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SHORTER NOTICE

Neart Nan Gleann: *The Archive of Scotland's Post-war Hydroelectric Infrastructure*

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ABSTRACT

This article draws attention to the archive generated by the programme of hydroelectric construction in the Scottish Highlands between the 1940s and the 1960s. As well as minutes and reports, the archive consists of a large amount of visual material, including 'general impressions' depicting proposed infrastructure in its setting. This significant collection addresses current interest in 'rural modernism' by shedding light on the architectural history of the Highlands in the middle of the twentieth century, including the ways in which questions of style and materials were debated. It also attests to the role of infrastructure in a broader state-led programme of modernisation in twentieth-century Scotland, complementing existing studies of urban interventions and the new towns.

The landscape of Highland Scotland was transformed after 1945 by the construction of hydroelectric dams and power stations. Adopting the motto *Neart nan gleann* (Power from the glens), the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board (NoSHEB), established by an act of parliament in 1943, built substantial infrastructure during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s which brought a reliable supply of electricity to the area for the first time (Fig. 1). This programme of work generated a substantial archive, which is now held by Scottish and Southern Energy (SSE) following the merger of the successor to the NoSHEB, Scottish Hydro-Electric, with Southern Electric in 1998. The SSE Heritage Collection is held at two sites, with items relating to the Scottish operations of this firm and its predecessors stored since 2014 at Pitlochry power station in Perthshire, where they have recently been sorted and catalogued.[1] The principal purpose of this article is to draw the attention of architectural historians to the SSE archive, and especially to the material relating to the post-war Highland hydroelectric programme, which includes more than 150 large drawings, printed copies of painted 'general impressions' (some presented in a touring exhibition during 2023–24) and forty-seven bound volumes.[2]

Through the drawings and the papers of the committees that commissioned them, the archive records a series of major building projects dating from the immediate post-war years, a period often associated with pragmatic reconstruction amid austerity rather than

Fig. 1. Neart nan gleann, *the motto of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board, as part of the board's coat of arms at Pitlochry power station, photograph of 2024 by Alistair Fair*

more radical modernisation, but when the terms of a new architecture — and the welfare state — were definitively established.[3] In particular the archive conveys the ways in which questions of architectural style and materials, and the relationships between infrastructure and wider landscape, were negotiated. Such questions had special resonance in the context of Scotland, where discussions of architectural materials and form were, by the 1940s, bound up with issues of national identity and renewal. For example, in its 1941 book *Building Scotland* the Saltire Society — a body founded to promote Scottish culture more generally — called for a new contemporary architecture, fusing Scots tradition with recent European developments, while socially minded designers such as Robert Matthew pointed to the health and other benefits that might stem from a new architecture.[4] As Miles Glendinning has argued, progressive ideas relating to Scottish modernity and reconstruction, both physical and cultural, were as significant for advocates of a more historically inflected architectural traditionalism as they were for those who preferred modernism.[5] During the 1930s, traditionalists such as Reginald Fairlie, David Carr, William Howard and Stewart Sim evolved a stripped classical style that was deployed across a

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range of (urban) building types. These buildings evoked progressive governance and civic culture at local and national levels, and included Kirkcaldy's new town hall (1937–56) and the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh (1937–55). Echoes of this architectural language appeared in some of the early post-war hydro projects, fundamentally dispelling any notion that modernism, in its varied forms, had an exclusive claim to the expression of progressive agendas and demonstrating the potential for an evolving traditionalism also to express the values of modern social democracy.[6]

Furthermore, the hydro programme and its archive illustrate clearly the close relationship between policies relating to Scotland's twentieth-century economic modernisation and the provision of major infrastructure, a theme which has its roots in the 1930s and which, as other work has shown, underpinned the post-war programme of new towns, the reconstruction of inner Glasgow and the conception of the National Health Service.[7] As a rural counterpart to such examples, the history of the hydro programme engages not only with work on the modern Highlands, but also with current interest in 'rural modernism'.[8] Historians including Linda Ross, Katrina Navickas, Ben Anderson and Matthew Kelly have recently highlighted the transformative effect of modern infrastructure, showing how novel types of rural setting were created during the 1950s and 1960s.[9] Scotland's hydro projects offer an early, under-explored example, amply supported by textual and visual materials, of how new landscapes, new lives and the modern nation were intertwined immediately after the second world war.

