

Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 19: *An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear* (Fort William & East Lochaber)

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2nd Edition

September, 2006

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.

Both the district of East Lochaber and its capital Fort William have kept their Gaelic traditions longer than many comparable areas in the Highlands. Nonetheless the language experienced a considerably weakening during the decades. Quite recently, however, attitudes became more favourable towards Gaelic. Some positive signs of recovery (on a comparatively low level) have already surfaced in the 2001 census. The increase of Gaelic-speaking intensity since 1991 in the town of Fort William is in itself an achievement. But overall there is still a mountain to climb to improve the status of the language in all of East Lochaber. Recent substantial improvements in educational provision may help to redress the balance in favour of Gaelic in the future.

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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 20th century. Accordingly besides the main “Highland counties” of Sutherland, Ross & Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll the fringe areas of Bute (including the Isle of Arran), western Caithness, Nairn, North Dunbartonshire and more particularly Highland Perthshire will be covered. It is hoped that these small reports will be of interest not only to science people but also to those who have to cope with opinions like “Gaelic was never spoken here” in their own local community.

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

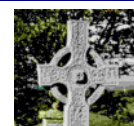
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Kurt C. Duwe



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1 Introduction

Loch Abar (Lochaber) lies in the very centre of the Western Highlands at the southern edge of the Great Glen. For a long time these merely were 200,000 hectares of vast open mountain and moorland with a few scattered townships. Then in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rising in 1745 the traditional clan system was destroyed and military fortification took place in “The Garrison” *An Gearasdan*, as Fort William was known locally. The industrial revolution then changed society and economic circumstances substantially. First came the Caledonian Canal, then the West Highland Railway arrived, and more recently, hydroelectric power, aluminium smelter and the paper mill. On top of that *An Gearasdan* became the hub of the tourist industry with all-year services after winter sports entered the slopes of *Aonach Mòr* beneath *Beinn Nibheis* (Ben Nevis).

It could easily be forgotten that not long ago *Gàidhlig* was universally spoken throughout the glens and even in the streets of *An Gearasdan*. Today some positive signs are surfacing to prove that everything may not be lost in *Tìr nam Beann, Tìr nan Gleann is nan Gaisgeach* (The Land of the Bens, the Glens and the Heroes). This volume is dedicated to describe the history of *Gàidhlig* in this district since 1881 – hopefully the recent positive mood towards the language will prevail and possibly rise again.

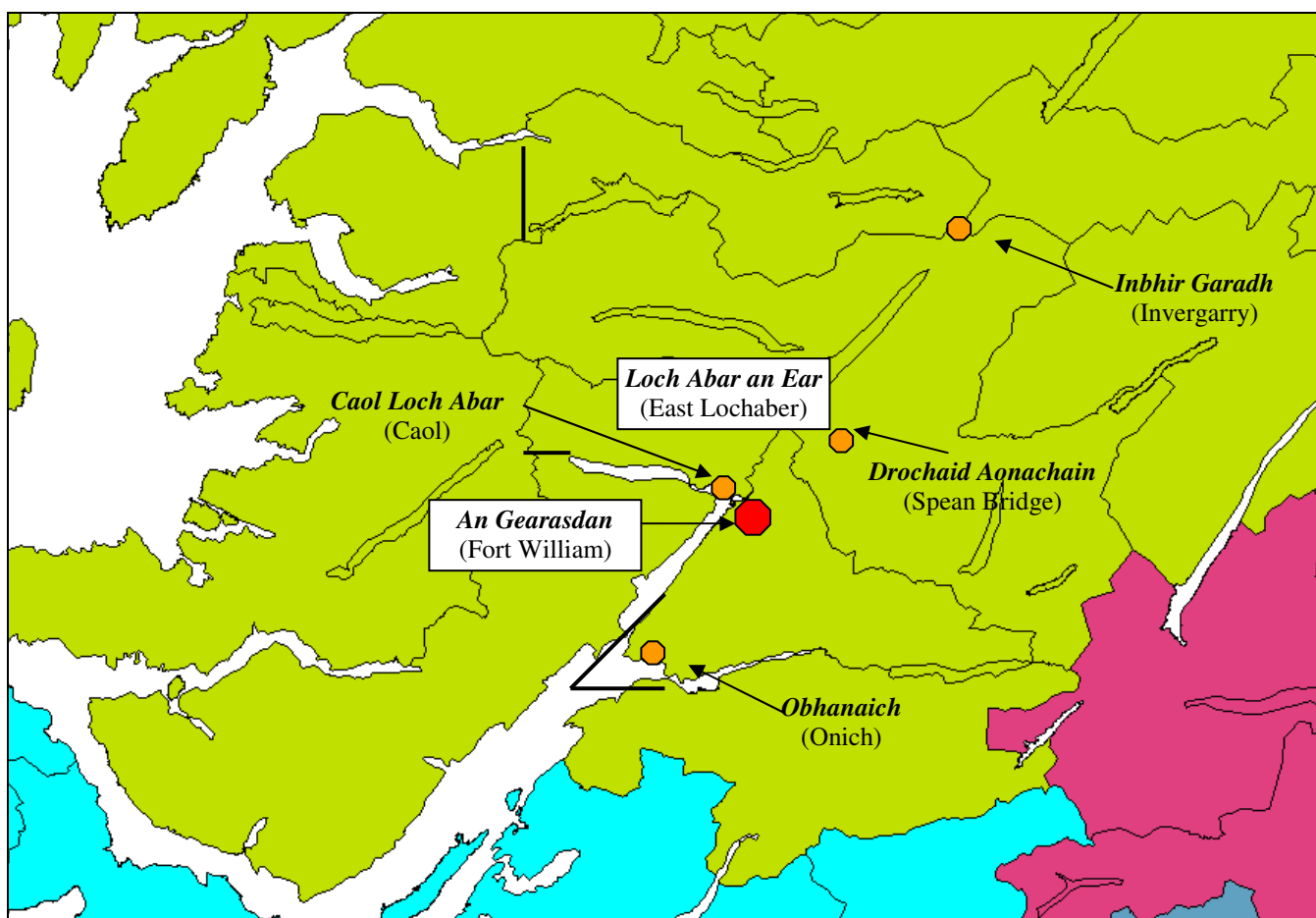
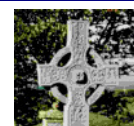


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) and *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber)²

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



2 The Historical Background

Gàidhlig was widespread and almost universally spoken in the Western Highlands at the turn of the 19th century. *Loch Abar an Ear* and its main township *An Gearasdan* made no exception to this rule. But English nonetheless had been advancing decades earlier. In the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1831-1845) for example the local minister reported about the parish of *Cill Mhàilidh* (Kilmallie): “The prevailing language is the Gaelic, but the English is gaining ground. The people are very desirous to acquire the English language.....The intercourse with the south country by steam-boats, and the number of schools in particular, have tended to spread the English language among the inhabitants; but they prefer to receive religious instruction in Gaelic.”

Through the following decades a dramatic decline in *Gàidhlig* speaking commenced in this district. This development was not halted until the end of the 20th century (fig. 2).

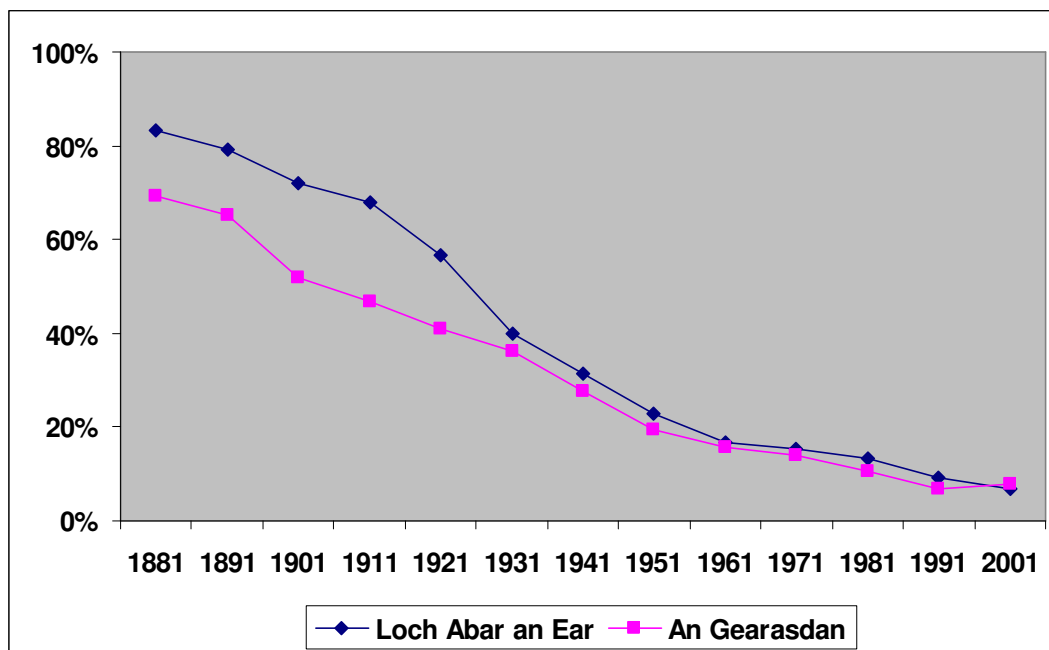
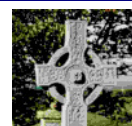


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in rural *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in comparison with *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)³

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

In the 1881 census for the first time a question about the *Gàidhlig* language was introduced. Results showed that over 80 % of the population spoke “habitually Gaelic” in this region. The vast majority of speakers had already made some acquaintance with English as the “Gaelic only” returns in 1891 and especially in 1901 were very small (tables 2 to 4). The language held its ground in these days rather well when considering the strong economic growth around *An Gearasdan* with a significant in-migration of English monolingual speakers. Not until 1931 *Gàidhlig* lost its status of majority language (table 1) although the number of speakers around had seen an increase since 1921. Official and social pressures nonetheless were constantly pushing the local language into the background and the number of *Gàidhlig*-speaking homes dwindled day by day. The ignorance of the education system did its part too to support this trend.

³ There was no census taken in 1941 because of World War II – values are therefore interpolated between 1931 and 1951.



