civil parishes of Barabhas (Barvas), Na Lochan (Lochs), Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) and Uig (Scotland Census Office, 1932).
### Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Ross & Cromarty) (Population aged 3 years and over)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) (Stornoway Small Burgh)</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>2,848</td>
<td>2,640</td>
<td>3,084</td>
<td>2,576</td>
<td>2,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Meadhonach) (Stornoway (Central) CCED)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>2,084</td>
<td>1,868</td>
<td>1,693</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79.5%</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Am Bac) (Stornoway (Back) CCED)</td>
<td>SB</td>
<td>2,166</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>2,075</td>
<td>1,819</td>
<td>1,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97.6%</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
<td>88.3%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (An Rubha) (Stornoway (Point) CCED)</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>1,911</td>
<td>1,813</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>1,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97.1%</td>
<td>94.3%</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001.

### Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 1</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 2</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>70.3%</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 3</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 4</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 5</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 6</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 7</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 8</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51.6%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 9</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61.7%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 10</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61.8%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 11</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62.0%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>48.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 12</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 13</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 14</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) 15</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54.4%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to data from 1981 to 2001.

---

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

29 Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.
### Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile): Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-2(^{31})</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>25 (+12)</td>
<td>21.8 %</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-24</td>
<td>425 (+2)</td>
<td>27.5 %</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>39.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>690 (+1)</td>
<td>58.6 %</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>58.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>855 (+1)</td>
<td>70.7 %</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>71.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>625 (+4)</td>
<td>80.1 %</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>82.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (3 years and over)</strong></td>
<td>2,620 (+20)</td>
<td>54.0 %</td>
<td>3,084</td>
<td>58.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in Scotland</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>62.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to data from 1971 to 2001

### Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>25 (+2)</td>
<td>28.4 %</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-24</td>
<td>410 (+0)</td>
<td>47.7 %</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>49.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>425 (+0)</td>
<td>76.6 %</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>68.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>605 (+0)</td>
<td>87.7 %</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>86.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>395 (+1)</td>
<td>94.3 %</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>90.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (3 years and over)</strong></td>
<td>1,865 (+3)</td>
<td>71.0 %</td>
<td>1,693</td>
<td>68.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in Scotland</strong></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>71.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to data from 1971 to 2001

---

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

31 Information only available since 2001.
### Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers

**Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket) 1</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>70.7%</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket) 2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Rathad Thung a</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Gleann Dubh</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Grianan</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>An Gleann Ùr</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Geirsiadair</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Cnoc Mhàiri</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Bruach Mhàiri (Marybank) 1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Bruach Mhàiri (Marybank) 2</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Raon na Créadha 1</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>69.2%</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Raon na Créadha 2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Raon na Créadha 3</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Mealabost (Melbost)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Bràigh na h-Uidhe</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Steinis</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick) 1</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Mol Shanndabhaig</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick) 2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick) 3</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Tolm</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to data from 1981 to 2001

---

32 Information on data for individual census output areas may not be available for every census to prevent the disclosure of individuals. A more detailed list of locations for each output area is to be found in Annex D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Output Area</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Young age (0-24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 1 Stornoway 1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 2 Stornoway 2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 3 Stornoway 3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 4 Stornoway 4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 5 Stornoway 5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 6 Stornoway 6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 7 Stornoway 7</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 8 Stornoway 8</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 9 Stornoway 9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 10 Stornoway 10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 11 Stornoway 11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 12 Stornoway 12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 13 Stornoway 13</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 14 Stornoway 14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh 15 Stornoway 15</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to census data of 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Output Area</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
<th>Young age (0-24)</th>
<th>All ages</th>
<th>Difference (Language viability indicator)</th>
<th>Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde 1 (Newmarket)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37.2 %</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>62.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde 2 (Newmarket)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70.6 %</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Rathad Thunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27.7 %</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>53.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Gleann Dubh</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>64.4 %</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>77.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Grianan</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30.8 %</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>46.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>An Gleann Ùr</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50.0 %</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>68.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Geirsiadair</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40.6 %</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8 %</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>51.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Cnoc Mhàiri</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.1 %</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Bruach Mhàiri 1 (Marybank)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.8 %</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Bruach Mhàiri 2 (Marybank)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.8 %</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>47.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.3 %</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>52.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30.6 %</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37.1 %</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>66.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to census data of 2001 – Part A
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Output Area</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Young age (0-24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Mealabost (Melbost)</td>
<td>7 29.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Bràigh na h-Uidhe</td>
<td>10 34.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Steinis</td>
<td>5 20.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig 1 (Sandwick)</td>
<td>15 38.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Mol Shanndabhaig</td>
<td>18 45.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig 2 (Sandwick)</td>
<td>14 56.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig 3 (Sandwick)</td>
<td>11 44.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Tolm</td>
<td>14 51.9 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to census data of 2001 – Part B
II. Literature and Data Sources