THE HYDROELECTRIC PROGRAMME

Hydroelectric power was not new in 1940s Scotland. There had been an earlier programme of construction in which, in tandem with the creation of the National Grid, dams and power stations were built across Galloway in the south-west of the country from 1931 onwards.[10] Their designs, by the engineering firm Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, made a clear distinction between the architecture of the dams — austere, arcaded concrete structures — and the white-painted power stations, the box-like forms of which were articulated by a regular rhythm of slot-like windows and vestigial classical pilasters, with a hint of Art Deco detailing. Both the Galloway scheme and the subsequent creation of the NoSHEB reflected a broader concern with economic and social modernisation on the part of politicians and civil servants in the Scottish Office, in response to factors including the decline of heavy industry on Clydeside after 1918, poor-quality housing (encompassing the problem of the slums as well as disquiet about the design value of recent estates) and issues of rural poverty and depopulation. Responses during the 1930s included the formation of a new state body providing housing (the Scottish Special Housing Association), subsidies for industries and the creation of new industrial estates, and investigations into mass housing design across Europe.[11] By 1939, the Scottish Office had developed a coherent policy in which social and economic goals were associated with the provision of well-designed infrastructure and buildings. This philosophy underpinned Tom Johnston's work as secretary of state for Scotland during the war years, including the creation of the NoSHEB and his advocacy of regional planning and the potential of the new towns.[12] Johnston is a giant in modern Scottish political history, a former 'Red Clydesider' on the Labour left who was nonetheless able to work effectively in the wartime

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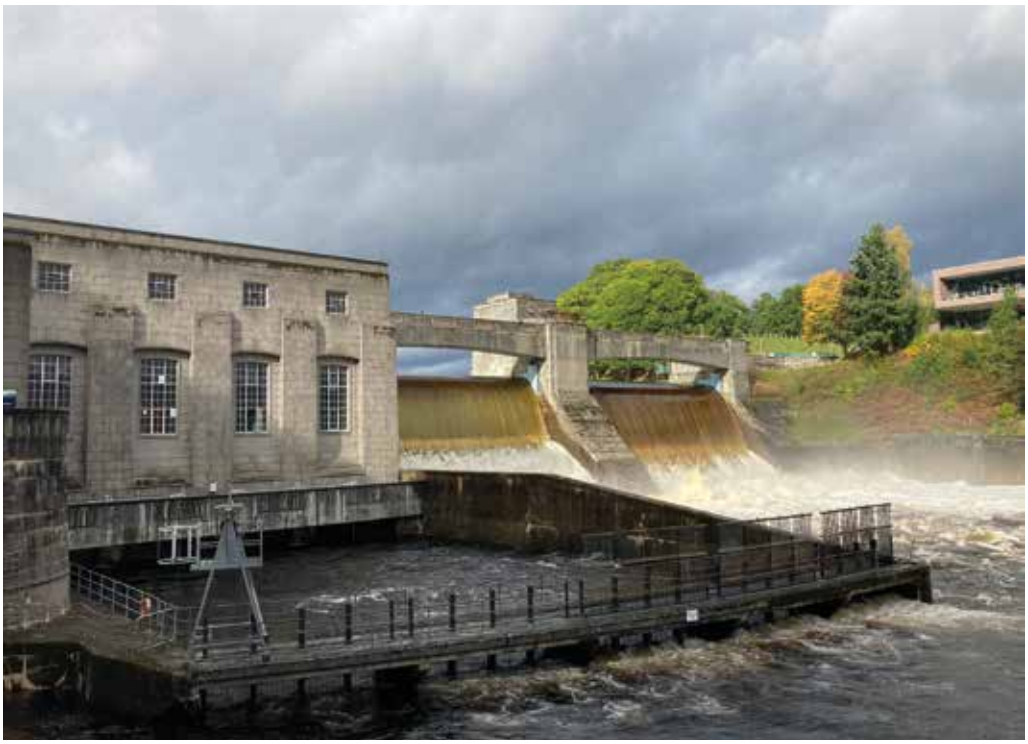