<i>An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	4,478	4,820	3,800	3,318	2,752	3,082
% of total population	80.9 %	73.9 %	65.0 %	61.4 %	51.1 %	38.8 %

Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William & East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931

Looking more closely at the original 1891 census forms for example provides even more interesting additional information. Generally the census figures were still underestimating the real strength of the language because these statistics looked at the total population present at census night. The population figures included returns from occasional visitors, dumb people as well as children aged less than three years although their language preferences were not enumerated at all. Therefore some “corrected” 1891 details about three enumeration areas in this district are cited below⁴ (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Gleann Garadh (Glen Garry):** This north-western portion of the parish of Cill Mo Naomhaig extends from the fertile *Gleann Mòr* (Great Glen) to the mountains at the head of *Loch Shubhairne* (Loch Hourn). Apart from the village of *Inbhir Garadh* (Invergarry) settlements were tiny and far between in 1891. The glens to the west including *Gleann Chuaich* (Glen Quoich) were already cleared and only home to a few shepherds and gamekeepers at the time. The Gàidhlig language was still widely used in this Highland glen at the time of the census: “*Apart from the relatively large number of people originating from outside the Gaidhealtachd the vast majority was speaking the traditional tongue. Only among the very young the language had already retreated in favour of English monolingualism. Geographically English monolingual people were mostly confined to the village of Inbhir Garadh (Invergarry) and the remote shepherd huts in Gleann Chuaich (Glen Quoich) further west. All Gàidhlig monolingual persons found were females and older than 24 years of age. In original census report terms the enumeration district in total had a population of 392 persons of all ages. 272 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 10 persons were reported as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. These figures lead to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 71.9 %.*” In real terms even 76.5 % of all usually resident persons spoke Gàidhlig at the time!
2. **An Gearasdan #3 (Fort William #3):** The town of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) forms the economic and administrative centre of the Highland district of *Loch Abar* (Lochaber). “*In 1891 the town was the second most important population centre in the county of Inbhirnis (Inverness). The lowest part of the town between An t-Sràid Àrd (High Street) and the seashore was situated within census enumeration district no. 3. Most of the residents in this part of An Gearasdan were labourers in small industrial workplaces (distillery, railway, gasworks, etc.) or acted as servants in the various hotels. The Gàidhlig language was still used extensively in this part of the town at the time setting aside the large community of residents originating from far away places in Lowland Scotland or even England. With the exception of children under the age of 10 Gàidhlig was overwhelmingly used by the usually resident population. According to census material just two usually resident women spoke “Gaelic only” in this part of the town: A 48 year old wife of a railway worker had a birthplace on the Hebridean island of Na Hearadh (Harris). Another 38 year old monolingual woman originated also in the islands. Official census figures reported 291 bilingual inhabitants and five monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers out of a total population of 389 persons (74.8 %).*” The usually resident population, however, consisted of 273 Gàidhlig-speakers (82.7 %) including two persons “with no English”!
3. **Gleann Nibheis & Achadh an Todhair (Glen Nevis & Achintore):** The area lies in the centre of the district of *Loch Abar* (Lochaber) and occupies land south and east of the town of *An Gearasdan* (Fort Wil-

⁴ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891 and 1901.



liam). It includes the remoter settlements around *Blàr Mac Faoilteach* (Blarmachfoldach) and dwellings within *Gleann Nibheis* (Glen Nevis). In 1891 most inhabitants were occupied with crofting with some persons engaged as shepherds and gamekeepers. In addition three persons were working at the weather observatory on *Beinn Nibheis* at census night. “*The local population was almost exclusively Gàidhlig speaking with a few inhabitants unable to speak English (mainly among the very young and the very old). The handful of English monolingual persons came mainly from three households the most prominent of which was of course the one at the observatory on Beinn Nibheis (Ben Nevis)! The crofting settlements were thoroughly Gàidhlig speaking with Achadh an Todhair (Achintore) and Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis) boasting 100 % of Gàidhlig speakers among the usual resident population. Ten persons were returned as not speaking Gàidhlig. These included a lady from England (living on private means) and her servant, a contractor’s wife (born in Kirkcudbrightshire) and three of her children, a 6 year old crofter’s niece (born in Glasgow) as well as a 15 year old herdboys born in Malta. In addition two of the three persons on duty at the observatory on Beinn Nibheis (Ben Nevis) could not speak Gàidhlig. Fourteen residents were reported as not speaking English. Three children younger than 10 and eleven adults beyond the age of 44 belonged to this tiny monolingual group. In original census report terms the district had a population of 271 persons of all ages. 240 enumerated inhabitants spoke “Gaelic and English” and 14 were counted as monolingual Gàidhlig speakers. This led to an “official” share of Gàidhlig speakers of 93.7 %.*” Even this high figure was an under-estimate of 2.1 % compared with the share of the usually resident population!

Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of <i>Gleann Garadh</i> – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig ⁵			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers ⁶	
	1881 ⁷	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>Lagan a Deas & Leitir Fheàrna</i> (South Laggan & Letterfean)	407 73.6 %	41 91.1 %	93 65.5 %	4 9.8 %	2 2.2 %
<i>Lagan a Tuath & Dearg Allt</i> (North Laggan & Deargalt)		57 89.1 %	55 84.6 %	27 47.4 %	14 25.5 %
<i>Manndalaigh</i> (Mandally)		56 67.5 %	60 61.9 %	5 8.9 %	2 3.3 %
<i>Garadh Ualach & Àrdachaigh</i> (Garryualach & Ardochy)		21 77.8 %	36 94.7 %	–	–
<i>Inbhir Garadh & Faicheam</i> (Invergarry & Faichem)		156 72.6 %	119 65.4 %	4 2.6 %	2 1.7 %
<i>Innis Lagain & An Tom Donn</i> (Inchlaggan & Tomdoun)		25 96.2 %	25 73.5 %	–	–
<i>Gleann Chuaich</i> (Glen Quoich)		24 57.1 %	39 66.1 %	1 4.2 %	–

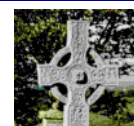
Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in *Gleann Garadh* according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

Very detailed local information is available in census publications until 1901. The census reports and enumeration files provide a good impression of the geographical strength of the language in all parts of the area under scrutiny (see tables 2, 3 and 4). Although all official percentages of Gàidhlig speakers

⁵ Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

⁶ Percentages of persons speaking “Gaelic only” which exceed 10 % are shown in bold figures.

⁷ The 1881 census asked about people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.



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 even more evident than in the less detailed census publications for 1881, 1891 and 1901.

The ecclesiastic parish of *Gleann Garadh* (Glengarry) was predominantly *Gàidhlig* speaking during this period (table 2). Most English monoglots were recent imports from the Lowlands. They either worked as shepherds or gamekeepers on the local estates or belonged even to the “higher society” around Invergarry House. On the other hand almost all *Gàidhlig* speakers were bilingual except from some families in *Lagan a Tuath* (North Laggan) and *Dearg Allt* (Deargalt).

The more easterly portion of the ecclesiastic parish of *Cill Mo Naomhaig* (Kilmonivaig) was also a staunchly *Gàidhlig* speaking district (table 3). Except in the vicinity of *An Gearasdan* around *Inbhir Lòchaidh* (Inverloch) almost all residents spoke the traditional language. In 1891 in a number of locations this fact was only hidden in the old census figures because a large number of temporally residing workers was present (and counted!) along the newly erected railway line between *An Gearasdan* and *Glaschu* (Glasgow)! The number of *Gàidhlig* monolingual persons on the other hand was almost negligible except in a few more remote places.

Further south the ecclesiastic parish of *Cill Mhàilidh* (Kilmallie) included the fast growing town of *An Gearasdan* which still remained predominantly *Gàidhlig* speaking at the turn of the century (table 4). In the surrounding district the language was almost universally spoken by the resident population. These speakers were overwhelmingly bilingual with only remarkable numbers of “Gaelic only” speakers in the communities on the north shores of *Loch Liobhuinn* (Loch Leven). A rather peculiar “English” stronghold at the time happened to be the enumeration district centred on Achnacarry House where a huge number of servants outnumbered the locally born population.

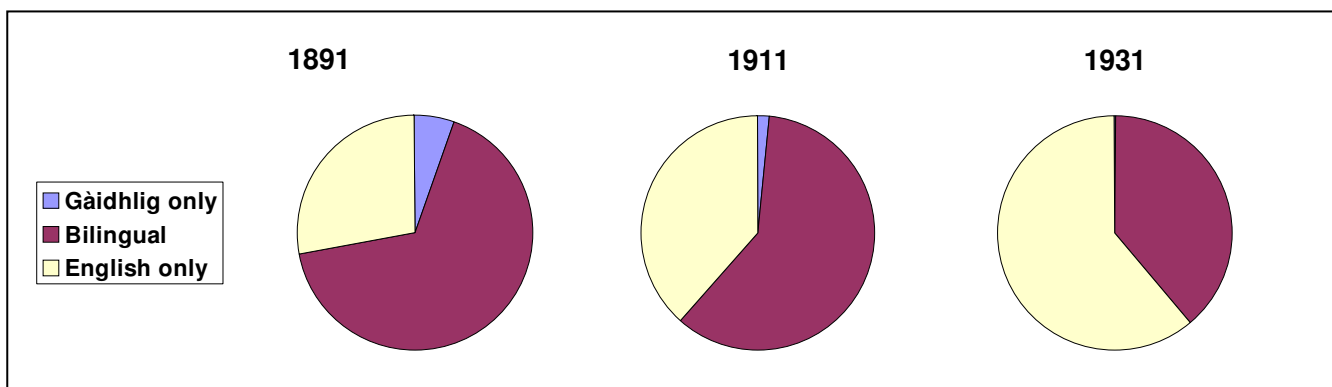
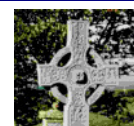


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in the study area according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

The period 1911 to 1931 saw the language slowly retreating in the area. *Gàidhlig* monolingualism dwindled to a mere 20 in 1931. With intensified industrial developments a strong influx of people from all over Scotland further diluted the *Gàidhlig* speaking intensity from 61.4 % in 1991 to 38.8 % in 1931 although the number of *Gàidhlig* speakers decreased only marginally by just 236 persons!



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cill Mo Naomhaig – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers	
	1881 ⁸	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>An Claigeann & Inbhir Lòchaidh</i> (Claggan & Inverlochay)	1,160 84.4 %	63 54.8 %	65 51.2 %	3 4.8 %	–
<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh</i> (Torlundy)		121 91.7 %	68 86.1 %	3 2.5 %	2 2.9 %
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig & Breac Leitir</i> (Kilmonivaig & Brackletter)		78 98.7 %	72 100.0 %	2 2.6 %	–
<i>Drochaid Aonachain</i> (Spean Bridge)		123 69.5 %	114 66.3 %	11 8.9 %	1 1.1 %
<i>Inbhir Làir & Monadh Easaidh</i> (Inverlair & Munessie)		51 64.6 % ⁹	48 78.7 %	6 11.8 %	3 6.3 %
<i>Fearsaid Mhòr</i> (Fersit)		63 69.2 % ⁹	52 64.2 %	2 3.2 %	–
<i>Creag Uanach & Loch Trèig</i> (Craiguanach & Loch Treig)		53 58.2 % ⁹	31 81.6 %	1 1.9 %	5 16.1 %
<i>Gleann Glaidh</i> (Glen Gloy)		22 95.7 %	27 52.9 % ¹⁰	7 31.8 %	1 3.7 %
<i>Leitir Fhionnlaigh</i> (Letterfinlay)		54 75.0 %	56 54.4 % ¹⁰	2 3.7 %	1 1.8 %
<i>Geàrr Lòchaidh & Sròn na Bà</i> (Gairloch & Stronaba)		88 78.6 %	76 75.2 % ¹⁰	–	3 3.9 %
<i>Blàr Dhoibhair & Allt Dhoibhair</i> (Blarour & Aldour)		52 71.2 %	51 70.8 %	–	1 2.0 %
<i>Inbhir Ruaidh & Drochaid Ruaidh</i> (Inverroy & Roy Bridge)		154 85.6 % ⁹	132 71.0 %	30 19.5 %	4 3.0 %
<i>Both Fhionndain</i> (Bohuntin)		85 93.4 %	59 100.0 %	39 45.9 %	9 15.3 %
<i>Gleann Turraid & An Annaid</i> (Glenturret & Annat)		26 96.3 %	36 100.0 %	8 30.8 %	4 11.1 %
<i>Bun Ruaidh & Achadh Luachrach</i> (Bunroy & Achluachrach)		112 60.2 % ⁹	90 83.3 %	6 5.4 %	6 6.7 %
<i>Monadh Lagain & An Tulach</i> (Murlaggan & Tulloch)	102 58.0 % ⁹	73 82.0 %	6 5.9 %	1 1.4 %	

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

⁸ The 1881 census asked about people speaking “habitually” Gàidhlig.

