

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

## **Vol. 22: *Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh* (East Sutherland & Caithness)**

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

**January, 2012**

### **Executive Summary**

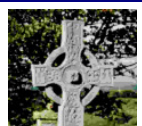
This publication is part of a series dealing with local communities which were predominantly Gaelic-speaking at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Based mainly (but not exclusively) on local population census information the reports strive to examine the state of the language through the ages from 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.

Gaelic once was the dominant means of conversation in East Sutherland and the western districts of Caithness. Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the language was on a relentless decline caused both by official ignorance and the low self-confidence of its speakers. A century later Gaelic is only spoken by a very tiny minority of inhabitants, most of them born well before the Second World War. Signs for the future still look not promising. Gaelic is still being sidelined officially in the whole area. Local councillors even object to bilingual road-signs. Educational provision is either derisory or non-existent. Only constant parental pressure has achieved the introduction of Gaelic medium provision in Thurso and Bonar Bridge. The language would already be dead in northern Scotland without such grassroots support for the once dominant tongue.

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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.

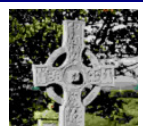
**Important note:** Although this text is written in the modern lingua franca for the purpose of maximum readership the object has to take its rightful place. Therefore *Gàidhlig* place-names or expressions are preferred and the so-called English version is mentioned in brackets where appropriate. For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

Wedel, *An Dàmhar* 2003  
Hamburg, *An t-Sultain* 2005

Kurt C. Duwe



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## 1 Introduction

The eastern part of *Cataibh* (Sutherland) and the former county of Caithness (in Gàidhlig: *Gallaibh* = Land of Strangers) are objects of this study. Whereas *Cataibh* is traditionally seen as belonging to the “Highlands” Caithness is widely considered as thorough “Lowland county” in speech and tradition. This is but only part of the truth as its western half had been part of the *Gaidhealtachd* for centuries – the dominance of Gàidhlig place-names there are ample testimony of this fact. The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1845) for example remarked: “Gaelic is spoken only in the higher parts of the county; in the other parts, the inhabitants, comprising three-fourths of the population, speak the ordinary language of the country, and their manners and habits are those of the lowland Scots.” The rural communities west of Thurso and Wick retained their Gàidhlig speech right until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the coastal villages and towns of *Cataibh an Ear* the language lingered on even after World War 1.

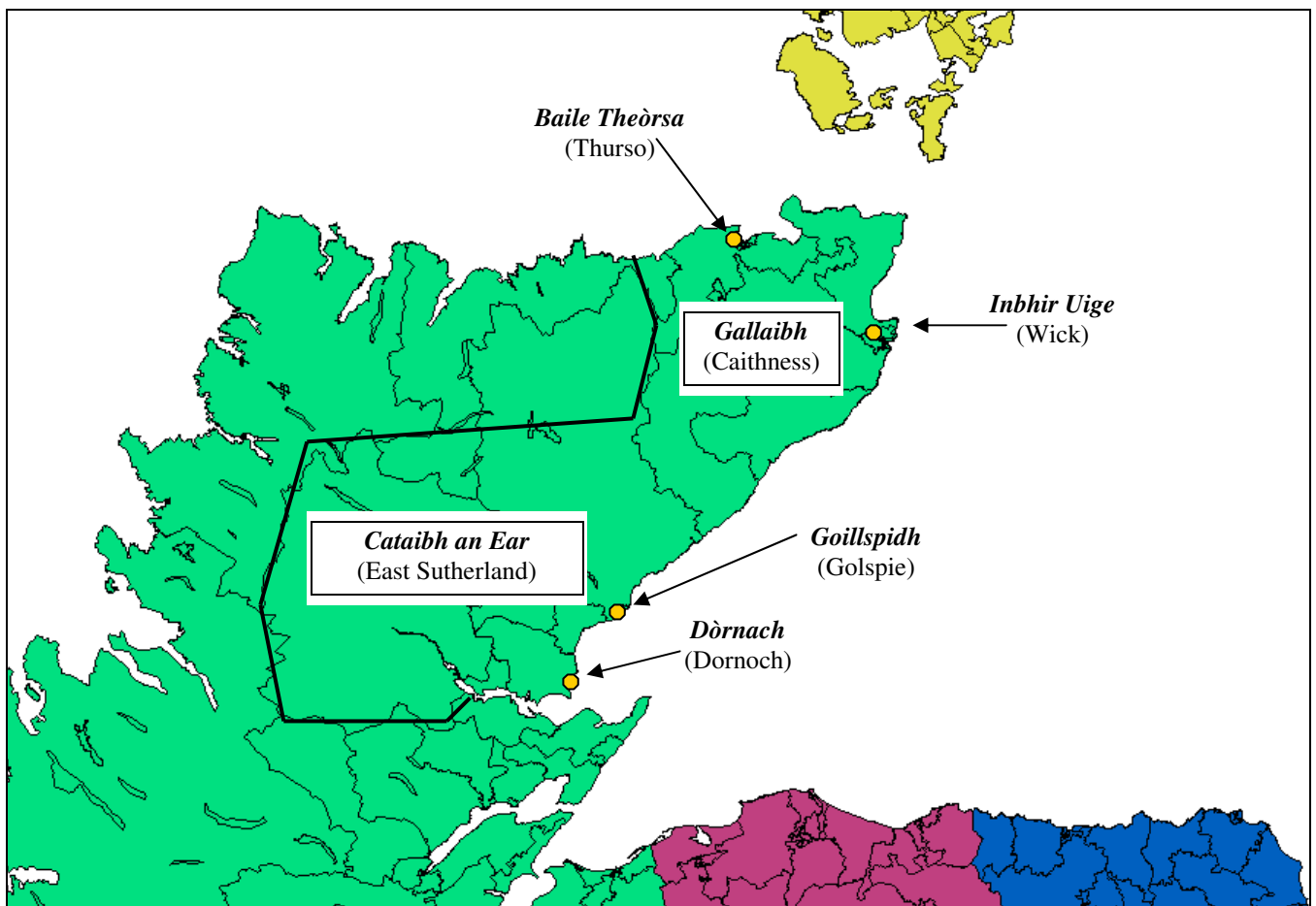
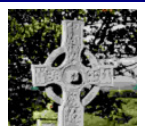


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas<sup>2</sup>

Geographically both areas comprise vast areas of open hill and moorland with a rather sparse population – in sharp contrast to the chain of small villages and towns in the agriculturally privileged coastal stretches on the North Sea. The population in 2001 was rather unevenly distributed over a land area of over 380,000 hectares. Some 10,000 people each lived in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) and rural parts of *Gallaibh* (Caithness). The remaining 15,000 inhabitants lived in the two main Caithness towns of *Inbhir Theòrsa* (Thurso) and *Inbhir Uige* (Wick). In the not too distant past the economy was heavily relying on agriculture and fisheries. During the last decades a thorough economic restructuring took

<sup>2</sup> Digital boundaries courtesy of Ordnance Survey as part of the Geography Products by GROS for the 2001 census.



place with light industry and tourism emphasis in places like *Dòrnach* (Dornoch) and *Golspie* (Goillspidh) as well as construction and engineering industry in Wick and Thurso. Very prominent of course were the developments of the nuclear power installation at *Dùnrrath* (Dounreay) on the north coast.

Historically Caithness and Sutherland had been counties on their own until local government reorganisation in 1974 merged them into the vast Highland Region administered in Inverness. At that time the parish of *Cinn Chàrdainn* (Kincardine) was transferred from the then Ross & Cromarty District to Sutherland District. In order to enable a consistent comparison between censuses this parish is considered as part of *Cataibh an Ear* for the purpose of this study.

So far progress for the *Gàidhlig* language in the areas covered by this study has been painstakingly low – in contrast to other parts of the local authority like for example *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross). The following short chapters will look into the historical development of the use of *Gàidhlig* in the area from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today – mainly highlighted by references to and analysis of population census results in local detail.

## 2 The Historical Background

The eastern part of *Gallaibh* (Caithness) has still a very strong Norse tradition and the *Gàidhlig* language there had no foothold whatsoever during the past centuries. This was especially the case in the parishes of Bower, Canisbay and Odrig. On the other hand Wick and Dunnet were described in some old sources as having also *Gàidhlig* speakers or congregations. The population of *Inbhir Theòrsa* (Thurso), *Hacraig* (Halkirk) and *Bhatan* (Watten), however, consisted of speakers of *Gàidhlig* and Lowland Scots. In 1707 (Withers, 1984) a presbytery reported to the General Assembly Committee for the Highland Libraries that “*there are seven parishes in Caithness, where the Irish language is used, viz. Thurso, Halkrig, Rhae, Lathrone, Ffar, Week, Duirness. But the people of Week understand English also.*” In 1791 the Old Statistical Account of Scotland for example made the following remarks about the parish of *Hacraig* (Halkirk): “*At present there are two languages spoken in this parish, viz. the Earse (i.e. Gaelic) and English.... These languages are spoken in various degrees. Some speak only the Earse, but do not speak or understand the English; some understand the English, but do not speak it; some speak the English, but do not speak or understand the Earse; some understand the Earse, but do not speak it; but the greatest number speak and understand both these languages equally well.*” On all accounts this seemed to be a perfect example of bilingualism. The *Gàidhlig* heartland in *Gallaibh* of course consisted of the vast parishes of *Latharan* (Latheron) and *Meaghrath* (Reay). Regarding the latter it was stated in this Old Statistical Account of Scotland: “*The Gaelic or Erse language is chiefly spoken through this parish. Many indeed now speak Gaelic and English.*”

Of course the whole county of *Cataibh* (Sutherland) retained its *Gàidhlig* traditions until very recently. Parish reports in the 18<sup>th</sup> century about *Dòrnach* (Dornoch), *Golspie* (Goillspidh), *Raoghard* (Rogart) and *Cill Donainn* (Kildonan) stated quite frankly that the language spoken there was Gaelic.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century English got a foothold in larger townships like *Dòrnach* (Dornoch) and *Goillspidh* (Golspie) but *Gàidhlig* still remained dominant in most of this area. Official reports of parish ministers were, however, in most cases biased by their English convictions. A report about Dornoch Parish in 1834 for example tells us “*The vernacular language is still the Gaelic ... This language has, however, lost ground considerably during the last twenty-five years, owing to the influx to the parish, from various parts of the kingdom, of persons who speak the English language, but especially to the introduction of schools, first Gaelic and then English... The predilection for the Gaelic language is, however, still manifest .. the common people prefer to use it in their ordinary intercourse, and that larger congregations attend public worship during the Gaelic services ... Nevertheless the English is making rapid encroachments on our ancient language; and it is not improbable that, in the course of sixty or seventy years, the latter may be extinct*” (New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845). This forecast proved to be not exactly precise but, unfortunately, pointed in the right di-



rection (fig. 2 shows the temporal evolution of Gàidhlig speaking in the areas since 1881). The same account gave also some hints about the “language boundary” between Gàidhlig and English in Gallaibh (Caithness) in the south-western parish of Latharan (Latheron) in 1840: “*The Gaelic language is generally spoken by the lower class of people throughout the greater part of the parish .... It is a singular circumstance that, for a long period, the burn of East Clyth seems to have formed the boundary between the Gaelic and English languages. On the east side of it, scarcely a word of Gaelic was either spoken or understood, and on the west side the English shared the same fate ....*” The 1881 census results proved that this division between language communities still existed half a century later.

The co-existence of Lowlanders and Gaels did not work well, however, everywhere all the time. The account concerning Dunaid (Dunnet) makes interesting reading: “*... and the great increase of population in 1821, was produced chiefly by about 300 Highlanders from Assynt and Strathnaver, who had been removed from their possessions by the introduction of sheep-farming, and came to this parish. The greater part of them had removed before 1831. Their habits not being adapted to an industrious life, they soon got in arrears with the landlord, and went off, some to the Highlands, others to America ... The English language only is spoken by the original inhabitants. The few Highlanders remaining still partly retain the Gaelic. The children all speak English, and that much better than in the southern counties.*”

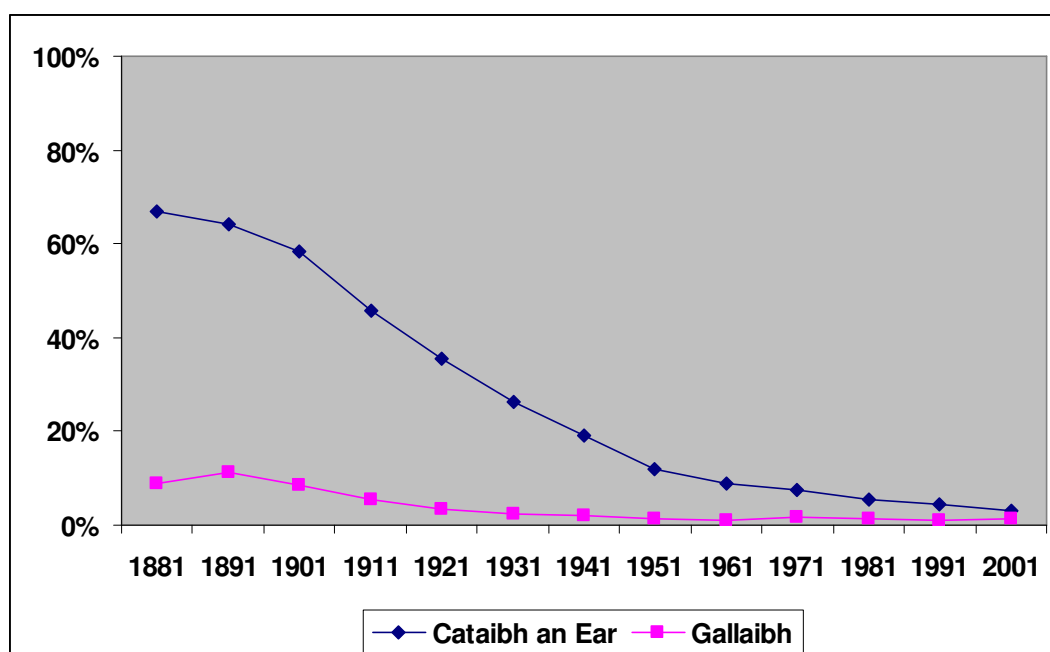


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2001 in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) in comparison with *Gallaibh* (Caithness)<sup>3</sup>

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

Within a period of just fifty years (1881-1931) Gàidhlig was to retreat at a very substantial speed in the whole investigation area. The number of speakers was to shrink to a quarter of its 1881 base (table 1). This was mainly caused by the failure of parents to pass the language over to their children and of course by an ignorant, sometimes openly hostile education policy. Details provided below are given separately for the two areas because circumstances were very different indeed in both counties. Local detail can be found in tables 2 to 8 with census figures on enumeration district level for the period 1881 – 1911.

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



<i>Cataibh an Ear &amp; Gallaibh</i>						
Subject \ Census	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	13,262	12,968	10,862	7,693	5,209	3,582
% of total population <sup>4</sup>	24.8 %	25.5 %	22.8 %	17.1 %	13.0 %	9.7 %

**Table 1: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years and over) in *Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh* (East Sutherland & Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking Gàidhlig during 1881-1931**

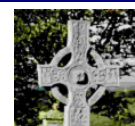
### 2.1.1 *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland):

The County of Sutherland had the honour to emerge as the most Gàidhlig-speaking county of all Scottish counties at the 1881 and 1891 censuses – well ahead of Ross & Cromarty, Argyll and Inverness-shire. This, however, was not due to strong enthusiasm by the large majority of Gàidhlig speakers or even an enlightened education policy by the county council. It is very worthwhile to remember the words of the then Inspector of Schools for Ross, Caithness and Sutherland Mr. D. Sime in 1878: “*I should regard the teaching of Gaelic in schools in any shape or form as a most serious misfortune*” (Campbell, 1945). In effect the first meaningful introduction of Gàidhlig in the school curriculum in this district was to be realised in the late 1990s! Figure 5 illustrates the fate of Gàidhlig as community language in *Cataibh an Ear* from 1891 (when some 75 % of the population spoke Gàidhlig) to 1931 when only about 20 % of the population spoke the language. Monolingual Gàidhlig speakers (pre-school children or elderly people) counted 306 in 1891; in 1931 just 4 were reported as speaking “Gaelic only” (see tables 23 to 25).

