Gàidhlig (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies¹

Vol. 21: Bàideanach, Srath Spè, Nàrann & Bràighean Mhàrr (Badenoch, Strathspey, Nairn & Braes of Mar)

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Executive Summary

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

The report does not only cover the traditional "Highland" districts of Badenoch and Nairn, but it also describes the situation in a *terra incognita* of Gaelic speech: The north-eastern fringe. Right until the First World War it was commonplace to hear Gaelic on the streets of Grantown-on-Spey, Tomintoul and even Braemar in Aberdeenshire. Equally unknown in many circles is the fact that the last "native speaker" of Aberdeenshire Gaelic died as late as the early 1980s. In Badenoch Gaelic still survived as a community language until the Second World War. Today the language is still being held up in the area by a very small number of speakers. Newtonmore in western Badenoch and Nairn are the only communities where Gaelic still shows some flickering light with Gaelic-medium nursery and primary school education in local schools. Essentially arrived at rock bottom, ironically the situation of Gaelic can only improve in this district.

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Foreword to the Series

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. It 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 sociolinguistic studies or they were the basis of regional or Scotland wide analysis. However, it proved very difficult for people who were interested in their own local area to have a comprehensive overview of the number and distribution of Gaelic-speaking people right on their doorstep. This series is planned to cover all regions of Scotland where Scottish Gaelic (*A'Ghàidhlig* to be correct in its own words) was still spoken by a substantial part of the population at the start of the 20th century. Accordingly, besides the main "Highland counties" of Sutherland, Ross & Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll the fringe areas of Bute (including the Isle of Arran), western Caithness, Nairn, North Dunbartonshire and more particularly Highland Perthshire will be covered. It is hoped that these small reports will be of interest not only to science people but also to those who have to cope with opinions like "Gaelic was never spoken here" in their own local community.

Foreword to the Second Edition

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

Foreword to the Extended Second Edition

I am very glad to present an extended and actualized edition of the *Gàidhlig* Local Studies after more than two decades since the first publication. Of course, new data and information had been waiting to be incorporated in this compendium of language development in Scotland. Maybe rather unexpectedly, many additional figures from the past became available, too – especially from the 1881, 1911 and 1981 censuses. As always, I wish happy reading – a few surprises wait to be discovered!!!!!

Foreword to the Third Edition

Perhaps fittingly the third edition of this popular series is published right after the 2022 census data are available with some silver lining on the horizon for *Gàidhlig*. We have strived to add new figures and tables to the reports, making them even more attractive and informative. Enjoy!!!

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* placenames 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 placenames 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 – Mrs. Anne Blackwood should be mentioned here especially. 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 huile duine!*

Wedel, *An Dàmhar 2003* Hamburg, *An t-Sultain 2005* Hamburg, *An t-Og-mhios 2024*

Kurt C. Duwe



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1 Introduction

The Northeast Grampians with their straths and glens of Spey, Dee and Findhorn are the object of this study. Quite a few county boundaries meet here on the hilltops of the Cairngorms in a sort of transition country between *Gàidhlig* and Doric tradition. Until 1974 the counties of Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, and Inverness all had their share of these Highland parishes. The population is concentrated in a few towns and villages in the lower parts of the straths with *An Aghaidh Mhòr* (Aviemore), *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) and *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey) being the most important ones. Occupations today are mainly related to agriculture, whisky distilling and, of course, tourism.

Without doubt the most famous son of this area has been James Macpherson, the "father" of the Ossianic legends and tales. Traditionally *Gàidhlig* speaking this district experienced a dramatic decline of the language during the last century. Whereas in the 19th century *Gàidhlig* was still the main vernacular in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) and could be heard frequently in *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) and even *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar), the language today is confined to a few enthusiasts and a small bunch of fortunate *Gàidhlig* medium pupils. This report strives to explain how this development came about and where (if any) reasons for hope of language revival exist today.

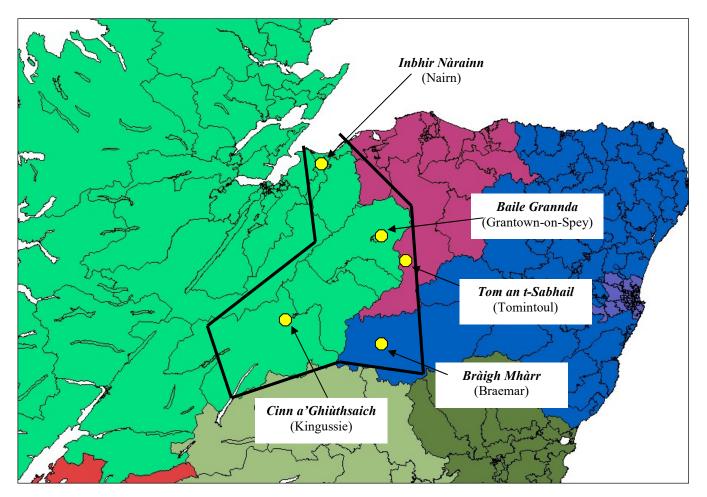


Fig. 1: Overview map of the investigation areas²

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



2 The Historical Background

According to Withers (1984) Gàidhlig probably ceased to be commonly spoken in the east-central and coastal stretches of Aberdeenshire "some time between 1500 and 1600". Later the "language frontier" in north-eastern Scotland remained rather static; Gàidhlig only marginally giving ground to Doric speech in the lower stretches of Deeside and Strathspey. The scarce information sources from this period are mainly of ecclesiastic origin. Around 1650 still Gàidhlig speaking priests were called for in Morayshire places like Cnoc Cheannachd (Knockando), Ràthais (Rothes) or Both Sheirm (Boharm) because a substantial proportion of the people spoke only Gàidhlig. In 1705 the Synod of Aberdeen recognised even the parishes of Mòrthlach (Mortlach), Srath Deathain (Strathdon) and A'Chabrach (Cabrach) as Gàidhlig-speaking. At the same time Gleann Buichead (Glenbuchat) was mentioned in church records as location where the language was widely used (Withers, 1984). Considered as thoroughly Gàidhlig-speaking were parishes like Nàrann (Nairn), Inbhir Athfhionn (Inveravon) and even Gleann Clàbha (Glen Clova) in Angus (The General Assembly Committee for the Highland Libraries, 1705-08).

At the end of the 18th century the Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99) provided a nationwide overview of the situation when parish priests gave their (often prejudiced) opinion about their flock and parish. These parish accounts nevertheless documented some sort of language boundary. The report on Aodann na Coille (Edinkillie) in Moray for example mentions: "In the lower part of the parish, the Scotch dialect of the English language is only spoken; but, in the upper part, the Gaelic is still much in use." About neighbouring Cnoc Cheannachd (Knockando) the account reckons that "the Gaelic was generally spoken here until about 50 years ago." Circumstances in the glens of Aberdeenshire did show the traditional language retreating further and further: "..in the upper parts of the parishes of Tulloch and Glengairn ... some of them use a barbarous dialect of the Gaelic among themselves, but they all understand English.(in Strathdon) the language spoken is English, or rather broad Scotch, excepting in Curgarff. The people there, especially in the upper part of that district, speak also a kind of Gaelic; but that language among them is much on the decline." The language in parishes like Caladar (Cawdor) and Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar), however, did still appear in a very healthy state in this period.

Some years earlier reports had been produced on behalf of the General Assembly Committee on the state of religion and education in the Highlands and Islands (Walker, 1808). A very remarkable result was the estimation of *Gàidhlig*-speaking parts of the population in Scottish counties about 1765: These were given for Aberdeen at 7.6 %, Banff at 9.7 %, Moray at 23.0 % and Nairn at 50.4 %. These estimations were very rough figures and must be taken with a substantial pinch of salt. However, they underline that *Gàidhlig* still had a foothold in Scotlands North-East at the time.

Half a century later conditions for survival were even more precarious in the more marginal *Gàidhlig* communities. A rough definition of the "language boundary" then might be as follows: The "Celtic side" included the western half of *Nàrainn*, the whole parish of *Caladar*, the southern half of *Àird Chlach*, the western half of *Aodann na Coille*, the entire parishes of *Crombail* and *Cill Mhìcheil*, the uppermost part of *Srath Deathain* and the areas of *Gleann Garthain* and *Bràigh Mhàrr*.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland (1834-42) reported for the parish of Cill Mhicheil (Kirkmichael) in Banffshire: "The language generally spoken is the Gaelic, but it has decreased very considerably within the last forty years. There is not an individual between twelve and forty years who cannot speak English. They all read English, and there are many of the rising generation who cannot speak Gaelic." Some additional hints about the linguistic division in nearby parishes were given by the descriptions about Crombail ("Gaelic is the language generally spoken by the great body of the common people, particularly the old; but almost the whole population, young and old, speak and understand the English language. Indeed, in the lower part of the parish, English is preferred, from its proximity to Inveravon and Knockando, where no Gaelic is spoken.") and Inbhir Athfhionn ("Towards the borders of Kirkmichael and Cromdale, Gaelic is spoken by a few; but it is fast dying out, and the number who either speak or understand it, is becoming smaller every year"). Further



downstream the situation was also not favourable like in Dalais (Dallas): "Not many years ago, the Gaelic language was spoken by the whole people of the parish, and most of the places still retain Gaelic names. There are not, however, now above twelve persons in the parish who understand that language." In neighbouring Cnoc Cheannachd (Knockando) things were similar: "Not very long ago, the Gaelic tongue was spoken in the parish. There are now, however, not above a dozen individuals who understand it, and not the half of these natives."

The state of Gàidhlig in rural Siorrachd Nàrainn (Nairnshire) seemed to be only slightly more comfortable. Caladar (Cawdor) was described as forming "the extreme limit of the Gaelic district in this direction, there being nothing but English spoken beyond its eastern boundary." In the adjacent parish of Aird Chlach (Ardclach) the language boundary was still existing along the well-known lines: "The language now generally spoken is English; but in the upper or southern district of the parish they continue to speak the native Gaelic, though, within the last forty years, it has been gradually losing ground ..".

In the area covered by this report – especially in *Bàideanach* - there were of course still strongholds of *Gàidhlig* where it was used as local vernacular by almost everyone – except nobility and schoolmasters of course. The parish priest of *Lagan* (Laggan) documented the widely belief of superiority held by the monolingual upper class: "The language of the people is Gaelic; but many understand English, which is always spoken by the better sort of people."

Accordingly at the time of the first Gaelic census enumerations in 1881 the "bilingual corridor" ran from the town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) south-eastwards towards the upland village of *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul) in Banffshire, then via *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar) in Aberdeenshire to *Gleann Sìth* (Glen Shee) in Perthshire. This report then is concerned with the north-eastern *Gaidhealtachd* of *Bàideanach* (Badenoch), *Nàrann* (Nairn) and some neighbouring parishes in the counties of Moray, Banff and Aberdeen. Within a century the language was destined to total collapse in this area as fig. 2 illustrates clearly.

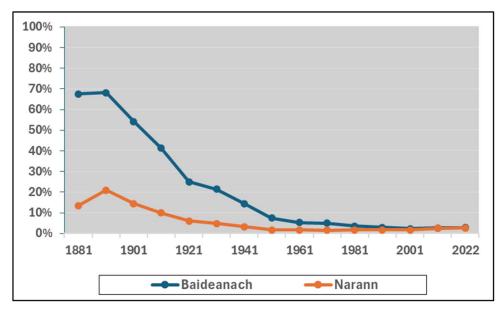


Fig. 2: Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) as percentage of total population between 1881 and 2022 in Bàideanach (Badenoch) in comparison with Nàrann (Nairn)³



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

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

Apart from Gaels in *Bàideanach* most of the *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the area were already beyond their prime age at the turn of the 19th century. Just a few children were fortunate enough to learn the language of their forebears as a mother tongue.

There were of course large geographical variations of the strength of *Gàidhlig* and these were documented in great detail in the early census results of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. The first census questions in 1881 were concerned with those who were "habitually" speaking *Gàidhlig* and more than a third of the population of *Bàideanach* and *Nàrann* were still reported as using the language intensively. Most speakers were bilingual. A mere hundred were reported to speak "only" *Gàidhlig* in 1891 (tables 22-28). Until 1931 the number of speakers was to dwindle to just below 2,000 people in *Bàideanach* and *Nàrainn* (see table 1).

In the neighbouring parishes of *Srath Spé* and the glens of *Am Monadh Ruadh* (Cairngorm Mountains) the language was vanishing even faster. Although widely considered as staunch Doric heartlands the counties of Moray (then called Elginshire), Banffshire and Aberdeenshire still boasted some *Gàidhlig* communities in their westernmost parts in the Grampian Mountains. Several districts around *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey), *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul) and *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar) still had respectable *Gàidhlig*-speaking communities at the end of the 19th century. Largely ignored by the county administrations in Elgin, Banff and Aberdeen a few local folks still withstood the trend and stubbornly refused being assimilated in the culture of "Gods own Country". The following subchapters describe the local conditions in the five counties concerned in more detail.

	Bàideanach & Nàrann⁴												
Subject \ Census 1881 1891 1901 1911 1921 1931													
Gàidhlig-speakers (3 years +)	5,883	6,654	4,990	3,808	2,516	1,867							
% of total population	36.1 %	41.1 %	31.1 %	23.4 %	15.1 %	12.4 %							

Table 1: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* (Badenoch & Nairn) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1881-1931

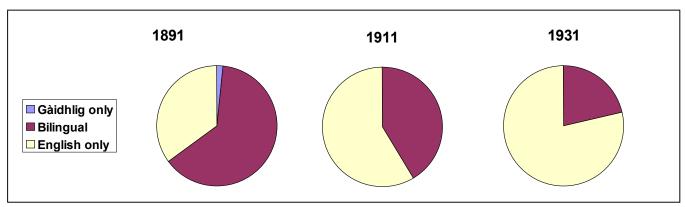


Fig. 3: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Bàideanach* according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931



⁴ For the purpose of historic continuity only areas in the former counties of Inverness and Nairn are considered in this table. There are no local census data available for individual parts of Morayshire, Banffshire and Aberdeenshire for the period 1921-1971.

