

# **Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies<sup>1</sup>**

## **Vol. 17: *Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain* (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan)**

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**2<sup>nd</sup> Edition**

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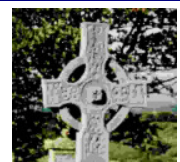
### **Executive Summary**

This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic-speaking at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 and 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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## Foreword to the First Edition

Since 1881 every decennial population census in Scotland included a question about the “Gaelic-speaking” population. Despite some difficulty in interpreting this data (what really means to tick a box being able to speak Gaelic) this long-term data set holds a wealth of sociological and historical information. The series highlights the circumstances in which people speaking this Celtic language have lived and still live today. In most cases this data has been used only either for very problem-specific socio-linguistic studies or they were the basis of regional or Scotland wide analysis. However, it proved very difficult for people who were interested in their own local area to have a comprehensive overview of the number and distribution of Gaelic-speaking people right on their doorstep. This series is planned to cover all regions of Scotland where Scottish Gaelic (*A’Ghàidhlig* to be correct in its own words) was still spoken by a substantial part of the population at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

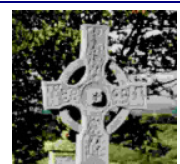
**Important note:** Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore *Gàidhlig* place-names or expressions are preferred and the so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For 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!*

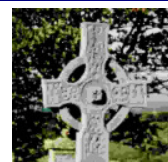
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Kurt C. Duwe



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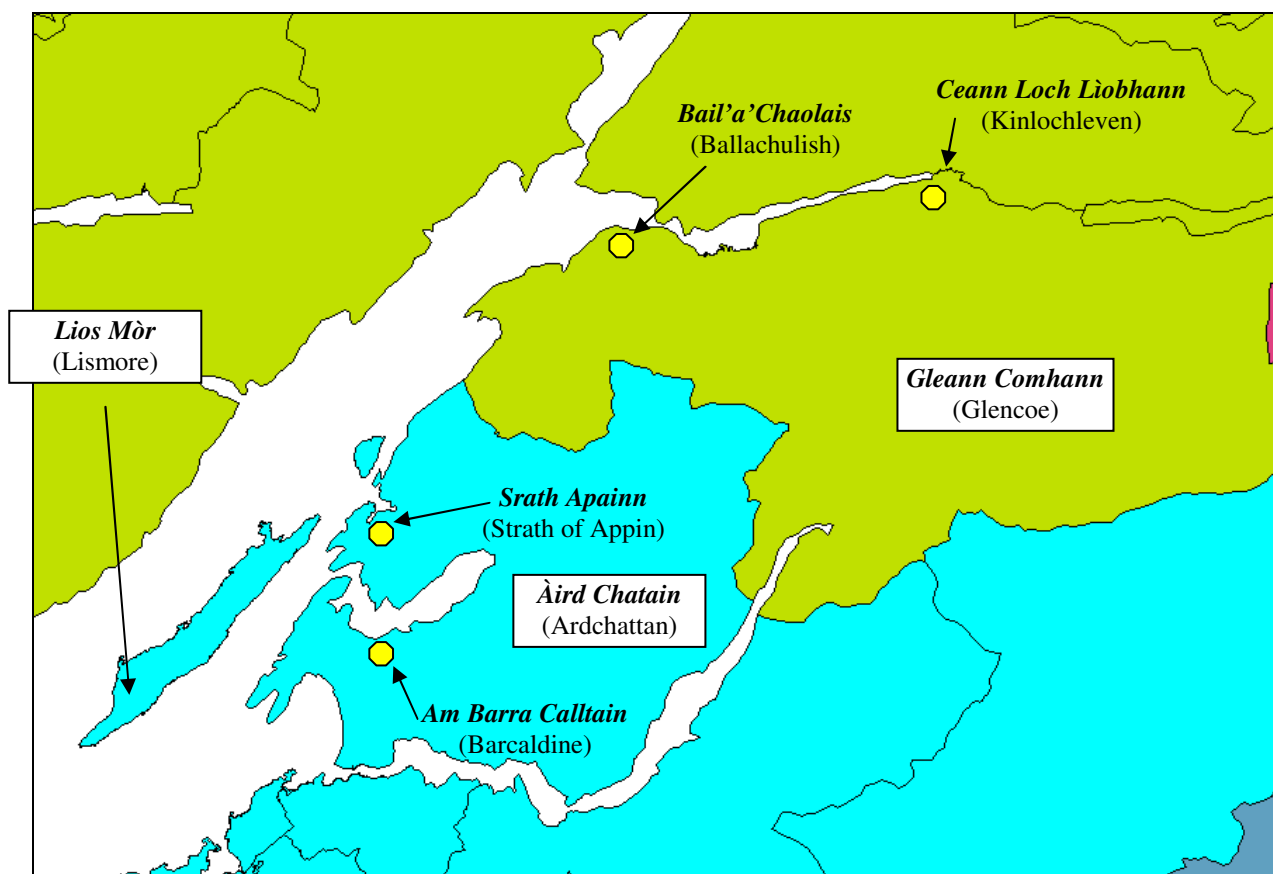
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## 1 Introduction

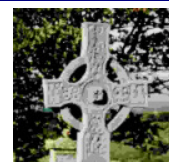
The area investigated is situated right in the centre of the western Highlands of Scotland. It may be roughly defined as the mainland area lying between the sea lochs of *Loch Liobhann* (Loch Leven), *An Linne Sheileach* (the southerly part of Loch Linnhe) and *Loch Eite* (Loch Etive). This district 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.



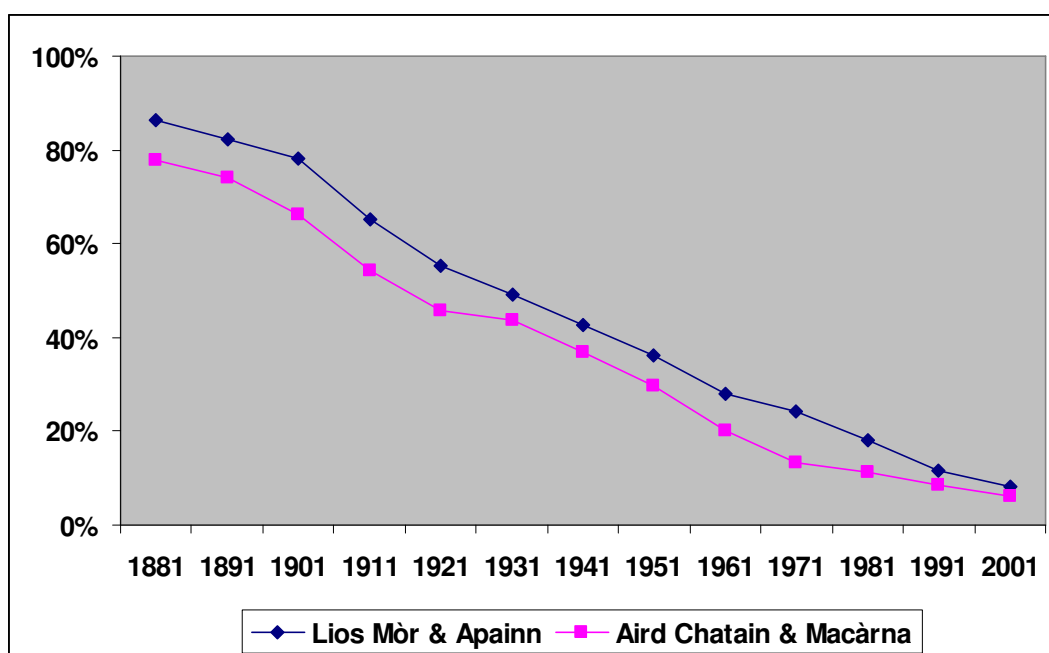
**Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) and *Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr* (Ardchattan & Lismore)<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>2</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

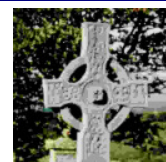


**Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 for the parishes of *Lios Mòr & Apainn* (Lismore & Appin) and *Àird Chatain & Macàrna* (Ardchattan & Muckairn)<sup>3</sup>. The former parish includes *Gleann Comhann* (Glen Coe).**

### 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 re-defined 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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

