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.

The whole investigation area between Loch Leven and Loch Etive in the central western Highlands was once an important stronghold of Gaelic right until the Second World War. Especially in the communities around Glencoe (namely Ballachulish and Kinlochleven) the decline has been dramatic und unimpeded with no educational support whatsoever. Within the last decade positive developments, however, have started in the district of Appin and on the island of Lismore further south. The latter community may still be characterized as partially Gaelic-speaking. Further growth in this area may be expected due to the introduction of Gaelic-medium education at Strath of Appin and Kinlochleven and the inclusion of all Argyll &Bute schools in the GLPS scheme for tuition of Gaelic as second language.

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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 reanimation of Scottish Gaelic in a number of places. Therefore a second edition of the series is now being elaborated. Hopefully it will prove to be as popular as its predecessor.

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

The area investigated is situated right in the centre of the western Highlands of Scotland. It may be roughly defined as the mainland area lying between the sea lochs of Loch Liobann (Loch Leven), An Linne Sheileach (the southerly part of Loch Linhe) and Loch Eite (Loch Etive). This district includes the fertile island of Lios Mòr (Lismore) and extends over 102,700 hectares. This is mainly mountainous open country with small settlements on the narrow coastal strip. The main population centres lie in the northern part of the district around Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) with the former quarrying township of Bail’a’Chaolais (Ballachulish) and Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven) with its former aluminium smelter. Further south Apainn (Appin), Àird Chatain (Ardchattan) and Lios Mòr are characterised by hilly countryside with more emphasis on tourism, animal husbandry and a stronger crofting tradition.

The area recorded over 3,800 inhabitants in 2001 with around 2,200 persons living in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore). Traditionally the whole area belonged to Argyll until local government reorganisation when the northern district of Gleann Comhann became part of Highland Region and the southern part was merged in the vast Strathclyde Region. In the 1990s the Argyll & Bute local authority was formed which northernmost mainland district is now the area of Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr. Whereas until 1975 social and educational circumstances of both areas were subject to the same local policy (including education) developments in the period thereafter differed widely.

![Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) and Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore)](image)

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

The whole district around *Gleann Comhann* and *Àird Chatain* was part of the core *Gaidhealtachd* until after the First World War. In the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) for example the local minister reported about the parish of *Àird Chatain* (Ardchattan): “The Gaelic language is that which prevails, and it is spoken with purity. More than nine-tenths of the people prefer religious instruction in the Gaelic, while a majority can receive such instruction through the medium of that language only.” This meant most people did not understand English well enough to follow his preaching. Similar conditions prevailed in the parish of *Lios Mòr & Apainn* according to the clergy: “The language generally spoken is Gaelic, and there are many of the natives who understand no other, particularly those who are somewhat advanced in years.” The district therefore was as thoroughly *Gàidhlig* as the islands further west. From the end of the 19th century, however, decline was experienced at an almost constant rate until today (see fig. 2). Locally conditions, however, varied widely as the following sections will reveal.

![Graph showing the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers from 1881 to 2001 for *Lios Mòr & Apainn* and *Àird Chatain & Macàrna*](image)

**Fig. 2:** *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 for the parishes of *Lios Mòr & Apainn* (Lismore & Appin) and *Àird Chatain & Macàrna* (Ardchattan & Muckairn). The former parish includes *Gleann Comhann* (Glen Coe).

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

In 1881 for the first time a question about *Gàidhlig* speakers was introduced in the decennial population censuses in Scotland. Then the number of persons which “habitually” spoke *Gàidhlig* was recorded. Within the district more than four fifths of the population were returned as *Gàidhlig* speaking (table 1). The island of *Lios Mòr* and the villages around *Gleann Comhann* in particular could then be described still as an integral part of the heartland of the language (table 13). The following census of 1891 redefined the language question and persons “who spoke Gaelic” and “who spoke Gaelic and English” were counted separately. At that time the remaining strongholds of the language could even more precisely located: the ecclesiastic parishes of *Gleann Comhann* and *Lios Mòr* boasted some 28.6 % and 19.5 % of

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3 There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951. For correct historical comparison figures include returns from the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) part of the parish described in Vol. 18 of this series.
Gàidhlig speakers who spoke no English. These figures far outnumbered those in the community who were ignorant of the local language (fig. 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject \ Census</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>4,526</td>
<td>4,037</td>
<td>4,305</td>
<td>3,751</td>
<td>3,136</td>
<td>2,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td>83.2 %</td>
<td>79.0 %</td>
<td>73.8 %</td>
<td>61.2 %</td>
<td>51.7 %</td>
<td>47.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) in Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan) and % of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

The knowledge (and use) of English, however, was to increase considerably since the introduction of compulsory education which did not permit the use of Gàidhlig as instruction medium. The devastating educational and psychological effects of this crude ignorance were as intensive in this district of Argyll as in every other part of the Gaidhealtachd. The decline – first of Gàidhlig monolingualism, then of bilingualism generally – gained pace through the decades in this once Gàidhlig stronghold. The census of 1901, however, reported an increase of the number of Gàidhlig speakers in the area. This was mainly due to the intensification of slate quarrying at Bail’a’Chaolais (Ballachulish) and the attraction of a substantial workforce from the Hebrides which were at that time even more Gàidhlig-speaking. Also the island of Lios Mòr kept its Gàidhlig predominance quite well in this decade. The incidence of “Gaelic only” returns quite understandably declined substantially from 1891 to 1901 due to the influence of education. But even then the villages of Gleann Comhann (34.8 %) and Bail’a’Chaolais (13.8 %) reported still a remarkable share of Gàidhlig monolinguals (table 15).

