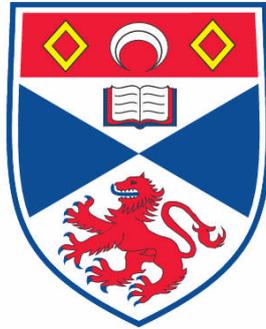


**LAND-USE AND LANDSCAPE : HYDROELECTRICITY AND  
LANDSCAPE PROTECTION IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,  
1919-1980**

**Jill Rowan Payne**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
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**LAND-USE AND LANDSCAPE:  
HYDROELECTRICITY AND LANDSCAPE PROTECTION  
IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND, 1919 - 1980**

**Jill Rowan Payne**

**Doctor of Philosophy  
University of St Andrews  
3 April 2007**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis employs twentieth-century hydroelectric development ventures in the Highlands of Scotland as a means of exploring conflicting demands of socio-economic development and landscape protection in cherished places.

In Scotland, twentieth-century landscape protection ideals were founded upon a landscape aesthetic shaped by the principles and objectives of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romanticism. The concept that the ‘natural’ world somehow existed separately from the world of humans, as a potential refuge from a rapidly industrialising European society, meant that the Romantic landscape aesthetic left little or no room for the incorporation of visible elements of industrialisation. This aesthetic has seen only limited change over time. As a result, satisfactory compromises between land-use and landscape protection have seldom been reached: a situation thrown into sharp relief by efforts to develop Highland water systems for the generation of hydroelectric energy during the period 1919 to 1980.

The debate over hydroelectric development in the Highlands is instructive for a number of reasons, not least its parallels with the current focus on the placement of wind turbines in significant landscapes. Thanks to the Romantic legacy, attempts to modify landscapes as valued as those of the Highlands are fraught with complexity, even when development is undertaken in the interests of socio-economic enhancement. The thesis outlines the progression of both sides of the argument, assesses the significance of the compromises attempted and evaluates the lessons learned from nearly six decades of policymaking initiatives in this sphere. Core aesthetic ideals broadened, but did not change. Landscape

protection progressed on the basis of protectionists' ability to adjust the focus of their opposition; increased articulation of the idea of the collective ownership of important landscapes superseded the need to confront the viability of entrenched aesthetic orthodoxies.

## DECLARATIONS

I, Jill Payne, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 72 747 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

**Date:** 3 April 2007

**Signature of Candidate:**

I was admitted as a research student in October 1999 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in October 1999; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1999 and 2007.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
APRS	Association for the Preservation [later 'Protection] of Rural Scotland
BAC	British Aluminium Company
BOAS	Board of Agriculture for Scotland
CC	Countryside Commission
CCS	Countryside Commission for Scotland
CEB	Central Electricity Board
CPRE	Council for the Protection of Rural England
CPRW	Council for the Protection of Rural Wales
DA	Department of Agriculture
FC	Forestry Commission
FoE	Friends of the Earth
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of Scottish Parliament
NC	Nature Conservancy
NRA	National Register of Archives
NSHEB	North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board
NT	National Trust
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland
SLF	Scottish Landowners' Federation
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage
SRoWS	Scottish Rights of Way Society
SSE	Scottish and Southern Energy

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# I

## INTRODUCTION

Twentieth- and twenty-first century historians have tended to document the rise of environmental awareness as an increasing appreciation of the negative impact of human activity on one or more elements of the biosphere, followed by the implementation of protection measures designed to arrest or contain this negative impact. However, an examination of landscape protection in Scotland highlights the less-discussed *impasse* that can occur when protection measures come into conflict with one another. On one level, the twentieth-century initiative that aimed to transform the Highlands of Scotland into a hydroelectric energy powerhouse exemplifies the conflict between socio-economic development and aesthetic protection in significant landscapes. At the same time, an understanding of this issue also helps to contextualise the ongoing problem of how to reconcile the protection, on aesthetic grounds, of ‘undeveloped’ landscape, with the development of land-hungry, but environmentally-necessary, alternative energy sources.

Following the Industrial Revolution, idealised ‘rural’ and, later, ‘wild’ British landscapes increasingly began to serve as meaningful points of reference for a British society eager to reinforce its weakening links with the pre-industrial past. By the twentieth century, the cherished places on which landscape awareness pivoted, while arguably rooted in remote but nonetheless actual memory, were

static scenes of the collective imagination. In terms of both significance and reality, these landscapes, of which the Highland landscape is a notable example, had come to be substantially disassociated from the land-use requirements of a 'Western' culture sustained by high-level energy consumption and the large-scale constructions accompanying it.

During the twentieth century, demands for energy and the means by which to generate it accelerated and altered considerably. In contrast, neither the aesthetic foundations of landscape appreciation, and corresponding demands for landscape preservation, nor the reasoning behind these demands, underwent much substantial change. This study contends that it is as a result of this imbalance that the satisfactory integration of large-scale energy development within 'unspoiled' landscapes has been difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Recognition of the issue in a British context arose alongside the first energy constructions in the late nineteenth century. However, it will be demonstrated that twentieth-century responses focussed on combating symptoms, rather than efforts to understand causes. In 1956, the influential landscape architect Sylvia Crowe raised the possibility of there being no solution to the problem. Well positioned to appreciate the viability of attempts to resolve contradictory demands for energy development and landscape preservation, she argued:

it is hard to strike a true balance between our needs for electric power, water supply and minerals on the one hand, and on the other our less tangible but perhaps deeper need for the solace of nature. To arrive at this balance means weighing the material against the spiritual, and from that we can expect no exact nor unanimous answer.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sylvia Crowe, *Tomorrow's Landscape*, (London, 1956), p. 38.

The 'spiritual', in this respect, is an outdated set of landscape values that have failed to keep pace with the rapidly expanding material needs of society. A detailed study of hydroelectric development in the Highlands during the critical period between the end of World War I and 1980 has provided both the basis with which to highlight this subject, and a means of considering in some depth the inactive nature of the values underpinning landscape appreciation during this time.

As a discipline, environmental history has been inclined to consider issues in which environmental awareness is pitted against non-environmental awareness. However, this particular conflict sheds light on the complexities arising from the pitting of one proto-environmental issue against another. Worldwide, the generation and transmission of electricity has resulted in extensive changes to non-urban landscapes. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the Kyoto-based Renewables Obligation became the catalyst for a more intense focus on 'greener' energy sources, which has in turn meant that the context in which these energy sources were first developed has taken on a new relevance.<sup>2</sup> Hydroelectricity was the first of what are now considered to be 'cleaner' methods of energy production to be developed on a large scale in the United Kingdom, making the years during which this took place a most important period for the development of renewable energy in this country. Development was largely confined to Scotland and the impact of the resultant energy generation and transmission remains among the major post-Industrial Revolution influences on landscape modification to have taken place in the region.

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<sup>2</sup> Renewables Obligation (Scotland) Order 2002.

Despite the connection to the current environmental agenda, few studies have satisfactorily explored hydroelectric power generation in the Highlands in terms of either ecological or aesthetic impact. Emma Wood emphasises the link in *The Hydro Boys: Pioneers of Renewable Energy* (2002), although this is an unreferenced work intended for a general audience and based to a noteworthy extent on Peter Payne's *The Hydro* (1988).<sup>3</sup> Also aimed at a wide audience, James Miller's *The Dam Builders: Power from the Glens* (2002) is a socio-cultural account of those involved in the construction of the schemes. As such, it offers useful insight into the realities of the employment provided by the hydroelectric schemes.<sup>4</sup> Miller acknowledges his indebtedness to Peter Payne's framework and refers readers in search of further information to the latter.<sup>5</sup> Payne's *The Hydro* is an in-depth study of the implementation of the major hydroelectric schemes initiated by the public utility corporation the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board (NSHEB) after its inception in 1943. Funded by the NSHEB, *The Hydro* is an essential work of reference where hydroelectricity in Scotland is concerned, providing information on the construction and development of the schemes, as well as relevant political and economic background material. As Payne acknowledges, the chronological breadth and detail of his approach has left little space for expanded coverage of the opposition to hydroelectric development in Scotland, particularly that which

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<sup>3</sup> Emma Wood, *The Hydro Boys: Pioneers of Renewable Energy* (Edinburgh, 2002); Peter L. Payne, *The Hydro: A study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board* (Aberdeen, 1988). In fact, while Wood acknowledges quotations from *The Hydro* (p. viii), and includes the title in her bibliography, her debt to Professor Payne in terms of chronological detail within her unreferenced text is arguably far greater than her brief mention would suggest.

<sup>4</sup> James Miller, *The Dam Builders: Power from the Glens* (Edinburgh, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Miller, *The Dam Builders*, p. 7.

centred on concern for the impact on aesthetics and salmon fishing.<sup>6</sup> In focusing on the aesthetics of hydroelectric development, this thesis does not attempt to reconsider the mechanical details of the wide range of construction schemes with which the NSHEB was concerned during its period of operation. Instead, it singles out the six schemes that provide the best indicators of the interface between land-use and landscape protection on an aesthetics basis during this time. Payne's material provides a reference where points of engineering and other practicalities are concerned.

The precise scale of the Highland water systems managed for hydroelectric power generation is difficult to appreciate when viewed from the ground. The concrete dams, powerhouses, pipes and transmission lines remain in place and there is draw-down<sup>7</sup> in the summer months, but decades of new growth have softened the outlines of the dam walls and pylons which were once thought to be at such odds with the landscape. Memories of the considerable questions that arose over potential aesthetic and other impacts of hydroelectric development have also faded. Even at the time, concern was confined to a relatively small number of people. However, this group included principal figures within the British political arena and between 1919 and 1980 hydroelectricity became the subject of heated and protracted parliamentary debate. It was in a number of ways perhaps the most contentious topic concerning Scotland with which Parliament and the Government occupied themselves during the inter-War

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<sup>6</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> 'Draw-down' refers to the exposure of waterside edges following a considerable drop in water levels. If these areas support quantities of aquatic vegetation, draw-down can result in unpleasant smells and sights as the latter decays.

period.<sup>8</sup> Dialogue continued largely unabated during World War II. In the first weeks of September 1941, the outcome of the war remained uncertain. The Russian forces appeared set to succumb to the eastward advance of Hitler's battalions towards Moscow and Leningrad and the United States of America (USA) had not yet officially relinquished its policy of isolationism.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, on 10 September, the House of Commons entered into an extended Second Reading of the Grampian Electricity Supply Order Confirmation Bill.<sup>10</sup> Concluding the debate, Thomas Johnston, wartime Secretary of State for Scotland under Winston Churchill and the key figure where the implementation of the public hydroelectric schemes was concerned, commented:

Not since the English Prayer Book issue have I witnessed such division of opinion in various parties in the House. It is true that the interest is not very widespread, but it has certainly excited intense controversy...<sup>11</sup>

Due to Scotland's limited coal reserves, and the post-1970s focus on oil and gas extraction in the North Sea, the effects of fossil fuel extraction on the landscape have been, parts of the Lowlands aside, relatively non-pervasive. Wind power technology is yet to be fully exploited and, given both public resistance and the increasing potential for offshore development and other renewable alternatives, may never be utilised to its fullest extent on land. However, the current debate to which the integration of wind turbines within the landscape has given rise is both extensive and ongoing. It also retains clearly traceable links to the debate over hydroelectricity implementation, allowing the latter to be viewed as a crucial

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<sup>8</sup> Andrew MacPherson, 'An Angle on the Geist' in Walter Humes and Andrew Paterson, (eds), *Culture and Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 236-7, cited in C Harvie, 'Scottish Politics', in A Dickson and J H Treble (eds), *People and Society in Scotland: A Social History of Modern Scotland in Three Volumes*, Volume III, 1914-1990 (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 251.

<sup>9</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol. 374, col. 271-2, Captain Cunningham-Reid, 10 September 1941.

<sup>10</sup> See below.

influence on contemporary reactions to various forms of renewable energy generation in Scotland.

The debate provided the emergent Scottish landscape protection movement with an issue around which to coalesce and, as a result, much of the core impetus for the movement is traceable to this: hence the argument that hydroelectricity has informed responses where other aspects of landscape protection, such as that relating to wind power, have been concerned. Following World War II, two non-governmental organisations in particular, the Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland (APRS) and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), became associated with much of the landscape protection-linked opposition to hydroelectric development in the Highlands.

Disputes over hydroelectricity continued into the 1970s and beyond, permeating post-war reconstruction in Scotland; as subsequent chapters in this study demonstrate, the question of land-use within the Highland landscape is yet to be resolved. A long-term debate of this nature, directly concerned with ‘rural’ and ‘wild’ landscape and contrasting ideals of best socio-economic development and best landscape protection practice, encompasses a range of perspectives, all of which have been subject to a degree of change over time. As such, the subject provides a pertinent platform from which to trace the evolution of attitudes towards landscape in Scotland. Since, in an increasingly data-driven society, aesthetically pleasing landscape has proved extremely difficult both to evaluate and to protect, various alternative economic and socio-cultural rationales were

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<sup>11</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol. 374, col. 232, The Secretary of State for Scotland (Mr Thomas Johnston), 10 September 1941.

proffered when arguing for the non-development of certain landscapes. These have included the need to protect both the tourist trade (economic) and the integrity of historic locations (socio-cultural).<sup>12</sup> However, the fundamental motivation has been a desire to preserve these places simply because it is deemed that they are beautiful as they stand and that any utilitarian inroads into them will detract from this.

Herein lies the enhanced conundrum attached to the Highland landscape. It is not simply that landscape protection concerns conflicted with general economic expansion. The Highland landscape aesthetic at its most undiluted stood in the way of efforts intended to raise the Highland way of life onto a par with other, more developed, areas of Britain. Scotland's geopolitical location within the United Kingdom state apparatus places it firmly within the 'developed' global North. However, the economy and infrastructure of the Highlands and Islands in particular have tended to lag behind accepted 'Northern' standards of associated industrial and social development. Long before the articulation of 'developed' and 'developing' worlds, this disparity provoked considerable debate,<sup>13</sup> becoming a subject to which the pioneering Scottish economists AK Cairncross and Adam Collier, and the ecologist Frank Fraser Darling, devoted sizeable amounts of attention. Early twentieth-century solutions to what was referred to as the 'Highland Problem' centred on both agrarian reform and the provision of developmental 'fixes' which it was hoped would reinvigorate the economy of the region, thus stemming rural decline and depopulation. Collier's analysis was particularly relevant, although his accidental death in 1945 meant that the

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<sup>12</sup> See for example the long-term dialogue in the *Scots Magazine*.

pertinent research he conducted immediately following World War II was only released (following editing by Cairncross) for publication in 1953.<sup>14</sup> By this time, Fraser Darling had also completed his *West Highland Survey*, undertaken for the Department of Agriculture (DA) for Scotland between 1944 and 1951. However, the DA, wary of his methodology and thus uncertain of his conclusions, failed to take up his proposals, significant as they were in terms of the development of his own environmental ethos.<sup>15</sup> These two studies made less of a contemporary impact than they might otherwise have done, but they remain examples of the degree of consideration then being given to the 'Highland Problem'.

From this viewpoint, hydroelectric development can be seen as having been promoted and implemented as both a social and economic investment in the natural resources of the Highlands that, critically, would alleviate the potentially wholesale dependence of the region on the vagaries of the projected post-War boom in tourism. At the same time, the viability of hydroelectric power development as an antidote to socio-economic decline was complicated to a considerable degree by the post-1745 evolution of an appreciation of the landscape (and landscape associations) at the extreme heart of the 'Highland Problem'. Factors such as rural depopulation and a lack of all but the most primary of industries, so central to the economic decline of the region, made for a countryside conforming visually to emergent post-Industrial Revolution

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<sup>13</sup> See for example the *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (HMSO, 1884).

<sup>14</sup> Adam Collier, *The Crofting Problem* (Cambridge, 1953), p. ix.

<sup>15</sup> Margaretta S Brokaw, 'Solving the Highland Problem: Frank Fraser Darling and the *West Highland Survey*, 1943-1955', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of Modern History, University of St Andrews, August 2003.

‘Romantic’ and ‘wilderness’ ideals evolving concurrently with and, in a sense, critical to the development of the ‘Highland Myth’.

The ‘Highland Myth’, the origins of which are explored in Peter Womack’s study *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (1989), is the ideological antithesis of the ‘Highland Problem’; and much of what underpinned early twentieth-century appreciation of certain significant landscapes in Scotland can be retraced to this.<sup>16</sup> Womack locates the origins of the ‘Highland Myth’ in the years following the final quelling of the Jacobite uprising by the Hanoverian government forces in 1746. When the Highlands ceased to represent a threat to the state, it became possible to celebrate rather than fear the ‘otherness’ of the region, with the growing Romantic movement serving to incline this celebration towards an admiration of real prospects glamorised by quasi-historical events and figures. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the perception – on the part of the English elite – of the Highlands as a region of dreary mountainous wastes gave way to an appreciation of Highland scenery for the ‘sublime’ experiences of the grandeur of ‘Nature’ it afforded.<sup>17</sup> This change, deeply intertwined with the ‘Highland Myth’, marks the start of the positive appreciation of Scotland’s landscape by outsiders: an extended evolution that incorporated the later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century admiration for the ‘picturesque’, Sir Walter Scott’s romanticised re-workings of the historical landscape and the approbation of the Victorian sporting classes.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> TC Smout, ‘Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries’, *Northern Scotland*, Vol 5, No 2, 1983, pp. 99-102.

<sup>18</sup> Smout, ‘Tours in the Scottish Highlands’, pp. 103-112.

The 'wild' or 'unspoiled' Highland landscape was a landscape of socio-economic decline, to which economic uplift would inevitably bring change.

While twentieth-century British landscape protection interests focused on the preservation of 'unspoiled' landscapes, there was a tacit understanding that 'unspoiled' was a relative term, underpinned by the post-Industrial Revolution appreciation of both Constable-style rural settings and less modified landscapes. 'Unspoiled' southern England incorporated scenes of more overt human construction than did Scotland and Wales. The relativity of the term is clearly outlined in the 1937 volume *Britain and the Beast*, edited by the planner, architect and founding member of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), Clough Williams-Ellis. A collection of essays by a succession of high profile commentators, including David Lloyd George and GK Chesterton, it highlights the range of British landscapes, from Kentish cherry orchards to the open spaces of the Highlands, then seen to be threatened by twentieth-century development.<sup>19</sup>

If the epithet 'unspoiled' is taken to be a relative term, then its application in Scottish and particularly Highland contexts belongs to the far end of a sliding scale. It has become almost *de rigueur* for tourism brochures to encourage would-be escapees from more noticeably developed areas to lose themselves in the 'natural' Highland landscape of hills, lochs, heather, birch and pine augmented by histories and legends loaded with cultural and literary significance. At the same time, a number of recent environmental history studies

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<sup>19</sup> C Williams-Ellis (ed), *Britain and the Beast* (Portmeirion, 1937).

have been devoted to further analysis of the substantial level of development that is nonetheless maintained within this apparently wild landscape. John Sheail<sup>20</sup> and IG Simmons<sup>21</sup> have approached the subject on a Britain-wide scale and both RN Millman and D Turnock, after WG Hoskins, considered in general terms the extent of human-induced landscape change in rural Scotland.<sup>22</sup> TC Smout has expanded the environmental debate he initiated in his 1990 Raleigh Lecture, 'The Highlands and the Roots of Green Consciousness, 1750-1990',<sup>23</sup> in *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600*,<sup>24</sup> which includes a discussion of the controversy surrounding the creation of public water supplies in Scotland and Northern England.<sup>25</sup> Judith Tsouvalis has investigated afforestation in Britain.<sup>26</sup> Jan Oosthoek's 2001 doctoral thesis addressed the impact of Forestry Commission activities in Scotland,<sup>27</sup> and this has been augmented by Smout's edited volume *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (2003).<sup>28</sup>

The above studies have contributed to the current academic understanding of the Highlands as an environment that has undergone a substantial amount of alteration at the hands of humans. The somewhat 'empty' appearance of the

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<sup>20</sup> John Sheail, *An Environmental History of Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2002).

<sup>21</sup> IG Simmons, *An Environmental History of Great Britain: from 10,000 years ago to the present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> RN Millman, *The Making of the Scottish Landscape*, (London; Sydney, 1975); D Turnock, *The Making of the Scottish Rural Landscape* (Aldershot, 1995); WG Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1955).

<sup>23</sup> TC Smout, 'The Highlands and the Roots of Green Consciousness, 1750-1990', Raleigh Lecture on History, read in Glasgow 24 October 1990, in London 20 November 1990, published in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 76.

<sup>24</sup> TC Smout, *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600* (Edinburgh, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> Smout, *Nature Contested*, pp. 101-115.

<sup>26</sup> J Tsouvalis, *A Critical Geography of Britain's State Forests* (Oxford; New York, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> KJW Oosthoek, 'An Environmental History of State Forestry in Scotland, 1919-1970', unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Stirling, 2001.

<sup>28</sup> TC Smout, *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, 2003).

region is the result of changes in, for example, population density rather than due to less biological manipulation. Critically, and as *Britain and the Beast* so neatly illustrates, the outsider perception of the region as ‘unspoiled’ developed as a response to more obviously discernable changes in the south of Britain. Even on the grounds of this simplified example, the quest for, and the appreciation of, ‘unspoiled’ landscape must surely be viewed as the pursuit of a cultural construct rather than a precise environmental condition.

Visitor responses appear to support the contention that the landscape of the Highlands is an integral aspect of generalised outsider perceptions of Scotland.<sup>29</sup> The Highland landscape constitutes an equally prominent facet of Scottish national identity. However, while this is often alluded to, it is seldom explored in detail. This is in direct contrast to the expanding body of discourse, discussed in Chapter III, linking English national identity and the idealised landscapes of the English countryside. The distinction is pertinent; it was the startling disparity between the cultivated appearance of rural England and the ‘wild’ Highlands which struck English travellers in Scotland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Positive attitudes towards the landscape of the Highlands must of course be analysed within the context of the appreciation of the English countryside already in place. Such contextualisation allows for the acknowledgment, throughout the following chapters, of two aspects of the non-urban landscape ideal within Britain, with the ordered rurality of the enclosed South providing a strong contrast to the less constrained ‘wild’ places of the North.

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The degree to which this background has continued to influence linked ideas of landscape and ‘Scottishness’ requires detailed attention. That which becomes protected by national law must surely be considered to constitute an important aspect of national identity. Prior to Scottish devolution in 1999, legislation pertaining to Scotland came under the jurisdiction of Westminster, making it necessary to acquire a perspective on those Scottish attitudes informing Westminster legislation. By examining the responses of the APRS and the NTS to both the idea and the reality of hydroelectric development within landscapes of high scenic value during the course of these groups’ active attempts to influence landscape protection policy, a measure of insight into connections between nineteenth-century Romantic perceptions of the Highland landscape, twentieth-century Highland landscape protection efforts and some elements of Scottish national identity may be gained.

Although the idea of landscape is so integral to local, national and international images of Scotland in general and the Highlands in particular, there has been little truly comprehensive analysis of the reasoning behind both the appreciation of this particular scenery and concern for its modification. The largely post-World War II tendency to view the protection of ‘unspoiled’ landscapes as part of the environmental movement has had somewhat momentous ramifications. It has engendered an associated desire either to return modified landscape to an earlier stage of development or to maintain ‘unmodified’ landscape in this perceived stage, in the same way that legally enforceable pollution restrictions

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<sup>29</sup> University of St Andrews North American Summer Programmes, application forms, 2004-2005.

have returned the water quality of the River Clyde to a state in which it is able support aquatic life.<sup>30</sup> It is possible to return a river, a biological component, to a more ‘natural’ state, but it is not possible to implement the same ‘cure’ where a cultural construct is concerned. This is arguably why, within a period of noteworthy successes for environmental protection, landscape protectionists have been relatively unsuccessful in achieving a practical blueprint for non-urban landscape protection in Scotland. The weakness of landscape defence based on the purely subjective has been identified since the 1990s by the development of landscape character assessment by Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) and by historic land-use assessment by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS).<sup>31</sup> However, effective as these assessments have been within the confines of their specific remits, their criteria do not invite detailed explanations of aesthetic significance. The hydroelectricity debate will therefore be utilised as a context in which to explore, with reference to the Highlands, the foundations of the aesthetic appreciation of landscape and their fate in the twentieth century.

Protecting landscapes has had much to do with preserving those areas in which it is thought that, as Crowe expressed it, the ‘need for the solace of nature’ can best be satisfied.<sup>32</sup> As such, taking the historiography of human interaction with the environment as a whole, landscape protection in Britain can be viewed within the context of the progression of ‘wilderness’ and ‘nature’ appreciation, as suggested

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<sup>30</sup> Recently consolidated as the Water Environment and Water Services (Scotland) Act 2003.

<sup>31</sup> Lesley Macinnes, ‘The Historic Landscape in Scotland: Towards a Strategy for the Future’ and JB Stevenson and L Dyson Bruce, ‘RCAHMS: The Historic Landuse Assessment Project and other Work’ [in-text title ‘Recent Developments in Recording Scotland’s Historic Landscapes’], in TC Smout (ed), *Understanding the Historical Landscape in its Environmental Setting* (Dalkeith, 2002).

by Clarence Glacken and Max Oelshlaeger,<sup>33</sup> towards a more holistic environmental awareness. However, as a chapter within the late modern chronicle of emergent environmentalism, landscape protection in Britain fits somewhat awkwardly into an account best exemplified by developments in North America, such as John Muir's early twentieth-century efforts to protect Yosemite National Park's Hetch Hetchy Valley from impoundment as a reservoir for San Francisco.<sup>34</sup> A number of more contemporary events in Britain are particularly difficult to rationalise. For instance, landscape protectionists are currently discovering that many of their objectives tally with those of the Countryside Alliance and other organisations dedicated to the protection of countryside interests. In this, they are becoming progressively more ideologically removed from socio-environmental pressure organisations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. The latter post-1960s groups retain clear links with the 'wilderness' appreciation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the landscape protection groups most prominent in Scotland between World War II and 1980, and the focus of this study – the Association for the Preservation/Protection of Rural Scotland (APRS) and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) – found their original impetus in their sister associations already established in England. Crucially, the English National Trust (NT) was founded on the basis of the need to protect elements of the built heritage as well as 'natural' landscapes such as the Cumbrian Lake District. The Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) likewise set out to protect 'traditional' rural English culture and its associated landscapes rather than any 'wilderness'

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<sup>32</sup> Crowe, *Tomorrow's Landscape*, p. 38.

<sup>33</sup> C Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1967), and M Oelshlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness* (New York, 1991).

ideal.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, while it is undoubtedly useful to view British landscape protection against a twentieth-century socio-environmental backdrop, the issues with which landscape protectionists are presently confronted are more satisfactorily explained if twentieth-century approaches to landscape protection are located more firmly within the wider post-Industrial Revolution Romantic movement.

The aspects of the Highland landscape admired by the Romantics were in many respects the same aspects that landscape protectionists fought to safeguard from changes caused by hydroelectric development. This is because cherished places in a landscape act as ‘memory tags’. They mark points made important by the human stories related to that area. Sometimes the visual appearance of the land itself is enough of a ‘tag’, sometimes it is embellished by human constructions, which themselves can in time become memory tags, even when the original meanings have disappeared or changed. This arguably applies to any land that has undergone human occupation. When a region bears a number of phases of human occupation in quick succession, the memory tags become rapidly layered, allowing one place to mean different things to different groups. Thus a recently re-colonised landscape can be the subject of differing interpretations by colonised and colonising groups. Complexities mount when groups continue to attach meaning to landscapes from which they have become physically removed, or to landscapes of which they have little or no physical experience. These new meanings can then twist and change, particularly in the absence of the physical presence of the places concerned, which otherwise serves to anchor meanings in

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<sup>34</sup> Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, 1973), pp. 161-81.

<sup>35</sup> C Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus*, (Portmeirion, 1928).

reality.<sup>36</sup> The foundations on which contemporary landscape protection policy in Scotland is built have been shaped as much by meanings and memories as by practical experience and understanding of the land. Cherished places in the Highlands have, to people both in other parts of Britain and around the world who claim either Scottish descent or some other close interest in Scotland, come to mean very different things to the current inhabitants of the region. This division is having direct repercussions on decisions as to future best use of Scotland's landscape. It is largely in reaction to an outsider, or non-rural Scottish, view of how rural areas should be used and protected that the Countryside Alliance and smaller groups, such as People Too, have gained their followings in Scotland in recent years. While a prioritisation of environmental concerns (including those relating to urban landscape protection) can in many instances be successfully 'piggybacked' onto the prioritisation of liberal democratic social reform, non-urban landscape protection issues occupy a greyer area. It is possible to argue that the protection of areas offering Sylvia Crowe's 'solace of nature' will contribute to social improvement, but this point can lose relevance when landscape protection is at the expense of social improvement through economic development, an issue that is clearly outlined by the conflict over hydroelectric development.<sup>37</sup>

The development of a movement concerned with the protection of Scottish landscape would seem to broadly mirror the escalation of environmental protection elsewhere in Britain. Nevertheless, an absence of dedicated

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<sup>36</sup> C Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, (Oxford/Providence, USA, 1994); T Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Crowe, *Tomorrow's Landscape*, p. 38.

paradigms means that difficulties arise when an attempt is made to contextualise this progression in any detail. British environmental history has been a relatively established field for some decades. However, the theoretical framework that characterised emergent North American environmental history is largely absent from the British historiography. It is arguable that the environmental awareness intellectualised by such ‘green’ North American academics as Donald Worster,<sup>38</sup> Carolyn Merchant,<sup>39</sup> and William Cronon<sup>40</sup> developed a strong philosophical quality because these pioneer environmental historians wished to explore the ideological makeup behind their passion. British environmental historians have explored various aspects of the development of British environmental consciousness, but, able to draw on the already established American field when required, it is possible that they have found it less necessary to build ideology into their hypotheses. It is also arguable that, as academics first rather than protestors, they have in general felt less driven to theorise on the nature of environmental consciousness. Rather, they have seen themselves as augmenting the work of the observer-naturalist, in the tradition of Gilbert White<sup>41</sup> and Charles Darwin.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, there is an identifiable progression from White’s *The Natural History of Selbourne* to Keith Thomas’ *Man and the Natural World* (with Thomas’ gender-partial title adding to the sense of a heavily conservative

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<sup>38</sup> See for instance Donald Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (Cambridge, 1994).

<sup>39</sup> See for instance Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (New York, 1980) and Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, 1989).

<sup>40</sup> See for instance William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983).

<sup>41</sup> Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne: Observations on Various Parts of Nature, and The Naturalist’s Calendar, with notes by Thomas Brown* (Edinburgh, 1833).

<sup>42</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection: or The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London, 1882).

approach).<sup>43</sup> Environmental history in Britain grew out of a strong tradition in historical geography and local landscape studies. While making for less ideological pegs on which to hang a study such as this, the trend has resulted in a remarkably detailed body of empirical evidence relating to both the natural world within Britain, and the nature of British nature study.

This study is submitted as a landscape history, but such a classification in itself requires additional justification. In 1899 the Cambridge geomorphologist John E Marr entitled his description of geomorphic processes *The Scientific Study of Scenery*, feeling little need to sequester ‘objective’ science from any subjective connotations imparted by the use of the word ‘scenery’.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, in 1905, the distinguished geologist Sir Archibald Geikie published a collection of essays under the title *Landscape in History and Other Essays*. In this volume, Geikie covered the influence of a variety of landscapes on history and literature, with an extended reference to Scotland, before moving on to a geological treatment of landforms as well as overviews of the work of James Hutton, Charles Darwin and Hugh Miller.<sup>45</sup> However, the intervening century has seen a divergence in the paths of cultural and scientific landscape studies. The latter field incorporates physical geography and geomorphology and is removed from the former, to which this thesis is an addition: research based on conventional historical methodology, in some respects reflecting an affinity with current trends in historical and human geography, sociology and social anthropology.

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<sup>43</sup> Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: 1983).

<sup>44</sup> John E Marr, *The Scientific Study of Scenery* (London, Second Edition 1903).

<sup>45</sup> Archibald Geikie, *Landscape in History and Other Essays* (London, 1905).

The work that follows is based on material extracted from the extensive archives of the non-governmental and governmental organisations with which it is concerned, augmented by related parliamentary records, command papers and private papers. As Peter Payne has pointed out, the parliamentary debates in particular provide a window into the nuances of the arguments both for and against hydroelectric development in Scotland,<sup>46</sup> as do the records of the APRS and the NTS, which contain substantial amounts of under-utilised but relevant information.

National and Scottish newspapers and publications incorporating current affairs commentary, such as the *Scots Magazine (SM)*, provide a supplementary body of evidence. An indication of the way in which ideas of landscape protection and hydroelectric development were received in Scotland may be gleaned from the *SM*, the pages of which from 1924 onwards maintained a sustained middle- to upper-class commentary on the socio-economic problems besetting Highlands, as well as how they might best be solved. The *SM* was first published in January 1739, largely as a medium for political comment, but also ‘That the Caledonian muse might not be restrained by want of a publick echo to her song’.<sup>47</sup> The first modern edition of the *SM* was produced in April 1924,<sup>48</sup> with an editorial

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<sup>46</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 336.

<sup>47</sup> This series, having been variously united with other contemporary titles in the early nineteenth century, became involved in the Edinburgh publishing fiasco of 1826 that so badly affected the finances of Walter Scott. Copyright was sold to Blackwood in June 1826, and it was almost a century before it was reissued under its original title. Alan Graeme, ‘Scott and “The Scots Magazine”’: Sir Walter’s Works and Contemporary Reviews’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol XVII, No 6, September 1932, pp. 401-2.

<sup>48</sup> In the year of the bicentenary of its original issue, *Scots Magazine* devoted a series of articles to its origins. See for example DSM Imrie, ‘The Story of “The Scots Magazine” III: The Final Struggle (1817-1826)’, *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXX, No 6, March 1939, pp. 445-452; DSM Imrie, ‘The Story of “The Scots Magazine” IV: Contributors (1739-74)’, *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXXI, No 1, April 1939, pp. 51-58; DSM Imrie, ‘The Story of “The Scots Magazine” V: Contributors (1781-1826)’, *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXXI, No 2, May 1939, pp. 141-150.

foreword promising to fill the gap for ‘a high-class literary periodical devoted entirely to Scotland and things Scottish’.<sup>49</sup> It went on to provide a lively forum for debate throughout the period under consideration. Editorial comment wavered where the position regarding the land-use/landscape protection debate was concerned. As with the landscape protection organisations, finding a middle ground proved difficult for editors focusing on the interests of both Scotland in general and the Highlands in particular.

Particular attention has been paid to the transcripts of the public inquiries into the more controversial of the hydroelectric schemes proposed by the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board. These transcripts provide a record of the formal explanations regarding the schemes made by both developers and protectionists. Under cross-questioning, the personal views of witnesses often surfaced – and indeed some witnesses were called upon to provide personal views – and it is here that perhaps some of the most telling attempts to quantify Highland landscape are to be found. In the Strathfarrar Inquiry in particular, several witnesses went to considerable lengths to attempt to explain why the sheer visual beauty of Glen Strathfarrar meant that preserving it free from modification was so crucial.<sup>50</sup> Their efforts to defend Glen Strathfarrar were in vain. However, the outcome of the Strathfarrar Inquiry was critical to the progression of attempts at landscape protection in the sense that it led to the realisation that this type of defence, no matter how impassioned and detailed, was fruitless in the face of the growing democratisation of landscape. There is no evidence to suggest that it has since been utilised at such length in similar circumstances in Scotland. At

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<sup>49</sup> Foreword, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 1, No 1, April 1924, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter VI.

the same time, within the democratisation of landscape lay the solution for which landscape protectionists had been searching – and on which they had subconsciously been becoming increasingly dependent since the early 1920s. The utilisation of landscape for the benefit of the majority (on either a national or a Scottish level) left it vulnerable to hydroelectric and other large-scale development. However, it also meant that landscape could and was beginning to be claimed by the greater public for contemplation, rambling and more physical outdoor pursuits. Landscape protectionists were able to take advantage of this trend. When utilised in conjunction with the tourism argument, the difficult-to-contest ‘public well-being’ argument had the effect of neutralising the contested aspects of a reliance on tourism (seasonal trade; reliance on the whims of the outsider; strains of neo-servitude) and therefore highlighting the local, national and international benefits of minimising the large-scale modification of significant Highland landscapes.

This study argues that Romantic perceptions of Scotland shaped the origins of agitation for landscape protection, as well as the form subsequently taken by this protection in the twentieth century. It argues that Romanticism projected some way into the last century and even by the 1980s was far from completely extinguished. It is this same image, held both presently and previously by the majority of admirers of Scotland’s scenery, that is most at odds with development, jarring in particular with large-scale energy development. As a result, it is strongly implicit in arguments for the protection of significant landscapes in the face of development. At the same time, as discussed in Chapter II with respect to the period to 1940 and in Chapters V to VIII with respect to the period 1940 to 1980, there was a general acceptance that economic development

in Scotland was essential. In many instances, landscape protectionists were acutely aware that their attitudes towards beautiful landscape were not conducive to contemporary economic development and tended to take this into account when deciding, on an individual basis, whether to object officially to various developments. Awareness of the country's economic needs, particularly in the wake of the two World Wars, decolonisation and the emergence of the bipolar world order, meant that the main motivators for landscape protection were seldom utterly opposed to development in its entirety. Similarly, the bodies responsible for much of the development forming the backdrop to this account remained, as the century progressed, pragmatically open to compromise. However, solutions combining the maximisation of development potential and the complete retention of desired landscape integrity did not occur.

Chapter II explains the issues behind the arguments in favour of hydroelectric development in the Highlands. Chapters III and IV discuss the other side of the debate. They explore the emergence of positive attitudes towards the Highland landscape from the late eighteenth century onwards, when the Romantic movement first turned its attention towards the north of Britain. Ideas of what scenery was admired, and why, in turn form the background to an analysis of the rise of efforts to protect and preserve this scenery. In this respect, Chapter III provides a general backdrop to Chapter IV, which focuses specifically on landscape protection responses to hydroelectric development. Chapter V analyses a state interventionist attempt to create an ostensible means (the NSHEB) whereby development and protectionist interests could resolve conflicts of interest relating to cherished Highland places. Critically, the sensitised issue

of Scottish land reform meant that this had to be attempted without recourse to the national park systems then in the process of becoming established in England, Wales, the USA and other parts of the world. Chapters VI, VII and VIII form the case study element of the thesis. Chapter VI utilises examples (relating to Loch Sloy, the Tummel Valley and Glen Affric) from the immediate post-WWII years to demonstrate how the period was one of notable gains for hydroelectric developers, at the expense of landscape protection considerations. Chapter VII considers changes to the initial development/protection ethos in favour of landscape protection (relating to Glen Strathfarrar and Glen Nevis) that became increasingly evident between the early 1950s and the early 1960s. It also takes into account the significance of the Mackenzie Report, the findings of which meant the beginning of the end for hydroelectric expansion. Finally, Chapter VIII illustrates the extent to which the protection of specific Highland places (epitomised by Loch Lomondside) had, by the mid 1970s, become a concern to at least match that of energy provision. Chapters VI, VII and VIII also emphasise the ‘shape-shifting’ nature of landscape appreciation. The lack of a concrete and realistic set of landscape values has proved to be both a blessing and a curse for landscape protection. Being difficult to pin down has made these values difficult to defend, but, particularly in the long term, correspondingly difficult to attack. As the case studies demonstrate, landscape protection made considerable headway between 1940 and 1980. However, the role of landscape protection organisations in achieving this was distinctly secondary to the state’s re-evaluation of the economics and politics of energy production and transmission.

Conflict over developmental changes and proposed changes to the landscape came about because these changes challenged particular cultural ideals related to the Highland landscape. While Scotland is at present attempting to shrug off elements of its Romantic profile and to emphasise the cosmopolitan nature of the urbanised Central Belt, there is little doubt that aspects of Romantic imagery continue to inform attitudes towards non-urban development: no matter how diluted, the ideals of the Romantics remain a force behind contemporary landscape protection. What constitutes protected landscape in the Highlands today tallies more or less with areas admired by Ruskin and Scott one hundred and two hundred years ago. This has important ramifications for future land-use policy, because the collective mindset of policymakers, their advisers and the electorate towards the ‘unspoiled’ stretches of the Highlands is more subjective and more subconsciously tied to the ideals of an earlier age than has perhaps been generally appreciated. Landscape protection as it is currently understood is undoubtedly a part of the ‘new’ twentieth-century movement espousing sustainable resource use. However, it is also a latter-day phase within the two-hundred-year-old Romantic movement, with its focus on idealised nature as something to be set apart from the world of humans, albeit constantly in want of judicious monitoring and ‘tweaking’ by humans in order to stave off alteration and change, both natural and human-induced.

## II

### ‘POWER FROM THE GLENS’?

#### ECONOMY, INDUSTRY AND HYDROELECTRICITY BEFORE 1940

I know what it is to be without amenities of another kind. I have no running water in my house; I have no indoor sanitation, and no electric light – only lamps and candles. There are thousands of people in Scotland living in these conditions.

**Major Neven-Spence, MP for Orkney and Zetland, House of Commons, 10 September 1941<sup>1</sup>**

This chapter places the early hydroelectric initiatives against the background of the socio-economic reality of the Highland experience in the first half of the twentieth century. In general, standards of living were poor in comparison to other parts of Britain. Against this backdrop, the Romantic appreciation of the Highland landscape stands in stark, unsettling contrast.<sup>2</sup> From this perspective, the dismissal of calls for the protection of landscape from development was realistic and practical. Post-First World War reconstruction prioritised domestic manufacture and employment provision and included a number of initiatives designed to aid the faltering Scottish economy. Forestry and hydroelectric development proposals, in particular, took cognisance of the abundance of undeveloped land in the North, and until the 1960s the two sectors continued to be hailed by supporters as dual socio-

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<sup>1</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 374, col. 220.

<sup>2</sup> TC Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (London, 1986), p. 10.

economic buoyancy aids for the Highlands.<sup>3</sup> This chapter explains the eagerness with which some commentators grasped the proposals and the possibilities represented by these. It also demonstrates the extent to which hydroelectric schemes had been implemented in Scotland by the 1940s, and discusses factors inhibiting further implementation.

As William Knox has pointed out, while World War I initiated heavy industrial depression, it only aggravated serious rural problems, the complex roots of which could be traced to the upheavals engendered by the Industrial Revolution and before.<sup>4</sup> This was recognised during the inter-war period, with efforts at land settlement initiated by the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act in 1911 continuing unabated.<sup>5</sup> The hard lives of those living in the relative isolation of the Highlands and Islands were also the subject of debate. For example, in 1935 the Reverend TM Murchison from Glenelg, Inverness-shire, drew attention to the difficulties of life on Skye and in the North West Highlands.<sup>6</sup> Following his work on the Scottish Economic Committee's *Highlands and Islands of Scotland Report* of 1938, Adam Collier reflected on two hundred years of Scottish history and pointed to the dissolution of the clans and the Clearances as the major impacts on the Highland way of life. He also alluded to what he called a more recent 'New Economic Revolution' during which the Highlands became drawn into the global economy,

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<sup>3</sup> For a contemporary discussion of the issues surrounding the economy debate see Alan Graeme, 'The Highland Problem: National Parks and "New Deals"', *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXIV, No 4, January 1936, pp. 278-285.

<sup>4</sup> W Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800-Present* (Edinburgh, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> L Leneman, *Fit for Heroes? Land Settlement in Scotland After WWI* (Aberdeen, 1989).

losing much individual self-sufficiency as a result.<sup>7</sup> Collier estimated that by the mid-1930s ‘the percentages of unemployment in Highland Counties were among the highest in Britain’.<sup>8</sup>

One of the most visual reminders of economic decline was the high level of emigration. World War I provided a temporary bulwark against the exodus that had been such a feature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>9</sup> However, the mid-1920s saw the number of Scots departing to the United States of America (USA), Canada, Australia, New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, the British territories in Africa, reach heights which alarmed social and economic commentators. Marjory Harper refers to a weekend in July 1923 in which some 4000 people left Clydeside for the USA after the latter renewed its immigration quota for Scotland after several months’ closure.<sup>10</sup> When early articles in the new series of the *Scots Magazine (SM)* referred to the state of Scotland, concern focused on depopulation.<sup>11</sup> In November 1924, for instance, Ernest A Baker asked, ‘can nothing be done to stay this wave of emigration?’ He estimated that, since March that year, Scots emigrants had been leaving for Canada at a rate of some 4000 a month.<sup>12</sup> Since Scottish population

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<sup>6</sup> TM Murchison, ‘The Plight of the Small-Holder’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXIII, No 1, April 1935, pp. 10-16.

<sup>7</sup> Adam Collier, *The Crofting Problem* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Collier, *Crofting Problem*, p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Basingstoke, 1991), pp. 71-72, cited in Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the wars: opportunity or exile?* (Manchester; New York, 1998), pp. 6-7. For more specific immigration profiles, refer to such localised accounts as Eric Richard’s ‘Highland emigrants to South Australia in the 1850s’, *Northern Scotland*, Vol 5, 1982-83, pp. 1-29.

<sup>10</sup> Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Ernest A Baker, ‘Depopulation and the Decay of Agriculture’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol 1, No 5, August 1924, pp. 356-58. See also, for example, David Cleghorn Thomson, “‘Hastening Ills’ in the Islands’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXI, April – September 1934, pp. 418-421.

<sup>12</sup> ‘WFG’, ‘Scotland Month By Month’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol II, No 2, November 1924, p. 82.

figures for the period stood below five million,<sup>13</sup> concerns about the depopulation of Scotland in general and the Highlands in particular ranked high during the later 1920s and 1930s, to the extent that Collier and later Frank Fraser Darling devoted complete chapters to analysing this.<sup>14</sup> During the Depression, emigration to the USA eased off, and emigrants of earlier years returned to Scotland. However, population levels continued to be the subject of discussion because lessening emigration coincided with increased birth rates to create severe unemployment in the Central Belt.<sup>15</sup>

Harper's research has shown that, whatever the realities surrounding early twentieth-century Scottish emigration, the most pervasive images of depopulation have centred on 'the impoverished highland emigrant'<sup>16</sup> as well as people from the Islands.<sup>17</sup> Jeanette Brock refers to previous eras of extensive emigration, including the seventeenth century and the Highland famine of the mid-nineteenth century; her own extensive research charts high levels of movement between 1861 and 1911.<sup>18</sup> As Harper suggests, memories of the calamities and social injustices which became catalysts for emigration in past centuries played a distinct, if difficult to quantify, role in colouring the perceptions of more contemporary issues.<sup>19</sup> Fears of this nature did much to provide the foundation for a strong feeling that 'something' needed to

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<sup>13</sup> Census of Scotland, 1931; Michael Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 304-5, cited in Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> Collier, *Crofting Problem*, pp. 128-141.

<sup>15</sup> Knox, *Industrial Nation*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>16</sup> Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, pp. 1; 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-108.

<sup>18</sup> Jeanette M Brock, *The Mobile Scot: A Study of Emigration and Migration 1861-1911* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 231.

be done to provide the North of Scotland in particular with a social and economic future.<sup>20</sup> Then – as currently – the deer forests to which so much land was devoted were seen in some circles as Victorian relics, with little to offer a twentieth-century economy.<sup>21</sup> As the editor of the *SM* put it, somewhat theatrically, in February 1928, the region, if it continued to be devoted largely to this use, would be no more than ‘an old spirit to be sung about, something for societies to toast in other lands’.<sup>22</sup>

As early as 1916, the Board of Agriculture for Scotland (BOAS) had noted in a memorandum sent to the Local Government Board that the potential for hydroelectric and timber development meant that any encouragement of emigration from the North was most unnecessary.<sup>23</sup> From his vantage point in the mid-1940s, Collier emphasised the significance of hydroelectric development and afforestation to interwar development, although he made it clear that he himself was wary of the potential disadvantages posed by hydroelectricity.<sup>24</sup>

The First World War had sharply highlighted the need for further domestic timber supplies, with the Reconstruction Committee’s findings on forestry in 1918<sup>25</sup> convincing the Government to agree to the Acland Committee’s recommendation

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<sup>19</sup> Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Alan Graeme, ‘The Highland Problem: National Parks and “New Deals”’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXIV, No 4, January 1936, p. 283.

<sup>21</sup> For a contemporary argument to this effect, see Andrew Wightman, *Scotland: Land and Power: The Agenda for Land Reform* (Edinburgh, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Anonymous, ‘Books and Other Things: A Review of Current Scots Letters, by the Editor’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol VIII, No 5, February 1928, p. 396.

<sup>23</sup> Scottish Record Office, AF51/212, ‘Emigration and Empire Settlement: Memoranda on Economic Conditions etc in the Highlands and Islands, 11 August 1916, cited in Harper, *Emigration from Scotland*, p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> Collier, *Crofting Problem*, p. 101.

that a Forestry Commission be established, particularly in the light of the extensive employment potential forestry was thought to represent.<sup>26</sup> By this stage, levels of forested land in Britain were judged to be amongst the lowest in Europe, at approximately three percent. However, most afforestation during the interwar period took place in England and Wales. Scotland's upland areas were more difficult to plant, particularly where the ground was peaty: an impediment which remained until new methods of planting were utilised following World War II.<sup>27</sup> Collier and Cairncross estimated that, by the closing years of World War II, of the 350,000 acres of Scottish woodland, less than half consisted of commercial plantations.<sup>28</sup>

Faith in the economic potential of afforestation in Scotland remained high at a time when opinions on the merits of hydroelectricity were already deeply divided, arguably because afforestation was not considered a threat to the integrity of the Highland identity. The converse was true for hydroelectric development, making its implementation an altogether more contentious issue, hence Collier's reticence when emphasising its merits. The generation of cheap electricity from fast flowing water was initially required to power the emergent British aluminium industry. A superior method of aluminium manufacture, discovered by both PTL Heroult in France in 1886 and CM Hall in America in 1887,<sup>29</sup> meant that large-scale production of this

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<sup>25</sup> NRA, FC 4/2, 'Reconstruction Committee: Final Report of the Sub Committee on Forestry'.

<sup>26</sup> Donald Mackay, *Scotland's Rural Land Use Agencies* (Aberdeen, 1995), p. 22; John Sheail, *An Environmental History of Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke/New York 2002), p. 86.

<sup>27</sup> Collier, *Crofting Problem*, p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 4.

versatile metal became more viable. However, the new method demanded a ready supply of electricity, meaning that British water resources assumed new significance as potential generators of hydroelectricity. Precisely the same varied topography that made for the arresting scenery of Scottish and Welsh watershed areas spelled hydroelectric possibilities.