The local information in the census reports of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 was very detailed. It is therefore worthwhile to look at the distribution of Gàidhlig speakers in the area starting in the north (table 3) with the fishing communities around *Bun Ilidh* (Helmsdale). It can clearly be seen that individual communities differed very much in their “Gaelic-ness” in this period. The difference between the north-eastern part of *Bun Ilidh* and its south-western communities is striking. Such high local variation in Gàidhlig speaking is repeated also further south. Relatively high proportions were recorded in the town of *Brùra* (Brora), its rural hinterland of *Clin* (Clyne) and the inland parish of *Raoghard* (Rogart). On the other hand English had already made strong inroads in the town of *Goillspidh* (Golspie) and the *Srath Ilidh* (Strath of Kildonan) whose Gàidhlig population had been effectively “cleared” from its land decades earlier. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century monolingual speakers of Gàidhlig were already a negligible quantity except perhaps in the town of *Brùra*. A closer look at individual census forms sheds new light on the different conditions of the traditional language in neighbouring communities (Duwe, 2006):

1. **Eurabol:** “*The fishing village of Eurabol (Embo) was a thriving Gàidhlig speaking community ..... There were even a few inhabitants speaking only Gàidhlig especially among pre-school children. Almost every person born locally or in the wider Gaidhealtachd spoke the traditional language. The language was almost exclusively spoken in the village itself. The overall picture was only slightly modified by the presence of three English speaking families living in or near the curing yards of the village. Only two inhabitants of the village itself did not have a “G” or “G&E” on their registration sheets: A 3 year old son of a fisherman and a 57 year old carrier from Duffus in Moray were enumerated in this category. The remaining “English only” speakers lived outside the village itself in the families of the local teacher (from Fifeshire), a grocer (born in Forgue in Aberdeenshire) and the police constable (originally from Foulis in Ross-shire). The usually resident population consisted of 375 Gàidhlig-speakers (96.2 %) including 34 persons “with no Gaelic”.*
2. **Dòrnach:** “*Despite the open ignorance and hostility of public authorities towards the traditional language of the county Gàidhlig was still spoken by a majority of usually resident persons in the centre of*

<sup>4</sup> The somehow low percentages are due to the fact that the more populous eastern parts of Caithness with the two major towns of Wick and Thurso were almost entirely English speaking.



power of Cataibh (Sutherland). In all generations beyond school age Gàidhlig speakers outnumbered the English monolingual population. The latter was indeed “bolstered” by a significant fraction of Lowlanders most of them ignoring the Gàidhlig tongue. Within the 10 households with no Gàidhlig speaking parent just one person was enumerated as speaking Gàidhlig and English! The usually resident population consisted of 269 Gàidhlig-speakers (56.4 %) including two persons “with no Gaelic”. Both were elderly women born in neighbouring parishes: A shepherd’s widow from Craoich (Creich) and a lady from Raoghard (Rogart) “living on private means”.

The age distribution of Gàidhlig speakers in the above mentioned communities in 1891 is shown in figures 3 and 4. *Eurabol* may be described as a thriving language community – in the county capital in contrast the language was demographically on the way out.

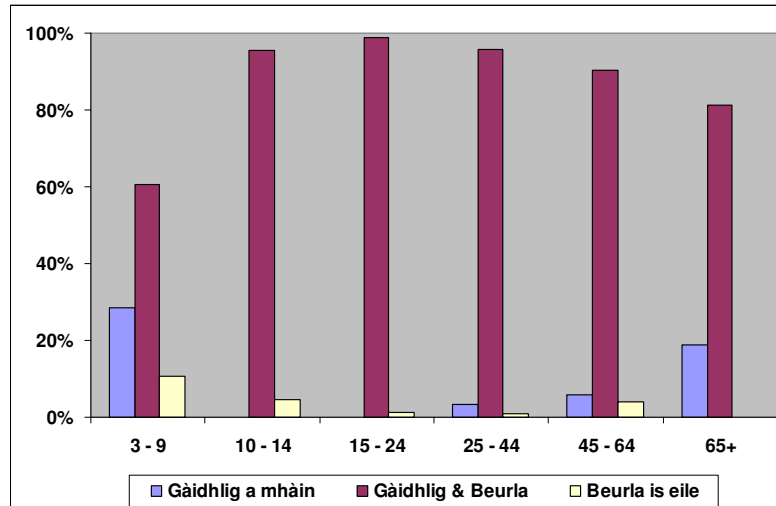


Fig. 3: Age profile in *Eurabol* (Embo) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) Gàidhlig, (2) Gàidhlig & English, or (3) no Gàidhlig at all

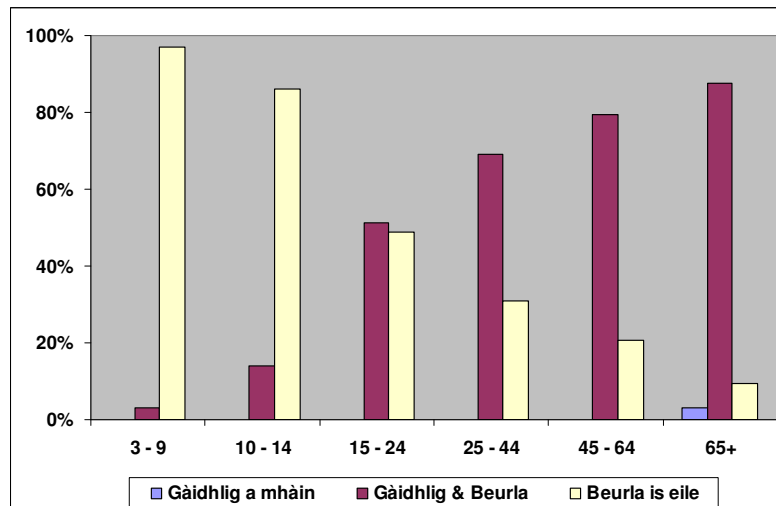
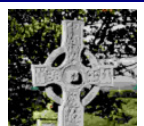


Fig. 4: Age profile in *Dòrnach* (Dornoch) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) Gàidhlig, (2) Gàidhlig & English, or (3) no Gàidhlig at all





Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Raoghard, Dòrnach & Luirg – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>5</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Srath Fleòid &amp; Ceann nan Allt</i> (Strath Fleet & Kinnauld)		183 <b>79.2%</b>	189 <b>67.7%</b>	143 <b>60.9%</b>	5 2.7%	1 0.5%	–
<i>A'Mhuigh &amp; Baile nan Tràill</i> (Muie & Pittentrail)		205 <b>65.7%</b>	180 <b>67.7%</b>	130 <b>57.5%</b>	10 4.9%	2 1.1%	–
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)		127 <b>89.4%</b>	96 <b>82.8%</b>	69 <b>67.0%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Raoghard Beag</i> (Little Rogart)	1.063 <b>86.8%</b>	122 <b>84.7%</b>	99 <b>72.3%</b>	75 <b>72.1%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Ruigh an Lochain</i> (Rhilochan)		138 <b>85.7%</b>	129 <b>87.8%</b>	85 <b>65.9%</b>	3 2.2%	2 1.6%	–
<i>Langail</i> (Langwell)		115 <b>84.6%</b>	86 <b>77.5%</b>	65 <b>59.6%</b>	4 3.5%	10 <b>11.6%</b>	–
<i>Achadh na Luachrach</i> (Achnaluachrach)		36 <b>52.2%</b>	36 <b>73.5%</b>	20 <b>50.0%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	32 6.4%	274 <b>53.3%</b>	241 41.3%	201 27.1%	2 0.7%	–	–
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo)	383 <b>96.7%</b>	427 <b>90.7%</b>	483 <b>88.5%</b>	524 <b>89.1%</b>	48 <b>11.2%</b>	24 5.0%	9 1.7%
<i>Sràid Eurabol &amp; Baile Ghrùididh</i> (Embo Street & Pitgrudy)		134 <b>69.4%</b>	108 <b>50.9%</b>	57 23.3%	1 0.7%	1 0.9%	–
<i>Sgeireabol</i> (Skelbo)		258 <b>80.4%</b>	190 <b>64.4%</b>	64 46.0%	22 8.5%	19 <b>10.0%</b>	–
<i>Bioraichean</i> (Birichen)	1.242 <b>76.1%</b>	277 <b>85.5%</b>	211 <b>62.6%</b>	155 <b>52.7%</b>	16 5.8%	18 8.5%	2 1.3%
<i>An Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore)		124 <b>60.8%</b>	171 40.7%	82 29.5%	–	–	–
<i>An Lòn Mòr</i> (Loanmore)		98 44.3%	127 39.4%	89 28.5%	–	–	–
<i>Torbol</i> (Torboll)		100 <b>64.5%</b>	48 <b>60.8%</b>	33 45.2%	13 <b>13.0%</b>	–	–
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)		188 <b>59.7%</b>	172 <b>52.3%</b>	145 43.2%	3 1.6%	–	–
<i>Cùl Buidhe &amp; Cùl Mhàillidh</i> (Culbuie & Culmally)		100 <b>80.0%</b>	93 <b>80.2%</b>	78 <b>67.8%</b>	2 2.0%	–	–
<i>Torrobol</i> (Torroble)	931 <b>68.7%</b>	160 <b>82.5%</b>	137 <b>74.5%</b>	124 <b>79.5%</b>	3 1.9%	1 0.7%	–
<i>An Rath Mòr &amp; Achanaidh</i> (Raemore & Achany)		149 <b>75.3%</b>	146 <b>83.4%</b>	83 <b>63.8%</b>	13 8.7%	1 0.7%	–
<i>Saileachaidh &amp; An Lùb Riabhach</i> (Salachy & Lubrec)		122 <b>57.0%</b>	111 <b>64.9%</b>	82 <b>55.0%</b>	–	–	–
<i>An Crasg &amp; Sinneis</i> (Crask & Shinness)		80 <b>65.0%</b>	59 <b>55.7%</b>	48 44.0%	–	–	2 4.2%

**Table 2: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Raoghard, Dòrnach & Luirg (Rogart, Dornoch & Lairg) between 1881 and 1911**

<sup>5</sup> Enumeration division, burgh or village.



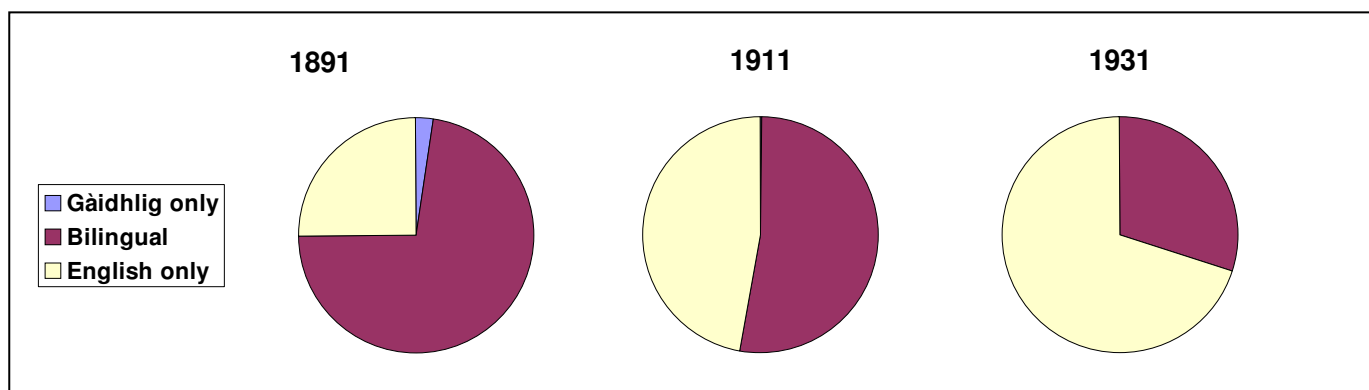
Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Cill Donain, Loth, Clìn & Goillspidh – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>6</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>7</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Gartaidh Mòr</i> (Gartymore)	486	153 <b>75.7%</b>	117 <b>72.7%</b>	86 <b>62.3%</b>	6 3.9%	2 1.7%	–
<i>Bun Ilidh an Iar</i> (West Helmsdale)	<b>73.7%</b>	229 <b>60.6%</b>	172 <b>53.9%</b>	129 48.0%	2 0.9%	2 1.2%	–
<i>Bun Ilidh</i> (Helmsdale)	0 48.4%	252 36.7%	195 26.6%	140 18.9%	2 0.8%	–	–
<i>Neimheadal</i> (Navidale)		130 <b>60.2%</b>	133 <b>54.7%</b>	71 29.1%	–	–	–
<i>An t-Srath Ilidh</i> (Strath Ullie)	333	23 33.8%	19 27.9%	27 23.7%	–	–	–
<i>Bad an Loch &amp; Garbh Allt</i> (Badanloch & Garvault)	<b>54.8%</b>	32 42.1%	24 42.9%	31 <b>57.4%</b>	1 3.1%	–	–
<i>Ceann a’Bhràist &amp; Cill Donnain</i> (Kinbrace & Kildonan)		77 38.1%	68 35.2%	53 23.8%	–	–	–
<i>Loth</i> (Loth)	213 <b>36.5%</b>	269 <b>50.9%</b>	183 40.8%	144 39.2%	1 0.4%	1 0.5%	–
<i>Srath Brùra</i> (Strathbrora)		57 45.2%	59 44.4%	24 18.0%	–	–	–
<i>Brùra an Ear &amp; Clìn an Ear</i> (East Brora & East Clyne)	935	329 <b>68.1%</b>	302 <b>63.8%</b>	187 34.6%	6 1.8%	–	–
<i>Clìn an Iar</i> (West Clyne)	<b>73.0%</b>	286 <b>80.8%</b>	253 <b>70.1%</b>	177 <b>53.6%</b>	4 1.4%	–	–
<i>An Dail &amp; Fanaich</i> (Doll & Fannich)		157 <b>74.8%</b>	153 <b>73.2%</b>	97 <b>55.7%</b>	4 2.5%	–	–
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora)	404	111 46.1%	130 <b>55.8%</b>	97 36.9%	–	–	–
<i>Brùra Iarach: Baile nan Iasgairean</i> (Lower Brora: Fishertown)	<b>75.9%</b>	256 <b>86.5%</b>	293 <b>93.0%</b>	280 <b>90.6%</b>	26 <b>10.2%</b>	13 4.4%	–
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	465 48.6%	469 <b>50.2%</b>	517 <b>50.5%</b>	418 40.0%	5 1.1%	21 4.1%	6 1.4%
<i>Dùn Robain</i> (Dunrobin)		49 35.3%	52 27.7%	34 22.4%	–	–	–
<i>Na Bacannan</i> (Backies)	277	72 <b>64.9%</b>	62 <b>55.4%</b>	38 41.8%	–	–	–
<i>Am Port Beag &amp; Druim Muighe</i> (Littleferry & Drumuie)	46.2%	67 <b>51.1%</b>	51 37.8%	54 27.1%	–	–	–
<i>A’Mhùnd &amp; Cùil Mhàilidh</i> (Mound & Culmaily)		56 41.5%	42 20.4%	32 16.2%	1 1.8%	–	–

Table 3: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Cill Donain, Loth, Clìn & Goillspidh (Kildonan, Loth, Clyne & Golspie) between 1881 and 1911

<sup>6</sup> Enumeration division or village.

<sup>7</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.





**Fig. 5: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931**

In the whole area of *Cataibh an Ear* the language was very strong during this period (tables 2, 3 and 4). Here also the 1881 census results appear in a new light considering the peculiar census question at the time. The county capital of *Dòrnach* (Dornoch) then reported only 6.4 % of its inhabitants speaking “habitually Gaelic”, whereas two miles away 96.7 % of villagers in *Eurabol* (Embo) did so! Data in 1891 corrected this picture substantially as *Dòrnach* then had a majority of townspeople “speaking Gaelic”.

In 1891 the strongholds of the language boasted more than 80 % speakers; in the fishing villages of *Brùra* and *Eurabol* and some crofting hamlets like *Roaghard* (Rogart) Gàidhlig was still universally spoken. Further inland the language was also predominantly used among the local population. Census returns described the usual patchwork patterns of Gàidhlig speaking crofting communities living side by side with anglicised highland estates owned by English landlords and managed by factors and shepherds from the Borders. Good examples are the enumeration districts of *Inbhir Charsla* (Invercassley) with 41.9 % and *Achadh na h-Annaid* (Achnahannet) with 88.6 % Gàidhlig speakers respectively. Monolingual speakers were still to be found in substantial numbers in some remote inland crofting hamlets and the fishing village of *Eurabol* in 1891.

Unfortunately the decline of the language until World War I was almost everywhere apparent but locally very different. Some towns switched very swiftly to English (*Dòrnach*, *Drochaid a’ Bhanna*) whereas in upland places like *Srath Uachail* (Strath Oykeil) or *Luirg* (Lairg) Gàidhlig still held its own until 1901. Here the education policy since 1872 took its toll only after the first generation of victims of “English only” education had learned the lesson and stopped speaking Gàidhlig to their offspring.

Most of the last “native” speakers in *Cataibh an Ear* were born in close-knit fishing communities on the North Sea coast, notably of course in *Eurabol* (Embo) but also in *Brùra* and *Goillspidh*. According to Nancy Dorian (1978) these speakers belonged to the generation born shortly after the 1<sup>st</sup> World War. Census results for civil parishes between 1911 and 1931 (tables 24 and 25) testify the decline of the language even in rural areas. In 1921 no parish was left with a Gàidhlig speaking majority. The highest percentages still were found in *Raoghard* (48.3 %), *Cinn Chàrdainn* (43.0 %) and *Luirg* (42.1 %). Separate figures for the small burgh of *Dòrnach* became available in 1931 showing just 83 out of 725 inhabitants speaking Gàidhlig in the county town. On the other hand 43.4 % of inhabitants still spoke Gàidhlig in the remaining part of the civil parish at the dawn of World War II. This included of course the fishing village of *Eurabol* (Embo).