Number of person					kers in		
western p							
_	All per	sons spe	aking <i>G</i>	àidhlig ⁶		ingual sł	
Area ⁵					all <i>Gài</i> c	dhlig-spe	akers ⁷
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Baile a'Ghobhainn & Cluanaidh	201	131	107	96	2	_	_
(Balgown & Cluny)	85.2%	70.1%	69.0%	66.7%	1.5%		
Garbhghaisg & An Lagan	142	106	69	47	4	2	1
(Gergask & Laggan)	92.8%	82.2%	76.7%	58.8%	3.8%	2.9%	2.1%
Garbh Beag & Creathadh	65	73	56	38	10	3	_
(Garvabeg & Crathie)	82.2%	86.9%	94.9%	62.3%	13.7%	5.4%	
Obar Ardair & Loch an Lagain	129	121	101	97	1	2	2
(Aberarder & Loch Laggan)	87.2%	82.9%	80.8%	71.3%	0.8%	2.0%	2.1%
Beinn Eallair & Ceann Locha	45	37	58	49	_	_	_
(Ben Alder & Kinloch)	76.3%	69.8%	95.1%	69.0%			
Breacachaidh & Druim a'Ghaisg	139	107	83	69	3	1	_
(Breakachy & Drumgask)	94.6%	77.0%	69.2%	63.9%	2.8%	1.2%	_
Dail Chuinnidh & Druim Uachdar	150	131	97	74	6	1	_
(Dalwhinnie & Drumochter)	86.2%	70.1%	50.8%	31.8%	4.6%	1.0%	_
Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich	300	399	401	403	5	2	_
(Kingussie)	46.5%	53.9%	41.4%	34.4%	1.3%	0.5%	_
Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh	277	267	324	301	2	_	1
(Newtonmore)	81.5%	73.4%	67.8%	46.7%	0.7%	_	0.3%
Gleann Beannchar & Gleann Gòineig	235	148	111	75			
(Glen Banchor & Glen Gynack)	94.0%	80.4%	74.0%	55.6%	_	_	
Eadrais & Fothairis	55	91	67	36	1		_
(Ettridge & Phoness)	38.2%	70.5%	63.8%	43.9%	1.1%	_	_
Gleann Tromaidh & Ruadhainn	105	73	52	41	2		
(Glen Tromie & Ruthven)	69.1%	64.6%	49.1%	46.6%	2.7%	_	_
Druim a'Ghiuthsaich & Sgìre Innis	282	191	133	110	2	1	1
(Drumguish & Insh)	81.7%	85.7%	77.8%	65.1%	1.0%	0.8%	0.9%
Gleann Fhèisidh	182	245	151	114	1	1	
(Glen Feshie)	70.5%	74.0%	66.5%	56.7%	0.4%	0.7%	_
Dail Radaidh & Lann a'Bhuilg	78	76	70	48			
(Dalraddy & Lynwilg)	66.1%	64.4%	54.7%	44.9%	_	_	_
Dail a'Phùir & Ceann na Creige	180	97	117	104	5	1	1
(Dalifours & Kincraig)	70.3%	51.1%	57.6%	36.6%	5.2%	0.9%	1.0%
Baile Bhile & Lainn a'Chait	109	90	41	26	3		
(Balavil & Lynchat)	85.8%	70.3%	48.2%	27.7%	3.3%		
Inbhir Dhrùidh & Dr. na Cuingleum	125	107	64	40	1	1	
(Inverdruie & Coylumbridge)	85.6%	79.9%	68.1%	31.7%	0.9%	1.6%	_
An Dùn & Loch an Eilein	96	99	63	47	7	_	_
(Doune & Loch an Eilein)	65.3%	75.0%	55.8%	40.2%	7.1%	_	

Table 2: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in western parts of *Baideanach* (Badenoch) between 1881 and 1911



⁵ Enumeration division.

⁶ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

⁷ Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

2.1.1 Bàideanach (Badenoch)

The upper straths and glens of *Bàideanach* were of course as strongly *Gàidhlig* as most of the Highlands in those days (see table 2). Remote *Lagan* reported the highest percentage with 88.3 % "habitual" *Gàidhlig*-speakers in 1881. In reality all rural parts of the district had respectable figures, too. *Albhaidh* (Alvie) and *Obar Neithich* (Abernethy) had two-thirds of their population speaking the language in 1891. Even in villages like *Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) *Gàidhlig* was still predominant. The only exception from this rule was the small town of *Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich* (Kingussie), where English monoglots were already in the majority around 1901.

Gàidhlig monolingualism on the other hand was a minor issue in the area at the end of the 19th century and mainly confined to elderly people. In 1891 just 105 persons were returned as "speaking Gaelic only" in Bàideanach. In completely Gàidhlig speaking households the old generation sometimes returned to their mother tongue. Such family situation swiftly died out because almost all children were raised as English monoglots "to get on in life". Eventually no "Gaelic only" return was reported in Bàideanach during the 1931 census.

Generally, *Gàidhlig* was still in a healthy state in the area in 1891. Intergenerational transmission appeared successful especially in the more western parishes. Analysis of original census forms enables a look at the birthplace of enumerated *Gàidhlig* speakers. Focussing on the civil parish of *Lagan* (Laggan) census returns (table 3) saw also many locally born children as *Gàidhlig* speakers. Thus, most speakers of the language were not "imported" from somewhere else. This fact was also revealed by looking at census returns in eastern parts of *Bàideanach*.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in the civil parish of <i>Lagan</i> in 1891										
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+			
Lagan	373	11	51	64	62	88	55	42			
Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich & Sgire Innis	80	-	3	11	21	26	15	4			
Siorrachd Inbhirnis (a'chuid eile)	116	1	1	6	20	44	34	10			
Siorrachd Pheairt	28	-	3	-	8	7	10	-			
Rois & Chrombaidh	15	-	-	-	2	5	4	4			
Earra-Ghaidheal	13	-	2	-	2	4	4	1			
Àiteachan eile	28	-	-	3	6	12	7	-			

Table 3: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions⁸ in the civil parish of Lagan (Laggan) in 1891

Further east at *Sgiath Churr & Drochaid Thulnain* on the left bank of the *Uisge Spè* (River Spey) the picture was slightly different from *Lagan* in 1891. The main settlement of this area was the hamlet of *Sgiath Churr* (Skye of Curr). The remaining population lived rather scattered around the district in a handful of farms and crofting dwellings like *Achadh na h-Annaid* (Achnahannet).

The analysis of individual census returns revealed (Duwe, 2006) ⁹: "Although situated at the eastern language boundary the district was still mainly Gàidhlig speaking in 1891. English monolingualism was only prominent in the age groups below 15 years – in the remaining generations four out of five persons spoke Gàidhlig at that time. There were no "Gaelic only" speakers around on the other hand. The language was strongest in the

⁹ After a period of 100 years information provided on the original census forms is publicly available. At the time of writing this is already the case for census returns of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.



⁸ Registration district of Laggan (seven enumeration divisions).

hamlet of Drochaid Thulnain (Dulnain Bridge) with 84.8 % of the usually resident population still speaking the traditional language. In original census report terms the district had a population of 437 persons of all ages. 216 enumerated inhabitants spoke "Gaelic and English" leading to an "official" share of Gàidhlig speakers of 49.4%. This was a substantial under-estimate of 8.3 % compared with the realistic figures taking into account only the usually resident population!"

_	Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers in eastern parts of <i>Baideanach</i> – 1881 - 1911											
Area ¹⁰	All per	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	idhlig ¹¹		ingual sł <i>lhlig</i> -spe						
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911					
Coit a'Ghartain & Deisear	205	237	167	131	24	1						
(Boat of Garten & Deshar)	52.4%	60.2%	48.0%	39.5%	10.1%	0.6%	_					
An Aghaidh Mhòr	246	230	171	108	9	2	1					
(Aviemore)	75.9%	63.4%	46.8%	25.9%	3.9%	1.2%	0.9%					
Daothal & Am Bog Ruadh	246	314	208	141	6	3	_					
(Duthil & Bogroy)	64.4%	49.4%	50.2%	43.9%	2.0%	1.5%	_					
Drochaid Churra	220	213	132	96	5	_	_					
(Carrbridge)	80.3%	63.6%	43.6%	34.9%	2.3%		_					
Obair Neithich	139	234	198	176	_	_	_					
(Nethy Bridge)	25.9%	48.4%	44.0%	37.4%								
Ruigh a'Bhaic & Blàr Gorm	187	195	132	90	1	_	_					
(Revack & Blairgorm)	54.0%	68.4%	49.1%	42.5%	0.5%							
Gleann Bhruthainn & Br. Obair N.	116	127	77	46	2	1	_					
(Glenbrown & Braes of Abernethy)	69.5%	63.2%	38.5%	24.2%	1.6%	1.3%						
Muilinn Gairbheach & Loch Gàrtain	93	100	75	34	4	_	_					
(Mullingaroch & Loch Garten)	51.4%	75.8%	70.1%	33.7%	4.0%							
Cinn Chàrdainn & Tulach	245	182	165	140	5	2	_					
(Kincardine & Tulloch)	81.9%	71.9%	65.2%	55.1%	2.7%	1.2%						
Drochaid Thulnain & Sgiath Churr	206	188	116		_	1	_					
(Dulnain Bridge & Skye of Curr)	58.9%	49.5%	41.7%	92		0.9%						
Achadh na h-Annaid & Mucrach	9	28	36	25.9%		1						
(Auchnahannet & Muckrach)	9.8%	49.1%	37.5%			2.9%						

Table 4: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in eastern parts of *Baideanach* (Badenoch) between 1881 and 1911

Even in the easternmost parts of *Bàideanach*, however, percentages of language knowledge remained high – notably around *Loch Gàrtain* (Loch Garten) and *Daothal* (Duthil). The gradient in *Gàidhlig* speaking percentage from West to East was due to an ageing speaker community in the parishes near the county boundary. In figures 4 and 5 the age profiles of the *Gàidhlig* speaking populations of *Lagan* (Lagan) and *Sgiath Churr* (Skye of Curr) underline this fact.



¹⁰ Enumeration division.

¹¹ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹² Percentages of monolingual *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 10 % are marked by bold figures.

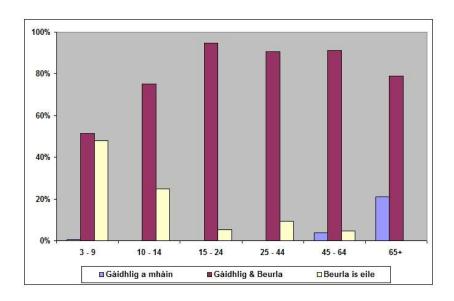


Fig. 4: Age profile in *Lagan* (Laggan) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig* & English, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all

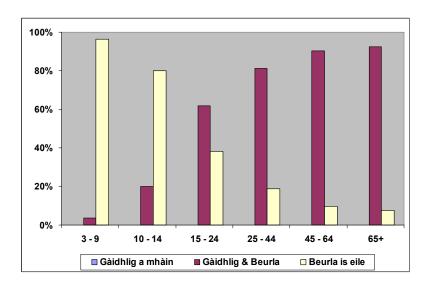


Fig. 5: Age profile in *Sgiath Churr* (Skye of Curr) in 1891: Share of population speaking (1) *Gàidhlig*, (2) *Gàidhlig* & English, or (3) no *Gàidhlig* at all

Gradually the local language retreated, however, with the fastest erosion taking place in the villages and townships of the eastern parishes. The parish of *Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais* (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) lost its *Gàidhlig* speaking majority in 1901. Eventually the western parish of *Lagan* (Laggan) was the last area in *Bàideanach* where *Gàidhlig*-speaking became a minority issue. This occurred in 1921. Ten years later the last census before World War II saw 36.4 % of the population of this remote parish able to speak the local tongue (table 24).



2.1.2 Nàrann (Nairn)

Further north the flat and fertile land of *Nàrann* (Nairn) had already seen its *Gàidhlig* tradition weakened before the first census information on Gàidhlig-speaking was collected. Tradition has it that "Gaelic is spoken on the western banks of the River Nairn, English on the eastern ..." This statement may have had some merits a few decades before the 1881 census date. But notably roughly a third of inhabitants still spoke Gàidhlig in 1891 (see table 6) – especially in the western parishes of Nàrann bordering Invernessshire. Nonetheless many local Gàidhlig-speakers were elderly, and the demographic time bomb was ticking.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in rural parts of <i>Siorrachd Nàrainn</i> in 1891									
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+		
Crothaigh (Nàrann)	43	-	1	2	6	14	13	7		
Caladar	158	-	4	4	12	44	54	40		
Àird Chlach	98	-	1	-	5	30	33	29		
Nàrainn	68	-	-	2	9	17	24	16		
Allt Eireann	11	1	2	2	1	1	2	2		
Crothaigh & Dail Chrois (Inbhirnis)	74	-	1	1	16	25	25	6		
Siorrachd Inbhirnis (a'chuid eile)	447	-	3	7	51	157	144	85		
Siorrachd Mhoireibh	21	-	1	1	1	8	8	2		
Siorrachd Rois & Chrombaidh	235	-	1	3	40	83	84	24		
Àiteachan eile	48	1	1	-	4	18	20	4		

Table 5: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace - census returns from enumeration divisions¹³ in the rural parts of Siorrachd Nàrainn (Nairnshire) in 1891

Those speakers were not exclusively migrants from "traditional" highland communities further west. A closer look at census returns from the rural parts of the county in 1891 reveals that a substantial number of speakers was of local origin (table 5). Except for Allt Eireann (Auldearn) every parish boasted significant numbers of locally born *Gàidhlig* speakers.

In 1891 local details (table 6) include high proportions of Gàidhlig speakers around Canntra (41.9 %), Cluanais (39.9 %) and Cill Ràthaig (38.9 %). On the other hand, very interesting is the almost total absence of the language in the Fishertown part of *Inbhir Nàrainn*.

Some "corrected" 1891 details about two local areas in the south and west of the county are cited below (Duwe, 2006): "At this time intergenerational language transmission of the Gàidhlig language had almost come to a halt in the district of Flìonais (Fleenas) and Cnoc an Eòrna (Knockaneorn). Whereas still a majority of residents beyond the age of 25 spoke the language almost none of the younger folk spoke the tongue of their ancestors. On the other hand, Gàidhlig was still overwhelmingly spoken among the elderly. Geographically the strength of the language was rather diverse. The highest percentages were recorded in the tiny settlements around Beannchar & Na Bothachan (Banchor & Boath) and Cnoc an Eòrna & Tom Lòin (Knockaneorn & Tomloan) with a 40 % share of Gàidhlig speakers." – "The language had apparently declined in use since the 1870s as the age structure of the Gàidhlig speaking community suggests. It is quite clear that Caladar (Cawdor) had been a genuine part of the Gàidhlig speaking world as also locally born people were returned as speaking the traditional language as well as English. Gàidhlig was less strong in the village (26.6%) than in some other loca-

¹³ Registration districts of Cawdor (6 enumeration divisions), Ardclach (6 enumeration divisions), Auldearn (5 enumeration divisions, Croy & Dalcross (enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2) and Nairn (enumeration divisions no. 13 and no. 14). Thus, figures represent all parts of the county apart from the town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) itself.





tions nearby like Baile nan Coitear & Baile an Todhair (Cotterton & Ballintore) where 64.3% still spoke the language."