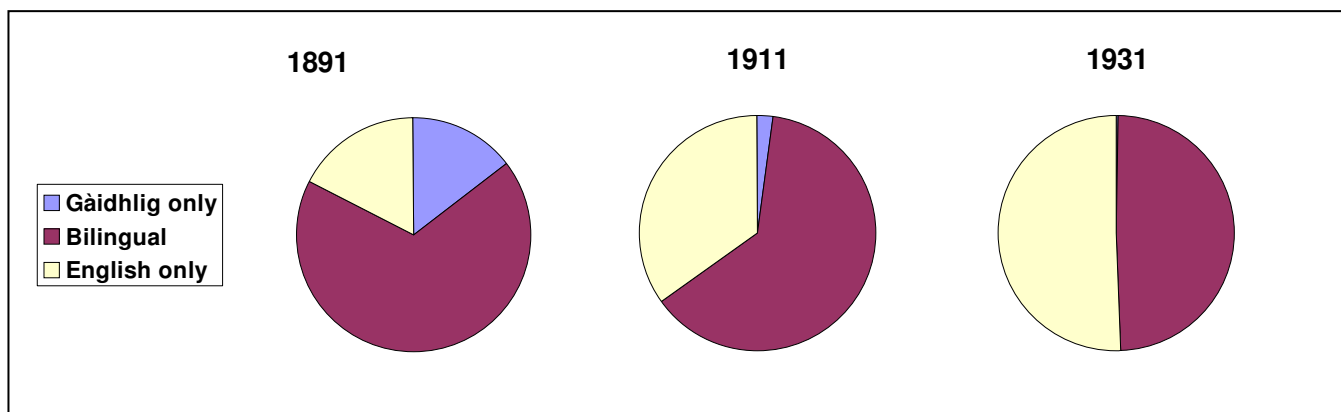


Gàidhlig speakers who spoke no English. These figures far outnumbered those in the community who were ignorant of the local language (fig. 3).

<i>Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain</i> <sup>4</sup>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	4,526	4,037	4,305	3,751	3,136	2,757
% of total population	83.2 %	79.0 %	73.8 %	61.2 %	51.7 %	47.2 %

**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.

<sup>4</sup> Figures include the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) part of the parish described in Vol. 18 of this series.



Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers in selected districts of <i>Gleann Comhann &amp; Lios Mòr</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking <i>Gàidhlig</i> <sup>5</sup>			Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers <sup>6</sup>	
	1881 <sup>7</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe)	406	348 <b>87.4 %</b>	367 <b>88.4 %</b>	131 <b>37.6 %</b>	131 <b>35.7 %</b>
<i>Loch Lìobhann &amp; Achadh Triachatain</i> (Loch Leven & Achtriochtan)	<b>95.5 %</b>	32 <b>82.1 %</b>	50 <b>67.6 %</b>	6 <b>18.8 %</b>	11 <b>22.0 %</b>
<i>Bail' a' Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	957 <b>93.9 %</b>	841 <b>80.5 %</b>	1,020 <b>89.2 %</b>	212 <b>25.2 %</b>	141 <b>13.8 %</b>
<i>Dùrar &amp; Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Duroor & Kentallen)	347	200 <b>69.0 %</b>	238 <b>56.5 %</b>	17 8.5 %	14 5.9 %
<i>Àth Charra &amp; Cùil</i> (Acharra & Cuil)	<b>71.0 %</b>	112 <b>91.8 %</b>	88 <b>71.0 %</b>	11 9.8 %	6 6.8 %
<i>Srath Apainn</i> <sup>8</sup> (Strath of Appin)	599	352 <b>79.8 %</b>	453 <b>70.7 %</b>	61 <b>17.3 %</b>	35 7.7 %
<i>Gleann Creurain</i> (Glencreran)	<b>78.6 %</b>	182 <b>81.6 %</b>	189 <b>63.2 %</b>	15 9.0 %	21 <b>11.1 %</b>
<i>Lios Mòr: Port Ramasa</i> (Lismore: Port Ramsay)		195 <b>92.9 %</b>	177 <b>90.8 %</b>	56 <b>28.7 %</b>	11 6.2 %
<i>Lios Mòr: Baile a' Ghobhainn</i> (Lismore: Balnagown)	571 <b>90.6 %</b>	235 <b>90.4 %</b>	180 <b>78.9 %</b>	38 <b>16.2 %</b>	18 <b>10.0 %</b>
<i>Lios Mòr: Cill Chiarain</i> (Lismore: Kilcheran)		75 <b>75.8 %</b>	68 <b>84.0 %</b>	18 <b>24.0 %</b>	6 8.8 %

**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**

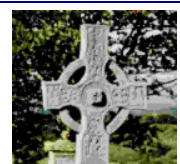
The civil parish of *Lios Mòr & Apainn* (Lismore & Appin) was overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig* speaking during this period (table 2) and overall there was no decline of the language observed between 1881 and 1901. English monolingualism made certain inroads in places like *Dùrar* (Duroor) and *Apainn* (Appin) 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					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>9</sup>			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>10</sup>	
	1881 <sup>11</sup>	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Am Barra Calltain</i> (Barcaldine)	1,028 <b>74.0 %</b>	66 <b>77.6 %</b>	105 <b>64.4 %</b>	3 4.5 %	–
<i>An Seann Bhaile &amp; Eiriosgaidh</i> (Shenvallie & Eriska Island)		135 <b>80.4 %</b>	162 <b>69.5 %</b>	22 <b>16.3 %</b>	15 9.3 %
<i>A'Chill &amp; Beinn Eadar dà Loch</i> (Keil & Benderloch)		177 <b>95.2 %</b>	148 <b>87.6 %</b>	75 <b>42.4 %</b>	18 <b>12.2 %</b>
<i>Ach' na Cridhe &amp; Àird Chatain</i> (Achnacree & Ardchattan)		233 <b>86.3 %</b>	206 <b>75.2 %</b>	32 <b>13.7 %</b>	13 6.3 %
<i>Bun Abha</i> (Bonawe)		123 <b>60.9 %</b>	101 39.8 %	1 0.8 %	–
<i>Dail an Easa &amp; Gleann Èite</i> (Dalness & Glen Etive)		40 <b>60.6 %</b>	59 <b>75.6 %</b>	–	–
<i>Inbhir Libhir</i> (Inverliver)		53 <b>94.6 %</b>	69 <b>89.6 %</b>	15 <b>28.3 %</b>	2 2.9 %
<i>Loch Obha</i> (Lochawe)		94 42.7 %	89 37.6 %	10 <b>10.6 %</b>	2 2.2 %

**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).

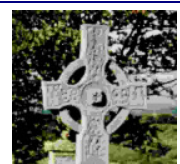
Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population 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*.

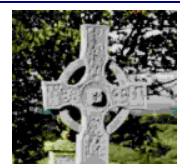
<sup>12</sup> After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.





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 Gàidhealtachd 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

<i>Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain</i> <sup>13</sup>						
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	1,600	1,096	825	629	465	330
% of total population	33.9 %	24.6 %	18.9 %	14.6 %	10.2 %	7.1 %

**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

<sup>13</sup> Figures include the *Macàrna* (Muckairn) part of the parish described in Vol. 18 of this series.



school of *Srath Apainn* (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.