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Craoich & Cinn Chàrdainn – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>8</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>9</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhirean</i> (Inveran)	448 <b>68.7%</b>	223 <b>58.7%</b>	181 <b>53.2%</b>	129 45.9%	5 2.2%	–	1 0.8%
<i>Innis nan Lion</i> (Rosehall)		66 <b>53.7%</b>	51 <b>58.6%</b>	45 <b>50.6%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Inbhir Charsla</i> (Invercassley)		31 41.9%	20 37.0%	28 45.9%	–	–	–
<i>Achadh na h-Annaid</i> (Achnahannet)	260 <b>80.2%</b>	109 <b>88.6%</b>	68 <b>81.9%</b>	47 <b>68.1%</b>	3 2.8%	2 2.9%	–
<i>Inbhir Oiceall</i> (Inveroykel)		97 <b>93.3%</b>	68 <b>87.2%</b>	48 <b>80.0%</b>	–	–	–
<i>Annaid &amp; Srath nan Cealgach</i> (Annat & Strathcealgach)		74 <b>66.1%</b>	72 <b>72.7%</b>	57 <b>58.2%</b>	18 <b>24.3%</b>	1 1.4%	–
<i>Gleann Chailbhidh &amp; Bràigh Langail</i> (Glencalvie & Brae Langwell)		59 <b>73.8%</b>	51 <b>60.0%</b>	53 <b>63.9%</b>	4 6.8%	1 2.0%	–
<i>Amait na Tuath</i> (Amatnatua)	856 <b>74.6%</b>	102 <b>91.1%</b>	80 <b>77.7%</b>	60 <b>66.7%</b>	8 7.8%	–	–
<i>Cùl Ràthain</i> (Culrain)		81 <b>63.8%</b>	62 <b>55.4%</b>	63 48.5%	6 7.4%	–	–
<i>Inbhir Charrann</i> (Invercharron)		76 <b>65.5%</b>	68 <b>54.8%</b>	56 <b>50.9%</b>	1 1.3%	–	–
<i>Lìal</i> (Lyal)		141 <b>86.0%</b>	122 <b>76.3%</b>	90 <b>78.9%</b>	15 <b>10.6%</b>	1 0.8%	–
<i>Lòn na Speireig</i> (Gledfield)		133 <b>76.4%</b>	119 <b>78.3%</b>	103 <b>69.6%</b>	5 3.8%	1 0.8%	–
<i>Àird Gaoithe</i> (Ardgay)		115 <b>61.5%</b>	91 <b>54.8%</b>	65 35.1%	3 2.6%	–	–
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine)		98 <b>83.1%</b>	83 <b>80.6%</b>	64 <b>57.7%</b>	–	1 1.2%	–
<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge)		345 <b>56.6%</b>	354 <b>57.9%</b>	313 47.0%	4 1.2%	3 0.8%	7 2.2%
<i>Migein &amp; Na h-Àirdean</i> (Migdale & Airdens)	1185 <b>75.4%</b>	198 <b>77.6%</b>	173 <b>91.1%</b>	103 <b>64.4%</b>	6 3.0%	9 5.2%	9 8.7%
<i>Sleastaraidh &amp; An Clais Bhàn</i> (Sleastary & Clashbhan)		52 <b>71.2%</b>	60 <b>84.5%</b>	–	14 <b>26.9%</b>	14 <b>23.3%</b>	–
<i>Spuinigeadail</i> (Spinningdale)		154 <b>82.4%</b>	114 <b>71.3%</b>	82 <b>59.4%</b>	6 3.9%	5 4.4%	–
<i>Osbasdal</i> (Ospisdale)		113 <b>65.7%</b>	130 <b>61.6%</b>	69 41.8%	3 2.7%	1 0.8%	–
<i>Inbhir Sìn</i> (Invershin)		85 <b>63.0%</b>	62 <b>55.4%</b>	66 43.1%	1 1.2%	–	–

**Table 4: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Craoich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Creich & Kincardine) between 1881 and 1911**

<sup>8</sup> Enumeration district or village.

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



### 2.1.2 *Gallaibh* (Caithness):

Most of the inhabitants of Caithness considered (and still consider) themselves as “Lowland Scots” having really nothing in common with “Highland” i.e. *Gàidhlig* speaking tradition. The *Gàidhlig* language of course has never been (or reportedly has never been) spoken to a considerable extent east of a line drawn from *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso) to *Inbhir Uige* (Wick). But the language frontier divided the county into a *Gàidhlig* speaking area in the west and a Lowland Scots speaking (formerly Norse speaking) part to the east. The people living in the vast and sparsely populated parishes of *Meagrath* (Reay), *Hacraig* (Halkirk) and *Latharan* (Latheron) had been described in various publications in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century as overwhelmingly *Gàidhlig*-speaking. Based on John Murray’s “*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*” (1873) it was claimed that “*the language boundary emerges from the North Sea at Clyth Ness, Caithness. It proceeds overland to Harpsdale, through Halkirk to the river Forss, which it follows to the sea*” (Warrack, 1911).

The local detail of census results in 1881-1911 proved beyond doubt that parts of *Gallaibh* (Caithness) were still part of the *Gaidhealtachd* (tables 6-7). The parishes of *Latharan* (Latheron) in the south and *Meagrath* (Reay) in the north still delivered percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers well beyond the 30% mark. The district of *Bearghdal* (Berriedale) on the south-western border towards *Cataibh* (Sutherland) had even 45 % of inhabitants “speaking habitually Gaelic” in 1881. The areas around *Liabost* (Lybster) and *Hacraig* (Halkirk) were in an intermediate state in this period – language “death” had not yet been accomplished. On the other hand the people in the towns and in all eastern Caithness did speak nothing but their Scots dialect (table 8). Because of the large population of the anglicised towns Wick and Thurso the county-wide percentage of *Gàidhlig* speakers did look comparatively low. It stood at 11% with still 76 people speaking “Gaelic only” in 1891 (table 26). The vast majority of these (61) were counted in the south-western parish of *Latharan* (Latheron).

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in the civil parish of <i>Latharan</i> in 1891							
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
<i>Latharan</i>	1.813	4	17	44	146	430	668	504
<i>Hacraig</i>	54	-	-	-	3	11	25	15
<i>Meagrath</i>	8	-	-	-	-	-	7	1
<i>A’Bhatan</i>	9	-	-	-	1	5	1	2
<i>Inbhir Uige</i>	26	-	-	2	2	8	8	6
<i>Baile Theòrsa</i>	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
<i>Gallaibh (a’chuid eile)</i>	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
<i>Cataibh</i>	90	-	-	-	5	8	24	53
<i>Rois &amp; Chrombaidh</i>	33	-	-	-	2	6	20	5
<i>Siorrachd Inbhirnis</i>	15	-	-	-	1	5	6	3
<i>Earra-Ghaidheal</i>	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
<i>Àiteachan eile</i>	18	-	-	2	2	4	5	5

**Table 5: *Gàidhlig* speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions<sup>10</sup> in the civil parish of *Latharan* (Latheron) in 1891**

Considering available local details from individual 1891 census forms (Duwe, 2006) it becomes clear that *Gàidhlig* speakers enumerated in *Gallaibh* were overwhelmingly born and raised in the county. The statistics covering the census entries of the parish of *Latharan* (table 5) show 2,079 *Gàidhlig* speakers. These included 1,813 speakers born in the parish (87.2 %), 106 speakers born in other places in the

<sup>10</sup> Registration district of Latheron (19 enumeration divisions).

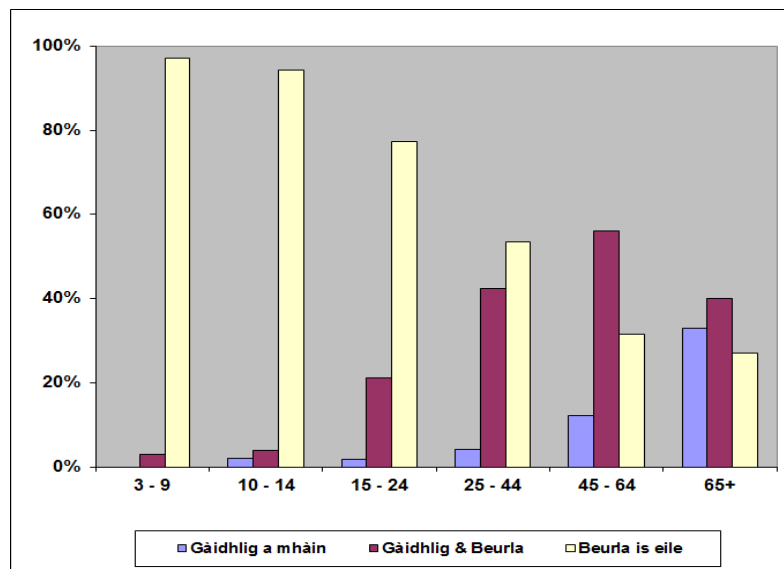


county, and 90 speakers born in neighbouring *Cataibh* (Sutherland). This picture was also true for census returns from the parishes of *Meaghrath* (Reay) and *Hacraig* (Halkirk): The *Gàidhlig* speaking population there was indigenuous to the county and no recent import from the “Highlands”. On the other hand speakers found in the remaining parishes were almost exclusively found to originate from other places further west: the century old language boundary running roughly from *Forsaidh* (Forss) to *Cleith* (Clyth) was still intact in 1891. Even in the parish of *A’Bhatan* (Watten) most “locally born” speakers had parents with birthplaces further west. This is revealed in census forms listing entries from *An Srath Beag* (Strathbeg) and *Am Baile Ùr* (Newlands) where families had moved in from neighbouring parishes *Hacraig* and *Latharan*.

The demographic and social situation differed of course between communities (Duwe, 2006). As examples are given detailed information about three locations from the “Gaelic speaking areas” in the county in 1891:

1. **Meaghrath & Freasgail:** *“The district lies in the north-western corner of the county of Gallaibh (Caithness) a few miles east of the county boundary with Cataibh (Sutherland). Main economic activities were concerned with fisheries and agriculture. Whereas the village of Meaghrath (Reay) itself acted as the natural centre of the surrounding farm land Freasgail (Fresgoe) was mainly occupied by fishermen and their families. A substantial part of the resident population still spoke Gàidhlig in the district. All speakers were effectively bilingual. The age profile, however, was already heavily biased towards older generations. In the age group of 65+ the language was spoken by almost 80 % of all residents. Nonetheless Gàidhlig was still spoken by the majority within households headed by a Gàidhlig speaker. Strongest Gàidhlig community was the village of Meaghrath (Reay) with 46.2 % speakers of the traditional language. On the other hand no-one in the fishing village of Freasgail (Fresgoe) nearby was returned as speaking Gàidhlig.”* 32.4% of the usually resident population spoke Gàidhlig.
2. **Achadh Liabost & Ograinn Mòr:** *“The district is situated in the heart of the north-eastern Scottish county of Gallaibh (Caithness) in the parish of Hacraig (Halkirk). It encompasses a few scattered farming communities between Achadh Liabost (Achlibster) and Ograinn Mòr (Ogrinmore) south-west of the larger town of Baile Theòrsa (Thurso). Main occupations in the area were farming, agriculturally connected assistances and to a lesser extent also shepherding. Almost half of the usually resident population of this district still spoke Gàidhlig. This was true also for locally born persons – contrary to the widely held belief that the tongue was alien to the county of Gallaibh (Caithness). Whereas older people were overwhelmingly Gàidhlig-speakers, only a minority of children spoke the traditional language. Men were more likely to speak Gàidhlig than women. The language was also very present among the farming families. The strongest Gàidhlig-speaking community in 1891 was the scattered hamlet of Ograinn Mòr (Ogrinmore).”* 48.0% of the usually resident population spoke Gàidhlig.
3. **Latharan:** *“The fishing village of Latharan (Latheron) and the two neighbouring crofting hamlets of Latharan Iarach (Upper Latheron) and Beinn a’Cheilt ..... are situated in the south-western corner of the county of Gallaibh (Caithness). Main economic factors were fishing and crofting in 1891. Gàidhlig was surprisingly strong in this part of Gallaibh (Caithness). Over two thirds of the usually resident population spoke the “Highland” language with a remarkable proportion of young people able to converse in the traditional tongue. The strongest community in this district was the crofting hamlet of Beinn a’Cheilt in the hinterland of the fishing village of Latharan. 77.8 % of all residents were Gàidhlig-speaking. The area can rightfully be considered as a major stronghold of the language in the “Lowland” county during this period. A large proportion of Gàidhlig-speakers was born in the county of Gallaibh (Caithness). This underlines the fact that the language was not alien in an area which many characterize as a “Lowland” county today.”* 68.8% of the usually resident population spoke Gàidhlig.

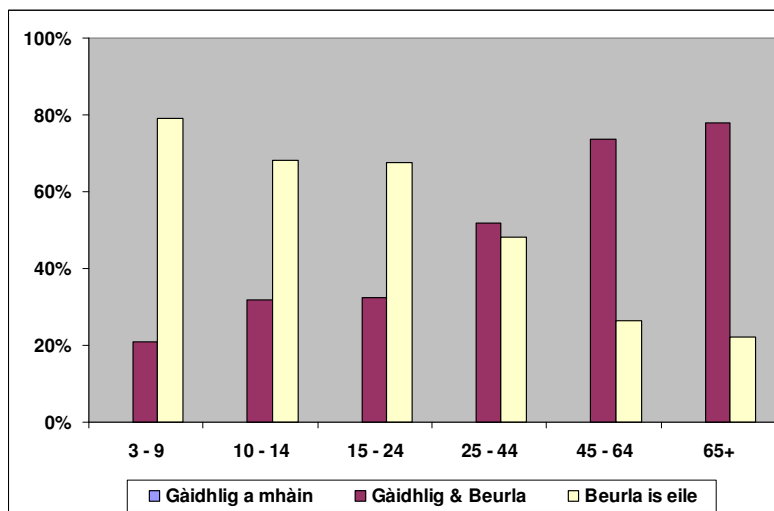




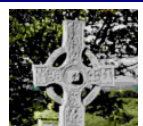
**Fig. 6: Age profile in Smìoral & Cnocanan (Smerral & Knockanan) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) Gàidhlig, (2) Gàidhlig & English, or (3) no Gàidhlig at all**

Not surprisingly the strongest Gàidhlig speaking communities were to be found in locations in the vast parish of *Latharan* (table 7). The fishing village of *Latharan* itself was among the strongholds, but some crofting hamlets in the hinterland of the parish produced some respectable results: *Am Bràigh Mòr* (Braemore), *Dùn Bràigh* (Dounbrae) and *Achadh a’Mhanaich* (Achavanich) were most prominent in this respect. The community of *Smìoral* (Smerral) in particular quite a number of monolingual speakers was enumerated in the 1891 census.

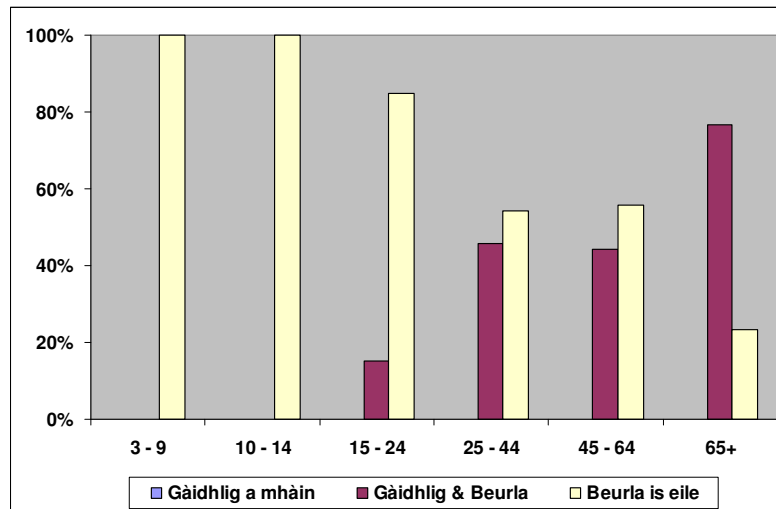
In the north-westerly parishes of *Meaghrath* (Reay) and *Hacraig* (Halkirk) Gàidhlig was not as strong as in *Latharan* (see table 6). Nonetheless the communities of *Brabost & Sear Àiridh* (Broubster & Shurrery) and *Olgrainn Mòr* (Olgrinmore) were perfect examples of language survival until the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



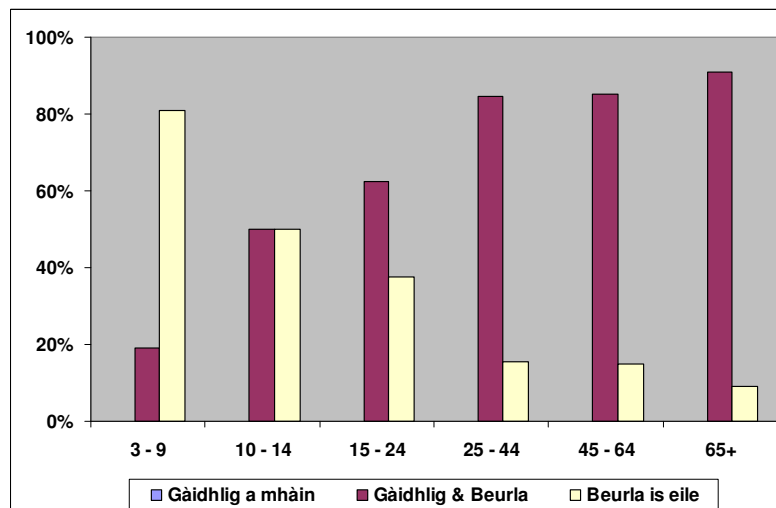
**Fig. 7: Age profile in Achadh Liabost & Olgrainn Mòr (Achlibster & Olgrinmore) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) Gàidhlig, (2) Gàidhlig & English, or (3) no Gàidhlig at all**



The number of speakers in *Gallaibh*, however, was shrinking very rapidly census after census. The reason for this was highlighted by J. Patten MacDougall, the Registrar General of the 1911 Census (Scotland, Census Office, 1912): “Persons with knowledge of Gaelic in the County of Caithness are found to number 1,685 ... Of these 1,248 were born in Caithness, 273 in Sutherland, 77 in Ross and Cromarty, and 87 elsewhere. Of the 1,685 Gaelic speakers, all but three are returned as able to speak English in addition to Gaelic. By an examination of the age distribution of the Gaelic speakers, it is found that only 22 of them are less than 20 years of age, which suggests that the Gaelic language cannot be in habitual use, for if such were the case large numbers of the younger generation would be found to have a knowledge of it”. This meant that almost all *Gàidhlig* speakers in the county were born before 1891 and inter-generational transmission of the language had effectively seized well before.