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

Very detailed local information is available in census publications until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2 and 3). Although all official percentages of Gàidhlig speakers were notoriously underestimating the real strength of the language (children less than 3 years of age and visitors were included in the population base) the temporal evolution of language knowledge and the incidence of monolingualism can clearly be depicted from official figures. By looking at the census results on enumeration district level the geographical distribution and its variability become more evident than in the less detailed census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901.

4 Figures include the Macùrna (Muckairn) part of the parish described in Vol. 18 of this series.
Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Gleann Comhann & Lios Mòr – 1881 - 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration district</th>
<th>All persons speaking Gàidhlig&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Glencoe)</td>
<td>95.5 %</td>
<td>87.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loch Liobhann &amp; Achadh Triachatain</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Loch Leven &amp; Achtriochtan)</td>
<td>82.1 %</td>
<td>67.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baile a’Chaolais</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ballachulish)</td>
<td>93.9 %</td>
<td>80.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar &amp; Ceann an t-Sàilein</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Duro &amp; Kentallen)</td>
<td>69.0 %</td>
<td>56.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àth Charra &amp; Cùil</td>
<td>71.0 %</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Acharra &amp; Cuil)</td>
<td>91.8 %</td>
<td>71.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srath Apainn&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strath of Appin)</td>
<td>79.8 %</td>
<td>70.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Creurain</td>
<td>78.6 %</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Glencreren)</td>
<td>81.6 %</td>
<td>63.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr: Port Ramasa</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lismore: Port Ramsay)</td>
<td>92.9 %</td>
<td>90.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr: Baile a’Ghobhainn</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lismore: Balnagown)</td>
<td>90.4 %</td>
<td>78.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr: Cill Chiarain</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lismore: Kilcheran)</td>
<td>75.8 %</td>
<td>84.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Gleann Comhann & Lios Mòr according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

The civil parish of Lios Mòr & Apainn (Lismore & Appin) was overwhelmingly Gàidhlig speaking during this period (table 2) and overall there was no decline of the language observed between 1881 and 1901. English monolingualism made certain inroads in places like Dùrar (Duro) and Apainn (Appin) but elsewhere Gàidhlig speakers held their ground very well. Special strongholds were of course the slate quarrying communities (Baile a’Chaolais and the village of Gleann Comhann) and the island of Lios Mòr. In the whole district monolingual speakers of the language still had a significant proportion of the Gàidhlig community with proportions between 8 % and 38 % in 1891. This share went down only slightly until 1901 when “Gaelic only” percentages differed between 6 % and 36 % of the total population. Among the usually resident population the Gàidhlig language was even stronger as special considerations of the 1891 census material will show (see page 9).

<sup>5</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.
<sup>6</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.
<sup>7</sup> The census in 1881 was concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.
<sup>8</sup> Includes the inhabitants of Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island) and Eilean Seona (Shuna Island).
### Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Àird Chatain – 1881 - 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration district</th>
<th>All persons speaking Gàidhlig&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am Barra Calltain</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Barcaldine)</td>
<td>77.6 %</td>
<td>64.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Òsann Bhaile &amp; Eiriosgaidh</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Shenvallie &amp; Eriska Island)</td>
<td>80.4 %</td>
<td>69.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’Chill &amp; Beinn Eadar dà Loch</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Keil &amp; Benderloch)</td>
<td>95.2 %</td>
<td>87.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach’ na Cridhe &amp; Àird Chatain</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Achnacree &amp; Ardchattan)</td>
<td>86.3 %</td>
<td>75.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bun Abha</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bonawe)</td>
<td>60.9 %</td>
<td>39.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dail an Easa &amp; Gleann Eite</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dalness &amp; Glen Etive)</td>
<td>60.6 %</td>
<td>75.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inbhir Libhir</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Inverliver)</td>
<td>94.6 %</td>
<td>89.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loch Obha</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lochawe)</td>
<td>42.7 %</td>
<td>37.6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The ecclesiastic parish of Àird Chatain (Ardchattan) was linguistically a more diverse Highland district during this period (table 3). The Gàidhlig language was especially strong in the coastal hamlets between Am Barra Calltain (Barcaldine) and Àird Chatain proper as well as remote communities like the one in Gleann Libhir (Glen Liver). On the other hand the influx of Lowlanders to the slate quarries and the railway line already had made a significant anglicisation effect in Bun Abha (Bonawe) and Loch Obha (Lochawe) further east. It has to be realised, however, that during this period there was still a remarkable monolingual proportion among Gàidhlig speakers especially around the crofting township of A’Chill (Keil).

Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore some “corrected” 1891 details about three communities in this district are cited below<sup>12</sup> (Duwe, 2006):

<sup>9</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

<sup>10</sup> Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

<sup>11</sup> The census in 1881 was concerned with people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

<sup>12</sup> 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.
1. **Gleann Comhann** (Glencoe): The village of **Gleann Comhann** (Glencoe) and the few outlying dwellings of the surrounding district were overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speaking (92.3% of the usually resident population): “The language was equally strong across all age groups. A considerable part of the usually resident population even did not speak English in 1891. The inhabitants of Am Baile (the village of Glencoe proper) were even more strongly Gàidhlig-speaking than their game keeping neighbours in the few occupied houses in the glen and on the coast of Loch Liobhann (Loch Leven). In original census report terms the district had a population of 437 persons of all ages. 217 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 131 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 79.6%. Accordingly the figure was a significant under-estimate of 12.7% .... - Census returns concerning four households were incomplete. Household heads were Angus McDonald (enumeration district 2, page 16), Dugald McInnes (page 19), Donald McIntyre (page 19), and Angus Kennedy (page 26). There was no language information given for 14 family members although their relatives (young and old) spoke mostly Gaelic only. In a subsequent check in the 1901 census pages 13 of those persons (out of 14) could be traced. 7 persons were returned as "only Gaelic" and 6 as "Gaelic & English" in 1901.” Obviously Gàidhlig was even stronger at the time than the official census reports suggested.

2. **Port Ramasa** (Port Ramsay): In the northern half of the island of **Lios Mòr** the Gàidhlig language was also very much in command (98.0% of the usually resident population spoke it): “The usually resident population was almost exclusively speaking the traditional language. A significant part of the community did not even speak English – these monolingual speakers were to be found mainly among the elderly and the very young. The only English monolingual family was headed by the school teacher.” In those days it was very common that English monolingual teachers met Gàidhlig monolingual speaking pupils in the classroom! “All persons except five in the area spoke Gàidhlig. This small group consisted of a farmers’ wife (born in Greenock) and four members of the teacher family. The latter was headed by an elementary teacher who originated from Kirriemuir. In original census report terms the district had a population of 272 persons of all ages. 186 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English”; an additional number of 69 inhabitants spoke “Gaelic only”. This lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 93.8%. This figure was still an under-estimate of 4.2%...”

3. **Loch nan Eala & Àird Chatain** (Lochnell & Ardchattan): The residents of this south-western part of the parish of **Àird Chatain** were almost exclusively Gàidhlig speaking (93.6%): “The use of the language was practically universal among the usually resident population. The few English monoglots were mostly born outside the Gaidhealtachd and concerned with either farming or owning the land. Even in those families it was not uncommon that the offspring had actually learned the language of their neighbours. A very large proportion (by mainland standards at least) of the population (24%) did not speak English - especially in the crofting settlements around A’Chill (Keil). These Gàidhlig monoglots were found in all age groups. - Twenty-seven persons in the district were enumerated as not speaking Gàidhlig. Most prominent were the proprietors of Lochnell Castle and Inveresargan House besides a handful of “imported” Lowland farmers. In original census report terms the district had a population of 455 persons of all ages. 303 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 107 persons spoke “Gaelic only”. This lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 90.1%. This figure was an under-estimate of 2.5%....”

In conclusion it is quite clear that census figures painted only half the picture which was more favourable for the language than often anticipated in this period. The information from censuses after 1901 was unfortunately not published in such a detail than in the previous census reports. Local data are only available for the two civil parishes in the area (tables 14 and 15). Generally the picture became bleaker with every subsequent census until in 1931 for the first time Gàidhlig-speakers lost their majority. The
number of Gàidhlig monolingual persons shrank to a handful which bode not well for the future at the eve of World War II (fig. 3 and table 15).

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

The upheavals of the war had a significant impact on the population and economic situation in the Highlands. This mainland area was clearly no exception and severe changes in the fortune of Gàidhlig could be seen in the 1951 census results. In a time span of twenty years the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers fell from 47.2 % to 33.9 % in the area. 10 years later in 1961 a quarter of the population was returned as speaking the language. Only a part of this decline in percentage could be explained by the influx of English-speakers to the hydropower and aluminium smelter developments at Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven). In the 1961 census nevertheless two out of four CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) in the area still had a substantial Gàidhlig-speaking population: Bail’ a’ Chaolais (36.0 %) and Lios Mòr & Apainn with 30.8 % (table 16). The language, however, was almost totally confined to the older generations as information from 1971 revealed (tables 18 and 20). Speaking Gàidhlig varied widely between age groups. The younger generation (aged between 5 and 24) reported only around 5 % of Gàidhlig-speakers. In contrast in the generation above the age of 65 the language was still spoken by 36.4 % in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr and even 56.6 % in Gleann Comhann! Educational provision of Gàidhlig was non-existent in those days. No children were reported as being able to read or even write Gàidhlig in the whole area – a very negative verdict on the education policy of Argyll County Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td>33.9 %</td>
<td>24.6 %</td>
<td>18.9 %</td>
<td>14.6 %</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
<td>7.1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +) in Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan) and % of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001

In 1974 local government reorganisation meant that the northern part of the area between Dùrar and Ceann Loch Liobhann became part of Highland Regional Council. The remainder with the rest of Argyll was merged with west-central Scotland into the vast Strathclyde Region. The decline of the language, however, remained unabated in the whole district and educational policy was not changed significantly. Essentially Gàidhlig still had no place in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools.