1	Number of persons and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers in districts of <i>Siorrachd Nàrainn</i> – 1881 - 1911												
Area ¹⁴	All per	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	aidhlig ¹⁵	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers								
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911						
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) ¹⁶		450	361	277	4		_						
(Nairn (Small Burgh))	168	15.1%	11.2%	7.6%	0.9%	_	_						
Baile nan Iasgairean	4.6%	57	14	18	_		_						
(Fishertown)		5.6%	1.3%	2.3%	_	_	_						
Baile Bhlàir	97	113	100	31	1	3							
(Balblair)	30.1%	29.2%	25.6%	13.5%	0.3%	1.5%	_						
Ach' Rèidh	35	60	44	21	_	_	-						
(Achareidh)	17.9%	24.0%	11.3%	8.1%	_		_						
Cill Droma	134	88	59	75	_	_							
(Kildrummie)	44.1%	30.3%	18.6%	19.5%	_		_						
Geadais	4	89	74	51	_	_							
(Geddes)	1.0%	31.7%	24.0%	15.5%	_								
Cill Ràthaig		140	98	62	3	4							
(Kilravock)	212	38.9%	33.8%	19.8%	2.2%	4.3%							
Canntra	33.4%	125	77	45	3	1							
(Cantray)		41.9%	30.3%	31.3%	2.5%	1.3%							
Caladar		77	83	72	_	1	_						
(Cawdor)		21.0%	22.4%	19.7%		1.2%							
A'Bhraclaich	239	112	50	32	1	_	_						
(Brackla)	22.3%	32.3%	15.7%	6.4%	0.9%								
Cluanais		125	80	55	_	_	1						
(Clunas)		39.9%	30.5%	25.3%			1.8%						
Àird Chlach		72	44	22	_	_	_						
(Ardclach)		19.1%	20.6%	11.3%									
Gleann Fùirneis	199	49	25	23	1	1	_						
(Glenferness)	17.8%	14.9%	11.3%	9.3%	2.1%	4.2%							
Allt Mhìgeil		106	72	43	_	_	_						
(Meikle Burn)		37.2%	21.4%	13.5%									
Allt Èireann	44	67	39	37	1	1	_						
(Auldearn Village)	12.1%	18.4%	12.1%	11.3%	1.5%	2.5%							
Muighnis & Bràghaid	16	78	117	69	_	1	_						
(Moyness & Brodie)	1.7%	8.2%	12.4%	7.5%		0.9%							

Table 6: Number of persons speaking Gàidhlig and all Gàidhlig-speakers as share of population in districts of Siorrachd Nàrainn (Nairnshire) between 1881 and 1911

In 1911 in *Siorrachd Nàrainn* (Nairnshire) only 27 out of a total of 929 *Gàidhlig*-speakers were younger than 20 years. Even in those days, however, not all *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the county were immigrants



¹⁴ Enumeration division, burgh or village.

¹⁵ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

¹⁶ Burgh apart from enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2 (Fishertown).

from stronger Gàidhlig-speaking areas. Quoting official census reports: "Of those so returned (in Nairnshire) at this census, all except three were born in Scotland – 156 being born in the County of Nairn; 410 in the County of Inverness; and 263 in the County of Ross and Cromarty....". Naturally enough most of these locally born Gàidhlig-speakers would have come from places like Caladar (Cawdor) or Crothaigh (Croy). In 1911 in Scotland as a whole 514 speakers were counted who were born in the county.

From 1921 onwards census information about the county unfortunately is rather scarce. No local detail about *Gàidhlig*-speakers is available about areas beyond the "traditional" Highland counties. Countywide figures are nonetheless revealing. The fate of the language, however, was predictable – without any official support and encouragement the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the county fell sharply with 537 speakers (6.1 %) enumerated in 1921. Just 14 of those speakers were under 20 years of age.

In 1931 only 410 (5.2 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Nàrainn*. In Scotland the number of speakers born in the county also decreased with 304 counted in 1921 and 194 in 1931. It is easy to contemplate that "native" speakers had disappeared shortly after Word War II.

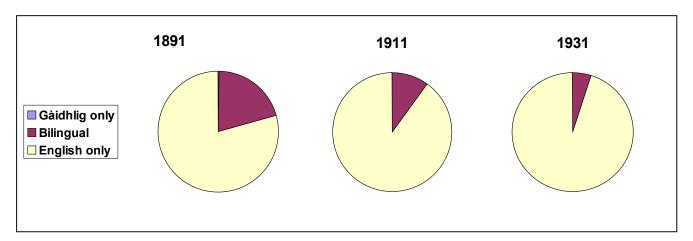


Fig. 6: Share of population speaking *Gàidhlig* and/or English in *Nàrann* according to census results in 1891, 1911 and 1931

2.1.3 Moireabh (Moray)

The county of Moray is not generally associated with the *Gàidhlig* language and culture although in former times inhabitants of parishes as far east as *Cnoc Cheannachd* (Knockando) and *Dalais* (Dallas) had been declared as *Gàidhlig* speakers. Nonetheless at the end of the 19th century a considerable number of native speakers lived within the boundaries of the county - especially in the Speyside town of *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey) and its neighbouring rural parishes of *Crombail* (Cromdale) and *Àbhaidh* (Advie). In 1891 for example the majority of enumerated *Gàidhlig* speakers were native speakers in the rural parts of this Speyside region (see table 8).

Of course, the strongholds of the language were to be found in places like *Druim Ghiuthais & An Damhath* (Druimgush & Dava) and *Inbhir Ailein & Lìon Mòr* (Inverallan & Lynemore) on the county boundaries with Inverness and Nairn. But even in the parishes of *Dìg & A'Mhòigh* (Dyke & Moy) and *Aodann na Coille* (Edinkillie) a few hamlets had respective percentages of *Gàidhlig* speakers (see table 7). In other places like *Dalais* (Dallas) and *Forrais* (Forres) most speakers originated from outside the county, however. Therefore, it can be stated with some certainty that the "Gaelic speaking area" in the county was almost exclusively confined to the parish of *Inbhir Ailein, Crombail & Àbhaidh* (Inverallan, Cromdale and Advie) in 1891. Of course, the language retreated further in the coming decades but even in 1911 some places had still more than 30 % *Gàidhlig* speakers counted in the census.



Number of person							
western parts	of Siorra	ichd Mh	oireabh -	- 1881 - 1	911		
Area ¹⁷	All pers	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	aidhlig ¹⁸	l	ingual sh idhlig-spo	
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Baile Grannda	196	468	338	159	4		
(Grantown-on-Spey)	13.9%	32.9%	21.6%	11.7%	0.9%	_	_
Druim Ghiuthais & An Damhath	99	142	80	68			
(Druimgush & Dava)	28.5%	46.0%	32.4%	33.8%	_	_	_
Goirtean & Creagan		89	59	51			
(Gorton & Creggan)	36	35.9%	33.3%	21.2%	_	_	_
Inbhir Ailein & Lìon Mòr	12.9%	34	64	31			
(Inverallan & Lynemore)		59.7%	28.7%	16.7%	_	_	_
Baranachd Chrombail an Iar	60	62	34	18	1		
(Barony of Cromdale West)	32.8%	36.7%	17.7%	12.0%	1.6%	_	_
Baranachd Chrombail an Ear	38	40	63	31	1		
(Barony of Cromdale East)	24.5%	21.6%	27.4%	15.3%	2.6%	_	_
Àbhaidh & Dail a'Mhàigh	59	27	28	12	-		
(Advie & Dalvey)	18.6%	11.6%	11.6%	5.8%	_	_	_
Gleann Tulchan & An Leithdach	46	32	19	9			
(Glentulchan & Lettoch)	32.6%	32.7%	24.1%	9.3%	_	_	_
Dail a'Phùir	33	50	36	25			
(Delliefure)	20.9%	35.5%	30.0%	23.1%	_	_	_
Achadh nan Arbha & An Doire Roid	84	89	63	37	1		
(Achnarrow & Derraid)	39.8%	46.6%	34.1%	27.6%	1.1%	_	_
Dìg & A'Mhòigh (Tuath)	231070	40	48	37	11170		
(Dyke & Moy (North))		7.8%	7.6%	5.9%	_	_	_
Logaidh Bochanaidh & Taranaich	53	27	14	9			
(Logiebuchany & Darnaway)	4.1%	17.2%	10.2%	7.1%	_	_	_
Bràighean Mhòigh		26	19	11			
(Braes of Moy)		10.7%	6.8%	4.1%	_	_	_
Bràigh Mhoireibh	19	32	17	12			
(Braemoray)	15.8%	43.8%	32.7%	30.0%	_	_	_
Aodann na Coille an Ear	9	86	74	52			
(Edinkillie East)	0.8%	9.5%	9.1%	6.9%	_	_	_
Dalais an Ear		7	4	2			
(Dallas East)	5	1.8%	1.2%	0.7%	_	_	_
Dalais an Iar	0.6%	22	21	17			1
(Dallas West)		4.6%	5.1%	4.5%	_	_	5.9%
Forrais	73	252	229	196	1		
(Forres)	1.8%	6.3%	5.3%	4.4%	0.4%	_	_
Forrais Dùthaich	3	62	47	16	_	1	_
(Forres Landward)	0.4%	7.5%	5.1%	3.1%		1.3%	

Table 7: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in western parts of *Siorrachd Mhoireabh* (Morayshire) between 1881 and 1911



¹⁷ Ecclesiastic parish, enumeration division or village.

¹⁸ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in <i>Crombail, Àbhaidh & Inbhir Ailein</i> in 1891								
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	
Crombail, Àbhaidh & Inbhir Ailein	326	-	6	7	42	103	117	51	
Siorrachd Mhoireibh (A'chuid eile)	5	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	
Siorrachd Inbhirnis	146	-	3	1	20	48	44	30	
Siorrachd Bhanbh	10	-	-	-	1	4	1	4	
Siorrachd Rois & Chrombaidh	18	-	-	-	1	11	4	2	
Siorrachd Nàrainn	9	-	-	-	-	1	1	7	
Àiteachan eile	16	-	-	-	1	6	3	6	

Table 8: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from rural enumeration divisions¹⁹ in the civil parish of Crombail, Abhaidh & Inbhir Ailein (Cromdale, Advie & Inverallan) in 1891

As mentioned at some other occasion census results were underestimating the real strength of the language in census reports. Omitting children below the age of 3 and visitors, statistics can provide an even more precise insight into the conditions of *Gàidhlig* in individual communities. Therefore, also here some "corrected" 1891 details about an area around *An Doire Roid* (Derraid) are cited below (Duwe, 2006): "The district investigated is situated in the middle reaches of Uisge Spè (River Spey) on the outskirts of Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) in the south-western corner of the old county of Siorrachd Mhoireibh (Morayshire). People in those days were mainly engaged in activities related to farming. The inhabitants lived in a scattered patchwork of tiny groups of houses and farms. At this time the language was still in use by most of the usually resident population. English monolingualism was only dominant among children at or below school age. On the other hand, nearly everyone beyond the age of 44 spoke the traditional tongue. Language knowledge was more common among women than men. Gàidhlig was spoken by the majority of locally born persons. There was even several speakers reported among those born outside the Gaidhealtachd. Gàidhlig presence was most strongly in the hillside settlements around An Doire Roid (Derraid) and Achadh an Arbha (Auchnarrow) where almost two thirds of the local folk spoke the language in 1891. There was one monolingual Gàidhlig speaker registered in the area: A 84-year-old deaf annuitant in Creag Dubh (Craigdhu). She was born locally".

Also interesting regarding Siorrachd Mhoireibh (Moray- or Elginshire) is the official 1911 census report stating a.o.: "Of those enumerated in the County, and who are more than two years of age, 1214 were returned as able to speak Gaelic. Of them only 17 were less than 20 years of age, and all except one, a woman of over 85 and who was born in the County of Ross and Cromarty, were stated to be able to speak English as well as Gaelic. Of the Gaelic speakers, 470 were born in Inverness, 280 in Ross and Cromarty, 287 in the County of Elgin itself, and 45 in Sutherland. Five of those returned as speaking Gaelic are of Irish birth". In 1911 in Scotland as a whole, 870 speakers were counted who were born in the county.

From 1921 onwards countywide figures are available, only. Later the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the county fell sharply with 812 speakers (2.0 %) enumerated in 1921. Among them was found only a tiny number of 10 speakers below the age of 20. In 1931 just 533 (1.3 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Mhoireibh*. Speakers born in the county also decreased with 510 counted in 1921 and 308 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.

¹⁹ Registration districts of Cromdale & Advie (all 6 enumeration divisions) and Inverallan (enumeration divisions no. 1 and no. 2). Thus, figures represent the rural parts of the parish and do not comprise persons living in *Baile Grannda* (Grantown-on-Spey).



2.1.4 Siorrachd Bhanbh (Banffshire)

It is also not well known that *Gàidhlig* was spoken in parts of this county well into the 20th century. Geographically speaking this was the parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael) in the south-westernmost corner of the county including the village of *Tom an t-Sabhail* (Tomintoul). However, 1891 census results did show that the language had almost totally vanished in the parishes of *Inbhir Athfhinn* (Inveravon) and *Gleann Lìobhait* (Glenlivet) which had been formerly associated with the language (see table 10).

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in the civil parish of <i>Cill Mhìcheil</i> in 1891										
	Total 3-4 5-9 10-14 15-24 25-44 45-64										
Cill Mhìcheil	159	-	-	-	5	18	79	57			
Siorrachd Bhanbh (A'chuid eile)	10	-	-	-	-	1	5	4			
Siorrachd Inbhirnis	50	-	-	-	4	10	17	19			
Siorrachd Mhoireibh	8	-	-	-	1	1	3	3			
Àiteachan eile	21	-	-	-	3	6	8	4			

Table 9: *Gàidhlig* speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions²⁰ in the civil parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael) in 1891

Analysis of the original census forms of 1891 revealed that the majority of *Gàidhlig* speakers were born locally (table 9) in the parish of *Cille Mhìcheil* (Kirkmichael). The truth was also that no person below the age of 15 was found to speak the traditional language. The fate of *Gàidhlig* in this part of Scotland was clear to see. Circumstances in the village and the neighbouring glens were rather similar. Some "corrected" 1891 details (Duwe, 2006) are outlined here for two locations in the parish:

- 1. **Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul):** "The Gàidhlig language was still spoken by almost one quarter of the usually resident population of the district (the village of Tomintoul). However, the language community was already heavily biased towards older generations. There was only an elderly woman who did not speak English. English monolingual persons held the majority among residents below the age of 45. Accordingly, the Gàidhlig language had seized to be transmitted from parents to their children around the 1850s. The language had been of course traditionally used in the village as 25 % of those born in the parish were also Gàidhlig speaking."
- 2. Srath Athfhinn (Strath Avon): "The human settlements consisted of scattered farmhouses and crofts on both banks of the middle course of Abhainn Athfhinn (River Avon). More than a third of the usually resident population still spoke Gàidhlig. Only a 66-year-old woman was returned as speaking "Gaelic only". She was married to a local crofter and water bailiff. Her birthplace, however, was located on An t-Eilean Sgitheanach (Isle of Skye). The language was spoken by most of all persons older than 45. Accordingly, it can be assumed that intergenerational language transmission had seized in this district roughly in the 1850s. On the other hand, no school aged children were returned as speaking Gàidhlig. Gàidhlig speakers were most prominent in the dwellings of Sròn a'Charbhaigh (Stroncharvie) and Tom Breac (Tombreck) with over 57 % of inhabitants speaking the traditional language."