Producing energy from water was itself a recently discovered process and one which became economically viable if it could be used at source, thus minimising costly transmission procedures. The British Aluminium Company (BAC) obtained the rights to the Heroult aluminium manufacturing process and, in 1895, initiated the establishment of a hydroelectric-powered aluminium plant. Foyers, on the eastern banks of Loch Ness, with its attendant falls, became the first in a series of sites incorporated by the BAC into what became extensive hydroelectric schemes. An ambitious scheme centring on aluminium production at Kinlochleven followed Foyers in 1904. Its construction had almost bankrupted the company by 1910, but World War I permanently increased the demand for aluminium to such an extent that by 1918 there were plans to extend the Kinlochleven site. When these plans proved unsuccessful, a further site was developed at Fort William and expanded in three complex stages that only finally reached completion in 1943.<sup>30</sup> Creating power from hydroelectricity for public supply on a significant scale had also been contemplated since the 1890s. WR Scott's report to the Board of Agriculture for Scotland on

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-15.

Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands in 1914 included a reference to the potential of both large and small hydroelectric units.<sup>31</sup>

The BAC negated any external impediment to its activities through the purchase of all land and rights to water affected by its development at Foyers. However, the four schemes which followed Foyers in the period prior to World War II, and the subsequent establishment of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board, required legislative approval, and it through these that the emergence of the legal framework governing hydroelectric development in Scotland can be traced.<sup>32</sup> The critical pieces of legislation are the Loch Leven Water Power Act 1901, which concerned the Kinlochleven site, the Ericht Water and Electricity Power Act 1912, the Lochaber Water Power Act 1921, the Ayr Burgh (Electricity) Act 1922, the Grampian Electricity Supply Act 1922 and the Galloway Water Power Act 1929. These took the form of private Acts of Parliament, which were initiated by private individuals or groups rather than Members of Parliament or the state itself. As Bills, the prospective Acts could also be objected to by individuals, and contentious issues (particularly those relating to infrastructure) could be debated at inquiries presided over by Members of Parliament (of either House). Following an inquiry, which could be held at a location in the general proximity of the proposed development, a

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<sup>31</sup> WR Scott, *Report to the Board of Agriculture for Scotland on Home Industries in the Highlands and Islands* (HMSO, 1914), p. 142 and Appendix.

<sup>32</sup> Colin T Reid, Aylwin Pillai and Andrew R Black, 'The Emergence of Environmental Concerns: Hydroelectric Schemes in Scotland', in *Journal of Environmental Law*, 2005, Vol. 17 No 3, p. 365; Colin T Reid, 'Things Were Simpler Then: Environmental Controls on Early Hydro-Electric Dams in Scotland', in *Journal of Water Law*, November-December 2002, Vol. 13, No 6, pp. 382-383.

Bill would undergo a ‘streamlined’ passage through the Commons and Lords,<sup>33</sup> which involved less debate than a public Bill, and more discussion at the Committee Stage.<sup>34</sup>

While hydroelectric development in the interests of aluminium production was therefore already in place at Foyers and Kinlochleven, no scheme focusing on public energy supplies obtained parliamentary approval prior to the release of interim reports issued by the Committee on Water Power Resources (the Snell Committee) in 1919 and 1920.<sup>35</sup> The Committee’s findings on hydroelectric potential for domestic use were positive at a time in which it was becoming clear that Britain’s generating capacity required extension. The accompanying feelings of urgency did much to secure the smooth passage of the 1922 Grampian Electricity Supply Bill through both Houses of Parliament. The scheme incorporated the catchment areas of lochs Ericht, Rannoch and Tummel and the part-catchments of lochs Seilich and Garry, and was constructed between 1928 and 1940.<sup>36</sup> The official public notification for the Provisional Order of the Grampian Scheme reflects the breadth of the project; the scheme was to make use of lochs Rannoch, Ericht, Cuaich, Seilich, Brodainn, an Duin, Garry and Mhaire, lochans Dubh and na Doire-Uaine as well as 42 associated rivers and streams, including the rivers Tummel and Garry and

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<sup>33</sup> Reid, ‘Things were Simpler Then’, pp. 382-383; Reid, Pillai and Black, ‘Hydroelectric Schemes in Scotland’, p. 365.

<sup>34</sup> John Sheail, ‘Local Legislation: Its Scope and Context’, in *Archives*, Vol. XXX, No 113, October 2005, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Board of Trade Departmental Committee, ‘Water Power Resources: Final Report’, non-parliamentary paper, November 1921.

<sup>36</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, pp. 15-23.

the Bruar Water.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, a scheme incorporating the Falls of Clyde was completed between 1924 and 1926<sup>38</sup> and in 1931 work began on a nine-dam project in the uplands of what is now Dumfries and Galloway; that project had seen fruition by the end of 1936.<sup>39</sup> A faltering scheme in Ross-shire, begun in 1926, was also on its feet by 1938.<sup>40</sup> The combined result of these public supply schemes was to augment the already significant impact of the British Aluminium Company in bringing substantial change to a number of Scottish lochs and rivers much admired for their scenic quality.

In addition to highlighting Britain's insufficient electrical generating capacity, World War I had emphasised the inadequacies of the power distribution system. To counteract this, the 1919 Electricity (Supply) Act made initial provisions for the regularisation of power supplies on a national basis. A further Electricity (Supply) Act, passed in 1926, provided the basis for an electricity grid linking generating stations and consumers through a network of transmission lines.<sup>41</sup> Supported by metal pylons, the grid transmission lines brought visual transformation to any skylines against which they were silhouetted. The prospect of increased hydroelectric generation in the Highlands brought with it the prospect of increased transmission lines, both to the Grid and to the new consumers in the Highland communities to whom it would now be extended.

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<sup>37</sup> 'Harnessing Highland Lochs - Electricity Generation Proposals: Grampian Scheme'. *The Scotsman*, 2 January 1922.

<sup>38</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23.

The primary argument against hydroelectric development in the Highlands, to be discussed more fully in Chapter III and thereafter, was its potential impact on both national identity and the tourism industry. The post-World War II period reflects a steadily growing appreciation of the economic benefits of tourism, support for which had been increasing since the 1930s.<sup>42</sup> Although possessing too little information on the state of the pre-war tourist trade to make confident projections, Adam Collier provided a general interpretation of the emergent industry. For him, visitors to Scotland tended to be:

ordinary British people seeking relaxation and those beauties of scene and sky which the Highlands afford so abundantly. It is difficult to compute their numbers but we do know that with the improvement in main roads in the thirties this type of traffic increased greatly.<sup>43</sup>

By World War II, it was generally recognised that people liked to visit Scotland to view the scenery, and that they could be induced to spend money to do so. However, certain misgivings existed regarding the growth of dependence on tourism. Laurence Gouriévidis suggests that:

The greatest paradox in the representation and perception of the region lies in the fact that the most enduring of its mythical images – that of a romantic wilderness with vast expanses of rugged and inhospitable land, of feuding clans and kilted Highlanders and of close-knit communities with their own distinct culture and lore – were being manufactured and peddled at the same time as Gaelic culture itself was being eroded and indigenous inhabitants uprooted and scattered by evictions and emigration.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> John Sheail, *Power in Trust: The Environmental History of the Central Electricity Generating Board* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991), p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> See for example William Power, 'From A Holiday Note-Book', *Scots Magazine*, Vol II, No 5, February 1925, p. 359; Alan Graeme, 'The Highland Problem: National Parks and "New Deals"', *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXIV, No 4, January 1936, p. 283.

<sup>43</sup> Collier, *Crofting Problem*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>44</sup> Laurence Gouriévidis, 'Representing the Disputed Past of Northern Scotland: The Highland Clearances in Museums', in *History & Memory* 12.2 (2001), p. 124.

In 1937, the novelist Neil Gunn, who found his inspiration in the day-to-day lives of working people, wrote passionately of how catering to the whim of outsiders coming to gaze at vestiges of Scotland's 'romantic' past did not make for any hope of a proud future. For Gunn, an outspoken (and arguably highly idealistic) representative of the wider tradition of suspicion of the tourist trade, dependence on tourism represented the emasculation of the Scottish workforce:

I should demand a man's work, and I should demand it in my own land ... better a factory than starvation; better a self-respecting worker in my own trade union than a half-sycophant depending on the whims of a passing tourist ... In virile life, however employed, there is a future, because free men will not bear indefinitely the evils of our present industrial system. But when this free virile life is absent, then not all the deserving old women attending to all the tourists of the world and prattling of the scenic beauty of empty glens can save the ancient heritage from decay and death.<sup>45</sup>

As the *SM* editorial put it in September 1937, there was a feeling prevalent among Scots that the English viewed Scotland as a vast shooting estate, with Scots providing the workforce with which to run it: 'It is the Englishman's (or worse still, the Anglicised Scot's) game-preserve'.<sup>46</sup> This unease augmented the pertinent concern that the tourist trade was seasonal and could not sustain people through the winter months.

The metaphorical position of the interpreter in relation to a particular site is central to issues of landscape perception and land-use.<sup>47</sup> While hardly a novel idea in terms

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<sup>45</sup> Neil Gunn, "'Gentlemen-The Tourist!'" The New Highland Toast', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXVI, No 6, March 1937, p. 415. Also referred to in Robert Lambert, *Contested Mountains: Nature, Development and Environment in the Cairngorms Region of Scotland, 1880-1980* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXVII, No 6, September 1937, pp. 404-405.

<sup>47</sup> As Kate Flint and Howard Morphy put it in their introduction to the published 1997 Linacre Lectures, 'The environment ... is not just a protean concept in historical terms, but changes according to where we place ourselves', Howard Morphy and Kate Flint, 'Introduction', in Kate Flint and Howard Morphy (eds), *Culture, Landscape and the Environment: The Linacre Lectures*, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), p. 3. See also Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, (Berg Publishers: Oxford/Providence, USA: 1994), p. 21.

of contemporary historical understanding, it is not one on which all concerned with the environment agree.<sup>48</sup> However, it was a conclusion incorporated within the Countryside Commission for Scotland's (CCS's) *Planning Classification of Scottish Landscape Resources* in 1971. In an effort to create guidelines for landscape classification,<sup>49</sup> the CCS acknowledged the importance of issues influencing viewers' perceptions of the environment in general.<sup>50</sup> Consensus on this point means that the validity of both sides of the conflict between developers and protectionists over Scotland's valued landscapes can be appreciated. In assuming this stance, this study builds on the perspective implicit in the titles of both TC Smout's *Nature Contested* and Robert A Lambert's *Contested Mountains* (2001).<sup>51</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose that, as a general rule, the more an interpreter stands to gain materially from landscape development, the higher the likelihood of that person accepting any resultant changes to the land with equilibrium. Furthermore, opposition to landscape development in Scotland on the grounds of scenic value has tended to stem from the idea that development detracts from the 'naturalness' of an area. However, although plenty of land remains relatively natural, there has been nothing that is absolutely so in Scotland for many centuries. The highest

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<sup>48</sup> As Morphy and Flint continue, 'The environment ... lies outside us – but it also lies within. The very idea that the environment is culturally constructed and that by implication conceptions of a good environment are relative to the culture of the person concerned, is an anathema both to certain philosophical and scientific positions and to certain environmentalists'. Morphy and Flint, 'Introduction', pp. 12-13.

<sup>49</sup> CCS, *A Planning Classification of Scottish Landscape Resources*, (CCS, 1971).

<sup>50</sup> CCS, *Planning Classification of Scottish Landscape Resources*, appendix 4, no page number.

<sup>51</sup> Smout, *Nature Contested*; Lambert, *Contested Mountains*.

mountaintops have cairns on their summits and wildwood is non-existent.<sup>52</sup> Ostensibly ‘natural’ scenery is therefore far from untouched, and the following chapters reflect instances in which the word itself is applied to a range of landscapes in varying stages of human-induced change. Perceived ‘naturalness’, then, must be accepted as a cultural interpretation. As such, it is neither more nor less valid than a myriad other cultural interpretations, but those who support the maintenance of ‘natural’ landscapes are arguably those who are least reliant on those landscapes for material gain.

The Scottish reaction to national and international interest in the Highlands was complex, laced with contradictions, and seldom completely negative. One *SM* contributor at least emphasised the difference between the utilisation of the deer forests and other types of tourism, with the latter ‘not to be confused with the letting of sporting estates and the building up of a large class of [e]state servants’.<sup>53</sup> However, for those who could not see a dignified future for Scotland in tourism, industrial growth appeared to be a practical way forward. For supporters of this outlook, the changes to the countryside engendered by development were no less obvious than they were to those who were against it. For them however, the artificial constructions represented a positive new element, with this being reflected in the language used to describe technological additions to the landscape. The idea

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<sup>52</sup> I G Simmons, *An Environmental History of Great Britain: From 10,000 Years Ago to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

<sup>53</sup> Anonymous, ‘From a Highland Notebook’, *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXX, No 1, October 1938, p. 50.

of the Lochaber Power Scheme and its industrial potential was greeted with satisfaction by some economic commentators in 1925, one of whom enthused that:

There is not lacking a certain irony in the fact that the blood-stained field of Inverlochy has been chosen as the site of the main works...No longer will the grim towers of the mouldering castle look down upon the wastage of war or re-echo the battle-shout of kilted clansmen. In place of these will arise the hum of industry, the throb of machinery, the song of the dynamo. As of yore, Ben Nevis will stand sentinel of the scene, implacable as always; yet what a transformation will be there! Not only will the face of nature be changed, but human energy, instead of being directed towards the taking of life, will be marshalled under the flag of commerce for the betterment of the race and the consolidation of empire.<sup>54</sup>

For this commentator, the elements of the landscape representative of the past are ‘grim’ and ‘mouldering’, while the injection of industry into the area is seen as having positive significance in a visual as well as an economic sense. When the creation of a dam in Glen Nevis was being discussed in the 1960s, positive feelings towards a more utilitarian backdrop to Ben Nevis were less readily acknowledged.<sup>55</sup>

In the following instance, long-term visual impairment of the landscape is predicted to be little once construction is complete:

Even though it did [impair the landscape], would it be justifiable to neglect so great an opportunity for solving a question of economics...so far as the smallholder in the Highlands and Islands is concerned, it is practically impossible for him to wrest a living from the soil alone. The truth of this is amplified by the unending stream of emigration to the colonies. What the war has left to us of our young manhood is being absorbed by the United States and Canada, by Australasia, by South Africa...<sup>56</sup>

Once a number of the schemes were in place, the commentary began to reflect admiration for the technological achievement that they represented. A contributor to the *SM* in 1938 lauded the engineering triumph represented by the Galloway Scheme: ‘To divert a river from flowing through Ayrshire and the north-west until it

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<sup>54</sup> WMT Kilgour, ‘The Lochaber Hydro-Electric Scheme’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. II, No 5, February 1925, pp. 342-46. See also WFG, ‘Scotland Month By Month’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. III, No 1, April 1925, p. 76.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>56</sup> WMT Kilgour, ‘The Lochaber Hydro-Electric Scheme’, p. 346.

flowed into the river Ken to the Solway Firth was just one of the feats performed in utilising the power of these waters'.<sup>57</sup> While there was certainly no lack of critics describing the negative visual impact of pipes and pylons, in 1938 John Angus envisaged 'the long pipe-lines stretching up the hill, the power-house with its humming turbines, and, leading far away down the glen, the gaunt, striding pylons, upholding on outstretched arms the copper veins carrying the life-blood of light, warmth and power to the remotest villages in the county'.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, for a contributor in 1940, it was 'true enough that the cables are marching towards the remoter parts of the country, but they must march a lot more quickly. We are still far from the ideal, which is that every farmhouse and cottar house should have light and power'.<sup>59</sup>

David Billington and Donald Jackson's account of the American 'New Deal' dams presents a similar situation across the Atlantic. As in Scotland, the roots of American hydroelectric initiatives based on ideals of socio-economic uplift extend far further back than the immediate Depression era; Billington and Jackson also hint at how ideas of hydroelectricity harnessed for the benefit of the nation conflicted with entrenched cultural convictions concerning the protection of iconic landscapes such as that of the Columbia River.<sup>60</sup> John Muir's wilderness preservation ethos meant that he saw the Columbia as 'gathering a glorious harvest of crystal water to

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<sup>57</sup> Anonymous, 'A Lowland Diary', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXIX, No 1, April 1938, p. 30.

<sup>58</sup> John Angus, 'The Waterfall', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXVIII, February 1938, p. 385.

<sup>59</sup> John R Allan, 'A Lowland Diary', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXXIII, No 6, September 1940, p. 469. See also Anonymous, 'Books and Other Things', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXXIII, No 4, July 1940, p. 319.

<sup>60</sup> David P Billington and Donald C Jackson, *Big Dams of the New Deal Era: A Confluence of Engineering and Politics* (Norman, 2006), pp. 4-5.

be rolled through forest and plain in one majestic flood to the sea'.<sup>61</sup> In 1937, President Franklin Roosevelt offered a utilitarian perspective on the hydroelectrification of the river: 'more wealth, better living and greater happiness for our children'.<sup>62</sup> It is impossible to ignore the influence that the federal dam-building and forest-planting schemes of the American 'New Deal' may have had on Scottish aspirations for economic and social upliftment.<sup>63</sup> There are further parallels. For instance, Christopher Armstrong has explained the extent to which the development of Ontario during the first half of the twentieth century was linked on many levels with issues relating to the development of hydroelectric resources.<sup>64</sup>

Scottish commentators would have been familiar with the accomplishments of the New Dealers, through the medium of journals like the *SM*.<sup>65</sup> Interwar media coverage of hydroelectric development also extended to European initiatives incorporating the Lake of Sils in the Engadine, Switzerland;<sup>66</sup> the Pyrenees, France;<sup>67</sup> Larvik, Norway<sup>68</sup> and Hohe Tauern in German-occupied Austria.<sup>69</sup> These projects add resonance to the post-war feeling within Britain that, as a matter of

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<sup>61</sup> Cited in GR Lukesh, 'The Columbia River System', *Military Engineer* 22 (July-August 1930), p. 328, cited in Billington and Jackson, *Big Dams*, pp. 153-4.

<sup>62</sup> Willingham, *Water Power in the 'Wilderness': The History of Bonneville Lock and Dam* (Portland, 1988), p. 27, cited in Billington and Jackson, *Big Dams*, p. 154.

<sup>63</sup> In the same way, people in favour of National Parks could not fail to be influenced by the precedent set by the USA in this regard. See for example Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXIX, No 3, June 1938, p. 167.

<sup>64</sup> Christopher Armstrong, *The Politics of Federalism: Ontario's Relations with the Federal Government 1867-1942* (Toronto, 1981).

<sup>65</sup> See for example Joseph Parker, 'Modern Liberty in the USA: A Scot's Impressions of American Industrial Problems', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXVIII, No 6, March 1938, pp. 424-26.

<sup>66</sup> 'An Engadine Beauty Spot in Danger', *Times*, 22 November 1926.

<sup>67</sup> 'Industry in France: Power from the Pyrenees', *Times*, 6 March 1934; 'Water Power and Electricity: Wide Distribution of Energy', *Times*, 19 July 1938.

<sup>68</sup> 'Stainless Steel Plant for Norway', *Times*, 24 July 1936.

national pride, the country had to be seen to be retaining her position at the forefront of technological innovation. If she could no longer lead the world by virtue of maintaining a sizeable empire, she had to at least be shown to be maintaining headway in industry and technology – particularly since territories like Northern and Southern Rhodesia (subsequently Zambia and Zimbabwe) were themselves pursuing hydroelectric development.<sup>70</sup> The Committee behind the establishment of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board commented on Britain's poor hydroelectric record, particularly in the preceding twenty years 'in contrast with the immense achievements abroad'.<sup>71</sup> In the same way, during the course of a Commons debate in February 1944, the Minister for Fuel and Power was asked whether he was 'not aware that this country is the most backward in the production of hydro-electric power of any in the world'.<sup>72</sup> Combined with ambitions to electrify outlying rural populations, this meant that great emphasis was placed on the development of new methods of energy production. To extend the production of hydroelectric energy from Scotland's great inland waters seemed to many to be an ideal solution to two issues.

However, critics had difficulty in accepting that the socio-economic benefits of hydroelectricity, so apparent to many politicians and other commentators, could be adequate compensation for the impact on landscape integrity, salmon fishing and other disadvantages that the schemes would bring. By the time Thomas Johnston

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<sup>69</sup> 'New Hydro-Electric Works in Austria: Supply of Quarter of German Power', *Times*, 17 May 1938.

<sup>70</sup> 'Power Station Opened at Victoria Falls', *Times*, 17 March 1938.

<sup>71</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland, (HMSO, 1942), p. 5.

took up his new appointment as Secretary of State for Scotland in 1941, it was clear that hydroelectric development in Scotland had reached an *impasse*. By this stage, the precise number of attempts to have the Caledonian Scheme passed was becoming difficult to remember, with the *SM* referring to the 1938 attempt as the ‘1938 vintage’.<sup>73</sup> In 1941, the Grampian Electricity Supply Company secured a Provisional Order that revived the earlier proposals for Glen Affric, to what had become a customary combination of approbation and censure. The *SM* referred to ‘the ruin of yet another of their [the Highlands] loveliest stretches of country’ and, since the power from Affric was to be sold to the National Grid, alluded to ‘the cutting of another artery whence would flow vital energy needed in our own glens and straths hereafter’.<sup>74</sup>

Integral to the Commons Debate that ensued prior to the Second Reading of the Grampian Electricity Supply Order Confirmation Bill in September 1941 were the issues that had gone largely unresolved during twenty years of parliamentary deliberations on the subject of Scottish hydroelectricity. These issues, for all that they had provided grounds for opposition for two decades, were far from defined. The Member for Twickenham argued that the English, as regular visitors to the Highlands, had the right to be interested in changes proposed for the Highlands. He made the case that large-scale schemes would be of no help to Highland development in the way that small schemes would, with beautiful tracts of Scottish

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<sup>72</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 396, col. 1123, Mr Ellis Smith to Major Lloyd George, 1 February 1944.

<sup>73</sup> Anonymous, ‘From a Highland Notebook’, *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXIV, No 1, April 1938, p. 41.

countryside, along with any tourism potential, being desecrated to no avail.<sup>75</sup> This objection was supported by the Member for Govan, Glasgow, Neil Maclean. Maclean highlighted how support for and against hydroelectric development centred on whether people felt the end (Highland benefit) was sufficiently assured so as to justify the means (landscape change).<sup>76</sup>

The opposition to the Grampian Bill reflects no clear-cut division between English and Scottish objectives. It is arguable that the issue of a divide in this respect had most resonance as a counter-argument utilised by those Scottish representatives in favour of large-scale development. They found it useful to dismiss as English collaborators those Scots who argued against development.<sup>77</sup> However, the pro-amenity lobby found that its call for the dismissal of the Bill had the ostensible support of a number of Scottish representatives, including the Secretary of State for Scotland. Subsequent to this debate, the Second Reading of the Bill was postponed for three months as a result of the Secretary of State for Scotland's intimation that by this time further proposals relating hydroelectric development would have negated the matter. These new proposals took the form of the subsequent Committee on Hydroelectric Development in Scotland (the 'Cooper Committee'), the recommendations of which are discussed in more detail in Chapter V.<sup>78</sup> Some of the resistance to the hydroelectric schemes of the 1930s had centred on the private

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<sup>74</sup> Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month from A Highland Notebook; A Lowland Diary', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXXIV, No 5, February 1941, pp. 373-74.

<sup>75</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 374, col. 207-13, Mr Keeling (Twickenham), 10.09.1941.

<sup>76</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 374, col. 213-4, Mr Neil Maclean (Glasgow, Govan), 10.09.1941.

<sup>77</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 374, col. 217, Major Neven-Spence (Orkney and Zetland), 10.09.1941.

<sup>78</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 374, 10.09.1941, col. 270-1; Sheail, J, *Rural Conservation in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 1981), p. 41.

nature of the companies that would be profiting from them: profit which, it was argued, would not necessarily be of benefit to Scotland. Adherents to this view certainly attracted censure. In February 1937 a contributor to the *SM* asked whether Socialists and Scottish Nationalists would truly prefer no hydroelectric development if the sole reason for their view was that the development was not Scottish-initiated.<sup>79</sup> However, by 1941 there was a feeling among many supporters of hydroelectricity that the nationalisation of hydroelectric interests was necessary, in view of the strong pressures that had been placed on the private enterprises.<sup>80</sup> These pressures were seen to stem from what the Cooper Committee was to refer to as ‘the opposition of land-owning and sporting interests’.<sup>81</sup> ‘Land-owning and sporting interests’ was a loaded epithet, routinely invoked under these circumstances. It emphasised the elitist element within the opposition to landscape change and linked landscape protection concerns with those of the landed establishment.

With a number of exceptions, the interwar period closed with the range of interests which supported landscape protection encompassing or representing much of what was considered soundly ‘establishment’. These associations automatically widened the divide between the landscape development and protection lobbies and arguably coloured the Cooper Committee’s attitude towards landscape protection issues. However, this thesis argues that, far from being simply a matter of elitist opposition

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<sup>79</sup> An Inverness Correspondent, ‘Power, Pride and Prejudice’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, No 5, February 1937, p. 332.

<sup>80</sup> See for example the lengthy debate which arose in the House of Commons prior to the Second Reading of the Grampian Electricity Supply Order Confirmation Bill, 10.09.1941. *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol. 374, col. 207-271.

<sup>81</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1942), p. 6.

to development on the grounds of sectorised interests, issues of landscape appreciation and protection were highly complex and deeply rooted in a rich historical and literary tradition. Chapters III and IV discuss the accepted origins of the positive image of Scotland's landscape and explain how a landscape protection ethos (as adopted by the organisations most central to its development, the Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland and the National Trust for Scotland) evolved in Scotland from these beginnings. Chapter III considers the emergence and early progression of the groups, alongside the socio-cultural traditions and issues responsible for shaping their collective consciousness. Chapter IV provides specific focus on the groups' engagement with hydroelectric development in the Highlands prior to the 1940s.

**III**

**SAFEGUARDING LANDSCAPE I:**

**LANDSCAPE AESTHETICS AND PROTECTION IN SCOTLAND**

**BEFORE 1940**

Interpretations of landscape are central to the understanding of any conflict between socio-economic development and socio-cultural landscape preservation and, given the rich literary and cultural tradition anchored within the Highland landscape, this region makes a notable case study with which to consider the history of twentieth - century aesthetic values versus development dichotomy. This chapter considers the ideas about landscape and landscape change to which landscape protectionists subscribed prior to World War II, with particular reference to the emergence and development of the Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland (APRS) and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS). It outlines the importance of the two groups to the analysis of landscape aesthetics and protection in Scotland in terms of their access to and influence on policymakers, thus emphasising the critical nature of both the attitudes they held towards landscape and influences on these. Given the perceived condition of the Scottish economy during this time, particularly during the lean years of the 1930s, it is arguably remarkable that ‘amenity’ issues arrived on the policy agenda at all. The chapter discusses how, in this climate of economic uncertainty, in which, if non-urban planning regulations had existed, it may have

been reasonably justifiable to relax them in order to further socio-economic development initiatives, it became possible for landscape preservation ideals to become catalysts for real changes in approaches to land-use.

Non-governmental interest in protecting landscape in Scotland increased significantly between the turn of the nineteenth century and the 1940s, specifically in the form of the APRS and the NTS. By the late 1930s, nineteenth-century aesthetic appreciation of the Highland landscape had evolved to form the foundation of a landscape protection movement that, notwithstanding various internal fissures, was gradually becoming a force with which to be reckoned. The movement was strong enough to be a significant bugbear to developers, who came under pressure to take aesthetic issues into account when proposing to implement any schemes likely to have a visual impact on the rural landscape. In supporting plans for hydroelectric power generation in the Highlands, elements within the Scottish Office were beginning to place themselves firmly within the developers' camp, but these too accepted that they were required to take aesthetics into account when formulating policy.

In legislative terms, British preservation and conservation initiatives have historically proved more successful when protection of the biological components of landscape, rather than landscape itself, has been attempted. For example, the Sea Birds Preservation Act was passed in 1869, followed by the Wild Birds Protection

Act in 1872, and the Wild Fowl Protection Act in 1876.<sup>1</sup> However, Britain remained without state advisory bodies with a focus on landscape protection for a further century, until the Countryside Acts provided for the establishment of the Countryside Commission for Scotland in 1967 and the Countryside Commission, responsible for England and Wales, in 1968. Until the emergence of the two Countryside Commissions, the lack of state emphasis on protection meant that voluntary organisations played an even more integral part in landscape protection in Britain than they did from the 1970s onwards, although the contributions of the National Trust, the National Trust for Scotland and other non-governmental organisations with similar agendas continued to be highly significant well beyond this point. Throughout the period under discussion, ultimate responsibility for landscape protection in Scotland rested with the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The socio-economic climate of the 1920s was the springboard for the emergence of a sense of nostalgia for the pre-war landscape. Much of the most vocal concern for the changing landscape of Britain during this period related to England and the threat to what was a particularly southern English rural ideal. Consequently, the literature, analysing this concern, such as that produced by Stephen Daniels and David Matless, has also tended to concentrate on England.<sup>2</sup> The landscape protection movement began to be active in England before 1914, with the emergence of a largely middle-

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<sup>1</sup> John Sheail, *Nature in Trust: The History of Nature Conservation in Britain* (Glasgow and London, 1976), pp. 24-6.

<sup>2</sup> See for example, Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, 1993); David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London, 1998).

and upper-class campaign for the preservation of those parts of the countryside still exemplifying as far as possible the idealised pre-Industrial rurality of a Constable scene. As Stephen Daniels has pointed out, the idealisation of the green and peaceful places of ‘home’ – a direct reaction to the mud, stress and terror (whether experienced first- or second-hand) of the Front – sustained the movement during World War I.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1920s the gap between intensified development and the heightened idealisation of ‘the way things were’ widened visibly. The resultant increased level of engagement with landscape and aesthetic issues across Britain is clearly associable with the degree of protest that followed. *Punch* reflected the growing concern regarding urban sprawl and insufficient planning regulations in a two-frame sketch depicting a soldier striding off to join the war effort in 1914 in the interests of protecting his traditional (and, by implication, idyllic) village from the enemy threat. The second frame portrays the soldier’s return to his hometown, now transformed into a smoke-begrimed industrial city trailing electricity transmission lines.<sup>4</sup> In the sketch, the real ‘enemy’ of British national identity is unveiled as unrestricted technological and industrial expansion. Those who felt the very essence of Britishness to be under threat from changes ushered in by the war required a medium through which to articulate their concerns. The person to grasp the flaming beacon in 1928 was the architect Clough William-Ellis, engineer of the idiosyncratically planned village of Portmeirion in Wales, who wrote what he later described as an

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<sup>3</sup> Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision*, p. 213.

‘angry’ book, entitled *England and the Octopus*.<sup>5</sup> *Octopus* outlined the types of development from which Williams-Ellis felt the (specifically English) countryside to be at risk and called for support for the newly-established Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), formed in 1926. The *Punch* cartoon, noted above, formed the frontispiece to the book. In 1937, as President of the CPRE, Williams-Ellis edited a collective volume covering similar themes, entitled *Britain and the Beast*, which incorporated sections on Wales and Scotland and discussed approaches to the problem in other parts of Europe. Contributors included EM Forster and the volume carried recommendations from ten public figures, including David Lloyd George.<sup>6</sup>

The factors influencing landscape protection in Scotland were, in a number of instances, equally distinct from the English experience. Most critically, would-be defenders of Highland landscapes in particular had to contend with development ‘threats’ that brought with them more social advantages than those ‘threats’ which were perceived to be encroaching upon many parts of England. However, although differences emerged between the English and Scottish landscape protection movement, there is no doubt that the Scottish movement gained much of its initial impetus from the English example.

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision*.

<sup>5</sup> Clough Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus* (Glasgow, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> Williams-Ellis, C (ed), *Britain and the Beast* (London, 1937).

The APRS<sup>7</sup> conducted its first formal meeting in Edinburgh in April 1927. The *SM* hailed its establishment as a positive step towards creating a viable future for the Highlands in particular:

The most obvious spoiling of the Highlands is, of course, in the sphere of their scenery, a specific spoiling, which, one fervently hopes, may be at least arrested by the recently formed Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland – a society worthy of the widest support. It is an incomprehensible thing that even in that sphere where commercialism is the only consideration that counts, it should never have been realised that the scenery of the Highlands is their greatest commercial asset. It is, of course, the scenery of mountain, moor and loch that is the magnet that draws the tourist thither, and consequently anything that spoils that scenery naturally detracts from its drawing power. But it is just the commercially-minded who dismiss pleas for the preservation of the beauty of the landscape as mere sentimentalism and who press forward with industrial schemes that import into the most beautiful country-side [sic] all the hideousness of modern towns.<sup>8</sup>

The APRS was established as an umbrella body, with an Executive Council consisting largely of representatives of academic societies, civic institutions and other groups evincing either an interest in Scottish heritage or a stake in countryside issues. Associated organisations included the Scottish Land and Property Federation, the Cockburn Association, the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Royal Scottish Academy. Office bearers were influential landowners: the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres was honorary president, the Earl of Haddington, president, and Sir John Stirling Maxwell, vice-president.<sup>9</sup>

The extent to which representatives from other voluntary bodies filled positions on the councils of both the APRS and, later, the NTS, makes it possible to discern certain patterns of influence which shaped decisions as to when and what to protect.

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<sup>7</sup> The Association replaced 'Preservation' with 'Protection' in the 1970s.

<sup>8</sup> MEM Donaldson, "'To Such Base Uses": How The Highlands Are Spoiled And Desecrated', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No 1, October 1927, p. 6.

This is significant, in that a number of well-connected and highly opinionated individuals had considerable influence over critical decisions, even when this influence was extended in an unofficial context. Circles of influence within middle- to upper-class Scottish society were small and interconnected, with the lack of a Scottish Parliament meaning that ‘backstairs politics’ was often conducted openly and with impunity.<sup>10</sup> The same names arise repeatedly in different areas of the landscape protection debate. Criticism to the effect that a few influential people effectively led the movement forward along lines not a little coloured by their own convictions, interests and even self-interest, is not ungrounded. However, the outcome is that a relatively small group of motivated individuals obtained a significant number of successes in the area of landscape protection in Scotland during the early twentieth century. Trevor Croft, former Director of the NTS, is therefore correct to argue that the organisation was initiated by a group of individuals with strong motivations for the public good.<sup>11</sup> As such, they played an integral part in the way in which protection took shape and their role demands additional scrutiny.

From 1928, the APRS attempted to publicise what it perceived as general threats to landscape and aesthetics in Scotland, alerting members of parliament and writing to the press.<sup>12</sup> It also began to voice specific concerns regarding electricity

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<sup>9</sup> APRS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 12 April 1927.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Professor TC Smout for drawing my attention to this.

<sup>11</sup> Trevor Croft, preface, in Douglas Bremnar, *For the Benefit of the Nation: The National Trust for Scotland – the First 75 Years* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. xi.

<sup>12</sup> APRS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 07.12.1928; 20.12.1928.

transmission line routes and the visual impact of hydroelectric development.<sup>13</sup> It was at this point, as the pre-Depression prioritisation of energy and timber development continued to accelerate, that the English, Scottish and Welsh<sup>14</sup> landscape protection organisations began to immerse themselves in issues of more immediate national relevance than what were generally taken to be the somewhat elitist concerns regarding, for example, the effects of advertisement boards in country settings. The latter issue faded relatively rapidly from the top of the landscape protection agenda, to the extent that the introduction of a House of Lords Bill in 1938 to control hoardings in rural Scotland was seen to be far less important than the heated debate over the future of the Caledonian Bill.<sup>15</sup> There is little doubt that involvement in national resource provision issues during this period brought the fledgling landscape protection movement onto central stage.

As a ‘watchdog’ organisation, the APRS found itself limited in the lengths to which it could go to in order to ‘preserve rural Scotland’ from developmental change. Unable to own property in the same way in which the English National Trust was able to, it had little stake in any planning proposal with which it disagreed and could do no more than attempt to raise awareness of issues it saw as important. Having no recourse to the law gave it an advisory capacity only, and its efforts to inform public opinion were criticised as too tentative. An article in the *SM* in 1928 dismissed its opposition to the new road through Glencoe as ‘belated and blundering’, rejecting its

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<sup>13</sup> APRS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 31.05.1928; 25.07.1928.

<sup>14</sup> The Council for the Preservation of Rural Wales was established in 1928.

<sup>15</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month by Month’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIX, No 2, May 1938, pp. 83-4.

information leaflet as being ‘so dull and ponderous...that it will inevitably be tossed aside as soon as opened by all except the already converted’.<sup>16</sup>

By the beginning of the 1930s it was clear to the APRS that its only real chance of increasing its influence in development issues was to secure the right to land ownership. Its solution was to form the landowning National Trust for Scotland (NTS) in 1931. The Provisional Council of the NTS consisted of a number of individuals already prominent as office-bearers and organisational representatives within the APRS, including Sir John Stirling Maxwell. The Duke of Atholl was president and the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres vice-president.<sup>17</sup> The *SM* had made a number of references to the potential benefits of a Scottish National Trust, and accordingly published a positive response:

Every Scot, with the love of the actual land of his country (which actual land is the basis of all our national expression [sic]), will welcome the fact that at long last we are to have a National Trust, to which benefactors may convey lands and properties, and which will take steps to secure for the nation of Scotland properties of national interest.<sup>18</sup>

The National Trust was initially concerned with maintaining the properties it acquired, and played no particularly active role as a campaigning organisation in the years leading up to World War II. It became the caretaker and overseer of properties such as the Castle of Crookston, outside Paisley, gifted by Stirling Maxwell. Associated with Mary, Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley and, more latterly, Robert Burns, Crookston received in excess of nine thousand visitors in 1931-32, its

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<sup>16</sup> MEM Donaldson, ‘Old Houses for New’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. IX, No 2, May 1928, p. 81

<sup>17</sup> James Rhynd, ‘Scotland’s National Park: The Parliamentary Committee Report - What is the Next Step?’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 3, June 1931, p. 176.

entrance fee of two pence making it self-supporting and of no cost to the NTS.<sup>19</sup> Culross Palace in Fife was a similar early acquisition.<sup>20</sup> Where the organisation courted publicity, it was to draw the attention of the public to the historic and aesthetic merits of the castles and other landmarks under its trusteeship. By 1940 it had acquired a substantial number of properties, many of which were gifted by landowners grateful to be disburdened of the financial implications of upkeep. Most of the properties were of historic importance and significant thanks to the buildings situated within them, rather than due to their landscape value, although some observers were already calling for the NTS to prioritise more fully the latter, as in a 1935 review which stated: ‘There is still work to be done...not only in saving ‘mouldering heaps of old stones’, but in preserving places of natural beauty’.<sup>21</sup>

However, the NTS was already beginning to emerge as a repository, albeit a limited one at this point, for locales vulnerable to development. The supposed site of the Battle of Bannockburn, threatened by urban development, was acquired through public and NTS contributions.<sup>22</sup> The King’s or Bruce’s Stone and its access path and immediate surrounds at Clatteringshaws Farm, reputedly the site of one of Robert Bruce’s early confrontations with the English, was gifted to the NTS by the Earl of Mar. With the Bruce’s Stone, the NTS embarked on the first of a number of acquisitions specifically linked to efforts to protect either the landscape or elements

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<sup>18</sup> Alan Graeme, ‘National Trust’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XIV, No 2, November 1930, p. 81.

<sup>19</sup> NTS, NTS Reports 1932-1939, ‘Report by Council for the Year to 30<sup>th</sup> April 1932’, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> NTS, NTS Reports 1932-1939, ‘Report by Council for the Year to 30<sup>th</sup> April 1932’, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> GM Lendrum, ‘The Work of the National Trust for Scotland’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, No 1, October 1935, p. 41.

within it from hydroelectric development-initiated damage or change. While the remainder of the Clatteringshaws property was sold to the Galloway Water Power Company, NTS status was seen as the best means of forcing the developers to ensure that the level of the new Clatteringshaws Dam was not so high as to affect the Stone.<sup>23</sup> The acquisition of the Stone effectively served to realign at least an aspect of the agenda of the APRS and the NTS, in that it signalled the start of the organisations' direct involvement in what was by this point an increasingly acrimonious public and political debate regarding the viability and necessity of hydroelectric development in places of aesthetic and cultural significance.

An understanding of the opposition to socio-economic development on the grounds of aesthetics and culture during the height of the Depression demands an appreciation of the factors informing the landscape ideals of those involved. The way in which a landscape is interpreted determines its potential for protection or otherwise, depending on the one hand on its perceived beauty (often, during the twentieth century, as a result of its 'naturalness') and cultural associations of place, and on the other its potential for exploitation. Reasons behind the desired preservation of valued Highland landscapes are examined in more detail here, with the aim of establishing a frame of reference for subsequent contentions.

Much analysis has been devoted to what James Hunter in 1981 succinctly termed,

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<sup>22</sup> Lendrum, 'The Work of the National Trust for Scotland', p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> NTS, NTS Reports 1932-1939, 'Report by Council for the Year to 30<sup>th</sup> April 1932', p. 10.

‘the worldwide potency of all the standard symbols of Scottish identity’.<sup>24</sup> These symbols – the heather, the thistle, the grouse, the red deer, the burn, the mountain peak, even tartan – are largely elements, no matter how derivative, of the ‘natural’ Highland landscape. Powerful indicators for people removed from (and sometimes completely unconnected to) that landscape, they serve to trigger memories and imaginings of the wider landscape they represent, on a global level. That they became such key symbols of the positive aspects of the Highland landscape can be attributed to the outside influences discussed below. Established as they currently appear, as tangible links between Scottish identity and the landscape, they only came to be generally accepted as such in the early nineteenth century.

That Scots viewed the landscape of Scotland in a positive light far earlier than this is a point acknowledged by early and late twentieth-century commentators.<sup>25</sup> An account of Skye, written in 1926, explained how ‘long before Sir Walter Scott inaugurated the cult of scenery-appreciation, the princely Coolins, the queenly Maidens of Mcleod and the faithful Stob-a-Stoir received the warm homage of the natives’.<sup>26</sup>

In its Report of 1947, the Scottish National Park Committee quoted lines from Duncan Ban Macintyre, commenting that ‘our native writers and bards have always

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<sup>24</sup> James Hunter, ‘Year of the Émigré’ in ‘Ossian and After: The Politics of Tartanry’, *The Bulletin of Scottish Politics*, No 2, Spring 1981, p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> TC Smout, *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600* (Edinburgh: 2000), pp. 12-18; James Hunter, *Skye: The Island* (Edinburgh and London, 1986 and 1996), p. 125.

<sup>26</sup> J Matheson, ‘The Charm of Skye’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. V, No 3, June 1926, p. 220.

highly praised the scenery and wild life of their country'.<sup>27</sup> The position taken by Scots with respect to Scotland's landscape was a point twentieth-century policymakers became eager to emphasise because the articulation of 'insider' perspectives served to deflect contentions that decisions regarding land-use amounted to directives imposed by 'outsiders'. Nevertheless, 'outsider' perceptions of Highland landscape are critical to an understanding of the landscape protectionist perspective. For the purposes of this study, any person or group whose desire for landscape protection superseded the need to profit materially from that landscape is categorised as an 'outsider'.

The earliest positive comments about 'natural' scenery made by those visiting rather than inhabiting Scotland can be traced to the late eighteenth century and the emergence of Romanticism. Prior to this, impressions tended to be negative. Some of the most often repeated remarks in this regard are those made by Samuel Johnson in the course of his journey around Scotland with James Boswell in 1773, in which he described the landscape before him with a marked lack of enthusiasm.<sup>28</sup> However, more seminal to this study is Johnson's emphasis that he had 'not come to

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<sup>27</sup> Report by the Scottish National Park Committee, 'National Parks', in Department of Health for Scotland, 'National Parks and the Conservation of Nature in Scotland', Report by the Scottish National Park Committee and the Scottish Wild Life Conservation Committee, (His Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1947), p. 4. Links between landscape protection and the National Parks debate in Scotland are examined in more detail in Chapter III.

<sup>28</sup> TC Smout, 'Tours of the Scottish Highlands from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', Annual Lecture of the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies of the University College of Wales delivered at Aberystwyth 21 October 1981, (reprinted from *Northern Scotland*, vol 5, no 2, 1983, published by the Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen), p. 99; TC Smout, *Nature Contested*, p. 12. See related commentary in Christopher Dingwall, 'Coppice Management in Highland Perthshire' in TC Smout, (ed), *Scottish Woodland History* (Edinburgh 1997), p. 162; Syd House and Christopher Dingwall, 'A Nation of Planters': Introducing the New Trees, 1650-1900', in TC Smout (ed), *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 128.

Scotland to see fine places, of which there were enough in England; but wild objects, - mountains, - waterfalls, - peculiar manners; in short, things which he had not seen before'.<sup>29</sup> Boswell concurred: 'the people of taste in England, who have seen Scotland, own that its variety of rivers and lakes makes it naturally more beautiful than England, in that respect'.<sup>30</sup> The pair represent the cusp of the outsider change in attitude towards Scotland, appreciating their surroundings sometimes because the novelty of these made them noteworthy, and sometimes because they found them aesthetically appealing.

Romantic theories regarding landscape are generally accepted to have emerged from the continental experiences of European (including British) philosophers, writers and artists during the mid-eighteenth century. New efforts to express feelings invoked by the contemplation and experience of 'wild' nature revolved around ideas of the 'sublime', the 'terrific' and the 'picturesque'. The turnabout in thinking that enabled people to see those forces of nature least controllable by humans, such as mountains, rivers, waterfalls and storms, as positive, meant that when they came to Scotland, they began to read the landscape differently. Significantly, they also began to visit Scotland with the specific intention of exposing their senses to these less controllable aspects of nature. By the late eighteenth century, positive imagery relating to the 'wild' and 'romantic' beauty of the Highlands was becoming more common. At the same time there was a new interest in linking these regions with

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<sup>29</sup> Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (details, date), p. 81; TC Smout, 'Tours of the Scottish Highlands', p. 101

<sup>30</sup> Boswell, *Journal of a Tour*, p. 238.

literary references and historical events. This study argues that Romanticism forms the basic foundation on which most subsequent landscape appreciation in Scotland has rested. Romantic values were mediated through individuals who, through their writing and influence, succeeded in moulding the Romanticism-based appeal of history, literature and landscape into a number of enduring images that permeated ideas of Scotland throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.

In 1994 Christopher Tilley brought an important new understanding to Neolithic monuments by examining various groups of these within the context of the landscapes in which they were placed, as well as their situation in relation to each other. He suggested that the primary function of many of these monuments was to act as markers in the landscape, emphasising both important geographical or physical attributes of the land, such as rapids, or the spurs of valleys. To contemporary societies, this would have increased the psychological or cultural significance of the markers.<sup>31</sup> Tilley's argument has shed further light on the way in which prehistoric societies may have interacted with their environments. However, his approach can also be used to lend clarity to the understanding of attachment to landscape within the historical period. Sites of historical or literary significance within a landscape act as markers that jog a society's collective memory of that landscape and enable it to 'remember' its socio-cultural history more easily.

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<sup>31</sup> Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, (Oxford/Providence, USA, 1994).

In terms of Tilley's hypothesis, James Macpherson's 'Celtic' verse, the first 'fragments' of which were published in 1760, can be viewed as an initial catalyst for an emergent outsider interest in Scottish landscapes which saw particular prominence given to sites linked to Ossian.<sup>32</sup> The poetry of Robert Burns, with its continuous references to specific locations and historic events and personages, such as those relating to the Jacobite cause, is a further significant influence. Sir Walter Scott was an additional catalyst of critical proportions. Although most famously associated with the Border region, Scott was by his own admission 'a most incorrigible Jacobite',<sup>33</sup> and a potent force behind renewed interest in landscapes linked to the uprisings of 1689, 1715 and 1745.<sup>34</sup> His interpretation of the life of the outlawed clansman Rob Roy McGregor meant that further attention was paid to the Trossachs area, which had already come to his readers' notice as the scene of his earlier ballad, *The Lady of the Lake*.<sup>35</sup> Much of Scott's work was centred (if, on occasion, loosely) on historical occurrences and it is most often the manner in which these generalised histories have become tied in with associated landscapes still there to be viewed that has been the foundation for lasting Romantic images of Scotland. There has perhaps been a tendency to overemphasise his role as primary catalyst of

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<sup>32</sup> Samuel Johnson was one of those who disputed Macpherson's claims, and the validity of the Ossianic verses was a constant topic for discussion during his and Boswell's Scottish travels. Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, pp. 43; 71; 115; 169-70; 270-2.

<sup>33</sup> Walter Scott to Mrs Scott of Lochore, 29 December 1825 (from his *Journal*) quoted in J B Salmond, 'The Man or the City? The Problem of an Auld Sang', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXXIV, No 5, February 1941, p. 326.

<sup>34</sup> For instance, Walter Scott, *Waverley*, *The Waverley Novels*, Vol. I (Edinburgh, new popular edition, 1891); Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, *The Waverley Novels*, Vol. I (Edinburgh, new popular edition, 1891).

<sup>35</sup> Scott, *Rob Roy*.

the new interest.<sup>36</sup> His own explanation of his development as a writer of prose centred on this region suggests that he understood the link between the positive reception of his work and an emergent popular interest in the Highlands, into which he was delighted to tap.<sup>37</sup> Late-eighteenth-century Scottish poetry and prose must certainly be considered within the context of the wider European Romantic movement. At the same time, early-nineteenth-century tourists, such as the Wordsworths and Robert Southey, acknowledged the extent to which their interest in Ossian, Burns and, in particular, Scott, shaped the direction of their Scottish travels. In addition, the accounts of these literary travellers' journeys provide descriptions of the growing tourist attractions that sites associated with Ossian, Burns and Scott had become. They, and those drawn north in their footsteps, must therefore be considered key influences in the burgeoning Regency interest in the 'controlled threat' by then presented by both the subdued Highlanders and the landscape inhabited by them.

William and Dorothy Wordsworth visited Scotland in 1803 in the company of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. William was to make a second journey in 1814, and Dorothy in 1822.<sup>38</sup> Subsequently responsible for widespread interest in the landscape of the English Lake District, the Wordsworths were assiduous visitors to

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<sup>36</sup> In the 1829 preface to a new edition of the *Waverley* novels, in which he admitted to their authorship, he maintained that the positive response to *Lady of the Lake* with its 'recollections of the Highland scenery and customs' was what encouraged him to think of writing prose along similar lines. Walter Scott, General Preface, 1829, *The Waverley Novels*, Vol. I (Edinburgh, new popular edition, 1891), p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Scott, General Preface, 1829, *The Waverley Novels*, pp. 3-8.

