

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THOMAS WHITE (1739-1811): EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE  
DESIGNER AND ARBORICULTURIST

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

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May 1990

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude to family and friends for their support, and to the British Academy for financial assistance. My thanks to the University of Hull for help and advice received in many departments, both academic and administrative, most particularly History of Art (as it was), Adult and Continuing Education, English, Geography, History, the Brynmor Jones Library, the Computer Centre, and the Development and Alumni Offices. My appreciation to Emeritus Professors, John Wilton-Ely and Jay Appleton, and to my supervisor, Dr. David Neave, for stimulating and nourishing my interest in the eighteenth century, the landscape and Thomas White, respectively.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

Archives, libraries and societies:

AUL	Aberdeen University Library
CRO	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle
DAD	Doncaster Archives Department
Glamis	Strathmore Muniments, Glamis Castle
HCRO	Humberside County Record Office, Beverley
HUL	Hull University Library
IGI	International Genealogical Index
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office, Lincoln
LDA	Leeds District Archives
Mulgrave	Mulgrave Muniments, Mulgrave Castle
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NorthRO	Northumberland Record Office, Newcastle upon Tyne
NottRO	Nottinghamshire Record Office, Nottingham
NottULMD	Nottingham University Library Manuscripts Department
NRA(S)	National Register of Archives (Scotland)
NUL	Newcastle University Library
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London
RSA	Royal Society of Arts, London
SA	Society of Arts
SAN	Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne
Sandbeck	Lumley Muniments, Sandbeck House
Scone	Mansfield Muniments, Scone Palace
ShropRO	Shropshire Record Office, Shrewsbury
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
StaffRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford
StrathRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds

Publications:

AA	Annals of Agriculture
AJ	Arboricultural Journal
Ap	Apollo
Burl	Burlington Magazine
CL	Country Life
EE	Edinburgh Encyclopaedia
EYLHS	East Yorkshire Local History Society
GH	Garden History
GHSN	Garden History Society Newsletter
GM	Gardener's Magazine
GSEYN	Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Notes
GSEYT	Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Transactions
JCAS	Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society
JGH	Journal of Garden History
JHG	Journal of Historical Geography
JRSA	Journal of the Royal Society of Arts
LD	Landscape Design
LP	Landscape Planning
St	Studio Magazine
TT	Thoroton Transactions
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
YGSAR	York Georgian Society Annual Report

**Note:**

Material drawn from original archival sources has been transcribed retaining the original spelling where possible, except in instances where the meaning may be unclear.

Capitalisation has been modernised and punctuation has on occasion been adjusted for ease of reading.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Mr. Brown, Mr. White and Mr. Repton did more for British Landscape Gardening than has been done in any country perhaps in the world. We cannot help grieving for the loss of men so great as they were, but we have room still left to rejoice, although they are dead, and now no more, that their famed talents will never die.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Shepherd, Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia, 1836

The name of Thomas White (1739-1811) was included by Thomas Shepherd, in the august company of the landscape designers, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783) and Humphry Repton (1752-1818). His prediction that the "famed talents" of Brown and Repton would "never die" has, it seems, proved accurate, although it required the researches and publications of Dorothy Stroud to revive their faded reputations and provide full histories of their activities and achievements.<sup>2</sup> The reputation of Thomas White, however, failed to survive and until recently his name and the nature and extent of his work were virtually unknown in the field of garden and landscape history. This was in part due to the fact that White's work in the designing of estate improvements and alterations was, throughout his life, very much in the style of Capability Brown, so much so that their designs have on occasion been confused.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, whereas Brown was very often engaged at the large and renowned estates of the aristocracy and nobility, White's landscaping commissions were generally undertaken for the more modest domains of the lesser nobility and landed gentry. White's name has thus not been given the exposure, through the publication of topographical descriptions and historical accounts of the grander estates, accorded to Brown.

It is certainly possible to argue that the neglect of Thomas White has been justified in view of his position as a

"follower of the great Mr. Brown",<sup>4</sup> rather than as an innovator in the field of eighteenth century landscape design. However, since it is only recently that many of his plans, correspondence and other relevant archival material have come to light, it is necessary to study these in relation to the material available on Capability Brown and other designers in order to attempt an evaluation of Thomas White's contribution to the history of landscape design in both England and Scotland.

This research on the work and life of Thomas White was prompted initially by the finding of a few references to his having worked in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the eighteenth century. A desire to discover the nature and scale of his activities in the county led to investigations rather further afield, into Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire and north into Scotland. It was found that very little published material existed on Thomas White and that considerable archival research, combined with visits to libraries and estates, would be necessary to unearth the relevant surviving documents and plans.

The primary and secondary source material consulted ranges widely in nature and location, requiring considerable travel with, on occasion, fruitless results. Estate archives located either in record offices or estate offices have provided the main source of information, sometimes confined merely to one or two account book payments recording Thomas White's name, but in other instances, at Scone Palace for example, comprising a large body of correspondence, accounts and descriptions of the estate.<sup>5</sup> The Scottish Record Office, the National Library of Scotland and the National Monuments Record of Scotland, all in Edinburgh, have provided a wealth

of information, and county and university archives in northern England have proved of considerable value. The existence of Thomas White's bank account with Drummonds Bank in Charing Cross (where Capability Brown's account is also held) has proved most valuable in providing corroboratory evidence of several of White's known commissions and has provided clues towards the discovery of hitherto unknown clients.<sup>6</sup> County by county research in the International Genealogical Index has led to the examination of relevant parish records from which fuller details of White's origins and family have been obtained. His last will and testament together with codicils at the Borthwick Institute have also proved useful, as have various legal documents in the Scottish Record Office.

Thomas White was both a landscape designer and a keen arboriculturist and in both these areas of activity was later succeeded by his son, also Thomas (1764-1836). White is believed to have been born in Shropshire, the son of a farmer, possibly receiving training in his youth as a gardener and surveyor at one of the large estates near his home in Shifnal. Both Sir Henry Steuart and John Claudius Loudon stated that White was a pupil of Capability Brown,<sup>7</sup> and documentary evidence in Brown's own bank account has revealed that White was indeed employed by Brown between 1759 and 1765, during which period he worked for him at both Chillington in Staffordshire and Sandbeck in Yorkshire. White's first known plans, two survey maps of the Chillington estate, were made in 1761, and White went on to work at or advise on estates in northern England and, after 1770, in Scotland. He drew up improvement plans for many of these



estates and spent much of his life travelling, visiting clients both at their homes and, on occasion, in London. He and his family established residence in West Retford, Nottinghamshire in about 1770, and although he purchased an estate at Butsfield near Lanchester in County Durham in 1773, White was not to live there permanently until about 1800. His arboricultural activities at his estate, which he later named Woodlands, were considerable and his efforts were recognised by the Society of Arts in their award of eleven medals. In 1787 the Society published in their Transactions White's own detailed account of his achievements at his own estate.<sup>8</sup> The full extent of White's planting work is not known although evidence for at least three large planting contracts in Scotland and one in England exists and his great admiration for the larch tree is well documented.

The surviving plans of Thomas White and his son are located in both archives and at estates and the search for, examination and documenting of these plans was felt to be a key element in this research. Wherever possible a study of the plan was done in conjunction with a study of relevant survey maps, first edition Ordnance Survey maps, plans by other designers, and an inspection of the existing landscape in order to try and assess how much of White's design was put into effect. The information provided by present owners and estate managers proved very helpful in this regard. It is, however, often difficult to be certain how many, if any, of the suggestions White made in a particular improvement plan were in fact effected, or whether he was directly involved in the actual alterations made, or merely provided the plan.

Thomas White drew his improvement plans, sometimes larger than six feet square, on paper which was mounted on

linen. Fifty-one of his plans (including three survey maps) and fourteen by his son, some of them probably joint endeavours, have been located, twenty-two for estates in England and the remainder prepared for Scottish landowners. The social standing of his clients ranged widely from the gentleman-merchant owner of the small estate of Welton in Yorkshire, Thomas Williamson, to David, 2nd earl of Mansfield and 7th viscount Stormont, at Scone Palace in Perthshire. His commissions very often appear to have resulted from family connections and personal recommendations and he is not known to have advertised his services. Surviving correspondence and estate accounts for Scone, Belle Isle, Newby and Harewood have provided useful material on which to base an assessment of White's role in the physical transformation of the estate landscape; however, there are still many gaps to be filled. Many of White's extant improvement plans are still in good condition; understandably perhaps it is the plans which were most used, carried around on site, repeatedly rolled and unrolled, which have either not survived or are in very poor condition.

Like Capability Brown, Thomas White used few elements in his designs; clumps, belts and single trees, expanses of grass and sometimes areas of water, were variously combined to create a setting which, if successful, would offer both physical and mental serenity. He followed similar working methods to those of Brown, visiting the estate and assessing its situation, discussing requirements with the owner, drawing up a plan, appointing a foreman to oversee the work and returning periodically to check the progress made and leave further instructions. The amount he charged varied considerably depending on the work required and the time

taken. White's contracts with John Christian Curwen for Belle Isle and Workington amounted to £3355, while for the six years he was engaged at Scone he received only £868; his bank account shows that he was paid well over £5000 during a period of four years by John Musters of Colwick Hall in Nottingham. It is interesting to compare White's bank account with that of Brown which reveals that on average his yearly income was only one-tenth of Brown's. Unlike Brown so far as we know White undertook no architectural work, although it is possible that he designed and built his own house at Woodlands.

In recent years there has been a considerable increase in the study of and interest in landscape and garden history, issues of conservation, preservation and interpretation being especially relevant in light of current concerns over Britain's national heritage. Bodies such as English Heritage, the Garden History Society and the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Parks and Gardens in York have done and are doing much to collect, collate and make available the results of research on the history and current state of gardens in England. By its very nature the garden is a constantly changing environment, taste dictating the way in which the elements of ground and water are disposed and embellished with grass, trees, shrubs and flowers that flourish, wither and perish according to the dictates of both man and nature. In order to try to establish the appearance and mood of a garden and landscape of a particular period, available historical evidence must be interpreted and combined with a creative imagination to try and reach an understanding of the requirements of the estate owner and the aims and achievements of the particular landscape designer.

Much has been written on the history of gardening and on the evolution of the English landscape garden, the subjects being embraced by a large number of disciplines, allowing for many and varied approaches and interpretations. Articles and books are found in the areas of geography, politics, literature, philosophy, history, economics, sociology, horticulture, art history, botany and geology, all dealing with or touching on aspects of the garden and, more particularly, the landed estate and country house and its surroundings. Often the study goes hand in hand with the architectural history of a particular estate or, in literary and philosophical works, is considered in relation to aesthetic notions of beauty, taste and fashion. Sociological and economic factors and implications are important in relation to the growth of estates, the treatment of surrounding agricultural land and villages, and the conflicts arising between the claims of utility and beauty. A more practical approach is found in examining the climatic, geological, geographical and botanical influences on the situation and appearance of the estate.

Useful published material on Thomas White exists in works by men acquainted with him who were his firm supporters. The Reverend John Hodgson in his poem of 1807 entitled 'Woodlands', Sir Henry Steuart in his Planter's Guide of 1828 and Thomas Shepherd in his Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia published posthumously in 1836, all devoted considerable space to White.<sup>9</sup> John Bailey's queries about planting addressed to and answered by White were published in the General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham in 1810.<sup>10</sup> Other less complimentary

but relevant references to White are found in various published and unpublished works by the early nineteenth century landscape designer and prolific writer, John Claudius Loudon, and later in the century by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder and Thomas Hunter.<sup>11</sup> In the early years of the twentieth century informative, though not always totally accurate, accounts of White and his family were published in the Consett Guardian in 1902 and in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1917.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from those works cited, references to Thomas White until the late 1960s were largely confined to descriptions of his estate in County Durham and to his activities as an arboriculturist. Alan Tait has, since 1969, published material on White's activities as a landscape designer in Scotland, most particularly in his rich and invaluable study The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835 (1980), while evidence of the extent of White's work in northern England was brought to light by David Neave in the preliminary results of his research published in 1972 and in a longer article in 1984.<sup>13</sup> David Jacques in his Georgian Gardens (1983) discusses at some length the contributions made by lesser eighteenth century landscape designers, including Thomas White, and in the Oxford Companion to Gardens (1986) White and his son are given a relatively full biographical entry.<sup>14</sup> Passing references to White as a follower of Capability Brown are occasionally now to be found in general histories of the landscape and of the Georgian period, for example in Michael Reed's The Georgian Triumph 1700-1830 (1984) and John Martin Robinson's The English Country Estate (1988).<sup>15</sup> Several guides to architecture and gardens include mentions of White under the appropriate estate,

although there are many omissions,<sup>16</sup> and periodical articles on estates in England and Scotland, the majority appearing in Country Life, have included brief references to him, particularly those by Alistair Rowan, John Martin Robinson and John Cornforth. Various listings of estate maps held in national and county archives give details of some of Thomas White's improvement plans, but again, these listings are far from comprehensive, while the five-volume Inventory of Gardens and Designed landscapes in Scotland (1987) provides most useful material on many of the Scottish estates at which White was engaged.<sup>17</sup>

Dorothy Stroud's books on Capability Brown and Humphry Repton were the first major biographical works to deal with these two important figures and provide an essential background to their commissions and working methods, but contain very little material on other eighteenth century landscape designers. Further books on Brown have followed by Roger Turner (1986) and Thomas Hinde (1986) adding little to Stroud's revised version (1975).<sup>18</sup> Works on Charles Bridgeman by Peter Willis (1977) and William Kent by Michael Wilson (1984) have helped to fill out the picture of these early eighteenth century designers, while John Harvey's Medieval Gardens, David Jacques and Arend van der Horst's The Gardens of William and Mary and Brent Elliot's Victorian Gardens,<sup>19</sup> together with numerous other more general histories of gardens and landscapes, all add to our overall understanding of the development of garden design and the role of the landscape designer. In addition, the two journals, Garden History and Journal of Garden History, provide scholarly and stimulating articles on gardens and designers.

Considerable research has been recently undertaken on lesser known eighteenth century landscape designers, for example, Fiona Cowell's work on Richard Woods has been published in three stimulating articles in Garden History,<sup>20</sup> Keith Goodway is working on William Emes, and gradually more information is emerging on such shadowy figures as Adam Mickle, John Webb and Nathaniel Richmond.

Some of the published material on Thomas White has been found to be inaccurate or unreliable and it is to be hoped that this research will be a step towards clarifying the uncertainties about his life and work and rectifying many of the errors that have been made.

The results of the research have been set out thematically rather than chronologically in an attempt to knit together the widely scattered and sometimes very thin threads of evidence. A preliminary chapter sets Thomas White in the context of the development of the landscaped garden in the eighteenth century with emphasis on Capability Brown and lesser known designers in England and Scotland. Chapter 3 summarises the known facts of the life of White and members of his family and outlines the course of his career. The nature of his clientele and his relationship with clients and architects, together with a discussion of financial and practical matters is contained in chapter 4. Chapters 5 and 6 are concerned with the plans he drew up, the elements contained in the designs and the methods by which the designs on paper were translated into reality. Thomas White's arboricultural activities and those of his son are dealt with in chapter 7 through a consideration of the creation of his Woodlands estate, planting contracts, recognition by and dealings with the Society of Arts, and the importance of the

larch tree. The final chapter considers White's designs in relation to the picturesque movement and the criticisms levelled at practitioners of the Brownian school of design in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Thomas White died at his home at Woodlands, County Durham in July 1811, his son Thomas continuing to produce designs in Scotland in a very similar vein to those of his father until 1820. As will be shown, the evidence presently available to us reveals that White's contribution to the development of the eighteenth century landscape garden was very much greater than has hitherto been thought, and his legacy can still be seen in vestiges of landscapes which have escaped the hands of the developers, and in the form of some very beautifully drawn and coloured improvement plans.



## CHAPTER 1 - FOOTNOTES

- 1     Thomas Shepherd Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia, by the late Mr. Thomas Shepherd, Sydney, Australia, published posthumously, 1836, [Shepherd (1836)] p.29.  
       Thomas Shepherd, d.1834, "the first nurseryman and landscape gardener to operate in Australia, was an important and influential advocate of the British landscape movement as promoted by Brown and Humphry Repton. For 20 years he was a nurseryman at Hackney near London, but a decline in business determined him to emigrate to New South Wales ..." (Patrick Goode and Michael Lancaster [Eds.], The Oxford Companion to Gardens, O.U.P., 1986, [Goode & Lancaster (1986)]) p.514; Shepherd claimed to be acquainted with Thomas White and his 'Lectures' contain a long section on him.
  
- 2     Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown, (1950), New Edition Faber & Faber 1975, [Stroud (1975)]; Humphry Repton, Country Life, 1962, [Stroud (1962)].
  
- 3     For example, two unsigned and undated plans for the Brocklesby estate in Lincolnshire were until recently attributed to Capability Brown (Stroud [1975]) but on stylistic evidence are now believed to be in the hand of Thomas White.
  
- 4     Reverend Abraham Youle, 'On Steaming Potatoes' Annals of Agriculture, Vol.XXI, 1793, [Youle (AA 1793)] p.371; Youle was Thomas White's son-in-law.
  
- 5     The Mansfield muniments held at Scone Palace, Perthshire were made available for consultation at the University of Dundee by kind permission of the earl of Mansfield and with the assistance of the archivist, Mrs. Joan Auld.
  
- 6     The existence of Thomas White's account at Drummonds Bank in Charing Cross, London was discovered by David Neave, and that of Capability Brown by Peter Willis. The task of transcribing White's contra and debit accounts from 29 sizeable ledgers was aided by the kind help of J.W. McDougall, archivist at Drummonds, and his staff.
  
- 7     Sir Henry Steuart, The Planter's Guide (or a Practical Essay on the best Method of Giving Immediate Effect to Wood, by the Removal of Large Trees and Underwood), Edinburgh, 1828, [Steuart (1828)] pp. 41,202,424,; John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, New Edition, Mrs. Loudon (Ed.), 1859, [Loudon (EG 1859)] p.270.
  
- 8     Transaction of the Society of Arts, Vol.V, 1787, pp.5-37, [SA Transactions (1787)]; this article in substantially similar form was published under the title 'On Planting' in Alexander Hunter (Ed.), Georgical Essays, Vol.5, 1804, pp.140-168, [White (1804)].

- 9 Reverend John Hodgson, 'Woodlands' in Poems Written at Lanchester, D. Akenhead & Sons, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1807, [Hodgson (1807)]; Steuart (1828); Shepherd (1836)
- 10 John Bailey, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, 1810, [Bailey (1810)]
- 11 John Claudius Loudon in The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia, conducted by David Brewster, Vol.XII, 1830 (anonymous entry on 'Landscape Gardening'), [Loudon (EE 1830)]; Loudon (EG 1859); Thomas Dick Lauder (Ed.), William Gilpin's Remarks on Forest Scenery, and Other Woodland Views, Vol.II, Edinburgh, 1834, [Gilpin (1834)] pp.236-39; Thomas Hunter, Woods, Forests and Estates of Perthshire, Edinburgh, 1883, [Hunter T(1883)] p.106.
- 12 'Woodlands Hall' and 'The White Family, Original Owners of Woodlands', Consett Guardian, December 19 1902, p.7, [Consett Guardian (1902)]; John Crawford Hodgson, 'Thomas White of Woodlands, Arboriculturist' and John Oxberry, 'The Whites of Woodlands', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Vol.VII, January 1915-December 1916, published 1917, pp.218-23, 251-56, [SAN Proceedings (1917)].
- 13 Alan A. Tait, The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835, Edinburgh University Press, 1980, [Tait (1980)]; David Neave, 'Thomas White, Landscape Gardener', Garden History Society Newsletter, No. 17, May 1972, [Neave GHSN 1972)] pp.12-13, and 'The Search for Thomas White - Landscape Gardener', Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Notes, No.11, 1984, [Neave (GSEYN 1984)] unpaginated.
- 14 David Jacques, Georgian Gardens. The Reign of Nature, Batsford, 1983, [Jacques (1983)]; Goode & Lancaster (1986) pp.602-3.
- 15 Michael Reed, The Georgian Triumph 1700-1830, Paladin, 1984, [Reed (1984)] p.137 writes: "His [Brown's] style was widely copied and imitated by many without his skill and perception, notably by Thomas White, father and son, working unimaginatively and stolidly in Scotland between 1770 and about 1820."; John Martin Robinson, The English Country Estate, Century, 1988, [Robinson (1988)] p.95 writes: "There were many other landscape designers now less well known than 'Capability' who copied his manner. Thomas White, Richard Woods, John Webb and William Emes, for instance, were nearly as prolific as the master himself and were responsible for many parks and gardens in different parts of the country."
- 16 For example, Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, York and the East Riding, Penguin, 1972, [Pevsner (1972)] pp.212,240,255,333, Cumberland and Westmorland, Penguin, 1967, [Pevsner (1967)] p.228, County Durham, Penguin, 2nd Ed., Revised by E. Williamson, 1983, [Pevsner (1983)] p.513; Colin McWilliam, The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian, Penguin, 1978, [MacWilliam (1978) p.82; John Giffard, The Buildings of Scotland: Fife, Penguin, 1988, [Giffard (1988)] p.236; John Martin Robinson, The Architecture of Northern England, Macmillan, 1986, [Robinson (1986)]

- p.66; Kenneth Lemmon, The Gardens of Britain, Vol.5, Yorkshire and Humberside, Batsford, 1978, [Lemmon (1978)] p.42; Robin Fedden and John Kenworthy Browne, The Country House Guide, Cape, 1979, [Fedden & Kenworthy Browne (1979)] pp.60, 98; Marcus Binney, John Harris, Emma Winnington, Lost Houses of Scotland, SAVE, 1980, [Binney et al (1980)] unpaginated; Geoffrey Beard, The Greater House in Cumbria, Westmorland Gazette, Kendal, 1978, [Beard (1978)] p.26.
- 17 Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes in Scotland, 5 Vols., Countryside Commission for Scotland, Perth, 1987, [Inventory (1987)].
  - 18 Roger Turner, Capability Brown and the eighteenth century English landscape, Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1985, [Turner R(1985)]; Thomas Hinde, Capability Brown, Hutchinson, 1986, [Hinde (1986)].
  - 19 Peter Willis, Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden, Zwemmer, 1977, [Willis (1977)]; Michael I. Wilson, William Kent, Architect, Designer, Painter, Gardener 1685-1748, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984 [Wilson (1984)]; John H. Harvey, Medieval Gardens, Batsford, 1981, [Harvey (1981)]; David Jacques and Arend van der Horst, The Gardens of William and Mary, Christopher Helm, 1988, [Jacques & van der Horst (1988)]; Brent Elliott, Victorian Gardens, Batsford, 1986, [Elliott (1986)].
  - 20 Fiona Cowell, 'Richard Woods (?1716-93): A Preliminary Account', Parts, I, II and III, Garden History, Vol.14, No.2, 1986, [Cowell (GH 1986)] pp.85-119; Vol.15, No.1, 1987, [Cowell (GH 1987i)] pp.19-54; Vol.15, No.2, 1987, [Cowell (1987ii)] pp.115-35.

TABLE 1

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND  
AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND/OR THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED

Maps 1 and 2 are located overleaf and at Appendix A

County names are those in use before reorganisation

See Appendix A for full details of estates

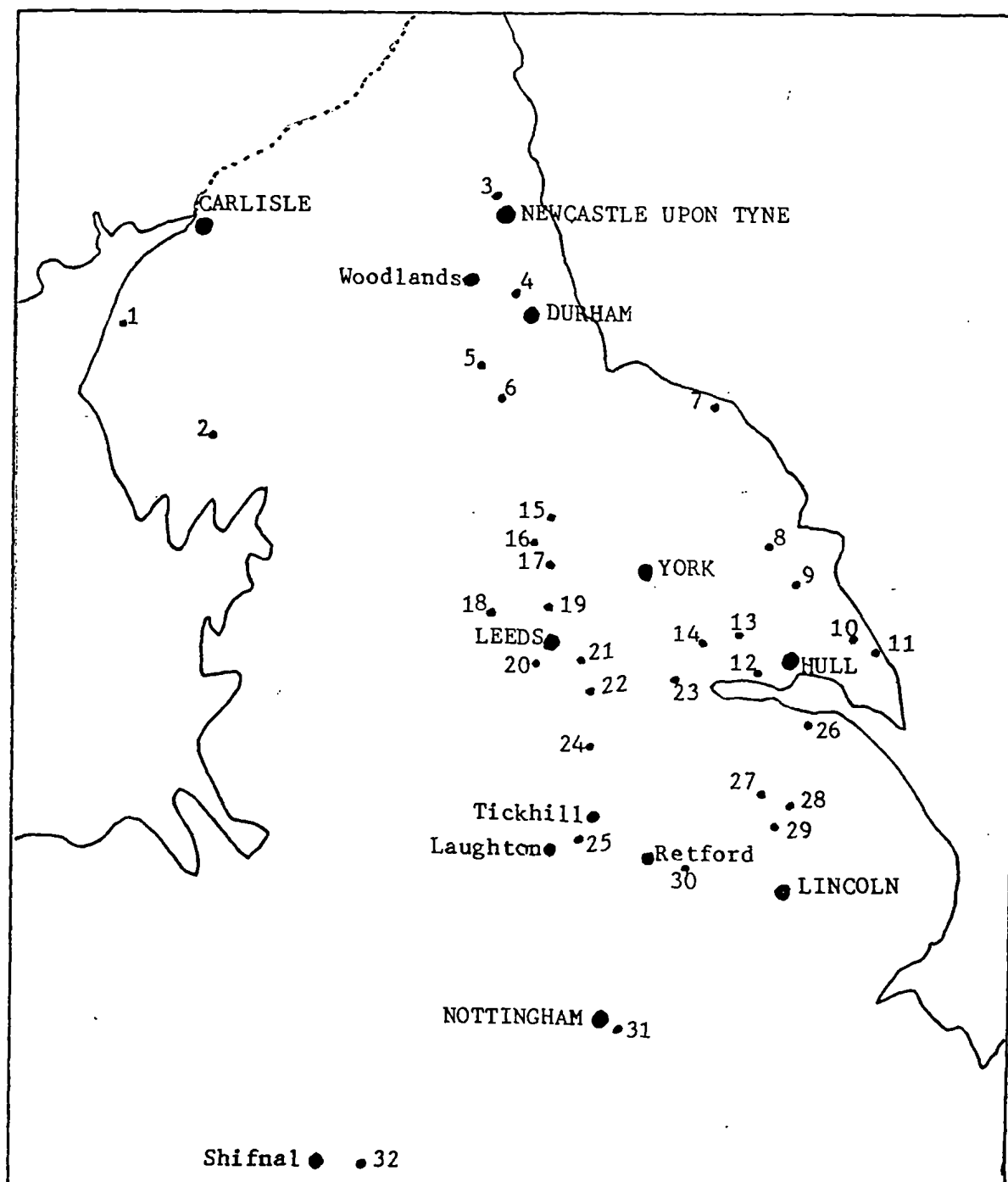
Sr = Thomas White      Jr = Thomas White junior

Estate		Map	Ref.
ABERCAIRNY, Perthshire		2	23
AIRTHREY, Stirlingshire		2	35
ALLANBANK, Berwickshire		2	65
ALLANTON, Lanarkshire	Sr & Jr	2	52
ARDOCH, Perthshire		2	24
ARMLEY, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	20
ARNISTON, Edinburghshire		2	61
AULDBAR, Forfarshire	Jr	2	10
BALBIRNIE, Fifeshire	Jr	2	28
BARCALDINE, Argyllshire	Jr	2	41
BARGANY, Ayrshire	Sr & Jr	2	51
BELLE ISLE, Westmorland		1	2
BLAIR DRUMMOND, Perthshire		2	38
BLAIRQUHAN, Ayrshire		2	50
BLYBOROUGH, Lincolnshire		1	27
BOTHWELL, Lanarkshire		2	56
BRECHIN, Forfarshire	Jr	2	12
BROCKLESBY, Lincolnshire		1	26
BRODICK, Isle of Arran	Jr	2	47
BUCHANAN, Stirlingshire		2	43
BURTON CONSTABLE, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	10
CAIRNESS, Aberdeenshire		2	5
CAMERON, Dunbartonshire	Jr	2	44
CARLTON, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	23
CASTLE FRASER, Aberdeenshire		2	7
CHAMPFLEURIE, West Lothian		2	49
CHILLINGTON, Staffordshire		1	32
COLWICK, Nottinghamshire		1	31
COPGROVE, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	16
CULLEN, Banffshire		2	3
DALMENY, Edinburghshire	Jr	2	58
DARNAWAY, Elginshire		2	1
DONIBRISTLE, Fifeshire		2	31
DOUGLAS, Lanarkshire		2	55
DRIMMIE, Perthshire		2	19
DUDHOPE, Dundee City		2	18
DUFF, Banffshire		2	4
DUNNINALD, Angus		2	13
DUNS, Berwickshire	Jr	2	66
FINTRY, Forfarshire		2	16
FORDELL, Fifeshire	Jr	2	32
FRYSTON, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	22
GARTUR, Stirlingshire	Jr	2	40
GASK, Perthshire	Jr	2	25
GLAMIS, Forfarshire		2	17
GLENCORSE, Edinburghshire		2	59
GLENEAGLES, Perthshire		2	26
GLENTWORTH, Lincolnshire		1	29
GOLDSBOROUGH, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	17
GORDON, Banffshire		2	2

Estate		Map	Ref.
GOSFORTH, Northumberland		1	3
GREEN OF GLASGOW, Glasgow City	Jr	2	48
GRIMSTON GARTH, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	11
GROVE, Nottinghamshire		1	30
GUYND, Forfarshire	Sr & Jr	2	14
HARBURN, Edinburghshire	Jr	2	57
HAREWOOD, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	19
HAWKSWORTH, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	18
HERDMANSTON, Haddingtonshire	Jr	2	62
HOLME, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	14
HOUGHTON, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	13
INVERQUHARITY, Forfarshire		2	8
KAMES, Isle of Bute	Jr	2	45
KEIR, Perthshire	Sr & Jr	2	36
KEITH, Aberdeenshire		2	6
KENNET, Clackmannanshire	Sr & Jr	2	34
KILNWICK, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	9
KINNAIRD, Angus		2	11
KIPPENROSS, Perthshire	Jr	2	37
LEDDINGTON, Haddingtonshire		2	63
LEE, Lanarkshire	Jr	2	54
LINDERTIS, Angus	Jr	2	9
LUMLEY, County Durham		1	4
MOUNT STUART, Isle of Bute	Jr	2	46
MOUNTQUHANIE, Fifeshire		2	27
MULGRAVE, Yorkshire N. Riding		1	7
MURDOSTOUN, Lanarkshire	Jr	2	53
MYLNEFIELD, Perthshire		2	20
NEWBY, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	15
NISBET, Berwickshire		2	67
NORTON, Lincolnshire		1	28
OLD MELROSE, Roxburghshire	Jr	2	68
OWSTON, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	24
PANMURE, Forfarshire	Jr	2	15
PITFIRANE, Fifeshire	Sr & Jr	2	33
POLTON, Edinburghshire		2	60
PRESTON HALL, Edinburghshire		2	64
RABY, County Durham		1	5
RAIT, Perthshire	Jr	2	21
RAITH, Fifeshire		2	30
ROSSDHU, Dunbartonshire		2	42
SANDBECK, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	25
SCONE, Perthshire		2	22
SEDBURY, Yorkshire N. Riding		1	6
SLEDMERE, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	8
TEMPLE NEWSAM, Yorkshire W. Riding		1	21
TOUCH, Stirlingshire		2	39
WELTON, Yorkshire E. Riding		1	12
WEMYSS, Fifeshire	Sr & Jr	2	29
WORKINGTON, Cumberland		1	1

## MAP 1

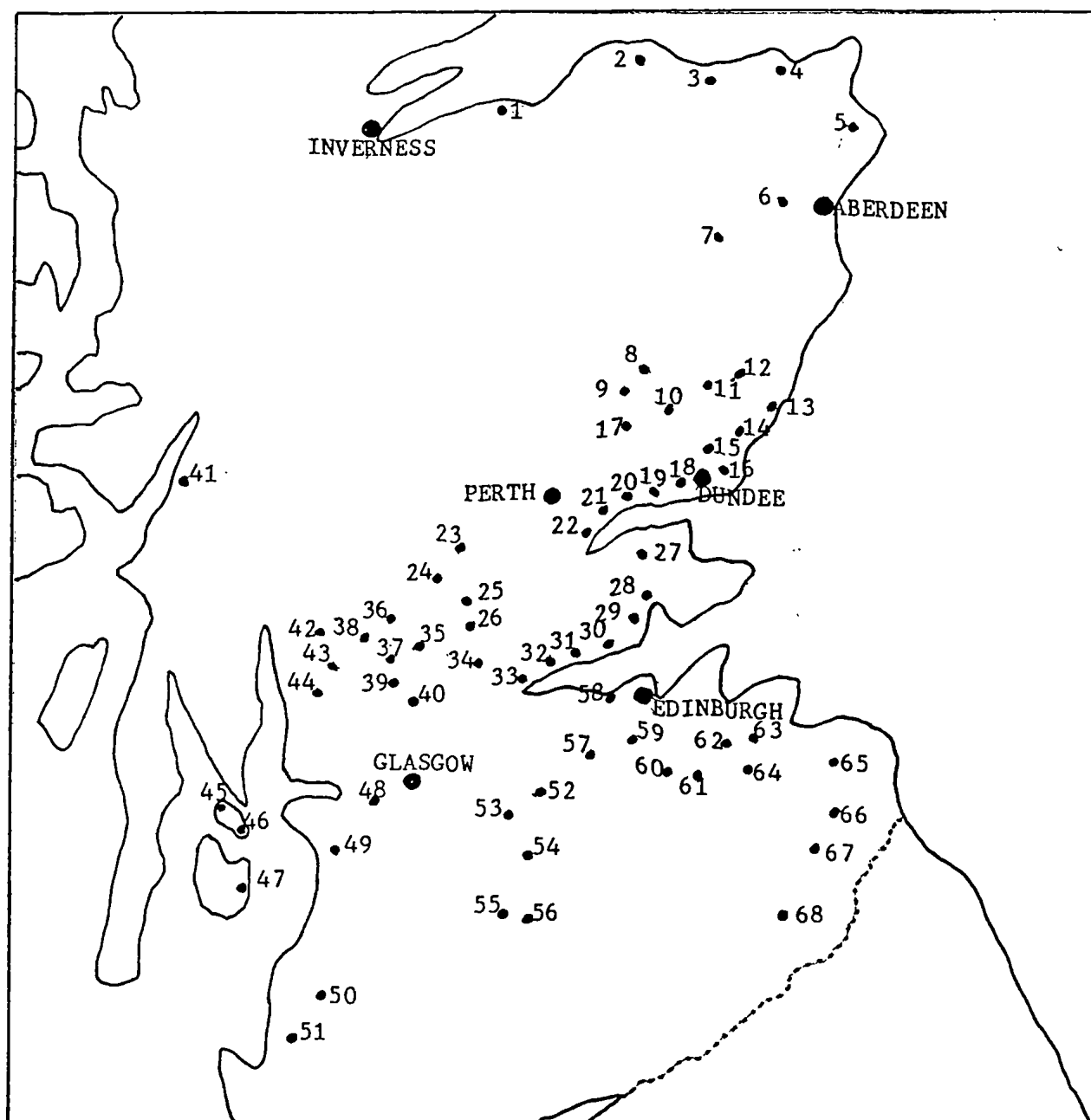
## ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE WAS ENGAGED



1 WORKINGTON	9 KILNWICK	17 GOLDSBOROUGH	25 SANDBECK
2 BELLE ISLE	10 BURT. CONSTABLE	18 HAWKSWORTH	26 BROCKLESBY
3 GOSFORTH	11 GRIMSTON GARTH	19 HAREWOOD	27 BLYBOROUGH
4 LUMLEY	12 WELTON	20 ARMLEY	28 NORTON
5 RABY	13 HOUGHTON	21 TEMPLE NEWSAM	29 GLENTWORTH
6 SEDBURY	14 HOLME	22 FRYSTON	30 GROVE
7 MULGRAVE	15 NEWBY	23 CARLTON	31 COLWICK
8 SLEDMERE	16 COPGROVE	24 OWSTON	32 CHILLINGTON

## MAP 2

## ESTATES IN SCOTLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND/OR THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED



1 DARNAWAY	18 DUDHOPE	35 AIRTHREY	52 ALLANTON
2 GORDON	19 DRIMMIE	36 KEIR	53 MURDOSTOUN
3 CULLEN	20 MYLNEFIELD	37 KIPPENROSS	54 LEE
4 DUFF	21 RAIT	38 BLR DRUMMOND	55 DOUGLAS
5 CAIRNESS	22 SCONE	39 TOUCH	56 BOTHWELL
6 KEITH	23 ABERCAIRNY	40 GARTUR	57 HARBURN
7 CASTLE FRASER	24 ARDOCH	41 BARCALDINE	58 DALMENY
8 INVERQUHARITY	25 GASK	42 ROSSDHU	59 GLENCORSE
9 LINDERTIS	26 GLENEAGLES	43 BUCHANAN	60 POLTON
10 AULDBAR	27 MOUNTQUHANIE	44 CAMERON	61 ARNISTON
11 KINNAIRD	28 BALBIRNIE	45 KAMES	62 HERDMANSTON
12 BRECHIN	29 WEMYSS	46 MOUNT STUART	63 LEDDINGTON
13 DUNNINALD	30 RAITH	47 BRODICK	64 PRESTON HALL
14 GUYND	31 DINIBRISTLE	48 GREEN/GLASGOW	65 ALLANBANK
15 PANMURE	32 FORDELL	49 CHAMPFLEURIE	66 DUNS
16 FINTRY	33 PITFIRANE	50 BLAIRQUHAN	67 NISBET
17 GLAMIS	34 KENNET	51 BARGANY	68 OLD MELROSE

## CHAPTER 2

### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND LANDSCAPE DESIGNERS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING IN ENGLAND

See the future Plan they draw!  
Taste and elegance attend.  
Each charm to heighten, each veil to flow,  
Neatness, beauty, grace to lend.  
ART brings the level and the line  
While nature prompts and guides the whole Design.

Walls expand and tortur'd yews expire;  
Bloomy shrubs unfold their dyes;  
Dull avenues no longer tire;  
Lawns expand, and clumps arise;  
New vistas catch the distant seat  
And every scene is beauteous, new or great.  
Thomas Percy 'Ode on the Death of Augustus,  
Earl of Sussex' 1758

In order to place Thomas White in context a brief outline of the background in garden and landscape design in both England and Scotland is necessary. In the mid-eighteenth century Capability Brown emerged as the leading landscape designer in England, evolving a 'natural' style, the essential precepts of which were later in the century to be employed by a number of lesser known figures, including White.

In 1734 Alexander Pope proclaimed that "all gardening is landscape painting",<sup>2</sup> however, the term 'landscape gardening' is thought to have been first used in 1764 by the poet and landscape theorist, William Shenstone.<sup>3</sup> The term was popularised by Humphry Repton in his Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening of 1794 in which he explained that:

The art can only be advanced and perfected  
by the united powers of the landscape  
painter and the practical gardener ...<sup>4</sup>

and 'landscape gardening' came to replace such descriptions as 'place making', 'modern gardening', 'English gardening', 'laying out ground' and 'embellishing grounds'. There is, however, an essential contradiction in the term in that the word 'garden' derives from the French 'gard' or 'jard' meaning an enclosed space, while 'landscape' implies an open

space embracing all that the eye can see. So 'landscape gardening' is, in effect, an attempt to combine the open with the closed to achieve a synthesis between the art created by man and the perceived, pre-existing natural world. The development of landscape gardening can be seen as a process of opening out, of taking the garden out into the landscape, or perhaps of bringing the landscape into the garden.

Until the mid-seventeenth century gardens in England were generally enclosed spaces in which the owner could grow plants and take leisurely strolls in the open air. Influences from abroad had begun in the sixteenth century with an interest in the Italian Renaissance gardens, the way being led by the monarch Henry VIII and followed by the aristocracy. The reign of Charles II (1660-1685) saw an admiration and emulation of the French style of gardening, while in 1689 the Dutch prince, William of Orange, brought to Hampton Court some of the splendours of the magnificent formal gardens he had laid out at Het Loo in Holland. Both the French and Dutch styles of gardening were essentially geometric, incorporating parterres, groves of trees, topiary and knot gardens. The French operated on a vast and splendid scale, creating long avenues chopped out through well wooded land, while the Dutch who were agriculturally and horticulturally more advanced, had less space to deal with and so often drove tree-lined avenues through farming land and included canals in their designs as a matter of necessity. The European grandness of the seventeenth century was emulated in England, most notably at Blenheim by John Vanbrugh, and at Chatsworth and Melbourne in Derbyshire by Henry Wise and George London.

With the eighteenth century came the beginnings of a

spirit of irregularity in the design of gardens. A growing discontent with extreme formality was evident in the expressions of writers and philosophers. Joseph Addison inquired in 1712, "Why may not a whole estate be thrown into a kind of garden by frequent plantations", while Alexander Pope was seeking "the amiable simplicity of unadorned nature" and the Earl of Shaftesbury deplored "the formal mockery of princely gardens".<sup>5</sup> The artistic and philosophical ideals of these writers were reinforced with the coincidence of a number of political, social and economic forces. The ascendancy of a Whig party whose hierarchy included wealthy land owners anxious to assert their position by displaying their possession of houses and grounds led to the building or redesign of country houses, often in the Palladian style, and the settings of houses were increasingly deemed of as much importance as the buildings themselves. More advanced methods of husbandry and land reclamation, improving transportation and the enclosure of common fields both by agreement and private acts of Parliament, encouraged and aided the improvement of estate lands. These factors, when combined with the temperate English climate, ideal for the growth of grass and trees, the presence of rivers and lakes and a changing attitude whereby nature and the natural world were no longer considered threatening and uncontrolled, but rather could offer a harmony, coherence and beauty, led to what has been described as "England's greatest contribution ... to the visual arts of the world", the landscape garden.<sup>6</sup>

In 1718 Stephen Switzer, writer, garden designer and seedsman, proposed in his Ichnographia Rustica a theory of landscape design whereby the whole estate was to be the subject of design.<sup>7</sup> By creating one or two great axial lines

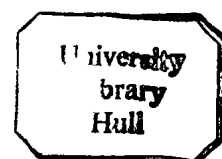
linking the house and estate and arranging the other areas of the estate according to use, common sense, qualities of ground, prospect and plantations, the artificiality and boundaries began to disappear and a controlled informality was gradually introduced.

Alexander Pope translated some of his poetic ideas in his own small garden at Twickenham on the banks of the river Thames, begun in 1720. Here he sought to provide variety in aspect and emotion; winding paths through planted areas allowed for contemplative walks interrupted by vistas through the trees; a shell temple by William Kent was designed to bring pleasure, while a subterranean passage or grotto lined with rocks, shells and glass to produce emotions of a more serious nature. There was an element of fantasy in Pope's garden, a fantasy which was to be lost in the more down-to-earth designs of Capability Brown and his followers, but re-emerged with the rise of the Gothick and picturesque towards the end of the eighteenth century.

William Kent, a friend of Pope and protégé of Richard Boyle, 3rd earl of Burlington, was described by Walpole as the man who "leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden".<sup>8</sup> The ha-ha or sunk fence to which Walpole referred had in fact been in use for some years before Kent commenced designing landscapes in 1731, and Walpole added in parentheses, "I believe the first thought was Bridgman's" (Charles Bridgeman d.1738).<sup>9</sup> Kent's contribution to early landscape design was important, though largely that of the visual artist expressing, in attractive drawings rather than working plans, the ideas of his patrons and friends. His drawings, for example for Rousham and Stowe, displayed a strong awareness of textural contrasts and the play of light

and shade in creating "the appearance of beautiful nature".<sup>10</sup> His influence was considerable and the notion of working "without either level or line"<sup>11</sup> offered a great appeal to the 'amateur' designers, the landowners who visualised and created their own Arcadian settings. Philip Southcote at Woburn Farm devised the 'ferme ornée' based on Switzer's ideas of use and beauty combined with painterly principles of perspective, prospect and distancing; William Shenstone at the Leasowes created a scene designed to produce the varieties of emotion and visual experience desired by Pope; and Henry Hoare's garden at Stourhead was a landscape of introspection, a recreation in England of a setting from another time and place, which seems now to be essentially 'English'.

#### LANCELOT 'CAPABILITY' BROWN



William Kent followed Vanbrugh and Bridgeman at Stowe and was in turn followed by Capability Brown, demonstrating in one location a linear progression in changing taste and design through the first half of the eighteenth century. Brown's life and career have been well documented by Dorothy Stroud and subsequent articles and books have made additional information available to us. He is undoubtedly the best known of landscape gardeners, due in part perhaps to the memorable nickname by which he became universally known.<sup>12</sup> Born at Kirkharle, Northumberland in 1716, he worked as gardener to Sir William Loraine of Kirkharle Hall before moving south in 1739. In 1741 he became head gardener to Viscount Cobham at Stowe and Stroud suggests that during this period Brown may have been executing drawings provided by William Kent. While at Stowe Brown became competent in

drawing architectural plans and also began undertaking improvements at nearby estates and for friends of Cobham, including in 1749 Warwick Castle about which Horace Walpole wrote:

It is well laid out by one Brown who has set up on a few ideas of Kent and Mr. Southcote. One sees what the prevalence of taste does; little Brooke who would have chuckled to have been born in an age of clipt hedges and cockle-shell avenues, has submitted to let his garden and park be natural.<sup>13</sup>

In 1751 Brown settled with his family in Hammersmith and his practice both as an architect and designer of landscapes developed rapidly with commissions arriving in ever-increasing numbers. His achievements in the architectural field are less well-known, however; as William Mason wrote to Humphry Repton in 1792 Brown felt very strongly that the house and surrounding landscape must be treated as a whole:

Brown, I know, was ridiculed for turning architect, but I always thought he did it from a kind of necessity having found the great difficulty which must frequently have occurred to him in forming a picturesque whole, where the previous building had been ill-placed, or of improper dimentions.<sup>14</sup>

Stroud lists well over two hundred estates with which Brown is known to have been associated and there may be many more as yet undiscovered.<sup>15</sup> His major commissions were those at Blenheim for the duke of Marlborough, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire for the earl of Bute, Burghley, Northamptonshire for the earl of Exeter and Longleat in Wiltshire for Lord Weymouth, at all of which he was engaged for several years. In 1764 he was appointed Surveyor to His Majesty's Gardens and Waters at Hampton Court at a salary of £2000 a year, a post which brought with it a consequent position of considerable status in society, epitomised by William Pitt (earl of Chatham) in the words:

Lancelot Brown Esquire, en titre d'office;  
 please to consider he shares the private  
 ear of the King, dines familiarly with his  
 neighbour of Syon and sits down at the  
 tables of all the House of Lords ...<sup>16</sup>

The basic elements used by Brown in his designs are familiar; the enclosing, irregular belt of trees, winding river or serpentine lake its edges concealed with trees, undulating ground, sweeps of verdant lawn stretching from the house and interspersed with single or groups of mixed trees, and often a ha-ha to deter livestock. He placed a great emphasis on extent and scale and though in some senses his landscape creations can be seen as extending forever "so closely did he copy nature",<sup>17</sup> the enclosing of the estate with a perimeter tree belt was a deliberate attempt to isolate the ideal and perfect natural world of his creation from the rude and imperfect inhabited world outside. The coincidence of the impact of the enclosure movement on the appearance of the countryside and the growth of enclosed private parkland has been noted by Raymond Williams:

The mathematical grids of the enclosure awards, with their straight hedges and straight roads, are contemporary with the natural curves and scatterings of the park scenery ... superficially opposed in taste but only because in the one case the land is being organised for production ... while in the other case it is being organised for consumption - the view, the ordered proprietary repose, the prospect.<sup>18</sup>

The influence of two literary works on Brown's style of landscaping has been examined by Christopher Hussey, Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty and Burke's Inquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful both published in the 1750s.<sup>19</sup> Hogarth's serpentine 'line of beauty' and Burke's 'beautiful', characterised by smoothness, delicacy of form and gradual variation were certainly an aesthetic component of Brown's landscapes, however, the claim

that Brown was not "particularly sensitive to visual impressions" and possessed a literary rather than a visual mind bears examination in light of Brown's own few written statements concerning his intentions. The much quoted letter of Hannah More in which she related to her sisters Brown's "lecture" to her wherein "he compared his art to literary composition", has been used to emphasise a literary imagination and perhaps cloud his undoubted visual sensibilities (although Brown's words could of course be interpreted as referring to the visual impact made by punctuation):

'Now there,' said he, pointing his finger, 'I make a comma, and there,' pointing to another spot, 'where a more decided turn is proper, I make a colon; at another part, where an interruption is desirable to break the view, a parenthesis; now a full stop, and then I begin another subject'.<sup>20</sup>

In a letter of 1775 to the Reverend Thomas Dyer, Capability Brown wrote of "place-making which when rightly understood will supply all the elegance and all the comforts which mankind wants in the Country and ... if right, be exactly fit for the owner, the poet and the painter". He went on to explain in distinctly visual terms that a good plan was needed which required good execution and "infinite delicacy in the planting, so much beauty depending on the size of the trees and the colour of their leaves".<sup>21</sup> The reference to 'poet' and 'painter' (taken from William Mason's The English Garden of 1772) obviously appealed to Brown and also occurred in his contract of 1774 with the earl of Scarbrough for work at Sandbeck and Roche Abbey, in which at article 5 he proposed:

To finish all the Valley of Roach Abbey in all its Parts, according to the Ideas fixed on with Lord Scarbrough (with Poets feeling and Painters Eye).<sup>22</sup>



Although Brown's treatment of the ruins of Roche Abbey was to come in for criticism by William Gilpin for being too neat and artificial,<sup>23</sup> it illustrates the aesthetic use he made throughout his career of the "rolling green canvas" of grass on which light and shadow from trees and clouds produced ever-changing patterns, patterns and reflections also present in the expanses of water he created.<sup>24</sup>

Brown's achievements and those of his followers were to be later criticised on many counts, not least being the claim that, rather than consulting "the genius of the place" as instructed by Alexander Pope, they imposed their own preconceived vision of nature upon the landscape, in what was to become merely a mechanical repetition of designs. Others have bemoaned the destruction of so many earlier designed formal gardens and the loss of great avenues of trees, (although it would appear from the evidence available to us that Brown probably planted and transplanted many more trees than he cut down). Sir William Chambers had condemned Brown in 1772 for the bareness and lack of variety in his landscape designs, while what was seen as blandness and uniformity in Brown's work, and later that of Humphry Repton, were to be bitterly attacked by proponents of the picturesque, specifically Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price, in what became known as 'the picturesque controversy'.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE LESSER DESIGNERS

Although Capability Brown was without doubt the leading practitioner of his day in the art of landscape design, the emphasis laid on his work in most accounts of the history of landscape parks and gardens has prevented any real study or analysis of the wide range of people involved in landscape

gardening, both in the preparation and the execution of designs. As Fiona Cowell has pointed out:

A study of any of the detailed county maps of the second half of the eighteenth century reveals, scattered among the grand estates, a multitude of relatively modest 'improved' parks. Most of these were below the consideration of Capability Brown, and point to the existence of a number of enthusiastic landowners working to their own designs or employing one of the smaller-scale landscape designers.<sup>26</sup>

The names of some of these lesser designers were kept alive almost by chance, for example, that of Richard Woods (?1716-93), "who was mentioned by Angus, who was copied by Neale and probably read by Loudon",<sup>27</sup> and William Emes who was listed by Loudon (together with Bridgeman, Kent, Wright and Brown) as one of "the artists or professors who established the modern style". Although Loudon felt Emes deserved notice, he was able to say no more of him "than that he is mentioned in terms of respect by G. Mason" and died 13 March 1803.<sup>28</sup> Thomas White and his son, Loudon described in connection with their work in Scotland as "English professors of the modern style", and he believed White to have been "a pupil of Brown".<sup>29</sup> Other names are now emerging of designers some of whose plans survive and who were followers, pupils or imitators of Brown; for example we find various references to 'Richmond' (described by Walpole as a "scholar of Brown"),<sup>30</sup> Thomas Cook, John Webb, Francis Richardson, James Sanderson and Adam Mickle adding to a growing list.<sup>31</sup>

There is no direct evidence that either Richard Woods or William Emes were employed by, or even acquainted with, Capability Brown, however, Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank has revealed that Thomas White, Adam Mickle (senior and junior), James Sanderson and Nathaniel Richmond all received payments from him at some time, and may be considered as

'pupils' of Brown.<sup>32</sup>

The four lesser designers about whom the most material is currently available are Richard Woods, William Emes, Adam Mickle and, the subject of this research, Thomas White.<sup>33</sup> Woods worked mainly in the south of England, though he ventured up to Yorkshire on occasion, while Emes covered the Midlands and Welsh border (and he too came to Yorkshire, drawing up a plan for Cave Castle in 1787). Mickle was in northern England and possibly Scotland, while the vast majority of Thomas White's commissions were for estates in Yorkshire and the central lowland area of Scotland. Sir Henry Steuart was of the opinion that White had "succeeded to a great part of his [Brown's] business in the northern counties".<sup>34</sup>

The plans of these designers, although all exhibiting similar characteristics to those of Brown, vary considerably in style, detail and draughtsmanship. The inconsistency in the presentation of Woods' plans suggest that they may have been drawn by various assistants,<sup>35</sup> while the elaborate and finely finished ones of Emes would appear to have been very carefully prepared and coloured, most probably in his own hand. Adam Mickle's plans have a somewhat cruder appearance and the relatively few designs of his which have been located lack the coherence and confidence of many of those of Woods, Emes and White.

Whether these designers were acquainted with each other is not yet evident. Richard Woods is known to have been at three Yorkshire estates where Thomas White later prepared improvement plans, Harewood, Goldsborough and Carlton but there is no indication that they ever met or exchanged ideas, neither is there any evidence of rivalry between them.

So far as we know the only link between Emes and White was John Stuart's letter to John Soane regarding his estate at Allanbank in Berwickshire, in which he advised Soane that he "need not now enquire about Mr. Yeames, as I have got a Mr. White from that country ... to look at Allanbank".<sup>36</sup> Adam Mickle and his son are known to have been with Brown at Sandbeck in Yorkshire in the early 1770s, a Mickle was at Harewood in 1790 and possibly at Gordon Castle (Banffshire) in 1792, all three estates at which Thomas White had earlier been engaged, but again we have no indication that they met.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to the lesser designers noted above, a number of men active in Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century, some of whom claimed to have been associated with Brown, are discussed below.

#### LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND PLANTING IN SCOTLAND

Choose not a seat too lofty nor too low,  
 But on a Rivers Bank or downy Plain  
 That gently slopes to the meridian Sun  
 Let many lofty Trees with spreading Tops  
 Defend you from the Cold of Northern Blasts  
 Let here and there be seen some little Hills  
 Fit Pasture for your harmless bleating Flocks  
 Let all the Fields in view be checquerd round  
 With flowry meadows Groves and plenteous Springs.<sup>38</sup>  
 Or Rivulets descending from the higher Grounds.  
 Sir John Clerk 'The Country Seat' 1731

Sir John Clerk's words from 'The Country Seat', although suggesting a harsh climate, describe a landscape that had more in common with the relatively gentle English terrain than the rugged mountain scenery generally associated with Scotland. They heralded the development in Scotland, rather later than in England, of a treatment of the garden and its surrounding areas as a place of pastoral harmony, where areas of lawn, trees and water were to be judiciously combined to

recreate the accepted ideal of a 'natural' landscape.

The work of Thomas White and his son in Scotland was (with the exception of five commissions on the coastal areas of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire) largely confined to estates situated in the central Lowlands. It has been observed that:

One of the characteristic features of Lowland Scotland's rural landscape from the mid-seventeenth century has been the tower house or mansion surrounded by walled gardens, tree-lined rectangular enclosures, or less formal policies.<sup>39</sup>

However, although early descriptions of many of these estates are to be found and estate papers are becoming increasingly available, little research has been done on the development of these policies, their relationship with each other or "the nature of the interaction with English fashion and society in terms of landscape design".<sup>40</sup>

According to Loudon, "gardening was introduced into Scotland by the Romans, and revived by the religious establishments of the dark ages", but it is not until the fifteenth century that we have evidence of gardens (in the "French style") being created, particularly around the Royal Palaces such as Falkland, Holyrood and Scone. Scone Palace, Loudon tells us, was described by a seventeenth century poet, Adamson, as being "surrounded by 'gardens and orchards, flowers and fruits' and the park .... 'abounded in the hart and fallow deer'".<sup>41</sup> The second half of the sixteenth century brought a period of peace and relative tranquillity to Scotland and saw the nobility seeking an alternative outlet for their time and energies. Many castles and towers were "added to, rebuilt in situ, or deserted in favour of a new dwelling elsewhere",<sup>42</sup> in the latter case generally on a sheltered and protected site which did not necessarily offer

a prospect over the surrounding countryside. The medieval deer parks which so often provided the basis of the landscape garden in England were rarely found in Scotland,<sup>43</sup> however by the first half of the seventeenth century Scottish lairds were making formal, walled gardens and deer parks around their houses, and as the century advanced so did the interest in current taste, recreation and improvement. Hynd has demonstrated from his own researches that a large number of gardens were either created or developed during the seventeenth century, including several at which Thomas White was later to be engaged. For instance, Lord Moray's papers reveal "accounts for making the garden at Donibristle, 1639" together with many other references to gardening at both Donibristle and Darnaway,<sup>44</sup> while Wemyss, Panmure, Pitfirrane, Leddington, Scone, Glamis and Fordell also saw considerable activity during the seventeenth century. Fordell, in Fifeshire, for which Thomas White junior drew an improvement plan in 1818, had, according to Joass in 1896, "the remains of one of the earliest Scottish gardens" and had the fortune to combine formality around the castle with grounds "well planted, with paths and rustic bridges over the streams";<sup>45</sup> had White junior's plan been fully implemented, however, the formal elements would have been totally wiped away, as occurred at some other estates.

In 1683 John Reid published The Scots Gardener in which he advised the observation of a strict formality in the creation of a garden:

Make all the buildings and plantings ly  
so about the house, as that the house may be  
the centre; all the walks, trees and hedges  
running to the house... Therefore whatever you  
have on the one hand, make as much of the same  
form and in the same place, on the other.<sup>46</sup>

A style of gardening which Alexander Pope was later to mock in

his lines:

Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,  
And half the platform just reflects the other.<sup>47</sup>

and which was to be replaced in Scotland, but not until after the mid-eighteenth century, by the fashionable informal landscaping gardening of England.

As Hynd points out, Scotland lacks the comprehensive pictorial records of seventeenth century gardens provided by Kip and Knyff in England, although Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae of 1693 provides very instructive views of many estates. A major difference between the English and Scottish gardens is the use made in Scotland of sloping or enclosed sites to create a unity, without the long, monotonous avenues so prevalent in the flatter gardens of the south.<sup>48</sup> Hadfield notes that a large number of the more formal gardens in Scotland were not landscaped in the eighteenth century so "the geometrical lay-out remained and often was the basis of additions in Victorian times".<sup>49</sup>

Hand in hand with the laying out of gardens came an increasing interest in tree-planting and in the general improvement of the estate. Slater describes the planting pattern in Scotland as rather different from that in England:

Policies were divided into rectangular pasture parks, each enclosed with its own shelter belts, hedges or walls, and usually divided from each other by tree-lined avenues. Such parks had both an aesthetic appeal of ordered formality in a largely treeless countryside, and also brought economic benefits to the estate by providing shelter and improved grazing for cattle.<sup>50</sup>

Early eighteenth century planters included the marquis of Tweeddale at Yester, the earl of Haddington at Tynninghame, the duke of Atholl at Dunkeld and the earl of Panmure. Macky described the approach to Panmure in 1729:

an avenue cut thro' the wood, of half a mile in length and 150 foot broad ... and on each side of this avenue is a fine hedge which reaches the branches of the trees ... from the gardens there are eight or nine vistas cut thro' the wood.<sup>51</sup>

The laird of Gask too was anxious to plant on his estate in Perthshire but in 1714 found that the only seeds available in Edinburgh were one hundred chestnuts at a cost of two shillings.<sup>52</sup> The formation of the Society of Scotch Improvers by the duke of Atholl in 1724 encouraged a slow but steady advance of agriculture, horticulture and arboriculture on the larger estates in particular which, after about 1760, led to some dramatic changes in the appearance of the lowland landscape.

As previously noted, the discontent with the formal garden in England has been associated with the freedom and liberal philosophy of the ascending Whig party, as opposed to the despotic regime in France. In Scotland, however, this political dimension does not appear to have been of importance, visual and philosophical concerns about beauty and taste exerting a greater influence and making the landscape garden "a child of the Edinburgh Enlightenment".<sup>53</sup> The transition between the formal, geometrical garden layouts and the informal landscape garden evident in England in the work of Switzer, Bridgeman and Kent, occurred more slowly in Scotland. Although Loudon claimed that Stephen Switzer "resided a considerable time in Edinburgh" around 1717 and listed several estates at which he may have been consulted, there seems to be no evidence to substantiate this.<sup>54</sup> Switzer's influence is evident, however, in the writings of Sir John Clerk and in the layout of Clerk's Mavisbank and Penicuik estates.<sup>55</sup> William Kent, with his essentially visual and theatrical landscaping ideas, had no immediate



counterpart in Scotland although the words of the architect and designer William Adam in 1742 would seem to follow one of the dictums to which Kent subscribed, echoing Pope's instructions to "consult the genius of the place":

the risings and fallings of ground are to  
be humoured and generally make the greatest  
beautys in Gardens.<sup>56</sup>

Sir Walter Scott was, in 1828, to accuse "a disciple of Kent" of atrocity at Glamis Castle where, "under pretence of improvements", he made it "more parkish" by razing the circular defensive boundaries around the mansion and bringing "his mean and paltry gravel-walk up to the very door".<sup>57</sup>

Although William Adam's words reveal a sympathy for a more natural form of landscaping, the plans he produced between 1720 and 1745 exhibit many formal elements such as parterres and long, straight, intersecting avenues; however a freedom in the treatment of the planting and landscape further from the house is evident in, for example, his plan for Arniston of circa 1726. Pococke's views on Arniston in 1760 are illuminating as a description of Adam's achievements there:

Before the house is a fine lawn adorned with single trees and clumps ... near the house are beautiful winding walks round some uneven grounds over glyns beautified by the prospect of Chinese and other bridges that make it a most delightful place.<sup>58</sup>

Adam also produced a plan for Buchanan in 1745, consisting largely of tree-lined avenues radiating outward from Buchanan Castle; some of the outlines of these avenues are marked faintly on Thomas White's 1789 plan for Buchanan as old boundary lines. Tait has suggested that it may have been the conservative requirements of his clients which prevented Adam from introducing a less formal style of landscaping, a

possibility raised by Sir Henry Steuart with respect to Thomas White's seeming disregard for the picturesque style of landscaping later in the century.<sup>59</sup>

Other, rather more shadowy figures, worked as landscape designers in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century, for example, Alexander Edwards, William Boutcher, James and William Bowie, and Thomas Winter, but it was not until about 1760 that the Scottish garden started to open out more fully into the surrounding landscape. Loudon claimed that:

The modern style was first introduced into Scotland by the celebrated Lord Kames, who some time between 1760 and 1770 displayed it on his own residence at Blair Drummond.<sup>60</sup>

In the chapter 'Gardening and Architecture' in his Essays on Criticism of 1762, Henry Home, Lord Kames described the garden as being a source of various emotions, "of grandeur, of sweetness, of gaiety, of melancholy, of wildness, and even of surprise or wonder", and, although in favour of regularity near the house, called for the rejection of "everything unnatural" in the garden.<sup>61</sup> Between 1766 and 1782 Kames put some of his ideas into practice at his Blair Drummond estate in Perthshire, where in 1788 Thomas White prepared an improvement plan for Kames' son, George Home Drummond. Loudon had noted that Blair Drummond was much admired, however, since few country gentlemen had the time to lay out their own estates "it became necessary to have recourse to artists ... itinerant pupils of Brown, or professors in his school, who resided in Scotland", who, in Loudon's view brought to the country the "very worst" taste in gardening.<sup>62</sup>

James Robertson and Robert Robinson (b.1734) were the immediate predecessors of Thomas White, though their work is

sometimes confused, most particularly at Duddingston near Edinburgh, which would seem to be the work of James Robertson, described by Sir Walter Scott as "a man of considerable taste and acquirement ... only unsuccessful because he wrought upon a bad system".<sup>63</sup> James Robertson is recorded as having been at Alnwick in 1765, coinciding with Capability Brown's presence there,<sup>64</sup> while Robert Robinson in 1760 advertised himself as "late draughtsman and executor of the designs of Lancelot Brown, esquire" and offered, with William Boutcher junior, to undertake the design of gardens and policies.<sup>65</sup> Robinson's improvement plans, although exhibiting many of the characteristics of Brown's style, displayed a stiffness and symmetry in the planting suggestions, and sometimes still retained straight avenues. Many of the proposals in his 1779 plan for Balbirnie in Fifeshire were carried out, however, were to be superseded by Thomas White junior's scheme of 1815.<sup>66</sup>

James Robertson, according to Steuart, moved to Ireland, while Robert Robinson became bankrupt in the late 1770s.<sup>67</sup> Other designers including James Abercrombie, James Ramsay (Robertson's partner) and George Robertson (nephew of James Robertson) continued to produce designs during the latter years of the eighteenth century, for example, Abercrombie at Glamis (1768) and the Guynd (1775), and George Robertson at Bargany (1774), however after 1770 the major landscape designers to operate in Scotland were Thomas White and, until about 1820, his son Thomas.

Thomas White acquired from Capability Brown both the practical training and the sympathy with the natural landscape which enabled him to draw up and carry through plans for major reworkings of estate landscapes. In

Scotland he and his son would appear to have been the leading landscape designers of the period and although Loudon considered that the Whites brought with them the "very worst" taste, it was a taste much sought after and admired to which they catered for many years.

## CHAPTER 2 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 From Thomas Percy 'Ode on the Death of Augustus, earl of Sussex, and the Improvements design'd at Easton Mauduit, August 20th 1758', quoted in Edward Malins, English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840, O.U.P., 1966, [Malins (1966)], p.107
- 2 Joseph Spence, Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Bodies and Men, James M. Osborn (Ed.), Vol.I, O.U.P., 1966, [Spence (1966)], p.252
- 3 William Shenstone in 'Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening' in The Works in Verse and Prose of William Shenstone Esq., Vol.II, Robert Dodsley (Ed.), 1764 [Shenstone (1764)]
- 4 Humphrey Repton, The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton Esq., John Claudius Loudon (Ed.), 1840, [Repton (1840)], p.29
- 5 Joseph Addison, Spectator, No.414, June 25 1712; Alexander Pope, Guardian, No.173, September 29 1713; Third earl of Shaftesbury, The Moralists, A Philosophical Rhapsody, 1709
- 6 Christopher Hussey in Introduction to E. Margaret Jourdain, The Work of William Kent, Country Life, 1948, [Jourdain (1948)], p.15
- 7 Stephen Switzer, Ichonographia Rustica: or the Nobleman, Gentleman and Gardener's Recreation, 3 Vols., 1718, [Switzer (1718)]
- 8 Horace Walpole 'On Modern Gardening' (1785) in Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol.3, Bickers, 1788, [Walpole (1785)], p.81
- 9 See Peter Willis 'From Desert to Eden: Charles Bridgeman's Capital Stroke', Burlington Magazine, Vol. 115 March 1973, [Willis (Burl 1973)], pp.150-57
- 10 Quoted in Jourdain (1948) p.77, letter from Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby to the earl of Carlisle, 1734
- 11 *ibid.*
- 12 Lancelot Brown had acquired the sobriquet 'Capability' from his frequent use of the word in assessing the landscapes upon which he was consulted; when his son, Lancelot, arrived at Eton in 1761 "his school fellows lost no time in dubbing him 'Capey'" [Stroud (1975) p.101].  
The term 'Capability men' is used in a letter from David Erskine to David Graeme (SRO GD/220/5/1757/10) quoted in Chapter 4A, and indicates the desire of Scottish landowners to emulate the English in having their grounds laid out in the fashionable manner of Brown. Sir Walter Scott wrote that "the vanity of some capability-men dictated those violent changes which were recommended chiefly by the cupidity of others" (Sir Walter Scott, 'On Ornamental and Landscape Gardening',

- The Quarterly Review, Vol.37, No.74, January and March 1828, [Scott (QR 1828)], p.316. Thomas White was referred to as the 'Capability Man' in accounts for his work at Abercairny in 1797 (SRO GD/24/1/624/29)
- 13 Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Wilwarth S. Lewis (Ed.), O.U.P., 1937, [Walpole (1937)] p.121, letter Walpole to Montague July 22 1751
  - 14 Repton (1840) p.53, letter William Mason to Humphry Repton April 24 1792,
  - 15 For example Brown's work at Hornby Castle near Bedale, North Yorkshire has recently come to light, Giles Worsley 'Hornby Castle' Country Life, June 29 1989 [Worsley (CL 1989)], pp.188-93
  - 16 Quoted in Stroud (1975) p. 186, letter earl of Chatham to Grizel, wife of the 2nd earl Stanhope, 1777
  - 17 Quoted in Stroud (1975) p.202, Capability Brown obituary by Horace Walpole, 1783
  - 18 Raymond Williams, The Country and the City, Chatto and Windus, 1973, [Williams (1973)] p.124
  - 19 Christopher Hussey introduction to Stroud (1975) pp.29-30; Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1759), Scolar Press, Ilkley, 1970 facsimile edition, [Burke (1759)]; William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty, 1753, [Hogarth (1753)]
  - 20 Quoted in Stroud (1975) p.201, letter Hannah More to her sisters, December 1782
  - 21 Quoted in Stroud (1975) p.156, letter Capability Brown to the Reverend Thomas Dyer of Marylebone, June 2 1775
  - 22 Contract between the earl of Scarbrough and Lancelot Brown September 12 1774 at Sandbeck House, South Yorkshire
  - 23 William Gilpin, Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty made in the year 1776 on Several Parts of England; particularly the Highlands of Scotland (1789), 1792, Vol.I, [Gilpin (1792i)], pp.21-22
  - 24 Patrick Bowe, 'Rolling Green Canvas', Country Life, July 5 1984, [Bowe (CL 1984)], pp.28-30
  - 25 Sir William Chambers, A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening (1772), 11th Ed., Dublin, 1773 [Chambers (1773)]; Richard Payne Knight, The Landscape, A Didactic Poem, in three books Addressed to Uvedale Price Esq. (1794) 2nd Ed. 1795 [Knight (1795)]; Sir Uvedale Price, Essays on the Picturesque (1794), Sir Thomas Dick Lauder (Ed.), Caldwell, Edinburgh, 1842 [Price (1842)]. See chapter 8 for discussion of the picturesque.
  - 26 Cowell (GH 1986) p.85

- 27 Cowell (GH 1987ii) pp.115, 135 n.170
- 28 Loudon (EG 1859) pp.249-50; in the earlier editions of his Encyclopaedia Loudon noted that 'Mr. Wood' laid out Hare Hall in Essex
- 29 Loudon (EG 1859) p.270
- 30 Stroud (1975) p.207; Humphry Repton wrote in 1788 "the works of Kent, Brown and Richmond have been the places of my worship", [Goode & Lancaster (1986)] p.470
- 31 See Stroud (1975) p.207 and Jacques (1983) index; Loudon (EG 1824) gives Adam Mickle at Corby Castle and Thirkleby Park (paras. 1079, 1081); a plan by Mickle for Walkington in Yorkshire (1803) is in Hull University Library DDJL/3
- 32 Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows payments to Thomas White April 1759-July 1765, to Adam Mickle senior and junior April 1757-August 1779, to James Sanderson September 1754-December 1772, and Nathaniel Richmond April 1754-January 1760
- 33 Fiona Cowell is researching Richard Woods and has published three articles on him in Garden History; Keith Goodway is working on William Emes and Walter Wilde has published an article on Emes, 'Not Just a Pupil of Brown's', Country Life, October 15 1987, [Wilde (CL 1987)] pp.152-156; Jacques (1983) includes Adam Mickle.
- 34 Steuart (1828) p.41
- 35 Cowell (GH 1987ii) p.128
- 36 Arthur T. Bolton (Ed.), The Portrait of Sir John Soane R.A. 1753-1837, Soane Museum, 1927, [Bolton (1927)] p.46; White's debit account at Drummonds shows a payment to 'Mr. Emes' of £5 0s 4d on April 26 1793.
- 37 Thomas W. Beastall, A North Country Estate: The Lumleys and Saundersons as landowners 1600-1900, Phillimore, 1975, [Beastall (1975)] p.206 for Mickle at Sandbeck; Jacques (1983) p.143 for Mickle at Harewood; Tait (1980) p.139 for Mickle at Gordon.
- 38 From Sir John Clerk of Penicuik 'The Country Seat' f.10, 1731, (Ms. in Clerk Papers in SRO), quoted in John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820, Elek, 1975, [Hunt & Willis (1975)] p.198
- 39 Terence R. Slater, 'The Mansion and the Policy' in The Making of the Scottish Countryside, Martin L. Parry and Terence R. Slater (Eds.), Croom Helm, 1980, [Slater (1980)], p.223
- 40 Slater (1980) p.243
- 41 Loudon (EG 1859) pp.267-8

- 42 Slater (1980) p.224
- 43 ibid. p.227
- 44 Neil Hynd, 'Towards a Study of Gardening in Scotland from the 16th to the 18th Centuries' in Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden, David J. Breeze (Ed.), John Donald, Edinburgh, 1984, [Hynd (1984)], p.275
- 45 John James Joass 'On Gardening: With Descriptions of Some Formal Gardens in Scotland', The Studio II, 1896, [Joass (1896)], pp.175-6
- 46 John Reid, The Scots Gardener, (1683), A.H. Hyatt (Ed.), T.N. Foulis, 1907, [Reid (1907)], p.2
- 47 Alexander Pope 'Epistle to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington' (written 1731) in Collected Poems of Alexander Pope, J.M. Dent, 1924, [Pope (1924)], p.250
- 48 Hynd (1984) pp.226-7
- 49 Miles Hadfield, A History of British Gardening, (1960), Penguin, 1985, [Hadfield M(1985)] p.141
- 50 Slater (1980) p.230
- 51 From J. Macky, A Journey through Scotland, 1729, p.99, quoted by Slater (1980) p.231
- 52 Ethel Maxtone Graham, The Oliphants of Gask, 1910, [Graham EM(1910)], pp.161-162
- 53 Tait (1980) pp.1-2
- 54 Loudon (EG 1859) p.269
- 55 See Tait (1980) for a full account of the development of landscape gardening in Scotland
- 56 SRO GD/10/1421/212 quoted in Tait (1980) p.18
- 57 Scott (QR 1828) p.314; no indication of the identity of this "disciple of Kent" is given.
- 58 Richard Pococke, Tours in Scotland, (1760), D.W. Kemp (Ed.), Scottish History Society, 1887, [Pococke (1887)], p.313
- 59 Tait (1980) p.18; Steuart (1828) p.203
- 60 Loudon (EG 1859) p.269
- 61 Henry Home, Lord Kames, The Elements of Criticism, (1762), Vol.I, 7th Ed., Edinburgh, 1788, [Kames (1788)], p.432
- 62 Loudon (EG 1859) p.269
- 63 Steuart (1828) p.41 attributed the layout of Duddingston to Mr. James Robertson; Scott (QR 1828) p.316 described



it as by "a pupil of Browne, Robertson by name" and Loudon (EE 1830) p. 542 said "the rural artist, whose original plans we have examined, was a Mr. Robertson sent down from London"; however Loudon (EG 1859) had "the name of the rural artist ... was Robinson, nephew to the king's gardener of that name" (the king's gardener being Thomas Robinson). Montrose Papers (SRO GD/220/5/1757/10) letter September 19 1770 regarding landscaping of Buchanan mentions "Robertson who has laid out and is laying out Lord Abercorn's grounds for him in very good taste ... I have heard his undertaking was expensive". See Tait (1980) pp.257-8 for listing of the work of Robertson and Robinson.

- 64 Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland 1550-1850, Peter Eden (Ed.), Dawson, Supplement, 1979, [Eden (1979)], p.217; Peter Willis 'Capability Brown in Northumberland', Garden History, Vol.9, No.2, 1981, [Willis (GH 1981)], pp. 174-177
- 65 Caledonian Mercury, March 8 1760, quoted by Tait (1980) p.73
- 66 Robert Robinson's and Thomas White junior's plans are in the SRO RHP 24335 and 24334
- 67 Tait (1980) p.85

## CHAPTER 3

THOMAS WHITE

Mr. White was an excellent agriculturist, an ingenious mechanic, and a planter of great skill. Like his master Brown, he was in the habit of undertaking the execution of his own designs, and also of plantations of considerable extent, in both England and Scotland, until his business as a Landscape Gardener, in the latter country, became too extensive to admit of such undertakings.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart, The Planter's Guide, 1828

In these few words Sir Henry Steuart, a friend and supporter of both Thomas White and his son, summarised the former's life and work and expressed his high regard for White's abilities and achievements. By the end of the eighteenth century Thomas White had acquired a fairly considerable reputation as a landscape designer and tree planter. From his beginnings, unfortunately still rather hazy, we can trace his development as a designer of landscapes in the manner of Capability Brown and as a keen arboriculturist whose successful tree planting endeavours were to be recognised and rewarded by the Society of Arts and others.

As observed, the biographical details of Thomas White's early years are still somewhat sparse. In his middle years, he is known to have resided at West Retford in Nottinghamshire and his latter years until his death were spent at his own estate of Woodlands near Lanchester in County Durham. His death on July 27 1811 is recorded on a memorial tablet in All Saints Parish Church, Lanchester, County Durham and also on a tombstone lying in the churchyard there.<sup>2</sup> There is a discrepancy in the recording of his age at death which, though it clearly reads "aged 75" on the tablet, appears to read "aged 73" on the tombstone. This therefore gives us a possible birth date of circa either 1736 or 1738. From entries in Thomas White's debit account at

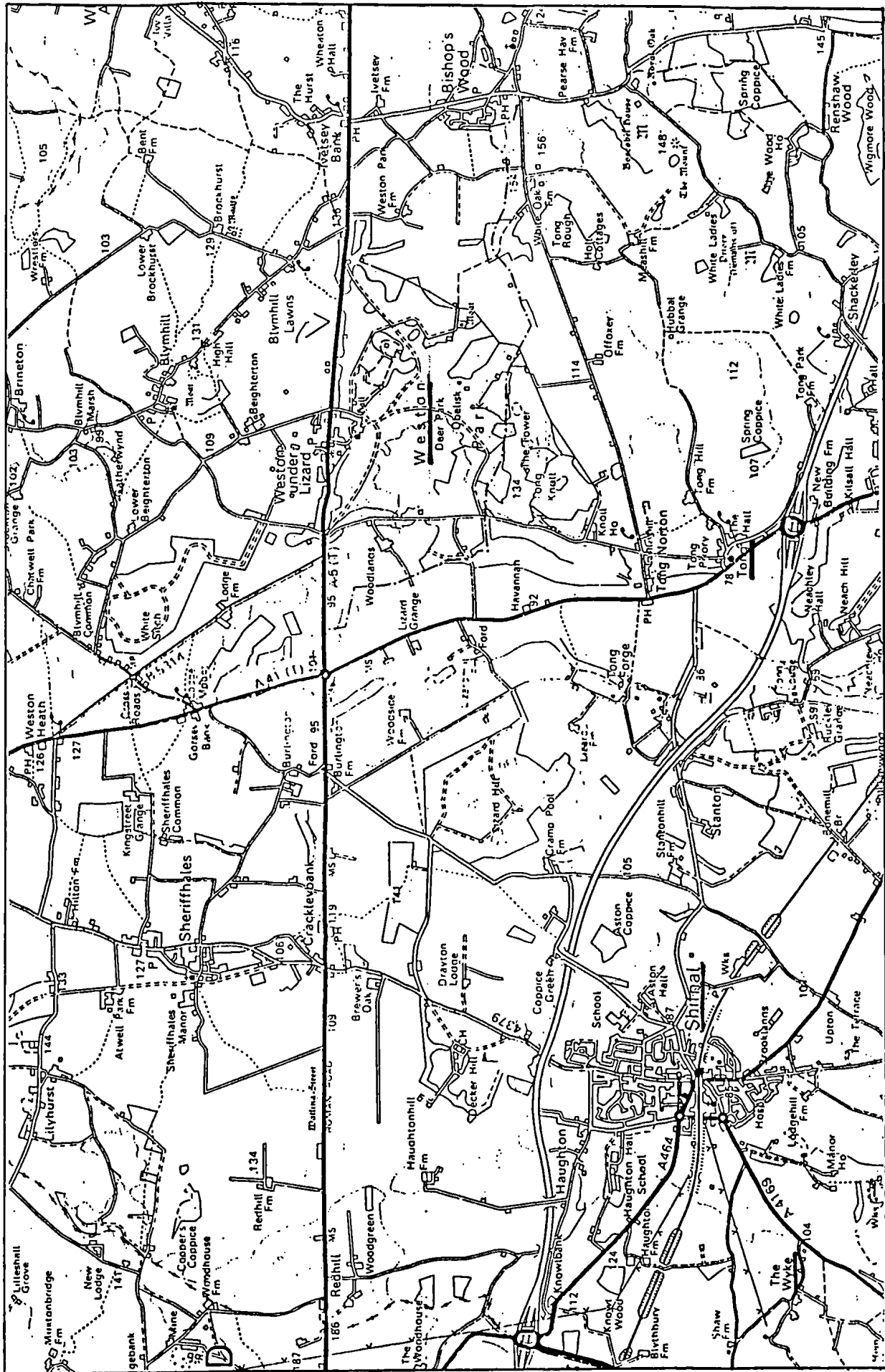
Drummonds Bank we know that his father was also named Thomas White, and from his will made in 1810 we learn of a sister, Rebecca.<sup>3</sup>

These facts have led to the identification of a probable place and date of birth of Thomas White at the village of Shifnal in Shropshire on February 16 1738/39.<sup>4</sup>

Four children of one Thomas White and his wife, Ann, were baptised between 1734/35 and 1739/40 - Rebecca, Sarah, and Thomas recorded at Shifnal Parish Church, and Samuel, recorded at nearby Weston Parish Church; both the birth and baptism of Thomas occurred on February 16 1738/39, indicating a possible midwife baptism. The father, Thomas White of the Wyke, had married Ann Garrett of Weston on January 6 1734/35 (his previous wife Mary was buried in 1733 having borne him a son, John, baptised in Shifnal in 1732). The Wyke was the name of both an area near Shifnal and a farm belonging to the Forester family, and Thomas White senior is recorded as being a farmer there.<sup>5</sup>

This Shropshire background for Thomas White is substantiated by his known employment at Thomas Giffard's estate of Chillington in Staffordshire, only a few miles from Shifnal, from 1760 and possibly earlier. White is thought to have been acting as foreman to Capability Brown at Chillington, Brown having been first consulted by Giffard in about 1759, and his improvements continuing there until at least 1765. White's name appears in Chillington accounts in 1760 and 1761,<sup>6</sup> while Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows payments of various amounts made to Thomas White over a period of six years, commencing in April 1759 and ending in July 1765. Thomas White must have received some training as a surveyor, for a handsome survey map of the

Fig. 1



1" O.S. map 1966 showing SHIFNAL, birthplace of Thomas White, in relation to The Wyke, Tong, and Weston

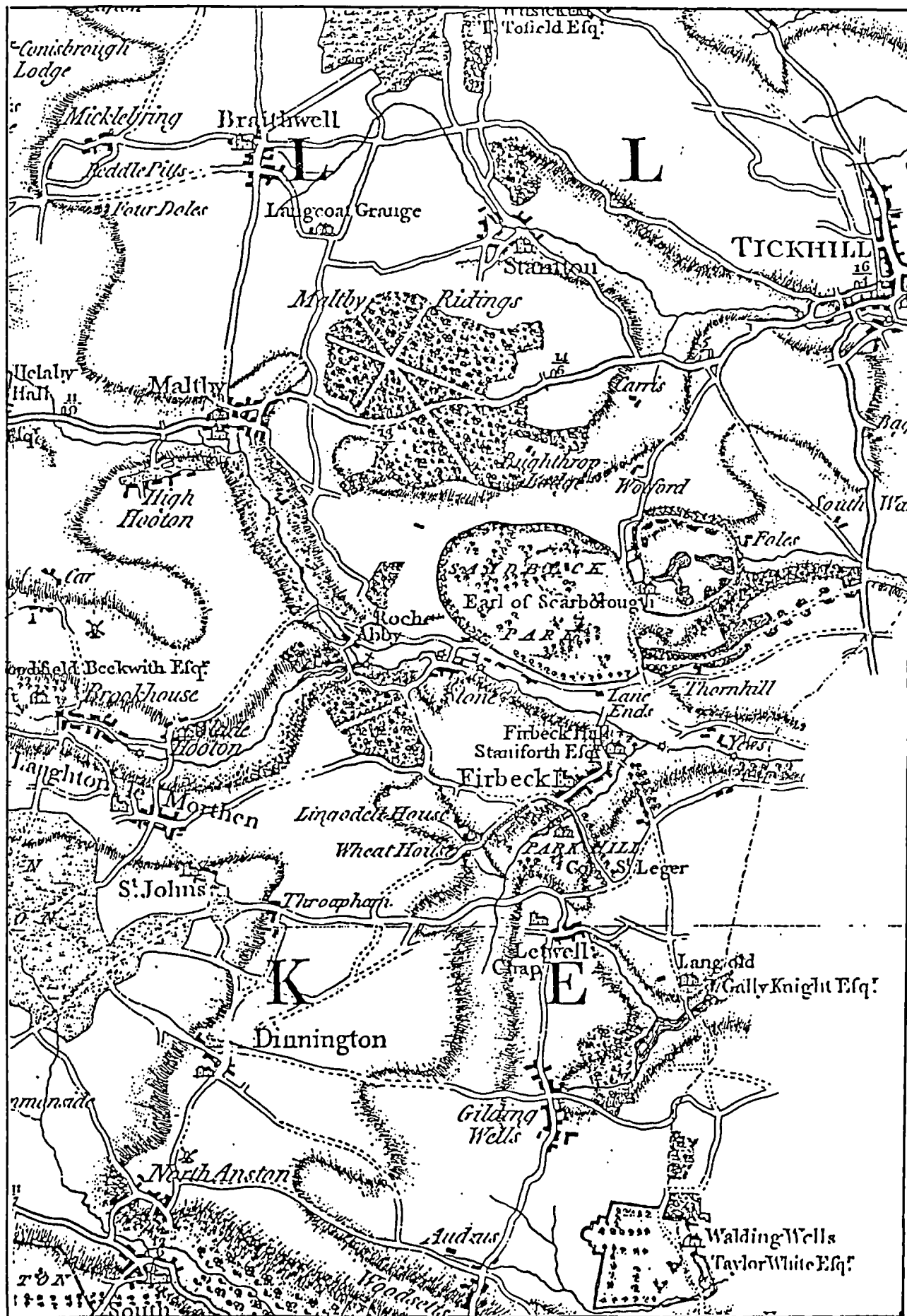
Chillington estate dated 1761, together with an undated one of Thomas Giffard's Blackladies Farm, are both signed as being surveyed by him. These were most probably done by White on Brown's instructions, perhaps preparatory to an improvement plan being drawn up (although some of Brown's suggested improvements had apparently been completed by 1761).<sup>7</sup> Brown is also known to have been consulted at the nearby estates of Tong and Weston Park in the 1760s and it is very possible that White worked with him at one or both of these places.<sup>8</sup>

There are other rather less plausible clues to where and how Thomas White spent his early years, including, according to John Crawford Hodgson in 1917, "the tradition that in early manhood he was a landscape gardener in Dublin", a tradition Hodgson felt was supported by the fact that White named his own estate in County Durham 'Woodlands', which was "reminiscent of a place of that name near Lucan in County Dublin, belonging to an Irish family of White perhaps known to him in his youth".<sup>9</sup>

Another possibility is to be found in the archives of the duke of Bedford. They reveal payments totalling £40 15s 6d to a "Thomas White, gardener and nursery man" made between Lady Day (March 25) and November 1753 for work at Woburn Abbey, averaging approximately £2 a month as gardener, and £4 a month as nursery man. If, however, Thomas White's birthdate of February 1738/39 is correct, he would have been only 14 in 1753, and rather too young to have been employed in these capacities, and to have been referred to in a voucher as "Mr. White".<sup>10</sup> Another possibility is that this is White's father, Thomas, or indeed it may be another Thomas White entirely.<sup>11</sup> Whichever one it was, he was apparently

Fig.2

Detail from Thomas Jefferys' Map of Yorkshire 1772 showing  
TICKHILL and LAUGHTON EN LE MORTHEN in relation to SANDBECK



found to be unsatisfactory for he received a "warning" of one month's wages of £4 and there is no further mention of him in the Bedford Estate accounts.

We know that in 1762 Thomas White, the landscape designer, was living at Tickhill in Yorkshire, where the baptism of his eldest daughter, Mary, took place at St. Mary's Parish Church on July 25 of that year.<sup>12</sup> The connection with Capability Brown continues here, the village of Tickhill lying only some four miles from Sandbeck House, the Yorkshire seat of the 4th earl of Scarborough. Brown is known from payment records to have been engaged at Sandbeck from 1762 onwards, and a letter from White to Brown (undated but probably 1762) together with evidence in accounts at the Sandbeck Estate Office also confirm White's presence there.<sup>13</sup> Two further children were baptised at Tickhill, Thomas on August 7 1764 and Eleanor on November 28 1765; a boy, Charles, son of a Thomas White, had been baptised there on September 9 1763 but may have been of a different family.<sup>14</sup>

Further evidence of White's residence at Tickhill exists in the Tickhill enclosure award of November 1766. Under this award, Thomas White, who had apparently previously leased property from Rachel Cornford of Westgate, Tickhill, was entitled to an allotment for the rest of the term of his lease of "a Common Right House and Croft with their appurtenances and a Close" of 3 acres 1 rood and 12 perches, at a rent of 12s 2d a year, payable to Mrs. Cornford.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas White's letter of circa 1762 to Capability Brown refers to his being required to go to Temple Newsam, Lord Irwin's estate near Leeds, for which Brown drew a design for the park in 1762, and we can presume that White was to act as Brown's foreman here, perhaps remaining there for the next



Fig.3  
Thomas White letter to Lancelot 'Capability' Brown circa 1762  
at LDA (TN/EA/23a/75)

Sir

When you was Lash at Sandbeck you was so good  
as to give me leave to go to London in the dead  
of winter and as I had but few men and the season  
Very bad for carrying on of work I thought I could not  
be spared In a better time, his Lordship took me  
with to take the dimensions of the grounds  
the weather being Raining I could not call  
on his Lordship's house and from thence I came to town  
I received yours and was extremely sorry to  
your order for going to Lord Grosvenor, but hope  
It will be time enough, after my return home  
as I found on inquiry of Lady Dowager Grosvenor  
that his Lordship intended staying all winter  
at Temple Newsham, I am <sup>sorry</sup> to hear you are  
from home as I intended waiting on you at your  
house which was the reason I did not send  
my Accounts. Now, I intend staying as short  
a time as possible in town, and on my return  
will go to Temple Newsham. I am Sir your Most  
Obed<sup>t</sup> Servant J. White

three years. In late 1765 White was at Harewood House (then known as Gawthorpe), Edwin Lascelles' estate north of Leeds, no longer directly in Brown's employ but presumably recommended by him to put in hand preliminary alterations to the grounds prior to Brown's return to Harewood in 1772. His status would seem to have still been that of surveyor according to an entry in the Harewood accounts, and indeed he was on several occasions later in his career to be referred to as a surveyor. White drew up improvement plans in 1766 for Daniel Lascelles at Goldsborough and for William Weddell at Newby near Ripon and was engaged at the three Yorkshire estates until about 1768. During this period his letters to his foreman at Newby, William Stones, were generally addressed from Tickhill, unless he was engaged on a commission elsewhere (for example on May 17 1767 he wrote from Blyborough, Lincolnshire where he was drawing up a plan for John Bourryau).<sup>16</sup> In March 1768 he wrote to Stones from Laughton en le Morthen, a small village only two miles south-west of Sandbeck,<sup>17</sup> and again in August 1769. These letters together with a record of the baptism of his youngest daughter, Ann, at Laughton en le Morthen on December 4 1768 suggest he had moved from Tickhill and was living at Laughton during this period.<sup>18</sup>

Thomas White and his family had established residence in West Retford in Nottinghamshire by 1773.<sup>19</sup> West Retford lay across the River Idle from the town of East Retford which, in the middle of the eighteenth century was "a poor poverty stricken place".<sup>20</sup> In 1777 the Chesterfield Canal was opened, providing communication with the Midlands, the River Trent and Hull, and in 1787 the Great North Road diversion through Retford was completed, linking it directly by mail

coach with London, York, Leeds and other centres, so it rapidly "began to assume an additional importance and respectability".<sup>21</sup> The White family lived at 'The Grange' in West Retford,<sup>22</sup> and seem to have been considered of good standing in the community, Thomas White and his son, Thomas, being both described as "Gent" when acting as witnesses to a deed in 1790.<sup>23</sup> The White household consisted in 1794 of nine people, three male and six female but their identity is not known; perhaps White, his wife, son Thomas, daughter Eleanor and several servants or lodgers. His eldest daughter, Mary, was married by this time and his youngest daughter, Ann, is listed as living alone in a separate household.<sup>24</sup> We know little of Thomas White's wife as a record of marriage has not yet been discovered. She was apparently unwell in 1770 for White, who was then at Douglas Castle in Scotland, was "called to England by the illness of his wife".<sup>25</sup> A burial is recorded at West Retford on August 31 1797 of a Mrs. Eleanor White and this may well have been his wife,<sup>26</sup> her death at this time possibly contributing to his decision to move from West Retford to his estate near Lanchester in County Durham at the end of the eighteenth century.