**Fig. 8: Age profile in *Meaghrath & Freasgail* (Reay & Fresgoe) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig* & English, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all**



**Fig. 9: Age profile in the village of *Latharan* (Latheron) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig* & English, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all**





Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parishes of Meaghrath & Hacraig – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>11</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Meaghrath &amp; Innis Allt</i> (Reay & Isauld)	477 39.8%	165 37.2%	104 28.0%	67 18.9%	1 0.6%	–	–
<i>Dùnraith &amp; Liabost</i> (Dounreay & Lybster)		84 23.9%	65 20.6%	44 13.9%	–	–	–
<i>Siabost &amp; Achadh an Lòin</i> (Shebster & Achalona)		47 30.5%	25 20.7%	21 18.3%	–	–	–
<i>Brabost &amp; Sear Àiridh</i> (Broubster & Shurrery)		113 48.5%	75 45.2%	41 30.6%	5 4.4%	–	–
<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk)	47 12.6%	93 21.5%	96 15.8%	49 9.1%	–	1 1.0%	–
<i>Arpasdal</i> (Harpsdale)	206 8.8%	53 14.7%	31 13.7%	18 7.3%	–	–	–
<i>Siabost</i> (Sybster)		10 4.5%	7 4.1%	5 3.0%	–	–	–
<i>An Spìdeal &amp; Dail</i> (Spittal & Dale)		100 26.9%	46 16.5%	20 7.4%	1 1.0%	–	–
<i>An Dail Shuas</i> (Westerdale)		49 29.3%	30 18.5%	17 14.3%	–	–	–
<i>Olgrainn Mòr</i> (Olgrinmore)		46 30.3%	25 17.6%	18 13.5%	–	–	–
<i>Caladar</i> (Calder)		28 9.5%	37 14.8%	8 3.2%	–	–	–
<i>An t-Achadh Shuas &amp; Fòrsaidh</i> (Westfield & Forsie)		87 21.4%	64 16.7%	23 7.9%	1 1.1%	3 4.7%	–
<i>An t-Srath Mòr &amp; Allt nam Breac</i> (Strathmore & Altnabreac)		41 26.3%	29 21.6%	19 12.8%	1 2.5%	–	–

**Table 6: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Meaghrath & Hacraig (Reay & Halkirk) between 1881 and 1911**

With the subsequent passing of generation after generation Gàidhlig was destined to disappear swiftly in the area. Census enumerations afterwards confirmed only the inevitable decline of the language in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) with just 1,003 and 633 speakers respectively returned in 1921 and 1931 (table 27). From this time onwards Gàidhlig place-names were the only relics of past cultural diversity in Caithness.

<sup>11</sup> Civil parish or enumeration division.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in the civil parish of Latharan – 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>12</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig <sup>13</sup>				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers <sup>14</sup>		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Port Ùr &amp; Bearghdal</i> (Newport & Berriedale)	534 45.0%	85 32.3%	65 26.0%	50 20.2%	–	–	–
<i>Am Bràigh Mòr &amp; Fliuch Araidh</i> (Braemore & Fliuchary)		46 <b>50.0%</b>	36 49.3%	23 39.0%	2 4.3%	1 2.8%	1 4.3%
<i>Cnoc Ailleadh &amp; Creag nan Reitheachan</i> (Knockally & Ramscaigs)		262 49.2%	195 40.5%	130 30.3%	6 2.3%	5 2.6%	–
<i>Baile a'Chladaich &amp; Baile na Bruaich</i> (Ballachladich & Balnabruich)		80 35.4%	43 22.3%	29 17.4%	–	–	–
<i>Liabost</i> (Lybster)	23 2.8%	162 21.9%	115 19.0%	52 9.5%	–	–	–
<i>Dùn Beithe &amp; Achadh a'Bhroil</i> (Dunbeath & Achavrole)	1.387 29.8%	137 38.6%	127 38.6%	48 18.1%	1 0.7%	–	–
<i>Dùn Bràigh</i> (Dounbrae)		137 <b>58.8%</b>	77 39.3%	54 36.7%	6 4.4%	–	–
<i>Smioral &amp; Cnocanan</i> (Smerral & Knockinnon)		155 35.3%	147 36.1%	110 32.6%	37 <b>23.9%</b>	2 1.4%	–
<i>Baile Seonaid &amp; Bràigh Thungaidh</i> (Janetstown & Braehungie)		154 48.6%	100 34.1%	65 22.5%	4 2.6%	–	–
<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron)		129 <b>65.2%</b>	66 36.5%	23 14.1%	–	–	–
<i>Rumbost &amp; Fors</i> (Rumster & Forse)		95 28.3%	47 14.4%	48 16.2%	–	1 2.1%	–
<i>Achadh a'Mhanaich &amp; Rangag</i> (Achavanich & Rangag)		69 <b>53.5%</b>	46 47.4%	35 39.8%	–	–	–
<i>Achadh Odhar &amp; Achadh a'Chaisteil</i> (Achow & Achastle)		152 45.2%	63 20.5%	52 18.2%	3 2.0%	–	–
<i>Suaineabost &amp; Ruisgil</i> (Swiney & Ruisgill)		108 34.6%	85 30.9%	43 20.1%	1 0.9%	–	–
<i>Liabost</i> (Upper Lybster)		109 33.7%	42 12.5%	25 9.3%	–	1 2.4%	–
<i>Rosbost &amp; Cambost</i> (Roster & Camster)		50 24.5%	45 25.6%	15 9.8%	–	–	–
<i>Cliath an Iar &amp; Baile Ùr</i> (West Clyth & Newlands)		74 19.4%	31 11.1%	27 10.8%	1 1.4%	–	–
<i>Cliath Meadhonach</i> (Mid Clyth)		38 16.4%	13 5.6%	11 7.5%	–	1 7.7%	–
<i>Cliath an Ear</i> (East Clyth)		37 17.9%	26 14.4%	10 7.0%	–	–	–

**Table 7: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Latharan (Latheron) between 1881 and 1911**

<sup>12</sup> Enumeration division.

<sup>13</sup> Percentages of Gàidhlig-speakers above 50 % are denoted in bold figures.

<sup>14</sup> Percentages of monolingual Gàidhlig-speakers above 10 % are denoted in bold figures.



Number of persons and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in districts of Gallaibh an Ear - 1881 - 1911							
Area <sup>15</sup>	All persons speaking Gàidhlig				Monolingual share of all Gàidhlig-speakers		
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa</i> (Thurso)	216 5.4%	299 7.6%	264 7.1%	169 5.0%	–	2 0.8%	1 0.6%
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa (Dùthaich)</i> (Thurso Landward)	115 5.3%	142 7.8%	109 6.9%	47 3.5%	1 0.7%	–	–
<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)	27 1.0%	90 3.0%	80 2.9%	66 1.1%	–	–	1 1.5%
<i>Baile Phulteney</i> (Pulteneytown)	50 1.0%	156 2.8%	128 2.5%	43 1.5%	2 1.3%	1 0.8%	–
<i>Inbhir Uige (Dùthaich)</i> (Wick Landward)	57 1.2%	152 3.3%	102 3.0%	47 1.8%	1 0.6%	1 1.0%	–
<i>Bàgair</i> (Bower)	2 0.1%	49 3.3%	34 2.3%	20 1.4%	–	–	–
<i>Bàgh a'Chanais &amp; Eilean Stròma</i> (Canisbay & Stroma)	1 0.0%	20 0.8%	17 0.8%	16 0.9%	1 5.0%	–	–
<i>Dùnaid</i> (Dunnet)	63 3.9%	45 3.0%	17 1.4%	17 1.5%	–	–	–
<i>Baile a'Chaisteil</i> (Castleton)	42 4.5%	48 4.9%	24 3.1%	18 2.5%	1 2.0%	–	–
<i>An t-Òlach</i> (Olig)	8 0.7%	26 3.0%	30 3.8%	6 0.8%	–	–	–
<i>A'Bhatan</i> (Watten)	167 11.9%	118 8.5%	71 5.8%	43 4.0%	–	–	–

Table 8: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in Gallaibh an Ear (East Caithness) between 1881 and 1911

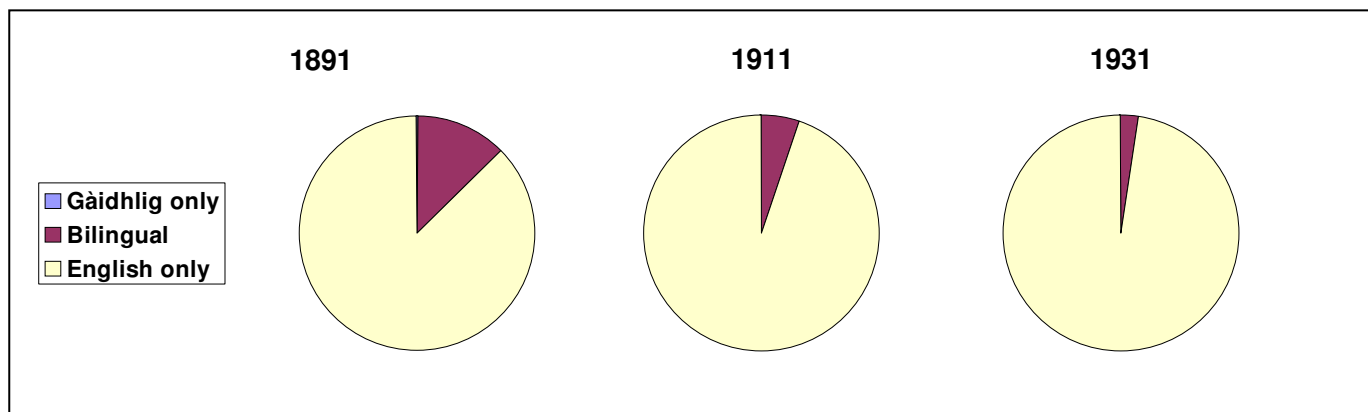


Fig. 10: Share of population speaking Gàidhlig and/or English in Gallaibh (Caithness) according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

<sup>15</sup> Civil parish, enumeration division, burgh or village.



## 2.2 Developments in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Census 1951–2001)

Between 1931 and 1951 the number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the combined area was cut by almost 60 %; the population share fell from 9.7 % to 4.7 % in the area. The history of indifference and neglect was to repeat itself in *Cataibh an Ear* in the coming decades – even worse: ignorance towards Gàidhlig prevailed in the “lowland county” of *Gallaibh* (Caithness).

### 2.2.1 *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland):

The language strength differed of course from parish to parish in the first census after the war (tables 16 to 19). Main strongholds in 1951 were the rural parts of *Dòrnach* (including *Eurabol* (Embo) village) with 23.5 % of Gàidhlig speakers; *Raoghard* (18.4 %) and *Cinn Chàrdainn* (16.7 %) followed in this ranking. Most of these speakers belonged to the older generation, however, and almost no children were raised in Gàidhlig speaking families. A report on Gàidhlig-speaking schoolchildren (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1961) failed to find a single primary school pupil with Gàidhlig as first or preferred language in the eastern part of the County of Sutherland. This was a worrying result especially considering that some parents still spoke Gàidhlig at home. 275 primary pupils attended the first primary stages P1 and P2 in east coast schools in 1957/58. 6 pupils had both parents speaking Gàidhlig; further 26 lived in families where either the father or the mother spoke Gàidhlig! In the two secondary schools (*Dòrnach* and *Goillspidh*) some 28 first year students of 231 had some knowledge of Gàidhlig: Four were classified as Gàidhlig first language speakers and further 6 could hold simple conversations in the language. It is highly probable that the majority (maybe all) of these originated from the communities on the west coast. So the future of Gàidhlig in these locations looked very bleak indeed.

In 1961 the picture became even gloomier (as expected) with census percentages running in single figures in almost the whole area. A slight exception was the 22.1 % figure of Gàidhlig speakers in the CCED (County Council Electoral Division) of Dornoch East (table 28) incorporating *Eurabol* (Embo). Later a special scientific report (Dorian, 1978) mentioned substantial numbers of “native” Gàidhlig speakers in the traditional fishing villages of *Brùra* (Brora), *Goillspidh* (Golspie) and *Eurabol* (Embo) in the 1960s. Whereas the language was only spoken by a small number of older inhabitants in *Brùra* and *Goillspidh*, *Eurabol* (Embo) still was a partly Gàidhlig-speaking community. In 1963-64 Nancy Dorian took a personal census of local bilingual Gàidhlig speakers in these three locations. In *Brùra* she counted 43 speakers (3.6 %) and in *Goillspidh* 54 (4.6 %) with an average age of about 60. In the case of *Eurabol* on the other hand 105 speakers were counted (38.2 %) which meant nearly half of the adult population was Gàidhlig-speaking in 1963-64. “Only in Embo was Gaelic regularly heard in the streets and in the shops, and only the Embo population still had Gaelic church services” (Dorian, 1978).

<i>Cataibh an Ear</i> : Administrative Areas in 1971 Census (Gàidhlig Speaking at Different Ages)	Age groups			
	3 – 14		65 +	
	Pop.	G. Sp.	Pop.	G. Sp.
<i>Dòrnach</i> ( <i>Baile Beag</i> ) (Dornoch Small Burgh)	165	-	155	10
<i>Dòrnach &amp; Craoich</i> (Dornoch & Creich District)	360	5	425	95
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine County Council Electoral Division)	180	-	125	20
<i>Goillspidh, Raoghard &amp; Luirg</i> (Golspie, Rogart & Lairg District)	685	5	455	90
<i>Srath Ildh, Loth &amp; Clìn</i> (Kildonan, Loth & Clyne District)	710	20	450	40

**Table 9: Population and number of Gàidhlig-speakers in the age groups 3-14 and 65+ for administrative areas in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) in 1971**



Generally, however, nothing really happened in the years to come. Accordingly the census 1971 saw the number of speakers plummeting to a new record low. The fact of an ageing language group was clearly verified in the results for different age groups (tables 9 and 29).

In the 1970s at last the changing attitudes towards the language were also reaching *Cataibh* (Sutherland). A private initiative launched a series of school interviews (*Gairm*, 1978) where parents were asked whether or not they were in favour of having *Gàidhlig* lessons for their children. An overwhelming majority came out in favour. In *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland)<sup>16</sup> this meant a staggering figure of 328 parents of 494 families (66.4 %) were in favour of *Gàidhlig* as part of the curriculum in their local primary school! Afterwards some token teaching of *Gàidhlig* started in north-western parts of the county; *Cataibh an Ear*, however, was left out in the cold again.

<i>Cataibh an Ear &amp; Gallaibh</i>						
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers (3 years +)	1,492	1,148	1,070	856	708	583
% of total population	4.7 %	3.1 %	3.1 %	2.4 %	2.2 %	1.6 %

**Table 10: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Cataibh an Ear & Gallaibh* (East Sutherland & Caithness) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2001**

From 1981 onwards census information became more and more detailed. Accordingly the picture of the *Gàidhlig* presence in different locations shed more light on the state of the language which Highland Region inherited from Sutherland County after local government reorganisation in 1974. Census output areas (table 29) varied in their incidence of *Gàidhlig* speakers quite considerably. Not unexpected *Eurabol* had the highest percentage of speakers at 24.1 %. Looking at the age group distribution (fig. 11 and table 30), however, it was clear, that only a handful of speakers was aged below 25.

The next decade was also a lost decade as far as *Gàidhlig* in *Cataibh an Ear* was concerned. The start of the “Gaelic Renaissance” with the first *cròileagan* and *Gàidhlig* medium classes did bypass the area without any lasting impact. The census 1991 recorded just 405 *Gàidhlig* speakers; a century ago 8,822 people had been returned as speaking the local tongue! Even worse: The “generation of the future” (those aged below 25) consisted of only 32 youngsters. Predicting the fate of *Gàidhlig* in the area was a simple task indeed! Results for census output areas were again depressing (table 29). It is, however, worth noting that both enumeration areas in *Eurabol* (Embo) had still impressive numbers of speakers with 31.0 % and 16.4 % as share of population.