<sup>38</sup> T Hutchinson, (ed), E de Selincourt, (ed, revised edition), 'Memorials of a Tour in Scotland, 1814', *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth, With Introductions and Notes* (London, [1807] 1956), pp. 237-240; William Knight (ed), *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, (London, 1934), pp. 515-20.

sites of literary significance within the Scottish landscape. In the journal she kept of the 1803 tour, Dorothy described a conversation with a farmer and his workers in the vicinity of Loch Katrine, with its associations with *Lady of the Lake* and Rob Roy Macgregor:

a laugh was on every face when William said we were come to see the Trossachs; no doubt they thought we had better have stayed at our own homes. William endeavoured to make it appear not so very foolish, by informing them that it was a place much celebrated in England, though perhaps little thought of by them...<sup>39</sup>

For Dorothy, 'a range of hills' gained in importance because they were 'the hills of Morven, so much sung of by Ossian'.<sup>40</sup> William subsequently further cemented the reputation of the Narrow Glen between Dunkeld and Callander as the resting-place of Ossian by incorporating the tradition into the poem 'Glen Almain, or The Narrow Glen'.<sup>41</sup> Dorothy also referred to their hopes of seeing the Falls of Bruar which they 'wished to visit for the sake of Burns', who had famously advised the Duke of Atholl in verse that its surrounds would be much improved by tree planting, a task duly undertaken by the Duke.<sup>42</sup>

With the Wordsworths as part of the (already relatively numerous) advance guard, the number of visitors to the Highlands grew exponentially over the following decades. Robert Southey's comments on a carriage journey made between Callander

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<sup>39</sup> Knight, *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, pp. 240-1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 302.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349; T Hutchinson, (ed), de Selincourt, 'Memorials of a Tour in Scotland', VII, 'Glen Almain, Or, The Narrow Glen', *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth*, p. 229.

<sup>42</sup> Knight, *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, p. 338; Robert Burns, 'The Humble Petition of Bruar Water (To the Noble Duke of Athole)', *The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (Geddes and Grosset: New Lanark, 2000), pp. 210-12.

and Loch Katrine in 1819 are evidence that road conditions of the time made access to the loch from the east most uncomfortable. However, once at the loch, he found that the local boatmen were sufficiently familiar with *Lady of the Lake* to be able to point out to tourists such scenery as could be linked to the poem and that these entrepreneurs did not necessarily distinguish between the historical and the literary when variously recounting the stories of Robert the Bruce, Cromwell, Rob Roy and the *Lady of the Lake*.<sup>43</sup>

In 1822, when Dorothy Wordsworth was again in Scotland, she commented on the attraction that Rob Roy's cave had become:

Our Highland musician tunes his pipes as we approach Rob Roy's cave. Grandeur of Nature, mixed with stage effect. Old Highlanders, with long grey locks, cap, and plaid; boys at different heights on the rocks. All crowd to Rob Roy's cave, as it is called...they seem to have no motive but to say they have been in Roy's cave, because Sir Walter has written about it.<sup>44</sup>

Fifty years later, in 1874, Robert Louis Stevenson expressed a similar appreciation of Scott's influence on outsider perceptions of Scotland:

I suppose the Trossachs would hardly be the Trossachs for most tourists if a man of admirable romantic instinct had not peopled it for them with harmonious figures, and brought them thither with minds rightly prepared for the impression. There is half the battle in this preparation.<sup>45</sup>

Primary catalyst or not, it is difficult to overestimate the seminal influence of Scott's scenic descriptions on people's ideas of what constituted important Scottish landscapes during this formative period. By 1829, idealised, Scott-derived images

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<sup>43</sup> Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1819* (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 28-9, 31.

<sup>44</sup> Knight, *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, p. 516. Dorothy also recounts how widely Scott is respected in Scotland (Ibid., p. 382; p. 389.)

<sup>45</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, 'On the Enjoyment of Unpleasant Places', *Portfolio*, 1874, quoted in Louis Stott, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, (Stirling, 1992), p. 64.

of the Highlands were becoming entrenched. That year's editions of the Scott romances incorporated the artwork of Edwin Landseer, David Wilkie, Leslie, Newton, Cooper and Kidd.<sup>46</sup> Landseer's work, in particular, represents a link between Scott and a new 'layer' of influence and cultural memory that coalesced around Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's mid-nineteenth-century appreciation of the Eastern Highlands as a landscape of exploration, sport and refuge.

The mid-nineteenth century was an important period of change, during which the visual appreciation of the Highlands became progressively more entrenched and increasingly classless in its application. Facilitated by the development of steam and rail travel and further aided by substantial advances in image reproduction, what had been an upper- and then middle-class indulgence became accessible across a range of social sectors, ushering in an era in which multiple groups began to make proprietary aesthetic claims on a single region.

Critically, the democratisation of the Highland landscape lent fuel to an emergent desire for further physical interaction with the land. The tradition of appreciating the aesthetics of the land from an external vantage point, in the way that a viewer looks into a picture, gave rise to a new attitude concerned with more active engagement within it. Walking and botanising were already relatively established, but mountaineering and cycling began to establish significant followings, with these latter pursuits linked to a growing emphasis on health and fitness, and a more

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<sup>46</sup> Scott, General Preface, 1829, *The Waverly Novels*, Vol I, p. 8.

integrated experience of the natural world. In some instances, class lines became pointedly blurred, as the Scottish Mountaineering Club's traditional emphasis on:

its Members frank and free,  
Professors and Proctors – Divines and Doctors –  
And Duffers like you and me<sup>47</sup>

These changes also represent a discernable alteration in the insider/outsider perspective: the population of the Central Belt began to find in the Scottish hills and loch a visual and physical respite from the urban sprawl of its weekday surroundings. The close proximity of the Loch Lomond region meant that this landscape in particular now began to assume increased significance within the cultural consciousness of an outsider group that now included Lowland urban dwellers of all classes.

The burgeoning interest in mountaineering added a further dimension to the visual appreciation of the Highlands. The aesthetic perception of previously little-accessed (or even non-accessed) high-level sites shifted, as these places became visited rather than merely viewed from afar. Once visited, they began to serve as windows on the entirely 'new' landscapes that lay revealed *below* the viewer. These landscapes with previously little identity, in the sense that few people saw them, became highly significant to mountaineers and climbers who, as a group, increasingly sought to protect them from change.

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<sup>47</sup> J G Stott, 'Song', *The Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal*, Vol. XII, No 12, October 1912, pp. 151-2. See also Robert A Lambert, 'Mountaineering Songs and Verse from the Cairngorms' in Edward J Cowan (ed), *The Ballad in Scottish History*, (East Linton, 2000), p. 168.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the impact of the Romantic movement on the aesthetic experience of the Highlands was diluted by a range of secondary influences. The actual appreciation of the aesthetic value of landscape was becoming second hand. By 1897, the Liberal MP James Bryce was acutely aware of this change, commenting in an address to the Cairngorm Club how he had ‘often observed that out of the whole number of tourists there were a good many who were quite ready to go into ecstasies when they reached a place which the guidebook indicated as having a beautiful view, who were perfectly indifferent to equally beautiful views that had not been mentioned in the book’.<sup>48</sup> The nature of scenery was attracting further interest outwith literary, artistic and recreational spheres. On one hand, this is reflected in works seeking to explain how scenery was formed, such as Marr’s *Scientific Study of Scenery*, and Geikie’s more specific *Scenery of Scotland*.<sup>49</sup> Marr in particular makes it clear that he is providing explanations for the evolution of scenery rather than mere topography, quoting at length from Ruskin and Wordsworth in his introduction.<sup>50</sup> Following World War I, this scientific approach, in combination with the literary perspective exemplified by the *Scots Magazine*, was extended to form the basis for a scientific-cum-literary idea of landscape to which general late-twentieth century perceptions retain clear links. Many of the contributors to the *SM* during the interwar period were familiar with the Scott novels in particular, and were responsible for introducing them to a wider

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<sup>48</sup> James Bryce, ‘The Preservation of Natural Scenery: An Address’, *The Cairngorm Club Journal*, Vol II, July 1897, No 9, p. 127.

<sup>49</sup> John E Marr, *The Scientific Study of Scenery* (London: 1903).

<sup>50</sup> Marr, *Scientific Study*, pp. 1-7.

audience.<sup>51</sup> In 1931, HR Cook enthused about the Callander region as:

Scott country rich in story and rich in scenery. The Trossachs, Lake of Menteith, Aberfoyle, the Rob Roy country, Lochs Lomond, Tay and Earn are all easy of access and no one can fail to explore them without receiving mental stimulus.<sup>52</sup>

On the centenary of Scott's death in 1932, there was an outpouring of reprints and re-editions of his work, and the *SM* devoted much of its September 1932 issue to aspects of his life.<sup>53</sup> Even though in 1934 the editor questioned the new generation's familiarity with the likes of *Rob Roy* and *Quentin Durward*, it was still felt that texts such as *Ivanhoe* remained relatively well known.<sup>54</sup> Other significant commentators of the previous century were given similar treatment which had the effect, firstly, of familiarising readers with old traditions and, secondly, of providing these traditions with further layers of added significance by association, as with the following reference linking Craigellachie, just outside Aviemore, with both a Clan Grant tradition and Ruskin's treatment of it:

Passing into the shadow of Craigellachie, the gathering rock of the Grants, something of the steadfastness underlying it that animated and rallied the old clansmen in battle enters into one. With Ruskin one feels

‘How often the remembrance of these rough grey rocks and purple heaths must have risen before the sight of the Highland soldier; how often the hailing of the shot and the shriek of battle would pass away from his hearing, and leave only the whisper of the old pine branches – ‘Stand fast, Craigellachie!’<sup>55</sup>

The *SM*'s profoundly Scottish orientation makes it a valuable source by which to measure the degree of interest in landscape change and landscape protection shown

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<sup>51</sup> See for example, J Matheson, ‘The Charm of Skye’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. V, No 3, June 1926, p. 222.

<sup>52</sup> HR Cook, ‘The Motorist and Romance’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 1, April 1931.

<sup>53</sup> *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XVII, No 6, September 1932.

<sup>54</sup> Anonymous, ‘Books and Other Things: A Review of Current Scots Letters by the Editor’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXI, No 4, July 1934, pp. 318-319.

<sup>55</sup> DD Mcpherson, ‘The Royal Road to Loch Einich’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XVII, No 2, May 1932, p. 88.

by those with an avowed interest in Scotland, particularly since it consciously set out, during this period of heightened interest in emigration, to encompass and stimulate the interests of Scots living abroad: 'Each month as much space as possible will be specially devoted to those who have gone overseas from the old Grey Mother, but whose hearts still fondly cling to her'.<sup>56</sup>

It is arguable that contemporary popular images of Scotland have been greatly influenced by the thoughts and writings of *émigrés* nostalgic for 'home', a factor responsible for the emergence of an exaggerated identification with the 'homeland'. The images of Scotland held by people living away from Scotland have as much to tell us as those of people still living there.<sup>57</sup> The popularity of the *SM* was an important influence on the corresponding idea that there were many Scots living abroad who would potentially support schemes to protect and improve elements of Scotland's 'heritage'. This was not lost on the advocates of the NTS, even before it was established, with Alan Graeme commenting: 'We have that immense body of Scots in other countries who would be certain to subscribe very large sums to the funds of the Trust'.<sup>58</sup> There was certainly a sound basis for the concept of outsider support for projects of this nature. The many Scottish societies emerging in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the British colonies and dominions in Africa were the subject of much publicity in Britain. Expatriates in

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<sup>56</sup> Foreword, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 1, No 1, April 1924, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Anthony Travis, personal communication, The Centre for Environmental History and Policy, 'Encountering Nature: Norwegian Ideas and Scottish Experience', Kindrogan Field Centre, Perthshire, 29-30 April 2000.

<sup>58</sup> Alan Graeme, 'Scotland's Need for a National Trust: A Definite Beginning for the Cairngorm Park', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XI, No 1, April 1929, p. 9. For further details of the establishment of the NTS, see Chapter III.

South Africa, for example, formed the Federated Caledonian Society, an umbrella organisation linking various Scottish-interest groups across the country, and produced the first edition of *The Caledonian* magazine in 1922.<sup>59</sup>

The travel writer HV Morton's lyrical and decidedly subjective accounts of his journeys around Britain and elsewhere began to attract an extensive readership during this period. His sketches of London were published in the *Daily Express* in the early 1920s and his subsequent publications included travel volumes on London, Britain, the eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and South Africa.<sup>60</sup> His two volumes on Scotland, *In Search of Scotland* and *In Scotland Again*, explained the significance of sites in the Highlands and elsewhere to audiences of the interwar period and later.<sup>61</sup> He laced his commentary on the scenes he visited with traditions, histories and the descriptions of earlier travellers, noting as Dorothy Wordsworth had done, his disappointment at seeing Glencoe in sunshine and utilising an account by Dickens to convey to his readers what he felt should be the true bleakness of the pass.<sup>62</sup> He was conscious of his place at the margins of the then century and a half-

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<sup>59</sup> Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, No 6, September 1935, pp. 406-7.

<sup>60</sup> HV Morton, *The Nights of London* (London, First Edition November 1926, Twelfth Edition 1943), following p. 194. See also for example HV Morton, *In Search of England* (London, First Edition 1927, Eleventh Edition 1930); HV Morton, *The Call of England* (London, First Edition 1928, Ninth Edition 1932); HV Morton, *In Search of Ireland* (New York, First Edition 1931, Sixth Edition 1934); HV Morton, *In Search of Wales* (London, First Edition June 1932, Fifth Edition 1933); HV Morton, *In the Steps of the Master* (London, First Edition 1934, Tenth Edition 1940); HV Morton, *Through Lands of the Bible* (London, First Edition 1938, Fourth Edition 1946); HV Morton, *Middle East* (London, 1941); HV Morton, *I saw Two Englands* (London, 1942); HV Morton, *In Search of South Africa* (London, 1948).

<sup>61</sup> HV Morton, *In Search of Scotland* (London, First Edition 1929, Thirty-Sixth Edition 1949); HV Morton, *In Scotland Again* (London, First Edition October 1933, Fourth Edition 1934). For Morton's description of the Trossachs, see *In Search of Scotland*, pp. 239-43.

<sup>62</sup> Morton, *In Search of Scotland*, p. 228.

old tradition of outsider interest in Scotland and even his volumes unrelated to Scotland contain references to Scott's role in the generation of specific national images.<sup>63</sup> In the 1929 introduction to *In Search of Scotland* he summarised the contribution of those in whose footsteps he followed, making a case for the origins of tourism in Scotland broadly similar to that arrived at by TC Smout and Alastair Durie.<sup>64</sup> Morton could be pompous and patronising, and his writing was often highly resonant with the purple prose of an earlier age, emphasising the influence of the literary past on his perspective, as with his description in 1929 of a drive alongside the Caledonian Canal: 'What scenery, what primeval wildness, what splendid solitudes, what lonely mountain-crests, what dark gloom of pine and larch, what sudden bright glimpses through trees of deep water reflecting the curves of guardian hills'.<sup>65</sup> Concentrating on the romance of the past, Morton focused his readers' attention on the visual reminders of the pre-twentieth-century landscape. For the most part, he excluded commentary on human-engineered constructions, and did not contribute to the debate over hydroelectricity in Scotland.

Such imagery could not have jarred with his inter-war audience to any significant extent. By 1949, Methuen had issued a thirty-sixth edition of *In Search of Scotland*. Morton had also gained the approval of the *SM*,<sup>66</sup> which suggested with satisfaction

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<sup>63</sup> Morton, *In Search of Scotland*, pp. 13, 27, 122 and 134, as well as HV Morton, *In Search of Ireland* (Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, First Edition 1931, Sixth Edition 1934), p. 188.

<sup>64</sup> Morton, *In Search of Scotland*, pp. vii – viii.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182. Morton had a tendency to discuss the societies with which he came into contact during the course of his travels with a significant degree of condescension.

<sup>66</sup> Anonymous, 'Books and Other Things: A Review of Current Scots Letters by The Editor', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XX, No 3, December 1933, p. 233.

that a high proportion of Morton's readers were Scots.<sup>67</sup> Such a statement is difficult to quantify but it is certainly arguable that the work of travel writers of the inter-war years in general, and that of Morton in particular, did much to inform the view of the precise components of attractive Scottish landscape. In addition – and mirroring James Bryce's turn-of-the-century conclusions – it is also arguable that their work served to modify perceptions of 'good' landscape, with readers concluding that the mention of a particular spot in guidebooks gave it precedence over less publicised sites. This could have had far-reaching implications, impacting as it would have done on the views of people concerned with shaping landscapes and developmental policies in other parts of the world.<sup>68</sup>

It is also possible to link the popularity of guidebooks with a new appreciation of historically important landscapes.<sup>69</sup> For example, there had been little comment or protest elicited by the initial construction of a road through the area of the Culloden battlefield; however, when details of proposed improvements to the road began to circulate in 1935, the plan became the object of heated discussion in the Commons that summer, as did the development proposed for Glencoe.<sup>70</sup> This is not to suggest that there was unequivocal reverence for all historic sites. The initial NTS appeal for money to protect the Bannockburn battlefield was not especially successful. The *SM*

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<sup>67</sup> Frontspiece, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXII, No 3, December 1934.

<sup>68</sup> See for example W. Cronon, W, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983).

<sup>69</sup> See for example JJ Bell, 'Doon the Watter' 100 Years Ago', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, No 5, February 1933, pp. 339-348; JJ Bell, 'The Man I met at Oban', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XIX, No 4, July 1933, pp. 249-255; JJ Bell, 'A Back Number', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXI, No 5, August 1934, pp. 345-352.

<sup>70</sup> See Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, no 4, July 1935.

suggested that this was less because people did not care about the significance of the site, and more because ‘Bannockburn is, in actual fact, an uninteresting field, more or less in the middle of houses’.<sup>71</sup> A simultaneous appeal in aid of the Trust’s acquisition of Glencoe in order to protect it from development was most successful and the *SM* interpreted this as a sign that the public supported the acquisition of historical sites that could become enjoyable places to visit.<sup>72</sup> The Glencoe property became part of a series of holdings providing public access to what are arguably some of the most scenic areas of Scotland.

The success of the Glencoe appeal in comparison to that of Bannockburn reflects the extent to which mountains made up much of the landscape considered beautiful in Scotland. Mountaineering in Scotland has been traditionally characterised by its egalitarian makeup, to the extent that it can be located comfortably within the Outdoors Movement in this regard.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, eminent in mountaineering circles were a number of influential people who were prepared to go to great lengths to protect the mountains they loved. It was inevitable that they came into contact with organisations like the APRS and NTS. In particular, the motivation for, and direction taken by, NTS property acquisition was much influenced as a result.

A number of ardent mountaineers extended their interest to general conservation

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<sup>71</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month by Month’, p. 162. See also Alastair J Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c1780-1939* (East Linton, 2003), pp. 7-8.

<sup>72</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month by Month’, p. 162.

<sup>73</sup> Robert A Lambert, ‘Mountaineering Songs and Verse from the Cairngorms’, in Edward J Cowan (ed), *The Ballad in Scottish History*, (East Linton, 2000), p. 168. See also J G Stott, ‘Song’, *The*

matters,<sup>74</sup> but Percy J H Unna, a civil engineer and businessman of Danish extraction was also very wealthy. He was willing to contribute a great deal financially to the NTS so long as his money went to projects related to mountains. Joining the Scottish Mountaineering Club in 1905 and becoming its president in 1936, he was the force behind the SMC's acquisition of land in Glencoe for the NTS in 1935. In 1937 the Dalness Estate was added to this through countrywide contributions from mountaineering interests, with Unna anonymously making the most significant contribution.<sup>75</sup> He also subsequently established a substantial fund for the NTS, which was to become known as the Mountainous Country Fund, to be spent on the acquisition and upkeep of various mountainous properties for the nation.<sup>76</sup> Unna was unwilling to be identified as the source behind the Mountainous Country Fund, and was referred to as the 'Anonymous Donor' until his death of a heart attack while climbing near Dalmally on 27 December 1950. According to Arthur Russell, who acted as the point of contact between Unna and the NTS, very few people even within the NTS were aware of the Donor's true identity.<sup>77</sup> It was largely Unna's funding that enabled the NTS to acquire and maintain such properties as Ben Lawers (incorporating Ben Ghlas), Kintail, parts of Glencoe; Goatfell; Torridon and the Grey Mare's Tail.<sup>78</sup> The Ben Lawers and Ben Ghlas property was purchased for

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*Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal*, Vol. XII, No 12, October 1912, pp. 151-2.

<sup>74</sup> For example WH Murray and Tom Weir, both of whose roles are discussed below.

<sup>75</sup> NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift', 'Extract from Council Minutes, Mountainous Country Trust, 1951'.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift', 'Note for GSR, NTS by AWR, 09.01.1951'.

<sup>78</sup> NTS, Management Plans and Background Information: Glencoe and Dalness I, 'Glencoe and Dalness Management Plan 1992-1997', p. 3.

£7,500 out of the Mountainous Country Fund. The purchase of the Kintail property for £12,500 was also funded by Unna, but this time directly out of his own pocket, rather than from the Mountainous Country Fund.

Arthur Russell's account of the way in which this was decided upon is a good example of the informal way in which decision-making leading to significant acts of landscape protection was conducted during this period:

I was always in communication with him and looking out for any suitable property that might come along, and when Kintail came on the market I 'phoned him up one night and he said go ahead. I explained that the Mountainous Country Fund was not yet sufficient to meet the price, £12,500 I think, but he said just to carry on and he would make up the difference, but as a matter of fact he paid the whole price outright and wished to feel that it was his gift to the Trust.<sup>79</sup>

Shortly before his death, Unna financed a further source of funding for the purchase and upkeep of mountainous properties in the form of the Mountainous Country Trust, of which the trustees included Alexander Harrison and George Russell, Arthur Russell's son.<sup>80</sup> The NTS also inherited the entire residue of his estate.<sup>81</sup> While Unna's generosity could not be faulted, the stipulation that the funding be channelled into mountainous country properties only in effect placed a significant burden on the shoulders of the perennially cash-strapped NTS, with many council members agitating to reallocate the funds for other purposes. The mountaineer WH Murray, amongst others, eventually fell out with the NTS executive as a result.

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<sup>79</sup> Arthur Russell to George Russell, 'Note for GSR: The NTS', 09.01.195, NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift'.

<sup>80</sup> NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift', 'Extract from Council Minutes, Mountainous Country Trust, 1951'.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

Percy Unna's letter to the NTS, in November 1937, contained 10 points relating to the way in which the Dalness property was to be maintained. These have become entrenched in NTS management policies as the 'Unna Principles', which have served to influence land use in a very specific way where all the NTS properties funded by the Mountainous Country Fund are concerned. Whatever else Unna may have stipulated at later dates, as regards management of the other properties he helped to fund, the prescriptives laid down by him in this particular letter relate purely to the management of Dalness about which he was writing in his capacity as President of the SMC. However, these points related to issues about which Unna himself felt strongly, and which he may have disseminated in the name of the SMC regardless of the thoughts of other club members on the matter.

The prescriptives stipulated that the newly acquired property should remain as it was. Grazing could continue, but deer stalking had to end, with deer being culled only when necessary to keep populations in check. This tied in with the strong feeling that the public had to have access as much as possible, and shooting would have prevented this. Access was however to be unaided, with no way markings, new paths or refreshment stations to ease the way of walkers and climbers. Overnight accommodation was to be kept to a discreet minimum and as far as possible kept to the roads.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> NTS, 'Percy Unna's Letter', PJH Unna, President, Scottish Mountaineering Club, to Chairman and Council, NTS, 23 November 1937.

The NTS properties financed by Unna have remained relatively protected places which people are able to think of as good examples of Scottish mountain landscape. Other areas, also considered very acceptable mountainous properties by the NTS from a scenic point of view were not acquired for various reasons – some very arbitrary. As a result, they are less well known as scenic landscapes. The Cruachan area, for instance, was divided into too many properties and carried too much stock, the responsibility for which the NTS was unwilling to acquire.<sup>83</sup>

Between 1935 and 1950, Arthur Russell, himself a mountaineer and member of the SMC, and who was originally responsibly for initiating Unna's contact with the NTS, made numerous enquiries into properties for sale on Unna's behalf.<sup>84</sup> Unna's correspondence with Russell on the subject of these acquisitions provide some indication as to the thoughts and beliefs of the one individual behind the creation of a significant number of the NTS properties held in trust for the nation. Unna emphasised again and again that he wanted the properties bought with his money to be accessible to all. He was therefore anxious to acquire properties within easy reach of the cities. His insistence on keeping the acquired properties free of development, however, indicates the degree to which he was aware of the vulnerability of these beautiful places close to the cities. He was acutely conscious that spoliation could come just as much from people loving these places, as it could

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<sup>83</sup> Arthur Russell to JWE Steadman, WS, Messrs Hossack and Sutherland, Oban, 2 December 1942; Arthur Russell to Joe Grimond, NTS, 22 March 1948, NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift'.

<sup>84</sup> NTS, Box JD 875 'Mountainous Country', File 'NTS Mountainous Country Gift', 'Extract from Council Minutes, Mountainous Country Fund, 1951.

from ill-sited development.<sup>85</sup> In this he echoed the earlier concerns of the mountaineer and writer Ernest A Baker, author of *The Highlands with Rope and Rucksack*: ‘We may trust the conservators to see that the dignity of these ancient summits is not outraged, as Snowdon has been, by steam tramway, vulgar refreshment-sheds, and unsightly engineering works’.<sup>86</sup>

Mountaineers like Baker would also have automatically wished to include a significant amount of high land in any protected area. Alexander Inkson McConnochie was a founder member of the Senior Mountaineering Club in Scotland. When he added an article to the debate on National Parks in the *SM*, he pointed out that while it would be good to include a range of landscapes within a National Park, the Cairngorms had an extra advantage over other areas: ‘four summits over four thousand feet’.<sup>87</sup>

Its mountainous properties aside, the NTS appeared set to assume the role of guardian to an array of national treasures. Certainly the prolonged interest in Abbotsford, built by Walter Scott in emulation of a Scottish stately home, reflects this. The NTS opened a file on Abbotsford in 1939 and continued to toy with the idea of acquiring it until 1983.<sup>88</sup> This lack of decisive strategising had much to do with the reticence of the Executive Committee to proffer opinions that might bring it

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<sup>85</sup> The Earl of Wemyss and March, President, NTS, in the NTS Guide for 1976, cited in Rennie McOwan, *The Man Who Bought Mountains* (NTS, Spectrum Printing Co, no date).

<sup>86</sup> Ernest A Baker, ‘The Cairngorms as a National Park’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 1, October 1928, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Alexander Inkson McConnochie, ‘The National Nature of the Cairngorms’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol X,

into conflict with one or other section of its membership. That relative passivity was a conscious decision is made clear in the 1935 Annual Report: ‘Since its inception the Council have taken the view that rapid development [of the organisation] would be dangerous and injudicious. They have therefore pursued a policy of considered caution’.<sup>89</sup>

The reason for the ‘policy of considered caution’ can be found in the NTS’s acquisition of land as well as buildings and it explains a number of the policy decisions of both the APRS and the NTS regarding hydroelectric development between 1940 and 1980. As noted above, the NTS was formed by a number of the same individuals who had initiated the establishment of the APRS. With both the English National Trust and the CPRE as potential models, they had initially decided to launch the APRS as an organisation based on the same principles as the CPRE. Although forced by circumstances to establish a further organisation able to acquire property, this had never been a principle with which they were entirely comfortable because a landowning organisation concerned with amenity and aesthetics would inevitably be drawn into the national parks debate, in which it could never hope to appease all sectors of its membership. Divided as the council members of the APRS and the NTS were over issues of landownership and best land-use, it was therefore inevitable that they should fail to reach common consensus on the various hydroelectric development proposals.

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No 3, December 1928, pp. 178-9.

<sup>88</sup> NTS, Box JD 1246, “Abbotsford”.

<sup>89</sup> NTS, NTS Reports, 1932-1939, Report by the Council for the Year Ending 30 April 1935’, p. 8.

Links between landowners, the APRS and the NTS were always strong and were particularly so during the inter-war period. Landowners subscribing to the view of Scottish lairds as stewards of the land under their control gravitated towards the two organisations and they too found the affiliation a natural one, with John Stirling Maxwell emphasising as much to George Erskine Jackson in 1930, ‘now that the old control of the landowner is gone, the beauty of the countryside will be lost unless some other form of protection can be devised’.<sup>90</sup> The upper-class individuals, and their associates active within the APRS and NTS, cannot have been unsympathetic to the issues confronting landowners during this time. They were supported in their views by an element within the SLPF that opposed any attempts by the protection movement to become involved in proto-egalitarian activities.<sup>91</sup>

Mountaineering interests were indicative of a more general expansion in landscape appreciation amongst the broader population. Issues relating to the right of non-landowners to access and appreciate the landscape of the Highlands promoted by mountaineers can be seen to have been reflected even more widely in the considerable surge in the debate concerning the establishment of national parks in England, Scotland and Wales which occurred in the interwar period and continued to dominate land-use discussion in the post-war era. Following on from John Dower’s

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<sup>90</sup> NRA, SLF, GD 325 1/395 ‘Preservation of Rural Scotland’, John Stirling Maxwell, Forestry Commission, London, to Mr Erskine Jackson, Scottish Land and Property Federation, Edinburgh, 17 June 1930.

<sup>91</sup> NRA, SLF, GD 325 1/395 ‘Preservation of Rural Scotland’, JD Milburn, Braxted Park, Witham, Essex, to Erskine Jackson, Scottish Land and Property Federation, 15 February 1933.

report, *National Parks in England and Wales* ('the Dower Report'), and the subsequently formed National Park Committee, National Parks were created in England and Wales during the 1950s.<sup>92</sup> However, the question of whether or not to provide Scotland with national parks remained unresolved until the late 1990s; the Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park and the Cairngorms National Park were only formally established in 2001 and 2002 respectively. This forty-year gap signifies virulent dissent rather than lack of interest and motivation, and it is essential that any aspect of land-use and landscape change in Scotland be considered within this context.

It is also important to take into account the extent to which the prioritisation of mountaineering and forestry issues formed a link between the absence of national parks and the activities and attitudes of the landscape protection movement. Both mountaineering and forestry interests gained momentum from the lack of national parks; so successful were the bodies concerned, in their own initiatives to safeguard areas suited to the fulfilment of their particular needs, that the existence of related 'secure' areas (that is, the NTS-protected 'mountainous' properties and the Forestry Commission's National Forest Parks) provided the basis for, and prolonged the viability of, the post-war argument that Scotland had no need for national parks.

The aristocratic connections of the office-bearers notwithstanding, those

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<sup>92</sup> J Sheail, *An Environmental History of Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke and New York, 2002), pp. 121-122.

demonstrating rural and landownership interests did not automatically embrace the aims of the APRS. Traditional landowners were in some instances sceptical of both the aspirations and the ability of an organisation that was in essence urban-based, even though a number of its leading members were landowners. In this respect the objectives of the early landscape protection movement in Scotland cannot be said to have dovetailed precisely, as Hayden Lorimer has suggested, with those of the landowning elite.<sup>93</sup> There was particular suspicion amongst members of the Scottish Land and Property Foundation (SLPF) as to the degree of radical land reform to which the APRS may have been sympathetic, as is reflected in the reassurances given to SLPF's secretary by John Stirling Maxwell:<sup>94</sup>

[The APRS] is, so far as I know, the only organisation existing in Scotland to protect the countryside from the disasters which threaten it in this age of trunk roads, ribbon building, and unscrupulous attempts by engineers and contractors to exploit water-power in order to secure large contracts ... The invasion of the country by the town is a fact which cannot be disregarded. The object of the Association is to keep this movement in safe channels and prevent it from spoiling the countryside more than necessary ... It would be a great mistake to judge the movement by Hilton Young's Bill, which was drafted by a Faddist and was never expected to get further than its second reading. It threw, for example, duties on us here which we could not possibly have assumed, and was in many other respects quite unworkable. [However] [c]rude as it was, it stood for an idea which Parliament rightly welcomed.<sup>95</sup>

Although the secretary, George Erskine Jackson, was involved with both the APRS and the NTS, members of the SLPF did not necessarily conform to his views. Following his distribution of information on the APRS to SLPF members in 1931, he received a curt response from the Duke of Buccleuch, one of the most influential

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<sup>93</sup> Lorimer, H, 'Your Wee Bit Hill and Glen: The Cultural Politics of the Scottish Highlands, c. 1918-1945', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Loughborough, 1997.

<sup>94</sup> The SLPF later changed its name to the Scottish Landowners Federation.

<sup>95</sup> NRA, SLF, GD 325 1/395, 'Preservation of Rural Scotland', John Stirling Maxwell, Forestry Commission, London, to Mr Erskine Jackson, Scottish Land and Property Foundation, Edinburgh, 17 June 1930.

landowners in Scotland: ‘I have received your letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December about “Rural Scotland”. Why are you sending Notices out about it? I am afraid this Rural Scotland Association is a fraud, all gas and swagger’.<sup>96</sup>

At this juncture both the APRS and NTS were treading a narrow path that allowed them to retain affiliations with both traditional landowners and more liberal sympathisers. Although no landowner is on record as saying so, it is possible that, as Hayden Lorimer argues, some within the latter group may have seen the NTS in particular as a potential avenue through which many of their own aims could be funnelled in a more politically acceptable manner. During the same period, however, other commentators saw the national park issue as having been the most pressing *raison d’être* for the establishment of the NTS.<sup>97</sup> A pressing concern during the interwar period, the national parks debate was characterised by complex attitudes to rights of access and the restricted zones of the deer forests.<sup>98</sup> Hayden Lorimer has argued that the possible creation of one or more national parks in Scotland, with the associated airing of ideas related to compulsory land acquisition, was a significant factor behind the formation of an elite landowning organisation. He contends that it was recognised at the time that Scottish landowners were likely to view the existence

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<sup>96</sup> NRA, SLF, GD 325 1/395, ‘Preservation of Rural Scotland’, The Duke of Buccleuch, Bowhill, Selkirk to G Erskine Jackson, SL&PF, Edinburgh, 4 January 1932.

<sup>97</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month by Month’, p. 169.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, ‘Books and Other Things: A Review of Current Scots Letters, by the Editor’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No 5, February 1928pp. 396-7; Ernest A Baker, ‘The Cairngorms as a National Park’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 1, October 1928, p. 1; Alexander Inkson McConnochie, ‘The National Nature of the Cairngorms’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 3, December 1928, p. 179; J Ramsay MacDonald (in an interview), ‘Why I Support the ‘Cairngorm National Park Scheme’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol X, No 4, January 1929, pp. 251-2.

of a non-governmental organisation dedicated to landownership – however much it talked about obtaining property for the nation – as more favourable than a government-operated ‘national park’.<sup>99</sup>

There is no doubt that landowners were nervous about issues of compulsory land acquisition. The sentiments of national park advocates like Professor JW Gregory, chair of geology at the University of Glasgow, would have made them extremely wary. Although Gregory advocated compensation for owners of any land required for a national park, he favoured compulsory acquisition that extended to the utilisation of deer forests.<sup>100</sup> However, for people concerned with the protection of rights of access, a land-owning trust also seemed to present a viable alternative to national parks<sup>101</sup> or at least a simplified route towards establishing public access and the perpetual protection of valued landscapes without the complex process of establishing a park. The editor of the *SM* was one of a number of commentators who had looked across the Tweed to the example set by the English NT, when he proposed:

Cannot some public-spirited millionaire ... be induced to perpetuate his name and erect an enduring monument to his memory in the hearts of generations of mountaineers yet to come by presenting a tract of this splendid country to a Scottish equivalent of the National Trust?<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Hayden Lorimer, ‘Your Wee Bit Hill and Glen...’

<sup>100</sup> JW Gregory, ‘The Claim for a National Park’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 3, December 1928, pp. 176.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 173-7.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Books and Other Things: A Review of Current Scots Letters, by the Editor’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 1, October 1928, p. 48.

The Honourable Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr had put it more cynically, '[Westminster] thinks with quite imperial majesty – that is, all ways save Scotlandwards; and to draw money out of it for Scottish National Purposes would be a miracle...The National Trust idea is...far more promising'.<sup>103</sup> The Trust's 1935 Annual Report made it clear that it would only be drawn so far where this debate was concerned:

In Scotland the Council hold the opinion that except in the vicinity of industrial centres, there is no immediate necessity for the acquisition of large tracts of land. Two-thirds of our country is still untouched by modern development, and the public have but short distances to go for the enjoyment of a day in perfect surroundings.

They are, however, always anxious to consider any offer of land, to be administered for the public weal, and will keep prominently before them the conception of a National Reserve, which might materialise either through [a] Government grant, or preferably private generosity.<sup>104</sup>

The APRS remained equally cautious where national parks were concerned. In 1938, the Standing Committees of the CPRE and CPRW on National Parks issued pamphlets emphasising their hopes for national parks for Britain. However, the APRS went to great lengths to ensure that this literature stressed that while it was in agreement, it also supported the contention of the Report of the National Park Committee that, 'Scotland [in comparison to England and Wales] presents a different problem and calls for different treatment'.<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately for the APRS, maps issued for general circulation with the CPRE/CPRW pamphlets (but not passed

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<sup>103</sup> The Hon Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr, 'The Claim for a National Park', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 6, March 1929, p. 420. See also Gregory, 'The Claim for a National Park', p. 177; Alan Graeme, 'Scotland's Need for a National Trust: A Definite Beginning for the Cairngorm Park', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XI, No 1, April 1929, pp. 7-9; SH Hamer, 'The National Trust in England', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XI, No 5, August 1929, pp. 359-65; Anonymous, 'Scots MP's on the Job: A Review of Current Parliamentary Activity by a Westminster Correspondent', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXVII, No 6, September 1937, p. 452.

<sup>104</sup> NTS, NTS Reports, 1932-1939, 'Report by the Council for the Year Ending 30 April 1935, p. 9.

<sup>105</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 May 1938.

to the APRS for pre-approval) designated large swathes of Scotland as ‘Potential National Park Areas’. In protest, John Stirling Maxwell resigned as the APRS’s representative on the Standing Committee for National Parks. The APRS’s concern stemmed from the idea that these potential sites for national parks, even if far from finalised, would be held ‘as a reserve for further National Parks in the future, any developments therein being permitted only if shown to be in the public interest’. This, it argued, was a blanket designation that ignored the socio-economic complexities of the areas it covered.<sup>106</sup> The APRS’s insistence on remaining neutral on the subject of national parks can be interpreted as evidence of its desire not to upset landowning interests through being seen to support potential landownership restructuring.

Ideas regarding forestry in Scotland form an important link between national parks (or the lack of them) and landscape protection: from the perspective of the APRS, ‘forest parks’ might be made to fulfil many of the requirements of national parks without the political implications of the latter. The idea that Scotland was ‘meant’ to be heavily forested augmented a theory that reforestation might bring any number of social and economic advantages in its wake. The APRS minutes for March 1939 reported how Sir John Sutherland ‘had hoped for many years past to see forests of 5, 10 or 20 thousand acres in one area, and the setting up of two or three saw mills which would run for ever, and, when the wood was cut down, manufacturers of

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<sup>106</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 October 1938.

furniture coming in to work and live beside the mills'.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, there was a widespread contention that the forestry plantations could serve a further purpose as places of recreation. Commenting on the Report of the Addison Committee in *the SM*, James Rhynd favoured further investigation into the Forestry Commission's offer to develop its Glenmore holdings with recreation in mind.<sup>108</sup> This was not followed up directly. However, to a similar end, a Forest Park Committee was established in March 1935 to advance this idea, with reference to the FC's holdings in Argyll. The group consisted of familiar names: John Stirling Maxwell as the chairperson; Sir Iain Colquhoun; the Master of Polwarth; Sir John Sutherland; Colonel W Steuart Fotheringham; Sir Lawrence Chubb, secretary of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society; William Besant, Director of Parks, Glasgow Corporation; and Lt-Colonel J M Mitchell, secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The secretary was FC Handford, whose address was that of the Forestry Commission's Edinburgh headquarters.<sup>109</sup> The committee reported favourably on the idea.<sup>110</sup> In October 1937, the chairman of the APRS's National Park Committee, Reverend AE Robertson, reported that his committee felt that it was not all that essential to press the National Park issue at that time. Among other things, it was felt that 'what were really National Parks were being obtained from the Forestry Commission'.<sup>111</sup> In April 1938, Major Strang-Steel, reiterated that this was

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<sup>107</sup> APRS, Minutes of Special Meeting of the Council, 14 March 1939.

<sup>108</sup> James Rhynd, 'Scotland's National Park: The Parliamentary Committee Report – What is the Next Step?' *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 3, June 1931, p. 171.

<sup>109</sup> Anonymous, 'Scotland Month by Month', p. 1; Alan Graeme, 'The Highland Problem: National Parks and 'New Deals'', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, No 4, January 1936, p. 278.

<sup>110</sup> Alan Graeme, 'The Highland Problem: National Parks and "New Deals"', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, No 4, January 1936, pp. 278-281.

<sup>111</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 October 1937.

not the time to be pressing the Government to finance National Parks when the Forestry Commission was ‘already establishing magnificent National Parks which would cost the country nothing’.<sup>112</sup>

When the APRS’s Committee on National Parks met in October 1938, it discussed a letter from John Stirling Maxwell who felt very strongly that since National Forest Parks were supposed to serve the same purpose as National Parks, negotiations for the latter could be suspended.<sup>113</sup> Sir Samuel Strang Steel’s correspondence of earlier that year also came out for an airing. For Strang Steel, the Forest Parks would:

thus make available a great deal of magnificent country which is of no use for Forestry, and practically no use for sheep-grazing but which is eminently suitable for the walker, rambler, wild bird life, etc etc. This is the way in which I think the demand should be met and especially when you have such a sympathetic body as the Forestry Commissioners, already in existence.<sup>114</sup>

At this point in time, the Committee was divided. Some members felt that in addition to the above, the Forestry Commission and the Scottish Youth Hostel Movement (pushing for recognition of its access concerns which were rather different to those in England) were already doing all that was necessary with regard to National Park ideals in Scotland.<sup>115</sup> Mr Batten had threatened to resign his position, although, still not in favour of National Parks, he was persuaded to withdraw his resignation.<sup>116</sup> The Chairman, Rev AE Robertson, was still anxious to promote as National Park areas the two he had provided in his evidence to the 1930

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<sup>112</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 April 1938.

<sup>113</sup> John Stirling Maxwell to the National Park Committee, 25 October 1938, referred to in APRS, Minutes of Meeting of National Park Committee, 28 October 1938.

<sup>114</sup> Major Samuel Strang Steel to the National Park Committee, 9 March 1938, referred to in APRS, Minutes of Meeting of National Park Committee, 28 October 1938.

<sup>115</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of National Park Committee, 28 October 1938.

<sup>116</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 November 1938.

Government National Park Committee: the Central Cairngorms as a National Park and the 'area including Glen Affric, Glen Cannich and Glen Strathfarrar for scheduling or protection as a nature reservation'. By November of 1938, it was agreed although the APRS could commend the good work of the Forestry Commission and the Scottish Youth Hostel Movement, it still felt that there was a need for National Parks in Scotland, although the boundaries for the prospective parks shown on the map referred to above needed to be a great deal more precise.<sup>117</sup>

The heightened profile of inter-war resource development meant that any related issues, including questions of aesthetics, tended to provoke more commentary than they might otherwise have done. An increased awareness of what Scotland's landscape had to offer, both as a source of industry and as a refuge from it, triggered the formation of the APRS and the NTS, whose intent was to bring these issues to the attention of policymakers. If by 1940 governmental policymakers were still divided as to the best use of some of Scotland's most valued landscapes, they were certainly more aware of the issues at stake. The contentious issue of national parks for Scotland remained on the drawing board throughout the twentieth century, with significant ramifications for landscape protection. Landscape protectionists were constantly aware of how their position on national parks might influence public opinion regarding their other activities; and every policy decision they made, however unrelated, was to some extent influenced by their consciousness of this.

The outbreak of World War II dramatically slowed down any impending action

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<sup>117</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of National Park Committee, 24 November 1938.

where national parks and the other landscape protection issues were concerned. The realisation that Britain might once more be dependent for survival on her own domestic resources was combined with a further feeling that she should make good external colonial losses through internal re-colonisation of ‘undeveloped’ land. Scotland had the space for this, and she had an economy that was in need of it. The activities of the protection organisations were themselves severely curtailed, both because many members took on wartime responsibilities and because it was felt that amenity considerations were of secondary concern in a war that, this time, few dared to hope would be over by Christmas.<sup>118</sup> The chapter that follows considers in detail the response of landscape protectionists to proposed hydroelectric development during the inter-war period.

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<sup>118</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 October 1939.

## IV

### **SAFEGUARDING LANDSCAPE II LANDSCAPE PROTECTION AND HYDROELECTRICITY BEFORE 1940**

The importance of the Romantic ideal, as outlined in the previous chapter, becomes apparent when addressing the opposition to hydroelectric development initiatives that were seen to threaten the aesthetic quality of the Highland landscape. Initial disquiet related to localised landscape modifications such as the diversion of water flow and the diminution of well-known waterfalls, all of which readily conformed to the template Romantic idyll. By the late 1920s, critics of hydroelectricity were articulating their concerns regarding a range of more large-scale negative factors, although their misgivings were also increasingly offset by their concern not to be seen to be thwarting a socio-economic project of significant advantage to Highland communities. This opposition, prompted largely by energy and timber resource development, served to galvanise the establishment and expansion of Scottish voluntary organisations and their demands for greater legislative protection for ‘cherished’ landscapes. This chapter seeks to outline the development of parties prior to the Second World War which were opposed to large-scale hydroelectric development on what were essentially aesthetic grounds. Accordingly, the chapter emphasises the role of groups such as the APRS and prominent individuals therein. Subsequent chapters chart the evolution of these groups in response to a sustained state campaign to force through hydroelectric development in the Highlands.

Water flow change became the focus of initial opposition to hydroelectric development because it led to dramatic landscape modification. The vital element in hydroelectric power generation is a steep gradient down which to channel the water driving the electric turbines. Waterfalls accompany many steep gradients, and famous and much-visited waterfalls like those of Foyers, as well as Bonnington and Stonebyres on the Clyde, lost a proportion of their flow to diversion. In 1897, James Bryce denounced the British Aluminium Company for the desecration of the Falls of Foyers, ‘...a perfectly unique piece of scenery, the most striking of all British waterfalls’.<sup>1</sup> In spite of Bryce’s disapproval, the Company was legally inviolate, having bought the surrounding 8,000 acre estate of Lower Foyers as well as the additional water rights it required from other neighbouring landowners.<sup>2</sup> Arguably the first person to articulate the need for broad landscape protection measures in the Highlands, Bryce suggested one way of forestalling similar actions in the future might be to create:

some means of preserving for the nation as a whole a thing in which the nation as a whole had an interest, and which was part of the inheritance the nation received, and wished to hand on.<sup>3</sup>

More than any other visible changes to the land brought about by power generation in the early part of the twentieth century, the drastic diminution of waterfalls engendered a significant sense of loss, which began to be articulated in terms of heritage. There is little direct linkage between Bryce’s suggestion and later, more specific, calls for a National Trust for Scotland and for national

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<sup>1</sup> James Bryce, ‘The Preservation of Natural Scenery: An Address Delivered by...’ *The Cairngorm Club Journal*, Vol. II, July 1897, No 6, pp. 129-30.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Payne, *The Hydro: A study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board* (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Bryce, ‘The Preservation of Natural Scenery’, pp. 129-30. See also Lambert, *Contested Mountains*, p. 68.

parks.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, however, memories of the impairment of the Falls of Foyers lingered on as a tangible example of the losses that might result if hydroelectric development in the Highlands was to proceed unregulated.

An ‘Amenity Clause’ included in the 1922 Lochaber Water Power Act was the first legislative attempt to guard against potential landscape alteration. The interpretation of the term ‘amenity’ was relatively broad. It incorporated the need for both public and private developers to pay due attention to the impact of their work within the wider landscape, although in practice this amounted to a requirement to leave post-construction sites in good order.<sup>5</sup> Amenity clauses were inserted into all subsequent Scottish hydroelectric bills,<sup>6</sup> but it is the 1929 Galloway Water Power Act that reflects the next significant development: provision for the Secretary of State for Scotland to appoint an ‘Amenity Committee’ to oversee and report on the prospective changes a specific hydroelectric project might bring to the landscape. Conflict between Amenity Committees and developers would be adjudicated by the Secretary of State, with whom lay ultimate responsibility for the approval of hydroelectric projects.<sup>7</sup> As preventative legislation, the existence of the clauses in practice achieved very

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<sup>4</sup> The contentious issue of national parks for Scotland is discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>5</sup> Colin T Reid, Aylwin Pillai and Andrew R Black, ‘The Emergence of Environmental Concerns: Hydroelectric Schemes in Scotland’, in *Journal of Environmental Law*, 2005, Vol. 17 No 3, p. 373; Colin T Reid, ‘Things Were Simpler Then: Environmental Controls on Early Hydro-Electric Dams in Scotland’, in *Journal of Water Law*, November-December 2002, Vol. 13, No 6, pp. 383-385.

<sup>6</sup> Provisions for the protection of amenity as noted by the Cooper Committee:

Lochaber Water Power Act 1921, section 63

Ayr Burgh (Electricity) Act, 1922 s 37

Lanarkshire Hydro-Electric Power Act, 1924, s 37

Grampian Electricity Supply Act, 1922, s 27

Galloway Water Power Act 1929, s 73

<sup>7</sup> Reid, Pillai and Black, ‘Hydroelectric Schemes in Scotland’, pp. 373-4; John Sheail, ‘The “Amenity” Clause: An Insight into Half a Century of Environmental Protection in the United Kingdom’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 17, No 2 (1992), pp. 153-4.

little. During the interwar period, critics of the visual impact of hydroelectricity drew attention to a range of problems linked to changes in water levels and flow. These included dried-up river beds and waterfalls, as well as the summertime eyesore presented by impounded lochs which produced ‘disgusting rims’ as John Stirling Maxwell described the draw-down on various banks in Lochaber in December 1935, when low water levels exposed stretches of foul-smelling mud.<sup>8</sup>

The stark contrast between the new power houses, pipelines and dam walls, and the scenery in which they were set also garnered extensive criticism. The construction of pylons and transmission lines attracted swathes of both positive and negative attention and comment; this arose, in many ways, due to the extensive symbolism that could so readily be attached to these constructions. Various representing the advance of socio-economic progress and the inroads of urbanisation and industrialisation into the socio-cultural traditions and aesthetics of ‘unspoiled’ non-urban Scotland, the attention already focused on these other elements of the built landscape relating to the generation and provision of energy was a further factor shaping reactions to hydroelectric development.