Census information since 1981 has been much more detailed both in geographical and demographic terms. In 1981 there were two census output areas (one in the village of Gleann Comhann, the other in Bail’ a’ Chaolais) with more than a share of 20 % of Gàidhlig-speakers. The highlight of course was the percentage of 48.0 % recorded on the island of Lios Mòr. Whereas young Gàidhlig-speakers were almost totally absent on the mainland some 30 % of islanders aged 3 to 24 had some knowledge of the language. The island remained in 1991 the only significant Gàidhlig language community in the area with 43.1 % of the population able to speak it (table 19). Only in the late 1990s some signs of language awakening surfaced in the district. On Lios Mòr enthusiastic local people founded the Comunn Eachdraidh Lios Mòr (Lismore Heritage Society) with a strong emphasis on the preservation of Gàidhlig on the island. The language was introduced in the local primary school. Local secondary school children received voluntary lessons after their return from Oban almost every Friday evening. The nearby primary

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13 Figures include the Macàrna (Muckairn) part of the parish described in Vol. 18 of this series.
school of Srath Apatin (Strath of Appin) followed with Gàidhlig lessons for its pupils. Progress further north was still absent in this period. The establishment of a cròileagan in Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven) was only short-lived and there were still no Gàidhlig language lessons in both primary and secondary schools.

Fig. 4: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Gleann Comhann

Fig. 5: Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore)

14 Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.
These developments had a strong influence on the 2001 census results. Whereas the language held its ground in Lios Mòr and Apainn, there was a dramatic decline in the neighbouring areas of Àird Chatain and Gleann Comhann. These districts lost almost 40% of their speakers within a decade! On the other hand Lios Mòr and Apainn recorded an increase of Gàidhlig-speakers and an almost static share of population (table 16). A more detailed description of 2001 census results is given in chapter 3.

Fig. 6: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) 15

Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain (Lismore & Ardchattan)

15 Data for age groups below 25 are not shown because of too small numbers involved.
2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

The temporal evolution of Gàidhlig literacy is also an important item; therefore this aspect is highlighted specifically at this point. Literacy levels in the whole area were very low in 1971 when census questions were asked on this subject for the first time. Around a third of Gàidhlig-speakers confessed to be able to read Gàidhlig text and less than one fifth could write in the language. These figures were a legacy of the Gaelic educational policy of Argyll County Council (or more precisely the lack of it). The least literate CCED (County Council Electoral Division) then was Bail’â’Chaolais (Ballachulish) with just 105 out of 325 speakers able to read Gàidhlig. The language had survived here by oral transmission rather than through formal education or the use in church life.

Gradually through the decades the literacy intensities increased (see tables 5 and 6). This was not caused by improved education but sadly by the passing of the older illiterate Gàidhlig-speaking generations. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate this quite impressively. In Gleann Comhann virtually no formal education was provided until 2001; fortunately the educational provision in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr improved considerably within the same period and the number of Gàidhlig readers even increased between 1991 and 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</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>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe)</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</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>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Number of people able to write Gàidhlig and Gàidhlig writers as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for both areas (1971-2001)
3 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.

3.1 General overview: Gàidhlig language capabilities in 2001

Comparing both areas – Gleann Comhann and Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr – it is quite clear that the latter shows still a few signs of life from the Gàidhlig language community. Conditions in Gleann Comhann, however, are rather depressing especially when considering the once very strong presence of Gàidhlig in the townships of Ballachulish and Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) proper. The following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information for Gleann Comhann (Glencoe):

- There is a constant decrease in Gàidhlig language abilities (fig. 8) from older to younger generations with still remarkable percentages in the generations born before World War II. Language knowledge at younger age is very seldom and only two pre-school children were reported as knowing some aspects of the language in 2001. The intergenerational difference (table 7) is overwhelmingly negative.

- A considerable decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking has occurred since 1991 (table 7) – the number and proportion of speakers has almost been halved. Younger speakers are very few and far between with the percentage in the age cohort of 3-24 being reduced still further since 1991.

- The local detail shows those being able to speak the language ranging from roughly 2% in Kinlochleven to some 11% in Glencoe. The corresponding figures for the “understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 5% in Kinlochleven and more than 23% in Ballachulish.

- Only one neighbourhood in Ballachulish reported over 20% of the people knowing at least some Gàidhlig. This was a far cry from previous conditions in this once thriving language community.

- Literacy in the language is still rather uncommon with 47.8% of speakers being able to read and 33.7% of speakers able to write the language.

- In the new category of children aged less than 3 year there were only two children reported as being able to understand spoken Gàidhlig. In addition to those speaking Gàidhlig (5.7% of the population) 102 inhabitants (6.4%) were at least able to understand, read or write it. Many residents of the area could be defined as “semi-speakers” who had experienced a considerable immersion in the language during their childhood but who never got the chance to learn it properly (either at home or at school).
Table 7: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) in 2001 and 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Knowing(^{16}) 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>2</td>
<td>3.9 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>n/a n/a n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0 0.0 % -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7 %</td>
<td>3 2.2 % 10 6.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5 %</td>
<td>2 2.9 % 3 4.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.5 %</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>4 2.8 % 4 2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.2 %</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>9 2.4 % 17 3.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>12.1 %</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
<td>92 5.7 % 187 11.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>- 8.9 %</td>
<td>- 0.9 %</td>
<td>- 3.3 %</td>
<td>- 8.0 %</td>
<td>- 8.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{16}\) Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.
The 2001 census saw the following significant results for Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan and Lismore) which are in marked contrast to neighbouring Gleann Comhann:

- **Gàidhlig** language abilities (fig. 9) in the younger generation are now comparable with those at very old age. But nonetheless only two pre-school children knew the language in 2001.