⁹ At census date a strong labour force was present working on the West Highland railway in 1891. Therefore percentages are heavily distorted and they underestimate the strength of Gàidhlig among the local population.

¹⁰ In 1901 some work was underway on the railways in the area. Here again a few temporally present railway workers were counted in the census and distorted census figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in selected districts of Cill Mhàilidh – 1881 - 1901					
Enumeration district	All persons speaking Gàidhlig			Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers	
	1881	1891	1901	1891	1901
<i>An Gearasdan #1</i> (Fort William: West Side of Burgh)	1,128 72.1 %	920 62.7 %	481 56.3 %	43 4.7 %	18 3.7 %
<i>An Gearasdan #2</i> (Fort William: East Side of Burgh)		302 46.3 %			5 1.7 %
<i>An Gearasdan #3</i> (Fort William: Low & Middle St)		296 76.1 %	303 52.2 %	5 1.7 %	18 5.9 %
<i>Banbhaidh & Muir Sìorlaich</i> (Banavie & Muirshearlich)	1,367 86.7 %	226 93.8 %	116 79.5 %	6 2.7 %	5 4.3 %
<i>A'Chorpaich & Taobh Lòchaidh</i> (Corpach & Lochyside)		256 74.4 %	261 ¹¹ 75.4 %	13 5.1 %	8 3.1 %
<i>Ceann Loch Iall & Fasadh Feàrna</i> (Kinlocheil & Fassiefern)		87 82.9 %	91 73.4 %	3 3.4 %	–
<i>Srathan & Gleann Deasairidh</i> (Strathan & Glen Dessary)		35 94.6 %	34 94.4 %	7 20.0 %	2 5.9 %
<i>Achadh nan Sabhal & Mùrlagan</i> (Achnasaul & Murlaggan)		27 93.1 %	26 100.0 %	–	–
<i>Ceann Breac & Coire Buidhe</i> (Ceannbreac & Corrybuie)		18 85.7 %	16 88.9 %	4 22.2 %	1 6.3 %
<i>Achadh na Cairidh & Bun Arcaig</i> (Achnacarry & Bunarkaig)		45 45.5 %	39 49.4 %	3 6.7 %	–
<i>A'Mhòigh & Gleann Màilidh</i> (Moy & Glen Mallie)		87 87.0 %	131 82.9 %	–	1 0.8 %
<i>Ach' an t-Suidhe & Beinn Nibheis</i> (Achintee & Ben Nevis Observatory)		8 80.0 %	7 70.0 %	–	–
<i>Gleann Nibheis & Lùb Eilde</i> (Glen Nevis & Lubeilt)		59 95.1 %	59 74.7 %	4 6.8 %	5 5.0 %
<i>Blàr Mac Faoilteach</i> (Blarmachfoldach)		84 96.6 %	66 93.0 %	8 9.5 %	1 1.5 %
<i>Innseagan & Ach' an Todhair</i> (Innseagan & Achintore)		103 91.2 %	101 80.8 %	2 1.9 %	1 1.0 %
<i>Innis an Ruighe & Lunn Dà Bhrà</i> (Inchree & Lundavra)		80 96.4 %	62 95.4 %	7 8.8 %	16 25.8 %
<i>Obhanaich & Bail'a'Chaolais a T.</i> (Onich & North Ballachulish)		416 89.7 %	274 72.7 %	291 76.8 %	33 12.0 %
<i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore)		11 55.0 %	17 94.4 %	3 27.3 %	3 17.6 %

Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cill Mhàilidh according to local census data from 1881 to 1901

¹¹ Census figures for the enumeration district **Kilmallie 14** were incomplete in 1901. Close examination of census sheets revealed 253 “Gaelic and English” speakers and 8 “Gaelic only” returns. Census statistics in official reports, however, reported only 153 bilingual Gàidhlig speakers and 9 monolingual Gàidhlig speakers in this district.



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

The effects of the disruptions caused by World War II were severely felt when results of the first anti-war census in 1951 were published. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of Gàidhlig-speakers was almost cut by half from 38.8 % to 21.8 % in the area. In the 1961 census there were only a few CCEDs (County Council Electoral Divisions) with more than 20 % of Gàidhlig-speakers (table 16). Decline continued until the 1971 census. There was only an artificial increase in urban areas because the census question had been changed from “speak Gaelic” into “able to speak Gaelic”. The real picture of the state of Gàidhlig became clear when the generational differences became public. Whereas Gàidhlig-speakers had a strong presence in the generation aged 65 or more less than 10 % of young people knew some Gàidhlig (tables 17 and 19) in 1971.

This fact was not changed within the coming years as census results in 1981 and 1991 revealed. Locally the language was still kept alive by considerable minorities in a few places like *Inbhir Ruaidh* (Inverroy), *Inbhir Garadh* (Invergarry) and on the north shore of *Loch Iall* (Loch Eil) but generally Gàidhlig became totally irrelevant in most communities of the area (tables 18 and 20). On the educational side there was some voluntary second language tuition at Lochaber High School and infrequently and intermittent some primary school lectures took places in a few locations such as *Caol Loch Abar*. This was not anything near enough to buck the statistical trend in the younger generation let alone produce competent fluent speakers. Figure 4 underlines this for the school-aged population of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) in 1981.

<i>An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear</i>						
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	2,024	1,672	1,955	1,655	1,134	909
% of total population	21.8 %	16.5 %	14.2 %	11.9 %	8.3 %	6.9 %

Table 5: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear* (Fort William & East Lochaber) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1951-2001

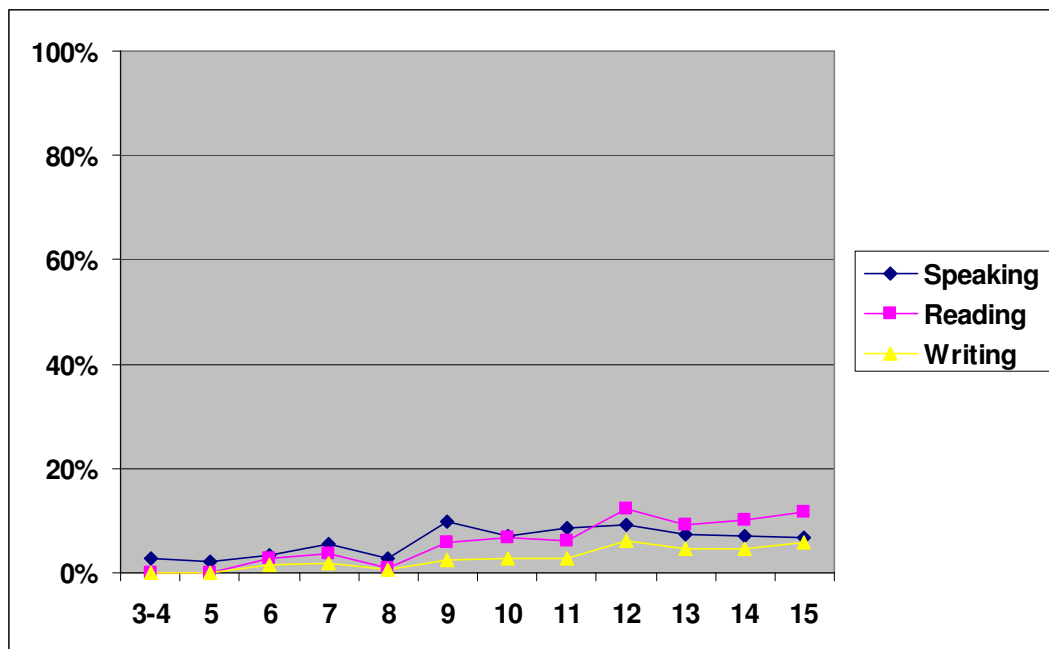
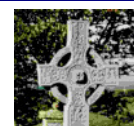


Fig. 4: Percentage of children able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig in different age groups in 1981 – town of *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)



Progress came rather late in the district. *Cròileagan* were founded in *Caol Loch Abar* (Caol) and *An Gearasdan* in the late 1990s which proved to be very popular with local parents. At last also a *Gàidhlig*-medium unit opened in Fort William Roman Catholic School in the 1994/95 school year. This was followed by the introduction of a local authority *Gàidhlig* nursery in *An Gearasdan* a few years later. Positive results could be recorded in the 2001 census in the town itself and its “suburb” of *Inbhir Lòchaidh* (Inverlochy): The share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in these areas rose for the first time since census records began in 1881! Details of the 2001 census results are described in chapter 3 of this report.