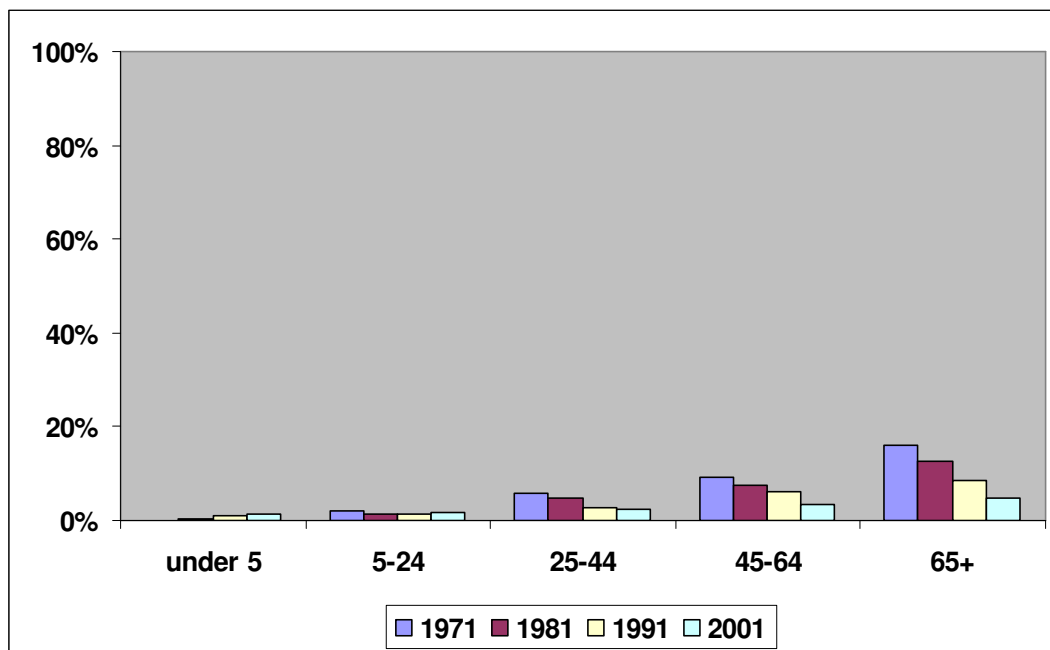
In the 1990s a few activities commenced at last to improve the state of *Gàidhlig* in eastern parts of *Cataibh*. In 1993 a “Gaelic Development Plan for South-East Sutherland” was outlined by a local working group. A commercial highlight at that time was the return of the *Mòd Nàiseanta* (National Mod) to Golspie in 1995. It did not, however, have a lasting impact apart from a few bilingual street-signs in the town. On the contrary, *Gàidhlig* second language provision at Golspie High School seized when pupils from the west coast started to receive their secondary education in *Ulapul* (Ullapool) or *Ceann Loch Biorbhaidh* (Kinlochbervie). This had not been a very successful offer anyway. For example just 4 pupils received tuition as *Gàidhlig* learners in the school year 1995/96! Proud Dornoch Academy, of course, had never bothered to think of introducing the local language in the curriculum.

<sup>16</sup> All local primary schools took part in this survey apart from *Bun Ilidh* (Helmsdale).



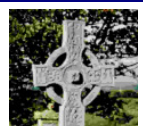
Nonetheless grassroots activities began to show effects in *Cataibh an Ear*. Adult classes for learners became increasingly popular, especially in the new Gaelic college of *An Ceathramh* in *A'Mhuigh* (Muie) and the last remaining *Gàidhlig* stronghold of *Eurabol* (Embo). In the latter a few local children became active in a *sràdagan* group which appeared successfully in a number of local and national mods. Further cultural evidence of a growing interest in local music was the founding of *Fèis Chataibh*, which annually provided tuition in traditional music and *Gàidhlig* singing. Local authority support, however, remained very lukewarm and inefficient. The introduction of half-hourly lessons (per week!) in the small primary schools of *Innis Lìon* (Rosehall) and *Raoghard* (Rogart) was prevented by the inability of Highland Council to find a travel expense budget for the itinerant teacher! Notwithstanding parents were still content to find some *Gàidhlig* education for their offspring. A *cròileagan* was founded in *Raoghard* (Rogart) and especially parents in *Luirg* (Lairg) and *Drochaid a' Bhanna* (Bonar Bridge) began to campaign for a *Gàidhlig* medium nursery (and eventually a GMU at Bonar primary school) in the late 1990s. In the meantime some parents decided not to wait any longer: They sent their children across the Dornoch Firth instead to attend the GMU in nearby *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain).

All these small initiatives could not prevent a further reduction in the number of speakers until 2001. The whole district showed no signs of recovery in the census returns. The generation of “native” speakers dwindled by the day and a significant replacement was not in sight. In figure 11 the temporal evolution of the population share of *Gàidhlig* speakers is clearly outlined. More details of the 2001 census results are provided in chapter 2 of this study.



**Fig. 11: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2001 – *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland)<sup>17</sup>**

<sup>17</sup> Under 5: *Gàidhlig* abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.



### 2.2.2 *Gallaibh* (Caithness):

The temporal evolution of events in Caithness since World War II can be described in simple terms: There was virtually none. Census results between 1951 and 2001 across the board reported almost negligible numbers of *Gàidhlig* speakers in *Gallaibh* (Caithness). No locality (table 30) had any number of speakers worth mentioning and the age distribution (table 31) equally showed no surprises.

In reality the first significant activities started as late as 1996 when the first *cròileagan* opened in *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso). In 1998 Thurso parents visited the GMU in *Tunga* (Tongue) on the northern coast of *Cataibh* (Sutherland) to see for themselves whether this kind of education was best for their children. In the same year a local authority *Gàidhlig* nursery opened its doors in the town! Since 1999 parents were waiting for the GMU to start but sadly no suitable teacher applied for the post so far. So welcome depression in Scotland's northern province again!

### 2.3 *Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2001*

As could be expected in areas with no tradition of formal *Gàidhlig* education speakers of the language were overwhelmingly not accustomed to read or even write in their mother tongue. The census in 1971 for the first time sought information about the ability of *Gàidhlig* speakers to read or write the language. Results (tables 11 and 12) found just 30 % of speakers able to read and around 20 % able to write *Gàidhlig* in both areas. The ability to write *Gàidhlig* was least common in the older generation who had acquired the language naturally at their mothers' knees – percentages just reached 10 % in this age group. No wonder when *Gàidhlig* at school would have been an alien experience in their younger days.

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>				Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Cataibh an Ear</i> (East Sutherland)	205	165	157	166	31.1 %	32.6 %	37.1 %	58.0 %
<i>Gallaibh</i> (Caithness)	125	135	133	191	30.5 %	38.6 %	46.7 %	63.2 %

Table 11: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for both areas (1971-2001)

	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>				Percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to write <i>Gàidhlig</i>			
	1971	1981	1991	2001	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Cataibh an Ear</i> (East Sutherland)	110	114	111	129	16.7 %	22.5 %	26.2 %	45.1 %
<i>Gallaibh</i> (Caithness)	85	106	84	161	20.7 %	30.3 %	29.5 %	53.3 %

Table 12: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for both areas (1971-2001)



Over the years slight improvements in literacy could be detected in later censuses (fig. 12 and 13). This was mainly due to the passing of the old “semi-literate” generation. The few “new” speakers were mainly learners who acquired literacy in *Gàidhlig* naturally during their study. At least school education was no relevant factor in improving literacy of *Gàidhlig* speakers – there was simply none.

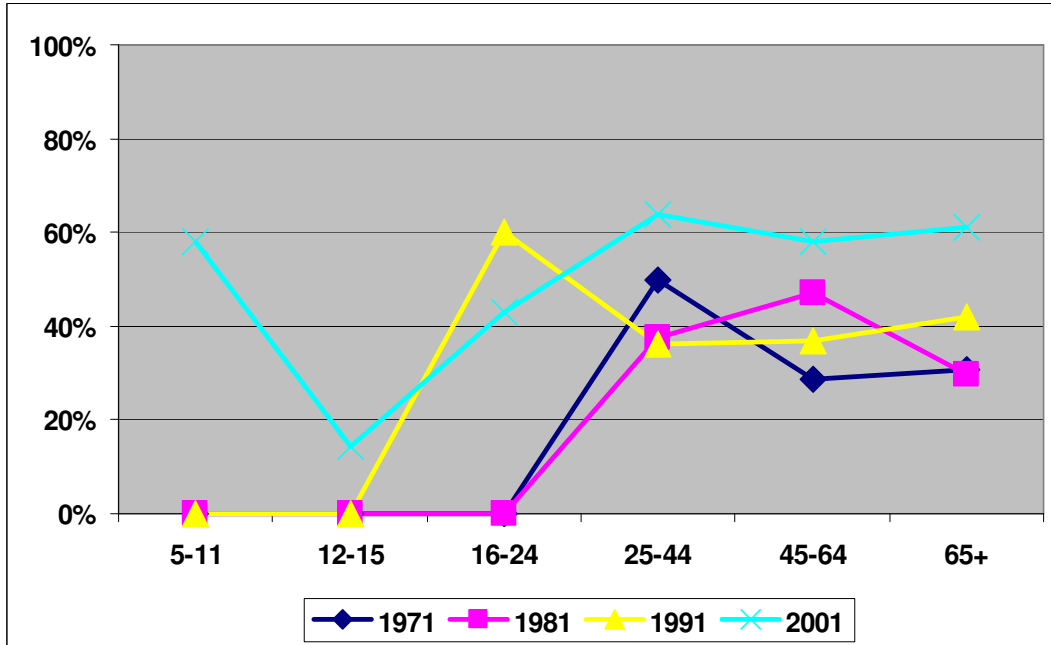


Fig. 12: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland)

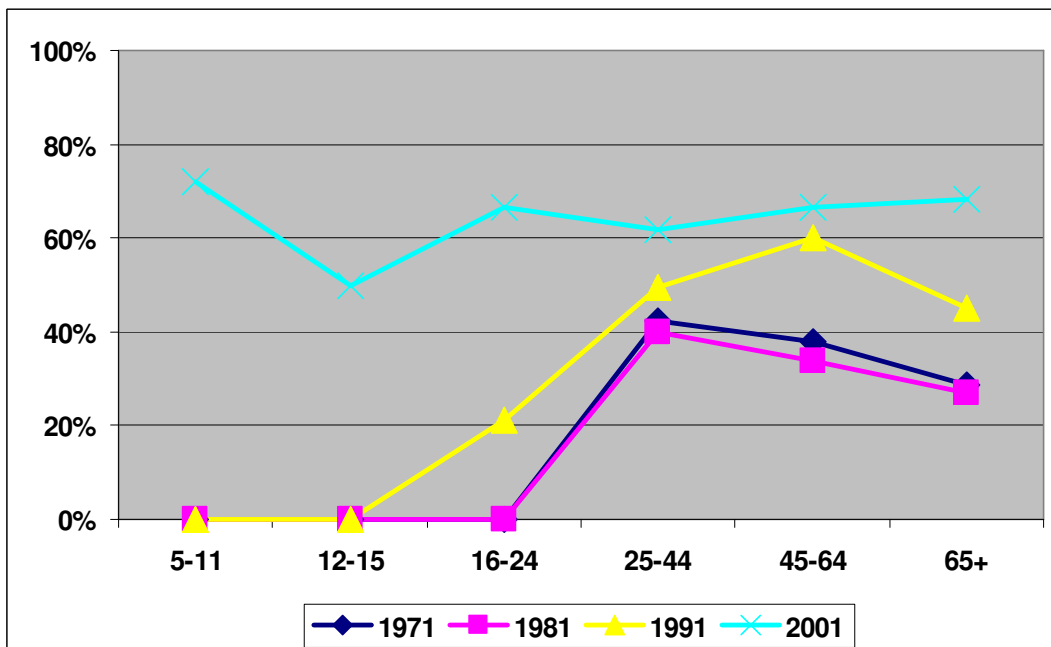


Fig. 13: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2001): *Gallaibh* (Caithness)





### 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.

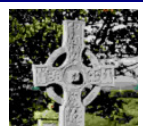
#### 3.1 General overview: *Gàidhlig* language capabilities in 2001

Comparing both areas – *Cataibh an Ear* and *Gallaibh* – the picture was bleak in all but one respect: The activities in the pre-school sector around *Drochaid a’ Bhanna* (Bonar Bridge) and *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso) did show a first effect.

In *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) the following conclusions may be drawn generally 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 a constant decrease in *Gàidhlig* language abilities (fig. 14) from older to younger generations with significant percentages only in generations born before 1955. Some 9 pre-school children at least understood the language.
- A further strong decrease in *Gàidhlig*-speaking by 1.6 % has occurred since 1991 (table 13) except in younger age groups. In the age cohort of 3-24 the percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers, however, is still very low at 1.7 %.
- There is some local variation in the ability of the population to speak *Gàidhlig*. The returns of census output areas show those being able to speak the language ranging from roughly 1 % in many areas including *Dòrnach* (Dornoch) to some 10 % in *Eurabol* (Embo). The corresponding figures for the „understands spoken Gaelic” category (tables 33 and 34) varied between around 2 % in *Dòrnach* and a considerable 19 % in *Eurabol*.
- Literacy in the language was still improving (compared to 1991) with 58.0 % of speakers being able to read and 45.1 % of speakers able to write the language.
- In the new category of children aged less than 3 years only two were able to speak *Gàidhlig* and 5 could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*.
- In addition to those able to speak *Gàidhlig* (3.0 % of the population) 228 inhabitants (2.3 %) were at least able to understand, read or write the language.

Compared with census results in neighbouring *Taobh Sear Rois* (Easter Ross) the situation of *Gàidhlig* in *Cataibh an Ear* can aptly be described as in a state of neglect and ignorance. Time will tell whether circumstances may turn to the better.



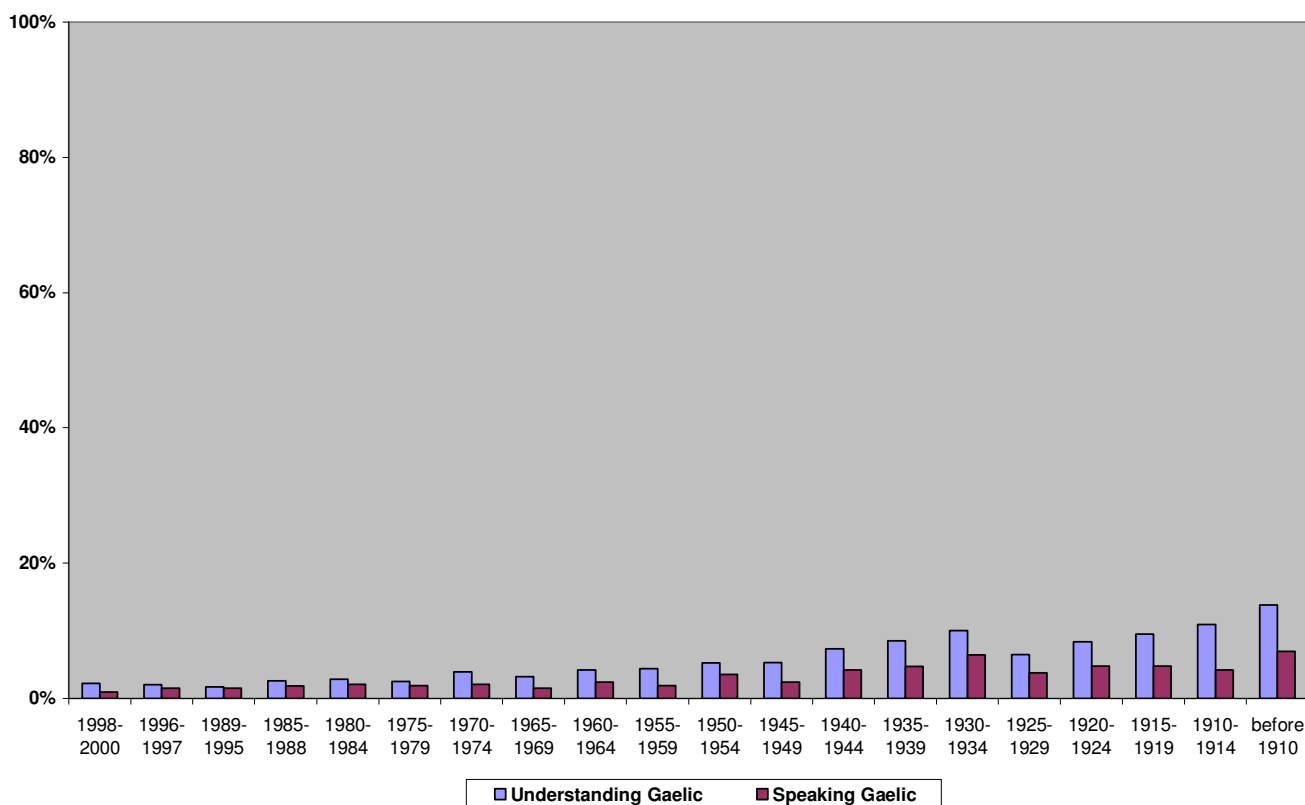


Fig. 14: Percentage of population able to understand or speak Gàidhlig and year of birth – area of *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to Census 2001

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>18</sup> Gàidhlig		Able to speak & read Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		Able to speak Gàidhlig		
0-2	5	2.2 %	1	0.4 %	2	0.9 %	n/a	n/a	-
3-4	4	2.1 %	1	0.5 %	3	1.6 %	2	0.9 %	+ 0.7 %
5-11	13	1.7 %	7	0.9 %	12	1.6 %	13	1.5 %	+ 0.1 %
12-15	10	2.0 %	1	0.2 %	7	1.4 %	7	1.5 %	- 0.1 %
16-24	19	2.7 %	6	0.9 %	14	2.0 %	10	1.1 %	+ 0.9 %
3-24	46	2.1 %	15	0.7 %	36	1.7 %	32	1.3 %	+ 0.4 %
All ages	504	5.3 %	166	1.8 %	286	3.0 %	405	4.6 %	- 1.6 %
Difference		- 3.2 %		- 1.1 %		- 1.3 %		- 3.3 %	

Table 13: Knowledge of Gàidhlig in younger age groups in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) in 2001 and 1991

<sup>18</sup> Persons able to understand spoken Gàidhlig and/or able to speak, read or write Gàidhlig.