The public perception of the changes was one of guilty dismay at the loss of something beautiful which was to be accepted in the interests of the economy. There was a note of deep dissatisfaction in one report that the Falls of Clyde were to be subsumed even though ‘In these distressful times utilitarian claims cannot be jauntily set aside’:

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<sup>8</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 December 1935.

it is lamentable that the famous falls of Bonnington, Corra, and Stonebyres, which some of us have known and loved from childhood, are to become things of the past. Granted that it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice natural amenity to public utility, yet I cannot help thinking that instances might be cited where the disappearance of beauty spots in Scotland was the result of the launching of hastily considered projects. It should never be forgotten that the preservation north of the Tweed of places of natural beauty is a desirable policy, even from a money point of view. The beauty of Scotland is a national asset.<sup>9</sup>

One writer borrowed from John Keats in order to better illustrate his concern, conceding that although the promoters promised minimal impact:

There can...be no doubt that the erection of large electric-generating buildings, and the withdrawal of a considerable quantity of water from its natural, precipitous course, will materially detract from the volume and majesty of the current as it here careers from crag to crag, and with thundering roar tumbles into a foaming abyss. The pleasures of the eye must, it is acknowledged, give way sometimes to the utilities of modern life; but it does seem a pity that these Falls, the wonder and admiration of generations long before our travellers' visit, and for all those subsequent years, should be no longer, 'a thing of beauty and a joy for ever'.<sup>10</sup>

Concern over the growing impact of the hydroelectric schemes on the landscape was offset by indecision as to whether the impact might not have other advantages, as well as the nature of the steps to be taken so as to counteract any new proposals. The APRS had attempted from its inception to emphasise that its opposition to Highland development, including hydroelectric development, was selective. It openly criticised only those developments which it felt local people did not want and where the economic benefits to the nation were deemed questionable. Plans were seldom objected to outright unless it was agreed that negative implications clearly outweighed perceived advantages and this was to have a significant influence on landscape protection. Throughout the period under discussion, various commentators make it clear that economic benefit was very much on their minds. In his role of Secretary of the Scottish Rights of Way and Recreation Society, Arthur Russell emphasised the need for objectivity when

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<sup>9</sup> W.F.G., 'Scotland Month By Month', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 1, No 6, September 1924, p. 405.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Reid, 'With the Wordsworths in Lanarkshire', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. II, No 3,

he requested the support of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society of England in opposing the Grampian Scheme in March 1929:

Personally I am a little doubtful whether the Provisional Orders will go through as I know there is a lot of serious opposition. The feeling amongst many of us in Scotland is that if the operations are to be of real value to the districts concerned and also to the country as a whole than the question of the preservation of the amenity cannot be pressed too far, but unless that proposition can be fully proved as well as the financial aspect of it then the damage to be caused in the districts concerned should be prevented at all costs.<sup>11</sup>

However, there was a belief that the long-term employment opportunities offered by hydroelectricity were not necessarily positive. The social ills stemming from Kinlochleven had been a matter for some concern in the 1920s.<sup>12</sup> Later, the APRS Council member Peter Thomsen argued along similar lines, emphasising the similarities between the situation in the Highlands and that of colonial Africa: ‘Was it a great day for the [indigenous South Africans] when white men discovered diamonds on their land and set them to work in the diamond mines of Kimberley?’<sup>13</sup>

As the most visible and prominent mouthpiece for landscape protection during this period, the APRS became the key forum in which to discuss possible ways of drawing the attention of Parliament to the questions posed by hydroelectricity. For the most part, these focused on amenity and aesthetics, but, as Thomsen’s statement above suggests, also included concerns regarding the precise nature of the employment opportunities offered by hydroelectricity. The APRS considered

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December 1924, p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> Scottish Rights of Way Society, GD335/41, Arthur W Russell, Honorary Secretary, SROW and RS, to Lawrence W Chubb, Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society of England, London, 01 January 1929.

<sup>12</sup> George Eyre-Todd, ‘The Red Deer Country’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. IV, No 2, November 1925, p. 94.

<sup>13</sup> NLS, P Thomsen, ‘Scottish Water Power and particularly the Caledonian Power Scheme in relation to the Development of the Highlands’ (self publication, printer details absent, c. 1936), pp. 36-8.

compiling a list of the water power-related amenity clauses with desirable alterations in December 1928. However, Lord Haddington advised caution and made it clear that he was not personally in favour of any opposition.<sup>14</sup> In early 1929, the APRS singled out a number of problems with the Galloway, West Highland and Grampian Schemes. These included draw-down and the appearance of the concrete dams which meant, as its report stated, that ‘the lower face will be a lasting disfigurement of a massive and obtrusive character.’<sup>15</sup> The APRS opposed the schemes on this basis, and attempted to draw attention to its concerns by informing the press, MPs and the Secretary of State for Scotland.<sup>16</sup>

The subsequent report produced by the APRS’ Hydro-Electric Committee can be taken to reflect the extent to which some people feared that the landscape would be changed by the hydroelectric schemes, and goes some way towards explaining opposition on amenity grounds. The report is itself useful because at this time there was very little being written that described in such detail the threat that hydroelectric development was perceived to represent. Where Loch Quoich was concerned, it was feared that

...the level will be raised 81 feet and the draw off pipes will be set 25 feet below the present level, or a total variation of 106 feet. The breadth of land around the loch uncovered in periods of low water will vary from two or three hundred yards in steep parts, to half a mile or more in some places.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 7 December 1928; 20 December 1928.

<sup>15</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 17 January 1929; SROWS, GD335/41, APRS Report, ‘Report of the Sub-Committee of the Association on the Hydro-electric Schemes, viz Galloway Water Power, West Highland Water Power, and Grampian Electricity Supply, especially as regards effects on scenery, disturbance to life of inhabitants, safeguarding of their rights, strengthening of Amenity clause, financial prospects, and economic position’, February 1929, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 7 February 1929; 7 March 1929.

<sup>17</sup> SROWS, GD335/41, APRS Report, “Report of the Sub-Committee of the Association on the Hydro-electric Schemes, viz Galloway Water Power, West Highland Water Power, and Grampian Electricity Supply, especially as regards effects on scenery, disturbance to life of inhabitants, safeguarding of their rights, strengthening of Amenity clause, financial prospects,

At this point the proposals did not include plans to provide compensation water, and there were worries that dry river beds might result from periods of low rainfall: ‘the bed will always be unsightly and the essential feature of the landscape will be destroyed.’<sup>18</sup>

The report drew on memories of the fate of the Clydeside waterfalls when it predicted the way in which the landscape as a whole would be affected by further waterfalls such as the Falls of Glomach losing their flow: ‘These are definite beauty spots, and their loss will have considerable effect on the attractiveness of the district.’<sup>19</sup> It also outlined concerns regarding the Amenity Clause, emphasising that regardless of the directives of the Amenity Committee, the Secretary of State for Scotland was still bound to make the financial interests of the power company the highest priority. The Amenity Committee’s directives could only be abided by in so far as they did not jeopardise the power company’s finances to any great extent. In addition, once any structure was standing, it could not be interfered with and the Secretary of State had no powers to regulate water flow. The report called for a change in the Secretary of State’s powers because it was recognised that even in the event of a Secretary of State becoming sympathetic to the aesthetic cause, there could be no recourse to any legislation in favour of this:

This clause limits the powers of the Secretary for Scotland, to insignificant matters, for any suggested plan which will cost less than the one objected to is not likely to have escaped the consideration of the Company, and if alteration costs more, it may be said to imperil the financial success of the Company. Hence the Company has only to plan a scheme which is the cheapest possible, and takes the largest amount of water, for their position to be unassailable.<sup>20</sup>

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and economic position,” February 1929, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

The Kirkcudbright County Council was having similar difficulties with the Amenity Clause in the Galloway Water Power Provisional Order. The Council advocated that the Clause enforce the protection of scenery. It wished to see the power company forced to establish new vegetation growth on the areas disturbed by the construction work and power structures; to remove trees in the areas to be submerged so that they did not linger on in skeletal form and to provide compensation flow. It asked that the Secretary of State be given powers to appoint a committee to oversee these procedures, if this was felt to be necessary.<sup>21</sup>

Baily also subsequently undertook to write a report in the APRS' name regarding the financial implications of the Grampian Scheme. Only parts of this were published in the *Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald*.<sup>22</sup> By December 1929, the Scheme had been rejected. Stirling Maxwell had given evidence before the House of Lords Committee and the APRS minuted that it 'could claim a large share in this victory'.<sup>23</sup> The solicitor RW Cockburn expressed his feelings to Arthur Russell, then the Honorary Secretary of the Scottish Rights of Way and Recreation Society:

I am sorry, because I am sure that the prejudice to the beautiful country would have been very much less than was feared, and as regards the scheme, I think even our opponents felt that all our figures were substantial, whereas theirs' were not, and that in short the Preamble was proved in the opinion of a reasonable man. However we cannot cry over spilt milk.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> SRoWS, GD335/54, 'Kirkcudbright County Council: Galloway Water Power Provisional Order - Suggested Ammendments', received 20 February 1929.

<sup>22</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 6 November 1929.

<sup>23</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 13 December 1929.

<sup>24</sup> Scottish Rights of Way Society, GD 335/41, RW Cockburn, Shepherd and Wedderburn WS, Eddinburgh, to Arthur W Russell, Edinburgh, 7 December 1929.

Russell's reply to Cockburn reflects the degree to which opposition to development on aesthetic grounds was often less certain than official statements suggested:

Personally I am rather inclined to agree with you that there would have been less harm done than was made out. At the same time our rainfall in the Highlands is so uncertain although it nearly always seems to rain when one goes to the west, but many of us laymen could not satisfy ourselves that the scheme was really economically sound and worth the general upset and the very great temporary at least disfigurement.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time, even at this early stage, protectionists were very aware that they needed to sound extremely sure of themselves if their case was to have any chance of success.

Such certainty was difficult where hydroelectric development was concerned and continued to dog opposition groups for decades. Indeed, it was never adequately resolved. The dilemma posed by hydroelectric development was complex in this regard for a number of reasons. As outlined in Chapter III, the protectionists were heavily influenced by a Romantic appreciation of landscape, and for this reason found hydroelectric installations hard to reconcile with their worldview. In order to ascertain just to what extent the protectionists were influenced by the ideals of the Romantic movement, it is worthwhile at this point to consider their position on the other key aspect of development in the Highlands during the inter-War period. Groups that vehemently opposed hydroelectric development or the possibility of hydroelectric development, were surprisingly unmoved by, or even supportive of, forestry initiatives. It can be argued that the reasoning behind this seemingly counterintuitive position is the fact that forestry can be viewed as a reversion to a more wooded period within Scotland's distant past.

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<sup>25</sup> Scottish Rights of Way Society, GD 335/41, Honorary Secretary, SROWS, to Robert W Cockburn, Edinburgh, 9 December 1929.

As a result, the idea of forestry was never at odds with the Romantic ideal of landscape in the same way that hydroelectricity was. By providing a brief overview of the protectionists' aesthetic approach to forestry, it is possible to arrive at a clearer understanding of the extent to which their concern regarding hydroelectricity can above everything be linked to the dependence of their views on landscape on Romantic imagery.

Since the stimulation of forestry as well as hydroelectricity formed a significant feature of plans for the broad-based socio-economic uplifting of the Highlands, forestry and hydroelectricity proposals were often interlinked. It is also sometimes difficult to disentangle forestry and hydroelectricity issues with respect to influences on the rise of landscape protection initiatives. Romantic values explicitly dictate that trees complement waterscapes and vice versa; this is arguably one reason why the greatest opposition to post-World War II hydroelectric developments arose in response to proposals centred on landscapes incorporating lochs and watercourses with wooded banks: Sloy, Tummel, Affric and Lomond, rather than Glen Cannich. Moreover, in an aesthetic sense, the 'artificial' nature of the later large-scale forestry operations threatened Romantic perceptions of the ideal placement of trees within the landscape in the same way that hydroelectricity threatened the idealised visual function of water within the landscape. The association between perceptions of trees and water in a Highland context is therefore strong, where both development and protection are concerned.

During the inter-war period, concern regarding the aesthetics of forestry

operations focused on the ‘unnatural’ spectacle presented by large-scale projects, rather than the actual idea of forestry. The APRS’ response was low-key; several individuals within its leadership were active within afforestation circles. In 1928, the novelist Seton Gordon contacted the APRS with regard to ‘points of afforestation’<sup>26</sup> but the organisation spent little time discussing the writer’s concerns. In the autumn of 1933, a member of the APRS informed the Council that he was ‘apprehensive of the extensive operations of the Forestry Commissioners and their effect on Highland Scenery’. Major Samuel Strang-Steele, both a leading figure within the APRS and the Chairman of the Forestry Commission, contended that the FC ‘appeared to be fully alive to considerations of amenity where compatible with the economics of afforestation’.<sup>27</sup> In May 1936, the Scottish Society for the Protection of Wild Birds drew the attention of the APRS to the scenically unattractive Forestry Commission ‘practice of planting large areas with purely coniferous trees’, which did not provide a suitable habitat for many native bird species. Major Strang-Steele responded that hardwoods were being planted where possible, but stressed that there was a limited amount of such land available.

John Stirling Maxwell emphasised that to improve the look of the plantations, more attention needed to be given to the layout of rides and fencing design.<sup>28</sup> Stirling Maxwell played a key role in post-1919 afforestation in Scotland, as a pioneer of new methods of planting those upland areas that had previously been considered impossible to forest. His position on the APRS council and whole-hearted involvement in APRS issues in the years that followed, as well as his

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<sup>26</sup> APRS, Executive Committee Minutes, 20 December 1928.

presidency of the Glasgow Tree Lovers Society,<sup>29</sup> reflect the degree to which afforestation and aesthetic protection issues merged, at least at a theoretical level, during this period.

Those involved in these debates were not blind to the negative aesthetics of non-native conifers planted *en masse*. Since 1934 the NTS and the Royal Scottish Forestry Society had been trying to preserve areas of what they saw as being the 'old Caledonian Forest'. By April 1937, the NTS could report that the FC was now setting aside 42 acres of its holdings at Glen Loy, near Fort William, 'to be maintained in its original indigenous state as far as possible'.<sup>30</sup> The real business of forestry was, however, the growing of timber and in the light of such a vital remit, the aesthetics of native woodland had to come second.

The seminal influence of North American and European attitudes towards land-use in Scotland has been noted previously, but forestry debated during this period must also be placed within a European context. In the case of forestry in particular, Scots looked with enthusiasm to pioneering methods being undertaken in Denmark and Germany, where the North European emphasis on the links between good health, experience of the wooded outdoors, and afforestation had yet to become overtly welded to the National Socialist promotion of a past Aryan forest arcadia. In addition to economic advantages, the establishment of Highland forest industries were seen to promise health and social benefits, as a writer for the *Scots Magazine* emphasised in 1925:

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<sup>27</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 27 March 1933.

<sup>28</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 May 1936.

<sup>29</sup> NTS, Box JD66, File 'Ben Lawyers Estate: Tree Preservation [no date]'.

<sup>30</sup> NTS, NTS Reports 1932-1939, 'Report by Council', p. 19.

... the day may be looked for when large parts of the lower areas of the Highlands will be planted with thriving woods, and will support, in the healthiest circumstances, a population of foresters and skilled wood craftsmen with their families.<sup>31</sup>

Discussion on the future for forestry in Scotland reflects, on one hand, the search for new industries with which to invigorate the Highland economy; but it also points to a desire to ensure that these initiatives merged relatively seamlessly with the countryside in which they were established. It was in forestry that those interested in landscape aesthetics in a Highland context felt there to be an excellent opportunity to combine industry and landscape protection and it is also within the forestry debate that the vision for Scotland's rural landscape is most comparable to that of southern England, due to the emphasis on communities pursuing traditional (or ostensibly traditional) occupations within areas of high landscape integrity. In Scotland prior to the Second World War, the reduced amount of large-scale forestry planting meant that there was less concern for the geometric shapes of forest plantations than there was in England, where protests as to their artificiality can be traced back to the Wordsworths' indignation at the proliferation of larches in the Lake District.<sup>32</sup> However, there was nonetheless at least a measure of unease regarding this aspect of afforestation for which, prior to 1939, it was hoped that the more experienced Northern European states might offer a solution.<sup>33</sup>

The Forestry Commission was, of course, at a certain disadvantage because part

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<sup>31</sup> George Eyre-Todd, 'The Red Deer Country', p. 94. See also A. MacCullum Scott, 'Afforestation and the Highlands', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. IV, No 5, February 1926, p. 375.

<sup>32</sup> Climate and topography made it more difficult to establish non-native timber plantations in Scotland using the methods that typically met with success in English conditions. As a result, afforestation in Scotland proceeded at a slower rate. See: Smout, TC, *Nature Contested. Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England Since 1600* (Edinburgh, 2000).

<sup>33</sup> See for example LA Newton, 'Forestry in Thuringia: A Scottish Visitor's Impressions', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXVII, No 6, September 1937, pp. 445-451.

of its accepted remit was to attempt to plant land unsuitable for agricultural purposes. Donald Mackay has noted that the climate of opinion within the FC during the 1930s with regard to the visual impact of afforestation in Scotland, was very different to that regarding England and Wales.<sup>34</sup> The Commission had to plant what trees it could, where it could. However, the APRS was consistently aware of the issues in which its English and Welsh counterparts were involved and in contrast to the degree of controversy raging over afforestation in England, their own interest in the issue was slight. Why was it that during the inter-war years, the APRS remained ambivalent towards afforestation, at a time when the practice was generating a significant degree of criticism in England where the Lake District was concerned? The Lake District was (and continues to be) a critical component of the Romantic landscape of England. Less concern was raised regarding forestry activities in Northumberland.<sup>35</sup> It is arguable that afforestation was practiced to a much lesser degree in Scotland at this stage. At the same time however, A MacCullum Scott recorded in February 1926 that the Forestry Commission had acquired almost as much plantable land in Scotland (60,292 acres) as it had in England and Wales (76,312 acres), although he argued that any inequality in this respect was balanced out because ‘...owing to the mountainous character of her surface, Scotland has more than twice the area of forestable land available’. He did concede that the planting of the land had been much slower in Scotland, and that of the previous year’s 10,519 acres of planting, only 3,844 had been in Scotland.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, so concerned was Francis Baily about the visual impact of hydroelectricity at this time, that he dismissed Hugh Gardener’s concerns about forestry outright. For Baily, who served as the

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<sup>34</sup> D Mackay, *Scotland’s Rural Landuse Agencies*, p. 27.

APRS representative on the Forestry Commission's Advisory Committee on National Forest Parks in the late 1930s,<sup>37</sup> the 'monotonous aspect' of large conifer plantations in Germany 'could scarcely be duplicated in the Scottish Highlands'.<sup>38</sup>

There may, however, have been a further reason underlying these factors, which led the protection movement to view afforestation in a more positive light than any of the other industries proposed for the Highlands. Many members of the APRS Council were committed to the idea of forestry as an improving industry, which would result in a more effective utilisation of the land. In the 1920s, John Stirling Maxwell made no secret of his feelings that deer forests could be put to better use.<sup>39</sup> People such as Stirling Maxwell, interested in the science of forestry during this period, had a strong ideological basis on which to pin their new hopes for afforestation: the idea that Scotland had once been covered in trees – a vast forest canopy over the land that had been destroyed by various human activities. Instigation of this idea is usually placed at the door of the Roman historian Tacitus, who famously described the endless forest of Caledonia with which the Roman forces had to contend when they attempted to subdue the occupants of the lands lying north of the Clyde and Forth. However much the story had been repeated in the intervening years, it was taken up with vigour by the campaigners for more timber supplies for Britain, starting in the late eighteenth century.

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<sup>35</sup> I am grateful to Professor John Sheail for this point.

<sup>36</sup> MacCullum Scott, 'Afforestation and the Highlands', p. 378.

<sup>37</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 March 1936

<sup>38</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 27 September 1933.

<sup>39</sup> J M MacDiarmid, *The Deer Forests*, (Scottish Home Rule Association, Glasgow: no date), preface, reviewed in 'In the Library', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. VI, No 4, January 1927, p. 320.

For the APRS, the reforestation of the Highlands held great appeal. Always on the lookout for suitable industries that could be established in the region, and which would not impinge on amenity, such a programme was viewed as one which would provide 'healthy' employment, in stark contrast to which the long hours of factory and industrial work which, it was predicted, would result from a concentration of heavy industry around hydroelectric schemes.

Compton Mackenzie, however, had other ideas and was quite happy to voice them. He singled out the aesthetic appearance of the Douglas fir for particular disapproval and called for the greater use of native hardwoods and the experimentation with non native species from other parts of the world. He also called for plantations, as even he admitted that they were necessary, to be grown as far away as possible from the popular and accessible beauty spots, out of the way in the North West.

Mackenzie's public articulation of these ideas, at an annual conference of the Scottish Business clubs, was responded to with criticism by 'forestry expert' 'Phil Arbor'. Writing in the *SM* in 1938, 'Arbor' argued that it was hard economics that made it practicable to grow Douglas firs rather than hardwoods in areas reasonably accessible for transport reasons, and that the conifers were what responded best to the needs of the moment. 'Arbor' suggested that Mackenzie, as a respected novelist, was thinking too much along 'artistic' and 'romantic' lines, rather than those of economic need. At the same time, 'Arbor' also questioned the economists' alternative of introducing 'large-scale industry' into

the 'quiet places' of Scotland.<sup>40</sup>

Far from being considered a symptom, therefore, afforestation was established as one of the solutions to the problem of how best to reinvigorate the Highland economy, without jeopardising visual amenity. By 1939, a positive attitude towards timber and afforestation remained. The attitude also lingered for longer than it perhaps might have done in other circumstances, as a result of the understanding that another war was looming.

The protectionists' Romantic inclinations, so apparent in their approach to the idea of forestry in the Highlands, is also clear when assessing their response to hydroelectric development in Scotland. The schemes that generated the greatest degree of opposition were those situated in the Highlands. Schemes situated in landscape less inextricably linked with the development of the Romantic landscape ideal, prompted only muted opposition. This is apparent when the reaction to the Galloway Scheme is taken into account. In this instance, it was conceded by some protectionists that the scheme improved the Galloway landscape in so far as it introduced stretches of water into settings that had previously been considered less visually valuable.

The Galloway Water Power Scheme was passed. By January 1931, with construction work due to commence shortly, the APRS had accepted that 'the project could only be influenced in matters of detail'. The Galloway branch of

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<sup>40</sup> 'Phil Arbor', 'Afforestation in the Highlands', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol. XXVIII, No 5, February 1938, pp. 376-380.

the APRS was to give attention to this aspect.<sup>41</sup> The muted reaction of the APRS to the Galloway Scheme provides a useful comparison with the hydroelectric schemes that did generate more adverse reactions. A primary reason for this restrained reaction was that the Galloway scheme was not seen to be impacting on any areas of particular landscape value and, as a result, it would have been difficult to claim that any wide-ranging heritage interests were at stake. However, aspects of the scheme were pronounced 'very unfortunate' where amenity was concerned and it was no secret that the vast nine-dam project was to generate power for wider distribution rather than to satisfy local power needs. The APRS had taken the view that 'as promoters had obtained powers from Parliament, it would be a difficult matter to stop the project, which was favoured by a volume of local opinion'. They also hoped that the promoters of the project might be persuaded to relinquish plans for Loch Doon.<sup>42</sup>

When representatives of the APRS met with the Central Electricity Board (in its capacity as promoter of the scheme) in late 1931, the CEB showed little interest in abandoning plans to develop the area above Dumfries on the grounds that to develop the lower reaches only would not be cost effective. Sir Andrew Duncan threatened to stop all negotiations with the group with regard to amenity unless they co-operated fully with the scheme, with the result that Baily, who was one of the representatives, reported that he had decided not to press the point. This suggests that he at least still hoped to have some influence on aesthetics if the scheme did go ahead.<sup>43</sup> When Loch Doon was eventually impounded, Castle

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<sup>41</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 28 January 1931.

<sup>42</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 25 February 1931. Francis Baily was particularly involved in all of this.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 28 October 1931.

Doon, situated on an island offshore, was threatened because it was sited below the high water mark. It was eventually dismantled, removed piece by piece and rebuilt higher up on the bank, opposite its original position.<sup>44</sup>

Although the protectionist movement had to accept the Galloway Scheme when it was seen to be a *fait accompli*, once under construction the scheme did become relatively central to hydroelectricity opponents because it provided a tangible example of a large-scale scheme against which the potential impacts of other proposed schemes could be measured. Members of the APRS felt particularly strongly about the design of the power stations,<sup>45</sup> an issue which was to have important ramifications some fifteen years later when the proposals of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board had to be defended at public enquiries. As the positioning of the dams and power stations had already been specified in the Act, it was only in their design that the APRS could hope to have any significant influence where the impact of human-engineered constructions in the landscape was concerned. The contractors, Sir Alex Gibb and Partners, had told the APRS that they would be very careful not to impinge on the scenic quality of the area,<sup>46</sup> although a subsequent visit to the site left Baily feeling that a rough aggregate finish would have been an improvement on the smooth reinforced concrete of the 70 foot dam, to be built across the Black Water of See.<sup>47</sup> By early 1933, the APRS had an amenity committee considering how best to ‘simplify the external

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<sup>44</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month by Month’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXIV, No 1, October 1935, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 25 March 1931.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 23 December 1931.

<sup>47</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 27 January 1932.

features of their structures' and to give them mass coherence with regard to the power station and storage tank at Tongland.<sup>48</sup>

Peter Payne has concluded that the lack of formal objections to various developments during this period is proof that protectionists had no reservations regarding some of these schemes.<sup>49</sup> However, it is rare that any case coming to the notice of protectionists did not result in concerns being reflected in the minutes taken at meetings on these cases. As noted in the previous chapter, official silences reflected the policy of not making across-the-board objections. Other concerned organisations also had a tendency to decide on inaction if they felt that a situation was being adequately dealt with by either the APRS or the NTS. Some voluntary bodies would involve themselves in opposition when development posed a threat to their particular concern. For example, the Rights of Way Society asserted itself to make sure that no schemes interfered with rights of way without it at least having something to say about it. The Scottish Rights of Way Society, together with the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society of England successfully opposed any stopping-up of footpaths in the final Acts regarding the Lochaber and Grampian Power Schemes.<sup>50</sup> There were, however, instances where one organisation which was concerned about the hydroelectric schemes made an effort to stir up support by drawing other organisations' attention to aspects of the scheme that might be of concern to them. The Scottish Mountaineering Club did this with regard to the Grampian Scheme in 1922:

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<sup>48</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 25 January 1933.

<sup>49</sup> See Peter Payne, *The Hydro: A study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board* (Aberdeen, 1988).

<sup>50</sup> Archives of the Scottish Rights of Way Society, GD 335/41, Honorary Secretary, SROWS to Clerk, County Council of Kirkcudbright, Kirkcudbrightshire, 15 February 1929.

In the interest of fellow lovers of the hills please stir up the Scottish Rights of Way Society with reference to clause 30 of the Provisional Order of the Grampian Electricity Supply which craves power to stop any Rights of Way affected by the workings and neglects to make up to the public the losses of freedom occasioned thereby.<sup>51</sup>

In the 1930s, a second hydroelectric scheme to develop the catchment area of Glen Affric was launched by the Caledonian Power Company. One of the great glens bisecting the Highlands west of Loch Ness, Affric had been the subject of an earlier unsuccessful scheme. According to the *SM* contributor HR Cook, ‘Most people who have travelled in Scotland and have visited Glen Affric generally concede that this affords our finest glen scenery’.<sup>52</sup> Accepted as it was by those who knew it as one of the most beautiful glens in Scotland, the area was still relatively little known at this time. In 1933, HV Morton, in his second book describing his travels around Scotland, referred to his route past Beaully and Dingwall on his way north to Durness and John O’Groats and commented on the remoteness of the region:

If any part of Scotland can in these days be called ‘unknown’, when one of the most efficient systems of motor coaches explores the Highlands, I think these three northern counties [Ross and Cromarty, Caithness and Sutherland] deserve the name.<sup>53</sup>

Nonetheless, Alan Graeme was describing Affric as ‘famous’ in 1936.<sup>54</sup> With the increasing popularity of touring by car, qualities of scenic beauty appearing in combination with remoteness and solitude were becoming more appreciated. The Report of the National Forest Park Committee (the ‘Addison Report’), which had commented favourably on the idea of encouraging more recreational use of the Forestry Commission’s holdings in Argyll, cautioned that:

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<sup>51</sup> SRoWS, GD355/53, Honorary Secretary, Scottish Mountaineering Club, to CEW MacPherson, Kilmuir, Edinburgh, 19 November [check - might be 01]1922.

<sup>52</sup> HR Cook, ‘The Motorist and Romance’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 1, April 1931, p. 141.

<sup>53</sup> Morton, *In Scotland Again*, p. 262.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Graeme, ‘The Highland Problem: National Parks and ‘New Deals’’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXIV, No 4, January 1936, p. 281.

It is difficult to estimate how many people could make use of the area for recreation without destroying the sense of remoteness and solitude which is its chief attraction. ...the Commissioners should proceed cautiously and refrain from drawing undue public attention to what they are doing.<sup>55</sup>

Those who knew and appreciated the beauties of the more remote regions of Scotland also appreciated how vulnerable they were to developmental inroads.

For James Rhynd, commenting on the Addison Report in June 1931:

The principal dangers which threaten [remote areas] are excessive road development ... and hydro-electric schemes, which tamper with the rivers and bestride the country with pylons and cables.<sup>56</sup>

Even so, JG Thomson, one of the APRS' two honorary secretaries at the time, was at the end of 1935 stressing the need to be conscious of conserving amenity in the interests of tourism where the Caledonian Scheme was concerned. This was a reworking of the failed 1929 West Highland Scheme and incorporated the harnessing of the Glengarry, Glenquoich and Glen Moriston catchment areas. This, the second time around, after noting rumours of a revival of the scheme at the end of March 1932,<sup>57</sup> left the APRS initially divided in its opinion as to the potential impact of the scheme. Francis Baily felt that whilst the proposed 60 foot dams stood to impact greatly on the landscape, the power stations – which would be positioned at relatively low levels – might not, although the design of the station at Glen Moriston was not very attractive. Furthermore, since the loch levels would not fluctuate by more than 15 feet, there would be little chance of seeing the unattractive banks that the Blackwater Reservoir and Loch Treig were left with at low water. It was, however unfortunate that the River Moriston was to be diverted for 30 miles off its course. John Stirling Maxwell was more

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<sup>55</sup> *Report of the National Forest Park Committee*, quoted in Graeme, 'The Highland Problem', p. 280.

<sup>56</sup> James Rhynd, 'Scotland's National Park: The Parliamentary Committee Report - What is the Next Step?' *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 3, June 1931, p. 168.

<sup>57</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 30 March 1932.

emphatic in his disapproval of the amenity aspects of the scheme, and argued that the Secretary of State for Scotland needed to be confronted regarding his responsibility for allowing more hydroelectric development to take place in Scotland before there was a government inquiry into the existing schemes.<sup>58</sup>

The Inverness-shire County Council was also known to be apprehensive about the potential effects of the scheme. For comparison, it had the impact of the Galloway scheme, including the raised level of Loch Doon and the significantly reduced flow of the River Doon.<sup>59</sup> The *Dundee Courier and Advertiser* raised the all too common fear that the scheme would leave the area as ‘...nothing but a drainage area wholly appropriated to the uses of an enterprise which will be located in the Highlands but will be in no other sense of the Highlands’.<sup>60</sup>

The *SM* caught the mood of the moment when it commented on the difference between the negative reaction to the proposed Caledonian Scheme in the Inverness region – where, it noted, people were concerned about the flooding of arable land, the submergence of tourist routes alongside the dammed lochs and the danger posed by the dams at Garry and Quoich themselves, should anything weaken their structure and cause them to burst – and the more welcoming response from people in Lochaber, who may well have been pondering the jobs that the construction process, and the scheme’s accompanying calcium carbide

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<sup>58</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 December 1935. It is possible that Stirling Maxwell’s very decided opinion on the unattractiveness of dammed lochs when their levels were low was influenced by his ownership of Corrou. Since the Corrou policies encompassed the Blackwater, he would have had personal experience of the unpleasant state of its banks at low level.

<sup>59</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 8 January 1936. See also An Inverness Correspondent, ‘Power, Pride and Prejudice’, *Scots Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, No 5, February 1937, pp. 330-32.

<sup>60</sup> The *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, quoted in Graeme, ‘The Highland Problem’, p. 282-3.

factory, would bring.<sup>61</sup>

At the same time, a significant amount of media coverage was being given to the impact of hydroelectric production on the coal industry. Whilst the argument was made that coal was cheaper, the APRS's Bailie Brownhill-Smith did raise the point that 'white' power – in this case, hydroelectricity – would be an advantage for the unspoiled 'healthy and smokeless atmosphere of the Highlands'.<sup>62</sup> The Mining Association of Great Britain was lobbying against the scheme as an infringement on the strength of the coal industry and, in January 1936 (intimating that its own position was weakening) it suggested that the APRS join forces with it in order to strengthen opposition to the scheme.<sup>63</sup>

Conflict of opinion within the APRS as to the best approach to the situation is reflected by the Council's decision to once again appoint a 'Hydro-Electrics Committee',<sup>64</sup> the members of which included Stirling Maxwell, whose subsequent proposal to call for a government inquiry into the benefits of the existing Scottish hydroelectric schemes before allowing further development to go ahead was adopted by the committee.<sup>65</sup> A letter addressed to the Secretary of State for Scotland was subsequently distributed to the Scottish Office, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, Scottish Members of Parliament and the members of the Scottish Parliamentary Amenity Committee.<sup>66</sup> Open correspondence between the APRS and the Caledonian Power Company in the

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<sup>61</sup> Anonymous, 'Scotland Month By Month', *Scots Magazine*, Vol XXVI, No 2, November 1936, pp. 85-6.

<sup>62</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 December 1935.

<sup>63</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of "Hydro-Electrics Committee", 12 February 1936.

<sup>64</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 December 1935.

<sup>65</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of "Hydro-Electrics Committee", 18 December 1935.

Scottish Press followed. In addition, AK Bell initiated a move to collect photographic evidence 'of the scenery affected or likely to be affected by Hydro-Electric Power Schemes in Scotland'.<sup>67</sup> Even when the Caledonian Bill was later defeated, Bell continued to work on these photographs, with the help of the Reverend A E Robertson of the APRS.<sup>68</sup> The focus of the photographs was expanded<sup>69</sup> to include the impact of electricity distribution, and although the circulation at the time is not known, the brochure that was eventually produced is now a useful indicator of the degree of visual impact about which the APRS was concerned. The APRS also undertook to organise, at Francis Baily's suggestion, a sub-committee to gather evidence of the potential impact of the Caledonian Power Scheme on 'scenery, population and surplus power'.<sup>70</sup> Although direct opposition of the scheme had been discussed, council members were initially put off by the expense.<sup>71</sup> When the Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir Godfrey Collins, informed the APRS that the Caledonian Scheme was to be presented to Parliament as a Private Bill, he implied that the APRS could do nothing except negotiate with the Caledonian Power Company over the structural design of the scheme. With the private financial backing of some of its members, the APRS instead lodged a petition against the Bill, the substance of which was circulated to each Scottish MP on 14 March 1936. The Council also discussed asking an MP to move an amendment to the Bill at the Second Reading.<sup>72</sup> The Bill was subsequently defeated at the Second Reading in the House of Commons on 18

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<sup>66</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 8 January 1936.

<sup>67</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 February 1936; Minutes of Meeting of 'Hydro-Electrics Committee', 21 February 1936.

<sup>68</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 April 1936.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 February 1936; Minutes of Meeting of 'Hydro-Electrics Committee', 21 February 1936.

<sup>71</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 8 January 1936.

<sup>72</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 March 1936.

March, by 199 votes to 63. However, it was noted that more Scottish Members had voted in favour of the Bill than against it and that hydroelectricity was still considered by many to be a favourable option for Scotland. *The Scotsman* of 30 March carried a letter by a naval officer emphasising the country's need for water power, in order to maintain ready supplies of domestically manufactured calcium carbide.<sup>73</sup>

Towards June of 1936, the press was again carrying articles relating to more hydroelectric schemes for the Highlands, influencing the APRS' decision to send a further letter to the Secretary of State for Scotland asking for an inquiry into the state of hydroelectricity prior to the implementation of any new schemes.<sup>74</sup> The Secretary of State acknowledged the letter only and the APRS felt by July that there were indications that the Caledonian Scheme would be revived again.<sup>75</sup> By October, this had become definite, the Secretary of State had again declined the request for a general inquiry, and the APRS felt it necessary to commence the publication of the Bell/Robertson brochure, deciding that if it had to oppose the scheme, it would have to make a subscriptions appeal.<sup>76</sup> By this stage, a hint of weariness had crept into the comments of some of the council members. Francis Baily felt it would be useless to object to the scheme if the state was backing it. However, other members were still expressing concerns about the potential of the scheme to attract large industry, to the detriment of the Highlands. Peter Thomsen reported that he had been in Fort William, and found that while the majority of people he had spoken to were in favour of the scheme, he felt that

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<sup>73</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 March 1936.

<sup>74</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 June 1936.

<sup>75</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 July 1936.

<sup>76</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 October 1936.

considerable numbers were also opposed to it.<sup>77</sup> The need for the Caledonian Scheme was perhaps slightly offset by the Inverness Town Council having adopted a scheme, by then nearing completion, which would electrify Inverness through a coal and (partially) refuse-fired generating plant. The total expenditure of this was estimated to be £250,000 - thus saving some £150,000 per year.<sup>78</sup>

When the Draft Provisional Order was again lodged with the Scottish Office on the 27 November 1936, Francis Baily found that it was worse than he had expected, and he wrote to the *Scotsman* in this regard.<sup>79</sup> He argued that the compensation water was insufficient, and that no limit had been given to the level of the reservoirs. For Peter Thomsen, the proposed dams were an eyesore, although Mr KC Ferguson felt that because the landscape was very 'big scale', the dams and power stations might not appear so out of keeping. Mr T Mackintosh felt that the surrounding community needed to be considered: that crofters were to be displaced was as important as the negative impact on scenery. Mr HRG Inglis focussed on economic concerns, contending that in certain conditions, coal would be cheaper than hydroelectricity.<sup>80</sup>

By February 1937, the APRS had received 22 objections against the Caledonian Scheme and one in favour of it. The Council had decided to oppose the scheme as a whole rather than merely some of the amenity aspects of it, and in this it had the cooperation of the CPRE. It had accepted the possibility that it might have committed itself to an expensive fight, agreeing on a possible need to appeal for

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<sup>77</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 October 1936.

<sup>78</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 November 1936.

<sup>79</sup> *The Scotsman*, 2 December 1936

<sup>80</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 December 1936.

funds if the Bill reached the (expensive) Committee stage.<sup>81</sup> In the end, its expenses for opposing the Bill came to £62, to which supporters were asked to contribute.<sup>82</sup>

By March 1937, it was clear that the Scheme was to be a Private Bill in the House of Commons, and thus would not be the subject of an inquiry by a commission sitting in Scotland. The APRS decided to send the Bell/Robertson brochure to all Members of Parliament, deciding that it would be of little use to send an actual deputation to plead its case to Members of Parliament at Westminster.<sup>83</sup> The Bill had been rejected 188 votes to 140 on its Second Reading in the Commons on 10 March 1937. Walter Elliot had supported the Second Reading, intimating that if it was not passed, leaving the situation regarding calcium carbide up in the air, the Government would have to deal with this itself. If domestic manufacture was found to be imperative, some means of producing it would have to be organised. The *SM* picked up on Elliot's was intimation. The Government was interested in supplies of calcium carbide, not the means by which it was produced. If it was left to a parliamentary vote, the factory would probably be built south of the Scottish border, and Scotland would lose out. The *SM* deplored the lack of unity in Scottish feelings towards the Bill, pointing out that while the Inverness County Council had been in favour of the Bill, the Inverness Town Council had been opposed to it. In addition, the *SM* quoted the voting statistics. Of Scotland's seventy-two MPs, forty seven had voted for the Bill. Eleven had voted against it. Had the remaining fourteen also voted against it, Scottish votes in favour would still have been in the majority:

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<sup>81</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 January 1937; 3 February 1937.

‘So that in this case a Scottish question has been settled by English and Welsh votes, and these votes in the main interested in purely sporting rights, or in the possibility of the carbide factory being opened outwith Scotland’.<sup>84</sup>

By April, the APRS had been receiving letters from Association members and others with regard to its stance. The booklet of photographs designed to illustrate the impact of hydroelectric development in the Highland landscape, sent out to APRS members and others known to be in opposition to the Bill, was also attracting attention. In addition, an economic memorandum had been sent out to Scottish MPs a few days before the Second Reading.<sup>85</sup> The APRS Council members were not in themselves fully in agreement over the booklet, which contrasted idyllic scenes of the threatened landscapes of Affric and Cannich, for instance (*figures 2, 3 and 4*) with the dried-up waterfalls, empty river beds and looming dam walls of the post-development landscape (*figures 5, 6 and 7*). Mr Fergusson thought that some of the photographs ‘tended to exaggerate the adverse affect of hydro-electricity on amenities...’ and that ‘APRS should take a wide view of Highland conditions and possibilities’.<sup>86</sup> By May 1937 there had been a letter both to the press and to the APRS from Sir Archibald Sinclair, who resigned his membership of the APRS over its opposition to the Caledonian Scheme.<sup>87</sup> Walter Scott, Master of Polworth and Chairman of the APRS at the time, had replied both to Sinclair and to the press. Sinclair was, however, the only member to resign over this, at least in any direct way. Many members had

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<sup>82</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 06.07.1937.

<sup>83</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 March 1937.

<sup>84</sup> Anonymous, ‘Scotland Month By Month’, pp. 1-2; quote on p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 April 1937.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 May 1937.