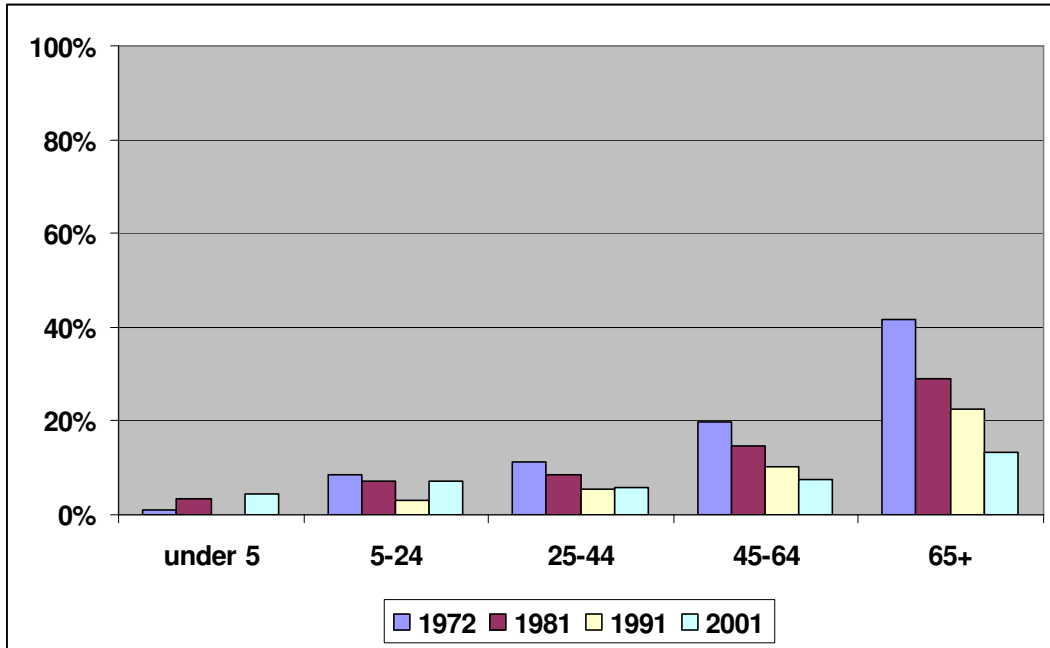


Fig. 5: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *An Gearasdan* ¹²

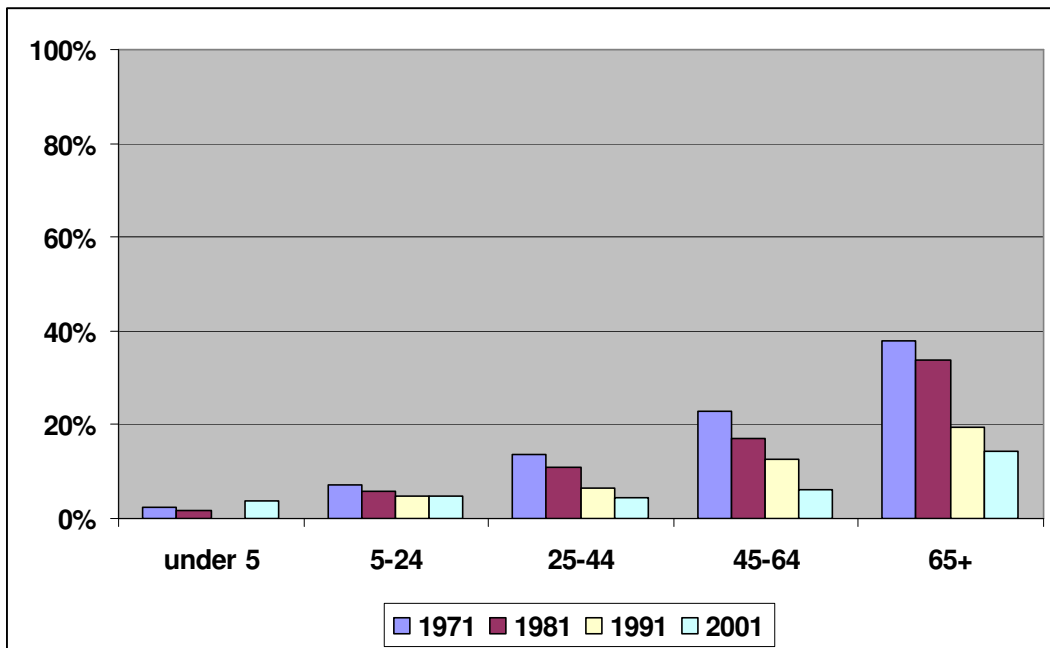


Fig. 6: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Loch Abar an Ear*

¹² Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001

The important aspect of Gàidhlig literacy is outlined below – information on the ability to read and/or write Gàidhlig is available from census records from 1971 onwards. This data is a very good indicator for the success (or lack of it) of educational provision in the local schools. Figures 7 and 8 provide details about literacy levels in different generations for the town of *An Gearasdan* and the surrounding district. Only a minority of speakers could actually read Gàidhlig text in the first census enumerations. Gradually the situation in the younger groups improved, however, with 2001 showing the best results so far. Generally 60.3 % of Gàidhlig-speakers in *An Gearasdan* could read Gàidhlig in 2001. The corresponding figure for *Loch Abar an Ear* was 56.4 % (table 6).

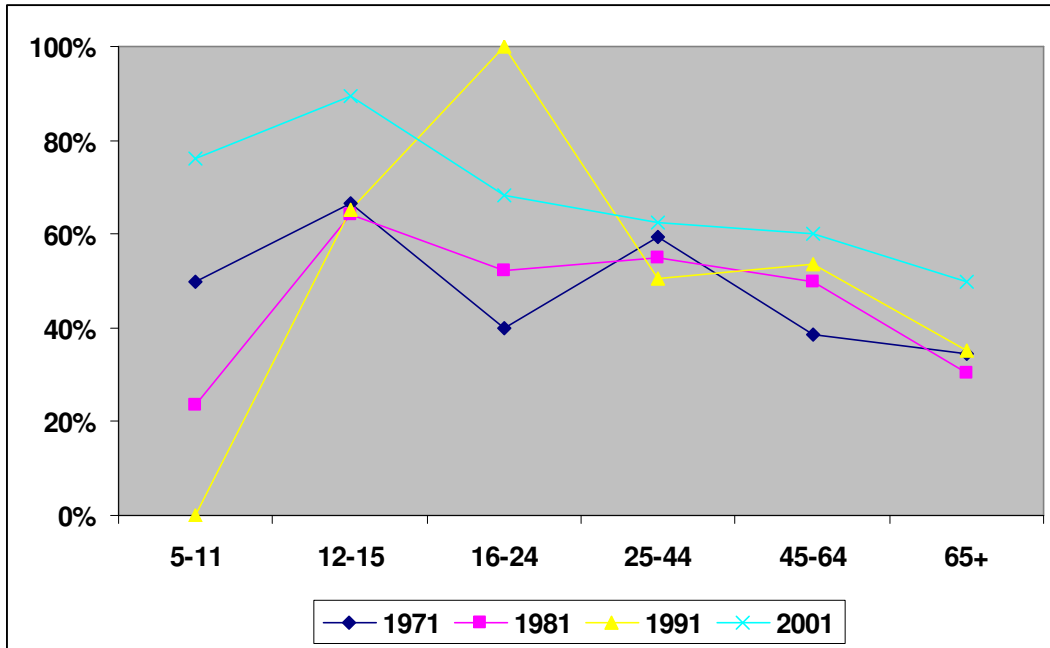


Fig. 7: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *An Gearasdan* (Fort William)

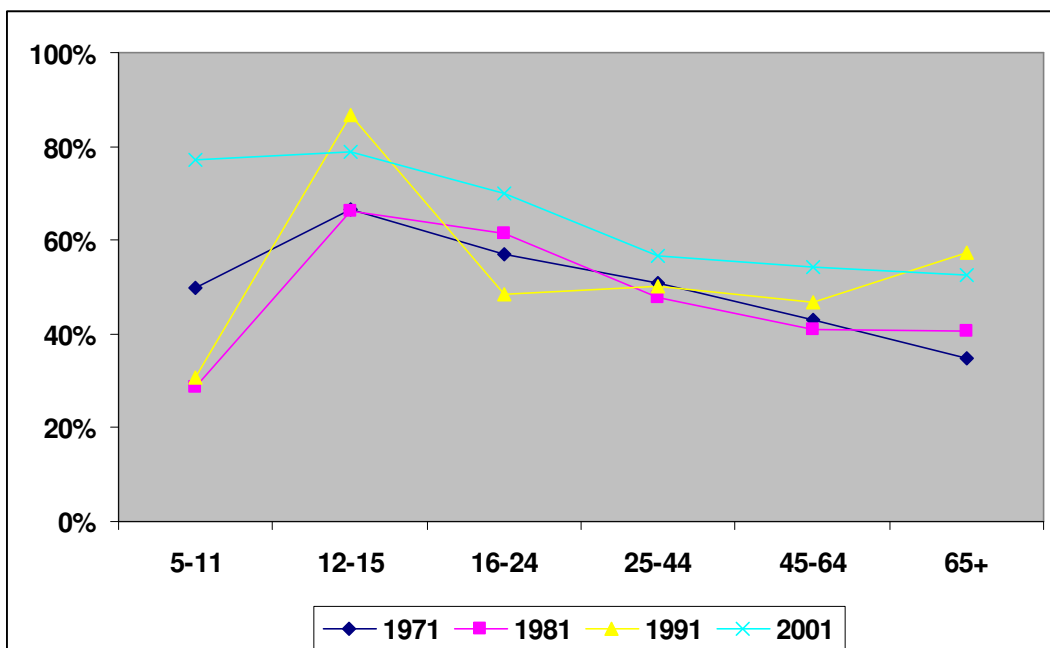


Fig. 8: Persons able to read Gàidhlig as a percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber)



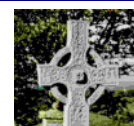
The information on writing ability was also testimony of the lack of formal education for Gàidhlig-speakers in the past (table 6). A little more than a quarter of speakers in the area could write Gàidhlig in 1971! These figures improved considerably through the decades and in 2001 even a majority of speakers in *An Gearasdan* could write Gàidhlig as well.

	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>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William)	240	194	138	161	43.2 %	46.9 %	52.2 %	60.3 %
<i>Loch Abar an Ear</i> (East Lochaber)	640	557	436	362	46.5 %	44.8 %	49.9 %	56.4 %

Table 6: 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>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William)	145	153	124	135	26.1 %	37.0 %	47.1 %	50.6 %
<i>Loch Abar an Ear</i> (East Lochaber)	425	405	323	282	30.9 %	32.6 %	37.0 %	43.9 %

Table 7: 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 – *An Gearasdan* and *Loch Abar an Ear* – the urban parts of the district have kept their language intensity much more successful than the smaller rural communities which once were the centres of *Gàidhlig* community life.

In *An Gearasdan* (**Fort William**) in general the following conclusions may be drawn from the 2001 census information (special consideration is given to educational aspects in section 3.2 dealing with the young generation in school catchments):

- There is still a decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 9) from older to younger generations with a second positive peak in school-aged generations. Intergenerational difference is still slightly negative. But a remarkable share of roughly 6 % of the pre-school children knows the language.
- A considerable increase in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has occurred since 1991 (table 8) especially in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers is up by over 4 %.
- Results differ throughout the town. The local detail of census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 4 % to some 12 %. The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 8 % and more than 16 %.
- Literacy in the language is already considerably high with 60.3 % of speakers being able to read and 50.6 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years one child was able to speak *Gàidhlig* and three children could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (7.4 % of the population) 145 inhabitants (4.0 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.



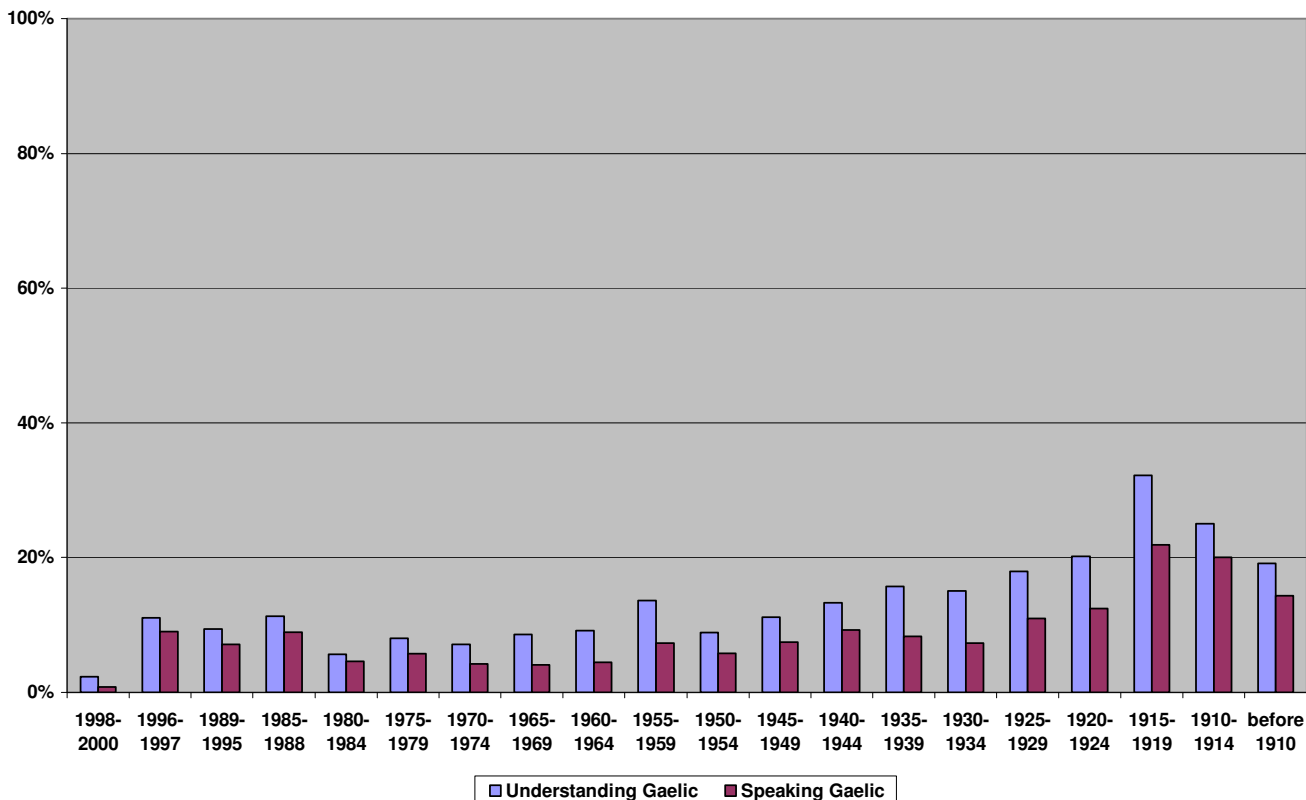
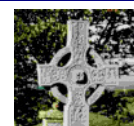