Mary, Thomas White's eldest daughter, married on September 14 1789 the Reverend Abraham Youle at St. Michael's Church in West Retford, Eleanor White (her sister or mother) and one George Gavin Browne acting as witnesses. Abraham Youle had been inducted as rector of West Retford in November 1787 and held this position for almost fifty years until his death in 1836. He later also became vicar of Grove, being presented to the living in 1798 by Anthony Hardolph Eyre, son of Anthony Eyre for whom Thomas White had drawn up a survey

map and improvement plan for the Grove in 1773. Abraham Youle was apparently much interested in agricultural matters and a letter he wrote from West Retford on the subject of 'Steaming Potatoes' was published in the Annals of Agriculture in 1793:

I am a young man, and late of St. John's College, Cambridge, and have a very comfortable living in this place, and occupy about 150 acres of my own glebe, and, for the time that I have had it in possession, which is about four years, I think it greatly improved, and will soon have the estimation of good management.<sup>27</sup>

Youle went on to mention his father-in-law, Mr. White, from whom he claimed to have obtained useful hints on agriculture and planting, "for in that branch he has large concerns in the north, and, on a small scale, has some few experiments here". Thomas White most probably advised Youle on the planting of his churchyard too, for the Reverend John Hodgson, in a letter to his wife in 1821, described passing by St. Michael's Church in Retford "where Mr. White's (Thomas White junior) brother-in-law is rector":

The church has a very handsome stone spire; the nave and chancel are plastered, and its churchyard is ornamented with hollies and other evergreens, which give a solemn and sacred aspect to the spot. The trees I apprehend were planted in the late Mr. White's time. He resided here before he settled at Woodlands.<sup>28</sup>

Thomas White made his original purchase of land at Butsfield near Lanchester in County Durham at the time of the enclosure of Lanchester parish in 1773, with the intention of later acquiring more land and planting up a great area of barren moorland. He, and later his son, with the assistance of an overseer, spent many years in creating a flourishing, well-wooded and attractive estate, later to be known as 'Woodlands'. This estate acted as a splendid advertisement

for his own skills in planting for which he received a number of medals from the Society of Arts in London. It appears that White and some members of his family moved from West Retford to Woodlands in or shortly before 1799. On July 22 1799, at the age of 35, Thomas White junior married Elizabeth Surtees at Lanchester parish church, and the birth of their first child, Ann, is recorded at Lanchester on December 15 1800. Elizabeth bore a total of six children in the space of nine years; her correspondence with the Reverend John Hodgson and his wife paints a vivid picture of life in this remote spot, the long winter evenings being spent in reading aloud with the children, while her husband and father-in-law were frequently away for long periods of time pursuing their planting and landscaping commissions in Scotland.<sup>29</sup>

Following his early commissions for landscape designs in Yorkshire which included Burton Constable and Houghton Hall in 1768, and Welton House and Hawksworth Hall in 1769, Thomas White in 1770 produced his first improvement plan in Scotland for Archibald Douglas of Douglas Castle, Lanarkshire. He spent a considerable part of his working life visiting estates in England and Scotland on both planting and landscaping contracts, training his son Thomas in the profession, and building up a network of clients, of differing social status, but very often connected to one another by marriage, politics or propinquity. His success was to make him the object of some envy; the earl of Findlater wrote to his factor, John Wilson in 1796 regarding the discontent of his gardener, Machattie, who wished to emulate White:

He said he wished to return to London, that he had come abroad expecting to be employed as a gardener, that he had been told that I was building

a house and making a garden, that neither his health nor his inclination would admitt of his being in any other line than what he had been bred to; that his encouragement was not sufficient, that Mr. [Thomas] White kept two footmen and that by laying out ground he hoped soon to be able to do the same.<sup>30</sup>

White's work in England continued until about 1787, after which date his new commissions were all north of the border. So far as we are aware, his son, with whom White in his latter years worked jointly and who later produced designs on his own account, was engaged only at estates in Scotland.

In geographical terms the commissions were widely spaced, the distance from the southernmost, the Grove in Nottinghamshire, to the northernmost, Cullen House in Aberdeenshire, being some 400 miles. Much time was spent travelling with servants, moving from estate to estate, assessing the landscaping possibilities, drawing up rough plans to be later enlarged and properly prepared at his home, checking up on sometimes dilatory foremen and labourers and attempting to promote new business. The known commissions covered a time span of over forty years, from the Chillington surveys in 1761 to the plans for Kennet and Blairquhan in 1803, while Thomas White junior continued producing improvement plans until 1820. The work on many of the contracts stretched over a long period, for example White's plan for John Christian Curwen's estate, Belle Isle on Lake Windermere, was dated 1783, however, the implementation of the improvements together with ten years of keeping them in good repair meant that it was 1796 before White was finally finished there. His work at Scone Palace in Perthshire partly overlapped with the Curwen contracts, the plan being drawn in 1781 and White, after encountering numerous

problems, receiving his final payment in 1787. At Abercairny, also in Perthshire, records show that White made an initial survey in 1790 and the final discharge of payment occurred in 1797. His two major planting contracts, at Douglas and Buchanan, both stretched over ten years, and the connection between White and his son and Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton of Bargany continued for at least eight years, due in large part to a legal battle fought over their planting contract of 1802. Sometimes plans were submitted by White and not put into effect at all, for example Owston and Dunninald, while others were later adapted by the proprietor and some parts of them effected perhaps on a smaller scale, for example, William Constable at Burton Constable and Christopher Sykes at Sledmere implemented some of White's suggestions although he was not employed to carry them out.

White's confidence in his profession and his talents as a draughtsman developed over the years as can be observed through a study of the extant plans. The slightly sketchy and tentative quality of the drawing and ideas in his 1765 plan for Goldsborough had developed by 1768 into a much firmer and more fluid design for Houghton Hall, and when we look at the plans of the 1780s and 1790s drawn up for the Moray family at Abercairny and Ardoch we find strong, colourful and attractive designs exhibiting an immediately recognisable 'White style'. This style was and is open to criticism for its lack of variety and for the refusal of the Whites to move with the changes in taste from the 'natural' to the 'picturesque', however, it has been claimed that White was merely catering to the desires of his clients and, left to his own devices, would have produced plans of a rather wilder and more picturesque nature.

Since no papers or artifacts belonging to Thomas White or to his family have been located, nor even a portrait of the man, we can only draw together a somewhat sketchy picture of him and of his life, gleaned from short accounts of those who knew him and from his surviving correspondence, largely concerned with business rather than personal matters. We gain an impression of a hard-working, enthusiastic and sensitive man, knowledgeable in his own area and apparently well-liked and respected by his clients generally, Lord Stormont at Scone perhaps being the exception. His obituaries recorded his "convivial and pleasing manners" and Sir Henry Steuart praised "his private worth, his pleasing manners and his extensive information on all subjects connected with rural affairs".<sup>31</sup> Thomas Shepherd claimed that White was an innovator and not merely a follower of Capability Brown, and that he had:

introduced many new improvements upon his own newly invented style of Landscape Gardening, which have, with great credit to himself, been much admired and approved of by men of the highest attainments in Landscape Gardening and Landscape Painting, by the admirers of pastoral poetry, and by landed proprietors in general, both in England and Scotland.<sup>32</sup>

White's interest in matters agricultural was broad-ranging and he was keen to experiment in order to find the most successful methods of preparing ground, planting and caring for trees and shrubs. At Bothwell Castle in 1783 he experimented with 'lint' (flax) as a scourging crop but apparently found it to be unsuccessful,<sup>33</sup> and in a letter published by the Society of Arts in 1787, as well as describing in great detail the methods he used in improving his own estate at Butsfield, White reported fully an experiment in the rotation of peas and strawberries tried by



"Mr. Jones, gardener to the earl of Darlington at Raby Castle", where White was engaged in the late 1760s and early 1770s.<sup>34</sup> Even John Claudius Loudon, who had little good to say about White's achievements as a landscape designer, admitted that:

White senior we believe was a pupil of Brown, of much information on country matters and generally respected in Scotland.<sup>35</sup>

Both White and his son enthusiastically advocated the cultivation and use of the larch tree, White reporting to the Society of Arts in 1788 that he was making "many different experiments" upon the larch and in 1789 writing of its toughness when used as part of a threshing flail, while Thomas White junior conducted, and reported to the Society on, numerous tests to demonstrate the superior tanning qualities of larch bark.<sup>36</sup> White's admiration for the tree was demonstrated by his request that his coffin be made from the wood of the larch.<sup>37</sup> Sir Henry Steuart thought White to have been an "ingenious mechanic" and White junior, in a letter to the Society of Arts in 1813 describing the planting operations at Woodlands, commented on his practical abilities noting that "the holes were made with a hollow spade, invented, with many other tools, by my late father".<sup>38</sup>

To what level Thomas White was educated we do not know, however, Sir Henry Steuart claimed that he had "a far better education than his master [Capability Brown] could boast", and as we know that Brown attended Cambo village school until the age of 16, we can assume that White must have attained at least that level of schooling.<sup>39</sup> As noted, the professional quality of White's 1761 surveys for Chillington would suggest that he did receive training as a surveyor, while the style and content of some of his own letters, and the interest he

later showed in the verses of the Reverend John Hodgson point to a reasonably cultured and educated mind.

Although his letters to clients were on occasion somewhat obsequious in tone, it is clear that White was a proud and sensitive person, who felt that he too was worthy of a certain degree of respect. His disagreements with Lord Stormont and his factor at Scone Palace led him to write in 1786:

I hope my Lord I am not naturally wanting  
in respect to my superiors and in particular  
to my employers, but my Lord I am no vassal  
and thought myself very improperly treated  
at Scone ...<sup>40</sup>

White's last years were spent at his Woodlands estate, but he was to continue making journeys until at least 1807, when his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, told Hodgson that they did not know whether he would be able to "get away before Christmas".<sup>41</sup>

In his poem 'Woodlands' John Hodgson described White in his peaceful, contented and happy family setting:

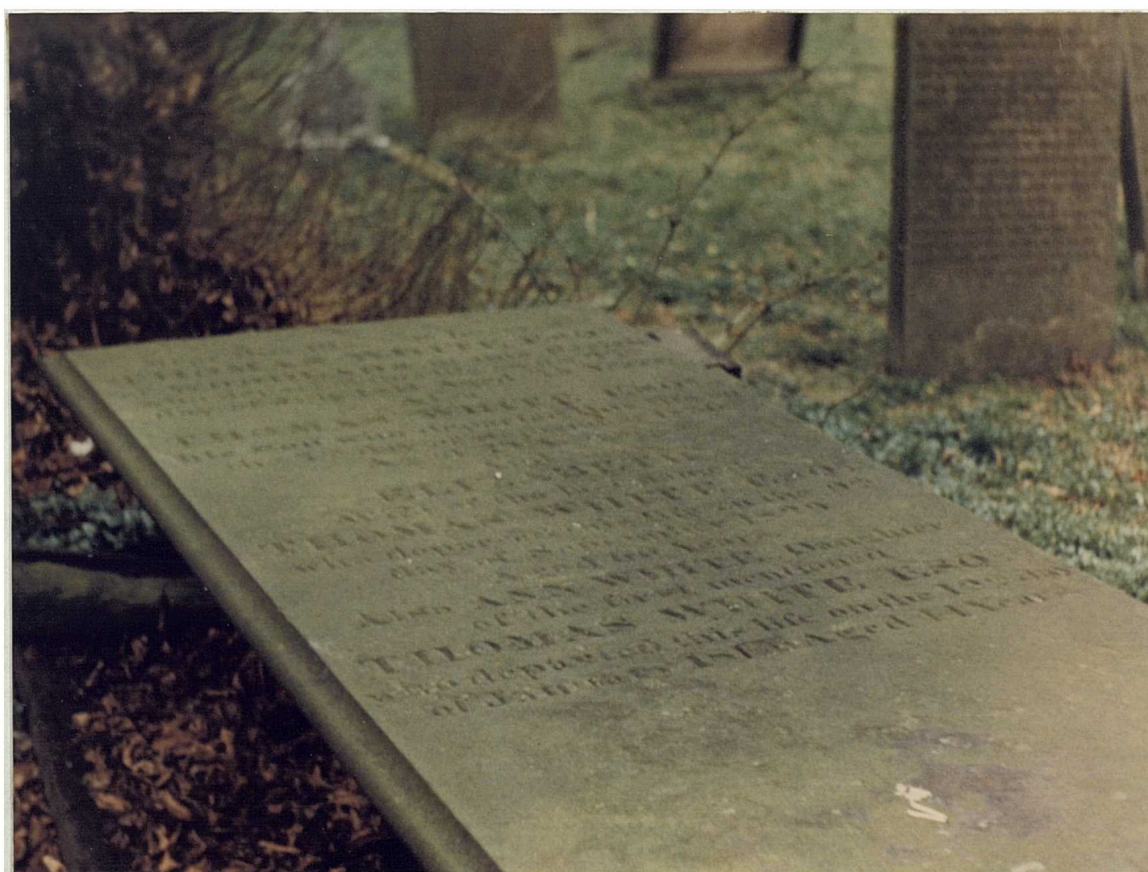
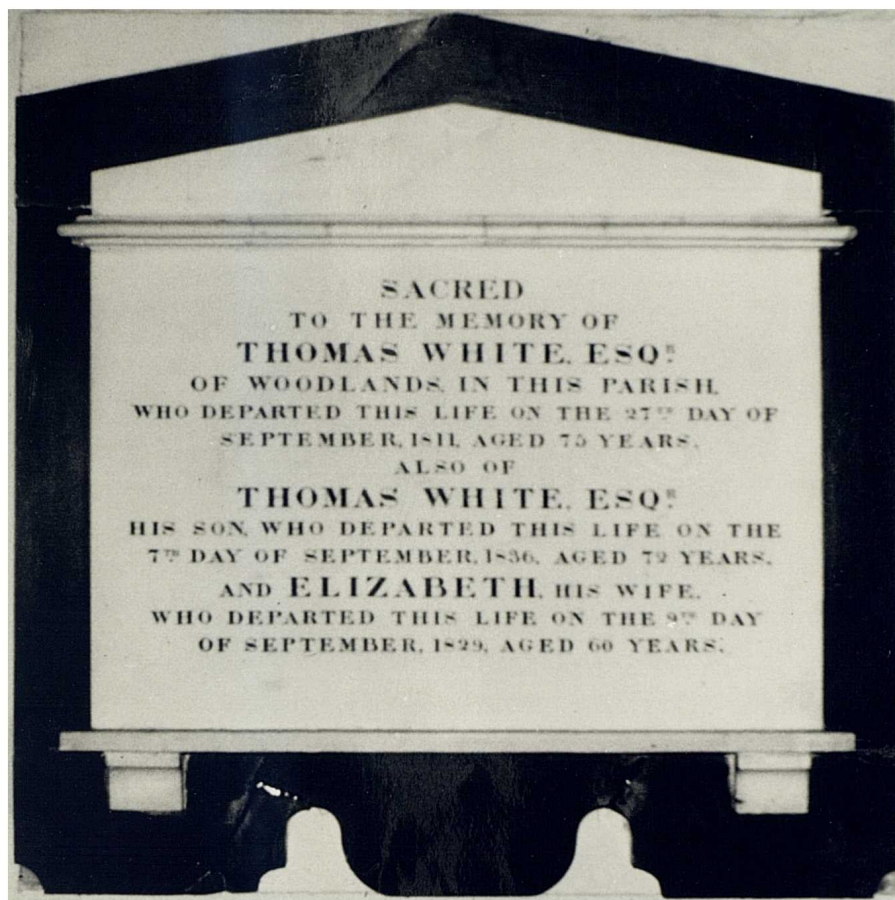
But, centered in a new creation now,  
Your mansion seems of loveliness and youth  
The fair abode. A Tender mother sees,  
With fond affection sparkling in her eye,  
The children of your son, delighted, climb  
Their father's knee and wanton in his arms.<sup>42</sup>

The death of his daughter, Mary Youle, in 1805 affected him very deeply and Elizabeth White wrote to Hodgson of his distress:

The sudden death of his amiable daughter who  
was so deservedly esteem'd and belov'd by all  
her friends was a great shock to him in  
particular, and I have found it rather a  
difficult task to support him under so trying  
an affliction.<sup>43</sup>

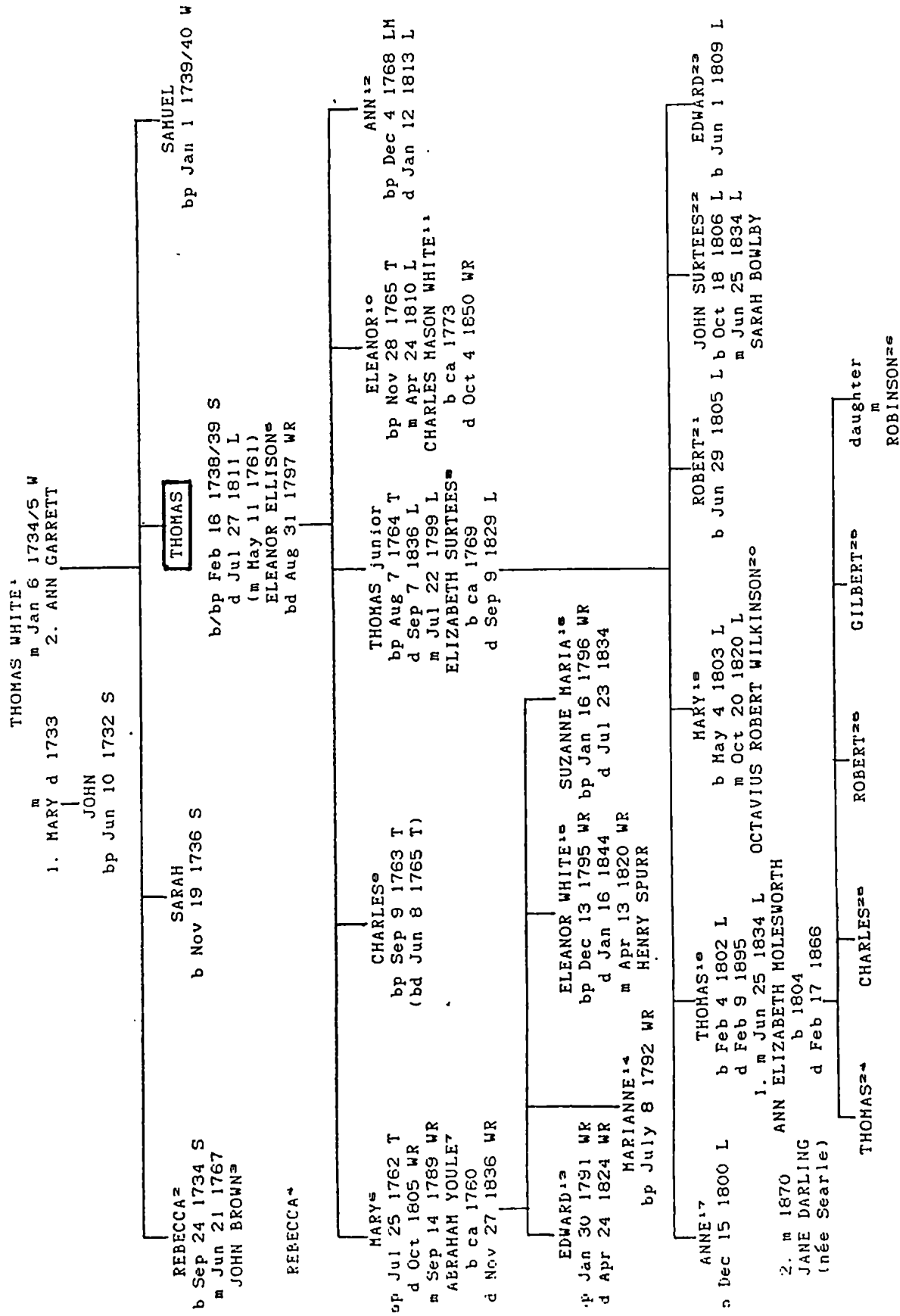
Upon Thomas White's death in 1811 the Woodlands estate passed to his eldest son, Thomas, who resided there until his own death in 1836, his wife Elizabeth predeceasing him in

Fig.4  
 above: Memorial tablet to Thomas White in All Saints Church,  
 Lanchester, County Durham  
 below: Thomas White's tombstone in All Saints Churchyard,  
 Lanchester, County Durham



1829. Their eldest son, also Thomas, became ordained in the Church of England and Woodlands passed to the third son, John Surtees White, who later emigrated to Australia, as did his older brother, Robert. According to an account of Woodlands published in the Consett Guardian in 1902 the "extravagant habits" of the profligate youngest son, Edward, forced the sale of the estate "which resulted in the total separation of the White family" from the district. The article included a quotation from a rather sad letter written by Thomas White's grandson in 1888 while living in Harrogate; he had just attained his 86th birthday and wrote that he was then "the only survivor of the dear old Woodlands Whites".<sup>44</sup>

Fig.5



THOMAS WHITE Family tree (see over for key and notes)

## NOTES ON THOMAS WHITE FAMILY TREE

## Abbreviations:

b = born	W = Weston, Staffordshire
bp = baptised	Sh = Shifnal, Shropshire
d = died	T = Tickhill, Yorkshire WR
bd = buried	LM = Laughton en le Morthen, Yorkshire WR
m = married	WR = West Retford
	L = Lanchester, Co. Durham

- 1 THOMAS WHITE. Described as 'of the Wyke, Farmer' in Shifnal Parish Records. Still alive in 1776 according to payments in his son's debit account at Drummonds Bank, and possibly in 1779.
- 2 REBECCA BROWN (nee WHITE). Was dead by 1810 according to Thomas White's Will made September 20 1810, 'my late sister Rebecah Brown'. IGI indexes show a marriage in London June 21 1767 between Rebecca White and John Brown.
- 3 JOHN BROWN. Described in Thomas White's Will of 1810 as 'late of Berwick Street, Coal Merchant, London'.
- 4 REBECCA BROWN. Thomas White left in his Will 'an annuity of ten pounds a year to my niece Rebeccah Brown, daughter of my late sister Rebecah Brown'.
- 5 ELEANOR WHITE (nee ELLISON). IGI indexes show marriage of a Thomas White to Eleanor Ellison at Bedlington, Northumberland on May 11 1761. West Retford Parish Registers show a burial of a Mrs. Eleanor White August 31 1797. Neither pieces of evidence corroborated.
- 6 MARY YOULE (nee WHITE). Died in 1805 and buried at St. Michaels Church, West Retford (memorial plaque in church).
- 7 ABRAHAM YOULE. Rector of West Retford and the Grove. Died at West Retford aged 76 (memorial plaque in St. Michaels Church). Thomas White left him £1000 in his Will; codicil of July 23 1811 cancelled a debt of July 23 1789 of £1000.
- 8 CHARLES WHITE. Possibly of a different family of Whites? However, Thomas White's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows payments to a Charles White 1777-1793. No Charles White in Thomas White's Will.
- 9 ELIZABETH WHITE (nee SURTEES). 'Daughter of Robert Surtees of Cronywell who resided at Upper-house in the parish of Lanchester, by his wife Anne, daughter of William Greenwell of Ford' (SA Proceedings (1917) p.221). Died in 1829 and buried at All Saints Church, Lanchester (memorial plaque in church).

- 10 ELEANOR WHITE (nee WHITE). Thomas White left her £1500 in his Will to be paid to her husband should she predecease TW.
- 11 CHARLES MASON WHITE. On marriage to Eleanor White in 1810 described as 'sometime of HMS Excellent ... residing in the city of Durham' (SA Proceedings (1917) p.221). Given as Commander in the Royal Navy of East Retford at his death in 1850 (West Retford Parish Registers).
- 12 ANN WHITE. Thomas White left his youngest daughter an annuity of £60 in his Will, reduced to £50 in codicil of April 5 1811. Died in 1813 aged 44 (gravestone in All Saints Churchyard, Lanchester)
- 13 EDWARD YOULE. Vicar of Apesthorpe, Nottinghamshire. Died aged 33 in 1824 (memorial plaque in St. Michaels Church, West Retford). Thomas White left him £200 in his Will on his coming of age.
- 14 MARIANNE YOULE. Thomas White left her £500 on her coming of age.
- 15 ELEANOR WHITE SPURR (nee YOULE). Thomas White left her £200 on her coming of age. Married in 1820 HENRY SPURR, a solicitor. Buried at St. Helens Church, Lea, near Gainsborough (memorial plaque in St. Michaels Church, West Retford).
- 16 SUZANNA MARIA YOULE. Thomas White left her £200 on her coming of age. Name on memorial plaque in St. Michaels Church, West Retford.
- 17 ANNE WHITE. Mentioned in Will of Thomas White junior of August 15 1836 - he left her 'silver tea urn, coffee pot, tea pot, three waiters, two sugar basins, butter boats, large castors ... and all my gold and silver medals'. Died unmarried.
- 18 THOMAS WHITE. Curate of All Saints Church, Newcastle, then vicar of Kirk Hammerton and later rector of Cowthorpe, Yorkshire. Married Ann Elizabeth Molesworth in a joint wedding with brother John Surtees White to Sarah Bowlby in 1834. His father Thomas White junior bequeathed household goods and furniture at Woodlands to him. Died aged 93 in Doncaster.
- 19 MARY WILKINSON (nee WHITE). Mentioned in Thomas White junior's Will.
- 20 OCTAVIUS ROBERT WILKINSON. A solicitor of St. Neots, Hants., then of Eaton Socon, Beds. Executor of Thomas White junior's Will.
- 21 ROBERT WHITE. Architect of Durham. Emigrated to Australia.
- 22 JOHN SURTEES WHITE. Married Sarah Bowlby, third daughter of John Bowlby, registrar of the Dean and Chapter of Durham June 25 1834 in joint wedding with brother, Thomas. At that time an attorney in the city

of Durham residing at Gilesgate. Emigrated to Australia (after 1836). His father left him the Woodlands Estate.

- 23 EDWARD WHITE. Thomas White junior in his Will charged son John Surtees to raise £1300 and pay interest weekly to Edward. Sailor in the Merchant Navy described in Consett Guardian as the 'profligate younger son'.
- 24 THOMAS WHITE. Drowned while crossing Niagara Falls.
- 25 CHARLES, ROBERT, GILBERT WHITE emigrated to New Zealand. Two of them were married and had children in early 1888 (Consett Guardian (1902) p.7).
- 26 ROBINSON. A wine merchant of Hunstanton, Norfolk. Had two sons and two daughters.

note:

- a. (21,22) Robert and John Surtees White. The Society of Australian Genealogists has to date failed to respond to enquiries regarding the emigration of Robert and John Surtees White to Australia.
- b. (25) Charles, Robert, and Gilbert White. Enquiries to the New Zealand Society of Genealogists have revealed that Wises Post Office Directory for 1902 lists a Gilbert S. White and 3 G. Whites; 17 Charles Whites are listed and 11 Robert Whites. Further paid or on the spot research in Wellington, N.Z. would be required to pursue the family histories.



## CHAPTER 3 - FOOTNOTES

- 1     Steuart (1828) p.424
  
- 2     The tablet in All Saints Church, Lanchester erroneously records Thomas White's date of death as the 27th day of 'September' 1811, probably a confusion with Thomas White junior's death in September 1836; the tombstone gives July 27 1811 and the parish register of burials states he was buried on July 30th 1811; obituaries published in the Newcastle Courant of August 3rd 1811 and the Gentleman's Magazine of August 1811 (p.194) give July 27 1811
  
- 3     Payments in Thomas White's debit account at Drummonds Bank are shown to 'Thos. White Sen.' July 18 1775 and March 5 1776; there are intermittent payments to a 'Thos. White' until 1779 which may be his father, then a break until 1788 (although payments to 'Messrs. White' and 'Miss White' occur in this period) when frequent payments to 'Thos. White' and 'Thos. White Junr', his son, occur until 1799. In his will of September 20 1810 (at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York) Thomas White left an annuity of £10 to Rebecca "daughter of my late sister Rebecah Brown"; his sister, Rebecah, had been married to John Brown, Coal Merchant, who in 1810 lived at Berwick Street, London; the IGI lists a marriage between a Rebecca White and John Brown on June 21 1767 in London which could be that of White's sister.
  
- 4     Dates prior to 1752 when the Calendar was changed have been corrected. By modern reckoning Thomas White's year of birth was 1739 as then March 25 rather than January 1 marked the start of the New Year.
  
- 5     ShropRO, Shifnal Parish Register S.R.O.1335/Reg/1 records: 'Rebeccah the Daughter of Thomas White of the Wyke Farmer & Anne his Wife was born Sept.r 24 and Bapt.d 29 1734; Sarah the Daughter of Thomas White of the Wyke and Anne his Wife was born Nov. 19 & bapt. the 20 1736; Thomas the Son of Thomas White of the Wyke & Anne his wife was born & bapt. Feb. 16 1738.' Information received from Trevor G. Hill, local historian of Shifnal (June 23 1989) includes: 'Thomas White of the Wyke married Ann Garrett of Weston January 6 1734 at Weston Parish Church; a Son Samuel bapt. January 1 1739, Weston Parish Church'.
  
- 6     StaffRO D590/619 (disbursement book for Thomas Giffard 1758-1775) includes details of "Mr. Brown's Works" between 1759 and 1765, and in 1760 gives "White for the Men's lost Time - 9s 0d" and in 1761 "Mr. White per Bills - £2 15s 2d".
  
- 7     Thomas White's two survey maps for Thomas Giffard are held at the StaffRO D590/366 and D590/368; see Stroud (1975) pp.147-148 for Brown at Chillington.
  
- 8     See Stroud (1975) pp.148-149 for Brown at Tong and Weston Park; White's mother, Ann Garrett, came from Weston and his brother Samuel was baptised there.

- 9 Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Vol.VII, January 1915-December 1916, published 1917, [SAN Proceedings (1917)], pp.218-219; Edward Malins and the Knight of Glin Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening 1660-1845, 1976, [Malins & Glyn (1976)], pp.74-75 describe "Woodlands, or Luttrellstown" near Dublin as "four hundred acres within a wall, extensive Brownian lawn in front of the house and fourteen-mile rides through woods through which the Liffey flowed"; they mention that Samuel Hayes in 1794 "thought the demesne possessed the finest forest trees in the county" and that Hely Dutton in 1802 wrote "Mr. White is annually adding to the plantations, and improving the soil".
- 10 The information is at the Bedford Estates Office, London in copy form in a file 'Household Staff 14' created by Woburn historian, Gladys Scott Thomson. The original document bearing the signature of Thomas White cannot be found so no comparison of signatures may be made. The full details are:
- August 8, 1753
- Thomas White wages to 6 November 1753  
£40.15.6
- His Grace the Duke of Bedford to Thomas White
- |                   |                                | £  | s  | d  |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|----|----|----|
| From Lady Day to  | to 3 months 44 days wages      |    |    |    |
| 6 August (1753)   | as Gardener                    | 7  | 15 | 7  |
| From Lady Day to  | to 6 months 38 days wages      |    |    |    |
| 8 November (1753) | as Nursery Man                 | 28 | 19 | 11 |
|                   | to 1 month allowed for warning | 4  | -  | -  |
|                   |                                | 40 | 15 | 6  |
- Received this 8th November 1753 of His Grace forty pounds fifteen shillings and six pence by the payment of John Branson  
£40.15.6 [Signed] Received by THOMAS WHITE  
There is also a voucher of June 29 1753 (Gardens, Park, Buildings, Trees, Bridge Accounts, No.8) in the amount of 1s. for "A dozen of Sythe Stones Willm Todd had by Mr. White's Orders".
- 11 A Thomas White appears as a subscriber to the first edition of Philip Miller's Gardeners Dictionary of 1731 and Philip Miller is known to have been consulted by the Duke of Bedford (ex info Bedford Estates Office and George W. Johnson, A History of English Gardening, Chronological, Biographical, Literary and Critical, (1829), Lindsay & Wood, 1974, [Johnson (1829)], p.193)
- 12 DAD P56/1/A2 Register of Baptisms 1718-1771 St. Mary's Church, Tickhill
- 13 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 undated letter (probably 1762) from Thomas White to Capability Brown mentioning Sandbeck, Glentworth and Temple Newsam; Sandbeck Estate Office EMR/8 contains three references to Thomas White at Sandbeck in February and October 1766.
- 14 DAD P56/1/A2 Register of Baptisms 1718-1771, St. Mary's Church, Tickhill also records the baptism of James White (son of Thomas) on February 3 1760 which would seem to

be a different family. A Charles White (son of Thomas) was buried in Tickhill on June 8 1765 and could be the Charles White baptised September 9 1763; however payments are shown in Thomas White's debit account at Drummonds Bank to a Charles White commencing February 1777 and ending in 1793; White's daughter Eleanor married a Charles Mason White but not until 1810 so these payments are unlikely to have been to him; there is no mention of a son, Charles, in Thomas White's Will so if he did exist he presumably predeceased his father. Another Thomas White (son of Thomas) was baptised on May 10 1763 but this again was probably another family; we know from records at Sandbeck of two other Thomas Whites connected with the estate in the 1760s, Thomas White, Carpenter (EMA/249/1) and Thomas White, Collector of Land Tax for Tickhill (EMA/15).

- 15 Sandbeck EEA/1, Tickhill Enclosure Award; with thanks to Tom Beastall of Tickhill for the following information on the Tickhill Enclosure Award: "Lessees of Landowners with common rights could, if they occupied premises qualifying for an enclosure on the newly enclosed commons on a one year or longer agreement, occupy the new allotment on the Commons for the rest of the term of their lease ... Thomas White held land from 1st May [1766]. He held from Rachel Cornford a Common Right House and Croft and Close of 3 acres and 2 roods, and because of this he was entitled to occupy 3 acres 1 rood and 12 perches of newly enclosed land on the Commons part of Rachel Cornford's total allotment of 10 acres 1 rood 30 perches, i.e. he occupied just the farm house, croft and close and her fields were let out to other occupiers."
- 16 LDA TN/EA/23a/44 Thomas White to William Stones May 17 1767
- 17 John Bigland The Beauties of England and Wales Vol. XVI Yorkshire, 1812, [Bigland (1812)], p.842 described the spire of Laughton Church forming a fine terminus to a vista cut through the park at Sandbeck.
- 18 LDA TN/EA/23a/52 and 23a/105 letters from Thomas White at "Laughten le Marthern" to William Stones at Newby March 12 1768, and at Hexham August 29 1769 (scrap of letter); Ann White's baptism at Laughton appears in the IGI for Yorkshire, and her death on January 13 1813 at the age of 44 is recorded on the tombstone in Lanchester Parish Churchyard.
- 19 SAN Proceedings (1917) p. 218 records that when White purchased his land at Butsfield in 1773 he was described as being of West Retford. A 1774 Map of the Manor of West Retford indicates that the majority of land was owned by the Trinity Hospital, the rector of West Retford and a George Brown, Esq.; the name of Thomas White does not appear and he was most probably renting a house and land at that time.
- 20 M. Wilkinson, 'Old Retford', unpublished, undated typescript, Retford Public Library, p.31

- 21    ibid.
- 22    Jacques (1983) p.89
- 23    Retford parish book, Retford Public Library, a deed concerning the relinquishing of Right of Trust by Anthony Barker of Bawtry, March 2 1790, witnessed by 'Thos. White Senr' and 'Thos. White Junr'.
- 24    NottRO West Retford parish records 'The Number of Inhabitants in the Parish of West Retford taken March 17 1794' (microfiche)
- 25    SRO GD/220/5/1757/11 David Erskine to David Graeme, September 22 1770
- 26    NottRO West Retford Parish Register Burials 1772-1812 (microfiche); a search of the I.G.I. indexes reveals the marriage of a Thomas White to Eleanor Ellison on May 11 1761 at Bedlington, Northumberland but we have no further proof that this is the correct Thomas White.
- 27    Youle (AA 1793) pp.370-374. An enclosure award for the Parish of West Retford was made in June 1776 under which, out of the 953 acres of common land enclosed 450 acres belonged to the hospital and "173 to the Rector, who received the greatest portion of it at the enclosure, as a commutation of all the tithes of the parish" (Thomas Bailey, Annals of Nottinghamshire, Vol.IV, Simpkin, Marshall, 1852, [Bailey T(1852)], p.43)
- 28    Joseph Raine, A Memoir of the Reverend John Hodgson, Vol.I, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1858, [Raine (1858)], p.331; White left Abraham Youle the sum of £1,000 in his will, referring in a codicil made July 23 1811 to an agreement made with him before his marriage with Mary White in 1789 whereby White paid him £1,000 and declared that the £1,000 left him in the will was to be the total he was to receive, the "former obligation to be considered as cancelled". Abraham Youle died in Retford on November 27 1836, his death being recorded with those of his wife, son and two daughters on a marble memorial plaque in St. Michael's Church, Retford.
- 29    The correspondence is to be found at the Northumberland Record Office M14-B7 and includes letters written between 1805 and 1814 by Elizabeth White to the Reverend John Hodgson and his wife, by her cousin Elizabeth Greenwell to Hodgson, and by Thomas White and Thomas White junior; Elizabeth Greenwell appears to have been a very close friend of the family of whom Thomas White thought highly enough to bequeath her "as a small token" of his respect "a handsome mourning ring"; some of the letters were reproduced in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Vol.VII, January 1915-December 1916, published 1917, pp.251-256]
- 30    SRO GD/248/3439/8 the Earl of Findlater to John Wilson November 2 1796
- 31    Steuart (1828) p.424. Thomas White's obituaries read as follows:

Newcastle Courant, August 3 1811

Died, much lamented, on the 27th inst. Thomas White, esq. of Woodlands, in the county of Durham, designer of grounds, whose exquisite taste and skill in his profession, and convivial and pleasing manners, will long be remembered by his numerous friends and employers: and his beautiful residence, formed by his industrious hand from a bed of heath, will be a lasting testimony of his enterprising and persevering spirit; for the planting of which the Society of Arts and Sciences presented him with nine gold and two silver medals; and part of a larix tree, the produce thereof, at his particular request, was converted into his coffin.

Gentleman's Magazine, August 1811, p.194

T. White, esq. of Woodlands, Co. Durham, designer of grounds; whose taste and skill in his profession, and convivial and pleasing manners, will long be remembered by his numerous friends and employers; and his beautiful residence, formed by his industrious hand from a bed of heath, will be a lasting testimony of his enterprising and persevering spirit, for the planting of which the Society of Arts and Sciences presented him with nine gold and two silver medals; and part of a larix tree, the produce thereof, at his particular request, was converted into his coffin.

32 Shepherd (1836) p.19

33 Scone 1232/8 Blair to Stormont November 1784

34 SA Transactions (1787) p.22:

"He sowed Peas, which is supposed to be rather a meliorating than an impoverishing crop, for ten years together, upon a piece of rich land; the result of this experiment was, that for the first two years the crop was abundant, but after that time, it gradually became more and more puny and meagre, so much so, that on the tenth year of sowing, the earth was so drained of the proper nutriment this plant required, that the Peas would not even vegetate within it, but lay till they became putrid; after which without any previous manuring, he planted strawberrys upon the same ground, which produced an excellent crop."

35 Loudon (EG 1859) p.270; Loudon (EE 1830) p.543

36 SA Transactions (1789) p.45; RSA C1/91 White to Samuel More February 2 1789; SA Transactions (1813) pp.81-105

37 See note 31 above

38 SA Transactions (1813) p.93

39 Brown left Cambo school in Northumberland in 1732 to take up employment with Sir William Loraine at Kirkharle Hall and was "a lad of reasonable education" (Stroud (1975) p.38); John Hodgson wrote that at Cambo School "the fertile and ingenious mind of Capability Brown underwent the first processes of cultivation, and had those seeds of useful learning sown upon it, which enabled him to rise to the head of a new and elegant

profession", (Reverend John Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, Vol.I, Pt. 2, E. Walker, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1827, [Hodgson (1827)] pp.280-1)

- 40 Scone 1233/27 White to Stormont September 25 1786
- 41 NorthCRO M-14/B7/159 Elizabeth White to Hodgson December 11 1807
- 42 Hodgson (1807) p.51
- 43 NorthCRO M14-B7/95 Elizabeth White to Hodgson October 30 1805; Hodgson (1807) in 'Woodlands' referred to Mary Youle's death:  
     But then, O WHITE, the dismal view is cheered  
     With the bright prospect, which THE SON OF GOD  
     Has opened to the eye of Faith. 'Tis there,  
     The panting soul her native land describes;  
     And there, your much-lamented daughter waits  
     To hail her aged father to the shores  
     Of immortality and ceaseless spring.
- 44 Consett Guardian December 19 1902; see also Chapter 7 note 52 for the descent of Woodlands Hall

## CHAPTER 4

### COMMISSIONS AND CLIENTS

- A CLIENTELE AND THE CLIENT NETWORK
- B THOMAS WHITE'S ASSOCIATION WITH ARCHITECTS
- C THOMAS WHITE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS CLIENTS
- D FINANCIAL AND PRACTICAL MATTERS

## 4A CLIENTELE AND THE CLIENT NETWORK

My life would be a very embarrassed and uncomfortable one, could I not rely upon the good opinion and liberality of my employers, for that credit which I hope I do not improperly conceive to be due to a person engaged in contracts of a liberal nature, particularly after having toiled with unremitting labour for twenty years of my life to merit their confidence and esteem.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas White, letter to Lord Stormont, 1785

While the majority of Capability Brown's commissions were for the estates of the titled,<sup>2</sup> and indeed included royalty, those of Thomas White and his son encompassed a slightly lower level of eighteenth century society. The boundaries of the different ranks within that society are ill-defined, however, the terms 'lesser nobility' and 'landed gentry' would seem appropriate to describe the majority of the Whites' clients.<sup>3</sup>

An analysis of the social status of the landowners with whom White and his son are known to have been associated (ranging from those whom they only advised to those for whom they drew up and executed an improvement plan) reveals that approximately one-third were titled, the majority of these being members of the peerage, for example, Richard Lumley Saunderson, 4th earl of Scarbrough (Lumley, Sandbeck, Glentworth), James, 7th earl of Findlater and 4th earl of Seafield (Cullen) and David, 7th viscount Stormont and later 2nd earl of Mansfield (Scone). The other two-thirds could be considered as landed gentry, their estates varying in size from Anthony Eyre's 200 acres of parkland at the Grove in Nottinghamshire to William Ferguson's vast acreage at Raith in Fifeshire. Still lower on the social scale was Thomas Williamson, gentleman-merchant in Hull, for whose compact estate at Welton in Yorkshire White drew a plan in 1769.



A look at the activities of the Whites' clients shows that about one-third of them were at some time in their lives members of Parliament (including nine who were later to succeed to the peerage). Among these were John Christian Curwen of Workington and Belle Isle (who twice refused a peerage,) Archibald Douglas (later Lord Douglas), Anthony Eyre of the Grove, Daniel and Edwin Lascelles, Richard Slater Milnes of Fryston, James marquis of Graham of Buchanan (later duke of Montrose), David Scott of Dunninald and William Weddell of Newby.<sup>4</sup> It has been observed that, theoretically, every member of the House of Commons in the second half of the eighteenth century was a country gentleman (a landowner who was not a member of the peerage) "since all had to swear to the possession of landed property before they could take their seats in the House",<sup>5</sup> and it was to be expected therefore that quite a large number of the Whites' commissions were for M.P.s. "A seat in Parliament, like an estate in the country, was a symbol of success"<sup>6</sup> and a large part of this success was reflected in the landowner's attempts to ensure that his estate displayed a style of architecture and landscaping appropriate to his position in society.

Thomas White advised Lord Stormont in April 1784 that he was going to visit "the metropolis at the meeting of Parliament",<sup>7</sup> and to Lord Mulgrave in 1784 White wrote that he would "be happy of a further conference" on the subject of improvements at Mulgrave Castle when he came "to town in the spring".<sup>8</sup> We know from his bank account that White was certainly in London in May of both 1783 and 1785,<sup>9</sup> and he may well have met with Lord Stormont in London in 1784 to discuss the work at Scone Palace, and again in 1786, for he

wrote to him in January 1786:

I wish I had been more explicit when I had the pleasure of conversing with your Lordship on the subject of improvements ... I shall soon visit some of the southern countys which will bring me to town, when I shall have a better opportunity of conversing with your Lordship on those matters.<sup>10</sup>

and in August 1786:

When I had the honour to see your Lordship in London I could not help giving you some hints concerning the keeping the place in order.<sup>11</sup>

It appears that late spring was the time at which he could go to 'town' to find many of his current clients gathered in one place. It was also an opportunity to discuss potential schemes with other M.P.s and peers considering the improvement of their estates and seeking a suitable person to advise them on the correct taste for the new layout.

The clients of Thomas White, senior and junior, included members of the four professions recognised in the eighteenth century, the law, the church, the army and the navy. The law and the church provided at least two clients; the lawyer Robert Dundas of Arniston who, like his father and grandfather, served in turn as solicitor-general for Scotland and lord advocate, and the leading Scottish divine, the Reverend John Inglis of Glencorse. A further client, Robert Haldane of Airthrey, after a naval career, entered the church and became a missionary in India. The impact of the Napoleonic Wars meant that the army and the navy were well represented amongst Thomas White junior's clients in the early nineteenth century, for example, Major General Robert Balfour of Balbirnie, Colonel Hamilton of Murdostoun, Lieutenant James Stirling of Keir, Colonel Charles Moray of Abercairny, Rear-Admiral Sir P.C. Durham of Fordell and Captain (later Rear-Admiral) John Smollett of Cameron. Many

of the landed gentry also had commissions in the local militia, for example, Bryan Cooke of Owston (Colonel of the 3rd West York Militia), Henry Vane, earl of Darlington (Colonel of the Durham Militia) and Daniel Lascelles of Goldsborough (Lieutenant-Colonel of the West Riding Militia).

New recruits to the landed gentry who employed the Whites were those who had made their money from trade, many of them involved in commodity dealings with the British colonies and elsewhere. David Scott of Dunninald and Archibald Seton of Touch were both connected with the East India Company, John Bourryau of Blyborough, the Lascelles family and Charles Gordon of Cairness had strong links with the West Indies sugar trade, while Thomas Williamson of Welton was in the iron trade with Sweden.

As landowners improving their estates, most of the Whites' clients were naturally involved in agriculture, farm and estate management, most notably Christopher Sykes of Sledmere, John Harrison of Norton Place and John Christian Curwen of Workington and Belle Isle. In Scotland Robert Graham of Fintry in 1784 became game warden to the earl of Strathmore at Glamis and to Archibald Douglas, and later acted as estate manager for his distant relative Thomas Graham of Balgowan.<sup>12</sup>

As outlined above, the taste for a designed natural landscape developed gradually through the eighteenth century, its roots lying in philosophical and artistic notions of beauty, nature and taste. It was generally held that a necessary requirement for the acquisition of good taste was a thorough knowledge and experience of the cultures of Italy and Greece, and thus many of the gentlemen of the period embarked on trips to the continent of varying lengths, known

as the Grand Tour. Several of those with whom the Whites were associated returned from their European journeys with grand ideas for reshaping their houses and grounds, most particularly William Weddell of Newby, Sir David Carnegie of Southesk (Kinnaird), Alexander, 4th duke of Gordon, Robert Haldane of Airthrey and William Constable of Burton Constable.<sup>13</sup> Sir James Colquhoun of Rossdhu in Dunbartonshire, for whom White drew up a plan in 1797, was considered a connoisseur and patron of the arts, being a friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole, while Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, friend and strong supporter of both of the Whites, was a scholar and writer of note as well as a most enthusiastic planter of trees.<sup>14</sup>

Numerous links can be traced between many of Thomas White's clients both in England and Scotland, links based generally on marriage, occupation, religion, social intercourse and propinquity of estates. His earliest commissions as a landscape designer were mainly for Yorkshire landowners, and it is possible to find through these early works a network of connections revealing the way in which White's reputation grew as word of his work spread gradually further afield. Commencing at Harewood House, where White is known to have been consulted in 1765, we can trace the links in his documented undertakings over the five ensuing years, up to his first known commission in Scotland at Douglas Castle in 1770.

Thomas White was most probably introduced to the Lascelles family by Capability Brown for whom he worked at the nearby Temple Newsam estate. In an undated letter from White to Brown (probably 1762), White advised that on his

return from London he would "go to Temple Newsam", presumably to act as Brown's foreman there.<sup>15</sup> Brown drew a plan for "the intended alterations at Temple Newsam" for Charles Ingram, later 9th Viscount Irwin, in 1762, and it is likely that White remained in his employ there for the next three years. Late in 1765 White was called to Harewood House (at that time known as Gawthorpe), the seat of the oldest Lascelles brother, Edwin, to take over from the landscape designer, Richard Woods.<sup>16</sup> White spent about three hours there on December 22 1765,<sup>17</sup> and made several more visits during the following year. On November 7 1766 he was paid £57 15s. for "Drawings and setting out Ground",<sup>18</sup> so we can presume that he drew up plans and/or survey maps for the grounds of Harewood, although these have not survived. The question arises as to why it was the unknown White rather than the considerably more prestigious Capability Brown who received the Harewood commission at this time.

Brown had visited Harewood in 1758 (a year before the foundations for Edwin Lascelles' new house were laid) and possibly provided some drawings for landscaping the grounds at this time.<sup>19</sup> He reappeared there in 1772 when the new house had been fully completed and at this time prepared "A Plan for the intended water and the grounds adjoining", and continued to receive payments from Lascelles (totalling over £6000) until 1781.<sup>20</sup>

Mary Mauchline states in her book on Harewood House:

Despite Brown's years of absence and Lascelles's apparent responsibility for the landscaping of his own place, it seems that contact with Brown was not entirely lost for the planting of part of the pleasure grounds was supervised by the neglectful White, one of Brown's men.<sup>21</sup>

As noted, Lascelles had paid Thomas White £57 15s. directly in November 1766, and a further payment of £30 9s. is

recorded in April 1768 "For travel and attendance", so we can therefore assume that he was now operating independently of Brown. In the index to the Harewood Account Book 269 White is given as 'surveyor', perhaps an indication that he was not yet recognised as a fully-fledged 'layer out of grounds'. In this instance most probably Brown had recommended White to Lascelles to undertake the preliminary laying out and planting around the then uncompleted house, and Brown proposed all along to take over again with a full landscaping scheme once the house was completed, as he did in 1772.

In 1766 Thomas White prepared an improvement plan for the grounds of Goldsborough Hall, near Knaresborough, for Edwin Lascelles' brother, Daniel Lascelles, again taking over the landscaping from Richard Woods, who had drawn up a plan in 1763.<sup>22</sup> An undated, unsigned, draft letter in pencil thought to be to Richard Woods from his then foreman at Goldsborough, William Stones, advised that:

Theare is a surveyor at Gawthorpe they call White which was forman to Mr. Brown. He hath been at Gouldsbro 3 times but haith dun no business and he is to draw a plan - but nothing to be alterd that is finished.<sup>23</sup>

This would indicate that White was first consulted by Edwin Lascelles and then, when Woods withdrew from the Goldsborough commission, Daniel Lascelles called him in there.

William Weddell of Newby Hall had spent 1765 and 1766 in France and Italy on the Grand Tour with his friend, William Palgrave, and on his return to England, fired with the idea of transforming his house and estate, consulted with the architect William Chambers in 1766,<sup>24</sup> and in the same year obtaining 'A Plan of Alterations' for his Newby estate from Thomas White. Weddell was at this time member of Parliament for Kingston upon Hull and would have been well acquainted

with the Lascelles family. Edwin Lascelles was then M.P. for Yorkshire while Daniel Lascelles represented Northallerton, and records indicate that all three followed similar voting patterns in the House of Commons.<sup>25</sup> It appears therefore that personal recommendation led to Weddell employing White, perhaps as a second choice to Brown who was very probably too busy in the south to take on northern work at that time.

White's work at Harewood and Newby continued until at least the middle of 1768, but meanwhile, he was consulted by several other landowners as word of his work spread. In 1767 he drew "A Design for the Park at Blyborough, the Seat of John Bourryau, Esq.". A letter dated May 17 1767 from White to William Stones, now his foreman at Newby, was addressed from Blyborough,<sup>26</sup> where White was probably surveying the estate. John Bourryau's father, Zachariah (d.1752), a wealthy West Indies merchant, purchased the Blyborough estate in Lincolnshire (fifteen miles north of Lincoln) in 1747. He possessed estates in Granada and St. Kitts,<sup>27</sup> and it seems probable that White's commission here came from a recommendation to John Bourryau from the Lascelles family who owned large estates in Barbados and had an interest in the London West Indies sugar trading house of Lascelles, Clarke and Daling.<sup>28</sup>

A letter from White to Stones at Newby dated July 23 1767 was addressed from Copgrove,<sup>29</sup> the estate of Henry Duncombe, only a few miles south of Newby, and two of White's letters prior to this date mention work going on at 'Mr. Duncombe's'.<sup>30</sup> A description of Copgrove in 1812 would suggest that it was landscaped in the 'natural' style:

From the house is a pleasing prospect of the lawn, and a fine sheet of water, bordered with wood, winding out of sight beyond a

distant hill, adds greatly to the beauty  
of the scene.<sup>31</sup>

Henry Duncombe was the third son of Thomas Duncombe of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire; he moved, according to a letter of Thomas Gray in 1766 to Norton Nicholls of Ripon, in the same circles as William Weddell of Newby and was very probably a friend of his:

You, I hope are better off, riding and walking with Mr. Aislaby, singing duets with my cousin Fanny, improving with Mr. Weddell, conversing with Mr. Harry Duncombe.<sup>32</sup>

Duncombe took a great interest in his estate and was well acquainted with several Yorkshire landowners, including John Grimston of Kilnwick to whom he wrote in 1779:

You gave me great pleasure in telling me of your having visited my Hermitage. It is indeed in my opinion a most pleasing spot. I tell my brother I must take my motto from Marshal 'Ruse vers barbarous latatur' ... My neighbour Weddell goes this week to Parliament or, in Mason's phrase, to the obsequies of his Country.<sup>33</sup>

Henry Duncombe too became a member of Parliament in 1780 when he was elected as member for Yorkshire, a seat he held until 1796.

Thomas White designed a plan for the grounds of Hawksworth Hall, the seat of Walter Ramsden Beaumont Hawksworth, in 1769.<sup>34</sup> A survey was prepared in 1768 by Anthony Sparrow who had been foreman to Richard Woods at Harewood and was employed intermittently thereafter as a foreman and surveyor by the Lascelles family until at least 1774.<sup>35</sup> Sparrow most certainly knew White and it is possible that both men went to Hawksworth on the recommendation of Edwin Lascelles. An engraving by Neale shows Hawksworth Hall as a 'Georgianized' seventeenth century building backed by well-grown trees, in a peaceful, 'natural' setting with a lawn stretching up to the house, and cows and sheep grazing



in the foreground,<sup>36</sup> however, there is no direct evidence to show that White's plan was ever implemented.

White undertook three commissions in the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1768-69, Burton Constable, Houghton Hall and Welton House. At Burton Constable, the seat of William Constable, he was paid the sum of ten guineas in January 1769 for preparing a "Plan for the Improvements of Burton Constable".<sup>37</sup> Capability Brown had first been consulted by Constable in 1757; he was at Burton Constable in 1769, 1773, 1774 and again in 1778,<sup>38</sup> and, as at Harewood, the question arises as to why Thomas White was asked to prepare a plan of improvements. That William Constable was acquainted with the Lascelles family and that they had discussed the subject of landscaping is indicated in a letter from Constable to Brown pressing him to visit on his way to Harewood in 1773:

Was I young and provident I would not press,  
but feeble and keen in my wants a year seems  
to me an age. Mr. Lascelles flatters himself  
with seeing you in September. By Lincoln I  
lie in the Road and most sincerely hope and  
wish you may think so.<sup>39</sup>

So perhaps here again Brown had suggested White as a 'fill-in' until he was free to spend time in the north, but in this instance we have no evidence that White did any more than produce a plan; or possibly Lascelles himself suggested that Constable ask White for a plan as Constable was at that time anxious to get on with the improvement of his estate.<sup>40</sup>

Philip Langdale of Houghton Hall was certainly acquainted with Constable and his family for in 1775 his sister, Catherine, married William Constable. Both were from Roman Catholic families, as were Marmaduke Langdale of Holme Hall and Thomas Stapleton of Carlton Towers for whom White prepared plans some years later.<sup>41</sup> White's receipt for

Fig. 6

Jan 13 1768  
 Recd of Mr. (notable) Esq  
 By the hand of Mrs. James the  
 Son of Jan. Quinny for a Plan  
 For the Son of James Esq of Boston  
 Constable  
 Thomas White  
 £10. 10. 0

Thomas White's Receipt for ten guineas for a  
 'Plan for the improvement of Burton Constable'  
 January 13 1768 at HCRO (DDCR(2)77)

payment for the 1768 Burton Constable plan is dated January 1768 so he probably prepared it in early 1768, before the Houghton plan. Thus the introduction of White to Constable by either Brown or Lascelles, and then by Constable to Langdale, seems quite plausible.

In 1769 White drew up a plan of alterations for the modest estate of Thomas Williamson at Welton, west of Hull. Williamson, was a 'Hull merchant',<sup>42</sup> he, his brother Joseph Williamson (who inherited the adjoining estate of Melton in 1768) and another brother being partners in a business "involved in the flourishing iron trade with Sweden".<sup>43</sup> Welton was probably the smallest commission undertaken by White and how it arose is not known; Williamson was not a Catholic (a tablet to his memory can be seen in the north chapel of St. Helen's Church, Welton) but he could well have heard of White's work for Philip Langdale at Houghton, only some nine miles from Welton, or perhaps through the Constables in his business dealings in Hull.

"A Plan of alterations designed for Lumley Castle the seat of the Right Honourable the earl of Scarbrough" by Thomas White is dated 1768.<sup>44</sup> White was employed at Sandbeck, Scarbrough's Yorkshire estate, as Brown's foreman in the early 1760s before moving northwards to Temple Newsam, and he and his family were until 1767 living at Tickhill, and then at Laughton en le Morthen, both close to Sandbeck. The Sandbeck estate accounts reveal that in 1766 White was still involved with planting work there, in February having taken up "the large trees for planting" and in October ordering trees and shrubs from "Mr. Perfett of Pontefract" and "Mr. Cowlshaw of Hodsock" to a total value of £113 4s.<sup>45</sup> White's

connection with the earl of Scarbrough must then have continued until at least 1768 when the Lumley plan was drawn up. There is, however, no evidence that the plan was carried out and the idea may have been just a passing fancy of Lord Scarbrough, who it seems at that time was more concerned with his Sandbeck and Glentworth estates and in exploiting the coal resources at Lumley.<sup>46</sup>

White's only other known commission in County Durham<sup>47</sup> may have arisen from a recommendation from the earl of Scarbrough to the earl of Darlington at Raby Castle. A very large plan by White dated 1774 is held at Raby, however, it appears that White had been at work there prior to this date according to a letter of September 1770 in which it was stated that "White has laid out Raby Castle for Lord Darlington which gives great satisfaction", and to payments made to White by the earl of Darlington in 1770-71.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps White received an introduction to the earl of Darlington from the earl of Scarbrough in the late 1760s.

A close network of contacts undoubtedly existed between Yorkshire landowners; the families of Constable, Grimston, Hildyard, Duncombe, Weddell, Lascelles, Langdale and Sykes were all in some way linked with each other, and with Thomas White. Christopher Sykes of Sledmere made a note of White's name in his diaries of 1774 and 1775, somebody no doubt having mentioned his work to Sykes, who in 1776 sought White out to provide an improvement plan.<sup>49</sup> 1775 found White visiting Robert D'Arcy Hildyard at his Sedbury estate in the North Riding of Yorkshire and in 1782 White provided Thomas Grimston with a plan for his estate of Grimston Garth, close to the Hildyards' Winestead estate in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>50</sup>

Other commissions in England followed those discussed above, interspersed with an ever-increasing number in Scotland. We know of no new commission in England after Fryston in 1786, other than possibly Brocklesby where White's two plans are undated. In Scotland similar links between estates and families can doubtless be traced, however, some commissions may well have arisen solely through word of White's achievements as a designer and arboriculturist spreading more generally. Landowners very probably consulted him having heard of his work and growing reputation through general discussions on the improvement and planting of their estates, and the merits or otherwise of professional landscape designers or 'capability men'.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes, as in England, Brown would have been the first choice, as for instance at Allanbank in Berwickshire where John Stuart enquired of the architect John Soane in 1780:

Do you know of any person who has taste in laying out grounds and who would come down for a few days upon any moderate terms? The great Brown, you know is not come-at-able.<sup>52</sup>

Brown being unavailable, William Emes was considered but apparently rejected, and Stuart did eventually employ Thomas White to assist in laying out his estate.

The duke of Montrose's search for a suitable man to lay out his grounds at Buchanan in Stirlingshire illustrates the way in which 'word of mouth' recommendations were made. Montrose had instructed one David Erskine<sup>53</sup> to enquire as to a suitable person to undertake the work at Buchanan, and on September 19 1770 Erskine wrote to David Graeme of Orchill:

There cannot be a worse hand than I for finding out capability men, however in obedience to the Dukes commands I have made it my business to enquire and find that the man of greatest note in that way at present is one Robertson who has laid out and is laying out Lord Abercorns grounds

for him in very good tast - I believe he might go to Buchanan stay eight days or so and make out a plan of the grounds and garden for about 20 guineas.....

Mr. Douglas has got one Mr. White from England to give him a plan. I saw him in his way to Douglas Castle but I found he was in such a hurry that I don't imagine he could go to Buchanan. He is at Douglas just now..... 54

In a postscript to a second letter to David Graeme dated September 22 1770 Erskine added:

[Mr. White] is to be down again in November and again in March at either of which times especially the last he could afford the Duke eight days and from what I can learn he has more tast and is less expensive than Robertson .... White has laid out Raby Castle for Lord Darlington which gives great satisfaction.<sup>54</sup>

A possible origin of White's first commission in Scotland, Douglas Castle in 1770, is given here in the mention of his work for Lord Darlington at Raby Castle. The plan which White prepared for Raby Castle is dated 1774, however, the above letter shows that he must have been at work there in the late 1760s. In 1769 the celebrated Douglas Cause was settled in the House of Lords and Archibald Douglas's rights to the Douglas estates were confirmed. He immediately proceeded to develop these estates and it is possible that he and the earl of Darlington were acquainted, the earl recommending Thomas White to him.<sup>56</sup>

Archibald Douglas was a sustaining patron of White and several subsequent Scottish commissions were undoubtedly gained through his influence. Although White drew plans for Glamis in 1771 and Inverquhar in 1773 (both in Forfarshire) it was not until 1781 with his employment by Lord Stormont at Scone Palace that his work in Scotland began in earnest.<sup>57</sup> There were family connections amongst the Morays at Abercairny and Ardoch, and amongst the Stirlings of Keir and Kippenross, while White's friendship with Sir Henry

Steuart of Allanton brought him a commission for Steuart's brother-in-law, Archibald Seton, at Touch in Stirlingshire. Several other connections amongst White's Scottish clients must exist, however, further research is required to seek out and clarify these.

Another mode of introduction may have been through the recommendations of architects with whom White came into contact. Firm evidence of these associations has yet to be established, however, the coincidental presence at the same estate of White and architects, particularly John Carr and James Playfair, during the same period merits some investigation.

## 4B THOMAS WHITE'S ASSOCIATION WITH ARCHITECTS

In designing a house and gardens, it is happy when there is an opportunity of maintaining a subordination of parts; the house so luckily placed as to exhibit a view of the whole design.<sup>58</sup>

William Shenstone, 'Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening', 1764

Frequently the improvements desired by the client required either the building of a new house or the radical alteration of an existing house, together with the landscaping of the surrounding estate. As noted above, Capability Brown felt strongly that the two elements, the building and its setting, should be treated as a whole, and he in several instances designed the buildings himself.

Thomas White so far as we are aware, designed no houses or garden buildings himself (except possibly his own house, Woodlands Hall in County Durham). Inasmuch as virtually all his improvement plans were drawn up for estates already possessed of a house or castle, however, he was directly concerned with setting the existing buildings into his design or, in some instances, creating a design which incorporated a proposed new house, offices and stables to be erected in a different location. For example, his 1783 plan for William Ferguson of Raith in Fifeshire shows both the 'present' and 'intended' house and stables; this intended house was not in fact built, the existing one (dating from 1694) being remodelled and added to by James Playfair in 1785.<sup>59</sup> White's 1785 plan for Owston, Bryan Cooke's estate in Yorkshire, also showed the old house and a planned, grandiose new house further west, with two large wings for stables and offices. This was never built, the old house being much altered and enlarged under the direction of the architect, William Lindley of Doncaster (1739-1818) between 1794 and 1795.<sup>60</sup>



No direct evidence exists of White's acquaintanceship with any of the architects involved in alterations upon existing houses or the building of new ones, but there seems little doubt that in several instances their paths must have crossed and in some cases they may well have consulted over certain points in their respective plans and designs. The two architects whose names crop up most frequently in connection with estates where White is known to have worked are in England, John Carr (1723-1807), and in Scotland, James Playfair (1755-1794). (See tables 2 and 3 below)

TABLE 2

Estates at which both Thomas White and John Carr are known to have been consulted:<sup>61</sup>

	Thomas White	John Carr
Belle Isle, Westmorland	1783 plan	1795 alterations?
Burton Constable, Yorks.	1768 plan	1760s
Copgrove, Yorks.	1766-68	ca.1770
Colwick Hall, Notts.	1774-79	1776 designs
Goldsborough, Yorks.	1766 plan	1764-5 designs
Grimston Garth, Yorks.	1782-?	1781-6 building
Grove, Notts.	1773 plan	ca.1762 altered
Harewood, Yorks.	1765-68	1753-1780s
Hawksworth, Yorks.	1769 plan	?
Holme Hall, Yorks.	1777 plan	1766 Chapel
Kilnwick, Yorks.	pre 1782?	1769-71, 1781
Newby Hall, Yorks.	1766 plan	1767-75
Norton Place, Lincs.	1772 plan	1776 building
Raby Castle, Co.Durham	1774 plan	ca.1768-88
Sandbeck, Yorks.	ca.1762	?
Sedbury, Yorks.	1775	ca.1782
Sledmere, Yorks.	1776 plan	1782 consulted
Temple Newsam, Yorks.	1762-65?	1765-78
Workington, Cumberland	1783 plan	ca.1777-82

The listing at table 2 shows that John Carr was at some time involved at nineteen of the thirty-two estates in northern England where Thomas White is definitely known to have worked. Carr was also at Stapleton and Hazlewood in Yorkshire, both possible White commissions.

Both Thomas White and John Carr were at Harewood in Yorkshire, Carr's connections with the Lascelles family stretching over many years. Carr carried out minor repairs to Gawthorpe Hall (to be replaced by Harewood House) in 1753-54 and is known to have been involved in the building of the stables between 1755 and 1758. He designed the exterior of the new house which was fully completed in 1771, assisted in the creation of a new estate village and in 1780 designed a garden temple.<sup>62</sup> Thomas White's work on the Harewood landscape commenced in 1765, the year in which the exterior of the new house was completed; in March 1766 Samuel Popplewell, steward to Edwin Lascelles, advised his master that he would "write immediately to Mr. Carr and White to be here in Easter weekend", suggesting that discussions upon progress made in both the building and the landscaping were required, with both designers present.<sup>63</sup> John Carr is also credited with designs for Goldsborough Hall, Daniel Lascelles' house, in 1764-65, White's plan dating from 1766.

Carr produced designs for John Musters of Colwick Hall in Nottinghamshire in 1776 and White's bank account reveals payments made to him by Musters between 1774 and 1779, indicating a possible working relationship there, and at Norton Place in Lincolnshire we find White's improvement plan of 1772 together with John Carr's designs for John Harrison's new Palladian style house, dating from 1776.<sup>64</sup> At Workington,<sup>65</sup> Sedbury, Raby, and at Grimston Garth the dates during which the two men were employed also coincide. Regrettably Thomas White's plan for Grimston Garth has not survived, however a late eighteenth century engraving of the house shows Carr's triangular, Gothic house, set romantically in a well-treed, clumped and apparently slightly undulating

landscape beside the North Sea.<sup>66</sup> In other instances there may or may not be a direct connection, for example, Burton Constable where White's plan is dated 1768 and Carr was consulted by William Constable in the 1760s, Copgrove which has been attributed to John Carr,<sup>67</sup> and where White's association occurred in the later 1760s, Grove in Nottinghamshire, remodelled by Carr in the 1760s and the estate surveyed and redesigned by White in 1773 and Holme Hall in Yorkshire where Carr designed the chapel in 1766 and White drew up a plan in 1777.

An interesting insight into the perceived relationship between, and functions of, architect and landscape designer is found in the correspondence between David Erskine and David Graeme regarding projected improvements at Buchanan in 1770. Erskine was endeavouring to find both an architect and a 'capability' man for the Duke of Montrose and advised Graeme that Robert Robertson may be able to lay out the grounds "but he would not pretend to meddle with houses as that is quite out of his road";<sup>68</sup> he had also suggested Thomas White for the grounds and perhaps George Paterson (d.1789) for the house:

But I know he [Paterson] is entirely ignorant of soils, exposures etc. and of course could not advise the proper situation for a garden or in what direction the walls ought to be built ... Robertson ... is as ignorant of houses as the other is of grounds ... I can't get one man to answer both and two men will cost double charges.<sup>69</sup>

George Paterson was responsible for the alterations to Scone Palace for Lord Stormont, which were completed in 1783, and was very probably acquainted with White who commenced work at Scone in 1781. Stormont's factor, Blair, reported in August 1783 that "neither Mr. Paterson nor Mr. White have as yet appeared here" and in September "no accounts as yet from Mr. Paterson

nor Mr. White".<sup>70</sup>

In the event, at Buchanan it was apparently Robert Adam who was consulted in 1770 about the proposed new mansion,<sup>71</sup> and it was not until 1787 that Thomas White was called in to plant and landscape. At the same time the architect, James Playfair, carried out alterations to the old castle and built the stables in a classical style.<sup>72</sup> It has been suggested that James Playfair was in fact responsible for the informal landscaping of Buchanan, (the resemblance of which to "an English park" was noted by Patrick Graham in 1806),<sup>73</sup> however, in light of the recently discovered White improvement plan of 1789 it would seem more likely that White was responsible for the new layout of the grounds. It would certainly appear, however, that he worked very closely with Playfair who, between 1788 and 1791 produced designs for a kitchen garden, cottages and a gardener's house.<sup>74</sup>

TABLE 3

Estates at which both Thomas White and James Playfair are known to have been consulted.<sup>75</sup>

	Thomas White	James Playfair
Buchanan, Stirlingshire	1789 plan	1788-90
Bothwell, Lanarkshire	1783	1785-90
Cairness, Aberdeenshire	1793	1791-97
Cullen, Banffshire	1789-90	1788
Douglas, Lanarkshire	1770 plan-1790	1791
Dunninald, Forfarshire	1789 plan	1787-90
Dalkeith, Midlothian	?	1786
Fintry, Forfarshire	1782	1785-90
Kinnaird, Forfarshire	1791 plan	1785-93
Kippenross, Perthshire	1818? (junior)	1789
Raith, Fifeshire	1783	1786
Scone, Perthshire	1781 plan-1787	1789

As noted above, one of James Playfair's first commissions was for William Ferguson at Raith in 1785, Thomas White having prepared his improvement plan in 1783. As was the case with John Carr, White and Playfair worked more or less concurrently at several other estates, most importantly Bothwell, Cairness, Cullen, Dunninald, and Kinnaird. White was at Lord Douglas' estate of Bothwell in about 1783 although the extent of his activities there is not known and work on a new house, designed by Playfair, near the old Bothwell Castle, was begun in 1785 and completed about 1790;<sup>76</sup> Playfair also produced plans for Douglas Castle in 1791.

Cairness in Aberdeenshire was one of Playfair's most important neo-classical designs and was built between 1791 and 1797 to replace a house completed only a few years earlier in 1783. Again, White's plan, which he reported to Charles Gordon was completed in July 1793, has not survived so we are sadly unable to relate Playfair's ambitious building plans to White's scheme for the flat, once desolate, surroundings.<sup>77</sup> White's 1789 plan for the total transformation of Dunninald, David Scott's estate in Angus, was not carried out and neither, apparently were James Playfair's designs of 1787 which included a new house and a complete village of 376 houses, nor were his plans of the early 1790s for a new house.<sup>78</sup> Sir David Carnegie of Kinnaird Castle, near Brechin, made extensive alterations to his estate in the early 1790s, commissioning Thomas White to prepare a plan in 1791 and James Playfair to remodel the old house into a square, three-storey house. Playfair visited Kinnaird in 1787 and some of his designs for the house dated 1789 and 1790 survive;<sup>79</sup> White's 1791 improvement plan

shows the house as redesigned by Playfair, together with the kitchen garden to the east, dating from 1790.

At Cullen House, the Fifeshire estate of James, earl of Findlater and Seafield, Thomas White's three plans drawn up in 1789 and 1790 coincide with the presence there of both James Playfair and Robert Adam. In 1788 Playfair presented three proposals for Cullen ranging from alterations to the existing house at a cost of £8000 to a completely new house and offices costing £20,000.<sup>80</sup> His ideas were apparently not accepted and Robert Adam drew up designs for a new house, 'Findlater Castle', in 1789. It would appear that White and Adam worked closely together at Cullen, Adam's proposed new turreted castle being shown on White's 1789 design and the Adam drawings preserved in the Soane Museum "show circular office courts and stables matching precisely with those on White's plan".<sup>81</sup> Adam's designs were not executed either, although the building of the new town of Cullen and the kitchen garden did take place.

A possible association between Thomas White and Robert Adam also occurred in Scotland at Champfleurie and at Airthrey. Their paths may have crossed in England too as Robert Adam designed the interiors for Edwin Lascelles at Harewood, may have been consulted by Daniel Lascelles at Goldsborough, was at Newby in the 1770s, and produced a ceiling design for William Constable's Burton Constable Hall in 1766. At Champfleurie Robert Adam and his brother James drew up designs for a new house for Alexander Johnston in 1790; Thomas White's plan is dated 1792 and shows what may well be an Adam designed house with hemispherical offices adjoining at the back, however, whether the Adam house was actually built is unclear.<sup>82</sup> At Airthrey in Stirlingshire,

White was credited with the landscape design by Loudon,<sup>83</sup> but no corroboratory evidence of this has come to light, apart from a possible reference to White in a letter from the architect, John Paterson, to Robert Adam in 1790:

The young man from Mr. White came yesterday;  
how he may turn out I know not but he is very  
awckward.<sup>84</sup>

Although Adam designed Airthrey Castle in 1791, a dispute over costs led him to decline supervision of the building and Robert Haldane engaged the builders Thomas and Adam Russell to supervise the work; it may be that he pursued a similar course with the landscaping, commissioning a plan from White and carrying out the work himself.<sup>85</sup>

The architect, John Paterson (d.1832),<sup>86</sup> was the son of George Paterson who had worked at Scone and Bothwell, and he too was probably known to Thomas White. Correspondence between John Paterson and Robert Adam reveals that in May 1791 Paterson was asked by Lord Kinnaird of Drimmie House (later known as Rossie Priory) to "sett off the drains of his new castle to be digged this year".<sup>87</sup> White had an agent at Drimmie in 1782 and was there himself in 1788 so his commission appears to have been a long-term one which may have coincided with Paterson's work.<sup>88</sup> John Paterson designed in 1794 the stables shown on White's plan of the same year for Castle Fraser, and in 1799 produced a scheme for a new house at the Guynd, north-east of Dundee. The Thomas White plan for the Guynd is also dated 1799 (although the signature appears to be that of Thomas White junior) and did make provision for the building of a new house there. White's scheme for the Guynd was not carried out in total and the architect of the house, which was not actually built until circa 1817, is uncertain; it may be that Paterson's

designs were later adapted to create the new house.<sup>89</sup>

Paterson also produced unexecuted drawings for Pitfirrane in 1811; Thomas White had drawn up a design in 1801 and his son is known to have been there in 1811.<sup>90</sup> Other tenuous links are at Keith Hall where Paterson undertook repairs in 1788, six years prior to White's plan, and Abercairny where he was asked to provide drawings for a new house but eventually submitted designs for only a new drawing room in 1797 (White being engaged there between 1790 and 1798).<sup>91</sup>

Three other architects in Scotland whose names crop up in connection with Thomas White estates but at earlier or later dates, are William Atkinson (c.1773-1839) (Scone, Drimmie, Dalmeny and also Mulgrave Castle in 1804), Richard Crichton (c.1771-1817) (Gask, Abercairny, Dunninald and Balbirnie) and James Gillespie Graham (1776-1855). Graham's designs in the early nineteenth century included Allanton and Touch, Duns, Lee, and Barcaldine, and he may have been acquainted with Thomas White junior, perhaps through Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton.<sup>92</sup>

In England, as well as John Carr, the architects James Paine (1717-1789) and Thomas Atkinson (?1729-1798) may have been acquainted with Thomas White. James Paine produced designs for estates at which White was engaged with Capability Brown, namely Chillington, Glentworth and Sandbeck and also (but most probably prior to White's involvement) Raby Castle, Stapleton and Gosforth House. Thomas Atkinson was a Yorkshire architect who became converted to Catholicism and is known to have worked for a number of Catholic gentry in Yorkshire, including Philip Langdale at Houghton Hall circa 1765 and Thomas Stapleton at Carlton Towers circa 1774. He also made several designs for William Constable at Burton



Constable, including possibly the orangery in 1788.<sup>93</sup>

The exploration of associations between the architects and landscape designers is an area of considerable interest and it is unfortunate that no more concrete evidence of any working relationships between Thomas White and men such as Carr and Playfair has come to light. The circumstantial evidence that the links existed is strong and illustrates another way in which the recommendation of White's services might have spread.

Once White had received a commission the tasks of satisfying the requirements of his client and of building up a good relationship with him required particular personal and professional qualities and, as will be illustrated, did not always prove to be straightforward.

## 4C THOMAS WHITE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS CLIENTS

T. White, esq. of Woodlands, co. Durham,  
 designer of grounds; whose taste and skill  
 in his profession, and convivial and  
 pleasing manners, will long be remembered  
 by his numerous friends and employers...<sup>94</sup>

Thomas White, Obituary, Gentleman's Magazine, 1811

So reads Thomas White's obituary of 1811, and the writer's opinion of his character is largely borne out by what we know of his dealings with his clients, some of whom he referred to as his 'friend' (for example, Richard Slater Milnes of Fryston) and others with whom, from the evidence of surviving correspondence, he appears generally to have been on cordial terms. There were, however, instances where he, and later his son, were to come into conflict with their employers, most notably at Scone Palace and at Bargany.

Where estate correspondence exists, either in the form of letters from Thomas White or concerning him, it is very often because some form of dispute or disagreement, often fairly minor, arose about his work or about payments due to him. In several instances this was because the client was away from home for long periods and problems could not therefore be resolved on the spot. Where things went smoothly or difficulties could be dealt with in person no correspondence was necessary and thus little written evidence of goodwill survives. Although the examples of White's relationships with his clients cited in this section do all involve some discord, it is important to bear in mind that the majority of White's commissions were successfully completed to the satisfaction of all concerned,

White's own social standing in relation to that of his clients is slightly ambiguous; he was employed by the gentry and lesser nobility to advise them on the landscaping and

planting of their estates, yet he himself became a landowner in 1773, albeit of a smallish and remote estate in County Durham. Thomas Shepherd, a landscape gardener and nurseryman who claimed to have known Thomas White and to have "superintended the execution of some of his principal designs" wrote of him:

He resided upon his own estate in Yorkshire, [sic] kept a set of servants, and lived in the style of a gentleman of the first respectability.<sup>95</sup>

Prior to moving to his Woodlands estate in Durham in about 1800 White and his family lived in West Retford in Nottinghamshire, where on occasion his clients from the north would call on him, for example, Lord Mulgrave to whom White wrote from Allanbank in Berwickshire in 1784:

I am this moment informed that your Lordship did me honour to call at my house in Retford; I am sorry I was not at home to have received your Lordships command ...<sup>96</sup>

and in 1793 White wrote from Retford to Charles Gordon of Cairness advising him that his plan was completed and hoping that he "and the ladys had a pleasant and safe journey home".<sup>97</sup>

The majority of White's extant estate correspondence relates to his work at Newby Hall in Yorkshire, where he corresponded with his foreman William Stones,<sup>98</sup> and at Scone Palace in Perthshire where we find numerous letters to both Lord Stormont and his factor, William Blair.<sup>99</sup> A few other letters to clients have survived, for example, in April 1776 White wrote to Christopher Sykes of Sledmere regarding his enclosure Bill for the parish of Sledmere and subsequent dispute with the Reverend James Rousby.<sup>100</sup> In this letter concerning a meeting he [White] had attended with Rousby's attorney, Mr. Towning, and a Mr. Butlar, an employee of

Rousby, White, who had in 1776 drawn up an improvement plan for Sledmere, was attempting to act as an intermediary between the two parties in order that an amicable settlement regarding Sykes' desired road diversion might be reached. His letter closed with the self-effacing words:

I hope the motive that has subjected me to the impertinence of engaging so sanguinely in this business will apologize for the trouble I give you in perusing this letter. If it is of any use to you I shall be happy that I have hazarded the propriety of sending it ...

Other surviving correspondence with estate owners includes a letter to Thomas Grimston in 1782 regarding his improvements at Grimston Garth,<sup>101</sup> letters to Robert Graham in the same year concerning a design for his Fintry estate,<sup>102</sup> to John Christian Curwen about payments for work at Belle Isle and Workington,<sup>103</sup> and from Thomas White junior to Campbell of Barcaldine in 1818 and 1819.<sup>104</sup>

Although preliminary discussions leading to the submission of a design were naturally conducted with the estate owner, once the plan for suggested improvements was submitted, accepted and terms of payment agreed, the subsequent business concerning the actual physical reshaping of the estate became very often a three or four cornered affair involving the owner, his steward (factor in Scotland) or sometimes head gardener, Thomas White and White's own foreman.

At Harewood, Edwin Lascelles, who as a member of Parliament resided in London from January to June every year,<sup>105</sup> was in constant communication about his Yorkshire estate with his steward, Samuel Popplewell. Popplewell's surviving letter books reveal that he regularly reported to Lascelles on White's activities when he visited Harewood and

would request Lascelles' instructions. Meanwhile White would write letters directed to Lascelles, sometimes forwarded to London by Popplewell, and Lascelles presumably wrote to both White and Popplewell instructing and advising them of his requirements. For example, Popplewell's letter to Edwin Lascelles of March 1 1766 included the following:

Mr. White came here on Thursday last and will return today, he says that a great number of firs are now wanted. That many may be taken out of the plantation above Jn Watson's at the west end of Sugar Hills, some from the plumps upon the hill side in Joseph Wright's fields south of the new road and some few from that in the wheat-hill, but I was unwilling it should be done without your approbation. You will please to signifie to me whether it must be so. He further says that he will call upon Mr. Perfect and that somebody must go to Mss. Telford and see what each of them have. I suppose he has wrote what he thought further necessary in the enclosed letters.<sup>106</sup>

There is a suggestion here that Popplewell was not entirely happy that White should be writing directly to Lascelles and subsequent letters from Popplewell display a distinct displeasure with some of White's activities at Harewood; Lascelles was later to show a similar displeasure towards White and also to Capability Brown.<sup>107</sup> Richard Woods had been employed by the Lascelles family from 1763 to redesign the grounds at Goldsborough for Daniel Lascelles, at Stapleton for Edward Lascelles and at Harewood, however, by May 1765 Woods' relationship with the family seems to have terminated, possibly because he was unhappy working for the demanding and irascible Edwin Lascelles, and Thomas White took over at Goldsborough and Harewood.<sup>108</sup>

White visited Harewood in December 1765 and returned in late February 1766, Popplewell having written to him to tell him that he was "much wanted".<sup>109</sup> White had proposed raising a mount, probably in front of the new house designed by John

Carr, which required "six carts and above thirty men sinking and raising the ground" and, according to Popplewell, had set out further work to be done but had "contracted Mr. Woods scheme a good deal ... to save the mowing".<sup>110</sup> Woods' former foreman at Harewood, Anthony Sparrow, continued to work there apparently acting as a foreman for Popplewell. On March 12 1766 Lascelles was advised by Popplewell that "Sparrow does not approve of the sunk fence to the west as Mr. White has staked it out; he tells me he will send you a plan of it and explain it to you".<sup>111</sup> White had meanwhile complained to Lascelles that things had not progressed as speedily as he had anticipated for Popplewell wrote in this same letter:

If Mr. White means that the grounds are not properly formed as he directed, I asked him that very question; he answered I see nothing amiss. The work not being so forward as he expected I can only say that it is not possible for any labourers to have been better attended unto, for Cowper and Sparrow have never left them an hour that I know or ever heard of ...

In April Popplewell reported that White had not been at Harewood since Easter, that Sparrow had "been exceeding careful and diligent in planting" but that he (Sparrow) was "much perplexed at Mr. White's not coming lest he should not be pleased with the disposition of the plants".<sup>112</sup> By May 5 Popplewell was becoming very impatient:

Mr. White has not yet been here and indeed now that the planting is over, he has neglected (in my opinion) his most useful time.<sup>113</sup>

In January 1767 White "set out the planting upon the large mount"<sup>114</sup> and in February checked the Harewood nurseries to establish what plants would need ordering from the Perfects' nursery in Pontefract:

Mr. White has examined your own nurserys and has markt in Mr. Perfect's catalogue (which I now send you) what more he says will be

wanted and as I thought it would save you some trouble, I have also sent you an exact abstract thereof, whereby you will readily see both the number and cost of the whole that are wanting which I think is very great; I will pay particular regard to your commands herein.<sup>115</sup>

Evidently Lascelles too found White's requirements excessive and Popplewell wrote that he would "stop all proceedings" until he received instructions from him.<sup>116</sup> On March 25 1767 Popplewell forwarded to Lascelles "a Catalogue of the evergreens which Mr. White now says he proposes planting this season" which he supposed amounted to "upwards of £60"<sup>117</sup> and evidently this was deemed satisfactory, for in early April Sparrow went to "Pomfret (Perfects' Nursery at Pontefract) to see the plants taken up"<sup>118</sup> and later in the month White was at Harewood to supervise their planting out.

In January 1768 White again searched the Harewood nurseries for trees to be planted out by Sparrow to thicken the plantations and advised Popplewell that a great many more would be required which he would order with Lascelles' agreement. Work continued at Harewood, planting, earth moving, widening the beck but unfortunately we have no further record of White's involvement there, and in 1772 Capability Brown was to return.

As has been pointed out,<sup>119</sup> and as is revealed in the foregoing, the landscaping of Harewood in the latter half of the eighteenth century involved a considerable number of people working toward the same ends but each with different priorities to be reconciled and problems to be solved. Lascelles' correspondence with Popplewell from 1763 onwards reveals his interest in and close involvement with the landscaping of his estate, particularly with the planting, and both he and Popplewell were anxious that money should be

wisely spent. Sparrow, in 1765, had chosen to stay with Lascelles rather than move to Northumberland as Richard Woods' foreman and at that time both he and Popplewell had indicated that they felt Sparrow could execute Woods' plans for Harewood quite satisfactorily himself;<sup>120</sup> they may well have felt resentment that White was called in instead. White himself was not constantly on the spot paying only periodic visits to Harewood to set out the ground, supervise planting and ensure his plan was being implemented properly, and for this, according to the Harewood account books, he was paid a total of £88 4s.<sup>121</sup>

As no correspondence between White and Edwin Lascelles has survived it is difficult to accurately assess their relationship, however, it would not appear to have been entirely harmonious. This may have been due to Lascelles' insistence that, although he was so much away in London, he be involved in even the smallest details regarding the laying out of the estate. The attitudes of Popplewell and Sparrow too probably created problems for White, a situation which was to some extent paralleled in White's commission for Lord Stormont at Scone, Perthshire and the involvement there of William Blair, Stormont's factor.

White's commission at Scone, although not a very large one, is certainly the most well documented of all his works because of the disagreements that arose with Lord Stormont. White was to write of it to Stormont in 1786:

I must acknowledge my Lord in plain and honest terms that my undertaking at Scone has been, tho one of the smallest, the most unfortunate and unpleasant one I have engaged in in the course of twenty years chiefly from your Lordship not having that due confidence in me that I am conscious of discovering (and which has been bestowed by other gentlemen of all ranks) ...<sup>122</sup>



Lord Stormont's journal of 1775, when he was still British Ambassador to France, indicates that he was considering the repair and enlarging of Scone Palace (said by William Gilpin in 1776 to be "in a state of ruin")<sup>123</sup> and also the setting of the house which he described as follows:

The ground about lies prettily and might very easily be laid out on a gentle slope to the river. The Mains of Scone ... would make a small but pretty nook, and the two little streams that run in these Mains are capable of beauty ... I have directed Blair ... to make a cut in what is called the Stanners to see if the river will take that course, if it does it will be a great additional beauty to Scone as much more of the river will be seen from the house.<sup>124</sup>

From his journal entries it is clear that Stormont had formulated some of his own ideas as to how the grounds of Scone might be improved prior to calling in a professional designer. Thomas White's first visit to Scone was in June 1781 when, according to William Blair, he was there "four days looking at the grounds about Scone".<sup>125</sup> White's plan for the improvements at Scone is dated 1781 and after drawing it up he submitted it to Lord Stormont for consideration. He next came to Scone in September 1782, although Blair was expecting him before that date; a receipt for his expenses of six guineas records that on this visit he was "inspecting the grounds there previous to entering into an engagement with his Lordship to execute certain works at Scone".<sup>126</sup> It was not until April 29 1783 that an official contract was signed in London by White and Stormont setting out "certain works to be performed at Scone" for the sum of £700,<sup>127</sup> although while at Scone in September 1782 White had instructed Blair on doing some preliminary trenching and planting work.<sup>128</sup>

White did not get to Scone again until December 1783 and

meanwhile William Blair's letters to Stormont indicate that both were becoming increasingly impatient with his non-appearance. Blair wrote to Lord Moray's factor at Donibristle, Mr. Maules, in October 1783 to enquire whether White had been there or was expected and was advised that "Mr. White had not been there since last year, nor had he heard of his being in Scotland this last summer".<sup>129</sup>

When White eventually arrived on December 2 1783 he stayed a week and Blair sent a full and lengthy report of his activities to Lord Stormont. Blair's mistrust of White and his concern over who (White or Stormont) was responsible for paying for particular items, is evident in this letter. For example, White had asked Blair's nephew to draw up a new survey of the grounds in order that measurements of the new walls, sunk fences and drains could be made, however, Blair claimed that:

Mr. White made him [Blair junior] no acknowledgement for the former plan he drew for him from which he made out his of the policy, the author wanted to know if he was to pay him for his work, who said that it belonged to your Lordship to do so. My nephew therefore wants to know whether your Lordship means that he should do it.<sup>130</sup>

Blair advised that he had paid White £100 and went on to say that he had considered White's plan and the articles of agreement and was "at a loss to comprehend from them, and from what he has been marking out, the work that is to be performed for the £700". He had told White that he did not think the information given on his plan adequate to carry out his ideas without "directions from himself from time to time". White apparently agreed with this and had pointed out, according to Blair, that:

a work of this nature was not like a building, every inch of which could be laid

down in a plan and estimated and wrought so, but that great part of this work was to be done by the eyes so as to humour the situation of the ground, and depended on particular taste which people unacquainted with such works cannot see.<sup>131</sup>

There is an edge to Blair's words here perhaps reflecting a feeling that White considered him someone without the 'particular taste' required to appreciate the nature of the work upon which he was engaged.

