Militant Scottish Missionaries

Cond 815 para 24 c (2).
24 Ibid., p.3.
25 Circular to Newspapers in Scotland, 12/3/1959, pp.1-2. (Mackenzie Papers Vol. 19 Gen. 1871.) See also list of 74 Scottish newspapers. This list covers all the newspapers in Scotland at the time.
26 Ibid., p.2.
27 Colvin, T., op. cit., pp.2-3.
28 British Broadcasting Corporation (Scotland) Perspective, 3/4/1959, 7:30-8:00 p.m. (Mackenzie Papers, Folio 5 Vol. 19 Gen. 1871.) Montrose, who was a Cabinet Minister during the rebellion of 1665, on his part, tried to show the Scottish viewers that missionaries were mistaken in trusting ‘natives’ with responsibility so early.
29 Duncan, D., Editor of British Weekly to Kenneth Mackenzie 30/9/1959. Article is attached to letter. (Mackenzie Papers, Folio 5 Gen. 1871.)
30 Lord Home to Kenneth Mackenzie, 14/7/1959. (Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 19, Gen. 1871.)
31 The Deliverance of the Church of Scotland General Assembly moved by the Reverend Dr George Macleod, Earl of Finlady, May 1959. (Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 20, Gen. 1871.)
32 These were Lord Macleod, Convenor, Kenneth Mackenzie, Secretary, Lecturer in Theology at Colms Divinity College, Sir Gordon Leatham, formerly Governor of Guyana and the Reverend Dr Andrew Doig of Nyasaland as adviser. Ibid., p.3.
33 Ibid., pp.4-5.
34 Ibid.
35 The Deliverance of the Church of Scotland General Assembly ... May 1959, p.2.
36 Ibid., p.4.
37 Evidence presented by Church of Scotland before Monkton Commission, 1960. Section III, para. 7.
38 Ibid., Section III, paras 12 (1) and 13.
39 The General Assembly’s Special Committee Annent Central Africa, October 1959, pp.4-5.
40 Oral Evidence of the Church of Scotland before Monkton Commission 1960, p.179.
41 Ibid., Section III, para. 9.
42 Ibid., Section III, para. 9.
42 Ibid., Appendix para. (b), p.119.
See also Report of Nyasaland Constitutional Conference 1960. (Zomba).
46 Ibid., p.637. See also Table on same page.
50 Ibid., 1962, p.6.
51 Ibid., 1961, p.3.
52 Ibid., 1963, p.12.

The Development of the Tourist Industry of the Highlands and Islands in the 19th Century

The tourist industry of the Highlands and Islands, unlike that of some other parts of Britain, is relatively recent in development. The earliest tourists to the area of which there are many records are the 18th Century writers such as Martin and Penant, whose travels followed similar patterns to those of many present day tourists. Probably the most well known of these authors is Samuel Johnson, whose "Tour to the Hebrides" did more to make the area known throughout Britain than any other single publication of that period. It was not until the 19th century however, that visitors in any numbers began to travel to the Highlands and Islands. It must be remembered that as late as 1745 the population of this area had risen in the last rebellion seen in Britain, and that the reputation of the area for travellers at that time and in subsequent decades was not an enviable one.

The forfeiture of many of the Jacobite estates and the selling of these, often to English landlords, most of whom still continued to reside in England, was a major factor in the elimination of the feudal clan system in this area. The pattern of summer visits to their estates by these absentee landlords in the 19th century began to set the pattern for the first stage in the development of the tourist industry of the area. These landowners would visit their often vast estates for a few weeks of the year to hunt and fish, transporting servants and belongings from their English estates for the vacation period, and closing their houses when they returned to the south.

The growing interest in the Highlands and Islands received two
powerful stimuli in the 19th century. The first was the great popularity of the works of Sir Walter Scott, which served to bring the beauty and romantic appeal of the area to a large number of people who had previously only regarded the area as a haven for cattle thieves and rebels. The second, and probably the major factor, was the purchase by Queen Victoria of the Balmoral estates in 1852.

The effect of this purchase, and the travels of the Queen around the Highlands and Islands in subsequent years was of great significance to this area. The gesture gave social approval to the idea of a summer estate in the Highlands of Scotland, and the numbers of visitors increased steadily from that date, as too did the purchase of estates, a process which is still continuing to the present day and which shows no sign of declining. To some extent the role of Balmoral was similar to that of Brighton in the days of the Regency, in that it set the pattern for the highest social group in the country, whose action was emulated by all who could afford to do so.