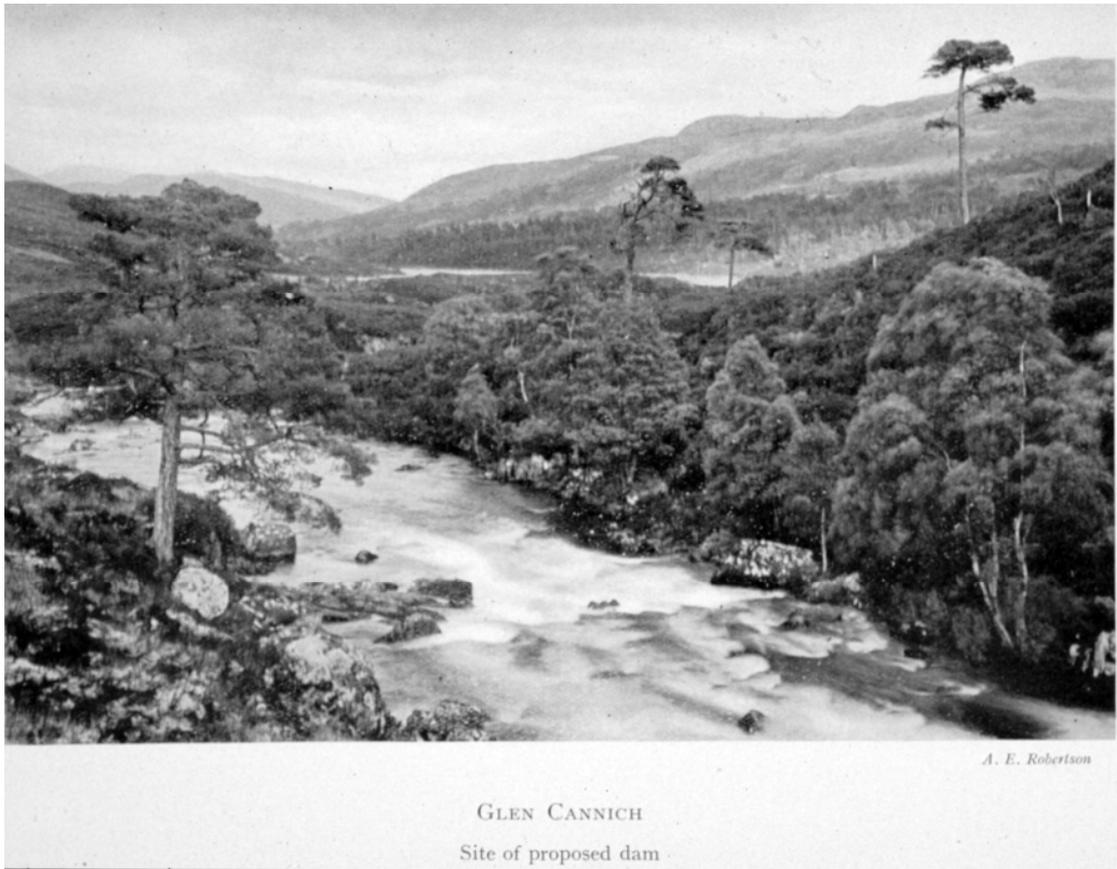


Figure 2

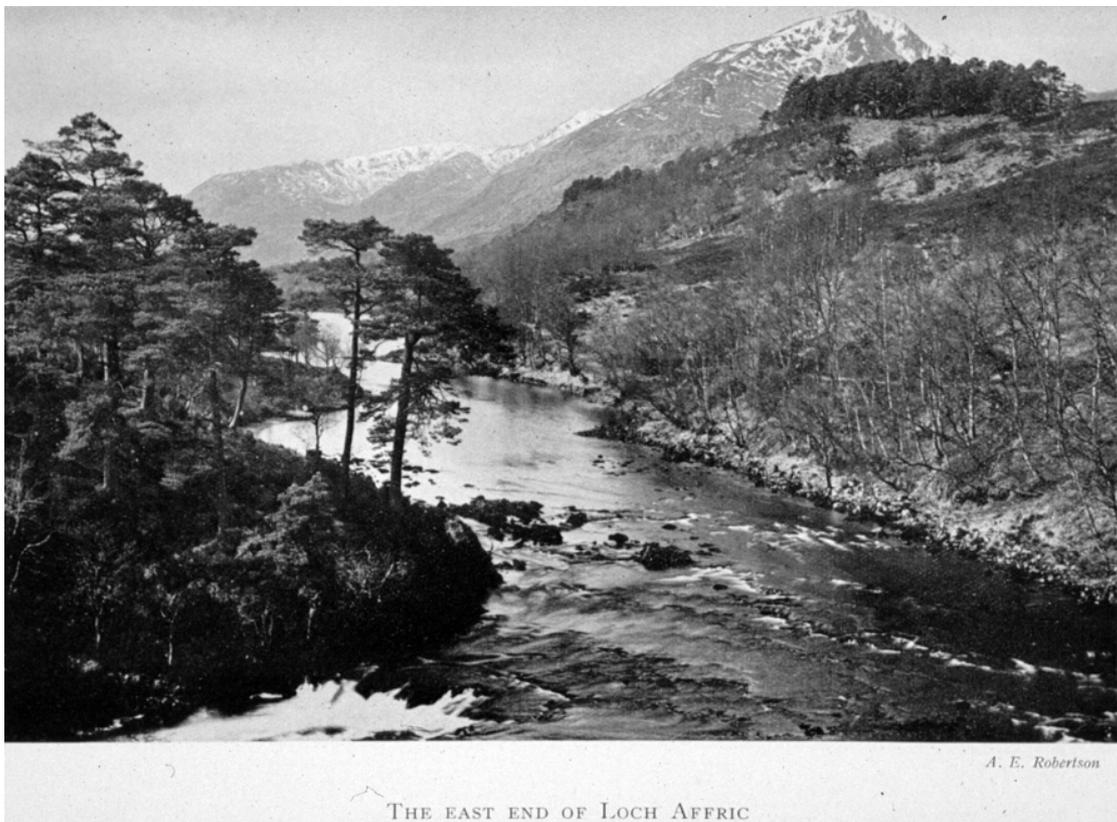


Figure 3

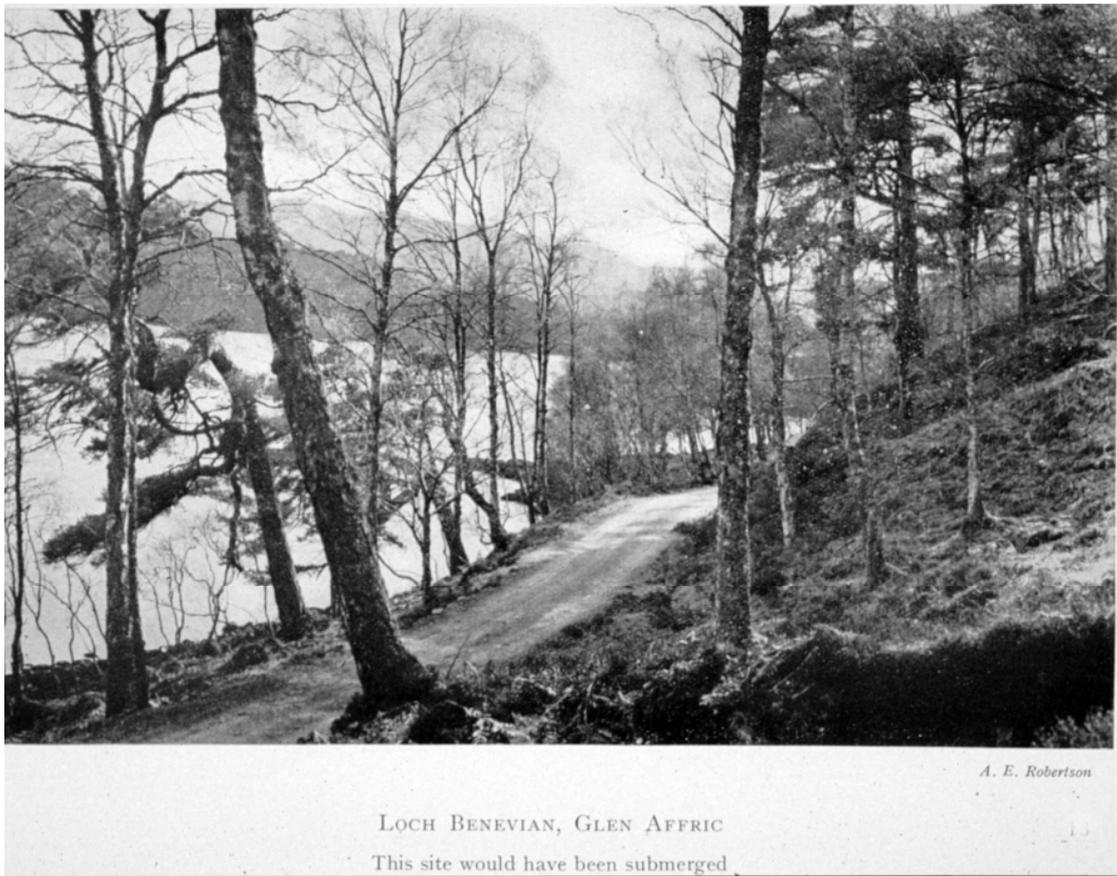


Figure 4

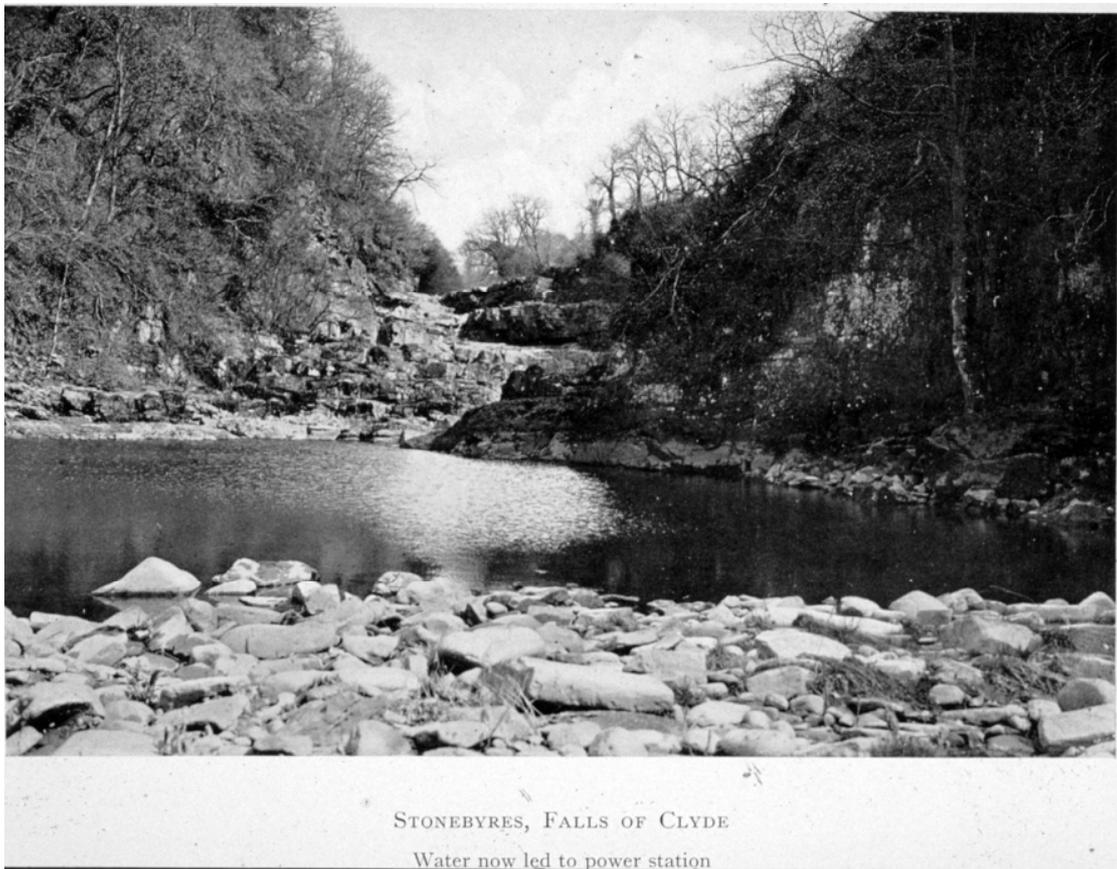
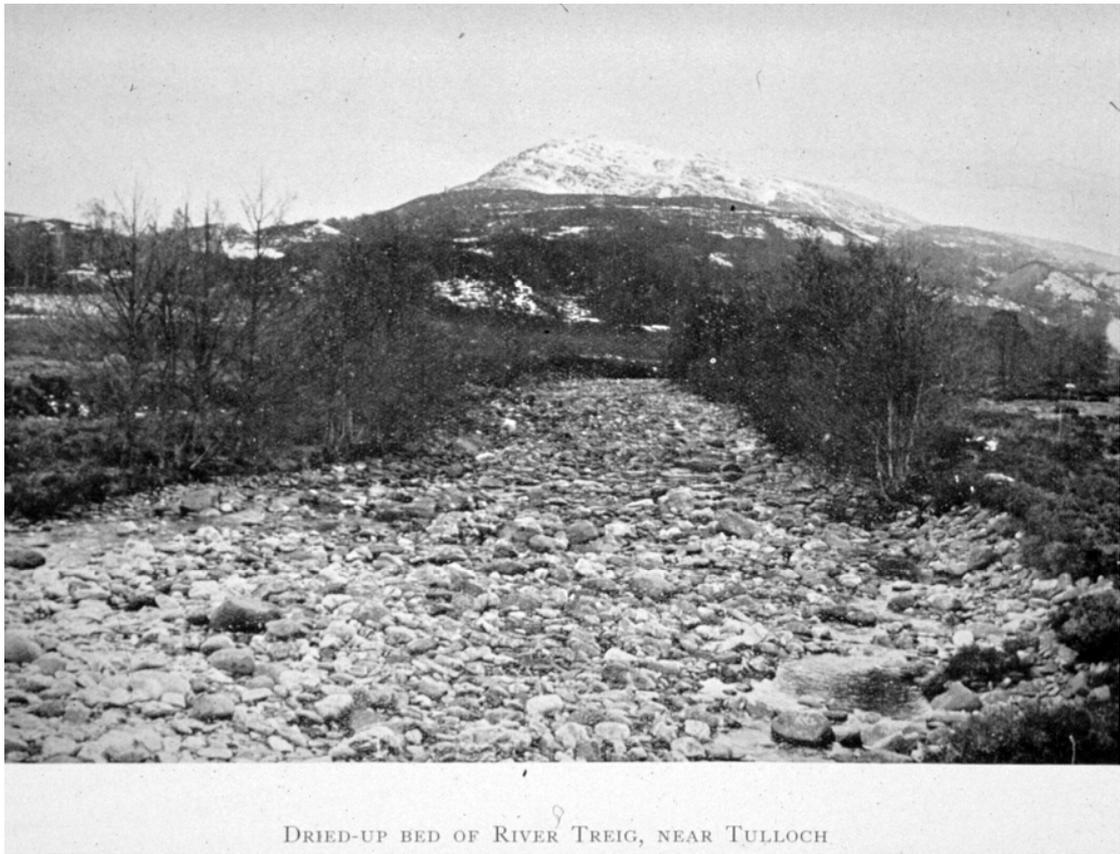
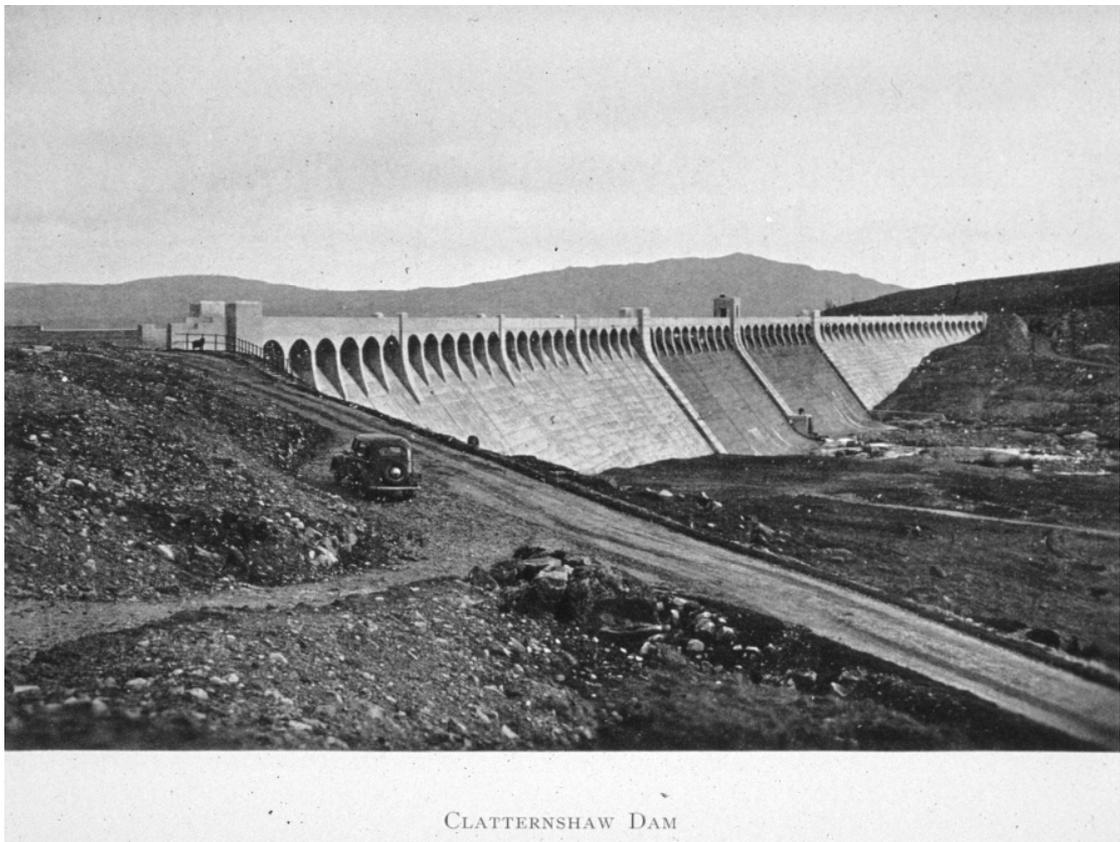


Figure 5



DRIED-UP BED OF RIVER TREIG, NEAR TULLOCH

Figure 6



CLATTERNSHAW DAM

Figure 7

publicly stated their approval.<sup>88</sup>

At the Annual General Meeting of 1937, held in late April, the Earl of Haddington had taken pains to dilute any impressions that the APRS had been objecting to the Caledonian Scheme for superficial reasons. In his opening speech, he made it clear that the APRS would not stand in the way of any scheme of this nature, if either the local area or the nation as a whole would benefit. It would, however, oppose plans that would 'ruin our Highland scenery, and bring no benefit to the community concerned.'<sup>89</sup> Haddington also outlined what he thought would be beneficial to the Highland economy: agriculture, afforestation, smallholding co-operatives and tourism-related development. These he asserted, rather than employment in the calcium carbide industry, would be the 'best means of checking depopulation in the Highlands.'<sup>90</sup>

In December 1937, the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons had to explain the new position where calcium carbide was concerned. The British Oxygen Company was planning to build two factories for the manufacture of calcium carbide, at Port Talbot in South Wales, and Corpach near Fort William in the West Highlands. The Port Talbot scheme was to go ahead while a power supply was arranged for Corpach, which would be based on a re-introduced Caledonian Water Power Bill. The Caledonian Scheme was indeed renewed<sup>91</sup> and the APRS decided once

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<sup>88</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 May 1937.

<sup>89</sup> APRS, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 28 April 1937.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 December 1937.

again to oppose it.<sup>92</sup> Again, the Scheme was to be taken as a Private Bill in the House of Commons, rather than ‘as a Provisional Order before a Committee sitting in Scotland’.<sup>93</sup> By 6 April 1938, there had been protest letters in the *Times*, *Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald* from Lord Haddington, Sir Iain Colquhoun and the Master of Polwarth. The All Parties Amenities Group from the House of Commons, as well as the President, Honorary Secretary and Secretary of the CPRE, had also sent letters to the *Times*.<sup>94</sup> This time the Caledonian Power Bill was rejected after the Second Reading in the House of Commons by 227 votes to 141, which meant that the number of people opposing the Bill in the Commons had increased by 39 in comparison to the vote of March 1937. The number of supporters had remained the same.<sup>95</sup>

Even with the Caledonian Bill defeated once again, there was still ongoing debate within the APRS with regard to the best use of Scotland’s landscape, and whether there was a need for it to be developed in any way at all. While the Reverend A B Robb was pushing for the consideration of suitable development schemes that might aid the ailing rural economy and stem rural depopulation, Mr KC Ferguson argued that the region was not in any particularly bad position, that in fact it had never been more ‘prosperous’ and that ‘the fallacy of commercial exploitation had been exploded’.<sup>96</sup> The discussion continued over the next few meetings, with H Mortimer Batten saying that while the areas of the Highlands familiar to Ferguson might not seem too economically desperate, others were. Ferguson agreed that he had been speaking relative to the past, and Mortimer was

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<sup>92</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 January 1938.

<sup>93</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 March 1938.

<sup>94</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 April 1938.

<sup>95</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 May 1938.

keen that the record should reflect Ferguson's agreement that 'Much needed to be done and could be done'. Mr T Mackintosh commented that the Highlands were in decline compared to a century ago.<sup>97</sup>

The APRS sent another letter to the Secretary of State, repeating its request for a general inquiry into hydroelectricity for Scotland. However it was careful, possibly in light of the events unfolding in Europe, not to appear completely negative towards development, and stressed that small schemes might be useful.<sup>98</sup> This letter had been received by Walter Elliot while he was about to step down from his post as Secretary of State for Scotland. After a meeting with John Stirling Maxwell, Elliot arranged for Stirling Maxwell and other members of the APRS Council to meet with the incoming Secretary of State, Colonel Colville, and discuss hydroelectricity. This meeting was postponed due to 'the international crisis',<sup>99</sup> and the ongoing events which would have made it all the more difficult for people to try to block domestic programmes of development which were beginning to look like a grim necessity for survival, rather than an unnecessary burden. When the meeting did take place, Colville did not go so far as to agree to an inquiry into hydroelectricity, but he did appear to be receptive to landscape protection in Scotland. The APRS members meeting him had tried to emphasise the need for small, locally-contained hydro schemes that would not result in energy being 'transported to the Lowlands'.<sup>100</sup> This, they felt, would tie in with the way in which the Report of the Committee on the Highlands and Islands, published towards the end of 1938, dealt with hydroelectricity.

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<sup>96</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 May 1938.

<sup>97</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 July 1938.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 October 1938.

Discussion at APRS meetings during January 1939 revolved around a discussion of the various industries that could be started or restarted in the Highlands. New industries considered included artificial silk, furniture and others that could be based on local raw materials. Industries considered for re-establishment included ‘paving stones, lime, Skye marble, Mull granite’.<sup>101</sup>

Another hydroelectric proposal had been under consideration since late 1937. This was a scheme incorporating Loch Sloy, just to the west of Loch Lomond, in a bid to generate power not for Scottish needs, but for the National Electricity Grid.<sup>102</sup> This was what was later to be termed a ‘bread and butter’ scheme, specifically designed to meet national power needs rather than those of local communities, and also planned with an eye towards profit-making. With ideas of what constituted sensible economic practice for Scotland under the spotlight in this way, Sir John Sutherland offered to resign from his seat on the APRS Council on account of his position on a Committee promoting the industrial development of the Highlands.<sup>103</sup> His offer was refused, with the APRS continuing to reiterate its hope that a balance could be found between industrialisation and landscape protection in Scotland.<sup>104</sup>

Concerns about a dam at Sloy, pylons in the surrounding glens and the corresponding implications this held for the Loch Lomondside landscape, led to APRS once again pressing the Secretary of State for Scotland to hold a general

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<sup>100</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 November 1938.

<sup>101</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of Hydro-Electric Committee, 26 January 1939. See also APRS, Minutes of Special Meeting of Council, 14 March 1939.

<sup>102</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 October 1937.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> See also APRS, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 30 May 1939.

inquiry into hydroelectricity in Scotland.<sup>105</sup> A confidential meeting between members of the APRS Council and representatives of the Sloy Scheme promoters left the APRS with the feeling that the planned scheme was actually going to be on a rather bigger scale than the media had reported. Possibly taking his cue from Francis Baily's comments at an earlier meeting of the APRS's Hydro-Electric Committee, in which Baily argued that the outcome of the Loch Sloy proposal would indicate the future of the Highlands where hydroelectricity was concerned,<sup>106</sup> the Chairman, Walter Scott, Master of Polwarth described it as a test case. Agreeing to Peter Thomsen's motion, the APRS agreed to oppose the scheme. Thomsen subsequently suggested that the threat to Loch Lomond itself be emphasised in the resolution, which had initially only made a more general reference to 'the Loch Sloy area':

...the APRS protests against the proposal to establish a hydro-electric undertaking in the Loch Sloy area on the grounds that the undertaking, if carried out, would irreparably damage the amenities of an area of the Highlands which, on account of its beauty, its accessibility to the people of densely populated parts of Scotland, and its great and increasing popularity among pedestrians of all classes, should be preserved from industrial exploitation.<sup>107</sup>

The wording of this particular resolution reflects a consciousness of the necessity of presenting the case as being in the interests of the population in general. Peter Thomsen, too, showed a keen awareness of the way in which the inclusion of 'Loch Lomond' in conjunction with a threat like the erection of a power house could potentially evoke more sympathy for the cause. It also reflects the way in which it was assumed that connotations conjured up by references to the term 'power house' would be negative. The resolution was to be despatched to various organisations across England, Scotland and Wales after the publication

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<sup>105</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 6 October 1937.

<sup>106</sup> APRS, Minutes of Hydro-Electric Committee, 27 October 1937.

<sup>107</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 November 1937.

of the Draft Provisional Order for the Scheme.<sup>108</sup> That this resolution was organised even although the Draft Provisional Order had not been published, implies that the APRS did not have any high hopes that it would not be published. However, the Master of Polwarth's letter to Walter Elliot, of 4 November 1937, took advantage of the fact that the Order had indeed not yet been published. Scott argued that Sir Godfrey Collins had rejected the APRS's two previous appeals of January and June 1937 for a general inquiry into hydroelectricity, on the grounds that such an inquiry would interfere negatively with the proceedings stemming from the Draft Orders for the Caledonian Scheme then in place. Since there was no Order then in place for the Sloy Scheme, these grounds for denying a general inquiry did not apply.<sup>109</sup> By December 1937, the Sloy Scheme had been postponed, although the reasons for this are unclear.<sup>110</sup>

By early 1939, another calcium carbide factory had been established in Flintshire, providing employment for 1,500 people. On 4 April 1939, the question of future plans for calcium carbide was raised in the House of Commons. The President of the Board of Trade was somewhat vague in his answer as to whether Scotland stood to be affected by this, but made it clear that in principle the Government would 'welcome any well-considered plan for the production of Calcium Carbide in the United Kingdom'.<sup>111</sup> Opaque though the President's answer may have been, this nonetheless gave rise to media speculation regarding new plans for a hydroelectric scheme to support a calcium

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<sup>108</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 November 1937.

<sup>109</sup> Walter H Scott, Master of Polwarth, Chairman, APRS, Edinburgh to The Right Honourable Walter E Elliot, MC, MP, Secretary of State for Scotland, Whitehall, 4 November 1937, APRS, Minutes of Meetings Vol III, 6 October 1937 – 5 May 1937.

<sup>110</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 December 1937.

<sup>111</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 April 1939.

carbide factory in the Highlands.<sup>112</sup>

This chapter demonstrated the extent to which the aesthetic values of the Romantic period drove protectionist responses to landscape development during the interwar period. The importance of the development of these values had become apparent by 1941, when Churchill appointed a Committee of former Secretaries of State for Scotland to study the issue of post-war reconstruction in Scotland. Along with the expected economic questions regarding development, the Committee Chairman Thomas Johnston found himself forced to contend with ‘fantastic and ridiculous imaginations from beauty lovers, some of whom saw in their visions the Highlands being converted into an amalgam of a Black Country, a rubbish heap and a desolation’.<sup>113</sup> Fantastic and ridiculous these ideas may have seemed to Johnston, with his forthright socialist ethos, but the ‘beauty lovers’ were nonetheless a force now strong enough to demand to be reckoned with. This debate only intensified with an increase in tourism, which was facilitated by the use of motorised transport, which brought the possibility of easier access to some of Scotland’s more remote places, a boon for those who enjoyed travel without physical demands which resulted in the opening up of areas by-passed by the railway.

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<sup>112</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 May 1939.

<sup>113</sup> Johnston, *Memories*, p. 148.

## V

### NEGOTIATING POWER AND LANDSCAPE

#### RECONSTRUCTION AND THE SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE

The reality of balancing the need for socio-economic development with the protection of significant landscapes was effectively played out for the first time as World War II came to an end. Up until this point, conflict was largely confined to parliamentary and media debate. With the establishment of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board (NSHEB), an effectively state-mandated concern was created to drive through hydroelectric schemes in the Highlands. The NSHEB quickly came into conflict with the core landscape appreciation/protection groups represented by the APRS and the NTS over the best use of highland landscapes. The standoff between the two sides can be ascribed to different valuation criteria, which made compromise difficult, if not impossible. Again, the problem of balancing quantifiable and non-quantifiable benefits becomes immediately apparent. This chapter therefore seeks to highlight the emergence of the NSHEB as an ostensible vehicle for mediation between land-use and landscape protection which was nonetheless by its very nature heavily weighted in favour of land-use. As the case studies discussed in chapters VI, VII and VIII illustrate, this lack of balance within the mechanics of mediation became a critical influence on the debate over hydroelectricity in the decades which followed.

By the early 1940s, there was a demographic shift in the composition of those advocating the protection of cherished landscapes in the Highlands. Increasingly, it was 'ordinary' people who began to oppose proposed hydroelectric development. This shift is notable because it demonstrates a 'democratisation' of the debate, a move away from the perceived elitist dialogue of the past that centred on informal 'old-boy' networks and backroom wrangling. With post-war reconstruction initiatives and ideology reflecting another aspect of the same democratisation trend, the state sought to tie development in the Highlands to issues of socio-economic improvement. The establishment of the NSHEB, in terms of its steering of a large-scale engineering initiative fuelled by a dual ambition to bring electric power to the Highlands and to reinvigorate the economy, was therefore also a crucial element within this wider trend.

Although its success has been heavily debated, the consensus amongst admirers is that the ideas behind it were laudable. As discussed in Chapter II, during the interwar period there was certainly a strong feeling in Britain that hydroelectric development in the Highlands would be the solution to a range of national and Scottish problems. However, it is also clear that the creation and implementation of the policies behind the establishment of the NSHEB and the scale of its remit can largely be attributed to the personal inclination and determination of Thomas Johnston. It was of course critical that he had the tacit support of Churchill and the wartime cabinet, and that with Britain engaged in a 'total' war, the public was geared towards the idea of the sacrifice of non-necessities. Furthermore, as the

extent of the interwar debate makes clear, there was a significant amount of support for hydroelectric development within Scotland. Nonetheless, Johnston's personal commitment to the idea of hydroelectric development is what lies beneath the establishment of the Cooper Committee and its subsequent recommendations, the sweeping decisions incorporated within the NSHEB's preliminary development scheme and the outcome of the Public Inquiries into the viability of the ambitious hydroelectric schemes of the immediate post-war period: Sloy, Tummel-Garry and Affric. In addition to his ultimate responsibility for the schemes, it is therefore possible to argue that Johnston was the catalyst for much of what grew out of the hydroelectric development debate, including the coalescence of landscape protection strategy and the policies on which the contemporary wind turbine debate is built. Prior to 1943, the Ministry of Works and Planning oversaw development proposals in England and Wales. In 1943 it became the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and took on much of the responsibility for post-war physical reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland, however, post-war reconstruction was added to the portfolio of the Secretary of State for Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it is his role as Secretary of State for Scotland between 1941 and 1945 that makes Thomas Johnston's attitude towards Scottish socio-economic reform in general and hydroelectric power generation in particular so crucial a factor in the 1940s development/protection debate.

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<sup>1</sup> Sheail, *Environmental History*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> John Sheail, *Nature in Trust: The History of Nature Conservation in Britain* (Glasgow and London, 1976), p. 99.

Johnston was one of the leading Scottish politicians of the first half of the twentieth century. Born in Kirkintilloch, outside Glasgow, in 1881 and a committed socialist, he was dedicated to improving the Highland economy. His memoirs reflect his wish to emphasise his wholehearted support for hydroelectric development from the outset; after a February 1941 meeting with Winston Churchill, during which he accepted the position of Secretary of State, he related how:

Coming down Whitehall, I ticked off in my mind several of the things I was certain I could do – even during a war. I could get an industrial parliament to begin attracting industries north, face up to the Whitehall departments, and stem the drift south of our Scots population. And I could have a jolly good try at a public corporation on a non-profit basis to harness Highland water power for electricity.<sup>3</sup>

However, his general outlook was pragmatic and his commitment to Scottish development and industrialisation did not preclude his support of Scottish tourism and other initiatives which might otherwise have placed him within the protectionist camp. In February 1929, *The Scots Magazine* included his positive comments in a summary of Scottish MPs in favour of a National Park in the Cairngorms.<sup>4</sup> In July 1944, he stressed the value of the tourism industry to Scotland at the opening of a hotel management school in Glasgow.<sup>5</sup> His praise of H V Morton's *In Search of Scotland* glows from the dust jacket of the 1949 edition:

The most fascinating piece of descriptive writing on a tour in Scotland by an incomer, since old Sam Johnson's *Journey to the Western Hebrides*...as a lure for tourists Mr Morton could give points even to the author of *Rob Roy*...it is enchanted writing which makes the wonderful, beautiful and memorable panorama of our country live again.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> T Johnson, *Memories*, (London, 1952), p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Anon, 'Scottish MPs and the National Park: Westminster Scots Approve', *Scots Magazine*, Vol. X, No 5, February 1929, p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 24 July 1944.

<sup>6</sup> HV Morton, *In Search of Scotland* (London, First Edition 1929, Thirty-Sixth Edition 1949). Titles from Morton's *In Search* series were endorsed by other relevant public figures such as David Lloyd George, whose enthusiastic *Daily Herald* review of *In Search of Wales* was quoted on the dustjacket of the 1933 edition. HV Morton, *In Search of Wales* (London, First Edition June 1932, Fifth Edition 1933).

Johnston appears not to have doubted the compatibility of tourism and hydroelectric development. It is clear that he viewed scenery in utilitarian terms; for him artificial amendments to a landscape did not automatically detract from its aesthetic value. His belief that hydroelectric development would not impinge on visual amenity or tourism on any significant scale is reinforced by his later observations under cross-examination during the 1957 Public Inquiry (when, of course, he was no longer acting as Secretary of State for Scotland) into the proposed NSHEB hydroelectric scheme incorporating Glen Strathfarrar:

WIR Fraser, QC: ‘...there is obviously an attraction and a value about natural untouched scenery quite apart from any development, however good the development may be?’

Johnston [agrees] ‘...sometimes you improve scenery, of course.’

Fraser: ‘But people like to see scenery in its natural state, do they not, whether improved or not?’

Johnston: ‘In most cases yes, but there have been cases where we undoubtedly have improved scenery.’<sup>7</sup>

A founder and editor of the left-wing publication *Forward*, and MP for Clackmannanshire and West Stirlingshire in the first Labour government of 1923-24, Johnston became MP for Dundee between 1924 and 1929 before returning to represent West Stirlingshire. In the second minority Labour administration he served as first as Under-Secretary of State for Scotland and later as Lord Privy Seal. He also authored *The Case for Women’s Suffrage and Objections Answered* (1907), *Our Scots Noble Families* (1909), *The History of the Scottish Working Class* (1923) and *The Financiers and the Nation* (1934).<sup>8</sup> By the late 1930s he seems to have,

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<sup>7</sup> SSE, no box number, ‘NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt, *The Collins Dictionary of Scottish History* (London/Glasgow, 2001), pp. 184-6.

publicly at least, attempted to disassociate himself from his earlier attacks on the Establishment. He was particularly anxious to disassociate himself from the vitriolic sentiments espoused in *Our Scots Noble Families*, which amounted to an outright condemnation of the Scottish aristocracy.<sup>9</sup> However, there has been some discussion regarding Churchill's decision to appoint an avowed socialist as Secretary of State for Scotland. The consensus is that Churchill hoped that assigning Johnston this role would bring his coalition administration the support of Scottish Labour sympathisers.

Churchill's strategy for post-war reconstruction included the establishment of the Scottish Council for Post-War Problems, chaired by Johnston and incorporating five former Secretaries of State for Scotland. For Johnston, 'reconstruction' in Scotland meant an opportunity to promote the reinvigoration of an economy and a society to levels last experienced well before 1939, or even 1914, and it is clear that the 'flagship' of his vision was his plan for hydroelectric development on a large scale. Consequently, when the Council for Post-War Problems first met in Edinburgh in late October 1941<sup>10</sup> it almost immediately called for a commission of inquiry into hydroelectric development in Scotland. In little over a month, the Government Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland, with Lord Cooper as chairperson, had been established.<sup>11</sup> In theory, this was the general inquiry into

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<sup>9</sup> Regularly repeated but difficult to verify is the story that in later years he attempted to remove from circulation any copies of *Our Scots Noble Families* he came across. See for example Donnachie and Hewitt, *Collins Dictionary*, p. 185.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to Johnston, the group included Lord Alness, Colonel Colville, Colonel Walter Elliot and Sir Archibald Sinclair. APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 October 1941.

<sup>11</sup> *Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 3. See also APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 2 December 1941.

Scottish hydroelectricity for which critics had been calling since the late 1920s, but with the Secretary of State openly in favour of hydroelectric development, it is difficult to locate an objective element within the remit of the Cooper Committee. The Committee's terms of reference reflect an assumption that large-scale hydroelectric development would be found to be workable in Scotland:

To consider (a) the practicability and desirability of further developments in the use of water-power resources in Scotland for the generation of electricity and (b) by what type of authority or body such developments, if any, should be undertaken, and under what conditions, having due regard for the general interests of the local population and to considerations of amenity<sup>12</sup>

The six members of the Cooper Committee<sup>13</sup> made use of the findings of the 1921 Water Power Resources Committee, the 1925 Weir Committee, the 1936 McGowan Committee and the 1938 Hilleary Committee, as well as past hydroelectric proposal inquiries.<sup>14</sup> They were aware that they were making long-term decisions at a time when the situation in Europe was such that the most short-term predictions carried a significant element of uncertainty.<sup>15</sup> However, they were unequivocal in their recommendations for development, leading Professor Gruffydd, Member for the Welsh University, to refer subsequently to the Report in the House of Commons as 'that superlative example of a company promoter's prospectus'.<sup>16</sup> They concentrated on the theoretical rather than the practical aspects of the issue and

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<sup>12</sup> *Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 3. See also APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 November 1941.

<sup>13</sup> The Cooper Committee was chaired by the Right Honourable Lord Cooper. Other members were Neil Beaton, Esq; John A Cameron, Esq; The Right Honourable Viscount Weir, GCB, LLD and James Williamson, Esq, M Instit CE, with the advocate M R McLarty acting as secretary. *Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], frontispiece.

<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

argued that the north of Scotland's lack of coal and industry, abundance of water and scanty, economically depressed population meant that hydroelectric technology could be used to great advantage.<sup>17</sup>

The Committee dealt with the arguments raised against hydroelectricity through the adoption of a positive approach towards work already carried out by the private companies which, it argued, were working under difficult conditions. It accepted that that the slow connection of outlying communities to the Grid was understandable given the difficult terrain and high cost, and that a few parts of the Grampians remained difficult to connect due to the 'small' and 'sporadic' nature of demand.<sup>18</sup> It counteracted the objection that private shareholders were the main beneficiaries of hydroelectricity by arguing that returns were not high, with an average return of 3 and 4/5ths for between 1930 and 1940.<sup>19</sup> It argued that the existence of the Central Electricity Grid in Central Scotland meant that the Grampian Power Supply Company could profit from exporting power to it, enabling the parent Scottish Power Company to fund less profitable transmissions and 'apply a uniform tariff throughout'. The Highlands, therefore, were enjoying hidden benefits supplied by the Lowlands,<sup>20</sup> to the extent that the projects might not otherwise have got off the ground.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol. 389, 27.05.1943, col. 1775.

<sup>17</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1942) [6406], p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8, 10, 15-6, 22-3.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

It argued that not to develop a power supply in Scotland on the grounds that it would only be siphoned off by the Lowlands or used to establish big electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries would be leaving the Highlands without a viable future.<sup>22</sup> Although the Committee professed itself in favour of the small-scale schemes many landscape protectionists advocated, it stressed that these initiatives should take place in areas where distance and topography made connection to the grid difficult.<sup>23</sup> A large source of power had to be developed in the greater Inverness area in order to meet the growing demand for power in the north, and to take the burden off the Rannoch and Tummel development, so that this energy could be utilised further south. A new steam facility in the north would be completely surplus given the enormous potential for hydroelectric development in the area, as well as the general lack of coal.<sup>24</sup> In effect, this point paved the way for a positive outcome for the next proposal relating to Glen Affric. The rejection of the Caledonian Bill, and thus the foundation for Britain's first hydroelectric-based electro-chemical industry was, the Report argued, 'a tragic mistake, not only for Scotland but for Great Britain'.<sup>25</sup>

Its positive comments concerning the past role of private electricity supply companies aside, the Cooper Report made it clear that future projects should not proceed on an individual basis, calling for 'overhead control in planning'.<sup>26</sup> This

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<sup>22</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 26-7.

would eliminate lengthy and expensive parliamentary promotion procedures. Opponents of aspects of a scheme would no longer be able to object to the scheme in its entirety.<sup>27</sup> The Report envisaged ‘a new public service corporation’<sup>28</sup>, consisting of a member of the Central Electricity Board, a fulltime deputy chairman serving as chief executive officer, and a Chairman and two other members drawn from business or the professions.<sup>29</sup> The Secretary of State for Scotland and the President of the Board of Trade were to be responsible for the appointments. The new corporation, whilst it had to attend to the fulfilment of local requirements, was provided with three priorities:

- i) to make a concerted attempt to attract electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries to the Highlands through the provision of cheap and plentiful power;
- i) to develop as much power as possible for consumers and export the rest to the grid and
- ii) to experiment with ways of transmitting power to remote districts through isolated local schemes.<sup>30</sup>

Whilst able to override nationalistic objections to its vision of Scottish hydroelectric development, the Cooper Committee could not ignore concerns relating to salmon

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<sup>27</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

fishing and landscape change.<sup>31</sup> The question of landscape change in particular was recognised as being ‘highly controversial’.<sup>32</sup> However, the Committee ruled the predicted problems in this regard to be greatly exaggerated, suggesting that ‘what is truly apprehended by the extremist advocates of amenity is not disfigurement but change’ and that at times amenity criticisms masked other concerns, such as the transferral of power from the Highlands. The Report made much of accounts that the Galloway scheme in particular had improved the scenic beauty of the Clatteringshaws area, with the changes having brought added interest to the landscape. It argued that as unsightly as drawdown was, it was equally a problem for reservoirs and natural lochs in times of low rainfall.<sup>33</sup> Some of the areas for which schemes had been proposed were thinly populated and rarely visited; the 12 miles of Glen Affric boasted seven houses inhabited by a total of 23 inhabitants. Even in the event of a rise in visitor numbers to the region, the examples of Norway, Switzerland, France, Sweden, Northern Italy and a number of the British dominions showed that advances in architecture were such that hydroelectric development was not incompatible with tourism.<sup>34</sup> As a compromise, the Committee advocated the establishment of Advisory Committees, appointed by the Secretary of State and the President of the Board of Trade, to safeguard the interests of both amenity and fishing interests. Concerned lest the proposed Amenity Committee assume powers sufficient to obstruct substantially future proceedings, it recommended that this act

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<sup>31</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-4, quote on p. 33.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

on an advisory basis only. It suggested that while the new corporation should be required to have ‘reasonable regard’ for the visual impact of its schemes, the Highlands could not be preserved solely for the benefit of the visitor in search of scenic landscape.<sup>35</sup>

What Johnston referred to as the “vexed question” of amenity permeated a significant proportion of the debating when the Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Bill progressed through Parliament during 1943.<sup>36</sup> However, a stalemate had been reached between those for whom any landscape change constituted negative impact, and those who felt either that worthwhile development justified landscape change or that development did not necessarily imply negative impact. The stalemate was reflected in the open-ended nature of Clause 9 of the Bill, the ‘Amenity and Fisheries Clause’ which directed the corporation to ‘have regard to the desirability of preserving the beauty of the scenery and any object of architectural or historic interest and of avoiding as far as possible injury to fisheries and to the stock of fish in any waters’.<sup>37</sup>

The corporation was to consult the Advisory Committees during the course of its planning. If the Committees made recommendations on a project yet to receive confirmation that the corporation was unwilling to accept, the Secretary of State for Scotland would have the right to refuse to confirm it. The Secretary of State would

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<sup>35</sup> Report of the Committee on Hydro-Electric Development in Scotland (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1942) [Cmd. 6406], p. 34.

<sup>36</sup> *Hansard*, HC Deb, Vol 387, 24.02.1943, col. 187.

<sup>37</sup> Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act, 1943, Clause 9(1).

also have the right to enforce recommendations concerning projects that had already been confirmed.<sup>38</sup> John Sheail has made the important point that these provisions amounted to the first legislation enabling the Secretary of State to block a project on the grounds of amenity impairment.<sup>39</sup> However, this presupposes the Secretary of State to have, at the least, a relatively objective attitude towards amenity, fisheries issues and hydroelectric development. Johnston's wholehearted commitment to the latter makes it difficult to argue that his feelings towards the former were anything but subjective. This was emphasised by Viscount Samuel during the Bill's Second Reading in the House of Lords, but such was the deadlock regarding the entire issue that the response to his point was to reiterate the need for electricity in the Highlands.<sup>40</sup> Opponents to the Bill found it difficult to sustain their argument in the light of this point. The voting in favour of the Bill was unanimous and it obtained Royal Assent on 8 August 1943. The NSHEB, along with its attendant Amenity and Fisheries Committees, was established a month later.<sup>41</sup> The Board therefore predates the nationalisation of Britain's fuel industries that followed the success of the Labour Party in the 1945 election<sup>42</sup> and became the sole 'public' (as opposed to nationalised) British electricity body, remaining separate from the British Electricity Authority (BEA), which subsequently undertook its own regional diversification.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act, 1943, Clause 9(4).

<sup>39</sup> John Sheail, 'The 'Amenity' Clause: An Insight into Half a Century of Environmental Protection in the United Kingdom', *Trans Institute of British Geography*, 1992, NS 17, pp. 152-165.

<sup>40</sup> *Hansard*, HL Deb, Vol. 127, 09.06.1943, col. 957-963.

<sup>41</sup> SSE, no file number, 'Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders', Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1945), p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Leslie Hannah, *Engineers, Managers and Politicians: The First Fifteen Years of Nationalised Electricity Supply in Britain* (London and Basingstoke, 1982), p. 1, pp. 7-28.

<sup>43</sup> Hannah, *Engineers, Managers and Politicians*, p. 149. I am grateful to Professor John Sheail for bringing the diversification of the BEA to my attention.

At the end of February 1944,<sup>44</sup> the NSHEB submitted an extensive development scheme, detailing the water systems it intended to survey for hydroelectric potential. In a little over two weeks, the Electricity Commissioners had approved the scheme and by 21 March, Johnston had confirmed it. The speed at which this took place reflects the eagerness with which the Secretary of State embraced, if not directed, the undertaking. Across the Highlands and Islands, 102 separate projects were listed as possible hydroelectric schemes, although these did little more than state the area and proposed power output of each scheme.<sup>45</sup> The NSHEB subsequently gave notice that it had prepared proposals for a number of schemes and that the details of a group of these would shortly be published. Those whose approach to hydroelectricity was more cautious felt that, prior to publication, the NSHEB attempted to keep details of the schemes to a minimum.<sup>46</sup>

The creation of the NSHEB was both the product of some twenty years of campaigning for hydroelectricity in Scotland and the product of twenty years of opposition to it. Similarly, the early 1940s ushered in a period within which approaches to both developing and protecting the Highland landscape became increasingly polarised; the establishment of the NSHEB served as a catalyst in this regard, mobilising and galvanising opposition to the ‘industrialisation’ of the Highlands. The period was one in which utilitarian principles served to inform the

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<sup>44</sup> 29 February 1944. SSE, no file number, ‘Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders’, Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1945), p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Allan Arthur to Arthur Russell, 15 April 1944.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

state's post-war approach to best use of the natural resources contained within the Highland landscape. Critically, both landscape protection and development interests were served by the principle of 'public interest' and varying interpretations of this. Chapters VI to VIII demonstrate the extent to which the hydroelectric debate reflects way in which the conflict between land-use and landscape was played out under the banner of 'public interest'. In this respect, the most divisive hydroelectric development schemes involved the iconic Romantic landscapes of Loch Lomondside, the Tummel Valley, Glen Affric, Glen Strathfarrar and Glen Nevis.

## VI

### POWER IN THE LANDSCAPE I

#### THE SLOY, TUMMEL-GARRY AND AFFRIC SCHEMES

The hydroelectric schemes discussed in this section of the thesis illustrate a series of phases within the post-war effort to reconcile development and protection initiatives in cherished Highland landscapes. This chapter describes three schemes, initiated in the immediate wake of the 1943 Act, which show the 1940s to have been a period in which the nature of landscape became a significant point of both legislative and aesthetic contention. The proposals concerning the first two schemes, Sloy and Tummel-Garry, tested the viability of the new landscape protection legislation. Thanks to its self-regulatory nature, the security afforded by the Amenity Clause proved negligible in the light of the prevailing positive governmental attitude towards hydroelectric development. The debate over the Tummel-Garry proposal also highlighted the degree of landscape protection afforded to properties acquired by the National Trust for Scotland (NTS). Rather than place their trust in the Amenity Clause, landowners chose to consign 'their' threatened landscapes to the care of the NTS. However, during the 1940s the legally 'inalienable' nature of NTS properties did not provide complete protection from hydroelectric development. The third scheme - the final phase of the protracted effort to develop the water system incorporating Glen Affric - involved, on the part of the NSHEB, a well-judged appreciation of the escalating

value of the remote combined with the picturesque as a central element of mainstream landscape appreciation. In emphasising the minimal nature of the changes to the famously picturesque Glen Affric landscape, the Board's proposal faced little serious opposition, even though the simultaneous modifications to the equally remote but less picturesque (and consequently less well-known) Glen Cannich were considerable. The Board's success in overcoming landscape protectionist objections to the Sloy, Tummel-Garry and Affric schemes testified to the extent to which strongly articulated developmental requirements withstood the challenge of somewhat fragmented landscape protection initiatives during this decade. During the 1940s, landscape protection gained momentum, but the real significance of the advances made lay in the foundation they provided for subsequent growth.

Following its establishment, the NSHEB initially sought approval to proceed with a scheme incorporating development at lochs Sloy, Morar and Lochalsh.<sup>1</sup> The project<sup>2</sup> came to the attention of the public as the scheme entailing changes to Loch Sloy, traditional gathering-place of the Clan MacFarlane,<sup>3</sup> situated high in the hills above the western bank of Loch Lomond. This aspect of the scheme involved piping Sloy's water through the hillside to an exit point approximately a quarter of a mile above a power station to be built at Loch Lomond's Inveruglas Bay, to which the water would be carried in a series of aboveground pipes. The NSHEB intended to use the Sloy project as a 'bread and butter' scheme, which

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<sup>1</sup> SSE, no file number, 'Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders', Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1945), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to in much of the NSHEB literature as Constructional Scheme Number One.

would facilitate the financing of what the Chairman, Lord Airlie, referred to as the ‘uneconomic’ Morar and Lochalsh schemes, the purpose of which was to provide power to remote Highland communities.<sup>4</sup> As the first major hydroelectric scheme proposed by the new public corporation, the implementation of the Sloy/Morar/Lochalsh project established a precedent. Where Sloy was concerned, the scheme involved visual changes to a scenic area well within reach of tourists and day-trippers from the Central Belt. Both the NSHEB and the landscape protection organisations were aware that it would test the viability of 1943 Act’s Amenity Clause.

Objections to the Sloy Scheme forced the Secretary of State to call a public inquiry. The main objection to the Sloy plans, based on an attempt to safeguard the loch’s potential as a domestic and industrial water supply, came from Dunbarton County Council and was overturned.<sup>5</sup> The public inquiry found that there was sufficient water in the Loch Lomond Basin to allay the County Council’s fears of changes to Sloy having a negative impact on public water supplies.<sup>6</sup> Misgivings concerning the ‘bread and butter’ nature of the scheme were deflected on the grounds that this was what made the Morar and Lochalsh

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<sup>3</sup> Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, ‘The Bonnie Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond: Their Literary and Historic Associations’. *Scots Magazine*, Vol VII, No 2, May 1927, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> SSE, no file number, *Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders, Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda*, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1945), paragraphs 18-20.

<sup>5</sup> SSE, *NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda*. For example, see also SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol II, p. 841.

<sup>6</sup> SSE, *NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda*.

projects financially viable.<sup>7</sup> These points aside, the inquiry centred on weighing up the aim of safeguarding future electricity supplies in Scotland against that of protecting the scenic beauty of the Loch Lomond area.<sup>8</sup> The debate highlighted the difference between the outlook of engineers and politicians, who felt themselves to be performing a useful and necessary task, and the aesthetic orientation of those who wanted to protect beautiful rivers and lochs but found it difficult to articulate their reasons for this. Towards the end of his life, the nature conservationist James Morton Boyd remembered the discomfort he experienced while working on the scheme as an undergraduate civil engineer:

Yet I never lost my admiration for the big-hearted spirit of my engineering mentors of these days at Sloy in overcoming the forces of nature. I saw the intrinsic beauty in the mathematical technology of their epic scheme, but I also saw it as the gigantic offence on nature which it was, graven on the face of the mountain for all time. There was no conflict in engineers' minds as there was in mine, of the probity of our actions against the serene backdrop of Loch Lomondside. Their work was professional, honest and even patriotic, but it was not for me!<sup>9</sup>

The APRS was well aware that its further involvement in the highly topical issue of hydroelectricity, as well as that of National Parks, would, as Francis Baily put it, 'strengthen...future prospects'.<sup>10</sup> Its memorandum on the Cooper Report had emphasised the organisation's commitment to Highland hydroelectric development and, whatever the personal feelings of individuals, as a body it was determined not to present an overtly negative front where the Sloy Scheme was concerned. The NTS Council decided on a similar approach. Moreover, even on a personal level, there were members of both councils who felt able to

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<sup>7</sup> See for example SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol II, pp. 628-231.

<sup>8</sup> SSE, *NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda*, paragraphs 21-31.

<sup>9</sup> St Andrews University Library Special Collection, MS 38449, James Morton Boyd Archive, Box 16, File 'Hydro-Electric', James Morton Boyd, 'Green Electricity – a lecture to the Scottish region of the Royal Society of Arts', 19 January 1993.

<sup>10</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 May 1942.

countenance the sacrifice of an aspect of Loch Lomondside scenery if this would result in a distinct benefit to the Highland economy. This feeling extended to people such as Arthur Russell's correspondent and engineering advisor, H McRobert, who had objected to the 1943 Bill on the grounds of amenity losses and because he felt hydroelectric development would bring neither power nor industry besides that of the British Aluminium Company to the Highlands. For him, the previously proposed schemes would have 'merely disfigured the country and provided electric power for districts outwith the Highlands'.<sup>11</sup> However, the proceedings of the Sloy Inquiry make it clear that the landscape protection lobby's concern lay in the fact that, of all the landscape in Scotland to be targeted by NSHEB, the first scheme was to include the surroundings of Loch Lomond.

As the Hydro-Electric Development Bill passed through Parliament, assurances were given by its supporters that the 'amenity' clause, as outlined by the Cooper Report, was a watertight safeguard against landscape despoliation. However, whatever the intentions behind the wording of the Clause, in a practical sense it was no safeguard against an Inquiry Reporter unsympathetic to concerns as to visual impact and, in some instances, it became a liability. Throughout the inquiry, there was constant reference to the NSHEB's statutory obligation to take amenity into consideration.<sup>12</sup> Since developers were ostensibly bound by statute to have due regard for landscape protection, it was very difficult for concern for landscape to stand as a legitimate impediment to development; landscape

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<sup>11</sup> NTS, Box JD 984, File 'Hydro-Electric Development 28 January 1943 – 22 February 1946', H McRobert to Arthur Russell, 15 February 1943.

<sup>12</sup> See for example SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol I, p. 340.

protection was allegedly an integral part of any project that required statutory confirmation in order to proceed. Dunbarton County Council incorporated concerns regarding loss of amenity into its objection. During the Sloy inquiry, the defence invited a witness for the County Council to agree that the Council protected amenities by requiring planning permission to be passed on proposed buildings. Surely then, asked the defence, the County Council did not have to worry about the amenities aspect where hydroelectric development was concerned since ‘the Board is in a different position because it is under a statutory obligation to have regard for amenity?’

Although the witness, AA Templeton, was unable to disagree, he was able to emphasise that the Council bore the brunt of objections locally even if the source of the objections was exempt by statute.<sup>13</sup> The clause amounted to a legal loophole as a result of the intimation that developers had to do everything feasible to protect landscape. If developers did not find whatever protective measures suggested ‘feasible’, they were under no obligation to adhere to them. The unspoken requirement was that they had to ‘do what they could’. Often working to entirely different agendas, the gulf between developers’ and protectionists’ interpretations of ‘doing what they could’ was sometimes unbridgeable.

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<sup>13</sup> SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol II, pp. 625-26. Quote on p. 626.

The architect Harold Ogle Tarbolton, FRIBA,<sup>14</sup> had been a member of the Galloway Scheme Amenity Committee which existed between 1931 when the scheme was first promoted to its completion in 1938.<sup>15</sup> In March 1944 the NSHEB had appointed Tarbolton, along with two other architects as its project design advisers. The three were referred to as the NSHEB's 'panel', creating the idea of a team of architects working together on the schemes. However, each architect was solely responsible for overseeing the NSHEB designs in a particular region, with the result that the NSHEB's design approval was not necessarily the jointly informed work it appeared to be.<sup>16</sup> During the course of the Sloy Inquiry, Tarbolton explained his intention to make the proposed Loch Lomondside power house blend in with its surroundings through its colour and simple design, as well as through the judicious use of trees as screens. He argued that the many bends in the road from which it would be visible would ensure only glimpses of it,<sup>17</sup> and that it might in itself attract interested visitors. The aqueducts leading to the power house would only be seen by dedicated climbers, who would have had to have undertaken a 'stiff' and 'uphill' climb to see it. In the main, these pipes would be out of the sight of the 'ordinary visitor'.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Tarbolton was also a Member of the Scottish Academy, and a Member of the Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland. SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol I, pp. 339-364.

<sup>15</sup> The Committee, appointed by then Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir Archibald Sinclair had also included Lord Hamilton of Dalziel and Sir J Mill Hume. SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol I, pp. 339-364.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 339-364.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, pp. 342-3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 345.