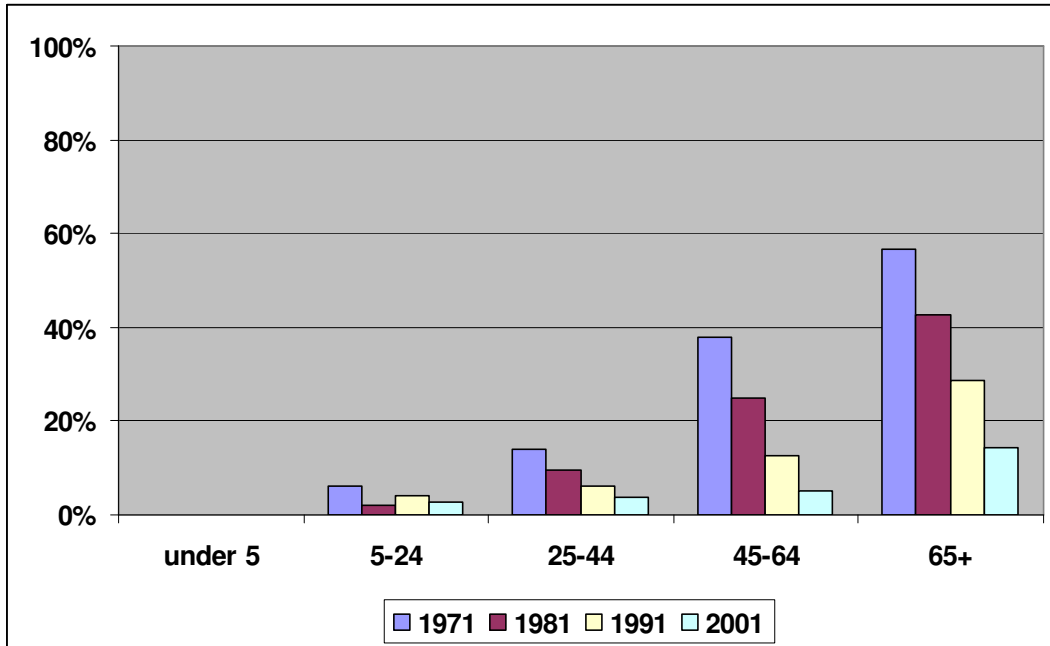


Fig. 4: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Gleann Comhann*  
14

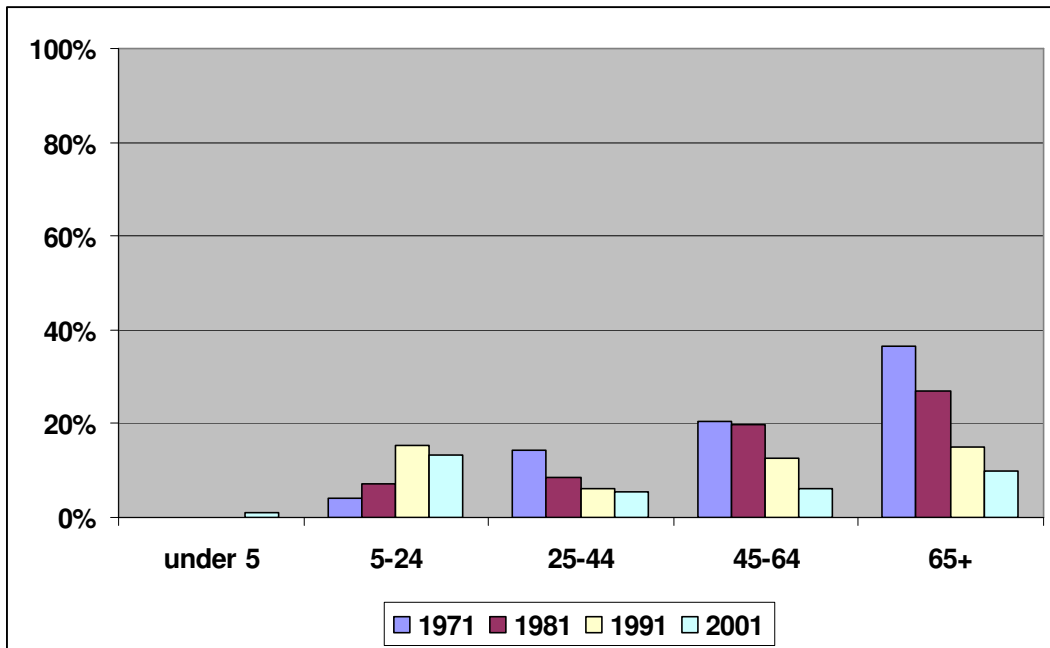
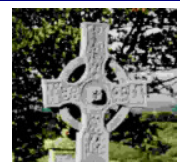


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – Area of *Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr* (Ardchattan & Lismore)

<sup>14</sup> 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.

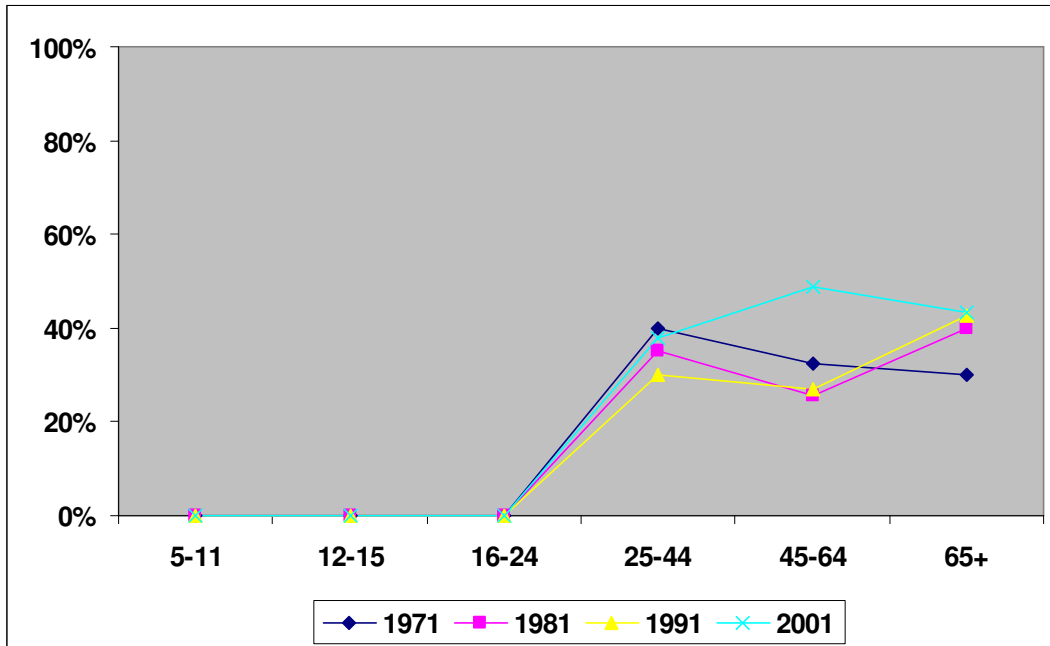


Fig. 6: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe)<sup>15</sup>

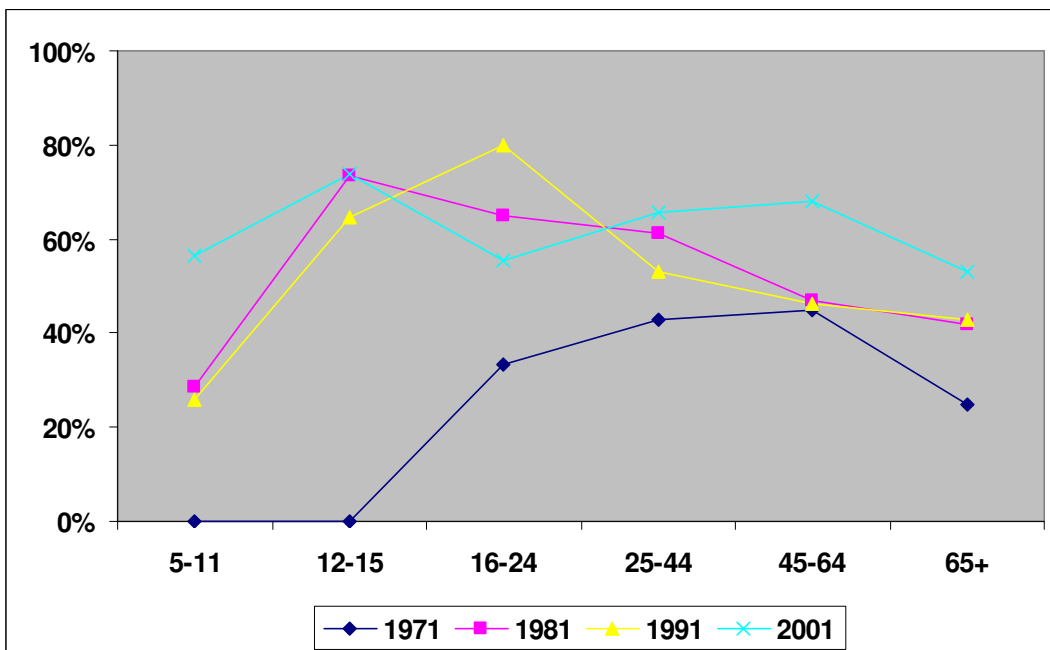
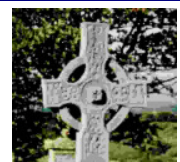


Fig. 7: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain* (Lismore & Ardchattan)

<sup>15</sup> 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' a' 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.

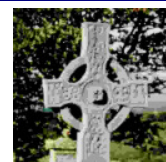
Gradually through the decades the literacy intensities increased (see tables 5 and 6). This was not caused by improved education but sadly by the passing of the older illiterate Gàidhlig-speaking generations. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate this quite impressively. In *Gleann Comhann* virtually no formal 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.