The mid 19th Century also saw the development of another vacation activity which had similarly taken place earlier in England, namely the taking of mineral or spa waters. Although there were no major developments in Scotland to rival those of Bath or Buxton in England, several large hydro pathetic hotels were constructed, such as those at Dunblane and Peebles. In the Highlands and Islands only one such establishment developed, that at Strathpeffer in Easter Ross. Large hotels, pump and bath rooms and formal gardens were constructed, aided by the encouragement of the local landowner, the Duchess of Sutherland. Water for the wells was piped some seven miles from Ben Wyvis, again due to financial assistance from the Duchess of Sutherland. The morphology of the small village was significantly changed, for apart from the construction of the large hotels “most of the other houses have been erected for the accommodation of visitors during the season which lasts from the beginning of May until the end of October,” a period probably longer than that of the current tourist season.

Other centres in the study area capitalized on the Victorian desire for holidays or extended visits to areas with beneficial climates. The following description of Grantown on Spey is typical:

“in summer it is favourable for invalids and highly recommended by the leading physicians of London and Edinburgh, in winter it is exhilarating to debilitated constitutions . . .

Grantown was visited by the Royal family in September, 1860, and by 1894 had three hotels. A few miles further up the Spey Valley, Kingussie was described as “A summer resort of families from the seaside in quest of a change of air”, and had “a good hotel”. This period, from the middle to the end of the 19th century saw the construction of the majority of the hotels in the Highlands and Islands, and indeed the construction of probably the vast majority of premises that are used today as tourist accommodation of other types, although these were built at that time as private residences. This period coincided with the development of the railway system north from Glasgow and Edinburgh (Figure 1) and the construction of individual hotels is very closely linked to the opening of the railway at that particular location. The following comment on the Highland Railway could equally well be made of all the lines in the Highland area.

“The Highland Railway and its allied lines have been largely instrumental in opening up a picturesque and interesting portion of Scotland and in attracting many thousands of tourists annually to famous places and districts”...

By the turn of the century the entire railway system had been completed and provided easy and convenient access to many areas previously reached only by several days journey by stagecoach over extremely poor roads. The relationship between the development of transportation links and the development of the tourist industry is a very close one. Tourist development is very dependent upon ease of access and,

“the opening of the railway system (in Ross and Cromarty) has been of the utmost advantage to the country, both from the opening up of trade and from the great influx of summer tourist traffic brought about by its means”.

The tourist industry by its very nature involves the travel of people to the vacation areas, and in general the more easily and quickly this can be accomplished, the greater the chance of success for the tourist area.

In the 19th century the existence of rail links between the home
areas of visitors and the holiday centres became almost a pre-requisite for the development of centres on a large scale. The development of holiday resorts in Britain generally has been discussed by Stansfield,\textsuperscript{13} and the success of areas such as the Lancashire coast, or closer to this area, the Firth of Clyde, was obviously dependent upon the efficient and convenient rail links between the home towns of the visitors and the respective resorts.

This area could not compete successfully with the large resort areas noted above for a number of reasons. The major resort areas which developed in the 19th century in Britain were all located relatively short distances from the origins of the visitors, in the case of the Firth of Clyde resorts, some 20 to 40 miles from the industrial towns of central Scotland. The Highlands and Islands lie much further away from major population centres, and for people with very short vacations, involved too great a distance to travel. This was particularly true of those visitors who only had the opportunity for day visits to resorts. The climatic conditions were not as favourable as in those areas further south or east, and perhaps of greater importance was the fact that there were few facilities for the visitors when they arrived. Bearing in mind the fact that many of the landowners preferred privacy for their estates this was perhaps not surprising, and there was relatively little encouragement given to providing facilities for visitors to the study area outside of a few specific centres which developed a vacation industry at this time.

Of these centres, Oban was undoubtedly the most important, and by 1882 had become “the headquarters of all who desire to visit the west highlands”.\textsuperscript{14} The initial development of the town predated the arrival of the railway (1880) by some twenty years. Although in 1850 there was very little settlement, by 1861 the north Esplanade was constructed, along with the Great Western Hotel, and was further extended in 1894. A hydropathic establishment was begun in 1880, presumably anticipating the arrival of the railway, but was never completed. In 1894 it had “even more hotels in proportion to its size than Edinburgh”\textsuperscript{15} fifteen to be precise, with additional temperance hotels and numerous lodging houses. Fontane provides an interesting description of such a lodging house and landlady in his journal “Across the Tween”\textsuperscript{16}, written in 1858.