- The intergenerational difference (table 8) is considerably positive with those aged under 25 more probable to speak or understand Gàidhlig than for the population as a whole.

- A slight decrease in Gàidhlig-speaking has occurred since 1991 (table 8) but this was not very pronounced in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers was down only by 1.4 %.

- Results are not the same over the whole area. The local details of census output areas show those being able to speak the language (table 19) ranging from a share of roughly 2 % in Achadh na Crite Bhige (Achnacreebeag) to over 28 % on the island of Lios Mòr. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic“ category varied between around 4 % and more than 47 % in the same locations respectively (table 22).

- The island of Lios Mòr (Lismore) may still be categorized as a partially Gàidhlig-speaking neighbourhood with far more than 40 % of the resident population at least understanding spoken Gàidhlig.

- Literacy in the language is still improving with a respectable 62.4 % of speakers being able to read and 46.6 % of speakers able to write the language. This may be partially attributed to the relatively favourable educational provision in the area.

- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years there was only one child reported as being able to understand spoken Gàidhlig.

- In addition to those able to speak Gàidhlig (8.1 % of the population) 119 inhabitants (5.3 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Whereas the language has still a foothold in the communities on Lios Mòr (Lismore) and in the district of Apainn (Appin) Gàidhlig elsewhere is very much a minority issue even in the educational sector. This is highlighted in the next section with special emphasis on the school-aged population.
Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) according to Census 2001

Table 8: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) in 2001 and 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>2001 Knowing Gàidhlig</th>
<th>2001 Able to speak &amp; read Gàidhlig</th>
<th>1991 Able to speak Gàidhlig</th>
<th>Diff. 2001 – 1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18.8 %</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26.0 %</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.0 %</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-24</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>16.8 %</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>13.4 %</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>5.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Diff.     | + 3.4 %               | + 2.5 %                            | + 4.3 %                     | + 2.5 %           |

17 Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.
3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups. For the purpose of this investigation they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). Additionally a column is provided in table 9 with the age group of 24-35 which may be representative of the language abilities of possible parents.

### Knowledge of Gàidhlig (Census 2001) in Selected Primary School Catchment Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary School(s)</th>
<th>“Pre-School” Age 0-4</th>
<th>“Primary” Age 5-11</th>
<th>“Secondary” Age 12-15</th>
<th>“Parents” Age 25-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’ a’ Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duro)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srath Apainn (Strath of Appin)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am Barra Calltain (Barcaldine)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

- **Pre-school children:** There were almost no children found at this age who could at least understand spoken Gàidhlig. No effective cròileagan or sgoil-araich was present in the area at the time of the census.

- **Primary school children:** In the primary schools of Lios Mòr and Srath Apainn the Gàidhlig language was taught as second language which is also proven by the census details. In the other locations knowledge of Gàidhlig was of very low (if any) priority in primary school education.

- **Secondary school children:** Children at secondary school age in the Gleann Comhann area attended Kinlochleven High School which did not provide any Gàidhlig language teaching at the time. Pupils from further south went to Oban High School where the language was taught as a

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18 Children from Lismore receive their secondary education at Oban High School. They have to stay at a hostel during weekdays and are therefore not enumerated at their home address but at their accommodation address in Oban. Therefore no children at the age between 12 and 15 were recorded on the island during the census.
non-compulsory subject in 2001. Census results underline this fact. Some of the 88 pupils who attended second language classes in S1 and S2 in Oban will have originated from the described area of Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain.

- **Parents**: A few in the traditional parental age recorded themselves as Gàidhlig-speaking with one in six knowing some Gàidhlig on the island of Lios Mòr and the adjacent mainland part of Apainn.

**In conclusion**: Educational provision for Gàidhlig in the catchment area of Kinlochleven High School (that is in the Gleann Comhann area) was non-existent in 2001. On the contrary children in Apainn and Àird Chatain as well as on the island of Lios Mòr had some opportunity to get acquainted with the once dominant local language. Especially on Lios Mòr (Lismore) and around Srath Apainn (Strath of Appin) Gàidhlig had a comparatively high profile in primary education.

![Graph showing share of primary school children receiving Gàidhlig-medium education in Apainn & Lios Mòr in comparison with neighbouring An t-Oban (September 1992 – September 2005)](image)

**Fig. 10**: Share of primary school children receiving Gàidhlig-medium education in Apainn & Lios Mòr in comparison with neighbouring An t-Oban (September 1992 – September 2005)
4 Future Perspectives

Conditions for Gàidhlig in both areas differ very much. Whereas in 2001 the language community indicator (LCI\(^{19}\)) was everywhere at around 16 % the language viability indicator (LVI\(^{20}\)) is more revealing. In Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) it points to very poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 10) with a negative value of 8.8 %. On the other hand Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) recorded a positive LVI of 1.7 % - a very rare example in the 2001 census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young age (0-24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr (Ardchattan &amp; Lismore)</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison:
- Gàidhealtachd: 7.0 %, 8.9 %, - 1.9 %, 10.0 %
- Earrach-Gàidheal & Bòd: 6.1 %, 7.2 %, - 1.1 %, 7.5 %

Table 10: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) and Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) compared with the Gàidhealtachd (Highland) and Earrach-Gàidheal & Bòd (Argyll & Bute) local authorities according to census 2001

Locally the LVI is negative in all census output areas except one in Gleann Comhann. Intergenerational viability, however, is more healthy further south with positive LVI values for Srath Apainn (+ 10.7 %) and Lios Mòr (16.3 %). The LCI is generally smaller than 20 % with maximum values of 30.6 % in parts of Bail’á’Chaolais (Ballachulish) and 58.7 % on the island of Lios Mòr. The knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age-groups (tables 21 and 22) on the other hand was remarkable in 2001 in Apainn and Lios Mòr where percentages ranged from 17.7 % to 63.6 %.