Fig. 2. *Pitlochry power station and dam, H. O. Tarbolton, 1948–51, photograph of 2024 by Alistair Fair*

coalition government and whose priority was the economic prosperity and regeneration of Scotland. The pressing issue in the case of the Highlands was that electricity supplies were either non-existent or unreliable: power was thought to be a way to drive economic growth and to improve the rural quality of life.

At the end of October 1941, the Scottish Office appointed the Cooper committee to consider the development of water power resources to generate electricity.[13] As the archive shows, 'considerations of amenity' were integral to that investigation from the outset.[14] Although 'amenity' was principally conceived in terms of landscape, the appearance of the infrastructure was important. The need to address questions of amenity was a response to past opposition to projects, especially from landowning and sporting interests.[15] It also reflected the enduring popularity of the Highlands, both as romantic landscape and as symbol of Scottish nationalism. These factors had defeated six earlier proposed hydro schemes, with some failing at a late stage when bills were rejected by the House of Commons.[16] However, the romantic image of the Highlands bore little resemblance to the realities of Highland life. In the words of the Cooper committee, the Highlands had 'sunk into deepening depression and the greater part of the very valuable water power resources is still running to waste'.[17] The challenge was to find a new approach to rise above the 'atmosphere of controversy'.[18]

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Fig. 3. *Luichart power station, general impression of early design by Robert Eadie (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

Northern Scotland was acknowledged to have special characteristics, among which the need for the regeneration of the Highlands was a major component. It was for this reason that the Cooper committee proposed a hydroelectric board specific to the north of Scotland, as opposed to a Scotland-wide board. The committee envisioned that the new board would proceed along the lines of 'survey, analysis, plan', an approach which had been advocated by the Edinburgh polymath and pioneer planner Patrick Geddes and which shaped contemporaneous regional plans for the Clyde Valley and south-eastern Scotland. The idea was to commence with a close study of the resources available, analyse the data (on rainfall, for example, in the case of the hydroelectric programme), then prepare a staged programme of development. The North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Bill passed through parliament and received royal assent in 1943; the NoSHEB was created that year. That this bill succeeded where many of its predecessors failed was largely due to Johnston's political skill and interest in the project.[19] After leaving parliament in 1945, he served as chairman of the NoSHEB from 1946 to 1959.

While acknowledging that the issue of amenity was highly controversial, the Cooper committee concluded that objections to projects on the grounds of their impact on the landscape were likely to yield to reasonable adjustment.[20] Indeed, the committee argued that civil engineering operations, rather than detracting from local amenity, could