The description of Oban given in Groome’s Gazetteer is worth recording, both for the comments on the town and on the visitors themselves.
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"By the end of June it awakens to a hurried brisk active existence which lasts for the rest of the summer and autumn. Tourists go to Oban simply for the purpose of getting somewhere else. Beautiful as the situation of the town is, its chief attraction to visitors is the ease with which from Oban they can reach other parts of the Highlands. Though the number of families who spend a month or two here in the summer is yearly increasing, comparatively few people visit Oban for more than a week at a time. The prosperity of the town depends on this annual stream of tourists and the character of its trade, its municipal policy, and its later history have been determined by the consideration... One great want at Oban however, is a sandy beach."\(^{17}\)

These comments on the pattern of the town’s tourist trade could apply equally well today, for Oban is still the major centre in the west Highlands for excursions to other parts. One of the major attractions of the town then as now, is the variety of sails, mostly by MacBraynes (then Hutcheson’s) steamer, to places such as Iona and Staffa.

"Since the introduction of steam navigation, Staffa has enjoyed abundant celebrity and been visited by multitudes of admirers. The day’s sail by swift steamer from Oban... is now... one of the regular tourist trips during the summer months."\(^{18}\)

Fontane made the journey to Staffa and Iona in 1858, at that time offered twice a week, commenting that Oban “was a creation of the network of steamship lines with which Mr Hutcheson has surrounded the west coast”\(^{19}\)...

The linking of the different forms of transportation to serve the tourist was already developed by the end of the 19th century, and some forms of combined holiday opportunities were available to visitors.

“The railway holds an important place in the tourist routes throughout Scotland, many tours in conjunction with coaches, steamers on the Caledonian Canal etc, being organized.”\(^{20}\)

Despite the development of such tours, and the extension of

railway services in the study area, few major tourist centres emerged during the 19th Century. Inverness, with “a large number of excellent Hotels... (was)... a centre for tourists and sportsmen”\(^{21}\) and developed early as a route centre, with the railway service commencing in 1855. It was however, more of a route centre, than a tourist destination point. Further north, the small burghs of Fortrose, linked by the railway in 1893, Cromarty and Rosemarkie, began to develop tourist industries, capitalizing on the dry climate and sandy beaches. To the west, the development of Strathpeffer has already been discussed, and this was further stimulated in 1911 by the opening of the Highland Railway’s Hotel, and the addition of a special summer “Strathpeffer Express”, which ran until 1915.\(^{22}\)

North of the Black Isle, other east coast settlements in Ross and Cromarty began to develop a tourist trade. By 1894 Tain had several hotels, and its “spacious links offered great scope for recreation”\(^{23}\), and the extension of services eventually to Wick and Thurso, allowed the Sutherland villages such as Brora and Golspie to exploit their coastal situation, sandy beaches and dry climate.

Few centres developed on the west coast or the islands, primarily because of the difficult access and relatively poor climate. These points are made by Fontane who wrote,

"one must realize how quite remarkably inhospitable and inaccessible this west coast of Scotland was... if only this superb coast had a milder climate or at least a longer summer, a new rich life would start to bloom here".\(^{24}\)

Few west coast centres are mentioned in Groome’s Gazetteer, although Fort William, only linked by rail to the south in 1894, had several hotels and was described as “a favourite tourist resort”.\(^{25}\)

On the islands, Tobemory, through its steamer links with Oban, had a significant tourist trade, sufficient to have six hotels by 1894, while Portree on Skye was visited by tourists as early as 1865, when Smith wrote

"In the bay the yacht of the tourist is continually lying, and at the hotel his dog cart is continually departing or arriving. (Like Oban)... the tourist seldom abides long".\(^{26}\)

At the end of the 19th Century there were approximately 170 inns and hotels in the study area.\(^{27}\) This total is relatively low,
particularly when it is considered that some 60% of the hotels listed are in less than a dozen centres. The distribution of these accommodation units is shown in Figure 2. It should be noted that no formal definitions of inn and hotel exist for this period. It is this author's personal opinion, based on the literature surveyed, that in general the inns were older, smaller and offered fewer amenities than the hotels. In many cases they were undoubtedly "King's Houses" built as stage coach stopovers. The distribution of hotels can be taken to be a more accurate reflection of the tourist accommodation in the area at this date. Accommodation was also available of course in shooting and fishing lodges, and little information is available on numbers or location of these. They existed in considerable numbers however, and in certain parts of the area provided more accommodation than that available in hotels. In Sutherland in 1905, for example, there were at least 45 lodges. In addition, some accommodation was also available in private homes, but on a very much smaller scale than exists at the present time.