The census results of 1901 and 1911 underlined the trend of continuing decline with only a few places reporting more than 10 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers in 1911 (table 10). *Dail nam Bò & Innis Ruaraidh* (Dalnabo & Inchrory) reported 19.0 % as a maximum result.



²⁰ Registration districts of Kirkmichael (all 6 enumeration divisions) and Tomintoul (all 4 enumeration divisions).

Number of perso south-western							
Area ²¹	All per	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers			
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Inbhir Athfhinn	11	28	27	14		_	_
(Inveravon)	1.2%	3.3%	2.6%	1.9%			
Gleann Lìobhait	7	37	26	10	_	_	_
(Glenlivet)	0.4%	2.5%	1.8%	1.0%			
Obar Lobhair	14	44	36	24	_	_	_
(Aberlour)	0.7%	2.0%	1.4%	1.2%			
Loinn	20	24	11			_	
(Lyne)	25.0%	33.8%	15.1%	15			_
Baile na Lòin & Baile Raineach	18	13	5	18.5%	1		
(Balnalon & Balranaich)	48.6%	40.7%	12.8%		7.7%		
Foirleitir & Tom Breac	45	26	15	6	_	_	_
(Fodderletter & Tombrecks)	69.2%	44.4%	34.9%	14.0%			
Drochaidh Athfhinn	12	13	8	8	_	_	_
(Bridge of Avon)	21.4%	25.5%	18.6%	15.1%			
Gleann Conghlais	11	7	14	5		_	_
(Glenconglass)	13.3%	9.7%	17.7%	7.7%			
Baile an Leis & Àird Gaoithe	16	15	5	7		_	_
(Ballinlish & Ardgeith)	24.2%	23.8%	6.6%	10.0%	_	_	
Tom an t-Sabhail	146	104	90	42	1		
(Tomintoul)	30.5%	21.6%	17.5%	8.8%	1.0%	_	_
Lagan a'Mhuilinn & An Leac	9	15	6	2			
(Lagganvulin & Lecht)	9.9%	14.9%	7.5%	3.4%	_	_	_
Dail nam Bò & Innis Ruaraidh	50	31	30	19	1	_	_
(Dalnabo & Inchrory)	42.7%	35.8%	34.5%	19.0%	3.3%	_	_

Table 10: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in southwestern parts of *Siorrachd Bhanbh* (Banffshire) between 1881 and 1911

Also, in 1911 the official census report reads about Siorrachd Bhanbh (Banffshire): "Of the population of this County, 378 were returned as able to speak Gaelic as well as English, and none as speaking Gaelic but not English. Of these 378, 89 were born within the County, 118 in Inverness, 66 in Ross and Cromarty, 102 in other Scottish Counties, 2 in England, and 1 in Ireland." Just 26 enumerated speakers were younger than 20 years in 1911. In Scotland as a whole, 309 speakers were counted who were born in this county.

After World War I until 1961 general figures for this county are available, only. In 1921 the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in the county fell sharply with 258 speakers (0.5 %) enumerated. Among them was only the tiny number of 10 speakers below the age of 20.

In 1931 just 159 (0.3 %) *Gàidhlig* speakers were recorded in *Siorrachd Bhanbh*. Speakers born in the county also decreased with 180 counted in 1921 and 117 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.



²¹ Enumeration division or civil parish.

²² Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

2.1.5 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (Aberdeenshire)

Upper Deeside was home to a dwindling number of *Gàidhlig*-speaking families at the end of the 19th century. This fact was described very vividly by Ian Mitchell (1994) in his report "How the North's Linguistic Frontier Was Re-drawn": "The more mountainous areas around Braemar were cleared to make sporting estates, 40 families were cleared from Glen Ey in the 1840s for example. But from the families of game-keepers' children were still coming to school in Inverey around the turn of the century, with no English. ... Inverey itself was formed largely from those cleared from surrounding glens, and in 1881 about 85% of its population of 100 had Gaelic as their first language." During the next decades, however, the last pockets of Gàidhlig-speaking communities were disappearing, partly because tenants had no legal protection to stay on their land in contrast to the neighbouring "crofting counties". The last "native speakers of Aberdeenshire Gaelic" were to die only after World War II – the end of a century old saga.

Birthplace by civil parish or county	Number of <i>Gàidhlig</i> speakers by age enumerated in the area of <i>Bràighean Mhàrr</i> and <i>Srath Deathain</i> in 1891									
	Total	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+		
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr	262	1	5	10	18	52	96	80		
Gleann Garthain, Gleann Muice & Tulach	38	-	-	-	2	5	17	14		
Srath Deathain	7	-	-	-	-	1	4	2		
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (A'chuid eile)	5	-	-	-	-	1	3	1		
Siorrachd Inbhirnis	29	-	-	1	5	11	10	2		
Àiteachan eile	34	-	-	-	4	10	21	9		

Table 11: Gàidhlig speakers by age and birthplace – census returns from enumeration divisions²³ in Bràighean Mhàrr (Braes of Mar) and Srath Deathain (Strathdon) in 1891

Looking at original census forms it becomes clear that *Gàidhlig* must have been traditionally spoken around *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Braemar), in *Gleann Garthain* (Glengairn) and the uppermost parts of *Srath Deathain* (Strathdon) and speakers of the language were not born somewhere else in the Highlands. The vast majority of speakers in 1891 were born locally (table 11). The area west of *Bràigh Mhàrr* (Duwe, 2006) had a *Gàidhlig* speaking majority even in 1891 with the tiny village of *Inbhir Eidh* (Inverey) being the last stronghold of Aberdeenshire Gaelic with 82.1 % speakers.

In 1911 the situation in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire) generally was described as follows in the general census report: "No persons speaking Gaelic exclusively were returned in the County, while 527 were returned as speaking Gaelic as well as English. ... Of them only twenty were less than twenty years old Those returned as born in the County of Aberdeen numbered 141, in Ross and Cromarty 140, in Inverness 118, in the rest of Scotland 125, in England 1, and in Ireland 2." The circumstances in the City of Aberdeen were similar: "By this Census no persons speaking Gaelic only, and 602 speaking Gaelic in addition to English were found ... Of the 602 Gaelic speakers in Aberdeen, 245 were born in the County of Ross and Cromarty, 113 were born in the County of Inverness, and 33 in Argyll. There were only 5 Gaelic speakers of Irish birth and presumably speaking Irish Gaelic." The majority of speakers in the City originated from the traditional Highland counties. In contrast the number of "indigenous" *Gàidhlig* speakers in the landward area of the county was still significant. In Scotland as a whole, 557 speakers were counted who were born in this county.

²³ Registration districts of Crathie & Braemar (all divisions), Strathdon (enumeration divisions no. 1 and 2) and Glengairn, Glenmuick & Tullach (enumeration divisions no. 1, 2, 3 and 6).





Number of persons and percentage of *Gàidhlig-*speakers in south-western parts of *Siorrachd Obair Dheathain* – 1881 - 1911

Area ²⁴	All per	sons spea	aking <i>Gà</i>	Monolingual share of all <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers			
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1891	1901	1911
Achadh an Droighinn	66	82	69		_	_	_
(Braemar - Auchendryne)	24.5%	27.2%	19.7%	47	_	_	
Baile a'Chaisteil	7	29	18	9.4%	_	_	_
(Braemar - Castleton)	3.3%	21.6%	8.8%		_		
Coire Mùillidh	27	27	11	9			
(Corriemulzie)	61.4%	52.9%	19.6%	15.3%	_	_	_
Inbhir Eidh	72	64	34	16			
(Inverey)	80.9 %	82.1%	50.0%	27.1%	_	_	_
Geallaidh & Àilean Choich	34	28	27	21			
(Geldie & Allanquoich)	43.6%	38.9%	47.4%	38.2%	_	_	_
Inbhir Callda & Gleann Cluanaidh	15	22	4				
(Invercauld & Glen Clunie)	23.8%	18.8%	5.5%	12	_	_	_
Tom an t-Sabhail	13	14	11	11.4%			
(Tomintoul)	39.4%	56.0%	33.3%		_	_	_
Craichidh & Baile Mhoireil	25	45	33	18			
(Crathie & Balmoral)	3.4%	6.5%	5.5%	3.0%	_	_	
Gleann Muice & Tulach	4	27	22	16			
(Glenmuick & Tullich)	0.2%	1.7%	1.2%	0.8%	_	_	
Gleann Garthain	29	37	17	16			
(Glengairn)	6.6%	9.3%	5.4%	8.1%	_	_	
Corr Garaidh	11	22	14	9			
(Corgarff)	3.0%	5.9%	4.2%	3.0%	_	_	
Srath Deathain	25	19	5	2			
(Strathdon)	2.2%	2.0%	0.6%	0.3%			
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mór)	159	660	680	712	7	6	6
(Aberdeen City)	0.2%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	1.1%	0.9%	0.8%

Table 12: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* and all *Gàidhlig*-speakers as share of population in southwestern parts of *Siorrachd Obair Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire) between 1881 and 1911

From 1921 onwards general figures are available only for Aberdeenshire and the City of Aberdeen. No local detail has been provided by census authorities. The downward trend in the number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers was reaffirmed in the 1921 census when 405 speakers (0.3 %) were enumerated in the county and 484 speakers (0.3 %) in the city. 13 respectively 31 speakers were found to be below the age of 20. In 1931 only 372 (0.3 %) were recorded in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* and 405 (0.3%) in the City. Speakers born in the county as a whole also decreased with 373 counted in 1921 and 315 in 1931 for Scotland as a whole.



²⁴ Enumeration division, city or village.

 $^{^{25}}$ Percentages of *Gàidhlig*-speakers above 50 % are marked by bold figures.

2.2 More Recent Developments (Census 1951–2022)

World War II was a major watershed for *Gàidhlig* in the Highlands. Around the Grampian Mountains figures proved even more disastrous in the 1951 census. Apart from some remote locations in *Bàideanach* just a *Gàidhlig* diaspora was left.

2.2.1 Bàideanach, Nàrainn & Srath Spé (Badenoch, Nairn & Strathspey)

In 1951 the language had disappeared as a community language in all districts of *Bàideanach*. Between 1931 and 1951 the population share of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* was almost cut by three from 12.4 % to 4.3 % (table 13).

Bàideanach & Nàrann									
Subject \ Census	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022	
Gàidhlig-speakers (3+)	652	489	520	421	430	396	579	639	
Percentage of total population	4.3 %	3.3 %	2.9 %	2.5 %	2.3 %	2.0 %	2.6 %	2.7 %	

Table 13: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (3 years and over) in *Bàideanach & Nàrann* (Badenoch & Nairn) and percentage of total population speaking *Gàidhlig* during 1951-2022

With the incorporation of the traditionally *Gàidhlig* speaking area of *Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Àbhaidh* and the town of *Baile Grannda* in Highland Region in 1974, prospects of a moderate revival of the traditional language in this more "Gaelic" local authority seemed to improve. However, no real effort was being made to raise the profile of the language there or even introduce *Gàidhlig* in local schools.

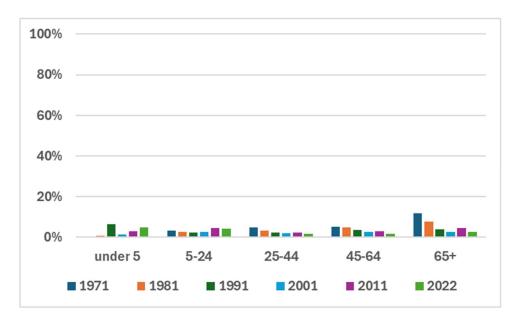


Fig. 7: Percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups between 1971 and 2022 – Area of *Baide-anach & Srath Spè* (Badenoch & Strathspey) ²⁶

Developments in later decades were non-dramatic and secretive. Figure 7 presents the overall decrease of *Gàidhlig* speaking in different age groups until 2022. There was nothing really happening to raise the

²⁶ Under 5: Gàidhlig abilities in the age group 3-4 until 1991, in 2001 in all age groups 0-4.





profile of the language – even the second language provision at Kingussie High School stopped in the 1970s.

The census of 1981 was notable because it included a very detailed information about local results both in geographical and social terms. Data became available about the *Gàidhlig* population in small output areas and in generational detail. Table 14 below describes the situation in a few areas of *Bàideanach an Iar* (Western Badenoch) where language incidence remained notably higher than the national average.

	Gaelic knowledge according to age groups and whether born in Scotland **Census 1981: Selected output areas in *Bàideanach an Iar ²⁷ Man Age groups Born in									
Map			Age groups							
No	Census output area ²⁸	3 - 24	25 - 44	45 - 64	65+	Scot-				
						land ²⁹				
01+06	Dail Chuinnidh & Gleann Truim	2	6	7	1	15				
01+06	(Dalwhinnie & Glen Truim)	3.4%	10.9%	11.3%	3.8%	8.6%				
02	Lagan	0	1	1	3	6				
02	(Laggan)	0.0%	2.2%	5.6%	11.1%	4.7%				
02.05	Bail' Ùr an t-Sleibh	18	12	13	25	64				
03-05	(Newtonmore)	6.1%	5.3%	5.8%	13.3%	8.0%				
07+09	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich	13	11	12	12	48				
07+08	(Kingussie)	3.6%	3.8%	4.7%	5.8%	5.0%				
00	Ceann na Crèige	7	4	2	6	17				
09	(Kincraig)	7.2%	4.8%	3.5%	11.3%	7.7%				
12	Sgìre Innis & Drochaid Fhèisidh	9	4	6	2	20				
12	(Insh & Feshie Bridge)	12.9%	7.3%	9.7%	5.6%	11.8%				
Total	Bàidenach an Iar	49	37	40	46	164				
	(Western Badenoch)	5.6%	5.2%	6.1%	9.0%	7.0%				

Table 14: Population with *Gàidhlig* knowledge in selected output areas of *Bàidenach an Iar* (Western Badenoch) according to age group and birthplace in 1981

Within this rather gloomy picture there were two notable exceptions in the late 1980s: *Cròileagan* were founded in the village of *Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) in western *Bàideanach* and in the harbour town of *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn). Parental pressure meant that even *Gàidhlig*-medium units were opened in Newtonmore Primary School in the 1990/91 school year and in Millbank Primary School in the town of Nairn in 2006/07. Future developments rather concentrated on these two locations with no progress in the remaining parts of the region.