Fig. 9: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of An Gearasdan (Fort William) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹³ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	3	2.3 %	-	-	1	0.8 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	11	11.0 %	-	-	9	9.0 %	-	-	+ 9.0 %
5-11	33	9.4 %	19	5.4 %	25	7.1 %	4	0.9 %	+ 6.2 %
12-15	24	11.3 %	17	8.0 %	19	8.9 %	12	4.3 %	+ 4.6 %
16-24	28	7.5 %	15	4.0 %	22	5.9 %	24	4.5 %	+ 1.4 %
3-24	96	9.2 %	51	4.9 %	75	7.2 %	40	2.8 %	+ 4.4 %
All ages	412	11.4 %	161	4.5 %	267	7.4 %	264	6.9 %	+ 0.5 %
Difference		- 2.2 %		+ 0.4 %		- 0.2 %		- 4.1 %	

Table 8: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in An Gearasdan (Fort William) in 2001 and 1991

¹³ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



The more rural area of *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) presented the following main characteristics according to 2001 census results:

- In contrast to *An Gearasdan* there is a constant decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 10) from older to younger generations with especially high percentages in the generations born during or before World War I.
- Intergenerational language difference is still markedly negative (table 9) but on a far more favourable level as in 1991.
- Roughly 6 % of pre-school children at least understood spoken *Gàidhlig* which is a very high rate when compared with other mainland districts.
- A considerable decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking has still occurred since 1991 (table 9) especially in older age groups. However, in the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers is up by 0.5 %.
- Results are not the same over the whole area. The local detail of census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from a share of roughly 2.1 % in *Ceann Loch Mòr* (Kinlochmore) to some 12.8 % in *Ceann Loch Iall* (Kinlocheil). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category vary between around 6.6 % in *Tòrr Lunn-daidh* (Torlundy) and more than 22 % in *Drochaid Ruaidh* (Roybridge).
- Literacy in the language is less common than in *An Gearasdan* with 56.4 % of speakers being able to read and 43.9 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years quite a respectable number were recorded with 2.3 % able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 5.3 % understanding spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (6.7 % of the population) 397 inhabitants (4.1 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

There are already remarkable signs of a halt in decline of *Gàidhlig* in the whole investigation area. This is especially the case in *An Gearasdan* itself and neighbouring urban communities like *Inbhir Lòchaidh* (Inverloch) and *Caol Loch Abar* (Caol).



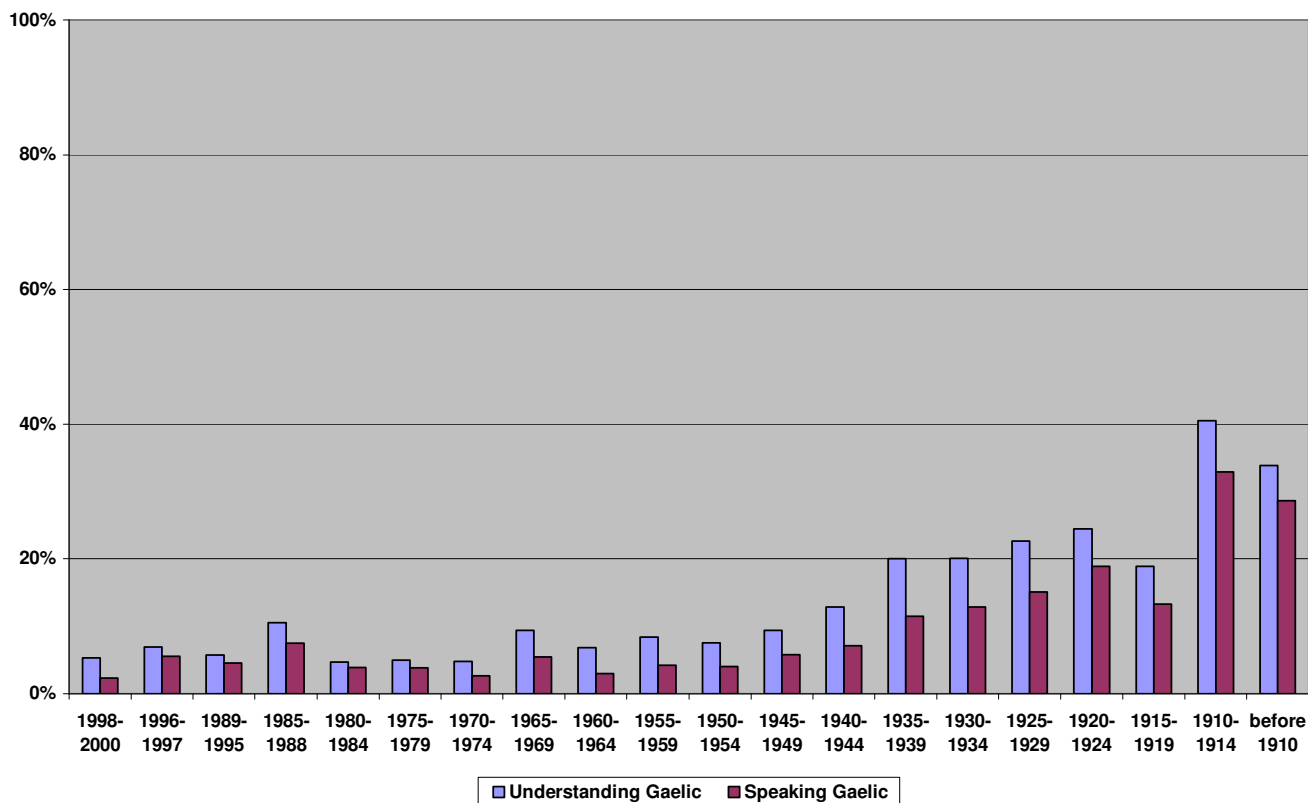
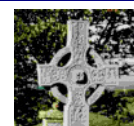


Fig. 10: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing ¹⁴ Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	16	5.3 %	1	0.3 %	7	2.3 %	n/a	n/a	n/a
3-4	15	6.9 %	1	0.5 %	12	5.5 %	-	-	+ 5.5 %
5-11	45	5.7 %	27	3.4 %	35	4.5 %	39	4.3 %	+ 0.2 %
12-15	53	10.5 %	30	6.0 %	38	7.5 %	38	6.9 %	+ 0.6 %
16-24	38	4.5 %	21	2.5 %	30	3.5 %	51	4.1 %	- 0.6 %
3-24	151	6.4 %	79	3.4 %	115	4.9 %	128	4.4 %	+ 0.5 %
All ages	1,039	10.8 %	362	3.8 %	642	6.7 %	870	9.6 %	- 3.1 %
Diff.		- 4.4 %		- 0.4 %		- 1.8 %		- 5.0 %	

Table 9: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) in 2001 and 1991

¹⁴ Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig, or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



3.2 Children with knowledge of Gàidhlig in primary school catchments

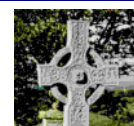
The 2001 census data provide small area statistics where the knowledge of Gàidhlig can be traced in the smallest statistical units – this enables the compilation of “Gàidhlig knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary schools. It is possible to calculate numbers and percentages for different age groups and for the purpose of this investigation they have been attributed to pre-school age (0-4), primary school age (5-11) and secondary school age (12-15). Additionally a column is provided in table 10 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>Inbhir Garadh</i> (Invergarry)	-	-	-	-	3	27.2 %	2
<i>Drochaid Ruaidh</i> (Roy Bridge)	1	4.3 %	2	5.9 %	4	14.8 %	5	10.9 %
<i>Drochaid Aonachain</i> (Spean Bridge)	1	1.5 %	3	3.2 %	1	2.1 %	8	5.5 %
<i>Banbhaidh</i> (Banavie)	3	4.6 %	5	4.8 %	9	11.3 %	12	8.8 %
<i>Caol Loch Abar & Taobh Lòchaidh</i> (Caol & Lochyside)	9	6.2 %	10	3.5 %	17	8.7 %	20	5.3 %
<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh</i> (Inverlochy)	16	10.3 %	19	17.6 %	13	17.8 %	25	10.5 %
<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William)	11	8.3 %	19	10.1 %	14	12.4 %	31	9.1 %
<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (Upper Achintore)	3	3.1 %	15	9.2 %	10	10.0 %	15	7.4 %
<i>Obhanaich & Bail’a’Chaolais Tuath</i> (Onich & North Ballachulish)	-	-	1	3.2 %	1	3.0 %	2	5.3 %

Table 10: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of Gàidhlig in selected age groups for primary school catchment areas according to the census 2001

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

- **Pre-school children:** A considerable number of children aged below 5 had some knowledge of the language. At the time of the census a local authority *sgoil-araich* existed as feeder for the Gàidhlig-medium unit in *An Gearasdan*. Its roll was 22 in 2000/2001. In addition *cròileagan* existed in *Caol Loch Abar* and *Achadh an Todhair Uachdar*. These developments are clearly seen in the census data.
- **Primary school children:** In total 51 children attended the Gàidhlig-medium unit in *An Gearasdan* which came from all over the area including some from neighbouring *Aird Gobhar* (Ardgour). The uptake of GME was comparatively higher (see fig. 11) in *An Gearasdan* than in nearby *An t-Oban* which points to a substantially higher profile of Gàidhlig in *Loch Abar*. The additional second language provision for other pupils, however, was not very intensive as census results reveal.



- Secondary school children: With the exception of *Gleann Garadh* (pupils went to Kilchuimen Academy in Fort Augustus) the whole area is served by Lochaber High School in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) for secondary education. In 2000/2001 three children were categorised as “fluent speakers” and additional 38 pupils received second language tuition in stages S1 and S2. As *Gàidhlig* was not a compulsory subject only one in eight of secondary pupils received language lessons.
- Parents: There was still a “residual language community” in the area with almost 10 % of the “parental generation” having some knowledge of *Gàidhlig*.

In conclusion: Educational provision for *Gàidhlig* language tuition in the “urban parts” of the area was on a remarkable level by Highland standards in 2001. The more rural parts fared far less satisfactory as *Gàidhlig* teaching was concerned.