The map indicates an interesting distribution of inns and hotels, which reflects the orientation of the tourist industry in 1894 towards sporting activities, and the few tourist centres which existed at that date. Oban clearly emerges as the major centre with half of the hotels in Argyllshire, and almost 20% of all hotels in the study area. Inverness, due principally to its commercial interests is the only other centre with a large number of hotels. Those centres listed with more than one hotel are shown on the map with the actual numbers of hotels, and are, in the main, the principal tourist centres of the Highlands and Islands at the present time. The proportionally large number of inns and hotels in Sutherland indicates that at this period, this county was further developed in terms of accommodation than is the case at the present time, much less development having taken place in the intervening period than was the case for other counties.

The importance of transportation is again emphasized by this map, with the conspicuous lack of any establishments at such places as Kyle of Lochalsh, or Mallaig (which were reached by the railway in 1897 and 1901 respectively), and the considerable clustering of hotels in particular, in settlements served by the railways.

In general, the numbers of visitors at this time were still extremely small, although in particular centres or regions, the impact of the tourist industry was considerable. The development of fishing, shooting and golf facilities was the only evidence of at-

Figure 2

tempts to cater to the desires of the visitors, along with excursion steamers at centres such as Oban.

Many of the relatively isolated hotels shown on Figure 2 catered
almost exclusively to fishermen, and to a lesser degree to shooters. Fontané’s description of the fisherman of this period (mid 19th century) is both interesting and amusing.

“They were English — very harmless people, of the kind, as soon learnt, known locally as ‘Fishing Gentlemen’... their passion for fishing was not denied. Those of the English who are not rich enough to maintain a park full of game, or a grouse moor, or a deer forest in Scotland, or who have no friends or neighbours with these amenities at their disposal, are not well placed to enjoy the sport of shooting or stalking... every year about the beginning of summer hundreds and thousands of Englishmen make for the Highlands of Scotland, there to spend two, three or four weeks on a kind of angling campaign... The real fishing gentlemen... pass over the Grampians and the Caledonian Canal, penetrating to the deep black lochs of Ross-shire and Inverness.”

The reputation of the Highlands and Islands for fishing was as high, or higher in the 19th century than it is today. Catches of fish were often spectacular; at Kildonan, “three men in five days killed with the fly, 600 trout, weighing over 400 lbs.” This event was on the Helmsdale river in Sutherland, while on the opposite side of the county, the Laxford river was described as “the second best salmon river in the county... belonging to the Duke of Sutherland and is strictly preserved”. This latter reference indicates the already zealous manner in which the Highland landlords maintained the privacy and quality of their sporting investments, a situation which still exists to some degree at the present time.

Such was the importance attached to the shooting and fishing estates that in Sutherland the extension of the railway from Bonar Bridge was due almost entirely to the efforts of the large landowners in the region, particularly the Duke of Sutherland. Valance records,

“in 1877 a platform and siding were opened to serve Borrobol shooting lodge which lies close to the railway... In July 1907 a second platform was opened ... to serve Salzcraggie Lodge ... Salzcraggie was officially a private Lodge”.

The amount of land in sporting estates in the 19th century has not been calculated precisely and the formal area under deer forest does not always include the total acreage of the vast estates. O’Dell and Walton, in an appendix to their book on the Highlands and Islands, credit the Duke of Bedford with initiating “the fashionable invasion of English sportsmen,” with his visit to the Highlands in 1818. Lack of facilities, particularly accommodation, hindered the development of shooting, and it was not until mid century onwards that rents for shootings began to increase. Snowies’ list of forests available for let numbered only 8 in 1837 but 171 were listed in 1911, and sample rents had increased from £300 in 1833 to £5000 in 1905 (See Figure 3). O’Dell and Walton record 1912 as the year in which deer forest acreage reached its maximum of 3,585,000 acres, with 203 forests in existence. (Figure 3) Since then both the numbers and extent of deer forests have declined, although the total acreage is of course still extensive today.

At the height of their importance, deer forests played a major role in the economic and social life of the Highlands and Islands.