As noted previously, the Galloway Water Power Scheme was only confirmed after significant debate. In December 1944, however, the scheme was utilised by the NSHEB as an example of unfounded fears of landscape destruction. Arthur Young was the owner of the Garroch Estate, Dalry, near Castle Douglas in Kirkcudbrightshire. Between 1923 and 1943 he had also served as convenor of the County Council's Electricity Council. As a witness for the NSHEB, Young described the extent to which the scenic losses he and others had expected in connection with the Galloway scheme had come to nothing. There were now stretches of water where there had once been woods and some people, including some familiar with the area prior to the changes, felt that these had improved the setting. Those who remembered it as it had been would pass on, and later generations, having no idea of how it had been, would merely see the beauty of the present. In addition, what had once been a peat bog at Clatteringshaws was now water and this was an undoubted aesthetic improvement. Additionally, the electricity provided by the five power stations and nine major dams in the Galloway scheme, with a total output capacity of 100 000 kilowatts, was a significant 'boon' to consumers, particularly in the light of wartime hardships. Young agreed that the supply from the public scheme was better, cheaper, more reliable and reached more people than that from small private plants. Moreover, the benefits from the public scheme had drawn more residents to the area (he did not specify numbers), with a consequent increase in the income from rates.<sup>19</sup>

Young also agreed that whereas the pipeline in the vicinity of his property had

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<sup>19</sup> SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol I, pp. 134-7. Under cross-examination, Young admitted that the County Council extracted a rates tariff of £15 000.00 from Galloway Power, although the actual rates would have been £7000. SSE, Report

bothered him initially, it no longer did so; he had become accustomed to pipes and poles, although he could not say that the pipeline had actually improved amenity.<sup>20</sup>

The closing speech made by the defence emphasised the ‘direct communication’ between the NSHEB, the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Ministry of War Transport.<sup>21</sup> This indicates the extent to which it was acknowledged that the NSHEB initiative was being undertaken with the express approval of the Secretary of State for Scotland. This meant that the stipulation that the Secretary of State had to be ‘satisfied before confirming a constructional scheme - that it is in the public interest that he should do so -’<sup>22</sup> was not necessarily the further safeguard it purported to be. Although the involvement of the Ministry of War Transport was limited, these references served to reinforce both the need for non-essentials to be sacrificed in the common interest at this time, as well as the consignment of aesthetic considerations to the latter category.<sup>23</sup>

In the immediate post-war period, Loch Lomond’s status as a cherished place proved to be of little consequence where the implementation of the Sloy Scheme was concerned. However, the extent to which the NSHEB’s interpretation of the ‘amenity’ clause was further clarified during the course of the public inquiry was to have a significant impact on the reaction of landscape protectionists to

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of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol I, p. 141.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp. 143-5.

<sup>21</sup> The latter had become involved in arrangements for a road diversion necessary for the implementation of the Sloy scheme.

<sup>22</sup> SSE, *NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 1, Explanatory Memoranda*.

subsequent NSHEB initiatives. The growing acceptance amongst landowners that the NSHEB had the full backing of Government carried considerable implications for the National Trust for Scotland. A number of landowners in possession of scenic tracts of countryside felt these sites to be under threat from NSHEB development and considered gifting them to the NTS in the hope that they could be better protected in this way. This situation drew the NTS to the forefront of the landscape protection debate in the mid-1940s, when the NSHEB set in motion plans to further develop the watercourses of the Tummel and Garry rivers in Perthshire. As discussed in Chapter IV, the NTS involvement in landscape protection issues had been limited to the management of the properties it held in trust. To step outside this responsibility, it was felt, would have been to jeopardise its membership base. During the course of the Tummel-Garry opposition, it became very clear that an objection relating to loss of amenity would stand only if amenity protection could be shown to be very strongly in the national interest, invoking the loss of tourist revenue and injury to the economy. From representing its interests in much the same way as any traditional Scottish landowner, the NTS was forced further into the role of upholder of the national interest: protecting the acquisitions it held in trust for the nation.

The NSHEB's inclusion of the Tummel Valley<sup>24</sup> as part of its second constructional scheme cut to the heart of the hydroelectric debate. The Tummel Valley had the topographical and geological prerequisites for supplying large quantities of hydroelectric power. As such, the NSHEB viewed it as a further

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<sup>23</sup> SSE, Report of Proceedings at a Public Inquiry into the objections made to the First Constructional Scheme prepared by the NSHEB, Edinburgh, 27 December 1944, Vol II, p. 895.

'bread and butter' scheme, the output from which would finance a secondary scheme that would bring power to the small settlement of Gairloch.<sup>25</sup> The Tummel Valley was, however, noted for its scenic beauty. It was also rich in historical association, incorporating the site of the Battle of Killiecrankie, where in 1689 John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee's forces struck a decisive if short-lived blow for the Jacobite cause.<sup>26</sup> While the scheme did not jeopardise the actual site of the battle, also the scene of 'Bonny' Dundee's fatal wounding, it did threaten to impinge on the cherished image of an area to which Burns, the Wordsworths, and many since them had been drawn.<sup>27</sup> Queen Victoria's association with the region, duly noted in her diary,<sup>28</sup> had made it familiar to the readers of her published journal both in her own time and subsequently. In addition, in the days when Scotland's highland road system was almost non-existent, StrathTummel was an integral part of system that facilitated travel to and from the Western Highlands. In *The Road to the Isles*, it is 'by Tummel and Loch Rannoch and Lochaber' that the traveller sings of making his way to the Islands. This was no longer the case in 1944, but the Tummel remained one of the best-known places in Scotland.

One of the main attractions of the valley was the Falls of Tummel, a waterfall on the Tummel between Loch Tummel and the town of Pitlochry. The falls themselves had not always been the object of particular admiration. In 1793,

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<sup>25</sup> *Explanatory memorandum regarding NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 2*, (HMSO), p. 4; Peter L Payne, *The Hydro: A Study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes Undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board*, (Aberdeen, 1988) pp. 69-70.

<sup>26</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689 – 1746*, (Aberdeen, 1995), pp. 30-31.

<sup>27</sup> William Knight (ed), *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, (London, 1934), pp. 338-9.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Smith, *The Royal Glens* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 117.

Reverend Alexander Stewart wrote an account of the parish that included a description of the ‘Lin [sic] of Tummel’: ‘[the] fall...about 8 feet high, is remarkable only for the quantity of water, and the force with which it is thrown over the rocks, and for affording a convenient pool for catching fish.’<sup>29</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, too, was not especially impressed with the ‘inconsiderable’ waterfall, ‘scarcely more than an ordinary ‘wear’’, but felt that it made a good central focus within its setting: ‘it makes a loud roaring over large stones, and the whole scene is grand – hills, mountains, woods, and rocks’.<sup>30</sup>

Reflecting the growing appreciation for the value of comprehensive settings, rather than the focal points within them, more loquacious descriptions emerged during the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> By the twentieth century, particularly because it was within reach of the Central Belt, the falls and the adjoining town of Pitlochry had become an extremely popular spot to visit. As the Duchess of Atholl pointed out at a meeting of the Tummel-Garry Scheme opposition in July 1944, ‘river scenery forms a great part of Highland beauty [and] it is enjoyed by thousands who cannot climb mountains’.<sup>32</sup> Seton Gordon, who maintained that he could appreciate the need for hydroelectric power when it was clearly to be an advantage to the Highlands, objected strongly to the Tummel-Garry Scheme:

It may be said that certain beauty spots in Scotland should be sacrificed in the present age when beauty must give place to utility. But to the scheme that would affect Pitlochry is the objection that at a time when everything possible is being

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<sup>29</sup> NTS, background file ‘A9 II’, ‘Linn of Tummel Management Plan 1994 – 1999, third draft’, December 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Knight, *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, p. 344.

<sup>31</sup> NTS, background file ‘A9 II’, ‘Linn of Tummel Management Plan 1994 – 1999, third draft’, December 1993.

<sup>32</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 15 July 1944.

done to encourage tourist traffick [sic] to the Highlands after the war a great tourist centre is to suffer irreparable injury.<sup>33</sup>

The proposed scheme included a dam whose rising water levels were to impact on the height of the falls as well as a rise in the level of Loch Tummel. Both the falls and the loch became a focus of the protests against the scheme, since the latter formed a large part of a famous view from a point on the north eastern shore known as the Queen's View.<sup>34</sup> The appearance of the proposed dam, too, directly adjacent as it was to the town of Pitlochry, became the subject of fears of draw-down. The NTS law agent Arthur Russell hoped that the levels of the dam at Pitlochry would be 'fairly stationary', as opposed to being 'subject to that horrible rise and fall which is typical of so many of these Highland lochs when taken over for H. E. purposes, where they fill up the loch during the winter spates and then the loch gradually sinks during the summer, leaving a very unpleasant shore'.<sup>35</sup>

As a body, the NTS had been reluctant to proffer views on either the Cooper Report or the Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Bill, 'in view of the probably very divergent views held by the Members', Arthur Russell explained in

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<sup>33</sup> National Library of Scotland, Seton Gordon Archive Acc 5640/2/3, 'Harnessing Highland Lochs', undated typewritten five-page document [c. 1945].

<sup>34</sup> Although Queen Victoria noted in her diary a journey taken to Loch Tummel in 1866 during which she and her party picnicked on 'a highish point called after me [Robert Smith, *The Royal Glens* (John Donald Publishers Ltd: Edinburgh, 1990), p. 117], the present Forestry Commission signboard at the lookout point names the queen after whom the view is called as Robert the Bruce's consort Isabella.

<sup>35</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 11 May 1944.

February 1943.<sup>36</sup> The NTS president, Colonel Sir Iain Colquhoun, had been equally clear:

There is no one who would like to see the recent Hydro Electric proposals killed more than myself, but I cannot see how the Trust can come out in open opposition, without gravely endangering the harmony of its membership... Even the APRS are not opposing, but confining themselves largely to altering 2 clauses, and pressing for greater ammenity [sic] security.<sup>37</sup>

The difference between Sir Iain's private and official attitudes reflects the vulnerability of landscape protection policy during this period to factors having little to do with aesthetic consideration and much to do with economic and political feasibility. It also emphasises how members making up their own minds about hydroelectricity in the landscape could have been influenced by an official NTS stance far removed from the real attitudes of the individuals of which the ruling body consisted.

The NTS's position had changed little by June 1944 in this respect. However, Arthur Russell had begun to acknowledge the organisation's responsibility towards its own properties:

The Trust did not oppose [the 1943 Bill], as there was a very wide diversity of opinion amongst the large membership of the Trust in relation to the merits or otherwise of that Bill. It would of course be a different matter when a scheme is brought forward affecting [a property] belonging to the Trust, especially where these have been given to the Trust for the express purpose of their preservation.<sup>38</sup>

The idea that landscape protection areas could be used to safeguard regions that might be threatened by development had been previously discussed. During the parliamentary debate during the Second Reading of the Grampian Electricity

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<sup>36</sup> NTS, Box JD 984, File 'Hydro-Electric Development 28 January 1943 – 22 February 1946', Arthur Russell to Sir John Sutherland, 10 February 1943. See also D Matheson to Arthur Russell, 28 January 1943, Arthur Russell to Col Sir Iain Colquhoun, 8 February 1943 and Arthur Russell to H McRobert, 11 February 1943.

<sup>37</sup> NTS, Box JD 984, File 'Hydro-Electric Development 28 January 1943 – 22 February 1946', Col Sir Iain Colquhoun to Arthur Russell, 14 February 1943.

Supply Bill that concerned Glen Affric, Sir George Courthope had suggested that establishing a National Forest Park in the Affric area would protect it from hydroelectric development.<sup>39</sup> At the protracted public inquiry into the Tummel-Garry proposal, held in Edinburgh over ten days in May 1945, much was made of the NTS' receipt of several gifts of land, including the Falls of Tummel, as a direct result of the proposed hydroelectric schemes.<sup>40</sup> This situation gives weight to the argument that the NTS, along with the APRS, were surreptitiously involved in preserving the *status quo* for the landed classes. However, the NTS has never considered it necessary to hide the fact that some of its properties were acquired in this manner. The Linn (as the Falls were subsequently renamed) of Tummel Management Plan for 1994 –1999 states that the Linn was gifted to the NTS by Dr George Freeland Barbour, proprietor of the Bonskeid estate, due to his concern that '[the Tummel-Garry Scheme] would pose a threat to the natural beauty of the area including the Falls'.<sup>41</sup>

Barbour himself did not deny the principle behind his gift. At the May 1939 Annual General Meeting of the APRS, he spoke from the floor regarding the unfortunate situation of the Tummel Bridge power station, placed as it was in close proximity to a Wade bridge and an historic inn associated with Mendelssohn. He regretted that the APRS had not been in existence in 1922, when it may have been able to prevent the construction of the station. Eager that

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<sup>38</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to W Holdsworth Lunn, 22 June 1944.

<sup>39</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of National Parks Committee, 6 October 1941. See also APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 October 1941.

<sup>40</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 69.

<sup>41</sup> NTS, background file 'A9 II', 'Linn of Tummel Management Plan 1994 – 1999, third draft, December 1993.

the APRS oppose hydroelectric schemes where scenic damage threatened to override employment potential, Barbour's comments showed him to have been most concerned as to the vulnerability of the river scenery in the Tummel area to further damage.<sup>42</sup> In reply to a remark made in the House of Lords in December 1945 that 'the land affected...was only given to the National Trust after the intention to proceed with the scheme became known', he explained that when reports of engineers surveying the Tummel began to circulate in early January 1944, 'within a week I was in Edinburgh...considering an offer of the north side of the Falls and adjacent land to the Trust.'<sup>43</sup>

After waiting to discuss the suggestion with his son, then fighting in the Anzio, and for the NTS to view the property, he made a formal offer to the NTS in early April and signed the disposition in May. Actual plans of the proposals were shown to a few individuals in June, but the full details were only made public at a meeting in Pitlochry on 14 July.<sup>44</sup> Barbour was unmoved by the idea of cheap power supplies, but his comments in 1939 prove that his motives for gifting the Falls of Tummel to the NTS stemmed from real concern regarding the possible despoliation of a lovely part of Scotland. He felt that the hydroelectric plans would

empty the very beautiful stretch of the river below Bonskeid down to and incorporating the Falls, except for the limited flow of compensation water, for which the scheme might provide.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> APRS, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 30 May 1939.

<sup>43</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel', Dr GF Barbour to Col ED Stevenson, 21 December 1945.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. See also Barbour's correspondence with Arthur Russell. NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946'.

<sup>45</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to Alan Ogilvie, 6 April 1944.

In further correspondence with the APRS, Barbour referred to this stretch of the River Tummel as one of the most beautiful remaining reaches of river scenery in the Highlands.<sup>46</sup>

His feeling was that the NTS's chance of successfully objecting to the scheme was better than that of a private landowner. The NTS, too, were advised by the Glaswegian electrical engineer and mountaineer Allan Arthur to acquire the Falls. According to Arthur, if the scenic beauty of the area was shown to be threatened, the NTS as well as the APRS would be in a position to decide whether or not to lodge objections to the scheme. Additionally, Arthur reasoned that

If the property then belongs to the Trust the Amenity Committee will be much more likely to give weight to any objections coming from them rather than from a private individual.<sup>47</sup>

The legal advisors of Captain Butter, the proprietor of the nearby Faskally estate, also decided it would be best if the NTS opposed the scheme, rather than individuals.<sup>48</sup> Allan Arthur also emphasised how, in his opinion, the safeguarding of visual amenity was a matter of national interest: 'I shall be glad at any time to help in any way I can to counter measures which I feel are opposed to national interests'.<sup>49</sup>

This idea had become an integral aspect of landscape protection during the Second World War, linked as it was to morale-raising measures that sought to

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<sup>46</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to APRS, 7 April 1944.

<sup>47</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Allan Arthur to Arthur Russell, 15 April 1944.

<sup>48</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell attendance notes, 26 May 1944 and 1 June 1944.

encourage the war effort through evocative depictions of the ‘green and pleasant land’ for which Britons were fighting. This approach is encapsulated in a poster designed by the railway artist Frank Newbold and issued in 1942 by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, whose remit it was to bring social and political concerns to the attention of military personnel. Newbold’s idealised portrayal of the South Downs, incorporating rolling hills, a nestling village and a shepherd with his flock was accompanied by the slogan ‘Britain. Fight For It Now’. The NTS made an unsuccessful attempt to have the Tummel-Garry scheme delayed until ‘the return from war of so many who would be affected’.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, an English admirer of the area, AE Scrimshaw of Norwich, was moved in October 1944 to write of how

the memories of [its] beauty have been a great solace to me during the past 5 years of destruction. How much more must [it] mean to those who have spent their lives – however humble – in the district.<sup>51</sup>

The equation of the war effort with the protection of the rural landscape is a significant antithesis of the idea of war as a catalyst for development regardless of the impact on ‘non-essentials’ such as aesthetics.

However, the NSHEB remit to develop the hydroelectric potential of the Scottish Highlands can be clearly linked to the wartime emphasis on development. At an early June 1944 meeting between Dr Barbour and Lord Airlie that also included various NSHEB advisors and representatives of the County Councils, Lord Airlie was, according to Barbour:

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<sup>49</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Allan Arthur to Arthur Russell, 15 April 1944.

<sup>50</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Arthur Russell to H MacRobert, 30 June 1944.

<sup>51</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Scrimshaw to Russell, 3 October 1944.

quite frank about the aim of the Tummel-Garry scheme being to finance uneconomic projects, which he named, in the west, ...all that he and his colleagues said indicated that considerations of "amenity" are to have a very minor place, if indeed they come in at all. The Amenity Committee certainly has a hard row to hoe.<sup>52</sup>

Lord Airlie also had to take note of practical considerations regarding the flooding of arable and pasture land, the diverting of the Garry head waters and the possible negative effects of this on the neighbourhood of Blair Atholl.<sup>53</sup> It was clear even to the objectors that his position was unenviable.<sup>54</sup> His remit was to run the NSHEB efficiently and generate a supply of low-cost electricity: aims diametrically opposed to expensive and time-consuming aesthetic considerations. At the same time, the NSHEB's handling of the situation included a number of miscalculations and errors that did little to change the opposition's fears that it was not to be trusted.

An overriding concern was the regulation of the outflow of Loch Tummel which meant that the river below the loch might at times be reduced to a trickle. The NSHEB initially undertook to guarantee to release an average of 54 million gallons a day as compensation flow. Under pressure from Arthur Russell, it was forced to admit that this reasonable-sounding figure would allow for a high compensation flow during wet summers, which could mean a much lower flow in winter.<sup>55</sup> A further concern focused on the Falls of Tummel. At the end of May 1944, the NSHEB had stated through its solicitors that the falls would not be

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<sup>52</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 7 June 1944.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', H MacRobert to Arthur Russell, 3 July 1944.

<sup>55</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to Messrs Tait and Crichton [NSHEB solicitors] 31 May 1944; Messrs Tait and Crichton to Arthur Russell, 2 June 1944 and Arthur Russell to Messrs Tait and Crichton, 3 June 1944.

affected by the proposed reservoir at Pitlochry.<sup>56</sup> By 16 June it had changed its stance, saying that the reservoir would have a surface only two feet six inches below the top of the falls,<sup>57</sup> suggesting that, as Russell later commented, the Board was ‘trying to rush these Constructional Schemes through before they had been fully thought out and digested.’<sup>58</sup> The Tummel-Garry Amenity Committee was most concerned about the proposed dam at Pitlochry which, it was thought, ‘would spoil one of the most beautiful stretches of Highland scenery and secondly that by doing so, it would seriously affect the prosperity of Pitlochry as a holiday centre’.<sup>59</sup> One of the members of the Committee, Robert Hurd, had unofficially made it known to Arthur Russell that he had misgivings about the scheme.<sup>60</sup> As Russell later wrote to Barbour, Hurd effectively advised that the NTS’s best chance was to link its concern regarding the potential infringement on the beauty of its property to the broader issue of the impact on the amenities of the wider Pitlochry area.<sup>61</sup> Hurd’s attitude suggests the Amenity Committee’s awareness of how, in order to sway the opinion of the tribunal in their favour, it would be necessary to move away from any argument that could be construed as

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<sup>56</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Messrs Tait and Crichton to Arthur Russell, 30 May 1944.

<sup>57</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Messrs Tait and Crichton to Arthur Russell, 16 June 1944.

<sup>58</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 7 March 1946.

<sup>59</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: ‘North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48’, SRO.

<sup>60</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Arthur Russell, note of attendance on the NTS, 17 May 1944.

<sup>61</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 17 May 1944. See also Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 2 June 1944: ‘I have inserted a narrative clause [in the draft disposition for the Falls of Tummel property] explaining your object and purpose in making the gift, namely, in order to preserve the beauties of the Tummel and Garry as typical Highland rivers with the Falls, for the benefit of the nation and the enjoyment of the visitors to Pitlochry. I thought it well to have some such clause to give the Trust a firmer stand in taking opposition. Fishing rights may not carry much weight at the present time as against what the Board will seek to establish that the whole scheme is for the benefit of

elitist and only of benefit to proprietors. Rather, what needed to be stressed was the importance of safeguarding a national treasure that was also a renowned tourist attraction.

The Amenity Committee ultimately voted to reject the scheme by a majority of three to one.<sup>62</sup> It unanimously recommended that, so far as possible, all piping should be concealed and voted three to two that the ‘exceptionally beautiful Highland scenery [of the area]...easily accessible to the public...should be preserved unspoilt as a national asset’.<sup>63</sup>

However, even prior to the public inquiry, members of the opposition were inclined to believe that the schemes would go ahead regardless of objections and that the Amenity Committee would be able to do little to change this. The public approach of the NSHEB may have been more diplomatic, but in its private negotiations with the NTS the Board made it clear that there was little capacity in its proposals for amenity considerations:

We recognize that in the case of the Falls of Tummel, as in other cases, the abstraction of water for power purposes may diminish the beauty of the Falls. It is, however, an inherent quality of hydro-electric schemes that they make use of the fall of water for power purposes and the Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943, was drafted with the object of making use of power which is running to waste in the Highlands and turning it to the advantage of that area.<sup>64</sup>

If the Tummel-Garry issue was a watershed in terms of the direction those bodies opposing hydroelectricity were taking regarding policy formulation, it was also a

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the nation, but our representation that the preservation of the beauty, etc is for the benefit of the people may carry a little more weight.’

<sup>62</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 25 April 1945.

<sup>63</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: ‘North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48’, SRO - copy of letter to NSHEB by the Amenity Committee, 12 October 1944, p 2 of ‘Appendix 3 - Notes on Amenity Points relating to the Tummel-Garry Project’

turning point for the NSHEB. If the Board obtained approval for an ambitious commercial project in the heart of Scotland's tourist region, then further schemes across the country were also likely to be sanctioned. In conjunction with the Secretary of State's support of hydroelectricity, this may explain the Board's reluctance to consider the Tummel-Garry amenity objections.<sup>65</sup> Dr Barbour was one of those concerned about the scant Labour support in the Tummel Valley area, which meant little chance of a direct representation to Johnston: 'we have no kind of access to the Secretary of State for Scotland. My fear is that his mind will be absolutely made up before public criticisms of the scheme can be made at all'.<sup>66</sup> Russell agreed: 'With you, I fear very much that the Secretary of State for Scotland has definitely made up his mind, and that he is determined to see the scheme through, practically in its entirety'.<sup>67</sup>

The objectors finally found their link to Johnston in the form of the MP W McNair Snadden. Snadden laid the case before Johnston, who 'assured him' that the scheme had not been submitted to him. This last did not convince Barbour, who commented to Russell that 'while this may be the official position, he must know its contents'.<sup>68</sup> Letters of objection to the editors about the scheme were published in the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Dundee Courier*, although when Barbour approached the editor of the conservative *Scottish Daily*

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<sup>64</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Messrs Tait and Crichton [quoting NSHEB directly] to Arthur Russell, 7 June 1944.

<sup>65</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 65.

<sup>66</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 7 June 1944.

<sup>67</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 9 June 1944.

<sup>68</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 22 July 1944.

*Express* about space in his newspaper, his suggestion was met, as he saw it, with disinterest.<sup>69</sup>

By the end of 1944, the NTS Council was convinced that the NSHEB operations might 'very seriously' impact on the Falls of Tummel property and, although fairly certain that the schemes were already a *fait accompli*,<sup>70</sup> decided to lodge objections accordingly.<sup>71</sup> It was also concerned about other properties which might be threatened, making the Tummel-Garry objection a test case in this regard; Glencoe and Dalness, the Falls of Glomach, the Rivers Sheil and Croe at Kintail, the Gorge at Corrieshalloch, Braemore and the Hermitage at Dunkeld all stood to be affected.<sup>72</sup>

Adding to the objections of the NTS and APRS, as well as those bodies representing fisheries' interests, were a variety of organisations and individuals aware that hydroelectric development in the Highlands might stand or fall by this case. The organisations included the Perth and Kinross County Council, the Perth Town Council, the Grampian Electricity Supply Company, the Scottish Travel Association, the Hotels and Restaurants Association and the Royal Scottish Automobile Club. The inclusion of the latter three emphasises the concern of tourism-related enterprises.

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<sup>69</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 3 August 1944.

<sup>70</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946'. See for example H MacRobert to Arthur Russell, 3 July 1944 and George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 15 July 1944.

<sup>71</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946'. See for example H MacRobert to Arthur Russell, 3 July 1944 and George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 15 July 1944.

<sup>72</sup> NTS, Minutes of Council Meetings, December 1942 to July 1952, 13 December 1944.

The Inquiry tribunal concluded that the Falls of Bruar, Struan and Tummel, as well the flow of the upper Garry would be diminished, but that neither these changes nor the creation of the loch adjoining Pitlochry would result in too extreme a loss of landscape value.<sup>73</sup> When representatives of the NSHEB had defended their proposals at the Inquiry, they admitted that the Board did anticipate landscape alterations. However, they countered that this did not necessarily infer a negative impact,<sup>74</sup> claiming that ‘the proposed works would introduce *change* but not *injury*’,<sup>75</sup> and reminding the tribunal of the negative reaction to the development of the railway system during the previous century.<sup>76</sup> It had become clear to the tribunal that there could be no easy compromise where the Tummel-Garry Scheme in particular and hydroelectric development in general was concerned. It had to make a decision on the former in the knowledge that it was in effect passing judgement on the latter:

The issues raised in this Inquiry are of major quality; their far-reaching character is frankly recognised by the Board. Indeed, Lord Airlie went so far as to say that ‘the parting of ways’ has been reached, and that the matter is summed up in the plain question ‘Do the people of Scotland want electricity or do they not?’ with the corollary that the decision must now be made whether the interests of amenity and fisheries have to give way to the larger needs of the nation.<sup>77</sup>

The tangible advantages of development had had to be weighed against the elusive and difficult to define qualities of landscape value. In the month that

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<sup>73</sup> SRO, Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: ‘North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48’, ‘Report of Public Inquiry, Explanatory Memo’, p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> P. 3 of Appendix 3: ‘Observations of the Hydro-Electric Board on the Recommendations of the Amenity Committee’.

<sup>75</sup> [NSHEB’s emphases] Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: ‘North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48’, copy of letter to NSHEB by the Amenity Committee, 12 October 1944, p 2 of ‘Appendix 3 - Notes on Amenity Points relating to the Tummel-Garry Project’

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., ‘Appendix 11 - Opposition to the development of Railways in the Nineteenth century’.

<sup>77</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44, ‘North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48’, section 13, p. 9, section 13.

Berlin fell and the public began to feel more realistically able to aspire to the better society outlined in the 1942 Beveridge Report, it is arguable that the outcome was inevitable:

We do not consider that the issue here can be properly put in this blunt and uncompromising form. Many cases must and will arise in which, in a true balance, the public interest requires a sacrifice in greater or less degree, of existing amenities or fishing interests in return for the development of hydro-electric resources for public use and benefit. Nevertheless, it is true to say that in the present case the competition of these interests is presented in a particularly sharp and vivid form and leads directly to a consideration of serious and fundamental questions of policy.<sup>78</sup>

The amenity clause of the 1943 Act was to be interpreted as a guideline only for NSHEB.<sup>79</sup>

The NTS's objection to the Tummel-Garry Scheme, for the purposes of the principle involved, proved expensive.<sup>80</sup> Possibly, in part influenced by Arthur Russell's *fait accompli* attitude towards the hydroelectric schemes, the NTS kept its head down and reverted largely to the role of trustee and proprietor rather than continuing its new emphasis on defending the national interest where landscape protection was concerned. The failure to oppose successfully the NSHEB also left the NTS wary of further conflict with the Board. In early 1946, the NSHEB requested permission from the NTS to erect a transmission line over the Falls of Tummel property.<sup>81</sup> The NSHEB was unable to guarantee the number of transmission towers to be erected on the property until a survey had been carried

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<sup>78</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: 'North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48', section 14, p. 9

<sup>79</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: 'North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48', SRO [p. 15, section 45 of Report of Inquiry].

<sup>80</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 20 March 1946, Appendix 2. Including legal representation and expenses as well as an engineer's report, the cost of the Inquiry to the NTS was £740.50. See also NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to Col ED Stevenson, 22 February 1946. The Tummel-Garry protest took its toll on other pockets besides that of the NTS, with Commander Edmund Fergusson remarking that 'with our local protest fund and the APRS fund, my pocket has been deflated a good bit too!'

out, and asked the NTS to agree in principle to an as yet unfinalised plan.<sup>82</sup> It also began to be clear that the NSHEB intended changing the situation of the Clunie power station from a previously agreed position. While the Council felt that the new site of the power station was actually better concealed than the old site,<sup>83</sup> this nonetheless amounted to a contravention of the amenity clause. However, in both instances there was reluctance on the part of the NTS to pursue its objections to the lengths of an inquiry.<sup>84</sup> The Trust attempted to negotiate with the NSHEB over the route of the transmission line,<sup>85</sup> but Arthur Russell left the NTS Executive Council meeting of 20 March 1946 with the feeling that the Council was 'in no mood to fight the Board further in connection with the Tummel-Garry Scheme'.<sup>86</sup>

The NTS began to view prospective acquisitions in the light of possible involvement with NSHEB. One of the points that made Craighall Gorge, acquired by the Trust from the sister and nephew of Sir Douglas Ramsay, attractive was that the Trust was told that it was unlikely that NSHEB would want to incorporate the gorge in any future schemes.<sup>87</sup> In 1949, Arthur Russell considered acquiring the sporting estate of Pait and Riochan, Ross-shire, out of

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<sup>81</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to Col ED Stevenson, 22 February 1946.

<sup>82</sup> Mr Sydie, Chief Wayleave Officer, NSHEB to Messrs Strathern and Blair, 25 February 1946.

<sup>83</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 21 March 1946; NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 20 March 1946.

<sup>84</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 4 March 1946 and 7 March 1946.

<sup>85</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to Mr Sydie, 16 March 1946 and Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 21 March 1946.

<sup>86</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946', Arthur Russell to George Barbour, 21 March 1946; NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 20 March 1946.

<sup>87</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 27 June 1945.

the Mountainous Country Fund for the NTS. He was particularly interested in establishing from the property agent whether the estate had been included in any NSHEB developmental plans and, in particular, whether the nearby Loch Monar would become part of the Affric Scheme.<sup>88</sup> However, offers of land perceived to be threatened by hydroelectric development continued to be made to the NTS. Mrs Edith Foster offered the NTS the Pass of Killiecrankie as a direct result of NSHEB activity,<sup>89</sup> gifting approximately 20 hectares (49 acres) of the Faskally Estate to the organisation. This reflected the extent to which landowners continued to consider that, despite the failure of the Tummel-Garry opposition, the NTS remained best equipped to deal with future NSHEB development proposals.

Concern regarding both the impact of the Tummel-Gary project on the landscape and the prioritisation of NSHEB remained. George Barbour took exception to the re-siting of the Clunie power station, but felt that there would be little point in his making an objection to it, particularly in an individual capacity.<sup>90</sup> In 1948, NTS member GC Foster referred to an article concerning ‘The doomed woodlands of the National Trust at Bonskied’ and hoped ‘that lands which as we all thought were given you for all time, have not been violated over your heads at the call for expediency?’<sup>91</sup> He subsequently continued:

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<sup>88</sup> NTS, Box JD 875 ‘Mountainous Country’, File ‘Mountainous Country Gift’, A Russell to FF Bradshaw, Estate Agent, 21 June 1949. The estate was not included in any of the hydroelectric schemes as they then stood, but Russell did not pursue the sale, on the grounds that the estate was ‘too isolated’. NTS, Box JD 875 ‘Mountainous Country’, File ‘Mountainous Country Gift’, FF Bradshaw to Strathern and Blair, 22 June 1949; *Ibid.*, A Russell to FF Bradshaw, 30 June 1949.

<sup>89</sup> NTS Minutes of Council Meeting, 29 January 1947, Appendix 2.

<sup>90</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘Falls of Tummel 1 February 1944 to 18 October 1946’, George Barbour to Arthur Russell, 6 April 1946.

<sup>91</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file ‘closed February 1949’, GC Foster to J Grimond, 6 February 1948. Foster referred to the source of the article as ‘an illustrated paper’.

It is the violation of the principle that National trust property is sacred, which seems to me most disturbing. I hope, nevertheless, that this and other schemes will not alter the Highlands we knew too much in the end.<sup>92</sup>

The new loch outside Pitlochry became known as Loch Faskally. With its construction, the NTS felt that the Falls of Tummel had been changed to the extent that they could no longer be described as a waterfall. The Linn of Tummel Management Plan for 1994-1999 recounts the official explanation for the change in description:

Prior to the hydro-electric scheme in the 1950s, the level of the river Tummel was much lower and spectacular falls, known as the Falls of Tummel, occurred at the point where the river plunged to meet the Garry. The falls were about 5.5m (18 ft) in height, significant enough to require a fish ladder, constructed in 1910, to allow salmon to move upstream to spawn... The creation of Loch Faskally as part of the hydro-electric scheme raised the levels of the two rivers and the falls lost their magnitude. To avoid disappointment to visitors, the name was changed in 1959 to Linn of Tummel, 'Linne' being gaelic for 'pool' and 'Tum-allt', a plunging stream.<sup>93</sup>

The landscape designer Sylvia Crowe felt Loch Faskally to be symbolic of the potential for the effective partnering of engineering and good design.<sup>94</sup> In 1962, WH Murray included the Tummel region in his survey of regions of outstanding landscape beauty. He excluded the head of Loch Rannoch as 'having no outstanding merit and having suffered defacement from the hydro-electric pipes and powerhouse on the northern hill-slopes'.<sup>95</sup> However, he felt differently about the NSHEB initiative in the Tummel Valley, writing that 'the valley is formed on a scale great enough to enfold the man-made structures and still have its natural beauties of water, wood, and mountains dominate all within'.<sup>96</sup> He reported that western half of Loch Faskally had been said to have added to the scene, that the Queen's View was still the best place from which to view Loch Tummel, and

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<sup>92</sup> NTS, Box JD 249, file 'closed February 1949', GC Foster to J Grimond, 4 August 1948.

<sup>93</sup> NTS, background file 'A9 II', 'Linn of Tummel Management Plan 1994 – 1999, third draft, December 1993.

<sup>94</sup> Crowe, Sylvia, *Tomorrow's Landscape*, (London, 1956), p. 184.

that ‘although of small height, the falls [of Tummel] are justly renowned. They burst in rapids and plunge through wide-set rocks into the still waters of Loch Faskally below’.<sup>97</sup> He described how the ‘main road along the north side of the lochs carries heavy tourist traffic in the summer, for the valley has become a scenic showpiece of the Central Highlands’.<sup>98</sup> The National Scenic Area (NSA) designation of the Tummel Valley echoed Murray: ‘Despite the presence of main roads, railway and hydro-electric installations, it is a landscape with sufficient strength of character for all the man-made intrusions to be dominated by the natural beauties of water, wood and mountain’.<sup>99</sup> Memories of the precise nature of the Tummel-Garry debate were subsequently sufficiently blurred for Bartholomew Pictorial and Historical Maps to publish a map of Scotland depicting the ‘Beauty of Power’. Beneath a depiction of the Loch Faskally dam and power station, a caption explains that these were built ‘to even out the flow in the River Tummel downstream of the Board’s developments in the interests of fishery and amenity’.<sup>100</sup>

Given the criticism regarding the way in which NSHEB had proceeded in terms of issues of aesthetics where Tummel-Garry was concerned, the Board was determined to try to ensure that future schemes generated as little controversy as possible. As a result, its revitalisation of the much-debated Caledonian Scheme involved considerable re-examination of the way in which this would impact on

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<sup>95</sup> The constructions to which Murray refers here are the legacy of the earlier hydroelectric scheme. W H Murray, *Highland Landscape*, (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. 56-8.

<sup>96</sup> Murray, *Highland Landscape*, pp. 56-8.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> NTS, background file ‘A9 II’.

<sup>100</sup> *Beauty of Power*, (Edinburgh, no date).

the Glen Affric landscape. The outcome was a public relations success for the Board; in Affric, it had recourse to an illustration of its 'due regard for the amenities' of a cherished place. However, the example of Affric belies the overall visual impact of the Affric Scheme on the landscape of the West Highlands. Traditionally, Glen Affric has been recognised as one of the most beautiful glens in Scotland. Situated to the east of Loch Ness and the small town of Dingwall, its remote location came to be seen as a significant aspect of its value. Much of the protest surrounding Sloy and Tummel-Garry was generated due to their proximity to the Central Belt. However, the inaccessibility of Affric had already become a primary cause for objections to its development in the interests of hydroelectricity, making it an early example of a Scottish landscape being defended for its 'wild land' or 'remote' value.

By the time of the NSHEB's appointment, two hydroelectric schemes incorporating Glen Affric had already failed to gain parliamentary approval in 1928 and 1942. The Grampian Electricity Supply Company promoted another hydroelectric scheme for the area in the *Scotsman* of 30 November 1940. The APRS decided once again to oppose it on the basis that the area had no immediate power needs and the scheme would be answering electricity needs outwith the Highlands.<sup>101</sup> Members of the APRS appreciated the scenic qualities of Affric, but realised that it would be difficult to oppose the scheme on the grounds of damage to tourism due to its remote location. Instead, they stressed the conclusions of the Report on the Highlands and Islands Committee and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population,

which emphasised the need to develop the Highlands. They argued that the scheme would channel the power to developed areas elsewhere.<sup>102</sup> In January 1941, the *Scotsman* carried a leading article describing hydroelectricity, soil and scenery as the main natural resources of the Highlands, and arguing, therefore, that the economic needs of the region had to be taken into account when dealing with all three. The Inverness-shire County Council opposed the scheme,<sup>103</sup> as did the Inverness Town Council, the Mining Association of Great Britain and the Highland Development League.<sup>104</sup>

The Affric proposal went before Commissioners sitting in Scotland as a Provisional Order, not, as the APRS had hoped, as a Private Bill through Parliament. A Private Bill would have provided the House of Lords with the opportunity to quash it.<sup>105</sup> On 1 April, with the Inquiry due to begin two weeks later, John Sutherland asked the APRS Council why it was opposing the scheme, arguing that in the interests of the Highlands as much development as possible should be encouraged.<sup>106</sup> Wartime restrictions engendered a lack of transparency: the Inquiry was held in secret, under Ministry of Defence regulations, and the report back to the APRS remained confidential and was not recorded in the minutes. The scheme then was withdrawn after the House of Commons Debate following its Second Reading on 10 Sept 194.<sup>107</sup> The Rev AE Robertson had taken the MP for Twickenham, EH Keeling, on a visit to Affric

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<sup>101</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 3 December 1940.

<sup>102</sup> APRS, Minutes of Meeting of Hydro-Electrics Committee, 10 December 1940. See also APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting 7 January 1941.

<sup>103</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 January 1941.

<sup>104</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 February 1941.

<sup>105</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 4 March 1941.

<sup>106</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 April 1941.

shortly before the Debate, which Robertson concluded had aided in the Bill's withdrawal. The APRS' opposition expenses amounted to £100, which was covered by contributions sent in after an appeal to members.<sup>108</sup>

The NSHEB's proposal for the region, the Mullardoch-Fasnakyle-Affric Scheme, was initiated in 1946.<sup>109</sup> As the NSHEB's concession to amenity, this third project included substantial changes, most notably regarding the proposed level of Loch Affric and the architecture of the power station, designed by a noted Scottish architect and utilising both Scottish stone and Scottish stone masons. With Affric, the NSHEB hoped to emphasise its commitment both to the reinvigoration of the Scottish economy and to the creation of a 'model' landscape, incorporating artificial constructions that added to, rather than detracted from, their settings. However, Loch Mullardoch, in the less scenically arresting neighbouring glen, Cannich, had its level substantially raised in compensation for the minimal interference with that of Loch Affric.

The NSHEB had taken the reasons for the previous unsuccessful Affric proposals into consideration when producing the plans for the Tummel-Garry Scheme. Therefore, the lengths to which landscape protectionists had taken their objections to the proposed alterations to the Tummel Valley were a significant influence on the 1946 Glen Affric proposal. Aware that '[o]ne of the principal objections to previous schemes ha[d] been the large fluctuations which would

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<sup>107</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 1 July 1941.

<sup>108</sup> APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 7 October 1941. See also APRS, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 November 1941.

<sup>109</sup> The NSHEB Constructional Scheme Number Seven.

occur in the level of Loch Affric and Loch Beinn a Mheadoin (Benevean)',<sup>110</sup> the NSHEB took care to emphasise that Glen Affric would not be affected by the scheme as it had been promoted in 1928 and 1942.<sup>111</sup> The earlier plans had required the level of Loch Benevean to be raised to match that of Loch Affric, resulting in a single stretch of water, with significant changes to the wooded lochside landscape to the east of the glen and considerable potential for draw-down. As an NSHEB press release designed for publication on 24 September 1946 described it: 'the [NSHEB] have prepared a Scheme to utilise the great water-power resources of the Glen Affric - Glen Cannich area in such a way as to leave the famous natural beauties of these Glens unspoiled'.<sup>112</sup>

The moderated scheme was to have no impact on the level of Loch Affric while the level of Loch Benevean was to be raised by a 'moderate' 23 feet, minimising the impact of draw-down.<sup>113</sup> The 'model' power station was to be situated at the eastern end of the Glen. However, it was to compensate for these storage losses that the level (and draw-down potential) of Loch Mullardoch would be raised by 113 feet.<sup>114</sup> The same press release highlighted the degree to which the scheme would be responsible for opening up a remote area:

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<sup>110</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: 'North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48', SRO.

<sup>111</sup> See also Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 135.

<sup>112</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: 'North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48', SRO.

<sup>113</sup> *North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Construction Schemes for 1948* (Edinburgh:1948), p. 24; Report by the Scottish National Parks Committee, 'National Parks,' in Department of Health for Scotland, 'National Parks and the Conservation of Nature in Scotland', Report by the Scottish National Parks Committee and the Scottish Wild Life Conservation Committee, (His Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1947), p. 52; Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 137.

<sup>114</sup> *North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Construction Schemes for 1948* (Edinburgh:1948), pp. 24-5; *North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Construction Schemes for 1949* (Edinburgh: 1949) p. 22 and Report by the Scottish National Parks Committee, 'National Parks,' in Department of Health for Scotland, 'National Parks and the Conservation of Nature in Scotland', Report by the Scottish National Parks Committee and the Scottish Wild Life Conservation

The improvement of existing roads and the new sections which will have to be constructed will give much better facilities for tourists right up to the western end of Loch Benevean.<sup>115</sup>

Indeed, the NSHEB road along the western bank of Loch Benevean to the foot of Loch Affric remains the furthestmost point of public road access into the Glen; thereafter, the loch and the drovers' track through the western reaches to Kintail are accessible to walkers only.

The Mullardoch-Fasnakyle-Affric Scheme was published in August 1946 and attracted no formal objections on the grounds of visual impact. Peter Payne notes that a single technical objection 'was withdrawn after negotiation'.<sup>116</sup> The project was thought to have had a greatly reduced impact on the renowned Glen Affric landscape. The NSHEB subsequently made much of an APRS comment praising the scheme to the effect that it 'in most of our opinions increased the beauty of the glen by some hundred percent'.<sup>117</sup> WH Murray did not completely agree; his survey included the comment that:

Glen Affric is still among the first three of Scotland's most beautiful glens. It has suffered from hydro-electric development in so far as prior thereto it was by universal acclaim the undisputed first.<sup>118</sup>

Moreover, the more open and less 'postcard perfect' Glen Cannich, the 'glen of the cotton grass',<sup>119</sup> had previously not been without its admirers. According to one walker who described it in 1938:

We shall not soon forget Glen Cannich, with its grandeur and impressive silence, broken only by the falling rain and the noisy river, now swelling into little lochs and

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Committee, (His Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh, 1947), p. 52; Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 137.

<sup>115</sup> Scottish Home and Health Department Archives, HH 36/44: 'North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board Constructional Schemes 1943-48', SRO.

<sup>116</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 137.

<sup>117</sup> NSHEB, *Highland Water Power* (Edinburgh, no date but 1956), p. 45. I am grateful to Professor TC Smout for this reference.

<sup>118</sup> Murray, *Highland Landscape*, p. 49.

then widening into the long stretch of Loch Mullardoch. And the solitude! About a score of souls now inhabit a glen once filled with happy homesteads'.<sup>120</sup>

The uncompromising concrete dam wall and the draw-down to which the loch became subject meant substantial losses to the 'wild land' value of the glen. The changes to Cannich played a role in the decision of the mountaineer Tom Weir to speak out in defence of nearby Glen Strathfarrar when the NSHEB published a project incorporating it in 1957. Glen Affric, Weir argued, was now accessible to tourists, with a good road, and a well-engineered power house. In the Glen Cannich scheme, the NSHEB did not have quite such a good advertisement, and 'a magnificent walking region' had been spoiled, albeit perhaps with reason.<sup>121</sup>

This chapter has sought to articulate the tensions between those seeking to protect cherished places and those pursuing a development agenda within a climate of sustained state support for hydroelectric development in the Highlands. The three examples of development in the landscapes highlighted above indicate the extent to which Romantic constructs remained a motivating force behind opposition generated by protectionists. It can also be argued that the NSHEB response to protectionist opposition was influenced by the Romantic vision of landscape, given that it was far more proactive in shielding significant landscapes from visual impairment generated by its schemes, than it was in protecting less iconic places. For the NSHEB, this was a period of ascendancy,

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<sup>120</sup> WA MacDonell, 'The Falls of Glomach', *Scots Magazine*, New Series, Vol XXIX, No 6, September 1938, p. 457.

<sup>121</sup> SSE, no box number, 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', pp. 635-638. Weir was told that as he was appearing in a private capacity, he could not speak for the SMC [p. 638].

as the APRS and the NTS struggled to engage successfully with the new era of post-war state control.

Controversy over the Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Scheme arose a decade after the Affric Scheme was given permission to proceed. However, the 1957 public inquiry into the former included several in-depth discussions as to the precise components of valued landscape. These debates therefore express many of the concerns of those unable to air formally their views regarding the Affric Scheme. In addition, they form a pertinent background to the fierce opposition generated by the Glen Nevis Scheme, published in 1960, but never the subject of a public inquiry.

## VII

### POWER IN THE LANDSCAPE II

#### THE STRATHFARRAR AND NEVIS SCHEMES

During the ‘North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board (NSHEB) era’, the debate between landscape protectionists and developers underwent several distinct shifts. This chapter assesses the changes in the conflict that began to emerge in the mid-1950s. It makes particular reference to the futility of the landscape protectionist argument based solely on the grounds of aesthetic merit, and highlights the subsequent promotion of, and focus on, the understanding of landscape protection for the ‘greater good’. In turn, the latter concept provides the basis for an expanded sense of the ‘collective ownership’ of significant Highland landscapes more apparent in the 1970s and the subject of Chapter VIII. This transfer of emphasis can largely be attributed to the ‘democratisation’ of landscape that was increasingly evident in Britain throughout the late 1940s and 1950s and beyond. Some ten years after hydroelectric development in Glen Affric finally commenced, the associated NSHEB project involving nearby Glen Strathfarrar was initiated. The criticism engendered by this, the Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Scheme,<sup>1</sup> proffers a clear indication of prevailing attitudes towards landscape appreciation and protection. The public inquiry into the proposal, held in December 1957, included a highly significant consideration of the precise components of valued landscape. Inevitably, the inquiry served to articulate views pertaining to the modification of the Glen Affric landscape. The personal

views of witnesses surfaced under cross-questioning, and it is here that some of the most telling attempts at quantifying Highland landscape are to be found. Several witnesses went to significant lengths to attempt to explain why the aesthetic attributes of Glen Strathfarrar meant that preserving it free from utilitarian modification was so crucial. Their efforts to defend the glen on the basis of aesthetic merit were in vain. The inquiry was critical because it led to the realisation that, in the political climate of the late 1950s, appeals to Romantic aestheticism were too suggestive of elitism to elicit any substantial degree of state or public sympathy.

However, the stumbling block of anti-elitism was also becoming a critical stepping-stone on which landscape protectionists had subconsciously become increasingly dependent since the 1920s. That ideas of democratisation held the key to successful landscape protection was made clear when NSHEB plans to develop Glen Nevis were overturned in the early 1960s without recourse to a public inquiry. Claims that the utilisation of landscape was necessary for the benefit of the majority (on either a national or a Scottish level) undoubtedly left scenic areas vulnerable to hydroelectric and other large-scale development. At the same time, democratisation also involved the claiming of landscape by the greater public for contemplation, rambling and more physical outdoor pursuits. When utilised in conjunction with the ‘negative impact on tourism’ argument, the difficult-to-challenge ‘public well-being’ contention had the effect of neutralising the previously contested aspects of the tourism debate. The tourism/public well-being standpoint brought home to the state and to developers the local, national

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<sup>1</sup> Constructional Scheme No. 30.

and international benefits of minimising the large-scale modification of significant Highland landscapes.

The Cold War augmented the emergence of a notable ‘cooling’ in governmental support for conventional large-scale hydroelectric projects in the Highlands. The official standpoint was that new treasury accounting procedures meant that hydroelectric power generation was no longer considered cost-effective. By November 1962, questions over the economic feasibility of hydroelectric power in relation to thermal and nuclear power (and, always in the background, the strategic significance of extending Britain’s nuclear capacity) led the Mackenzie Committee effectively to bring the NSHEB experiment to a close. The Report of the Mackenzie Committee marks the conclusion of the twenty-year period during which NSHEB-initiated hydroelectric schemes proliferated in the Highlands.<sup>2</sup> Post-1962, the ‘social clause’ underlying the establishment of the NSHEB inevitably became diluted as a result of a more commercial perspective overtaking the Board. The period leading up to the publication of the Mackenzie Report was therefore the last time in which it was possible to countermand calls for landscape protection on the grounds of the beneficial effects of hydroelectric development on Highland life.

The 102.51 megawatt Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Scheme called for the development of the rivers Farrar and Beaully, with a large-capacity dam along the western reaches of the glen, two reservoirs on the Farrar and two run-of-river

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<sup>2</sup> By 1962, there were 24 schemes in operation, including the pre-World War II projects taken over by the NSHEB. KJ Lea, ‘Hydro Electric Power Generation in the Highlands of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Number 46, March 1969, p. 162. See Appendix.

projects on the Beauly. Linked conceptually with that of Affric, the scheme was designed as an additional profit-making scheme. Its completion signified the realisation of the hydroelectric potential of all three major tributaries of the River Beauly, Affric, Cannich and Farrar, and literally put the eastern heights of the North West Highlands to work.<sup>3</sup>

By the mid-1950s, the NSHEB had overcome many of the implementation difficulties of the immediate post-war decade, and, engineering problems notwithstanding, schemes were proposed and executed with assembly-line efficiency. Public inquiries, where opposition made them necessary, became part of the assembly line. Much of the opposition to the Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Scheme centred on landowner concerns regarding the loss of agricultural land and fishing grounds, and a significant amount of the public inquiry was accordingly taken up with these issues. However, the proceedings of the inquiry, along with details of associated APRS discussions, reflect true desperation on the part of landscape protectionists. Strathfarrar was the last remaining east-west orientated glen unaffected by hydroelectric development and therefore still free of utilitarian constructs.