Recently there have been some further positive developments in Srath Apainn (Strath of Appin) with the establishment of a local cròileagan and the opening of a Gàidhlig medium unit in the 2003/2004 school year. In addition primary schools in the Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain area are now covered by the GLPS (Gaelic language in the primary school) scheme which ensures some second language teaching to all primary school children in the area.

Conditions in Gleann Comhann, however, are still unsatisfactory. Nonetheless quite recently a cròileagan in Gleann Comhann village and even a local authority Gàidhlig nursery in Bail’á’Chaolais (Ballachulish) were established. Plans are now afoot to open a Gàidhlig medium unit at the primary school of Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven) from school year 2006/2007 onwards. Second language tuition in school, however, is still absent from this once stronghold of the language. This concerns both primary and secondary school education.

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\(^{19}\) 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.

\(^{20}\) LVI: The “Language Viability Indicator” is a measure of the prospective reproducitvity 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.
In conclusion: The whole investigation area was once an important stronghold of Gàidhlig right until the Second World War. Especially around Gleann Comhann the decline has been dramatic and unimpeded until today. Within the last decade positive developments, however, have started in the district of Apainn, on Lios Mòr and – more recently – in Ceann Loch Liobhann. The island of Lios Mòr may still be characterized as a partially Gàidhlig-speaking community.
### I. Supplementary Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Civil Parish</th>
<th>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn)</th>
<th>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,558</td>
<td>2,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>2,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,407</td>
<td>2,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>2,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>2,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td>913</td>
<td>1,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td>397</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>295</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td>257</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>196</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>149</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Civil Parish</th>
<th>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn)</th>
<th>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td></td>
<td>77.7 %</td>
<td>86.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td>73.9 %</td>
<td>82.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>66.2 %</td>
<td>78.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>54.2 %</td>
<td>65.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td>45.6 %</td>
<td>55.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td>43.8 %</td>
<td>49.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.6 %</td>
<td>36.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.3 %</td>
<td>27.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.4 %</td>
<td>24.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.4 %</td>
<td>18.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.7 %</td>
<td>11.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.1 %</td>
<td>8.1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: *Gàidhlig*-speakers as percentage of total population for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

---

21 The 1881 census question was concerned with “habitually” speaking Gaelic.
### Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891:  
**Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain**

<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>1881</strong> (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</td>
<td>5,438</td>
<td>4,526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,433</td>
<td>2,968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>571</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mùsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Census registration districts (not identical to the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>659</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apainn (Appin)</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>599</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a’ Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>2,182</td>
<td>2,022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>1,028</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>530</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1891</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</td>
<td>5,197</td>
<td>3,375</td>
<td>737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,242</td>
<td>2,085</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mùsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innis Chonain (Innischonan Island)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</td>
<td>1,045</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Census registration districts (not identical to the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apainn (Appin)</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a’ Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) ------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Mhunnda (Gleann Comhann) (St. Munda (Glencoe))</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig in 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, villages, census registration districts or inhabited islands)
### Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1921:

<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>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</td>
<td>5,833</td>
<td>3,858</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,690</td>
<td>2,498</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,126</td>
<td>1,346</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) Vi</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Màsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- Census registration districts (not identical to the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apainn (Appin)</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a’Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1,718</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>1,492</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apainn (Appin)</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Mhunnda (Gleann Comhann) (St. Munda (Glencoe))</td>
<td>1,718</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- Electoral areas (included in the above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>1,049</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td>1,449</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,485</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macàrna (Muckairn)</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1911</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>6,126</td>
<td>3,629</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,886</td>
<td>2,434</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,240</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1921</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>6,059</td>
<td>3,102</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,787</td>
<td>2,079</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,272</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1921 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, villages, census registration districts, electoral areas or inhabited islands)

---

**22** Figures are given here for the civil parishes of Lios Mòr & Apainn (Lismore & Appin) and Àird Chatain & Macàrna (Ardchattan & Muckairn) as a whole to enable an exact historical comparison.
### Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1931 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes or county council electoral divisions)