In his next letter in February 1784 Blair forwarded to Lord Stormont his nephew's plans and measurements and remarked that he felt White's proposal to build stone fences around the many clumps of trees would be too expensive and that instead the stones should be replaced with sods. He repeated his misgivings over responsibilities for different jobs, noting particularly that the original agreement contained no mention of drains.<sup>132</sup> White was apparently happy with Blair junior's plans although he was sorry to find that Lord Stormont had not acquired an additional area of land (Chapelhills Field) as he would now be "deprived of the pleasure and satisfaction of finishing the place in so good a stile as it is capable of being laid out in".<sup>133</sup>

Although up to this time some minor problems had arisen over White's work, things seemed to be going along satisfactorily and in April 1784 he wrote in reply to a letter from Lord Stormont:

I am happy that your Lordship approves of the work at Scone for the little way we have gone, which I hope is in earnest of your future approbation to obtain the pleasure of which no attention shall be wanting on my part.<sup>134</sup>

On June 13 1784 an additional agreement was drawn up between Lord Stormont and White covering the drainage work in particular. Blair wrote to Stormont on June 19 1784 unhappy that White had so few men employed, his foreman, Robert

Porter, having discharged all but four because he claimed he had no more work to do until White gave him further directions. Blair had therefore employed Porter to do the drainage work and paid one of his labourers to enclose ten clumps in the park with sods. A note in Stormont's hand at the bottom of this letter reads:

Have wrote to Mr. White to advance the work.  
Mr. Blair will not make the next payment  
till at least one half of the work Mr. White  
has agreed to is performed.<sup>135</sup>

Thomas White wrote to Lord Stormont again in late June 1784 expressing his concern that Stormont had "been so misinformed in respect to the expenditure at Scone", particularly regarding the cost of plants and his own travelling, carriage and "many other expences, too tedious to mention". He went on:

I never have confined myself to any rule in regard to the rate of carrying on work, except the constant one of getting every undertaking compleated as soon as it is in my power. But as the expensive part depends greatly upon the opportunity I have of inspecting them myself, also of procuring good agents to be employed under me ... and as Scone lays near three hundred miles from the centre of my engagements ... and as my present man is no regular agent of mine ... and has appeared lately to want conduct very much ... I must beg to gain a little credit with your Lordship till I can properly leave my English engagements to go over to Scone when I shall take a proper person with me ... and I shall wish to compleat it (as I am interested in doing) as fast as possible.<sup>136</sup>

His letter is on the whole defensive and reveals a lack of confidence in his own foreman, but he also attacks Blair for not breaking up and cropping the ground prior to laying down the lawn and planting out, as he had recommended, as this meant the plants he had sent to Scone in the previous April and May would have to stay in the nursery for another year; this was "the greatest omission that has been made at Scone,

which I am sorry has happened both for your sake, and my own". Stormont had sent White's letter to Blair who responded sharply to Stormont on July 10 1784, prefacing his remarks with the barbed comment that he did not wish by his "observations to impress your Lordship with bad ideas of his [White's] conduct or veracity".<sup>137</sup> He went on to suggest that the plants White had sent could have been obtained far more cheaply in Scotland, that White's work to date did not amount to £40 worth, although White claimed he had paid out £60, and that "Mr. White has been misinformed with regard to the breaking up of the parks and clumps". Blair felt that since he was not aware of the full extent of White's plan he could not judge what areas needed breaking up and pulverising for lawn, and he raised the question of who was responsible for the cost of removing the old orchard, trenching and preparing the ground. Blair was obviously extremely unhappy with the way things were going and ended his letter:

I would wish alwise to be on good terms with Mr. White or any other who undertakes to carry on your Lordships works but when I think I see an appearance of imposition I cannot help speaking out and if I judge wrong, I hope your Lordship will impute it to the right course, which is my attachment to your Lordships interest. When Mr. White comes here I hope and expect he will make the work go on in a different manner than has been hitherto done.<sup>138</sup>

In August 1784 Blair was complaining to Stormont about White's non-appearance and neglect of his design and his men:

Mr. White has never yet come to Scone nor have I heard from him since the month of July last, tho' I have been looking out for him for these several weeks past. I am really at a loss to think what he means; and I believe his man who he employed to carry on the works here is as much at a loss what to think as I am. He has contrived working with sometimes 5 and sometimes 4 men besides himself but what he has hitherto done makes as yet but a small appearance, and I see he is at a loss how to go on having no money, as he tells me to pay his men with.<sup>139</sup>

White visited Scone again for three days on the 5th of September and, attended by Blair junior and one George Banks, "did nothing but marked out a strippe of ground on the east side of the parks", an area of about two acres to be trenched and planted with trees during the winter.<sup>140</sup> He returned for a longer visit of ten days on November 8 "during which he was out every day giving directions to a new foreman he brought with him for carrying on and finishing the works". Blair, however, found himself as "still at a loss to know exactly what is to be done by your Lordship and what he is to do; as on farther inspection I think he alters his schemes". Blair found White "less communicative" towards him than previously and therefore asked him to put in writing his areas of responsibility and those of Lord Stormont which White claimed to have already done in a letter to Stormont. Blair continued this letter at great length enumerating difficulties over White not paying his men and credit problems at the bank in Perth. He said words had passed between them "and he [White] said he had been ill used" because of "a distrust and suspicion of him that he would not perform his engagements here". Blair asked Stormont whether he should honour White's draft of £150 due at Christmas 1784:

which if not done would make a noise here and might put a stop to the work altogether as he alledged in the course of conversation that his coming under engagement to do any work here was rather a favour on his part, than from any views he had of making anything to himself ...<sup>141</sup>

Stormont must meanwhile have written another very critical letter to White for in a letter dated December 2 1784 Thomas White replied to him from Raith in Fifeshire setting out some of his views and distress over the problems encountered at Scone:

My time is a thing I can the least command of any other, and for the benefit of Scone I have lately spent nine whole days at that place and must say I think it very discouraging, and singularly hard upon myself that after having followed the lines of the plan with a liberal hand and even much exceeded them as far as I have gone, that I should receive many letters from your Lordship pointedly expressive of your want of confidence in me. I can therefore only lament that our Engagements have laid the foundation for giving your Lordship the trouble of writing such letters which must be unpleasant to your self, and which has given me much pain to read.

He went on to explain how time, trees and money had been lost through the disregarding of his instructions about ground preparation and finished by asking that Lord Stormont direct his "people of business, to make proper, and timely exertions for the future to cooperate with me" and also:

that you will be kind enough to allow me the usual credit that is given to that part of mankind who have not prostituted their reputation at least till the work is compleated and I flatter myself you will have no reason to blame any want of alacrity or fidelity in the executions of the business between us.<sup>142</sup>

White's next letter to Stormont was written from his home in West Retford in July 1785 and once again White was responding to and defending himself against further criticisms of the progress of work at Scone and was "distressed to think on what ground your Lordship could conclude that appearances are against me in respect to the due execution of my covenants".<sup>143</sup> His tone in this letter is rather more apologetic than in previous correspondence and he once more indicated that some of the problems may have arisen because of inadequate supervision on the part of his own foremen. He told Stormont that he had "engaged a person from this country to meet me there to conduct the work properly" but could not, because of a circuitous tour of the north which included many engagements, promise to be at Scone before the end of September.

White was in fact at Scone again for the first nine days of November and while there, according to Blair's account book:

Wrote Lord Stormont as to the manner in which he wishes to finish his works and proposing some additional improvements to decorate and beautify this place, which he offered to be done by his agent at His Lordships expense and a faithful account thereof to be kept, or that he would undertake the whole for thirty five guineas to which last his Lordship agreed.<sup>144</sup>

On December 24 1785 White wrote to Blair from Allanbank in Berwickshire, where William Teal was acting as his agent, to say that he had directed Teal to return to Scone and "finish all the work at that place as soon as possible".<sup>145</sup> White wrote again to Stormont in January 1786 saying that he had heard from Teal at Scone who advised that he had met "with plenty of work people" and was "making great exertions at that place". Blair was apparently in a "dangerous state of health" and White commented that his nephew, Blair junior, "though a very clever young man is a little too diffident and tenacious of trifles", he having objected to White widening a bridge on the grounds of what White considered the very small cost to one of the parties of about ten shillings.<sup>146</sup>

In August 1786 we find White writing to Lord Stormont from Douglas Castle concerning the close of the business at Scone, Teal having reported that "he had executed everything agreeable" to White's orders. Again White was defending himself against Stormont's criticisms, this time of the water fence, the use of sand rather than gravel on the walks, and the depths of trenching. White explained to Stormont that he was unable to send him Teal's letter as it "contained some hard featured terms against your own people, who I have great reason to believe from some improper treatment to myself have



used the man very ill". He was angry that the faults found in the work had not been mentioned when Teal was still at Scone and felt it "would be very unprecedented as well as unhandsome to desire to bring my people from fixed engagements at so considerable a distance to correct matters which may be trifling in themselves". While in London that spring, White had met with Lord Stormont and had given him "some hints concerning the keeping the place in order" as he felt that any appearance of neglect at Scone would be to his own discredit. However, White went on to tell Stormont:

that a gentleman I have seen in Scotland and who expected to be entertained with the improvements at Scone told me that he had never seen a place so neglected and wild.

and quoted Teal who had told him of the desolate situation at Scone:

the walks ... being suffered to be used like common roads by the public, who have never scrupled to drive cattle along them on the grass margins and trodden down and defaced the borders of the most thriving shrubs and curious plants totally neglected, and overrun with weeds.<sup>147</sup>

Lord Stormont noted at the foot of this letter that in his reply he would "enter into no particulars" but would refer to his letter in which he proposed that "Mr. Graham" (General Thomas Graham of Balgowan)<sup>148</sup> should act as an arbitrator in the affair.

White wrote to Stormont again on September 17 1786:

It gives me new pain when I describe to your Lordship the disorder in which I found the improvements of Scone, upon my taking a view of it both yesterday and to day; such a scene of desolation my eyes never beheld within the pale of any gentleman's domain.<sup>149</sup>

He went on to describe the place overrun with weeds, fences broken and missing and finding no-one at work there apart from:

a poor enfeebled old man, who had not strength sufficient to eradicate the weeds in their present state and was raking them off also the stones upon the margins of grass on the coach road.

White implied in this letter that many of the problems encountered would not have arisen had Stormont been more often at Scone and "seen the progress of the work from the beginning to the ending", and then "the place would have been kept more to the credit of both partys". His last letter to Stormont written from Gordon Castle on September 25 1786 summed up his feelings:

I hope my Lord I am not naturally wanting in respect to my superiors and in particular to my employers, but my Lord I am no vassal and thought myself very improperly treated at Scone. I have however reason to thank your Lordship that a business that has given me more pain than pleasure is to have an end.<sup>150</sup>

White wrote on the same date to Thomas Graham attempting to explain his side of the story and complaining that his "advice and the experience of twenty years" had been totally disregarded, so that where the lawn should have been "a beautiful and luxuriant carpet of turf" only "withered grass will appear for a generation".<sup>151</sup> On receipt of this letter Graham advised Stormont on October 2 1786 that he felt White was "not so explicit in his letter" as he could have wished but he believed "the general tenor of it should be interpreted to be binding upon him".<sup>152</sup> Graham evidently did visit Scone and must have made some recommendations on further work to be done by White, for Blair told Stormont in September 1787 of the final settlement of White's account, remarking that White had claimed it had cost him 15 guineas "in causing what Mr. Graham thought was wanting to be done to the waterfence and other works to be executed". Blair commented in this letter:

Upon the whole he [White] behaved more politely to me than he has done on former occasions; and I am happy that the affair is finished, which sometime ago I did not expect to get done so much to my mind ...<sup>153</sup>

It has been observed about White's work at Scone that "it is extraordinary that such a run of the mill design could have created so much unpleasantness"<sup>154</sup> and indeed White's plan of 1781 shows a relatively simple, if somewhat vague, layout of clumps, belt planting, water fence and serpentine approach to the house. Lord Stormont's successor, David 3rd earl of Mansfield, was in 1803 to call in the young John Claudius Loudon to draw up plans for Scone and here again relations between client and designer became somewhat strained over the question of Loudon's terms.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps it was in the nature of the Mansfield family to be suspicious of professional landscape artists, however in White's case cost was not the main issue. There does appear to have been a certain justification for Stormont's dissatisfaction with the progress made at Scone in that sufficiently close supervision by White of his foremen was apparently lacking, however, the attitude of William Blair and his nephew in creating an atmosphere of mistrust towards White and his plans was undoubtedly responsible for many of the problems encountered.

The Scone contract was, as we have seen, eventually completed without recourse to law, however, at Bargany and possibly at Cullen and Gartur, White and his son were involved in law suits with the respective proprietors.

On May 9 1809, two years before the death of Thomas White, his son, on behalf of them both, executed a power of attorney in Edinburgh,<sup>156</sup> in order to give to "John Lawson, Clerk to the Signet" full power to prosecute and pursue any

claims the Whites may have had or were anticipating in the future against any of their clients, as set out in the preamble:

I Thomas White Esquire Junior of Woodlands in the County of Durham considering that I have certain Claims to prosecute in Scotland both on my account and also on account of Thomas White Esq of Woodlands my Father agst various persons and particularly against SIR HEW DALRYMPLE HAMILTON of North Berwick and Barganny Baronet in relation to the fulfillment of a Contract for planting at Barganny entered into between him and me on the second day of August 1802 And also against the EARL OF FINDLATER & SEAFIELD or his Commissioners and WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM of Gartmore Esquire, for Plans and Surveys and other works done by my father and myself for them at various times ...

The claim against William Cunningham Cunningham Graham of Gartmore may relate to improvements at Gartmore itself, or more probably to Gartur, an estate near Touch House in Stirlingshire purchased by Graham some time before 1808. Correspondence between Archibald Seton of Touch and his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton (who looked after Seton's affairs whilst he was away in India) indicates that Graham purchased 'Woodend' (to be named Gartur), formerly belonging to a Mr. Sutherland, and was building an "excellent house" there.<sup>157</sup> Steuart wrote to Seton in order to tell him that, in consultation with Seton's sister (Lady Steuart), he had agreed to the sale of a small corner of the Touch estate to Graham who was in difficulties due to:

the smallness of his landed property in this quarter, and how much he is hemmed in by you, so much so indeed, that lately when Mr. White gave him a plan for the improvement of the place it was found he could not have an entrance or road to his house without touching on the south-east corner of the grounds of Touch.<sup>158</sup>

Steuart felt that it would give Seton pleasure "to accommodate a friend in so peculiar a situation" by allowing him to purchase four acres "on the outside of the Woodend-

field gate (where your new Porter's Lodge was intended by Mr. White)" but where the ground was of little value. He enclosed a deed of sale for Seton's signature but whether the sale went through or not is uncertain. If not, then presumably it would not have been possible to implement the improvement plan drawn up by White (at this date the plan must surely have been White junior's) and possibly Graham decided not to pursue the matter, perhaps still owing White for the original design and thus causing a dispute between them.

Thomas White drew up three related improvement plans for Cullen House, the Banffshire estate of the earl of Findlater and Seafield, in 1789 and 1790. The earl's accounts show that a disagreement arose over payment in 1808 when the sum of £61 10s was:

returned from Edinburgh having been remitted  
thither in 1807 to pay an account to Mr. White  
who declined receiving the payment unless  
interest should be paid upon the account.<sup>159</sup>

The £61 10s represented the balance of White's "account for plans etc."<sup>160</sup> and may well have been outstanding for quite some time. So far as we are aware this was the only matter of dispute which arose over White's work at Cullen House and whether the payment of the interest which White felt was due to him was made, with or without recourse to law, is not known.

The dispute between Thomas White junior and Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton over the 1802 planting contract at Bargany did go to law, an instrument of protest by White against Dalrymple Hamilton being recorded on April 11 1809 and a summons issued later in that year.<sup>161</sup> Unfortunately the

details of the dispute are not available, however, the inventory of documents in the case lists the "contract between Sir Hew Dalrymple Bart and Thomas White Junr dated 2nd August 1802", a series of letters between Dalrymple Hamilton and White dated from September 1802 to March 1808 and five "examinations of planting" made by White junior at Bargany between August 1805 and September 1808.

A contract of sale and assignation between Thomas White junior and a Dr. James Hamilton made January 17 1811 reveals that White junior's original contract with Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton was for "the planting of a quantity of land ... not less than a thousand Scots acres upon the Estate of Bargany".<sup>162</sup> It further stated that a decision was reached in the dispute on May 7 1810 whereby, inter alia, White was "entitled to possess the ground inclosed as a nursery at Bargany for three years" from May 1 1810 and also "the house adjoining to the nursery built by the said Thomas White and of the overseers house and offices". The contract also included an acre or so of ground rented to White at £7 a year by Robert Hunter of Curragh "for the term of his lease" with Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton commencing Martinmas 1804, and the rental of "one acre three roods and sixteen falls of ground" to Robert Small, White's overseer at Bargany, on May 15 1805 at £4 12s 6d a year for a period of nine and a half years, by David McLure, farmer. By this contract of sale all the above-mentioned properties, together with various tools, horses, crops, trees, etc. were transferred by White junior to Dr. James Hamilton for the sum of £750, plus annual rentals due to the lessors, on condition he vacated all the premises by May 1 1813.

Whatever the nature of White junior's dispute with

Dalrymple Hamilton, it appears that he was successful in his claim against him. The acreage of the contract (1000 Scotch acres) is a sizeable one and comparable with White's at Douglas Castle in 1780 for which he was paid at the rate of £4 per Scotch acre, a total of £4000,<sup>163</sup> and the period of time over which the work was to be accomplished is also similar, about ten years. The dispute seems to have come to a head around 1808 when the planting would have been half completed but presumably there were indications of discontent before that date. It is interesting to note that between 1800 and 1804 John Claudius Loudon was working for Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton at his North Berwick estate of Leuchie.<sup>164</sup> Loudon had in 1803 prepared "A Treatise on the improvements proposed for Scone"<sup>165</sup> for the earl of Mansfield in which he had openly attacked much of Thomas White's work there in the 1780s and it is quite possible that he may have expressed his views on the Whites to Hamilton Dalrymple, thus fermenting discord between the parties.

The causes and resolutions of the disputes outlined had much to do with problems in working relationships and perhaps only at Cullen was money the obvious cause. However, the matter of charges made by White and the payments he made to his men feature quite prominently in the documentary material relating to him and give us some further insight into the nature of his dealings with his clients.

## 4D FINANCIAL AND PRACTICAL MATTERS

The evidence available for investigating the amounts charged by and payments made to Thomas White comes from several sources, principally the bank accounts of Thomas White and of Capability Brown, held at Drummonds Bank in London,<sup>166</sup> estate account books, vouchers and receipts for payment, with occasional references in correspondence. White must certainly have kept his own account books, perhaps in a similar form to the surviving one of Capability Brown,<sup>167</sup> however, as none of White's own papers have come to light the charges and income he made must be deduced from the available evidence.

Thomas White banked with Drummonds Bank from 1774 until his death in 1811,<sup>168</sup> while Brown held an account there from 1753 until 1783.<sup>169</sup> Whether White banked elsewhere prior to 1774 is not known, but it was probably not until his own practice as a landscape designer and planter started to develop that he required a bank account; it may have been on Brown's recommendation that he banked at Drummonds.<sup>170</sup> Peter Willis in his work on Brown's Drummonds account has pointed out the difficulties in the interpretation of payments made by clients due to the lack of names of estates and the often complicated methods of indirect payment through a series of individuals and small merchant banks in the eighteenth century.<sup>171</sup> These problems apply also to White's contra account which is even more difficult to interpret than Brown's as White's clients were generally lesser known names and payments were frequently made through the factor, estate manager or an agent with no mention of the client. It is also clear, when comparing estate account books where details and dates of payments to Thomas White are recorded with his



own bank account, that by no means all payments did go through his account; some were made directly in cash to White or, upon White's instructions, to his foreman, or by bank drafts which were negotiated through local banks. Nevertheless, in some instances it is possible to identify the client and estate to which the payments relate, and in others intelligent guesses can be made, sometimes resulting in a correct identification of an estate.

It is evident from an analysis of White's and Brown's contra accounts how much smaller White's practice and income was (even assuming that most of Brown's payments did go through his account and that many of White's did not). In the thirty-one years between 1774 and 1804 White's average yearly income was under £1300, while between 1753 and 1783 Brown's contra account shows payments to him averaging nearly £11,000 a year.

Loudon in 1819 bemoaned the fact that "Brown alone made an independency by his profession" and that in his own career since 1804 Loudon had "in the average scarcely been able to keep myself within the verge of decent existence".<sup>172</sup> Thomas White does appear to have managed a "decent existence" on his income from his profession, developing and maintaining his own estate in County Durham and travelling in Scotland with his own servants and horses, however, he never attained the heights of fame and fortune achieved by Brown, or those to which Loudon aspired.

White's system and rates of charge remained fairly standard throughout his career and were continued by his son. Where Brown apparently charged ten guineas a day to visit a place and decide upon the form the improvements should

take,<sup>173</sup> White when he charged in this fashion required two guineas a day while inspecting an estate and sometimes three guineas a day for his travelling time and expenses. At Scone, in November 1784, his foreman Robert Porter received a belated payment of six guineas for a three-day visit made by White in September 1782 when he was "inspecting the grounds previous to his entering into an agreement with Lord Stormont to execute certain works at Scone".<sup>174</sup> A daybook of payments in the Curwen archives shows a payment of eight guineas to White on August 16 1783, some six weeks before the first contract for work at Belle Isle and Workington was signed on October 1 1783, this payment probably covering a preliminary visit of four days.<sup>175</sup> At Gordon Castle in 1786 White's account to the Duke of Gordon includes a charge of twenty-one guineas for "a visit made to Gordon Castle from Perth, a ride of 7 days" (three guineas a day) and a further amount of twenty-four guineas for "12 days spent at Gordon Castle making observations of the Improvements to be made at that place" (two guineas a day) and in 1790 and 1792 he spent seven days and fourteen days respectively at Gordon, charging a total of £44 2s. (forty-two guineas).<sup>176</sup> Similarly, at Abercairny, White's charges between 1791 and 1797 were based on a daily attendance rate of two guineas, fifty-five days in 1797 amounting to £115 10s, plus "1 day extra for traveling and expenses" at three guineas.<sup>177</sup> Some twenty years later in 1818 Thomas White junior's account for £54 12s. with James Stirling of Keir was settled; this account was for work at Keir between 1811 and 1818 and set out clearly the days worked, a total of fifty-one, each one being charged at two guineas.<sup>178</sup>

1811			£	s
Feb	28	One day travelling from Pitfirrane to Keir	2	2
		7 days at Keir marking out plantations etc	14	14
1812				
March	19	Travelling from Ardoch and looking over the grounds with Mr Davison	2	2
	20	Marking out the new manse and plantations near ditto	2	2
1816				
Sept	16	Travelling from Ardoch and looking over the grounds of Keir	2	2
	17	Marking out north approach	2	2
	18 & 19	Marking out south ditto	4	4
	20 21 23	Thinning trees	6	6
	24	Marking out south approach	2	2
	25	Calculating bridges and marking trees near the house	2	2
1818				
March	27	Looking over north & south approaches and marking out the former	2	2
	28	Marking out ditto	2	2
	30	Marking out South approach	2	2
	31	Marking out plantations in the [Park]	2	2
Apl	17	Looking over the approaches etc at Keir with Mr. C. Stirling	2	2
	18	Altering South ditto	2	2
	20	Marking out plantations at Craig Arnold etc.	2	2
			54	12

Loudon noted in 1839:

in Scotland, where the charge of landscape-gardeners, forty years ago, seldom exceeded a guinea a day, except for such artists as Mr. Nasmyth, the eminent landscape-painter, who charged two guineas a day, it was customary to charge double the price per day for the time employed on plans,

because "the act of drawing a plan indicated a higher degree of talent, or was a more intellectual occupation, than the staking out of improvements on the grounds",<sup>179</sup> however, there is no indication that White or his son followed this method.<sup>180</sup>

White charged a fee for preparing the improvement plan sometimes including an amount for pegging out the ground, marking out walks and plantations. The Harewood accounts show a cash payment of £57 15s. (fifty-five guineas) to Mr. White (surveyor) in 1766 for "drawings and setting out ground",<sup>181</sup> while Richard Woods had received £56 14s. (fifty-

four guineas) in November 1764 for "setting out grounds etc." at Harewood.<sup>182</sup> Unfortunately none of the plans for Harewood have survived so how many 'drawings' White produced is not known. It is possible that this account included his charge for the plan for he produced for Daniel Lascelles at Goldsborough in 1766 which has survived (as has Richard Woods' plan of 1763).<sup>183</sup> In 1768 White was paid a further £30 9s. (twenty-nine guineas) cash for "travel and attendance" at Harewood but we are not told how many days he spent there.<sup>184</sup>

An account book entry and receipt for ten guineas "for a Plan for the Improvement of Burton Constable" refers to the recently discovered plan by Thomas White drawn up for William Constable in 1768.<sup>185</sup> No further payments to White are recorded and there is no indication that he was involved in the improvements at Burton Constable (although some of his suggestions may have been taken up), so here ten guineas was his charge for just supplying a plan.

A letter of 1770 concerning the duke of Montrose's search for a suitable person to lay out the grounds at Buchanan compared Thomas White's charges with those of James Robertson who was at that time "laying out Lord Abercorn's grounds for him in very good taste" (Duddingston).<sup>186</sup> The writer, David Erskine, believed that Robertson:

Might go to Buchanan, stay eight days or so and make out a plan of the grounds and garden for about 20 guineas ... but tho' his policy is reckoned good I have heard his undertaking was expensive. But I suppose if the Duke had the plan he would execute at his own leisure.

In a second letter Erskine advised that he had heard that Thomas White would be able to "afford the Duke eight days" to look over the grounds of Buchanan and that from what he could learn White had "more taste" and was "less expensive than

Robertson".<sup>187</sup> Quite what David Erskine had learnt of Thomas White's charges is not stated, however, given his rates at Harewood and Burton Constable in the late 1760s it would seem unlikely that White could have charged less than twenty guineas for an eight day visit and an improvement plan, unless he was then charging only one guinea a day to inspect the grounds.

In October of 1783 White was paid £52 10s. (fifty guineas) by John Christian Curwen for two plans for Belle Isle and Workington; an amount of £17 9s. recorded for "attendance at Workington laying out the grounds in September [1783]" was subsequently cancelled as an overcharge and was presumably included in the fifty guinea payment.<sup>188</sup> Fifty guineas is recorded in the Gordon Estate accounts as payment to White for "a general design",<sup>189</sup> while at Abercairny in December 1790 he charged thirty-five guineas for "taking survey of Abercairny to draw up a design for improvement + design".<sup>190</sup> In 1794 an "ornamental plan" for Keith Hall in Aberdeenshire cost forty guineas,<sup>191</sup> and in 1797 Thomas White junior received from "L. Oliphant Esq. the sum of 20 guineas for a plan of improvements for the grounds of Gask".<sup>192</sup> There are several amounts of £52 10s shown in White's bank account, most probably payments for plans; on December 7 1774 fifty guineas was paid by R.D. Hildyard which, in conjunction with other evidence, can be assumed to be for a plan for his estate of Sedbury in the North Riding of Yorkshire. On March 12 1792 another fifty guineas was paid by the "Lord Advocate of Scotland per Henry Drummond", probably for the 1791 plans for Arniston and Polton, both estates of Robert Dundas (Lord Advocate of Scotland 1789-1801); a further payment of £21 on June 3 1793 "Dundas on

Coutts" could relate to these estates. Two other payments of £52 10s on April 24 1793 "Crow on Child" and March 26 1799 ("received") have not been identified.

Thus, from the evidence available it is difficult to establish whether White or his son did make a standard charge for the preparation of an improvement plan, although the sum of fifty guineas seems most common for one or sometimes two plans. The amount charged depended presumably upon the size and complexity of the design, the time taken to go over the estate initially and the time spent in marking out the ground after completion of the plan.<sup>193</sup>

In some instances a contract was drawn up between the parties, but at Harewood, Gordon Castle and Abercairny this may not have been the case. The accounts there indicate that the work was undertaken on the basis of daily payments, a practice later criticised by Sir Walter Scott writing about "improvers or layers out of ground":

According to the common process their time is estimated at a certain number of guineas per day, and the party consulting them is not unnaturally interested in getting as much out of the professor within as little time as can possibly be achieved. The landscape-gardener is, therefore, trotted over the grounds two, three, or four times, and called upon to decide upon points which a proprietor himself would hesitate to determine, unless he were to visit the ground in different lights, and at different seasons, and various times of the day during the course of a year.<sup>194</sup>

The accounts at Scone contain a full and detailed record of the payments made to Thomas White for his work there, together with the improvement plan and contract between White and Lord Stormont. The plan is dated 1781 while the contract was not signed until April 1783 and in a letter to Stormont dated December 1783, his factor, William Blair mentioned that White had told him that "Your Lordship had already paid him

for his plans";<sup>195</sup> this payment is not recorded in any of the Scone accounts and was presumably a cash transaction between Stormont and White. Under the Scone contract White was to be paid £700 as follows:

One hundred pounds when the work begins, and the remainder being six hundred pounds to be paid after the rate of three hundred pounds per year for each of the two years viz. Mayday and Christmas day at one hundred and fifty pounds each payment, the first of which half yearly payment to become due on the first day of May in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty four ...<sup>196</sup>

Two further agreements were drawn up, one on June 13 1784 for £131 7s which included drainage work and White's covenant "to compleat in a neat and handsome manner the additional part of the plan" and the other on November 1 1785 for £36 15s. for "additional improvements to decorate and beautify" the Scone estate.<sup>197</sup> The total of monies contracted for by White was £868 2s. and Blair's records and letters set out the various ways in which this amount was paid to him (sometimes in a very begrudging fashion), commencing with "£100 sterling money" on December 2 1783 "as the first moiety of the sum agreed". In November 1784 White acknowledged receipt of £150 in the form of two drafts endorsed by Blair in May 1784 to Messrs. Drummonds (totalling £139 10s. and appearing in White's contra account on July 20 1784 as "Turney on Maitland per Blair £100" and "Moxton on Kinloch per Blair £39 10s.") and a further draft for ten guineas paid to Robert Porter, White's foreman. Blair had complained to Stormont in June 1784 that White had written to him:

sometime ago to remit the second installment of his money, according to contract, to Messrs. Drummond his bankers at London, which I have done; so that he has now received £250 for which I would wish to see more work done.<sup>198</sup>

White experienced some problems in dealing with payments for

his Scone contract; he wrote to Blair in July 1784:

I can't help expressing my surprise that so much difficulty should arise in negotiating good paper in a commercial place like Perth is. My drafts at a short delay are always paid, and pass current in all other parts of Scotland, where I have any concerns. I am sure my banker, Mr. Drummond, never refused to pay them when offered to him: and I think it very disagreeable doing business in a neighbourhood where [they] are so scrupulous.<sup>199</sup>

William Blair had further complaints about White's financial affairs; he claimed to have offered to advance him some money on a bill on Drummonds, however, White refused to add "for value received" to the bill so Blair would not take it. In order to facilitate matters White "settled a credit with the Perth bank"<sup>200</sup> and the Christmas 1784 payment was covered by White's draft dated November 17 1784 from Perth, on William Blair:

Thirty eight days after date please to pay to Mr. John Maxton or order the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds as per advice from Sir your most obt humble servt. Thos. White.

The 1785 Mayday payment was similarly a draft on Blair "to pay to the United Company of Bankers at Perth" (of which John Maxton was cashier) £150. In 1785 and 1786 two payments of £50 and one of £14 were made by Blair, on White's instructions, directly to William Teal "agent for Mr. White"; two further sums of £8 10s 6d and £7 19s 1d were recorded as having been paid to Porter (for drainage work) and Teal (for work on the water fence) respectively, leaving a balance of £187 12s 4d which Blair paid out to White on September 22 1787, noting in a letter to Lord Stormont that White had allowed the £7 19s 1d but that he:

thought he should have got interest for the outlye of this money; in answer to which I told him the money would have been paid long ago if the works had been finished.<sup>201</sup>



White's bank account shows a payment of £168 11s "Maxton on Kinloch" on November 14 1787 so Blair may have paid him partly in cash and partly with a bank draft.

A very clear and complete record of payments to Thomas White for his contracts with John Christian Curwen for improvements at Workington and Belle Isle exists in the estate ledgers,<sup>202</sup> although unfortunately neither the contracts nor any relevant estate correspondence have survived. In this instance too it is possible to identify in White's own bank account virtually all the payments received from Curwen. The first contract was dated October 21 1783 and was for £2000 to be paid to White "for sundry improvements and work to be done in planting leveling etc. at Windermere Island and Workington", the first instalment of £200 to be paid when work was begun and the remainder in instalments of £300 payable on Mayday and New Years day for a period of three years.<sup>203</sup> A second contract dated October 5 1784 for £355 was presumably for additional work required at both locations. A third contract came into effect in 1787 "for keeping the improvements at Belle Isle in repair" for a period of ten years for the sum of £1000 payable at £50 twice a year, and White's contra account shows that the last of these £50 payments was received on May 3 1796.

The Workington estate ledgers show that the monies due to White were either remitted to Drummonds Bank (often by Charles Udale, Curwen's business manager at his Unerigg Hall estate in Cumberland) or were paid in cash by John Rumney (Curwen's manager at Workington) to White's foremen (John West at Belle Isle and David Jack at Workington). White wrote to Curwen from London in May 1785 saying he had sent John West a remittance to Belle Isle and asking Curwen to

hold back £100 of the May instalment due to him for West's use although "the proper way will be for me to draw upon you, payable to him when it is wanted".<sup>204</sup> The work and payments on these contracts appear to have gone smoothly; it was agreed that the amount of £638 3s 3d found to be due to White on May 1 1786 should carry interest until the account was settled in 1787 (amounting to £21 5s 4d) and in that year White was paid a total of £906 2s 3d in full settlement of his account.<sup>205</sup>

White's two contracts for planting at Douglas (1780) and Buchanan (1787) both set out the payments due to him for planting acreages of land at the rate of £4 per acre. The Douglas contract was for an area of 1000 acres (£4000) to be paid as follows:

The sum of two hundred pounds sterling at the term of Martinmas one thousand seven hundred and eighty years, and the like sum of two hundred pounds at the term of Martinmas yearly thereafter, till the whole ground be completely planted, And the sum of three Hundred pounds sterling yearly thereafter till the whole be compleatly paid ...

while that for Buchanan was for "about 136 acres" (£544) to be paid:

By instalments of sixty eight pounds sterling on the first of May annually till the one half thereof is paid beginning the payment of the first instalment on the 1st of May 1788 and so forth on the first of May annually till the said first half of the whole price is paid and the other half of the said whole price is to be paid by two instalments ...<sup>206</sup>

The first of these instalments was to be paid once 1100 oak trees had been planted on each acre of land and the other four years after planting and drainage work was completed. An additional amount of one shilling "for every Scots running rood containing 36 yards of drains executed by the said Thomas White" was also to be paid. The Buchanan accounts

indicate that payments were made to White as in the contract by instalments of £68 plus an amount of £56 1s. in 1789 "for casting drains in the Muir of Ballindoren", the last payment of £95 15s 6d being made in 1795.<sup>207</sup>

It is possible to identify some of the payments for the Douglas planting contract in White's bank account between 1780 and 1790 on the assumption that they were made through the factor there, Alexander McKonochie, however they total less than £1400 and the entire contract was worth £4000.<sup>208</sup> Some payments were probably made directly to White's overseer at Douglas, Ambrose Tomlinson, others in cash, and others may have gone through White's account, but are unidentifiable.

As observed Thomas White's account at Drummonds is not easy to interpret and only by gleaning clues from elsewhere can some of the payments be identified. For example, White was employed at Gordon Castle from 1786 until at least 1792 and letters in the Gordon Castle garden accounts mention a draft drawn on the bankers, Messrs. Mansfield, Ramsay and Company in Edinburgh in November 1788 for £105 payable to White, and also an instruction from White to have his letters addressed to him at "Robt. Trotters Esq.", his lawyer in Edinburgh.<sup>209</sup> There are several entries in White's bank account including the names of "Mansfield" and "Trotter" dating from 1787 to 1802 but we cannot be certain that they relate to the work at Gordon and do therefore indicate that White was still involved there as late as 1802.<sup>210</sup>

Another series of payments between 1774 and 1778 provides the only evidence we have of Thomas White's involvement with the landscaping of Colwick Hall in Nottingham for John Musters. The payments total over £5500,

including two of £1100 each, making this a very sizeable commission for White, assuming that they were all payments under a contract for landscaping and/or planting work.<sup>211</sup>

Some entries in White's account provide tantalising clues to possible commissions but require corroboratory evidence; six payments "Crompton on Lee" between 1776 and 1780 could refer to the estate of Woodend near Thirsk, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, belonging to Samuel Crompton; payments totalling £1400 were received from Sir Carnaby Haggerston between 1780 and 1782, so possibly White did landscaping work at his estate of Haggerston Hall in Northumberland; the name "Lambton" occurs in the 1790s in four payments totalling £521 7s 9d, so could White have had a commission at Lambton Castle (which adjoins the grounds of Lord Scarbrough's Durham estate of Lumley Castle where White drew up a plan in 1768)? In July 1793 and October 1794 amounts of £234 18s and £239 7s respectively were paid by "Vavasour" on Child's Bank; the Roman Catholic Vavasours were an important Yorkshire family, in the eighteenth century owning several large estates including Weston Hall near Otley, Melbourne Hall near Pocklington and Hazlewood Castle, near Tadcaster; further research may reveal that Thomas White was engaged at one of these.<sup>212</sup>

Other payments can sometimes be tied in with known commissions, for example, two amounts of £100 on June 24 1779 "Smith & Co. Note per Harrison" could be for work at Norton Place in Lincolnshire, the estate of John Harrison (although White's plan for Norton is dated 1772). £300 and £200 "on Stapleton" in March 1780 and July 1781 may refer to Thomas Stapleton's estate at Carlton Towers; White's plan for Carlton is undated and stylistic evidence, together with

these payments, could indicate a later date than previously thought. Three payments between 1789 and 1793 involving "Gillies" and totalling £380 tie in with a reference to White having landscaped the grounds of a "Gillies" in Kincardineshire.<sup>213</sup>

Many other names occur which have yet to be identified; some are most probably the banks through which the payments went (Ayton, Castells, Esdaile, Herries, Boldero, Wickenden, Ransom, Gosling, etc.), and it would require a long and complex study of surviving bank records to reach any positive conclusions.<sup>214</sup> Others would have been intermediaries where the identification of the name would be of no real help in establishing the name of the estate or client. Some other names as yet unidentified are almost certainly those of estate owners, estate managers or factors but the crucial evidence providing the link has not yet emerged, for example Forbes, Donaldson, Scott and Joddrell.

The debit accounts of both Capability Brown and Thomas White reveal interesting information regarding payments to foremen and to the families of the two men. For example from Brown's account we have been able to verify that White was in his employ from April 1759 until July 1765 and from the amounts of the payments we can assume that White would have been acting in a responsible position, most probably foreman, at estates where Brown was engaged at that time (Chillington, Sandbeck and Temple Newsam).<sup>215</sup> White's debit account shows regular payments to several men whom we know to have acted as his foremen (John West, Robert Porter, William Teal, Ambrose Tomlinson, James Mann), and to others who, from the frequency of the payments, must have been employed

by him but, due to the paucity of information in the account as to the reason for the payment, we cannot associate with a particular commission (Joseph Rushton, James Ramsay, John Morris, J. Saunderson).

Numerous payments are also shown to members of White's own family, particularly from 1788 onwards to his son, Thomas. Others refer to "Thos. White Sen.", "Eleanor White", "M. White", "Miss White", "Charles White", "Messrs. White", and the "Revd. Abraham Youle", and from these we can glean a little information about his family. Some names of nurseries can be identified, as can payments for lottery tickets (lottery prizes being shown in his contra account)<sup>216</sup>. There are many other payments listed, relating both to his private life and to his professional dealings, and it is to be hoped that further research will disclose the nature of and reason for some of the entries.

Thomas White's financial dealings were obviously of importance in his professional life. In addition, such practical matters as difficulties in travel and transportation, poor weather and ill health contributed to the manner in which he conducted his business and the amount of time he was able to devote to visiting and inspecting estates.

His commissions ranged from Nottinghamshire to Aberdeenshire and a considerable part of his working life was spent travelling from place to place, over generally very poor roads, and frequently in unpleasant weather. His journies into Scotland were, after 1782 generally undertaken between September and January, although it appears that prior to that he had travelled north in the summer months. In October 1783, Mr. Maules, Lord Moray's factor at Donibristle,

wrote in answer to Lord Stormont's factor at Scone, William Blair, then in search of White, that "it was rather late in the year for his coming so far north, altho some years ago, he had been seen there in the end of October and beginning of November".<sup>217</sup>

From the early 1770s White's home was in West Retford in Nottinghamshire and this remained his base until his move to his Woodlands estate in County Durham around 1800. The journey from Retford to the Scottish estates was long and time-consuming; in justifying certain expenses to Lord Stormont at Scone in 1784 White wrote:

I have not added the proportion that is laid to Scone of my own time, taken up in traveling near 300 miles .... as Scone lays near 300 miles from the centre of my engagements ... <sup>218</sup>

White's trips to Scotland incorporated visits to several estates, some to make a preliminary inspection prior to submitting a plan, and others, where work was already in hand, to consult with his foreman, mark out further planting, trees for removal, walks etc. and assess the progress being made. He wrote of long journies and excursions, telling Lord Stormont in July 1785:

[I] shall in a very little time set forward on my tour, but as my tour is a very circuitous one and I have many engagements to execute upon it I can not flatter myself or your Lordship with the hopes of visiting Scone before the end of September.<sup>219</sup>

He did not in fact reach Scone until November 1 but whether this caused any inconvenience there we do not know; the previous year White's late appearance had created problems and he wrote excusing himself to Stormont, "I thought of being there much earlier or I should have marked out more work".<sup>220</sup> In a letter to Lord Stormont in December of 1784, written from William Ferguson's estate of Raith in Fifeshire,

White had explained that it was not his practice to set definite dates for visits:

It is unusual with me, and what my undertakings will no way admit of, to fix my attendance at any particular place; my employers in this country for many years past, have always been so good as to allow me to pay my annual visit at the season that afforded them the most of my time and attention, without which indulgence I should have been deprived of much pleasure I have enjoyed by drawing the line of my peregrinations at the Tweed. I am therefore sorry if you have mistaken me in respect to the fixing my promised visit. My time is a thing I can the least command of any other ... <sup>221</sup>

White's accounts at Gordon Castle in 1786 included an amount of twenty-one guineas for travelling to Gordon from Perth (Scone Palace) "a ride of 7 days to and from".<sup>222</sup>

This was a distance of some 120 miles, so over the difficult Scottish terrain, White covered only about thirty-five miles a day.

Both the Gordon Castle and Scone Palace accounts contain references to the horses White brought with him and the expenses incurred in feeding them. In December 1783 he spent seven days at Scone and an "account of expences entertaining Mr. White" reads as follows:<sup>223</sup>

	£	s	d
1 doz. Wine	1	-	-
1 pint Rum		6	-
1 doz. Porter		3	-
2 doz. small Beer		2	-
Eating for Self & Servant	1	4	-
Candles (6 doz.)		3	6
Hay 2 nights for his horses he having sent them to Perth for the rest of the time he staid		3	-
Corn		1	-
	3	2	6

The expences for his visit to Scone in November 1784 with "his servant and two horses for 10 days" came to £5,<sup>224</sup> and "entertaining" White and his son on a six day visit in 1785



amounted to £3 12s.<sup>225</sup> At Gordon Castle in 1790 John Smith received £3 2s from the factor, Mr. Menzies "for maintenance of three horses belonging to Mr. White".<sup>226</sup>

No direct evidence exists as to White's mode of travel, whether it was on horseback or by carriage, however, it seems he was generally accompanied by servants and sometimes his son, and, as he explained to Lord Stormont in 1784, his expenses there included "bringing my servant and his family to Scone with implements",<sup>227</sup> which indicates that he probably travelled by carriage, at least on that occasion.<sup>228</sup>

A letter from Thomas White junior to Campbell of Barcaldine in 1818 illustrates some of the hazards of travelling, particularly in the more isolated parts of Scotland:

On Saturday morning last I left Arisaig and on Sunday crossed Ballahulish ferry too late in the day from bad weather to get to Sheean ferry by daylight ... At Sheean Ferry, the morning I left you, one of my horses fell out of the boat into the water and I had great difficulty in making them enter the other boats.<sup>228</sup>

In the same letter White junior described travelling from Ballachulish to Luss on Loch Lomond via Tyndrum, saving himself thirty miles, "but such a road ... I scarcely ever saw". In a subsequent letter to Campbell, White junior suggested that his next visit be made "in some fine summer weather ... when I trust the season will make the ferries better".<sup>230</sup>

After having made a preliminary inspection of an estate, White generally drew up a plan of suggested improvements at his home in Retford and very often sent the completed plan, together with any surveys he had used, by wagon to his client via the inn at which the wagon stopped. His son, in his

father's absence, reported to the Earl of Findlater in 1789 that the:

Designs for Cullen House and Easter Elchies are completed and sent you in a long box, by the Newcastle Waggon addressed to your Lordship at Cullen House, to be left at the Waggon Inn, Edinburgh till call'd for. As I am not acquainted who to consign them to at Edinburgh, must beg your Lordship will take the trouble of ordering any person you please to forward the plans to Cullen House ... p.s. I believe that the waggon stops at Andersons Inn, Cross Market, Edinburgh. <sup>231</sup>

White's plan for Charles Gordon at Cairness he sent in July 1793 "by the waggon to Edinburgh, from thence by the Aberdeen Fly to the care of Dr. Thom, advocate, Aberdeen", <sup>232</sup> while White junior in 1819 advised Campbell of Barcaldine that his design together with "two surveys and paper of contents" brought from Barcaldine were "contain'd in a narrow wood box, <sup>233</sup> and directed to you at Buck-Hill requesting the favour of Mr. Baillie to forward it to you, and write by post when he sends it". <sup>234</sup> In 1782 White asked Robert Graham, who he had met at his Fintry estate, if he could forward a survey of Archibald Douglas's Dudhope grounds to him at Retford so that he could commit his "ideas of Duddop to paper whilst they are recent"; he suggested that the plan be sent by letter:

or in a small parcel by the London Fly or coaches of which all the Newcastle ones goes through Retford - if it is directed to the care of Mrs. Wellsons at the White Hart, Retford I am sure to get it. <sup>235</sup>

Unfortunately very little of Thomas White's correspondence has survived, however, the evidence of that which does indicates that he very probably conducted a considerable part of his business with clients and foremen by post. The designer Richard Woods commented in a letter to

Lord Arundell about:

How many days in a year are spent at home  
only answering letters, and add to that  
the great expence in a year for postage ...<sup>236</sup>

and it would seem reasonable to suppose that White's experience was similar. During his work for Lord Stormont at Scone he took advantage of the privilege of free postage afforded to members of the Houses of Parliament. Blair wrote to Stormont in December 1783:

As he [White] and I will have occasion  
sometimes to correspond by letters, he  
suggested that a parcel of franked covers,  
part of them addressed to him at Retford,  
Notts. and part to me here would be very  
useful and might all be first sent to me.<sup>237</sup>

Stormont duly sent the franked covers to Scone in June 1784, Blair acknowledging receipt of "the franks for him".<sup>238</sup>

Apart from interfering with travel, the weather obviously played a considerable part in determining the progress and nature of the work which could be carried on outdoors by White's men. A strong awareness of the weather is revealed in White's frequent mention of conditions in his letters to his foremen, and also in those of the Harewood steward, Popplewell and the Scone factor, Blair, to their respective masters.

In White's letter to Capability Brown concerning Sandbeck he remarked that Brown had been:

So good as to give me leave to go to London  
for the dead of winter, and as I had but few  
men and the season very bad for carrying on  
of work, I thought I could not be spared in  
a better time.<sup>239</sup>

It had also been too wet for White to take the dimensions of the grounds at Glentworth as Lord Scarbrough had instructed.

According to some of White's letters to William Stones, his foreman at Newby, weather conditions in the early months

of 1767 prevented work being carried on and a consequent reduction in the number of men employed by Stones:

You talk of beginning to work this week. I am shure if the weather is no better with you than it has been here work must go on to a great loss .... I should have been with you this week but the weather has been so bad here I expected nothing could be done. (January 1767)<sup>240</sup>

I hope you keep the men you have at day work. I suppose you do not employ many this bad weather ... when the weather is good and the ground dry, I should be glad to have all the hands got that you can engage. (February 1767)<sup>241</sup>

The weather apparently improved later in the month for Samuel Popplewell reported to Edwin Lascelles on February 16 that planting was going on apace,<sup>242</sup> and his letters indicate that work continued well into April.

In early 1768 work was again held up at Newby:

I have sent you the enclosed to pay the Workmen though I suppose as the weather has been bad you will not want mutch money ... there has been so mutch rain and snow ... I should think as the ground must be now very full of water the pulling down the managery walls would be good work for the weather.<sup>243</sup>

Apart from the wet and cold weather, the few hours of daylight available during the winter months curtailed the amount of work which could be done. In January 1767 White urged Stones to "exert all [his] diligence" as "the days are getting longer and mutch time has been lost", while in November 1767, on White's instructions, Stones increased his number of hands in order to "push on the work as fast as posable, the days begin now to be very short".<sup>244</sup> The coming of summer may have brought better weather, however, it also meant that many of the men departed, presumably to assist with harvesting:<sup>245</sup>

I suppose your men will be leaving the work soon so I would have you push it as fast as posable whilst they stay. (June 1767)<sup>246</sup>

William Blair's letters to Lord Stormont contain many reports of frost, snow and storms interfering with progress at Scone. In March 1783 a "storm of frost and snow" proved a "great hindrance to all sorts of outwork",<sup>247</sup> while a severe storm in February 1784 "prevented Mr. White's men from carrying on his works".<sup>248</sup> December 1784 brought thick snow and frost, however work continued for "altho the snow lay pretty thick upon the ground the frost did not penetrate so far as to hinder Mr. White's people from working at the sunk fences",<sup>249</sup> and indeed, despite the conditions:

Mr. White's men, of whom there are about a dozen just now employed, are going on casting the ditch for the sunk fences and taking out the hedge that runs across the park.<sup>250</sup>

The exigencies of travel and climate took their toll on some eighteenth century landscape designers. Richard Woods, in a letter justifying his charges to his employer, Lord Arundell, wrote of the time he lost through having "many days ill by getting colds etc.",<sup>251</sup> while Capability Brown apparently suffered from asthma all his life and his correspondence indicates that his general health was far from good.<sup>252</sup> Thomas White's correspondence reveals little of his state of health, apart from in a postscript to a letter to William Stones at Newby in 1767, where he noted that if his health permitted he hoped to be at Newby in eight or ten days' time.<sup>253</sup> An unnamed landscape gardener (thought to be Thomas White) was lampooned in 1834 by Thomas Dick Lauder for his activities at Gordon Castle and his sufferings from gout were described with relish:

The gentleman was delicate and indolent ... ten day's enjoyment of this Castle of Indolence had not gone over his head, when certain alarming twinges in his toe taught him, one evening, that an old monitor was

about to revisit him, to remind him of the infinite nothingness and vanity of all human happiness, and next day he was laid up in bed with a swingeing fit of gout. Some weeks of great suffering and of gradual convalescence brought him again to his easy chair ...<sup>254</sup>

Thomas White junior, according to his wife, Elizabeth, suffered from lumbago and rheumatism; she wrote to the family friend, the Reverend John Hodgson in 1807:

On Sunday week he [Thomas White junior] had a sudden and violent attack of the lumbago at Wemyss Castle in Fife - on Tuesday the date of his last letter he was on his way to Edinboro where he was going to consult Dr. Gregory being little better.<sup>255</sup>

And in 1814 to Mrs. Hodgson:

I hope you have no rheumatism to complain of or anything else. Mr. White had a little when he set off for Scotland 3 weeks ago, but was quite free from it last time he wrote.<sup>256</sup>

The profession of landscape gardener in the eighteenth century was clearly (leaving aside Dick Lauder's insinuations) quite an arduous one, calling for considerable resources of physical stamina to deal with the difficulties of travel and outdoor work in bad weather. It seems strange that Thomas White chose to make his journeys into Scotland in the late autumn and winter, although presumably he could expect to find his clients and prospective clients at home during this time and preferred to deal with his commitments in England during the spring and summer months.

## CHAPTER 4 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 2 An analysis of Stroud (1975) pp.214-246, 'List of works known to be by, or attributed to, Capability Brown', reveals that in addition to the King, George III, his 191 clients included 12 listed as 'Duke', 2 as 'Marquis/Marchioness', 39 as 'Earl', 4 as 'Viscount', 9 as 'Baron' and 19 as 'Lord/Lady'; 30 clients are shown as 'Sir', 20 of these being Baronets; the remaining 75 are given as 'Esquire' or 'Honourable'.
- 3 Gordon E. Mingay, The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class, Longman, 1976, [Mingay (1976)], pp.1,16: "the middling country landowners made up the core of the gentry ... the gentry consisted of all the landowners below the peerage and above the yeomanry".
- 4 The network of introductions amongst members of Parliament was probably very strong. A possible Lincolnshire link with White occurs between John Harrison of Norton Place who was elected M.P. for Grimsby in 1780 at the interest of Charles Anderson Pelham (later Lord Yarborough) of Brocklesby.
- 5 Lewis B. Namier and John Brooks, The House of Commons 1754-90, Vol.I, H.M.S.O., [Namier & Brooks (1975)] p.145
- 6 *ibid.*, p.153
- 7 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 8 Mulgrave VI 10/336 White to Mulgrave December 23 1784
- 9 White's debit account at Drummonds Bank records 'T. White settled account and received vouchers' with his signature May 12 1783 and May 4 1785.
- 10 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786
- 11 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 12 See chapter 4C for Thomas Graham's involvement at Scone Palace
- 13 The origins and character of the cultural network can be traced back to the founding of the Kit-Cat Club in the early 18th century by a select body of leading Whig supporters - writers, poets, philosophers and landowners -including Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, William Congreve, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Carlisle, Lord Scarbrough, Henry Pelham and Sir John Vanbrugh. At regular assemblies they would dine and exchange views about, amongst other things, the new spirit of 'naturalism' emerging in ideas on garden design and the transformation of estates. The fashion was set by men

such as Lord Carlisle at Castle Howard, John Aislabie at Studley Royal and Lord Burlington at Chiswick, and later generations of landowners were to follow suit keeping up with the changing trends in gardening. The Society of Dilettanti began in 1732 as a gathering of young noblemen of wealth and position who had been on the Grand Tour and provided another opportunity for the exchange of ideas on taste, particularly in architecture and archaeology but also in garden design. It included amongst its members James (Athenian) Stuart and William Weddell of Newby Hall in Yorkshire, one of White's first clients.

- 14 See Walpole (1937) pp.322-23 passim for Sir James Colquhoun's correspondence with Horace Walpole; see Dictionary of National Biography, Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (Eds.), O.U.P., 1921-22, Vol.XVIII, [DNB (1921-22)], pp.1112-14, for Sir Henry Steuart.
- 15 LDA TN/EA/23a/75; White was paid by Brown until July 18 1765.
- 16 Harewood accounts at LDA show that Richard Woods was paid £56 14s. in November 1764 'for setting out the grounds' and his foreman Anthony Sparrow was paid in the same month for his journey to Gawthorpe and ten weeks wages.
- 17 LDA Harewood Stewards Letter Book [HSLB] Popplewell to Lascelles January 11 1766: "Mr. White was here on 22 Dec. but not since; he came betwixt 12 and one o'clock and stay'd until about three."
- 18 LDA Harewood Accounts Ledger 269 f.126
- 19 See Mary Mauchline, Harewood House, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1974, [Mauchline (1974)], p.36 and Ian J. Firth, 'Landscape Management, the Conservation of a Capability Brown landscape - Harewood, Yorkshire', Landscape Planning, 7, 1980, [Firth (LP 1980)], p.127; LDA Harewood Steward's Cash Book for October 1758 records a payment of £21 to Brown.
- 20 Capability Brown Account Book, NUL MF555 microfilm
- 21 Mauchline (1974) p.109
- 22 Cowell (GH 1986) pp.101-2; Richard Woods' plan is at LDA Harewood Estate (Building) No.12
- 23 LDA TN/EA/23a/141 William Stones to Richard Woods (?), undated but probably 1766
- 24 John Cornforth 'Newby Hall, Yorkshire', Country Life, June 7 1979, [Cornforth (CL 1979)], p.1804
- 25 From Alan Chester Valentine, The British Establishment 1760-1784: An Eighteenth Century Biographical Dictionary, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, [Valentine (1970)]: Edwin and Daniel Lascelles and William Weddell all signed 1769 Yorkshire petition against the Grafton ministry for its measures in the



Wilkes cases, voted against expulsion of Wilkes in 1770, voted for Dunning's resolution of April 6 1780, voted against the North ministry in 1782, etc.

- 26 LDA TN/EA/23a/44 White to Stones May 17 1767
- 27 Burke's Landed Gentry, Peter Townend (Ed.), 18th Ed. Vol.I, Burke's Peerage Limited, 1965, [Burke (1965)], p.464
- 28 Mauchline (1974) p.15; Namier & Brooks (1964) Vol.III, p.22
- 29 LDA TN/EA/23a/107 White to Stones July 23 1767
- 30 LDA TN/EA/23a/44 White to Stones May 17 1767 and TN/EA/23a/45 White to Stones July 2 1767
- 31 Bigland (1812) p.663; similar description in Loudon (EG 1822) para. 2185
- 32 The Letters of Thomas Gray, Duncan C. Tovey (Ed.), Vol.III, G. Bell & Sons, 1812, [Gray (1912)], Letter CCLXXXIII Aug 26 1766 p.109 Thomas Gray to Norton Nicholls, near Ripon; Richard Steele's 'Essay upon Gardening' of 1793 was dedicated to Henry Duncombe and William Wilberforce (Henrey (1975) p.388).
- 33 HCRO DDGR 42/29/5 Henry Duncombe, Copgrove to John Grimston January 12 1779
- 34 Photocopy of plan at YAS DD193/9, original with Fawkes family
- 35 LDA Harewood Account Book No.247; Anthony Sparrow's 1768 survey of Hawksworth is at YAS in Fawkes papers
- 37 HCRO DDCC (2)77 Voucher dated January 13 1768 White's plan for Burton Constable was rediscovered in 1989; a plan hanging at Burton Constable and attributed to him is now thought to be earlier (perhaps in the hand of Thomas Knowlton?).
- 38 See Elizabeth Hall 'The Plant Collections of an Eighteenth-Century Virtuoso', Garden History, Vol.14, No.1, 1986, [Hall E(GH 1986)], pp.17-19 and Stroud (1975) p.173
- 39 Quoted by Stroud (1975) p.173 letter William Constable to Capability Brown
- 40 Hall E(GH 1986) p.17
- 41 Catholics were until the late eighteenth century barred from both politics and the army and many landowners devoted their time, energies and money to improving their estates. Catholic Relief measures of 1778 and 1791 allowed Catholics to buy and inherit land and to enjoy freedom of worship and education without restriction.

- 42 Keith J. Allison, Hull Gent Seeks Country Residence 1750-1850, East Yorkshire Local History Series, 36, 1981, [Allison (1981)], p.44
- 43 Edward F.V. Waterson, 'Welton House', Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Notes, 9, 1982, [Waterson (GSEYN 1982)]
- 44 Richard Lumley Saunderson, 4th earl of Scarborough, d.1782; the Lumley plan is held in the Estate Office at Sandbeck House, South Yorkshire
- 45 Sandbeck Lumley Mss. EMR/8
- 46 See Beastall (1975) pp.11-59 for Lumley colliery; see also Edith Milner, Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle, Edith Benham (Ed.), George Bell & Sons, 1904, [Milner (1904)], passim
- 47 White may have also been consulted by General John Lambton of Lambton Castle, Co. Durham, in the 1790s; the only evidence for this are payments in the name of 'Lambton' recorded in White's contra account at Drummonds Bank between September 1790 and January 1794 totalling £521 7s. 9d. General John Lambton, M.P. for Durham City 1762-1787, died in 1794.
- 48 SRO GD/220/5/1757/11 David Erskine to David Graeme of Orchill September 22 1770. The debit account of the earl of Darlington held at Drummonds Bank contains the following payments to Thomas White 1770-71 totalling £1400:
- |      |             |           |
|------|-------------|-----------|
| 1770 | January 13  | £40/40/40 |
|      | February 6  | 40/40     |
|      | June 16     | 200       |
|      | November 3  | 100/100   |
|      | December 22 | 200       |
| 1771 | May 18      | 40/40     |
|      | May 27      | 20/100    |
|      | August 3    | 200       |
|      | August 24   | 100/50/50 |
- It is possible that payments were made to White prior to 1770 and after 1771, however, these have not yet been confirmed.
- 49 HUL DDSY 102/6 and 102/7 Diaries of Christopher Sykes 1774 and 1775
- 50 HCRO DDGR 38/133 Grimston papers includes list of trees planted at Sledmere Oct 1778-Apr 1779 submitted by Christopher Sykes to the Agricultural Society January 12 1780
- 51 For 'Capability men' see chapter 2 note 12
- 52 Bolton (1927) p.38
- 53 David Erskine of Edinburgh appears to have been an agent or adviser to several Scottish landowners including the Duke of Montrose in the 1770s. At Glamis in 1774 he is given as 'Clerk to the Signet' and tutor to John, earl of Strathmore (Glamis V44 Proctor's account book 1774

- f.39); at Preston Hall he 'acted ... as financial agent' in the 1780s (Mark Girouard, 'Preston Hall, Midlothian', Country Life, August 24 1961, [Girouard (CL 1961ii)], p.395); Sir Henry Steuart in a letter to Archibald Seton June 29 1808 (NLS 19208 f.87) wrote, "In order to supply the place of your valuable and lamented friend Robert Trotter had recommended the appointment of Mr. James Dundas (successor to Mr. David Erskine)." Robert Trotter was White's lawyer in Edinburgh (GD/44/51/374 re Gordon Castle).
- 54 SRO GD/220/5/1757/10 David Erskine to David Graeme September 19 1770; for James Robertson see Chapter 2 note 62
  - 55 SRO GD/220/5/1757/11 David Erskine to David Graeme September 22 1770; a recommendation could also have come from the earl of Scarbrough for whom White drew a plan for Lumley in 1768
  - 56 For a summary of the Douglas Cause and Archibald Douglas' life see DNB (1921-22), Vol.V, pp.1192-93
  - 57 A possible link is found between Thomas Grimston and Lord Stormont to whom Grimston received a letter of introduction in 1777 (M. Edward Ingram, Leaves from a Family Tree, A. Brown & Sons, Hull, 1951, [Ingram (1951)], p.106), but White is not known to have met Grimston until 1782 and was at Scone first in 1781.
  - 58 Shenstone (1764), quoted from extract contained in Hunt & Willis (1975) p.290
  - 59 Giffard (1988), p.352: "In 1785 James Playfair remodelled the interior and added five-bay pavilions joined to the main block by quadrant links ... the interior is mostly Playfair's"; William Ferguson was apparently one of Playfair's first clients, his brother John having become tutor to the Fergusons in 1782 (see David Walker, 'Cairness, Aberdeenshire', Country Life, January 28 1971, [Walker (CL 1971)], pp.184-187); Playfair also built a gateway and lodge at Raith in 1786 (SRO GD/248/591/2)
  - 60 Gwilym A. Usher, Gwsany and Owston: A History of the Family of Davies Cooke, Denbigh, 1964, [Usher (1964)], p.191; Humphry Repton produced a Red Book for Owston in 1793 (photographed copy at RCHME)) in which he planned to move the house a little to the west in order to take advantage of a slightly higher altitude; Pevsner (1959) p.389 attributes Owston Hall to William Porden however Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, John Murray, 1978, [Colvin [1978], p.653 says Porden exhibited a 'design' for Bryan Cooke of Owston at the R.A. in 1797 which was not executed. William Lindley built two lodges at the Grove for which he was paid £54 10s in 1794 (H.A. Johnson and Anthony Cox, 'The Architecture of Grove Hall, Nottinghamshire', Thoroton Transactions, Vol. LXXXIX, 1985, [Johnson & Cox (TT 1985)], p.83.

- 61 The information is obtained from various sources, no definitive work on John Carr being yet available, most particularly ex info Ivan Hall, Colvin (1978) pp.189-196, Pevsner, The Buildings of England, Ivan Hall, John Carr of York, Architect 1723-1807, Ferens Art Gallery, Hull Exhibition Catalogue, 1973, [Ferens (1973)], The Works in Architecture of John Carr, York Georgian Society, Sessions of York, 1973 [YGS (1973)], Country Life articles.
- 62 R. Brian Wragg, 'The Architect of Harewood Stables, 1755-8', York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1979, [Wragg (YGSAR 1979), pp.65-73; Ferens (1973), Harewood House Guidebook 1985; Mauchline (1974)].
- 63 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles March 1766
- 64 Marcus Binney, 'Norton Place, Lincolnshire', Country Life, September 30 1976, [Binney (CL 1976)], pp.886-889; Ferens (1973); Colvin (1978) pp.189-196.
- 65 Giles Worsley, 'Crediting Carr', Country Life, May 5 1988, [Worsley (CL 1988)], pp.162-165
- 66 M. Edward Ingram, 'John Carr's Contribution to the Gothic Revival', Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Transactions, 1947-8, [Ingram (GSEYT 1947-8)], pp.43-52
- 67 Pevsner (1959) p.170
- 68 SRO GD/220/5/1757/10 Erskine to Graeme September 19 1770
- 69 SRO GD/220/5/1757/13 Erskine to Graeme September 26 1770
- 70 Scone 667/11 August 31 1783 and 667/58 September 12 1783 Blair to Stormont; George Paterson also did alterations at Bothwell for Lord Douglas in 1759-60 - White is not known to have been at Bothwell until the 1780s; see Colvin (1978) p. 623 for George Paterson
- 71 James Macaulay, The Gothic Revival 1745-1845, Blackie, 1975, [Macaulay (1975)], p.155
- 72 Macaulay (1975) p.197
- 73 Tait (1980) p. 39; Patrick Graham, Sketches Descriptive of Picturesque Scenery in the Southern Confines of Perthshire, Edinburgh, 1806, [Graham P(1806)], p.34
- 74 Tait (1980) p.40 note 90; NLS Adv. Ms.33.5.25 James Playfair 'Journal of Architecture 1783-91'; SRO GD/220/6/88 re Playfair at Buchanan
- 75 This information has been obtained from a number of sources, no definitive work on James Playfair being yet available, most particularly Colvin (1978), Tait (1980), Macaulay (1975), Country Life articles
- 76 SRO RH4/119 correspondence between James Playfair and Robert Graham of Fintry; James Macaulay, The Classical Country House in Scotland 1660-1800, Faber, 1987, [Macaulay (1987)], pp.179,196

- 77 See Walker (CL 1971) pp.184-187, pp.248-251 for Playfair's work at Cairness and elsewhere
- 78 Alistair Rowan, 'Dunninald, Angus', Country Life, August 14,21 1969, [Rowan (CL 1969)], pp.384-387, 444-447
- 79 Macaulay (1975) pp.163, 370
- 80 SRO GD/248/3422/2
- 81 Marcus Binney, 'Cullen House, Banffshire', Country Life, December 26 1985, [Binney (CL 1985)], p.2041; see SRO GD/248/588/15/4 and GD/248/589/2/97 for letters from Playfair to the earl of Findlater
- 82 MacWilliam (1978) p.136 states that at Champfleurie "R & J Adam designed a house for Alexander Johnston in 1790 but the present house as seen from outside bears no relation to it, being a late 19th century tower house of L plan".
- 83 Loudon (EG 1859) p.270: "Airthrey near Stirling and Bargany in Ayrshire are the principal productions of this [White] family".
- 84 NLS 19993/17 Copy letter John Paterson, Edinburgh to Robert Adam, London March 14 1791
- 85 See Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, 5th Ed., Edinburgh, 1855, [Haldane A(1855)], pp.36-39 for description of Airthrey.
- 86 See Colvin (1978) pp.623-4
- 87 NLS 19993/167 John Paterson to Robert Adam May 3 1791; a new house was designed and built at Drimmie by William Atkinson in Regency Gothic style in c.1807.
- 88 RH/4/119/14 letter White to Robert Graham probably late 1782 and SRO GD/44/51/374 White account with duke of Gordon
- 89 The SRO holds a book of unsigned architectural drawings for the Guynd (RHP 2617) which appear to be similar to a folio of John Paterson drawings held at the Guynd.
- 90 StrathRA Keir accounts T-SK 21/4-1 "February 28 1811 One day travelling from Pitfirrane to Keir"
- 91 Inventory (1987) Vol.4 p.2
- 92 See Colvin (1978) pp.73-77 for William Atkinson, pp.240-41 for Richard Crichton, pp.355-359 for James Gillespie Graham
- 93 See Ivan Hall, William Constable as Patron 1721-1791, Ferens Art Gallery, Hull Exhibition Catalogue, [Ferens (1970)], pp.28-32 and Colvin (1978) pp.71-72
- 94 Thomas White, Obituary, Gentleman's Magazine, August 1811, p.194

- 95 Shepherd (1836) p.19
- 96 Mulgrave VI 10/336 White to Lord Mulgrave December 23 1784
- 97 AUL MS 1160/28/1/1 White to Charles Gordon July 16 1793
- 98 LDA Temple Newsam Archives TN/EA/23a
- 99 Mansfield Muniments, Scone Palace
- 100 HUL DDSY 62/331 White to Christopher Sykes, Wheldrake April 4 1776. John Popham 'Sir Christopher Sykes at Sledmere I', Country Life, January 16 1986 [Popham (CL 1986)], p.128 on dispute between Sykes and Rousby:  
 "The Rev. James Rousby, owner of the adjoining hamlet of Croom, petitioned against the Bill because, by diverting the road to the rear of the house, Christopher had stopped up "divers public Roads" and had already enclosed the road by which the tenants of Croom had customarily made their way to Sledmere Church. The complaint was eventually overcome by the provision of an alternative means of access to the church, the new road being set out at a site meeting between Christopher and the Rev. Mr. Rousby in February 1777. Promoting the Bill cost Christopher £237 3s 6d."
- 101 HCRO DDGR 43/2 Thomas White, Retford to Thomas Grimston, Kilnwick June 11 1782
- 102 SRO RH4/119/14 Thomas White, Retford to Robert Graham November 12 1782 and undated letter (late 1781?)
- 103 CRO D/Cu Thomas White, London to John Christian Curwen May 4 and May 20 1785
- 104 SRO GD/170/2759/1-3 Thomas White junior to D. Campbell, Barcaldine 1818-19
- 105 Firth (LP 1980) p.123
- 106 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Edwin Lascelles March 1 1766
- 107 On March 28 1778 Edwin Lascelles wrote to Popplewell about Brown's work on alterations to and planting around the lake: "I have always said and did insist upon it the ground was scandalous lay'd and beggarly sown and that several other parts were slovenly run over and badly finished particularly the islands." (LDA Harewood Steward's Correspondence)
- 108 Cowell (GH 1986) p.101
- 109 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles February 12 1766
- 110 *ibid.* March 3 1766
- 111 *ibid.* March 12 1766
- 112 *ibid.* April 21 1766

- 113 *ibid.* May 5 1766
- 114 *ibid.* February 16 1767
- 115 *ibid.* February 28 1767
- 116 *ibid.* March 7 1767
- 117 *ibid.* March 25 1767; Harewood Ledger 269, f.27 shows payments to Messrs. Perfect for "a parcel of Shrubs etc." on April 15 1766 of £90 10s 4d and November 10 1767 of £65 19s 10d.
- 118 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles April ? 1767
- 119 Firth (LP 1980) p.127
- 120 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles May 1 1765
- 121 LDA Harewood Ledgers 269 f.126 'Mr. White' (given as 'Surveyor' in the index):  
 Nov.7 1766 By Drawings and setting out Ground £57 15  
 Apr.19 1768 By Travel and Attendance 30 9  
 In Ledger 247 (Stewards Cash Book) there is a record of several payments, including a yearly wage of £20 and disbursements for corn etc., made to a certain 'Thomas White' between May 7 1768 and Jan 4 1772. It seems probable that this is another Thomas White as by 1768 our White was engaged at Newby and other commissions followed which would make it unlikely that he became a member of the estate staff at Harewood; the other White is referred to in the accounts as 'Thos White' rather than 'Mr. White'; a letter from Popplewell to Edward Lascelles of February 13 1768 refers to sending a 'White' over to Stapleton and finding no objection to his character, and possibly this 'White' was instead employed at Harewood.
- 122 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 123 Gilpin (1792ii) p.110
- 124 Scone V148 'A Journal by David 7th viscount Stormont' 6 July 1775
- 125 Scone 667/52 Blair to Stormont June 30 1781
- 126 Scone B1512 Account No.8 - 5, receipt dated November 13 1784
- 127 Scone 666/13 Contract April 29 1783. This Agreement was found to be defective as witness, James Rice had omitted to sign it. Blair undertook to ensure when White next appeared he would "get the defect supplied as to the witnessing of it" (Scone 667/47 Blair to Stormont May 13 1783)
- 128 Scone 1229/59 Blair to Stormont March 4 1783
- 129 Scone 667/46 Blair to Stormont October 16 1783

- 130 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont Dec 9 1783
- 131 *ibid.*
- 132 Scone 667/61 Blair to Stormont February 18 1784
- 133 Scone 1229/57 Blair to Stormont March 21 1784
- 134 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 135 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 136 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont, probably late June 1784
- 137 Scone 667/18 Blair to Stormont July 10 1784
- 138 *ibid.*
- 139 Scone 1232/10 Blair to Stormont August 26 1784
- 140 Scone 667/13 Blair to Stormont October 19 1784
- 141 Scone 1232/8-9 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 142 Scone 1233/2 White to Stormont December 2 1784
- 143 Scone 632/76 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 144 Scone B1497 Crop Account 1786 Account No 7 item 7
- 145 Scone B1513 Crop Account 1784 Account No 6 item 5
- 146 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786
- 147 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 148 General Thomas Graham was Lord Stormont's brother-in-law and neighbour at Balgowan; he later became Lord Lynedoch.
- 149 Scone 632/28 White to Stormont September 17 1786
- 150 Scone 1233/27 White to Stormont September 25 1786
- 151 Scone 1233/3 White to Graham September 25 1786
- 152 Scone 1233/4 Graham to Stormont October 2 1786
- 153 Scone 1229/64 Blair to Stormont September 22 1787
- 154 Tait (1980) p.152
- 155 Lord Mansfield wrote to his agent, John Butler, on November 21 1803 "Mr. Loudon's terms are most exorbitant and considering that about two years ago he was a working gardener at Dicksons nursery garden his progress is too rapid in the first instance" and on December 5 1803 Loudon wrote Mansfield a long and passionate letter justifying his costs and adding "It is wonderful to me if a person can be instructed to lay out an estate and at the same time be accused as if he was a labourer of protracting time. I must have a soul



superior to such obnoxious meanings and incapable of ever doing any Gentleman such injustice". [from Scone Palace Muniments - on exhibition at Scone Palace April 1988]

- 156 SRO Register of Deeds RD3/328 f.138 registered in the Books of Session May 10 1809
- 157 NLS 19208 f.88 Sir Henry Steuart to Archibald Seton, Delhi June 29 1808
- 158 *ibid.*
- 159 SRO GD/248/1286 An abstract of the earl of Findlater and Seafield's affairs f.6 1809
- 160 SRO GD/248/1286 f.1
- 161 SRO CS 237/W7/47 "Inventory of Writs produced by Thomas White Junior of Woodlands, County of Durham and John Lawson WS his attorney in the Process at their instance against Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton of North Berwick and Bargenny Bart."
- 162 SRO Register of Deeds RD3/339 ff.616-622 Contract of Sale and Assingation; see p.367 note 104 for discussion of the Scots acre.
- 163 See chapter 7B for planting at Douglas Castle
- 164 Tait (1980) p.192 note 62
- 165 John Claudius Loudon, 'A Treatise on the Improvements Proposed for Scone, an Estate pertaining to the Right Honourable, the earl of Mansfield, in Perthshire; illustrated with Sketches and detached plans of the Estate, by J. Loudon, Landscape Gardener and Improver, Edinburgh, October 10 1803', Mansfield Muniments, Scone Palace, Volume 117, [Loudon ('Treatise' 1803)]
- 166 Drummonds Bank is now known as the Royal Bank of Scotland, Drummonds Branch at 49 Charing Cross, London; the ledgers containing the records of Thomas White's account at Drummonds from 1774 to 1811 and Brown's account of 1753 to 1783 were kindly made available by J.W. McDougall, Archivist.
- 167 Original at Lindley Library, Royal Horticultural Society, London; microfilm at University of Newcastle upon Tyne Library MF555
- 168 See chapter 1 note 6
- 169 A photocopy of Brown's account with Drummonds Bank is held by the Library of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne
- 170 18th century clients of Drummonds Bank also included such illustrious figures as Robert and James Adam, William Chambers, James Gibbs, Giacomo Leoni, Thomas Chippendale, Joseph Rose, Henry Flitcroft, Alexander Pope and Horace Walpole (see Geoffrey Beard, Georgian

- Craftsmen and their work, Country Life, 1966, [Beard (1966)] pp.192-3)
- 171 Peter Willis, 'Capability Brown's Account with Drummonds Bank 1753-1783', Architectural History, Vol.27, 1984, [Willis (AH 1984)], pp.382-391
  - 172 Quoted in Tait (1980) p.193 note 65 (from Loudon's 'Report on Certain Plans for Improvement proposed for The Park and Demesne Lands of Bullmarsh Court', Mellon Collection, Virginia)
  - 173 Jacques (1983) pp.79-80
  - 174 Scone Blair Crop Account 1783 f.37 No.8
  - 175 CRO D/Cu Daybook of Payments on Building 1783-1790
  - 176 SRO GD/44/51/374 Garden accounts
  - 177 SRO GD/24/1/624/29
  - 178 StrathRA T-SK 21/4-1
  - 179 John Claudius Loudon in The Gardener's Magazine, Vol.15, 1839, p.214
  - 180 W.S. Gilpin in the 1830s charged 'five guineas a day and his travelling expenses paid' (GM 1843 p.209); Loudon in 1804 advertised himself as having terms of two guineas per day plus travelling expenses and with Plans, Reports etc. charged according to their value, (Observations on the Formation and Management of Useful and Ornamental Plantations, A. Constable & Co., Edinburgh, 1804, [Loudon (1804)], advertisement page) while in 1819 he was charging five guineas a day (Tait (1980) p.193 note 65); Richard Woods wrote to Lord Arundell (in the early 1770s?) justifying his charges "Your Lordship thinks of a guinea a day, wch wd not be sufficient to keep myself, horses and servant, considering how many broken days in a year I have" (Cowell (GH 1987ii) p. 132)
  - 181 LDA Harewood Account Books No.269 f.126
  - 182 ibid f.123; Brown's surviving account book (NUL M555) f.97, notes under 'Gawthorpe', "Two General Plans for the House. A General Plan for the Grounds. Three journeys to Gawthorpe. A Plan for the Intended Water in 1772 and the Grounds Adjoining" but shows no amount.
  - 183 The surviving accounts for Goldsborough show no payments to White or Woods and they may have been included in the Harewood payments.
  - 184 Perhaps three guineas for travelling and thirteen days attendance at two guineas a day, or possibly he was then charging only one guinea a day?
  - 185 HCRO DDCC 140/26 Stewards Account Book No.3 and DDCC(2)/77 Receipt dated January 13 1769; Thomas White plan for Burton Constable, recently restored, at HCRO

- 186 SRO GD/220/5/1757/10 Erskine to Graeme September 19 1770
- 187 SRO GD/220/5/1757/11, postscript to letter from Erskine to Graeme, September 22 1770
- 188 CRO D/Cu Voucher dated May 22 1784 and Workington Estate Ledger 1783-86 (loose sheet)
- 189 SRO GD/44/51/374 September 22 1786; Capability Brown's surviving account book (NUL M555) shows several payments of fifty guineas for plans including 'A journey and general plan of Howsham in Yorkshire' [no date] and 'A Plan for the General Alterations of Whitney Beaumont May 11 1780'
- 190 SRO GD/24/1/624/25
- 191 AUL Kintore archives B294
- 192 NLS Ms.82.3.10 f.133
- 193 Brown wrote to Lord Bruce in 1765 "As to my Journeys and Plans I have no fixed rule about it nor is it possible to do it but to charge less or more according to the size and trouble" (quoted in Stroud (1975) p.94)
- 194 Scott (QR 1828) p.319
- 195 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 196 Scone 666/13 Contract at Appendix B1
- 197 Scone B1497 Crop Account 1786, Account No. 7 item 7
- 198 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 199 Scone 667/19vi White to Blair July 3 1784
- 200 Scone 1232/8 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 201 Scone 1229/64 Blair to Stormont September 22 1787
- 202 CRO Curwen Estate Records D/Cu
- 203 CRO D/Cu Workington Estate Account Book 1783-86
- 204 CRO D/Cu 1785 Vouchers
- 205 The complex nature of the 18th century banking system is here illustrated, White's contra account at Drummonds for 1787 showing that the amount of £906 2s 3d was paid between February 24 and April 20 in the form of 13 drafts as follows:
- |        |                                     |       |
|--------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Feb 24 | of John Christian                   | £125  |
| 27     | Thomson on Thornthwaite p Christian | 25    |
| Mar 3  | Worswick on Cox p do                | 20    |
| 10     | Lloyd on Taylor p do                | 10    |
| 16     | Livesay on Livesay p do             | 10    |
| 20     | Thomson on Thornthwaite p do        | 69 10 |
|        | do                                  | 30    |
|        | Chorley on Denison p do             | 30    |

	do	20		
22	Shaw on Watts	56	2	3
23	Wakefield on Mildred p Christian	200		
31	Jones on Jones p Christian	10	10	
Apr 20	Wakefield on Mildred p Christian p Barton	<u>300</u>		
		906	2	3
206	See chapter 7B on planting contracts at Douglas and Buchanan			
207	SRO GD 220/6/51 Customers Accounts, George Menzies 1788-1803 (the accounts do not show the 1st instalment of 68 due in 1787 nor any amount paid to him in 1791):			
	1788			
	12 Paid Mr. White the 2nd instalment due him for planting the Muir of Ballindorin	£68	-	
	1789			
	3 Paid Mr. White for casting Drains in the Muir of Ballindoreen	£56	1	
	14 Paid Mr. White the 3rd instalment for planting the Muir of Ballindorin	£68	-	
	1790			
	11 Paid Mr. White the 4th Instalment for planting the Muir of Balindorin	£68	-	
	1792			
	11 Paid Mr. White the installment of his planting contract ao 1792	£94	-	
	1795			
	9 Paid Mr. White the last moiety for planting Muir of Ballindorin	£95	15	
	(These payments are not identifiable in White's contra account at Drummonds and may have been made in cash)			
208	The following payments shown in White's Contra account at Drummonds Bank probably relate to his planting work at Douglas:			
	Dec 2 1780 By Cash Recd McHonochie on Gray	100		
	Mar 20 1783 of Alexr Machonochie	146	7	
	Mar 10 1785 of Alexr Machonochie p Andrew Gray	150		
	Feb 9 1786 By Cash Recd of Alex McKinochie p Andrew Gray	130		
	Mar 29 1787 Forbes on Moffatt p Mackonockie	120		
	Jan 18 1788 By Cash Recd Mackonochie on Gray	311	18	
	Jan 9 1789 By Cash Recd Mcknockie on Coutts	100		
	Jan 21 1790 By Cash recd McKnockie on Coutts	<u>310</u>	6	
		1368	11	
	(Other payments by 'Forbes on Moffatt' c.f. Mar 29 1787 are shown and may relate to Douglas)			
209	SRO GD/44/51/374			
210	The payments involving 'Mansfield' and 'Trotter' in Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank:			
	Feb 14 1787 by cash recd Mansfield on Kinlock per Trotter		£	63
	Feb 21 1788 Mansfield on Coutts p Stuart p Trotter	100		
	Mar 7 1789 Mansfield on Coutts	200		
	Nov 9 1792 Mansfield on Coutts	100		
	Mar 16 1793 Mansfield on Coutts	160		
	Jul 6 1793 Mansfield on Coutts	21		
	Mar 29 1794 Mansfield on Coutts	165		

Jan 5 1796	by cash recd Mansfield on Coutts p White	120
Apr 24 1798	by cash recd Trotter on Coutts	30
May 3 1798	Trotter & Trotter	50
Nov 9 1802	Mansfield on Coutts p Elliot	50

- 211 Payments involving 'Musters' in Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank:

May 28 1774	by contra of John Musters Esq.	580
	Of do p Smith & Payne	900
Jan 12 1776	By cash recd Musters on Fuller	292
May 20 1776	Musters on Fuller	392
Jun 28 1776	Musters on Fuller	1002
Feb 1 1777	By cash recd Musters on Fuller	300
Mar 4 1777	do	1100
Feb 4 1778	By cash recd Musters on Fuller	1100
		<u>£5666</u>

(Other payments totalling £400 "Wright on Fuller" may also relate to Colwick)

- 212 See Appendix A4 for further details of these payments

- 213 SAN Proceedings (1917) p.256, note: William Nicholson to the Rev. John Hodgson in July 1814 "I have just returned from dining with Mr. Gillies (a nephew of Lord Gillies, a Scottish judge). He is most pleased with your poem of 'Woodlands'. Mr. White to whom you dedicate it, laid out his father's grounds in Kincardineshire".

- 214 See Adrienne Corri, The Search for Gainsborough, Cape, 1984, [Corri (1984)], pp.166-210, regarding the use of bank records for research purposes.

- 215 See chapter 6D for further discussion of payments to foremen

- 216 White's purchases of lottery tickets and prizes received are contained in his debit and contra accounts:

Debit:

Oct 9 1777	for lottery ticket sent	14	7	6
Nov 11 1778	for lottery ticket sent	15	4	6
Nov 16 1780	for one lottery ticket	13	18	-
Nov 14 1781	for a lottery ticket sent for	15	15	-
22 1781	registering a ticket			6
Jan 30 1788	for a lottery ticket for him and H Stuart of Allington registered in both their names	17	1	-

Contra:

Apr 12 1776	Prize	50	-	-
May 20 1776	By cash rec £20 prize 1774	20	-	-
May 25 1778	£20 prize	20	-	-
Mar 29 1781	£20 prize	20	-	-
Jul 23 1793	for a prize	20	-	-

- 217 Scone 667/46 Blair to Stormont October 16 1783

- 218 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784

- 219 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785

- 220 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784?

- 221 Scone 1233/2 White to Stormont December 2 1784

222 SRO GD/44/51/374 Garden Accounts 1786

223 Scone B1492 No.12

224 Scone Crop Account 1783 f.38 No.8

225 Scone Crop Account 1784 f.35 No.6

226 SRO GD 44/51/374 Voucher dated November 25 1790:

	£	s	d
60 pounds corn @ 4d	1	3	-
8 nights for 3 horses		18	-
To the Servt		16	-
Hostler etc.		5	-
	3	2	-

227 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784

228 Thomas Dick Lauder's account of "a certain landscape gardener from England" at Gordon Castle in the 1780s (very probably Thomas White) includes: "The seasons revolved, and so did the wheels of the tastemonger's carriage, which brought him back to Gordon Castle". Gilpin (1834) p.238). John Claudius Loudon in the Gardener's Magazine, Vol. 15, 1839 p.213 wrote of landscape-gardeners travelling by coach, postchaise or carriage: "where a landscape-gardener charges five guineas a day, and takes with him either a draughtsman or valet, or both, he is entitled to travel by postchaise; but in ordinary cases, and where the charge is under five guineas a day, the usual charge for travelling is by coach. If a landscape-gardener travels in his own carriage, and with his own horses, then if his charge is under five guineas a day, he charges for travelling expenses, as if he went by coach; but if he charges for his time at the rate of five guineas a day, or upwards, then his travelling charges are made as if he went by post".

229 SRO GD/170/2759/2 White junior to D. Campbell, December 1 1818

230 SRO GD/170/2759/3 White junior to D. Campbell, March 4 1819

231 SRO GD/248/3425/5 White junior to the earl of Findlater May 26 1789

232 AUL MS 1160/28/1/1 White to Charles Gordon July 16 1793

233 A few surviving White plans are still stored in their original wooden boxes, for example, that at Bishop Norton, Lincolnshire; being backed with strong linen they have on occasion been mistaken for window blinds.

234 SRO GD/170/2759/3 White junior to D. Campbell March 4 1819

235 SRO RH4/119/14 microfilm White to Robert Graham November 12 1782 (original with John Graham, Kent)

- 236 Cowell (GH 1987ii) p.132
- 237 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 238 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 239 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 White to Brown 1762?
- 240 LDA TN/EA/23a/38 White to Stones January 22 1767
- 241 LDA TN/EA/23a/48 White to Stones February 1767
- 242 LDA HSLB February 16 1767
- 243 LDA TN/EA/23a/121 White to Stones (early 1768)
- 244 LDA TN/EA/23a/39 White to Stones November 19 1767
- 245 Stroud (1975) p.95 quotes a letter from Brown to Lord Bruce regarding some additional work required at Tottenham Park, dated June 17 1772: "I know that opening requires some nice touches, but I should think this is a bad time to execute that sort of work. Are not the men going to hay making and after that the harvest will follow".
- 246 LDA TN/EA/23a/47 White to Stones June 19 1767
- 247 Scone 1229/59 Blair to Stormont March 4 1783
- 248 Scone 667/61 Blair to Stormont February 18 1784
- 249 Scone 1232/1 Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 250 Scone 667/62 Blair to Stormont December 11 1784
- 251 Quoted in Cowell (GH 1987ii) p.132
- 252 See Stroud (1975) for numerous references to Brown's ill health, particularly pp. 94-95, 171
- 253 LDA TN/EA/23a/31 White to Stones October 31 1767;
- 254 Gilpin (1834) pp.237-8
- 255 NorthCRO M-14/B7/163 Elizabeth White to the Rev. John Hodgson December 25 1807; a note to the article 'The Whites of Woodlands' by John Oxberry in the SAN Proceedings (1917) p.256 states that Dr. James Gregory was "the successor of Cullen, and Scotland's most eminent consulting physician at that period".
- 256 NorthCRO M-14/B7/- Elizabeth White to Mrs. Hodgson December 9 1814

## CHAPTER 5

### LANDSCAPE DESIGNS

- A THOMAS WHITE'S PLANS
- B WATER
- C TREES
- D LAYOUT OF GROUND
- E BUILDINGS AND KITCHEN GARDENS



## 5A THOMAS WHITE'S PLANS

In forming plans for embellishing a field, an artist without taste employs straight lines, circles, squares; because these look best upon paper. He perceives not, that to humour and adorn nature, is the perfection of his art; and that nature, neglecting regularity, distributes her objects in great variety with a bold hand.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Kames, The Elements of Criticism, 1762

The surviving improvement plans drawn up by Thomas White for both large and small landowners provide us with the main source of evidence of his aims, abilities and achievements. The plans vary in size and scale but are all drawn with great care and attention to detail and many of them are extremely impressive, colourful, decorative and aesthetically pleasing designs in their own right.