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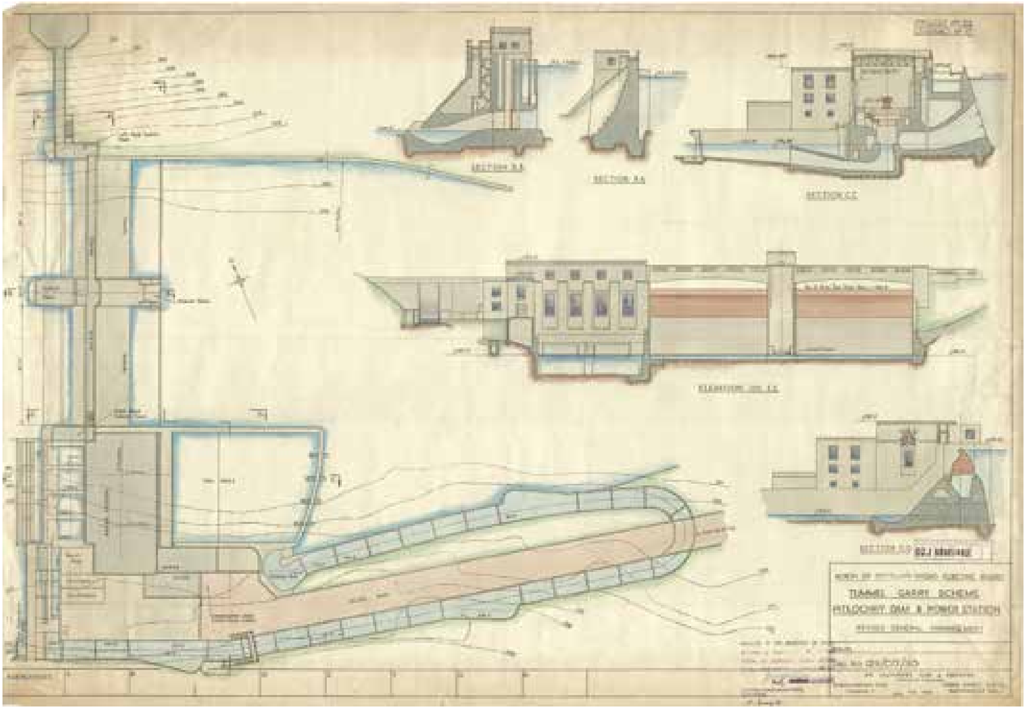

Fig. 4. *Pitlochry power station and dam, drawing of revised scheme, February 1948 (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

enhance a district by adding features of interest and attraction. The Cooper committee proposed the establishment of an amenity committee, selected by the secretary of state for Scotland, to make recommendations for the preservation of the scenery. This model echoed the approach adopted for the Galloway schemes; meanwhile, new architectural and engineering techniques had been tried in other countries to overcome the 'amenity objection' with success. The aim, therefore, was that the new board would act in consultation with the amenity committee to have 'all reasonable regard to the preservation [...] of the scenic beauties of the districts in which their works may be situated', and design all works with this end in view. That commitment was tempered, though, by the allowance that the amenity interest should only be met if compatible with the board's statutory obligations and the 'financial stability' of the undertaking. The committee was scathing in its view of preserving the natural features of the Highlands in aspic, a policy that it considered spelled the extinction of the existing population.[21]

Correspondence and minutes in the SSE archive, along with the Scottish Office files in the National Records of Scotland, illuminate in detail the role of the amenity committee within the wider work of the NoSHEB.[22] When the appointment of the committee was under discussion early in 1943, Johnston was advised by officials within the Scottish Office as well as outside interested parties and organisations.[23] It was decided that the interests of landowners, Highlanders and the architectural profession should all be represented

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Fig. 5. *Pitlochry power station, dam and reservoir, general impression by Frank A. Weemys (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

on the committee. Reginald Fairlie, who had been the architect member of the amenity committee for the Grampian Electricity Supply Company, was consulted and put forward Frank Mears, Ian Gordon Lindsay or Robert Hurd as his preferred choices.[24] Like Fairlie, these architects were sensitive to Scottish architectural heritage and traditions; Hurd, for example, had co-written *Building Scotland* for the Saltire Society. Robert Matthew, who was at that time assistant architect in the Department of Health for Scotland (the department also responsible for housing), sounded out Hurd on behalf of Johnston.[25] By the end of February 1943 the membership of the committee had largely been settled, with Hurd chosen as architect.[26]

As well as taking advice from the amenity committee on the architectural appearance of large structures, the NoSHEB had its own panel of architects, appointed in the first instance to adjudicate on competition entries. Fairlie, H. O. Tarbolton and James Shearer were the first appointees in 1944.[27] Like Hurd on the amenity committee, they shared a deep knowledge of Scottish architectural heritage, a quality that would have been reassuring — if not essential — given the sensitive nature of the settings for the major construction schemes envisaged. At the same time, they were modern without being overtly modernist, reflecting the progressive traditionalist tendency noted by Glendinning. By deploying the same stripped classicism that was being used in major public projects such as the National Library (by Fairlie), they could bring an element of national style to contemporary