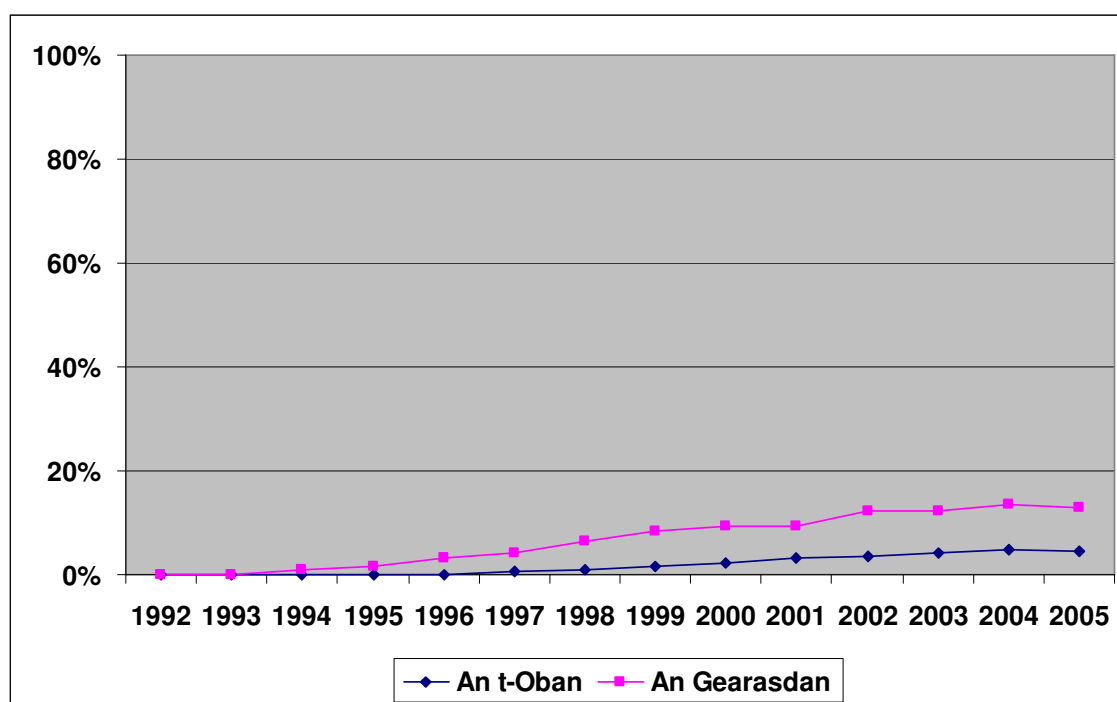


Fig. 11: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *An Gearasdan* and *An t-Oban* (September 1992 – September 2005)¹⁵

¹⁵ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.



4 Future Perspectives

Well over 12 % of Scottish-born residents in the area have still some knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. The language community indicator (LCI¹⁶) is on a comparable level in both areas. The language viability indicator (LVI¹⁷) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 11) which is due to low language intensity in younger age groups.

Area	Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> in 2001					
	Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William)	99	8.5 %	412	11.4 %	- 2.9 %	12.7 %
<i>Loch Abar an Ear</i> (East Lochaber)	167	6.3 %	1,039	10.8 %	- 4.5 %	12.2 %
<i>In comparison: Gaidhealtachd</i> (Highland)	7.0 %		8.9 %		- 1.9 %	10.0 %

Table 11: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) and *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) in comparison with the *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2001

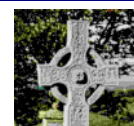
Locally the LVI is generally negative except around *An Claigneann* (Claggan) and *Inbhir Lòchaidh* (Inverlochy). The LCI is generally smaller than 20 % in the area with maximum values of 20.7 % at *Inbhir Garadh* (Invergarry), 26.9 % at *Drochaid Ruaidh* (Roybridge) and 27.1 % at *Ceann Loch Iall* (Kinlocheil). The percentages of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age-groups (tables 21, 22 and 23) only occasionally exceed 10 %.

There have been further positive developments in the pre-school sector with four *cròileagan* or *sgoiltean-araich* in the area: *An Gearasdan*, *Achadh an Todhair Uachdar* (Upper Achintore), *Caol Loch Abar* (Caol) and *Drochaid Aonachain/Drochaid Ruaidh* (Spean Bridge/Roybridge). For example in 2003/2004 19 pre-school children were enrolled at the age of 3 or 4 in *An Gearasdan*. A number of primary schools also introduced the language under the so-called GLSP scheme. In addition Lochaber High School has introduced *Gàidhlig* as compulsory subject for all pupils in secondary stage S1 ensuring that all children of the area receive at least some tuition in the language. *Gàidhlig* takes also a more prominent place on road-signs in the district west of *Caol Loch Abar* on the main road to *Mallaig* (Mallaig) and in *Gleann Garadh* (Glen Garry). Above else in 2006 plans were mooted to establish a *Gàidhlig* medium unit at the primary school of *Drochaid Ruaidh* (Roybridge).

In conclusion: Some positive signs of recovery (on a comparatively low level) have already surfaced in the 2001 census. The increase of *Gàidhlig*-speaking intensity since 1991 in the town of *An Gearasdan* is in itself an achievement. But overall there is still a mountain to climb to improve the status of the language in all of *Loch Abar an Ear*. Recent substantial improvements in educational provision may help to redress the balance in favour of *Gàidhlig* in future.

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ LVI: The "Language Viability Indicator" is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined on the basis of knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 25 years of age and the total population.



I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish	
	<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie)	<i>Cill mo-Naomhaig</i> (Kilmonivaig)
1881	2,911	1,567
1891	3,193	1,627
1901	2,323 ¹⁸	1,477
1911	2,189	1,129
1921	1,753	999
1931	2,051	1,031
1951	1,338	686
1961	1,142	531
1971	1,455	500
1981	1,276	379
1991	882	252
2001	696	213

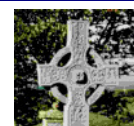
Table 12: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

Census	Civil Parish	
	<i>Cill Mhàilidh</i> (Kilmallie)	<i>Cill mo-Naomhaig</i> (Kilmonivaig)
1881 ¹⁹	80.7 %	81.3 %
1891	74.0 %	73.8 %
1901	61.2 % ¹⁸	72.0 %
1911	59.1 %	66.4 %
1921	48.4 %	56.5 %
1931	40.6 %	35.6 %
1951	21.4 %	22.5 %
1961	17.3 %	15.0 %
1971	13.9 %	15.0 %
1981	11.8 %	12.3 %
1991	8.4 %	7.8 %
2001	6.9 %	6.7 %

Table 13: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the two civil parishes in the area according to census data from 1881 to 2001

¹⁸ Figures in 1901 are slightly incorrect because 99 Gàidhlig speakers from enumeration district Kilmallie 14 (Corpach & Lochyside) were overlooked in the census statistics. The realistic percentage would be 63.8 %.

¹⁹ The 1881 census question was concerned with “habitually” speaking Gaelic.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1901: An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)	5,533	4,478	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	3,605	2,911	
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	1,928	1,567	
--- <i>Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	1,594	1,140	
--- <i>Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Baile a’Chaolais & Àird Gobhar (Ballachulish & Ardgour) - part –</i>	464	416	
<i>Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh)</i>	1,991	1,465	
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) – part –</i>	563	407	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	261	230	
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig)</i>	1,375	1,160	
--- <i>Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Loch Abar (Lochaber)</i>	1,375	1,160	
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	2,221	1,683	
1891	6,410	4,534	286
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	4,205	3,074	119
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	2,205	1,460	167
--- <i>Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	1,870	1,172	48
--- <i>Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Baile a’Chaolais & Àird Gobhar (Ballachulish & Ardgour) - part –</i>	480	322	43
<i>Baile Dhonnchaidh (Duncansburgh)</i>	2,142	1,412	62
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) – part –</i>	501	3,339	41
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	286	198	14
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig)</i>	1,704	1,121	126
--- <i>Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Loch Abar (Lochaber)</i>	1,704	1,121	126
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	2,414	1,606	76
1901	5,849	3,606	184
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	3,797	2,200	123
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	2,052	1,416	61
--- <i>Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	2,087	1,045	41
--- <i>Ecclesiastic parishes (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>Baile a’Chaolais (Ballachulish)</i>	466	313	58
<i>Baile Donnchaidh (Duncansburgh)</i>	2,372	1,271	48
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry) – part –</i>	617	407	20
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	959	616	17
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig)</i>	1,435	1,009	41
--- <i>Registration districts (not identical to the above) -----</i>			
<i>Loch Abar (Lochaber)</i>	1,435	1,009	41
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) – part -</i>	3,305	1,868	65
----- <i>Electoral divisions-----</i>			
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry)</i>	645	434	20
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North)</i>	805	570	30
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South)</i>	630	439	11
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North)</i>	441	333	4
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South)</i>	1,239	803	77

Table 14: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1901 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, burghs or census registration districts)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1911 and 1971: An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
Census/Selected Area			
1911	5,404	3,224	94
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	3,704	2,138	51
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	1,700	1,086	43
1921	5,393	2,724	28
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	3,624	1,742	11
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	1,769	982	17
1931	7,944	3,062	20
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	5,049	2,038	13
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	2,895	1,024	7
<i>--- Small Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	2,524	913	4
1951	9,301	2,024	-
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	6,248	1,338	-
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	3,053	686	-
<i>--- Small Burgh (included in the above) -----</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	2,674	515	-
1961	10,132	1,670	2
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	6,701	1,140	1
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	3,531	530	1
<i>--- Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above) --</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	2,714	424	-
<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	1,662	241	-
<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)</i>	1,210	145	-
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry)</i>	469	100	-
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North)</i>	333	94	1
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South)</i>	951	214	-
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North)</i>	625	150	1
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South)</i>	484	96	-
<i>Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber)</i>	1,280	210	-
1971²⁰	13,816	1,950	5 ²⁰
<i>Cill Mhàilidh (Kilmallie) CP</i>	10,480	1,450	5
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig (Kilmonivaig) CP</i>	3,335	500	*
<i>--- Small Burgh or County Council Electoral Division (included above) --</i>			
<i>An Gearasdan (Fort William)</i>	4,215	550	5
<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	3,775	525	*
<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)</i>	885	110	*
<i>Gleann Garadh (Glengarry)</i>	460	85	*
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Tuath (Kilmonivaig North)</i>	665	125	*
<i>Cill Mo-Naomhaig a Deas (Kilmonivaig South)</i>	405	80	*
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Tuath (Kilmallie North)</i>	325	60	*
<i>Cill Mhàilidh a Deas (Kilmallie South)</i>	1,895	245	*
<i>Loch Abar Iochdrach (Nether Lochaber)</i>	1,190	165	*

Table 15: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1911 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions and burghs)

²⁰ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



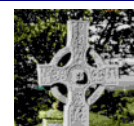
Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness) (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>An Gearasdan (Baile Beag)</i> (Fort William (Small Burgh))	FW	424 16.5 %	555 14.1 %	413 10.7 %	264 6.9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

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 from 1961 to 2001

<i>Loch Abar an Ear: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ²¹		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	2.3 %
3-4	10	2.4 %	4	1.6 %	-	-	12	5.5 %
5-24	235	7.2 %	197	5.8 %	128	4.8 %	103	4.8 %
25-44	325	13.5 %	261	10.8 %	177	6.4 %	116	4.5 %
45-64	455	23.0 %	371	17.2 %	296	12.7 %	161	6.0 %
65 +	345	37.9 %	409	33.9 %	269	19.5 %	243	14.5 %
Total (3 years +)	1,375	15.2 %	1,242	13.2 %	870	9.3 %	635	6.8 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	1,209	14.5 %	837	10.4 %	598	7.7 %

Table 17: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to data from 1971 to 2001

²¹ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



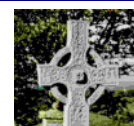
Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>An Gearasdan</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Achadh an Todhair</i> (Achintore)	18	7.1 %	23	7.4 %	37	12.0 %
02	<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (U. Achintore) 1	31	9.1 %	25	6.9 %	14	4.3 %
03	<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (U. Achintore) 2	27	6.9 %	25	6.6 %	23	6.5 %
04	<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (U. Achintore) 3	25	6.0 %	16	3.8 %	27	7.1 %
05	<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (U. Achintore) 4	63	13.4 %	21	5.4 %	19	5.0 %
06	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 1	56	12.9 %	38	10.3 %	28	8.3 %
07	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 2	43	13.9 %	34	8.7 %	31	7.2 %
08	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 3	25	7.4 %	20	5.8 %	19	5.4 %
09	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 4	42	11.6 %	15	4.3 %	15	5.1 %
10	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 5	45	11.5 %	22	5.9 %	38	12.2 %
11	<i>An Gearasdan</i> (Fort William) 6	38	21.8 %	25	13.9 %	16	10.3 %

Table 18: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) according to data from 1981 to 2001

<i>An Gearasdan: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)</i>								
Age group	1971 ²²		1981		1991		2001	
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.8 %
3-4	- (+2)	1.1 %	5	3.3 %	-	-	9	9.0 %
5-24	100 (+1)	8.4 %	104	7.2 %	40	3.2 %	66	7.0 %
25-44	135	11.4 %	104	8.5 %	67	5.4 %	62	5.9 %
45-64	155	19.9 %	105	14.7 %	87	10.3 %	68	7.4 %
65 +	160 (+2)	41.5 %	95	29.1 %	70	22.5 %	61	13.3 %
Total (3 years and over)	550 (+5)	14.1 %	413	10.7 %	264	6.9 %	266	7.7 %
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	403	12.2 %	263	7.9 %	256	8.6 %

Table 19: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) between 1971 and 2001

²² Additional approximated returns on “Gaelic only” are given in brackets. Speakers of Gàidhlig but not English in 1971 are distributed in age groups according to the general distribution for the counties of Inverness-shire and Ross & Cromarty.