Dr T Elder Dickson, vice-principal of the Edinburgh College of Art, and Mr Edge, a mathematics lecturer at Edinburgh University, while accepting that the

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<sup>3</sup> Peter L Payne, *The Hydro: A Study of the Development of the Major Hydro-Electric Schemes Undertaken by the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board*, (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 144-6; SSE, no box no., 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', pp. 5-6.

scheme did have certain benefits, made a clear-cut plea for aesthetic immunity for the Glen:

That the supreme beauty of all the Scottish glens should be ravaged is, even on a crude commercial reckoning, surely disproportionate. We submit that one glen be left to radiate its intense natural beauty; that, so much of the Highland scenery having been abandoned to an apparently insatiable despoiler, any toll that modern ideas of progress and prosperity can justly demand of our priceless heritage has now been paid, and paid in full. It is fashionable, perhaps too fashionable, today to covert material benefits while heedless of the very real [sic], if tangible [sic], spiritual possessions that one may have to forgo therefore; but we trust that the Secretary of State may scruple to subscribe to so short-sighted an outlook. The Board has had a long run. It would be an act of grace were it now to hold its hand, and we maintain that later generations will be grateful to it for having done so, and to the Secretary of State should he so persuade it.<sup>4</sup>

To Elder Dickson<sup>5</sup> Strathfarrer was

one of the finest glens in the whole of Scotland...Because of its peculiar character, the scenery is magnificent, it is a long, narrow glen, it is wonderfully lighted from east and west, it runs east and west, and the hills are particularly striking in their formations there. There are also contrasts of colour and form and tone in the glen as a result of its wooded character in the lower regions, and these act as a lovely foil to the rugged character of the hills and peaks above. I think for that reason it is one of the loveliest of the Scottish glens.

It would be a 'disaster,' he argued, for a further scheme to be developed in

one of the last of the great glens which have remained untouched by the so-called march of progress, and I cannot help feeling that we have a duty to preserve that glen in its natural state as far as possible as a part of our natural heritage. If we interfere with its character, as certainly would happen by building new structures and by putting up pylons, it would certainly affect the whole character and spirit of the glen.<sup>6</sup>

Elder Dickson, an artist, conforms to the profile of the classic 'outsider' view. Although he describes himself as being 'very well acquainted' with the area,<sup>7</sup> his is not the view of someone earning a living from the land. However, he was able to make a pertinent distinction between the aesthetic

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<sup>4</sup> SSE, no box no., 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrer and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Elder Dickson was a past president of the Society of Scottish Artists and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh with an MA from Glasgow University, a PhD from Edinburgh University, and a Diploma from the Glasgow School of Art. His letter of objection was quoted as 'Objection No 4/3 of Productions'.

<sup>6</sup> SSE, no box no., 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrer and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner,

appreciation of scenery and the economic necessity of improving tourist amenities, arguing that ‘You cannot interfere with nature in this way and improve it, you may make it better for motorists and so on, but you cannot improve its natural scenery’.<sup>8</sup>

According to this outlook, adjusting the river would inevitably impinge on the beauty of the glen, and Elder Dickson used the Affric Scheme as an example of how scenic beauty could be compromised by hydroelectric construction.<sup>9</sup> With regard to the proposed buildings and other constructions, he allowed that an artist’s impression of the completed project was well executed but insisted that ‘it gives no clear idea of the appearance of the new works in the glen when they are completed. There is the question of the scale, and the vastness of the area in which the things are seen, which alters it completely’.<sup>10</sup>

Elder Dickson’s experience in the witness stand is a useful illustration of the difficulties involved in articulating aesthetic amenity. Aware as he was of the finer points of aesthetic appreciation and landscape perception, he found it difficult to withstand a cross-examination. Asked how the beauties of the glen he had described in terms of colours, woods and hills would be affected by the hydroelectric works when the Board had no plans for the modification of these, Elder Dickson’s response was that he did not see how it was possible ‘not to

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Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, pp. 338-9. See also p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 338-9.

<sup>8</sup> SSE, no box no., ‘NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, p. 342.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 343.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 344.

interfere with them'. He found it difficult to stand his ground when asked for particulars as to who would miss the glen 'radiat[ing] its intense natural beauty' if there were no roads making it accessible to less physically active members of the public.<sup>11</sup> In this respect, he was unable to find recourse in a sense of the intrinsic value of nature. However, he would not agree that the beauties of Loch Benevean had been improved by the NSHEB, even when faced with the APRS' positive commentary, noted in the preceding chapter, on aspects of the Affric Scheme:

the flooding of Loch Benevean and the removal of the road to a considerably higher level has in most of our opinions increased the beauty of the glen by some 100 per cent in that it has flooded...[sic] and created a few wooded islands.<sup>12</sup>

Elder Dickson saw discrete differences between forestry and agricultural development on one hand and hydroelectric development on the other, seeing a 'clear distinction, forests are a natural phenomenon which belong to the soil, and [their] effect is nearly always an improvement on the landscape by way of contrast, but buildings are a different matter'.<sup>13</sup> However, he had difficulty articulating precisely why buildings were a different matter: 'It is very seldom, especially with concrete buildings or very high buildings or buildings with extensive frontages that they are integrated with the scenery.'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> SSE, no box no., 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', pp. 348-9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp. 351-2. Quotation on p. 352.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, pp. 353-4.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Asked in whose interest Glen Strathfarrar should be saved, Dickson touched on, but was not able to explicitly refer to, the emergent protectionist sense of the collective ownership of important landscapes:

All who are interested in Scottish scenery...It includes the world, and there are many people who come to see Scottish scenery...I [judge their interest] by the number of people who are prepared to come long distances from all over the world to see the Highlands, and those numbers appear to have increased considerably in recent years...I supposed that the benefit [to those who come] is largely spiritual, and I do not think it is capable of being measured. Sentiment plays a great part in it.<sup>15</sup>

Others commented on the special status of Glen Strathfarrar. Mrs Winifred Robertson, member of Council of the Royal Scottish Geographic Society, member of Board of Directors, Scottish Rights of Way Society and member of the Executive of the Scottish Council for National Parks referred to (but did not name) ‘one place where the making of a loch in an otherwise rather dreary stretch of country has improved it’.<sup>16</sup> However, she argued that:

Glen Strathfarrar is positively the last great Scottish glen unaltered – I would not go so far as to say unspoilt – for some people do see beauty in hydro-electric development and dams and lines of pylons and powerhouses, but I do say with truth that it is the last great and very beautiful glen untampered with and that it should be left as such, not only for future generations but for foreign visitors coming to see an unaltered Scottish glen.

Tom Weir also contributed to the plea that Strathfarrar should be left as the last ‘untouched’ great glen in the area. Arguing that he was in favour of hydroelectricity ‘on principle and always [had] been’, he described how the glen:

represents the last great glen in Scotland where you do not see hydro electric work. Here we have a glen that runs from the sea, from the east side of the country to a very fine pass giving access to the Atlantic Ocean. It is wonderful walking country, it is a region of great natural beauty with an association of birches and pines...there are only three glens of that type...Glen Strathfarrar, Glen Affric and Glen Cannich.

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<sup>15</sup> SSE, no box no., ‘NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, p. 335.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 624-629.

Glen Affric, Weir went on to argue, was now accessible to tourists, with a good road, and a well-engineered powerhouse. In the Glen Cannich scheme, the NSHEB did not have quite such a good advertisement, and ‘a magnificent walking region’ had been spoiled, although perhaps, he conceded, with reason.<sup>17</sup> Neither he nor the Scottish Mountaineering Club had opposed it. However, he stood by his contention that:

In the case of Glen Strathfarrar we have a whole map of central Ross, which is, we might say, a monument to what Scotland used to be like... In speaking here I am speaking for 319 members of the Scottish Mountaineering Club. This is the first time we have ever opposed any hydro-electric schemes, and we are opposing it because it is a monument to what Scotland used to be like.<sup>18</sup>

Weir went on to agree with the counsel for the objectors that, if development had to take place in the vicinity of Glen Strathfarrar, it would be preferable for it to be agriculture or forestry rather than ‘artificial development’.<sup>19</sup>

Although murmurings of disapproval at the steady degeneration of landscape quality run through the fabric of the Scottish Mountaineering Club journals from the organisation’s inception in the 1890s, this was arguably the first instance in which it, through Weir, became drawn into an overt act of protest relating to hydroelectric development. Weir went on to make an oblique reference to a member of the SMC (meaning Percy Unna) having left ‘a vast sum of money for the purpose of buying mountain property.... We hope some of that money might buy this glen, if we can save it.’<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> SSE, no box no., ‘NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, pp. 635-638.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 635-638. Although Weir was told that, as he was appearing in a private capacity, he could not speak for the SMC [p. 638].

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 640.

<sup>20</sup> SSE, no box no., ‘NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner,

During the Strathfarrar Inquiry, the NSHEB emphasised its willingness to consider points of amenity. The language employed by the NSHEB defence reflects the Board's desire to be seen to be assigning due consideration to landscape protection issues. In his opening speech for the NSHEB during the Inquiry, CJD Shaw, QC, raised the question of whether the scheme, and others to come, remained 'in the public interest' when weighed against other 'national interest' criteria, such as scenery preservation and fishing interests.<sup>21</sup> Shaw discussed how 'developing one of Scotland's priceless national assets...hydro-electric power' as profit-making schemes served to conserve 'other sources of power...especially coal'. However, he also added that it was unfortunate that geography dictated that some of the best sites for hydroelectric development were also the most beautiful.<sup>22</sup> The Amenity Committee had recommended that the site for the upper Kilmorack dam be moved up to 'preserve the unique island rock formations in the River Beaully'. In the Explanatory Memoranda issued on confirmation of the scheme, the NSHEB indicated its willingness to implement this recommendation provided that site investigations proved that the alteration would not interfere with the costing of the scheme.<sup>23</sup> However, a number of observations made by NSHEB representatives during the course of the inquiry suggest that in general they did not personally equate NSHEB developments with negative landscape impact. Shaw himself commented that 'amenity, of course, is always a matter of taste'.<sup>24</sup> He drew on the Affric Scheme as an example of the

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Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', p. 641.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Quotations from p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> SSE, no file number, 'Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders', Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 30, Explanatory Memoranda, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 3-4.

<sup>24</sup> SSE, no box no, 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner,

care taken by NSHEB with regard to aesthetics, and argued that ‘...in fact, it is possible to say that in some respects they have improved [the scenery]’.<sup>25</sup>

Colonel Alexander Cullen<sup>26</sup> had been the architect and planning officer for Inverness County Council between 1945 and April 1957. Giving evidence for the NSHEB, he explained that he had been called upon to oversee a significant amount of NSHEB work and was of the opinion that the NSHEB constructions, including houses, power stations and dams were of good design. Regarding the Affric Scheme, Cullen argued that the dams at Mullardoch and Benevean ‘fit very pleasantly into the rural scene there, they do not injure the amenities in any way, rather...the reverse, they appear to improve it’.<sup>27</sup>

‘Amenity’ can be taken to include the architectural design of constructions such as dams and power stations. In this respect the Board was justified in its consideration that it had fulfilled its remit to have due regard for amenities where Affric was concerned. However, those who considered any artificial construction to be an intrusion would neither be swayed by good design practice, nor by the arguments of those architects responsible for implementing designs. The counsel for the objectors asked Cullen to consider the impact of hydroelectric developments on natural scenery: ‘Have you considered whether a river of which most of the water has been taken out is as pleasant as a river in its natural state?’. When Cullen replied that he had not considered it, Fraser

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Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957’, pp. 26-7.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>26</sup> Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Fellow of the Institute of Chartered Surveyors, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Ibid, p. 278.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

continued: You will agree that however good building may be many people prefer to see the scenery in its natural condition rather than with buildings such as dams?'.<sup>28</sup> Cullen disagreed: 'In my opinion the actual scenic values have been improved as a result of the Board's operations'. Fraser put it to him that this was a matter of opinion and Cullen replied: 'I think it is the general opinion of those trained to put proper value on these things'.<sup>29</sup>

Cullen supported his comment regarding the success of the Affric Scheme with the information that there had been a 'tremendous increase of visitors to that particular area since that Scheme has been completed' as a result of the new road.<sup>30</sup> A point that may not have been considered by Cullen and those of a more utilitarian perspective was that while more people may have made use of the Affric road since it had been constructed, this did not necessarily mean that they thought the scenery was better as a result of its construction.

Thomas Johnston, in his capacity as Chairman of NSHEB, gave evidence on behalf of the Board as its only witness answering questions regarding amenity.<sup>31</sup> Arguing that the Board's operations had had 'the very reverse' of affecting tourism through a negative effect on the scenery, he too referred to the Affric scheme as an example of hydroelectric development improving tourism following the extension of the road towards Loch Affric.<sup>32</sup> While he emphasised

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<sup>28</sup> SSE, no box no, 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', p. 279.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp. 278-81.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 54.

that the Amenity Committee had had no objections to the Strathfarrar scheme,<sup>33</sup> he had to agree with the opposing counsel's statement that 'in this area of the North Highlands the only glen still untouched by the Hydro Board is now Glen Strathfarrar'.<sup>34</sup>

In light of the Inquiry, it is difficult not to argue that the NSHEB escaped lightly as a result of statutory escape routes constructed especially for it. The Constructional Scheme Explanatory Memoranda merely noted that the Amenity Committee had no objections to the scheme.<sup>35</sup> At the close of the Inquiry, amenity was listed as one of the less important points of the objections<sup>36</sup>; more emphasis was placed on the problems to be created for fishing.<sup>37</sup> However, it was accepted that amenity figured in the evidence of the objectors for particular reasons, especially with regard to the uniquely remote and unspoiled quality of the last of the 'great glens' running east to west to be 'altered' by hydroelectricity developments.<sup>38</sup> These conclusions further substantiate the subsequent conviction on the part of landscape protectionists that the argument that something was worthy of protection because it was beautiful was not one that would stand up to judicial inquiry. In order to make a case stand, they would

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<sup>33</sup> SSE, no box no, 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>35</sup> SSE, no file number, 'Constructional Schemes: Explanatory Memoranda and Confirmation Orders', Scottish Home Department, Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act 1943: NSHEB Constructional Scheme No 30, Explanatory Memoranda, (HMSO: Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> SSE, no box no, 'NSHEB Constructional Scheme No. 30 (Strathfarrar and Kilmorack Project), Report of Proceedings at a Public Local Inquiry Before RS Johnston, Esq, QC, Commissioner, Held within the SSC Library, Parliament House, Edinburgh, on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> to Friday 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1957', p. 650.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 655.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 652.

have to make the landscape in need of protection the subject of use as well as delight.

The intensity of the debate surrounding what appeared to critics to be the relentless promulgation of hydroelectric schemes across some of the most beautiful parts of the Highlands reached new levels when the news of a proposed scheme in Glen Nevis was formally announced in 1960. The Nevis Scheme became extremely controversial, not least due to the area's popularity with walkers and climbers.<sup>39</sup> However, opposition to the scheme, while including a range of mountaineering and rambling groups, widened to include more references to the outdoors-enjoying public at large. As the *Guardian* put it:

Of all the glens used by the Hydro Board Nevis is not only the most vulnerable to destruction of its whole character: it is also, because it is so accessible, the most popular. As anyone who has ever visited its youth hostel during the season knows, it is the playground, not of padded and plaided lairds with guns, but of future Labour voters from Glasgow with boots and bicycles.<sup>40</sup>

The NTS raised concerns regarding a number of the scheme's proposals. The 240-foot dam wall that the NSHEB proposed to site at the head of the gorge would have impacted on approaching walkers' views of the Steall Falls. As with the Falls of Tummel, the falls themselves would have been significantly diminished, to the point where the water would have 'slid' rather than 'cascaded' into the pool below. Moreover, the piping away of approximately 8 million gallons of water per day to a powerhouse set nearly 200 feet down the gorge

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<sup>39</sup> '£4,200,000 Hydro-Electric Plan for Glen Nevis: Access to peaks not affected', *Times*, 7 October 1960.

<sup>40</sup> 'Electricity and Politics in Scotland', *Guardian*, 9 June 1961.

would, it was argued, have rendered it empty and silent.<sup>41</sup> In 1985, NTS member Douglas Stewart described his feelings when, as a young engineer, he had surveyed the site for the proposed scheme and to him ‘it became more and more unthinkable to fill that magnificent gorge with a wall of concrete for just a few megawatts of rather expensive electricity’.<sup>42</sup>

As stated, pressure to prevent further development had been growing in a number of quarters. On 23 January 1961, the *Scotsman* discussed the need to review both the aesthetic impact of hydroelectric development and its true economic value, highlighting as it did so the quandary emphasised by the landscape architect Sylvia Crowe several years earlier: ‘it is not easy to make such a distinction, for the extent to which landscape beauty may be sacrificed or impaired depends on the urgency and advantages of economic exploitation’.<sup>43</sup> The same article in the *Scotsman* also sheds light on the general feeling that, nearly two decades on from the Hydro-Electric Development (Scotland) Act, landscape protectionists and the NSHEB had reached an uneasy stalemate, with the NTS unsure as to how far to take its objections:

And [sic] if each scheme were to provoke a sharp tussle on the scenic question, the [B]oard’s plans would be seriously impeded and the amenity societies ruined. It is satisfactory, therefore, that the National Trust should be exerting itself to seek agreement by informal consultations rather than by expensive public inquiries ... Although the National Trust has persuaded most societies to hold their hand, one or two still want an inquiry.<sup>44</sup>

The Secretary of State, John Maclay, was also hesitant about initiating a potentially emotionally-charged public inquiry into the advantages and

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<sup>41</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, ‘NTS/NSHEB: Glen Nevis Proposed Scheme’, 20 October 1960.

<sup>42</sup> NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape, 1985-6’, Douglas Green, Stewart Design, Aberdeen, to the NTS, 7 February 1985.

<sup>43</sup> *The Scotsman*, 23 January 1961.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

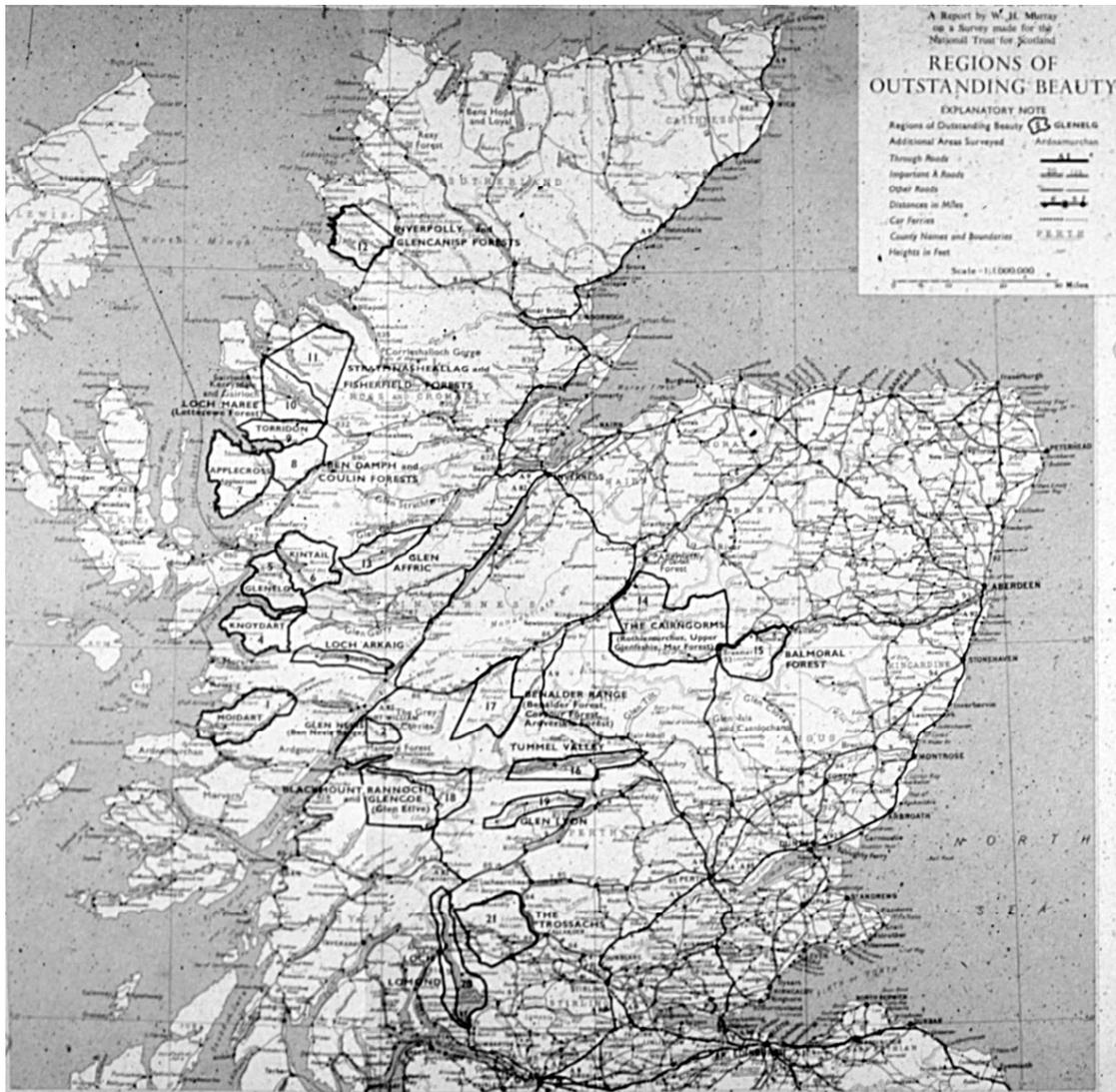


Figure 8

disadvantages of developing Glen Nevis. He opted to delay a specific investigation into the Nevis proposal until such time as the Mackenzie Committee, with its broader economic remit, had reported.<sup>45</sup>

The Mackenzie Committee was appointed in March 1961 to gauge the continued economic feasibility of hydroelectricity schemes in Scotland in the light of new costing criteria and the implications of the 'social clause' of the 1943 Act. Colin Mackenzie, CMG, previously the Chairman of the Scottish Committee of the Federation of British Industries, and his Committee were required to:

review the arrangements for generating and distributing electricity in Scotland having regard to (i) the availability and cost of hydro-electric power and of other sources of electricity; (ii) the rate of increase in the demand for electricity; and (iii) the needs of the remoter areas; and to make recommendations.<sup>46</sup>

The timing of the Nevis proposal meant that its authorisation or otherwise became inextricably linked to the conclusions reached by the Mackenzie Committee. For the NSHEB, the Committee's findings were disappointing. The latter found that hydroelectric schemes were, on the whole, not competitive with other forms of energy production. On this basis, Nevis would be abandoned. Furthermore, the Committee advocated increasing the power of the Secretary of State's Amenity Committee, much to the satisfaction of the NTS, which expressed its approval of the Mackenzie Committee's observations on the subject.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 'Statement by The Rt Hon John S Maclay, Secretary of State for Scotland', accompanying letter from the same to The Rt Hon The Earl of Wemyss and March, Chairman of Council, NTS, 6 March 1961.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Chairman of Council to The Rt Hon MAC Noble, Secretary of State for Scotland, 'Electricity in Scotland', 15 November 1962.

At the same time, policymakers continued to work aesthetic considerations around points of economic necessity, rather than consider adjusting the latter to make way for the former. The NTS considered the uncertain fate of Glen Nevis, while the Mackenzie Committee sat, to be representative of the general situation regarding the imbalance between land-use and landscape in the Highlands. The Secretary of State had deflected the Trust's attempt to have a survey of Highland landscapes incorporated within the remit of the Mackenzie Committee as 'inappropriate', promising further consideration at a later date.<sup>48</sup> The Trust consequently outlined its dissatisfaction with the role available to the landscape protection movement where energy development in general was concerned in a memorandum to the Mackenzie Committee:

There is no adequate protection for landscape of outstanding beauty or interest. Consequently, apprehension about conservation increases as electricity undertakings continue to expand. While the Trust does not consider that there is any fundamental difficulty in establishing relative values if all factors are taken into consideration at a sufficiently early stage, it regrets that there is neither statutory protection for irreplaceable national possessions nor machinery to ensure that timeous and comprehensive discussion of electricity projects can be obtained by organisations concerned with amenity and conservation.<sup>49</sup>

Nevis was therefore a catalyst for the NTS's assumption of what became, in the long-term, a more proactive stance.

With the aim of providing a blueprint of aesthetically significant areas, the Trust made the decision to fund its own detailed survey of the Highland landscape. The climber WH Murray, who was becoming an acknowledged expert on Scotland's landscape as a result of his writing and broadcasting on the subject of

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<sup>48</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, The Rt Hon John S Maclay, Secretary of State for Scotland, to The Rt Hon The Earl of Wemyss and March, Chairman of Council, NTS, 6 March 1961.

<sup>49</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 'Memorandum to the Mackenzie Committee', 22 June 1961, cited in 'Statement by the Earl of Wemyss and March', AGM, 10 April 1962.

Scottish mountains and mountaineering, was engaged to carry out the survey.<sup>50</sup> Published by the NTS in 1962 as *Highland Landscape*, the survey arguably did much to popularise the aesthetic appreciation of the more remote areas of Scotland (*figure 8*).<sup>51</sup> It went a significant way towards forming a basis for the current understanding of what constitutes the most important stretches of landscape within Scotland in general. Critically, it is this understanding that dictates the degree of development to which a specific area is likely to be subjected. Murray's survey received an enthusiastic review in the *SM*, which proclaimed:

Probably no Scotsman anywhere will agree with Mr Murray's selection! But agreement or disagreement with the chosen list is the least important of our reactions to this survey. The important thing is that for the first time one of Scotland's greatest assets – landscape – has been surveyed purely from the aesthetic point of view and the people of Scotland have been shown squarely what a heritage they possess and how quickly it might slip away.<sup>52</sup>

Strathfarrar and Nevis stand as critical indicators of two stages, one successful and the other less so, in the opposition to landscape in the Highlands. Nonetheless, the failed Nevis proposal was followed in 1964 by Fada-Fionn, the final large-scale conventional 'NSHEB era' scheme, which was to have been sited at Lochs Fionn, Fada and Maree, Wester Ross.<sup>53</sup> As Peter Payne points out, what was ironic in the case of Fada-Fionn was that it actually drew little objection from groups such as the NTS, APRS and the progressively more vocal mountaineering lobby.<sup>54</sup> Arguably this was because, following the outcome of

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<sup>50</sup> See for example WH Murray, *The Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1976).

<sup>51</sup> WH Murray, *Highland Landscape* (Aberdeen, 1962).

<sup>52</sup> The *SM*, Vol 77, No 4, July 1962, p. 313.

<sup>53</sup> St Andrews University Library Special Collection, MS 38449 James Morton Boyd Archive, Box 16, File 'Hydro-Electric', James Morton Boyd, 'Green Electricity – a lecture to the Scottish region of the Royal Society of Arts', 19.01.1993.

<sup>54</sup> Payne, *The Hydro*, p. 227.

the Mackenzie Report, these groups felt confident that economic grounds would provide a satisfactory impediment to the progression of the scheme.<sup>55</sup>

Set against the background of the wider 'NSHEB era', the significance of the late 1950s and early 1960s lies in the shift in landscape protectionists' defence of significant landscapes. Change to Glen Strathfarrar was opposed on the basis of the aesthetic merit of the landscape. By contrast, the defence of Glen Nevis highlighted the value of the glen and its surrounds as a landscape of particular importance to mountaineering groups and other constituents of the outdoors movement. However, despite this adjustment, the fundamental ideals on which the landscape protection movement was founded remained intractable. The NTS's tone remained conciliatory, as reflected in the Chairman's address to the gathering of members at the Annual General Meeting of 1960: 'there is perhaps nothing better for us than a controversy from time to time – it highlights the values we strive for; and it makes us think more deeply. Above all the present situation calls for understanding and respect of both points of view, without fanaticism on either side'.<sup>56</sup>

While it can be argued that, in the final analysis, economic factors precipitated the end of the conventional hydroelectric schemes, experiences relating to Strathfarrar and Nevis forced landscape protectionists to articulate their value systems in such a way as to include as wide a cross-section of the public as possible. Their opposition could no longer be based on aesthetic appeal alone.

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<sup>55</sup> St Andrews University Library Special Collection, MS 38449, James Morton Boyd Archive, Box 16, File 'Hydro-Electric', James Morton Boyd, 'Green Electricity – a lecture to the Scottish region of the Royal Society of Arts', 19 January 1993.

However, while Nevis in particular was an important step in the development of landscape protectionism in Scotland, the weight of public sentiment was only fully brought to bear against the NSHEB in the late 1960s, when it began to consider plans for a major pumped storage scheme within Loch Lomondside.

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<sup>56</sup> NTS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 'Address by The Rt Hon The Earl of Wemyss and March', AGM, 30 April 1960.

## VIII

### **POWER IN THE LANDSCAPE III THE CRAIGROYSTON SCHEME**

The 1970s heralded a new and significant alteration in the dynamics between land-use and landscape appreciation and protection in Britain. In the Highlands, this was reflected in the conflict that developed over an ambitious pumped storage plan for Loch Lomondside. Two defining characteristics of the period, oil availability and the flowering of ‘people power’, extended considerable influence over the proposal. Both the discovery of North Sea oil and the two oil crises ensured that energy provision consistently headed a state agenda that in any case remained heavily coloured by Cold War nuclear priorities. State concerns were mirrored by a heightened public awareness of the wider implications of energy development. In this era of popular protest, the state was more conditioned to respond to public sentiment, and feelings regarding the Loch Lomondside landscape ran particularly deep. This specific landscape became a flashpoint because, following years of post-war reconstruction and development, the idea of sacrificing this most culturally meaningful of Highland places in the interests of future energy requirements was simply a step too far; in questioning the plans, an expanded landscape protection movement appreciated that it was on more solid ground than it had been previously.

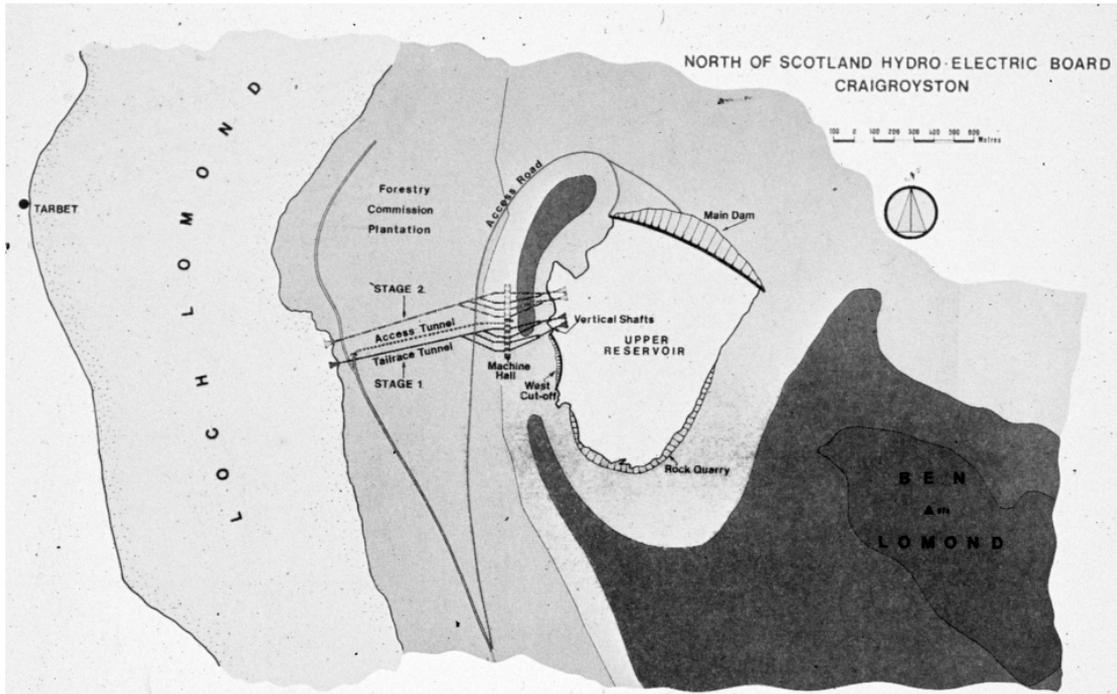
In 1980, prior to the official publication of the Loch Lomondside proposal and any resultant public inquiry, the Board decided to set it aside. This outcome stands in contrast to that of the Sloy proposal in 1945, despite the proximity of the two locations. Above all, the differing results for Sloy and Craighroyston (as the 1970s scheme was named) may be linked to both the wider implications of Détente and changes in the general state prioritisation of hydroelectric-related development in the Highlands. However, as signified by the establishment of the Countryside Commission for Scotland in 1967, this was also a period in which landscape protection issues began to attract greater state consideration. In the wake of a battle over the location of an oil platform construction site at Drumbuie on the west coast, state and NSHEB appreciation of the intense opposition that would arise in the event of the official publication of plans for Loch Lomondside did much to engender what was, for the landscape protection lobby, a positive outcome. On one level, this result can be interpreted as a success for opponents of landscape change in the Highlands. At the same time, the shelving of Craighroyston towards the end of the ‘NSHEB era’ of nationalised control of Highland water systems left unresolved the wider issue of how best to fully integrate energy (and other large-scale developments) within landscapes of special significance. Although a general heightening of environmental awareness in Britain and the associated willingness of both landscape protection groups and the NSHEB to engage in debate created favourable conditions for potential compromise, landscape values remained unadjusted.

The discovery of oil and gas in the North Sea furnished Scotland with an enhanced profile as Britain’s energy provider, even as the precise emphasis

shifted away from Highland water systems. Potential developments relating to oil, gas and nuclear expansion proliferated, and, in 1975, a landscape consultant wondered whether the 1970s would in the future be considered ‘an age of energy exploration’.<sup>1</sup> Accelerated energy development played a part in the growth of environmental consciousness, exacerbating perceived threats to landscape integrity and generating more wide-scale demands for landscape protection. The details of the abortive Craigoyston initiative are therefore useful in terms of what they can add to the understanding of both Highland landscape protection and Highland landscape values. A consideration of the project against the background of preceding hydroelectric schemes and the emergent North Sea oil industry highlights the seminal influences of the period: the formalisation of landscape protection through the establishment of the Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS); changes in the outlook of the traditional landscape protection groups (the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland and the National Trust for Scotland); the promulgation of single-issue landscape protection groups (the Friends of Loch Lomond). These factors all helped expedite a mounting sense of collective ownership where Highland landscape in general and Loch Lomondside in particular was concerned, and it is this idea of collective, or ‘metaphorical’ ownership that is central to the consideration of the nature of underlying landscape values. In the environmentally-conscious climate of the time, the articulation of ownership rights became a viable defence mechanism that, through reference to well-established cultural signifiers, required little detailed explanation. Landscape protectionists were thus less

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<sup>1</sup> NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape, 1975’, CCS: ‘Oil and the Environment’. Meeting of Conservation and Amenity Bodies, New St Andrews House, Edinburgh, 22 July 1975.



NORTH OF SCOTLAND HYDRO-ELECTRIC BOARD  
CRAIGROYSTON

PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF SHAFTS AND TUNNELS

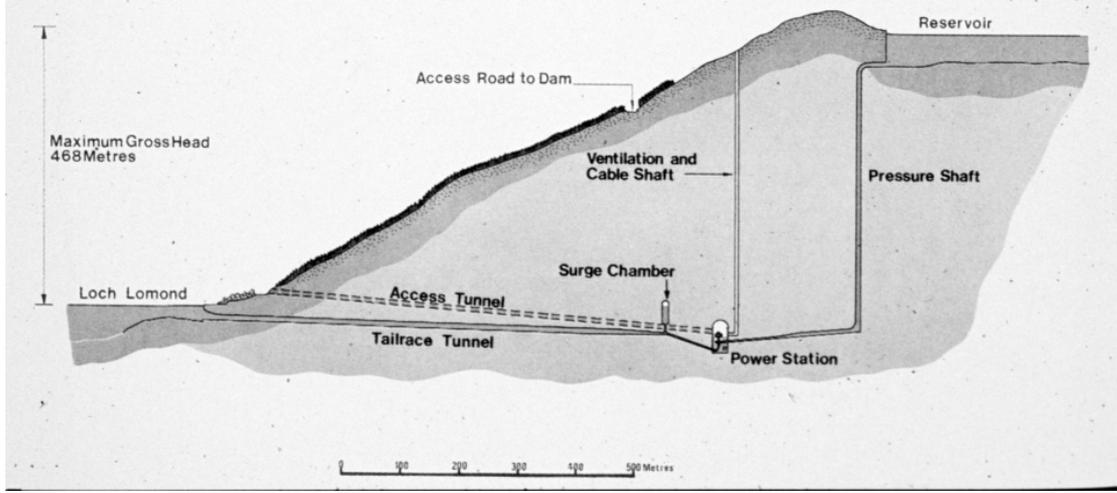


Figure 9

obliged to explore and rationalise their landscape ideals in the way that they had been (with little success) with regard to earlier schemes like Strathfarrar.

As signalled by the Mackenzie Report, conventional hydroelectric development lost impetus in the 1960s. NSHEB projects were not, therefore, proliferating at the rate they had been. However, pumped storage technology remained an important partner to expanding nuclear technology. The Cruachan Scheme on the banks of Loch Awe was a flagship NSHEB development and, in engineering terms, plans for a replica 1600 MW-capacity scheme on Loch Lomondside, close to the Central Belt, with its existing transmission network and high demand for energy at peak times, appeared highly promising.<sup>2</sup> The proximity of Ben Lomond to the eastern lochside fulfilled the necessary topographical requirements for pumped storage: suitable bedrock and the potential to create two water supplies close together but separated by a steep gradient.<sup>3</sup>

It is important to consider Craighroyston's position on the NSHEB construction agenda in the light of the emergent prioritisation of the oil industry. As early as 1957, two locations, Sloy and the Burn of Mar near Balmaha, were being considered as potential sites for a pumped storage facility on Loch Lomondside.<sup>4</sup> Cruachan had been announced a few months previously.<sup>5</sup> In 1965, the subject resurfaced in the wake of the state's rejection of the conventional hydroelectric

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<sup>2</sup> The 1600 MW capacity represented the first stage of a two-part plan; the scheme had an expansion potential that would have raised its generating capacity to 3200 MW. (NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1976-78', 'CCS: Forum on the Environment', 'Note of Second Meeting of 1978', 16 May 1978, p. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1976-78', 'CCS: Forum on the Environment', 'Note of Second Meeting of 1978', 16 May 1978, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 'Loch Lomond Power Plan', *The Times*, 4 September 1957.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hydro-electricity Schemes are Rejected', *The Times*, 30 November 1965.

schemes proposed for Fada-fionn and Laidon, but the idea still remained at the initial planning stage. It was in 1973, the year defined in Britain by the first Oil Crisis and the Heath Government's institution of the three-day week, that the Board began to place renewed emphasis on the promotion of Craigoyston.

The NSHEB was acutely aware of the sensitivity of this particular proposal, 'this can of worms', as one spokesperson described it. As another Board representative put it: 'If we could have done it elsewhere, then obviously we should prefer to avoid walking into this particular lion's den'.<sup>6</sup> The mountain and 13 miles of lochside, part of the Rowardennan Estate, were already under state ownership. This precluded any conflict with landowners over physical property rights, but augmented the challenging issue of Loch Lomondside as a landscape of especial value. Rowardennan had been acquired through the National Land Fund in 1950 'to preserve the natural beauty of the area, safeguard public access, and to use the land for forestry and agriculture'.<sup>7</sup> Its purchase had been on the basis that it was 'for the nation',<sup>8</sup> and, in line with the remit of the National Land Fund and ongoing discussions over national parks for Scotland, the press linked the purchase to the general significance of Loch Lomondside in landscape rather than land-use terms.<sup>9</sup> The Board therefore risked accusations of turning a landscape fit for national park status into an industrial site. It

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<sup>6</sup> 'Appeal to heartstrings of Scots abroad to help save Loch Lomond', *The Times*, 12 Sept 1978.

<sup>7</sup> 'The Ben Lomond Sale', *The Times*, 16 February 1950; also, 'Ben Lomond for the Nation', *The Times*, 20 February 1950.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ben Lomond for the Nation'.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

accordingly took care to promote the idea that Craigroyston would bring little long-term visual change to Loch Lomondside.<sup>10</sup>

The nature of pumped storage technology augmented the Board's strategy; as with Cruachan, the main workings would be concealed out of sight within Ben Lomond, precluding the need for a visible generating works on the skyline.<sup>11</sup> The creation of a new reservoir was unavoidable, and the plan involved constructing a 74-metre (approximately 243 feet) high rockfill dam wall across a valley immediately below the summit of Ben Lomond (*figure 9*). However, the Board's promotional information emphasised that planting the side of the dam wall facing the loch would minimise the visual impact of the reservoir from the lochside.<sup>12</sup> The utilisation of the name Craigroyston – an old name for the hills to the east of Loch Lomond – emphasises the Board's efforts to keep to a minimum the direct associations of place arising from the mention of 'Loch/Ben Lomond'. These were relatively superficial nods to aesthetic consideration, which, above all, indicate a continuation of the Board's decades-long strategy of taking landscape protection issues into account only in so far as it was possible to do so without considerable impact on technological and economic considerations.

Nonetheless, the Craigroyston discourse makes it clear that both developers and landscape protectionists were operating within an enhanced climate of compromise. The outcome of the conflict over Sloy in the immediate post-

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<sup>10</sup> NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1976-78', 'CCS: Forum on the Environment', 'Note of Second Meeting of 1978', 16 May 1978, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

World War II period of reconstruction illustrated how, the significance of the Loch Lomondside landscape notwithstanding, aesthetics of place had to make way for socio-economic, utilitarian necessity. In the broadest sense, the conflict over Craigroyston was little different. The ability of the state to enforce the NSHEB's proposal remained, making the decline, in the wake of the Mackenzie Report, of the government's at-all-costs support of hydroelectric and related development initiatives in the Highlands an important aspect of the Craigroyston narrative. However, in 1945, the NSHEB merely complied with its legal obligations where landscape aesthetics were concerned. In the late 1960s, with the Nevis Scheme abandoned and Murray's *Highland Landscape* in print, there was an increased sensitivity towards landscape protectionists' reception of further proposals for energy development in significant landscapes. Thanks primarily to the features of pumped storage technology, Craigroyston may have been one of the least aesthetically-intrusive developments of those discussed in these chapters. At the same time, the NSHEB made good use of this positive public relations by-product through the projection of an attitude of transparency and willingness to take landscape aesthetics into consideration. In this, the Board reflected its understanding of the heightened environmental consciousness that became a central characteristic of the period.

As with the hydroelectric schemes of previous decades, the nature of the landscape protectionist response to Craigroyston draws attention to the various factors impacting on landscape protection during this time. Foremost of these modifying influences was the move, in 1967, towards the formalisation and state management of Scottish landscape protection through the establishment of the

Countryside Commission for Scotland. Instituted under the auspices of the Countryside Act (Scotland), the CCS was provided with a remit to advise on planning, development and landscape issues.<sup>13</sup> It is entirely reasonable to explain the creation of the Countryside Commissions (England and Wales received theirs in 1968) as John Sheail does, as a linear extension of the progression towards greater environmental awareness in Britain.<sup>14</sup> This interpretation would argue that heightened environmental sensitivity had a two-pronged result in the shape of, firstly, new developmental precautions (such as the NSHEB being forced to engage more thoroughly with landscape protection sensibilities) and, secondly, increased levels of landscape protection (in the shape of formal state management). However, state intervention as prompted by rising environmental awareness also created an additional conflict within the evolving approach to landscape protection; state management dictates a resource-based approach, and landscape protection has traditionally centred on the idea of preventing significant landscapes from being turned into a resource of one form or another. Viewed in this way, formal state management of landscape is a contradiction in terms and agendas.

From the late 1960s onwards, much of Scotland looked to the CCS for direction in landscape protection issues, with the result that the Highland landscape itself became more closely identified as a resource. More than anything, this came about because the state machinery of intervention and protection struggles to operate without due attention being paid to classification and control. State consideration of Scotland's landscape as a resource undoubtedly meant that

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<sup>13</sup> Sheail, *Environmental History*, pp. 141-5.

‘landscape’ began to receive something of the attention meted out to ‘land’. However, this was to the detriment of progress in the understanding of the fabric of landscape appreciation. Bureaucratisation ushered in an additional set of management-orientated complications. From the time of its emergence, this has served to channel attention away from attempts to unravel social and cultural meanings of landscape in the interests of quantifying it in terms of a traditional resource. To some extent, landscape protection lobbyists anticipated this, with one member of the APRS fearing ‘an enormous centralised bureaucracy – a Civil Servant’s dream and a taxpayer’s nightmare.’<sup>15</sup>

The CCS understood itself to be engaged in bringing structure to the prevailing *ad hoc* nature of landscape protection in Scotland; the implication was that the unstructured nature of current strategies presented a barrier to the advancement of protection. The problems it encountered in its efforts at structural enhancement are a measure of the difficulties inherent in applying traditional resource evaluation criteria to landscape values. In 1970, it emphasised the

urgent need for a fundamental examination and classification of countryside resources, particularly in terms of scenic quality, to ensure that the best degree of protection is given where necessary, coupled with the use most suited to their character and location. The Commission sees this as an essential preliminary to advising the Secretary of State on the use of the powers in the Act to set up Areas of Specific Planning Control for parts of the countryside of particular beauty or amenity or having other special characteristics. Unlike England and Wales, Scotland does not have a system of National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty to provide a basic hierarchy of protection, and the Scottish National Park Direction Areas which exist are essentially an administrative device to monitor planning applications for development.<sup>16</sup>

It endeavoured to redress the situation by cataloguing Scottish landscapes. Its approach was based on the scientific reasoning and quantification that had

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<sup>14</sup> Sheail, *Environmental History*, pp. 141-5.

<sup>15</sup> APRS, MMC, 1 March 1966.

<sup>16</sup> CCS, Report Number 7, ‘Scotland: A Report Prepared by the Countryside Commission for Scotland Presented to the Standing Committee of ‘The Countryside in 1970’ (London, 1970).

proved successful where species conservation was concerned. However, at this level, too, the employment of scientific methodology as a means of measuring culturally constructed 'landscape' resulted in subjective findings. Eight years on, the CCS admitted that it had:

not found or been able to develop any completely objective system capable of satisfactorily comprehending the selection of scenery in a way which would satisfy the essentially aesthetic aspects of the appreciation of natural beauty and amenity. The review has therefore been carried out on a systematic but subjective basis.<sup>17</sup>

In its review, the CCS's handling of the thorny subject of the integration of hydroelectric development within the Highland landscape is telling. Its appraisal of individual settings on their own merit enabled it to comment favourably on areas incorporating some less overt elements of hydroelectric development:

The Loch of Dunalistair [just east of Loch Rannoch] is a creation of hydro-electric works, but its reed beds and willow beds, and tranquil shallow waters, set amongst meadows and woodlands, offer a pleasing contrast with the bigger loch to the west.<sup>18</sup>

Its observations placed the relatively unobtrusive elements of hydroelectric development, such as well-integrated reservoirs, on a level with similarly constrained afforestation, for instance that around Loch Shiel.<sup>19</sup> However, it was less able to come to terms with the wider impact of hydroelectric development, merely stating conclusively, for instance, that 'in scenic terms, [Glens Affric, Cannich and Strathfarrar]...have been adversely affected by hydro-electric schemes'.<sup>20</sup>

The CCS attempted to formulate a practical blueprint for landscape classification and, ultimately, landscape protection, in Scotland. However, Romantic

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<sup>17</sup> CCS, *Scotland's Scenic Heritage*, (CCS, 1978), p. 3. See also NTS, File C46, 'Countryside Commission for Scotland, 1976-78', 'Scotland's Scenic Heritage: Paper to be presented to the Executive Committee Meeting on Thursday 11 May 1978'.

<sup>18</sup> CCS, *Scotland's Scenic Heritage*, (CCS, 1978), p. 65.

landscape values caused its efforts to founder; it is difficult to deviate from the simplified industrialised/non-industrialised categories with which the viewer subconsciously 'reads' landscape. The campaign to oppose Craigmoyon highlights the applied ramifications of this. The infirm nature of the aesthetic platform from which objectors (both the traditional and emergent single-issue groups) launched their protest resulted in a strident yet relatively superficial response that, despite rising environmental awareness, ultimately did no more than previous hydroelectric protests had done to settle the question of how best to reconcile development within significant landscapes.

The APRS and the NTS remained the mainstream non-governmental representatives of landscape protection in Scotland, liaising on developmental issues with similarly mainstream wildlife protection groups (the Scottish Wildlife Trust, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds) and traditional landownership and farming interests (the Scottish Landowners Federation and the National Farmer's Union of Scotland).<sup>21</sup> The formation of the CCS meant that the established protection bodies formed a secondary tier below it, sandwiched between the state body and the increasing number of environmental pressure groups that could be said to form a third tier representing more specific interests. The increasing predominance of both the CCS and the pressure groups forced the APRS and the NTS to re-examine their collective role. The APRS, in particular, began a period of stringent self-examination. It was concerned about its falling membership and its by then somewhat antediluvian image, and aware

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<sup>19</sup> CCS, *Scotland's Scenic Heritage*, (CCS, 1978), p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1976-78', 'CCS: Oil and the Environment/Forum on the Environment', notes of meetings 25 February 1976 – 7 September 1978.

that the word ‘preservation’ in its name gave off connotations of an earlier era.<sup>22</sup> In the 1920s, when the APRS was established, the idea of ‘preserving’ significant landscapes formed a significant part of a vanguard reaction to encroaching development in the countryside. Fifty years later, attitudes towards the natural world were more consciously reflective of the realities of environmental change. Radicalised, post-*Silent Spring* non-governmental organisations such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace were the more youthful, cutting-edge face of later Cold War environmental awareness.<sup>23</sup> These groups embraced popular concerns regarding nuclear proliferation<sup>24</sup> and the over-use of agro-chemicals. The APRS’s actions reflect the sensitivity of the traditional landscape protection movement to this altered consciousness. In 1974, it replaced ‘preservation’ with ‘protection’ and resolved to augment its facelift through the employment of ‘better phraseology and the use of more up-to-date terminology’.<sup>25</sup> However, its central concern with aesthetics also engendered constraints. ‘Protection’ may have been more in keeping with 1970s attitudes towards the environment, but, when applied to landscape, in terms of objective it had little to distinguish it from ‘preservation’; in principle, both words encapsulated an aspiration to maintain significant landscapes as free as possible from human-induced visual change.