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig				Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to read Gàidhlig			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe)	125	82	71	44	31.6 %	31.1 %	37.2 %	47.8 %
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</i> (Ardchattan & Lismore)	120	119	107	111	37.5 %	49.8 %	48.0 %	62.4 %

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

	Number of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig				Percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers with ability to write Gàidhlig			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe)	70	52	61	31	17.7 %	19.7 %	31.9 %	33.7 %
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</i> (Ardchattan & Lismore)	75	88	100	83	23.4 %	36.8 %	45.4 %	46.6 %

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:

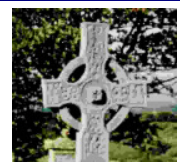
1. Persons were asked whether they were “able to understand spoken Gaelic”.
2. Children under the age of 3 were enumerated regarding their language abilities.

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 *Bail’a’Chaolais* (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 *Ceann Loch Liobhann* (Kinlochleven) to some 11 % in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 5 % in *Ceann Loch Liobhann* and more than 23 % in *Bail’a’Chaolais* (Ballachulish).
- Only one neighbourhood in *Bail’a’Chaolais* 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).



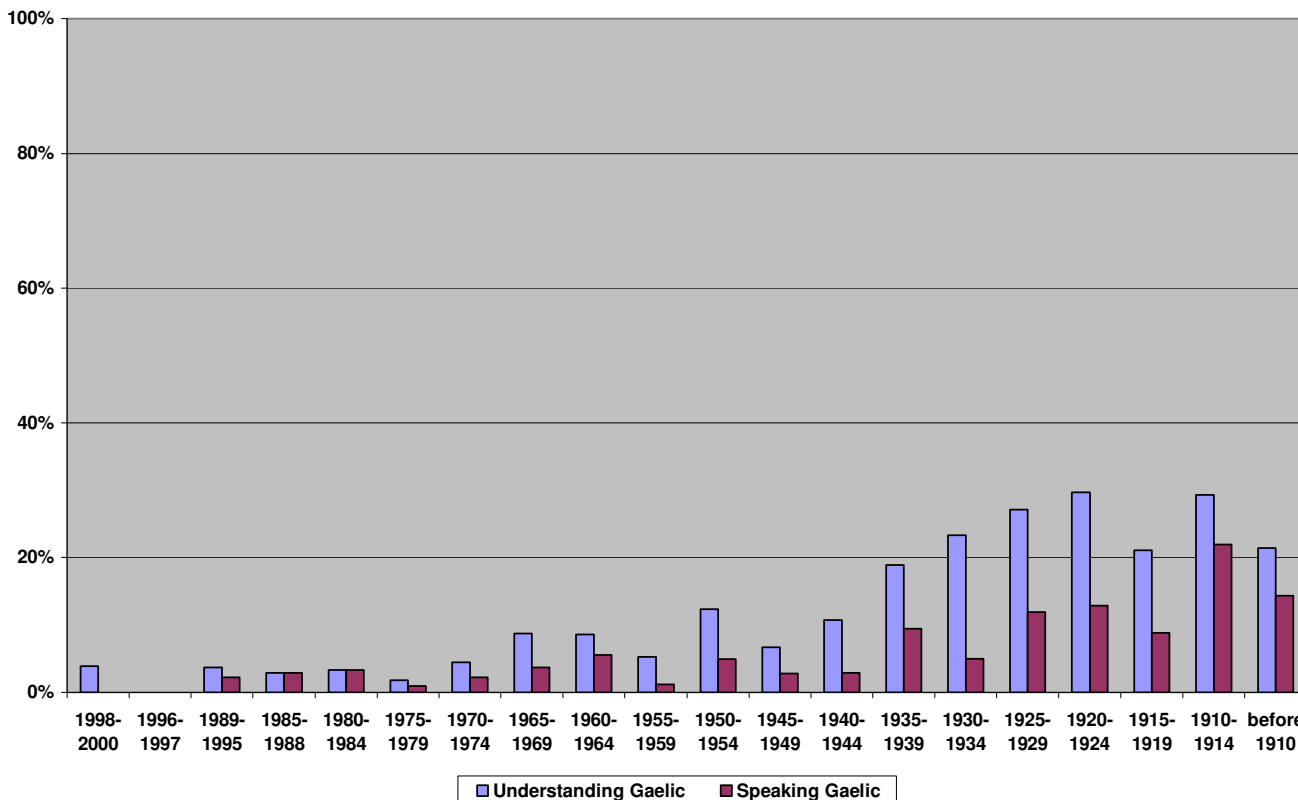


Fig. 8: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>16</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	2	3.9 %	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0.0 %	-
5-11	5	3.7 %	1	0.7 %	3	2.2 %	10	6.7 %	- 4.7 %
12-15	2	2.9 %	1	1.5 %	2	2.9 %	3	4.3 %	- 1.4 %
16-24	5	3.5 %	4	2.8 %	4	2.8 %	4	2.0 %	+ 0.8 %
3-24	12	3.2 %	6	1.6 %	9	2.4 %	17	3.6 %	- 1.2 %
All ages	194	12.1 %	44	2.7 %	92	5.7 %	187	11.6 %	- 5.9 %
Difference		- 8.9 %		- 0.9 %		- 3.3 %		- 8.0 %	

Table 7: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) in 2001 and 1991

<sup>16</sup> 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 Crìthe 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.





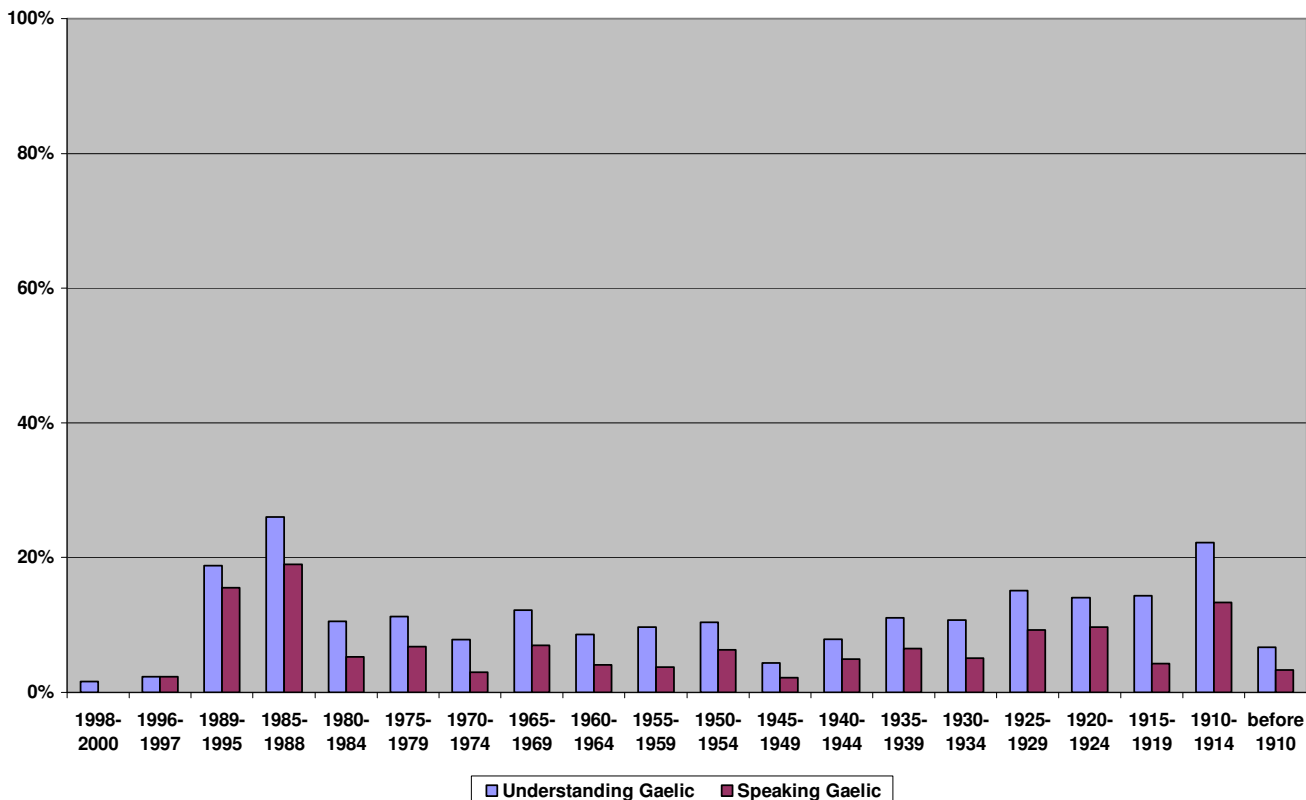


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>17</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	1	1.6 %	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	1	2.3 %	-	-	1	2.3 %	-	-	+ 2.3 %
5-11	39	18.8 %	18	8.7 %	32	15.5 %	34	20.6 %	- 5.1 %
12-15	26	26.0 %	14	14.0 %	19	19.0 %	30	26.5 %	- 7.5 %
16-24	17	12.0 %	5	3.5 %	9	6.3 %	9	4.6 %	+ 1.7 %
3-24	83	16.8 %	37	7.5 %	61	12.4 %	73	13.8 %	- 1.4 %
All ages	297	13.4 %	111	5.0 %	178	8.1 %	222	11.6 %	- 3.5 %
Diff.		+ 3.4 %		+ 2.5 %		+ 4.3 %		+ 2.5 %	