“It is difficult to overestimate the value of the shooting industry in the economy of remote parts of the Highlands. Lodges were built and indoor servants as well as keepers and ghillies were required, amenities such as roads and telegraph lines were often provided by the owners and even by tenants, and for six to eight weeks money became relatively abundant. Supplies had to be brought from the south and graphic descriptions exist of the congestion on the Highland Railway just before the season commenced. Indeed, conveyance of shooting and fishing parties was a major source of revenue to the Highland Railway Company.”

The rateable value of the shootings and fishings was considerable also, and played an important role in the economy of the Highland counties. In 1914 for example, almost one third of the rateable value of Inverness-shire, and over one fifth of the rateable value of Ross and Cromarty came from shooting and deer forests, and in individual parishes this figure went as high as 78%.

It will be seen therefore, that these two activities, fishing and shooting, particularly the latter, were very much the privilege of the few. The amount of money required to partake in these activities was beyond the reach of the vast majority of the population. The relatively high cost of travel, and the time involved, the generally expensive nature of most of the accommodation, and at least until the early 20th century, the absence of holidays with pay,
meant that for the most part the Highlands and Islands remained
the holiday area for a fortunate elite and were not subjected to the
pressures of large numbers of visitors.

CONCLUSIONS

The gradual spread of visitors to all parts of the area by the use
of the private car in the 1920's and 1930's was delayed by restric-
tions on travel imposed during the war. Poor roads in many parts
of the Highlands and Islands, a common complaint even at the pre-
sent day, deterred many potential visitors, and the lack of facilities,
and of moderate and cheaply priced accommodation meant that
the area still attracted only the relatively high income group who
desired to fish, shoot or play golf. The legacy of the past is still
visible in the present patterns of the tourist industry, and while
the pattern of the tourist industry now is changing, there are still
regions, particularly in the north and west of the area which have
changed little in the way of facilities and accommodation in the last
fifty years.

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1 The area discussed in this paper comprises all of the counties of Caithness,
Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, and Inverness, and the northern part of Argyll.
2 Martin, M., Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1703), Reprint Glasgow,
(1884).
3 Penant, T., A Tour in Scotland and a Voyage to the Hebrides (Chester, 1772).
4 Boswell, J., Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, National Illustrated
Library, Random, (1852).
6 See for example Rob Roy or Chronicles of the Canongate.
7 See E.W. Gilbert, Brighton, Old Ocean's Bauble, Methuen (1954).
8 Groome, F.H., Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland, Mackenzie (London, 1894), VI, 410.
9 Ibid., III, 213.
10 Ibid., IV, 402.
12 Groome, Op. Cit., V, 270. For evidence of the affect of railway development on
the tourist industry in other areas, see for instance J.A. Patmore, Land and Leisure,
13 Stansfield, C.A., “The Development of Modern Seaside Resorts”, Parks and
15 Ibid., V, 124.
18 Ibid., VI, 375.
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21 Ibid., IV, 381.
27 This figure is obtained from the description of each locale listed in Groome’s Gazetteer, and by reference to other historical descriptions of the area. The total number is not precise because in some cases reference is made to “several Hotels” and no specific figure is given. As an estimate, several has been taken to be 4.
28 McLean, D., Description of Shootings and Fishings ... the Property of the Duke of Sutherland (Golspie), (1905).
31 Ibid., IV, 478.
34 Ibid., 333.
35 Ibid., 335.
36 Ibid.,

Book Reviews


Professor Nicholson’s volume covers the years 1286-1513, from the death of Alexander III to the death of James IV, and is the most detailed account of the period as a whole since P. Hume Brown’s History of Scotland, first published in 1900. The later Middle Ages have been poorly served by writers on Scottish history, to whom the reign of Mary Stuart has provided a more romantic and lucrative field, with a readership having little, if any, wish to learn about her remoter ancestors. The War of Independence, indeed, still holds an appeal for Scots, but superficially the following two centuries seem little more than a long and inglorious sequel, in which the promise of Bruce and Bannockburn proved to be unfulfilled. Bruce’s son was first driven from his country and later held captive by the English; the first two Stuart kings were more or less incapable of ruling; and the next four all suffered violent deaths, the last in Scotland’s greatest defeat, Flodden, which closes this book. Endemic war with England was punctuated by civil disturbances, encouraged by weak government and royal minorities. Economically the picture is one of almost steady decline and Scotland in 1513 was probably a poorer, less stable community than it had been in 1286. Yet while Nicholson does not gloss over any of this, he shows that the period also saw the consolidation of Scotland’s nationhood, the emergence of her own distinctive literature