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


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

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


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


III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on Gàidhlig have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic habitually” and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into “speaks Gaelic” and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.

2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person “speaks Gaelic and English” or “speaks Gaelic but not English” (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all Gàidhlig-speaking people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. These “Gaelic only” persons did not, however, present those who had Gàidhlig as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers. This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland, 1912): “When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.” Due to the ever increasing presence of English in the Gàidhlig community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke Gàidhlig but no English.

3. No data are available on persons speaking Gàidhlig outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the Gàidhlig language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of Alba Nuadh (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.

4. During World War II no census was taken. Therefore no figures are available for 1941.

5. In 1971 the wording was changed from “speaks Gaelic” into “is able to speak Gaelic”. This resulted in areas with low density of speakers in a substantial increase of Gàidhlig-speakers counted compared with 1961. These were essentially those who could speak Gàidhlig but did not have the opportunity to use it. In strongly Gàidhlig-speaking areas those who were able to speak Gàidhlig were also using the language. So in the islands and on the western seaboard the figures should have remained comparable with previous censuses.

6. In 1981 the population basis was changed from persons present on census night to usually resident persons. In the light of increased mobility of the population this change was inevitable.
7. From 1971 onwards additional questions were asked on the ability of people to read Gàidhlig or to write Gàidhlig.

8. In 2001 another question was introduced on the ability of a person to understand spoken Gàidhlig. This may have had an influence on some people with only a small command of the language to record themselves as being able to understand rather than able to speak the language. Without this choice some of them might have enlisted themselves or their children as Gàidhlig-speaking in order to be counted at all. This may explain the small decrease of speakers in the age group of 3 to 4 despite the strong efforts by the cròileagan movement in the preceding decade.

9. Additionally in 2001 for the first time all children under the age of 3 were recorded with their knowledge of Gàidhlig. In previous enumerations these children were not counted or (in 1891 and 1901) only a few children were enumerated in this age group. In many census publications percentages were calculated by using the enumerated Gàidhlig-speaking population (aged 3 years and over) on the basis of the total population. This led to slightly lower percentages than actually existed.

10. Census counts are not strictly exact. Apart from inevitable small enumeration errors the census authorities have introduced measures to keep returns anonymous. For example in 1971 figures in tables were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. This fact represented a major obstacle in using small area statistics for further evaluation because of the small numbers involved. Comparable measures were taken in later censuses but with smaller overall “uncertainties” of +/- 1 in general.

11. All census material used and reproduced in this study is Crown Copyright. The use of this material in this study has been allowed under the licence no. C02W0003665.