In *Gallaibh* (Caithness) the number of *Gàidhlig* speakers remained insignificant also in the 2001 census. The only remarkable positive feature was the considerable improvement among pre-school aged children. 13 children were found to be able to speak and even 26 could understand spoken *Gàidhlig*. The majority of these young Gaels were of course present in *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso) where a *Gàidhlig* nursery was operating since a few years. Worth mentioning is also the high proportion of “passive Gaels” (those who had at least one ability in the language but did not speak it) accounting for 250 persons in addition to the 302 (or 263, see below) speakers in the district in 2001.

The overall increase of speakers in *Gallaibh*, however, was only due to a peculiar census result in an output area in *Inbhir Uige* (Wick)<sup>19</sup>. Discarding this unique result the number of speakers had declined still further compared with previous censuses.

Age group	2001						1991		Diff. 2001 – 1991
	Knowing <sup>20</sup> <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak & read <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		Able to speak <i>Gàidhlig</i>		
<b>0-2</b>	9	1.2 %	-	-	3	0.4 %	n/a	n/a	-
<b>3-4</b>	17	3.2 %	1	0.2 %	10	1.9 %	1	0.1 %	+ 1.8 %
<b>5-11</b>	21	0.9 %	8	0.3 %	11	0.5 %	12	0.4 %	+ 0.1 %
<b>12-15</b>	11	0.8 %	3	0.2 %	6	0.4 %	3	0.2 %	+ 0.2 %
<b>16-24</b>	25	1.0 %	8	0.3 %	12	0.5 %	19	0.6 %	- 0.1 %
<b>3-24</b>	74	1.1 %	20	0.3 %	39	0.6 %	35	0.4 %	+ 0.2 %
<b>All ages</b>	552	2.2 %	191	0.8 %	302	1.2 %	285	1.1 %	+ 0.1 %
<b>Diff.</b>		- 1.1 %		- 0.5 %		- 0.6 %		- 0.7 %	

Table 14: Knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age groups in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) in 2001 and 1991

### 3.2 Children with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in school catchments

The 2001 census data provide small area statistics – this enables the compilation of “*Gàidhlig* knowledge vs. age” tabulations for the catchment areas of local primary or secondary 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 14 with the age group of 24-35 which may be roughly representative of the language abilities of possible parents. Looking at different age groups the general (dismal) state of *Gàidhlig* in the younger generation in the district has to be realised:

- **Pre-school children:** In 2000/2001 13 children attended the *Gàidhlig* medium nursery in *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso). In addition there were activities in *cròileagan* based in *Raoghard* (Rogart) and *Drochaid a’ Bhanna* (Bonar Bridge). Census figures highlight clearly that no other significant factor had any impact on the *Gàidhlig* pre-school population.

<sup>19</sup> **Important notice:** In the 2001 census figures an official result for a singular output area in Wick distorts the picture significantly. The output area 60QT001119 (including postcode KW1 4JP) was reported to boast 39 *Gàidhlig* speakers (out of a total of 155). This would have meant 25.3 % of all people could speak, read and write the language! A closer inspection of the information revealed that all speakers belonged to the older generation and lived perhaps in a communal establishment. The reason for this single census result, however, is very unclear and therefore Caithness figures should be taken with a certain pinch of salt. Without this output area Caithness would have reported only 263 speakers and 1.1 % of the population as *Gàidhlig* speaking.

<sup>20</sup> Persons able to understand spoken *Gàidhlig*, or able to speak, read or write *Gàidhlig*.



- **Primary school children:** In 2000/2001 four children were enrolled for the *Gàidhlig* medium unit in *Baile Theòrsa* which, however, did not commence eventually! In addition a handful of children from Southeast Sutherland commuted to the *Gàidhlig* medium unit at the primary school of *Baile Dhubhthaich* (Tain). Generally there was no second language tuition in any primary school in the district and census returns were negligible in this age group.
- **Secondary school children:** There was also no second language provision in any secondary school (Golspie, Dornoch, Thurso and Wick). The census revealed once again the educational ignorance towards *Gàidhlig* in this part of northern Scotland.
- **Parents:** *Gàidhlig* speaking ability is also very rare in the “parental” generation. The language is nonetheless very popular among parents as their campaigns for *Gàidhlig* medium education testified.

**In conclusion:** *Gàidhlig* has still a mountain to climb to achieve at least a foothold in the schools of once thoroughly *Gàidhlig*-speaking *Cataibh*. Apart from the activities in Thurso Caithness is a no man’s land as far as *Gàidhlig* in education is concerned – even in the once *Gàidhlig* speaking part in the west.

Knowledge of <i>Gàidhlig</i> (Census 2001) in Selected Primary/Secondary School Catchment Areas								
Primary / Secondary School(s)	“Pre-School” Age 0-4		“Primary” Age 5-11		“Secondary” Age 12-15		“Parents” Age 25-34	
	<i>Leth Chlamhaig</i> (Gledfield, Ardgay)	1	5.3 %	2	4.9 %	-	-	2
<i>Drochaid a’ Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge)	1	2.9 %	2	2.5 %	2	4.4 %	2	3.2 %
<i>Innis nan Lion</i> (Rosehall)	2	25.0 %	-	-	-	-	1	4.5 %
<i>An Luirg</i> (Lairg)	2	4.5 %	1	1.2 %	-	-	1	1.2 %
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)	-	-	2	7.1 %	-	-	4	14.8 %
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo)	1	5.0 %	3	6.3 %	2	7.7 %	2	4.7 %
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.4 %
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	1	1.1 %	-	-	2	2.1 %	7	4.8 %
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora)	1	1.5 %	1	0.8 %	2	2.2 %	2	1.4 %
<i>Bun Ilidh &amp; Ceann a’ Bhràist</i> (Helmsdale & Kinbrace)	-	-	2	3.2 %	2	4.3 %	3	4.6 %
<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso)	19	2.7 %	12	1.0 %	4	0.6 %	34	2.2 %
<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)	7	1.2 %	9	0.8 %	7	1.0 %	32	2.1 %

**Table 15: Number and percentage of people with knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in selected age groups for primary/secondary school catchment areas according to the census 2001**



## 4 Future Perspectives

The base for language resurrection is already very thin in northern Scotland. Just around 6 % of Scottish-born residents in *Cataibh an Ear* have still some knowledge of *Gàidhlig*. Of course the language community indicator (LCI<sup>21</sup>) is even far less in *Gallaibh*. The language viability indicator (LVI<sup>22</sup>) still points to poor intergenerational language-maintenance (table 16) which is due to very 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)
<b><i>Cataibh an Ear</i> (East Sutherland)</b>	51	2.2 %	504	5.3 %	<b>- 3.1 %</b>	<b>6.1 %</b>
<b><i>Gallaibh</i> (Caithness)</b>	83	1.1 %	552	2.2 %	<b>- 1.1 %</b>	<b>2.3 %</b>
<i>In comparison:</i> <b><i>Gaidhealtachd</i> (Highland)</b>		7.0 %		8.9 %	<b>- 1.9 %</b>	<b>10.0 %</b>

**Table 16: Intergenerational viability and *Gàidhlig*-speakers born in Scotland in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) and *Gallaibh* (Caithness) in comparison with the *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority according to census data of 2001**

Locally the LVI is consistently negative with a few statistically irrelevant exceptions (tables 33 to 35). Intergenerational viability is negative, especially so in the last remaining “stronghold” of *Eurabol* (LVI value of -15.0 %). The LCI is generally small with still exceptional values of 23.4 % and 14.7 % in parts of *Eurabol* (Embo) and 11.2 % at *Srath Uachail* (Strath Oykeell) and 11.3 % in *Raoghard* (Rogart). The knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age-groups is, however, everywhere at very low levels.

Since 2001 developments have turned slightly more positive. The newly opened *Gàidhlig* nursery at *Drochaid a’ Bhanna* and the slightly older one in *Baile Theòrsa* (Thurso) are going from strength to strength. For example 6 and 20 children respectively were enrolled in the school year 2003/2004. The *Gàidhlig* medium unit at *Drochaid a’ Bhanna* (Bonar Bridge) primary school eventually commenced in the 2004/05 school year. On the other hand *Baile Theòrsa* still awaits the opening of its GMU which normally should have opened in 2000. Progress is very low key still – even in secondary education. But actually (in theory) all secondary school children could now opt for a *Gàidhlig* distance learning course from S3 onwards.

**In conclusion: Signs for the future still look not promising. *Gàidhlig* is still being sidelined officially in the whole area. Local councillors even object to bilingual road-signs. Educational provision of *Gàidhlig* is either derisory or non-existent. Only constant parental pressure has achieved the introduction of *Gàidhlig* medium provision in just two locations. The language would already be dead in northern Scotland without this grassroots support for the once dominant tongue.**

<sup>21</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>22</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.



## I. Supplementary Tables

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan)	<i>Loth</i> (Loth)	<i>Clin</i> (Clyne)	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)
1881	1,146	213	1,339	742	1,063
1891	896	269	1,196	713	955
1901	726	183	1,190	724	817
1911	536	144	862	572	587
1921	297	71	669	375	388
1931	209	33	428	306	260
1951	94	13	156	150	105
1961	59	14	119	149	56
1971	45	10	70	130	35
1981	30	4	57	93	20
1991	26	4	38	69	13
2001	14	6	33	50	15

**Table 17: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the northern part of *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

Census	Civil Parish				
	<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan)	<i>Loth</i> (Loth)	<i>Clin</i> (Clyne)	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)
1881	59.0 %	36.5 %	73.9 %	47.7 %	86.6 %
1891	49.0 %	50.9 %	69.8 %	49.1 %	75.3 %
1901	41.0 %	40.8 %	69.0 %	43.5 %	73.9 %
1911	30.0 %	39.2 %	49.3 %	33.9 %	62.1 %
1921	19.6 %	22.1 %	41.4 %	24.7 %	48.3 %
1931	14.4 %	9.6 %	24.8 %	22.1 %	35.5 %
1951	7.0 %	5.2 %	9.0 %	11.3 %	18.4 %
1961	4.4 %	6.8 %	6.7 %	9.2 %	12.1 %
1971	4.1 %	5.0 %	3.9 %	7.2 %	8.5 %
1981	3.5 %	3.0 %	3.0 %	5.7 %	5.5 %
1991	3.1 %	2.7 %	2.1 %	4.2 %	3.1 %
2001	1.8 %	4.4 %	2.0 %	3.0 %	3.6 %

**Table 18: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the northern part of *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001**



Census	Civil Parish			
	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)	<i>Craoich</i> (Creich)	<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) <sup>23</sup>
1881	1,657	931	1,633	1,116
1891	1,644	799	1,267	1,085
1901	1,579	718	1,145	884
1911	1,204	561	836	706
1921	959	440	554	453
1931	673	357	378	303
1951	306	136	138	124
1961	223	116	117	66
1971	155	65	90	60
1981	139	50	86	39
1991	132	50	43	30
2001	79	24	41	22

**Table 19: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the civil parishes in the southern part of *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

Census	Civil Parish			
	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)	<i>Craoich</i> (Creich)	<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine)
1881	65.6 %	68.7 %	73.5 %	75.8 %
1891	70.5 %	68.3 %	62.9 %	76.6 %
1901	56.5 %	66.4 %	62.4 %	69.9 %
1911	45.1 %	56.4 %	48.8 %	58.9 %
1921	38.7 %	42.1 %	36.8 %	43.0 %
1931	32.3 %	33.5 %	25.0 %	31.5 %
1951	15.9 %	14.1 %	10.7 %	16.7 %
1961	11.1 %	11.1 %	9.6 %	9.4 %
1971	8.2 %	6.7 %	8.5 %	8.1 %
1981	7.2 %	5.3 %	7.9 %	6.2 %
1991	6.5 %	5.8 %	4.2 %	4.6 %
2001	3.4 %	3.0 %	4.0 %	3.3 %

**Table 20: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the civil parishes in the southern part of *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

<sup>23</sup> Until 1974 this civil parish was part of Ross & Cromarty.



Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>A'Bhatan</i> (Watten)	<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk)	<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron)	<i>Inbhir Theòrsa</i> (Thurso)	<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)
1881	167	477	253	1,914	331	134
1891	118	409	507	2,079	415	398
1901	71	269	365	1,372	379	317
1911	43	173	177	850	216	156
1961	4	22	12	26	87	59
1971	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	155	85
1981	2	14	28	29	114	128
1991	2	4	26	16	124	89
2001	5	8	12	14	94	145

**Table 21: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to 2001<sup>24</sup>**

Census	Civil Parish					
	<i>A'Bhatan</i> (Watten)	<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk)	<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron)	<i>Inbhir Theòrsa</i> (Thurso)	<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)
1881	11.9 %	39.8 %	9.4 %	28.7 %	5.4 %	1.0 %
1891	8.5 %	34.6 %	19.8 %	35.4 %	7.1 %	3.0 %
1901	5.8 %	27.6 %	15.5 %	26.3 %	7.0 %	2.6 %
1911	4.0 %	18.8 %	8.2 %	18.8 %	4.6 %	1.2 %
1961	0.6 %	2.7 %	0.9 %	1.2 %	1.1 %	0.7 %
1971	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1.8 %	1.2 %
1981	0.3 %	2.2 %	1.6 %	1.8 %	1.3 %	1.4 %
1991	0.3 %	0.8 %	1.4 %	1.0 %	1.4 %	1.0 %
2001	0.7 %	1.4 %	0.9 %	0.8 %	1.1 %	1.5 %

**Table 22: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) according to census data from 1881 to 2001**

<sup>24</sup> Census information with local detail between 1921 and 1951 in particular was restricted to the “main” Gàidhlig-speaking counties. Therefore figures are not available for some of the “peripheral” civil parishes of the *Gaidhealtachd* for all years.

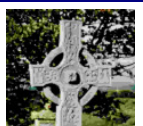




<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891: <i>Cataibh an Ear</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	<b>14,696</b>	<b>9,840</b>	
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,942	1,146	
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	584	213	
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,812	1,339	
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,556	742	
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	1,227	1,063	
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	1,355	931	
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	2,525	1,657	
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	2,223	1,633	
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	1,472	1,116	
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	497	32	
<i>Drochaid a’ Bhanna</i> (Bonar) Vi	313	210	
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) Vi	532	404	
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) Vi	396	383	
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) Vi	956	465	
<i>Bun Ildh an Ear</i> (Helmsdale East) Vi	675	327	
<i>Bun Ildh an Iar</i> (Helmsdale West) Vi <sup>25</sup>	659	486	
<b>1891</b>	<b>13,718</b>	<b>8,516</b>	<b>306</b>
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,828	885	11
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	528	268	1
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,713	1,156	40
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,451	707	6
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	1,195	884	23
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	1,169	778	21
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	2,404	1,590	102
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	2,013	1,228	39
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	1,417	1,022	63
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	514	272	2
<i>Drochaid a’ Bhanna</i> (Bonar) Vi	356	184	-
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) Vi	540	341	26
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) Vi	471	379	48
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) Vi	935	464	5
<i>Bun Ildh an Ear</i> (Helmsdale East) Vi	743	281	2
<i>Bun Ildh an Iar</i> (Helmsdale West) Vi	580	374	8

**Table 23: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) in *Cataibh an Ear***

<sup>25</sup> Figures include *Maraill* (Marrel) and *Gartaidh Mòr* (Gartymore).