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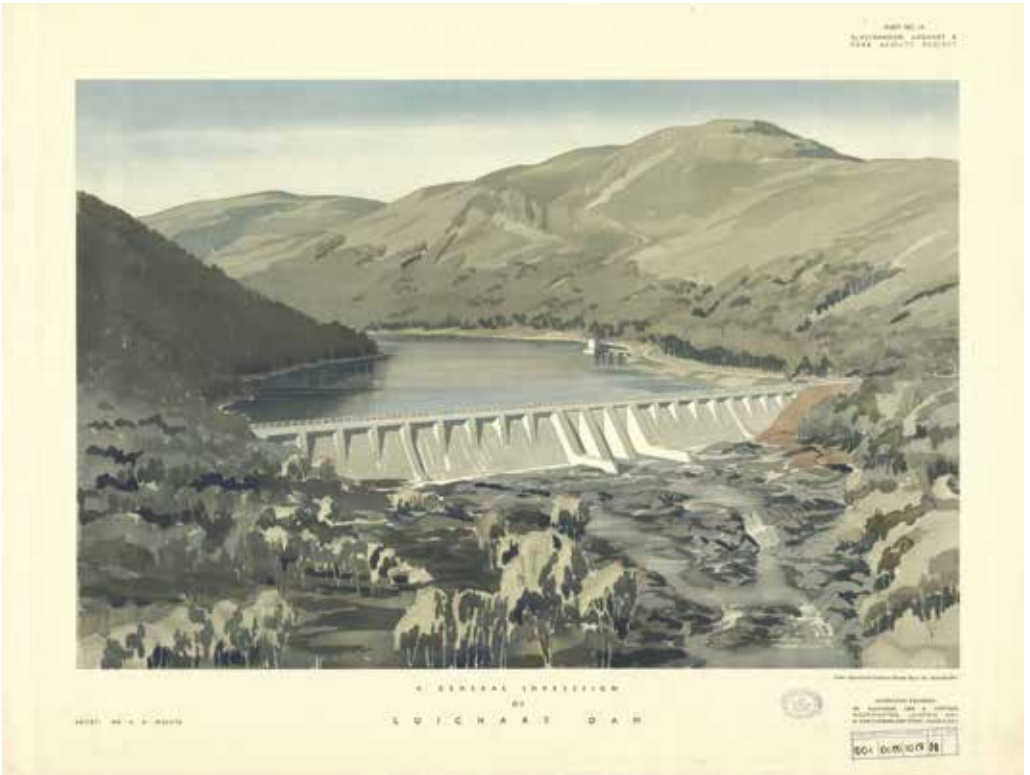

Fig. 6. *Luichart dam, general impression by Frank A. Weemys (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

structures, embedding the hydro projects within the wider drive to modernise Scotland and also reflecting the state sponsorship of these schemes. Gradually, however, a more overtly modernist orientation emerged. Hurd resigned his position on the amenity committee in order to join the panel of architects and was replaced by Frank Mears. After Mears's death in 1953, Matthew was asked to take his place but declined in order to remain free to accept work from the hydro board. Instead, Mears was succeeded by Graham Henderson of John Keppie & Henderson. Henderson resigned in 1956 and John Needham, then head of the School of Architecture in Dundee, took over. In 1963 Peter Womersley joined the committee as a second architect member.[28]

These changes in personnel had an impact on the architecture of the hydro stations and dams. In early projects such as Pitlochry by Tarbolton (1948–51), a stripped classicism echoing that seen at the National Library was typically adopted for the turbine halls, including heraldic ornament, with the choice of style and use of blockwork elevating them above the more directly expressed concrete of the dams and situating them within the broader project of public modernity (Fig. 2). Subsequent hydro schemes, for example by Shearer and Hurd, tended towards a more contextual, even 'vernacular' approach, being modest in scale and deploying rubblestone and pitched roofs (Fig. 3). By the late 1950s

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Fig. 7. *Orrin power station, general impression by H. L. Ford and Frank A. Weemys (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