12. Further information may be obtained by contacting the General Register Office for Scotland at http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk.
### IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Census output area</th>
<th>Area Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Baile Ùr: Inacleit &amp; Eilean na Cobhair) Sornoway (Newton: Inacleit &amp; Eilean na Cobhair)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ01A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Baile Ùr: Ceann a’Chòinich) Sornoway (Newton: Ceann a’Chòinich)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ02A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a’Bhàigh &amp; Baile Úr) Sornoway (Bayhead &amp; Newton)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ03A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a’Bhàigh &amp; Baile Úr) Sornoway (Bayhead &amp; Newton)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ04A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a’Bhàigh) Sornoway (Bayhead)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ05A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Ceann a’Bhàigh, An Caisteal &amp; Cnoc nan Gobhar) Sornoway (Bayhead, Castle &amp; Goathill)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ06A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal) Sornoway (Castle)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ07A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Cùl na Grèine) Sornoway (Coulregrein)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ08A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Cùl na Grèine &amp; Pairc a’Mhanair) Sornoway (Coulregrein &amp; Manor Park)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ09A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Pairc a’Mhanair) Sornoway (Manor Park)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ10A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal, Cnoc nan Gobhar &amp; Pairc a’Mhanair) Sornoway (Castle, Goathill &amp; Manor Park)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ11A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Census output area</th>
<th>Area Codes 1961</th>
<th>Area Codes 1971</th>
<th>Area Codes 1981</th>
<th>Area Codes 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar &amp; Pàirc a’Mhanair) Stornoway (Goathill &amp; Manor Park)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ12A</td>
<td>56AJ12B</td>
<td>56AJ12C</td>
<td>56AJ12C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Cnoc nan Gobhar &amp; Raon na Crèadha) Stornoway (Goathill &amp; Plasterfield)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ13A</td>
<td>56AJ13B</td>
<td>56AJ13C</td>
<td>56AJ13D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (Pàirc a’Mhanair &amp; Raon na Crèadha) Stornoway (Manor Park &amp; Plasterfield)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ14A</td>
<td>56AJ14A</td>
<td>56AJ14B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Steòrnabhagh (An Caisteal &amp; Cùl na Grèine) Stornoway (Castle &amp; Coulregrein)</td>
<td>SB 56AJ17A</td>
<td>56AJ17C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Census Output Areas in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Census output area</th>
<th>Area Codes 1961</th>
<th>Area Codes 1971</th>
<th>Area Codes 1981</th>
<th>Area Codes 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)</td>
<td>SC 56AH25A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Beinn na Saighde (Newmarket)</td>
<td>SC 56AH25B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Gleann Dubh, Rathad Thunga &amp; Cnoc an t-Soluis</td>
<td>SC 56AH18A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Gleann Dubh</td>
<td>SC 56AH26A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Grianan &amp; Beinn na Saighde</td>
<td>SC 56AH26B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>An Gleann Ùr</td>
<td>SC 56AH27A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Geirstadair, Bruach Mhàiri &amp; Cnoc Mhàiri</td>
<td>SC 56AH27B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Lacasdal (Laxdale)</td>
<td>SC 56AH27B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60RJ000218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – Part A - 1961-2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Cnoc Màiri &amp; Bruach Màiri</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH28</td>
<td>60RJ000183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Bruach Màiri (Marybank)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH28</td>
<td>60RJ000184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Bruach Màiri (Marybank)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH28</td>
<td>60RJ000185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha (Plasterfield)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AJ15B</td>
<td>60RJ000152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha (Plasterfield)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AJ15C</td>
<td>60RJ000153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Raon na Crèadha (Plasterfield)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AJ15D</td>
<td>60RJ000154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Mealabost (Melbost)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH24A</td>
<td>60RJ000109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Bràigh na h-Uidhe, Raon na Crèadha &amp; Stornoway Airport</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH24B</td>
<td>60RJ000111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Steinis</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH24B</td>
<td>60RJ000110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH22A</td>
<td>60RJ000181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Mol Shanndabhaig, Buaile Cloiche &amp; Tac Thuilm</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH22A</td>
<td>60RJ000105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH22B</td>
<td>60RJ000106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sanndabhaig (Sandwick)</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH23A</td>
<td>60RJ000107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Tolm &amp; Ceann nam Buailteen</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>56AH23B</td>
<td>60RJ000108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{33}\) Placenames are given according to official information by the Ordnance Survey and used in modern maps. The placenames in the Outer Hebrides do have officially Gàidhlig names. „English“ versions are only used in addition for major settlements. Therefore the old anglicised names are provided in table A-2 for a few prominent locations only.
Fig. 15: Overview map of all census output areas for *Steòrnabhagh* - numbers for outlying census output areas of *Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig* are provided in tables A-3 and A-4\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\) Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census
V. List of Tables