The census of 2022 saw generally an increase of *Gàidhlig* speaking in the area. This was due to a substantial immigration movement from outside the Highlands. In tables 20 to 23 the most recent figures on civil parish level are given.

Unfortunately, the local data about the age structure of the language community were not as detailed in 2011 and 2022 as in previous censuses. In contrast to the previously used small output areas, the somewhat larger data zones were used as smallest geographical area for age distribution analysis. According-

²⁹ Scottish born population aged 3 years and over.





²⁷ Figures may not add up exactly because of measures to keep returns anonymous.

²⁸ A more detailed list of all locations in each output area is to be found in section IV.

ly, a direct comparison with 2001 data is not always possible. However, the figures of *Gàidhlig* knowledge for the 3-15 age group and the total population is provided in table 15 for selected data zones. The intergenerational viability of these selected census data zones shows some positive values in the vicinity of both GMU (*Gàidhlig* medium units) in the area.

A new feature in the 2011 census was a question about the language (other than English) used at home. This saw in the different data zones roughly between 10 % and 52 % of *Gàidhlig* speakers living in households where the language was used. This information is also provided in table 15 below. Regrettably, the question was not asked again in the 2022 census.

	Bàideanach, Stath Spè & Narann								
Census Data Zones		Kno	_	e of <i>Gàidi</i> us 2022	hlig	Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)			
	Young age (3-15)		All ages		Difference (Language viabil- ity indicator)	Census 2011			
Dail Chuinnidh & Lagan	6	15.8%	30	7.4%	+ 8.4 %	48.4 %			
(Dalwhinnie & Laggan)									
Baile Ùr an t-Sleibh	41	28.9%	98	8.9%	+ 19.9 %	46.8 %			
(Newtonmore)									
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Kingussie)	19	10.9%	89	6.7%	+ 4.3 %	46.8 %			
Ceann Crèige	5	5.4%	28	4.3%	+ 1.1 %	52.4%			
(Kincraig)									
An Aghaidh Mhòr	9	2.8%	79	3.5%	- 0.7 %	28.0 %			
(Aviemore)									
Coit a'Ghartain & Obair Neithich	15	6.2%	83	3.7%	- 2.5 %	42.9 %			
(Boat of Garten & Nethybridge)									
Drochaid Churra & Dr. Thulnain	8	4.2%	55	3.9%	+ 0.4 %	36.4 %			
(Carrbridge & Dulnain Bridge)									
Baile Grannda & Crombail	5	1.3%	87	2.9%	- 1.6 %	17.9 %			
(Grantown-on-Sp. & Cromdale)									
Nàrann	67	5.9%	415	5.3%	+ 1.5 %	46.4 %			
(Nairn)									
Allt Èireann	8	3.4%	60	3.7%	- 0.3 %	48.8 %			
(Auldearn)									
Caladar, Crothaigh & Àird Chlach	5	5.1%	32	3.5%	+ 2.4 %	12.3 %			
(Cawdor, Croy & Ardclach)									
In comparison:									
Gaidhealtachd (Highland)		10.6 %		8.1 %	+ 2.5 %	45.1 %			

Table 15: Intergenerational viability in 2022 and *Gàidhlig* as home language in 2011 for selected census data zones and parishes in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority



In 2022 educational provision was still unsatisfactory. Schools in *Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) and *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) were the sole locations where parents could look for *Gàidhlig* medium education in the whole district. A planned GMU in *Inbhir Nàrainn* had opened at last in 2006.

Additional second language teaching of *Gàidhlig* was totally absent in all local primary schools. Even at Kingussie High School no *Gàidhlig* second language teaching takes place for non-Gaelic medium pupils. Quite recently, however, Nairn Academy started to cater for Gaelic learners (two pupils in 2023/2024) besides the seven "fluent" speakers originating from the local GMU. Progress sometimes takes time!



Despite the sign, *Gàidhlig* teaching at Kingussie High School was only confined to "fluent" speakers from the GMU at nearby *Baile Ùr an t-Sleibh* (Newtonmore) – (Duwe, 2018)

2.2.2 Moireabh, Banbh & Siorrachd Obar Dheathain (Moray, Banff & Aberdeenshire)

The parish of *Cille Mhicheil* and the town of *Tom an t-Sabhail* became part of Grampian Region in 1974 and afterwards in the *Moireabh* (Moray) authority. Until today no improvement concerning *Gàidhlig* was made. The same must be said about schools in Banff and Aberdeenshire. In 2008 Aberdeenshire had introduced *Gàidhlig* second language teaching in some schools in Deeside and Upper Donside - a late acknowledgement of its linguistic past. This provision, however, was shortlived and a few years later it was withdrawn by the school authorities. The historical links with its linguistic past seem all but gone in the area



However, the number of speakers in the entire region rose slightly between 1981 and 2022 (table 16). This was probably caused by adult learning initiatives and the immigration of *Gàidhlig* speakers due to the general economic upturn in Scotlands north-east. Educational provision of *Gàidhlig* medium became available in Gilcomstoun primary school in the City of Aberdeen in 1991.

	Num	ber and	percentag	ge of <i>Gàid</i>	<i>lhlig-</i> spea	kers
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022
Moireabh	n/a	522	470	460	623	823
(Moray)		0.7%	0.6%	0.5%	0.7%	0.9%
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	n/a	835	887	877	1,397	2,985
(Aberdeenshire)		0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.6%	1.2%
Obar Dheathain	1,240	1,106	1,134	1,422	1,628	2,219
(Aberdeen City)	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.0%

Table 16: Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2022) in *Moireabh* (Moray), *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeen City)

2.3 Development of literacy in Gàidhlig between 1971 and 2022

From 1971 onwards census information became available on *Gàidhlig* literacy in local detail. Due to the relatively high proportion of *Gàidhlig* learners in the small language community the proportion of people able to read or write *Gàidhlig* was "relatively" high in 1971 if compared with some "traditional" *Gàidhlig* counties in the west. During the next decades literacy increased considerably with a slightly better result in *Bàideanach & Srath Spè* than in *Nàrann* (tables 17 and 18).

	Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig</i> -speakers with ability to read <i>Gàidhlig</i>									
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022				
Bàideanach & Srath Spè	150	133	135	143	225	249				
(Badenoch & Strathspey)	44.8 %	53.0 %	56.0 %	69.1 %	66.4 %	78.3 %				
Nàrann	106	114	117	144	218	226				
(Nairn)	48.2 %	53.3 %	47.8 %	57.1 %	62.8 %	76.9 %				
Moireabh	n/a	251	241	278	377	550				
(Moray)		52.7 %	51.3 %	60.6 %	60.5 %	66.8 %				
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	n/a	396	478	571	882	2,090				
(Aberdeenshire)		52.2 %	53.9 %	65.6 %	63.1 %	70.0 %				
Obar Dheathain	n/a	533	640	978	1,075	1,571				
(Aberdeen City)		53.2 %	56.5 %	69.3 %	66.0 %	70.8 %				

Table 17: Number of people able to read *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* readers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2022)



	Number	r and perce	ntage of <i>Gà</i> write <i>G</i>	àidhlig-spea Fàidhlig	kers with a	bility to
	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2022
Bàideanach & Srath Spè	110	98	105	120	200	219
(Badenoch & Strathspey)	32.8 %	39.0 %	43.6 %	58.0 %	59.0 %	68.9 %
Nàrann	72	82	107	111	180	199
(Nairn)	32.7 %	38.3 %	43.7 %	44.0 %	51.9 %	67.7 %
Moireabh	n/a	205	194	215	306	454
(Moray)		43.1 %	41.3 %	46.8 %	49.1 %	55.2 %
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	n/a	320	397	461	720	1,747
(Aberdeenshire)		42.2 %	44.8 %	52.9 %	51.5 %	58.5 %
Obar Dheathain	n/a	429	529	825	929	1,330
(Aberdeen City)		42.8 %	46.7 %	58.4 %	57.1 %	59.9 %

Table 18: Number of people able to write *Gàidhlig* and *Gàidhlig* writers as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (1971-2022)

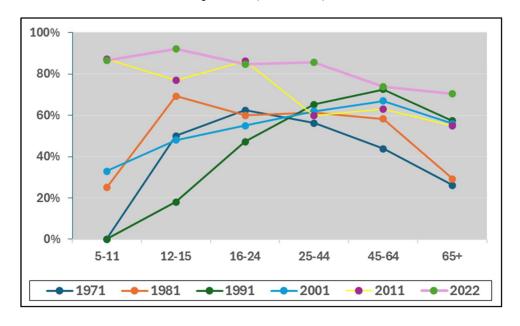


Fig. 8: Persons able to read *Gàidhlig* as a percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups (1971-2022): *Baideanach & Srath Spè* (Badenoch & Strathspey)



3 Future Perspectives - 2022 and beyond

The language viability indicator (LVI³⁰) still points to rather low intergenerational languagemaintenance (table 19) which is due to a comparatively low language intensity in younger age groups.

		Bàideanach, Srath Spè & Nàrann								
Area		Kno	Gàidhlig as home language (% of speakers)							
		ng age -15)	All ages		Difference (Language viability indicator)	Census 2011				
Bàideanach & Srath Spè (Badenoch & Strathspey)	108	6.8%	549	4.4%	+ 2.4 %	39.9 %				
Nàrann (Nairn)	81	5.2%	542	4.3%	+ 0.9 %	39.0 %				
In comparison: Gaidhealtachd (Highland)		10.6 %		8.1 %	+ 2.5 %	45.1 %				

Table 19: Intergenerational viability in 2022 and *Gàidhlig* as home language in 2011 regarding *Bàideanach* & *Srath Spè* (Badenoch & Strathspey) and *Nàrainn* (Nairn) in comparison with the whole *Gaidhealtachd* (Highland) local authority

Locally the LVI was negligible in 2022 except around *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) due to the impact of GME in the local primary school (table 19). Intergenerational viability was only maintained in this township with positive LVI values between + 8 % and + 15 %. The knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in younger age-groups (table 15) was negligible except in *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) and the other communities in its school catchment area: *Dail Chuinnidh* (Dalwhinnie), *Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich* (Kingussie) and *Lagan*.

Regarding future educational progress: The overall temporal evolution of *Gàidhlig*-medium primary education is depicted in fig. 8 for the period 1992-2023. For example, in the 2023-24 session 44 pupils (38.3 %) attended the GMU in *Baile Ùr an t-Slèibh* and 29 pupils (10.2 %) were recorded in the *Inbhir Nàrainn* GMU at Rockfield primary. The numbers of nursery children stood at 9 and 16 children respectively. In addition, some "mainstream" pupils at Rockfield primary received second language instructions in *Gàidhlig*. The secondary education ranged from 7 "fluent" pupils in *Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich* to 8 "fluent" pupils and 103 *Gàidhlig* learners in *Inbhir Nàrainn*.

<u>In conclusion</u>: Today the language is still being supported in the area by only a small number of speakers. *Bail Ùr an t-Slèibh* (Newtonmore) in western *Bàideanach* is the only community where *Gàidhlig* still shows some flickering light with Gaelic-medium nursery and primary school education in the local school. Parental demand on the contrary is high but so far only a further Gaelic-medium stream in *Inbhir Nàrainn* (Nairn) has been realised. Essentially arrived at rock bottom ironically the situation of *Gàidhlig* can only improve in this district.

 $^{^{30}}$ LVI: The 'Language Viability Indicator' is a measure of the prospective reproductivity of language speakers in a community. It is here defined based on knowledge of *Gàidhlig* in the census and is calculated by the difference of percentages between the age group below 16 years of age and the total population.





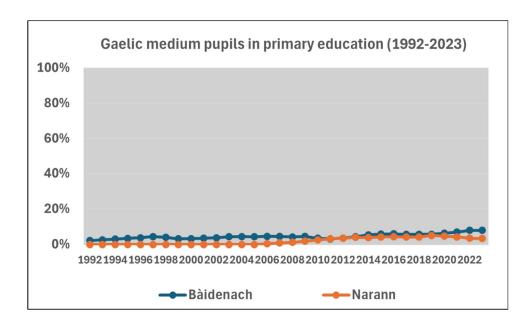


Fig. 9: Share of primary school children attending *Gàidhlig*-medium classes in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) in comparison with neighbouring *Narann* (Nairn) (September 1992 – September 2023) 31



Road-signs near An Aghaidh Mhòr: Nice examples of how "English" placenames came about. Only the Gàidhlig original has any meaning at all



³¹ Gaelic Dept, University of Strathclyde.

I. Supplementary Tables

				Civil Paris	sh		
	Inbhir	Crothaigh	Caladar	Àllt	Àird	Cill	Creichidh &
Census	Nàrainn	& Dail	(Cawdor)	Eireann	Chlach	Mhìcheil	Bràigh
	(Nairn)	Chrois ³²		(Auldearn)	(Ardclach)	(Kirk-	Mhàrr (Cra-
		(Croy &				michael)	thie & Brae-
		Dalcross)					mar)
1881 ³³	570	212	239	60	199	260	259
1891	857	265	314	247	227	248	319
1901	652	182	204	156	141	184	198
1911	473	121	142	107	88	107	123
1961	77	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1971	110	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	127	5	22	8	4	9	6
1991	162	10	6	15	0	2	9
2001	150	11	13	18	7	9	5
2011	233	*	16	24	10	12	7
2022	240	78	7	36	11	4	6

Table 20: Number of *Gàidhlig*-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for selected civil parishes in *Nàrann*, *Banbh & Bràighean Mhàrr* according to available census data from 1881 to 2022³⁴

				Civil Paris	sh		
	Inbhir	Crothaigh	Caladar	Àllt	Àird	Cill	Creichidh &
Census	Nàrainn	& Dail	(Cawdor)	Eireann	Chlach	Mhìcheil	Bràigh
	(Nairn)	Chrois		(Auldearn)	(Ardclach)	(Kirk-	Mhàrr (Cra-
		(Croy &				michael)	thie & Brae-
		Dalcross)					mar)
1881	10.6 %	33.4 %	22.3 %	4.6 %	17.8 %	24.2 %	16.1 %
1891	16.4 %	45.8 %	30.6 %	18.8 %	22.9 %	23.8 %	20.8 %
1901	11.4 %	31.9 %	22.1 %	12.1 %	18.3 %	17.8 %	13.6 %
1911	8.0 %	21.6 %	16.8 %	8.6 %	11.6 %	12.2 %	8.3 %
1961	1.6 %	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1971	1.4 %	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	1.7 %	1.9 %	3.6 %	0.9 %	1.6 %	2.0 %	0.8 %
1991	2.1 %	3.1 %	0.8 %	1.4 %	-	0.4 %	1.1 %
2001	1.7 %	2.4 %	2.1 %	1.6 %	1.6 %	1.7 %	0.6 %
2011	2.4 %	*	2.9 %	1.8 %	2.1 %	2.1 %	0.9 %
2022	2.5 %	4.4 %	1.4 %	2.2 %	2.6 %	0.9 %	0.7 %

Table 21: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for selected civil parishes in Nàrann, Banbh & Bràighean Mhàrr according to available census data from 1881 to 2022

³⁴ Census information with local detail between 1921 and 1951 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.