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers ²³							
<i>Loch Abar an Ear</i>							
Map No	Census output area	1981		1991		2001	
51	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore) 1	43	10.9 %	28	7.2 %	9	4.0 %
52	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore) 2	25	7.1 %	14	3.6 %	8	2.1 %
53	<i>Baile a'Chaolais Tuath</i> (North Ballachulish)	27	12.5 %	27	8.4 %	12	3.7 %
54	<i>Obhanaich</i> (Onich)	37	15.9 %	25	11.2 %	18	8.0 %
55	<i>Gleann Garadh</i> (Glen Garry)	10	15.9 %	9	17.0 %	7	7.1 %
	<i>Inbhir Garadh</i> (Invergarry) <i>b</i>			5	4.0 %		
56	<i>Inbhir Garadh</i> (Invergarry) <i>a</i>	42	20.7 %	21	21.0 %	21	12.6 %
57	<i>Muir Siorlaich</i> (Muirshearlich)	27	16.9 %	14	7.2 %	6	3.1 %
58	<i>Ceann Loch Iall</i> (Kinlocheil)	31	24.2 %	17	13.5 %	22	12.8 %
59	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach) 1	60	14.6 %	37	9.3 %	25	6.7 %
60	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach) 2	43	11.4 %	51	13.9 %	36	9.7 %
61	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach) 3	39	12.4 %	37	8.7 %	27	6.1 %
62	<i>Banbhaidh</i> (Banavie)	67	14.9 %	42	9.5 %	17	4.7 %
63	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 1	58	13.7 %	57	13.6 %	34	9.8 %
64	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 2	58	12.4 %	38	9.6 %	19	5.0 %
65	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 3	57	13.3 %	47	12.8 %	17	5.1 %
66	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 4	59	14.0 %	40	10.4 %	35	9.3 %
67	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 5	63	10.1 %	42	13.0 %	23	10.1 %
68	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol) 6	61	10.5 %	19	8.1 %	25	6.9 %
69	<i>Taobh Lòchaidh</i> (Lochyside)	46	8.6 %	32	9.3 %	18	5.3 %
70	<i>Taobh Lòchaidh</i> (Lochyside)			22	8.1 %	42	10.9 %
	<i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blar Mor)	12	15.8 %				
71	<i>Geàrr Lòchaidh</i> (Gairlochy)	30	11.4 %	14	5.1 %	11	4.2 %
72	<i>Inbhir Ruaidh</i> (Inverroy)	22	23.4 %	6	5.6 %	3	2.7 %
73	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh</i> (Roybridge) 1	26	15.6 %	13	9.8 %	15	11.2 %
74	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh</i> (Roybridge) 2	26	18.1 %	18	10.4 %	7	3.2 %
75	<i>Drochaid Aonachain</i> (Spean Bridge) 1	21	13.5 %	19	9.8 %	14	6.0 %
76	<i>Drochaid Aonachain</i> (Spean Bridge) 2	35	12.1 %	26	7.8 %	14	4.4 %
77	<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh</i> (Torlundy)	22	11.2 %	13	5.2 %	13	5.3 %
78	<i>An Claigeann</i> (Claggan) 1	53	19.1 %	45	14.0 %	45	7.4 %
79	<i>An Claigeann</i> (Claggan) 2	31	9.3 %	16	5.0 %	26	7.7 %
80	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh</i> (Inverlochy) 1	42	13.7 %	33	11.5 %	26	11.2 %
81	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh</i> (Inverlochy) 2	43	11.3 %	27	7.7 %	28	7.8 %
82	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh</i> (Inverlochy) 3	28	8.3 %	16	4.4 %	18	4.7 %

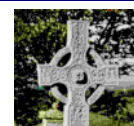
Table 20: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) between 1981 and 2001

²³ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.



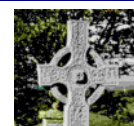
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
01	<i>Achadh an Todhair</i> (Achintore)	12	13.3 %	50	16.2 %	- 2.9 %	18.2 %
02	<i>Achadh an T. Uachdar 1</i> (Upper Achintore) 1	3	3.7 %	30	9.3 %	- 5.6 %	10.8 %
03	<i>Achadh an T. Uachdar 2</i> (Upper Achintore) 2	6	5.5 %	37	10.5 %	- 5.0 %	10.5 %
04	<i>Achadh an T. Uachdar 3</i> (Upper Achintore) 3	16	9.0 %	35	9.2 %	- 0.2 %	9.8 %
05	<i>Achadh an T. Uachdar 4</i> (Upper Achintore) 4	7	4.8 %	30	7.9 %	- 3.1 %	9.1 %
06	<i>An Gearasdan 1</i> (Fort William) 1	12	11.4 %	41	12.1 %	- 0,7 %	13.9 %
07	<i>An Gearasdan 2</i> (Fort William) 2	10	11.1 %	55	13.3 %	- 2.2 %	15.7 %
08	<i>An Gearasdan 3</i> (Fort William) 3	8	4.8 %	34	9.7 %	- 4.9 %	10.2 %
09	<i>An Gearasdan 4</i> (Fort William) 4	10	10.9 %	28	9.5 %	+ 1.4 %	10.9 %
10	<i>An Gearasdan 5</i> (Fort William) 5	14	15.2 %	49	15.7 %	- 0,5 %	17.4 %
11	<i>An Gearasdan 6</i> (Fort William) 6	1	3.1 %	23	14.7 %	- 11.6 %	17.0 %

Table 21: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *An Gearasdan* (Fort William) according to census data of 2001



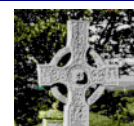
Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr 1</i> (Kinlochmore) 1	1	2.1 %	23	10.1 %	- 12.6 %	10.7 %
52	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr 2</i> (Kinlochmore) 2	2	1.9 %	29	7.7 %	- 5.8 %	10.7 %
53	<i>Baile a' Chaolais Tuath</i> (North Ballachulish)	2	2.2 %	28	7.7 %	- 5.5 %	10.8 %
54	<i>Obhanaich</i> (Onich)	2	5.1 %	27	12.0 %	- 6.9 %	16.3 %
55	<i>Gleann Garadh</i> (Glen Garry)	-	-	10	10.1 %	- 10.1 %	13.7 %
56	<i>Inbhir Garadh</i> (Invergarry)	6	11.8 %	29	17.4 %	- 5.6 %	20.7 %
57	<i>Muir Siorlaich</i> (Muirshearlich)	2	4.9 %	13	6.7 %	- 1.8 %	9.0 %
58	<i>Ceann Loch Iall</i> (Kinlocheil)	6	14.3 %	31	18.0 %	- 3.7 %	27.1 %
59	<i>A'Chorpaich 1</i> (Corpach) 1	7	5.9 %	35	9.4 %	- 3.5 %	10.4 %
60	<i>A'Chorpaich 2</i> (Corpach) 2	10	11.0 %	48	13.0 %	- 2.0 %	14.8 %
61	<i>A'Chorpaich 3</i> (Corpach) 3	6	4.8 %	53	11.9 %	- 7.1 %	12.1 %
62	<i>Banbhaidh</i> (Banavie)	2	2.0 %	32	8.9 %	- 6.9 %	9.6 %
63	<i>Caol Loch Abar 1</i> (Caol) 1	4	4.3 %	49	14.1 %	- 9.8 %	14.7 %
64	<i>Caol Loch Abar 2</i> (Caol) 2	9	6.3 %	37	9.7 %	- 3.4 %	9.8 %
65	<i>Caol Loch Abar 3</i> (Caol) 3	4	4.1 %	26	7.8 %	- 3.7 %	7.0 %
66	<i>Caol Loch Abar 4</i> (Caol) 4	10	8.1 %	54	14.3 %	- 6.2 %	15.0 %
67	<i>Caol Loch Abar 5</i> (Caol) 5	5	5.4 %	34	10.7 %	- 5.3 %	10.5 %
68	<i>Caol Loch Abar 6</i> (Caol) 6	7	5.3 %	39	10.8 %	- 5.5 %	9.9 %
69	<i>Taobh Lòchaidh</i> (Lochyside)	2	2.2 %	23	6.8 %	- 4.6 %	7.3 %
70	<i>Am Blàr Mòr</i> (Blar Mor)	9	9.4 %	63	16.4 %	- 7.0 %	15.5 %
71	<i>Geàrr Lòchaidh</i> (Gairlochy)	1	1.6 %	19	7.2 %	- 5.4 %	9.2 %

Table 22: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Loch Abar an Ear (East Lochaber) according to census data of 2001 – Part A



Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
72	<i>Inbhir Ruaidh</i> (Inverroy)	2	6.7 %	10	8.9 %	- 2.2 %	9.8 %
73	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh 1</i> (Roybridge) 1	3	9.1 %	30	22.4 %	- 13.3 %	26.9 %
74	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh 2</i> (Roybridge) 2	4	7.4 %	17	7.8 %	- 0.4 %	12.2 %
75	<i>Drochaid Aonachain 1</i> (Spean Bridge) 1	1	1.6 %	23	9.9 %	- 8.3 %	13.4 %
76	<i>Drochaid Aonachain 2</i> (Spean Bridge) 2	4	4.4 %	36	11.3 %	- 6.9 %	14.0 %
77	<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh</i> (Torlundy)	-	-	16	6.6 %	- 6.6 %	8.2 %
78	<i>An Claigeann 1</i> (Claggan) 1	20	12.7 %	63	10.3 %	+ 2.4 %	12.9 %
79	<i>An Claigeann 2</i> (Claggan) 2	8	8.4 %	33	9.8 %	- 1.4 %	10.2 %
80	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh 1</i> (Inverlochy) 1	1	2.1 %	36	15.5 %	- 13.4 %	17.6 %
81	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh 2</i> (Inverlochy) 2	13	11.7 %	41	11.4 %	+ 0.3 %	11.9 %
82	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh 3</i> (Inverlochy) 3	12	11.4 %	40	10.4 %	+ 1.0 %	11.0 %

Table 23: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) according to census data of 2001 – Part B



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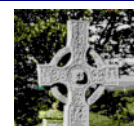
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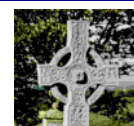
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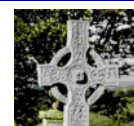
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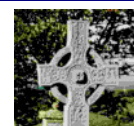
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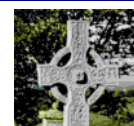
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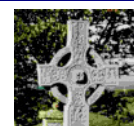
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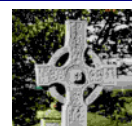
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III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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 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>.