Matthew had inaugurated a new era of more overt modernism, though with the continued use of some traditional materials such as stone. Matthew's assistant Patrick Nuttgens alluded to the similarities between earlier hydro projects and other public buildings by suggesting that the early stations looked rather like bank buildings or public libraries set down in rural locations.[29]

Yet the members of the amenity committee and panel were periodically frustrated by their inability to influence design. For the panel architects, the position improved as the original intention to put major works out to architectural competition was dropped in favour of dividing the work between them. Even then, however, they felt that they were primarily dressing up forms determined by the engineers.[30] Meanwhile, although the members of the amenity committee considered that they had a clear remit to advise on architectural appearance, this could bring them into conflict with the panel architects. The archive reveals details of the various debates, and how the amenity committee architects might find their advice sidestepped on grounds of cost or, more vaguely, practicability.[31] Here, then, is a clear indication of the sometimes messy, collaborative process by which architecture is brought into being, as well as the ways in which appearance and materials were actively debated and contested.

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Fig. 8. *Finlarig power station, general impression by Robert Eadie, cropped to image (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

REPRESENTING MODERNITY: HYDRO ART

There are in essence two categories of drawing relating to the hydroelectric programme within the SSE Heritage Collection: technical representations of the various hydro projects, illustrating the design and engineering of power stations and dams; and artists' 'general impressions' of the schemes in the landscape. The former show not only the detail of what was proposed and the collaborative process of design, but also how each site was to be home to a complex of connected dams, buildings and related structures such as fish ladders for migrating salmon (Fig. 4; the loop of water seen to the side of the power station allowed salmon to swim around the dam). Many of the technical drawings present early versions of the designs, which were often pared back in the interests of economy and, potentially, to reduce their visual impact. The artistic representations are more distinctive and reflect the emphasis on 'amenity'. Commissioning these 'general impressions' was first discussed by the board in May 1944, when the services were requested of 'the Artist-Architect' on the staff of Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners.[32] John Guthrie Brown, a partner of the firm and one of the technical advisers to the board, undertook to prepare rough drawings of power stations for the consideration of the panel and arrange for Frank A. Weemys to produce perspective drawings and paintings.[33] A number of these, like the technical drawings, illustrate early versions of the designs that in some cases are less

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Fig. 9. *Ceannacroc power station, general impression by Robert Eadie, cropped to image (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

Fig. 10. *Loch Shin and dam, general impression by Robert Eadie, cropped to image (courtesy of SSE Corporate Archive)*

'traditional' in style than what was built (Fig. 5). Later the amenity committee suggested that outlines of proposed structures might be superimposed on to photographs, but the board countered that the general impressions had been required by the secretary of state.[34]

The artists' representations are broadly figurative and emphasise the continuing vitality of 'realism' in Scottish art, which historians have recently explored with reference to the 1920s and 1930s.[35] The artworks demonstrate two approaches. In some, the emphasis is on contrast. William Douglas Macleod's imagining of Lochay, for example, juxtaposes the craggy, mountainous landscape with the crisp cubic forms and stripped classical ornament of the proposed hydro station, as does Weemys's rendering of Luichart dam (Fig. 6). Robert Eadie's Clunie similarly offers a contrast between a scatter of rugged boulders and

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the regularity of the power station. Weemys's illustration of Orrin shows a structure whose large Crittal-type windows seem to look back to the late 1930s Glasgow Empire Exhibition, bathed in what appears to be a shaft of sunlight (or, perhaps, a hydroelectrically powered floodlight); it is hardly a reticent element of the landscape (Fig. 7). Such representations might be thought in some ways to anticipate the ideas advanced by the landscape architects Sylvia Crowe and Nan Fairbrother during the next two decades, namely that new kinds of landscape were being created by means of modernist intervention.[36] Whereas 1930s critics had railed against such things as pylons and roads, seeing them as alien interventions, here difference — understood in terms of urban architectural style and function as well as scale — is celebrated. And yet the modern elements are presented as being entirely at home in these settings, the 'realism' of their depictions helping to persuade viewers that they would not be intrusive additions.