³² The remainder of this civil parish was part of Inverness-shire (see Vol. 23 of this series).

³³ The 1881 census question was concerned with "habitually" speaking Gaelic.

			Civil Pa	rish		
	Obar Neithich	Albhaidh	Daothal &	Cinn a'	Lagan	Crombail,
Census	& Cinn	(Alvie)	Ràta	Ghiùthsaich	(Laggan)	Inbhir Ailein
	Chàrdainn		Mhurchais	& Innis		& Àlbhaidh
	(Abernethy &		(Duthil &	(Kingussie &		(Cromdale, In-
	Kincardine)		Rothiemurchus)	Insh)		ver. & Advie)
1881	780	504	1,138	1,371	810	866
1891	838	439	1,416	1,280	666	1,237
1901	651	319	947	1,198	540	778
1911	487	243	667	1,046	436	441
1921	330	174	451	742	282	n/a
1931	204	131	297	599	226	n/a
1951	56	29	113	224	90	n/a
1961	40	22	67	159	57	n/a
1971	30	20	115	150	30	45
1981	25	19	76	106	25	48
1991	16	12	83	99	27	55
2001	20	6	50	119	9	52
2011	21	15	96	157	8	43
2022	15	5	95	148	4	51

Table 22: Number of Gàidhlig-speakers (aged 3 years and over) for the six civil parishes in Bàideanach & Srath Spè according to census data from 1881 to 2022

			Civil Pa	rish		
	Obar Neithich	Albhaidh	Daothal &	Cinn a'	Lagan	Crombail,
Census	& Cinn	(Alvie)	Ràta	Ghiùthsaich	(Laggan)	Inbhir Ailein
	Chàrdainn		Mhurchais	& Innis		& Àlbhaidh
	(Abernethy &		(Duthil &	(Kingussie &		(Cromdale, In-
	Kincardine)		Rothiemurchus)	Insh)		ver. & Advie)
1881	51.0 %	71.3 %	68.4 %	69.0 %	88.3 %	23.8 %
1891	61.9 %	66.9 %	58.2 %	65.9 %	77.7 %	35.7 %
1901	50.9 %	59.8 %	47.5 %	54.6 %	73.2 %	24.1 %
1911	39.7 %	41.2 %	34.3 %	42.5 %	57.8 %	15.3 %
1921	23.3 %	26.0 %	18.3 %	27.3 %	42.5 %	n/a
1931	18.2 %	24.2 %	13.9 %	25.3 %	36.4 %	n/a
1951	5.1 %	5.9 %	5.0 %	9.4 %	16.0 %	n/a
1961	4.0 %	4.8 %	3.1 %	7.0 %	10.3 %	n/a
1971	3.4 %	5.0 %	4.0 %	6.5 %	7.6 %	1.8 %
1981	3.5 %	4.4 %	2.5 %	4.7 %	6.9 %	1.9 %
1991	1.8 %	2.3 %	2.2 %	3.9 %	5.8 %	1.9 %
2001	1.9 %	1.4 %	1.3 %	4.2 %	3.2 %	1.7 %
2011	1.7 %	2.7 %	1.9 %	5.2 %	3.1 %	1.4 %
2022	1.4 %	1.0 %	2.0 %	5.2 %	1.5 %	1.6 %

Table 23: Gàidhlig-speakers as percentage of total population for the six civil parishes in Bàideanach & Srath Spè according to census data from 1881 to 2022



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1911:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Bàideanach ³⁵	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area		lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) Bàideanach	6,805	4,603	
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,530	780	
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP	707		04
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	1,664	1,1	138
Lagan (Laggan) CP	917		10
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CPincluded in the above	1,987	1,3	371
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Kingussie) Vi	645	3,	01
Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi	306		5 <i>4</i>
Daothal (Duthil) EP	1,371		17
Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) EP	293		21
1891 Bàideanach	6,802	4,318	105
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,354 656	826 431	12 8
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP			
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	1,994	1,148	52
Lagan (Laggan) CP	850	640	20 13
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CPincluded in the above	1,948	1,273	13
	740	394	5
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Kingussie) Vi			5
Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi	364	265	2 5
Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge) Vi	335	208	
Daothal (Duthil) EP	1,728 266	950 198	44 8
Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) EP			
1901 Bàideanach	6,739	3,623	32
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,279	644	7
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP and CCED	533	318	1
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	1,995	938	9
Lagan (Laggan) CP	738	532	8
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,194	1,191	7
included in the above	470	224	
Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) Vi	478	324	_
Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge) Vi	303	132	-
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich a Tuath (Kingussie North) CCED	628	435	2 3
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich a Deas (Kingussie South) CCED Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Burgh) ED and Vi	577 989	357 399	2
	429	326	7
Lagan a Tuath (Laggan North) CCED Lagan a Deas (Laggan South) CCED	309	206	1
1 0 (66)		644	7
Obar Neithich (Abernethy) CCED Daothal (Duthil) CCED	1,279 1,788	822	8
Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) CCED	207	116	o 1
·		1	9
1911 Bàideanach	6,979	2,870	
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,228	486	1
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP	590	241	2
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	1,943	666	1
Lagan (Laggan) CP	754	434	2
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,464	1,043	3

Table 24: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1911 – selected areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Bàideanach*

³⁵ Figures are provided for areas in the parish boundaries of 1901. In previous censuses a number of detached parts of land of Nairnshire were located as small enclaves in Inverness-shire, Moray and Ross & Cromarty. In order to enable historical comparisons these enclave figures are integrated in their larger surrounding parishes also regarding 1881 and 1891.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1921 and 1971:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Bàideanach	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	•	lish	English
1921 Bàideanach	7,926	1,977	2
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,416	330	_
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP	670	173	1
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,458	451	_
Lagan (Laggan) CP	664	281	1
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,718	742	_
1931 Bàideanach	6,784	1,457	_
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,123	204	_
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP	541	131	_
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,136	297	_
Lagan (Laggan) CP	621	226	_
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,363	599	_
included in the above	2,303	377	_
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,067	204	_
1951 Bàideanach	6,814	507	5
			3
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,099	56	-
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP	488	29	-
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,272	112	1
Lagan (Laggan) CP	562	90	-
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,393	220	4
included in the above	1.075	60	4
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,075	68	4
1961 Bàideanach	6,472	341	4
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	1,008	40	-
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP and CCED	454	22	-
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,191	65	2
Lagan (Laggan) CP	551	57	-
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,268	157	2
included in the above			
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,079	57	-
Obar Neithich (Abernethy) CCED	837	38	-,
Coit a'Ghartain (Boat of Garten) CCED / Daothal (Duthil) CCED	458 / 758	4/37	-/-
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Tuath) (Kingussie North) CCED	880	66	-
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Deas) (Kingussie South) CCED	272	34	2
Lagan a Tuath (Laggan North) CCED / Lagan a Deas (Laggan South) CCED	283 / 230	33 / 24	-/-
Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) CCED	992	26	2
1971 ³⁶ Bàideanach	6,850	345	*
Obar Neithich & Cinn Chàrdainn (Abernethy & Kincardine) CP	890	30	*
Albhaidh (Alvie) CP and CCED / Lagan (Laggan) CP	400 / 395	20/30	* / *
Daothal & Ràta Mhurchais (Duthil & Rothiemurchus) CP	2,840	115	*
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich & Innis (Kingussie & Insh) CP	2,325	150	*
included in the above			
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie Small Burgh)	1,105	80	*
Obar Neithich (Abernethy) CCED	770	25	*
Coit a'Ghartain (Boat of Garten) CCED / Daothal (Duthil) CCED	500 / 810	20/30	* / *
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Tuath) (Kingussie North) CCED	950	50	*
Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Deas) (Kingussie South) CCED	270	20	*
Lagan a Tuath (Laggan North) CCED / Lagan a Deas (Laggan South) CCED	250 / 145	20 / 10	* / *
Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus) CCED	1,050	65	*

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

³⁶ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide "Gaelic only"-numbers in 1971.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Nàrann ³⁷	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	7	lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) Nàrann	9,481	1.2	280
Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn) CP -	5,368		70
Crothaigh (Croy) CP(Nairnshire Part)	634		12
Caladar (Cawdor) CP	1,070		39
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) CP	1,292		50
Aird Chlach (Ardelach) CP	1,117		99
included in the above	-,		
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,165	30	00
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) Vi	363		14
1891 Nàrann	9,133	1,894	16
Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn) CP -	5,222	852	5
Crothaigh (Croy) CP (Nairnshire Part)	579	259	6
Caladar (Cawdor) CP	1,026	313	ı i
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) CP	1,315	244	3
Aird Chlach (Ardelach) CP	991	226	1
included in the above		220	1
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,014	503	4
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) Vi	364	66	1
1901 Nàrann	9,291	1,325	10
Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn) CP -	5,732	649	
	570	179	3 3
Crothaigh (Croy) CP (Nairnshire Part) Caladar (Cawdor) CP	925	203	1
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) CP	1,292	154	2
Aitt Etreum (Addeath) CF Aird Chlach (Ardelach) CP	772	140	1
included in the above	//2	140	1
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,487	391	
Allt Eireann (Auldearn) Vi and CCED	313	38	1
Caladar (Cawdor) CCED / Àird Chlach (Ardelach) CCED	371/214	82 / 44	1/-
Gleann Fùirneis (Glenferness) CCED / Allt Mhìgeil (Meikle Burn) CCED	222/336	24 / 72	1/-
Muighnis (Moyness) CCED / Bràghaid (Brodie) CCED	446 / 533	60/56	-/1
A'Bhraclaich (Brackla) CCED / Cluanais (Clunas) CCED	318 / 262	50/80	-/-
Cill Ràthaig (Kilravock) CCED	290	94	4
Canntra (Cantray) CCED	254	76	, I
Geadais (Geddes) CCED	351	82	_
Cill Droma (Kildrummie) CCED	455	105	2
Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn) CCED	439	71	1
1911 Nàrann	9,319	929	2
1921 Nàrann	8,790	537	_
1931 Nàrann	8,294	410	-
1951 Nàrann	8,284	140	_
1961 <i>Nàrann</i>	8,423	144	_
included in the above			
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn Small Burgh)	4,667	77	-
1971 Nàrann	11,050	175	*
Inhhim Nàngian (Paile Page) (Noim Small Dyrah)	0.555	110	*
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn Small Burgh)	8,035	110	, T

Table 26: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Nàrann* (Nairn)

³⁷ Figures are provided for areas in the parish boundaries of 1901. Accordingly, the figures concerning the county of Nairn are different from old census publications which included also inhabitants of the parishes of Daviot & Dunlichity, Dyke & Moy, Moy & Dalarossie, Petty and Urquhart & Logie Wester in 1881 and 1891.



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Moireabh	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area	7	lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) Moireabh	43,788	1,059	
Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Albhaidh (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,642		66
Dìg & A'Mhòigh (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,236		3
Aodann na Coille (Edinkillie) CP	1,175		28
Dalais (Dallas) CP	915		5
included in the above			
Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,374	1.	83
Forrais (Forres) Town	4,030		73
Crombail (Cromdale) EP	1,145		10
Inbhir Ailein (Inverallan) EP	2,497		56
1891 Moireabh	43,453	2,263	12
Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Albhaidh (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,463	1,230	7
Dìg & A'Mhòigh (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,044	103	/
Aodann na Coille (Edinkillie) CP	983	118	_
Dalais (Dallas) CP	860	29	_
	000	29	_
Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,423	464	4
Forrais (Forres) Town	3,971	251	1
Albhaidh (Advie) EP	330	59	
Crombail (Cromdale) EP	659	226	3
Inbhir Ailein (Inverallan) EP	2,474	945	4
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			2
1901 Moireabh	44,800	1,865	2
Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Albhaidh (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	3,229	778	-
Dìg & A'Mhòigh (Dyke & Moy) CP	1,049	81	-
Aodann na Coille (Edinkillie) CP	869	91	-
Dalais (Dallas) CP	738	25	-
included in the above	1.500	220	
Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,568	338	-
Forrais (Forres) Town	4,313	229	-
Albhaidh (Advie) EP	321 695	47 190	-
Crombail (Cromdale) EP		691	- 2
Inbhir Ailein (Inverallan) EP	2,587		2
1911 Moireabh	43,427	1,213	1
Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Albhaidh (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	2,881	441	-
Aodann na Coille (Edinkillie) CP	789	64	-
Dalais (Dallas) CP	656	16	1
included in the above	1.451	1.7.5	
Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) Vi	1,451	175	-
Àlbhaidh (Advie) EP	303	21	-
Crombail (Cromdale) EP	575	106	-
Inbhir Ailein (Inverallan) EP	2,003	314	-
1921 Moireabh	41,561	816	-
1931 Moireabh	40,806	533	-
1951 Moireabh	48,218	268	-
1961 Moireabh	46,301	247	2
1971 Moireabh	51,500	430	*
Crombail, Inbhir Ailein & Albhaidh (Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie) CP	2,465	45	*
included in the above	2,703	7.5	
Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) / Crombail (Cromdale) CCED	1,600 / 865	30 / 15	*

Table 27: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Moireabh* (Moray)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1971:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Siorrachd Bhanbh	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area		lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) Banbh	62,736	33	31
Cill Mhicheil (Kirkmichael) CP	1,073		60
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) CP	2,568	1	8
included in the above			
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) Vi	478	7	79
Cill Mhicheil (Kirkmichael) RD	387	1.	22
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) RD	686	1.	38
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) RD	952	1	1
Gleann Lìobhait (Glenlivet) RD	1,616		7
1891 Banbh	64,190	639	3
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) CP	1,043	245	3
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) CP	2,319	65	_
included in the above	·		
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) Vi	506	103	1
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) RD	348	97	1
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) RD	695	148	2
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) RD	842	28	-
Gleann Lìobhait (Glenlivet) RD	1,477	37	-
1901 Banbh	61,488	499	_
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) CP	1,035	184	-
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) CP	2,201	53	-
included in the above			
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) Vi	515	90	-
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) RD	353	58	-
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) RD	682	126	-
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) RD	760	27	-
Gleann Lìobhait (Glenlivet) RD	1,441	26	-
1911 Banbh	61,402	378	-
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) CP	879	107	-
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) CP	2,017	24	-
included in the above			
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) Vi	479	42	-
Cill Mhìcheil (Kirkmichael) RD	242	44	-
Tom an t-Sabhail (Tomintoul) RD	637	63	-
Inbhir Athfhinn (Inveravon) RD	754	14	-
Gleann Lìobhait (Glenlivet) RD	1,263	10	-
1921 Banbh	57,293	258	-
1931 Banbh	54,907	159	-
1951 Banbh	50,148	146	-
1961 Banbh	44,000	126	3
1971 ³⁸ Banbh	43,505	305	*

Table 28: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1971 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Siorrachd Bhanbh* (Banffshire)

³⁸ Due to rounding of figures to the nearest 0 and 5 it is impossible to provide "Gaelic only" numbers in 1971.