We currently have evidence of the Thomas Whites, father and son, having been in some way involved in the improvement of over one hundred estates in northern England and Scotland. To date sixty-five plans including three estate survey maps for fifty-eight estates in all have been located and most of them examined.<sup>2</sup> From a study of these it has been possible to trace a development in style, content and expression which allows for a rather more confident identification and dating of those plans which are unsigned, undated or of doubtful attribution.

Thomas White's plans date from 1766 to 1803 and those of his son from 1799 to 1820. It is very probable that the two worked together on many of the plans produced during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and stylistically those signed by Thomas White junior, prior to his father's death in 1811, are very similar to those of his father. For example, White's 1803 plan for Kennet bears a strong resemblance in style and draughtsmanship to White junior's

1807 plan for Herdmanston. White junior's later plans, however, are markedly different, lacking the coherence and strength of design found in his father's plans; both White junior's Duns plan of 1812 and that for Fordell of 1818, for example, are loosely drawn giving an unfinished effect; sprawling areas of planting and indiscriminately placed clumps and single trees display a lack of unity and imagination.

John Claudius Loudon claimed that "Brown, as far as we have learned, could not draw, but had assistants who made out plans of what he intended".<sup>3</sup> It would seem unlikely that Brown was incapable of drawing up his own plans in his chosen profession, although at his busiest periods he did employ draughtsmen to assist in their production. He undoubtedly employed people to draw up survey maps and preliminary plans (for example Samuel Lapidge and John Spyers) and it was in this capacity that in 1761 Thomas White produced the first plan we know of attributable to him, a survey map of Thomas Giffard's estate at Chillington, Staffordshire.<sup>4</sup>

The title to this survey is contained in a stiffly elaborate rococo-style cartouche:

A MAP OF THE MANOR OF CHILLINGTON WITH  
GUNSTON, LONG BIRCH AND THE HATTONS,  
THE ESTATE OF THOMAS GIFFARD ESQUIRE.  
Surveyed by Thomas White 1761

The survey map itself is a large (60" x 84"), detailed plan of Chillington Manor and the surrounding properties belonging to Giffard, giving field names, acreages and an ornately decorated panel of references indicating the tenants and "the sum of each mans land". Although very much more geometrical and formally structured than White's later improvement plans, his style and lettering are immediately recognisable. In

the 'Park' area in the centre of the estate he has allowed himself a certain amount of fluidity and artistic freedom seen in the individually drawn trees and the curving lines of the lake, which contrast strongly with the rigid lines of the surrounding fields. The survey was drawn in sepia ink and watercolours on heavy paper; the fields are edged in different colours explained in a note contained in a cartouche similar in style to that of the title:

The red shews arable and buildings, green shews pasture fields, blue meadow land, brown shews gardens & lanes. The pricked lines are the divisions in the village & the park.

The scale is given in chains, as it was to be on virtually all of White's plans.

White also produced another, undated, survey of one of Thomas Giffard's farms:

A MAP OF THE FARM AT BLACK LADY'S  
BELONGING TO THOMAS GIFFARD  
Surveyed by Thos. White

This very much smaller and simpler plan was presumably drawn at around the same time as that for Chillington Manor and shares stylistic elements both in the elaborate title and note cartouches, and the various lettering sizes and styles indicating field and land ownership. The survey was drawn on paper, mounted on linen with a green cloth edging, in the manner of many of White's subsequent plans.

The third known survey map by Thomas White was prepared in 1773 for the Grove, the seat of Anthony Eyre, near White's home at Retford. It is unsigned but is very obviously in White's hand, and when studied in conjunction with his 'Plan of Alterations' for the Grove, drawn in the same year, provides a clear picture of White's aims and vision there. The survey shows Eyre's house surrounded by parkland, including a 'Deer Park' of 119 acres containing small areas

of woodland and some copses; also shown is what appears to be a small lake or marshy area, however this is not included on the improvement plan. The straight edged fields, lanes and avenues shown on the survey map are transformed on the improvement plan into an undulating landscape, dotted with clumps and groups of trees and surrounded by a curving belt of planting. This survey is again drawn on paper, mounted on linen and is exactly half the size of the improvement plan (24" x 33" compared to 48" x 66").

The evidence of these three surveys would seem to confirm that Thomas White was trained as a surveyor, but where, under whom, when and for how long, we do not yet know. It seems likely that he would have prepared other surveys before and after his time at Chillington, perhaps some in the Staffordshire area, and these may well have been unsigned. While employed by Capability Brown at Sandbeck, White wrote of "taking dimentions of grounds" at Lord Scarbrough's Glentworth estate in Lincolnshire, probably in order to draw up a survey map.<sup>5</sup> White was described as a "surveyor" by William Stones writing to Richard Woods in about 1765:

There is a surveyor at Gawthorpe they call  
White which was forman to Mr. Brown ...<sup>6</sup>

and in the Harewood accounts of 1766 Thomas White is given as "surveyor" in the index.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Shepherd, who claimed to have worked for White and been much influenced by him, wrote of his plans:

It was his plans seen by me in youth which first gave me a taste for Landscape Gardening ... I had been taught land surveying before I became acquainted with him [White]. I therefore could lay out on the ground any of Mr. White's designs which he planned upon paper, without his assistance, which made me perfectly acquainted with his very superior method of giving designs.<sup>8</sup>

Many of these designs are very attractive in themselves, and are quite often to be found framed and hanging in country houses and estate offices. White drew the plans himself, though in later years he most probably had the assistance of his son and, with few exceptions the basic format and technique remained the same throughout his working life. All were drawn on thick paper, usually in separate sheets, joined and mounted on heavy linen, which, according to Loudon, White "purchased in pieces of some hundreds of yards at a time, from a celebrated bleachfield adjoining Perth".<sup>9</sup> Prior to 1770 when he commenced his work in Scotland, White presumably had a source for this linen backing somewhere nearer home. Although his plans varied in size, none exceeded 72" in both dimensions and, quite probably, the 'hundreds of yards' of linen he obtained would have been six feet in width. The size and shape of the plan depended to some degree on the extent and configuration of the estate, the smallest at 30" x 32" being for Hawksworth and the largest at 72" x 94" for Bargany.<sup>10</sup> Those for Raby (71" x 87"), Arniston (72" x 72"), Norton (70" x 70") and Leddington (70" x 78") were also on a vast scale. Some plans were vertically orientated and some horizontally, that for Belle Isle (36" x 60") being long and narrow, while that for Workington (72" x 48") is a tall, vertical plan. Compass orientation varied considerably and seems to have been dictated by the 'best fit'. In some instances (Carlton, Abercairny, Castle Fraser for example) the north orientation was to the top of the plan, but this was by no means a general rule. None of the plans (apart from the smaller Chillington survey map) includes a compass orientation.

Ink and watercolours were used to draw and colour the

plans and in some, which have been kept carefully stored out of the light, the freshness of the colours is still apparent. The 1773 plan for Inverquharity and that of 1789 for Dunninald are both in good condition and in both of them strong, vivid colouring and design are still evident. The parkland area is washed in with greens and pale tans, sloping land being given a slightly three-dimensional effect with heavier, curving brushstrokes. The surrounding fields, geometrically ordered in comparison with the open grassed areas of the park, are coloured in pale tones with furrows and crops marked in on some. Trees in clumps, belts and larger masses are drawn in individually in shades of green, blue and a brownish-yellow, a mixture of evergreens and deciduous. These too are given a three-dimensionality through the drawing in of their shadows cast on the grass; in the majority of the designs the shadow falls as though the sun was off to the left of the plan. Occasionally isolated individual trees were shown on the plan, for example, at Scone and Burton Constable individual willow trees are marked, overhanging the water. Paths and walks, serpentine through the estate, are shown in light brown, while rivers, lakes and sea are in blues, with the edges strengthened to give added depth. Existing and planned buildings were carefully drawn in and sometimes coloured in strong red or pink so that they stood out, but more often left plain and uncoloured.

One respect in which White's plans differed from those of Brown was in the scale he used. Brown generally indicated the scale in feet, sometimes giving a scale in chains as well, whereas on virtually all of White's plans, where the scale is marked, it is given either in chains or,

as for example the Scone Palace plan, in Scotch chains; the exception is the Belle Isle plan of 1781 where the scale is shown in yards.<sup>11</sup> White junior, too, used a scale of chains, showing Scotch chains on his plan for Herdmanston and on his Balbirnie plan indicating that the chain measured "74 feet" (i.e. a Scotch chain). On his plan for Duns Castle in Berwickshire he specifically noted that the chain measurement was 'English', and on his 1820 plan for the Green of Glasgow he, like Brown, gave the scale in feet and in chains.

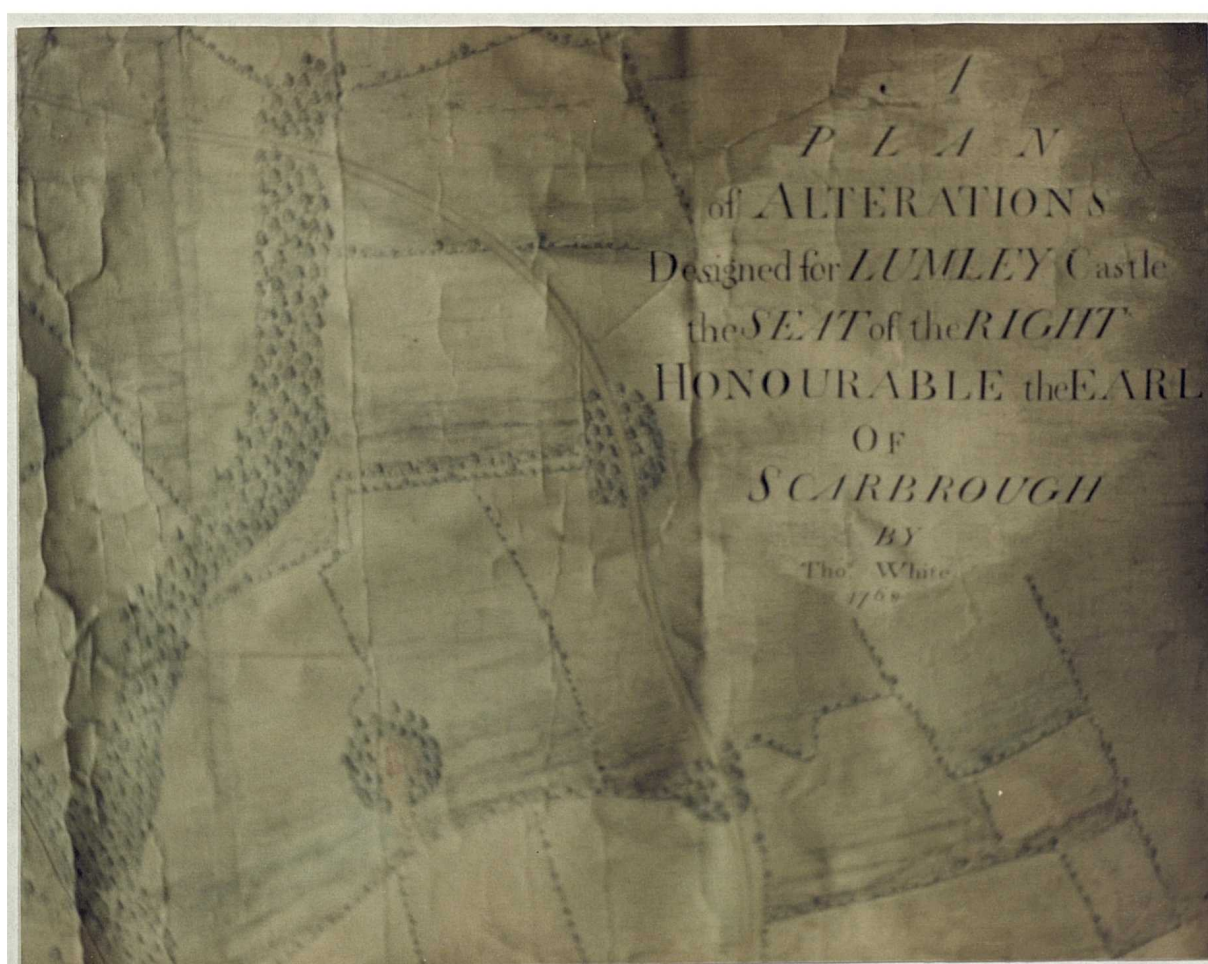
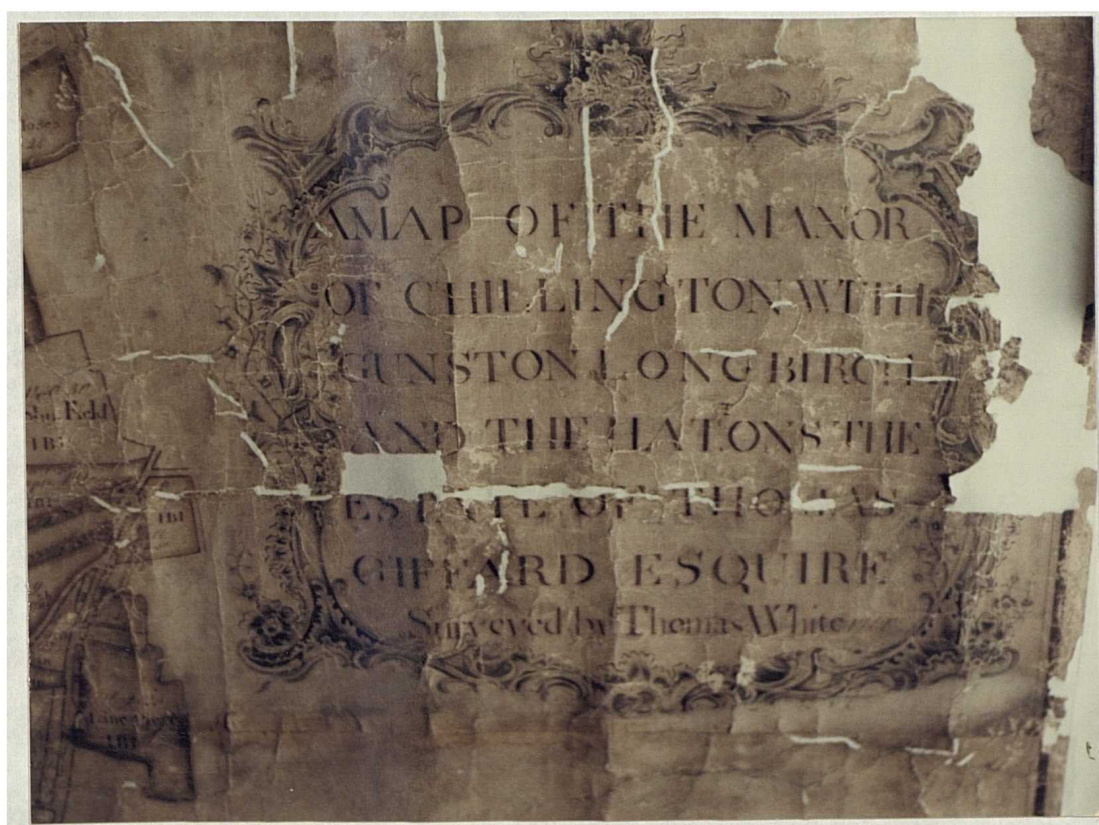
A study of the titles and references given on Thomas White's plans reveals a clear chronological pattern in design and wording, providing a useful guide to the approximate dating of undated plans.

Most of the plans are titled, though in some the title is contained in the reference panel. On the plans drawn between 1766 and 1777 the titles are inscribed directly on the plan, generally at upper left or right, and are not contained in any way (apart from the 1766 plan for Goldsborough where the title is contained in a plain rectangle). In some instances (Grove and Lumley) the title area forms a loose diamond shape through the use of a paler background behind the wording. The title to White's undated plan for Carlton is the only one contained in a trompe d'oeil scroll cartouche (although between 1783 and 1793 he frequently used this form of scroll to contain the references). In conjunction with the evidence of the style of the references to the plan, and entries in White's bank account, this has led to a tentative dating of 1780/81 for the Carlton plan. The title to White's 1781 plan for Scone Palace is contained in a rather stiff, circular, frame of



Fig.7

above: 1761 CHILLINGTON survey map title  
 below: 1768 LUMLEY plan title





1784 NISBET plan title

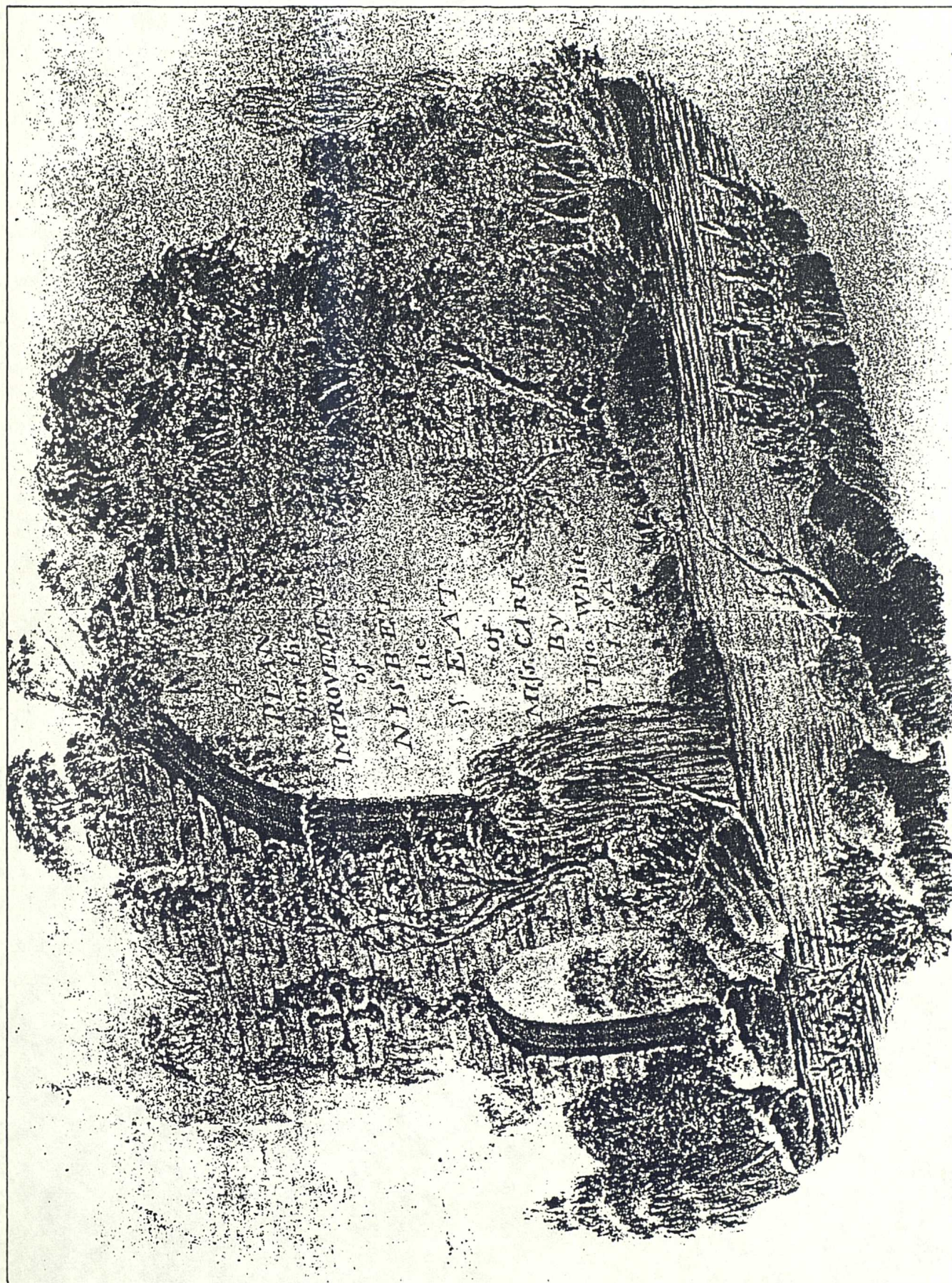




Fig.9  
above: 1788 BLAIR DRUMMOND plan title  
below: 1789 BUCHANAN plan title





Fig.10  
 above: 1792 ARDOCH plan title  
 below: 1797 TOUCH plan title





Fig.11



PRESTON HALL left: 1794 title vignette  
right: photograph of monument 1989

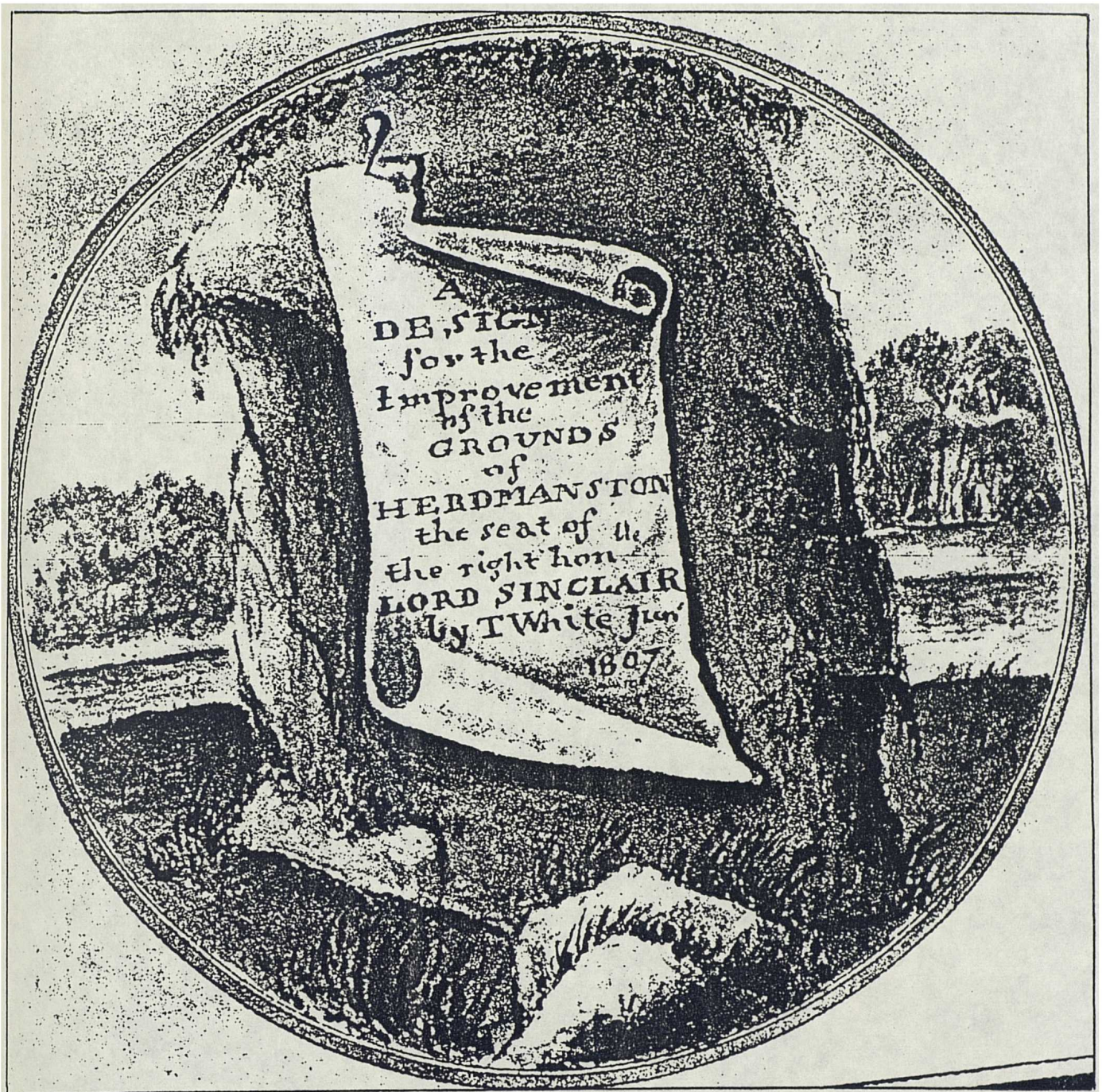


1801 PITFIRrane plan title (drawn by Thomas White junior?)





1807 HERDMANSTON plan title (Thomas White junior)





leafed design, unlike any of the others and may not be in White's hand. From the plan of 1783 for Raith until the 1803 plan for Kennet all the titles are contained in decorative vignettes, varying in their elaborateness and pictorial content. Some of these, for example, those for Nisbet and Mountquhanie are attractive little landscape drawings, but whether the motifs are directly related to the landscape of that particular estate or are solely the product of White's imagination is not certain. The subject of the title vignette on White's 1794 plan for Preston Hall is taken from an existing temple-like building standing in the estate, and is a very charming and competent drawing. The titles to White junior's plans vary, the earlier ones such as the Guynd and Herdmanston being contained in vignettes framed in ovals or circles, while later ones such as Balbirnie, Dalmeny and Fordell are merely inscribed, undecorated, in a suitable space on the plan. Thomas White junior was a less talented draughtsman than his father as his title vignette for Herdmanston illustrates.

The wording used in the titles changed too over the years. Between 1766 and 1774 (Goldsborough to Raby) White used the form "A Plan of Alterations designed for ..." (apart from "A Design for the park at Blyborough" and Hawksworth where the title was contained in the references). From 1776 to 1784 (Sledmere to Nisbet) the wording changed to "A Plan of Improvements" or "A Plan for the Improvement of...", and from 1785 onwards (Owston to the Green of Glasgow) we find on the plans of both White and his son, "A Design for the Improvement of ...". Thus a rough dating of plans is possible from the wording of the plan title.

Virtually all the plans contained a table of references,

Fig.14

1768 LUMLEY plan references

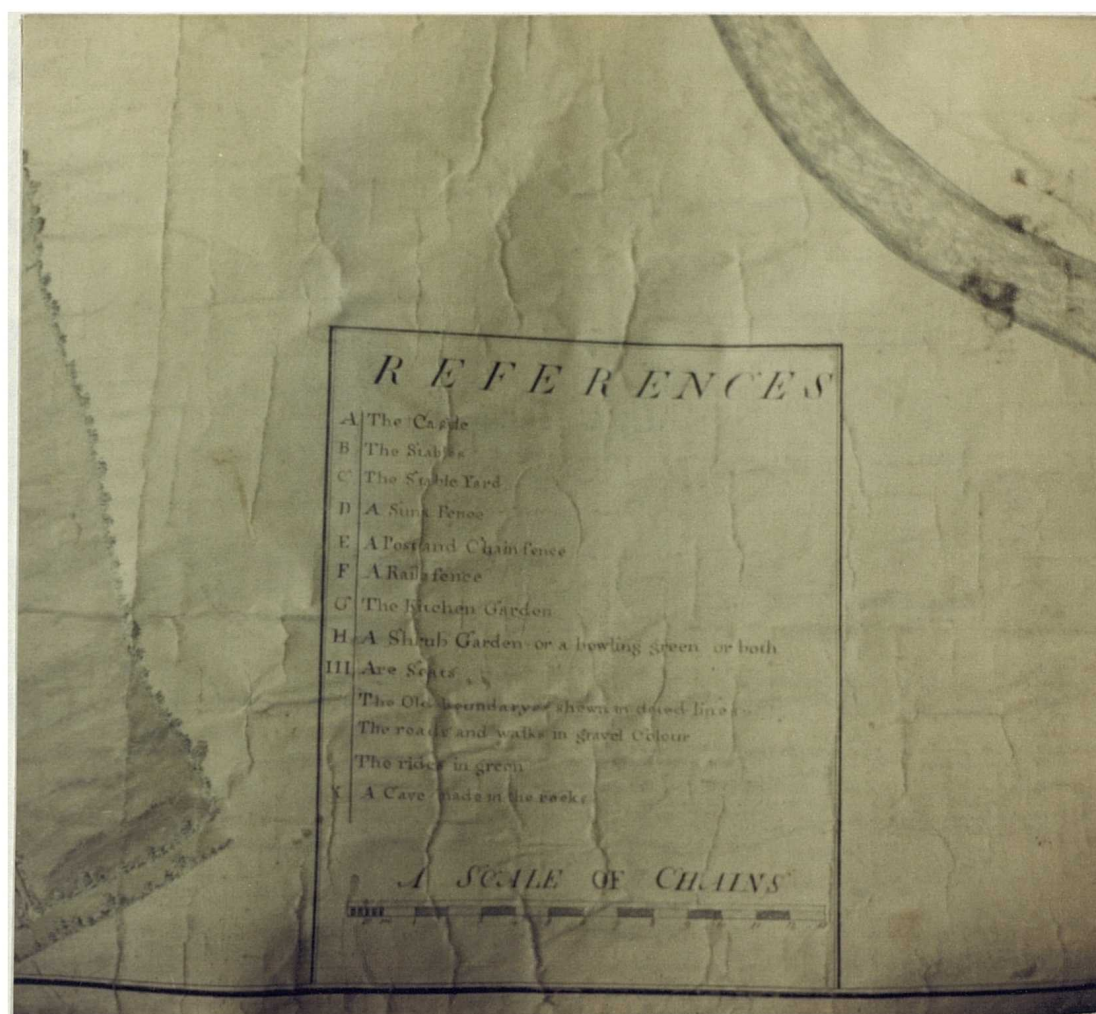




Fig.15  
1789 BUCHANAN plan references

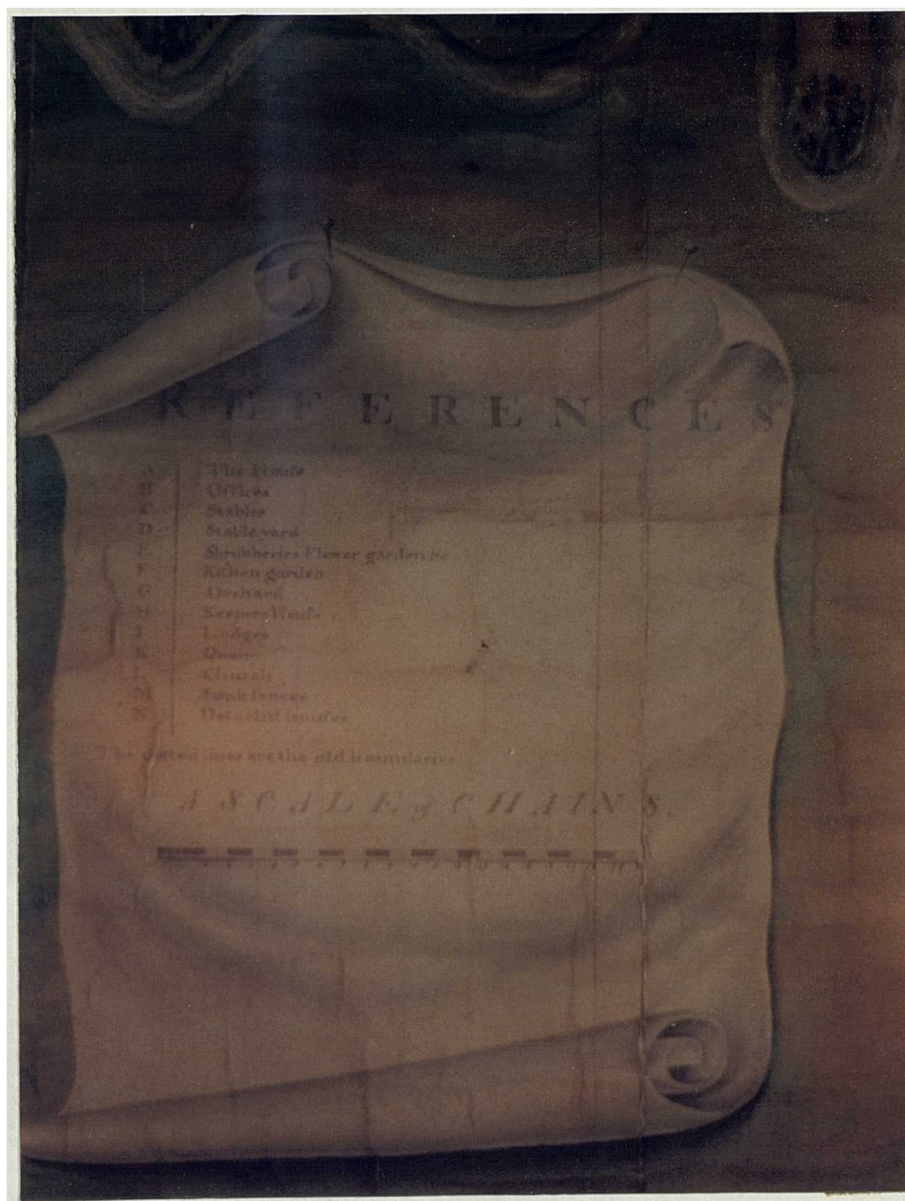


Fig.16

above: 1791 ABERCAIRNY plan references  
 below: 1792 ARDOCH plan references

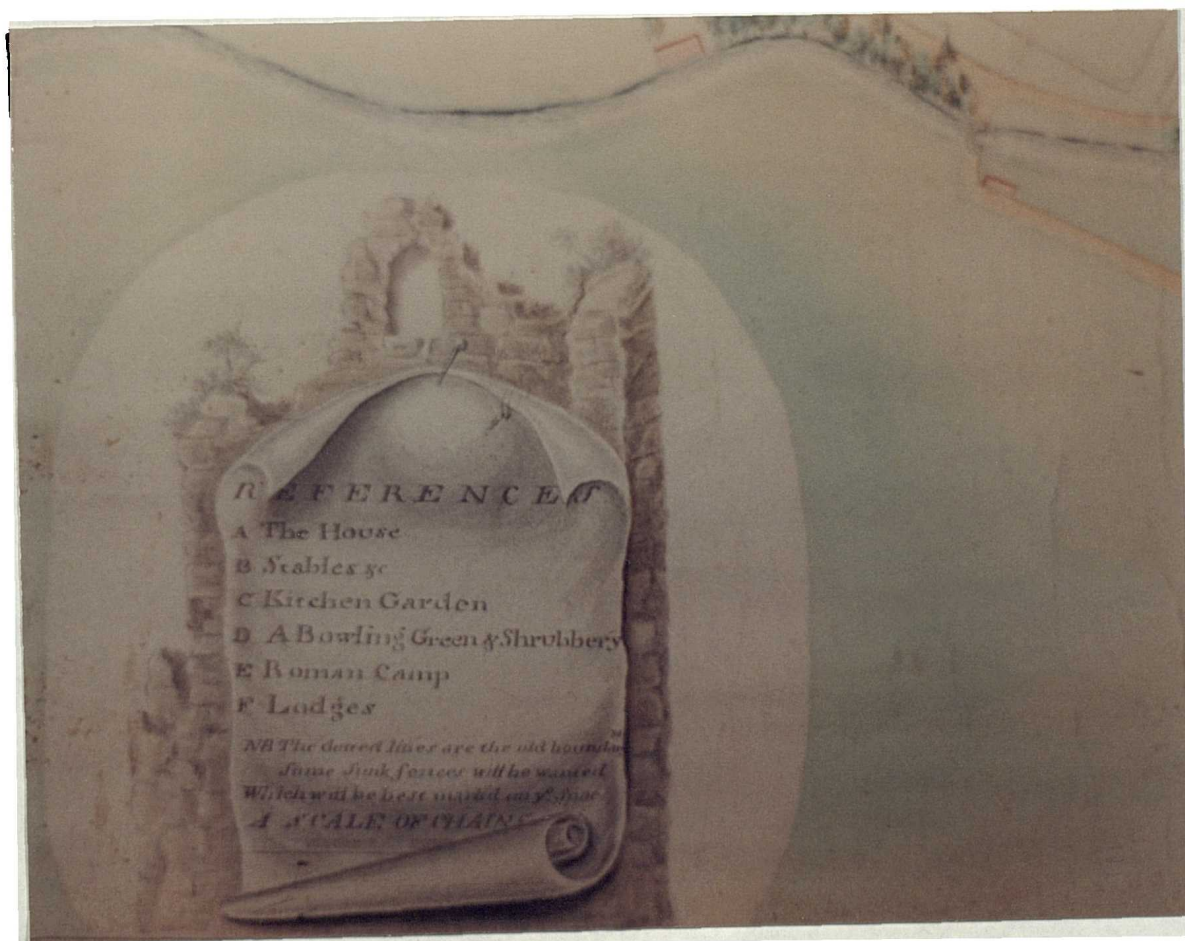
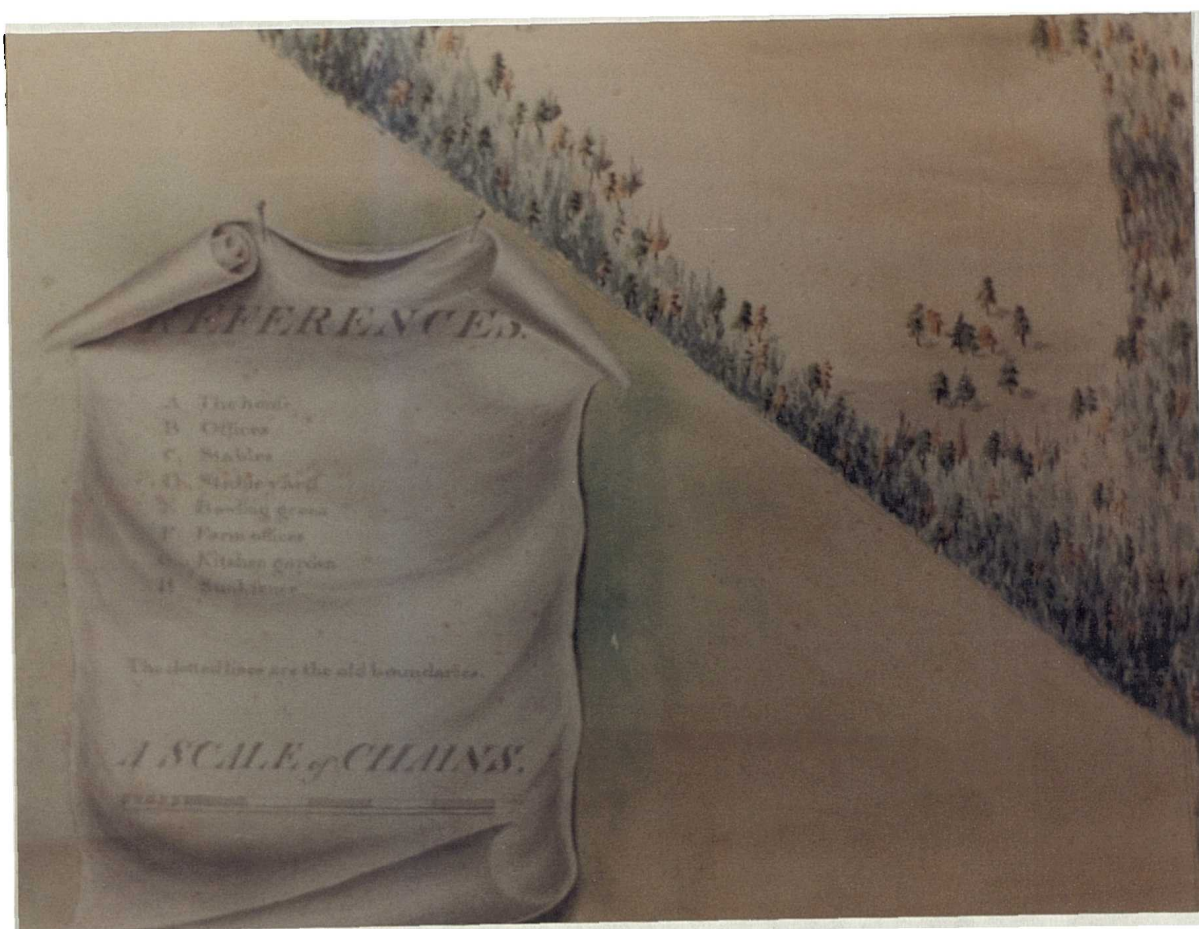
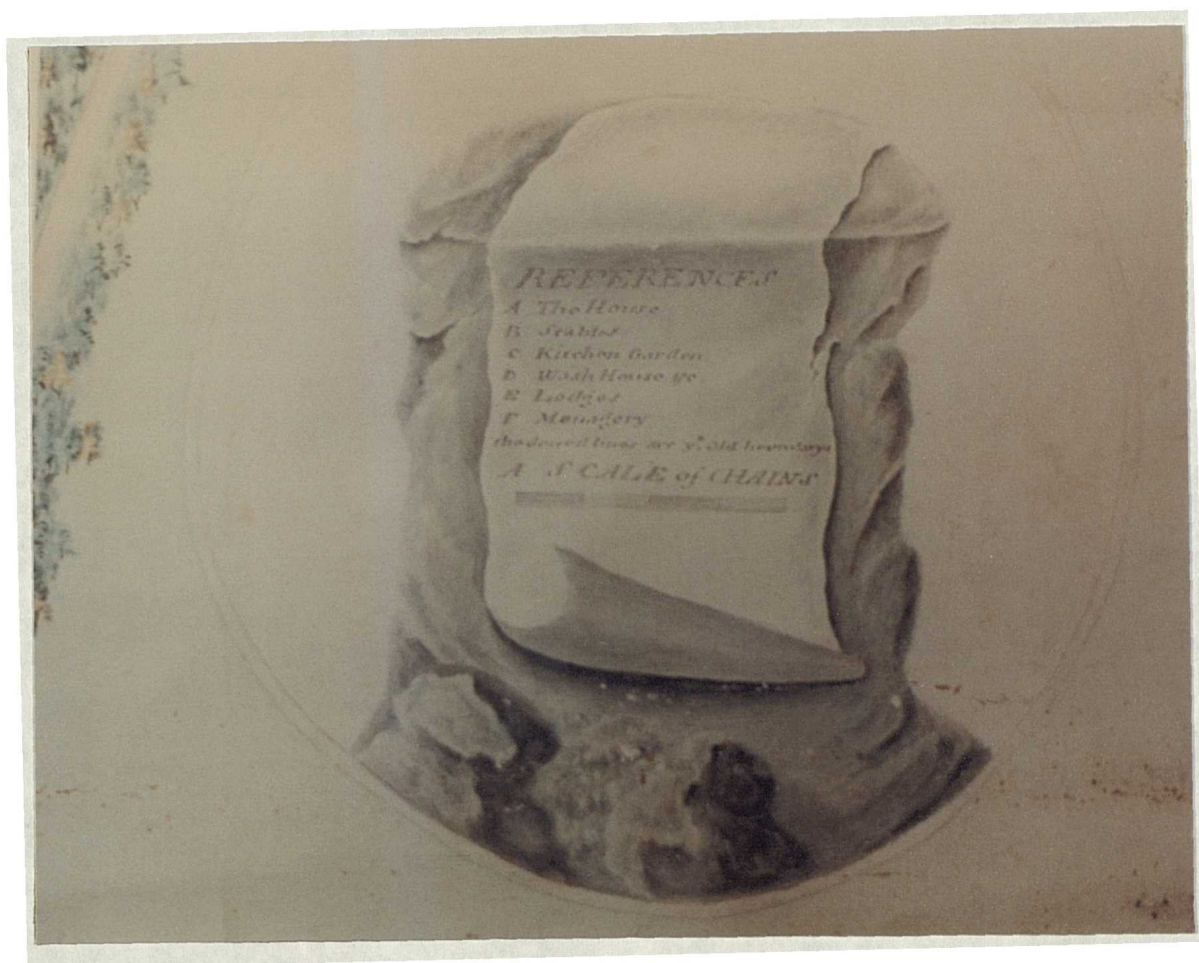




Fig.17  
 above: 1794 PRESTON HALL plan references  
 below: 1797 TOUCH plan references

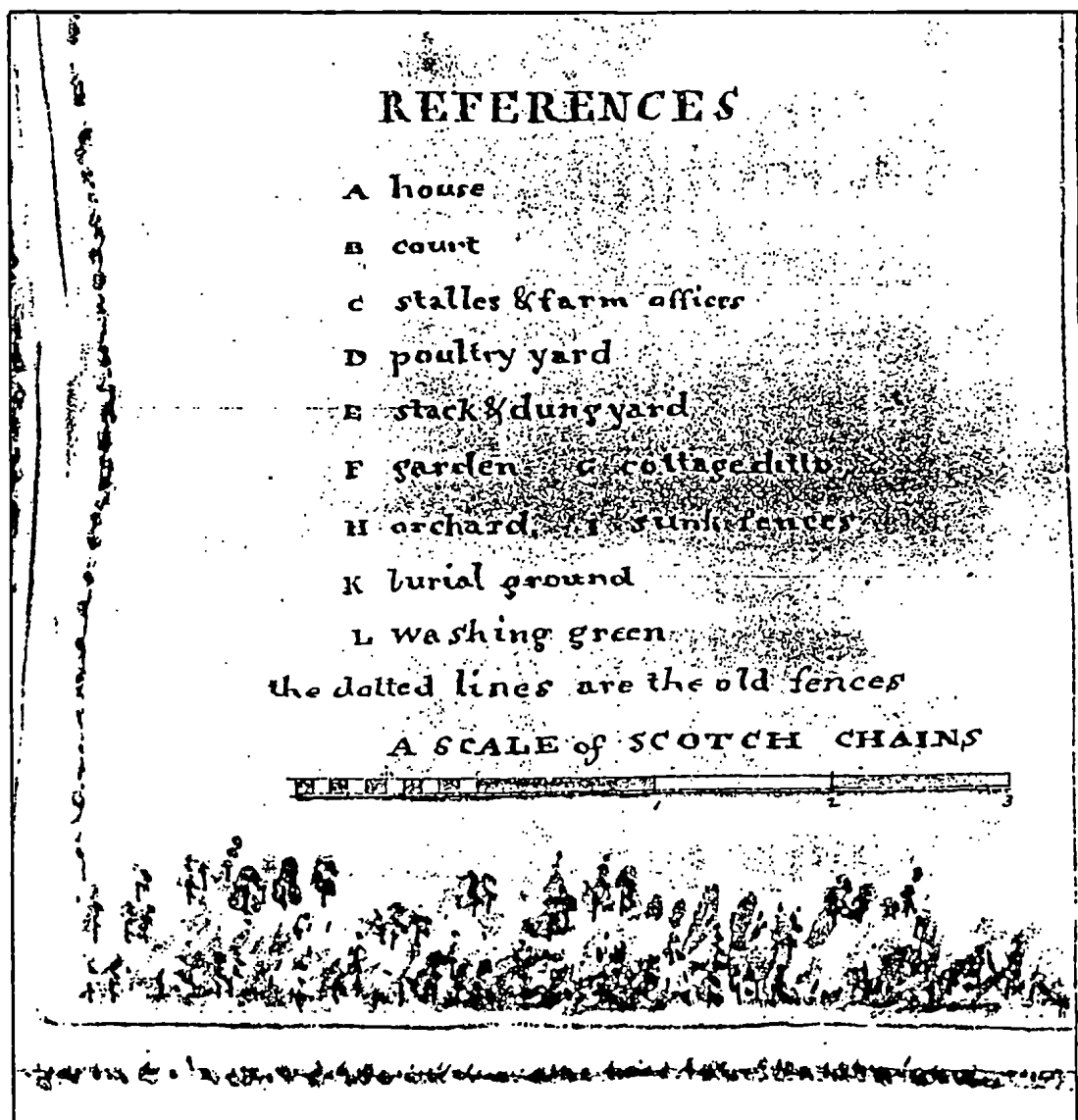








1807 HERDMANSTON plan references (Thomas White junior)



key features being marked with a capital letter of the alphabet and interpreted in the references. The house, whether existing or planned, was generally marked 'A', followed by stables 'B', stable yard 'C', kitchen garden 'D', etc., although the order and priority obviously varied from estate to estate. On the larger plans, such as that for Raith, as many as 20 features were listed A to V, including "the manure yard", "the dog kennel", "the hot house", "a reservoyr for water" and "the kirk", while the smaller ones like Hawksworth and Inverquharity list only five references, A to E. Explanatory notes to do with water, bridges, dams, etc. were very often given in the references and several plans include a note about sunk fences being "wanted which will be best marked out on the spot", (Holme, Carlton, Scone, Raith, Workington etc.) On most of the plans White marked in with dotted lines the roads and boundaries existing at the time of his suggested alterations or improvements, and most of the references include a note, generally worded "the dotted lines show the old boundarys" or, on the later plans and on those of White junior, "the dotted lines are the old fences".

A development in style can be observed in the style of references too. From 1766 to about 1780 (Goldsborough to Carlton) the references were contained in a plain rectangular box located at the bottom of the plan. In the 1781 plan for Scone they are uncontained, and from 1783 (Raith) to 1793 (Glencorse) they are inscribed within a trompe d'oeil scrolled cartouche, seemingly pinned to the surface of the plan. The Belle Isle plan of 1783 is the only exception to this, as here the references are inscribed in a treed vignette placed picturesquely in the waters of Lake

Windermere, in the manner of White's titles of this period. The 1794 Preston Hall and Castle Fraser plans show the references written on a scroll attached to a rock, contained in a circular frame, and the plans subsequent to these show various forms of rocky background within a circular frame on which the references are inscribed as if on stone. The 1803 plan for Kennet reverts to a trompe d'oeil scroll drawn and written in a somewhat sloppy fashion which may possibly be the hand of White junior. In White junior's plans, for the Guynd in 1799 to the Green of Glasgow in 1820, the references are inscribed directly onto the plan and are not decorated in any way.

Although it seems that the Whites prepared and drew up their improvement plans themselves, correspondence between Thomas White junior at Woodlands and the family friend, the Reverend John Hodgson at Gateshead, in 1806 suggests that at that time Hodgson was providing assistance with the lettering on White junior's plans. In an undated letter White junior wrote to Hodgson:

I have sent you the plan and will thank you to do it whilst our man is in town as he is to bring it back. You will be so good as to write that on the scroll of paper at the top of the plan very small and the one below, measure-references, in small print hand too as it looks best.<sup>12</sup>

He followed this with a letter dated October 5 1806 in which he told Hodgson that he "was much obliged by [him] writing the plan".<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately he does not mention for which estate the plan was prepared; his plan for Herdmanston is dated 1807, however, the 'scroll of paper' on this plan is set at the lower left of the plan rather than 'at the top' and the references are located at the lower right, not below the scroll. It is, however, possible that Hodgson lettered

several plans for White junior, including the Herdmanston one.

John Claudius Loudon in 1822 wrote that White, described as "an English professor" was:

in the habit of making annual journeys in the north, taking orders for plans, which he got drawn on his return home, not one of which differed from the rest in any thing but magnitude.<sup>14</sup>

This was a harsh and perhaps rather unfair judgment on Thomas White's plans, since although the elements used within each plan were, given White's intention to create an informal, 'natural' setting, of necessity somewhat restricted and similar - grass, trees, water, paths, sunken fences and buildings - he did attempt to introduce and organise these elements in a way which, as he put it to Lord Stormont concerning Scone Palace in 1784, would make the most of the resources at his disposal:

so as to avail ourselves of the natural beauty of the place (which nature has laid out with no illiberal hand) and next to raise up such plantations as will shut out its deformitys and heighten its beautys.<sup>15</sup>

In the following sections an examination of these elements will be made, in an effort to analyse and understand the way in which White used and integrated them at particular estates. Each estate provided him with its own unique situation, natural assets, resources and disadvantages, and each posed differing problems whose satisfactory solution required experience, expertise and imagination.



## 5B WATER

He speaks. The lake in front becomes a lawn;  
 Woods vanish, hills subside, and vallies rise;  
 And streams as if created for his use,  
 Pursue the track of his directing wand,  
 Now murm'ring soft, now roaring in cascades.<sup>16</sup>  
 William Cowper, from The Task, 1785

Cowper's lines were written about Capability Brown but, given the similarities in their aims, they could perhaps equally well be applied to Thomas White when considering the uses he made of water in the designing and creation of his landscapes. Thomas Whately in discussing the components of gardening in 1770 felt that "nature, always simple, employs but four materials in the composition of her scenes, ground, wood, water, and rocks", water being "the most interesting object in a landscape, and the happiest circumstance in a retired recess".<sup>17</sup>

The uses Thomas White made of water in his designs varied, depending largely upon the natural resources available to him, which might allow him to create lakes from small streams, divert rivers or utilise existing wide expanses of water and raging torrents in creating views and picturesque effects. Some of his plans included no water, others made only minimal use of existing water, while in others fairly major transformations involving water were envisaged. It is therefore difficult to generalise about his views on the place of water in landscaping, but it is possible through his surviving designs and relevant correspondence, to examine various examples of its use and the way in which he related the water to the other elements in the design.

Created Water

Seldom art  
 Can emulate that magnitude sublime  
 Which spreads the native lake; and failing there,  
 Her works betray their character, and name;  
 And dwindle into pools.<sup>18</sup>

Quoted by William Gilpin, Remarks on Forest  
 Scenery, 1791

How successful Thomas White was in emulating "that magnitude sublime which spreads the native lake" is debatable; from the evidence surviving on the ground we can find some instances where his efforts were well rewarded, however, there are other examples where the proposed lakes were either never made, or did regrettably long ago "dwindle into pools". No major monuments, such as Brown's great lake at Blenheim, survive to testify to his talents in this area, however, according to Thomas Shepherd:

No man knew better than Mr. White how to  
 make an ornamental sheet of water, and  
 none knew better than he did how to ornament  
 it with trees, shrubs, rock-work, and grass.<sup>19</sup>

It is also interesting to note that Loudon who, in the early editions of his Encyclopaedia of Gardening mentioned White in connection with only six estates in England and Scotland, in two instances, Gosforth House and Gleneagles, credited him with a "piece of water".<sup>20</sup>

In two of his Yorkshire commissions, Goldsborough and Carlton, it is illuminating to compare directly White's ideas with those of his contemporary, the designer Richard Woods. In his 1763 design for Goldsborough, Woods included a large lake, containing two planted islands, to be formed by the damming of a stream. Woods explained in a memorandum of instructions to his foreman, William Stones, how the lake was to be made, a useful guide to our understanding of how White most probably went about forming his artificial lakes:

In making of the water you will observe that the level of surface is fixt at 2 feet 6 inches below top of the senter level stake. The Hed is to be fixt at the stake No 3. A good ribb of clay must be made a long till you meet with a good clay bottom for its foundation. Let the slope be made verry easy at least 3 feet base to one foot fall.<sup>21</sup>

White took over from Woods at Goldsborough, probably in 1765, on the understanding that any work of Woods already finished would not be altered. In White's plan dated 1766 there is no indication of a lake at all so Wood's intentions were presumably not put into effect, although a small pond (Leys Pond) does exist in the area in which Woods planned his lake. In fact White included no water at all in his scheme, not even showing the small beck which Woods had intended to dam, running to the River Nidd through the south-east corner of the estate.

At Carlton, on the other hand, Richard Woods' 1765 design for the layout included a large lake contrived in a geometrical L-shape along the eastern edge of the park, crossed by a Chinese bridge, and linking up to a less artificial serpentine lake system to the south-west. Woods' proposals were not adopted and some years later Thomas White prepared a design for Carlton.<sup>22</sup> On this, a more fluid and less stilted plan than that of Woods, White proposed only the long, narrow, curving lake at the south-west of the estate, well planted with mixed trees, including single willows, whose reflections appear in the water of the lake. This lake, its banks thickly treed, still exists at Carlton though current maps show it as rather smaller than the one White had planned. Thomas White's 1766 plan for Newby Hall shows a horseshoe-shaped lake or pond to the east of the house with a smaller lake cradled within it. This lake was made with an island in the centre, not visibly connected with any existing

water source.

White's plans for Houghton Hall (1768) and Norton Place (1772) show a marked similarity in the conception of their respective lakes. In both instances the lakes are situated immediately in front of the house, running sinuously along almost the entire width of the estate; the formation of each required the damming of a stream and, although not evident on either plan, both were to be split into two. At Houghton we now find two lakes extending to some fourteen acres, divided by an attractive, bridged cascade formed to adjust the water levels. On the Norton plan, White, perhaps having learnt from his experience at Houghton, noted in the references that "the water will require a stop or dam at L the leavels not permitting it to be made in one". At both places the lakes lend a peace and tranquillity to the view from the house, even though at Norton the land is now ploughed and planted and no longer a broad stretch of turf, and at Houghton a terrace now intervenes.

The recently discovered Thomas White plan for Burton Constable of 1768 shows the two lakes west of the house much as they exist today, though shown separated by land rather than bridged to Capability Brown's design. White apparently intended to extend the larger lake northwards between the kitchen garden and the menagerie, and to plant some individual willow trees along the eastern bank. His plan also shows the small lake immediately to the north of the house crossed by two bridges thus providing a pleasant, short circular walk crossing the water and continuing through his suggested planting.

White's extremely ambitious and vast plan for Raby Castle, drawn up for the earl of Darlington in 1774,

illustrates a most elaborate system of rivers and lakes serpentining in a very lively manner to the south of the Castle. More so than in any of his other plans, White's concern at Raby was with the water, the references giving some indication of its dominant role in his vision of the completed landscape:

- I     An ornamental building which commands  
a fine view of the water
- K     A seat commanding a very agreeable  
view of the water
- LL    Stone bridges to pass over the water
- MM    Light wood bridges for the same purpose
- N     Two light Bridges at one or both of which  
stops must be made to raise the water
- P     A Building commanding the water through  
the trees

An anonymous plan of Raby of 1749 shows that two lakes were already in existence, one of them an extension of the moat around the Castle; these two lakes (without the moat) still exist as the Low and High Pond, however, neither of them were shown on White's plan. They were described by Arthur Young in 1770 as:

breaking upon the view in irregular sheets  
of water, just over the tops of the lower  
woods; the effect most truly picturesque.<sup>23</sup>

Although White's plan for Raby was not executed in whole, the prohibitive cost of such a scheme most probably discouraging the earl from even contemplating it, an 1812 survey made by J. Dixon shows two further ponds located to the west of the park which can be identified on White's plan, and it therefore seems possible that some of his proposals were carried out; these ponds had gone by 1891 and their site is now an area of marshy ground.<sup>24</sup>

At Owston in his plan of 1785 White did not feel that water was necessary, however, Humphry Repton who produced a Red Book for Owston in 1793,<sup>25</sup> disagreed and included in his

plans a small, winding two-acre lake designed to give the illusion of size, but in fact never made. At the Grove in Nottinghamshire too, White's 1773 plan was waterless; his survey of the same year seems to indicate a lake and small pond, however both these were eliminated on the plan. The plan dated 1767 for the park at Blyborough in Lincolnshire, which also never came to fruition, indicated a two-pronged lake with no obvious source of water (although O.S. maps do show springs in this area) and the references reveal that the creation of this lake would have required the purchase of land from Sir John Thorold.

At Brocklesby in Lincolnshire there are two undated plans previously attributed to Brown but now thought to be in the hand of Thomas White, the larger one of which is an improvement plan for the estate. The references note "at N a piece of water may be made with heads and supply'd with machinery from the water at O" and it appears that White planned a more elaborate area of lakes than did Brown in either his plan of 1772 or his contract of 1776. White intended a narrow lake in front of the 'old house' mushrooming into a more bulbous area of water,(N) fed from the sinuous lake (O), shown as Newsham lake on current O.S. maps; this would be visible from the 'new house', which was not built and neither did the lake materialise. No plan has survived for Colwick Hall in Nottinghamshire where White was employed by John Musters between 1774 and 1778, however, engravings of the estate and early maps show a lake there, fed by the River Trent, and reveal a peaceful scene complete with swans and small boats.

In 1770 Thomas White embarked on his first estate improvement in Scotland, producing a large plan for Douglas

Castle in Lanarkshire, which involved a considerable amount of work on reshaping the water. The references indicate that nine dams or stops "to flow up water will be made" and two light wood bridges were to be built at convenient places over the river. Further, White described an area (MNO) as "morassy grounds made into water for the use of fish ... which by placeing proper plantations may appear connected with each other and with the river". It would appear that this scheme, together with others White had suggested for Douglas, was carried out, judging by the description written in 1845:

An unseemly morass of several acres in the immediate vicinity of the castle has been transformed into a large lake ornamented with finely wooded islands.<sup>26</sup>

Several of White's schemes for Scottish estates included the creation of lakes, some of which were completed, but with varying degrees of success. His 1783 plan for William Ferguson at Raith in Fifeshire included what he termed in his references "a reservoyr for water", shown on his plan as a lake of considerable dimension; according to an 1847 description of Raith, a lake was formed there, but not until nearly 30 years later:

The pleasure grounds are ornamented by a picturesque lake, surrounded with fine walks, varied with parterres of flowering shrubs and thriving plantations. This lake which covers more than 20 acres was formed in 1812; it is in some parts twenty-five feet in depth and abounds with fish of various kinds and is frequented by numerous aquatic birds; it is situated at the base of the eminence on which the mansion is built and adds greatly to the beauty of the scenery.<sup>27</sup>

In the following year, 1784, White drew up a plan for Miss Carr of Nisbet in Berwickshire which included "a piece of water" to be crossed by a bridge taking the approach road

up to the house. As can be seen in a detail of this plan the lake, which was to be formed from the Howe Burn, was attractively shaped but was situated too close to the house to offer extensive, distant views. It replaced a canal which was still in existence in 1792,<sup>28</sup> prior to which the house was surrounded by a moat. The lake which had once "spread up the green lawn that slopes from the gravel drive" was apparently fairly short-lived and was eventually filled in; a 1921 description of Nisbet noted that "within a stone's throw of the front door a little stream babbles noisily beneath a mossy stone bridge".<sup>29</sup>

At Abercairny in Perthshire White's lakes met with more success.<sup>30</sup> His plan of 1793:

suggested two lochs, one directly south of the present house to the north of his suggested location for the new house, and another on the east boundary. Both lochs were serpentine on plan and had islands as central features. The lochs are fed by water from the Muckle Burn which flows into the policies by Crieff Lodge and drains into the Pow Water, which runs through the park to the south of the lochs.<sup>31</sup>

The New Statistical Account of Scotland in 1845 contained a most complimentary description of Abercairny with its "artificial islands and lakes, enlivened with swans and cygnets",<sup>32</sup> while Thomas Hunter in 1883 wrote of "the lake, which is such a prominent and beautiful feature in the policies" situated "in front of the house, consisting of several acres".<sup>33</sup>

White's 1794 plan for Preston Hall shows a long lake to the west of the house to be formed by damming up the River Tyne. A smaller undated, unsigned and rather sketchy plan for Preston Hall,<sup>34</sup> shows a series of five ponds running along the western edge of the estate, while a survey produced by John Lauder in 1806 indicates three ponds linked by a



stream. The credit for the creation of the ponds, and indeed for "the whole landscape gardening of Preston Hall" was given by John Small in 1883 to the former proprietor, Lord Adam Gordon (who sold the estate to the Callander family in 1789), describing them as:

Some happily constructed ponds of graceful outline bordered by evergreens; the banks which slope to the north are varied in surface possessing a number of charming little dells running transversely down towards the valley.<sup>35</sup>

a description which bears little resemblance to White's 1794 design for the water, and leads to the conclusion that White's proposal was to join up the ponds into one long lake, which was not done.<sup>36</sup>

Also in 1794 White drew up a plan for Castle Fraser in Aberdeenshire and included to the east of the Castle a large, serpentine lake, which from the plan gives an appearance of having been imposed upon the landscape, rather than arising from it. The owner, Miss Elyza Fraser, who was reported in 1794 to be "carrying on her improvements with great spirit",<sup>37</sup> was apparently well pleased with the lake and is said to have kept a boat and two swans on it. In the 1820's various alterations were made to it, and it appears on an 1846 plan of the estate, however, by 1860 it had disappeared and its site is now planted up.<sup>38</sup>

At Gordon Castle on the banks of the River Spey, in 1793 "perpetually subject to its inundations",<sup>39</sup> although White's original design has not survived, an 1808 plan by John T. Roy indicates two lakes, one already in existence, beside the walled garden and the other, a smaller, elongated one to the north of the house.<sup>40</sup> The larger one is still there, however, White's lake, according to Tait "which had

almost evaporated by 1870, appeared rather like a puddle" on the 1st edition O.S. map and now consists only of "marshy remains".<sup>41</sup>

Several of White's plans showed lakes which were never, so far as we are aware, created; for example at Blairquhan in 1803 White proposed to Sir David Hunter Blair "a great lake to be scooped out of the [river] Girvan and no less than four bridges to connect the house with the park".<sup>42</sup> Blair did not implement White's design, however he did create a large artificial loch on the north-west of the estate, now used for fishing, and a smaller lake lies to the east of the house. At Arniston (1791) White had planned a large "piece of water" but this never materialised and at Touch (1797) he intended damming the Touch burn to create a great lake or river-loch which, had it been implemented, would have left the present residents of Touch "living surrounded by a swamp".<sup>43</sup> Sir Henry Steuart at Allanton, brother-in-law to Archibald Seton of Touch, was in 1820 to create a lake on his estate, originally laid out by Thomas White, in a form similar to that designed by White for Touch.<sup>44</sup>

In 1793 Thomas White wrote to Charles Gordon at Cairness in Aberdeenshire on the subject of the design he had prepared and sent to him, explaining to him his thinking about the water there:

I was under the necessity of removing the present horse pond which would make a very bad effect in an improved place. I am in hopes another may be contrived in some part near the stables.....  
I have decorated as much only of the opposite ground as will ornament the piece of water when extended to the limits of my second plan, but beyond that I should conceive there is latitude for greater improvements ...<sup>45</sup>

Sadly White's plan for Cairness does not survive so we are unable to examine the manner in which he intended to decorate

the ground to ornament the piece of water. He also explained to Gordon in this letter how chalky ground could be made to hold water, a method followed in the Yorkshire Wolds which White may have come across while advising Christopher Sykes at Sledmere in the 1770s, and presumably also relevant to the situation at Cairness, five miles from the North Sea coast in Aberdeenshire:

Upon the wolds of Yorkshire they have a method of making their chalky grounds retentive of water and which in dry seasons they contrive to introduce any downfall that may happen into it by means of small channels in the ground and very often along a high road.<sup>46</sup>

The plans of Thomas White junior reveal no great interest in the creation or exploitation of existing lakes, although at Duns (1812) his plan preserved the large lake to the north of the house, described by Neale as "a fine piece of water about a mile in length which separates the hill of Dunse-Law from the Castle",<sup>47</sup> and later to be extended by the owner, William Hay. White junior's scheme for Balbirnie (1815) included a lake which was not created, while at the Guynd in 1799 (which was most probably a joint commission of father and son) no water is indicated on his plan, but later maps show that an artificial lake was to be formed there.

Perhaps a clue to Thomas White's feeling for water in the landscape can be found at his own estate of Woodlands in County Durham. Here he created a series of four small ornamental lakes, only some two and a half acres in total area, which were fed with fresh running water from the top lake and followed each other down to the long pool at the bottom; stone steps to aid the progress of strollers through the grounds are still visible. The success of the contrivance of White's lakes was described by Britton and Brayley in

1803:

Some small pieces of water lately formed by, the terminations of which are so judiciously concealed by woods as to excite the idea of much greater extent than they really possess.<sup>48</sup>

These ponds created a most attractive area, set between the gardens of Woodlands and the trees around the estate which separated it from the surrounding, barren, Durham moorland. Although small in scale, through the skills of a man practised in the ways of deploying and enhancing areas of water, they gave to his relatively tiny domain an impression of magnitude, charm and scale which can still be found there.

#### Existing Water

The modern river indeed I should not recommend to their imitation. It is generally a poor unnatural contrivance. One genuine Scotch torrent is fairly worth all the serpentine rivers in England.<sup>49</sup>

William Gilpin, Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, 1776

William Gilpin here expressed one of the contradictions inherent in some of the attempts of Thomas White and other 'improvers' to impose the rolling landscape of the English countryside onto the often wild and rugged Scottish terrain. In northern England too, at estates such as Lumley Castle where the River Wear and its picturesque tributaries wind through the landscape, the smooth lawns and clumps so appropriate to the gentler lowland scenery appear out of place on White's unexecuted plan of 1768. Inverquhar (1773) and Cullen (1789/90) too, were situations already boasting rapidly running rivers, Inverquhar beside the winding South Esk River and Cullen House situated some seventy feet above the Deskford Burn. White's answer, it

seems, was to introduce heavy planting beside the waters together with riverside walks through the trees, and not to attempt any interference with the natural course of the water. White junior dealt with a similar situation in 1818 at Fordell in Fifeshire where the castle stands above a darkly wooded glen with a cascade falling in a fifty foot deep ravine, however on his design, it is difficult to find any indication of this spectacular area.

Other plans indicate rivers of varying size meandering through the grounds, for example, Polton, Pitfirrane, Old Melrose and Herdmanston, but there is no mention of them in the references and, apart from sporadic planting along the banks, very little seems to have been made of them.

Scone Palace in Perthshire, set on the banks of the River Tay, where "the view from the house looking towards the west embraces the gorgeous slope to the Tay and the Tay itself",<sup>50</sup> offered possibilities upon which White does not seem to have capitalised. Lord Stormont in considering the future landscaping of his estate wrote in his journal in 1775:

The ground about lies prettily and might very easily be laid out on a gentle slope to the river. The Mains of Scone ... would make a small but pretty nook, and the two little streams that run in these Mains are capable of beauty.<sup>51</sup>

He directed his factor, William Blair to "make a cut in what is called the Stanners to see if the river will take that course ... a great additional beauty to Scone as much more of the River will be seen from the house". Apparently this 'cut' did not succeed and White's plan of 1781 shows the wide sand-banked river Tay, ("sand beds in the River" are indicated at II in the references) dominating the lower part

of the plan. The banks are shown treed with fairly sizeable clumps of mixed planting, reflected romantically in the river, and including a lone, single willow. In a letter to Stormont in 1784 White wrote of the river:

The water also must receive its greatest animation from the single trees, and groups of wood, that are planted upon its banks,<sup>52</sup>

and perhaps if this planting had succeeded a rather beautiful scene would have resulted. White made only one other reference to the river, in a letter to Stormont in 1786 when he suggested forming some new walks "from which plan you may return a view of the river along the new road",<sup>53</sup> and the Scone contract signed in 1783 makes no mention of water, apart from the construction of a 'waterpiece' (or water fence). Andrew Cock's survey of Scone made in 1801 indicates very few trees planted along the river banks, although the large sand bed in the river is shown thickly planted. According to Loudon, who in 1803 proposed in his design for Scone "a continuous belt of willows and alders, and ... aquatic flowers" along the banks of the river,<sup>54</sup> the planting of many single trees by White had been "most ignorantly performed",<sup>55</sup> and many had died. Loudon was equally critical of White's endeavours with the area known as the Friar's Den and with the various small streams or rivulets running through the estate. Of the Friar's Den he wrote:

It would take a volume to expose the expense and ignorance that have been displayed in this dell .... his path there neither does it descend to the murmuring brook at the bottom nor wind along the top of its banks,<sup>56</sup>

while of the rivulets he said:

I propose all the rivulets just to keep their natural course - the one in front of the Palace, deformed by Mr. White, I wish restored together with the ground on each side, to their natural position ... another rivulet which

runs into this Mr. White has exposed naked and  
bare on a caswayd bottom ... 57

Loudon illustrated in his 'Treatise' his grossly exaggerated view of White's deformation of the rivulets and his own proposal for a thickly wooded, curving, somewhat mysterious rivulet, which appears no more 'natural' than White's.

Loudon had also proposed "the introduction of a branch of the river through the park" but wrote in 1811 that this had not "been acted on".<sup>58</sup>

Earlier designs by White for Yorkshire estates such as Welton, Holme and Sledmere indicate no water, although at Welton a beck running along the southern edge of the small estate might have provided a suitable source. Perhaps since the slightly elevated situation of Welton House would have provided a pleasing view of the Humber estuary to the south, White felt that a contrived area of water was not necessary. At Workington, too, a small stream running along the edge of the estate was not emphasised, but here the house standing on an ascent offered a view over the winding River Derwent.

Three plans drawn up by the Whites were for estates set either on the banks, or in the middle of, a lake (or loch), Belle Isle, Rossdhu and Cameron, while at four other estates where one or the other is known to have been consulted, Cullen, Dunninald, Mulgrave, and Dalmeny, the ocean or, at Dalmeny, the wide expanse of the Firth of Forth, offered a superb, watery backdrop to a design for the landscape.

White's plan for Belle Isle is unique in his oeuvre, a complete island over thirty acres in extent, set in the blue waters of Lake Windermere. Thomas West in his Guide to the Lakes waxed eloquent about the island:

The views from this delicious spot are many and charming. From the south side of the

island you look over a noble extent of water,  
 bounded in front by waves of distant mountains  
 that rise from the waters edge ...<sup>59</sup>

The 1783 Belle Isle design by Thomas White has a charm and lightness about it, enhanced by three picturesque cartouches set in the waters of the lake, and was to a large extent carried out. He planned a considerable amount of planting around the banks of the island, thicker at the narrower ends, with either clumps or single trees at the central area, allowing for changing views to both shores of the lake. A walk was to be laid out along the entire perimeter of the island, leading alternately through thick plantations and more open areas of lawn, again allowing for a variety of views of the island itself and the surrounding lake and mountainous country.

Both Rossdhu and Cameron House are set on the banks of Loch Lomond, virtually next door to one another, and both command what Dorothy Wordsworth in 1803 thought must be "delicious views over the water",<sup>60</sup> and to the hills towering behind, although the actual situation of the houses was flat and uninteresting. White's 1797 plan for Rossdhu, while resembling that for Belle Isle in the use of picturesque title and reference cartouches, lacks its lightness and exuberance. A loch-side walk passes through thick areas of planting, while the area between the house and the loch is planted with several circular clumps interspersed with single or small groups of trees, allowing for views, but not perhaps showing great imagination in their disposition. White junior's 1819 design for Captain Smollett's Cameron House paid far less attention to the potential of the loch, although he planned the approach road to the house to run along its shores. His plan shows sparsely planted single



trees on either side of the approach offering very little in the way of variety or excitement.

At both Cullen and Dunninald the estates virtually border onto the North Sea. White has been criticised for his insensitivity in suggesting that at Cullen House a vast clump of trees be planted, blocking out the view across the headland to the sea,<sup>61</sup> and indeed this suggestion was not carried out. At Dunninald his simple, but attractive, scheme allowed for planting around the edge of the estate facing the sea, but not of a thickness that would have eliminated views to the water. If White drew up a plan for Mulgrave Castle it has regrettably not survived so we have no way of knowing what he might have planned for such a very spectacular setting again overlooking the North Sea. White junior produced a design for Dalmeny near Edinburgh in 1815, perhaps one of his more successful schemes which was to a great extent implemented. The resultant landscape and its relationship to the broad Firth of Forth was described in glowing terms by Neale:

The shore of the Forth here suddenly rises into a ridge adorned by culture and plantations from the summit of which a succession of views may be met with which are scarcely to be equalled in any quarter of the globe. The Forth is everywhere seen - its shores covered with a regular and variegated scenery, consisting of gentle ascents and declivities interspersed with numerous mansions exhibiting a great proportion of rich and pleasing territory.<sup>62</sup>

## 5C TREES

Whatever Charms in rural life are known,  
 These most Conspicuous are in woods & Groves,  
 Where Solitude no bold Intruder finds.  
 Then thro' the bushy Trees and lonesome shades  
 Nature in all her several windings trace;  
 Search out the Beautys which unfinishd lye  
 And let assisting Art complete the Scene.<sup>63</sup>  
 Sir John Clerk, 'The Country Seat', 1731

Thomas White described himself in a letter to Robert Graham of Fintry as "a great planter",<sup>64</sup> and his work as a large-scale, contract planter is examined in chapter 7. In this section his park planting as proposed in his improvement plans will be considered.

Capability Brown in his only surviving exposition on his own aims and methods, wrote in 1775 that the effects produced by successful "gardening and place-making" in England depended upon, among other things:

... infinite delicacy in the planting etc., so much beauty depending on the size of the trees and the colour of their leaves to produce the effect of light and shade so very essential to the perfecting a good plan: as also the hideing what is disagreeable and shewing what is beautifull, getting shade from the large trees and sweets from the smaller sorts of shrubbs, etc.<sup>65</sup>

White's 1783 contract for his work at Scone Palace echoes, in more down-to-earth words, some of Brown's sentiments:

The said Thos. White shall also make such plantations of shrubs, forrest trees and evergreens as are described in the plan, the said plantations to consist of a pleasing variety of the different kinds of plants which are known to thrive well in Scotland ...<sup>66</sup>

and in a letter to Lord Stormont in 1784 White wrote of the "leading objects ... to be principal in the improvement of Scone", including:

to raise up such plantations as will shut out its deformitys and highten its beautys, and by breaking the distant scenery as you pass along, introduce the same objects in different lights and points of view and thereby give you an agreeable change of scene.<sup>67</sup>

The clumps, belts and single trees shown in Thomas White's plans are generally a colourful and attractive mix of evergreens and deciduous in various shades of green and autumnal brown designed to provide the "pleasing variety" of texture, size and tone which he sought in his planting.<sup>68</sup> How these plantings were translated into reality is difficult to ascertain, however at Scone we do find some indication of the nature of the park planting. The Scone accounts include a list of over 5000 trees and shrubs supplied by White in 1784, to be planted in clumps;<sup>69</sup> nearly one hundred different varieties are named and priced, together with a large number of rose bushes, Weymouth pines (1000) and American spruce (300) predominating. Stormont's factor, Blair, questioned the cost of the plants adding that he did not "think there is near the number yet sent that he [White] should furnish",<sup>70</sup> and White observed to Lord Stormont in July 1785 that this parcel of plants contained "nothing like the variety and quantity I propose planting".<sup>71</sup> In 1803 when Loudon prepared his 'Treatise on Scone',<sup>72</sup> he criticised harshly the great variety and the types of trees both White and Stormont before him had planted, and noted that many had died, probably due both to their unsuitability to the Perthshire climate and to a lack of proper tending:

The trees planted at different times, and of improper sorts, have no connection with each other, nor with the grounds themselves, and thus formal clumps and uniform belts containing a motley mixture of trees and shrubs, overpowered with larches and scotch firs, with the more recent but equally absurd plantations (dead or alive) here and there throughout the grounds disfigure and distort the whole place.<sup>73</sup>

Loudon criticised particularly the appearance and estimated cost of a clump made up of sixteen different varieties of trees which, if it had contained only oak and berberis could

have been done at £6 12s an acre, about one-twentieth of Loudon's estimate of White's costs.<sup>74</sup> He wrote of "the insipid scenes of the shrubbery and other deformities of art and ignorance" which had:

almost annihilated those ideas of grandeur and magnificence which nature first designed should reign there - and which the hand of art should industriously preserve, heighten and inforce ... much money has been improperly expended in the shrubbery ... and the management of it, and also the other new made plantations,<sup>75</sup> is a certain annual loss of labour and produce.<sup>75</sup>

Accounts from Archibald Dickson and Sons of Hassendeanburn dating from 1783-1787, while White was engaged at John Christian Curwen's Workington and Belle Isle estates, reveal that there too a considerable number and variety of trees were purchased, presumably for planting in accordance with his improvement plans. These included 22,000 thorns, 500 beech, 300 larch, 100 silver firs, 100 black American spruce, 100 poplars, 100 oaks, and 50 Balm of Gilead firs. In addition spruce, beech, Scots fir, poplar, early flowering and fruit trees, together with vegetable and flower seeds, were ordered from Richard Sunter, a Workington nurseryman, at the same period.<sup>76</sup>

In recalling Thomas White's plans and planting, Thomas Shepherd wrote:

Mr. White justly exploded many of Mr. Brown's plans as being too formal; such as his heavy clumps of forest trees and formal belts, which generally encompassed the parks, blocking out every distant object from the view ... every unsightly object he blinded with trees or shrubs. Every beautiful object he left open to view, by cutting down trees ...<sup>77</sup>

White's clumps, certainly at Scone, were made up of other than just forest trees, however their initial appearance, composition and purpose apparently caused Lord Stormont some concern, and in 1784 White wrote to him in an attempt to

explain them:

... as all clumps of wood convey a stiffness and formality to the eye, for some years, till they are grown up, and answer their intended purposes; I do not wonder that your Lordship should think that I had dotted too many of them about the lawn, but you will please to consider that the greatest part of them are intended after a few years to be singled out into dispersed trees, in a park like order; and will have a very different appearance, when the former that surrounds them are removed and the green carpet introduced, and the cattle feeding under their spreading branches; those open groups of squandered trees will also be well contrasted by that time, by leaving part of them in close thickets of well varied tints of different trees.<sup>78</sup>

He went on to say that at that time his design and intentions were shown better on his plan than on the ground, and indeed his plan of 1781 does show a large number of thinly grouped trees spreading out from the house towards the more solid groupings along the banks of the Tay river.

Sir Henry Steuart in The Planter's Guide acknowledged White's work at his Allanton estate:

About forty years since, when the style of Brown was in high fashion and repute, this place was modernized and laid out by an eminent Landscape Gardener, well-known in Scotland, namely, Mr. Thomas White, one of the most ingenious of his pupils.<sup>79</sup>

He went on to talk of White's planting there, commenting on the clumps that they were never "intended to be permanent, by this able artist":

on the contrary, they were meant to act as kindly and sheltering masses, to a very open subject, and as the only means of protecting and getting up good single Trees and loose dispositions of wood.<sup>80</sup>

As he did at Scone, White had advised Steuart to trench the ground and take "from it a potatoe crop ... before being planted".<sup>81</sup> After twelve or fifteen years Steuart "began to cut away the larch and spruce-firs" which "had been

introduced merely as nurses to the deciduous trees" and to thin out the numerous clumps first planted by White until they were reduced to "open dispositions of wood" as intended.

All of White's improvement plans indicate areas of clump planting, in some instances small and sparsely treed, for example Carlton, Sledmere, Workington and the Grove. In later plans for estates in Scotland the clumps appear often to be rather more dense and larger, for example at Champfleurie in 1792 where he also planned thick planting around two quarries, and at Touch, Dunninald, Rossdhu and Buchanan. The park at Donibristle, an estate of the earl of Moray in Fifeshire, was laid out by White in the 1770s according to Carruthers:

Donibristle Park was laid out, about seventy years ago, by Mr. White, a famous improver in his day. It boasts one splendid avenue of beech trees; and the approaches wind along, from the lodge to the house - a distance of three miles. The garden is also very extensive, finely diversified with large trees and rare shrubs, among which are some gigantic evergreens and a large tree, which was sent by the late Duke of Atholl in a flower-pot.<sup>82</sup>

No plan survives and Carruthers' reference to a "splendid avenue of beech trees" leads one to suppose that White laid out only a part of the estate as he would most certainly have eliminated the beech avenue. A recent report on Donibristle describes:

The parkland which once was freely planted with individual parkland trees and also clumps and roundels<sup>83</sup>... lost under massive development of housing.

An 1845 description of Abercairny, for which White produced two improvement plans and where he was actively engaged during the 1790s, praised:

A magnificent park, embellished with the enchanting art of imitating nature, in which extensive lawns salute the eye, the antique alley, venerable oaks, clumps and trees, scattered in a lavish style of sylvan beauty whose dark shades serve as foils to set off the lovelier mantle of the verdant surface.<sup>84</sup>

Although Thomas Shepherd claimed that White "exploded many of Mr. Brown's plans as being too formal, such as his ... formal belts",<sup>85</sup> on many of White's plans an almost continuous belt of planting around the estate is indicated (for example see Workington, the Grove, Blyborough, Newby, Owston and Sledmere). In other instances though the planting belt is interrupted allowing for views out of the estate (for example, Welton, Blairquhan, Buchanan, Dunninald, Kinnaird, Blair Drummond and Abercairny). For Holme in Yorkshire White drew up a plan in 1777 which included heavy belt planting to the east and several belts and clumps of trees. He was attempting to transform an estate described by the duchess of Devonshire in 1774 as being:

placed in an absolute bogg in the midst of the dirtiest and I believe the ugliest part of Yorkshire. It looks dreary to the greatest degree and what adds to its shocking appearance is a Church all delabree standing with one melancholy stunted tree at the top of a barren hill.<sup>86</sup>

White's 1772 plan for Norton Place, Lincolnshire, the seat of John Harrison, shows very thick planting around the estate and numerous large clumps dispersed on either side of the long serpentine lake. Again no documentary evidence exists to support White's activities there, however, Harrison does seem to have followed many of his suggestions and Arthur Young was impressed with the estate in 1794.<sup>87</sup>

In looking at the plans of Thomas White junior we can discern a marked difference to those of his father, both in the actual drawing of the trees and in their disposition.

For example, his 1807 plan for Herdmanston the trees are shown, loosely drawn and scattered somewhat randomly neither in clumps nor as individuals. There is a sparsity and tentativeness about the planting which is also particularly evident in his Murdostoun, Balbirnie and Fordell plans. This could be seen as White junior's attempt to break away from the slightly more formal and tightly controlled planting of his father and move into a looser naturalism. At Duns he produced a plan in 1812 (a year after his father's death) for William Hay, and though it appears that some of his ideas for planting clumps and the periphery belts were adopted, Hay later expressed his regret at not having sooner been aware of the theories of the picturesque as propounded by Uvedale Price. He felt that Scottish estates were almost all "done on the same plan which happened to be in fashion at the time":

Some in the Dutch taste before this time were destroyed as far as practicable, leaving the ghosts of avenues and rows, and fitting this up with small trees, clumping and belting in every direction but the right one, and giving the whole scene a character of baldness and monotony ...<sup>88</sup>

And indeed, in White junior's plan the "ghosts of avenues" can be seen heading south from the house through the park.

Balbirnie was probably White junior's most successful commission and here he was improving a landscape designed by Robert Robinson in 1779. Sparse as the planting may appear on the plan, in practice it apparently produced a very pleasing effect:

The shrubberies around the house, and along a small brook which meanders through the grounds on the east, are laid out with exquisite taste and effect, and contain in great variety and profusion, such plants and shrubs, native and exotic as are hardy enough to withstand the rigours of the winter.<sup>89</sup>



His huge plan for Dalmeny, drawn in 1815, shows considerable areas of belt and clump planting but in this instance he did not made use of a solid periphery belt separating the park from the surrounding country. It appears from an 1860 survey by T. Strachan that much of White junior's planting was indeed carried out at Dalmeny, though whether he supervised the work himself, or merely provided the plan, is not known.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from those discussed above, there are of course, numerous other examples of White's park planting, where he presumably followed similar methods, encountered similar problems and achieved similar results. At Buchanan, to the east of Loch Lomond, where he was engaged on a planting contract between 1787 and 1795, Thomas White drew up a large improvement plan for the duke of Montrose in 1789. This called for radical alterations to the previous layout (parts of whose geometric formality can be detected from the dotted lines on White's plan indicating the old boundaries and avenues), and it appears that some of White's ideas were put into practice. Perhaps no greater compliment could have been paid to the success of White's planting and his efforts to achieve his vision of a tasteful, ornamental but natural setting than that of Patrick Graham describing Buchanan in 1806:

As the traveller advances, Buchanan, the seat of his Grace the Duke of Montrose, comes in full view before the eye on the left; presenting a widely extended domain: a lawn of at least 1200 acres, beautifully sprinkled with aged trees, bears a nearer resemblance to an English park than anything that is to be met with in Scotland.<sup>91</sup>

## 5D LAYOUT OF GROUNDS

From the temperature of our climate we derive a beauty unknown in the gardens of a warmer country. Few objects are more pleasing than the smooth lawn; but the soft verdure, which constitutes its beauty, is not to be found in more southern climates.<sup>92</sup>

Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Pleasures of a Garden', 1779

It is perhaps a truism to observe that the English landscape garden could have developed as it did only in England; nevertheless, in geographical terms, it was the unique combination of geology (and thus topography),<sup>93</sup> together with the damp but moderate climate, which allowed for the creation of spacious, rolling areas of smoothly turfed lawn, interrupted by carefully placed clumps and single trees, curving approach roads, surrounded by broad belts of planting and very often enlivened with a serpentine lake or river.

In order to allow the house, the garden and the park to join in a smooth and perfect harmony, the designs of Capability Brown and his followers generally required that the lawn be brought right up to the house and that a curving sunk fence, or ha-ha, be built some distance away to provide a barrier (invisible to a viewer from the house) to intrusive grazing sheep, cattle and deer.

Writing in 1770, Horace Walpole described the use of the sunk fence, or ha-ha, in modern gardening as "the leading step" to all that followed, for these reasons:

no sooner was this simple enchantment made than levelling, mowing and rolling followed. The contiguous ground of the park, without the sunk fence, was to be harmonized with the lawn within; and the garden in its turn was to be set free from its prim regularity, that it might assort with the wilder country without ...<sup>94</sup>

Charles Bridgeman (d.1738) is generally credited with

introducing the ha-ha to England from France, however, earlier examples of its use have been identified.<sup>95</sup>

While Walpole claimed that the sunk fence formed the dual function of both bringing the park into the garden and freeing the regular garden to join with the wilder countryside, Thomas Whately in 1771 maintained that its use was:

merely to provide a fence without obstructing the view. To blend the garden with the country is no part of the idea; the cattle, the objects, the culture, without the sunk fence, are discordant to all within, and keep up the division.<sup>96</sup>

It was perhaps the case that in its early use the sunk fence, when set between the still formally designed garden and the unplanned park or farm land beyond, did perform the function of beginning a blurring of the boundaries between, and thus eventually a uniting of the two previously disparate areas. However, as the garden lost its formal elements through the eighteenth century and became itself 'parklike', the countryside was, with the accelerating pace of enclosure, becoming formalised into regular, hedged, fields providing a marked contrast with the open, irregular, 'naturalised' estate designs being produced by Capability Brown and his followers. This contrast can be clearly observed on several of Thomas White's improvement plans, for example Norton, Houghton and Lumley, and, in Scotland, Inverquhar, Buchanan and Glamis. It has been argued that with the progress of enclosure, which left the countryside outside the estate "increasingly less wild, professional gardeners refined the planning of prospects to avoid the raw-looking new enclosures",<sup>97</sup> and this argument consorts both with Whateley's views above and with the use made by Brown and White of often continuous belts of trees bounding the estate

and separating it from the outside world.

In White's designs the sunk fence, when shown on the plan, was usually placed at not too great a distance from the house and was obviously intended to provide an unobtrusive barrier to grazing animals, rather than to blend two already similar parts of the estate. His plans for Houghton, Owston, Kinnaird, Abercairny and Burton Constable, for example, all show a sunk fence set in front of or, at Abercairny, to the sides of the house, while that for Dunninald surrounds the house completely. Although White's plan for Gordon Castle has not survived, Roy's incomplete plan of the estate in 1808 shows a sunk fence of great length running in front of the house, most probably of White's design. At those estates bounded by large areas of water, for example Rossdhu and Cameron by Loch Lomond, and Belle Isle on Lake Windermere, a sunk fence would have been superfluous for as William Gilpin observed of Belle Isle:

In every part, except on the high grounds, you stand in an amphitheatre composed of the noblest objects; and the lake performing the office of a sunk fence, the grandeur of each part of the continent is called in by turns, to aid the insignificance of the island.<sup>98</sup>

In some instances, for example at Goldsborough where the sunk fence is shown bounding both the eastern and western edges of the estate, and at Newby, the sunk fences now appear more like a wall built to separate areas of lawn from planted areas in order to protect the trees from browsing cattle and deer. The only mention made of a fence in White's Newby correspondence is in an instruction to his foreman, Stones:

I would not have you let the men at the token work fill up that part of the ground with earth where Mr. Weddell and Bellwood set out the fence as we have not yet determined about it.<sup>99</sup>

If this refers to the sunk fence, it would seem that its location was a matter for discussion amongst Weddell the owner, Belwood the architect employed to make alterations to the house, and White the landscape designer, and that the fence was not to be built exactly as shown on White's 1766 plan.

In many instances White did not include a sunk fence on his plan, instead indicating in the references that a sunk fence would be later laid out on the ground, for example Holme, Carlton, Raith, Workington, Leddington, Blair Drummond and Scone.

Occasionally White indicated fences of a standard nature on his plans, for instance his Houghton and Lumley plans both show 'post and chain' fences, while that for Welton shows 'iron palisadings' in front of the house. The Lumley plan also indicates that a 'rails fence' was required stretching northwards from the house and bounding the plantations.