In the light of the social concerns incorporated within the agendas of the new pressure groups, the APRS was concerned about acquiring a reputation for being

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<sup>22</sup> APRS, MMC 8 February 1972; APRS, ‘Minutes of Meeting of *Ad Hoc* Committee on Membership, Edinburgh, 11 April 1972. See also APRS, MMC generally for 1972-73.

<sup>23</sup> Sheail, *Environmental History*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>24</sup> See for example NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape’, Paul Richards, Secretary, Friends of the Earth (Aberdeen) to NTS, ‘Uranium Extraction Near Banchory’, 19 April 1977; NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape’, Friends of the Earth (Aberdeen) information leaflet, ‘Yes or No to Uranium?’ April 1977.

<sup>25</sup> APRS, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 19 April 1974.

‘anti-everything’.<sup>26</sup> Reacting to criticism of its elitist, non-integrationist agenda, it made a renewed attempt to emphasise the resolution of social problems as well as issues of amenity and aesthetics:

APRS is not a negative thinking or obstructive organisation. Its policy is to promote suitable and harmonious development and encourage the rational enjoyment of the countryside by urban dwellers, while at the same time safeguarding the unequalled beauty of the Scottish landscape.<sup>27</sup>

The NTS was similarly mindful of what it perceived to be its responsibilities towards social development. However, the discourse concerning concurrent oil-related expansion reflects how both organisations experienced difficulties with the practical application of their adjusted ‘landscape protection and social development’ remit, making oil-related issues a further factor colouring opposition to Craigoyston.

The construction of one form of platform facilitating the extraction of oil from beneath the seabed required stretches of very deep water immediately offshore. A number of coastal locations around Scotland met these topographical requirements. As with hydroelectric development, the idea of platform construction sites in the more remote of these areas was both promising, in terms of employment and related potential, and threatening, in terms of visual impact and social change. The APRS struggled to align its fresh focus with its long-term reservations regarding large-scale energy development, explaining to the Scottish Development Department:

[The APRS] is very conscious of the problems associated with likely and essential developments in Scotland. We realise it is no mean task to determine the importance of the economic needs of the country, especially those of the local community, and the requirement reasonably to protect the environment and

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<sup>26</sup> APRS, MCM, 6 March 1973.

<sup>27</sup> NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape, 1973-74’, Richard Livingstone, Organising Secretary, APRS, to WDC Lyddon, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh, 7 January 1974; APRS, MCM, 6 March 1973.

amenity. In this respect it can, we feel, be argued that Scotland's wild countryside and attractive coastline represent resources equally as precious, in the long term, as North Sea oil, and certainly more vital to the quality of life.

We object most strongly to a proliferation of oil bases around our coastline, and hold the view that oil-related developments should be contained within existing industrial areas, or at places where planning permission for similar usage has already been given.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to the APRS, the NTS was initially inclined towards accepting a degree of landscape change in exchange for the socio-economic advantages that the platform construction sites would bring to the region. However, it was subsequently forced to oppose development at the small settlement of Drumbuie, near Kyle of Lochalsh, because the plan incorporated the NTS-owned Balmacara Estate. The NTS did not initially view its ownership of Balmacara as an obstacle, since it did not consider it to be of particularly high landscape value – particularly when weighed against the area's need for economic regeneration. However, the principle of 'inalienability' dictated otherwise. The Trust, supported by the APRS, was forced to object in principle to the contention that land held in trust for the nation could nonetheless become part of a large-scale development project.<sup>29</sup>

In 1945, the NTS enforced its inalienability prerogative in an effort to protect the Falls of Tummel from changes brought about by the Tummel-Garry Scheme. In part, its action represented concern about landscape change, but it was also motivated by the feeling that the principle of inalienability had to be upheld if the

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<sup>28</sup> NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1973-74', Richard Livingstone, Organising Secretary, APRS, to WDC Lyddon, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh, 7 January 1974; APRS, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, 19 April 1974.

<sup>29</sup> APRS, Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 17 May 1973 and 13 June 1973.

public was to retain faith in its capabilities.<sup>30</sup> Then, the state forced the principle aside in order to make way for hydroelectric development in the national interest. By contrast, in the environmentally-conscious climate of the 1970s, the NTS came under intense pressure from its membership to fight the Drumbuie proposal on the basis of this same principle when, ironically, it did not feel that the landscape value of this particular property was sufficient to merit opposition. By this time, the NTS profile was such that fervent members expected it to at least attempt to extend its influence wherever landscape came under threat, regardless of whether the situation in question came under its remit. Evading confrontation over the Balmacara property would therefore have been difficult.<sup>31</sup> Similarly at the mercy of the current climate, the state was also ultimately unable to disregard the inalienability principle in the manner in which it had done in the past. Following a protracted public inquiry, the state agreed to uphold the inalienability of the NTS property so long as the NTS did not challenge a reworked construction proposal incorporating a site just six miles away on the opposite side of Loch Kishorn, but where there would be no impact on NTS property.<sup>32</sup>

The outcome of the Drumbuie Inquiry made it clear that the state remained the deciding factor where large-scale development within the Highland landscape was concerned; in this case, the state viewed custody of oilrig platform construction sites as being critical to Britain's ability to continue to profit to the fullest extent from the oil industry. Moving the site by six miles was a matter of

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<sup>30</sup> NTS, Annual Report, Year Ending 30 April 1945, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1973-74', correspondence regarding tree-felling on Eigg, May – August 1974.

<sup>32</sup> 'Ninian Central', *Business Scotland*, June 1978, pp. 221-2.

expediency that enabled both the state and the NTS to disengage themselves from the planning hook on which they found themselves caught. The Kishorn plan met with little opposition and generated no public inquiry.<sup>33</sup> The Secretary of State refused to award the NTS its expenses for opposing Drumbuie, in spite of the NTS' argument that its defence of the 'inalienability principle' was a statutory obligation. According to the state, the NTS' statutory obligation was met by the clause enjoining developers to take special precautions when dealing with 'inalienable' land.<sup>34</sup> The successful defence of Balmacara (but not the wider Loch Kishorn area) therefore cost the NTS an estimated £30,000, not counting staff time. The NTS membership contributed at least £26,000 towards this cost, but Drumbuie was nonetheless a further defining experience where the opposition of state-sponsored landscape development was concerned.<sup>35</sup>

Reeling from the expense and legal precedent of Drumbuie, and taking into account their reoriented 'social inclusion' agendas, the NTS and the APRS limited their overt opposition to Craigroyston in the way that they played down their concerns regarding hydroelectric development in the wake of Tummel-Garry. Even more importantly, the Craigroyston site did not involve the NTS' physical ownership of a property; in this case, the Trust had no statutory obligation to defend Loch Lomondside. Nevertheless, the idea of ownership remains crucial. Later twentieth century landscape protection is best explained in terms of a growing awareness of people's rights of metaphorical ownership, incorporating, but also extending beyond, traditional landscape protection

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<sup>33</sup> 'Ninian Central', *Business Scotland*, June 1978, pp. 221-2.

<sup>34</sup> NTS. 'Statement by the Earl of Wemyss and March, KT, LL.D, to the Annual General Meeting, 26 April 1975', p. 3.

interests. This is ownership in the most comprehensive, but also most intangible, sense. The issue was by no means new to the 1970s. Ideas regarding the symbolic ownership of Scottish landscape are implicit within late nineteenth-century agitation for landscape preservation and freedom of access to the countryside. However, the 'NSHEB era', with particular reference to the schemes highlighted in the previous chapter, reflects the critical impact of the late 1960s and early 1970s on the subsequently explicit articulation of the ownership concept.

It has been shown that the defence of the Strathfarrar landscape incorporated one of the last attempts to appeal for protection on the grounds of the aesthetically-pleasing scene represented by a landscape in its 'untouched' state. However, landscape protectionists did not explicitly suggest that it was the unquestioned right of the nation to enjoy the visual spectacle offered by Strathfarrar. Moreover, the threat to Strathfarrar did not attract widespread opposition. The subsequent opposition to the Glen Nevis Scheme touched on ideas relating to the ownership of Ben Nevis, but these were diluted by the Mackenzie Commission's emphasis on the wider question of the general future of hydroelectric development in Scotland. Craigroyston became the focus of concern that on one level related directly to Loch Lomondside and on another related to previously unresolved issues, but the idea of landscape as the inheritance of the nation was clearly articulated and, critically, given due consideration by the state.

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<sup>35</sup> NTS. 'Statement by the Earl of Wemyss and March, KT, LL.D, to the Annual General Meeting, 26 April 1975', p. 3.

Craigroyston provides a useful indication of the expanded range of interest groups then rationalising their concern for the status of landscape protection in Scotland on the basis of ownership. In particular, the pressure group calling itself the 'Friends of Loch Lomond', formed in direct response to Craigroyston, exemplifies the rise of 'people power' in the form of the single-issue protest group and sheds light on the early role of the latter in Highland landscape protection. In terms of general outlook, the APRS and the NTS in the 1970s represented an essentially conservative approach to socio-environmental issues. Their emergent 'social inclusion' agendas remained secondary to their efforts to secure protection for important and vulnerable landscapes. Their perspectives on landscape protection remained similarly traditionalist, and in this respect can be contrasted with the more focused approach of the Friends of Loch Lomond, which combined the profile of a socio-environmental pressure group with a reactionary, issue-specific agenda:

To cherish, protect and enhance the natural beauty, amenity and character of Loch Lomond, its islands and surrounding countryside...to promote an energetic and consistent application of planning policies so far as affecting Loch Lomond and to make representations to government departments, local authorities and the other state and non-state bodies.<sup>36</sup>

The Friends of Loch Lomond gained much of its original impetus from convictions held by one of the Colquhouns of Luss, a Loch Lomondside landowning family with strong ties to the NTS. Josephine Colquhoun initiated her protest against Craigroyston on the basis of her father-in-law's work as a founding member of the NTS. Her objections incorporated both her concurrence with the general aims of the landscape protection movement and her concerns regarding the impact of a major development scheme on her doorstep. In a letter

to the *Times* in 1978, she outlined the threat Craigroyston represented to ‘our great heritage Loch Lomond’ and to tourism, calling for objections ‘on a national and international scale’. She also emphasised the ‘eyesore’ and disturbance to wildlife that would occur during the construction period,<sup>37</sup> and accused the APRS and NTS of disengagement: ‘I find it very sad that the two associations, the APRS and the NTS, both of which my father-in-law, the late Sir Iain Colquhoun of Luss, was Chairman [sic], are ‘sitting on the fence’ as far as this scheme is concerned’.<sup>38</sup>

The APRS, NTS and Friends of Loch Lomond simultaneously occupied opposite positions on the diversifying landscape protection scale and yet retained common ground in terms of their sense of the metaphorical ownership of Loch Lomondside. This common ground separated the Friends of Loch Lomond from other pressure groups on the left hand of the scale, from which the mainstream groups continued to keep their distance. For instance, the increasingly well-established Friends of the Earth applied to join the CCS-orchestrated ‘Forum on the Environment’ in 1978, but found its initial advances blocked by reticent traditional bodies fearing its militancy and potential lack of objectivity.<sup>39</sup>

The Friends of Loch Lomond acknowledged the potential need for additional power and the importance of a further pumped storage facility. It argued that

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<sup>36</sup> NTS, File JD1222, ‘Craigroyston’, ‘Constitution of the Friends of Loch Lomond’, c. August 1978.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Threat to Loch Lomond’, *The Times*, 12 May 1978.

<sup>38</sup> NTS, File JD1222, ‘Craigroyston’, Josephine Colquhoun, Arrocher, to Lord Bute, 2 August 1978.

<sup>39</sup> NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape, 1976-78’, ‘CCS: Forum on the Environment’, ‘Note of Second Meeting of 1978’, 16 May 1978, p. 2; NTS, File E4, ‘Environment and Landscape, 1976-78’, ‘CCS: Forum on the Environment’, ‘Note of Third Meeting of 1978’, 7 September 1978, pp. 4-5. See also Sheail, *Environmental History*, pp. 147-8.

keeping ‘the development to an area that had already been damaged’ would balance the extra cost of extending Sloy.<sup>40</sup> Its rationale was based on the negative impact of development on a highly significant landscape. However, the reasoning underlying its appreciation of Loch Lomondside as an important landscape requires closer analysis. Josephine Colquhoun was also protesting as a property owner living in Tarbet, on the west banks of Loch Lomond, directly opposite Ben Lomond.<sup>41</sup>

It is arguable that, post-1945, the general appreciation of Loch Lomondside as a landscape of particular cultural and aesthetic significance changed little. In 1999, when the issue of national parks became a firm inclusion on the devolution agenda, it was not necessary for Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) to provide a persuasive rationale for a National Park encompassing Loch Lomond and the Trossachs. It simply noted that ‘the area’s scenery has long been valued for its intimate mix of hill, loch and woodland cover, and Loch Lomond in particular has a special place in the affections of the people of Scotland’.<sup>42</sup> The conferral of national park status on the area in July 2002 unquestionably came as definitive recognition of its standing within the collective consciousness. Nonetheless, bald statements such as the one above provide an insubstantial basis for an adequate understanding of the status of symbolic landscapes and the way in which this

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<sup>40</sup> ‘Threat to Loch Lomond’, *The Times*, 12 May 1978, p. 17; ‘Appeal to heartstrings of Scots abroad to help save Loch Lomond’, *The Times*, 12 Sept 1978; NTS, File JD1222, ‘Craigroyston’, ‘Note regarding Friends of Loch Lomond’, c. August 1978.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Threat to Loch Lomond’, *The Times*.

<sup>42</sup> ‘National Parks for Scotland – SNH’s Advice to Government 1999, Chapter 5, Loch Lomond and the Trossachs’, quoted in ‘A Proposal for a Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park: a consultation on the Area, Powers and Representation for the proposed National Park’, (A consultation by Scottish Natural Heritage on behalf of the Scottish Executive under Section 3 of the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000), p. 16.

status withstood, with relative impunity, the rapid social changes of the later twentieth century.

During the period in which Craigroyston was revived, landscape protectionists were so united in the conviction that Loch Lomondside was a landscape of particular importance that the records once again reflect little debate on the issue and, therefore, provide limited overt evidence as to what this particular landscape actually meant to people at the time. However, evidence implicit within the Craigroyston discourse is illuminating. As with the Nevis Scheme, opposition had much to do with the pumped storage technology-induced focus on Ben Lomond, and the notable significance that mountainous landscape had begun to assume ever since the emergence of the post-Industrial Revolution appreciation of 'wild' scenery. By the 1970s, Loch Lomond, already in use as a water reservoir,<sup>43</sup> was by no means part of a 'wild' landscape, nor had it been for over a century. Moreover, in contrast to the radical changes imposed on Glen Cannich, Craigroyston did not threaten Ben Lomond and its surrounds, as viewed from the more travelled western banks of the loch, with any remarkable degree of long-term visual change. The NSHEB felt justified in arguing that the aesthetic appreciation of Loch Lomondside by the average viewer was only marginally endangered. However, the angular shape of the planned reservoir just below the summit would have altered the immediate view, currently relatively 'natural' and 'wild', from the crest of the mountain. This visual modification would have impacted on the experience of climbers reaching the high slopes and therefore engendered stringent opposition from mountaineering interests. The APRS and

the NTS sought guidance on its response to Craigroyston from WH Murray and Tom Weir, as representatives of the group whose interests were at stake. The two opposed the scheme in its entirety. Weir argued that he had remained silent on the subject of earlier schemes (that is, prior to Strathfarrar) because he was not convinced that they might not have been of some benefit to the Scottish economy. Craigroyston, he emphasised, could never be anything but a mistake.

In previous decades, mountaineers' concerns regarding changes to landscape were placed within the 'extraneous' category, alongside coal mining and general landowning interests. However, the new approach to landscape as a resource merged with the simultaneously expanding appreciation of the trend towards 'democratisation' and the desire to use, or engage with, landscape, rather than merely view it. Climbing was now unequivocally understood to be a 'use' of landscape, and mountaineering interests successfully utilised this new consciousness in their efforts to prioritise their aesthetic concerns, thus precluding the need to modify their aesthetic values.

Through the 1970s, the strengthening idea of landscape as a resource facilitated a crystallisation of the view that the protection of Loch Lomondside could be demanded because it constituted part of the cultural inheritance of the nation.<sup>44</sup> This is closely bound up with Tilley's idea of cultural, literary and historical links to landscape acting as 'memory tags' that project layers of meaning onto the land itself. Although the CCS failed to create objective criteria for landscape

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<sup>43</sup> Loch Lomond as Reservoir', *The Times*, 10 March 1962; APRS, MMC, 7 May 1963; APRS, MMC, 11 June 1963.

classification, the new language of environmental consciousness with which it engaged became a medium through which groups such as the Friends of Loch Lomond could compare and contrast the merits of individual landscapes.<sup>45</sup> As evinced by the CCS's efforts at classification, it was possible to at least contemplate the categorisation of landscape within a graduated scale of significance. Within the general mindset, Loch Lomondside ranked as one of the most important landscapes within the Highland region, and it was thus possible to argue that it was accordingly worthy of a high level of protection.

Non-mountaineering reaction to the plans can be explained by the idea that mountains are cultural as well as physical landmarks and can attract the same public attention as monumental architecture and statuary. However, the iconic value of Loch Lomondside must be an additional, highly significant factor, otherwise there would have been as much of an outcry over Cruachan as there was over Ben Lomond. Protectionist groups were aware of the discrepancy in their opposition to pumped storage and a number of explanations for the differences between the reaction to the Cruachan proposal and the Craigroyston proposal are on record. With Cruachan, potential use balanced loss of delight, but where Ben Lomond was concerned, potential loss of delight outweighed potential use.

The attitude of the Friends of Loch Lomond is an important factor here. The group was directly concerned with Craigroyston's encroachment on Loch

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<sup>44</sup> NTS, File E4, 'Environment and Landscape, 1973-74', Richard Livingstone, Organising Secretary, APRS, to WDC Lyddon, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh, 7 January 1974; APRS, MCM, 6 March 1973.

<sup>45</sup> 'Threat to Loch Lomond', *The Times*.

Lomondside's status as a culturally significant landscape, and less concerned with the idea of landscape as a democratised resource for climbers and hillwalkers. Josephine Colquhoun used the CCS work on landscape assessment to support her contention that Craigryston threatened the integrity of a highly significant landscape.<sup>46</sup> The Friends of Loch Lomond referred to Loch Lomondside as 'perhaps the most sentimentally cherished area of Scotland' and emphasised the incongruity of the reservoir that was to be built in the 'wildest part of the mountain'. It also drew attention to the visual impact of the transmission pylons.<sup>47</sup>

The iconic status of Loch Lomondside proved to be a feasible argument within the new climate of environmental consciousness. Protestors and the media made practical use of the cultural connotations at their disposal, in a way that they would never have been able to do with Cruachan. A significant degree of mileage was obtained from references to the lyrics of the song 'Loch Lomond', in which, for instance, the Loch's 'bonnie, bonnie banks' were compared to a post-developmental 'Bonnie Waste Dump'.<sup>48</sup> The Earl of Arran referred to 'the astonishing plan of building a power station inside Ben Lomond, on the bonnie banks of the loch' and the destruction of 'Britain's Number One beauty spot'.<sup>49</sup>

In June 1978, the *Glasgow Herald* ran a lengthy commentary:

For them [NSHEB] there is no high road or low road, but only the one unavoidable road leading straight up to a savagely splendid ridge they have codenamed Craigryston which nestles on the broad shoulders of Ben Lomond... The rape of the loch, the destruction of Europe's greatest wilderness, the betrayal of future landscape starved generations who will be cheated out of the unspoiled freedom of

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<sup>46</sup> 'Threat to Loch Lomond', *The Times*.

<sup>47</sup> 'Appeal to heartstrings of Scots abroad to help save Loch Lomond', *The Times*.

<sup>48</sup> 'Yon Bonnie Waste Dump', *Stirling Observer*, 3 August 1977; NTS, File JD1222, 'Craigryston', Report by W Carson and J Leiper, 'Bye-bye...yon bonny banks', 15 September 1978.

<sup>49</sup> 'The Fight for Loch Lomond', *The Scotsman*, 20 July 1978.

Rob Roy's hills...These are just a few of the accusations levelled at the Hydro Board in their proposed 'shock assault' on 114 square miles of Scottish Grandeur.<sup>50</sup>

A statement by the Vice-Chairman of the Buchanan Community Council summarised the general mood: 'Loch Lomond, the Ben and its banks are among Scotland's most priceless assets, known in song and story the world over'.<sup>51</sup>

At the same time, close inspection suggests that a significant amount of opposition was based largely on what are now recognised as 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY) principles. 'Memory tags' were referred to, but not explained, with the result that ideas of ownership and inheritance on a cultural basis were not clarified. By contrast, NIMBYist concerns were more explicitly noted, thus providing Hayden Lorimer and Andy Wightman with the evidence necessary to support their contention that landscape protection is traditional landownership in disguise.<sup>52</sup>

Where Scotland's landscape is concerned, metaphorical ownership and iconic status have become crucial elements within the extremely viable 'landscape as national heritage' protection strategy.<sup>53</sup> Opposition to hydroelectric development in Loch Lomondside can arguably be considered the wellspring of this evolution in landscape protection tactics. NSHEB never formalised the proposal for the Craigmoyon Scheme, and in 1980 postponed it indefinitely. However, with

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<sup>50</sup> 'Perspective', *The Glasgow Herald*, 20 June 1978.

<sup>51</sup> NTS, File JD1222, 'Craigmoyon', W Frenn, Vice Chairman of the Buchanan Community Council, 'Pumped Storage on Ben Lomond: A Personal View', c. September 1978.

<sup>52</sup> Hayden Lorimer, 'Your Wee Bit Hill and Glen: The Cultural Politics of the Scottish Highlands, c. 1918-1945', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Loughborough, 1997; Andy Wightman, *Scotland: Land and Power: The Agenda for Land Reform* (Edinburgh, 1999).

Craigroyston postponed, rather than cancelled, public interest in potential challenges to the integrity of the landscape remained high. In May 1982, the Scottish press carried articles relating to the possible sale by the Forestry Commission of 5000 acres of the slopes and summit of Ben Lomond.<sup>54</sup> As rocky ground utilised as sheep pasture by a tenant farmer, this acreage complied with the description of the unplantable land the Commission was, in terms of the 1981 Forestry Act, coming under governmental pressure to relinquish in the interests of self-sustainability.<sup>55</sup> However, it was important for the state to prevent sites singled out for energy development from falling under the NTS' 'inalienability' clause and therefore complicating developmental proposals in the way that the NTS' ownership of Balmacara had done with respect to Drumbuie. In 1984, the NTS was able to purchase Ben Lomond for the nation, but not the surrounding 'Craigroyston' area.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, the possibility of acquiring it in the early 1990s was quashed by the confirmation that this land continued to be considered the site of a potential pumped storage electricity scheme.<sup>57</sup>

The controversy that arose as a result of the NSHEB's plan to incorporate Loch Lomondside within a pumped storage scheme is significant in terms of the information it projects regarding the status of landscape protection during this

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<sup>53</sup> Hayden Lorimer, 'Your Wee Bit Hill and Glen: The Cultural Politics of the Scottish Highlands, c. 1918-1945', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Loughborough, 1997; Andrew Wightman, *Scotland: Land and Power: The Agenda for Land Reform* (Edinburgh, 1999).

<sup>54</sup> See for example, 'Fears on Access to Ben Lomond', *The Scotsman*, Thursday, 27 May 1982, and 'Mystery of the Ben Lomond summit 'sale'', *The Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 28 May 1982.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> NTS, JD 1069, Countryside Advisory Panel, "Countryside and Nature Conservation Committee 1991-2, Minutes of Meeting, Threave Estate, Castle Douglas, 29.04.1992. It is arguable that the NTS itself was reluctant to take on ownership of land still earmarked for hydroelectric or any other large scale development because this would potentially lead it into the same expensive conflict with the state that it had experienced regarding Drumbuie.

<sup>57</sup> NTS, JD 1069, Countryside Advisory Panel, "Countryside and Nature Conservation Committee 1991-2, Minutes of Meeting, Threave Estate, Castle Douglas, 29.04.1992.

period. A development initiative underpinned by the energy objectives of the late twentieth century was superseded by an argument based on the proposed despoliation of an iconic landscape metaphorically owned by not only by those who viewed it or by Scotland, but arguably laid claim to by the international community. However, the extent of this ostensible triumph of delight over use is somewhat reduced. Firstly, this was a period in which state prioritisation of hydroelectric power generation was waning. This particular outcome was facilitated by the state's less emphatic prioritisation of pumped storage. Secondly, this was also a time in which landscape protection was already gaining greater state prioritisation. There is no doubt that the state agenda thus remained the deciding factor where the status of the Loch Lomondside landscape was concerned. For all that Craigroyston illustrates the cultural and aesthetic significance attached to Ben Lomond, comparisons with the Sloy Scheme show that arguments for protection may well have been less successful in an earlier decade reflecting more emphatic state prioritisation of development and less general environmental awareness.

Critically, however, responses to Craigroyston highlight the nature of landscape appreciation in the latter part of the twentieth century. It is clear that by this time the issue of whether and how to protect cherished landscapes had become a more mainstream topic of debate. Nonetheless, this did not lead to an increased engagement with the idea of precisely what constituted ideal landscape. A more overtly articulated concept of collective ownership took the place of concrete landscape values as an acceptable (and viable) defence against threats of

landscape change. As a result, landscape values remained unexplored, un-rationalised and, arguably, unrealistically static.

## IX

### CONCLUSION

#### MAKING THE PICTURE WORK

The debate over hydroelectric power generation in the Highlands of Scotland illuminates twentieth-century endeavours to reconcile development and protection initiatives in landscapes of particular aesthetic and socio-cultural significance – that is, to literally put these landscapes, valued on the basis of their visual appearance and in this respect quintessentially ‘pictures’, ‘to work’ as industrial land. The issue suggests a substantial amount about concurrent British attitudes to landscape. It reveals how landscape values, landscape protection and actual landscapes were shaped by the period. It is also illustrative of the difficulties inherent in assigning value to concepts of aesthetics and amenity. The extensive commissions of inquiry held into the hydroelectric projects proposed for the Highlands reveal the challenges faced by landscape protectionists as they sought to safeguard important landscapes against the inroads of state-sponsored industrialisation.

The advantages of the hydroelectric schemes could be relatively easily communicated in utilitarian socio-economic terms; the electrification of rural communities; the expansion of energy-intensive industrial initiatives and related benefits of increased employment opportunities and an end to population decline. In countering such arguments, so clearly and confidently expressed in the language of cost-benefit analysis and social upliftment, landscape protectionists’ original resort was a nebulous conviction regarding the value of ‘natural’

landscape, free of artificial constructions and constraints, to the human condition. When giving testimony at the various commissions of inquiry, representatives of the protection movement initially found it difficult to explain why even careful development (as dictated by the 1943 Act's 'amenity clause') would negatively affect the aesthetic quality of, for instance, Loch Lomondside or Glen Strathfarrar. This circle proved almost impossible to square. Despite repeated agreements between the two sides, the reality was that, where hydroelectric expansion in the Highlands was concerned, landscape protectionists compromised their aesthetic ideals.

The proposals for large-scale hydroelectric development in the region emerged from the socio-economic concerns of the early twentieth century. Scotland had experienced a protracted period of economic decline and the Highlands in particular lagged behind the remainder of Britain in terms of basic living standards, employment levels and industrial development. The growing power of the political left in Scottish politics during, and subsequent to, the inter-war years focused attention on this imbalance and there was a notable drive, particularly post-1942, to facilitate development in all corners of the Highlands. Hydroelectric development utilised two principal natural resources of the Highlands, open space and extensive water systems, and appeared to represent a viable solution to a swathe of socio-economic problems. However, many of the Highland sites most suited to this development were landscapes valued for their natural beauty and socio-cultural associations, exhibiting links to ideas of national identity (Highland, Scottish and British) and a tendency to utopianise Britain's pre-industrial past. Hydroelectric development was seen to threaten

these landscapes with irrevocable aesthetic change (in a way that afforestation, initially at least, did not), and its opposition served to articulate twentieth-century perspectives on landscape appreciation and protection, in the process highlighting the incompatibility of contemporary desires for non-modified landscapes with contemporary energy requirements. The trappings of industry, no matter how well designed, have no place within the 'ideal' landscapes of the Romantic mindset. Their presence may be tolerated, for a variety of reasons, but is seldom accepted as anything more than a necessary negative.

In a number of instances, the compromises were made relatively willingly. Sir John Stirling Maxwell was one of many protectionists who genuinely appreciated the need for socio-economic improvement in the Highlands. Even those who, like Lord Lovat, did not necessarily place liberal views of social justice ahead of aesthetic integrity, were increasingly anxious not to be seen to stand in the way of a means to an improved standard of living for Scots in general and Highlanders in particular. Therefore, the standoff between developers and landscape protectionists forced the latter to seek to clarify and articulate their position in a manner that could be considered positively within the confines of a state system struggling to recover from the combined impact of two world wars and a depression.

The establishment in 1943 of a North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board (NSHEB) charged with the post-war development of Highland hydroelectric schemes is, along with the subsequent successes and failures of the Board, illustrative of the interface between ideas of landscape and land-use during this

period. As World War II came to an end, the Board was effectively handed sole control over hydroelectric generation in the Highlands. In the thirty years that followed, it became the architect of the largest-scale industrial development in the region – previously relatively untouched by large-scale industry and encompassing such landscapes as Loch Lomondside, which was arguably of global iconic significance. The resultant discourse concerned with landscape aesthetics and protection meant that emergent landscape protection organisations such as the Association for the Protection of Rural Scotland (APRS) and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) were provided with a significant issue (and a modifying influence) around which to coalesce. Critically, the early objections and recommendations of the landscape protection movement reflected an appreciation of the then socio-economic climate.

From the 1930s onwards, the landscape protection movement began to connect more fully with the socio-cultural perspective of the emergent welfare state. The Scottish landowning elite, those who engaged in ‘countryside’ pursuits, and wealthy outsiders heavily influenced the movement during the early years. It became clear during World War II that the social tide was turning against this demographic and it became apparent to those involved that they needed to both widen their appeal and come to terms with the new socio-economic direction taken by post-war Britain. The perception that they were standing in the way of ‘progress’ or development would not have given them any advantage in the eyes of the public. As a result, increasingly ‘democratic’ concerns about landscape change were utilised by the APRS and NTS as plausible rationales for the protection of what would otherwise have been viewed as an elitist preoccupation

with beautiful scenery, in as much that it is largely those whose material needs are sufficiently met who are able to prioritise the aesthetics of their wider surroundings. Direct engagement with a high-profile social issue helped landscape protection to become less peripheral; hydroelectric development did not initiate landscape protection in Scotland, but it played a substantial part in its subsequent evolution.

The 'NSHEB era' is a general reflection of the post-war reconstruction drive, but the Cooper (1943) and Mackenzie (1962) reports mark either end of a particularly intense period of hydroelectric expansion. In the intervening years, opposition to hydroelectric development on the grounds of aesthetic diminution seldom actually prevented the NSHEB from achieving its objectives. Schemes such as Sloy, Tummel-Garry and Affric-Farrar-Beaully were rapidly implemented, even though proposals on this scale were held at bay for years before the NSHEB was established. Nonetheless, during the NSHEB period, there was some movement towards the reconciliation of land-use and landscape. There was a distinct improvement in relations between developers and protection organisations. The planning process became more transparent, and the NSHEB became more open to suggestion and negotiation. The NSHEB allowed for few compromises where Sloy and Tummel-Garry were concerned, but the subsequent castigation it received, particularly during the public inquiry into Tummel-Garry, meant that it went to some lengths to satisfy concerns about the irreparable damage it might do to Glen Affric. Pressure from landscape protection groups also led to the modification of the visual impact of the hydroelectric structures. Pipelines placed above ground in the early years, as they were in the pre-NSHEB

Galloway Scheme and at Sloy, were later painstakingly undergrounded. The same treatment was given to transmission lines in areas judged to be of aesthetic significance. Power stations were also more sensitively constructed, with a view to integration within the wider landscape. An architect-designed stone building was created to house the Fasnakyle power station at Glen Affric and to promote what it was hoped might become a revived Scottish stonemasonry industry.

Viewed cynically, these conciliatory gestures on the part of the NSHEB were purely cosmetic. The minimal changes affected at Glen Affric, its most showcased aesthetic compromise, came at a heavy cost to the neighbouring, less renowned Glen Cannich, where the creation of the enormous Loch Mullardoch engendered significant landscape change. The NSHEB was also not prepared to concede to subsequent requests to retain Glen Strathfarrar as the remaining 'east-west' glen untouched by hydroelectric development.

The demise of hydroelectric development and the acceleration of landscape protection require careful consideration. Increased support for landscape protection was by no means the sole reason for developmental decline. The argument over use came to a head over the Nevis Scheme and the subsequent publication of the Mackenzie Report signalled an ebbing of state support for hydroelectric technology. However, advances in nuclear technology were also an important factor here, added to the realisation that, in terms of economic costing, hydroelectric generation and transmission was inefficient. Energy provision strategies increasingly began to take this into account, making it almost inevitable that the Mackenzie Committee would find in favour of downscaling

the NSHEB's operations. However, it is also the case that, by the early 1960s, landscape protection had reached the point where its support base could not be ignored. The hydroelectric threat to the iconic landscape of Glen Nevis, in particular, meant that the movement attracted more backing than it might otherwise have done.

Long-delayed legislation to establish the Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS) as a state body charged with the care of the Scottish countryside came into force at the end of the 1960s. With hydroelectric development involving the use of more land than any other development save afforestation, it is possible that the state was only able to officially adopt countryside protection as a priority once there was less danger of the landscape protection agenda clashing with hydroelectric development plans. However, there is no doubt that the 1960s represented a turning point where large-scale development in the Highlands was concerned.

Anti-hydroelectric development protest was arguably at its most successful a decade on from the publication of the Mackenzie Report, when it focussed on the Craigroyston Scheme planned for Loch Lomondside. Concrete evidence of success is difficult to establish. The Craigroyston plans were never published and neither developers nor protestors were called upon to defend their perspectives at a public inquiry. Nonetheless, the 1970s outcry in defence of an undeveloped Loch Lomondside, reflected the unresolved issues of previous decades and engaged with these within the context of the new climate of environmental consciousness that was to remain a characteristic of the remaining

decades of the century. The backlash against Craigroyston therefore highlights the appreciation of, and the broad will to protect, the Highland landscape at the end of the NSHEB era.

The debate that unfolded during the 'NSHEB era' is revealing in terms of what it suggests about the juxtaposition of two very different mindsets schooled, in a sense, in the values of different centuries. What has emerged from this study is that peoples' perceptions of landscape have been largely shaped by the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Romantic movement which stressed the importance of engaging with nature and beauty (the antithesis of industrialisation), as opposed to the post-War utilitarian emphasis on 'progress' and, as a matter of course, industrialisation. When these two schools are compared, there is little surprise in the conclusion that finding a balance proved difficult, if not impossible. At the onset of the 1980s, with Craigroyston postponed rather than cancelled, the sixty-year-old debate over the viability of incorporating large-scale hydroelectric development within important landscapes was no closer to being resolved.

This study has focused on the idea that the Highland landscape ideal is grounded in images and values generated by the Romantic movement, itself a backlash against industrial development. The Highlands became the focus of a significant amount of the increased attention paid to British landscape issues during the twentieth century because it was there that the economic and geographic potential for large-scale development was arguably the greatest. It was also where this development potential most contradicted, and therefore threatened,

visions of the Romantic landscape ideal. It has been argued that the language employed by protectionists bears testimony to the legacy of the Romantics. The evidence generated by the Strathfarrar Inquiry supports the contention, as do the words of campaigners like the American businessman Jock Elliott, chairperson of the Scottish National Trust Golden Jubilee Foundation (USA) which raised substantial sums for the NTS. In 1983 he emphasised ‘the wild splendor of your countryside’, in explaining the attractions that Scotland held for him.<sup>1</sup> In the ideal landscape to which Elliott’s words allude, there is no place for development; anything human-induced or human-made will negate the ‘wild’ element. Government agencies and non-governmental organisation have generated similarly indicative reports. For instance, the 1992 Countryside Commission for Scotland report, ‘Conceptual Review of Wild Land in Scotland,’ lists those elements impacting on landscape quality in Scotland: roads, electricity transmission pylons, hydroelectric power constructions, mineral exploitation and afforestation.<sup>2</sup> In essence, any component of the industrial environment is seen to detract from the aesthetic appeal of any particular landscape. Such late twentieth-century reports have built on earlier studies, similar in outlook and constructed around the same ideals, as to what constitutes a pleasing landscape. However, while the origins of current attitudes to landscape are undoubtedly rooted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is possible to detect certain changes and diversions. All areas exhibiting signs of change may be sites of future evolution and merit continued observation.

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<sup>1</sup> NTS, ‘Annual General Meeting, National Trust for Scotland, Glasgow, 23 April 1983’, transcript of speech delivered by Jock Elliott.

<sup>2</sup> CCS, *Draft Conceptual Review of Wild Land in Scotland*, 1992, p. 23.

In terms of language, contemporary landscape appreciation no longer employs strictly Romantic categorisation as a means of assessing landscape quality. The term ‘picturesque’ remains in general use as a means of describing aesthetically pleasing landscape.<sup>3</sup> The terms ‘sublime’ and ‘terrific’ are, in their original meanings, largely out of circulation. At the same time, the late twentieth-century appellation ‘wild land’ reflects a similar appreciation of something lying beyond the control of humans, and for this reason awe-inspiring. The appreciation of landscape conforming to the definition of ‘wild land’ emerged from the appreciation of ‘wilderness’ current throughout the earlier decades of the twentieth century, particularly in North America where it is directly linkable to the legacy of the transcendentalists and John Muir. Wilderness appreciation is discussed in Chapter III as an influence on the evolution of landscape appreciation and protection in Britain. Here, ‘wilderness’ was never generally accepted as a wholly positive landscape ideal. In some respects it was understood to mean ‘wasteland’; an appellation suggestive of a certain amount of potential for improvement. Glen Cannich, although appreciated in some circles (as is evident from its inclusion in the APRS’s 1936 booklet of photographs) for its ‘wild’ and ‘remote’ qualities, lacked the precise mix of loch and woodland that lent such a ‘picturesque’ quality to Glen Affric. There was far less of a general outcry when the NSHEB proposed to create an enormous reservoir in the glen. However, in 1978, the CCS included Cannich alongside Affric and Strathfarrar in its list of Highland glens affected by hydroelectric development. Subsequently, along with the realisation that, since probably no area of Britain

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<sup>3</sup> See for example Charles Warren, ‘Historical Perspectives’ in Helen Talbot and Mike Talbot (eds.), ‘Scotland’s Landscape – A Fixed Asset? Proceedings of a Forum held on 8 May 2003 at SNH Battleby Centre, Perth, Scotland’ (Scottish Natural Heritage, 2003), p. 13.

could correctly be termed ‘wilderness’, ‘wild land’ was the more accurate descriptor, there came appreciation of Rannoch Muir and the Flow Country for the same ‘harsh’ and ‘savage’ qualities of landscape that had repelled beauty lovers of as recently as twenty years before. In this sense, late twentieth- and early twenty-first century landscape appreciation has distinct parallels with that of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Literary connections to landscapes are no longer firsthand, in the way that they were for the nineteenth-century admirer. For example, connections between Sir Walter Scott and certain landscapes are reiterated, but allusions to specific works by him are not. The boat conveying present-day tourists across Loch Katrine in the Trossachs is called the ‘Walter Scott’, but it is difficult to find local information relating to Scott’s ‘Lady of the Lake’, although it was this work that originally motivated tourists such as Wordsworth and Coleridge to expend considerable effort in visiting the area. Elsewhere, discussions on Scotland make reference to Scott *per se*, rather than his literary contributions.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, an information board at the foot of the Falls of Bruar draws the attention of visitors to the poem in which Robert Burns called on the Duke of Atholl to afforest its banks. It is, however, arguable that visitors stop there on the recommendations of guidebooks and due to the proximity of the Falls to an up-market shopping centre (the ‘House of Bruar’), rather than as a result of their familiarity with Burns’ poem.

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<sup>4</sup> See for example Mairi Stewart, ‘Using the Woods, 1600-1850 (1) The Community Resource’, in TC Smout (ed), *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 82; Syd House and Christopher Dingwall, ‘“A Nation of Planters”: Introducing the New Trees, 1650 – 1900’, in Smout, *People and Woods in Scotland*, p. 138; Alexander Mather, ‘The Future’, in Smout, *People and Woods in Scotland*, p. 220.

Some changes in landscape ideals are part of the ‘democratisation’ of landscape, in which the latter is appreciated on an increasingly wide scale for the physical challenge it represents to climbers, hill-walkers, and those who pursue other outdoor activities, as much as for the memories it evokes. Early twentieth-century mountaineering enthusiasts, who found a refuge from the industrialised confines of the Central Belt in the wide-open spaces of the Highland landscape, formed the vanguard of this army of urban-dwellers who, on a metaphorical level, claimed these places as their own. Appreciation of ‘wild land’ and ‘the remote’ has expanded in line with the greater general utilisation of landscape for outdoor pursuits. In the 1930s ‘the remote’ was the objective of an elite (in terms of numbers and fitness levels) and hardy few; the mountaineer Percy Unna, for instance. By the 1980s, usage of the term was more widespread. Furthermore, growing environmental awareness on the part of the general public has also contributed to the perception of landscape as both a habitat or refuge for wildlife and a sanctuary for ‘wilderness’ or ‘wild land’ itself.<sup>5</sup>

Romanticism no longer wholly informs the landscape protectionist standpoint. In the 1960s, post-war utilitarianism fed into a steadily-growing environmental consciousness that actively rejected modernist values and the perceived obsession with technological innovation and development. This philosophy differed from that of the more traditional protectionist approach in terms of its

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<sup>5</sup> NTS, File E4 ‘Environment and Landscape, 1985-6’, Trevor Croft, Head of Policy Research, NTS, to Richard Ferguson, NSA Project Advisory Group Secretary, CCS, ‘Loch Rannoch and Glen Lyon National Scenic Area: A Strategy for Landscape Conservation and Development’, 10 December 1986. Support for this assertion is drawn from the personal attitudes towards remoteness reflected in this correspondence.

support base and emphasis on aspects of environmentalism other than landscape integrity. This demographic questioned the priorities of protection, conservation and development in terms that differed from traditional protectionist groups such as the APRS and NTS, which nonetheless pragmatically attempted to amend their agendas and perspectives in the face of new directions espoused by the former.

In 1928, Clough Williams-Ellis lamented the dearth of ‘official guardians of our country’s beauty’.<sup>6</sup> In the decades that followed, Britain experienced what was, when viewed within the wider historical context, a relatively rapid acceleration in levels of aesthetic ‘guardianship’. For much of this time, aesthetic considerations remained largely distinct from the more biologically-based concerns of nature conservation, but the 1990s saw a conscious swing towards greater integration between the two fields on the part of both governmental and non-governmental organisations. In Scotland, the CCS merged with the Nature Conservancy Council (NCC) to form Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), and the NTS made an effort to embrace a similarly integrated approach.<sup>7</sup>

These shifts in the general movement concerned with human influence within the environment have meant that the last few decades have witnessed the development of a backlash against the perceived proliferation of governmental and non-governmental custodians of landscape and the environment. In Scotland, landscape protection interests are therefore increasingly allying

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<sup>6</sup> Although Williams-Ellis was focussing on England, Wales and Scotland were included in his concern. Clough Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus* (First published 1928, this edition 1975, printed by Robert MacLehose and Co Ltd, printers to the University of Glasgow), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> See for example NTS, Box JD 1069 (CAP), “CAP Nature Conservation Working Party 1990”.

themselves with general countryside protection concerns and, in doing so, their agenda is becoming progressively more separate from that of the socio-environmental groups such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, which tend to attract more supporters from urban areas. This, illustrated by the foci of the 2002 Countryside March in Edinburgh and mirrored by those in other parts of Britain, is also clearly expressed in the decision of the APRS to rename itself *ruralScotland* (incorporating the Ordnance Survey symbol for a viewpoint) with the maxim 'Scotland's Countryside Champion'. The change emphasises the APRS Executive's intention to capitalise on the wider interests of the audience to which it was most likely to appeal, and from whence was most likely to come the funding necessary to keep the organisation afloat.<sup>8</sup>

An increasing variety of interest groups are including landscape issues within their spheres of interest. However, a clear consensus as to the best use of Scotland's landscape remains elusive. In this respect, the current debate over the creation of a marine park on the west coast is useful illustration. Protectionists have argued that the landscape of the Argyll coast and islands should be protected as part of the nation's heritage, but Argyll communities support Action Against Marine Park, a pressure group opposing the idea of the park on the grounds that it will be detrimental to fishing and other potential industries, which might otherwise bring much-needed income to the area.

In 1989, the NSHEB was privatised. It became known as Scottish Hydro Electric, prior to the general amalgamation that formed Scottish and Southern

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<sup>8</sup> The APRS Council officially adopted the business name of *ruralScotland* in November 2002.

Energy plc in 1998. Although it provides energy wholesale to other suppliers under its new name, it is as Scottish Hydro Electric that it continues to supply domestic consumers. The NSHEB's social responsibilities were removed at privatisation, but the company wished to continue to emphasise its past social and community orientation.<sup>9</sup>

As a signatory of the Renewables Obligation, Britain has committed itself to obtaining 10.4 per cent of its energy requirements from renewable sources by 2010.<sup>10</sup> That hydroelectricity has been classified as renewable energy means that the country has already gone some way towards reaching this objective, but it is estimated that a further 3.7 percent of total energy will need to be drawn from renewable sources if the target is to be met.<sup>11</sup> As a result, the rival merits of solar, wind and hydroelectric power are currently the subject of much debate. At present it appears likely that future hydroelectric developments will be small, but there is substantial scope for large-scale wind energy production in Scotland, with the result that landscape development/protection priorities remain a highly contested issue.

Current landscape management practice in Scotland strives to achieve reasonable compromises between development and landscape protection requirements. The Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) who supported the proposal for the marine park agree that a referendum may be necessary.<sup>12</sup> However, continuing

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*rural*Scotland Annual Report 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Malcolm Grant, Estates Surveyor, Scottish and Southern Energy plc, personal communication, Perth, 29 February 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Renewables Obligation (Scotland) Order 2002, Schedule 1, Articles 2(1) and 6(2).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

efforts to strengthen and refine landscape protection policy are reinforcing the division between ‘land’ which is worked in order to satisfy human requirements and ‘landscape’ which exists to be appreciated in a relatively un-worked state. Rejection of the visual appeal of worked land in favour of un-worked landscape, takes the viewer further along the route established by followers of the Romantic movement, searching for the ‘natural’ remnants of pre-industrialised Britain. The distance between this trajectory and that reflecting the increasingly technological requirements of Britain’s global community membership may continue to widen. If the pressing demand for increased domestic supplies of renewable energy is to be met, it may be necessary for policymakers, pressure groups and the public to accept that Britain’s Romantic heritage is what informs this country’s appreciation of ‘natural’, ‘unspoiled’ landscapes; that this appreciation is as much a cultural construct as any other and that if Britain is to remain technologically-driven in a global society lacking fossil fuels and acutely conscious of the spectre of global warming and associated climate change, a greater proportion of the non-urban environment may have to be visibly utilised in support of this.

At the conclusion of the twentieth century, ‘priceless national asset’ had become a term used to describe both energy resources, including hydroelectric power, *and* aesthetically-significant landscape. Current debate as to the placement of renewable energy mechanisms, such as wind turbines within the landscape, is essentially concerned with whether energy-as-national-asset or landscape-as-national-asset has priority. It also demonstrates that the debate was never adequately resolved during the ‘NSHEB era’. However, the extent to which

these superficially opposed interests have been historically dependent upon one another requires greater emphasis. Energy development was perhaps the most immediate large-scale ‘threat’ to the integrity of Highland landscapes. At the same time, Highland landscape protection was linked to energy development on a further level. The increased appreciation and experience of Highland landscapes (particularly in the most democratic context) would not have been possible without the electrification of the Highlands; in a literal sense, the latter has lit the path of both Scots and outsiders intent on appreciating the region.

That the Mackenzie Committee, whose findings largely brought about the end of the NSHEB era, reported in economic rather than in aesthetic terms, robbed the ‘NSHEB era’ debate of a climax. This, together with the fact that public inquiries into Nevis and Craigroyston were never held, with the respective proposals being shelved rather than cancelled, prevented landscape protectionists from flexing their increased ‘muscle’ in the shape of growing public support. Consequently, a resolution on the issue of aesthetics was never adequately articulated. The result has been that the hydroelectric energy debate, since the early 1980s largely quiescent but far from neutralised, has now risen again with an amended focus on the impact of wind, rather than water, power on the landscape.

## Appendix

### Details of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board Power Stations in Operation by Mid-1968<sup>1</sup>

Scheme	Power Station	Date
Tummel Valley	Rannoch	1930
	Tummel Bridge	1933
	Clunie	1950
	Pilochry	1950
	Gaur	1952
	Errochty	1955-6
	Cuaich	1958
Conon Valley	Loch Ericht	1962
	Grudie Bridge	1950
	Luichart	1954
	Torr Achilty	1954
	Achanalt	1956
	Mossford	1957
Affric-Farrar	Orrin	1958
	Fasnakyle	1951
	Mullardoch	1955
	Kilmorack	1962
	Aigas	1962
Breadalbane	Culligran	1962
	Deanie	1963
	St Fillans	1957
	Dalchonzie	1958
	Lednock	1961
	Lubreoch	1958
Garry	Lochay	1958
	Cashlie	1959
	Quoich	1955
	Invergarry	1956
Moriston	Ceannacroc	1956
	Glenmoriston	1958
	Livishie	1962
Shin	Shin	1958
	Lairg	1958
	Cassley	1959
Sloy	Sloy	1952
Lawers	Finlarig	1955
Shira	Clachan	1955
	Sron Mor	1957
Lairige	Lairige	1956
Awe	Inverawe	1963
	Nant	1963
Lochalsh	Nostie Bridge	1948
Morar	Morar	1948
Gairloch	Kerry Falls	1951
Cowal	Striven	1951
Kintyre	Lussa	1952
Skye	Storr Lochs	1952
Ullapool	Loch Dubh	1954
Kilmelfort	Kimelfort	1956
Harris	Chliostair	1960
Lewis	Gisla	1961
Glashan	Loch Gair	1961
Mucomir	Mucomir	1962

<sup>1</sup> KJ Lea, 'Hydro Electric Power Generation in the Highlands of Scotland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Number 46, March 1969, p. 162.

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