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1911: <i>Cataibh an Ear</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1901</b>	<b>13,691</b>	<b>7,808</b>	<b>158</b>
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,772	722	4
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	449	182	1
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,724	1,177	13
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,665	703	21
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	1,105	802	15
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	1,081	715	3
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch) CP	2,794	1,517	62
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	1,836	1,113	32
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	1,265	877	7
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	624	255	-
<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar) Vi	367	186	2
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) Vi	548	410	13
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) Vi	546	459	24
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) Vi	1,024	496	21
<i>Bun Ilidh an Ear</i> (Helmsdale East) Vi	779	214	-
<i>Bun Ilidh an Iar</i> (Helmsdale West) Vi <sup>26</sup>	480	285	4
----- Electoral divisions-----			
<i>Loth an Ear</i> (Loth East)	449	182	1
<i>Loth an Iar</i> (Loth West)	389	280	-
<i>Cill Donain a Tuath</i> (Kildonan North)	1,101	376	-
<i>Cill Donain a Deas</i> (Kildonan South)	671	346	4
<i>Goillspidh a Tuath</i> (Golspie North)	1,024	496	21
<i>Goillspidh a Deas</i> (Golspie South)	641	207	-
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne)	1,335	897	13
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)	1,105	802	15
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)	1,081	715	3
<i>Dòrnach an Iar</i> (Dornoch West)	1,054	533	34
<i>Dòrnach an Ear</i> (Dornoch East)	1,116	729	28
<i>Craoich an Iar</i> (Creich West)	1,018	604	12
<i>Craoich an Ear</i> (Creich East)	818	509	20
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine)	1,265	877	7
<b>1911</b>	<b>13,109</b>	<b>5,972</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,786	536	-
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	367	144	-
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,749	862	-
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,685	566	6
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	946	587	-
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	995	558	3
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch) CP	2,670	1,194	10
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	1,713	819	17
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	1,198	706	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	654	184	-
<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar) Vi	447	143	2
<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) Vi	572	377	-
<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) Vi	588	515	9
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) Vi	1,046	412	6

**Table 24: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1901 and 1911 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) in *Cataibh an Ear***



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971: <i>Cataibh an Ear</i></b>	Total Popula- tion	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1921</b>	11,858	4,185	21
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,518	297	-
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	321	71	-
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,616	668	1
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,518	375	-
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	804	388	-
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	1,046	440	-
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	2,475	943	16
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	1,506	551	3
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	1,054	452	1
<b>1931</b>	11,272	2,945	4
<i>Cill Donain</i> (Kildonan) CP	1,454	209	-
<i>Loth</i> (Loth) CP	343	33	-
<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne) CP	1,723	428	-
<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) CP	1,392	308	-
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart) CP	732	260	-
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) CP	1,065	356	1
<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	2,086	670	3
<i>Craoich</i> (Creich) CP	1,515	378	-
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine) CP	962	303	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	725	83	-
<b>1951</b>	10,130	1,222	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	793	40	-
<b>1961</b>	10,242	913	-
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	933	51	-
<b>1971<sup>27</sup></b>	9,305	600	*
----- included in the above ---			
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	840	25	*

**Table 25: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1921 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, burghs) in *Cataibh an Ear***

<sup>26</sup> Figures include *Maraill* (Marrel) and *Gartaidh Mòr* (Gartymore).

<sup>27</sup> Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide exact “Gaelic only” numbers in 1971.



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1891: <i>Gallaibh</i></b>	Total Po- pulation	<i>Gàidhlig</i> and Eng- lish	<i>Gàidhlig</i> but no English
<b>Census/Selected Area</b>			
<b>1881 (Speaking “habitually” Gaelic)</b>	<b>38,865</b>	<b>3,422</b>	
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay) CP	1,197	477	
<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk) CP	2,705	253	
<i>A`Bhatan</i> (Watten) CP	1,406	167	
<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron) CP	6,675	1,944	
<i>Bàgair</i> (Bower) CP	1,608	2	
<i>Dùnaid</i> (Dunnet) CP	1,607	63	
<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick) CP	12,822	134	
<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) CP	6,217	331	
<i>An t-Òlach</i> (Olrìg) CP	2,002	50	
<i>Bàgh a`Chanais</i> (Canisbay) CP	2,626	1	
----- included in the above ----			
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag)</i> (Thurso Small Burgh)	4,055	216	
<i>Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag)</i> (Wick Small Burgh)	8,053	77	
<i>Eilean Stròma</i> (Isle of Stròma)	341	1	
<i>Bail` a`Chaisteil</i> (Castletown) Vi	932	42	
<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk) Vi	372	47	
<i>Cèis</i> (Keiss) Vi	313	-	
<i>Liabost</i> (Lybster) Vi	831	23	
<b>1891</b>	<b>37,177</b>	<b>4,068</b>	<b>76</b>
<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay) CP	1,182	403	6
<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk) CP	2,564	504	3
<i>A`Bhatan</i> (Watten) CP	1,390	118	-
<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron) CP	5,875	2,018	61
<i>Bàgair</i> (Bower) CP	1,506	49	-
<i>Dùnaid</i> (Dunnet) CP	1,488	45	-
<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick) CP	13,105	395	3
<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) CP	5,838	414	1
<i>An t-Òlach</i> (Olrìg) CP	1,837	73	1
<i>Bàgh a`Chanais</i> (Canisbay) CP	2,392	18	1
----- included in the above ----			
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag)</i> (Thurso Small Burgh)	3,936	299	-
<i>Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag)</i> (Wick Small Burgh)	8,512	244	2
<i>Eilean Stròma</i> (Isle of Stròma)	327	1	-
<i>Bail` a`Chaisteil</i> (Castletown) Vi	979	47	1
<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk) Vi	432	93	-
<i>Cèis</i> (Keiss) Vi	341	3	-
<i>Liabost</i> (Lybster) Vi	740	162	-

**Table 26: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1891 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) in *Gallaibh***



<b>Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1901 and 1971: Gallaibh</b>	Total Po- pulation	Gàidhlig and Eng- lish	Gàidhlig but no English
<i>Census/Selected Area</i>			
<b>1901</b>	33,870	2,876	20
<i>Meaghrath (Reay) CP</i>	974	269	-
<i>Hacraig (Halkirk) CP</i>	2,355	361	4
<i>A`Bhatan (Watten) CP</i>	1,230	71	-
<i>Latharan (Latheron) CP</i>	5,223	1,361	11
<i>Bàgair (Bower) CP</i>	1,453	34	-
<i>Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP</i>	1,232	17	-
<i>Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP</i>	12,250	315	2
<i>Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP</i>	5,406	377	2
<i>An t-Òlach (Olig) CP</i>	1,555	54	-
<i>Bàgh a`Chanais (Canisbay) CP</i>	2,192	17	1
----- included in the above ----			
<i>Inbhir Theòrsa (Baile Beag) (Thurso Small Burgh)</i>	3,723	262	2
<i>Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh)</i>	7,911	207	1
<i>Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma)</i>	375	-	-
<i>Bail` a`Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi</i>	767	24	-
<i>Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi</i>	471	86	1
<i>Liabost (Lybster) Vi</i>	609	118	-
----- <i>Electoral divisions (selected areas only)</i> -----			
<i>Hacraig a Deas (Halkirk South)</i>	885	128	-
<i>Hacraig Tuath an Ear (Halkirk North-East)</i>	609	95	1
<i>Hacraig Tuath an Iar (Halkirk North-West)</i>	861	138	3
<i>Bearghdal (Berriedale)</i>	916	315	6
<i>Dùn Bèithe (Dunbeath)</i>	1,066	378	2
<i>Latharan (Latheron)</i>	1,121	277	1
<i>Liabost (Lybster)</i>	1,247	274	1
<i>Cliath (Clyth)</i>	866	114	1
<b>1911</b>	32,010	1,982	3
<i>Meaghrath (Reay) CP</i>	920	173	-
<i>Hacraig (Halkirk) CP</i>	2,160	177	-
<i>A`Bhatan (Watten) CP</i>	1,079	43	-
<i>Latharan (Latheron) CP</i>	4,514	849	1
<i>Bàgair (Bower) CP</i>	1,393	20	-
<i>Dùnaid (Dunnet) CP</i>	1,147	17	-
<i>Inbhir Uige (Wick) CP</i>	12,587	155	1
<i>Baile Theòrsa (Thurso) CP</i>	4,709	215	1
<i>An t-Òlach (Olig) CP</i>	1,450	6	-
<i>Bàgh a`Chanais (Canisbay) CP</i>	2,051	16	-
----- included in the above ----			
<i>Inbhir Uige (Baile Beag) (Wick Small Burgh)</i>	9,086	108	1
<i>Eilean Stròma (Isle of Stròma)</i>	339	1	-
<i>Bail` a`Chaisteil (Castletown) Vi</i>	730	18	-
<i>Hacraig (Halkirk) Vi</i>	536	49	-
<b>1921</b>	28,285	1,003	-
<b>1931</b>	25,656	633	-
<b>1951</b>	21,600	270	-
<b>1961</b>	27,370	233	-
<b>1971<sup>28</sup></b>	27,780	410	*

**Table 27: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig between 1901 and 1971 – selected areas (civil parishes, electoral divisions, islands, burghs) in Gallaibh**

<sup>28</sup> 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 (Sutherland) and the County of Caithness (Population aged 3 years and over)						
Area	1961/ 71 Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Dòrnach (Baile Beag)</i> (Dornoch Small Burgh)	DO	51 5.6 %	25 3.1 %	37 4.6 %	34 3.7 %	19 1.9 %
<i>Cill Donain a Tuath</i> (Kildonan North)	KN	22 2.8 %	31 3.7 %	17 3.0 %	22 3.6 %	7 1.3 %
<i>Cill Donain a Deas</i> (Kildonan South)	KS	31 8.7 %	17 7.9 %	13 5.0 %	4 2.0 %	7 3.5 %
<i>Loth</i> (Loth)	LO	47 6.7 %	20 3.8 %	61 3.1 %	42 2.2 %	39 2.2 %
<i>Clin</i> (Clyne)	CL	86 7.2 %	60 4.4 %			
<i>Goillspidh (Am Baile)</i> (Golspie Village)	GV	105 9.5 %	109 8.7 %	85 6.2 %	54 3.9 %	42 3.1 %
<i>Goillspidh Dùthaich</i> (Golspie Rural)	GR	44 10.4 %	19 4.1 %	8 3.6 %	15 6.7 %	8 3.3 %
<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)	RO	56 12.6 %	35 8.8 %	20 5.7 %	13 3.2 %	15 3.7 %
<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)	LA	116 11.7 %	65 7.0 %	50 5.5 %	50 6.0 %	24 3.2 %
<i>Dòrnach an Iar</i> (Dornoch West)	DW	40 9.6 %	18 5.4 %	22 6.2 %	24 6.2 %	15 4.7 %
<i>Dòrnach an Ear</i> (Dornoch East)	DE	132 22.1 %	111 15.8 %	80 11.1 %	74 10.1 %	45 5.0 %
<i>Craoich an Iar</i> (Creich West)	CW	77 11.3 %	46 8.2 %	59 7.3 %	21 2.9 %	29 4.3 %
<i>Craoich an Ear</i> (Creich East)	CE	40 8.4 %	45 9.7 %	29 11.5 %	22 8.4 %	12 3.7 %
<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine)	KI	66 10.1 %	60 8.3 %	39 6.4 %	30 4.7 %	22 3.4 %
<i>Gallaibh</i> (Caithness)	CA	233 0.9 %	410 1.6 %	342 1.3 %	285 1.1 %	299 1.2 %

**Table 28: 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**



Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers <i>Cataibh an Ear</i>							
Map No	Census output area(s)	1981		1991		2001	
01	<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge) a	17	9.2 %	9	5.1 %	12	6.4 %
02	<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge) b	19	7.0 %	10	3.9 %	9	3.3 %
03	<i>Srath Uachail</i> (Strath Oykell)	8	7.3 %	14	5.6 %	6	3.8 %
	<i>Innis nan Lìon</i> (Rosehall)	11	11.0 %	2	2.4 %	5	7.3 %
04	<i>Àird Ghaoithe</i> (Ardgay)	13	8.4 %	12	8.4 %	5	1.9 %
	<i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine)	8	4.5 %	10	4.6 %	7	6.9 %
	<i>A'Chròic</i> (Croick)	4	2.9 %	1	0.9 %	5	3.4 %
05	<i>Craoich</i> (Creich)	3	3.7 %	3	3.8 %	1	0.5 %
	<i>Migein</i> (Migdale)	25	15.4 %	19	10.0 %	11	8.8 %
06	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch) a	17	3.3 %	13	2.5 %	10	1.8 %
07	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch) b	20	7.0 %	21	5.3 %	9	1.8 %
08	<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) a	66	24.1 %	35	31.0 %	15	11.0 %
09	<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo) b			33	16.4 %	20	8.5 %
10	<i>Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore)	4	2.0 %	2	1.1 %	5	2.1 %
11	<i>Fliuch Airidh</i> (Fleuchary)	3	2.4 %	2	1.3 %	3	1.6 %
	<i>A'Mhùnd</i> (Mound)	18	13.0 %	5	4.8 %	2	1.7 %
12	<i>Baile Ghrùididh</i> (Pitgrudy)	17	6.6 %	21	9.0 %	10	4.0 %
	<i>Sràid Euraboil</i> (Embo Street)	5	5.2 %	3	3.7 %	5	6.9 %
13	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) a	19	4.4 %	23	5.5 %	11	2.8 %
14	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg) b	8	4.7 %	8	3.7 %	4	1.8 %
15	<i>A'Chràisg</i> (Crask)	5	6.4 %	7	5.9 %	2	2.2 %
	<i>Ofarsgaig</i> (Overscaig)	14	9.2 %	6	5.8 %	8	7.3 %
16	<i>Inbhir Sin</i> (Invershin)	5	5.9 %	3	3.0 %	1	1.1 %
	<i>Inbhirean</i> (Inveran)	12	15.6 %	3	2.9 %	3	3.4 %
17	<i>A'Mhuigh</i> (Muie)	5	2.9 %	5	2.7 %	9	4.1 %
	<i>Baile nan Tràill</i> (Pittentrail)	7	10.3 %	1	1.2 %	1	1.4 %
	<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)	7	6.2 %	7	5.2 %	5	3.8 %
18	<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) a	29	3.3 %	18	2.5 %	14	2.0 %
19	<i>Brùra</i> (Brora) b	21	3.0 %	11	1.5 %	12	1.8 %
20	<i>Clìn</i> (Clyne)	6	2.6 %	4	1.2 %	4	1.2 %
21	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) a	24	7.9 %	13	3.5 %	17	4.5 %
22	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) b	46	8.1 %	19	3.8 %	8	1.5 %
23	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie) c	13	3.0 %	15	2.8 %	17	2.9 %
24	<i>Bacaidh</i> (Backies)	5	5.4 %	6	6.6 %	2	1.2 %
	<i>Druim Muighe</i> (Drumuie)	3	2.3 %	9	6.8 %	6	7.1 %
25	<i>Bun Ilidh</i> (Helmsdale) a	13	5.0 %	4	2.0 %	7	3.4 %
26	<i>Bun Ilidh</i> (Helmsdale) b	12	2.0 %	19	3.3 %	9	1.5 %
27	<i>Ceann a'Bhràist</i> (Kinbrace)	6	6.6 %	9	6.3 %	4	3.5 %

**Table 29: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for the census output areas in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to data from 1981 to 2001**



<i>Cataibh an Ear: 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	2	0.9 %
<b>3-4</b>	-	-	1	0.4 %	2	0.9 %	3	1.6 %
<b>5-24</b>	60	1.9 %	34	1.2 %	30	1.3 %	33	1.7 %
<b>25-44</b>	130	5.8 %	101	4.8 %	68	2.9 %	52	2.4 %
<b>45-64</b>	215	9.1 %	164	7.4 %	147	6.1 %	93	3.4 %
<b>65 +</b>	255	15.9 %	218	12.5 %	158	8.7 %	103	4.7 %
<b>Total (3 +)</b>	660	7.6 %	518	5.6 %	405	4.6 %	284	3.1 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	497	6.3 %	377	6.0 %	257	3.6 %

**Table 30: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) between 1971 and 2001**

<b>Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers<sup>29</sup> <i>Gallaibh</i></b>								
Map No	Census output area(s)	1981		1991		2001		
51	<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	14	2.3 %	4	0.8 %	8	1.4 %	
52	<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) a	114	1.3 %	87	1.4 %	64	1.1 %	
53	<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) b			37	1.4 %	32	1.3 %	
54	<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk)	30	1.3 %	28	1.1 %	18	0.9 %	
55	<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron)	29	1.9 %	16	1.0 %	14	0.8 %	
56	<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)	128	1.4 %	89	1.0 %	145	1.5 %	
57	<i>Gallaibh an Ear</i> (East Caithness)	27	0.9 %	24	0.8 %	21	0.6 %	

**Table 31: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers for some census areas in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) between 1981 and 2001**

<b><i>Gallaibh: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1961-2001)</i></b>										
Age	1961		1971		1981		1991		2001	
<b>0-2</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	0.4 %
<b>3-4</b>	1	0.1 %	-	-	2	0.3 %	1	0.1 %	10	1.9 %
<b>5-24</b>	13	0.4 %	60	0.7 %	48	0.5 %	34	0.5 %	29	0.5 %
<b>25-44</b>	77	1.0 %	130	1.8 %	100	1.5 %	95	1.2 %	75	1.1 %
<b>45-64</b>	89	1.5 %	145	2.4 %	112	1.8 %	92	1.4 %	77	1.1 %
<b>65 +</b>	53	1.9 %	75	2.4 %	82	2.4 %	63	1.7 %	108	2.5 %
<b>Total (3 +)</b>	233	0.9 %	410	1.6 %	342	1.3 %	285	1.1 %	299	1.2 %
<b>Born in Scotland</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	315	1.4 %	257	1.2 %	272	1.3 %

**Table 32: Number and percentage of Gàidhlig-speakers in different age groups in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) according to data from 1961 to 2001**