The design of the approach road through the estate and up to the house was crucial to a successful landscaping scheme, since it was from here that the initial impression of the house and its surroundings would be gained. In their report on Allanton in 1823, the Highland Society of Scotland were impressed with the approach which they credited to Thomas White:

There is one large mass of wood, of about two acres in extent, through which the Eastern approach to the place passes ... This approach was originally laid out by Mr. White, and does credit to his professional talents. At one place it seems, it appears extremely desirable to that artist to mask or conceal the approach from the house and adjoining grounds, and it was equally proper, at the same place, completely to conceal the house from them.<sup>100</sup>

Thomas Shepherd in 1836 too praised White's approaches

and compared them to those of Capability Brown which he criticized as having "too much of the serpentine form in zigzagging them, perhaps with the view of greater variety in figure, or for forming bolder curves":

[White's] approaches were so natural, his sweeps so commanding and expressive, as never failed to be the admiration of everyone who saw them.<sup>101</sup>

Shepherd felt that an "extensive sweep ... adds greatly to the idea of extent as well as to the grandeur or beauty of a park" whereas a number of short sweeps did the opposite and had "a bad effect".<sup>102</sup>

White was said by Neale to have been responsible for the original layout of the naturally undulating grounds of Armley House, near Leeds in Yorkshire, prior to the improvements made by Humphry Repton in 1810.<sup>103</sup> In his Red Book for Armley, Repton wrote at some length of the approach road, which had presumably been the work of White:

The road has very judiciously been made along the valley, and seems perfect as far as the present garden, but from thence it makes a needless 'detour' by which it not only goes beyond the house to return back to it, but climbs a hill from whence it descends to the house ... this was probably supposed to give an appearance of extent to the grounds, but in reality as the ground falls from the eye in every direction, very little of it is seen ...<sup>104</sup>

At Touch in Stirlingshire White's plan shows two approach roads, one following beside the curves of the ambitious lake he planned, which was never dug. The road was not made either, although it found favour with Archibald Seton who wrote to Henry Steuart in 1812:

As my mind strongly leans towards the line of approach recommended by you and Mr. White, and as I anxiously wish to adopt it provided the parts of the road which leads up and down the banks could be so constructed ...<sup>105</sup>

The approach at Gordon Castle was marked out in June 1791 by George Brown, most probably following Thomas White's plan for the road leading from the town of Fochabers, which is shown on the 1808 Roy plan, set within heavy planting, curving in a broad sweep to the Castle.<sup>106</sup>

White obviously considered the approach road to the house of great importance, as is illustrated in his explanation of his objectives at Scone to Lord Stormont in 1784:

The two leading objects that occurs for me to be principal in the improvement of Scone is first to conduct the approach in a more pleasing mode, so as to avail ourselves of the natural beauty of the place ...<sup>107</sup>

The approach on White's plan of 1781 is shown as a winding road, curving sharply in its sweep from the Perth road to the Palace (perhaps exhibiting rather more of the 'zigzag' effect than Thomas Shepherd would have liked). On visiting Scone in December 1783 White was apparently fired with the idea of extending the approach further south, near the bank of the river, but this would require the acquisition by Stormont of the area known as Chappelhill field:

It was the full view of the river, bridge and town of Scone which he [White] had from the summit of Chappelhill park and all along Chappelhill field, which struck him with the ideas of a grand approach to the house, which he said in the present plan was by far too short.<sup>108</sup>

In February Blair was reporting that he had had to stop White's foreman who was enthusiastically forming the road through Chappelhill field as proposed by White, since Stormont had not made a decision about acquiring the land. It appears Stormont decided not to add this land to his policy at that time, although it was later acquired by his successor, the earl of Mansfield, and the approach road is

marked on Cock's 1801 survey. Loudon later criticised White's approach at Scone as being "unnatural and unconnected with the ground" and Loudon's plan for a longer approach was partially adopted.<sup>109</sup>

In the eighteenth century, as Mark Girouard has observed:

Walking round a garden or driving round a park, whether one's own or somebody else's loomed large in the ample leisure time of people in polite society ... the smooth and level turf of the typical late 18th century park was ideally adapted for getting off the gravelled tracks of the circuit and making a diversion or short cut ...<sup>110</sup>

Most of Thomas White's plans show circuit walks or drives around the estates, sometimes shown in the references as 'walks', 'rides' or 'green rides', for example at Arniston and Kinnaird. At Blyborough "a riding round the park" is indicated, and at Newby "a riding round the estate", while his 1793 plan for Glencorse has a 'sheep walk'. Belle Isle includes a walk following the shoreline around the island and the Grove estate is shown completely encircled with a well-treed ride or walk.

White's 1776 plan for the grounds of Sledmere shows the entire estate encircled with a belt of planting within which runs a circuit ride of some considerable length. In order to form this ride, Christopher Sykes had realised before White had drawn up the plan, that he would need to acquire, either by purchase or exchange, several small areas of land from various owners (ten in total), including the earl of Winchilsea and a Mrs. Langley. In February 1776 Sykes wrote to a Mr. J.N. Johnson, presumably an agent for the earl of Winchilsea:



There is a very small fall of land at Fimber which crosses the end of one of the vales at Sledmere and butts against the end of another vale which entirely prevents a communication from one to the other. I have lately had Mr. White over at Sledmire (who lays out pleasure grounds and rides) and he proposes to carry the chief pleasure ride of my seat at Sledmire that way if the first 12 or 14 lands can be obtained, the whole land wished for is but 3A 2R 16P, and it has been plowed but once or twice these 20 years past.<sup>111</sup>

He asked whether the earl would consider either selling him the "tithes of that small quantity of land" or exchanging them for an equivalent area of land. He had written a very similar letter in December 1775 to a Mr. Lambert with regard to lands owned by Mrs. Langley, saying that he would "take it as a particular favour if she would exchange the ... lands for grounds either in Fimber or Sledmire joining her other lands".<sup>112</sup>

Other features occurring on some of White's improvement plans include bowling greens (at Abercairny and Ardoch), drying grounds or yards and washing greens (Kennet, Bargany, the Guynd), and of course various types of building and kitchen gardens.

## 5E BUILDINGS AND KITCHEN GARDENS

Next to a badly designed, ill placed house, a misplaced, ill arranged, and unproductive kitchen-garden is the greatest evil of a country-residence.<sup>113</sup>

John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, 1859

The vogue for garden buildings deployed to assist in the creation of three-dimensional landscape pictures, prevalent in the designs of William Kent and seen in profusion in the gardens of Stowe, Stourhead and Rousham, declined as the 'garden of artifice' gave way to the fashion for naturalism and later the search for the picturesque. Capability Brown, though also an architect, did not include incidental buildings in his designs, and very few of Thomas White's plans include buildings other than the house, necessary offices, stables, lodges and staff cottages. Where structures of some utility, such as burial vaults (at Scone and Nisbet), ice houses (Blair Drummond), hot houses (Workington), dog kennels (Workington and Raith), wash houses (Kinnaird and Preston Hall) or menageries (Burton Constable, Carlton, Brocklesby, Kinnaird and Preston Hall) already existed, they were generally included in the references to White's plans. Very often planting was indicated around them to hide their presence, as for example at Arniston, where White's plan shows the stables and farmyards well disguised by heavy circles of trees.

At Brocklesby, Raith, Preston Hall and, most particularly, Belle Isle, temples or monuments are clearly indicated and included as an integral part of White's design, while his largely unexecuted plan for Raby includes a reference to "an ornamental building which commands a fine view of the water". The unsigned and undated plan for

Brocklesby shows at reference I a "temple or summerhouse" which is identifiable as the site of the Pelham Mausoleum, designed by James Wyatt and erected between 1787 and 1794 by Charles Anderson Pelham as a memorial to his wife who died in 1786. The presence of the temple on the plan, on the site of an old Roman burial ground, suggests a tentative dating of the Brocklesby plan prior to 1787, possibly 1785.

White's plan of 1794 for Preston Hall includes a most attractive title vignette showing the temple which terminates a long vista from the house. This temple is attributed to the architect of Preston Hall, Robert Mitchell, and was erected to the memory of Alexander Callander (d.1792) by his brother John. Its site is shown on White's plan as a small circle, but is not identified in the references and according to his planting suggestions would not be clearly visible from the house due to the intervening trees. A small, unsigned, plan in pencil of Preston Hall, which it has tentatively been suggested may also be by White,<sup>114</sup> shows the temple and on this plan the planting, though informal, allows a clear view of it from the house. An 1806 plan of the estate as surveyed by John Lauder shows a straight double avenue of trees leading from the house to the temple, suggesting that neither plan had been put into effect by that date; however, a plan of 1842 by Thomas Carfrae of Edinburgh shows a layout and planting not dissimilar from that on White's plan.

Interestingly an engraving of Preston Hall of 1795 includes what appears to be the top part of the temple set on a small mound to the north-west of the house where the kitchen garden (as located on White's plan) was built. This engraving also shows informal planting around the house of quite a different nature to that in the 1806 survey.<sup>115</sup>

The attractive plan for Belle Isle produced by White in 1783 for John Christian Curwen and his wife Isabella, shows a number of buildings in addition to the house; a thatched building, a "handsome building" or temple and a garden house are included in the references but there is no indication on maps subsequent to 1783 that any of these were in fact erected, and neither do any written descriptions of the island mention them. It would appear therefore that these were suggestions made by White to add to the picturesque quality he was perhaps trying to achieve at Belle Isle.

Many of White's plans show lodges and various farm buildings, cottages and gardener's houses, while some indicate existing or proposed villages. Criticism was levelled at Capability Brown for the destruction of villages to make space for a "rich man's" park, for example at Richmond Park, Audley End, Nuneham Courtenay and Milton Abbas.<sup>116</sup> At several estates for which White prepared improvement plans a new village was envisaged, and in some instances was built, although White does not appear to have been directly involved in any of these rebuildings. At Harewood, Edwin Lascelles was contemplating the transformation of his estate in the 1750s, and the old village of Harewood was completely rebuilt outside the main gates to designs made by John Carr in 1760.<sup>117</sup> At Sledmere the Sykes family began relocating the village outside the park prior to both the enclosure of Sledmere in 1776 and to White's improvement plan of the same year, and Brown's plan of 1777. The village was entirely demolished and rebuilt after that time, apart from the church which remained in the park near the house.<sup>118</sup> White's vast 1774 plan for Raby Castle shows a blank space to the east of Raby Castle,

designated in the references at B as "a space for the village, stables, kitchen garden, etc."; White's grandiose scheme for Raby was not carried out, however, the village of New Raby was later built but further east than indicated on his plan.

In Scotland a flourishing town existed a mere half mile from Gordon Castle and in 1776 the duke of Gordon began letting out plots in a new town of Fochabers, another half mile distant. White's plan for Gordon has not survived, but he is known to have been engaged there from 1786 until at least 1792; an 1808 map of Gordon by Roy showing the improvements made by White also clearly shows the grid-like plan of Fochabers New Town which was not fully completed until 1802.<sup>119</sup> At Dunninald, James Playfair had prepared a plan for David Scott in 1787 which included an entire village of 376 houses, providing accommodation for 2036 people; White's plan of 1789 does not show this village but does include a semi-circular area of buildings described as 'new cottages'. His plan of 1770 for Douglas Castle indicates 'the New Town of Douglas' but this was never built, the town or village of Douglas being described in 1845 as "a place of considerable antiquity".<sup>120</sup> White's plans for Cullen of 1789 and 1790, most probably drawn in consultation with Robert Adam, show the town of Cullen moved to a new site closer to the sea, and away from Cullen House. The new town, built on a symmetrical plan, was eventually created after the death of the 7th earl of Findlater, between 1811 and 1820.<sup>121</sup>

"The village of Scone" is marked on White's 1781 plan in close proximity to the Palace; Lord Stormont had noted in his journal in 1775:

The town and church of Scone, being so near the house are a great eyesore. The town cannot be removed but the church possibly might and another as good built for a few hundred.<sup>122</sup>

It would seem that the 7th Viscount had more scruples about the removal of a complete town or village than did many of his contemporaries, and indeed than his successor the 3rd earl of Mansfield; he in spite of considerable opposition from the inhabitants, removed the old village and rebuilt it in 1805-7. However, White's scheme for the Scone estate of necessity had to allow for the nearby village and correspondence between Lord Stormont and his factor William Blair included reference to White's pleasure at the acquisition of "that ground and the trees on the west side of the Chantergate which would make the policy more compleat", (Chantergate being a street in the village). White suggested fencing the whole eastern extent of the estate where it bordered on the village "on the outside by a stone wall seven feet high, and on the inside next the lawns by a sunk fence built of stones".<sup>123</sup> The church appears to be marked on White's plan at E as "the family burial vault", located very close to the house, and was apparently moved further east upon Lord Stormont's application to the Perth Presbytery in 1784; this new church was itself later moved out of the estate entirely in 1804.<sup>124</sup>

A reference to a kitchen garden is given on virtually every one of Thomas White's surviving improvement plans (the 1773 plan for the Grove being an exception), although the later ones and those of White junior refer to it as a 'garden'.<sup>125</sup> In its generally rectangular form with a plain brick exterior, the kitchen garden, whether already in existence or planned, presented an aesthetic problem in the

creation of the natural park setting.<sup>126</sup> It is represented in the majority of White's designs with the interior symmetrically divided by paths into two or four equal parts, with square, furrowed areas shown within these.<sup>127</sup> Where a new kitchen garden was planned, it was generally set at some considerable distance from, and preferably out of sight of, the house making it further to transport the produce,<sup>128</sup> and is nearly always shown on White's plans with heavy planting around it (Mountquhanie and Holme Hall were notable exceptions to this); the planting served the dual purpose of hiding the kitchen garden from the house and protecting the garden from the wind.

The aesthetic problem is well illustrated at Belle Isle set in Lake Windermere, where White's 1783 plan shows a large, square kitchen garden, with adjoining semi-circular stables. Heavy planting is indicated around both the garden and the stables, but nevertheless the straight edges of the walled garden in such a setting do, on the plan, produce a somewhat discordant note. White's suggested kitchen garden does not appear to have been built, John Christian Curwen having instead removed the existing one "to the neighbourhood of Belle Grange".<sup>129</sup> The owner of Belle Isle immediately prior to Curwen, Thomas English, was heavily criticised, both for his garden and for his unusual circular house, designed by John Plaw.<sup>130</sup> William Hutchinson wrote scathingly in 1773 of English "laying out gardens on a square plan" and "building fruit-walls" adding that "to see a cabbage-garth extend its bosom to the East, squared and cut out at right angles, is so offensive to the eye of the traveller, that he turns away with disgust".<sup>131</sup> Thomas West too complained that English had "modernised a fine slope in the bosom of the

island into a formal garden, (an unpleasing contrast to the natural simplicity and insular beauty of the place.)",<sup>132</sup> however, James Clarke in 1787 supported English's garden on grounds of convenience rather than taste:

Mr. English might wish for both pleasure and kitchen gardens on his hermitage, whither he meant, when he first purchased it, to retire from the bustling crowd of the metropolis. Was he to take boat and sail for a walk in his garden when he had ten minutes to spare? Was he when he wanted to read a few pages in his garden, to travel two MILES to do it? Was his cook to fetch every handful of parsley, or other things of that kind, cross the lake, perhaps in a high wind?<sup>133</sup>

William Green, however, felt that a walled garden was not a necessity to Thomas English:

Now if Mr. English had wished for a garden on his island, it did not follow that garden should have been enclosed by a wall, fruit might have been had from the main land, and a mere vegetable ground, rudely fenced by wood, and on a line suited to the situation, might have been erected in such a way as to have been offensive only in a slight degree, and planted out by trees in tasteful combination, thereby enveloping utility in beauty.<sup>134</sup>

The beautiful, natural and self-contained setting of Belle Isle did make it more open to the criticisms of commentators upon scenery, however, the remarks made upon the situation and appearance of the kitchen garden there could be equally well applied to other estates; utility and taste on occasion seemed to come into conflict in the attempt to fit the garden into the landscape.

On Thomas White's 1766 plan for Goldsborough the kitchen garden is shown merely as an outline fairly close to the house but set back so as not to interfere with the view over the park; it was in fact built in that location, some of the walls remaining and surrounding a housing estate. Richard Woods' earlier plan for Goldsborough of 1763, by contrast,



included a vast walled garden dominating the view eastward from the house, and though shown with ample planting surrounding it, was clearly not considered as a suitable site.<sup>135</sup> White's 1766 plan for Newby Hall indicates in the references that the kitchen garden was to be "planted round with trees of a low growth", but no further mention of it is to be found in White's correspondence with his foreman. A 1720 Kip drawing of Newby Hall shows unwalled kitchen gardens located by the river Swale in a similar position to the walled garden shown on White's plan, which it seems was eventually built, and is now a children's adventure playground and restaurant.

In several instances the location, design or other evidence suggests that a kitchen garden was already there when White drew up his plan, for example, at Houghton Hall, where it would seem unlikely that White would have planned a kitchen garden in such close proximity to the house, even though the two are separated by planting; the garden was most probably constructed at the same time as the new house, prior to 1768. Both the Thomas White and Richard Woods plans for Carlton Towers show clearly the vast walled garden situated very close to, and immediately to the north of the house, where it still exists, indicating that the garden was there before Woods' plan of 1765. The unusual pentagonal kitchen garden at Brocklesby in Lincolnshire is shown on both Capability Brown's plan of 1772 and on the plan attributed to White of circa 1785 and was perhaps created in 1730 when the house was built. At Owston, it would seem that a garden was already in existence for planting records mention trees being planted in 1785 from the west of the garden to the coach road, and in 1788 the plantation north of the garden known as

the 'Garden Plantation' was made;<sup>136</sup> however in 1791 the records show "garden built" and nineteenth century maps show this to be in the location suggested by White in his 1785 plan.

The kitchen gardens at Kinnaird and Buchanan coincide with the presence of both White and the architect, James Playfair. That at Kinnaird, dating from 1790,<sup>137</sup> is square and set close behind the house, shown on White's 1791 plan surrounded on all sides with planting, while the Buchanan garden is located well to the east of the house. The Buchanan garden was designed by Playfair,<sup>133</sup> and according to Neill:

The garden was planned and begun about the year 1792 but only finished about 1802. His 9 English acres in extent, of which six are enclosed with brick walls, and the remaining three with a very sufficient hedge.<sup>139</sup>

The kitchen garden is shown on White's plan of 1789 precisely in the area in which it was built, which suggests that either it was already there when he made the plan, or that he and Playfair discussed and planned its location together, and he then showed the proposed garden on his improvement plan.

At Abercairny the four acre kitchen garden exists as on White's designs of 1791 and 1793 well to the west of the house,<sup>140</sup> and at Castle Fraser his plan for a new garden replacing the old one to the east of the castle was followed. The Preston Hall garden is credited to the architect, Robert Mitchell, in about 1792 and is located as shown on White's 1794 plan, and not as shown on the unattributed sketch plan for Preston Hall.

White's suggestion for a new kitchen garden at Touch House was not taken up; he located it on the north-eastern boundary of the policy but it was to remain as shown on

Bell's 1797 survey plan close to the house on the western side. At Blairquhan White planned a new house and offices set on an island formed by a loop in the river and placed the gardens to the west, to be reached by a bridge across the river, but his plan was not followed; the garden was eventually laid out in 1816 close to the new house built by William Burn in 1820-24. Other planned, but apparently unconstructed gardens, were those on White's plans for Welton, Norton, Workington, Inverquhar, and Dunninald. On his 1772 plan for John Harrison at Norton Place, White included a kitchen garden immediately to the west of the house, but the present garden which is presumably the one observed by Arthur Young in 1794 and described as "a garden walled, with the appurtenances",<sup>141</sup> is located by the western boundary of the estate, where White's plan gives an orchard. The 1783 Workington plan shows a large kitchen garden, far from the house, at one end of which is a melonary and hothouse garden, and at the other an orchard; here for some reason White suggested planting only on the north side with just a few scattered trees to the south. The Dunninald garden is unusual, being shown as an attractive oval shape, well planted, and away from the house.

Rossdhu, by Loch Lomond, boasts a massive walled garden, now used for pheasant rearing, set a long distance from the house to which, according to White's 1797 plan, a considerable journey along a gently curving path was required. When Loudon visited Rossdhu before 1806 the new garden was apparently not yet completed, for he remarked:

When viewing that place I could not help admiring this old garden as one of the most interesting things about it; but my guide apparently wondering at my delay in such a scene, apologized for its appearance by

observing that as soon as the new garden was finished, this one would be removed, and the whole thrown open and joined to the lawn.<sup>142</sup>

The kitchen garden at Scone Palace received one of the few compliments that Loudon bestowed on the estate of the earl of Mansfield in his 'Treatise on Scone' of 1803:

The situation, soil and exposure of the kitchen garden and the orchard which surrounds it I consider to be singularly happy; they are at once nearby the Palace, close to the stable offices, for manure etc. and, completely hid from every point of view.<sup>143</sup>

Lord Stormont, in considering his future residence at Scone Palace, had written in his journal in 1778:

If I reside at all at Scone a new kitchen garden will be absolutely necessary and should be marked out next year. The best place for it is in what is called the Den just behind the new nursery and to be on each side of the little Burn. I would have it above two Scotch acres and would make only the south wall a high and expensive one.<sup>144</sup>

The new kitchen garden was in fact built in the situation shown on White's 1781 plan, he having rejected Stormont's proposed location, according to the factor, William Blair:

He [White] proposes to include the grounds purchased by your Lordship from Morris and Richie which he says will not answer well for a kitchen garden, but will make a good acquisition to the lawns.<sup>145</sup>

A kitchen garden already existed as evidenced in the Scone crop accounts for 1783 and 1784 where payments are shown for taking down walls "including kitchen garden" and "to Robert Porter for taking up 11 stone old head pipes in old kitchen garden". In November 1784 Blair reported that:

[the gardener] is at present trenching his kitchen garden in order to put it into form that he may get the trees and bushes he brought from Cornlangan planted; and I think it a very proper winter work, even tho the walls are not yet built.<sup>146</sup>

In August 1786 White told Stormont that his foreman at Scone, William Teal, had reported to him that "the new made walk was

filled with the same materials that your own people had adopted in the new kitchen garden",<sup>147</sup> indicating that the new garden was being created at that time. The kitchen garden at Scone has been attributed to William Atkinson in 1807, and Neill wrote of it in 1813:

A garden on a grand scale was laid out in 1806. It contains 4 acres within walls; has a s-w exposure; the soil partly a strong loam, and partly a black light soil on a clay bottom. On the outside of the walls, there is a border walk and slip ... there are no flued walls at Scone ... the melon-ground is out of the garden on the west side.<sup>148</sup>

Other records at Scone show that the garden was "laid out and planted" in 1805-6 and was already built by that date.<sup>149</sup>

The kitchen garden at Cullen House was to receive considerable acclaim for its situation and extent. A 1764 survey plan of Cullen shows a series of kitchen gardens located to the east of the house which were swept away when the proposals made by White in his plans of 1789 and 1790 were adopted. In a letter to the earl of Findlater in 1788, William Wilson, gardener to Lord Glasgow, wrote after a visit to Cullen:

I heartily congratulate you on the new situation of your Garden as the old one was vastly awkward for so great a Domain. Mr. Whyte has certainly a great merit in leading your Lordship to so approved a situation ... I looked carefully again and again upon every situation that in case I had been asked the question, this I certainly would have enforced ... I never saw Mr. Whyte and perhaps never may but if his ideas are all as good they must be very approved ...<sup>150</sup>

He went on to discuss the four things necessary for the success of a kitchen garden - shelter, situation, soil and water:

I think you have a beautiful extent. You may have your hothouses delightfully in one range. Your hot or flued walls in commodious and elegant distance, your water properly regulated and your small and great fruits of various kinds all

in their proper distinct situations, as their various natures require.<sup>151</sup>

The garden shown on White's 1789 design has three straight sides and a bulbously curved south side, however, the 1st edition Ordnance Survey map of 1866 shows the garden as a rectangle laid out with eight equal compartments and glasshouses ranged along the south face of the north wall, while in a description of 1812 it is square:

There is a great extent in gardens. One lately formed is a square of 4 acres enclosed with a high brick wall, covered on three sides with thriving fruit trees, in a sunny recess of the park with a very spacious hot house.<sup>152</sup>

In any event, White's suggested location for the kitchen garden was taken up, if not his design. Work was going on in levelling the old garden and building the new one in 1791 according to letters to Findlater from his factor, John Wilson:

The levelling of the garden is going and the pulling down the remains of the circular walls which is a very tedious and laborious job ... The doors in the east and west end of the new garden were broke on it some time ago and finished with freestone and doors. The laying out of the garden gradually as settled by your Lordship with the gardener and planting the hedge round it will be carefully attended to ...<sup>153</sup>

It may be that the kitchen garden was the only part of White's plans for Cullen put into effect and, unfortunately, his connections with the estate seem to have ended with a dispute in 1808 over the interest due to him in respect of an amount of £61 10s 0d he was owed for his plans. Money was not, however, a problem to the earl of Findlater, for according to the Reverend James Hall:

At Cullen House, the seat of the earl of Findlater, there is one of the finest gardens in Britain. The hot house, I believe, cost his Lordship not much less than anciently would have built a palace, and produces as fine pine-apples, grapes, etc. as any in Britain.<sup>154</sup>

## CHAPTER 5 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 Kames (1788) Vol.II p.435 (first published 1762)
- 2 Details of plans produced by Thomas White and Thomas White junior are in Appendix A.
- 3 Loudon (EE 1830) p.538 and Loudon (EG 1859) p.250
- 4 A 'Brown' style seems evident in many of his surviving plans, which were generally signed 'L.B.', and the evidence that he 'could not draw' and did not produce his own plans would not seem to be by any means conclusive. Brown was also a competent architectural draughtsman, having learnt the skill while at Stowe in the 1740s. White was being paid by Brown at this time (see p. 47) suggesting that White produced the 1761 Chillington plan for Brown rather than for Giffard.
- 5 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 White to Capability Brown, undated probably 1762
- 6 LDA TN/EA/23a/141 William Stones to Richard Woods, undated probably 1765
- 7 LDA Harewood, Edwin Lascelles Ledger of Accounts 1749-81, Vol.269 Index; See Chapter 6A on White as a surveyor
- 8 Shepherd (1836) p.20
- 9 Loudon (EG 1822) p.74 and Loudon (EE 1830) p.539. Very slight discrepancies in the matching of the sheets of paper can be discovered on close examination of some of the plans, e.g. Sledmere 1776, confirming that the designs were first drawn on smaller sheets (generally 24" x 24") and then mounted on linen.
- 10 The large Bargany plan held by the Dalrymple Hamilton family is signed as by Thomas White junior but would appear to be in his father's hand.
- 11 The English chain measured 66 feet while the Scotch chain was longer at 74 feet
- 12 NorthCRO M-14B7/145 White junior to the Reverend John Hodgson, undated 'Wednesday evening'
- 13 NorthCRO M-14B7/145 White junior to the Reverend John Hodgson, Gateshead, October 5 1806
- 14 Loudon (EG 1822) p.74
- 15 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 16 William Cowper, The Task, a poem in six books (1785), Scholar Press, Ilkley, 1973 facsimile edition, [Cowper (1973)], pp.130-31
- 17 Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, (1770), 3rd Ed. 1771, [Whately (1771)], pp.2,61
- 18 Quoted by Gilpin (1794) Vol.I, p.195 (first pubd. 1791)

- 19 Shepherd (1836) pp.20-21
- 20 Loudon (EG 1828) paras. 7586, 7636
- 21 LDA TN/EA/23a/145 Richard Woods 'Memorandum for William Stones to carry on the Improvements at Goldsborough', Article 5
- 22 White's plan is undated, however, stylistic evidence and entries in White's bank account point to a date circa 1780
- 23 Arthur Young, A Six Months Tour Through the North of England, Vol. II, W. Strahan, 1770, [Young (1770)], p.471
- 24 1749 Anonymous Plan and 1812 J. Dixon Survey at Raby Castle, ex info Elizabeth Steele, Curator, Raby Castle; it has been suggested that in drawing up his scheme, White may have been aware of the building of the Stockton Canal and was contemplating drawing water from the River Tees. A scheme for constructing a possible navigation from Stockton to Darlington passing SE of Raby was under consideration 1767-72. See Charles Hadfield, The Canals of Yorkshire and North East England, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1972 [Hadfield C(1972)] Vol.I, pp.113-15
- 25 Photographic copies of the Repton Red Book for Owston are at the RCHME, London
- 26 The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by Ministers of the Respective Parishes, Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1845,[NSA (1845)], Vol. VI, p.487
- 27 Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland, S. Lewis & Co., 1847, [Lewis (1847)], Vol.I, p.1
- 28 Alan A. Tait, 'The Instant Landscape of Sir Henry Steuart' Burlington Magazine, January 1976, [Tait (Burl 1976)], p.19 n.39: "White's plan is dated 1784 and does not seem to have been executed until after 1792 when the garden accounts still refer to a formal canal". (NLS Ms.5415 f.15)
- 29 See Robert C. Nesbitt, Nisbet of that Ilk, John Murray, 1941, [Nesbitt (1941)], p.113, quoting 1921 Scottish Field article
- 30 Tait (1980) p.148 writes that White's "lake at Abercairny was short lived" and (note 48) "it probably disappeared when the gardens were formalised in the 1830s" however a site visit shows that it is still in existence.
- 31 Inventory (1987) Vol.4, p.3. The present owner Mr. Drummond Moray describes the water system at Abercairny as extremely complicated and elaborate; whether it was originally installed during White's time is not known.
- 32 NSA (1845) Vol.X p.250



- 33 Hunter T(1883) pp.228-29
- 34 The sketch plan is illustrated; since no other sketches by White have been seen, it is difficult to judge whether this is his hand although the drawing shows certain similarities with his finished plans
- 35 John Small, The Castle and Mansions of the Lothians, William Paterson, Edinburgh, 1883, [Small (1883)], Vol.II, p.233
- 36 According to Inventory (1987) Vol.5, p.203 the southern lake "dried up after the dam was washed away in 1948, and later in 1970" however "proposals are in hand to restore the ponds".
- 37 Quoted in John Cornforth, 'Castle Fraser, Aberdeenshire', Country Life, August 17 1978, [Cornforth (CL 1978)], p.443 from Statistical Account of Scotland, 1794
- 38 Inventory (1987) Vol.3 p.170
- 39 Henry Skrine, Three Successive Tours in the North of England and great part of Scotland, 1795 [Skrine (1795)], 3rd Tour 1793, p.125
- 40 SRO RHP 2383
- 41 Tait (1980) p.156
- 42 Alistair Rowan, 'Blairquhan, Ayrshire', Country Life, April 19 1973, [Rowan (CL 1973)], p.1057
- 43 Ex info P.B. Buchanan, Touch, letter January 24 1989
- 44 Steuart (1828) p.13: "There was in this Park originally no Water, and scarcely a tree or a bush, on the banks and promontories of the present Lake and River; for the Water partakes of both those characters. During the summer of 1820 the Water was executed"; Plate 1 shows a view of the lake from the western side. According to William Cobbett, Rural Rides, G.D.H. & M. Cole (Eds.), Peter Davies, 1930, [Cobbett (1930)], Vol.III p.843: "A run of water, or rather a soak, that came down a sort of swamp, he has turned into a very beautiful lake".
- 45 AUL MS 1160/28/1/1 White to Charles Gordon July 16 1793
- 46 *ibid.*
- 47 John Preston Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, 1813-23 [Neale (1813-23)], Vol. IV, unpaginated
- 48 John Britton and Edward Brayley, The Beauties of England and Wales, 1803, [Britton & Brayley (1803)], Vol. V, p.213
- 49 Gilpin (1792ii) Vol.II, p.141

- 50 J.D. Urquhart, Historical Sketches of Scone, J.D. Bruce, Perth, 1883, [Urquhart (1883)], p.15
- 51 Scone V148 'A Journal by David 7th Viscount Stormont', July 6 1775
- 52 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 53 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786
- 54 Tait (1980) p.196
- 55 Scone V117 Loudon ' Treatise on Scone' October 10 1803 f.60
- 56 ibid. f.87
- 57 ibid. ff.135-136
- 58 John Claudius Loudon, Designs for Laying Out Farms and Farm Buildings in the Scotch Style, 1811, [Loudon (1811)], p.102
- 59 Thomas West, Guide to the Lakes, William Cockin (Ed.), 1802, [West (1802)], p.49
- 60 Dorothy Wordsworth, Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland 1803, J.C. Shairp (Ed.), Douglas, Edinburgh, 3rd Ed., 1894, [Wordsworth D(1894)], p.65
- 61 Tait (1980) pp.161-2
- 62 Neale (1818-23) Vol.2 unpaginated
- 63 Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 'The Country Seat', 1731 quoted in Hunt & Willis (1975) p.202 from Ms. in SRO
- 64 SRO RH4/119/14 White to Robert Graham undated probably late 1782
- 65 Quoted in Stroud (1975) p.156 letter from Capability Brown to the Reverend Thomas Dyer of Marylebone, June 2 1775
- 66 Scone 666/13 Contract April 29 1783
- 67 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 68 Whately (1771) p.36 on planting:  
"Every plantation must be either a wood, a grove, a clump or a single tree. A wood is composed both of trees and underwood covering a considerable space. A grove consists of trees without underwood; a clump differs from either only in extent; it may be either close or open; when close, it is sometimes called a thicket; when open a groupe of trees; but both are equally clumps, whatever be the shape or situation."
- 69 Scone 667/17 'List of Plants sent to Scone by Thomas White in 1784'
- 70 Scone 667/18 Blair to Stormont July 10 1784

- 71 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 72 Scone V117 Loudon 'Treatise on Scone', 1803
- 73 Scone V117 f.12
- 74 Scone V117 f.88
- 75 Scone V117 ff.13,14
- 76 CRO D/Cu Vouchers 1782-1787
- 77 Shepherd (1836) pp.19,21
- 78 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 79 Steuart (1828) p.202
- 80 ibid. p.203
- 81 ibid. In Section VI of The Planter's Guide (1828) pp.153-187 Steuart explained in detail his own theories on soil preparation for planting.
- 82 Robert Carruthers, The Highland Notebook, (1843), New Ed., Edinburgh, 1887, [Carruthers (1887)], p.297. Other evidence of White's involvement at Donibristle is noted in Appendix A. A "plan for the Improvement of Donibristle the Seat of the Rt. Honble. The Earl of Moray" of 1772 is at the SRO RHP 14331 but is not in White's hand.
- 83 Inventory (1987) Vol. 4 p.372
- 84 NSA (1845) Vol. V p.250
- 85 Shepherd (1836) p.19
- 86 Quoted by Neave (GSEYN 1984); documentary evidence of the landscaping of Holme has not survived, however, 1st edition and other early O.S. maps indicate that considerable planting did take place there and remained until at least the late 1940s.
- 87 Arthur Young, General View of the Agriculture of Lincolnshire, 2nd Ed., 1808, [Young (1808)], p.245; John Harrison acted as guide and informant to Arthur Young during his visit to Lincolnshire. See also chapter 7C.
- 88 Francis S. Hay, The Family of Hay of Duns Castle, printed for private circulation by Neill & Co. Ltd., Edinburgh, 1922, [Hay (1922)], p.33. See also chapter 8.
- 89 NSA (1845) Vol. IX p.668
- 90 The "Plan of the Barony and Estate of Dalmeny in the County of Linlithgow belonging to The Earl of Rosebery 1860. Drawn by T. Strachan, Surveyor, Edinburgh" is at Dalmeny House, as is Thomas White junior plan of 1815.
- 91 Graham P(1806) p.35

- 92 Vicesimus Knox 'On the Pleasures of a Garden' 1779 from Essays Moral and Literary, quoted in Hunt & Willis (1975) p.331
- 93 See Jay Appleton, 'Some thoughts on the Geology of the Picturesque', Journal of Garden History, Vol. 6, No.3, 1988, [Appleton (JGH 1988)], pp.270-291 for a discussion of the relationship between geology and the landscape garden.
- 94 Walpole (1785) p.81
- 95 See Miles Hadfield, 'The History of the Ha-ha', Country Life, May 30 1963, [Hadfield M(CL 1963)], pp.1261-62 and Willis (Burl 1973) pp.157-183
- 96 Whately (1771) p.8
- 97 Ann Bermingham, Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860, Thames and Hudson, 1987, [Bermingham (1987)], p.14
- 98 William Gilpin, Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty made in the year 1772 on several parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland, (1786), 3rd Ed., 1792, [Gilpin (1792i )], Vol.I, p.144
- 99 LDA TN/EA/23a/50 White to Stones May 24(?) 1768; William Belwood (1738-90) of York, was employed as architect at both Newby and Harewood, see Jill Low 'William Belwood: Architect and Surveyor', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol.56, 1984, [Low (YAJ 1984)], pp.131-154
- 100 Steuart (1828) p.464 in Appendix 'Report of a Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland' assembled at Allanton September 18 1823
- 101 Shepherd (1836) p.21
- 102 *ibid.* p.19
- 103 Neale (1818-23) Vol. IV unpaginated
- 104 Humphry Repton Red Book for 'Armley House near Leeds, Yorkshire, a seat of Benjamin Gott Esq.' 1810, Paul Mellon Collection at Upperville, Virginia, photocopy in LDA
- 105 NLS 19204-9 Archibald Seton to Henry Steuart October 19 1812
- 106 SRO GD 44/51/374 Garden and Policy accounts: "George Brown - 7 days employed at Gordon marking out an approach etc. £8 12s".
- 107 Scone 1233/1 White to Stormont April 12 1784
- 108 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 109 Scone V117 Loudon 'Treatise on Scone' 1803, f.112

- 110 Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House, (1978), Penguin, 1980, [Girouard (1980)], p.210
- 111 HUL DDSY Letterbook of Christopher Sykes 1775-1790  
Christopher Sykes, Wheldrake to J.N. Johnson,  
Hoyland near Barnsley February 26 1776
- 112 HUL DDSY Letterbook of Christopher Sykes 1775-1790  
Christopher Sykes, Wheldrake to Mr. Lambert December 27  
1775
- 113 Loudon (EG 1859) p.724
- 114 There is no evidence to suggest that this plan is in fact by Thomas White, and no small sketches by him with which to compare it are known. The two plans differ in their treatment of the lakes and in the location of the kitchen garden; it is possible that the smaller plan was prepared by the architect of Preston Hall, Robert Mitchell.
- 115 Girouard (CL 1961ii) pp.394-397, 454-457
- 116 Oliver Goldsmith in his poem 'The Deserted Village' of 1770 accused 18th century improvers:  
... The man of wealth and pride,  
Takes up a space that many poor supplied;  
Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,  
Space for his horses, equipage, and hounds;  
The robe that wraps his limbs in silken sloth,  
Has robbed the neighbouring fields of half their growth;  
His seat, where solitary sports are seen.  
Indignant spurns the cottage from the green.  
lines (275-282)  
Quoted in Mavis Batey, 'Oliver Goldsmith. An Indictment of Landscape Gardening' in Furor Hortensis, Peter Willis (Ed.), Elysium Press, 1974, [Batey (1974)], pp.57-71
- 117 Pevsner (1959) p.244
- 118 Allison (1976) p.190
- 119 Reed (1984) pp.134-5
- 120 NSA (1845) Vol.VI p.488
- 121 Binney (CL 1985) pp.2041-2
- 122 Scone V148 'A Journal by David 7th Viscount Stormont' 6 July 1775; an engraving of Scone in the 17th century from John Slezer's Theatrum Scotia of 1693 shows the proximity of the old village to the palace.
- 123 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 124 Urquhart (1883) p.125
- 125 On the 1794 Castle Fraser plan, 1798 Mountquhanie, 1801 Pitfirrane, 1803 Kennet and Blairquhan, and on all the plans of White junior the kitchen garden is given as the 'garden', perhaps confirming that Thomas White's later designs were indeed joint endeavours with his son, White

junior writing the references and perhaps drawing other parts of the plan.

- 126 Scott (QR 1828) p.307: "Reduced to a clumsy oblong, inclosed within 4 rough-built walls, and sequestered in some distant corner where it may be best concealed from the eye to which it has been rendered a nuisance, the modern garden resembles nothing so much as a convict in his gaol apparel, banished by his very appearance from all decent society ..."
- 127 David Stuart, The Georgian Garden, Hale, 1979, [Stuart (1979)], p.145 suggests that the "passion for symmetry suppressed by the landscape movement often found expression in the design of the kitchen garden".
- 128 Repton (1840) pp.331-2: "The intimate connexion between the kitchen and the garden, for its produce, and between the stables and the garden, for its manure, is so obvious that everyone must see the propriety of bringing them as nearly together as possible, consistent with the views from the house; yet we find in many large parks that the fruit and vegetables are brought from the distance of a mile or more, with all the care and trouble of packing for much longer carriage;; and the park is continually cut up by dung-carts passing from the stables to the distant gardens."
- 129 William Green, The Tourists New Guide, Kendal, 1819,[Green (1819)], Vol.I, p.209
- 130 See Chapter 8 for fuller discussion of Belle Isle
- 131 William Hutchinson, An Excursion to the Lakes in Westmorland and Cumberland, J. Wilkie, 1773, [Hutchinson (1773)], p.177
- 132 Thomas West on Belle Isle quoted in Green (1819) p.209
- 133 James Clarke, A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, 1787, [Clarke (1787)], p.139; A similar expression of the inconvenience of a distant kitchen garden was made in Scotland by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, see Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, Edinburgh University Press, 1952 [Plant (1952)], note 46 p.70, "A walk of a quarter of a mile on a hot summer's day before reaching the refreshment of fruit is almost as tormenting to the drawing-room division of the family as is the sudden want of a bit of thyme, mint, or parsley to those in authority in the offices, with no one beyond the swing-door idle enough to have half an hour to spare for fetching some".
- 134 Green (1819) Vol.I p.210
- 135 Richard Woods' Memorandum to his foreman at Goldsborough contains detailed instructions on the making and draining of the new kitchen garden (LDA TN/EA/23a/145) 4th Article

- 136 DAD DD.DC/E7/1 'Memorandum of trees planted and houses built on the Owston Estate and other developments re plantations 1785-1848' f.2: "a narrow Plantation running from the West of the Garden to the Coach road, n.b. a few of the Scotch firs were planted earlier by my grandmother".
- 137 Inventory (1987) Vol.4, p.195
- 138 Tait (1980) p.40; NLS Adv.33/5/25 f.61
- 139 Patrick Neill, On Scottish Gardens and Orchards, drawn up by desire of the Board of Agriculture, Edinburgh, 1813, [Neill (1813)], p.166
- 140 Hunter (1883) p.229 on Abercairny: "The kitchen garden is the same as was attached to the old house, but has also undergone many alterations in accordance with advancing science". The word 'attached' is misleading since the kitchen garden is situated well away from the house.
- 141 Young (1808) p.30
- 142 John Claudius Loudon, A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences, Vol.I, 1806, [Loudon (1806)], pp.411-12
- 143 Scone V117 Loudon 'Treatise on Scone', f.24
- 144 Scone V148 'A Journal by David 7th Viscount Stormont' October 3 1778
- 145 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 146 Scone 1232/9 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 147 Scone Crop Account Book 1783 f17, 1784 f22; Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 148 Neill (1813) p.173: Inventory (1987) Vol.4, p.252 states the walled garden is reputed to have been constructed by William Atkinson in 1807
- 149 Scone V.111, Booth 'Plans and descriptions of Scone', f.129
- 150 SRO GD 248/589/2/61 William Wilson to the Earl of Findlater September 28 1788
- 151 *ibid.*
- 152 David Souter, General View of the Agriculture of Banff, 1812, [Souter (1812)], p.85
- 153 SRO GD/248/3440/5 Copy letters John Wilson to the Earl of Findlater June 3 1791 - March 5 1792
- 154 Reverend James Hall, Travels in Scotland, 1807, [Hall (1807)], p.353

## CHAPTER 6

### WORKING METHODS

- A PRELIMINARIES AND CONTRACTS
- B GROUNDWORK
- C PLANTING WORK
- D FOREMEN AND LABOURERS
- E NURSERIES AND NURSERYMEN



## 6A PRELIMINARIES AND CONTRACTS

Thomas White appears to have followed the methods he learned from Capability Brown in undertaking his improvement commissions. Generally the pattern was, following a preliminary request for advice and perhaps a discussion with the client, White would visit the estate in order to assess its possibilities (and 'capabilities'). This visit might take place at any season of the year depending upon White's itinerary and the time he had available. For instance, he advised Lord Mulgrave in December 1784 that he would call at Mulgrave Hall on his way back from Scotland the next month, and he felt:

It may not be amiss for me to see the place in its winter drop, at which time deformitys, if there are any, may be better discovered.<sup>1</sup>

White had not at that point met with Lord Mulgrave, having been in Scotland when he called upon him at his home in Retford; he hoped to see him at Mulgrave Hall but requested that if he was to be away from there when White called, Lord Mulgrave "appoint some person to convey" to him his ideas of what he wished to have done.<sup>2</sup>

In order to draw up the improvement plan, White required the use of either an existing survey map or an accurate plan of the estate and if one was not available requested that it be drawn up for him. Although he was himself a competent surveyor judging by his 1761 Chillington survey map, the only other surviving survey in his hand is that of 1773 for the Grove, Anthony Eyre's estate in Nottinghamshire, and it appears that after this time White generally subcontracted, rather than drawing his own survey maps. There are, however, instances where he did undertake his own surveying, for

example at Abercairny where his account includes "taking survey of estate",<sup>3</sup> and Thomas White junior's power of attorney of 1809 refers to "plans and surveys and other works done by my father and myself".<sup>4</sup> White was on occasion referred to as a surveyor later in his career, at Workington in 1783 and by the earl of Bute in 1794 who was seeking "White the English gardener or surveyor".<sup>5</sup>

In 1782 White spent a day at Robert Graham's estate of Fintry, accompanied by Archibald Douglas who had very probably recommended him to Graham. Douglas asked White to draw up an improvement plan for his Dudhope property in Dundee and, on Graham's suggestion White asked "Mr. Abercrombie" to prepare a survey for him.<sup>6</sup> Abercrombie told him that "he did not chose to undertake the business" and White therefore requested that Graham arrange for his steward to quickly draw up a survey or "a little plan ... no matter how rough a one it is" and forward it to him.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, no further evidence of White's involvement at either Dudhope or Fintry.

Also in 1782 White had visited Thomas Grimston and his estate of Grimston Garth in Yorkshire, and wrote to him in June:

I have your plan of Grimston Garth now before me and shall before I leave home draw a rough draft of the improvements to be made there whilst they are upon my memory ... I hope to wait upon you with my plan in the autumn or early in the winter.<sup>8</sup>

White's plan for Grimston Garth has not survived but the landscaping there now would suggest that he was involved in carrying out improvements for Thomas Grimston.

White's visits were sometimes very brief, for example, to Grimston he bemoaned the fact that they "had so little time together" and he on several occasions in his letters

claimed to be a very busy man. To Lord Stormont in 1784 he wrote of "the little time I have to spare" and of "having always more engagements upon my hands than I can find time for";<sup>9</sup> as early as 1770 David Erskine wrote of White being "in such a hurry" that he could not get to Buchanan then.<sup>10</sup>

At Scone, the first mention of Thomas White occurred in February 1781, when the factor there, William Blair assured Lord Stormont that "when Mr. White comes to Scone, I shall attend him with the plan you mention",<sup>11</sup> White having presumably met with Lord Stormont prior to this date and discussed his requirements with him. Blair reported in June 1781 that White had been at Scone for four days and that he (Blair) had:

put the plan made by Mr. Graham into his hand, but he did not think the same exact enough to mark out his improvements upon it, therefore caused my nephew [William Blair junior] make out a plan upon a larger scale, more exact as to the measurement and put in all the rows of trees in it as they presently stand, which plan he is to take along with him, and make his observations and improvements upon it.<sup>12</sup>

White's improvement plan for Scone is dated 1781 and after its completion, he submitted it to Lord Stormont in London who, according to a comment from Blair, paid White directly "for his plans", so possibly he prepared more than one.<sup>13</sup>

In December 1783 Blair's nephew was asked by White "to make a new survey and measurement of the whole grounds within his plans ... to mark out on a new plan the quantities of ground taken up by the different clumps", and to measure up old walling, new walls, sunk fences and drains.<sup>14</sup> Blair junior duly completed the plan and measurements in February 1784 and a copy was forwarded to Stormont in London "in three parts (but which can easily be pasted together by a stationer) together with copies of the measurements",<sup>15</sup> and the

originals went to White who according to Blair, seemed "very well pleased".

White prepared three plans for the earl of Findlater at Cullen House, a survey having been previously made by George Brown.<sup>16</sup> In May 1789 White junior, in his father's absence, wrote to Findlater who had requested (via White's agent at Douglas Castle) that preparation of the improvement plan be deferred until he "could send the survey of a new purchase". The plan, however, had already been completed and White junior explained that, due to the scale of George Brown's survey, they had:

been oblig'd to make it into two, viz. a large one containing the greatest part of the improvements to the commencement of the boggy lands, and a smaller one extending the approach from thence to the westward, as far as the estate reaches.<sup>17</sup>

White junior added that if the ground which Findlater had purchased lay to the west it would be:

better after the same is survey'd to send it here and have a working plan drawn out, for the whole on a smaller scale.<sup>18</sup>

This was presumably done as a third plan, extremely large and ambitious in scale, entitled 'an extension to a Design for the Improvement of Cullen' is dated 1790.<sup>19</sup>

It is clear from this letter to the earl of Findlater that Thomas White junior was working closely with his father in the preparation of plans, and indeed, he himself reported taking "an exact copy of the plans sent" to Cullen. He was to follow his father's methods and those of Capability Brown, as is revealed in some of his correspondence to estate owners. In June of 1818 he wrote to Campbell of Barcaldine of the pleasure of having seen him at "Mr. Hills" and promised a visit to Barcaldine en route from Cameron, Captain

Smollett's estate on Loch Lomond.<sup>20</sup> He wrote again in December promising to forward his plan when it was completed and in March 1819 advised Campbell:

Having been obliged to return suddenly home from Scotland before Christmas, I have been enabled to get my design done for the improvement of your grounds which incloses your two surveys and paper of contents, which I brought away from Barcaldine,

adding that it would give him "much pleasure if the the plan" met with the approbation of Campbell and his wife.<sup>21</sup>

In May 1820 White junior wrote to an acquaintance, Alexander Guthrie, about his ideas for improving the Auldbar estate belonging to "Mr. Chalmers". White junior was keen on putting these ideas into practice and hoped to use Guthrie as a middle-man with Chalmers:

I never saw a place I think where I could do more good, and am sure I could put many pounds into Mr. Chalmers' pocket yearly and save the rest of the standing trees from perdition. I could be of equal use in the alteration that should be made in the grounds ... If, therefore, your friend through your representation, should think it proper to take a plan from me for the improvements to be made, and I have information of the time he is to be home, and how long he may remain, I would contrive to give him the meeting.<sup>22</sup>

Once the improvement plan had been accepted, a contract setting out the nature of the work to be done and the terms of payment to be made was drawn up. The only surviving contract of Thomas White, apart from the planting contracts for Douglas and Buchanan, is that made with Lord Stormont in 1783 for the work at Scone. Mention is made in accounts of three contracts drawn up for work at John Christian Curwen's Belle Isle and Workington estates and, in 1767, White wrote to Stones at Newby about finding enough men "to performe my contracts as I have yet three years to come".<sup>23</sup>

The Scone contract, signed by Thomas White and Lord Stormont on April 29 1783 in London, is similar in form to those drawn up by Capability Brown, for instance the one he made with Charles Pelham in August 1776 for Brocklesby,<sup>24</sup> and required White to perform certain stipulated "works in the best and most sufficient manner and taste ... to be compleated in the space of two years" in return for which he was to be paid seven hundred pounds, in five instalments, on set dates. This agreement was found to be defective as a witness, James Rice, had omitted to sign it, and Blair undertook to ensure that when White next appeared at Scone he would "get the defect supplied as to the witnessing of it".<sup>25</sup> William Blair advised Stormont in December 1783 that White intended:

to be in London this winter or next spring  
and to wait on your Lordship when he will  
probably make an offer to contract for taking  
down and removing the old walls and building  
the sunk fences etc.<sup>26</sup>

An additional agreement between White and Lord Stormont was drawn up and signed in London on June 13 1784 by which White "in consideration of £131 6s to be paid him when the works therein mentioned are compleated":

Covenanted to compleat in a neat and handsome  
manner the additional part of the plan  
designed by him, which consists of five  
different parts or articles.<sup>27</sup>

None of the three contracts for John Christian Curwen's Belle Isle and Workington estates have been found. The first dated October 21 1783 was "For sundry improvements and work to be done in planting, leveling etc. at Windermere Island and Workington", the work to be finished in three years for a total payment of £2000; the second was dated a year later and was for a further £355, and probably contained additional work omitted from the first. The third contract was drawn

up after completion of the work and covered "keeping the improvements at Belle Isle in repair" for a period of ten years, for £1000 payable at £50 twice a year.<sup>28</sup> Whether the practice of contracting a landscape designer regularly to inspect his work after he had fulfilled his original contract, and ensure that all was kept well maintained, was a common one is not known. It must have been somewhat time-consuming, given the distances that had to be travelled, and it is possible that the inspection would have been carried out by a designated foreman (David Jack at Belle Isle), or perhaps in other instances by White's son. It did not happen at Scone Palace where White's improvements deteriorated rapidly after the departure of his men due, he claimed in 1786, to the "utter neglect of his Lordship's people".<sup>29</sup>

Following the signing of the contract or perhaps the making of a verbal agreement White would proceed to mark out the ground for his foreman or the estate labourers to work on. At Scone William Blair reported to Lord Stormont in December 1783:

Mr. White has been a week here during which he was constantly out with daytime inspecting the grounds contained in his plan and giving direction to his man for carrying on the works ... He first marked the trees that are to be felled ... then marked out many places in the park and inclosures where clumps of trees are to be planted ... he also marked out several places in the park and inclosures that will require to be drained.<sup>30</sup>

The physical work on the ground could then be commenced and continued until such time as further instructions from White were forthcoming. This method could and did cause problems when White was for some reason delayed and work was held up, as at Scone in 1784, White explaining to Lord Stormont:

I was in hopes of paying Scotland an earlier visit, or I would have marked out more business when I was there.<sup>31</sup>

## 6B GROUNDWORK

The actual physical work at an estate in laying out the ground, building sunk fences, approach roads, drives and creating lakes was considerable and involved a large number of labourers shifting earth and preparing it for planting. Before the lawn could be sown it was necessary on some occasions to reform the ground into a more varied and undulating surface.

At Harewood in Yorkshire Thomas White was responsible for the raising of a mount to the south of the house which, as Edwin Lascelles' steward, Samuel Popplewell reported in March 1766, required much labour:

We have had six carts and above thirty men sinking and raising the ground you mention, and Mr. White has set in hand as much work as will employ the same force for more than a month longer to raise the mount as he proposes. So that what with the great plow of the carts (not to mention the trees leading) we shall scarcely have a horse to spare to plow for seed but shall be obliged to hire.<sup>32</sup>

In January 1767 White was at Harewood setting "out the planting upon the large mount"; then in March Popplewell reported that he had "set out an open plantation upon the first swell of the ground from the church which was sown down with grass seeds last autumn".<sup>33</sup>

The landscape at Harewood as seen today appears to be a naturally hilly one, however, according to the description of the estate by the duchess of Northumberland in 1781 this was not the case. She found that the:

pleasure ground very agreeable, was originally a flat but is now scooped out into Hill and dale in a very pretty manner designed by White, cost £2000.<sup>34</sup>

It was certainly flattering to Thomas White to be credited with the landscaping of Harewood, however, so far as we are aware his involvement there had ceased by 1768 and it was



Capability Brown, returning in 1772, who wrought the major transformations. John Jewell in 1819 was perhaps more accurate in attributing the Harewood gardens and pleasure grounds, "originally a rough hill" but "now sweetly sloped with great art and judgement":

They were partly laid out by Mr. Brown of Hampton Court and a part of them by Mr. Sparrow, a part by Mr. White, and very great additions have been made of late years by Mr. James Webb ... one of Mr. Brown's pupils.<sup>35</sup>

At Scone Palace in Perthshire Lord Stormont had recorded in his Journal of 1775 that "the ground about lies prettily and might very easily be laid out on a gentle slope to the river".<sup>36</sup> White's contract of 1783 with Lord Stormont for the improvement of the Scone estate required that he:

Slope, level, drop up and beautify all the uneven ground near the Palace of Scone so that the same may appear upon an easy uniform surface as far as the nature of the situation of the said Palace will admit of ... also cover the surface of the said ground with good earth and sow the same down with grass seeds that it may produce a pleasing verdure.<sup>37</sup>

It was also agreed in the contract that Lord Stormont would "furnish ... such grass seeds as may be wanted to lay down all the ground above mentioned". Correspondence reveals the progress made and difficulties encountered by White in achieving these ends, commencing with the factor, William Blair enquiring of Lord Stormont in April 1783 whether it was in order again to let the south and middle parks to two butchers for grazing their cattle. This was presumably not possible for in December Blair wrote:

Mr. White ... gave it as his opinion that the whole of the park which is presently in grass and has been pastured for some years past, should all be broke up and the ridges which are high, ploughed down and sowed with oats for the two ensuing crops in order to level the ridges and pulverise the ground to

bring it to an even and smooth surface, so as it may be properly laid down again with grass seeds which he said would cooperate with his works, and greatly forward the making of the lawn, without which it could not be properly completed.<sup>38</sup>

Blair was of the opinion that the parks should be let to tenants to plough and crop and hoped that a "reasonable rent" could be obtained at least for the first crop. He observed that White wanted the areas within the proposed lawn which were to be clumped with trees, cropped with potatoes, however:

as this will break the ridges and occasion many more turnings in the ploughing, I am afraid it will not coincide with the levelling made with the plow, but of this he must be a better judge than I can pretend to be.<sup>39</sup>

In March 1784 Blair advised Lord Stormont that he had "let to sundry people by roup [auction] what of the parks are to be broke up and cropped with corn", preserving twelve areas for clumping.<sup>40</sup> By June, however, Blair was complaining that White's foreman had too few men employed having "discharged all his hands except four who have been employed at the sloping and levelling of the grounds on the west and south sides of the House".<sup>41</sup> White in turn complained to Stormont in late June that the ground for the lawn had not been already broken up so that it would be "properly pulverised in order to have been neatly laid down when the whole was finished", explaining that:

This would have prevented also the ground in its unfinished state from growing over with weeds which Mr. Blair tells me is the case in the old orchard and some other parts of the place. It would also have been a means of fertilising it very much and could never have been done at a better time.<sup>42</sup>

White wrote in similar terms to Blair in July which provoked an angry and defensive letter from Blair to Stormont:

As to what he mentioned of the ground within the lawns being a great object to have been broke up during the course of the other works ... I own myself at a loss, as I cannot say that I as yet know particularly the extent of it.<sup>43</sup>

In November 1784 Blair was still defending himself, claiming that White had the previous year:

proposed that the parks might be twice cropped with oats before fallowing and laying them down again with grass seeds. They were cropped last year with oats and lints and bring your Lordship a good rent.<sup>44</sup>

He further observed that White had told him of some experiments in using lint (flax) as a scourging crop he had made at Bothwell Castle the previous year, and that he was "now quite against" it, however, Blair felt that if the land was then to lie fallow and be limed "it would not be one bit the worse to take another crop" which would bring in more rent to help "in defraying the expense of the improvements". This would mean another year added to the work and Blair asked for Stormont's consideration on the matter. Stormont instructed Blair to let out the ground again by auction "for a crop of oats and to have it conditioned that no lint shall be sown" (which Blair considered a drawback as he thought the prospect of a good lint crop from the newly broken ground was "a great inducement to people to take it").<sup>45</sup>

In December 1784 Blair was again unhappy since White had ordered that the surface of part of the area to the east of the house be smoothed "to prepare it for laying down again with grass seeds"; Blair was worried that if the whole of the park was cropped there would be little grass left:

in which case I will be obliged to dispose of my bestial, as the gardener wants to have a cow or two grass which he says is part of his bargain ... and the baron officer here has advised had one cow grassed in the parks in summer.<sup>46</sup>

In July 1785 White was writing to Lord Stormont,

reiterating his complaint that "it would have been an improvement to the ground if the smoother parts of it that were intended to be levelled had been previously plowed and cropped",<sup>47</sup> and in January 1786 was regretting that he had not been more explicit when talking to Stormont "in describing the mode of picturescing the lawn ... in a neat and sufficient husbandman like stile, with proper crops".<sup>48</sup>

When matters came to a head at Scone in 1786 and Thomas Graham was called in to arbitrate, White explained to him his own view of the situation:

I have also to complain that my advice and the experience of twenty years has been totally disregarded, and that the lawn about the house and other parts of the place, instead of undergoing an wholesome fallow to destroy the weeds, has been laid down in its wild state and the ground scourged and robbed of its fertility by repeated crops; so that instead of a beautiful and luxuriant carpet of turf, nothing but [?] withered grass will appear for a generation.<sup>49</sup>

A letter to Lord Stormont from his attorney, James Laidlaw of Edinburgh, written in 1789 casts a doubt on whether the picture at Scone was quite as bleak as White had painted it:

I was much pleased with the thriving condition of the Policy at Scone, which was all new to me not having seen it since the commencement of the improvements; and I find the grazing there going on well.<sup>50</sup>

From the surviving correspondence it is not obvious who was to blame for the lack of cooperation in the preparation of the ground for laying down the lawn at Scone. It is possible Blair misunderstood White's instructions, however, his constant efforts to ensure that as much land as possible was let out at a profit may have led to his deliberately disregarding these instructions. However, White himself did not apparently make it clear to either Stormont or Blair whether the ground was to lie fallow or be cropped, admitting

in one letter that he may not have expressed himself properly "about the breaking up of the lawn".<sup>51</sup>

The drainage of the ground at Scone was no straightforward matter either. The initial contract of 1783 made no reference to drainage and it was not until December of that year that White "marked out several places in the park and inclosures" requiring drainage.<sup>52</sup> According to the calculations made by William Blair junior over 4000 running yards of drains would be required.<sup>53</sup> In February 1784 White's men had begun making drains to the west of the house and Blair commented to Stormont that he did not see "how the grounds about the house could properly be sloped and levelled so as to carry a right surface without carrying away the water by drains below". Since White's foreman, Robert Porter, did not feel this was part of his work "though he cannot dress up the ground until the drains are first made", Blair authorised and paid him to start making the necessary drains, the responsibility for the expense of which would be later sorted out.<sup>54</sup> Another agreement was drawn up between White and Stormont in June 1784 dealing in part with drains for which White was to receive £35 13s 6d, less the amount already paid to Porter:

Mr. White by his second agreement with Lord Stormont is to allow the expenses of casting the apposite drains in part of what is to be paid to him for drains and at counting Mr. White allowed the £8 10s 6d so not to be charged to Lord Stormont; but the amount paid labourers, carters, and masons for digging stones, barrowing and carting the same and laying the drains amounting with stamp to £8 12s 7d is to be charged to his Lordship.<sup>55</sup>

The creation of sunk fences, often many hundreds of yards long, was an arduous process. At Harewood when White

took over from Richard Woods, Samuel Popplewell reported to Edwin Lascelles in March 1766 that:

The sunk fence is finished as far as the hedge at the West End next the plow'd field and the masons are walling it. Mr. White has set out most of what remains but has contracted Mr. Woods scheme a good deal he says to save the mowing.

A few days later he wrote to say that "Sparrow [the gardener] does not approve of the sunk fence to the west as Mr. White has staked it out" and that Sparrow would be sending Lascelles a plan and explanation of it; whether any notice was taken of Sparrow's disapproval is not known for in May 1766 Popplewell was able to tell Lascelles that "the sunk fence will be finished this week".<sup>56</sup>

At Scone White indicated on the 1781 plan that "a sunk fence will be wanted near the house which will be best shown on the spot". This is not mentioned in the contract which stated only that White would "remove such hedges and banks as are not necessary to stand for the use of inclosures within the said lawn, or which may impede the beauty of the same", but Andrew Cock's 1801 plan of Scone seems to indicate a sunk fence in front of the house. In December 1783 William Blair told Lord Stormont that White had said that his newly acquired land near the village of Scone needed a seven foot stone wall on the outside and on the inside next to the lawns should have:

A sunk fence, built of stones, which he said would protect the trees planted within the fences much better than any other kind of fences; and might have a very agreeable footwalk along the top of the sunk fences.<sup>57</sup>

He further suggested that the same should be done right along the eastern edge of the estate, bordering the highway to Perth, a considerable distance. Blair's nephew was instructed to "measure the yards of new walling, sunk fences

and drains" required and his calculations showed that a total of 10,224 running yards of sunk fences (including those to be made around clumps) would be required.<sup>58</sup> Upon receiving these measurements White apparently changed his mind about building sunk fences around the clumps; in Blair's words:

On seeing the measures sent him and considering what I wrote as to the quantity and expense of fencing, he gives up that of the clumps being done with stones, and says some other mode must be taken, such as a sod bank with post and rail on the top ... and he said he shall only advise that the inside of the surrounding plantations or strips be done with a sunk fence.<sup>59</sup>

In December 1784 Blair reported that a dozen men employed by White were "going on casting the ditch for the sunk fences". They were still so engaged at the end of the month in somewhat bleak conditions:

Although the snow lay pretty thick upon the ground, the frost did not penetrate so far as to hinder Mr. White's people from working on the sunk fences, and I have had four carts driving stones to it every day to two masons employed by him at building the stonework of it.<sup>60</sup>

The sunk fences, when completed, were then sown and an order to the nurserymen Dickson and Brown in Perth in 1785 records that both grass seeds and a quantity of white clover seeds were obtained "to sow the bank of sunk fences".<sup>61</sup>

Another form of fence not so often found, perhaps because of the technical difficulties involved in its construction, was the water fence. A water fence is shown on Thomas White's 1781 plan for Scone, serpentine between the house and the River Tay being formed from an already existing stream. The contract stated that White agreed:

To make a waterpiece in the park where the same is described in the plan, and to make proper stops or dams in the same in particular places so as to admit of its being so filled with water as to turn cattles.<sup>62</sup>

White's foreman, William Teal, was responsible for casting the water fence and, as advised by White, building the stops or dams across it to keep up the water levels:

He therefore applied to Wm Blair to furnish lime and drivestone and to furnish timber and cause make spouts or sluices for taking off the water occasionally which Wm Blair at first refused to do as thinking it a part of the work that was to be done at Mr. White's expense. But afterwards furnished the lime and other materials wanted, the expense of which was referred to Lord Stormont, whether he or Mr. White was to pay the same when the work was completed.<sup>63</sup>

Things did not go well with the water fence; in August 1786 White responded to a letter from Lord Stormont, in which he had presumably questioned the effectiveness of the fence, stating that Teal felt "the water fence was made of sufficient dimensions to turn any common cattle that were not forced over it".<sup>64</sup> In his next letter in September White expounded at great length on the water fence, claiming that Lord Stormont must have been misinformed about it and that "there could be no shadow of ground for a complaint". In his view the heads were all low enough to carry off the water "excepting in two or three very small places ... where the ground has settled and the water rats have worked under the bank and let out the water". White claimed that the land had always flooded before he built the fence and would continue to do so "but with less injury than before" as he had made a ditch to take off the overflow "which was one thing amongst many others I was no way obligated to do". He told Stormont that the shuttles used to draw off water had been removed after his men had left Scone "to the great injury of the heads and banks, which should never be dry either summer or winter as the sun, frost and vermin will destroy them". It is clear from White's letter that the water fence required



some maintenance but if that was carried out he claimed it would "make an excellent fence at a small annual expense".<sup>65</sup>

White told a similar tale of woe to the arbitrator, Thomas Graham, adding that his foreman, now Robert Dunn, had been employed to repair the fence and asking Graham to "order the shuttles of the waterfence be put down that the same may be filled with water; without which you can't judge how far it is formidable against cattle".<sup>66</sup> Thomas Graham advised that certain steps be taken to improve the state of the water fence, including clearing out and deepening part of it, though on this William Blair junior commented to Lord Stormont, "how far it will be of any service time will show".<sup>67</sup> These repairs cost White fifteen guineas, though he was able to reclaim from Stormont an amount of £7 19s "for materials and carriages to the stops in the waterfence".<sup>68</sup> In November 1787 White was still concerned about the fence and wrote to Lord Stormont about altering it; Blair junior responded to Stormont obviously hoping the matter would be closed:

With regard to the advantage, practicability and expenses of the alteration he proposes as to the waterfence, I cannot take it upon me to say; that would require to be examined and an estimate made thereof, by some skillful person which I have a notion would not be a trifling sum.<sup>69</sup>

The water fence was harshly criticised by Loudon in 1803 when he claimed that he wished to restore to its "natural position" the rivulet in front of the Palace "deformed by Mr. White".<sup>70</sup> It is shown on Cock's 1801 survey but does not appear on the first edition O.S. map and its course is no longer visible on the ground at Scone.

The formation of approach roads and drives required many labourers and considerable quantities of material. The Scone

contract went into detail about the approach road:

The said Thomas White shall also make a carriage road or new approach to the said Palace of Scone as the same is described in the said plan, the said road to be not less than twelve feet wide, and to be made of a sufficient thickness of the best materials that can be found about the place, the same to be well pulverised on the surface of the road so as to afford an easy walk on the top of the same; all the declivity of the said road to be made as easy as the situation of the ground through which it passes will admit of, and the sides of the same to be neatly dropped, levelled and turfed.<sup>71</sup>

Materials obtained from demolished buildings and walls were commonly used in road building, for example at Newby where White instructed his foreman, William Stones, in 1768:

If you can agree with the man you mentioned to take down the buildings at a reasonable price I should be glad to have it let and would have you article with him to preserve the materials unbroken as I have yet the road to do; the days men when they have done the jobs I mentioned may begin to take up the old pavements for the use of the road.<sup>72</sup>

White observed when writing to Lord Stormont in 1786 that the road he was making about the Palace would "afford the nearest receptacle for the rubbage of the walls to be led off by your Lordship in that part",<sup>73</sup> and in June 1784 Blair expressed his view to Lord Stormont that the small stones and rubbish obtained from taking down the old walls of the orchard "would be excellent materials for mettling the new road through the parks and ought to be done this summer", however White's foreman claimed he could do nothing about this "without orders from his master".<sup>74</sup> In July White told Blair that, since "the fields through which the additional road passes are under corn" that part of the road could not be formed but he had asked his foreman to "examine into" stoning the road.<sup>75</sup> By November Robert Porter had "begun to put mettall upon the road to prepare it for gravelling" and in December

Blair noted that there were "two men with carts driving rubbish for mettall to the new road";<sup>76</sup> Blair's 1785 accounts recorded that Porter was paid £4 1s 2d for widening the new road at the direction of Lord Stormont.<sup>77</sup> Presumably the approach was completed and the sides "neatly dropped, levelled and turfed" as required by the Contract, but when White inspected it in September 1786 he found it overrun with weeds and stones disfiguring the margins.<sup>78</sup>

In conjunction with building the approach at Scone White also "desired that a one arch stone bridge might be built across the little rivulets in the parks, near to the foot of the den", which Blair estimated would cost about £12.<sup>79</sup> This was constructed and Blair's crop accounts include payments made for "building a one arched bridge" in 1784, however, when White inspected it in 1785 he found it unsatisfactory:

the same being made of such a pitiful breadth that unless a carriage drove to an inch there was a danger of over-turning into the ditch.

He requested of William Blair junior that the arch be lengthened and that "two similar ones to be made over other ditches might be so extended as to make them safe and handsome", but according to William Teal, Blair junior had objected to this on the grounds that it would reduce the quantity of pavement made by White. White admitted that this would save him perhaps ten shillings and told Stormont:

In a work of this kind to be executed by different partys it must strike your Lordship that reciprocal savings may be made on both sides ... if such matters cannot be accommodated to the general satisfaction of both partys without loss of time they must not delay the work at any rate.

White had therefore ordered the arches to be lengthened at his own expense "rather than point out a narrowness in the general plan".<sup>80</sup>

The long rides intended for a circuit on horseback around the estate were generally grassed, while walks were often gravelled. At Scone Palace White suggested to Lord Stormont that "a gravel walk might be made ... which by means of the sunk fence would open to an improved lawn, and extend itself from the garden to the said new entrance ... making in the whole a pleasant and well varied walk".<sup>81</sup> Together with virtually everything else White did at Scone, the walks there appear to have been unsatisfactory. White's foreman had apparently completed them with sand rather than gravel and White defended them to Stormont in 1786:

The new made walk was filled with the same materials that your own people had adopted in the new kitchen garden; the comparative expense of gravel or sand could be very trifling when the work was in hand, but that he [Teal] thought the sand would be easier cleaned than the gravel.<sup>82</sup>

White did agree to replace the sand, telling Thomas Graham in September 1786 that he would find at Scone "Robert Dunn, a person I have employed to relay the walks with gravel instead of sand agreeable to his Lordship's wishes, and to widen them agreeable to my own fancy".<sup>83</sup> The walks suffered considerably, according to White's report to Stormont on the state of Scone:

The walks did not appear much above half the width they were made from, the long grass growing over them; and which from a repetition of this mode of keeping places would soon grow over the whole walk.<sup>84</sup>

Thomas White's work at Newby included making a completely new pond and his letters to his foreman there refer to digging out the pond in the spring and summer of 1767. White instructed William Stones in March 1767 to "push on with the pond parts as fast as you can",<sup>85</sup> and in the July

told him:

I send you this to prevent your letting the digging of the pond as I ordered as I have agreed with Newton at Mr. Duncombes to do it and would have you furnish him with what hands you conveniently can spare.<sup>86</sup>

In October he was requesting from Stones an account of "how the work at the Brickhill pond advances" as "the late rains must have made it but bad doing",<sup>87</sup> however, in an undated letter (probably early 1768) White's enquiries indicate that the pond had progressed considerably:

I should be glad to know how the pond fills and if you have quite bottomed it. I think as there has been so much rain and snow, there could not have been a more favourable opportunity to fill it, and if it is anything near bottomed I should be loth to have the water let out again.<sup>88</sup>

By March 1768 Stones was being instructed to plant the trees and shrubs from the nursery "about the most finished part of the borders and island at the pond" and to "remove what ground" he thought would "be necessary from about the banks of the pond" to make up these borders and the island,<sup>89</sup> so it would appear that the creation of the Brickhill pond was virtually complete by then, over one year from the commencement of the work. A considerable number of workmen would have been required to form and complete the pond and Stones seemed to have some difficulty in recruiting the required number. In October 1767 White asked Stones to:

gain what information you can of the length of time the navigation will take doing and in what manner they intend to push it forward; I hope they will get it done a year or two before my time, but if not I do not doubt of finding even enough [men] to perform my contracts as I have yet 3 years to come.<sup>90</sup>

In the same letter he said that he could not countenance raising the wages to the men since he did not want to get himself "into difficulty in order to keep pace with the

navigators".<sup>91</sup> White is most probably referring here to the men engaged on working on the new cut being made to the south of Newby to avoid the weir on the River Ure; these men were apparently receiving higher wages thus making it difficult for Stones to find the necessary labourers at Newby.<sup>92</sup>

## 6C PLANTING WORK

Some descriptions of Thomas White's methods of small-scale tree planting, including the preparation of the ground, are found in the Scone correspondence and shed some light on his attitudes to the choice required between the transplantation or destruction of trees in order to achieve the desired effects.

The letters of both Thomas White and William Blair at Scone refer to preparations for and progress of clump planting there. In March 1783 Blair reported to Lord Stormont that he and his men "had got the ground in the parks trenched and mostly planted up, which Mr. Whyte directed to be done",<sup>93</sup> and in the December described in detail to him White's own activities, which included marking "out many places in the parks and inclosures, where clumps of trees are to be planted". White required that these places be "dug and levelled with the spades and likewise cropped with potatoes" before the trees were planted, suggesting that "people may be got to do this for the crops if they have it rent free".<sup>94</sup> White also marked out places for clumps in the area known as Chappelhill Field which did not belong to Stormont but which White wished "might be added to the policy" in order to allow for a "more grand approach to the house". This was not done Blair reporting in March 1784 that "White expresses his regret that your Lordship does not seem inclined to go into the addition of Chappelhill field to his plan".<sup>95</sup> Blair wrote of White marking out a total of twenty-nine or thirty clumps, excluding Chapellhill, which he initially proposed should be enclosed with stone fences (a total length of 6324 running yards according to Blair junior's measurements), however Blair felt that a sod fence topped with quick hedges

would be quite satisfactory and rather cheaper. He calculated that clumps could be enclosed at a cost of "a shilling or fourteen pence per rood" and that once the trees were grown the banks and rails could be removed.

By the summer of 1784 it became apparent that White's instructions had not been followed and that the ground he "so strongly recommended to be broke up and potatoed or otherways cropt has been neglected".<sup>96</sup> This meant that the trees he had sent to Scone could not be planted out in the autumn but would have to wait for another year. Blair excused the omission in a letter to Stormont:

I was made believe that peoples would be got who would trench the clumps for a potato crop to themselves but ... I could find none that would engage to do it from an opinion that without dung which was not to be had, the crop would not be worth their trouble.<sup>97</sup>

He claimed that White's foreman and others had agreed that a good ploughing and a corn crop in the clump areas "would answer well enough for the planting" and "be in good enough condition to plant all the trees he has sent".<sup>98</sup> However, White's letter to Stormont of December 1784 expressed his distress that the plantations had not been completed:

had that work been performed as I expected every tree might have been planted before Christmas, which besides forwarding the work would also have saved us a considerable expense in nurserying ... together with the further expence of sending over a person from a distant place to repair the loss of such trees as may die after the work is compleated...<sup>99</sup>

Lord Stormont had obviously instructed Blair to follow

White's directions for Blair wrote later in December 1784:

I shall attend to what your Lordship writes about ... having the clumps dug for potatoes or some other crop so as to make them fit for planting how soon the season will admit of these works being done ...<sup>100</sup>

In January 1786 White was able to tell Stormont that he was



well contented with the fences to be made "about the clumps, which will when the trees are out of danger from the cattle be thrown open with the lawn",<sup>101</sup> however by September of that year he was writing expressing his pain at the state of the plantations "overrun with weeds, some of them half as tall as myself, and the whole either without fences or with slight broken ones exposing the place to the depredations of cattle".<sup>102</sup> He commented further that he was "certain the place would have been kept more to the credit of both partys" had he been allowed:

to have planted out and finished the whole place, instead of leaving it short of its main embellishment, the squandered trees in particular so pleasing to the eye which we were not permitted to plant for fear of interrupting as was acknowledged, the course of the rolling stone.<sup>103</sup>

As well as his clump planting, White had planned a considerable area of belt planting around the estate; in April 1783 Blair complained to Stormont that White had reduced the area of the park, which had previously been rented out as grazing land to two butchers:

but now there are about two acres taken off by the strip of planting which Mr. Whyte marked off which is now enclosed and planted up, on account of which they think there should be a deduction of rent.<sup>104</sup>

In December White advised that there should be "a belt of planting from the north side of the house to the extent of the grounds" which Lord Stormont was to "get off the farm of Rome", and also "a stripe of planting all the way from Pearl Hall by the side of the present highway up to the park dyke of Scone". This would need "a stone wall on the outside, and a sunk stone fence on the inside" to protect it from cattle.<sup>105</sup>

In October 1784 Blair provided Stormont with a long

description of White's methods in preparing an area for strip planting:

He [White] walked about and viewed the grounds adjacent to the house and the parks, ... marked out a strippe of ground on the east side of the parks which he directed might be trenched and planted this winter with trees of different kinds. My nephew and George Banks attended him and marked out the ground with stakes, what is marked out will I think contain about 2 acres. He recommended the trenching of the ground, as what would make the trees grow faster and that there should be a dyke or banks of earth cast upon the side next the open ground of the parks with a rail or paleing on the top of it to prevent the cattle from getting into the planting ... He also ordered the strippe of planting in the east green next to the burying ground and the town of Scone to be widened and some more trees to be planted there.<sup>106</sup>

At Harewood Samuel Popplewell's letterbook provides a few details of White's planting work between 1765 and 1768. In March 1766 Popplewell reported to Lascelles that "Mr. White" had said "that a great number of firs are now wanted" and had given instructions as to which of the existing plantations they should be taken from.<sup>107</sup> In April trees were obtained from the nurserymen Perfects and Telfords, however, Popplewell complained to Lascelles that:

Mr. White has not been here since Easter; Sparrow has been exceeding careful and diligent in planting, I saw all the trees for Pomfret taken up, but is much perplexed at Mr. White's not coming least he should not be pleased with the disposition of the plants ...<sup>108</sup>

and in May that:

We have finished planting a week since and Sparrow's men are now digging over the ground amongst the trees ... Mr. White has not yet been here and indeed now that the planting is over, he has neglected (in my opinion) his most useful time ...<sup>109</sup>

In January 1767 White was at Harewood and "stayed about an hour in the Grounds and set out the planting upon the larger mount"<sup>110</sup> which had been raised the previous year.

In February he was there again ascertaining what trees and shrubs would need ordering. According to Popplewell White did not "approve of taking away the stakes that supported the trees planted before", thinking it too soon to remove them.<sup>111</sup> In March 1767 considerable planting activity was taking place:

Mr. White has set out an open plantation upon the first swell of the ground from the church which was sown down with grass seeds last autumn and markt out several places for odd trees. Sparrow's men are now begun plantings round the Great hill of this open plantation, both which will be chiefly large trees. They are also putting in some firs and some of your own shrubs.<sup>112</sup>

"A vast deal" of trees were planted "many of them very large ... very troublesome and tedious" wrote Popplewell, and in April the gardener was busy planting in the nursery. White spent several days there supervising the planting of newly arrived evergreens and leaving instructions for Sparrow the gardener "to continue planting evergreens for a fortnight longer".<sup>113</sup> The last mention of White at Harewood occurs in February 1768 when he again searched Lascelles' nurseries "and what he has found that are proper, he has ordered Sparrow to plant out";<sup>114</sup> his orders were apparently followed, for two weeks later Popplewell was able to report that:

They have planted the hillside next to Shank with oaks and firs, moved a great number of elms to make good the beeches which were dead and other places where wanted, moved a great number of plants out of your own nursery and have many more to move and now are planting a plump to conceal the sunk fence which with other affairs will serve them at least a fortnight.<sup>115</sup>

At the same time White was implementing his improvement plan for Newby Hall. His 1766 plan shows the estate virtually surrounded with a belt of planting, clumps of various sizes dispersed over the park, some single and

loosely grouped trees and a small pond surrounded with planting. In February 1767 White instructed his foreman, William Stones, that once the ground was dry enough, he should plough up the ground north of the lawn (i.e. to the left of the plan) for planting "at least with evergreen", (although at the more northerly Scone estate he felt that evergreens should not be planted until May),<sup>116</sup> and in March told Stones to "push on with the pond parts as fast as you can so that it may be planted".<sup>117</sup> In June and July White hoped that Stones was keeping the plantations clean and asked for an account of their clearing.<sup>118</sup> By March of 1768 Stones was to get trees and shrubs from Weddell's nursery to plant in the borders and island of the pond, and to:

get as forward as you can in making up the borders and island and remove what ground you think will be necessary from about the banks of the pond for that purpose. I need not tell you to plant the tallest kind backwards.<sup>119</sup>

In 1782 Thomas White was advising Thomas Grimston on the planting of his estate at Grimston Garth, north-east of Hull. He suggested he first prepare a nursery at his Kilnwick estate in the following manner:

If it is new in grass and you was to pare and burn the sod this summer and give it several plowings it would be fit to receive the plants in the autumn or spring when I should advise you to plant it with two year old seedlings of the larch and some few other hardy plants.<sup>120</sup>

White went on to advise that as soon as Grimston had received his improvement plan he let his "tenants break up the ground to be planted, taking a crop or two from the same, and give it a few extraordinary plowings", this in his experience being the cheapest method of preparing ground for planting and a nursery. White was not intending to supervise the planting at Grimston himself, telling Grimston:

When you are ready to begin I shall beg leave to recommend you a planter and put you into a much readier method than the common one. I have studied the subject a good deal and flatter myself I have much reduced the expence of this very laudable and useful undertaking.<sup>121</sup>

At Allanton John Leslie's survey map of 1808 shows that a virtually continuous belt of planting was made around the park boundaries. Here, as at Holme, White was trying to transform what appears on a 1765 survey of the Allanton estate to be a somewhat desolate and empty area about which William Cobbett wrote in 1832:

He [Steuart] found the spot around the house destitute of trees and therefore desitute of beauty and he has actually by his own mechanical operations, made it as pretty a landscape as can possibly be imagine.<sup>122</sup>

Although Cobbett credits Steuart with the creation of the Allanton landscape, Steuart himself gave White the credit. He was to transform White's landscape largely through the use of his transplanting machine by means of which:

Groups and single Trees, grove and underwood were introduced, in every style of disposition, which the subject seemed to admit.<sup>123</sup>

Steuart further claimed to have introduced a method of transplanting whereby the position of "ill-balanced" trees was, on transplantation, reversed:

by which means, the superior tendency to throw out branches being made to act on the deficient side, the equal balance of the tree is gradually effected, and its beauty and symmetry are unspeakably improved.<sup>124</sup>

He noted that he had practised this method for many years and it was now "pretty generally known in different districts of the kingdom" adding that:

In Perthshire, Forfarshire, Berwickshire especially I have found it pretty prevalent, chiefly through the communications of my worthy friend, Mr. Thomas White, the celebrated landscape gardener, and his father of the same name.<sup>125</sup>

The question of the removal and transplanting of trees was one which was to bring down considerable criticism upon the heads of both Capability Brown and Thomas White.

White's contract for his work at Scone signed in April 1783 required that he:

break the present avenue and other lines of trees within the lawn before the Palace, and shall dispose the same nearby as they are drawn on the plan or as the situation of the ground, or the different views of the adjacent country may best direct.<sup>126</sup>

In December 1783 Blair recorded that White had "marked the trees that are to be felled, which he advised should be dug out by the roots ... which is not a part of his work"; Blair felt that the expense of this, if the purchasers of the trees would not dig them up themselves, could be covered by selling "the boughs".<sup>127</sup> In February Blair reported that he had:

the trees which were marked by Mr. White dug out by the roots which do not as yet make a great blank there not being a great number of them and they are not yet sold. And I have had the old forest trees in the orchard mostly stubbed out by the roots.<sup>128</sup>

In November 1784 White "marked off about 600 trees in different places to be felled and dug out by the roots" and Blair told Stormont in the December that most of this had already been done "at no expence to your Lordship" since:

the storm which set many of the trades people idle, and the amount of fewel made them glad to get the trees to stub out, for the tops and roots to burn.<sup>129</sup>

600 trees is a considerable number and added to the others removed led to later criticisms of his work at Scone. William Booth in 1822 wrote in a report to the earl of Mansfield on the 'Woods and Plantations on the Estates of Scone':

The old wood, viz. the larch and elm were planted about 1780 to 1784 by Mr. White who, about that time, was generally employed in ornamenting and embellishing noblemen and

gentlemens seats. He cut down a great deal of fine old wood which formed avenues in different parts of the Park (the remains of which are still to be seen) and substituted some small clumps of larch and elm intermixed in their stead.<sup>130</sup>

A far more scathing condemnation of White's activities at Scone was published by Thomas Hunter in his Woods, Forests and Estates of Perthshire in 1883. He claimed that a century ago (i.e. in about 1783) "there was almost no wood whatever ... at Scone" but that:

At one period Scone was said to be well wooded but the blunder of a landscape forester denuded it of its arboreal beauty. During the absence of the Earl who then held the property, and who was at the time an Ambassador abroad, a Mr. White was employed to 'embellish' the estate, but his idea of embellishment was closely allied to Vandalism, as he executed his commission by cutting most of the old oak timber on the property. The 'landscape forester' must have carried out his work of destruction most completely as at the present day there is no oak timber beyond 70 years of age with the exception of a few trees in the neighbourhood of the Palace.<sup>131</sup>

Whether this criticism was deserved or not, it is clear that in breaking up the avenues and other formally planted areas a large number of older trees were destroyed at Scone.

This was a situation that Archibald Seton of Touch impressed in an impassioned manner upon his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, acting as his manager there, should not happen at Touch. White had prepared an improvement plan for Touch in 1797, most probably upon his friend, Steuart's recommendation, but it is not known how much, if any, of this was implemented and whether, in fact any trees were removed on White's suggestion. Seton wrote to Steuart from India in 1808 regarding the trees at Touch:

I must report my most anxious, heartfelt wish, that the greatest care may be taken of all the old trees ... they are all well known to me ...

and in 1809:

I wish all the low grounds to be nobly clumped  
 so as to give the whole a parkish appearance ...  
 I am more anxious than I can express ... to  
 preserve all the old trees. There is not one  
 of them but what is impressed on my memory ...<sup>132</sup>

It would appear that his pleas may have come too late  
 however, for apparently one John Ramsay on visiting Touch in  
 1808 found "In some of the belts, the oaks 30 years old are  
 cut down, and the beeches left, because the bark of the  
 latter would not sell".<sup>133</sup>

A radical improvement plan which White drew up for Sir  
 David Hunter Blair of Blairquhan in 1803 called for the  
 destruction of a large number of trees, as well as the  
 creation of four bridges, and probably for these reasons was  
 not implemented.<sup>134</sup> At Glamis Castle White was called in  
 in 1771 "to give his advice about thinning the trees in the  
 lawn and bounding the several plantings to be made",<sup>135</sup> and  
 it is conceivable that it was this advice, perhaps followed  
 some years later, that led Sir Walter Scott in 1828 to  
 deplore the changes there since his first visit in 1793:

Down went many a trophy of old magnificence,  
 courtyard, ornamented enclosure, fosse, avenue ...  
 A disciple of Kent had the cruelty to render this  
 splendid old mansion ... more parkish, as he was  
 pleased to call it; to raze all those exterior  
 defences and bring his mean and paltry gravel walk  
 up to the very door .. I have not yet forgotten or  
 forgiven the atrocity which, under pretence of  
 improvement, deprived that lordly place of its  
 appropriate accompaniments.<sup>136</sup>

White's commission at Gordon Castle does not appear to  
 have been his most successful. He produced a plan in 1786  
 which has not survived,<sup>137</sup> however a survey of 1808 prepared  
 by John Roy, may reflect the suggestions made by White for  
 the improvement of Gordon. It shows several shelter belts,  
 large oval clumps, scattered trees (some of them still in  
 straight lines and probably not of White's design) and some



very large areas of planting. A flattering description of Gordon was given by the Reverend James Hall who visited in 1803:

The plantations and pleasure grounds round this noble mansion are beautiful in the extreme, and serve to shew what industry can do in the midst of muirs and mountains.<sup>138</sup>

The Gordon Castle accounts show that White spent some considerable time there, twelve days in September 1786, two and a half days in 1788, seven days in 1790, and fourteen days in 1792, suggesting that he personally played quite a large part in the planting there. His planting contributions and activities at Gordon, however, (if we are to accept that Thomas Dick Lauder's 1834 account of "a certain landscape gardener from England" refers specifically to Thomas White) were not highly valued by the duke of Gordon. According to Lauder in "an anecdote told us by the late Duke of Gordon" the landscape gardener (having recovered from an attack of gout) inspected the grounds through his opera-glass, pointed "to a grove of magnificent old forest trees which stood at some distance in the park" and said:

We must open a view in that direction. Your Grace will please to order those trees to be cut before next season, when I shall have the honour of revisiting Gordon Castle, to judge of the effect of their removal before going farther.

The condemned trees were duly chopped down, "the seasons revolved, and so did the wheels of the tastemonger's carriage" who returned to Gordon "where the same scene of sloth, easy chair, eating, venison, hock, claret, gout-admonitory and gout-mordant, recovery, and revisitation of the ground, took place":

"We must throw a clump up in that direction," said the tastemonger, waving his hand towards the place with a very important air; "we must

have a clump on that gentle swell, to shut out yonder hideous brickfield." "A clump!" exclaimed the Duke, with horror in his eyes. "Why, my good Sir, on that very gentle swell grew those goodly trees which you ordered to be cut last year, and, if you choose to satisfy yourself of the fact, you may go yonder to look at the roots which are yet remaining!" The gentleman was silent ...<sup>140</sup>

Once the preliminary negotiations and marking out of ground were accomplished, a foreman was generally employed to take care of the day to day supervision of the planned work at the estate, and often to act as an intermediary between White and his client. The foreman was also required to work closely with the head gardener, estate manager or factor which, in order to avoid conflicts, demanded a certain amount of diplomacy. As work would run concurrently at several estates a number of foremen were always in White's employ, and it appears they varied considerably in their capacities to carry through his plans. William Stones, Robert Porter, William Teal, Robert Dunn, John West, David Jack, Ambrose Tomlinson, James Mann and Robert Small all acted as foremen to White or his son, as did many others whose names appear on his bank account but who cannot yet be associated with particular estates.