<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>1931</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>5,840</td>
<td>2,744</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>1,838</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,083</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1951</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>4,724</td>
<td>1,597</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>3,014</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1961</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>4,458</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>2,505</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,953</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---- County council electoral divisions (partially included in the above) ----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a’Chaalais (Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1,266</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,334</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Chreanain-Macàrna (Kilchrenan-Muckairn)</td>
<td>1,421</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1971</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---- County council electoral divisions (partially included in the above) ----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a’Chaalais (Ballachulish)</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cill Chreanain-Macàrna (Kilchrenan-Muckairn)</td>
<td>1,210</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 16: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population (aged three years and over) for pre-1975 county council electoral divisions according to census data from 1961 to 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven CCED)</td>
<td>KL</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.6 %</td>
<td>14.9 %</td>
<td>10.8 %</td>
<td>6.8 %</td>
<td>4.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail’a’Chaalais (Ballachulish CCED)</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36.0 %</td>
<td>31.0 %</td>
<td>21.3 %</td>
<td>13.5 %</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lìos Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin CCED)</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.8 %</td>
<td>25.0 %</td>
<td>19.6 %</td>
<td>15.2 %</td>
<td>14.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan CCED)</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.3 %</td>
<td>12.8 %</td>
<td>11.4 %</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
<td>5.8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.
### Table 17: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td><em>Ceann Loch Liòbhan</em> (Kinlochleven) 1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td><em>Ceann Loch Liòbhan</em> (Kinlochleven) 2a</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td><em>Ceann Loch Liòbhan</em> (Kinlochleven) 2b</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td><em>Gleann Comhann</em> (Glencoe) a</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td><em>Gleann Comhann</em> (Glencoe) b</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gleann Eite</em> (Glen Etive)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td><em>Gleann a’Chaolais</em> (Glennachulish)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 1a</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 1b</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 2a</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 2b</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 2c</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>Bail’ a’Chaolais</em> (Ballachulish) 2d</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>Ceann Tàilein</em> (Kentallen)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>Dùrar</em> (Duroar)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) between 1971 and 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>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (3 years and over)</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) between 1971 and 2001
### Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) between 1981 and 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Port Apainn (Port Appin)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Strath Apainn (Strath of Appin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Gleann Creurain (Glen Creran)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Port na Croise (Portnacroish)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Achadh na Crithe Bhige (Achnacreebeag)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bun Obha (Bonawe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Croitean Dubha a (Black Crofts a)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>A’Chongail Tuath (North Connel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Croitean Dubha b (Black Crofts b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Beinn Eadar dà Loch (Benderloch)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>An Leadag (Ledaig)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>A’Chill (Kiel)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>An Seann Bhaile (Shenavallie)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Am Barra Calltain a (Barcaldine a)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Am Barra Calltain b (Barcaldine b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) according to data from 1971 to 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>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (3 years and over)</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

25 Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.
### Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Output Area</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>01</td>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann 1 (Kinlochleven 1)</td>
<td>2 5.1 %</td>
<td>11 9.6 %</td>
<td>- 4.5 %</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann 2a (Kinlochleven 2a)</td>
<td>1 3.7 %</td>
<td>5 5.2 %</td>
<td>- 1.5 %</td>
<td>5.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Ceann Loch Liobhann 2b (Kinlochleven 2b)</td>
<td>1 3.3 %</td>
<td>8 9.6 %</td>
<td>- 6.3 %</td>
<td>13.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Gleann Comhann a (Glencoe a)</td>
<td>1 3.1 %</td>
<td>22 16.4 %</td>
<td>- 13.3 %</td>
<td>19.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Gleann Comhann b (Glencoe b)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>28 14.1 %</td>
<td>- 14.1 %</td>
<td>20.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Gleann a’Chaolais (Glennachulish)</td>
<td>1 2.9 %</td>
<td>11 10.1 %</td>
<td>- 7.2 %</td>
<td>12.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 1a (Ballachulish 1a)</td>
<td>1 5.0 %</td>
<td>9 13.4 %</td>
<td>- 8.4 %</td>
<td>14.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 1b (Ballachulish 1b)</td>
<td>1 3.0 %</td>
<td>14 12.8 %</td>
<td>- 9.8 %</td>
<td>15.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 2a (Ballachulish 2a)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>23 23.7 %</td>
<td>- 23.7 %</td>
<td>30.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 2b (Ballachulish 2b)</td>
<td>2 4.3 %</td>
<td>23 14.5 %</td>
<td>- 10.2 %</td>
<td>16.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 2c (Ballachulish 2c)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>9 10.6 %</td>
<td>- 10.6 %</td>
<td>13.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bail’a’Chaolais 2d (Ballachulish 2d)</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>7 7.1 %</td>
<td>- 7.1 %</td>
<td>9.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ceann Tàilein (Kentallen)</td>
<td>3 14.3 %</td>
<td>10 9.5 %</td>
<td>+ 4.8 %</td>
<td>14.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dùrar (Duror)</td>
<td>1 3.3 %</td>
<td>14 9.2 %</td>
<td>- 5.9 %</td>
<td>10.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Gleann Comhann (Glen-coe) according to census data of 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Output Area (Language viability indicator)</th>
<th>Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001</th>
<th>Difference (Language community indicator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young age</td>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>+ %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0-24)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Port Apainn</td>
<td>10 20.8 % 28 15.2 %</td>
<td>+ 5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Port Appin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Strath Apainn</td>
<td>4 22.2 % 6 11.5 %</td>
<td>+ 10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Strath of Appin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Gleann Creurain</td>
<td>6 22.2 % 22 15.9 %</td>
<td>+ 6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Glen Creran)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Port na Croise</td>
<td>3 17.7 % 16 14.3 %</td>
<td>+ 3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Portnacroish)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Lios Mòr</td>
<td>14 63.6 % 69 47.3 %</td>
<td>+ 16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Lismore)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Achadh na Crithe Bhige</td>
<td>1 4.0 % 4 3.5 %</td>
<td>+ 0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Achnacreebeag)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bun Obha</td>
<td>5 11.6 % 13 9.3 %</td>
<td>+ 2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Bonawe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Croitean Dubha a</td>
<td>8 20.0 % 20 10.5 %</td>
<td>+ 9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Black Crofts a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>A’Chongail Tuath</td>
<td>10 16.7 % 27 16.2 %</td>
<td>+ 0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(North Connel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Croitean Dubha b</td>
<td>- - 11 12.4 %</td>
<td>- 12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Black Crofts b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Beinn Eadar dà Loch</td>
<td>14 15.7 % 34 11.2 %</td>
<td>+ 4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Benderloch)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>An Leadag</td>
<td>1 2.9 % 9 7.3 %</td>
<td>- 4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ledaig)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>A’Chill</td>
<td>5 12.8 % 18 11.8 %</td>
<td>+ 1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kiel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>An Seann Bhaile</td>
<td>2 7.7 % 5 5.3 %</td>
<td>+ 2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Shenavallie)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Am Barra Calltain a</td>
<td>- - 5 4.4 %</td>
<td>- 4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Barcaldine a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Am Barra Calltain b</td>
<td>1 5.3 % 10 11.2 %</td>
<td>- 5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Barcaldine b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchatan & Lismore) according to census data of 2001
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 Statis-
tics 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 (1902): *Eleventh Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1901. Vol. I. – Table II. Scotland in Registration Counties and Registration Districts Showing the Number of Fami-