REPORT

1. Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of Steòrnabhagh and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931
2. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in parts of the town of Steòrnabhagh according to local census data from 1881 to 1901
3. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Sanndabhaig & Lascadal according to local census data from 1881 to 1901
4. Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in the civil parish of Steòrnabhagh and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001
5. Number of people able to read Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig readers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2001)
6. Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers (1971-2001)
9. Number and percentage of persons with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001
10. Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Steòrnabhagh compared with Na h-Eileanan an Iar (Western Isles) according to census data of 2001
11. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, villages and burgh)
12. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parish, ecclesiastic parishes, electoral areas, burgh or villages)
13. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig for the area of the former Lewis District Council in 1961 – results are exclusive of returns from the Small Burgh of Stornoway but include outskirt areas like Sanndabhag and Lascadal
14. Percentage of persons speaking Gàidhlig but no English (aged three years and over) for different age groups in island parishes of former Ross & Cromarty according to census data from 1891 to 1931
15. Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as a percentage of the population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions (CCED) according to census data from 1961 to 2001
16. Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to data from 1981 to 2001
17. Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to data from 1971 to 2001
18. Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Lascadal & Sanndabhaig according to data from 1981 to 2001
19. Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Lascadal & Sanndabhaig according to data from 1971 to 2001
20. Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to census data of 2001
21. Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Lascadal & Sanndabhaig according to census data of 2001 – Part A
22. Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Lascadal & Sanndabhaig according to census data of 2001 – Part B
ANNEXES

A-1 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – 1961-2001 – Part A 43
A-2 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) – 1961-2001 – Part B 44
A-3 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – 1961-2001 – Part A 44
A-4 List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig – 1961-2001 – Part B 45
VI. List of Figures

REPORT

1. Overview map of area under investigation
2. Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 – town and rural part of Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) civil parish
3. Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in the town of Steòrnabhagh according to census results in 1891, 1901 and 1931
4. Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – town of Steòrnabhagh
5. Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)
6. Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – town of Steòrnabhagh
7. Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig (Laxdale & Sandwick)
8. Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): town of Steòrnabhagh
10. Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to Census 2001
11. Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in Steòrnabhagh (Am Baile) according to Census 2001
12. Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to Census 2001
13. Share of population living in neighbourhoods (census output areas) with different intensity of language knowledge in Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig according to Census 2001
15. Overview map of all census output areas for Steòrnabhagh - numbers for outlying census output areas of Lacasdal & Sanndabhaig are provided in tables A-3 and A-4
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:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Àird nam Murchan &amp; Loch Abar an Iar (Ardnamurchan &amp; West Lochaber)</td>
<td>October 2003</td>
<td>August 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Eilean Bharraigh (Isle of Barra)</td>
<td>November 2003</td>
<td>September 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Uibhist a Deas &amp; Beinn a’Bhaoghla (South Uist &amp; Benbecula)</td>
<td>December 2003</td>
<td>November 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Iar Thuath Chataibh (North-West Sutherland)</td>
<td>January 2004</td>
<td>November 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Uibhist a Tuath (North Uist)</td>
<td>January 2004</td>
<td>December 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Na Hearadh (Harris)</td>
<td>February 2004</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Eilean Leòdhais: Uig &amp; Carlabhagh (Isle of Lewis: Uig &amp; Carloway)</td>
<td>April 2004</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Taobh Siar Rois: Loch Bhraoin &amp; Geàrrloch (Wester Ross: Lochbroom &amp; Gairloch)</td>
<td>June 2004</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Eilean Leòdhais: Steòrnabhagh (Isle of Lewis: Stornoway)</td>
<td>May 2004</td>
<td>April 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ile, Diùra &amp; Colbhasa (Islay, Jura &amp; Colonsay)</td>
<td>August 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain (Glencoe, Lismore &amp; Ardechattan)</td>
<td>September 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>An t-Oban &amp; Latharna a Deas (Oban &amp; South Lorn)</td>
<td>October 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>An Gearasdan &amp; Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William &amp; East Lochaber)</td>
<td>October 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Muile, Tiriodh &amp; Colla (Mull, Tiree &amp; Coll)</td>
<td>July 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann &amp; Bràighean Mhàrr (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn &amp; Braes of Mar)</td>
<td>December 2004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cataibh an Ear &amp; Gallaibh (East Sutherland &amp; Caithness)</td>
<td>April 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Inbhiris &amp; Loch Nis (Inverness &amp; Loch Ness)</td>
<td>May 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Taobh Sear Rois (Easter Ross)</td>
<td>March 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dal Riada &amp; Cinn Tire (Mid Argyll &amp; Kintyre)</td>
<td>June 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Comhal, Siornach Bhòid &amp; Dùn Breatainn (Cowal, County of Bute &amp; Dumbarton)</td>
<td>June 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Siornach Pheàirt &amp; Sruighlea (Perthshire &amp; Stirling)</td>
<td>August 2005</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>