White himself started his career employed by Capability Brown. Brown's account at Drummonds Bank reveals that on April 3 1759 Thomas White received a payment of £15, the first of a series of fairly regular monthly amounts, the last one for £62 10s being made on July 18 1765.<sup>141</sup> It is most likely that during this period White acted as Brown's foreman, first at Chillington in Staffordshire where he drew up two survey maps, then at Sandbeck in Yorkshire, and latterly at Temple Newsam, Yorkshire. In an undated letter to Brown (probably 1762) White mentioned Brown's last visit to Sandbeck when he "was so good as to give me leave to go to London for the dead of winter", of visiting Glentworth with Lord Scarbrough "to take the dimentions of the grounds", and of receiving Brown's orders to go to Lord Irwin's estate of

Temple Newsam, presumably again as Brown's foreman.<sup>142</sup>

The abilities and trustworthiness of foremen differed and Capability Brown obviously experienced problems with some of his for he wrote in 1765:

when I am galloping in one part of the  
world my men are making blunders and  
neglects which [make] it very unpleas't.<sup>143</sup>

Richard Woods wrote in 1764 to William Stones, then his foreman at Goldsborough, (Stones was later to act as White's foreman at Newby and Brown's at Temple Newsam):

for I am determined to incurrage [amongst]  
those imployed no man that will not behave  
in all respects as he ought to do, for I  
get more discredit for bad foremen than  
by any other means.<sup>144</sup>

A series of letters from White to Stones at Newby, together with earlier ones from Richard Woods to Stones, illustrate some of the problems encountered. In 1764 Woods warned Stones that "Mr. Lascelles [Daniel] is not so well satisfied as you seem'd to imagine for he has found out what an eternall drunkard you are", and suggested that Stones keep himself sober if he wanted to continue in his job.<sup>145</sup> White, however, apparently considered that Stones would make a suitable foreman for him at Newby and wrote to him there on January 22 1767 about "beginning to work this week" adding that "as the days are getting longer and much time has been lost I hope you will exert all your diligence".<sup>146</sup> In this letter and in several that followed White expressed his surprise at Stones' actions or non-compliance with his wishes:

I am mutch surprised that you should imploy  
a boy to help [ ] do nothing and charge him  
in your bills. I am likewise surprised you  
should charge me with 11s. you say you lent  
Gray on my account which I know to be false and  
did not know that I was to be answerable for  
your bad debts ...<sup>147</sup>

In a letter to William Stones nearly four years later in

December 1770, (Stones was by then at Temple Newsam acting as Brown's foreman) Thomas Gray, who appears to have taken over from Stones at Newby, reminded him of the "one pound ten shillings I let you have when you went over to Mr. Whites" explaining that he had not pursued the matter earlier as Stones "had the mishap to be so much wrong" in his accounts that he had "heard enough from other people to defend 'til now"; he added in a postscript that "Mr. White paid me the other trifles that I had lent to you before he had given me contrary orders".<sup>148</sup> Stones' accounts were a regular topic in White's letters to him and from Gray's letter it would appear that a serious problem did arise over them. Stones was still at Newby working for White in May 1768; however in August 1769 a surviving scrap of a letter from White at Laughton en le Morthen to Stones gives his address as "John Irwins, Esq., Bear Front, [Beaufront] Hexham",<sup>149</sup> and a mysterious, incomplete, letter dated October 27 1769, addressed from Beaufront regarding nine trees received and planted there (which fell short "of answering the design they were intended for") was most probably written by Stones.<sup>150</sup> This letter closes with a postscript: "Mr. Donkin has signified to me that if this favour could be obtained, he is certain of Mr. Errington's making you a compliment of five guineas at least", and a letter to Stones from 'Donkin' in December 1770 is addressed from Sandoe, an estate adjoining Beaufront, owned by John Errington's brother, Henry.<sup>151</sup> In this letter Donkin remarked that "Beaufront is but very little improved since you left it. At Sandoe we have finished the walk you set out for my Lady" indicating that Stones worked at both estates. In June 1770 a letter and account for "24 sorts of flower seeds" from the nurseryman, William

Perfect of Pontefract, was addressed to William Stones "at Thos. Riddels, Esq., at Swinborn Castle, Near Hexham".<sup>152</sup> A draft letter which appears to be from Thomas Gray to Stones at Alnwick, concerning a box left by Capability Brown at Temple Newsam in September 1770, provides another link.<sup>153</sup> By October 1770 Stones had moved back to Yorkshire to Temple Newsam as Brown's foreman, where he received a letter from Cornelius Griffen, Brown's foreman at Alnwick, expressing his pleasure that Stones was "so well stationed" to his satisfaction.<sup>154</sup>

This correspondence indicates that foremen moved around quite frequently from estate to estate, and did not necessarily stay with the same designer. What is not clear from the surviving letters is at what point Stones left White's employ and went over to Brown; were the three Northumberland commissions (Beaufront, Sandhoe and Swinburne Castle) Brown's or White's or independent ones? On the evidence it would seem unlikely that they were White's, his incorrectly addressed letter to Stones at Beaufront could have been to do with the Newby accounts. Brown's Northumberland connections, his work at Alnwick Castle and Griffen's letter to Stones, lead to a possible conclusion that a rift occurred between White and Stones at Newby, probably over the accounts, and that Stones moved up to his home county, Northumberland,<sup>155</sup> to work for Brown. However, Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows only four payments made to William Stones, the first on October 30 1770 (when Stones was at Temple Newsam) for £20 and the last on January 29 1771 for £23. So perhaps Stones' work in Northumberland was connected with neither White nor Brown but was independent, and Brown employed him only at Temple

Newsam.

There is no evidence to indicate what sort of written instructions White left for his foremen, apart from the improvement plan, but presumably he would have prepared some form of written list or memorandum detailing the work to be done in his absence.<sup>156</sup> Further instructions were given in letters and on visits made periodically by White to inspect the progress being made. For example, White on one occasion having been advised of a lack of care and supervision on Stones' part at Newby, found it necessary to reprimand him by letter:

I am informed that great abuses has been made in the hay by letting the horses eat round the stacks when they please, which for the future I desire may be better managed and hope there will be no room left for further complaint of that kind.<sup>157</sup>

At Scone White experienced problems, some of which appear to have been due to a lack of detailed instructions, poor supervision and inadequate experience on the part of the people he left in charge there. The factor, William Blair, commented in a letter to Stormont:

I have several times considered Mr. White's plan, and the articles of agreement which refer to it, and must own myself at a loss to comprehend from them, and from what he has been marking out, the work that is to be performed for the £700 ... I told him that I did not think that any man could execute the same from the plan without particular directions from himself from time to time.<sup>158</sup>

White's plan for Scone was prepared in 1781, a contract was drawn up and signed in April 1783, but it was not until October 1783 that he engaged a foreman; Blair reported to Stormont that "a man from the north of England ... who is to be employed by him in the work arrived here on Friday last".<sup>159</sup> White, himself, arrived at Scone on December 2

1783 and stayed a week during which time, according to Blair, "he gave directions to his foreman who he has left to superintend and carry on the works he has contracted for".<sup>160</sup> This foreman was Robert Porter who is shown on White's debit account at Drummonds Bank as having received small payments in 1777 and 1781 and, between June 28 1783 and August 14 1784 a total of £40 4s; the Scone accounts reveal that he also received payments of ten and six guineas direct from the estate, on behalf of White.<sup>161</sup>

Robert Porter was not a satisfactory foreman; in a letter to Lord Stormont in late June 1784 White wrote of him:

My present man is no regular agent of mine, and tho' an excellent rough workman has no idea of compleating anything and has appeared lately to want conduct very much and as that is the case, I must beg to gain a little credit with your Lordship till I can properly leave my English engagements to go over to Scone when I shall take a proper person with me to get on with the business ...<sup>162</sup>

White also informed Blair that he would "be over at Scone in September when I intend to bring a proper person with me" adding that he cared not "how little goes forward till I come over, or how much afterwards, when I have a proper person on the spot".<sup>163</sup>

Blair had meanwhile written to Stormont in June 1784 to say that White's "man" had discharged all but four of his hands because he had so little work to do "till he should see Mr. White himself and receive further directions" and Blair did not think that Porter had "done work on Mr. White's account since he came here and indeed, has not received money from him to do more".<sup>164</sup> Blair was upset that White's remittances to Porter were by £10 drafts on Drummonds bank which he had to "indorse before money can be got for them at Perth, which for so small a sum is difficult after all, and



what I don't like to do" and Blair had told Porter that he would in future neither give him cash nor endorse drafts in such small amounts.<sup>165</sup> Blair apparently decided to employ Porter himself to undertake necessary drainage works and to build "earth dykes for inclosing clumps of planting in the parks", for which he was paid a total of £18 3s 7d together with £3 8s 2d for labourers' wages in June/August 1784 (and one guinea for "drink money to the labourers" in April 1784).<sup>166</sup> A second contract between White and Stormont signed on June 13 1784 included an agreement on drainage work and White wrote to Blair in July 1784 that when he next came to Scotland he would settle with him:

for the labour part of those drains you have done, that are contained in the above written papers which I have inclosed Porter a copy of, and shall bring with me the original when I come into Scotland.<sup>167</sup>

On November 8 1784 White came to Scone for ten days bringing with him a new foreman to whom he gave directions "for carrying on and finishing the works he has engaged to execute".<sup>168</sup> Prior to this visit, according to Blair:

his [White's] workmen had been about ten weeks that they had received no wages which occasioned a grumbling amongst them and his foreman was rather in a worse situation than the men having neither money nor credit. This made him very importunate with his master for cash to pay them, who before me declared he never carried money with him and asked when his next installment here became due ...<sup>169</sup>

Although replaced as foreman, Robert Porter remained at Scone for several months, and in 1785 was engaged by Blair on a number of manual tasks such as casting drains, pond-making, road widening and stubbing out trees roots.<sup>170</sup>

The new foreman White brought with him in November 1784 appears to have been unsatisfactory too, for White advised

Stormont in July 1785:

If any inconvenience should ensue in consequence of the work being in some degree stopt till I arrive at Scone I hope it will fall upon myself. I have however engaged a person from this country to meet me there to conduct the work properly.<sup>171</sup>

The next foreman was William Teal who also acted as White's foreman at John Stuart's estate of Allanbank in Berwickshire. Teal does not appear on White's debit account until April 25 1786 when he was paid £25,<sup>172</sup> however in August 1785 he was advanced £50 by Blair on Lord Stormont's orders:

Altho' the works which Thos. White engaged for by his second agreement be not completed, yet as he wishes you to advance to his agent William Teal fifty pounds I desire that you will advance the said sum and take credit for it in your accounts.<sup>173</sup>

He received a further £50 from Blair on December 30 1785 at White's request:

Mr. Teal having received my directions to return to Scone and finish all the work at that place as soon as possible, I shall therefore be obliged to you to pay him £50 - what more is wanted I shall give directions for.<sup>174</sup>

Teal was at Scone until the autumn of 1786 attempting to get the work there completed; he seems to have been chiefly engaged on building the water fence and from White's reports to Stormont, was not very happy there, White even accusing Stormont's people of having "used the man very ill".<sup>175</sup> Teal presumably returned to Allanbank and was replaced at Scone by one Robert Dunn.<sup>176</sup> White in a letter to Thomas Graham, the arbitrator appointed by Stormont to sort out the disagreements with White, in 1786 advised him:

If you will be so good as to take the trouble of going over to Scone before you leave the country, you will find there one Robert Dunn, a person I have employd to relay the walks with gravel instead of sand agreeable to his Lordships's wishes, and to widen them agreeable

to my own fancy, also to repair the water fence,  
where rats etc. had undermined the same, with  
some other works for the benefit of the place...<sup>177</sup>

In July 1787 Blair junior reported to Stormont on the water fence saying that he understood "from the man who was employed by Mr. White after Teal left this, that he is soon to clear out and deepen that part of the water fence which Mr. Graham pointed out to be necessary".<sup>178</sup> This was apparently accomplished and on September 22 1787 the business was completed with the settlement of White's account at Scone.

The Scone contract was an unhappy one for all concerned and was not helped by the generally poor calibre of the foremen White employed, particularly Porter who White himself described as "an excellent rough workman" but with "no idea of compleating anything".<sup>179</sup> White's contracts being so widely scattered and those in Scotland so far from home, it was important that he had men on whom he could rely and with some of the other foremen we know of, John West, James Mann and Ambrose Tomlinson for example, he appears to have been more fortunate.

John West was in White's employ from May 1779 until at least July 1788 and during this time acted as his agent at White's Butsfield estate and as his foreman at John Christian Curwen's estate of Belle Isle on Lake Windermere and possibly at his Workington estate too.<sup>180</sup> Thomas White junior described West in 1813 as "our late agent ... a most clever active man" who had died twenty years before (i.e. circa 1793).<sup>181</sup> West supervised the planting and care of many thousands of trees at Butsfield and White wrote of his activities in his letter to the Society of Arts in 1786:

Great attention has also been paid to the  
eradicating such as did not appear to thrive

on particular parts of the grounds; and to the replacing them with such kinds as promised more success, this business has been attended to with such a vigilant eye by my fac-totum, at that place that I believe out of 527 acres my small farm included, there is not a yard square on my whole ground but what is occupied by some useful or ornamental plant.<sup>182</sup>

In 1784 West certified to the Society of Arts the planting of 400,227 mixed trees at Butsfield (including 240,523 larch) and in 1787 the planting and inspection of 50,000 oaks,<sup>183</sup> for which White received the Society's silver medal in 1788.

White's plans for Belle Isle and Workington are both dated 1783, and in March 1784 Thomas White wrote from Retford to John Christian Curwen advising that "he had no man available for planting young trees within 200 miles of Workington and that his servant, West, had 200,000 trees to plant before he could get there".<sup>184</sup> West did get to the Lakes in July of that year when he was paid £25 4s. cash as "Mr. White's agent at Windermere"<sup>185</sup> and he was still engaged at Belle Isle in October 1786 when he was paid for "sundries".<sup>186</sup>

Payments to a David Jack appear in the Curwen accounts relating to White's contracts for Workington and Belle Isle in 1785 and he also appears in White's Drummonds debit account from July 1787 to July 1795. It is likely that he acted as White's foreman at Workington and later at Belle Isle to fulfil White's third contract with Curwen "for keeping the Improvements at Belle Isle in repair".<sup>187</sup>

Another long-serving foreman was Ambrose Tomlinson who was described in White's contract with Archibald Douglas for the planting of Douglas Castle in 1780 as White's "overseer".<sup>188</sup> The Douglas contract stated that planting was to be completed before Martinmas 1789 but it may have continued for longer than that. Tomlinson received payments

from White between March 23 1780 and October 13 1795 totalling £1256 and he may have been acting as overseer at Douglas for the entire period, or, on completion of the planting there, was perhaps moved on to another estate.

James Mann acted as overseer for White's planting contract with Richard Slater Milnes of Fryston in Yorkshire. He is recorded as having received payments from White between May 23 1786 and December 6 1794 totalling just over £440. In a letter to the Society of Arts in 1791 Mann certified the planting of ninety-four acres of land at Fryston with 394,300 mixed trees between October 1 1786 and May 1788, for which Milnes was awarded the gold medal by the Society in 1791.<sup>189</sup> Milnes had also received gold medals in 1790 for elm and larch plantations, both of which were certified by James Mann although White stated in a letter to the Society that the plantations were made under his own direction "the person, James Mann, who signed the certificate, being my servant".<sup>190</sup>

The name of Robert Small appears in the contract of sale and assignation made January 17 1811 between Thomas White junior and Dr. James Hamilton in connection with the Bargany estate of Hew Dalrymple Hamilton.<sup>191</sup> The Bargany contract was for planting work by Thomas White junior for Dalrymple Hamilton and was dated August 2 1802. Robert Small also received some small payments from Thomas White senior between May 23 1800 and April 4 1804, indicating either that the two Whites were collaborating closely on this contract or that Small was previously engaged on another contract for White and then moved over to Bargany to work for White junior in 1804.<sup>192</sup> The contract of sale of 1811 described Robert Small as "overseer" to Thomas White junior at Bargany and referred to a "minute of tack" (rental agreement) dated 15

May 1805 between Small and David McLure, farmer at Bridgend of New Dailly, whereby McLure "set to" Small:

one acre three roods and 16 falls of ground as then possessed by the said Robert Small being part of the farm of Broom Knoves[?] near New Dailly ... for the space of nine years and a half from Martinmass 1804 at the yearly rent of four pounds twelve shillings and sixpence sterling at two terms in the year by equal portions being at the rate of two pounds ten shillings per acre.<sup>193</sup>

In 1811 (with two and a half years of his rental still to run) Small's land was to be transferred to Hamilton "with the crop of potatoes thereon"; there is no indication that there were any buildings on the land so presumably Small rented it for the period he was originally supposed to be acting as overseer at Bargany, in order to farm it and perhaps make a little extra money.

Thomas White's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows many payments made to people who were very possibly employed by him as foremen at various estates, however, no definite links have yet been established, for example, the names of Joseph Rushton, Thomas Rippon and William Clark appear frequently. A James Ramsay received fairly substantial payments from White between 1774 and 1776; this may be the James Ramsay to whom, according to Sir Henry Steuart, James Robertson handed over his business when he departed for Ireland in the 1770s, later described by Loudon as "a landscape gardener of considerable repute".<sup>194</sup>

A name which does not appear on White's account is that of Thomas Shepherd who claimed to have "under his direction ... superintended the execution of some of his principal designs". Shepherd wrote at considerable length on White in his Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia and was obviously familiar with his work and principles, however,

when, where and in what capacity he was employed by White is not made clear.<sup>195</sup>

White also made a large number of payments to his son Thomas, particularly between 1788 and 1799. We know from a voucher at Scone for "entertaining Mr. White and his son"<sup>196</sup> that Thomas White junior travelled with his father in Scotland in 1785 and presumably in his early years he was acting as an apprentice and general assistant, learning his future profession. It may have been that he later acted as a foreman for his father as a further part of his training, before taking on contracts himself and producing his own improvement plans.

The foreman was responsible for hiring the men required to carry out the clearing, digging, and planting work and for paying them their daily wage. His accounts were then sent to his employer or examined by him at the estate, generally on a fortnightly basis, and a bill or draft was then forwarded or the foreman was paid his wages and reimbursed expenses in cash. White, while in Brown's employ, for example, wrote to him:

I am sorry to hear you are from home as I intended waiting on you at your house, which was the reason I did not send my accounts sooner.<sup>197</sup>

White's correspondence with his foreman at Newby, William Stones, contained frequent references to accounts not having been sent to him, requests for receipts and instructions regarding payments to the hired men. In January 1767, shortly after Stones had commenced working for him, White warned him:

I have often told you I would pay no bills that was not immediatly charged in your fortnightly accts.; when in perusing your accts I find many

bills that I ought to have been made acquainted with before; I desire no money may be paid for token work without receipts from some of the parties.<sup>198</sup>

He told Stones that he would examine his accounts when he visited Newby and would pay him the balance due to him, and meanwhile sent him £20 "to go on with". In February 1767 White sent Stones two bills of £25 each, instructing him "to pay the person who returned the bill his £20 and send me a receipt for £30",<sup>199</sup> and in March requested from him a receipt "for the enclosed and an account of what you are doing".<sup>200</sup> Later that month White again had to reprimand Stones for his laxness with the accounts:

I was a little surprized when I was at Newby that you had not your accounts wrote out as I desired but am mutch more surprized that you have not sent me them as yet as I desire they may be constantly sent by the first post after pay day unless I give orders to the contrary.<sup>201</sup>

Again in July 1767 White was "mutch surprized" at not receiving Stones' account "and a receipt for the last bill of 15 guineys I sent you from Derby on 2nd July"; he added that as he did not know how many hands Stones had, he could "not tell what money you may want, but have inclosed you a bill of £15 9s 6d".<sup>202</sup>

Two undated letters (probably 1768) refer to 'Newton' who appears to have been supervising the work at Henry Duncombe's nearby Copgrove estate. In one White sent Stones a draft and requested that he "advance Newton a sum sufficient to pay his men",<sup>203</sup> while in the other he once again expressed his disapproval to Stones:

I cannot guess at your meaning for not sending me your accounts by Newton when you knew of his coming to Tickhill but desire they may be sent by the first post after you receive this and that there may be nothing omitted that you have payd on my acct or Mr. Weddells but what is put into the accounts as I shall pay no bills that are not



immediately after you have discharged them put into the next fortnightly account.<sup>204</sup>

White's letters to Stones give us an indication of the amount paid to the workmen in the late 1760s. In July of 1767 White hoped that Stones gave "14 pence a day to none but good hands",<sup>205</sup> and according to a letter he wrote in October 1767 it was "not more than 12 months since the standard wages of the country was not more than 1s. per day".<sup>206</sup> This observation was prompted by Stones being unable to find enough men to conduct the work at Newby because they were asking for a wage of eighteen pence a day. White found this extraordinary:

I have already advanced the wages to 14d and some you give more as also you charge me in your bills for strong beer given to the men in order to encourage them to work. If all they now have will not suffice, I can not think of giving more, as I should be very sorry to run myself into difficulty in order to keep pace with the navigators who do not seem to have well considered what they are doing.<sup>207</sup>

He justified his reluctance to pay the men a higher wage with a concern for the English economy writing that "wages once raised are not easily lowered and in consequence must be hurtful to a country".

He went on to instruct Stones to "lett as mutch of the work by measure as you posably can" since he preferred to give the men "a greater payment per yard than raise their wages by the day", and, if Stones was unable to find enough men after enquiring "in the neighbouring towns", White told him to advertise (with Weddell's approval) in the York newspaper:

Wanted at Wm Weddalls Esq at Newby near Boroughbridge a number of labourers to work either by the day or by measure, the work is very dry and good encouragement will be given to good Hands. Enquire of Mr. Stones the foreman of the work at Newby.<sup>208</sup>

Thomas White letter to William Stones October 31 1767  
(second page) at LDA TN/EA/23a/31

Since hand I would rather give them a greater price  
Begin then raise their wages by the Day, I think  
14s per day a very great price at this season of  
the year I would have you make all the enquiry  
you can for men in the neighbouring towns. And  
if you remember I wrote some Enquiries I would have  
you get the following advertisement Printed in the  
York paper, but would have you first ask Mr  
Widdells if he approves of it,

Wanted at Mr Widdells Coyt at Newby near Borough  
A number of ~~men~~ Labourers to work either by  
the Day or by Measure, the work is very Day  
and good Encouragement will be given to good  
Hands. Enquire of Mr Stones the foreman of the  
work at Newby —

I would have you gain what Information you  
can of the length of time the Haying season will  
take doing and in what manner they intend to  
push it forward I hope they will get  
done in a year or two before any time, but if  
not I do not doubt of finding men enough to  
perform any Contract as I have yet three years  
to come, I therefore again desire that no  
wages may be raised for days work without  
my orders I am your Obedt friend

T. White

Lickhullp October 31. 1767

P.S. If my health will permit I hope  
to be at Newby in two or three days time

It is interesting to note that Richard Woods, in 1769, experienced a similar problem with the payment of his men at Lord Arundell's Irnham estate when they threatened to strike unless their wages were raised to eighteen pence a day. He apparently dealt with the situation by eventually sacking the ring-leaders and bringing in some of his own men.<sup>209</sup>

## 6E NURSERIES AND NURSERYMEN

The trees, plants and shrubs used in the formation of the gardens and landscapes of the eighteenth century were generally obtained either from nurseries established on or near the estate, or were purchased from commercial nurseries. The increasing interest in tree planting and landscaping in the early eighteenth century was largely responsible for a rapid growth in the commercial nursery trade, initially in London and later throughout the rest of England and Scotland. The two non-metropolitan counties in which nurseries developed earliest and most rapidly were Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire,<sup>210</sup> both areas in which the planting and landscaping of the very large estates such as Castle Howard, Studley Royal, Bramham and Welbeck, required vast quantities of trees whose transportation from London would have been expensive, with the added risk of losing many on a long, slow journey.

From Thomas White's account at Drummonds Bank and from surviving estate accounts we can establish the names and locations of some of the nurseries he used to provide the trees and shrubs required to carry out his designs. It is possible that White had his own nursery in West Retford but it would not appear that this was of any great size. His son-in-law, the Reverend Abraham Youle, also of West Retford, wrote in 1793 that his father-in-law had "on a small scale ... some few experiments" to do with planting in Retford.<sup>211</sup> In 1777 Christopher Sykes of Sledmere noted in his diary that "White's Trees arrived at Wheldrake for the nursery from near Gainsborough",<sup>212</sup> but whether this meant they had been raised by White at Retford (near Gainsborough) or that he had obtained them for Sykes from a commercial nursery, for

example Cowlshaw of Hodsock, also near Gainsborough, is not clear. The order was quite substantial, White's account for trees in the amount of £184 17s being paid on December 30 1777 and a further amount of £152 10s on July 2 1779.<sup>213</sup> Sykes also ordered trees at that time from Messrs. Telford of York and a Mr. William Shiells (or Shields) of Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, and later from Thompsons of Pickhill and Henry Phillipson of Beverley.<sup>214</sup>

The firms of Perfect of Pontefract, Telford of York and Thompsons of Pickhill were the chief Yorkshire nurseries in the eighteenth century and references to them occur in connection with White's work at Sandbeck, Harewood, Newby, Grimston and Sledmere. The Sandbeck accounts reveal that in October 1766 White ordered trees and shrubs from Perfects at a cost of £63 12s 8d, and a week later £49 11s 4d was paid to Mr. Cowlshaw of Hodsock, again for trees and shrubs White had ordered; perhaps the particular items he required were not available at Perfects so he went to Cowlshaws.<sup>215</sup> At Newby trees were raised in the nursery there, White instructing his foreman, Stones, in 1768, to "get out as many of the forward trees and shrubs out of Mr. Weddell's nursery as you can and plant them about the most finished part of the Borders and island at the pond";<sup>216</sup> White had also in the previous year ordered a number of evergreens from "Tompson", probably Thompsons of Pickhill, which he wanted Stones to plant out after the middle of April.<sup>217</sup>

At Harewood in 1766 White advised Samuel Popplewell, Edwin Lascelles' steward, that "a great number of firs" were required some of which could be obtained from existing plantations on the estate but that he would "call upon Mr. Perfect and that somebody must go to Messrs. Telford and see

what each of them have".<sup>218</sup> Evidently 3000 trees were obtained from Perfects, who told Popplewell that they "could never have had the plants at a more proper time nor finer season", while Telfords supplied bird cherry trees, and privets.<sup>218</sup> In February 1767 White visited Harewood to assess what plants would be required, telling Popplewell that "none will be wanted from London this season".<sup>220</sup> He examined the Harewood nurseries and marked in "Mr. Perfect's catalogue" the additional trees required; Popplewell sent a copy of this list to Lascelles remarking that "both the number and cost of the whole that are wanting ... is very great",<sup>221</sup> and apparently Lascelles was somewhat surprised at the number of trees White wished to order. An amended list of "the evergreens which Mr. White now says he proposes planting this season" was agreed upon and in April 1767 Popplewell advised that Sparrow was "going today to Pomfret to see the plants taken up", and transported to Harewood by wagon on Friday April 13.<sup>222</sup> In February 1768 White again searched the Harewood nurseries and ordered Sparrow to plant out those that were "proper"; he found "a great many plants wanted to thicken the plantation"<sup>223</sup> and proposed sending Lascelles a catalogue if he wished, however, no further trees appear to have been ordered until 1776 when Capability Brown was again at Harewood.

White wrote to Thomas Grimston in June 1782 about his proposed improvements and advised that he should:

prepare a nursery which I think is truly advisable without loss of time and I should think a good piece of land at Kilnwick would be the most proper place for the purpose and a waggon will carry a vast quantity of plants from the one place to the other...<sup>224</sup>

Once the nursery was ready, in the autumn or spring it should

be planted with:

two year old seedlings of the larch and some few other hardy plants, and which should stand two years in the nursery.

Both Thomas Grimston and his father, John Grimston, were keen on planting and making improvements to their estates and corresponded with various nurserymen, particularly Telfords and Perfects.<sup>225</sup> In 1772 John Grimston ordered shrubs from Telfords of York and in 1778 lent the Telfords a French catalogue of fruit trees which they found of considerable interest.<sup>226</sup> In January of 1782, the year in which White was consulted by Thomas Grimston, John Telford replied to a letter from William Pontey, "Gardener to T. Grimston, Esq. at Kilnwick, near Beverley" providing him with a list of some 110 trees and shrubs "which we are most particularly well stocked with" especially beech, fir, larch, elm and other forest trees.<sup>227</sup>

Thomas Grimston dealt also with the Scottish nurseryman, William Reid who, with Thomas Reid, had a nursery at Banff.<sup>228</sup> A letter from William Reid in Aberdeen in 1783 advised Grimston that 6000 oaks costing £17 0s 9d had been "packed in a matted bundel ... to be forwarded to Hull by the first ship from Newcastle".<sup>229</sup> There may be a direct connection with, or recommendation from, Thomas White here, for both Thomas Reid and William Reid were planting for the 2nd earl of Fife at Duff House in the 1760s and Thomas White is credited with the landscaping of Duff by Loudon.<sup>230</sup> The Reids also supplied trees and plants to Gordon Castle, where White drew up an improvement plan in 1786, until at least 1792.<sup>231</sup>

While at Gordon, White was associated with the nurseryman and surveyor, George Brown, a nephew of and former

apprentice to the very successful surveyor, Peter May.<sup>232</sup>

In 1791 Brown was paid for an appraisal at Gordon, in 1792 laid out boundaries and roads, and in 1792-3 supplied 24,000 birch and larch trees.<sup>233</sup> He was also at Cullen where he produced a survey prior to White's improvement plans of 1789-90 which Thomas White junior referred to in a letter to the earl of Findlater:

As Mr. Brown's survey containing the whole ground to the westward is already too large for one plan on the scale he has plotted it, we have been oblig'd to make it into two ...<sup>234</sup>

Trees and shrubs for Cullen were obtained from several sources, including John Adams of Aberdeen and the well known London firm of James Lee who were paid £269 10s 8d for seeds and trees in 1789.<sup>235</sup> In the 1790s George Brown was at Keith Hall, the seat of the earl of Kintore, in Aberdeenshire; White produced "an ornamental plan" for Keith in 1794 and Brown may have drawn up a survey and assisted with the planting work there.<sup>236</sup>

In 1788 Thomas Grimston received a letter regarding trees and plants ordered from Scotland from the nurserymen, Dickson and Brown, of Bridgend, Perth, a firm which Thomas White will have known well from his work at Glamis, Scone and other Perthshire estates.<sup>237</sup> White drew up a plan for Glamis (probably 1771/72) and was called there twice to advise on thinning and planting the trees. The Glamis ledgers show that between 1771 and 1774 nearly half a million trees were ordered from Dickson and Brown, particularly larch, Scots firs, thorns and oaks.<sup>238</sup>

At Scone on the outskirts of Perth considerable planting work took place before White's first visit there in June 1781 and the firm of Dickson and Brown both supplied and advised



on the planting of seedling trees and shrubs, though according to William Blair, the factor, in 1779 the new nursery at Scone was "mostly filled up with larixes and beetches of our own raising".<sup>239</sup> Prior to the drawing up of White's official contract with Lord Stormont in April 1783 Brown of Dickson and Brown took over the "saving and mannaging" in a hot bed of some tree seeds sent to Scone by Lord Stormont in London, and Blair also had Brown inspect ground that White had instructed should be trenched and planted and "give directions about it and his son to attend and assist during planting".<sup>240</sup>

In the Spring of 1784 White sent to Scone "from Newcastle ... a number of forrest trees and flowering shrubs", a list of which Blair sent to Lord Stormont.<sup>241</sup> Blair felt that the total cost of £136 17s. was far too high and that many of the items could be obtained at a lower price in Scotland. He told Stormont:

From comparing the prices of the largest of his forrest tree plants and evergreens for clumps (and of which I don't think there is near the number yet sent that he should furnish) with plants of the same kinds to be had in this country, it is thought incredible that what he has sent including the flowering shrubs, could amount to the third of £136 17s. For tho' there is a great variety of the last, yet as the numbers of the different sorts are not great even tho they should be charged at high prices, its thought they cannot amount to a great sum.<sup>242</sup>

Blair was unhappy that he had not been advised by White that the plants were being sent, "I never heard of them till their arrival, nor did he write me anything about them, only gave directions to his man to put them in the nursery".<sup>243</sup> White also sent Stormont a list of the plants sent to Scone together with a catalogue of the prices of plants in England "as they have been invariably sold for this twenty years past, or upwards by one of the greatest nurserymen in

England, if not in Europe", but White does not mention the name of this nurseryman.<sup>244</sup> White went on:

Your Lordship will see, that the plants already sent, agreeable to those fixed rates, amount to no less a sum than one hundred and thirty six pounds seventeen shillings which is as cheap as any person except a professional man can buy them for; but as I buy a very large quantity every year I have them something cheaper in order to indemnify me against losses which are sometimes very considerable.

So it seems that whichever nursery it was that White dealt with regularly gave him a good discount on their catalogue price which allowed him to replace failed trees without loss to himself. White had advised Thomas Grimston in 1782 that he would:

Take care to procure ... a quantity of strong seedlings at a much cheaper rate than ye common price and also have those that fail replaced gratis ... In the course of the summer if you will let your gardener take an account of the dead trees and those that he thinks will die I shall take care that you are refurbished with living ones.<sup>245</sup>

He also indicated to John Christian Curwen of Workington in 1784 that "he himself was willing to bear any losses through dead trees".<sup>246</sup>

In his letter of June 1784 to Lord Stormont White pointed out that there were none of his "Lordship's favourite thorns on the list of plants sent" but that he had managed to procure some "in the neighbourhood of London" together with "a very great variety of American and other curious plants of every kind, that are likely to grow in Scotland".<sup>247</sup> Lord Stormont did not apparently appreciate White's efforts to please and must have been very critical of the price and type of plants which he had sent, for in July 1785 White wrote to him that in the "fine parcel of plants sent to Scone" there was:

nothing like the variety and quantity I propose planting there; that the half of those sent at present could not be purchased in Scotland at any price, indeed I have observed that tho the trees are cheaper, the flowering shrubs they raise there are sold as dear as in England and are not half so well trained.<sup>248</sup>

Blair, to support his case, had meanwhile produced his own list entitled "Prices which I have paid for plants from the Nursery at Bridgend" (Dickson and Brown) which he had presumably sent to Stormont.<sup>249</sup>

A direct comparison of prices is difficult as no indication of age or size of trees is given in either White's or Blair's list, however, as White observed, the trees in Scotland would seem to have been cheaper. For example 'large silver firs' at Dickson and Brown were 5s a hundred while White's were 5s for forty, and Weymouth pines 15s a hundred against White's 30s. a hundred.

The Dickson family originally started their business at Hassendeanburn, near Hawick on the Scottish borders, in 1729, later in the century spreading to Perth and Edinburgh,<sup>250</sup> and during the time White was undertaking his contract with John Christian Curwen for improvements at Workington and Belle Isle (1783-1787), trees and shrubs were obtained from Archibald Dickson and Sons of Hassendeanburn. Vouchers indicate that a large variety of trees and shrubs were ordered in smallish quantities, while earlier flowering trees, fruit trees and seeds were obtained from Richard Sunter of Workington.

Thomas White and his son dealt with a number of nurseries, particularly in the north of England and in Scotland, although they also used some of the London nurseries, perhaps for more specialised items which could not be obtained further north. For ease and cheapness of

transportation they generally appeared to have frequented a nursery close to the particular commission on which they were engaged, although White's reference to obtaining a discount because of the large volume of his purchases would indicate that there was one particular nursery with which he dealt more than others. White's account at Drummonds shows payments to various firms, some of which are identifiable as nurseries, and others may be smaller less well known establishments. The recognisable ones include Samuel Sigston of Beverley, Anderson and Company of Edinburgh, Hay and Company of Leytonstone, Essex, Eddie and Company of London, Smith and Company, W. Perfect of Pontefract, Jos. Cowlshaw in Nottinghamshire and Dickson and Company.<sup>251</sup>

## CHAPTER 6 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 Mulgrave VI 10/336 White to Lord Mulgrave December 23 1784
- 2 ibid.
- 3 SRO GD/24/1/624/25 December 1790 account
- 4 SRO RD3/328 Power of attorney May 9 1809
- 5 CRO D/Cu Daybook of Payments August 16 1783 "Paid Mr. White Surveyor by Mr. Christian"; Tait (1980) p.173
- 6 James Abercrombie junior (fl.1768-1794), surveyor and landscape designer who drew up plans for Glamis Castle (1768) and the Guynd (1775)
- 7 SRO RH4/119/14 White to Robert Graham November 12 1782
- 8 HCRO DDGR/43/2 White to Thomas Grimston June 11 1782
- 9 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784
- 10 SRO GD/220/5/1757/10 David Erskine to David Graeme September 19 1770
- 11 Scone 667/8 Blair to Stormont February 24 1781
- 12 Scone 667/52 Blair to Stormont June 30 1781
- 13 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 14 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 15 Scone 667/61 Blair to Stormont February 18 1784
- 16 A survey was also prepared by Peter May in 1764 (Tait (1980) p.87)
- 17 SRO GD/248/3425/5 White junior to the earl of Findlater May 26 1789; two plans dated 1789 exist, one at Cullen House the other SRO RHP 12876
- 18 ibid.
- 19 SRO RHP 12877
- 20 SRO GD/170/2759/1 White junior to Campbell June 25 1818
- 21 SRO GD/170/2759/2 White junior to Campbell December 1 1818
- 22 NLS Ms 15420 f.96 White junior to Alexander Guthrie May 30 1820
- 23 LDA TN/EA/23a/31 White to Stones October 31 1767
- 24 LAO Yarb 9/4
- 25 Scone 667/47 Blair to Stormont May 13 1783

- 26 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 27 Scone B1497 Crop Account 1786 account 7 Item 7
- 28 CRO D/Cu Accounts
- 29 Scone 1233/3 White to Thomas Graham September 25 1786
- 30 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 31 Scone 667/19vi White to Stormont July 3 1784
- 32 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles March 3 1766
- 33 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles February 16 and March 7 1767
- 34 Victoria Percy and Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Travel Journeys of the 1st duchess of Northumberland' Part III, Country Life, February 1974, [Percy & Jackson-Stops (CL 1974)], p.309
- 35 John Jewell, The Tourists Companion, Leeds, 1819, [Jewell (1819)], pp.20,31
- 36 Scone V148 Journal of Lord Stormont 6 July 1775
- 37 Scone 666/13 Contract White with Stormont April 29 1783
- 38 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 39 *ibid.*
- 40 Scone 1229/57 Blair to Stormont March 21 1784
- 41 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 42 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont undated (late June 1784?)
- 43 Scone 667/18 Blair to Stormont July 10 1784
- 44 Scone 1232/8 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 45 Scone 1232/9 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 46 Scone 1232/1 Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 47 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 48 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786(?)
- 49 Scone 1233/3 White to Thomas Graham September 25 1786
- 50 Scone 448/6 James Laidlaw, Edinburgh to Lord Stormont April 13 1789
- 51 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 52 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783

- 53 Scone B667/57 'Drains and Pavements to be made about the Palace of Scone and in the Park': 4 foot drains 900 running yards

3	"	2878 1/2	"
2	"	594	"

- 54 Scone 667/61 Blair to Stormont February 18 1784

- 55 Scone B1512 Account 5 No.8 Robert Porter account for drains

- 56 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles March 3 1766, March 12, 1766, May 5 1766

- 57 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783

- 58 Scone B667/56 - this document which is headed 'Sunk Fences proposed to be made by Mr. White' is not dated or signed but is presumed to be Blair junior's report:

	Running Yards	
Round 6 Clumps in Chappelhillfield	696	
The inside fence of the stripe on the east side of said field	<u>624</u>	1320
The above field was not in Mr. White's first Plan		
Round 9 Clumps in Chappelhill Park	960	
The inside fence of the stripe on the east side of said park	<u>348</u>	1308
Round 19 Clumps in Middle Park part of North Park and [Lambirish]	2937	
The inside Fence of the stripe on the East side of Ditto	<u>384</u>	3321
Round 13 Clumps in Haugh of Rome, Backacres, Briary Dales, Dovecot Croft, etc.	1731	
The inside fence of the stripe on the North side of the said Haugh	<u>696</u>	2427
Fences for the Inside of the stripe round the Kirkhill Burrying Ground etc.		[ ? ]
Fence for the Inside of the stripe round Locko Well land		[ ? ]
The whole Sunk Fences Measure		10224
Round the Inside of the stripe	3900	
Round the 47 Clumps	<u>6324</u>	
		10224

Round the Whole Policy on the outside of the stripe or belt of Planting measures 2659 running yards as follows:

From Pearlhall to the Northeast corner of Chapelhill Park a 5 1/2 ft high wall	810
From said corner to the end of the Wilderness next the village of Scone a stone sunk fence	288
From ditto along the West side of the village of Scone a 7 feet high wall	336
From the Northwest corner of the House of Scone around Sockswell and to the Farm of Rome a 5 1/2 foot high wall	<u>1225</u>
	2659

- 59 Scone 1229/57 Blair to Stormont March 21 1784]
- 60 Scone 667/62 Blair to Stormont December 11 1784 and  
1232/1 Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 61 Scone Crop Account 1784 f.33
- 62 Scone 666/13 Contract White with Stormont April 29 1783
- 63 Scone B1497 Crop Account 1786 No. 7
- 64 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 65 Scone 632/28 White to Stormont September 17 1786
- 66 Scone 1233/3 White to Graham September 25 1786
- 67 Scone 1229/65 Blair junior to Stormont July 11 1787
- 68 Scone 1229/64 Blair to Stormont September 22 1787
- 69 Scone 1229/65 Blair junior to Stormont November 15 1787
- 70 Scone V117 Loudon 'Treatise on Scone' 1803
- 71 Scone 666/13 Contract White with Stormont April 29 1783
- 72 LDA TN/EA/23a/50 White to Stones May 24 (?) 1768
- 73 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786 (?)
- 74 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 75 Scone 667/19vi White to Blair July 3 1784
- 76 Scone 1232/9 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784, 1232/1  
Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 77 Scone Crop Account 1784 f.22
- 78 Scone 632/28 White to Stormont September 17 1786
- 79 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 80 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786 (?)
- 81 *ibid.*
- 82 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 83 Scone 1233/3 White to Thomas Graham September 25 1786
- 84 Scone 1233/27 White to Stormont September 25 1786
- 85 LDA TN/EA/23a/103 White to Stones March 9 1767
- 86 LDA TN/EA/23a/67 White to Stones July 23 1767
- 87 LDA TN/EA/23a/31 White to Stones October 31 1767



- 88 LDA TN/EA/23a/121 White to Stones, undated probably early 1768
- 89 LDA TN/EA/23a/52 White to Stones March 12 1768
- 90 LDA TN/EA/23a/31 White to Stones October 31 1767
- 91 The Oxford English Dictionary, Compact Edition, defines a 'navigator' as 'a labourer employed in the work of excavating and constructing a canal' (often shortened to 'navvy').
- 92 In 1767 an act of Parliament was passed to make navigable the river Ure from its junction with the river Swale past Boroughbridge to Ox Close, see Hadfield C(1972), Vol.1, p.111; White's original plan of Newby in the Newby estate office shows the course of the canal pencilled in.
- 93 Scone 1229/59 Blair to Stormont March 4 1783
- 94 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 95 Scone 1229/57 Blair to Stormont March 21 1784
- 96 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784?
- 97 Scone 667/18 Blair to Stormont July 10 1784
- 98 *ibid.*
- 99 Scone 1233/2 White to Stormont December 2 1784
- 100 Scone 1232/1 Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 101 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786
- 102 Scone 632/28 White to Stormont September 17 1786
- 103 *ibid.*
- 104 Scone 1229/60 Blair to Stormont April 16 1783
- 105 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783; a sunk fence of this nature, probably created by White, can be seen at Goldsborough Hall in Yorkshire.
- 106 Scone 667/13 Blair to Stormont October 19 1784]
- 107 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles March 1 1766
- 108 *ibid.* April 21 1766
- 109 *ibid.* May 5 1766
- 110 *ibid.* February 16 1767
- 111 *ibid.* February 25 1767
- 112 *ibid.* March 7 1767
- 113 *ibid.* April 13 1767

- 114 ibid. February 13 1768
- 115 ibid. February 27 1768
- 116 Scone 667/19vi White to Blair July 3 1784: "I am sorry to hear the trees have succeeded so ill. We never plant the tender sorts of evergreens till the first or second weeks in May when the vernal winds are supposed to be over".
- 117 LDA TN/EA/23a/48,103,106 White to Stones
- 118 LDA TN/EA/23a/47,107 White to Stones
- 119 LDA TN/Ea/23a/52 White to Stones March 12 1768
- 120 HCRO DDGR 43/2 White to Grimston June 11 1782
- 121 ibid.
- 122 Cobbett (1832) Vol.III p.843
- 123 Steuart (1828) p.13
- 124 ibid p.123
- 125 ibid. note IV p.403
- 126 Scone 666/13 Contract of April 29 1783
- 127 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 128 Scone 667/61 Blair to Stormont February 18 1784
- 129 Scone 1232/1 Blair to Stormont December 31 1784
- 130 Scone V111 'Plans and Descriptions of the Woods and Plantations on the Estates of Scone, Cambusmichael, Inverylie and Balbird in the County of Perth, the Property of the Right Honble William Earl of Mansfield' by William Booth 1822, f.25
- 131 Hunter T(1883) p.106
- 132 NLS 19204-9 ff.100,102
- 133 Quoted by Tait (1980) note 54, p.218 from Letters of John Ramsay, Scottish History Society, 1967, p.233
- 134 A pencilled inscription on the original plan at Blairquhan, written by James Hunter Blair in 1961, notes that "the scheme was rejected (I understand because the present site had the old trees in the vicinity - lime avenue, Crow Wood, etc.)".
- 135 Glamis V44 Factors Account Crop Book 1774 f.35
- 136 Scott (QR 1828) quoted in Gray (1912) Vol. III, note 2 p.84

- 137 A plan by William Mackay is in the SRO RHP 2385; Mackay worked with White for 9 days in 1786/87, charging the duke of Gordon £2 5s for this, and charged £34 13s for 'surveying the parks, woods, etc. at Gordon Castle'; his unfinished survey shows the situation presumably as it was in 1786 and may have been used by White as the basis of his own improvement plan.
- 138 Hall (1807) Vol.II p.354
- 139 SRO GD/44/51/374 Gordon garden accounts
- 140 Gilpin (1834) Vol.II pp.237-38
- 141 The payments received by Thomas White from Capability Brown between April 3 1759 and July 18 1765 total £3019 10s as follows:  
1759 - £145; 1760 - £385; 1761 - £625; 1762 - £620;  
1763 - £570; 1764 - £330; 1765 - £344 10s.
- 142 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 White to Capability Brown probably 1762
- 143 Quoted by Stroud (1975) p.94, Capability Brown to Lord Bruce September 21 1765
- 144 LDA TN/EA/23a/139 Richard Woods to William Stones Dec 25 1764
- 145 Woods' foreman at Harewood, Anthony Sparrow, also had a drink problem; Samuel Popplewell wrote of him to Edwin Lascelles "I wish he be not too much adicted to liquor ... that you detested a drunkerd" (LDA HSLB May 12 1765)
- 146 LDA TN/EA/23a/38 White to Stones January 22 1767
- 147 ibid.
- 148 LDA TN/EA/23a/160 Thomas Gray at Newby to William Stones at Temple Newsam December 8 1767
- 149 LDA TN/EA/23a/105 White to William Stones August 29 1769; the owner of Beaufront was in fact John Errington rather than Irwin - the errors in the address would suggest that White was not closely involved here.
- 150 LDA TN/EA/23a/34 letter Stones(?) to (?) from Beaufront, October 27 1769
- 151 LDA TN/EA/23a/- Donkin at Sandoe to Stones at Temple Newsam December 7 1770; TN/EA/23a/53,57 and 58 are letters from Errington to Stones
- 152 LDA TN/EA/23a/57 William Perfect to William Stones June 18 1770
- 153 LDA TN/EA/23a/80 and 23a/108 Brown to Stones September 24 1770
- 154 LDA TN/EA/23a/112 Cornelius Griffen to William Stones from Alnwick October 9 1770; Brown's debit account at Drummonds shows numerous payments to Griffen from 1758 until 1769, he died in 1772; a note in Alnwick Castle

Archives U.I.44 shows 18s. paid 'for a Postchaise to Hampton Court to Mr. Brown abt a Man to conduct the Works at Alnwick on the Death of Mr. Griffin' (Willis (GH 1983) p.175); and a letter of July 26 1772 from the duke of Northumberland's steward says that Mr. Brown will 'take some care of Griffin's widow when she arrives with friends in London' (Hinde (1986) p.99).

- 155 Letters in the LDA (TN/EA/23a) show that William Stones' wife, Ann, lived at Wideopen just north of Newcastle
- 156 Cowell (GH 1987ii) p.127 says Woods referred to leaving 'modalls' for the men to work from and memoranda which were "divided into articles specifying the work to be done and the order in which it was to be tackled".
- 157 LDA TN/EA/23a/44 White to Stones May 17 1767
- 158 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 159 Scone 667/12 Blair to Stormont November 2 1783
- 160 Scone 667/59 Blair to Stormont December 9 1783
- 161 Scone B1512 Acct. 8 No.3 Receipt dated November 13 1784 from Thomas White for 2 drafts including "by payment of a draft of mine on the said Drummonds for ten guineys to Robt. Porter in April last [1784]" and Acct. 8, No.5 Receipt dated November 13 1784 for "6 guineys (by payments of that sum on 24 January last to Robert Porter my foreman at Scone)"
- 162 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784
- 163 Scone 667/19vi White to Blair (copy made by Blair) July 3 1784
- 164 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784
- 165 *ibid.*
- 166 Scone Crop Account 1783 f28 no.5, f.37 No.8
- 167 Scone 667/19vi White to Blair July 3 1784
- 168 Scone 1232/8 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 169 *ibid.*
- 170 Scone Crop Account 1784 f22, no.2; an "R. Porter" appears in the Workington Estate Cash Book for 1788 paid a total of £12 19s 8d on the "Plantation Contract".
- 171 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 172 White's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows payments to Teal from April 1786 until May 1793 averaging over £100 a year - possibly the Allanbank work continued until 1793.
- 173 Scone B1513 Stormont to Blair August 9 1785

- 174 Scone B1513 Acct.6 No.5 White to Blair December 24 1785
- 175 Scone 632/27 White to Stormont August 30 1786
- 176 White's debit account at Drummonds Bank indicates a number of payments to persons by the name of 'Dunn' between May 1775 and July 13 1799 - Benjamin, Francis and some to Robert in 1775/76; £49 19s was paid to "Mr. Dunn" on August 19 1786 which may have been for Robert's work at Scone. A Robert Dunn was agent to Christopher Sykes at Sledmere in the 1770s (John Popham, Sir Christopher Sykes at Sledmere, Country Life, January 16 1986, [Popham (CL 1986)] p.128)
- 177 Scone 1233/2 White to Graham September 25 1786
- 178 Scone 1229/65 Blair junior to Lord Stormont July 1 1787
- 179 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784
- 180 West's letter of June 4 1784 to Society of Arts (SA Transactions (1786)) was addressed from Workington.
- 181 SA Transactions (1813) p.103
- 182 SA Transactions (1787) p.28
- 183 SA Transactions (1786) p.3; (1788) p.46
- 184 Quoted in Edward Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, O.U.P., 1965, [Hughes (1965)], Vol.II, p.235 - the original of the letter from White is missing from the Curwen Archives at the CRO.
- 185 CRO D/Cu Workington Estate Account Book 1783-86
- 186 CRO D/Cu Estate Day Book October 4 1786 'Paid Mr. West for Sundries as per account Exclusive Bargain £6 16 4 1/2'
- 187 CRO D/Cu Voucher June 19 1787 for £103 6s 4d
- 188 SRO GD/220/6/585/1
- 189 SA Transactions (1791) p.9
- 190 SA Transactions (1790) p.11 White to Society of Arts January 15 1790
- 191 SRO RD3/339
- 192 White's Drummonds debit account shows a number of payments made to a Geo. Small prior to 1800, he was perhaps related to Robert Small.
- 193 SRO RD3/339, see Appendix B6
- 194 Steuart (1828) pp.43-44; Loudon (EG 1859) p.270; see also Colvin (1978) p.671, Tait (1980) p.85, Loudon (EE 1830) p.543, and chapter 4
- 195 Shepherd (1836)

- 196 Scone Crop Account 1784 f.35 No.6 "To Expences  
Entertaining Mr. White and his Son during their stay at  
Scone for 6 days in 1785 £3 12s."
- 197 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 White to Brown, probably 1762
- 198 LDA TN/EA/23a/38 White to Stones January 22 1767
- 199 LDA TN/EA/23a/48 White to Stones February 6 1767
- 200 LDA TN/EA/23a/103 White to Stones March 9 1767
- 201 LDA TN/EA/23a/106 White to Stones March 25 1767
- 202 LDA TN/EA/23a/49 White to Stones July 17 1767
- 203 LDA TN/EA/23a/79 White to Stones, undated probably  
Summer 1768
- 204 LDA TN/EA/23a/68 White to Stones, undated probably early  
1768
- 205 LDA TN/EA/23a/45 White to Stones July 2 1767
- 206 LDA TN/EA/23a/31 White to Stones October 31 1767
- 207 *ibid.*
- 208 A search of the York Courant for this period has failed  
to reveal the advertisement so perhaps Stones was able  
to find the requisite number of hands at 14d per day.
- 209 Cowell (GH 1987ii) p.129 quotes Richard Woods' letter to  
Lord Arundell of 1769: "I could scarcely in a sheet of  
paper describe the dissposition and behaviour of those  
unaccountable creatures in human shapes indeed but that  
is all, for in all other respects are Bruits. The 1st  
Monday morning after I arrived they all draw'd up in a  
body, swore they would not unlock a tool unless I would  
give them 18d a day, the planting being in hand I was  
oblig'd to comply being at so great distance from any of  
my own companeys."
- 210 John H. Harvey, 'Two Early Nurseries', Journal of the  
Chester Archaeological Society, Vol.59, 1976, [Harvey  
(JCAS 1976)] p.66; also John H. Harvey, Early  
Nurserymen, with reprints of documents and lists,  
Phillimore, 1974 [Harvey (1974)] and John H. Harvey,  
Early Gardening Catalogues, Phillimore, 1972, [Harvey  
(1972)]
- 211 Youle (1793) p.370
- 212 HUL DDSY/102/10 Diary of Christopher Sykes March 24 1777
- 213 HUL DDSY photocopy of Christopher Sykes' Account Book  
1771-1800
- 214 Trees were also bought locally; agreement of September  
25 1777 for Philip Burnet and John Smidy to supply to  
nursery at Sledmere 40,000 young birch trees drawn

direct from the woods at 5s a thousand (HUL  
DDSY(3)/4/45)

- 215 Sandbeck EMR/8; accounts for Glentworth, Lord Scarbrough's Lincolnshire estate, contain payments to Perfects 'for garden' in 1762
- 216 LDA TN/EA/23a/52 White to Stones March 12 1768
- 217 LDA TN/EA/23a/106 White to Stones March 25 1767. These records also contain a receipt from Telfords for £1 5s for spades and sieves bought by William Stones in 1764 when he was Woods' foreman at Goldsborough, and a letter and bill from William Perfect to Stones at Thomas Riddell's Northumberland estate of Swinburn Castle in June 1770 regarding flower seeds [TN/EA/23a/57]
- 218 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles March 1 1766
- 219 *ibid.* April 21 1766
- 220 *ibid.* February 25 1767
- 221 *ibid.* February 28 1767
- 222 LDA HSLB; the Harewood Ledger of Accounts No.269 shows payments to Perfects on April 15 1766 and November 10 1767 for 'Shrubs etc.' in the amount of £90 10s 4d and £65 19s 10d respectively and to Telfords on August 23 1766 for 'sundry shrubs' for £3 15s 4d.
- 223 LDA HSLB Popplewell to Lascelles February 13 1767
- 224 HCRO DDGR 43/2 Thomas White, Retford to Thomas Grimston, Kilnwick June 11 1782
- 225 HCRO DDGR 42/26 August 16 1776 and October 30 1776 letters Perfects to John Grimston; the Perfects also recommended a James Friendly as "a sober diligent man and good Gardener ... willing to work for 15 Guineas a Year wages and one guinea a year towards his washing" in May 1773 [DDGR 42/23]; Lord Brownlow wrote to Thomas Grimston October 5 (no year) asking, on Messrs. Telfords' advice, for a recommendation of John Dickenson, Grimston's gardener for 10 years; William and John Perfect wrote to John Grimston in 1774 recommending John Mallison (who had served as under-gardener to Edwin Lascelles at Harewood) and in August 1776 one of the Perfects visited Kilnwick to advise on trees required there [DDGR 42/124 March 1 1774]. In June 1780 Thomas Grimston wrote to his father staying at Henry Duncombe's Copgrove estate saying he had gone through Pontefract "to see Perfitt's gardens" [DDGR 42/30/56 June 9 1780].
- 226 HCRO DDGR 42/22 John Telford to John Grimston April 16 1772; DDGR 42/28 John and Geo Telford to J. Grimston August 8 1778
- 227 HCRO DDGR 42/27 J.G. Telford to William Pontey January 12 1782; this is probably either the uncle of (see Tait (Burl 1976) note 11, p.17) or the same William Pontey (d.1831) who published The Profitable Planter in 1800,

- The Forest Pruner in 1805 and The Rural Improver in 1823 and who had "an important nursery in Kirkheaton near Huddersfield and a seedsman's shop in the town" (Harvey (1974) p.93); Johnson (1829) (p.276) described him as "ornamental Gardener .. planter and forest pruner to the duke of Bedford"; Sir Henry Steuart wrote of Pontey as "one of the most extensive and successful planters now living and also a Landscape Gardener of no small distinction" (Steuart (1828) p.56) and "an intelligent Nurseryman and Planter" (p.397). Steuart admired The Rural Improver however according to Thomas White junior "Pontey's Book in many cases both in England and Scotland has done harm" (quoted by Tait (1980) note 35, p.212 from Mount Stuart Muniments, letterbook of A. Brown, f.402).
- 228 Tait (1980) p.139; Tait p.157 writes that after 1782 Thomas Reid dropped out of the picture
- 229 HCRO DDGR 43/3 William Reid, Aberdeen to Thomas Grimston March 12 1783
- 230 Loudon (EG 1828) para. 7640; Tait (1980) note 70 p.69: "In 1767 William Reid wrote to Lord Fife saying that he had 'near finished the planting in most places at Duff House'" (from AUL Ms.226/275/6); Lord Fife in a letter to his Factor in 1765 quoted in Henrietta Tayler (Ed.) Lord Fife and His Factor, 1925, [Tayler (1925)] p.72 wrote "Tell Thoms. Reid that now, as the Season for planting is coming on, I hope he'll mind the Planting ..."
- 231 Tait (1980) p.157; Gordon Castle records indicate that Thomas Reid was employed on landscaping work there between 1774-81 (SRO GD/44/51/371); the duke of Gordon also dealt with the London firms of Gordon, Dermer and Thompson and Hewitt, Smith, Harrison and Cook between 1786 and 1790 (SRO GD/44/51/374)
- 232 See Ian Adams, Descriptive List of Plans in the Scottish Record Office, H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1966-89 [Adams (1966-89)], Vol.II, p.vii, May recommended Brown in 1769 as displaying "skill in farming and gardening more than his brother surveyors".
- 233 SRO GD/44/51/373
- 234 SRO GD/248/3425/5 Thomas White junior to the earl of Findlater May 26 1789; George Brown's account for surveying in 1807 stood at £39 11s (SRO GD/248/1286)
- 235 SRO GD/248/3420/1 Garden vouchers: John Adams supplied 5000 strong larches for £2 12 6d in 1790
- 236 AUL Ms.3064/294 and Giles Worsley, 'Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire', Country Life, May 28 1987, [Worsley (CL 1987ii)], p.140
- 237 HCRO DDGR/43/8; Patrick Neill wrote of a nursery at Perth where "is to be found the best collection of hardy shrubs and fruit-trees out of Edinburgh" (Neill (1813) p.109



- 238 Undated, unsigned plan at Glamis attributed on stylistic evidence to Thomas White; Glamis, Ledger Volume 22 'Nursery' lists tree orders to Dickson and Brown and others, including Robert Anderson, Seedsman in 1774 (of Edinburgh according to Harvey (1974) p.66); White's own Drummonds debit account shows payments to Anderson and Co. on April 5 1775 and to Robert Anderson on January 30 1776
- 239 Scone 667/25 Blair to Stormont March 17 1779
- 240 Scone 1229/59 Blair to Stormont March 4 1783
- 241 Scone 667/54 Blair to Stormont June 19 1784; Newcastle was presumably the shipping point for the order.
- 242 Scone 667/18 Blair to Stormont July 10 1784
- 243 *ibid.*
- 244 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784
- 245 HCRO DDGR 43/2 White to Grimston June 11 1782
- 246 Quoted in Hughes (1965) p.236, original letter missing from Curwen Archives at CRO
- 247 Scone 667/19i White to Stormont late June 1784
- 248 Scone 632/26 White to Stormont July 29 1785
- 249 Scone 667/19viii (in William Blair's hand):  
Prices which I have paid for Plants from the Nursery at Bridgend:
- |                         |      |             |
|-------------------------|------|-------------|
| Large silver firs       | 5shs | per Hundred |
| White American Spruce   | 10sh | "           |
| Mountain Ash            | 5sh  | "           |
| Walnuts                 | 7sh  | "           |
| Broad leav'd Service    | 30sh | "           |
| Limes                   | 25sh | "           |
| Weymouth Pines          | 15sh | "           |
| Oriental Planus         | £6   | "           |
| Virginian Avasia        | 3d   | each        |
| Pineasters              | 3d   | "           |
| Black American Spruce   | 3d   | "           |
| Cedars of Lebanon       | 1sh  | "           |
| Swedish Mapples         | 4d   | "           |
| Sugar Mapples           | 3d   | "           |
| Common Mapples          | 3d   | "           |
| Common Bird Cherry      | 2d   | "           |
| Evergreen               | 6d   | "           |
| Scarlet Oaks            | 3d   | "           |
| Striped Planes          | 4d   | "           |
| Double Flowering Thorns | 6d   | "           |
- 250 Henrey (1975) Vol.II p.398
- 251 See Harvey (1974) p.69 for Sigstons, p.199 for Eddie and Co., pp.87,197 for Hay and Co., p.198 for Smith and Co.

## CHAPTER 7

### ARBORICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

- A THOMAS WHITE'S WOODLANDS ESTATE
- B TREE PLANTING CONTRACTS
- C SOCIETY OF ARTS AWARDS FOR PLANTING
- D THE LARCH TREE

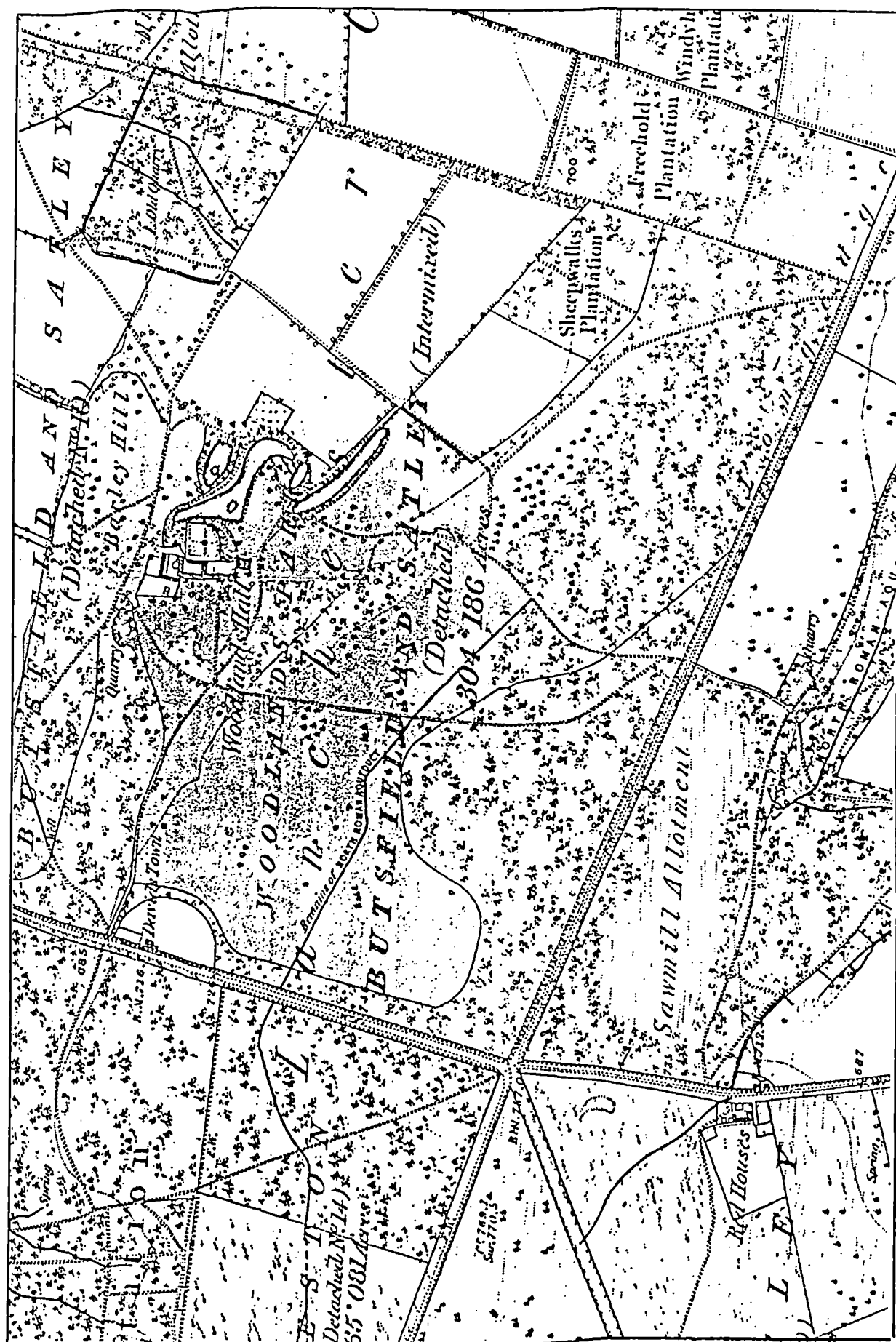
## 7A THOMAS WHITE'S WOODLANDS ESTATE

And tell, O WHITE, how thy industrious hand  
 Drove startled Barrenness from all her rights  
 Of old possession; and morasses deep,  
 And wind-swept hill, in verdure such adorned  
 As clothes the meadows of some antient stream.<sup>1</sup>  
 The Reverend John Hodgson, 'Woodlands' 1807

With these poetic words from his work entitled 'Woodlands', the Reverend John Hodgson, historian, praised the transformation wrought by Thomas White to his estate, named Woodlands by White, at Butsfield in the parish of Lanchester, County Durham (at an elevation of six hundred feet and a distance of twenty miles from the sea, according to the information of Thomas White junior).<sup>2</sup>

Thomas White made his first purchase of land at Butsfield in 1773, the year in which an act of Parliament was passed for the enclosing of "certain moors, commons or tracts of waste land, containing upwards of eighteen thousand acres, within the parish and manor of Lanchester" in order to bring this land into cultivation.<sup>3</sup> The preamble to the act gave the area as "nearly 20,000 acres" but "according to Bailey the account stands 12,281 acres 2 roods and 2 perches, more improveable - 3835 acres 3 roods and 7 perches, less improveable - and 300 acres sold to defray expenses", a total of approximately 16,416 acres.<sup>4</sup> The land was enclosed and "divided between the Bishop of Durham as Lord, and the free and copyhold tenants of the manor".<sup>5</sup> The commissioners were empowered to dispose of various parts of the lands to raise money for making roads and paying expenses, for which purposes they sold 1551 acres for £8174, Thomas White being the principal purchaser. His first purchase was "no more than two hundred and twenty-seven acres" and cost him £260, freehold and tithe free.<sup>6</sup>

Under the act another 300 acres were vested in the



6" O.S. map 1856 showing Woodlands estate in County Durham

justices of the peace of the county to raise money to "compensate the owners of allotments, such damages as they should sustain by the Lord Bishop of Durham, or his lessees, winning mines therein".<sup>7</sup> It was later decided that it would be more expedient to sell an allotment of 300 acres subject to a rent charge of £30 a year "to provide a fund for indemnifying such damages as owners of allotments might sustain by the working of the mines belonging to the See of Durham",<sup>8</sup> and in 1779 an act of Parliament was obtained to this effect.<sup>9</sup> Thomas White had apparently purchased the 300 acre allotment in about 1776 but under this act was required to repurchase it in 1779. The Consett Guardian in 1902 described the event as follows:

Owing, however, to certain objectors and other causes an additional Act was made in the 19th year of the reign of George III. After the usual notices had been issued to the public convening a meeting to be 'held at the house of Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, innkeeper, Lanchester, on Friday, the 6th August, 1779, between the hours of eleven and three of the clock' the property consisting of the 300 acres allotment, was re-sold to the original purchaser, Mr. Thomas White, on the same terms and conditions as originally agreed upon, but with the addition of certain heavy cost, including the passing of the Act of 1779.<sup>10</sup>

According to Granger this 300 acres which already contained buildings "that had been erected thereon" cost nearly four hundred pounds".<sup>11</sup> In 1828 Sir Henry Steuart stated that "the territory of Woodlands extended to between seven and eight hundred acres and cost Mr. White about £750".<sup>12</sup> It is possible therefore that, in addition to his original 527 acres purchased for about £650 White or his son managed later to purchase an additional 150 acres or so at less than £1 per acre.

In January 1786 Thomas White submitted to the Society of

Arts in London a long letter describing in great detail his acquisition of the Butsfield land and his subsequent planting work there.<sup>13</sup> He stated that he had "spent some time in looking out for a proper subject" as he sought to find a place with a market for the sale of and possible export of wood; he also required land which was unsuitable for growing grass or corn but suitable for raising trees. He had hoped to plant some 1000 acres in all, however, the Butsfield land fulfilled his other requirements, being near the port of Newcastle and in an area "abounding with lead mines" which, together with the numerous collieries in the area, created a great demand for timber and also, possibly, charcoal.<sup>14</sup> As the surrounding land "was not likely to become an interesting object to the circumjacent proprietors"<sup>15</sup> White was confident he would at a later date be able to extend his purchases.

Prior to 1773 landholders in the manor of Lanchester were "not entitled to take or dispose of any wood or timber growing on their respective copyhold or customary tenements there"<sup>16</sup> without first obtaining a licence from the bishop of Durham, a situation which tended to discourage timber-raising on these lands. The 1773 Act stated that in future owners and proprietors of lands allotted to them could "sell and dispose of the whole of such woods, underwoods, and trees and other plantings as are now growing, or standing or as they shall respectively hereafter plant, or set, or shall grow".<sup>17</sup> Thus Thomas White and others could plant trees on land which was at that time thought unsuitable for any other purpose and dispose of the timber as they wished. Considerable debate had taken place, both before and after the passing of the act "respecting the prudence of such a measure" as "many

considered the attempt as utterly hopeless"<sup>18</sup> but the venture did succeed with White's example being "followed by many others"<sup>19</sup> and Woodlands in 1834 afforded "a pleasing instance of the triumphs of art and industry over the most difficult and discouraging obstacles to general improvement".<sup>20</sup>

Thomas White was at this time living in West Retford in Nottinghamshire and is not known to have resided in north-eastern England. His profession as a landscape designer had though taken him to County Durham before 1770. In 1768 he prepared an improvement plan for Lumley Castle, a seat of the earl of Scarbrough and he was engaged at Raby Castle before 1770,<sup>21</sup> while his plan of 1770 for Douglas Castle indicates that he was travelling up to Scotland at that time. White most probably became aware of the enclosure and sale of the Lanchester common land during his visits to Raby and Lumley, and as his employment in Scotland was on the increase, the location of the land, en route from West Retford to the Scottish estates, was very convenient. White wrote in 1786 that he had "constantly paid an annual visit to my improvements in the county of Durham ever since they began" and in the autumn of 1785 "had an opportunity of seeing them on my road to Scotland".<sup>22</sup>

Planting on his estate was begun in about 1776<sup>23</sup> and by 1786 White was able to claim:

I believe out of five hundred and twenty-seven acres, my small farm included, there is not a yard square of my whole ground but what is occupied by some useful or ornamental plant; there having been planted and replanted above four million of trees, amongst which ... many thousand shrubs and plants, which can only furnish beauty to the eye of taste, and food to the feathered generation.<sup>24</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart in The Planter's Guide of 1828 devoted

considerable space to White and his accomplishments at Woodlands. and the first-hand observations of someone who was personally acquainted with both Thomas White and his son, are of interest. He described the situation of the estate when White purchased it as a high and barren tract of country, wholly destitute of wood,<sup>25</sup> a description supported by others, including Hodgson who called it "a wild heath"<sup>26</sup> and Hutchinson who wrote of:

This vast tract of country, which was barren, desart, and dreary, where the perplexed traveller wandered in the ambiguous tracts with anxiety.<sup>27</sup>

and a later description of the Lanchester area contained in the Consett Guardian:

Until the division of the common lands in 1773, the major part of the district continued to remain under the same conditions of uninviting wildness as when the Romans found it over 1800 years ago.<sup>28</sup>

White himself observed in his letter to the Society of Arts that, although when he acquired the land "there was not a single tree or bush upon either of my purchases" in his digging of the ground for drainage he found evidence of iron ore cinders and felt it "probable the smelting it, may in barbarous times have been the original cause of the present scarcity of wood in some of the northern counties". He added that a tradition among the country people held that these waste lands were once a vast forest "which was all consumed in smelting the ore, by a kind of foot blast ... and that the workmen frequently shifted their ground as the wood or ore decreased, till they had overrun the whole country".<sup>29</sup>

Thomas White's first task in 1776 was to enclose his initial purchase of 227 acres with a six foot stone wall and to build cottages "for the protection of my plantation, as well as for the reception of my work people". He described



the land as in a state of nature "covered over with ling, fern, broom and bad grass, and rushes in wet places".<sup>30</sup> The ground inclined from the north and south into a narrow valley where "a small but petulant trout stream, wantonly meandered in so many ridiculous mazes" that this eleven acres of sheltered land was virtually useless for planting. White therefore set about redirecting the course of the stream, conducting the natural springs through six inch wide stone conduits laid a foot below ground level to allow root space for trees to develop. The rough ground was burned off, small hillocks levelled and the area was trenched to a depth of eighteen inches, the ashes from the burning being dug in six inches from the surface. White set aside three acres for a nursery and planted the remainder with "the common basket ozier, and other aquaticks".<sup>31</sup> He remarked that this work of improvement was undertaken at considerable expense "but so much land may be truly said to have been made for ever, out of a mass of rudeness, which yielded no profit to its owner".<sup>32</sup>

Another part of the land proved to be of a clay soil which would not drain and which "turned out a much more difficult subject to improve ... as covered drains made with stones would have no effect".<sup>33</sup> Instead White laid a number of small open drains in such a way that they intercepted the water as it passed downwards and carried it into larger drains. The drainage accomplished to his satisfaction, White proceeded to pare, burn and trench another eighty acres prior to planting the higher barren land in the autumn and the lower and deeper land in the spring. On the higher land he planted at two feet apart, chiefly "the hardy natives of mountainous countries such as the larch, pine and fir

kind".<sup>34</sup> He interspersed these with birch, gean-tree<sup>35</sup> and mountain ash which "propagate themselves spontaneously from seed"<sup>36</sup> and would preserve a covering when the resinous larch, pine and fir were cut down. On the lower ground he planted "trees of a more permanent growth ... such as oak, ash, elm, sycamore, beech and western plane"<sup>37</sup> at a yard apart. These were interspersed with the faster growing larch and gean-tree which would provide shelter to the slower growing trees and could be weeded out when they reached a saleable age.

Both Thomas White and his son felt that trees should be planted out when at a height of no more than eighteen inches as, otherwise they would be battered and torn by the wind before having a chance to establish themselves. They also advocated shallow planting, as deep planting prevented the rays of the sun reaching the young trees. This method of planting was apparently not commonly practised and White junior noted the reaction of some visitors to Woodlands who came to inspect the planting but who:

after riding through the plantations, began to enquire where they [the trees] were, never supposing that the little pigmies under their horses' feet were trees, and would raise towering heads to the height they have already attained.<sup>38</sup>

The trees were planted in holes and according to White junior "the holes were made with a hollow spade, invented with many other tools, by my late father",<sup>39</sup> this spade allowing for much speedier planting. Steuart spoke of White as "an ingenious mechanic"<sup>40</sup> but we have as yet no further information on his practical inventions.

The Whites also felt that different species of trees should be intermixed or 'promiscuously' planted for both

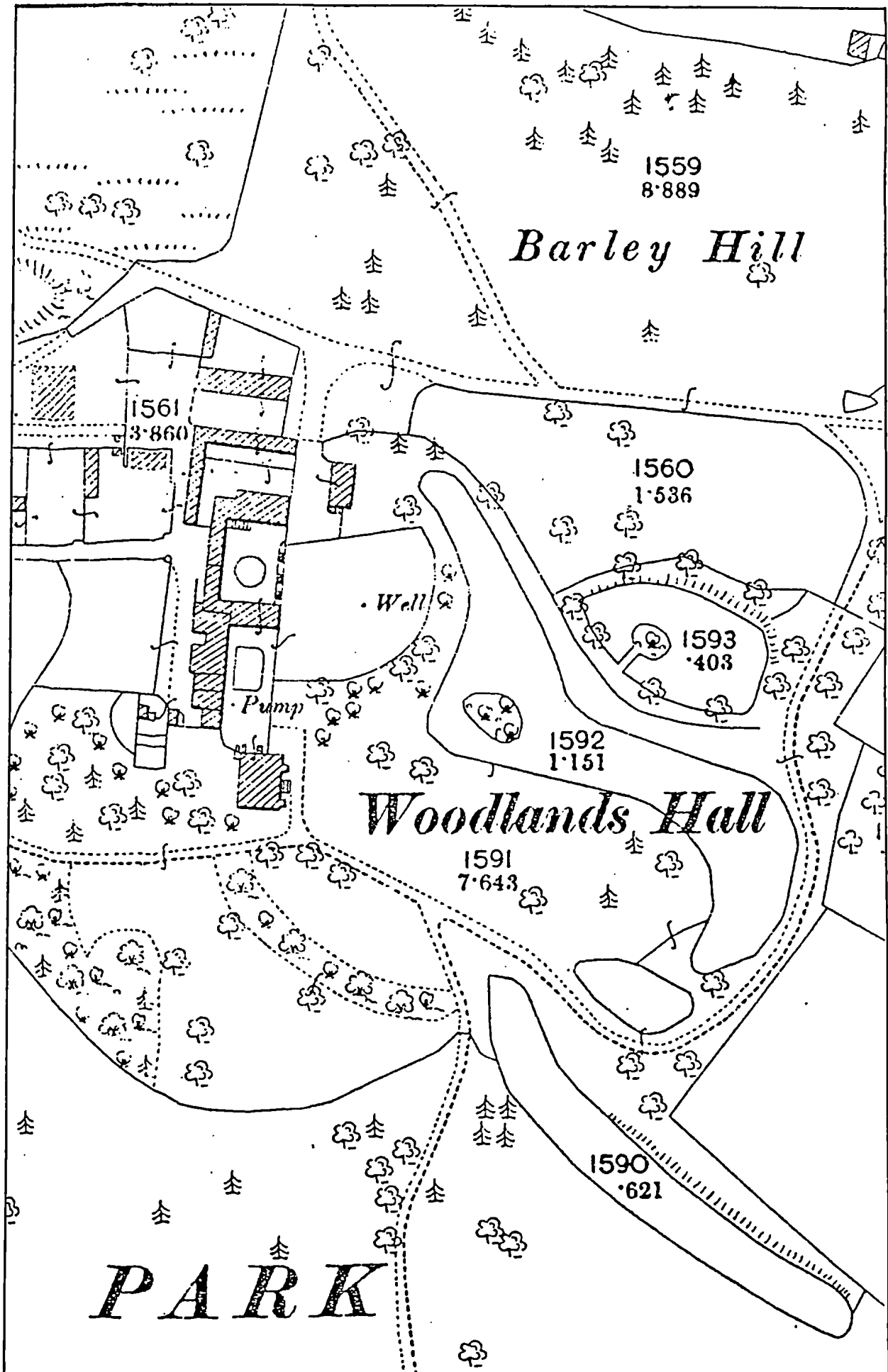
practical and aesthetic reasons, explained by White junior:

As different species seek their nourishment at various depths and levels, a greater number could be raised on any given surface of ground and at the same time afford much more beauty to the eye.<sup>41</sup>

The planting of this first parcel of land was, according to White, completed in four years (i.e. by 1780) and he then began enclosing the 300 acre purchase with another six foot stone wall. This was the area in which was to lie Woodlands Hall and its surrounding pleasure grounds. A farm house already existed to which White added several more cottages for his labourers and laid out a small farm, described by Steuart as "an arable farm of a hundred and forty acres".<sup>42</sup> This farm, which White considered "the eye of my property",<sup>43</sup> was intended to provide additional security to the plantations and allow him to keep horses to carry wood. He also planned "cow-pastures, potatoe-garths, gardens, orchards" and hoped for "the facility and pleasure of seeing and killing the game that are succoured in the adjacent plantations".<sup>44</sup>

Exactly when and by whom Woodlands Hall was built, and when the estate became known as 'Woodlands' is not certain. In 1784 in a communication to the Society of Arts, the Reverend Joseph Carr of Lanchester mentioned two houses adjoining the wall surrounding White's plantations "in which people dwell who take care of it",<sup>45</sup> while in 1786 White wrote of laying out a small, but neat farm "about my house" but nowhere does he mention the building of this house. In 1803 Woodlands was described as a mansion of a "neat structure" of White's own building,<sup>46</sup> and Robert Surtees, who was personally acquainted with Thomas White junior to whom he owed his "acknowledgments for much hospitable

Enlargement from 25" O.S. map 1896  
showing Woodlands Hall, County Durham



attention", in 1820 wrote of Woodlands:

In the midst of this new creation Mr. White built a good mansion-house, laid out his pleasure grounds and gardens, and made the neglected waters of a Roman aqueduct supply his fishponds and reservoirs.<sup>47</sup>

Steuart in 1828 asserted that it was after the plantations had grown for twenty-five years or more (i.e. after 1801) that "Mr. White began to think of establishing his residence on the spot" for which purpose "he built a commodious house and offices",<sup>48</sup> and John Crawford Hodgson in his account of Thomas White of Woodlands also alluded to White building himself a "good dwelling house" but did not give a date.<sup>49</sup>

It is possible that his son, Thomas, moved to the Woodlands estate before his father for on July 22 1799 Thomas White junior married Elizabeth Surtees at Lanchester parish church. Elizabeth was the daughter of Robert Surtees of Cronywell and "resided at Upper-houses in the parish of Lanchester",<sup>50</sup> so White junior may have resided at Woodlands or in the area either permanently or for some lengths of time prior to 1799 in order to have met and courted his future wife. Their first two children, Anne and Thomas, were baptised on December 28 1800 and October 23 1802, respectively, at Lanchester parish church.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the family of White junior resided in Lanchester with the Surtees family until such time that Woodlands Hall was completed and Thomas White established his family residence there.

Woodlands Hall still stands, relatively unaltered although it has passed through the hands of many owners since the White family.<sup>52</sup> It is a solid, plain, two-storied, symmetrical Georgian house of sandstone, roofed in slate surrounded on three sides by mature trees and faces east over the lawn and pleasure grounds, laid out by Thomas White.

Pevsner described the front elevation as having "two full-height canted bays, each side of a Tuscan porch with a wide doorway" and "over the porch the ordinary sash has a hoodmould".<sup>53</sup> Hodgson in his poem 'Woodlands' wrote of the house and grounds:

See! from the heaving bosom of that grove,  
How modestly the mansion raises up  
Its roof of sober blue. No columns there  
With capitals, adorned with bending fruit,  
Or pilasters, deep buried in the wall,  
In stately ranges, stand to warn us thence.  
Deep in th' unruffled bosom of the lake  
In simple elegance, the front is seen;  
And idle columns of convolving smoke,  
Like time reverted, into nothing waste.  
On southern site, the clumps of the lawn  
Stoop with their heads into yon azure road.<sup>54</sup>

The garden or "handsome little park"<sup>55</sup> which White laid out, though now quite overgrown and wild, resembles an eighteenth century landscape garden in miniature and was described in 1803 as:

a pleasant lawn and some small pieces of water lately formed the terminations of which are so judiciously concealed by woods, as to excite the idea of much greater extent than they really possess.<sup>56</sup>

The pieces of water consisted of four small lakes, the largest of 1.16 acres and the smallest only 0.14 acres which in 1902 presented a scene of tranquil beauty, according to the Consett Guardian:

Shrubberies of many hued flowers, pleasure grounds, and terraced walks between which in shady hollows, peacefully sleep the waters of four lakelets on which glides the graceful swan and many specimens of rare water-fowl, presents to us a pleasing picture of culture and wealth, and exhibits the sign-manual of a master genius, so admirable has the whole plan been arranged and carried out.<sup>57</sup>

Thomas White also planned an orchard of apple and pear trees on his estate "finding the orchards in the county of Durham, had been as much neglected as the woodlands, and that



Fig.23

above: Photograph of Woodlands Hall, County Durham, 1988

below: View east from Woodlands estate 1988



there were but few apples to be purchased in that populous neighbourhood".<sup>58</sup> He selected an eleven acre situation to the south of the estate set in newly planted wood and two or three smaller plots, amounting to fourteen or fifteen acres in all and planted them with "the best and most hardy kinds of winter and summer fruit".<sup>59</sup> This venture was not so successful according to White junior; the site was too exposed, protective trees not having grown up high enough, and the harsh east and west winds sweeping up the valley destroyed many trees. Careless ploughing in the absence of the Whites to oversee work, and late frosts "induced us to take up the best trees, and plant them, large as they were, on a smaller scale, and on a spot more level and perfectly sheltered, where they are now producing very well", wrote White junior.<sup>60</sup>

By 1784 Thomas White had completed his planned improvements and the next two years were spent in replenishing the nursery, replacing dead trees "which were very numerous, from the losses occasioned by a series of bad seasons",<sup>61</sup> and disposing of trees which he found did not thrive under the harsh conditions. He does not mention which species failed but remarked that the larch, birch, green-tree, Scotch fir and mountain ash flourished well, although the Scotch fir was unsuitable as a nursing tree. On his visit in the autumn of 1785 he "rejoiced to see the sombre unprofitable heath for ever banished by a gay succession of thriving trees ... rising very fast into property and perfection".<sup>62</sup>

Until the White family took up permanent residence at Woodlands the plantations were in the care of John West, who wrote in support of White's tree-planting submissions to the Society of Arts and referred to White as "my master".<sup>63</sup>



West was variously described as 'bayliff to Mr. White', "planter for Thomas White", "gardener", "agent", and in 1786 White noted that unsuccessful trees were being replaced with more promising kinds with a "vigilant eye" by his "factotum", presumably John West.<sup>64</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart was particularly impressed with the financial rewards gained by the Whites from the Woodlands estate. He felt it could be useful "for the encouragement of the young planter" to describe the returns made to White from his planting, and added:

But these are so wonderful and portentous, that to the ordinary reader, they may rather seem referable to the feats of some Arboricultural Munckhausen, than to the sober results of judgment and industry.<sup>65</sup>

The returns, as described both by Steuart and Thomas White junior, would seem to have been considerable, but perhaps not as astronomical as Steuart inferred. White explained that the first thinning occurred about ten years after initial planting, the wood being suitable only for broom shanks, hedge stakes and fuel but that "the profit arising from this first operation [did] little more than pay the expence" unless fuel was scarce.<sup>66</sup> The second thinning of fourteen to fifteen year old trees produced wood suitable for corf rods, coal baskets, glass posts for crates, pitprops and other uses in the lead mines. According to White junior this "not only paid the expense, but began to make some return for the original cost of planting the trees".<sup>67</sup>

At about twenty-five years old larches and firs were cut for use as "spars, couples and joists for small buildings at 18 pence a cubic foot, and for posts and rails for fencing at one penny per running foot".<sup>68</sup> By about 1809 when the trees were over thirty years old many of the larches and firs were

sold at two shillings per cubic foot for use in building while the hardwood birches were cut for pit props and clog soles. Thomas White felt that after thirty-three years "the profits from the thinnings have amply repaid the purchase money of the land; also all labour and other expences attending the execution of the work, together with interest",<sup>69</sup> while Steuart claimed in 1828 that "five or six years since" White (junior) had drawn £1000 revenue from the various thinnings of the plantations. He further noted that a valuation in 1826 of the Woodlands fir and larch wood alone amounted to "the surprising sum of £40,000" and that White junior was contemplating cutting the entire estate, taking two crops of corn, and intended to "plant the estate anew, in order to create a second fortune for his family".<sup>70</sup>

From the above it is clear that the planting of the Woodlands estate was a long, slow and arduous process, and the financial rewards, although eventually large, took many years to materialise. The full benefits from White's work was reaped by future owners of Woodlands Hall through the continued endeavours in planting and timber management of his son, Thomas. However Thomas White appears to have gained considerable satisfaction and reward from the success of a venture which to many appeared a great gamble and, as Sir Henry Steuart noted:

There is good ground to believe, that arboricultural skill and perseverance were never more amply or speedily rewarded, even during the life-time of the planter, than by this judicious and most successful speculation.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas White's achievements at his estate were eulogised by the Reverend John Hodgson in his poem entitled 'Woodlands'. White spent the last years of his life at

Woodlands Hall with his family and when, in 1807, he wrote to John Hodgson about his poem he thanked him for this work which was so "unexpected when I began the work of clothing a few barren acres of land thirty years ago" and which "comes very opportunely to cheer the winter of my life".<sup>72</sup>

Hodgson had settled in Lanchester at the age of 24 in 1804 and remained there for just over two years, acting as village schoolmaster and curate of Esh and Satley.<sup>73</sup> He became friendly with Thomas White and his family and the friendship continued after he moved away from Lanchester to Gateshead as a curate in 1806:

The Whites, in particular ever afterwards considered him as a friend of their house, and invariably, as is proved by their letters, communicated to him their joys or their sorrows.<sup>74</sup>

In 1807 the Newcastle printing house of David Akenhead and Sons published Poems Written at Lanchester, by John Hodgson, Clerk, which Hodgson dedicated to Thomas White senior and William Thomas Greenwell.<sup>75</sup> The volume contained the lengthy poem 'Woodlands',<sup>76</sup> together with 'Longovicum, a Vision' and five 'Odes'.

Hodgson wrote 'Woodlands' in 1805 and on October 30 of that year, Thomas White's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, wrote to Hodgson to thank him:

I feel myself greatly oblig'd by your attention to my father in sending at this time your beautiful poem which I am very sure he will have infinite pleasure in perusing at his return home.<sup>77</sup>

A few days later she wrote to say that her father had read the poem and was "much pleased with it as well as the motive which induced you to write it".<sup>78</sup> Hodgson evidently revised the poem over the next year or so and in March 1807 Thomas White acknowledged receipt of a printed version of parts of

the poem in a letter (written in a very shakey hand):

Your letter containing specimens of your first essays on the liberal and instructive science of printing, your ideas could not fail of being very agreeably recieved by one particularly as you have made choice of Woodlands as a theme to give utterance.<sup>79</sup>

White remarked that Hodgson's first outline had pleased him so much that he had not thought that it could be improved upon, however he found that the section on Spring which Hodgson had since corrected was "much improved in some parts". He went on to criticise parts of the poem; one section in which Hodgson had praised White but had introduced violent and warlike images, White thought should be changed as he did not understand it and he felt that few people would recognise the beauty in it:

as your song is intended to praise a plain man,  
a simple student of nature, from whom no feats of  
war would be expected, I have no doubt but your  
fertile genius will introduce something perhaps  
more congenial to the subject of your muse.<sup>80</sup>

He praised the section describing the flight of the native birds which had once, before White came to the area, inhabited the barren heath, but when he came to the lines:

the fearful grouse  
Have fled to hills, defying culture's art,  
And rudely pushed into inclement skies

White thought that the "word 'fearful' don't harmonize with 'rudely pushing'" and felt sure that Hodgson would "adopt other words". Hodgson did not at this time act upon White's criticisms, but it is possible that he remembered them when, according to Raine, he came to revise the poem in about 1830 with a view to a new edition.<sup>81</sup> White wrote to Hodgson again in April, having read the poem several times, and suggested that some explanatory notes "would make it more interesting to the reader and better mark out the design of the author",<sup>82</sup> however, the published poem contains only four

short notes, all of which are botanical references, so it would appear that White's suggestion was not taken up.