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

<sup>17</sup> 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								
Primary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
	<i>Ceann Loch Líobhann</i> (Kinlochleven)	2	4.7 %	3	4.6 %	-	-	5
<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.9 %
<i>Bail’ a’ Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	1	2.7 %	2	3.6 %	1	3.0 %	8	8.5 %
<i>Dùrar</i> (Duror)	-	-	2	7.7 %	1	14.3 %	1	6.3 %
<i>Lios Mòr</i> (Lismore)	-	-	14	73.7 %	*	* <sup>18</sup>	1	16.7 %
<i>Srath Apainn</i> (Strath of Appin)	1	4.6 %	15	37.5 %	5	25.0 %	9	16.1 %
<i>Am Barra Calltain</i> (Barcaldine)	-	-	4	4.4 %	9	23.7 %	6	5.9 %
<i>Àird Chatain</i> (Ardchattan)	1	2.8 %	6	10.3 %	12	28.6 %	6	10.0 %

**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

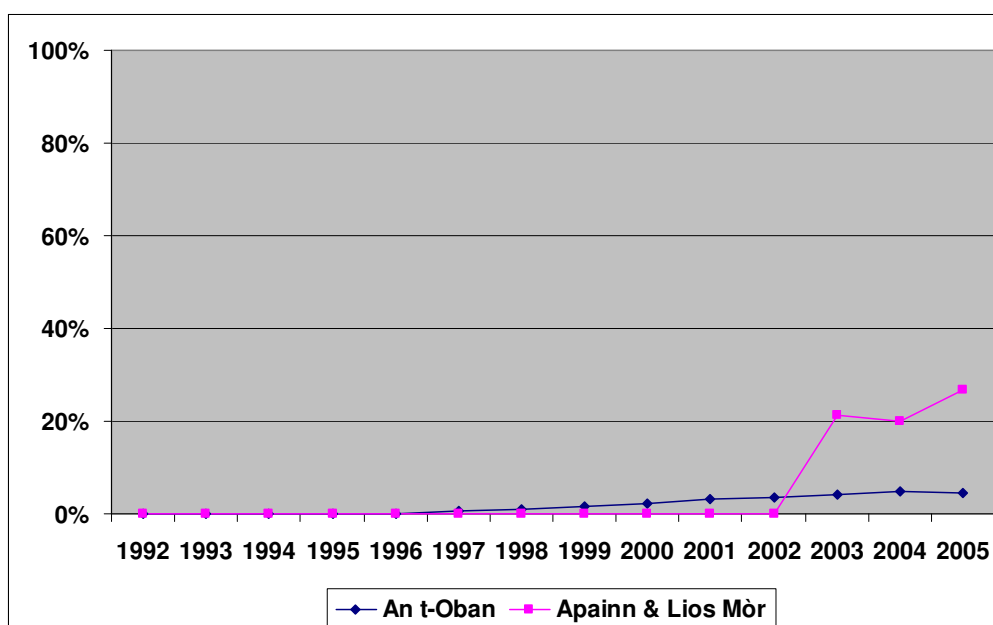
<sup>18</sup> Children from Lismore receive their secondary education at Oban High School. They have to stay at a hostel during weekdays and are therefore not enumerated at their home address but at their accommodation address in Oban. Therefore no children at the age between 12 and 15 were recorded on the island during the census.



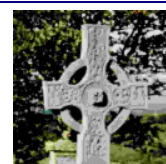
non-compulsory subject in 2001. Census results underline this fact. Some of the 88 pupils who attended second language classes in S1 and S2 in Oban will have originated from the described area of *Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain*.

- 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.



**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<sup>19</sup>) was everywhere at around 16 % the language viability indicator (LVI<sup>20</sup>) 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.

Area	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001					
	Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
<b><i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe)</b>	14	3.3 %	194	12.1 %	<b>- 8.8 %</b>	<b>15.0 %</b>
<b><i>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</i> (Ardchattan &amp; Lismore)</b>	84	15.1 %	297	13.4 %	<b>+ 1.7 %</b>	<b>16.5 %</b>
<i>In comparison:</i>						
<b><i>Gaidhealtachd</i></b>		7.0 %		8.9 %	<b>- 1.9 %</b>	<b>10.0 %</b>
<b><i>Earra-Ghàidheal &amp; Bòd</i></b>		6.1 %		7.2 %	<b>- 1.1 %</b>	<b>7.5 %</b>

**Table 10: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) and *Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr* (Ardchattan & Lismore) compared with the *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) and *Earra-Ghàidheal & 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'a'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.

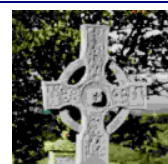
Conditions in *Gleann Comhann*, however, are still unsatisfactory. Nonetheless quite recently a *cròileagan* in *Gleann Comhann* village and even a local authority *Gàidhlig* nursery in *Bail'a'Chaolais* (Ballachulish) were established. Plans are now afoot to open a *Gàidhlig* medium unit at the primary 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.



**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 und 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

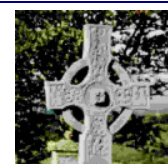
Census	Civil Parish	
	<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna</i> (Ardchattan & Muckairn)	<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn</i> (Lismore & Appin)
1881	1,558	2,968
1891	1,460	2,577
1901	1,407	2,898
1911	1,215	2,536
1921	1,037	2,099
1931	913	1,844
1951	507	1,093
1961	397	699
1971	295	530
1981	257	372
1991	196	269
2001	149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

**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**

Census	Civil Parish	
	<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna</i> (Ardchattan & Muckairn)	<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn</i> (Lismore & Appin)
1881 <sup>21</sup>	77.7 %	86.5 %
1891	73.9 %	82.2 %
1901	66.2 %	78.2 %
1911	54.2 %	65.3 %
1921	45.6 %	55.4 %
1931	43.8 %	49.1 %
1951	29.6 %	36.3 %
1961	20.3 %	27.9 %
1971	13.4 %	24.4 %
1981	11.4 %	18.2 %
1991	8.7 %	11.6 %
2001	6.1 %	8.1 %

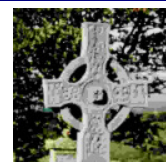
**Table 12: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

<sup>21</sup> The 1881 census question was concerned with “habitually” speaking Gaelic.