Castia and Castia only between 1991 and 1991.	Tatal Da	C \\: \d1.1: \=	C \\: 41.1: ~
Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1881 and 1921:	Total Po-	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	pulation	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area		lish	English
1881 (Speaking "habitually" Gaelic) Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	267,990	80)7
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,611	2.	59
Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,109	3	3
Srath Deathain (Strathdon) CP	1,068	2	3
included in the above			
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	105,189	1.	59
Gleann Garthain (Glengairn) EP	437	2	9
Gleann Muice & Tulach (Glenmuick & Tullich) EP	1,672	_	4
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) EP	859	2.	34
Corr Garaidh (Corgarff) EP	370	1	1
Creichidh (Crathie) EP	735		5
Srath Deathain (Strathdon) EP	1,068	2	3
1891 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	281,332	1,534	8
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,534	319	_
Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,299	68	_
Srath Deathain (Strathdon) CP	1,183	37	_
included in the above			
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) Vi	482	111	_
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	124,943	653	7
Gleann Garthain (Glengairn) EP	396	37	_
Gleann Muice & Tulach (Glenmuick & Tullich) EP	1,600	27	_
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) EP	835	273	_
Corr Garaidh (Corgarff) EP	371	22	-
Creichidh (Crathie) EP	689	45	-
Srath Deathain (Strathdon) EP	935	19	-
1901 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	304,439	1,365	8
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,452	198	_
Gleann Muice, Tulach & Gleann Garthain (Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn)	2,469	41	_
Srath Deathain (Strathdon) CP	1,096	19	-
included in the above			
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) Vi	516	80	-
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	153,503	706	6
Gleann Garthain (Glengairn) EP	317	17	-
Gleann Muice (Glenmuick) EP	1,867	22	-
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) EP	846	164	-
Corr Garaidh (Corgarff) EP	333	14	-
Creichidh (Crathie) EP / Srath Deathain (Strathdon) EP	596 / 859	33 / 5	-/-
1911 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	312,177	1,129	-
Creichidh & Bràigh Mhàrr (Crathie & Braemar) CP	1,485	123	-
included in the above			
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) Vi	502	47	-
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	163,891	602	-
Gleann Garthain (Glengairn) EP	197	14	-
Gleann Muice (Glenmuick) EP	1,805	12	-
Bràigh Mhàrr (Braemar) EP	880	105	_
Corr Garaidh (Corgarff) EP	299	9	_
Creichidh (Crathie) EP	605	18	-
1921 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	301,016	852	1
included in the above	150.063	40.4	
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	158,963	484	-

Table 29: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1881 and 1921 – selected areas areas (civil and ecclesiastic parishes, electoral divisions, villages and burghs) in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire)



Gaelic and Gaelic only between 1931 and 1971:	Total	Gàidhlig	Gàidhlig
Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	Population	and Eng-	but no
Census/Selected Area		lish	English
1931 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	312,859	776	1
included in the above			
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	167,258	405	-
1951 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	327,529	789	3
1961 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	305,560	753	3
included in the above			
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	196,087	479	3
1971 Siorrachd Obar Dheathain	445,035	2,100	*
included in the above			
Obar Dheathain (Baile Mòr) (Aberdeen City)	182,070	1,240	*

Table 30: Number of persons speaking *Gàidhlig* between 1931 and 1971 – county and city in *Siorrachd Obar Dheathain* (Aberdeenshire)



Number of persons and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in former County Council Electoral Divisions (Inverness-shire) and the County of Nairn (Population aged 3 years and over)

Area 1961/71 Code 1961 1971 1981 1991 2001 Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich (Baile Beag) (Kingussie (Small Burgh)) KI 57 80 44 40 34 (Kingussie (Small Burgh)) 3.3 % 2.3 % Lagan a Tuath (Laggan (North) CCED) LN 33 20 13 18 13 (Laggan (North) CCED) 11.7 % 8.7 % 5.7 % 7.4 % 4.5 % Lagan a Deas (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 6.4 % 3.1 % 6.6 % 5.7 % 7.4 % 4.5 % 4.5 % 1.6 % 6.6 % 5.7 % 7.4 % 4.5 % 4.1 % 2.2 % 2.4 % 2.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % 4.7 % 2.4 % <			n aged 5 ye	ars and ove	1)	T	1						
Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich (Baile Beag) KI 57 80 44 40 34 (Kingussie (Small Burgh)) 5.5 % 7.5 % 3.7 % 3.3 % 2.3 % Lagan a Tuath LN 33 20 13 18 13 (Laggan (North) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Kingussie (South) CCED) LS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (North) CCED) LS 36													
(Kingussie (Small Burgh)) 5.5 % 7.5 % 3.7 % 3.3 % 2.3 % Lagan a Tuath LN 33 20 13 18 13 (Laggan (North) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) KN 66 50 23 12 19 (Kingussie (North) CCED) 7.7 % 5.5 % 4.7 % 2.4 % 2.7 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) 13.2 % 7.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 %<	Area	Code	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001						
Lagan a Tuath	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich (Baile Beag)	KI	57	80	44	40	34						
(Laggan (North) CCED) 11.7 % 8.7 % 5.7 % 7.4 % 4.5 % Lagan a Deas (Laggan (South) CCED) LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) 10.4 % 7.4 % 11.9 % 6.4 % 3.1 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Tuath (Kingussie (North) CCED) KN 66 50 23 12 19 Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas (Kingussie (South) CCED) KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) AL 22 20 66 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh (Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 Albhaidh (Rothiemurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a 'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten C	(Kingussie (Small Burgh))		5.5 %	7.5 %	3.7 %	3.3 %	2.3 %						
Lagan a Deas LS 24 10 12 9 6 (Laggan (South) CCED) 10.4 % 7.4 % 11.9 % 6.4 % 3.1 % Cinn a' Ghiuthsaich Tuath (Kingussie (North) CCED) KN 66 50 23 12 19 Cinn a' Ghiuthsaich Deas (Kingussie (South) CCED) KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) AL 22 20 14 13 7 Albhaidh (Alvie CCED) AL 22 20 14 13 7 Albhaidh (Rothiemurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % <td< td=""><td>Lagan a Tuath</td><td>LN</td><td>33</td><td>20</td><td>13</td><td>18</td><td>13</td></td<>	Lagan a Tuath	LN	33	20	13	18	13						
(Laggan (South) CCED) 10.4 % 7.4 % 11.9 % 6.4 % 3.1 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Tuath (Kingussie (North) CCED) KN 66 50 23 12 19 (Kingussie (North) CCED) 7.7 % 5.5 % 4.7 % 2.4 % 2.7 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas (Kingussie (South) CCED) KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) 13.2 % 7.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a 'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) AN 38 30	(Laggan (North) CCED)		11.7 %	8.7 %	5.7 %	7.4 %	4.5 %						
Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Tuath KN 66 50 23 12 19 (Kingussie (North) CCED) 7.7 % 5.5 % 4.7 % 2.4 % 2.7 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) 13.2 % 7.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a 'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) AN 38 30 25 13 <t< td=""><td>Lagan a Deas</td><td>LS</td><td>24</td><td>10</td><td>12</td><td>9</td><td>6</td></t<>	Lagan a Deas	LS	24	10	12	9	6						
(Kingussie (North) CCED) 7.7 % 5.5 % 4.7 % 2.4 % 2.7 % Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas (Kingussie (South) CCED) KS 36 20 60 56 62 (Kingussie (South) CCED) 13.2 % 7.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a 'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 %	(Laggan (South) CCED)		10.4 %	7.4 %	11.9 %	6.4 %	3.1 %						
Cinn a 'Ghiuthsaich Deas (Kingussie (South) CCED) KS 36 13.2 % 20 7.7 % 60 6.6 % 58 % 6.5 % Albhaidh (Alvie CCED) AL 22 5.0 % 20 5.3 % 14 3.4 % 13 3.2 % 7 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais (Rothiemurchus CCED) RM 28 2.8 % 65 4.1 % 41 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a 'Ghartain (Boat of Garten CCED) BG 4 20 0.9 % 6 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal (Duthil CCED) DU 37 30 30 3.9 % 13 22 22 16 Obar Neithich (Abernethy CCED) AN 38 30 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 18 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) GS n/a 30 2.0 % 42 2.6 % 46 2.1 % 51 2.4 % Crombail (Sgireachd) (Cromdale (District)) CR n/a 15 1.8 % 11 10 1.8 % 18 2.2 % 1.8 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn (Small Burgh)) NB 77 110 123 1.8 % 163 2.2 % 151 1.8 % Nàrann Duthai	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich Tuath	KN	66	50	23	12	19						
(Kingussie (South) CCED) 13.2 % 7.7 % 6.6 % 5.8 % 6.5 % Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51	(Kingussie (North) CCED)		7.7 %	5.5 %	4.7 %	2.4 %	2.7 %						
Albhaidh AL 22 20 14 13 7 (Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich Deas	KS	36	20	60	56	62						
(Alvie CCED) 5.0 % 5.3 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 1 6 <	(Kingussie (South) CCED)		13.2 %	7.7 %	6.6 %	5.8 %	6.5 %						
Ràta Mhurchais RM 28 65 41 43 30 (Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 1.8 % 2.2 %	Albhaidh	AL	22	20	14	13	7						
Rothiemurchus CCED) 2.8 % 4.1 % 2.8 % 2.6 % 1.3 % Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.	(Alvie CCED)		5.0 %	5.3 %	3.4 %	3.2 %	1.6 %						
Coit a'Ghartain BG 4 20 6 11 5 (Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 %	Ràta Mhurchais	RM	28	65	41	43	30						
(Boat of Garten CCED) 0.9 % 4.2 % 3.4 % 3.2 % 1.6 % Daothal DU 37 30 13 22 16 (Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33	(Rothiemurchus CCED)		2.8 %	4.1 %	2.8 %	2.6 %	1.3 %						
Daothal (Duthil CCED) DU 5.0 % 37 3.9 % 30 1.4 % 13 2.0 % 22 1.4 % Obar Neithich (Abernethy CCED) AN 38 4.5 % 30 4.1 % 25 4.4 % 13 2.6 % 18 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) GS 2.0 % 12.6 % 2.1 % 2.4 % Crombail (Sgireachd) (Cromdale (District)) CR 1.8 % 11 1.8 % 6 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) (Nairn (Small Burgh)) NB 77 110 110 123 163 151 1.8 % 151 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Coit a'Ghartain	BG	4	20	6	11	5						
(Duthil CCED) 5.0 % 3.9 % 1.4 % 2.0 % 1.4 % Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	(Boat of Garten CCED)		0.9 %	4.2 %	3.4 %	3.2 %	1.6 %						
Obar Neithich AN 38 30 25 13 18 (Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Daothal	DU	37	30	13	22	16						
(Abernethy CCED) 4.5 % 4.1 % 4.4 % 2.6 % 2.6 % Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	(Duthil CCED)		5.0 %	3.9 %	1.4 %	2.0 %	1.4 %						
Baile Grannda (Baile Beag) GS n/a 30 42 46 51 (Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) 2.0 % 2.6 % 2.1 % 2.4 % Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Obar Neithich	AN	38	30	25	13	18						
(Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh)) 2.0 % 2.6 % 2.1 % 2.4 % Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	(Abernethy CCED)		4.5 %	4.1 %	4.4 %	2.6 %	2.6 %						
Crombail (Sgireachd) CR n/a 15 11 6 3 (Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Baile Grannda (Baile Beag)	GS	n/a	30	42	46	51						
(Cromdale (District)) 1.8 % 1.8 % 0.9 % 0.4 % Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	(Grantown-on-Spey (Small Burgh))			2.0 %	2.6 %	2.1 %	2.4 %						
Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag) NB 77 110 123 163 151 (Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Crombail (Sgireachd)	CR	n/a	15	11	6	3						
(Nairn (Small Burgh)) 1.6 % 1.4 % 1.8 % 2.2 % 1.8 % Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	(Cromdale (District))			1.8 %	1.8 %	0.9 %	0.4 %						
Nàrann Duthaich NR 67 70 38 33 49	Inbhir Nàrainn (Baile Beag)	NB	77	110	123	163	151						
	(Nairn (Small Burgh))		1.6 %	1.4 %	1.8 %	2.2 %	1.8 %						
(Nairn Rural) 2.0 % 2.4 % 1.9 % 1.3 % 1.9 %	Nàrann Duthaich	NR	67	70	38	33	49						
	(Nairn Rural)		2.0 %	2.4 %	1.9 %	1.3 %	1.9 %						

Table 31: 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 <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers <i>Bàideanach</i>									
Map No	Census output areas		981	19	991	20	001			
01	Dail Chuinnidh (Dalwhinnie)	12	11.6 %	9	6.2 %	6	3.0 %			
02	An Lagan (Laggan)	13	5.5 %	18	7.2 %	13	4.3 %			
03	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) a	19	7.4 %	10	3.2 %	22	6.9 %			
04	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) b	19	5.1 %	28	6.0 %	29	5.6 %			
05	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore) c	22	7.2 %	18	8.6 %	11	7.4 %			
06	Gleann Tromaidh (Glentromie)	7	4.4 %	6	2.8 %	15	5.2 %			
07	Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Kingussie) a	18	2.5 %	19	2.9 %	16	2.4 %			
08	Cinn a'Ghiùthsaich (Kingussie) b	26	5.1 %	21	3.5 %	18	2.1 %			
09	Ceann na Creige (Kincraig)	16	5.0 %	6	2.0 %	4	1.2 %			
10	An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore) a	34	3.0 %	34	3.0 %	22	1.8 %			
11	An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore) b	7	1.9 %	9	1.5 %	8	0.7 %			
12	Albhaidh (Alvie)	14	3.3 %	13	3.1 %	7	1.6 %			
13	Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge)	12	2.8 %	19	3.3 %	11	1.5 %			
14	Coit a'Ghartain (Boat of Garten)	6	1.4 %	11	2.3 %	5	0.8 %			
15	Cinn Drochaid (Nethy Bridge)	25	4.4 %	13	2.5 %	18	2.5 %			
16	Drochaid Thulnain (Dulnain Bridge)	1	0.2 %	3	0.7 %	5	1.1 %			

Table 32: Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for census output areas in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) according to data from 1981 to 2001

Bàideanach: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)										
Age group	197	71 ³⁹	19	81	19	91	20	001		
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	1.1 %		
3-4	-	•	1	0.8 %	12	6.5 %	3	1.5 %		
5-24	65	3.2 %	51	2.6 %	51	2.3 %	47	2.5 %		
25-44	80	4.8 %	56	3.2 %	54	2.3 %	50	2.1 %		
45-64	80	5.0 %	68	4.8 %	72	3.7 %	65	2.6 %		
65 +	120	11.7 %	75	7.8 %	48	3.9 %	39	2.5 %		
Total (3 years	345	5.3 %	251	4.0 %	237	3.1 %	204	2.4 %		
and over)										
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	239	4.4 %	218	3.6 %	187	2.9 %		

Table 33: Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups in *Bàideanach* (Badenoch) between 1971 and 2001

³⁹ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5.