The poem (which extends to some sixty printed pages) contains long sections which are not specifically about 'Woodlands' at all but rather express what Raine termed "Hodgson's feeling of intense veneration for outward nature ... expressed in no ordinary way".<sup>83</sup> The portions revised in 1830, published in the Memoir of the Reverend John Hodgson, are rather more readable and confirm, that "time had matured the judgment of the author, and had furnished him with new ideas, and a still more happy mode of expressing himself in poetic language".<sup>84</sup>

Thomas White's criticisms of the poem do indicate that he was himself an educated man, and although John Hodgson was relatively young at this time and had not yet written the works which were to make him a well respected author and historian, White was confident enough in his own learning to criticise and suggest alterations to a lengthy and quite scholarly (if perhaps excessively wordy and undisciplined) poem. 'Woodlands' ends with the following somewhat gloomy lines, portending White's own death in 1811:

Adieu, dear WHITE, by Melancholy's side,  
Through scenes, where Cheerfulness should  
    lead the sons  
Of Fancy, musing have I trod. My verse  
Is mortal; and oblivion thick shall cloud  
My mem'ry and my thoughts, when Spring shall dress  
Your woods and meadows in a robe of green.<sup>85</sup>

## 7B TREE PLANTING CONTRACTS

All men now plant, who are possessed of land-property, from the wealthy citizen with his villa of an acre, to the powerful baron with his park of a thousand acres; each according to the extent of his surface, and the measure of his ability.<sup>86</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart, The Planter's Guide, 1828

As well as being employed as landscape designers Thomas White and his son acted as large-scale planting contractors in both Scotland and England and, according to Thomas White junior, by 1813 their planting contracts had amounted to nearly 5000 acres.<sup>87</sup> It was White's planting experience at his own estate of Woodlands that led him into the profession of planting by contract, as he explained to Bailey:

After I had completed the planting of this tract, now called Woodlands, I became a contractor, chiefly for such of my friends as employed me in my profession of laying out grounds.<sup>88</sup>

The eighteenth century saw a great interest and increase in tree planting by landowners north and south of the border. An act of Parliament in 1714 'to Encourage the Planting of Timber-trees, Fruit trees and other Trees, for Ornament, Shelter or Profit', was followed by a similar one in 1720, and, together with a number of other factors encouraged landowners to plant. The enclosure of large areas of land, for example, the enclosure of Lanchester Common which enabled Thomas White to buy and plant his Woodlands estate, the requirements of the Royal and Merchant Navies for ship-building timber, an ever-increasing population needing more wood for building and fuel, and the greater wealth of landowners prepared to spend vast amounts of money on improving and planting their own estates were all instrumental in fostering the 'spirit of planting'.<sup>89</sup>

Impetus was given to the planting impulse by the Society of Arts which in 1758 offered premiums for the successful establishment of tree plantations. The republication in 1776 of John Evelyn's influential book Sylva,<sup>90</sup> annotated by Dr. Alexander Hunter of York, attracted interest and, together with the publication between 1750 and 1800 of many other works concerned with planting, encouraged and reflected increasing arboricultural activities.<sup>91</sup>

So far as we are aware the only publications of either Thomas White or his son regarding planting occur in various volumes of the Transactions of the Society of Arts between 1787 and 1813,<sup>92</sup> and in White's replies to John Bailey's queries on planting published in 1810.<sup>93</sup> Thomas White junior wrote in 1811 of his intention, if his professional pursuits would allow it, "to publish a small treatise on the management of woods, in general, collected from the practice of my late worthy father and myself",<sup>94</sup> but this publication did not materialise.

From Thomas White's surviving correspondence it is clear that he was well acquainted with the necessity for and advantages of tree planting. He wrote in 1786 of his "observation and experience of the great profits as well as national utility of planting"<sup>95</sup> and, as wood was scarce and dear in County Durham, of his happiness at "the prospect of benefitting my family and serving my country" through the tree plantations at Woodlands.<sup>96</sup> In 1788 he remarked on the "progress that the useful science of planting is making in this country" which he was happy to find "increases daily".<sup>97</sup>

We know of four major planting contracts undertaken by White and his son, Douglas, Buchanan and Bargany in Scotland, and Fryston in England.<sup>98</sup> There were probably others, as

well as instances where White seems to have been called in because of his known planting skills, for example, Glamis, Sledmere and Brocklesby.

In 1770 Thomas White drew up 'a plan of alterations' for Douglas Castle, the seat of his sustaining patron, the Honourable Archibald Douglas. The plan, which survives in a damaged condition, is on a vast scale and indicates considerable planting of scattered clumps and belts of trees, with a large plantation on the south-east part of the estate. In his references to the plan White showed (at 'MNO') a piece of:

morassy grounds made into water for the use of fish and which by placing proper plantations may appear connected with each other and with the river.<sup>99</sup>

exemplifying what has been described as one of Capability Brown's dogmas "that the ends of an artificial river must be concealed, whether by contours or planting".<sup>100</sup>

Henry Steuart noted in 1828 that White had:

planted before the year 1780 for Lord Douglas at Douglas Castle about fifteen hundred acres of ground, which are now covered with fine wood, and of which the thinnings have long been a source of considerable revenue to the noble owner.<sup>101</sup>

It seems, however, that White's work at Douglas prior to 1780 was concerned more with the landscaping of the estate and the planting work indicated in his 1770 plan. It was not until January 1st 1780 that a formal contract was drawn up between Archibald Douglas and Thomas White for planting at Douglas Castle.<sup>102</sup> In this contract White, described as a 'planter', agreed to plant 1000 Scotch acres at Douglas with 5300 trees per acre (a total of 5,300,000 trees) mixed as follows:



500	Birch
2000	Larix
800	Scotch firs
500	Ashes
500	Alders, willows, Lombardy poplars
500	Oaks, beech
500	Planes

White was to be at liberty, with Douglas' consent, to change the number of each tree planted according to how well they thrived in the ground;<sup>103</sup> the plants were to be transplanted from the seed bed at least one year prior to planting out and White guaranteed that for four years after planting he would "fill up and supply the vacancies which may happen". The planting was to be completed before Martinmas 1789; a marginal insertion states that planting would begin "as soon as nursery can be raised for that purpose and thereafter to plant out at the rate of 150 Scotch acres yearly".<sup>104</sup> White was to use the plants in the Douglas nurseries, provided the same quantity and quality of plants was replaced at the end of the contract, and White's overseer, Ambrose Tomlinson, together with Douglas' gardener, John Ayrlie, were required to establish the extent of the nursery. Douglas would allow White the nursery ground rent free to raise the seedling plants and was to enclose it to keep out hares. According to a note on the back of the contract if more than fifty plants per Scotch acre were destroyed by hares, White was not obliged to replace them:

But in every other case he by this contract is obliged to fill up all deficiencies that may happen by accidents happening to the plants - provided always that the ground is so inclosed that neither sheep or cattle can get into them.

White was also entitled, at the completion of the contract, to sell any extra plants he had raised in the nursery (to Archibald Douglas if he wished to have them).

Thomas White's rates for planting were fixed, as he told

Bailey in 1810, "the price ... twenty years ago was four pounds, but since the advance of labour, it is now six pounds per acre".<sup>105</sup> Payment at Douglas was at the rate of four pounds per Scotch acre planted (a total of £4000 for 1000 Scotch acres) payable as follows:

£200 at Martinmas 1780  
 £200 at Martinmas yearly until planting completed  
 £300 yearly until the full amount was paid

The contract was signed by Thomas White and by 'Alexander Mkonochie' on behalf of Archibald Douglas. 'Mkonochie' was most probably Douglas's factor and several payments made to White by or through a 'Mackonochie' appear in his account at Drummond's Bank, commencing in 1780 and finishing in 1790.<sup>106</sup>

Another major planting contract in Scotland was for James, marquis of Graham<sup>107</sup> at Buchanan Castle, situated to the east of Loch Lomond in Stirlingshire. White's name had been mentioned in correspondence about finding a suitable person to lay out the grounds at Buchanan in 1770; he does not seem to have been called in there at that time although considerable discussion and activity regarding the house and estate were going on.<sup>108</sup> It was not until 1787 that White was consulted, but as a planter rather than a landscape designer, his large improvement plan for Buchanan being drawn up in 1789.

A one-page document entitled 'Proposals for Planting' dated September 20 1787 sets out the 'Heds of a Contract for Planting proposed to be entered into by Mr. White with Lord Graham'.<sup>109</sup> The proposals are similar to those contracted for at Douglas, where White was still engaged in planting work. He agreed to plant "the enclosure of Ballandorin at Buchanan", an area of 136 Scotch acres, with 5200 trees per acre (at Douglas he proposed 5300 trees per acre) mixed as

follows:

1500	Larch
500	Scots firs
300	Spruce fir
1100	Oak
300	Beech
500	Ash
500	Sycamore
500	Elms

All the trees (a total of 707,200) apart from the oaks were to be planted by the end of the planting season in 1790, (the oaks in 1790 or 1791) and, as at Douglas, White was to replace any that died a natural death during the four years after planting. The rate was still four pounds an acre to be paid in instalments of £68 a year beginning May 1 1788 until half was paid; the last half would be paid in two instalments, the first when the oaks had been planted and the remainder when the work was completed and "persons chosen by the parties shall have given it under their hands that the contract has been duly executed". At Buchanan White also contracted to drain the 136 acres of land ready for planting.

The official contract between White and the Marquis of Graham was drawn up in November 1787 and signed by White on December 5 1787.<sup>110</sup> The terms were substantially the same as those in the 'Proposals for Planting' with the addition of three marginal notes, one of which declared that White:

shall no wise be liable for such plants as  
are destroyed by cattle, hares, lightening,  
fire or other such accidents.

The draining work was to be completed by Martinmas 1789 and drain dimensions were stipulated at thirty inches wide at the top for 'receivers' and twenty-four inches wide for 'conductors'. White would be paid for drainage work at the rate of "one shilling sterling for every Scots running rood containing 36 yards of drains", together with repayment of

any extra costs he may incur in putting in smaller drains or cuts.

The Buchanan contract of 136 acres at four pounds an acre totalled £544, plus drainage, and accounts of George Menzies, the factor at Buchanan, record payments made to White for planting between 1788 and 1795 of £393 15s. 6d plus £56 1s for casting drains.<sup>111</sup>

White completed the Buchanan planting contract and received his "last moiety" of £95 15s 6d in 1795. In 1788 much ground around Buchanan had been planted with "Scotch fir, larch and oak"<sup>112</sup> and in 1847 Lewis described Buchanan and "the plantations chiefly of oak and larch" which "were for the most part formed by the late Duke of Montrose".<sup>113</sup>

The Bargany planting contract made in 1802 has not survived and is known about as it resulted in a lawsuit between the Whites and Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton.<sup>114</sup> At "not less than a thousand Scotch acres"<sup>115</sup> it was of a size comparable to that at Douglas and was to have been completed over a period of ten years. Although two improvement plans, both signed by Thomas White junior, exist for Bargany, neither of them is a planting proposal and we have no other details of what was envisaged there in terms of large-scale planting.

Thomas White was engaged at Glamis Castle, the seat of the earl of Strathmore, in 1771-72 and evidence indicates that he was there more in his capacity as a tree planter than as a designer of landscapes. An unsigned, undated and incomplete improvement plan for Glamis, previously attributed to Robert Robinson,<sup>116</sup> is on stylistic and documentary evidence now attributable to Thomas White and dateable to

1771/72.

Two plans for Glamis by James Abercrombie junior, one undated (possibly about 1765)<sup>117</sup> and the other dated 1768, when compared with a Thomas Winter plan of 1746 which shows a formal, geometrically designed layout,<sup>118</sup> show that substantial changes were planned for the Glamis estate in the 1760s, including two large lakes, clump and belt planting and a lawn in front of the house "neatly levelled, turfed and planted with flowering shrubs".<sup>119</sup> Thomas Gray visited Glamis in 1765 and saw then the potential for naturalising the landscape:

The most advantageous spot we have for beauty lies west of the house, where (when the stone walls of the meadows are taken away) the grounds (naturally unequal) will have a very park-like appearance. They are already full of trees which need only thinning here and there to break the regularity of their lines, and thro' them winds the Burn of Glames ...<sup>120</sup>

An entry in the account book of the factor at Glamis in 1774, Patrick Proctor, reads:

Mr. Thos. Whyte at two different times for coming to Gls. to give his advice about thinning the trees in the Lawn and bounding the several plantings to be made. £82 5<sup>121</sup>

This entry is supported by those made in Proctor's ledger relating to estate improvements in which the total account is broken down into two payments, £40 5s on January 27 1772 and £42 on October 24 1772.<sup>122</sup> The October payment of £42 was a repayment to a Mr. Lyon for "the payment made by him to you [White]" and presents a possible link with White's presence at Douglas Castle, a William Lyon being at that time Archibald Douglas's factor at Douglas.<sup>123</sup>

White's large and colourful plan for Glamis disposed entirely with the formal avenues and planting shown on Winter's 1746 plan and instead proposed large areas of

planting to the north of the house surrounding an open area of lawn which, according to Abercrombie, was marshy and would require draining.<sup>124</sup> To the south of the house, which is shown set on an 'island' surrounded by a serpentine lake and streams, the long avenue leading to the village of Glamis has been broken up and small, scattered clumps of trees are shown, while the new approach from the village winds in a semi-circle through a belt of trees to a bridge across the lake up to Glamis Castle. The planting indicated appears fluid and 'natural' providing in the approach to the castle and the lake from the village a continually changing view through the trees.

The surviving accounts at Glamis indicate that a considerable amount of tree planting, thinning and moving was undertaken in the 1770s and it may well have been that White's advice and suggestions were indeed followed. The avenue was removed in 1773 and 1774, the accounts recording that the tops of the fir trees in the Avenue were cut and broken and their roots taken up,<sup>125</sup> and between 1771 and 1774 a number of orders for trees, seedlings, shrubs and tree seeds are recorded to the nurserymen, Dickson and Brown, and to a Robert Anderson, seedsman.<sup>126</sup>

Although Glamis was not a major planting contract like those at Douglas and Buchanan, it does seem probable that White was called in there particularly to advise on planting, while Abercrombie was there as the landscape designer.<sup>127</sup> James Abercrombie and Thomas White were both at work there in 1771-72, Abercrombie remaining until 1776 when he was discharged on the death of the 9th earl of Strathmore.<sup>128</sup>

At Sledmere in Yorkshire Thomas White in 1776 produced a plan for the improvement of the estate for Christopher Sykes

who, according to a memorial in West Heslerton church, created in the country around Sledmere "new beauties where they did not previously exist" and:

transformed from an open sandy barren extensive sheepwalk; comprising several thousand acres, into well cultivated farms, adorned with plantations which from their vast extent have since assumed the appearance of forest.<sup>129</sup>

Between 1771 and 1800 Sykes' accounts show that he spent £8648 4s 1d on planting and these figures include two orders for trees to Thomas White.<sup>130</sup> Sykes' diary for the year 1777 contains various notes concerning tree orders, including an entry on March 24 reading, "White's trees arrived at Wheldrake for the nursery from near Gainsborough and more from Tilford".<sup>131</sup> A note in the back of this diary dated October 31 1777 reads "Order to Mr. White:

20000	Seedling larches	
50000	Scotch firs seedling	
5000	Spruce 2 yr old	
10000	do 1 yr old	
2000	Geen tree transpd	
1500	Weymouth pine	) seedlings of
100	Piney fir	) 1 or 2 yr
2000	Silver fir	) old as they
500	( ? ) or Nth. Am. spruce	) suits
10000	Beech seedling	
1000	Sycamore	
10000	Seedling birch of 1 or 2 yr old if they have any no. birch to be had"	

a total of 112,100 trees. Sykes's account book records a payment on December 30 1777 to "Mr. White on Acct of trees" for £184 17s. probably in payment of the above order.

In a further note Sykes listed the trees he had ordered from "White, Tilford, and Sheills" 462,000 trees including 280,000 Scotch firs and 111,000 larch, 355,000 of which were ordered from White.<sup>132</sup> Another payment to White on July 2 1779 in the amount of £152 10s may relate to this note. An 'Account of Trees Planted at Sledmere by Chris. Sykes Esq.

from October 21, 1778 to April 10, 1779' submitted by Sykes to the Agriculture Society in 1780 indicates that during this period a total of 177,210 mixed trees were planted at Sledmere.<sup>133</sup>

There are two undated plans for Brocklesby in Lincolnshire, now attributed to Thomas White, one of which is a planting plan entitled "A Plan for the Disposeing of Plantations in the Estates of Great and Little Limber and Audleby". The extent of White's activities at Brocklesby is as yet unclear, however, the existence of this plan would suggest that, as at Buchanan, he may have been summoned there in his capacity as a tree planter and then have drawn up the second plan for the improvement of the estate. Charles Pelham's tree planting activities at Brocklesby began in earnest in 1787 in which year 40,000 trees were planted, and in the forty years following it is recorded that he planted a total of 12,552,700 mixed trees.<sup>134</sup> As at Glamis and Sledmere there appears to have been no planting contract at Brocklesby but the indications are that White was there as a planter.

According to Sir Henry Steuart Thomas White's planting work continued until the volume of his work as a landscape gardener work became too great to allow him sufficient time for it. Steuart wrote of White as "a planter of great skill" who was:

in the habit of undertaking the execution ... of plantations of considerable extent in both England and Scotland, until his business as a Landscape Gardener, in the latter country became too extensive to admit of such undertakings.<sup>135</sup>

Thomas White was during the 1780s engaged in large-scale planting work for Richard Slater Milnes at Fryston in Yorkshire which was to be recognised and rewarded by the Society of Arts and is examined in the following section.



## 7C SOCIETY OF ARTS AWARDS FOR PLANTING

Great attention has been paid to the planting of trees for timber, an object highly deserving every encouragement the Society can bestow upon it, and from the number and respectability of the candidates who have offered in claim of those rewards, there can be no doubt such premiums have stimulated many of the first characters in the Kingdom to turn their thoughts towards this species of improvement.<sup>136</sup>

Transactions of the Society of Arts, 1784

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (now known as the Royal Society of Arts) was established in 1754 as a body which aimed to help stimulate British industry by offering "prizes drawn from a fund contributed by public-spirited people".<sup>137</sup> In 1757 the Society began offering medals for the planting of forest trees, oak, chestnut and elm. The idea, that of the naturalist Henry Baker, was presented to the Society in March 1755 in a pamphlet by Edward Wade:

To promote the planting of timber trees in the commons and waste ground all over the kingdom, for the supply of the Navy, the employment and advantage of the poor, as well as the ornamenting of the nation.<sup>138</sup>

Awards for other trees were added over the years, including the fir in 1758 and the larch in 1773. The first medals were claimed in 1758, a gold and two silver for acreages sown with acorns, and between 1758 and 1835, the date of the last award for tree-planting, 127 gold and forty silver medals were awarded to landowners and planters throughout England and Scotland. Eleven of these medals were awarded to Thomas White, between 1777 and 1788, for the planting at his Buttsfield estate in County Durham, and several other medals went to people with whom White was associated, either as a landscape designer or as a planter.

TABLE 4

TREE PLANTING MEDALS AWARDED BY THE SOCIETY OF ARTS TO  
THOMAS WHITE 1777-1788<sup>139</sup>

1777	OCCIDENTAL PLANE TREES 2 acres 2 roods at Butsfield 500 to an acre LARCH 13,600 2-4 year old at Butsfield	GOLD GOLD
1778	LOMBARDY POPLAR 10,400 SCOTCH FIR 100,000 SPRUCE FIR 15,000 SILVER FIR 3000	GOLD GOLD GOLD GOLD
1779	ASH 35 acres at Butsfield 2-4 year old NORFOLK WILLOW 7000	GOLD GOLD
1785	ENGLISH ELM 10,000	GOLD
1787	ALDERS 37,230 on 30 acres 4 perches	GOLD
1788	OAK 50,000	SILVER

The eight medals Thomas White received between 1777 and 1779 were for a variety of trees planted at his Butsfield estate (see table 4 above) and his applications for these awards would have been accompanied by statements certifying the fencing carried out and the condition of the trees, as required by the Society of Arts.<sup>140</sup> In his letter to the Society in 1786 White expressed his gratitude to them for the "many honorary rewards" he had received "for planting many different kinds of trees upon my infant estate at Butsfield plantations, in the County of Durham".<sup>141</sup>

The first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Arts was published in 1783 and its list of contributing members included "Thomas White, Esq., Retford, Nottinghamshire". White mentioned in his letter to Bailey in 1810 that he had "had the honour to be twenty years a member" of the Society of Arts, and he is listed as a contributing member in the Transactions from 1783 until 1807.<sup>142</sup>

Volume II of the Transactions in 1784 contained an

account by the Reverend Joseph Carr of Lanchester, County Durham and William Mellish of Blyth, Nottinghamshire describing White's planting at Butsfield, to which they referred as a "spirited undertaking" and added that "this noble attempt has excited the curiosity of all the neighbouring gentlemen, who bestow on Mr. White, great praise for his resolution".<sup>143</sup> William Mellish of Blyth (near West Retford in Nottinghamshire) himself received two gold medals from the Society, in 1777 for planting 101,600 three to four year old spruce firs and in 1780 for 47,500 larch.<sup>144</sup> In 1778 Joseph Cowlshaw of Hodsock Park, Blyth was awarded a gold medal for 25,600 larch,<sup>145</sup> and in 1790 he received another gold for 7656 Spanish chestnuts planted at Carlton Forest.<sup>146</sup> White, Mellish and Cowlshaw lived within eight miles of each other in Nottinghamshire and were, as correspondence in the Transactions indicates, acquainted; they most probably exchanged information and ideas on their successes and failures in tree planting and helped encourage the promotion of planting in the area.

In 1786 Thomas White received the gold medal for planting 10,000 English elm at Butsfield between February 3 and April 8 1784, the planting being supported by certificates from the Reverend Robert Dent of Lanchester and John West, White's 'bailiff'. West also submitted (from Workington where he was acting as White's agent for his landscaping contract with John Christian Curwen) an account of the trees he had planted at Butsfield in 1784, totalling 400,227 (including the 10,000 English elm and 37,230 alders for which White received the gold medal in 1787).<sup>147</sup> In 1772 the Society had awarded a gold medal for 8000 English elm, grafted on the broad-leaved witch-elm, to Joseph

Williamson of Melton, near Hull.<sup>148</sup> Thomas White had in 1769 drawn up an improvement plan for the grounds of Thomas Williamson's Welton House, the estate adjoining Melton, belonging to Joseph Williamson's brother, and it is likely that White was concerned in some way with the planting at Melton.<sup>149</sup>

John Christian Curwen of Workington Hall, Cumberland and Belle Isle, Westmorland, a keen planter and agriculturalist, was awarded four gold medals by the Society in 1797, 1802, 1804 and 1809 for setting acorns, planting larch (twice) and for a plantation of mixed timber trees. Thomas White in 1783 prepared improvement plans for Curwen's Workington Hall and Belle Isle estates and his involvement with Curwen certainly continued until 1796, and possibly later.<sup>150</sup> White is not mentioned in Curwen's correspondence with the Society of Arts concerning planting, and his work at Belle Isle and Workington does not seem to have involved large scale planting, however, doubtless the two men did communicate on the subject of tree planting. White, with his considerable experience, may well have advised Curwen, particularly on the subject of the larch.

Another of Thomas White's possible planting associations was with John Harrison of Norton Place in Lincolnshire. The Transactions record that in 1771:

J. Harrison, Esq. of Thorp Hall, near Louth, Lincolnshire, received the Large Gold Medal, for 24,000 Scotch firs, 7,100 spruce, 3,000 sycamore, 1,300 larch and 3,000 hornbeam, planted at Bishop Norton, county of Lincoln.<sup>151</sup>

An act for enclosing the parish of Bishop Norton was passed in 1771 and the enclosure award was completed on October 7 1772 so John Harrison must have planted very speedily, or in anticipation of the enclosure allotments, in order to have

received the Society's medal in 1771.<sup>152</sup> A plan for the improvement of Norton Place drawn up by Thomas White in 1772 indicates an area of planting on the northern part of the estate and this plan was, to a large extent, carried out. It is possible that Harrison consulted White as a tree planter before that date and that White advised on the planting work. Arthur Young, who stayed at Norton Place while compiling the General View of the Agriculture of Lincolnshire in 1794, was impressed with the planting there:

About Norton-place, Mr. Harrison has formed a large range of beautiful plantations, which surround and break his lawn, except where it opens to the Wolds; and these in twenty-two years have flourished so rapidly, that he has cut larch of a considerable size; and has enclosed 800 acres from the thinnings.<sup>153</sup>

White's last planting award from the Society was a silver medal in 1788 for 50,000 oaks planted between February 5 and March 14 1787 and certified by Robert Dent "curate of Lanchester" and John West "planter for Thomas White". West described the plants as "in a very healthy and thriving condition" and stated that on checking the plantation he was unable:

to find twenty failing plants in the whole quantity, and they are more vigorous than any I ever before saw in the year wherein they were planted, the cause of which may chiefly be attributed to the wetness of the season which has caused this infant, though extensive plantation to grow with more rapidity than in any foregoing year.<sup>154</sup>

In an unpublished letter to the Society in 1788, White acknowledged the honour of receiving this silver medal and noted that his obtaining the "second reward" rather than the first for planting 50,000 oaks in one year:

is a circumstance which conveys a pleasing idea of the progress that the useful science of planting is making in this country.<sup>155</sup>

White's only known contract for planting in England was for Richard Slater Milnes of Fryston, near Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire. The contract itself has not survived but correspondence between White, Milnes and the Society of Arts, some of it published in the Transactions, has. In a letter to the Society in 1789 Milnes referred to "Mr. White, of Retford, who has undertaken all my planting",<sup>156</sup> and in 1790 White stated that he had "contracted with Mr. Milnes for the planting of two hundred and twenty five acres of land with different trees",<sup>157</sup> between October 1786 and June 1789 a total of 926,300 trees was planted at Fryston (an average of nearly 4200 trees an acre).

Richard Slater Milnes took up residence at Fryston "one of the most important country seats of Yorkshire ... in the midst of pleasant and delightful rural scenery" in 1780.<sup>158</sup> He became member of Parliament for the City of York in 1784 and was described as "a sportsman, a country gentleman, a man of fashion and a conspicuous figure in London society".<sup>159</sup> The landscaping and planting of his Fryston estate would doubtless have been a necessary part of advertising and maintaining his position in society. Thomas White apparently produced an improvement plan for Fryston before 1789, for in a letter to the Society of Arts on February 2 1789 he wrote of "decorating his [Milnes'] place agreeable to a design, drawn by your humble Servant",<sup>160</sup> but this plan has not survived.

The majority of the trees planted at Fryston were larch and according to White "the larches in particular with several other kinds" appeared to flourish very well, on a thin soil underlain with a chalky limestone, where the ground was "so totally barren as to forbid in some parts the

vegetation of the vilest weed, or allow a cover of any kind".<sup>161</sup> Milnes too described the ground as "of the most barren kind" but nevertheless, he had "the satisfaction to find that the trees grow very well".<sup>162</sup>

In 1791 Richard Slater Milnes received the gold medal from the Society for mixed planting on ninety-four acres of land. The planting was certified by James Mann, described by White as "my servant"<sup>163</sup> and consisted of 394,300 trees as follows:

145,000	Larch
72,500	Scotch firs
50,000	Ash
40,000	Sycamore
45,000	Elm
600	Oak
600	Spruce firs
30,000	Birch
10,000	Mountain ash
400	Weymouth pine
200	Horse chesnutt

The trees were planted by Mann "under the direction of Mr. Thomas White of Retford" between October 1 1786 and May 1 1788, and, according to Mann were "in a thriving and flourishing condition".<sup>164</sup> Milnes had also received two gold medals in 1790, one for 200,000 larch and the other for 20,000 English Elms, and both these plantations were certified by James Mann as having been made between June 24 1788 and June 24 1789.<sup>165</sup>

White may have continued to plant for Milnes until the early 1800s for his bank account at Drummonds records a payment of £79 10s from Richard Slater Milnes on August 12 1802; he most probably periodically inspected the state of the trees, perhaps replacing lost ones and also extending the plantations. His account records a total of £496 10s paid to him by Milnes between May 1786 and August 1802.<sup>166</sup> Fryston Hall was demolished in 1931,<sup>167</sup> but an early nineteenth

century description of the house and grounds gives an idea of the success of White's planting and landscaping work there:

A house more delightful than this it is difficult to imagine. Situated on the frontiers of the great West Riding industries, it stands in the centre of gardens and shrubberies with prairies of park and miles of larch and beechen woods.<sup>168</sup>

In 1767 the earl of Moray was awarded the Society of Arts gold medal for planting 211,000 oaks, 7,276,000 Scotch firs and 159,000 other trees at his estate of Darnaway in Morayshire. In an extract from a letter written from Donibristle in Fifeshire to Thomas White, dated June 6 1781, and published in the Transactions the earl of Moray stated that the works at Donibristle "are going briskly on" and "will I hope meet with your approbation".<sup>169</sup> He had also sent White "a note of the trees planted by my gardener in the north country", (i.e. at Darnaway) a total of 8,288,000 mixed trees which were stated to have been planted between November 1767 and Spring 1781 (although 7,646,000 were included in the planting which gained him the gold medal in 1767). Exactly what White's involvement was at Donibristle and Darnaway is unclear; he was credited with "laying out Lord Moray's place" by the earl of Bute in 1794,<sup>170</sup> probably referring to the estate of Donibristle on the banks of the Forth. The attestation to the tree planting at Darnaway, referred to in 1804 as "the occasional residence of the earl of Moray",<sup>171</sup> by Moray's gardener William Lindsay, states that the "trees were planted at my sight and direction"<sup>172</sup> and it is possible that White was not involved with the planting there. The preponderance of Scotch fir, the tree White claimed to dislike, in the Darnaway planting would support this, and possibly Moray had sent him the information purely for



interest and from pride in the achievement.

The earl of Fife was another great planter who conducted a considerable correspondence with the Society of Arts. His plantations were at Innes House (Morayshire), Rothemay (Banffshire) Delgaty (Aberdeenshire), Inchbroom (Morayshire) and Mar Lodge (Aberdeenshire), all, except Delgaty and Mar Lodge, less than twenty-five miles from Duff House (Banffshire) where the earl did a vast amount of planting. Loudon wrote of the Duff estate:

a park 15 miles in circumference, chiefly laid out by the late Mr. White. On the other parts of the estate more trees have been planted than on any property in the country.<sup>173</sup>

Apart from this reference to Thomas White by Loudon we have only circumstantial evidence of his involvement at Duff and no mention of a tree planting contract there.<sup>174</sup>

After his father's death in 1811, Thomas White junior continued to correspond with the Society of Arts, and in 1813 was awarded the lesser gold medal for his experiments in using larch bark for tanning leather.<sup>175</sup> He also provided the Society with reports on the current state of his plantations and in a letter written from Woodlands on September 10 1813 described in some detail his father's planting operations and his own theories concerning the planting, thinning and pruning of forest trees, quoting at length "a few observations written by my late father, to a friend, a year or two before his death" on the subject of pruning and shelter."<sup>176</sup>

The Society of Arts continued to offer medals for tree planting until 1846, although the last award was made in 1835. Thomas White received the largest number of medals,

eleven in all,<sup>177</sup> for planting and if one takes into account as well his planting for, and his probable involvement with, other planters in England and Scotland, his influence and achievement in this area can be seen to have been considerable.

## 7D THE LARCH TREE

The **larch**, fair native of the towering heights,  
 Whence storm-fed Po, impatient down the brows,  
 Of Viso, comes to kiss the blooming flowers  
 Of Parma's pastures, like some beauteous maid  
 At Hymen's altar, bends with graceful boughs.  
 Its robe is bridal, set with dangling flowers,  
 Of which the yellow male affords a dust,  
 That, by the zephyr's ministerial hands,  
 Borne to the purple bride, with joy, insures  
 Fecundity.<sup>178</sup>

The Reverend John Hodgson 'Woodlands', 1807

"I am a great planter and am very partial to the larch tree" wrote White in 1781<sup>179</sup> and in his letter of 1786 to the Society of Arts referred to the superior properties and appearance of the larch over many of the other trees he had planted on his own estate, maintaining that:

The Larch is not only superior in beauty and hardness, but furnishes more durable and valuable timber; and is likewise a more tender and friendly nurse to more delicate trees.<sup>180</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart claimed that Thomas White "had a peculiar predilection" for the larch and the Scotch fir,<sup>181</sup> he was correct about the larch but not about the Scotch fir to which White admitted a "general dislike", although he was prepared to plant it on his own estate "for the purpose of decoration".<sup>182</sup>

The first specific reference to the European larch,<sup>183</sup> a native of the mountains (the Alps, Carpathians and Silesian), growing in Britain, is found in 1629 in John Parkinson's Paradisi in sole Paradisus terrestris where he described the larch as "rare, and nursed up but with a few, and these only lovers of variety".<sup>184</sup> By 1731 Miller said of the larch "this tree is now pretty common in English gardens",<sup>185</sup> although White in 1786 thought it unfortunate that the tree had not been introduced into Britain at an earlier date and reported that he had been told that as recently as fifty

years ago:

This Alpine plant was treated as a tender exotick, and planted out, with the utmost care and diligence, in our hot beds and hot houses.<sup>186</sup>

In Scotland one of the first known plantings of larch was at Lee, Lanarkshire in about 1672 when three survived a spell in a greenhouse and were planted out successfully;<sup>187</sup> in 1845 one had survived measuring 100 feet in height and 18 feet in girth.<sup>188</sup> The larch was first planted extensively for commercial reasons in Scotland by the duke of Athol at Dunkeld and at Blair Athol in the 1730s.<sup>189</sup>

The seeds of the larch were extracted from the dried cones and sown in nursery seed beds in the spring where they remained for at least two years before planting out. In 1781 White mentioned a shortage of larch seeds in England when writing to Robert Graham of Fintry; he had "observed a good many [cones] at Fintry" and would "consider it a great favour if you will permit a carefull person or two of my sending to gather what can be spared".<sup>190</sup> White recommended the larch to Thomas Grimston of Kilnwick in Yorkshire in 1782 when writing regarding the improvements to be made to his Grimston Garth estate. He had suggested that Grimston should first prepare a nursery at his Kilnwick estate and advised that the piece of land selected should be pared, burned and plowed in the summer, and in the autumn or spring "I should advise you to plant it with two year old seedlings of the larch" together with a few other hardy plants which should all "stand two years in the nursery".<sup>191</sup>

In 1777 Thomas White was awarded the large gold medal by the Society of Arts for planting at Buttsfield "13,600 larch-trees from two to four years' old".<sup>193</sup> The Society

introduced the premium for larch planting in 1773,<sup>193</sup> and White received the first award, though many were to follow as the larch became increasingly recognised as a valuable tree. The requirements of the Society regarding the larch were set out in the first published volume of their Transactions in 1783. The gold medal was offered to any person who in one year planted out not less than 5000 larches, between two and four years old, at no more than five feet apart, and the silver medal for not less than 3000 trees.<sup>194</sup>

Between 1777 and 1805 awards for plantations exclusively of larch and for mixed plantations which included larch accounted for a total of approximately 1,300,000 trees,<sup>195</sup> including the gold medal in 1790 to Richard Slater Milnes, of Fryston, near Ferrybridge, Yorkshire where Thomas White was responsible for the planting of a total of 650,000 larch. This medal was awarded for over 200,000 two to four year old transplanted larches, planted between June 24 1788 and June 24 1789 at a yard apart with about 2000 to the acre, mixed with other forest trees in well fenced plantations.<sup>196</sup> Milnes described his land as "so poor and barren as not to produce any kind of crop whatever" but he had the satisfaction of seeing that the larches were "in general very healthy and thrive much beyond the expectations I had formed",<sup>199</sup> and White extolled the larch as "a plant much esteemed by myself, and no less so by Mr. Milnes".<sup>198</sup> Milnes had written to White in January 1789 asking him to certify to the Society the planting of 312,000 larch,<sup>199</sup> which White did:

The larches he alludes to were planted under my direction, with a much greater quantity of other trees of different kinds; from a motive of rendering useful a large tract of unproductive ground ... the larches in particular with several other kinds appear to flourish very well.<sup>200</sup>

No medal was awarded to Milnes for this planting; he had mentioned in his letter to White that he felt the application should have been made sooner but White's "absence for so many months prevented me from applying to you".<sup>201</sup> A further 145,000 larch were planted on ninety-four acres of land at Fryston, under White's direction, in a mixed plantation of 394,300 trees between October 1 1786 and May 1 1788 for which Milnes received a second gold medal.<sup>202</sup>

In 1786 White told the Society that he was making some experiments on the "texture of the larch-timber" the results of which he hoped to lay before them at a later date,<sup>203</sup> and in 1788 in an unpublished letter to the Society, he wrote that he hoped to be able to lay before them some remarks on "the surprizing growth of the larch tree in different situations; also the superior quality of the wood to that of other resinous trees, when apply'd to various purposes".<sup>204</sup> These remarks were not published and may not have been submitted, although Thomas White junior mentions a letter dated August 30 1796 from his father to the Society, a copy of which has not been found.<sup>205</sup> Thomas White did, however, on February 17 1788 send the Society "an account of some of the oldest and largest larch trees in Britain" which he had received from George Drummond (the son of Lord Kames) at Blair Drummond in Scotland. Drummond spoke of White's visit to Blair Drummond in November 1787, when White had "bestowed so many handsome compliments upon [his] larixes".<sup>206</sup> In 1789 in a letter to Samuel More, Secretary of the Society, White informed him of a most impressive performance by a larch tree:

On a short visit made lately to Butsfield plantation my tenant there brought me part of a young larch tree, which had been apply'd

to the moveable part of a flail for thrashing corn, and which was not at all impair'd by the severe friction it had undergone during ten months use, a thing very uncommon in the wood generally used for this purpose, which I think is a good test of the toughness of that tree.<sup>207</sup>

The awards offered by the Society of Arts undoubtedly helped to popularise the larch as they offered premiums not only for planting but also for accounts, verified by experiments, of the 'Utility of Larch'. Its uses were many, particularly once the tree had reached a mature age. White claimed in 1810 that of the trees planted, the larch would prove to be the most profitable species, and that after forty-one years of growth would:

produce such clean, well-hearted, and durable timber, as to be equal if not superior, to any foreign wood, and will arrive at a height to make masts for small vessels; and as they are known to resist the worm, will be excellent for the outside coating of ships, which they have been long used for in Russia.<sup>208</sup>

In 1813 Thomas White junior wrote that larches were "certainly the prevailing trees in my plantations"<sup>209</sup> and that the tree "rises in estimation daily";<sup>210</sup> he was using larch rather than ash in making wagon bodies as the larch possessed "both lightness and durability and answer perfectly well". He also found that larch used for coal-wagon rails remained sound where oak laid at the same time was "going to decay".<sup>211</sup>

On the subject of the uses to which the larch could be put, Loudon observed in his Arboretum et Fruticetum that:

The bark of the Larch has long been used for tanning in its native Country [the European Alps] and it seems first to have been employed for that purpose in Britain by Thomas White, Esq. of Woodlands, near Durham, about the beginning of the present century.<sup>212</sup>

Loudon was referring here to Thomas White junior who entered

into a correspondence with the Society of Arts between 1811 and 1813 concerning his experiments with larch bark as a tanning agent. His letters were published in the Society's Transactions under "Papers in Chemistry" in 1813 when he was voted the lesser gold medal "for his application of larch bark, to answer all the purposes of oak bark, in tanning leather".<sup>213</sup>

White junior explained in a letter to the Society on August 13 1811 how, while removing the bark of some larch trees, the Whites' agent at Woodlands<sup>214</sup> noticed that his finger nails were stained:

which induced him to think, that the bark of this tree might be useful in tanning leather, a thought that struck the active mind of my father many years ago, when he was desirous of trying its virtues in this necessary and useful business, but was prevailed upon to give up the project, on being told that a tree containing turpentine would not answer the purpose, his advisers thinking the larch was a species of the fir tribe instead of the cedar.<sup>215</sup>

White junior proceeded to conduct tests to compare the more commonly used oak bark with that of the larch, using two calf skins of equal price, weight and substance and immersing each skin in tan-pits containing, respectively, equal quantities of oak and larch bark. The result was that the skin tanned with larch bark proved to be heavier and of a lighter colour, making it more suitable for gloves, saddles, boots, etc. He also observed that the bark of the larch could be collected at any period of the year, even in winter, while that of the oak could only be removed for a period of a very few weeks. He submitted various certificates verifying and supporting his experiments; Sir James Steuart of Courtness apparently "called at the Society's House to give testimony in favour of" his methods,<sup>216</sup> and John Christian Curwen of Workington wrote to him for samples of leather.<sup>217</sup>



A sworn certificate from Thomas Farbridge, tanner of Woodlands in County Durham described his experiments in tanning with larch bark and Farbridge reported that the larch liquor resulting from his experiments was "infinitely stronger" than that of oak and, when used in a second tanning, capable of tanning three additional sheep skins in twenty-one days less than required for oak bark.<sup>218</sup> White junior verified Farbridge's certificate stating that he (White) had "sometimes several times a day, inspected the tanning process".<sup>219</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart found the returns which the Whites received from their own larches at Woodlands impressive:

On enquiry many years ago, I found, that the larch-wood alone returned Mr. White £650 a year, a sum not greatly less than the price he had paid for the entire estate: And, five or six years since, it appeared that his son the present Mr. White, had long drawn more than £400 a year for his Larch-bark only.<sup>220</sup>

The larch was, however, by no means universally favoured in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Robert Surtees writing on the improvements at Woodlands in 1820 found that the larch was still the predominant tree and "consideratis considerandis judiciously permitted to remain so", however he noted how different were the "novel artificial woods of larch, and pine" from the old forests of England and felt it would "require the mellowing touch of a century before an artificial forest" bare of undergrowth could "be received in lawful exchange for the lady fern, the heath and the long yellow broom".<sup>221</sup> William Wordsworth and Uvedale Price both found fault with the larch, Wordsworth condemning the use of "this spiky tree" in the Lake District, and Price finding it a monotonous and "puny" tree.<sup>222</sup>

To Thomas White and his son and to many others though, the larch had much to offer both commercially and aesthetically, and there could perhaps be no higher tribute paid to the tree than Thomas White's request, recorded in his obituary, that at his death, "part of a larix tree" be "converted into his coffin".<sup>223</sup>

## CHAPTER 7 - FOOTNOTES

- 1     Hodgson (1807) p.7.  
       A revised version of the poem, parts of which were published by Raine (1858) Vol.I p.45, reads as follows:  
           And tell, how White, with irresistless word,  
           Drove startled Barrenness from all her rights  
           Of old possession; and morasses deep  
           And wind-swept hills in woods and verdure clothed,  
           Such as in genial climes spontaneous rise  
           By winding margin of a mighty stream.
- 2     SA Transactions (1813) p.98
- 3     13G III 1773 An Act for dividing and inclosing certain Moors, Commons or Tracts of Waste Land within the Parish and Manor of Lanchester in the County Palatine of Durham; Joseph Granger, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, Board of Agriculture, 1794, [Granger (1794)], p.47
- 4     Quoted in Eneas Mackenzie and M. Ross, An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County Palatine of Durham, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1834, [Mackenzie & Ross (1834)], Vol.I, p.221
- 5     SAN Proceedings (1917) p.218
- 6     SA Transactions (1787) p.9
- 7     William Hutchinson The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, S. Hodgson, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1787, [Hutchinson (1787)], Vol.II, p.466
- 8     Mackenzie & Ross (1834) p.221; according to the owners of Woodlands Hall in 1988, Mr. and Mrs. G.H. Steele, this annual amount of £30 was paid until the early 1970s when it was revoked upon payment of a lump sum of £300.
- 9     An Act for Varying certain Provisions contained in an Act made in the 13th Year of the reign of His present Majesty "for dividing and inclosing certain Moors, Commons or Tracts of Waste Land, within the Parish and Manor of Lanchester, in the County Palatine of Durham"
- 10    Consett Guardian, December 19 1902, p.7
- 11    Granger (1794) p.47
- 12    Steuart (1828) p.424
- 13    SA Transactions (1787) pp.5-37
- 14    At that time wood for the Durham collieries was brought from Scotland at a considerable cost, see SA Transactions (1784) p.11
- 15    SA Transactions (1787) p.9
- 16    Quoted by Granger (1794) p.47 from 1773 act of Parliament for Lanchester Enclosure

- 17 Granger (1794) p.47
- 18 Mackenzie & Ross (1834) p.228
- 19 Granger (1794) p.47
- 20 Mackenzie and Ross (1834) p.228
- 21 SRO GD/220/5/1757/11 David Erskine to David Graeme  
September 22 1770 "White has laid out Raby Castle for  
Lord Darlington which gives great satisfaction".
- 22 SA Transactions (1787) pp.28-29
- 23 SA Transactions (1813) p.93
- 24 SA Transactions (1787) p.28
- 25 Steuart (1828) p.424
- 26 Hodgson (1807) Preface
- 27 Hutchinson (1787) p.466
- 28 Consett Guardian, December 19 1902, p.7
- 29 SA Transactions (1787) p.37
- 30 *ibid.* p.10
- 31 *ibid.* p.12
- 32 *ibid.*
- 33 *ibid.* p.15
- 34 *ibid.* p.16
- 35 Gean-tree = wild cherry (prunus avium)
- 36 SA Transactions (1787) p.18
- 37 *ibid.* p.17
- 38 SA Transactions (1813) p.94
- 39 *ibid.* p.93
- 40 Steuart (1828) p.424
- 41 SA Transactions (1813) p.92
- 42 Steuart (1828) p.425
- 43 SA Transactions (1787) p.24
- 44 *ibid.* p.25
- 45 SA Transactions (1784) p.11
- 46 Britton & Brayley (1803) Vol.V p.213

- 47 Robert Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, 1820, [Surtees (1820)] p.221  
Roman Aqueduct: a letter from Rd. Waugh to Rev. John Hodgson dated May 5 1806 published in Raine (1858) pp.28-29 described the course of this aqueduct which had supplied the Roman station at Lanchester as "skirting along the heath till it crosses the road on the west side of Mr. White's Woodlands, where it enters his plantation and passes on a little way south of the house, distinguishing its track by the superior size of the trees, which are more luxuriant by its edges than in other parts of the grounds". Waugh also refers to the watercourse being "now dry".
- 48 Steuart (1828) p.425
- 49 SAN Proceedings (1917) p.219
- 50 ibid. p.221
- 51 See Chapter 3
- 52 Ownership of Woodlands Hall:  
c.1800 Built by Thomas White  
1811 Passed on death to Thomas White junior  
1836 Passed on death to son, John Surtees White (according to Thomas White junior's last will and testament made 15 August 1836). John Surtees White subsequently emigrated to Australia  
1840 Bought by Mr. John Smith of Westoe Hall, Hexhamshire. (Alternative version has it [Fordyce (1857)] that the property came to Mr. Wilkinson, Solicitor who married the daughter of the late proprietor George Smith Esq. of Westoe Hall [Wilkinson was executor of White junior's will])  
1851 Bought by Mr. Jonathan Richardson of Shotley Bridge (hunting editor of 'Field' Magazine under the name of 'Shotley') at a cost of c.£8,000. Richardson died December 24 1871  
1872 Bought by Mr. William Brewis van Haansbergen who turned the home farm into a stud farm, bought several estates nearby, bred cattle and hunted. Van Haansbergen died 1921 aged 78.  
1921 Bought by a colliery company and stripped of its timber. The estate was broken up.  
ca 1960 Bought by Mr. and Mrs. G.L. Steele  
1988 Woodlands Hall and grounds up for sale by private treaty (303.79 acres)
- 53 Pevsner (1983) p.573
- 54 Hodgson (1807) pp.29-30
- 55 Steuart (1828) p.425
- 56 Britton & Brayley (1803) Vol.V, p.213
- 57 Consett Guardian, December 19 1902, p.7
- 58 SA Transactions (1787) pp.26-27

- 59    ibid. p.26
- 60    SA Transactions (1813) p.102
- 61    SA Transactions (1787) p.27
- 62    ibid. p.29
- 63    SA Transactions (1788) p.46
- 64    SA Transactions (1786) p.3; (1788) p.46; RSA A/15/11  
       White to Samuel More February 1 1788; SA Transactions  
       (1813) p.103 and (1787) p.28.  
       Thomas White's debit account at Drummonds Bank records  
       payments to John West between May 17 1779 and July 3  
       1788 varying between only £29 in 1783 to nearly £300  
       in 1787. West was employed as White's agent at Belle  
       Isle from 1784. Thomas White junior in 1813 described  
       West as a "most clever, active man" but said he had died  
       twenty years before (i.e. 1793) [SA Transactions (1813)  
       p.103]
- 65    Steuart (1828) p.424; Baron Munchhausen is said to  
       have lived 1720-97 and to have been in the habit of  
       grossly exaggerating his experiences [Oxford Companion  
       to Literature, O.U.P., New Ed. 1985, p.678]
- 66    Bailey (1810) p.193
- 67    SA Transactions (1813) p.99
- 68    Bailey (1810) p.193
- 69    ibid. p.193
- 70    Steuart (1828) p.426
- 71    ibid. p.
- 72    NorthCRO, M14-B7/139 White to Hodgson March 4 1807
- 73    SAN Proceedings (1917) p.251
- 74    Raine (1858) Vol.I p.49
- 75    William Thomas Greenwell was related to the Whites - his  
       niece, Elizabeth Greenwell, was the cousin and close  
       friend of Thomas White Junior's wife, Elizabeth (nee  
       Surtees), daughter of Robert Surtees of Cronywell and  
       Anne (nee Greenwell) daughter of William Thomas  
       Greenwell.
- 76    The poem 'Woodlands' extends to sixty-three printed  
       pages
- 77    NorthCRO M14-B7/95 Elizabeth White to Hodgson October 30  
       1805
- 78    NorthCRO M14-B7/99 Elizabeth White to Hodgson November 6  
       1805

- 79 NorthCRO M14-B7/139 White to Hodgson March 4 1807
- 80 Hodgson (1807) pp.7-8
- 81 A new edition of 'Woodlands' was not published but excerpts from it were included in Raine (1858) pp.43-47
- 82 NorthCRO M14-B7/137 White to Hodgson, April 7 1807
- 83 Raine (1858) Vol.I p.43
- 84 *ibid.* p.44
- 85 Hodgson (1807) p.64
- 86 Steuart (1828) p.1
- 87 SA Transactions (1813) p.94
- 88 Bailey (1810) pp.192-3
- 89 See Norman D. James, A History of English Forestry, Blackwell, 1981, [James (1981)], pp.167-8 and Mark L. Anderson, A History of Scottish Forestry, Nelson Ltd., 1967, [Anderson (1967)], Vol.I pp.517-521
- 90 John Evelyn's Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions was delivered to the Royal Society on October 15 1662 and published as a book in 1664. It contained an appeal to landowners to improve their forests and woods in order to ensure a continued supply of timber for the Navy and instructed them on methods of propagation and planting and on the use of trees. It appears doubtful that the influence of Sylva was very great until its republication in 1776.
- 91 These included the following:  
 1758 Reverend William Hanbury An Essay on Planting  
 1758 Robert Marsham Observations on the growth of Trees  
 1760 Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, A Treatise on Forest Trees  
 1772 William Boutcher A Treatise on Forest Trees  
 1773 Reverend William Hanbury A Complete body of Planting and Gardening  
 1776 John Kennedy A Treatise upon Planting, Gardening and the Management of the Hot House ['Mr. White' a subscriber]  
 1779 James Meader The Planter's Guide  
 1785 William Marshall On Planting and Rural Ornament  
 1794 Samuel Hayes A Practical Treatise on Planting  
 1800 William Pontey The Profitable Planter
- 92 Thomas White's letter of January 31 1786 published in the SA Transactions (1787) was published in a substantially similar form in Georgical Essays, Alexander Hunter (Ed.) Vol.5 (1804) pp.140-168 under the title 'On Planting', [White (1804)]
- 93 Bailey (1810)
- 94 SA Transactions (1813) p.84

- 95 SA Transactions (1787) p.6
- 96 ibid. p.9
- 97 RSA A15/10 White to Samuel More January 26 1788
- 98 See Chapter 4B for Bargany lawsuit and Chapter 7C for Fryston planting work
- 99 It appears that this area of 'morassy grounds' was dealt with after White's time as an account of Douglas Castle in the NSA (1845) Vol.VI p.487 says: "An unseemly morass of several acres in the immediate vicinity of the castle has been transformed into a large lake ornamented with finely wooded islands".
- 100 Stroud (1975) p.33 introduction by Christopher Hussey
- 101 Steuart (1828) p.424
- 102 SRO GD/220/6/585/1. This contract is to be found in the SRO with the Montrose papers relating to Buchanan Castle (GD 220) White engaged in a planting contract with the Marquis of Graham of Buchanan in 1787 and it is probable that the Douglas Contract was used as a guide in drawing up the Buchanan Contract.
- 103 An added margin note (by White?) indicates a slightly different mix of trees: 200 Birch, 2000 Larix, 800 Scotch firs, 400 Ashes, 400 Planes, 300 Scots elm, 300 Oak, 200 Beech, 150 Alders, 150 Willows, 200 Lombardy poplar; i.e. fewer birch and ash and the addition of Scots elm.
- 104 The Scots acre was larger than the 4840 square yard English acre; its exact measurement is unclear.  
Scottish National Dictionary, William Grant (Ed.), Edinburgh, undated, Vol.I, pp.12-13 gives:  
1 5760 square yards of 37" each (proportion of 5 to 4 to English acre)  
2 6084 square yards or 6150.7 square yards  
A Dictionary of Scottish History, (Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth (Eds.)), John Donald, Edinburgh, 1977, p.3, gives "The old Scots acre was 6150 square yards".
- 105 Bailey (1810) p.193
- 106 See chapter 4 note 208 for details of payments involving 'Machonochie'
- 107 James marquis of Graham created 3rd duke of Montrose (Scottish) and earl Graham (English) in 1790
- 108 SRO GD/220/5/1757/10-11 letters from David Erskine to David Graeme September 1770. Sunk fences were constructed in the park in 1770 [SRO GD/220/6/33]; Robert Adam spent two days at Buchanan Castle in 1770 probably discussing a proposed new mansion, [Macaulay (1975) p.155]
- 109 SRO GD/220/6/592/33



- 110 SRO GD/220/6/585/17; this unsigned copy of the contract states "signed 5th December 1787 by Mr. White".
- 111 See chapter 4 note 207 for details of payments made to White at Buchanan
- 112 Quoted by Anderson (1967) p.536
- 113 Lewis (1847) Vol.I p.157
- 114 See Chapter 4B for Bargany lawsuit
- 115 SRO RD3/339 ff.616-622 Contract of sale and assignation
- 116 Tait (1980) p.134
- 117 Accounts of William Gammack, factor to the earl of Strathmore, Vol.33, f.183 and f.197 indicate that James Abercrombie was at work at Glamis in 1765 on the canal, 'widening the water of Dean' and casting sunk fences.
- 118 Glamis P43, copy SRO RHP 6493
- 119 Glamis P45, Abercrombie's 'Remarks' inscribed on undated Glamis plan
- 120 Gray (1912) p.87, letter to Wharton September 1765
- 121 Glamis V44 Accounts of Patrick Proctor, factor to the earl of Strathmore 1774 f.35 under 'Expençe of training up the nurserys - planting trees and other articles for the ornament of the place'.
- 122 Glamis V22 Patrick Proctor ledger f.75
- 123 ibid. f.13
- 124 Glamis P45, Abercrombie's 'Remarks' inscribed on undated Glamis plan
- 125 Tait (1980) p.135
- 126 Glamis, V22 Patrick Proctor ledger. The orders to Dickson and Brown included a total of 24,000 larch, 190,000 firs, 37,000 oak and over 150,000 thorns while Robert Anderson and other seedsmen provided over 20,000 larch seedling and various other seeds including birch, fir, crab apple and pine.
- 127 Glamis, V44 Accounts of Patrick Proctor for 1774 record payment to James Abercrombie made in 1772 of £119 0s 3d "for surveying and planning sundry parts of the Estate".
- 128 Ex info Gordon Slade April 20 1989
- 129 Monument to Sir Christopher Sykes (1801) in West Heslerton Church, North Yorkshire
- 130 HUL DDSY photocopy Christopher Sykes Account book 1771-1805

- 131 HUL DDSY 102/10 Diary of Christopher Sykes 1777. The Sledmere nursery was evidently at Wheldrake; plants were later moved to Sledmere for planting out (c.f. with Thomas White's suggestion for a nursery at Kilnwick to raise trees for Grimston Garth HCRO DDGR 43/2)

- 132 HUL DDSY 102/10; Thomas Telford, nurseryman at York and William Shiells (or Shields) of Dalkeith near Edinburgh. See Chapter 6E; Sykes' note reads as follows:

	White	Tilford	Shiells
Scotch Fir 1 y old	200,000		
2 y old		35,000	30,000
Spruce 1 y old		15,000	
2 y old	15,000	5,000	
Larch 1 y old	100,000	10,000	1,000
Silver 1 y old	5,000		
Wild cherry	20,000		
Beech	15,000	5,000	1,000
Ash 1 y old		5,000	

- 133 HCRO DDGR 38/33 - the trees planted were as follows:

Wild cherry	40
Mountain ash	60
Yews	300
Silver fir	358
Weymouth pine	500
Birch	600
Oak	1540
Holly	6400
Beech	12000
Spruce	25260
Ash	33600
Scotch fir	42122
Larch	54430

Christopher Sykes to the Agriculture Society, January 12 1780

- 135 'Pelham's Pillar' at Brocklesby records: "This Pillar was erected to commemorate the Planting of these woods by Charles Anderson Pelham, Lord Yarborough who commenced planting 1787 and between that year and 1828 placed on his property 12,552,700 Trees".
- 135 Steuart (1828) p.424
- 136 SA Transactions (1784) Preface
- 137 Derek Hudson and Kenneth W. Luckhurst, The Royal Society of Arts 1754-1954, John Murray, 1954, [Hudson & Luckhurst (1954)], p.6. For the history of the Society see also Sir Henry Trueman Wood, A History of the Royal Society of Arts, John Murray, 1913, [Wood (1913)]
- 138 Quoted in Hudson & Luckhurst (1954) p.87
- 139 Tree Planting Medals Awarded to Thomas White by the Society of Arts, 1777-1788: (the published sources of the awards for 1777-79 [SA Transactions (1784) and (1831-32)] differ on dates - dates in brackets are those given in (1831-32):

- {1777} OCCIDENTAL PLANE TREES. Thomas White, Esq. of  
1778 West Retford, Notts, received the Large GOLD Medal, for 2 acres 2 roods at Butsfield, in the parish of Lanchester, county of Notts, [sic] planted with the occidental plane-tree, 500 plants to an acre. (Vol.XLIX)
- {1777} LARCH. To the same gentleman, the Large GOLD  
1778 Medal was given, for 13,6000 larch-trees, from two to four years old, planted at Butsfield.(Vol.XLIX)
- 1778 LOMBARDY or PO POPLAR. To Thomas White, Esq., West Retford, Nottinghamshire, 10400 Plants, The GOLD Medal (Vol.II)
- 1778 SCOTCH FIR. To Thomas White, Esq., West Retford, Nottinghamshire, 100,000 Plants, The GOLD Medal (Vol.II)
- 1778 SPRUCE FIR. Thomas White, Esq. of West Retford Nottinghamshire, 15,000 Plants, The GOLD Medal (Vol.II)
- 1778 SILVER FIR. Thomas White, Esq., West Retford, Nottinghamshire, 3,000 Plants, The GOLD Medal (Vol.II)
- {1777} ASH. T. White, Esq. of West Retford, received  
1779 the Large GOLD Medal, for 35 acres at Butsfield, planted with ash from two to four years' old. (Vol.XLIX)
- 1779 NORFOLK WILLOW. To Thomas White, Esq., West Retford, Nottinghamshire, 7,000 Plants, The GOLD Medal (Vol.II)
- 1785 ENGLISH ELM. To Thomas White, Esq. for planting in 1784 10,000 English Elm on his estate at Butsfield, the Parish of Lanchester, Durham. GOLD Medal (Vol.IV)
- 1787 ALDERS. To Thos. White for having planted in 1784 37,230 Alders on 30 acres 4 perches of land on his estate at Butsfield. GOLD Medal (Vol.V)
- 1788 OAK. To Thomas White, Esq. for having planted on his Estate at Butsfield in the parish of Lanchester, Durham, 50,000 Oak trees. SILVER Medal (Vol.VI)
- 140 SA Transactions (1783) p.78
- 141 SA Transactions (1787) p.5, see Appendix D1 for full text of letter
- 142 Bailey (1810) p.192. Both Capability Brown and Humphry Repton were members of the Society of Arts, Brown from 1760 and Repton from 1789, see Hazel Le Rougetel, 'Some Early Gardener Members of the Society of Arts', Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol.CXXXIV, 1985-6, pp.754-58, [Le Rougetel (JRSA 1985-86)]
- 143 SA Transactions (1784) p.11
- 144 ibid. p.3
- 145 ibid.
- 146 SA Transactions (1790) p.13. Joseph Cowlshaw, nurseryman near Blyth, Nottinghamshire, also certified

the application of George Wright of Anston, Gildingwells, York for planting 11,573 larch for which Wright received a silver medal in 1790. [SA Transactions (1790) p.13]

147 SA Transactions (1786) p.3

148 SA Transactions (1831-31) p.9

149 The estates of Thomas and Joseph Williamson adjoined; Rupert Alec-Smith wrote of the planting at the two estates: "Joseph Williamson ... planted largely on the east and north of his property, making a handsome walk and carriage drive from the Hull road near Ferriby to Melton Bottom, known as the Terrace plantation, where it met the lands allotted by the Welton Inclosure Award of 1772 to his youngest brother, Thomas (of Welton House) who continued the line of planting and carriage road through what is called the Bow Plantation and so up to Welton house, to the north of which he also made the plantation known as the Temple Walk." [Rupert Alec-Smith 'A Review of the Villages of Welton and Melton, 1960', Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Transactions, 1958-61, [Alec-Smith (GSEYT 1958-61)], p.73]

150 White's contra account at Drummonds Bank records payments from Curwen made between July 1788 and May 1796, due under a contract with White "for keeping the Improvements at Belle Isle in repair", for £1000 payable at £50 twice a year.

151 SA Transactions (1831-32) p.9

152 See Peter Stopp, A Lincolnshire Parish History: Bishop Norton, 1986, [Stopp (1986)], p.8

153 Young (1808) p.245

154 SA Transactions (1788) p.46

155 RSA A/15/10 White to Samuel More January 26 1788

156 SA Transactions (1790) p.9

157 *ibid.*

158 Sir Thomas Wemyss Reid, The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes first Lord Houghton, Cassell & Co., 1890, [Reid (1890)], Vol.I, p.7

159 *ibid.*

160 RSA C/1/91 White to Samuel More February 2 1789

161 *ibid.*

162 SA Transactions (1790) p.9

163 *ibid.* p.11. White's account at Drummonds Bank shows payments to James Mann May 23 1786 to December 6 1794 totalling £441 15s., an average of about £50 a year.

- 164 SA Transactions (1791) p.9
- 165 SA Transactions (1790) p.9
- 166 Thomas White's Drummonds Bank contra account contains the following payments from Richard Slater Milnes (there may be others paid through different names):
- |        |      |                   |          |
|--------|------|-------------------|----------|
| May 8  | 1786 | Milnes on Denison | £300     |
| Feb.22 | 1790 | Milnes on Denison | £100     |
| Nov.7  | 1795 | of R.S. Milnes    | £17      |
| Aug.12 | 1802 | of R.S. Milnes    | £79 10s. |
- 167 John Harris and Emma Milne, Vanishing Houses of England, SAVE, 1982, [Harris & Milne (1982)], p.64
- 168 Quoted in Reid (1890) p.455
- 169 SA Transactions (1784) p.17
- 170 Quoted by Tait (1980) p.150, n.51 from the Letterbook of the earl of Bute 1794; Carruthers (1843) p.297 states "Donibristle Park was laid out about seventy years ago by Mr. White, a famous improver of his day".
- 171 John Claude Nattes, Scotia Depicta, 1804, [Nattes (1804)], plate X
- 172 SA Transactions (1784) p.17
- 173 Loudon (EG 1828) para.7640. Duff House Park lay in the counties of both Aberdeenshire and Banffshire and in five parishes [SA Transactions (1803) p.83] in all, so accurate statistics on tree plantations from the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland are difficult to collate, however, Anderson states that between 1774 and 1792 the earl of Fife had planted over 9600 acres on all his properties in Banff and Moray, "or the equivalent of 32 million trees". (Anderson (1967) p.559) According to Hall (1807) p.340, "Lord Fife has planted with forest trees above twelve thousand standard Scotch acres ... when the earl of Fife first began his plantations at Duff House {in 1756} there never had been a trees, from an idea that trees would not grow on that coast so near the sea".
- 174 For example Tait (1980) p.69 quotes letter from William Reid to Lord Fife in 1767 "near finished the planting in most places at Duff"; Reid was later at Gordon Castle with White.
- 175 SA Transactions (1813) p.81
- 176 *ibid.* pp.91-105
- 177 Wood (1913) p.148 states that John Christian Curwen received 11 gold medals from the Society of Arts, but these included only 4 for planting, the remainder being for various endeavours in agriculture. The Society of Arts Original Medal was struck in gold and silver in 1757. The reverse would carry the name of the recipient and the subject of the award, enclosed in

a wreath.

Thomas White junior in his Will of 1836 bequeathed "all my gold and silver medals" to his daughter, Anne; these were presumably his father's as well as his own; unfortunately their whereabouts now is not known.

- 178 Hodgson (1807) p.25
- 179 SRO RH4/119/14 White to Robert Graham, late 1781
- 180 SA Transactions (1787) pp.30-31
- 181 Steuart (1828) p.425
- 182 SA Transactions (1787) p.33
- 183 The European Larch (known as Pinus larix in the Linnean classification, now Larix decidua) is described by the Forestry Commission as 'a tree for all seasons'. [Larch pamphlet] It is a conifer of the Pine family (pinaceae) but uniquely in this family is deciduous, shedding its decayed spines in autumn. In the 17th and early 18th century the larch was considered a rather delicate tree to be cultivated as an ornamental, but by the middle of the 18th century, largely due to the efforts of the 'Planting dukes of Atholl' its potential as a commercial tree was recognised. Being strong, hard-wearing and fast growing, larch wood was found to be particularly suitable for boat building, house floors, beams and joists, estate fencing, and for use in mines and mills. It flourished best on higher land in poor soils, and was therefore eminently suitable for planting in the more mountainous and moorland areas of Scotland and northern England. The larch was also valued for what many felt was its pleasing appearance, fresh green needles in spring, becoming deeper in summer then bright yellow and finally orange before falling in autumn, providing an attractive contrast to the darker evergreen conifers.
- 184 Quoted by John Claudius Loudon, Arboretum and Fruticetum Britannicum, 2nd Ed., Bohn, 1854, [Loudon (1854)], p.2358
- 185 Philip Miller Gardeners Dictionary, 1731 quoted by Loudon (1854) p.2358
- 186 SA Transactions (1787) pp.34-35
- 187 Anderson (1967) Vol.I p.580. Thomas White Junior prepared an improvement plan for Lee in 1805.
- 188 NSA (1845) Vol. VI p.9
- 189 See Loudon (1854) pp.2350-2399 and Anderson (1967) pp.579-597 for full accounts of the larch and its history.
- 190 SRO GD RH4/119/14 White to Robert Graham, late 1781
- 191 HCRO DDGR 43/2 White to Thomas Grimston June 11 1782

- 192 SA Transactions (1831-32) p.10. Considerable misinformation on White's larch plantations was published: Loudon (1854) p.2358 wrote: "In 1786 we find the Society of Arts awarding a premium to Mr. Thomas White, landscape-gardener, of Retford, Nottinghamshire, who had made a large plantation of forest trees (more than one half of which were larch) at Butsfield in the County of Durham (Trans. Soc. Arts Vol.IV p.5) and in 1788 the Society of Arts offered three gold medals, and a premium of £30 for planting the larch and making known the useful properties of its timber." This presumably refers to the gold medal received by White in 1777 for 13,600 larch; John West had submitted a list of trees planted at Butsfield in 1784 which, out of a total of 400,277 included 240,523 larch (SA Transactions (1786) p.3) but no medal was awarded to White for this. Henry Phillips in Sylva Florifera, 1823, Vol.II p.19 wrote: "Thomas White, Esq. of West Retford in Nottinghamshire, planted 13,000 [larch] about the year 1789", again referring to the 1777 medal; the Rural Cyclopaedia, Reverend John M. Wilson (Ed.), Edinburgh, 1850, [Wilson (1850)], Vol.II p.69 recorded "In 1805 Mr. White of Butfield planted 125,800 [larch]"; this planting is not recorded in the SA Transactions.
- 193 Hudson & Luckhurst (1954) p.87
- 194 SA Transactions (1783) p.65
- 195 Society of Arts Awards for Larch Planting 1777-1805:  
 1777 Thomas White, West Retford, Notts.13,600 larch GOLD  
 1778 Joseph Cowlshaw, Hodsock Park, Blyth, Notts.  
       25,600 larch two and a half feet apart, GOLD  
 1780 William Mellish, Esq. Blyth, Notts. 47,500 larch  
       GOLD  
 1788 Bishop of Llandaff, Ambleside 48,500 larch, GOLD  
 1790 Richard Slater Milnes, Fryston, Yorkshire 200,000  
       larch GOLD (planted and certified by T. White)  
 1790 George Wright, Anston Estate, Gildingwells, York  
       11,573 larch SILVER (verified by Joseph  
       Cowlshaw)  
 1794 Rev. Mr. Whittaker, Yorkshire 64,135 larch GOLD  
 1794 Mr. Thomas Gaitskell, Little Braithwaite,  
       Cumberland 43,300 larch SILVER  
 1798 Mr. John Sneyd, Belmont, Staffs. 11,000 larch GOLD  
 1800 J. Jones, Hafod, Cardiganshire 400,000 larch GOLD  
 1802 John Christian Curwen, Workington Hall, Cumberland  
       84,900 larch GOLD
- 196 SA Transactions (1790) p.9
- 197 RSA C/1/91 Milnes to White January 27 1789
- 198 SA Transactions (1790) p.11
- 199 RSA C/1/91 Milnes to White January 27 1789
- 200 RSA C/1/91 White to Samuel More February 2 1789
- 201 RSA C/1/91 Milnes to White January 27 1789

- 202 SA Transactions (1791) p.9
- 203 SA Transactions (1787) p.36
- 204 RSA A/15/10 White to Samuel More January 26 1788
- 205 SA Transactions (1813) p.91; In this letter White junior gave an account of the growth of several larches, which he 'numbered for the purpose' - the girth of seven of these trees in the winter of 1809 measured at six feet from the ground 'contained 17ft 2in 6 eighths and, at the end of the two following years, their measurement was 22ft 11in 9 eighths'.
- 206 SA Transactions (1789) p.45; White drew up an improvement plan for Blair Drummond dated 1788.
- 207 RSA C/1/91 White to Samuel More February 2 1789
- 208 Bailey (1810) p.192
- 209 SA Transactions (1813) p.93
- 210 *ibid.* p.99
- 211 *ibid.*
- 212 Loudon (1854) p.2373
- 213 SA Transactions (1813) pp.81-105
- 214 The agent was possibly Robert Hunter who in December 1812 as 'Agent for Thomas White Esq. of Woodlands' certified the larch planting of Jonathan Backhouse at Sheep-Walk, Lanchester for which Backhouse was awarded a silver medal by the Society of Arts; (SA Transactions (1813) p.73). Robert Hunter witnessed the second codicil to Thomas White's Will on July 23 1811, 4 days before White's death.
- 215 SA Transactions (1813) p.82
- 216 *ibid.* p.85
- 217 *ibid.* p.86
- 218 *ibid.* p.89; Sir John Sinclair, General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1814, [Sinclair (1814)], Vol.II, p.256-7 wrote of "Thomas Farbridge of Woodlands" and his experiments with larch bark but did not mention the name of Thomas White junior.
- 219 *ibid.* p.88
- 220 Steuart (1828) p.426
- 221 Quoted in Mackenzie & Ross (1834) p.229 from Surtees (1820)
- 222 William Wordsworth in his Guide Through the District of the Lakes, written largely in 1810 condemned the larch



plantations on Lake Windermere, near Belle Isle, recalling its original appearance when 'scattered over with native hollies and ash trees'. He condemned those who planted the larch, for profit using the lovely vales of the Lake District as their 'vegetable manufactory', and noted that in Scotland 'where planting is much better understood, and carried on upon an incomparably larger scale, than in England the larch was 'generally confined to barren and exposed ground' where the timber produced was of better quality. He acknowledged that when young the larch showed 'some elegance in form' but at full growth in summer it was 'of dingy lifeless hue', in autumn 'of a spiritless unvaried yellow' and in winter 'the larch appears absolutely dead'. He entreated that if larch plantations needed to be introduced at all they should be 'confined to the highest and most barren tracts' where 'the winds would take hold of the trees and imprint upon their shapes a wildness congenial to their situation'. [For Wordsworth's full condemnation of the larch see A Guide Through the District of the Lakes in the north of England, 5th Ed. 1835, lines 2034-2197]

Uvedale Price too found fault with larches claiming that they produced 'the most complete monotony of outline' and in mixed plantations 'the quickness of their growth, their pointed tops, and the peculiarity of their colour make them so conspicuous, that the whole wood seems to consist of nothing else'. [Price (1842) p.194] He also described the larch found in England as a diminutive plant compared with the larch of the Alps, 'little more than the puny inhabitant of a garden, or the embellishment of some trifling artificial scene'.

- 223 Thomas White obituaries in the Gentleman's Magazine, August 1811, p.194 and Newcastle Courant, August 3 1811. Loudon (1854) p.2355 mentions that 'A larch cut down at Blair from which the coffin was made of that celebrated Duke of Athol who planted the larch so extensively at Dunkeld and Blair, measured 106ft' (probably refers to John Murray, 4th Duke of Atholl, died 1830).

## CHAPTER 8

### THOMAS WHITE AND THE PICTURESQUE

See yon fantastic band  
 With charts, pedometers, and rules in hand,  
 Advance triumphant, and alike lay waste  
 The forms of nature, and the works of taste!  
 T'improve, adorn and polish, they profess;  
 But shave the goddess, whom they come to dress.<sup>1</sup>  
 Richard Payne Knight, The Landscape, 1794

During the last decade of the eighteenth century Richard Payne Knight, Uvedale Price, Humphry Repton and others participated in a lively debate concerning the nature of beauty, sublimity and the picturesque in the landscape, which was to become known as 'the picturesque controversy'. Both Price and Knight criticized harshly the neat and smooth designs of Capability Brown and his followers, arguing for the creation of landscape exhibiting 'variety' and 'intricacy', and drawing inspiration from the paintings of Claude, Poussin and Salvator Rosa to introduce picturesque qualities of roughness, ruggedness and a certain wildness into the garden and park. As Uvedale Price put it:

It seems to me, that the neglect, which prevails in the works of modern improvers, of all that is picturesque, is owing to their exclusive attention to high polish and flowing lines ... as to make them overlook two of the most fruitful sources of human pleasure ... variety, whose power is independent of beauty ... intricacy ... that disposition of objects which, by a partial and uncertain concealment, excites and nourishes curiosity ... Upon the whole, it appears to me, that as intricacy in the disposition, and variety in the forms, the tints, and the lights and shadows of objects, are the great characteristics of picturesque scenery; so monotony and baldness are the greatest defects of improved places ...<sup>2</sup>

In 1823 the estate of Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton in Berwickshire was inspected by members of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, including Sir Walter Scott, who were particularly interested in Steuart's transplanting activities. In their full and detailed report (signed by Alexander Young of Harburn, for whom Thomas White junior prepared an improvement plan in 1815) it was noted that:

The grounds were originally laid out by Mr. White, the well-known Landscape Gardener; but Sir Henry seems largely to have superadded his own improvements, and, in the management of both the woods and the Water, to have profited by the principles of Mr. Price.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Henry Steuart, although his own tastes in landscaping were inclined more towards the picturesque, evidently thought highly of Thomas White who he described as "one of the most ingenious" of the pupils of Capability Brown. He went so far as to speculate whether in fact White, had it not been for the limiting constraints imposed by the requirements of taste and fashion of his day, would not rather have produced designs more in the picturesque manner:

Had it not been for the professional trammels, by which he [White] was confined, he probably would have anticipated, as well as illustrated, in his own designs, those more correct notions of park-scenery, which Messrs. Price and Knight afterwards had the merit of bringing into public notice. As it was, White rather yielded to, than approved of the fashion of the day: Accordingly he gave a belt and clumps to all the new places he laid out, and sometimes to the old ones, which he so ingeniously improved.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence of Thomas White's surviving designs certainly provide little indication that he ever succumbed to the attractions of the picturesque, in fact it could be argued that the reverse was true, and where picturesque or rugged scenery already existed naturally, White attempted to impose upon it a smoother and more ordered landscape. At Champfleurie near Paisley, for example, White's 1792 plan for Alexander Johnston shows three large quarries which, rather than exploiting for their rugged and rocky character, White has disguised by surrounding them with thick planting; similarly, at Buchanan a quarry is indicated but is well hidden by trees.<sup>5</sup>

The only instance we find of White using the term

'picturesque' was in a letter to Lord Stormont in 1786 regarding the numerous problems encountered in laying out the grounds of Scone Palace:

I wish I had been more explicit when I had the pleasure of conversing with your Lordship on the subject of Improvements, in describing the mode of picturescing the lawn which ... should be done in a neat and sufficient husbandman like stile, with proper crops.<sup>6</sup>

His use of the term here would seem to be in direct contradiction to that employed by Gilpin, Price and Knight; rather than implying an intention to create a scene exhibiting roughness and ruggedness, White's 'picturesque' lawn was to be prepared in a "neat" and ordered manner echoing the wording of his contract, which required that the works at Scone be "executed in a neat and ornamental taste".<sup>7</sup>

John Claudius Loudon claimed of himself in 1804 that he was "in Scotland the first who has set out as a landscape gardener, professing to follow Mr. Price's principles".<sup>8</sup> In 1803 he had prepared for the earl of Mansfield 'A Treatise on the improvements proposed for Scone ... Illustrated with Sketches and detached Plans of the estate', which volume contained numerous direct, harsh and unprofessional criticisms of Thomas White's work at Scone between 1781 and 1787. In his 'General Observations on the present state of Scone' he remarked:

Whatever advantages nature has bestowed upon Scone - when viewed in its present state, it is miserably deficient in point of expression or character.<sup>9</sup>

He went on to criticise the tree planting, "formal clumps, and uniform belts, containing a motley mixture of trees and shrubs overpowered with larches and scotch firs" and "the insipid scenes of the shrubbery" claiming that these and "other deformitys of art and ignorance" had "almost

annihilated those ideas of grandeur and magnificence which nature first designed should reign there".<sup>10</sup> The area known as the Friars Den came in for particular criticism:

His [White's] path there neither does it descend to the murmuring brook at the bottom nor wind along the top of its banks, but forces itself and its appendages stiffly along the steep sides of each assuming neither the character of a recluse path in a dell among undergrowths and shady trees, nor the gay elegant walk among groups of shrubs, and flowers, varied with lawn; but a kind of insipid medium, neither beautiful, varied, nor interesting.<sup>11</sup>

White's 'unpicturesque' treatment of the streams and rivulets was particularly abhorrent to Loudon; the rivulet running in front of the Palace had, he stated, been "deformed by Mr. White" and should be "restored together with the ground on each side, to their natural position", and another rivulet running into this one "Mr. White has exposed naked and bare" in a cruel fashion.<sup>12</sup>

Neither did the plantations at Scone escape Loudon's bitter execrations being "completely in opposition to beauty or variety", and he was happy to advise Lord Mansfield that he "may henceforth have the plantations done in a more economical and in every respect a better manner". William Booth in 1822 prepared a report on the woods and plantations at Scone in which he criticized White's cutting down of old wood and substitution of clumps of larch and elm.<sup>13</sup> This criticism was also made, and published, by Thomas Hunter in 1883 when he wrote of White having denuded Scone of its "arboreal beauty":

His idea of embellishment was closely allied to Vandalism, as he executed his commission by cutting most of the old oak timber on the property.<sup>14</sup>

Loudon's criticisms of White and his son were not confined solely to Scone. The editions of his Encyclopaedia

of Gardening and the entry on Landscape Gardening he provided for the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia in 1830 contained several references to the "false taste" exhibited in the Brownian school of landscaping, and the mechanical nature of the plans produced by "itinerant pupils of Brown, or professors in his school"; he was obviously referring to White when he wrote:

The activity of this false taste was abated in England before our time; but we have seen in Scotland, between the years 1795 and 1805, we believe, above a hundred of such plans. In part formed by local artists, and in part by an English professor, who was in the habit of making annual journies in the north, taking orders for plans, which he got drawn on his return home, not one of which differed from the rest in any thing but magnitude.<sup>15</sup>

He was less severe in his judgement of Humphry Repton, concluding that "both by his splendid volumes, and extensive practice among the first classes, he has supported the credit of this country for taste in laying out grounds".<sup>16</sup> Repton had by 1790 established himself as the leading landscape designer of his day, producing attractively illustrated landscaping proposals, known as 'Red Books' for his clients. Repton followed Thomas White at several English estates, most notably Armley, Owston, Grove, Mulgrave, Brocklesby and Harewood, but none of his Red Books contain any direct reference to White, and there is nothing to indicate that the two ever met. As noted, the Armley Red Book of 1810 contained criticisms of the existing approach there (most probably laid out by White), and is of considerable interest as by this date Repton was faced with the problem of dealing in his design with the rapidly encroaching industrial landscape of Leeds.<sup>17</sup> Owston in Yorkshire was one of the earlier parks designed by Repton; he produced his Red Book for Bryan Cooke in 1792, only seven years after White's unexecuted scheme of 1785, and like White proposed a new

house, to be built slightly to the west of, and at a higher altitude than the old one.<sup>18</sup> Bryan Cooke of Owston was related by marriage to the Eyre family of the Grove in Nottinghamshire where Thomas White had prepared a survey and improvement plan for Anthony Eyre in 1773,<sup>19</sup> although a 1784 plan of the Grove indicates that little if any of White's design had been implemented by that date.<sup>20</sup> In 1785 Anthony Hardolph Eyre succeeded his father, first consulted Repton in 1790, and by 1793 some of White's proposals (including the approach road and some perimeter planting) were being carried out, most probably adapted after discussions with Repton. In 1796 Eyre "attended Mr. Repton in the laying out of the grounds" and in 1797 Repton wrote recommending iron fencing for the park as used at Owston; his letter also remarked on:

the absurdity of that practice which Mr. Brown introduced of placing a mansion in the middle of a lawn with cattle dung under the windows of a drawing room.<sup>21</sup>

The paradoxical nature of Humphry Repton's role in the picturesque movement of the late eighteenth century has been considered by Appleton in relation to his employment at Mulgrave Castle,<sup>22</sup> whose sublime, cliff-top setting near Whitby in Yorkshire Repton described as:

Altogether the most magnificent, the most beautiful, the most romantic and abounded in the greatest variety of pleasing and interesting objects.<sup>23</sup>

Thomas White was consulted by Lord Mulgrave in 1784-85 and a payment from Mulgrave of £50 in July of 1785 (recorded in White's bank account) indicates that he most probably did draw up an improvement plan for Mulgrave Castle. It is regrettable that this plan has apparently not survived to give us further clues to White's attitudes to the picturesque



in his treatment of such a naturally wild and romantic situation. As at Owston, a seven year gap occurred between White's presence and that of Repton, who was summoned there in 1792, and produced his Red Book in August 1793.<sup>24</sup> Mulgrave was possibly Repton's most substantial attempt to employ the principles of Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight.

Few of White's plans include references to any 'picturesque' features, apart from Lumley where we find at K 'A Cave made in the rocks', and the unsigned and undated design for Brocklesby in Lincolnshire (now attributed to White) which shows 'A Grotto' at H.<sup>25</sup> At two estates where a White plan has not survived, Copgrove and Airthrey, we know that a hermitage existed in the eighteenth century, but whether White played any part in their creation is doubtful.<sup>26</sup>

The designs of Thomas White junior give little indication that he was any more influenced by the theories of the picturesque than was his father. Although the reaction against the Brown school of landscaping came to Scotland rather later than in England, an undated 'Memorandum' by William Hay regarding improvements at his estate of Duns Castle, Berwickshire indicate that by the early nineteenth century the demand for landscape designers like the Thomas Whites was on the decline.<sup>27</sup> White junior's improvement plan for Duns is dated 1812, the year before William Hay came into full control of his estate at the age of 25. Hay was very keen on improvements and planting and went into great debt at Duns to create a tasteful estate in line with the current fashions. He noted in his 'Memorandum' that he was

delighted with Uvedale Price's Essay on the Picturesque and his regret at having employed Thomas White junior is evident in his words, "it would have been well had I studied that book sooner; I should have escaped many errors into which I have fallen, and saved both money and land". He expressed his intention of creating a forest "giving the lawns and fields the appearance of having been cut out of the woodland" adding that he could best explain his intentions regarding planting by saying:

It was my desire and intention to create scenery that would be appreciated by the admirers of Gainsborough, Wynants, Ruysdal and Hebbimar, rather than the followers of Brown, Repton and Whyte.<sup>28</sup>

Capability Brown and, more particularly, his followers came in for considerable criticism from several other quarters, Sir William Chambers, William Gilpin and Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who all found fault with various facets of their designs, including the uniformity, vast scale and 'baldness' which they felt they exhibited. Even Thomas Shepherd, Thomas White's ardent supporter, found it necessary to criticise his mentor:

If Mr. White had a fault, it was his unlimited ambition in the extent of his designs. A number of estates cost an immense expense in their execution, indeed so much, that many gentlemen were ruined by it, and were under the necessity of disposing of their estates to pay their debts.<sup>29</sup>

Shepherd went on to qualify his criticisms by blaming the ruin more upon the proprietors for "being over desirous of doing a great deal in one year towards the execution of Mr. White's designs, than to the extent of improvements which he designed". If the proprietor instead spread the execution of the design over a number of years "expending such a certain proportion of capital out of income, every year as he could

spare", his estate could be brought to exhibit a "magnitude of extent, embellishment and grandeur" without the risk of ruin.<sup>30</sup>

Sir Thomas Dick Lauder in his scurrilous attack on the unnamed "landscape gardener from England" at Gordon Castle (thought to be Thomas White) felt that:

That style of landscape gardening which may be called the shaving and dressing style, is everywhere bad when carried beyond the mere precincts of the mansion.<sup>31</sup>

The anecdote of the duke of Gordon concerning this "delicate and indolent" improver who ordered the removal of old forest trees, only to later decide a clump should be planted where they had stood, Dick Lauder felt exemplified "the manner in which Nature was tortured and murdered some fifty years ago" (i.e. in the 1780s).

Other attacks on unnamed landscape gardeners can be found in the writings of Humphry Repton, Uvedale Price, William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott, and may or may not be directed at Thomas White. Repton in 1806 wrote of "Brown's style corrupted":

Mr. Brown, after his death, was immediately succeeded by a numerous herd of his foremen and working gardeners, who, from having executed his designs, became consulted, as well as employed, in the several works, which he had entrusted them to superintend.<sup>32</sup>

He went on to discuss one (unnamed) person who "had deservedly acquired great credit at Harewood, at Holkham, and other places" who "fancied he might improve by enlarging his plans" which "introduced all that bad taste which has been attributed to his great master, Brown".

Uvedale Price in his Essay on the Picturesque was critical of improvements he had seen where the use of larch trees had ruined the effect:

I have seen two places on a very large scale laid out by a professed improver of high reputation, where all the defects I have mentioned were most strikingly exemplified. Some persons have imagined that by a professor of high reputation I must here mean Mr. Repton; but these two places, which were laid out before he took to the profession, clearly prove that it did not then require his talents to gain a high reputation - I hope in future it will be less easily acquired.<sup>33</sup>

This passage could very well refer to Thomas White, who, as demonstrated, had a high regard for the larch tree. William Sawrey Gilpin in his Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening quoted Uvedale Price in condemning "early improvers" who removed all planting from around the house "substituting the simplicity of unadorned nature as the accompaniment to the mansion":

Sir Uvedale Price seems to be of this opinion when he says 'Besides the profit arising from total change, a disciple of Mr. Brown has another motive for recommending it: he hardly knows where to begin, or what to set about, till every thing is cleared; for those objects which to painters are indications are to him obstructions'.<sup>34</sup>

Price's criticisms could, of course, be aimed at any one of the many landscape designers considered to be "disciples" of Brown, and not necessarily at Thomas White. Nor is the identity of the target of Sir Walter Scott's criticism of the changes that had taken place at Glamis Castle obvious. Scott, a firm advocate of the principles of the picturesque, claimed in 1828 that "a disciple of Kent" (rather than Brown):

had the cruelty to render this splendid old mansion ... more parkish, as he was pleased to call it; to raze all those exterior defences, and bring his mean and paltry gravel walk up to the very door ... It is thirty years and upwards since I have seen Glammis but I have not yet forgotten or forgiven the atrocity which, under the pretence of improvement, deprived that lordly place of its appropriate accompaniments.<sup>35</sup>

Various designers are known to have been employed at Glamis, including Thomas White to whom an unsigned and undated plan at Glamis Castle is now attributed, probably dating from 1771-2. Both Robert Robinson and James Abercrombie junior worked there and it is perhaps more likely that it is Abercrombie, who drew up two plans for the estate, to whom Scott refers. Scott certainly did not pull his punches in his criticism of the Brownian school when he wrote that Knight and Price were "the founders of a better school" who:

succeeded in demonstrating to a deceived public, that what had been palmed upon them as nature and simplicity were only formality and affectation.<sup>36</sup>

The estate of John Christian Curwen, Belle Isle, set on Lake Windermere in the English Lake District, did perhaps of all White's commissions provide the most potential for a picturesque treatment. Unfortunately neither White's contracts with Curwen, nor any correspondence (apart from a few short letters concerned with payments), have survived to illustrate White's own views on the work. However, we do have his plan of 1783, together with numerous descriptions and maps of Belle Isle to give us some idea of his treatment of the landscape there.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there developed an enthusiasm for the scenery of the Lake District, based initially on the classical Arcadia of Greece and Rome. Taste moved through the sublime Alpine landscape of Europe, to the pictorial approach of William Gilpin, on to the strict aesthetics of the picturesque of Uvedale Price, towards William Wordsworth's reaction against the pictorial and the picturesque into a concern with feelings. A rapid examination of descriptions written of Belle Isle (originally

known as Long Holme) may serve to illustrate the various and changing attitudes to the landscape and the part played by designers such as Thomas White in contributing to those changes.<sup>37</sup>

Celia Fiennes on her travels in 1698 wrote of a visit to the island "of a great bigness of thirty acres of ground on which is a house" (then belonging to Sir Christopher Philipson), and "takeing boate I went on it and found it large and very good barley and oates and grass".<sup>38</sup> This unemotional and practical view of the island was succeeded by unusually fulsome praise from Arthur Young in 1770 who found that this:

the sweetest spot and full of the greatest capabilities ... presents a waving various line, which rises from the water in the most picturesque inequalities of surface ... clumps of trees in this spot, scattered ones in that.<sup>39</sup>

William Gilpin in 1772 noted that the whole island, though now rather bare of wood apart from some large oaks, had once been "one entire grove"; he proceeded to advise on how it might be improved in terms not unlike those found in Thomas White's contract with Lord Stormont at Scone:

He who should take upon him to improve a scene like this, would have only to conduct his walk and plantations so as to take advantage of the grand parts of the continent around him - to hide what is offensive - and amidst a choice of great and picturesque objects, to avoid shewing too much ... With regard to the ornamentating of such a scene, an elegant neatness is all the improver should aim at ... the simple idea he should wish to preserve, is, what the place itself suggests, a sequestered retreat. The boundaries should in great measure be thicket ... the middle parts of the island with a few clumps properly disposed, might be neat pasturage, with flocks and herds, which would contrast agreeably with the rough scenery around.<sup>40</sup>

Gilpin in the third edition of his Observations noted that

since his original view was taken, the island was "under the hands of improvement" and that at a cost of £6000 the proprietor (Thomas English), had "contrived to do almost every thing, that one should wish had been left undone".<sup>41</sup>

In 1773 William Hutchinson described:

a large island of about 30 acres of meagre pasture ground - here and there some misshapen oak trees ... and one little grove of sycamore shelters a cottage ... the few natural beauties of this island are wounded and distorted by some ugly rows of firs set in right lines ... the great island is little better than a bank of sand .<sup>42</sup> now under the spoiling hand of a deformer.