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only in 1881 and 1891: Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain</b>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	5,438	4,526	
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</i>	3,433	2,968	
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,005	1,558	
<i>---Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	621	571	
<i>Mùsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</i>	9	1	
<i>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</i>	4	4	
<i>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</i>	8	6	
<i>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</i>	24	20	
<i>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</i>	7	7	
<i>Bail’ a’ Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</i>	1,019	957	
<i>---Census registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</i>	736	659	
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	489	347	
<i>Apainn (Appin)</i>	762	599	
<i>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a’ Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</i>	1,444	1,363	
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,390	1,024	
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	731	696	
<i>---Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	2,182	2,022	
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	489	347	
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,390	1,028	
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	615	530	
<b>1891</b>	5,197	3,375	737
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</i>	3,242	2,085	567
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	1,955	1,290	170
<i>---Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	561	396	112
<i>Mùsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</i>	13	2	-
<i>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</i>	8	1	5
<i>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</i>	6	6	-
<i>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</i>	9	7	-
<i>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</i>	17	7	-
<i>Innis Chonain (Innischonnan Island)</i>	19	2	-
<i>Bail’ a’ Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</i>	1,045	629	212
<i>---Census registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</i>	681	471	114
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	412	284	28
<i>Apainn (Appin)</i>	669	458	76
<i>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a’ Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</i>	1,480	872	349
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,253	763	158
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	962	695	31
<i>---Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	681	471	114
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	412	284	28
<i>Cill Mhunnda (Gleann Comhann) (St. Munda (Glencoe))</i>	1,480	872	349
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,253	763	158
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	722	537	12

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



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1921: Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain<sup>22</sup></b>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1901</b>	5,833	3,858	447
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Appin &amp; Glencoe) CP</i>	3,690	2,498	386
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,126	1,346	61
<i>----Inhabited islands and villages (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Bail' a' Chaolais (Ballachulish) Vi</i>	1,143	879	141
<i>Gleann Comhann (Glencoe) Vi</i>	415	236	131
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	500	390	35
<i>Mùsdal (Musdale Island Lighthouse)</i>	4	-	-
<i>Eilean nan Caorach (Sheep Island)</i>	6	5	1
<i>Eilean Seona (Shuna Island)</i>	10	6	-
<i>Diùirinis (Duirinish Island)</i>	6	4	-
<i>Eiriosgaidh (Eriska Island)</i>	9	3	-
<i>---- Census registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore) – includes a mainland part around Kingairloch</i>	581	441	38
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	545	306	20
<i>Apainn (Appin)</i>	940	568	56
<i>Gleann Comhann &amp; Baile a' Chaolais (Glencoe &amp; Ballachulish)</i>	1,718	1,230	275
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	841	577	46
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	1,492	924	24
<i>---- Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr (Lismore)</i>	581	441	38
<i>Dùrar (Duror)</i>	545	306	20
<i>Apainn (Appin)</i>	940	586	56
<i>Cill Mhunnda (Gleann Comhann) (St. Munda (Glencoe))</i>	1,718	1,230	275
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,494	891	50
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	632	455	11
<i>---- Electoral areas (included in the above) ----</i>			
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</i>	1,559	1,049	97
<i>Bail' a' Chaolais (Ballachulish)</i>	2,131	1,449	289
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,485	889	50
<i>Macàrna (Muckairn)</i>	632	455	11
<b>1911</b>	6,126	3,629	122
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	3,886	2,434	102
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,240	1,195	20
<b>1921</b>	6,059	3,102	34
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	3,787	2,079	20
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,272	1,023	14

**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)**

<sup>22</sup> 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.





<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1931 and 1971: Gleann Comhann, Lios Mòr &amp; Àird Chatain</b>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1931</b>	5,840	2,744	13
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	3,757	1,838	6
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,083	906	7
<b>1951</b>	4,724	1,597	3
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	3,014	1,091	2
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	1,710	506	1
<b>1961</b>	4,458	1,096	-
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	2,505	699	-
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	1,953	397	-
---- <i>County council electoral divisions (partially included in the above)</i> ----			
<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</i>	598	77	-
<i>Bail'a'Chaolais (Ballachulish)</i>	1,266	432	-
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</i>	641	190	-
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,334	244	-
<i>Cill Chreanain-Macàrna (Kilchrenan-Muckairn)</i>	1,421	238	-
<b>1971<sup>23</sup></b>	4,370	825	*
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin) CP</i>	2,170	530	*
<i>Àird Chatain &amp; Macàrna (Ardchattan &amp; Muckairn) CP</i>	2,200	295	*
---- <i>County council electoral divisions (partially included in the above)</i> ----			
<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann (Kinlochleven)</i>	495	70	*
<i>Bail'a'Chaolais (Ballachulish)</i>	1,095	325	*
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn (Lismore &amp; Appin)</i>	580	135	*
<i>Àird Chatain (Ardchattan)</i>	1,530	185	*
<i>Cill Chreanain-Macàrna (Kilchrenan-Muckairn)</i>	1,210	150	*

**Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1931 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes or county council electoral divisions)**

<b>Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Argyll) (Population aged 3 years and over)</b>						
<b>Area</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven CCED)	KL	77 13.6 %	70 14.9 %	47 10.8 %	31 6.8 %	12 4.3 %
<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish CCED)	BA	432 36.0 %	325 31.0 %	218 21.3 %	156 13.5 %	80 6.3 %
<i>Lios Mòr &amp; Apainn</i> (Lismore & Appin CCED)	LA	187 30.8 %	135 25.0 %	104 19.6 %	82 15.2 %	90 14.6 %
<i>Àird Chatain</i> (Ardchattan CCED)	AR	244 19.3 %	185 12.8 %	135 11.4 %	140 10.2 %	88 5.8 %

**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**

<sup>23</sup> Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.

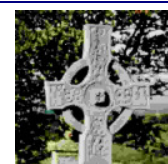


Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Gleann Comhann</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven) 1	16	8.9 %	15	7.4 %	2	1.7 %
02	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven) 2a	31	12.2 %	5	3.2 %	3	3.1 %
03	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven) 2b			11	11.0 %	7	8.4 %
04	<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe) a	58	23.6 %	22	19.3 %	15	11.2 %
05	<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe) b			34	22.1 %		
	<i>Gleann Eite</i> (Glen Etive)	5	10.4 %	2	3.6 %		
06	<i>Gleann a'Chaolais</i> (Glennachulish)	8	7.8 %	3	3.1 %	6	5.5 %
07	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 1a	34	21.7 %	19	11.6 %	7	10.5 %
08	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 1b					2	1.8 %
09	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 2a	60	17.4 %	26	19.0 %	9	9.3 %
10	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 2b			15	14.2 %	7	8.2 %
11	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 2c			4	4.1 %		
12	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish) 2d			11	8.0 %	8	5.0 %
13	<i>Ceann Tàilein</i> (Kentallen)	12	17.4 %	9	12.0 %	6	5.7 %
14	<i>Dùrar</i> (Duror)	17	14.4 %	4	2.5 %	8	5.3 %

Table 17: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>Gleann Comhann: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
<b>3-4</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>5-24</b>	25	6.3 %	8	2.1 %	17	4.1 %	9	2.6 %
<b>25-44</b>	50	13.9 %	34	9.5 %	31	6.1 %	15	3.6 %
<b>45-64</b>	170	37.8 %	86	25.0 %	49	12.6 %	23	5.1 %
<b>65 +</b>	150	56.6 %	137	42.5 %	90	28.5 %	45	14.5 %
<b>Total (3 years and over)</b>	395	26.0 %	265	18.2 %	187	11.6 %	92	5.9 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	257	21.0 %	183	14.4 %	82	7.2 %

Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) between 1971 and 2001



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>24</sup> Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Port Apainn</i> (Port Appin)	25	12.3 %	18	8.8 %	17	9.2 %
52	<i>Srath Apainn</i> (Strath of Appin)					5	9.6 %
53	<i>Gleann Creurain</i> (Glen Creran)	9	8.4 %	4	3.3 %	14	10.1 %
54	<i>Port na Croise</i> (Portnacraish)	10	10.4 %	17	15.2 %	12	11.0 %
55	<i>Lios Mòr</i> (Lismore)	60	48.0 %	43	43.1 %	42	28.8 %
56	<i>Achadh na Crìthe Bhige</i> (Achnacreebeag)	30	12.5 %	4	3.9 %	2	1.7 %
57	<i>Bun Obha</i> (Bonawe)			22	15.1 %	6	4.3 %
58	<i>Croitean Dubha a</i> (Black Crofts a)	43	10.1 %	17	9.7 %	12	6.3 %
59	<i>A'Chongail Tuath</i> (North Connel)			14	8.7 %	13	7.8 %
60	<i>Croitean Dubha b</i> (Black Crofts b)			11	10.9 %	6	6.7 %
61	<i>Beinn Eadar dà Loch</i> (Benderloch)	18	9.7 %	14	6.8 %	19	6.2 %
62	<i>An Leadag</i> (Ledaig)			16	13.1 %	6	4.8 %
63	<i>A'Chill</i> (Kiel)			17	10.5 %	11	7.2 %
64	<i>An Seann Bhaile</i> (Shenavallie)	16	9.7 %	17	10.5 %	4	4.3 %
65	<i>Am Barra Calltain a</i> (Barcaldine a)					3	2.6 %
66	<i>Am Barra Calltain b</i> (Barcaldine b)					6	6.7 %