Other paintings, however, play down the prominence of the proposed structures which they illustrate, especially in cases where the buildings were designed to take a more low-key approach. Shearer's schemes at Aigas and Loch Benevean (Loch Beinn A'Mheadhain) peep through the trees in Macleod's paintings, and something similar can be said of Gratton and Macleod's Finlarig as depicted in romantic fashion, complete with a boat, by Robert Eadie (Fig. 8). Related to this approach are depictions in which the proposed structures are presented as the latest in a series of human interventions in an evolving Highland landscape. For example, Eadie's depictions of Lednock and Ceannacroc show people in the foreground, presenting the Highlands as a populated, working environment shaped by human hands (Fig. 9). The depiction of the proposed hydro scheme at Shin shows it as only a minor part of the composition, which instead focuses on the nearby village and illustrates not only the inhabited nature of the landscape but also the beneficiaries of the reliable power that hydroelectricity was to bring (Fig. 10).

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This article has drawn attention to the substantial visual and written archive that illustrates the conception and delivery of hydroelectric infrastructure in the Scottish Highlands. This archive and the projects it illuminates have yet to receive the degree of attention that has been given to later rural projects similarly concerned with ideas of modernisation, such as the nuclear industry on Scotland's north coast, or to the substantial changes which took place in post-war urban Scotland. Compared with those examples, the hydro projects might appear more traditional in style and materials, yet their realisation despite post-war austerity is significant. Within a broader wartime and post-war context in which the idea of modernisation was central, the rejuvenation of the Highlands was understood to be critical for the Scottish economy, a way to halt the loss of population to central Scotland, England and further afield, and the SSE Heritage Collection documents the contribution of the former NoSHEB to this agenda. Insights from the textual and visual material that has been introduced here could readily be combined with investigation of related collections at the National Records of Scotland, the National Library of Scotland and Historic Environment Scotland to shed further light on the country's post-war reconstruction, the development of modern architecture in rural Scotland, and the ways in which new kinds of modern rural landscapes were negotiated, created and presented.

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BIOGRAPHIES

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NOTES

1 See SSE Heritage <sseheritage.com/our-collections> [accessed on 27 August 2024].
2 An online version of the exhibition can be viewed at <sseheritage.com/artexhibition> [accessed on 27 February 2025]. See also SSE Heritage, *Shining Light: The Story of Edward 'Electricity' MacColl* (Pitlochry: SSE Heritage, 2023).
3 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 277.
4 Alan Reiach and Robert Hurd, *Building Scotland: A Cautionary Guide* (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1941); Miles Glendinning, *Modern Architect: The Life and Times of Robert Matthew* (London: RIBA, 2008), pp. 42–49.
5 Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture, from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. 410, 426.
6 For this argument, see Robert Proctor, 'Citizenship: Welfare and the Democratic State in Percy Thomas's Civic Architecture', in *Reconstruction: Architecture, Society and the Aftermath of the First World War*, eds Neal Shasore and Jessica Kelly (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 267–94 (p. 270).
7 Miles Glendinning, *Rebuilding Scotland: The Post-War Vision, 1945–1975* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997); Alistair Fair, Lynn Abrams, Kat Breen, Miles Glendinning, Diane Watters and Valerie Wright, *Building Modern Scotland: A Social and Architectural History of the New Towns, 1947–1997* (London: Bloomsbury, 2025).
8 For work on rural Scottish landscapes and the economy, see Linda M. Ross, 'Dounreay: Creating the Nuclear North', *Scottish Historical Review*, 100, no. 1 (2021), pp. 82–108, and Ewen Cameron, 'The Scottish Highlands as a Special Policy Area, 1886–1965', *Rural History*, 8 (1997), pp. 195–216. See also, for a different exploration of modernisation, Harriet Richardson Blakeman, 'Medicine and Modernity: Fifty Years of NHS Hospital Building in Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2024).
9 Linda M. Ross, Katrina Navickas, Ben Anderson and Matthew Kelly, eds, *New Lives, New Landscapes Revisited: Rural Modernity in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023). See also Moa Carlsson, *Scenic Calculations: Landscape Architects and the Post-war Industrialisation of Rural Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2025).
10 John Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland: Dumfries and Galloway* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 87–88.