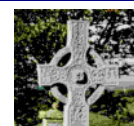


IV. List of Census Output Areas with Numbers and Placenames

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.

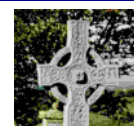
Census Output Areas in <i>An Gearasdan</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	<i>Achadh an Todhair</i> (Achintore), <i>Druim Earbainn</i> (Druimmarbin)	FW	23AH01A 23AH01B 23AH01C	60QT000396 60QT000397 60QT000398
02	<i>Achadh an Todhair Uachdar</i> (Upper Achintore)	FW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

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



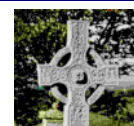
Census Output Areas in Loch Abar an Ear – Part A				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
51	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AE02 23AF01 23AE03A 23AE03B	60QT001365 60QT000390 60QT000391
52	<i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AE04A 23AE04B 23AE04C 23AE04D	60QT000392 60QT000393 60QT000394 60QT000395
53	<i>Baile a'Chaolais Tuath</i> (North Ballachulish), <i>Obhanaich</i> (Onich), <i>Ceann Loch Mòr</i> (Kinlochmore)	NL	23AH18A 23AH18B	60QT001324 60QT000142
54	<i>Obhanaich</i> (Onich), <i>Coire Uanain</i> (Coruanan), <i>Innis Rìgh</i> (Inshree), <i>Aiseag a'Chorrain</i> (Corran Ferry)	NL	23AH17	60QT001458 60QT001459
55	<i>Gleann Garadh</i> (Glen Garry), <i>Àird Garadh</i> (Ardgarry), <i>Faicheam</i> (Faichem), <i>Sgiathairigh</i> (Skiary), <i>Achadh Luachrach</i> (Achadhluachraich), <i>Bàrrasdal</i> (Barrisdale), <i>An Tom Donn</i> (Tomdoun)	GL	23AL01 23AL02A	60QT000155
56	<i>Inbhir Garadh</i> (Invergarry), <i>Manndalaigh</i> (Mandally)	GL	23AL02B	60QT000156
57	<i>Bun Arcaig</i> (Bunarkaig), <i>Loch Arcaig</i> (Loch Arkaig), <i>Ca-naich</i> (Caonich), <i>Muir Siorlaich</i> (Muirshearlich)	KN	23AK01 23AJ16	60QT000149 60QT000148
58	<i>Ceann Loch Iall</i> (Kinlocheil), <i>An Coire Beag</i> (Corrybeg), <i>An Druim Beag</i> (Drumbeg), <i>Achadh do Liubha</i> (Achdaliu)	KN	23AJ15	60QT000147
59	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach)	KS	23AJ04A 23AJ04B 23AJ04C	60QT000437 60QT000438 60QT000439
60	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach)	KS	23AJ05A 23AJ05B 23AJ05C	60QT000440 60QT001371 60QT001372
61	<i>A'Chorpaich</i> (Corpach), <i>Banbhaidh</i> (Banavie)	KS	23AJ06A 23AJ06B 23AJ06C	60QT000441 60QT001543 60QT001544
62	<i>Banbhaidh</i> (Banavie)	KS	23AJ07A 23AJ07B 23AJ07C	60QT001373 60QT000442 60QT000443
63	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol)	CA	23AJ08A 23AJ08B 23AJ08C	60QT000444 60QT000445 60QT000446
64	<i>Caol Loch Abar</i> (Caol)	CA	23AJ09A 23AJ09B 23AJ09C	60QT000447 60QT000448 60QT001374

Table A-2: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) – 1961-2001 – Part A



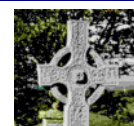
Census Output Areas in <i>Loch Abar an Ear – Part B</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	1981-91	2001
65	<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	CA	23AJ10A 23AJ10B 23AJ10C	60QT000449 60QT000450 60QT000451
66	<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	CA	23AJ11A 23AJ11B 23AJ11C	60QT000452 60QT000453 60QT000454
67	<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	CA	23AJ12A 23AJ12B 23AJ12C	60QT000455 60QT000456 60QT000457
68	<i>Caol Loch Abar (Caol)</i>	CA	23AJ13A 23AJ13B	60QT000458 60QT000459
69	<i>Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside)</i>	CA	23AJ14A 23AJ14B 23AJ14C	60QT000460 60QT001545 60QT001546
70	<i>Taobh Lòchaidh (Lochyside), Am Blàr Mòr (Blar Mor)</i>	CA	23AJ14D 23AJ14E 23AJ17	60QT000461 60QT000462 60QT000463
71	<i>An Lagan (Laggan), Geàrr Lòchaidh (Gairloch), Sròn na Bà (Stronenaba), Inbhir Glaoidh (Invergloy), Leitir Fhionnlaigh (Letterfinlay), Magh Comair (Mucomir)</i>	CT	23AK02 23AK03	60QT000150 60QT000151
72	<i>Inbhir Ruaidh (Inverroy)</i>	CT	23AG01	60QT000140
73	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge), Gleann Ruaidh (Glen Roy)</i>	CT	23AG02	60QT000141
74	<i>Drochaid Ruaidh (Roybridge), Coire Odhar (Corrour), Achadh na Daraidh (Achnaderry), Tulach (Tulloch), Achadh Luachrach (Achluachrach)</i>	CT	23AG03 23AG04	60QT001456 60QT001457
75	<i>Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge)</i>	CD	23AK04	60QT001462 60QT001463
76	<i>Drochaid Aonachain (Spean Bridge)</i>	CD	23AK05A 23AK05B 23AK05C	60QT000152 60QT000153 60QT000154
77	<i>Tòrr Lunndaidh (Torlundy), An Lagan (Laggan), Gleann Nibheis (Glen Nevis), Achadh an t-Sìth (Achintee), Blàr Mac Faoilteach (Blarmachfoldach)</i>	CD	23AH19 23AH20 23AH21	60QT000143 60QT000144
78	<i>An Claigeann (Claggan)</i>	KS	23AH12A 23AH12B 23AH12C	60QT001541 60QT001542 60QT000425 60QT000426
79	<i>An Claigeann (Claggan)</i>	KS	23AH13A 23AH13B	60QT000427 60QT000428

Table A-3: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) – 1961-2001 – Part B



Census Output Areas in <i>Loch Abar an Ear – Part C</i>				
	Census output area	Area Codes		
		61-71	1981-91	2001
80	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)</i>	IL	23AH14A 23AH14B	60QT000429 60QT001369
81	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)</i>	IL	23AH15A 23AH15B 23AH15C	60QT000430 60QT000431 60QT000432
82	<i>Inbhir Lòchaidh (Inverlochy)</i>	IL	23AH16A 23AH16B 23AH16C 23AH16D	60QT001370 60QT000433 60QT000434 60QT000435

Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Loch Abar an Ear* (East Lochaber) – 1961-2001 – Part C



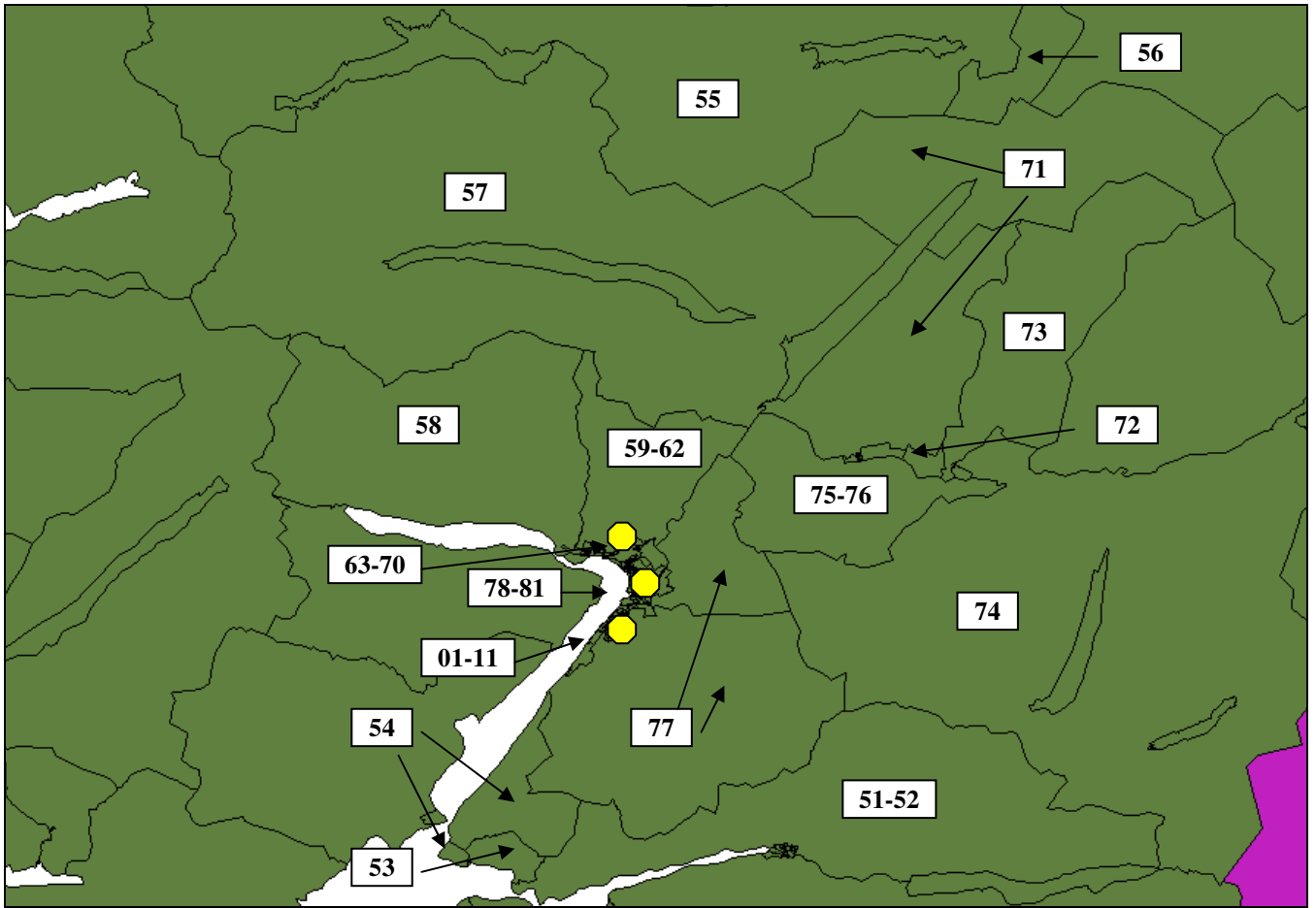


Fig. 12: Overview map of census output areas in An Gearasdan & Loch Abar an Ear (Fort William & East Lochaber) (Numbers correspond to the map reference in tables A-1 to A-4)²⁴

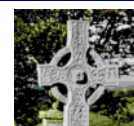
²⁴ Digital boundaries are courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.



V. List of Tables

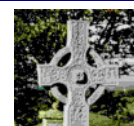
REPORT

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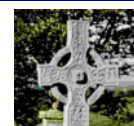
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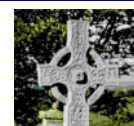
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VII. List of Abbreviations

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
Vi	Village according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901



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