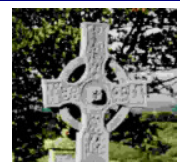
Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) between 1981 and 2001

Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)								
Age group	1971 <sup>25</sup>		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
<b>3-4</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.3 %
<b>5-24</b>	25	4.2 %	40	7.3 %	73	15.4 %	60	13.4 %
<b>25-44</b>	70	14.3 %	36	8.7 %	32	6.2 %	29	5.4 %
<b>45-64</b>	100	20.4 %	77	19.8 %	64	12.5 %	40	6.3 %
<b>65 +</b>	120	36.4 %	86	26.9 %	53	15.0 %	48	10.0 %
<b>Total (3 years and over)</b>	320	16.1 %	239	13.9 %	222	11.6 %	178	8.3 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	228	16.6 %	200	13.8 %	161	10.3 %

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

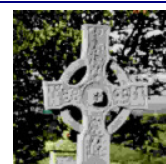
<sup>24</sup> Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

<sup>25</sup> Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



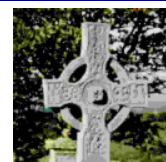
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann 1</i> (Kinlochleven 1)	2	5.1 %	11	9.6 %	- 4.5 %	10.2 %
02	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann 2a</i> (Kinlochleven 2a)	1	3.7 %	5	5.2 %	- 1.5 %	5.4 %
03	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann 2b</i> (Kinlochleven 2b)	1	3.3 %	8	9.6 %	- 6.3 %	13.1 %
04	<i>Gleann Comhann a</i> (Glencoe a)	1	3.1 %	22	16.4 %	- 13.3 %	19.0 %
05	<i>Gleann Comhann b</i> (Glencoe b)	-	-	28	14.1 %	- 14.1 %	20.0 %
06	<i>Gleann a'Chaolais</i> (Glennachulish)	1	2.9 %	11	10.1 %	- 7.2 %	12.1 %
07	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 1a</i> (Ballachulish 1a)	1	5.0 %	9	13.4 %	- 8.4 %	14.3 %
08	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 1b</i> (Ballachulish 1b)	1	3.0 %	14	12.8 %	- 9.8 %	15.6 %
09	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 2a</i> (Ballachulish 2a)	-	-	23	23.7 %	- 23.7 %	30.6 %
10	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 2b</i> (Ballachulish 2b)	2	4.3 %	23	14.5 %	- 10.2 %	16.4 %
11	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 2c</i> (Ballachulish 2c)	-	-	9	10.6 %	- 10.6 %	13.3 %
12	<i>Bail'a'Chaolais 2d</i> (Ballachulish 2d)	-	-	7	7.1 %	- 7.1 %	9.2 %
13	<i>Ceann Tàilein</i> (Kentallen)	3	14.3 %	10	9.5 %	+ 4.8 %	14.6 %
14	<i>Dùrar</i> (Duror)	1	3.3 %	14	9.2 %	- 5.9 %	10.7 %

**Table 21: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) according to census data of 2001**



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Port Apainn</i> (Port Appin)	10	20.8 %	28	15.2 %	+ 5.6 %	19.2 %
52	<i>Srath Apainn</i> (Strath of Appin)	4	22.2 %	6	11.5 %	+ 10.7 %	14.3 %
53	<i>Gleann Creurain</i> (Glen Creran)	6	22.2 %	22	15.9 %	+ 6.3 %	19.3 %
54	<i>Port na Croise</i> (Portnacroish)	3	17.7 %	16	14.3 %	+ 3.0 %	16.9 %
55	<i>Lios Mòr</i> (Lismore)	14	63.6 %	69	47.3 %	+ 16.3 %	58.7 %
56	<i>Achadh na Crìthe Bhige</i> (Achnacreebeag)	1	4.0 %	4	3.5 %	+ 0.5 %	5.4 %
57	<i>Bun Obha</i> (Bonawe)	5	11.6 %	13	9.3 %	+ 2.3 %	12.5 %
58	<i>Croitean Dubha a</i> (Black Crofts a)	8	20.0 %	20	10.5 %	+ 9.5 %	13.2 %
59	<i>A'Chongail Tuath</i> (North Connel)	10	16.7 %	27	16.2 %	+ 0.5 %	19.0 %
60	<i>Croitean Dubha b</i> (Black Crofts b)	-	-	11	12.4 %	- 12.4 %	14.9 %
61	<i>Beinn Eadar dà Loch</i> (Benderloch)	14	15.7 %	34	11.2 %	+ 4.5 %	13.7 %
62	<i>An Leadag</i> (Ledaig)	1	2.9 %	9	7.3 %	- 4.4 %	8.4 %
63	<i>A'Chill</i> (Kiel)	5	12.8 %	18	11.8 %	+ 1.0 %	14.3 %
64	<i>An Seann Bhaile</i> (Shenavallie)	2	7.7 %	5	5.3 %	+ 2.4 %	7.3 %
65	<i>Am Barra Calltain a</i> (Barcaldine a)	-	-	5	4.4 %	- 4.4 %	3.8 %
66	<i>Am Barra Calltain b</i> (Barcaldine b)	1	5.3 %	10	11.2 %	- 5.9 %	13.2 %

**Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Àird Chatain & Lios Mòr (Ardchattan & Lismore) according to census data of 2001**



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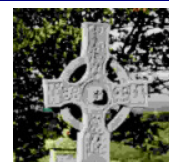
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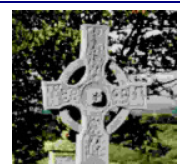
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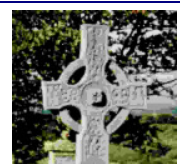
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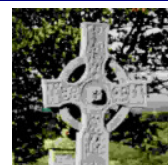
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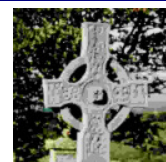
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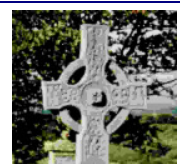
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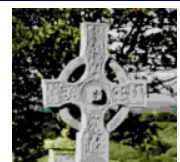
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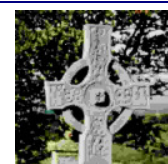
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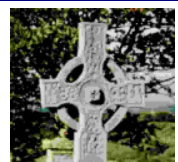
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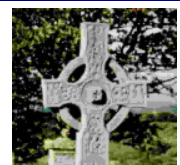




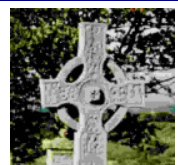
### III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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

1. Questions on *Gàidhlig* have been raised in census enumerations in Scotland since 1881. In this first instance, however, it was asked whether the person "speaks Gaelic habitually" and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into "speaks Gaelic" and the information was given by the head of the household. Accordingly direct comparison of the results of 1881 and later years is not possible.
2. Until 1971 it was asked whether the person "speaks Gaelic and English" or "speaks Gaelic but not English" (Gaelic only). Due to the simple necessity to survive in an English dominated society and the considerable impact of the school system in fact all *Gàidhlig*-speaking people were forced to become bilingual – with the notable exceptions of pre-school children and very old people. **These "Gaelic only" persons did not, however, present those who had *Gàidhlig* as their natural and preferred language nor were they the only mother tongue speakers.** This was already highlighted after the census 1911 by comments given by the then registrar general and the superintendent of statistics in the county report on Inverness (Census Office, Scotland (1912): "*When discussing the statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll we expressed an opinion that the reduction in the number of persons speaking Gaelic but unable to speak English should not be taken as a proof that the use of the language was being discontinued, and after making a similar study of statistics of the Gaelic-speakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use.*" Due to the ever increasing presence of English in the *Gàidhlig* community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