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</td>
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<td>KL</td>
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<tr>
<td>04 Gleann Comhann (Glencoe), Taigh a’Phuirt (Tigh-phuirt)</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>23AD04A</td>
<td>60QT000139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Gleann Comhann (Glencoe), Gleann Eite (Glen Etive), Caol-las nan Con (Caolasacon), Achadh nam Beitheach (Achnabeithach), Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>23AD04B 23AD05</td>
<td>60QT001323</td>
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<tr>
<td>06 Gleann a’Chaolais (Glennachulish), Achadh nan Con (Achnacon)</td>
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<td>60QT001322</td>
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<tr>
<td>07 Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
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<td>23AD01</td>
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<tr>
<td>08 Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
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<td>09 Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
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<td>11 Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
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<td>12 Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</td>
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<td>23AD02C</td>
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<td>13 Cùil (Cuil), Achadh an Ràtha (Achara), Ceann an t-Sàilein (Kentallen), Dùrar (Duror)</td>
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<td>14 Dùrar (Duror), Ceann an t-Sàilein (Kentallen), Achadh nan Darach (Achnandarach)</td>
<td>BA</td>
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</table>

Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) – 1961-2001
## Census Output Areas in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51 Port Apainn (Port Appin), Apainn (Appin)</td>
<td>LA 32BA01</td>
<td>60QD000710</td>
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<tr>
<td>52 Srath Apainn (Strath of Appin)</td>
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<td>60QD000711</td>
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<td>53 Gleann Creuran (Glen Creran), Na Creagan (Creagan), Apainn (Appin), Sithean a Tuath (North Shian)</td>
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<td>54 Port na Croise (Portnacroish), Dailean a Tuath (North Dal-lens), Ceann Loch Lathaich (Kinlochlaich), Eilean Shiùna (Isle of Shuna)</td>
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<td>60QD000577</td>
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<tr>
<td>55 Lios Mòr (Lismore): An Clachan, Na Cilltean (Killean), Achadh an Dùin (Achinduin), Achadh na Croise (Achnacroish), Cill Chiarain (Kilcheran), Port Ramasa (Port Ramsay)</td>
<td>LA 32AW12</td>
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<td>56 Achadh na Crithe Bhige (Achnacrebeag), Achadh nan Carn (Achnacairn), An Dail Buidhe (Dalvuie), Eilean Diùrinis (Duirinish Island)</td>
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<td>57 Bun Obha (Bonawe), Achadh na Bà (Achnaba), Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>61 Beinn Eadar dà Loch (Benderloch)</td>
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<td>62 An Leadag (Ledag), Dail an Tobair (Dalintober), Cùil a`Charrain (Culcharron)</td>
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<td>63 Bàrr a<code>Mhuilinn (Baravullin), A</code>Chill (Kiel)</td>
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<td>60QD000706</td>
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<tr>
<td>64 An Seann Bhaile (Shenavallie), Sithean a Deas (South Shian), Trà Li (Traleec), Am Baile Úr (Balure), Loch an Eala (Lochnell), Eilean Aoraisge (Isle of Eriska)</td>
<td>AR 32AZ10</td>
<td>60QD000707</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>65 Am Barra Calltain (Barcaldine), Creagan a Deas (South Creagan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>66 Am Barra Calltain (Barcaldine), An Dail Raineach (Dalran-noch)</td>
<td>AR 32AZ11</td>
<td>60QD000709</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) – 1961-2001
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17 Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) according to data from 1981 to 2001

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## VII. List of Abbreviations

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<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</td>
<td>Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CNE) – later: CNES</td>
<td>Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)</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>Gàidhlig-medium education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMU</td>
<td>Gàidhlig-medium unit: Class(es) with Gàidhlig-medium education but as part of an English medium school</td>
</tr>
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<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</td>
<td>(Census) output area: the smallest enumeration unit on which census data are available</td>
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<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>
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</table>
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