11 Tom Begg, *Fifty Special Years: A Study in Scottish Housing* (London: Henry Melland, 1987). Jim Tomlinson and Ewan Gibbs, 'Planning the New Industrial Nation: Scotland 1931 to 1979', *Contemporary British History*, 30, no. 4 (2016), pp. 584–606; Department of Health for Scotland [hereafter DHS], *Working-Class Housing on the Continent* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1935); DHS, *Report of the Scottish Advisory Committee on the Incorporation of Architectural Quality and Amenity in the Lay-out, Planning and External Appearance of Houses for the Working Classes* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1935); Alistair Fair, 'Community Centre: New Housing Estates in Scotland', in *Reconstruction*, eds Shasore and Kelly, pp. 119–42.
12 Fair *et al.*, *Building Modern Scotland*, p. 9.
13 Scottish Office, *Report of the Committee on Hydro-electric Development in Scotland* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1942) [hereafter 'Cooper report']; James Miller, *The Dam Builders: Power from the Glens* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2002), pp. 21–24; SSE Heritage, *Shining Light*, pp. 94–98.
14 Cooper report, p. 3.
15 Cooper report, p. 6.
16 The West Highland Scheme and the first Glen Affric scheme were rejected in 1929, the Caledonian Power scheme was put forward in three separate bills in 1936, 1937 and 1938, and the second Glen Affric scheme was rejected by the House of Commons in 1941. Cooper report, p. 5.
17 Cooper report, p. 6.
18 Cooper report, p. 6.
19 In his memoir, Johnston noted the 'letters-to-the-editor brigade' who complained about the impact of hydro schemes, and the 'fantastic and ridiculous imaginations from beauty lovers' who feared that the Highlands would be turned into 'a rubbish heap and a desolation'. Thomas Johnston, *Memories* (London: Collins, 1952), p. 174.
20 Cooper report, p. 32.
21 Cooper report, pp. 32–34.
22 Scottish Office records that complement the SSE Heritage Collection can be found among the Industry Department's energy files (reference SEP14), including records relating to the amenity committee, the Electricity Consultative Councils (ECL), Highland Development (SEP12) and Scottish Development Department (DD11).
23 National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS], SEP14/704.
24 NRS, SEP14/704, Reginald Fairlie to Allan Chapman, 10 February 1943.
25 NRS, SEP14/704, H. R. Smith to T. Haddow, 19 January 1943.
26 NRS, SEP14/704, Robert Hurd to Robert Matthew, 29 January 1943; C. C. Cunningham to Mr Milne, 2 February 1943.
27 SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 27 and 28 March 1944, minute 107.
28 NRS, SEP14/704, Robert Hurd to Joseph Westwood, 1 April 1946; Frank Mears to the secretary of state, 6 May 1946; internal memo from C. C. Cunningham, 11 February 1953; notes from Cunningham to Mr Hansford, 12 February and 27 March 1953; Tom Johnston to Cunningham, 15 April 1953. SEP14/815, copy letters to amenity committee members from Susan Riddell, 7 June 1956; Riddell to John Needham, 7 June 1956; R. Brown to Peter Womersley, 24 August 1964; Womersley to Brown, 2 September 1964.
29 Glendinning, *Modern Architect*, p. 168.
30 SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 24 April 1944, minute 115.
31 For example, the amenity committee's recommendation that the wings of the dam at Loch Benevean be faced with turf and heather, or for a pitched roof on the Fannich power station: SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 27 June 1945, minute 384; 10 April 1946, minute 568.
32 SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 16 May 1944, minute 135.
33 SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 24 July 1944, minute 176.
34 SSE Heritage Collection, NoSHEB board minutes, book 1, 23 October 1944, minute 241.
35 Patrick Elliott and Sacha Llewellyn, *True to Life: British Realist Painting in the 1920s and 1930s* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, 2017).
36 For example, Nan Fairbrother, *New Lives, New Landscapes* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).