Number and percentage of <i>Gàidhlig-</i> speakers ⁴⁰ Nàrann & Srath Spè									
Map No			981	19	991	2	001		
51	Crothaigh (Croy)	5	1.9 %	11	3.1 %	11	2.4 %		
52	Caladar (Cawdor)	21	3.6 %	6	0.8 %	13	2.1 %		
53	Àllt Eireann (Auldearn)	8	0.9 %	16	1.4 %	18	1.6 %		
54	Àird Chlach (Ardclach)	4	1.6 %	-	-	7	1.6 %		
55	Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn)	123	1.7 %	163	2.1 %	151	1.7 %		
56	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) a	15	2.1 %	20	2.0 %	26	2.8 %		
57	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) b	15	3.5 %	12	1.7 %	12	1.9 %		
58	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey) c	12	2.3 %	14	2.4 %	13	2.2 %		
59	Crombail (Cromdale)	11	1.7 %	6	0.9 %	3	0.4 %		

Table 34: Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers for selected areas in *Nàrann* (Nairn) and *Srath Spè* (Strathspey) between 1981 and 2001

No	Nàrann & Srath Spè: Gàidhlig-speaking in Age Groups (1971-2001)											
Age group	1971 ⁴¹		1971 ⁴¹ 1981 1991		1991		20	001				
0-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0.2 %				
3-4	1	0.2 %	-	-	6	1.9 %	9	2.8 %				
5-24	49	1.0 %	33	0.9 %	39	1.1 %	29	0.9 %				
25-44	68	1.9 %	75	2.4 %	70	1.9 %	57	1.6 %				
45-64	59	2.3 %	61	2.3 %	75	2.4 %	75	1.9 %				
65 +	43	2.5 %	45	2.1 %	58	2.3 %	80	2.9 %				
Total (3 years	220	1.7 %	214	1.8 %	248	1.9 %	250	1.8 %				
and over)												
Born in Scotland	n/a	n/a	197	2.0 %	229	2.1 %	227	2.0 %				

Table 35: Number and percentage of *Gàidhlig*-speakers in different age groups in *Nàrann & Srath Spè* (Nairn & Strathspey) according to data from 1971 to 2001

⁴¹ Numbers in 1971 were rounded to the nearest 0 or 5. The * for the age group between 3 and 4 means less than three *Gàidhlig*-speaking children and possibly zero. Distribution in age groups was calculated based on county-wide data about Nairnshire and Morayshire – no local census information was published for these counties in 1971.



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⁴⁰ Statistical base is the population aged 3 years and over for 1981 and 1991 and the total population in 2001.

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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 "<u>speaks Gaelic habitually</u>" and the information was provided by the enumerator. From 1891 onwards this wording was changed into "<u>speaks Gaelic</u>" 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 Gaelicspeakers of the islands of Inverness, we are in a position to repeat that opinion. One fact alone seems to justify such an expression, and that is that fully three-fourths of the children of less than school age, more than three but less than five, speak Gaelic exclusively. Such a condition seems possible only when Gaelic is the language habitually spoken in the homes, and this seems conclusive evidence of its wide and habitual use." Due to the ever-increasing presence of English in the Gàidhlig community (mixed language marriages, in-migration of English only speakers, radio and television) more and more children under the age of 5 became bilingual and the census question proved to be irrelevant after the 2nd World War. Because of the very small numbers involved and the ambiguity of the question no census enumeration took place after 1971 on persons who spoke Gàidhlig but no English.
- 3. No data are available on persons speaking *Gàidhlig* outside Scotland in the rest of the United Kingdom. Census returns are, however, recorded in Canada where the *Gàidhlig* language survived as a community language in a few locations of the province of *Alba Nuadh* (Nova Scotia) well into the 1940s.
- 4. During Word 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 <u>persons present on census night</u> to <u>usually resident persons</u>. 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 <u>on all postcode names</u> 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>Bàideanach</i>			
	Dumennach		Area Co	odes
	Census output area	1961 1971	1981 1991	2001
01	Dail Chuinnidh (Dalwhinnie), Srath Mhathaisidh (Strathmashie), Loidse Beinn Eallair (Ben Alder Lodge), Loidse Obar Ardair (Aberarder Lodge), Ceann Loch an Lagain (Kinlochlaggan)	LS	20AA01 20AB01	60QT001225 60QT001314
02	An Lagan (Laggan), Siorraith Mòr (Sherramore), Garbhghaisg (Gergask), Caisteal Cluanaidh (Cluny Castle), Bail' Ailean (Balallan), Caitleag (Catlodge), Gleann Truim (Glen Truim)	LN	20AC06 20AC01B 20AC05 20AC07 20AC08	60QT001366 60QT001411 60QT001412
03	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC01	60QT001547 60QT001548 60QT000470
04	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC02	60QT000471 60QT001549 60QT000472
05	Bail' Ùr an t-Slèibh (Newtonmore)	KS	20AC03 20AC04	60QT000473
06	Gleann Tromaidh (Glentromie), Soillearaidh (Soillerie), Baile Ùr Sgire Innis (Insch), Inbhir Dhùghlais (Inveruglass), Lainn Ach' Lagain (Lynachlaggan), Toll a'Bhàthaidh (Tolvah), Coille Chunndainn (Killiehuntly), Druim a' Ghiuthsaich (Drumguish)	KN	20AD09 20AD10	60QT000001 60QT000002
07	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich (Kingussie)	KI	20AD01 20AD02	60QT000474 60QT001375 60QT000475 60QT000476 60QT000477
08	Cinn a'Ghiuthsaich (Kingussie)	KI	20AD03 20AD04 20AD05 20AD06	60QT001376 60QT000478 60QT000479 60QT000480 60QT001550
09	Ceann na Creige (Kincraig), Drochaid Fhèisidh (Feshiebridge), Bruach Spè (Speybank), Loidse Dùnachdain (Dunachton Lodge), Leth Allt (Leault), Lainn a'Chait (Lynchat), Baile Bhile (Balavil)	KN	20AD07 20AD08	60QT001414 60QT001228 60QT001413 60QT001258



10	An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore)	RM	20AE02	60QT000484
10	The right and the control of the con	1011	20AE03	to
			20AE04	60QT000489
				60QT001378
				60QT001380
				60QT001551
				to
				60QT001554
11	An Aghaidh Mhòr (Aviemore), Creag Eileachaidh (Craigel-	RM	20AE05	60QT000004
	lachie), Slugan Grèanais (Sluggangranish), Baile Mhuilinn		20AE06	60QT000490
	(Milton)		20AE07	to
				60QT000493
				60QT001379
				60QT001381
				60QT001748
				60QT001749
12	Albhaidh (Alvie), Innis Riabhach (Inshriach), Drochaid na	AL	20AE01	60QT000003
	Cuingleum (Coylumbridge), Bad a'Ghiuthsaich		20AE08A	60QT001382
	(Badaguish), Baile Gheallais (Pityoulish), Inbhir Dhrùidh		20AE08B	60QT000005
	(Inverdruie)		20AE09	60QT000006
			20AE10	
			20AE11	
13	Drochaid Charra (Carrbridge), Fèith Mhòr, Uachdar Blàir	DU	20AF01	60QT000007
	(Auchterblair), Slochd, Uachdar Teanga (Auchterteang),		20AF02	to
	Daothal (Duthil)		20AF03	60QT000011
14	Coit a'Ghartain (Boat of Garten), An Rath Breac (Rae-	BG	20AG01	60QT000012
	breck), Gartan Beag (Gartenbeg), Druim Ollaidh (Drumol-		20AG02	60QT000013
	lie)		20AG03	60QT000014
				60QT001415
				60QT001416
1.7	Cinn Don Juit Olds Did Clair 4 m 1 1 m 1	A TAT	20 4 1701	60QT001417
15	Cinn Drochaid (Nethy Bridge), Clachaig, An Tulach (Tul-	AN	20AH01	60QT000015
	loch), Loch Gartain (Loch Garten)		20AH02	60QT000016
			20AH03	60QT000494
				60QT000495
				60QT000496 60QT001383
				60QT001383
16	Drochaid Thulnain (Dulnain Bridge), Gealaghaidh an Ear	DU	20AJ07	60QT0001384 60QT000017
10	(Easter Gallovie), Sgiath Churr (Skye of Curr), Croit na h-	DU	20AJ07 20AJ08	60QT000017
	Aibhne (Croftnahaven), Creagan an Iar (Wester Craggan),		ZUAJU0	60QT000018
	Inbhir Ailein (Inverallan), Mucarach (Muckrach), Creagan			000100019
	Uarach (Upper Craggan), Lagan an Iar (Wester Laggan),			
	Achadh na h-Annaid (Achnahannet)			
	Memana in it-Annua (Aemanamet)			

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



	Census Output Areas in			
	Nàrann & Srath Spè		Amaa C	adas
	Census output area	1961 1971	Area Co 1981 1991	2001
51	Crothaigh (Croy), Cill Ràthaig (Kilravock), Baile a'Ghlaic	NR	24AA03	60QT000169
	an Ear (Easter Glackton), Ceann Locha an Ear (Easter		24AC09	60QT000170
	Lochend), Fèith Caladair (Bog of Cawdor)			60QT001467
				60QT001468
52	Caladar (Cawdor), A'Bhraclaich (Brackla), Baile Ùr (New-	NR	24AC11	60QT000172
	ton), Urchanaidh (Urchany), Gall Canntra (Galcantray),		24AC12	60QT000174
	Am Blàr Mòr (Blairmore), Geadais (Geddes), Cnoc a'Phiobair (Piperhill)		24AC17	60QT001469
53	Allt Eireann (Auldearn), Muileann Ùr (Newmill), Baile an	NR	24AC16	60QT000178
	Ear (Easterton), Bruach an Fhraoich (Muirside), Bràghaid		24AC18	60QT000179
	(Brodie), Achadh na Cloiche (Auchnacloiche), Cnoc		24AC19	60QT000180
	a'Bhealaidh (Broombank), Muighnis (Moyness)		24AC20A	60QT000181
			24AC20B	60QT000951
			24AC21	60QT000952
				60QT000953
				60QT000954 60QT001471
54	Àird Chlach (Ardclach), Cnoc an Eòrna (Knockaneorn),	NR	24AC13	60QT0001471
	Lainn an Tobair (Lynethobair), Achadh na Tobhaire (Ach-	111	24AC14	60QT000176
	natore), Muileann Beag (Littlemill), Slug a 'Choire		24AC15	60QT000177
	(Slugachorrie), Ord Breac (Ordbreck), Migeil Urchanaidh			
	(Meikle Urchany), Achadh Ghoididh (Fortnighty), Flìonais			
	Mòr (Fleenasmore), Tir fo Grèine (Tirfogrean), Loidse Dro-			
	ighneachain (Drynachan Lodge), An Druim Mòr (Drumore),			
	Dùn Eireann (Dunearn), Baile Bhlàir (Balblair)			
55	Inbhir Nàrainn (Nairn)	NB	24AC01	60QT000171
			24AC02	60QT000173
			24AC03	60QT000892
			24AC04	up to
			24AC05 24AC06	60QT000950 60QT001260
			24AC00 24AC07	60QT001200
			24AC07 24AC08	60QT001327
			24AC09	60QT001658
			24AC10	up to
			24AC20A	60QT001664
			24AC20B	60QT001732
				up to
				60QT001735



				ı
56	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey), Allt Ruadh (Redburn),	GS	20AJ01	60QT000502
	Carn Glas (Cairnglass), Buail Fhiodhaid (Belivat), Lagaidh		20AJ02	60QT000503
	(Logie), Ruigh Lugais (Relugas)			60QT000504
				60QT000505
				60QT000506
				60QT001386
				60QT001555
				60QT001556
57	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey)	GS	20AJ03	60QT000507
			20AJ04	60QT000508
				60QT000509
				60QT000510
				60QT000511
				60QT001387
58	Baile Grannda (Grantown-on-Spey)	GS	20AJ05	60QT000512
			20AJ06	60QT000513
				60QT000514
				60QT001388
				60QT001557
				60QT001558
59	Crombail (Cromdale), Àlbhaidh (Advie), Achadh a'Chroisg	CR	20AJ09	60QT000020
	(Auchroisk), An Tòrr Mòr (Tormore), Dail a'Chapaill		20AJ10	60QT000021
	(Dallachaple), Leathandaidh (Lethendry), Baile Coiteir		20AJ11	60QT000025
	(Cottartown), An Doire Roid Iarach (Lower Derraid), An		20AJ12	60QT001339
	Damhath (Dava), Loch nan Doirb (Lochindorb), Loidse		20AJ13	60QT000022
	Tulachain (Tulchan Lodge), Both Chrombail (Boat of		20AK01	60QT000023
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	Baile an Luig (Ballinluig), Tir Dubh (Dirdhu), Sliabhclachd			

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VII. List of Abbreviations

There are several 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 Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich: Gaelic playgroup association

Comhairle nan Eilean Official name of the Western Isles Council, the local government body of

(CNE) – later: the Outer Hebrides (with abbreviations)

Comhairle nan Eilean Siar

(CNES)

Cròileagan 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 Gàidhlig-medium education

GMU Gàidhlig-medium unit: Class(es) with Gàidhlig-medium education but as

part of an English medium school

GROS General Register Office for Scotland

LVI Language viability indicator
LCI Language community indicator

Mòd 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

Sgoil Araich Gaelic speaking nursery school

Sràdagan Gaelic speaking clubs for primary school children

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

EP Ecclesiastic parish according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901 RD Registration district according to census definition in 1881, 1891 and 1901



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