Census Output Areas in <i>Gleann Comhann</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven)	KL	23AE02	60QT001364
02	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven)	KL	23AE01A	60QT000389
03	<i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven)	KL	23AE01B	60QT001363
04	<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe), <i>Taigh a'Phuirt</i> (Tigh-phuirt)	BA	23AD04A	60QT000139
05	<i>Gleann Comhann</i> (Glencoe), <i>Gleann Eite</i> (Glen Etive), <i>Caolas nan Con</i> (Caolasnacon), <i>Achadh nam Beitheach</i> (Achna-beithach), <i>Ceann Loch Liobhann</i> (Kinlochleven)	BA	23AD04B 23AD05	60QT001323
06	<i>Gleann a'Chaolais</i> (Glennachulish), <i>Achadh nan Con</i> (Achnacon)	BA	23AD03	60QT001322
07	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD01	60QT001537
08	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD01	60QT001538
09	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD02A	60QT001362
10	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD02B	60QT001539
11	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD02B	60QT001540
12	<i>Baile a'Chaolais</i> (Ballachulish)	BA	23AD02C	60QT000388
13	<i>Cùil</i> (Cuil), <i>Achadh an Ràtha</i> (Achara), <i>Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Kentallen), <i>Dùrar</i> (Duror)	BA	23AC01	60QT001321
14	<i>Dùrar</i> (Duror), <i>Ceann an t-Sàilein</i> (Kentallen), <i>Achadh nan Darach</i> (Achnandarach)	BA	23AC02	60QT000138

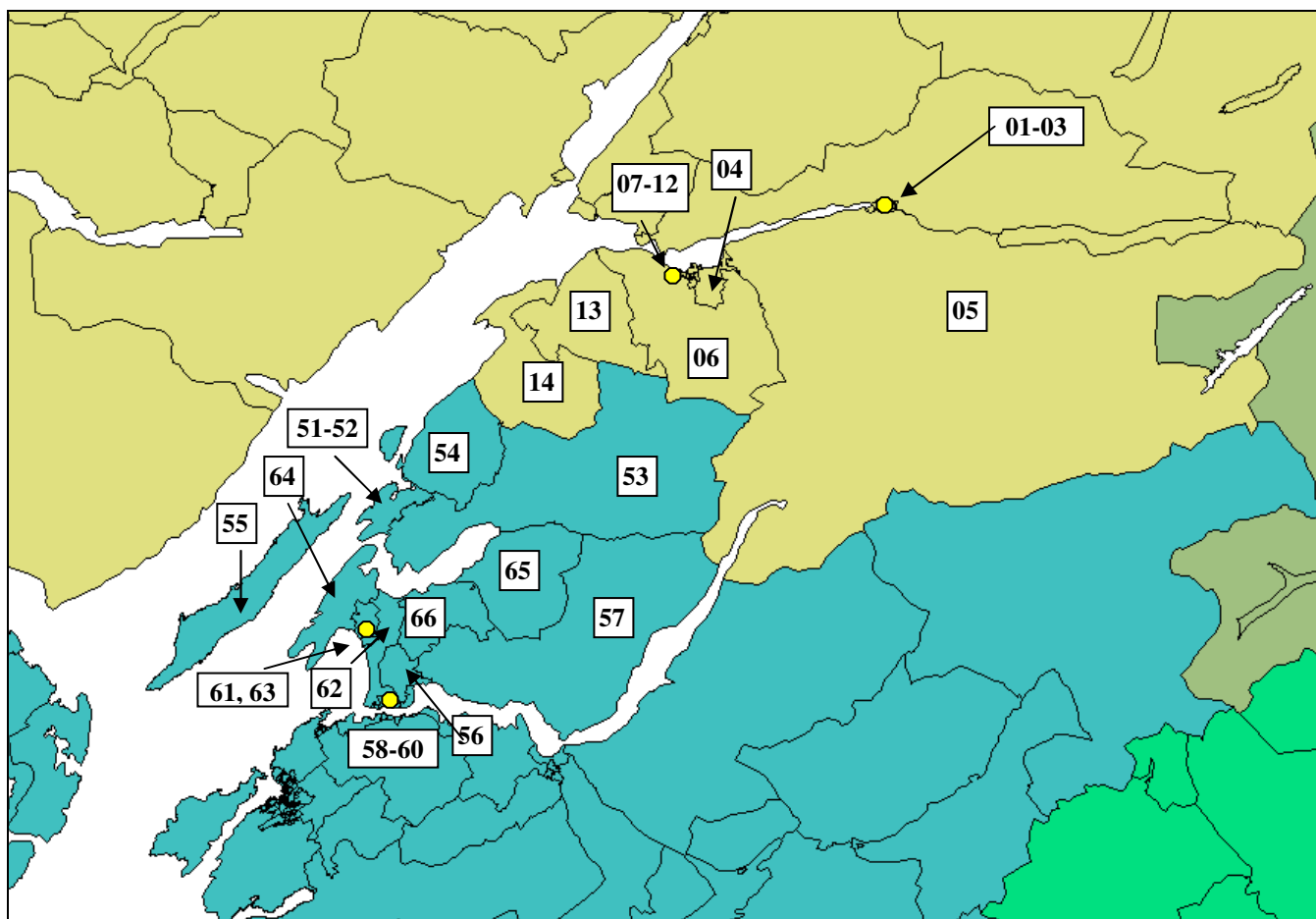
**Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Gleann Comhann* (Glencoe) – 1961-2001**



Census Output Areas in <i>Àird Chatain &amp; Lios Mòr</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Port Apainn</i> (Port Appin), <i>Apainn</i> (Appin)	LA	32BA01	60QD000710
52	<i>Srath Apainn</i> (Strath of Appin)	LA	32BA01	60QD000711
53	<i>Gleann Creurain</i> (Glen Creran), <i>Na Creagan</i> (Creagan), <i>Apainn</i> (Appin), <i>Sithean a Tuath</i> (North Shian)	LA	32BA02	60QD000100
54	<i>Port na Croise</i> (Portnacroish), <i>Dailean a Tuath</i> (North Dal-lens), <i>Ceann Loch Lathaich</i> (Kinlochlaich), <i>Eilean Shiùna</i> (Isle of Shuna)	LA	32BA03	60QD000577
55	<i>Lios Mòr</i> (Lismore): <i>An Clachan</i> , <i>Na Cilltean</i> (Killean), <i>Achadh an Dùin</i> (Achinduin), <i>Achadh na Croise</i> (Achna-croish), <i>Cill Chiarain</i> (Kilcheran), <i>Port Ramasa</i> (Port Ram-say)	LA	32AW12	60QD000573
56	<i>Achadh na Crìthe Bhige</i> (Achnacreebeag), <i>Achadh nan Carn</i> (Achnacairn), <i>An Dail Buidhe</i> (Dalbuie), <i>Eilean Diùirinis</i> (Duirinish Island)	AR	32AZ07A 32AZ06	60QD000096
57	<i>Bun Obha</i> (Bonawe), <i>Achadh na Bà</i> (Achnaba), <i>Àird Chatain</i> (Ardchattan)	AR	32AZ07B	60QD000575
58	<i>Croitean Dubha</i> (Black Crofts), <i>A'Chongail Tuath</i> (North Connel)	AR	32AZ08A	60QD000097
59	<i>A'Chongail Tuath</i> (North Connel)	AR	32AZ08B	60QD000098
60	<i>Croitean Dubha</i> (Black Crofts), <i>Achadh nan Carn</i> (Achnacairn)	AR	32AZ08C	60QD000099
61	<i>Beinn Eadar dà Loch</i> (Benderloch)	AR	32AZ09A	60QD000705
62	<i>An Leadag</i> (Ledaig), <i>Dail an Tobair</i> (Dalintober), <i>Cùil a'Charrain</i> (Culcharron)	AR	32AZ09B	60QD000576
63	<i>Bàrr a'Mhuilinn</i> (Baravullin), <i>A'Chill</i> (Kiel)	AR	32AZ10	60QD000706
64	<i>An Seann Bhaile</i> (Shenavallie), <i>Sithean a Deas</i> (South Shian), <i>Trà Lì</i> (Tralee), <i>Am Baile Ùr</i> (Balure), <i>Loch an Eala</i> (Lochnell), <i>Eilean Aoraisge</i> (Isle of Eriska)	AR	32AZ10	60QD000707
65	<i>Am Barra Calltain</i> (Barcaldine), <i>Creagan a Deas</i> (South Creagan)	AR	32AZ11	60QD000708
66	<i>Am Barra Calltain</i> (Barcaldine), <i>An Dail Raineach</i> (Dalran-noch)	AR	32AZ11	60QD000709

**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**





**Fig. 11: Overview map of census output areas in *Glenn Comhann, Lios Mòr & Àird Chatain* (Glencoe, Lismore & Ardchattan) (Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 and A-2)<sup>26</sup>**

<sup>26</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of Geography Products provided by GROS for the 2001 census.



## V. List of Tables

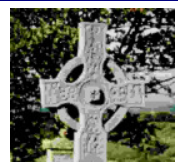
### REPORT

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## VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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