<sup>29</sup> 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>Drochaid a' Bhanna a</i> (Bonar Bridge) a	2	3.8 %	14	7.5 %	- 3.7 %	7.0 %
02	<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna b</i> (Bonar Bridge) b	2	2.5 %	15	6.8 %	- 4.3 %	6.9 %
03	<i>Srath Uachail</i> (Strath Oykell)	2	4.3 %	20	8.7 %	- 4.4 %	11.2 %
04	<i>Àird Ghaoithe</i> (Ardgay)	3	2.2 %	22	4.3 %	- 2.1 %	3.9 %
05	<i>Craoich</i> (Creich)	3	4.1 %	23	7.2 %	- 3.1 %	8.1 %
06	<i>Dòrnach a</i> (Dornoch) a	-	-	14	2.5 %	- 2.5 %	3.4 %
07	<i>Dòrnach b</i> (Dornoch) b	-	-	20	4.0 %	- 4.0 %	4.3 %
08	<i>Eurabol a</i> (Embo) a	1	4.0 %	26	19.0 %	- 15.0 %	23.4 %
09	<i>Eurabol b</i> (Embo) b	6	8.1 %	33	14.0 %	- 5.9 %	14.7 %
10	<i>Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore)	1	1.9 %	9	3.7 %	- 1.8 %	3.5 %
11	<i>Fliuch Airidh</i> (Fleuchary)	4	4.5 %	12	3.8 %	+ 0.7 %	3.8 %
12	<i>Baile Ghrùididh</i> (Pitgrudy)	3	3.9 %	25	7.8 %	- 3.9 %	9.0 %
13	<i>Luirg a</i> (Lairg) a	-	-	18	4.6 %	- 4.6 %	5.5 %
14	<i>Luirg b</i> (Lairg) b	1	1.5 %	12	5.5 %	- 4.0 %	6.7 %
15	<i>A'Chràisg</i> (Crask)	3	7.9 %	14	6.7 %	+ 1.2 %	6.8 %
16	<i>Inbhir Sin</i> (Invershin)	-	-	6	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	4.9 %
17	<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart)	2	2.4 %	40	9.5 %	- 7.1 %	11.3 %
18	<i>Brùra a</i> (Brora) a	-	-	22	3.2 %	- 3.2 %	3.8 %
19	<i>Brùra b</i> (Brora) b	1	0.6 %	20	3.1 %	- 2.5 %	3.5 %
20	<i>Clin</i> (Clyne)	4	4.8 %	12	3.5 %	+ 1.3 %	4.6 %

**Table 33: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in Cataibh an Ear (East Sutherland) 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)
21	<i>Goillspidh a</i> (Golspie) a	2	2.0 %	28	7.4 %	- 5.4 %	8.1 %
22	<i>Goillspidh b</i> (Golspie) b	1	1.0 %	26	5.9 %	- 4.9 %	5.4 %
23	<i>Goillspidh c</i> (Golspie) c	1	0.6 %	26	4.4 %	- 3.8 %	5.0 %
24	<i>Bacaidh</i> (Backies)	2	2.7 %	15	6.0 %	- 3.3 %	8.6 %
25	<i>Bun Ildh a</i> (Helmsdale) a	2	5.4 %	10	4.9 %	+ 0.5 %	6.4 %
26	<i>Bun Ildh b</i> (Helmsdale) b	4	3.2 %	22	3.8 %	- 0.6 %	2.8 %
27	<i>Ceann a' Bhràist</i> (Kinbrace)	1	3.1 %	6	5.2 %	- 2.1 %	7.0 %

**Table 34: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) according to census data of 2001 – Part B**

Map No.	Output Area	Knowledge of Gàidhlig in 2001					
		Young age (0-24)		All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Born in Scotland (Language community indicator)
51	<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay)	-	-	15	2.6 %	- 2.6 %	2.8 %
52	<i>Baile Theòrsa a</i> (Thurso) a	19	1.0 %	136	2.2 %	- 1.2 %	2.3 %
53	<i>Baile Theòrsa b</i> (Thurso) b	19	2.7 %	55	2.2 %	+ 0.5 %	2.3 %
54	<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk)	4	0.7 %	33	1.6 %	- 0.9 %	1.7 %
55	<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron)	1	0.2 %	31	1.9 %	- 1.7 %	2.5 %
56	<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)	31	1.1 %	235	2.5 %	- 1.4 %	2.6 %
57	<i>Gallaibh an Ear</i> (East Caithness)	9	0.9 %	47	1.4 %	- 0.5 %	1.5 %

**Table 35: Intergenerational viability and Gàidhlig-speakers born in Scotland in *Gallaibh* (Caithness) according to census data of 2001**



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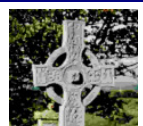
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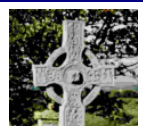
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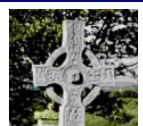
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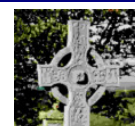
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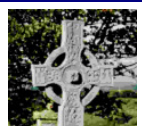
### III. Some Valuable Comments about Census Information

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>Cataibh an Ear – Part A</i>				
	Census output area(s)	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>01</b>	<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge)	CW	27AA01	60QT001522 60QT001523
<b>02</b>	<i>Drochaid a' Bhanna</i> (Bonar Bridge)	CW	27AA02	60QT000328 60QT001524 60QT001525
<b>03</b>	<i>Srath Uachail</i> (Strath Oykell), <i>Innis nan Lion</i> (Rosehall), <i>Loidse Aladail</i> (Alladale Lodge), <i>Àmait</i> (Amat), <i>Loidse Beinn Mhòir</i> (Benmore Lodge), <i>Cùl Ràthain</i> (Culrain), <i>Gleann Carsla</i> (Glen Cassley), <i>Cill Mo Cholmaig</i> (Kilmachalmack), <i>Langail</i> (Langwell), <i>An Lùb Chruaidh</i> (Lubcro), <i>Drochaid Uachail</i> (Oykell Bridge)	KI / CW	27AC09 27AA04 27AC11	60QT000329 60QT000348
<b>04</b>	<i>Àird Ghaoithe</i> (Ardgay), <i>Cinn Chàrdainn</i> (Kincardine), <i>Inbhir Chàrdainn</i> (Invercharron), <i>A'Chròic</i> (Croick), <i>Baile na Bruaiche</i> (Balnabruaich), <i>Gruinneard</i> (Gruinards)	KI	27AA06 27AA07 27AC05 27AA03	60QT000330 60QT000331 60QT001526 60QT001527
<b>05</b>	<i>Craoich</i> (Creich), <i>Migein</i> (Migdale), <i>Druim Lios</i> (Drumlish), <i>Spainnigeadal</i> (Spinningdale), <i>Druim Liath</i> (Drumliath), <i>Tulach</i> (Tulloch), <i>Na h-Àirdean</i> (Airdens)	CE	27AA10 27AA11	60QT000332 60QT001528 60QT001529
<b>06</b>	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch), <i>Baile an Lòin</i> (Balloan)	DO	27AB01 27AB02	60QT001093 60QT001094 60QT001095 60QT001291 60QT001736 60QT001737
<b>07</b>	<i>Dòrnach</i> (Dornoch)	DO	27AB03	60QT001096 60QT001292 60QT001696
<b>08</b>	<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo)	DE	27AB09A	60QT000335
<b>09</b>	<i>Eurabol</i> (Embo), <i>Ceithir Peighinnean</i> (Fourpenny), <i>Monadh Sgeiraboil</i> (Skelbo Muir)	DE	27AB09B 27AB09C	60QT000336 60QT001355
<b>10</b>	<i>Clais Mòr</i> (Clashmore), <i>Lòn Mòr</i> (Lonemore), <i>Sgiobal</i> (Skelbo), <i>Port a' Chultair</i> (Meikle Ferry)	DW	27AB04 27AB05	60QT001530 60QT001531

**Table A-1: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Cataibh an Ear* (East Sutherland) – 1961-2001 – Part A**



<b>Census Output Areas in <i>Cataibh an Ear – Part B</i></b>				
	<b>Census output area(s)</b>	<b>Area Codes</b>		
		<b>1961 1971</b>	<b>1981 1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>11</b>	<i>Fliuch Airidh</i> (Fleuchary), <i>A'Mhùnd</i> (Mound), <i>Ach' Bhàthaich</i> (Achvaich), <i>Sgeireabol</i> (Skelbo), <i>Achadh Anndra</i> (Achavandra), <i>Baile Bhràid</i> (Balvaird), <i>Dail na Mèinn</i> (Dalnamain)	DE	27AB06 27AB07	60QT000333 60QT000334
<b>12</b>	<i>Baile Ghrùididh</i> (Pitgrudy), <i>An Cadha Mòr</i> (Camore), <i>Baile an Lòin</i> (Balloan), <i>Eibhleag</i> (Evelix), <i>Prannsaidh Cruaidh</i> (Proncycroy)	DW	27AB08 27AB09 27AB10	60QT000337 60QT001097 60QT001354
<b>13</b>	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg)	LA	27AC01 27AC02	60QT000338 60QT000339 60QT000340 60QT000341
<b>14</b>	<i>Luirg</i> (Lairg), <i>Monadh Luirg</i> (Lairg Muir)	LA	27AC03 27AC05	60QT000342 60QT000344
<b>15</b>	<i>A'Chràisg</i> (Crask), <i>Ofarsgaig</i> (Overscaig), <i>Àird na Sinnis</i> (Shinness), <i>Srath Tìridh</i> (Tirryside), <i>Dail Choirce</i> (Dalchork), <i>Achadh an Fheàrna</i> (Achnairn)	LA	27AC04 27AC08	60QT000343 60QT000346
<b>16</b>	<i>Inbhir Sin</i> (Invershin), <i>Inbhirean</i> (Inveran), <i>Tulach</i> (Tullich)	LA	27AC06 27AC07 27AC10	60QT000345 60QT000347
<b>17</b>	<i>Raoghard</i> (Rogart), <i>A'Mhuigh</i> (Muie), <i>Baile nan Tràill</i> (Pit-trail), <i>Ruigh an Lochain</i> (Rhilochan), <i>Àmait</i> (Amat), <i>Creag Mhòr</i> (Craggiemore), <i>Achadh nan Gearran</i> (Achnagarron), <i>Langail an Iar</i> (West Langwell), <i>Langail an Ear</i> (East Langwell), <i>Bruach Baile a' Mhuilinn</i> (Miltonbank), <i>Cnoc Artair</i> (Knockarthur), <i>Ròmhaigh</i> (Rovie)	RO	27AD01 27AD02 27AD03 27AD04 27AD05	60QT000364 60QT000365 60QT000366 60QT000367
<b>18</b>	<i>Brùra</i> (Brora)	CL	27AF01 27AF02 27AF03	60QT001111 60QT001112 60QT001113 60QT001114 60QT001298 60QT001299 60QT001359
<b>19</b>	<i>Brùra</i> (Brora)	CL	27AF04 27AF05	60QT000375 60QT001115 60QT001116 60QT001117 60QT001300 60QT001301

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



Census Output Areas in <i>Cataibh an Ear – Part C</i>				
	Census output area(s)	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
<b>20</b>	<i>Clin</i> (Clyne), <i>Dail</i> (Doll), <i>Dail Chàirn</i> (Dalcharn), <i>Clin Trolla</i> (Kintradwell)	CL	27AF06 27AF07 27AF08 27AF09	60QT000376 60QT000377 60QT001360
<b>21</b>	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	GV	27AG01 27AG02	60QT001105 60QT001295 60QT001296
<b>22</b>	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	GV	27AG03 27AG04	60QT001106 60QT001107 60QT001108 60QT001297
<b>23</b>	<i>Goillspidh</i> (Golspie)	GV	27AG05	60QT001109 60QT001110 60QT001697 60QT001698
<b>24</b>	<i>Bacaidh</i> (Backies), <i>Druim Muighe</i> (Drumuie), <i>Cùil Mhàilidh</i> (Culmaily), <i>Dùn Robain</i> (Dunrobin), <i>Baile na h-Eaglaise</i> (Kirkton)	GR	27AG06 27AG07	60QT000378 60QT000379
<b>25</b>	<i>Bun Ilidh</i> (Helmsdale), <i>Loth Mòr</i> (Lothmore)	KS / LO	27AE01 27AE04	60QT000368 60QT000374 60QT001358
<b>26</b>	<i>Bun Ilidh</i> (Helmsdale)	KN	27AE02 27AE03	60QT000369 60QT000370 60QT000371 60QT000372 60QT000373
<b>27</b>	<i>Ceann a’Bhràist</i> (Kinbrace), <i>Srath Ilidh</i> (Strath of Kildonan), <i>Loidse Cill Donnain</i> (Kildonan Lodge), <i>Loch Choire</i> , <i>Bad nan Loch</i> (Badanloch)	KN	27AH03 27AE05	60QT000381

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





<b>Census Output Areas in Gallaibh – Part A</b>				
	<b>Census output areas</b>	<b>Area Codes</b>		
		<b>61-71</b>	<b>1981-91</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>51</b>	<i>Meaghrath</i> (Reay), <i>Dùnraith</i> (Dounreay), <i>Innis Allt</i> (Isauld), <i>Achadh Bhàrasdail</i> (Achvarasdal), <i>Freasgail</i> (Fresgoe)	CA	21AJ14 21AJ15 21AJ16	60QT000068 to 60QT000072
<b>52</b>	<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) – western and central parts of town; <i>Fors</i> (Forss)	CA	21AJ01 to 21AJ13 21AJ17 21AJ18 21AJ20 21AJ21 21AK12 21AK13	60QT000062 60QT000063 60QT000066 60QT000067 60QT000073 60QT000074 60QT000075 60QT001160 to 60QT001195 60QT001217 60QT001218 60QT001219 60QT001306 60QT001307 60QT001308 60QT001425 60QT001426 60QT001427 60QT001716 60QT001717
<b>53</b>	<i>Baile Theòrsa</i> (Thurso) – eastern part of town	CA	21AK04 to 21AK11	60QT001196 to 60QT001216 60QT001309 60QT001310 60QT001718
<b>54</b>	<i>Hacraig</i> (Halkirk), <i>A’Bhatan</i> (Watten), <i>Allt nam Breac</i> (Altnabreac), <i>Srath Mòr</i> (Strathmore), <i>An Dail Shuas</i> (Westerdale), <i>Cal nan Gall</i> (Scotscalder), <i>Cnoc Dubh</i> (Knockdee), <i>Suardail</i> (Sordale)	CA	21AH01 to 21AH06 21AJ19 21AB14 to 21AB17	60QT001157 to 60QT001159 60QT000062 60QT000063 60QT001723 60QT001724 60QT000035 to 60QT000040

**Table A-4: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Gallaibh* (Caithness) – 1961-2001 – Part A**



<b>Census Output Areas in Gallaibh – Part B</b>				
	<b>Census output areas</b>	<b>Area Codes</b>		
		<b>1961 1971</b>	<b>1981 1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>55</b>	<i>Latharan</i> (Latheron), <i>Bearghdal</i> (Berriedale), <i>Liabost</i> (Lybster), <i>Allt Bèithe</i> (Aultibea), <i>Am Bràigh Mòr</i> (Braemore), <i>Dùn Bèithe</i> (Dunbeath), <i>Borbh</i> (Borgue), <i>Latharan a’Phuill</i> (Latheronwheel), <i>Cliath</i> (Clythe), <i>Achadh a’Mhanaich</i> (Achavanich), <i>Langail</i> (Langwell)	CA	21AC01 21AD01 to 21AD05 21AE01 21AE02 21AF01 21AF02 21AF03 21AG01	60QT000050 to 60QT000061 60QT001392 60QT001423 60QT001424
<b>56</b>	<i>Inbhir Uige</i> (Wick)	CA	21AA01 to 21AA15 21AA18 21AA19 21AA21 21AB01 to 21AB13 21AB18 to 21AB21	60QT000041 to 60QT000049 60QT001118 to 60QT001156 60QT001302 to 60QT001305 60QT001353 60QT001699 to 60QT001715 60QT001418 60QT001419

**Table A-5: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Gallaibh* (Caithness) – 1961-2001 – Part B**



Census Output Areas in <i>Gallaibh – Part C</i>				
	Census output areas	Area Codes		
		1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
57	<i>Bàgair</i> (Bower), <i>Dùnaid</i> (Dunnet), <i>An t-Òlach</i> (Olig), <i>Bàgh a'Chanais</i> (Canisbay), <i>Eilean Stròma</i> (Isle of Stròma), <i>Bail' a'Chaisteil</i> (Castletown), <i>Cèis</i> (Keiss), <i>Dùn Gasbaith</i> (Duncansby), <i>Taigh Iain Ghròt</i> (John O'Groats), <i>Achadh a'Ghuil</i> (Auckengill), <i>Tobhtan</i> (Tofts), <i>A'Mhaigh</i> (Mey), <i>Sgarbh Sgeireidh</i> (Scarfskerry), <i>A'Bhruthach</i> (Brough), <i>Bàgair Mheadhain</i> (Bowermadden)	CA	21AA11 21AH07 21AH08 21AA16 21AA17 21AA20 21AK01 21AK02 21AK03 21AK14 21AK15 21AK17 21AK19 21AK20	60QT000026 to 60QT000033 60QT000034 60QT000064 60QT000065 60QT000076 to 60QT000079 60QT001220 to 60QT001224 60QT001243 60QT001311 60QT001420 60QT001421 60QT001422 60QT001428 60QT001429 to 60QT001434

**Table A-6: List of locations within individual census output areas and official numbers for different census dates for *Gallaibh* (Caithness) – 1961-2001 – Part C**



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## VII. List of Abbreviations

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

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



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