A poem entitled 'The Island', composed in the same year by William Robinson of Kendal, expressed a rather different view to that of Hutchinson, describing Thomas English's garden in rapturous and lengthy terms as an evocation of a glorious, irregular, Eden:

True Taste in his extensive Garden reigns  
Its various Beauties wide diffus'd around  
Seem by the Careless Hand of Fancy thrown  
Irregularly charming ....  
O let me in the Summer's Morn, or Eve,  
Walk round the Isle, by gentle Breezes fan'd,  
Among the Trees, not plac'd in prudish Rows ...  
No straight Lines here, for all are pleasing Curves  
Which sweetly undulate like winding Streams,  
And serpentine around the fertile Beds ...  
May English long this paradise enjoy,  
Which only heavenly Mansions can exceed.<sup>43</sup>

In 1774 the house known as 'Holme House' was pulled down and the 'curious edifice' designed by John Plaw was erected in its stead. Around this cylindrical, domed, building, a reduced version of the Roman Pantheon, English is recorded as having proposed "planting different kinds of trees in clumps at a certain distance from each angle", to form "vistas" from the building.<sup>44</sup> Thomas West in his Guide to the Lakes published in 1778 criticised the walled garden but made no mention of the new, probably still unfinished, house, however, William Cockin who took over publication of the

second edition in 1780 reacted to the new circular house by suggesting a bridge be thrown over "from shore to shore" and a city be built in an effort to rival the "celebrated lake of Geneva".<sup>45</sup>

As well as receiving strong criticism for his house, Thomas English had apparently run out of money and his estate was bought in 1781 by the trustees of Isabella Curwen, who married her cousin, John Christian, in October 1782. Records show that Christian paid £400 to the Reverend Mr. Barton, Windermere for "Improvements and Buildings on Fair Isle" in 1782-83,<sup>46</sup> and in 1783 Thomas White prepared his improvement plan for the island, now known as Belle Isle. He entered into three contracts with John Christian (who was to become 'John Christian Curwen' in 1790), the first in October 1783 "for sundry improvements and work to be done in planting levelling etc. at Windermere Island and Workington", the second in October 1784 and the third in 1787, an "Agreement for Keeping the Improvements at Belle Isle in Repair" over a period of 10 years.<sup>47</sup>

The first description we have of Belle Isle after White commenced work there contains some rather guarded praise from James Clarke in his 1787 Survey of the Lakes:

Had Mr. Smith or any other painter who visited this place before Mr. English's improvements seen it afterwards, he would have found these alterations no detriment to the landscape ... the garden and house full in front of the view made an agreeable contrast to the woody and uncultivated scenes ... Mr. Christian the present owner has made many alterations which I shall neither applaud nor condemn as no one can judge of half done work. I like his marginal bank exceeding well, but what the designs are I cannot tell; he has an ample fortune to put the best designs in execution and I believe him a gentleman of taste.<sup>48</sup>

Clarke's 1787 survey map of Lake Windermere shows Belle Isle



still appearing to be largely arable land, with five or six largish clumps of planting confined to promontories. However, a 1794 map by John Swinburn indicates that considerable planting had taken place by that date, particularly on the northern part of the island and around the western edge, and several circular clumps and individual trees are indicated in the centre; grazing land is calculated as covering sixteen acres, or approximately one-half the area of the island. Budworth in 1792 felt that the pleasure grounds appeared "to be laid out in much modern taste" and noted "many sheep grazing to a bounding shrubbery".<sup>49</sup>

By 1800 the landscaping of Belle Isle had come to fruition, at least as described by John Housman:

John Christian Curwen the present proprietor of this charming island has joined every assistance of Art to the fine dispositions of Nature, in rendering it a most delightful retreat. Sweet groves, pleasant walks, and verdant lawns, with a neat house, in a proper situation, and without one formal or direct line to offend the eye; all contribute to its beauties.<sup>50</sup>

Dorothy Wordsworth, who visited in 1802, took a different view in her Journal:

The shrubs have been cut away in some parts of the island. I observed to the boatman that I did not think it improved. He replied 'we think it is, for one could hardly see the house before'. It seems to me to be, however, no better than it was. They have made no natural glades; it is merely a lawn with a few miserable young trees standing as if they were half-starved. There are no sheep, no cattle upon these lawns. It is neither one thing nor another - neither natural nor wholly cultivated and artificial which it was before.<sup>51</sup>

And, by contrast again, in 1805 Elizabeth Chivers found Belle Isle to be "beautifully laid out in walks and planted with an infinite variety of shrubs".<sup>52</sup>

The views of William Wordsworth echoed and expanded upon

those of his sister in raising the claims of the wholly natural above those of the artificial; his views, formed in about 1810, expressed regret:

for the changes that have been made upon the principal Island at Winandermere ... What could be more unfortunate than the taste that suggested the paring of the shores, and surrounding with an embankment this spot of ground, the natural shape of which was so beautiful. An artificial appearance has thus been given to the whole, while infinite varieties of minute beauty have been destroyed. Could not the margins of this noble island be given back to nature.<sup>53</sup>

T.H. Horne in 1816 apparently felt that White's design for Belle Isle was of a sufficiently picturesque nature to have satisfied William Gilpin:

Could the late accomplished and benevolent Gilpin now behold the lovely abode, he would have the gratification of seeing the general outline, which he so ably sketched for its improvement, filled up in the most agreeable manner.<sup>54</sup>

So, the vagaries of taste found expression in descriptions of this small island, from Celia Fiennes' praise of its agrarian pleasures to Wordsworth's request that the margins at least "be given back to nature". Thomas White, for his part, contributed a design largely concordant with the Brownian taste, which by the very nature of growth and change, and by the judicious management of its elements, had by 1821 evolved to make Belle Isle, in James Losh's view:

a most lovely place, the trees having been judiciously thinned and the shrubs nearly all taken away. There are some very fine old oaks which escaped being cut above 30 years ago because they were decayed; there are also some very fine old walnuts and Spanish chestnuts but most of the wood which is extremely thriving was planted about 25 years ago.<sup>55</sup>

In 1800, aged 61, Thomas White was nearing the end of his career as a landscape designer, gradually allowing his

son to take over his practice in Scotland. There is no real indication in his later plans that he was in any way influenced by the theories of picturesque landscaping advanced by Knight and Price, and neither did White junior move far from the natural landscaping precepts of Capability Brown. It may be that Sir Henry Steuart's claim that White was in fact a frustrated picturesquer, merely yielding to the fashionable requirements of his clients, was correct. The coincidence of the end of White's career and the changing tastes in the early nineteenth century make it difficult to speculate whether White would or could have produced designs more in line with the thinking of the times. Thomas White junior did not adopt the new ideas, continuing to produce designs patterned upon those of his father. The relatively small number of commissions undertaken by White junior in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century underlines the dwindling market for his work and the changes in taste being so strongly promoted in the profusion of writings of John Claudius Loudon.<sup>56</sup>

Thomas White was a successful designer in his day and catered to a clientele happy with the large-scale Brownian landscaped park. In terms of his own profession the move towards the picturesque and the romantic were perhaps irrelevant, whatever his personal views on the aesthetics of nature and the landscape.

## CHAPTER 8 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) from The Landscape, A Didactic Poem in three Books Addressed to Uvedale Price Esq., (1794), 3rd Ed. 1795
- 2 Uvedale Price (1747-1829), An Essay on the Picturesque, 1794, quoted in Hunt & Willis (1975) pp.353-354; for a discussion of the 'Picturesque Debate' see Jacques (1983) pp.150-156.
- 3 Steuart (1828) Appendix p.459, 'Report of a Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland' p.459. On p.7 of The Planter's Guide Steuart noted that "the art of embellishing Rural Scenery ... was assiduously cultivated by Brown, Repton and others of that school, although not altogether on principles, such as should have regulated it; and it is now nearly perfected by the more correct judgement of Price, Knight, and Loudon".
- 4 Steuart (1828) p.203
- 5 Richard Payne Knight in The Landscape (1795) lines 260-65 wrote:  
     The quarry long neglected and overgrown  
     With thorns, that hang o'er mouldering beds of stone,  
     May oft the place of natural rocks supply,  
     And frame the verdant picture to the eye;  
     Or, closing round the solitary seat,  
     Charm with the simple scene of calm retreat.
- 6 Scone 632/14 White to Stormont January 25 1786(?)
- 7 Richard Payne Knight in The Landscape (1795) p.17 observed, "It is now, I believe generally admitted, that the system of picturesque improvement employed by the late Mr. Brown and his followers is the very reverse of picturesque."
- 8 Loudon (1804) p.2
- 9 Scone V117 Loudon 'Treatise on Scone' f.11
- 10 ibid. f.12,13,14
- 11 ibid. f.87
- 12 ibid. f.135,136
- 13 Scone V111 Booth 'Plans and Descriptions of Scone' f.25
- 14 Hunter T(1883) p.106
- 15 Loudon (EE 1830) p.539; this remark was omitted from the 1859 edition of the Encyclopaedia of Gardening.
- 16 Loudon (EE 1830) p.539. Repton's views on the picturesque appear ambivalent and changed through the years; according to Knight, Repton "found after mature consideration, and more practical experience, that there is not so great an affinity betwixt painting and

- gardening as his enthusiasm for the picturesque had originally led him to fancy" (Knight, The Landscape, quoted by Appleton (JGH 1988) p.271)
- 17 Stephen Daniels, Landscaping for a Manufacturer: Humphry Repton's Commission for Benjamin Gott at Armley in 1809-10', Journal of Historical Geography, Vol.7, No.4, 1981, [Daniels (JHG 1981)] pp.379-396; the Repton Red Book 'Armley House near Leeds, Yorkshire, a seat of Benjamin Gott Esq.' 1810 is in the Paul Mellon Collection at Upperville, Virginia, U.S.A. (a photocopy is held at LDA)
  - 18 Both a colour and a black and white copy of Repton's Red Book for Owston are held by the RCHME; the original was sold through Christies April 20 1983 Sale 2632 Lot 29.
  - 19 Anthony Hardolph Eyre (1757-1836) was Bryan Cooke's uncle
  - 20 NottULMD Ey 517 A Map of Grove Lordship belonging to Anthony Eyre, Esq., 1784
  - 21 Information from Johnson & Cox (TT 1985) pp.75-85; Repton quotation p.83
  - 22 Appleton (JGH 1988) pp.270-291
  - 23 Quoted by Stroud (1962) p.80
  - 24 Humphry Repton's Red Book for Mulgrave Castle dated August 1793 is in the possession of the Marquis of Normanby at Mulgrave Castle.
  - 25 Humphry Repton was called in by Lord Yarborough at Brocklesby in about 1794 and apparently made alterations to the park as laid out by Brown and/or White; a reference to the water there is to be found in the Owston Red Book and in Repton's Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening (1794).
  - 26 Henry Duncombe of Copgrove wrote to John Grimston of Kilnwick in 1779 "You gave me great pleasure in telling me of your having visited my Hermitage. It is indeed in my opinion a most pleasing spot" (HCRO DDGR 42/29/5); the hermitage at Airthrey was described as a "woodland retreat" for which Robert Haldane "advertised for a real hermit" to occupy it (Haldane (1853) p.38); for further discussions of 18th century hermits and hermitages see Eileen Harris 'Hunting for Hermits' Country Life May 26 1988 pp.186-189 and Anne Campbell Dixon 'Hermits for Hire' Country Life June 2 1988 pp.160-162.
  - 27 Hay (1922) p.33 includes Hay's undated Memorandum: 'Notes upon Duns Castle as a place with a sketch of the improvements and alterations that have been and may be made, the design and the effect it was supposed will be produced'.
  - 28 Hay (1922) p.34; 'Hebbimar' is presumably Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) a friend and pupil of Jacob van Ruisdael (Ruysdal); the misspelling of White's name in

- such company can surely not be considered an insult.
- 29 Shepherd (1836) p.20
  - 30 *ibid.*
  - 31 Gilpin (1834) pp.236-7
  - 32 Repton (1840)) p.328; to our knowledge Thomas White was not engaged at Holkham so this attack may not be directed at him, John Webb (c.1754-1828) is known to have been at both Harewood and Holkham.
  - 33 Price (1842) pp.194-5
  - 34 William Sawrey Gilpin, Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening, 1832, [Gilpin WS(1832)], p.41
  - 35 Scott (QR 1828) p.314
  - 36 *ibid.* p.317
  - 37 For a most useful background to the aesthetics of the landscape in the Lake District see John Murdoch, The Discovery of the Lake District, Victoria and Albert Museum Exhibition Catalogue, 1984, [V & A(1984)]
  - 38 The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712, G. Christopher Morris (Ed.), Macdonald, 1982, [Fiennes (1982)], p.166
  - 39 Young (1770) Vol.III pp.176,187
  - 40 Gilpin (1792i ) Vol. I pp.143-46
  - 41 *ibid.* pp.146-47
  - 42 Hutchinson (1773) p.177
  - 43 William Robinson, 'The Island', 1773, unpublished Ms. CRO WDX 313
  - 44 Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, 1777, [Nicolson & Burn (1777)], Vol. I p.624
  - 45 Thomas West, A Guide to the Lakes, 2nd Ed., 1802, William Cockin (Ed.) [West (1802)]
  - 46 CRO D/Cu Estate Day Book 1777-88
  - 47 *ibid.* and vouchers
  - 48 Clarke (1787) p.139; 'Mr. Smith' is the painter John Warwick Smith (1749-1831) whose views of the Lakes in Cumberland include 3 watercolours of Belle Isle ca.1790, probably commissioned by John Christian Curwen.
  - 49 Joseph Budworth, A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmorland, Lancashire and Cumberland by A Rambler, 1792, [Budworth (1792)], pp. 56,58

- 50 John Housman, A Topographical Description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1800, [Housman (1800)] p.344
- 51 Dorothy Wordsworth 'The Grasmere Journal' in Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, Ernest de Selincourt (Ed.), Macmillan, 1941, Tuesday June 8 1802
- 52 Quoted from the Journal of Elizabeth Chivers by Giles Worsley in 'John Carr's Last Tour - A Romantic Excursion of 1805', Country Life, April 30 1987, [Worsley (CL 1987i)], p.132
- 53 Wordsworth W(1835) p.59
- 54 Quoted in Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800, Stanford University Press, 1989, [Andrews (1989)] p.164 from T.H. Horne, The Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland; delineated in forty-three engravings from Drawings by Joseph Farington R.A. (1816)
- 55 The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh, Edward Hughes (Ed.), Surtees Society, 1962, No. 171, [Losh (1962)], (September 12 1821) p.138
- 56 John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) is said to have published between 1803 and 1845 "approximately sixty million words on gardening, horticulture, architecture, agriculture, and other related topics". (Goode & Lancaster (1986) p.344)

## CHAPTER 9

## CONCLUSION



It was principally the peculiar genius and very superior talents of Mr. White in his designs for the embellishment of parks, pleasure grounds, and gardens, and in the general improvement and embellishment of land estates, which has made Scotland what it now is, in its present beautifully grand and superb style of landscapes.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Shepherd, Lectures on Landscape Gardening in Australia, 1836

Thomas White's achievements in Scotland were praised in direct and unequivocal terms by Thomas Shepherd, who undoubtedly felt that White made a great contribution to the landscaping of Scottish estates. Through this research into White's life and work it has become evident that White was indeed the major designer of landscapes in Scotland during the later eighteenth century and that the extent and nature of his activities there were greater than had previously been realised.<sup>1A</sup> His activities in England too, particularly in Yorkshire where his association with nineteen estates has so far been confirmed, are now rather more clearly apparent.

The search for information about Thomas White, commencing with the lure of two or three references to him found in published works,<sup>2</sup> has led to the discovery of a considerable amount of published and archival material. This has been thoroughly combed in the attempt to present an account of his life, aims and achievements. It was the nature of the material discovered which dictated the form and content of the thesis. Estate correspondence, most particularly that relating to Harewood, Newby and Scone, provided some very detailed information about the physical work involved in translating the landscape design into reality. The descriptions of the day-to-day decisions made, problems encountered and results achieved which is contained in this correspondence became the basis for a close

examination of Thomas White's aims and methods in laying out an estate. In conjunction with contemporary and later descriptions of the property, some assessment of the success or otherwise of White's endeavours was then possible.

The survival of many of Thomas White's improvement plans, the existence of several of which came to light only towards the end of the research,<sup>3</sup> is fortunate and has proved invaluable in studying White's development as a landscape designer. The plans vary enormously in scale, condition and accessibility and each one provides its own interest and very often a great charm in the depiction of the proposed transformation of the landscape. White generally worked on a large scale, many of his plans exceeding six square feet in area, which creates difficulties in handling, studying and photographing them. Several plans have been kept rolled or folded up, sometimes in damp and dirty locations, and have suffered considerable damage. Others have been well cared for, sometimes framed and glazed and hung to be admired as works with aesthetic merit. The study of the plans has revealed Thomas White's undoubted abilities as a draughtsman and artist. The designs he produced in the 1780s and 1790s in Scotland, for example, Buchanan, Dunninald, Abercairny, Kinnaird, Ardoch and Preston Hall are delightful and colourful examples of the confidence he had found in his work by this time. The title and reference vignettes he produced in these years show artistic ability and a sensitivity to both nature and to the particular estate for which the plan was prepared. For example, on his plan for Ardoch, White's little drawing of a Roman camp as the title vignette displays wit and delicacy, while his inclusion of an existing monument in his Preston Hall design of 1794 gives the plan a

relevance, immediacy and interest.

Although attractive in appearance, Thomas White's plans can and have been criticised on two counts, their lack of variety and their vagueness. Superficially there is indeed a similarity in the plans, the same elements of trees, grass, water, house and drives being included in virtually all of them. However, a study both of individual plans and of his work as a whole does not indicate that White was in fact churning out a series of identical proposals without reference to the particular situation of his commission. Loudon's accusation that the work of landscape designers such as White exhibited a "false taste" which "reduced a liberal to a mechanic art", and his view that not one of White's plans "differed from the rest in any thing but magnitude",<sup>4</sup> is not borne out by the plans themselves. For instance a look at White's two plans for Abercairny (1791 and 1793) shows that in both plans his proposals for the water and planting were designed to enhance the existing slightly rolling terrain. It is also clear that here, perhaps as he came to know the estate better, White's views changed over the two years separating the plans and his second one shows a more developed treatment of the lake and the clump planting. By contrast at Castle Fraser in 1794 White was dealing with a more rugged area and proposed some heavy planting and thick clumps generally more in keeping with the setting.

The 'vagueness' of White's plans did perhaps present some problems in their implementation in view of his infrequent presence to supervise the putting of his ideas into practice. The correspondence regarding Scone illustrates very well the difficulties encountered by the factor, William Blair, in understanding White's proposals as

set out in his plan, added to which he felt that White "altered" his schemes thus leaving Blair completely in the dark as to his requirements.<sup>5</sup>

White left no account books or details of his commissions, however, financial records in the form of estate accounts together with his own account and that of Capability Brown at Drummonds Bank in London have provided a further source of information about his work. Records of payment very often include invaluable clues to other commissions in the form of addresses on accounts or mentions of journeys undertaken. They can also indicate the amount of time spent at an estate, the names of others involved in the landscaping work and, of course, the amounts of money paid out for specific tasks or for the entire job. Since name indexes very rarely exist for estate accounts their detailed examination can prove a time-consuming and frustrating task but has on occasion (for example in the Abercairny, Gordon and Keir accounts) provided fruitful results. A study of many more estate accounts at the Scottish Record Office and in the archive offices of Yorkshire, unrestricted by constraints of time, would undoubtedly reveal considerably more information on Thomas White's work. White's contra and debit accounts at Drummonds Bank contain much information and would also merit further study to establish the identity of many, as yet, unrecognised names.

The study of the source of many of Thomas White's commissions proved of interest in identifying family, social, professional and other links amongst his clients. White's early association with Capability Brown doubtless provided his first independent commission at Harewood in 1765, but the investigation into the way in which subsequent requests for

his services arose has disclosed areas worth further study in the case of Brown, White and the other lesser designers. Most particularly, the associations with architects, Carr, Playfair, Adam and others offers scope for developing a greater understanding of the relationship between the architectural and landscaping elements found at the eighteenth century estate.

Although Thomas White's association with Capability Brown was alluded to by Sir Henry Steuart, John Claudius Loudon and Abraham Youle no supporting evidence of the nature or dates of this association was known of.<sup>6</sup> The discovery of a letter, circa 1762, from White to Brown regarding Sandbeck House and Temple Newsam, records of Brown's payments to White between 1759 and 1765 and mention of White in Chillington accounts relating to Brown's work there in the early 1760s, have confirmed that White was indeed a 'pupil' of Brown.<sup>7</sup> It would appear that he received a thorough training as a designer of landscapes under Brown, for it was not until 1765 at Harewood, at the age of 26, that White emerged as a designer in his own right.

The contention that Thomas White's position as a mere 'follower' of Capability Brown justified his neglect, can perhaps be re-examined in light of the new material now available to us. Sir Henry Steuart claimed that White possessed "a more correct taste and a more vivid fancy" than his "master", Brown, while Thomas Shepherd felt that Thomas White "justly exploded many of Mr. Brown's plans as being too formal".<sup>8</sup> Both these views imply that, rather than merely imitating Brown's style, White introduced and developed his own ideas using the skills and procedures he had learnt from Brown as a foundation.

There are only three estates where direct comparisons between White and Brown plans may be made, Burton Constable, Sledmere and Brocklesby. In all three instances the White plans do indeed exhibit less formality than Brown's most noticeably in the suggestions for clump and belt planting. Brown's clumps at Brocklesby and Sledmere appear heavy, solid and somewhat contrived while White's are smaller, scattered and interspersed with individual trees. At Burton Constable Brown retained the avenue running eastwards from the house and other trees are shown in geometric formations, whereas White's plan eliminated all hint of formality. Further comparisons may be made which would support the claims of both Steuart and Shepherd. White's plans do exhibit a freer use of imagination than Brown's and do almost totally eliminate any formal elements. The difficulty lies in assessing if and how these plans were translated into reality and to what extent the apparent stiffness of Brown's designs on paper was softened on the ground. Were White's more attractive and lively plans in fact less easily and successfully realised in practical terms? Considerable investigative field work is necessary in order to attempt an answer to these questions although, without appropriate supporting documentary material, no answer may be possible.

It is clear, however, that Thomas White was more than just a pupil and follower of Capability Brown, and that his work is worthy of study in its own right. Although perhaps a relatively minor figure within the context of the history of landscape design, White's contribution to the shaping of the British countryside was of great importance. Where Capability Brown was the pioneer, Thomas White and others formed his vanguard, disseminating and propagating far afield

his ideas and methods.

At the start of the research it was anticipated that many more plans by Thomas White junior would be found, however this was not the case. Very few White junior commissions can be added to the list published by Tait in 1980,<sup>9</sup> although it is now evident that Thomas White junior commenced practising as a landscape designer independently of his father earlier than had been thought, with a design for Gask in 1797. That the Whites worked together on several commissions around the turn of the century is now clear, the Guynd, Bargany, Pitfirrane and Keir providing evidence of their collaboration, both in the drawing up and implementation of plans. The dearth of designs by White junior can clearly be seen as evidence of the changes in taste in the early nineteenth century and the move away from the natural style towards the picturesque and, later the return to a more formal style of garden design. The vast scale of the park landscapes envisaged by the Whites was to be reduced to more manageable proportions as the park retreated and the garden returned to surround the houses of the landed nobility and gentry.

The discovery of planting contracts for Douglas and Buchanan and the records of the Society of Arts have provided more proof of the extent of Thomas White's arboricultural activities, together with those of his son. His deep interest in the cultivation of trees and his practical experience in planting in both England and Scotland brought him considerable respect and great satisfaction. Again, it is likely that more evidence concerning White's tree planting contracts and the advice he most probably gave to others, exists in estate archives.

Sir Henry Steuart's claim that Thomas White did not fully approve of the landscape fashion of his day and would rather have produced designs in the picturesque style advocated by Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price is still open to debate.<sup>10</sup> Certainly the evidence from White's plans and his surviving correspondence does not support the claim, and it may be that Steuart was justifying his friendship with the Whites with these words. However, it may indeed be true that White's own taste was for a less ordered landscape and, had the demand been there, his designs would have included fewer clumps and belts and more 'variety' and 'intricacy'.

The previously vague and shadowy figure of Thomas White has become more solid but much is still not known about the man, his life and his work. Considerable work remains to be done, particularly in locating further estates at which White was consulted. We now know that he and his son were consulted at over one hundred estates and it is likely that future researches, with the benefit of increasingly more readily available and better indexed estates archives, will bring to light the names of many more clients, and perhaps improvement plans presently stored unrecognised, and perhaps unsigned, in attics, archives and estate offices. As more information emerges about other lesser known landscape designers an overall assessment of their role, their relationship to Capability Brown and with each other will perhaps become possible.



## CHAPTER 9 - FOOTNOTES

- 1 Shepherd (1836) p.20
- 1A Research has revealed that in the 50 years between 1770 and 1820, Thomas White is known to have been connected with 46 Scottish estates (including seven which were probably joint ventures with his son), and Thomas White junior was associated with 22 estates (plus the seven with his father).  
Tait (1980) pp.254-59 lists the following landscape gardeners active in Scotland during this period and the number of estates with which they were associated:  

James Abercrombie	fl.1768-1794	3
John Adam	1721-1792	1
Rev. Mr. Carruthers		1
Lord Adam Gordon	d.1801	1
John Hay	1758-1836	9
	(mainly flowers, kitchen gardens and hothouses)	
J (G?) Johnston	1773-1835	3
Lewis Kennedy	1789-c.1840	1
John Claudius Loudon	1783-1843	12
Alexander Nasmyth	1758-1840	ca.14
John Nicol	d.1824	1
Walter Nicol	d.1811	8
	(mainly flowers, kitchen gardens and hothouses)	
Captain George Isham Parkyns	1749-1820	2
James Ramsay	d.1800	5
Humphry Repton	1752-1818	1
George Robertson	fl.1774	1
James Robertson	fl.1750-80	?
Robert Robinson	1734-?	3
	(several in 1760s)	
C.H. Smith		1?
Richard Stephens		3
THOMAS WHITE	1739-1811	30
THOMAS WHITE junior	1764-1836	14
- 2 References in Stroud (1975) pp.148,207, Allison (1976) p.180, Pevsner (1972) pp.212,240,255,333
- 3 For example the existence of Thomas White's plans for Ardoch, Touch, Abercairny and Buchanan was confirmed on a visit to Scotland in 1989.
- 4 Loudon (EE 1830) p.539
- 5 Scone 1231/8 Blair to Stormont November 30 1784
- 6 Steuart (1828) p.202; Loudon (EG 1859) p.270; Youle (AA 1793) p.371
- 7 LDA TN/EA/23a/75 White to Brown circa 1762; Capability Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank; StaffRO D590/619
- 8 Steuart (1828) p.202; Shepherd (1836) p.19
- 9 Tait (1980) p.259
- 10 Steuart (1828) p.203

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Place of publication London unless otherwise stated

Where applicable, original date of publication is given in brackets after title.

Abbreviated references to books and articles within books show author's surname and publication date while references to journal articles show author's surname, journal abbreviation and year of publication. (The exception under book references is Loudon (EG) = Encyclopaedia of Gardening, various editions)

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- WORSLEY (CL 1987ii) Giles Worsley, 'Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire'. Country Life, May 28 1987, pp.138-43 (\* p.140)
- WORSLEY (CL 1988) Giles Worsley, 'Crediting Carr', Country Life, May 5 1988, pp.162-65
- WORSLEY (CL 1989) Giles Worsley, 'Hornby Castle, Yorkshire', Country Life, June 29 1989, pp.188-93
- WRAGG (YGSAR 1979) R. Brian Wragg, 'The Architect of Harewood Stables', York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1979, pp.65-73
- YOULE (AA 1793) Reverend Abraham Youle, 'On Steaming Potatoes', Annals of Agriculture, Vol.XXI, 1793, pp. 370-74 (\* p. 371)
- YGSAR (1979) 'Houghton Hall', York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1979 (\* p.47)
- YGSAR (1982) 'Grimston Garth', York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1982 (\* p.63)
- YGSAR (1984) 'Sledmere', York Georgian Society Annual Report, 1984 (\* p.14)

## 3 UNPUBLISHED WORKS CONSULTED

HUGH BILBOROUGH, 'The Use of Tree Plantations as Elements of Landscape Design, with special reference to published texts of the 18th and 19th Centuries', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Manchester University, 1971

MARIAN CLARKE, 'The Park and Gardens at Harewood', typescript in Leeds Public Library Reference Section, 1963

BRYAN COATES, 'The Development and Distribution of Landscape Parks in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Leeds University, 1960

IAN D. GRANT, 'Landlords and Land Management in North-Eastern Scotland 1750-1850', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1978 (\* Vol.II pp.76-77, Appendix 23)

WILLIAM ROBINSON, 'The Island', unpublished poem on Belle Isle, Lake Windermere, Cumbria Record Office Ms. WDX(313)

FREDERICK J WADE, 'The Story of Lanchester and Satley', December 1970, unpublished typed volume in Lanchester Public Library (\* p.118)

M. WILKINSON, 'Old Retford', unpublished, undated, typed volume in Retford Public Library

## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

## ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (AUL)

Ms.1160 Gordon of Buthlaw and Cairness archives:  
28/1/1 letter Thomas White to Charles Gordon,  
July 16 1793

Ms.3064 Kintore archives: B294 Factors accounts  
BEDFORD ESTATE OFFICES, London

Woburn archives: file 'Household Staff 14'  
BORTHWICK INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH, York

Thomas White last will and testament and codicils  
CUMBRIA RECORD OFFICE, Carlisle (CRO)

D/Cu Curwen archives [vouchers and accounts]  
DONCASTER ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT (DAD)

DD.DC Davies-Cooke archives (Owston)  
P56/1/A2 Register of Baptisms 1718-1771 St. Mary's  
Church, Tickhill

## DRUMMONDS BANK, London

Thomas White contra and debit accounts 1774-1811  
Capability Brown contra and debit accounts 1753-1783  
Earl of Darlington debit account 1770-1771

## GLAMIS CASTLE, Tayside (Glamis)

Strathmore muniments:

V22 Factor's ledger (Patrick Proctor)

V44 Factor's Account Crop Book 1774

## HULL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (HUL)

DDSY Sykes archives: 62/331 letter Thomas White to  
Christopher Sykes April 4 1776  
102/6-10 Christopher Sykes diaries 1774-1778  
Christopher Sykes account book 1771-1800 (p/c)

## HUMBERSIDE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, Beverley (HCRO)

DDGR Grimston archives: 43/2 letter Thomas White to  
Thomas Grimston June 11 1782

DDCC Chichester Constable archives:

140/26 Stewards account book

(2)77 Thomas White receipt for ten guineas

## LEEDS DISTRICT ARCHIVES (LDA)

TN/EA/23a Temple Newsam miscellaneous correspondence

Harewood steward's letter book (HSLB)

Harewood account books 247, 269

## LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES OFFICE, Lincoln (LAO)

Yarborough archives

## MULGRAVE CASTLE, North Yorkshire (Mulgrave)

Mulgrave muniments:

VI/10/336 letter Thomas White to Lord Mulgrave  
December 23 1784

## NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, Edinburgh (NLS)

19204 and 19208 Seton correspondence

19993/17 Robert Adam correspondence

15420 f.96 letter Thomas White junior to Alexander  
Guthrie May 30 1820

Ms.82.3.10 f.133 receipt Thomas White junior (Gask)

## NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (NUL)

MF555 Capability Brown account book (microfilm)

- Capability Brown Drummonds Bank account (p/c)

## NORTHUMBERLAND RECORD OFFICE, Newcastle upon Tyne (NorthRO)

M14-B7 Hodgson correspondence

## NOTTINGHAMSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Nottingham (NottRO)

West Retford parish records (microfiche)

## RETTFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY

Retford parish book

## ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS, London

- A/15/10 letters Samuel More to Thomas White January 26  
1788 and Thomas White to Samuel More February  
1 1788
- C/1/91 letters Thomas White to Samuel More February 2  
1789 and R.S. Milnes to Thomas White January  
27 1789

## SANDBECK HOUSE, South Yorkshire (Sandbeck)

- Lumley muniments: EEAW/1 Tickhill enclosure aware  
EMR/8 Sandbeck accounts

## SCONE PALACE, Tayside (Scone)

## Mansfield muniments:

- Bundles 448,632,666,667,1229,1232,1233,1401  
Vouchers 1492,1497,1511,1512,1513  
Volumes 111 William Booth 'Plans and Descriptions  
of Scone' 1822  
117 John Claudius Loudon 'Treatise on  
Scone' 1803  
148 'Journal of David 7th viscount  
Stormont' 1773

## Factor's crop accounts 1775-1787

## SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE, Edinburgh (SRO)

- GD/24 Moray of Abercairny archives:  
1/624 garden accounts
- GD/44 Gordon archives: 51/374 garden accounts
- GD/170 Campbell of Barcaldine archives:  
170/2759/1-3 three letters Thomas White junior  
to D. Campbell 1818/19
- GD/220 Montrose archives:  
5/1757 two letters David Erskine to David  
Graeme September 1770  
6/51 factor's accounts 1788-1803  
6/585/1 planting contract Thomas White with  
Archibald Douglas 1780  
6/585/17 planting contract Thomas White with  
marquis of Graham 1787  
6/592/33 heads of planting contract Thomas  
White with Lord Graham
- GD/248 Seafield and Findlater archives:  
2/61 letter William Wilson to earl of  
Findlater September 28 1788  
1286 Abstract earl of Findlater's affairs 1809  
3425/5 letter Thomas White junior to earl of  
Findlater May 26 1789  
3439/8 letter earl of Findlater to John Wilson  
November 2 1796
- RH4/50 4th earl of Bute: letterbook 1794
- RH4/57 Hamilton Dalrymple of Bargany: Vol.2 1832
- RH4/119 Graham of Fintry: two letters Thomas White to  
Robert Graham late 1781 and November 12 1782
- RD3/328 Power of attorney Thomas White junior to John  
Lawson May 9 1809
- RD3/339 Contract of sale and assignation Thomas White  
junior and Dr. James Hamilton January 17 1811
- CS/237/W7/47 Inventory of writs Thomas White junior  
versus Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton

## SHROPSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Shrewsbury (ShropRO)

- 1335/Reg/1 Shifnal parish registers

## STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Stafford (Staff RO)

- D590/619 Thomas Giffard disbursement book

## STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL ARCHIVES, Glasgow (StrathRA)

- T-SK 21/4 Keir accounts



## SOURCES OF THOMAS WHITE PLANS (senior and junior)

ABERCAIRNY HOUSE, Tayside  
     1791 and 1793 Abercairny plans  
     1792 Ardoch plan  
     1788 Blair Drummond plan  
 BARGANY HOUSE, Strathclyde  
     1802 Bargany plan (1) (junior)  
 BELLE ISLE, Lake Windermere, Cumbria  
     1783 Belle Isle plan  
 BLAIRQUHAN, Strathclyde  
     1803 Blairquhan plan (estate office)  
 BROCKLESBY, Lincolnshire  
     ca. 1785 two Brocklesby plans (estate office)  
 BUCHANAN CASTLE, Central (Auchmar House)  
     1789 Buchanan plan  
 CARLTON TOWERS, North Yorkshire  
     ca. 1780 Carlton plan  
 CASTLE FRASER, Grampian  
     1794 Castle Fraser plan (muniments room)  
 CULLEN HOUSE, Grampian (?)  
     1789 Cullen plan (1)  
 CUMBRIA RECORD OFFICE, Carlisle (CRO)  
     1783 Workington plan (D/Cu)  
 DALMENY HOUSE, Lothian  
     1815 Dalmeny plan (junior)  
 DONCASTER ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT (DAD)  
     1785 Owston plan (DD.DC H1/3/2)  
 DUNNINALD HOUSE, Tayside  
     1789 Dunninald plan  
 GLAMIS CASTLE, Tayside (Glamis)  
     ca. 1771 Glamis plan (P41)  
 GUYND, Tayside (?)  
     1799 Guynd plan (junior)  
 HARBURN, Lothian (?)  
     1815 Harburn plan (junior)  
 HOUGHTON HALL, Humberside  
     1768 Houghton plan  
 HUMBERSIDE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, Beverley (HCRO)  
     1768 Burton Constable plan (DDCC temporary deposit)  
     1769 Welton plan (DDTH/68/1)  
     1777 Holme plan (DDX/160/28)  
 INVERQUHARITY CASTLE, Tayside  
     1773 Inverquharity plan (on loan from Lord Lyell of Kinnordy)  
 KINNAIRD CASTLE, Tayside  
     1791 Kinnaird plan (recreation hall)  
 LEE CASTLE, Lanarkshire (?)  
     1805 Lee plan (junior)  
 LEEDS DISTRICT ARCHIVES (LDA)  
     1766 Newby plan (NH 2399 p/c)  
     1766 Goldsborough plan (Harewood Estate (Building) 12)  
 LENNOXLOVE HOUSE, Lothian  
     1784 Leddington plan (estate office)  
 MOUNTQUHANIE HOUSE, Tayside  
     1798 Mountquhanie plan  
 NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, Edinburgh (NLS)  
     1784 Nisbet plan (Ms.5460(i))  
     1807 Herdmanston plan (junior) (Ms.5460(ii))  
     1801 Pitfirrane plan (Ms.6510 No.2)  
 NEWBY HALL, North Yorkshire  
     1766 Newby plan (estate office)

NORTON PLACE, Lincolnshire  
     1772 Norton plan  
 NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MANUSCRIPTS DEPARTMENT(NottULMD)  
     1773 Grove survey (Ey 514)  
     1773 Grove plan (Ey 515)  
 PRESTON HALL, Lothian  
     1794 Preston Hall plan  
 PRIVATE COLLECTION  
     1767 Blyborough plan  
 RABY CASTLE, County Durham  
     1774 Raby plan  
 ROSSDHU, Strathclyde (?)  
     1797 Rossthdu plan  
 SANDBECK HOUSE, South Yorkshire (Sandbeck)  
     1768 Lumley plan  
 SCONE PALACE, Tayside (Scone)  
     1781 Scone plan (Plan 4)  
 SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE, Edinburgh (SRO)  
     1802 Bargany plan (2) (junior) (RHP 1725)  
     1809 Old Melrose plan (junior) (RHP 3656)  
     1818 Fintry plan (junior) (RHP 3803)  
     1792 Champfleurie plan (RHP 9170)  
     1798 Mountquhanie plan (RHP 10206 p/c)  
     1789 Cullen plan (2) (RHP 12876)  
     1790 Cullen plan (3) (RHP 12877)  
     1793 Glencorse plan (RHP 13482 p/c)  
     1812 Duns plan (junior) (RHP 14531 p/c)  
     1811 Murdostoun plan (junior) (RHP 14713 p/c)  
     1819 Cameron plan (junior) (RHP 20113)  
     1770 Douglas plan (RHP 21983 p/c)  
     1815 Balbirnie plan (junior) (RHP 24334)  
     1803 Kennet plan (RHP 24822 p/c)  
     1783 Raith plan (RHP 44084)  
     1791 Arniston plan (RHP 83428 p/c)  
     1791 Polton plan (RHP 83429 p/c)  
 SLEDMERE HOUSE, Humberside  
     1776 Sledmere plan (exhibition centre)  
 STAFFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Stafford (StaffRO)  
     ca 1761 Chillington survey (Blackladies) (D590/366)  
     1761 Chillington survey (D590/368)  
 STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL ARCHIVES (StrathRA)  
     1811 Murdostoun plan (junior) (TD 1029)  
     1820 Green of Glasgow plan (junior) (D.TC 13/652)  
 TOUCH HOUSE, Central  
     1797 Touch plan  
 YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Leeds (YAS)  
     1769 Hawskworth plan (DD 193/9 p/c)

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2 ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE WAS ENGAGED	437
3 ESTATES IN SCOTLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND/OR THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED	526
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County names are those existing before reorganisation; present county (or region in Scotland) is given in brackets in Appendix A2 and A3.

All plans are ink and coloured wash on paper, mounted on linen unless otherwise noted.

Plan measurements are in inches with height preceding width.

Full details of published material are in the Bibliography.

Estate names underlined in text are listed elsewhere in Appendix A.

Bracketed notes under Titles and References refer to their location on plan.

## APPENDIX A1

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ESTATES AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND  
THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED

Dates given are those of plans where known, otherwise taken  
from documentary evidence of when work commenced

Estates in brackets are possible commissions

Plan unlocated = evidence that plan was drawn up but plan  
has not been found

No plan = no evidence that plan was drawn up

THOMAS WHITE (1739-1811)

1761	CHILLINGTON, Staffordshire (2 surveys - Brown)
1762	SANDBECK, Yorkshire WR (Brown)
	GLENTWORTH, Lincolnshire (Brown)
	TEMPLE NEWSAM, Yorkshire WR (Brown)
1765	HAREWOOD, Yorkshire WR (plan unlocated)
1766	GOLDSBOROUGH, Yorkshire WR (plan exists)
	NEWBY, Yorkshire WR (plan exists)
1767	BLYBOROUGH, Lincolnshire (plan exists)
	COPGROVE, Yorkshire WR (no plan)
1768	LUMLEY, County Durham (plan exists)
	BURTON CONSTABLE, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
	HOUGHTON, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
1769	WELTON, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
	HAWKSWORTH, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
1770	DOUGLAS, Lanarkshire (plan exists)
1771	GLAMIS, Forfarshire (plan exists-unsigned)
1772	NORTON, Lincolnshire (plan exists)
1773	GROVE, Nottinghamshire (plan and survey exist)
	INVERQUHARITY, Forfarshire (plan exists)
1774	COLWICK, Nottinghamshire (no plan)
	RABY, County Durham (plan exists)
1775	SEDBURY, Yorkshire NR (no plan)
	(SKELTON, Yorkshire NR)
1776	SLEDMERE, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
	(WOODEND, Yorkshire NR)
1777	HOLME, Yorkshire ER (plan exists)
1780	? CARLTON, Yorkshire WR (plan exists undated)
	(HAGGERSTON, Northumberland)
1781	SCONE, Perthshire (plan exists)
	DRIMMIE, Perthshire (no plan)
	? DONIBRISTLE, Fifeshire (no plan)
	(CALLENDAR, Stirlingshire)
1782	ALLANBANK, Berwickshire (no plan)
	GRIMSTON GARTH, Yorkshire ER (plan unlocated)
	FINTRY, Forfarshire (no plan)
	DUDHOPE, Dundee (no plan)
1783	BELLE ISLE, Westmorland (plan exists)
	WORKINGTON, Cumberland (plan exists)
	RAITH, Fifeshire (plan exists)
	BOTHWELL, Lanarkshire (no plan)
	(STAPLETON, Yorkshire WR)
1784	NISBET, Berwickshire (plan exists)
	LEDDINGTON, Haddingtonshire (plan exists)
	(BALMUTO, Fifeshire)

## APPENDIX A1 continued

1785	OWSTON, Yorkshire WR (plan exists)	
	MULGRAVE, Yorkshire NR (plan unlocated)	
	? BROCKLESBY, Lincolnshire (2 plans exist-undated)	
1786	GORDON, Banffshire (plan unlocated)	
	FRYSTON, Yorkshire WR (plan unlocated - planting)	
1787	BUCHANAN, Stirlingshire (plan exists 1789)	
1788	BLAIR DRUMMOND, Perthshire (plan exists)	
	ALLANTON, Lanarkshire (plan unlocated)	Sr & Jr
1789	DUNNINALD, Angus (plan exists)	
	CULLEN, Banffshire (3 plans exist-1789(2), 1790)	
	("Gillies", Kincardineshire)	
1790	ABERCAIRNY, Perthshire (2 plans exist 1791, 1793)	
	? AIRTHREY, Stirlingshire (no plan)	
	(LAMBTON, County Durham)	
1791	ARNISTON, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
	POLTON, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
	KINNAIRD, Angus (plan exists)	
1792	CHAMPFLEURIE, West Lothian (plan exists)	
	ARDOCH, Perthshire (plan exists-unsigned)	
	CAIRNESS, Aberdeenshire (plan(s) unlocated)	
	(BROOMHALL, Fifeshire)	
1793	GLENCORSE, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
	(HAZLEWOOD Yorkshire WR or MELBOURNE Yorkshire ER)	
1794	CASTLE FRASER, Aberdeenshire (plan exists)	
	PRESTON HALL, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
	KEITH HALL, Aberdeenshire (plan unlocated)	
1797	ROSSDHU, Dunbartonshire (plan exists)	
	TOUCH, Stirlingshire (plan exists)	
1798	MOUNTQUHANIE, Fifeshire (plan exists)	
1801	PITFIRANE, Fifeshire (plan exists)	Sr & Jr
	KEIR, Perthshire (plan unlocated)	Sr & Jr
	WEMYSS, Fifeshire (no plan)	Sr & Jr
1803	KENNET, Clackhamanshire (plan exists)	Sr & Jr
	BLAIRQUHAN, Ayrshire (plan exists)	

## Undated:

ARMLEY, Yorkshire WR	late 1760s?
KILNWICK, Yorkshire ER	pre 1780?
DUFF, Banffshire	1780s?
MYLNEFIELD, Perthshire	pre 1797?
GOSFORTH, Northumberland	?
GLENEAGLES, Perthshire	?
DALKEITH, Midlothian	?
DARNAWAY, Elginshire	?

## APPENDIX A1 continued

THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR (1764-1836)

1797	GASK, Perthshire (plan unlocated)	
1799	GUYND, Forfarshire (plan exists)	Jr & Sr
1802	BARGANY, Ayrshire (2 plans exist)	Jr & Sr
1805	LEE, Lanarkshire (plan exists)	
1807	HERDMANSTON, Haddingtonshire (plan exists)	
	WEMYSS, Fifeshire (no plan)	Jr & Sr
1808	GARTUR, Stirlingshire (plan unlocated)	
1809	OLD MELROSE, Roxburghshire (plan exists)	
1811	MURDOSTOURN, Lanarkshire (plan exists)	
	KEIR, Perthshire (plan unlocated)	Jr & Sr
1812	DUNS, Berwickshire (plan exists)	
	RAIT, Perthshire (no plan)	
	LINDERTIS, Angus (no plan)	
1814	KAMES, Isle of Bute (no plan)	
	MOUNT STUART, Isle of Bute (no plan)	
1815	BALBIRNIE, Fifeshire (plan exists)	
	DALMENY, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
	HARBURN, Edinburghshire (plan exists)	
1818	BARCALDINE, Argyllshire (plan unlocated)	
	FORDELL, Fifeshire (plan exists)	
	KIPPENROSS, Perthshire (no plan)	
1819	CAMERON, Dunbartonshire (plan exists)	
1820	GREEN OF GLASGOW, Glasgow City (plan exists)	
	AULDBAR, Forfarshire (no plan)	
	BRECHIN, Forfarshire (no plan)	
	PANMURE, Forfarshire (no plan)	

## Undated:

BRODICK, Isle of Arran

pre 1814?



## APPENDIX A2

## ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE WAS ENGAGED

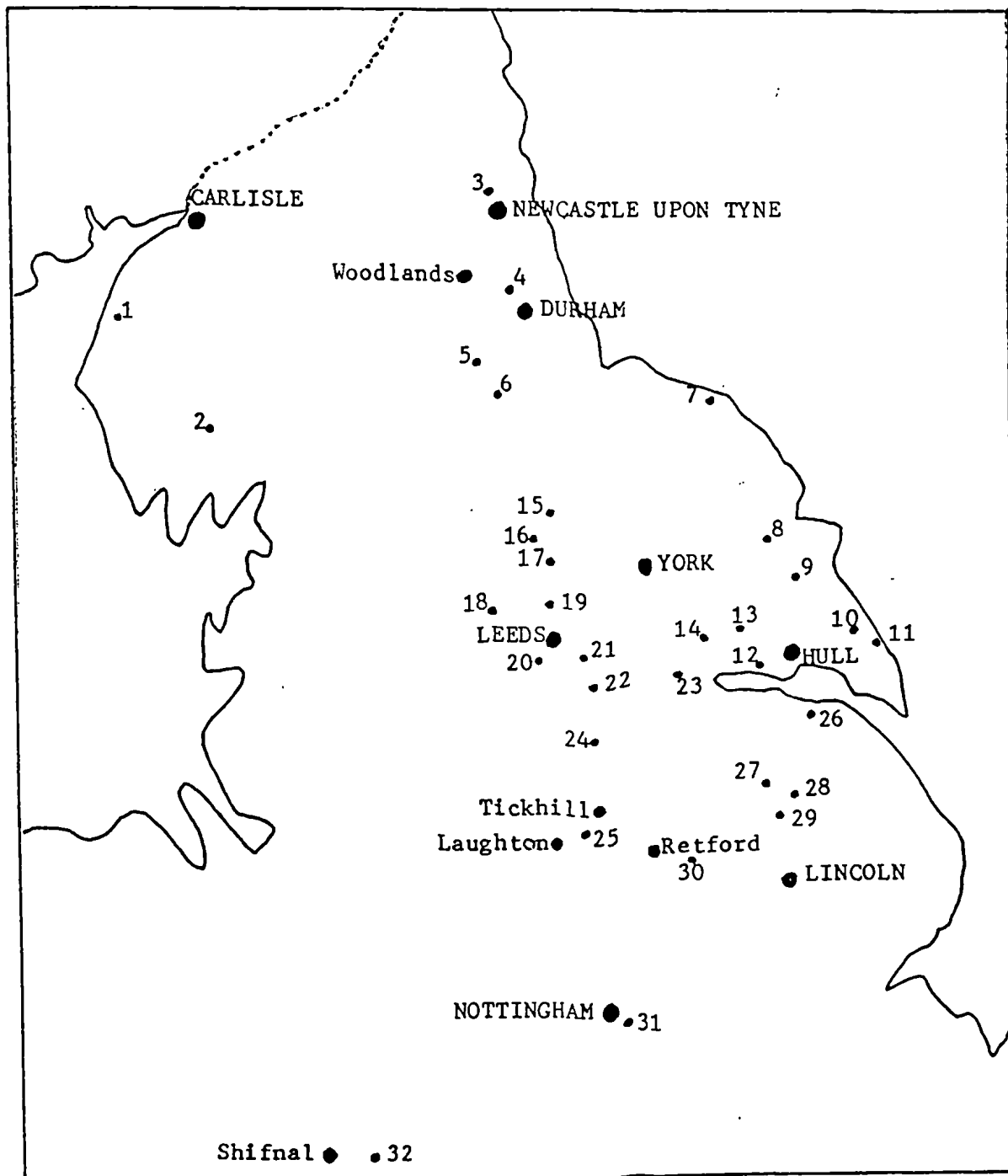
See Map I overleaf (map reference in brackets after estate)

(Brown) indicates Thomas White was acting as foreman to Capability Brown at this estate

Estate		Date		Page
ARMLEY	(20)	1760s		439
BELLE ISLE	(2)	1783 plan		440
BLYBOROUGH	(27)	1767 plan		445
BROCKLESBY	(26)	1785? plans(2)		447
BURTON CONSTABLE	(10)	1768 plan		452
CARLTON	(23)	1780? plan		458
CHILLINGTON	(32)	1761 surveys(2)	(Brown)	463
COLWICK	(31)	1774-78		466
COPGROVE	(16)	1767		468
FRYSTON	(22)	1786-1802		469
GLENTWORTH	(29)	1762?	(Brown)	470
GOLDSBOROUGH	(17)	1766 plan		471
GOSFORTH	(3)	?		475
GRIMSTON GARTH	(11)	1782		477
GROVE	(30)	1773 plan & survey		479
HAREWOOD	(19)	1765-68		482
HAWKSWORTH	(18)	1769 plan		484
HOLME	(14)	1777 plan		486
HOUGHTON	(13)	1768 plan		489
KILNWICK	(9)	pre 1780?		494
LUMLEY	(4)	1768 plan		495
MULGRAVE	(7)	1785		497
NEWBY	(15)	1766 plan		498
NORTON	(28)	1772 plan		503
OWSTON	(24)	1785 plan		507
RABY	(5)	1774 plan		509
SANDBECK	(25)	1762-66	(Brown)	511
SEDBURY	(6)	1775-84		513
SLEDMERE	(8)	1776 plan		514
TEMPLE NEWSAM	(21)	1762-65?	(Brown)	519
WELTON	(12)	1769 plan		520
WORKINGTON	(1)	1783 plan		523

MAP 1

## ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE WAS ENGAGED



- |              |                    |                  |                |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 WORKINGTON | 9 KILNWICK         | 17 GOLDSBOROUGH  | 25 SANDBECK    |
| 2 BELLE ISLE | 10 BURT. CONSTABLE | 18 HAWKSWORTH    | 26 BROCKLESBY  |
| 3 GOSFORTH   | 11 GRIMSTON GARTH  | 19 HAREWOOD      | 27 BLYBOROUGH  |
| 4 LUMLEY     | 12 WELTON          | 20 ARMLEY        | 28 NORTON      |
| 5 RABY       | 13 HOUGHTON        | 21 TEMPLE NEWSAM | 29 GLENTWORTH  |
| 6 SEDBURY    | 14 HOLME           | 22 FRYSTON       | 30 GROVE       |
| 7 MULGRAVE   | 15 NEWBY           | 23 CARLTON       | 31 COLWICK     |
| 8 SLEDMERE   | 16 COPGROVE        | 24 OWSTON        | 32 CHILLINGTON |

ARMLEY  
 Yorkshire, West Riding (West Yorkshire)  
 Near Leeds

(Map 1 No. 20)

Client: Sir JOHN INGLEBY ?

NO PLAN

Date: late 1760s ?

Evidence: Neale (1821) Vol.IV re Armley:  
 "The Grounds, which have the natural  
 advantage of undulation, were originally  
 laid out by Mr. White; they have since  
 been extended and improved under the  
 directions of Mr. Repton and afford an  
 ample display of his taste."  
 (Repton's Red Book for Armley 1810, Paul  
 Mellon Collection, Upperville, Virginia;  
 p/c at LDA)

Other Subsequent mentions of White at Armley are all  
 Material: derived from Neale

Stroud (1962) p.165

Tait (1980) p.147  
 "At Armley Hall near Leeds, Repton  
 reworked White's landscape and was in  
 turn followed by W.S. Gilpin."

Daniels (JHG 1981) p.385  
 "Armley Park had already been landscaped  
 in the late eighteenth century by a Mr.  
 White, probably Thomas White, a follower  
 of Capability Brown."

BELLE ISLE

Westmorland (Cumbria)  
Lake Windermere

(Map 1 No. 2)

Client: JOHN CHRISTIAN CURWEN (c.1756-1828)

Date of Plan: 1783

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BELLE ISLE  
BY T. WHITE 1783  
(upper right, picturesque vignette)

References: A The House  
B The Stables  
C The Kitchen garden  
DD The Seats  
E A Thatched building  
F A Handsome building or temple  
G The Garden house  
The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
(lower centre, picturesque vignette)

A Scale of Yards  
(centre left, picturesque vignette)

Size: ca. 36 x 60

Location: Hanging in hallway at Belle Isle

Condition: Good, framed and glazed

Comments: Label next to plan reads:  
"A plan drawn by Thomas White, the celebrated  
landscape gardener, for Isabella Curwen. She  
laid out the whole island in a style which  
formed a beautiful picture in the midst of the  
lake. Well did the enthusiast sing:  
Give me six hundred pounds a year  
And Curwen's country house on Windermere."  
The proposals for Belle Isle were to a large  
extent carried out.  
Thomas White also drew a plan for Curwen's  
estate at Workington, Cumberland in 1783

Archival Material: CRO D/Cu (Curwen Archives) contain accounts,  
vouchers, some letters concerning White's work  
at Belle Isle and Workington. 3 contracts were  
drawn up none of which survive totalling  
£3,355 payable 1783-1796.  
Drummonds Bank Account Contra - numerous  
payments connected with Belle Isle and  
Workington contracts which can be tied in with  
Curwen accounts.

Other Plans: 1794 John Swinburn (D/Cu/5/232)

Other Material: Loudon (EG 1828) para.7592  
"Curwen's Island in Wynandermere Lake,  
near Ambleside; J.C. Curwen Esq. A Roman  
villa, with a dome, in the centre of a  
small island, well wooded, and the walks  
and gardens arranged from the designs of  
the late T.White Esq. the landscape  
gardener of the north."

BELLE ISLE - 2

Hodge (CL 1940) p.120

"The grounds, which had originally been laid out on geometrical lines, were remodelled as a jardin anglais by the Curwen's landscape gardener, Thomas White .... under the advice of Thomas White as landscape gardener, they remodelled the plantations as a jardin anglais, to screen the house, which nowadays is in fact rather shyly concealed."

Pevsner (1967) p.228

"Mrs. Curwen of Workington Hall and ... her husband J.C. Curwen landscaped the isle (gardener Thomas White)."

Beard (1978) p.26

"In 1786 John Christian, as he still was, entered into a contract with the Nottinghamshire landscape gardener, Thomas White, the elder (d.1811) to set out, and then maintain the grounds. White, and his son, also Thomas, had landscaped Workington Hall for Christian from 1783-6. The contract for that at £2000 contrasts with £1000 for his Belle Isle work which was in the nature of keeping the estate in order over ten years by half yearly payments. They opened up the views towards Bowness and Windermere and provided one of the most romantic settings for a country house in England.

Fedden & Kenworthy Browne (1979) p.60

Jacques (1983) p.117

V & A (1984) p.29

Cat. 39 THOMAS WHITE

Plan of Improvements for Belle Isle

Watercolour on vellum

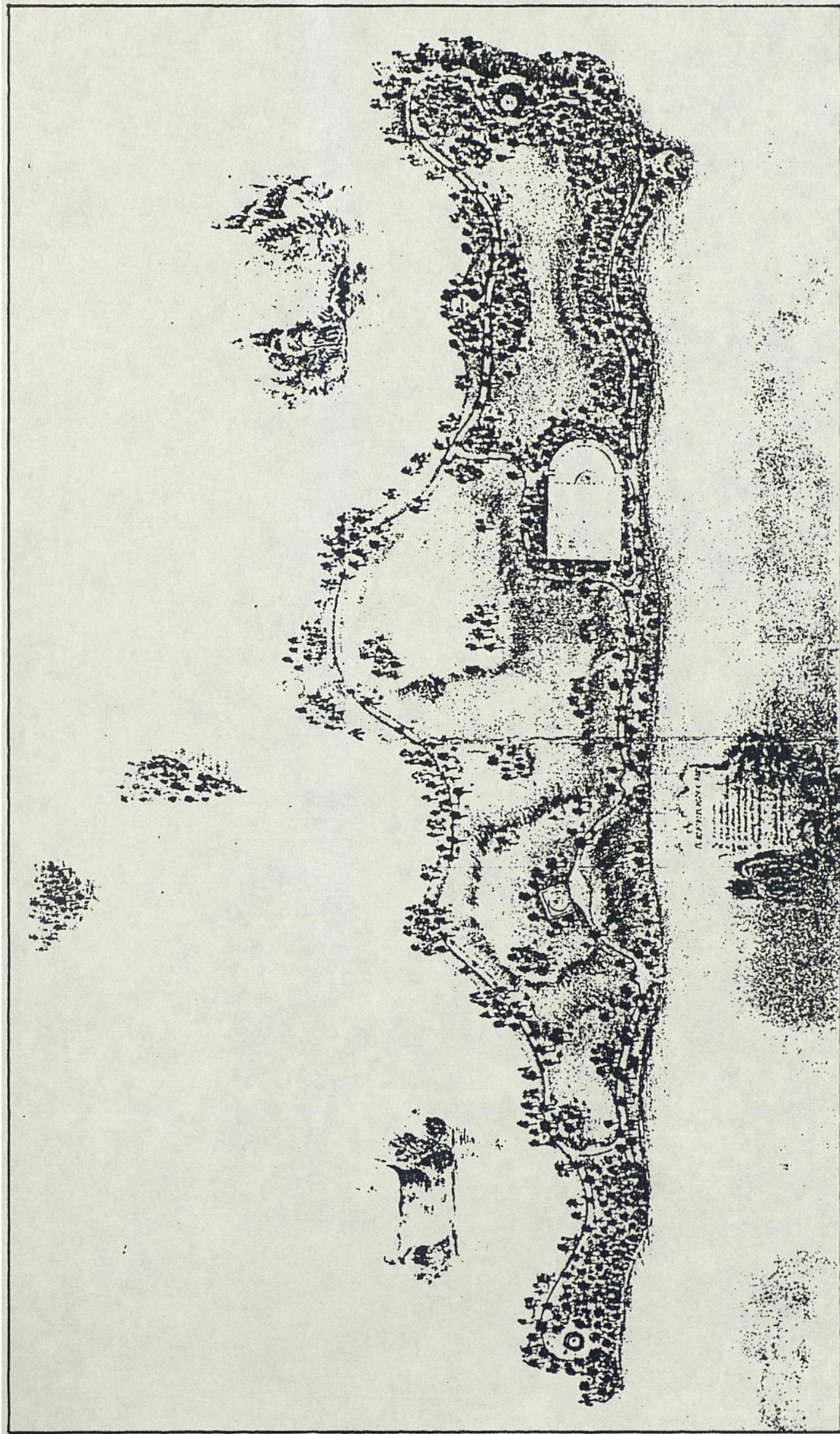
Private collection

... Thomas White, a landscape gardener from Nottinghamshire with a national reputation, was hired. He stripped out the chinoiserie and the formal gardens of the original plan, and produced a design which, with its perimeter walk, belt of trees and clumps within, dispersed over a smooth grassy sward, owed much to Capability Brown.

Cat. 45... White's achievements in planting great stands of hardwood timber has proved to be monumental, classic and the nearest thing there may be to a permanent contribution to the landscape.

Neave (GSEYN 1984)

Robinson (1986) p.66



BELLE ISLE Thomas White plan 1783

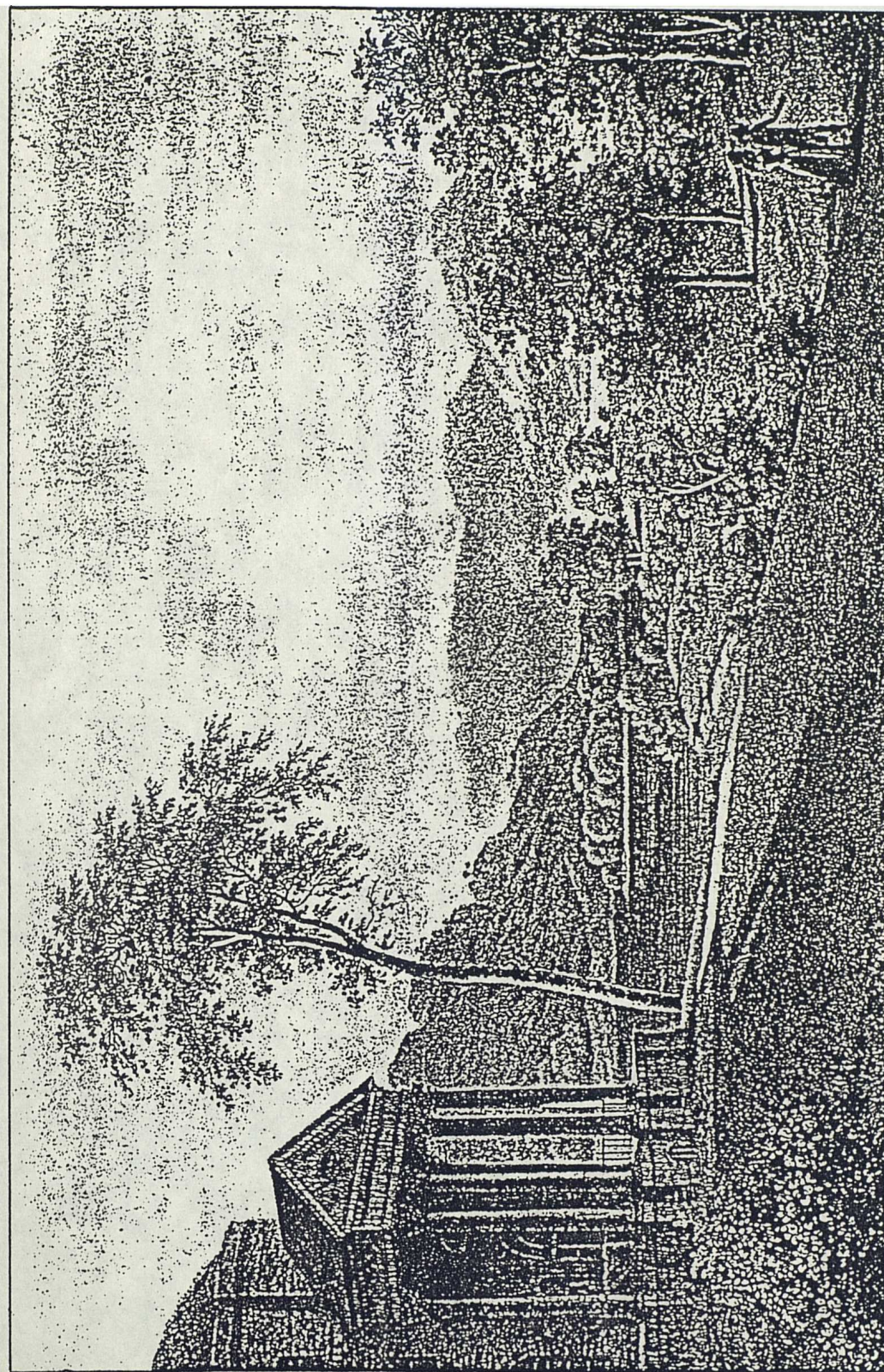


BELLE ISLE    above: John Swinburn survey map 1794  
                 below: Aerial view of Belle Isle on Lake  
                                 Windermere circa 1980





BELLE ISLE John Warwick Smith etching Belleisle Lodge 1791





BLYBOROUGH  
Lincolnshire  
15 miles N of Lincoln

(Map 1 No. 27)

Client: JOHN BOURRYAU  
inherited 1752

Date of Plan: 1767

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE PARK AT BLYBOROUGH THE  
SEAT OF JOHN BOURRYAU ESQ BY THOS. WHITE  
1767  
(inscribed upper left)

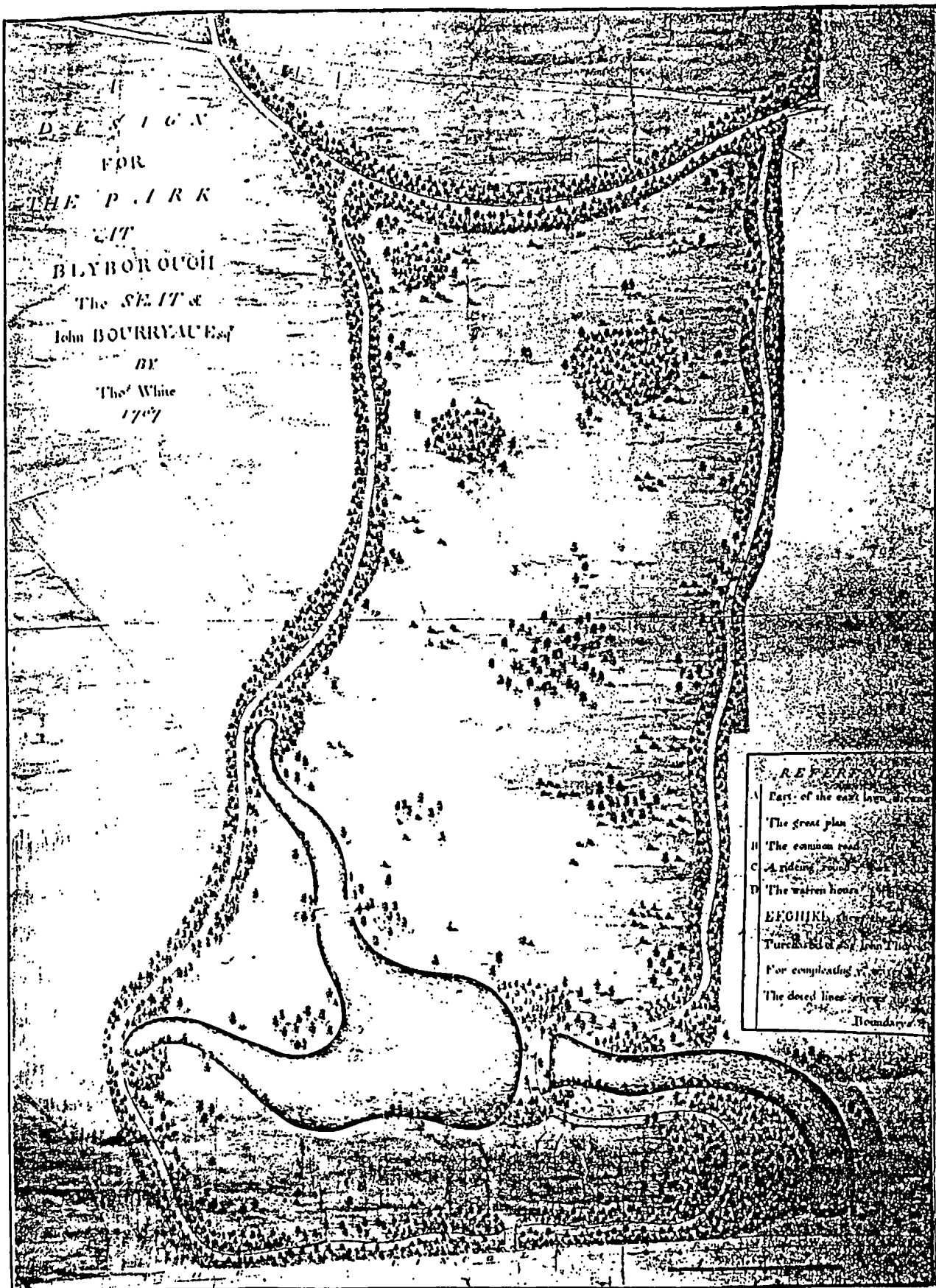
References: A Part of the east lawn shewn in the great  
plan  
B The common road  
C A rideing round the park  
D The warren house  
EFGHIKL shews the land to be purchased of  
Sir John Thorold for compleating the  
water M  
The doted lines shews the old Boundarys  
(lower right in rectangle)  
  
A Scale of Chains  
(bottom right)

Size: 39 x 29  
Location: Paul Grinke, London  
Condition: Good, framed and glazed

Comments: Plan is for parkland on eastern part of estate  
only; it was not carried out.  
Thomas Knowlton at Blyborough in 1751 (Henrey  
(1986) p.218).

Archival LDA TN/EA/23a/44  
Material: Letter from Thomas White to William Stones  
addressed from Blyborough, May 17 1767

## BLYBOROUGH Thomas White plan 1767



BROCKLESBY  
 Lincolnshire  
 6 miles W of Grimsby

(Map 1 No.26)

Client: CHARLES ANDERSON PELHAM (1749-1823)  
 Created 1st Baron Yarborough 1794

1. Date of Plan: undated (1785?)  
 unsigned

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BROCKLESBY  
 AGREEABLE TO THE DESIGN OF A NEW HOUSE  
 AND SITUATION  
 (upper right, picturesque vignette)

References: A The House  
 B The Stables  
 C The Farm buildings etc.  
 D The Kitchen garden  
 E The hot house garden  
 F The Orchard  
 G The Church  
 H The Grotto  
 II are Temples or summerhouses  
 KK are Lodges  
 L The Menagery  
 M Part of the village of Great Limber  
 at N a piece of water may be made with  
 heads and supply'd with machinery from  
 the water at O  
 the dotted lines shews the present house  
 and boundarys  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 72 x 60  
 Location: Hanging in Brocklesby Estate Office  
 Condition: Some wearing at edges; framed and glazed

2. Date of Plan: undated (1785?)  
 unsigned (a space exists where  
 White's name and the date would  
 normally have appeared)

Title: A PLAN FOR THE DISPOSEING OF PLANTATIONS  
 IN THE ESTATES OF GREAT AND LITTLE  
 LIMBER AND AUDLEBY  
 (upper left, picturesque vignette)

References: No references or reference points  
 indicated

A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 48 x 60  
 Location: Hanging in Brocklesby Estate Office  
 Condition: Heavily worn at right edge; framed and  
 glazed

BROCKLESBY - 2

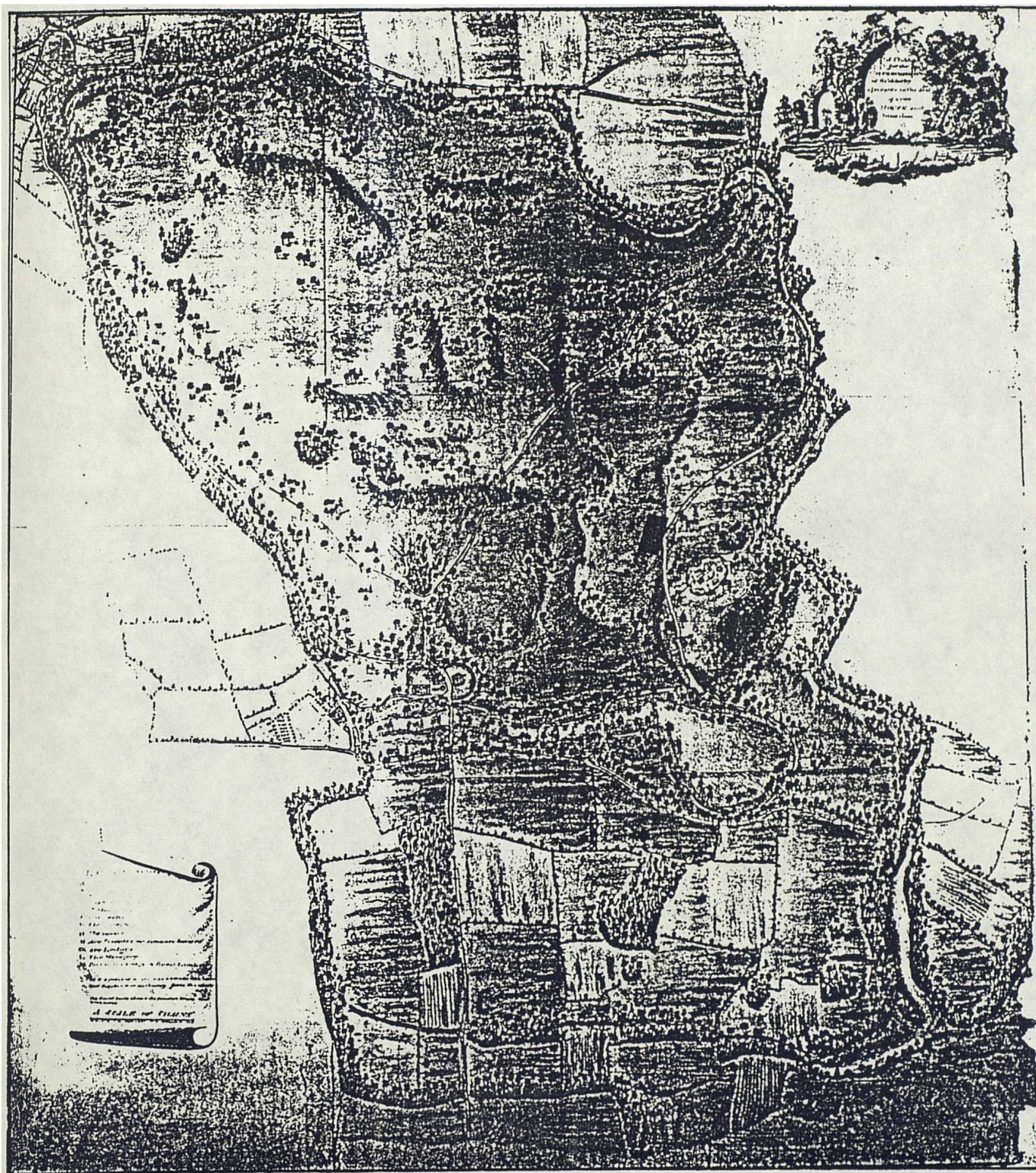
Comments: Although both unsigned and attributed by Stroud (1975) pp.160-61 to Capability Brown these plans are clearly attributable to Thomas White on stylistic grounds and appear to date from the mid 1780s. Plan 1 was intended for a new house which was not built. Plan 2 was a planting proposal which may have been connected with the major planting work at Brocklesby commencing in 1787. Possibly White was called in to advise on planting work and subsequently drew up an improvement plan. Capability Brown was engaged at Brocklesby 1771-1780; Humphry Repton at Brocklesby ca. 1794.

Other Plans: 1772 Capability Brown (at Brocklesby)

Archival Material: LAO - Yarborough Archives contain material on Brown but to date no mention of Thomas White has been found.



## BROCKLESBY Thomas White improvement plan (1785?)



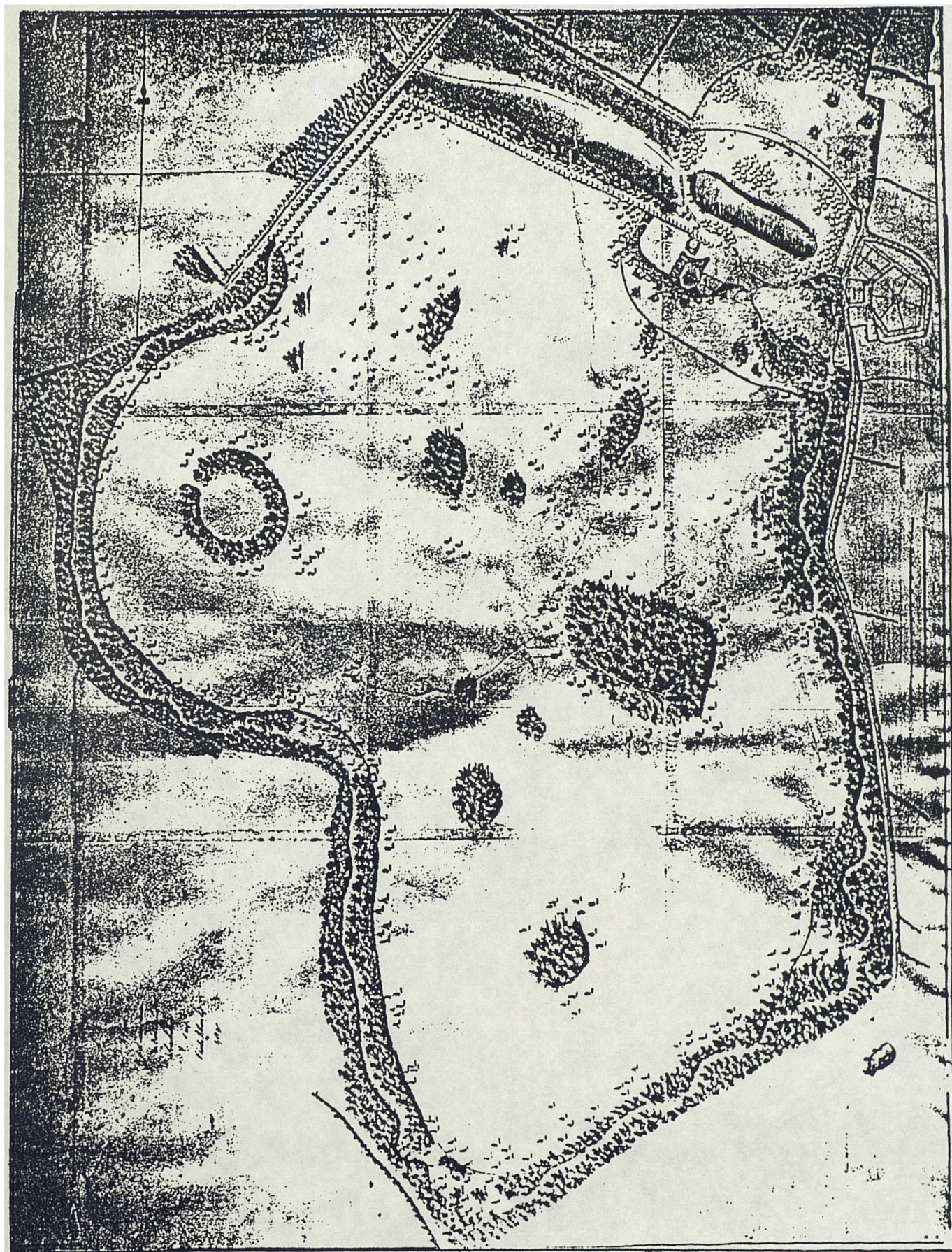


## BROCKLESBY Thomas White plantation plan (1785?)





## BROCKLESBY Capability Brown plan 1772





BURTON CONSTABLE

(Map 1 No. 10)

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
10 miles E of Beverley

Client: WILLIAM CONSTABLE (1721-91)  
married 1775 Catherine Langdale sister of  
Philip Langdale of Houghton

Date of Plan: 1768

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR BURTON  
CONSTABLE THE SEAT OF WILLM CONSTABLE ESQR  
BY THOMAS WHITE 1768  
(inscribed upper right)

References: A The House  
B The Stables  
C The Stable yards  
D The Barns farm yard etc.  
E The Wood yard  
F A Court to the offices  
G Sunk fences  
H A Menagery  
I The Kitchen garden  
K A space for a nursey [sic] or orchard  
The dotted lines shews the old boundarys  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right in rectangle)

Size: 58 x 71

Location: Currently held at HCRO, Beverley

Condition: Good, recently repaired and restored after  
being found stored folded and rolled in trunk  
(1989)

Comments: Plan rediscovered in 1989 at Burton Constable.  
A plan, pencil on paper, previously attributed  
to Thomas White, is now thought to of an  
earlier date (perhaps by Thomas Knowlton? [E.  
Hall]) Possibly White drew up plan at behest  
of Capability Brown who paid several visits to  
Burton Constable; no evidence that White was  
himself further involved there though some of  
his suggestions possibly implemented.

Archival Material: HCRO DDCC/140/26 Steward's Account Book No.3:  
January 13 1768 "Mr. White recd for  
drawing a plan of Alterations for Burton  
Constable £10 10s."  
DDCC(2)77 Receipt from Thomas White "by  
the hand of Mr. Raines the sum of Ten  
Guineas for a Plan of Improvements of  
Burton Constable".

Other Plans: Undated Capability Brown (at Burton  
(1772?) Constable)



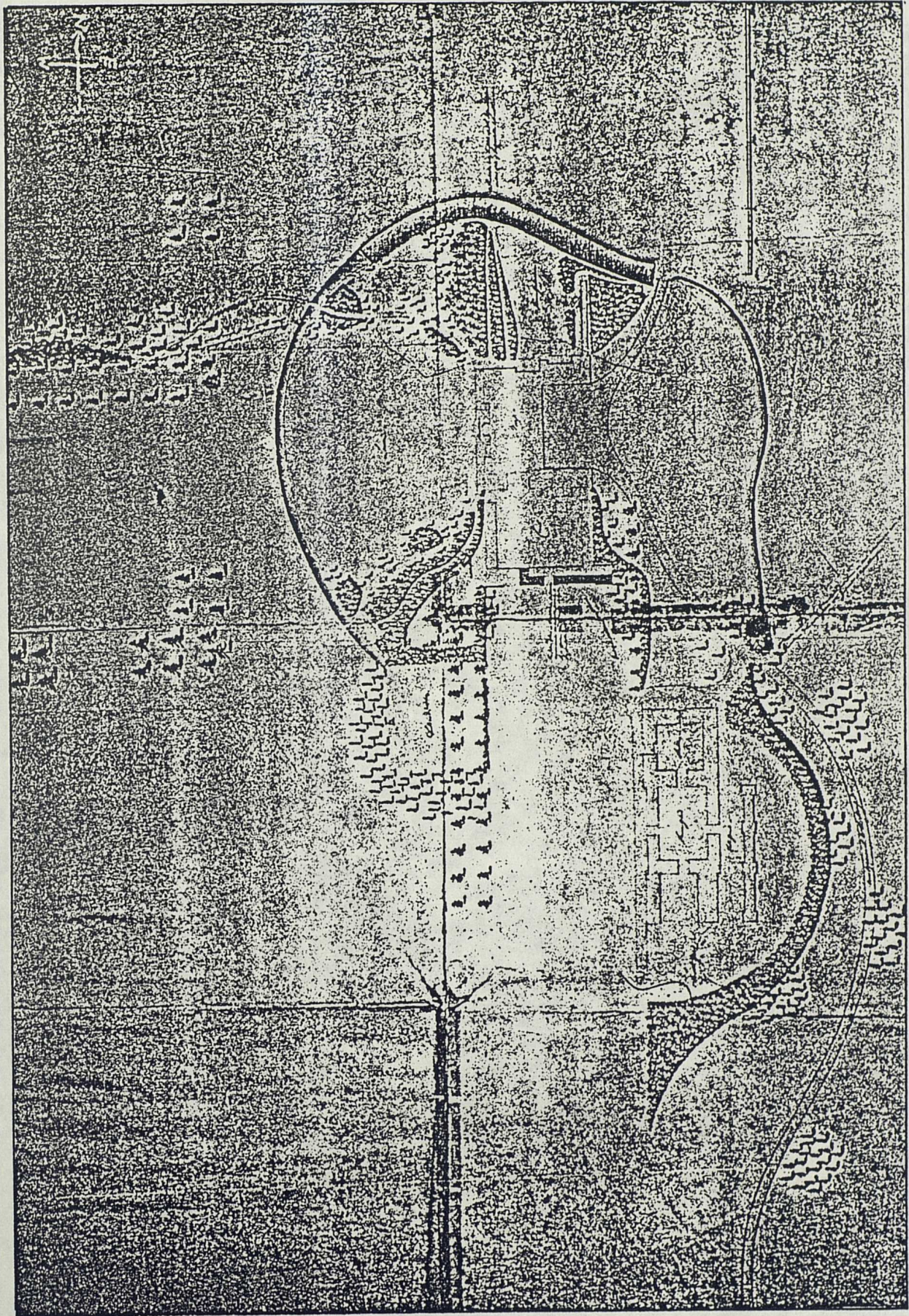
BURTON CONSTABLE - 2

- Other  
Material:
- Webb (CL 1932) p.271  
 "... among the drawings are plans for gardens, offices and garden buildings by several hands, including that of the great Lancelot Brown himself, 1772, and of another professional garden designer, Thomas White, whose scheme is dated 1768".
- Bilson (GSEYT 1953-56) p.46
- Ferens (1970) pp.41,87
- Pevsner (1972) p.212  
 "Thomas White drew plans in 1768 for the landscaping of the grounds."
- Stroud (1975) p.207
- Allison (1976) p.180
- Wright (1976) p.78  
 "The layout of the park owes more probably to Thomas White, a professional garden designer, than to Capability Brown who was also approached for plans."
- Fedden & Kenworthy Brown (1979) p.98  
 "Capability Brown made additions to the south side and also advised on the park though the designs actually adopted came from his pupil Thomas White in 1768."
- Stuart (1979) p.209
- Hall I (CL 1982) p.1278  
 "Just before leaving for Italy in 1769, William [Constable] had invited Thomas White and Lancelot Brown to send him plans for the grounds, both sets of which survive. White was paid £10 10s for his, but no figure seems to be recorded for Brown."
- English Heritage (1984) Part 22 (unpaginated)
- Neave (GSEYN 1984)
- Hall E (GH 1986) p.19

BURTON CONSTABLE Thomas White plan 1768 (detail)

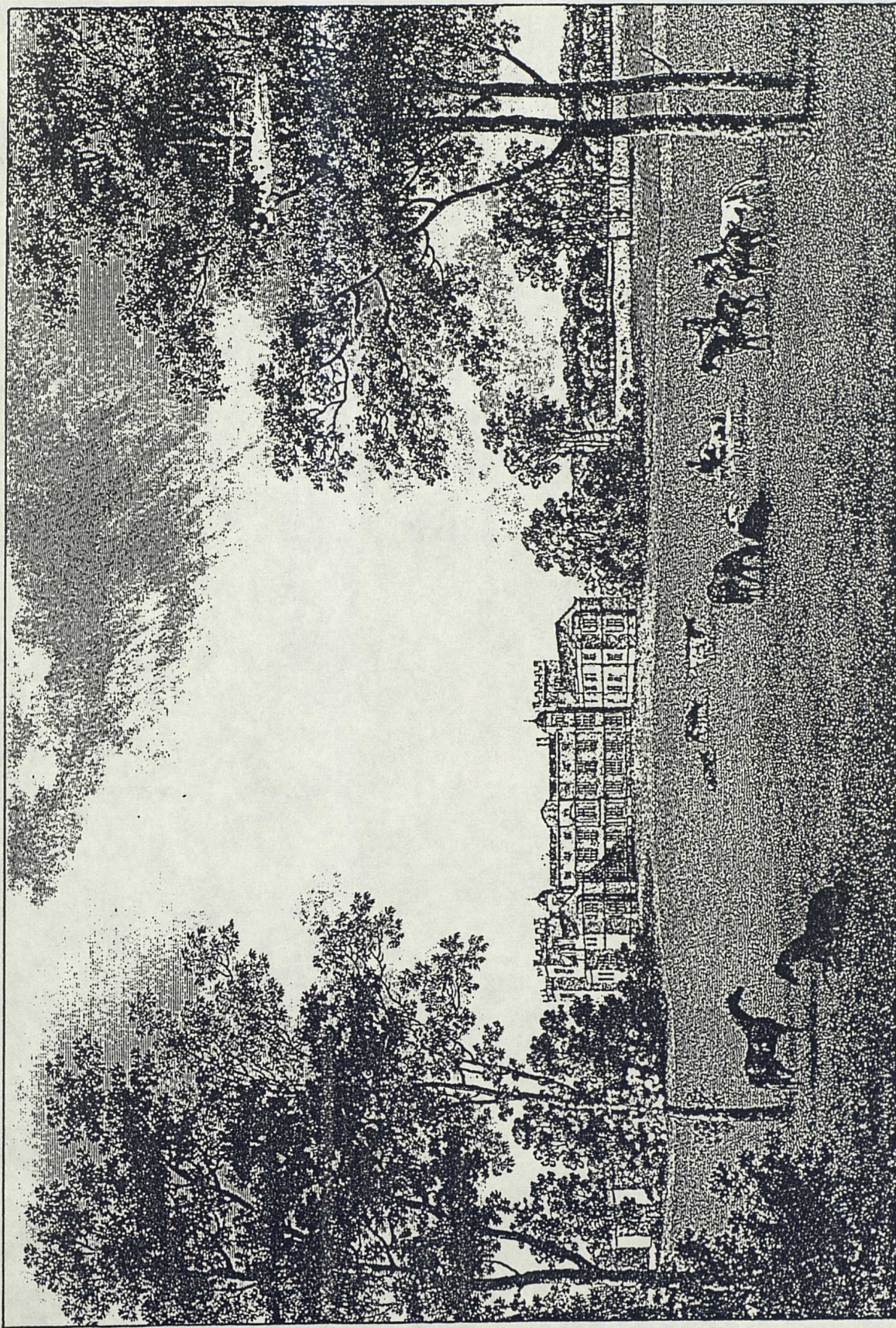






BURTON CONSTABLE Capability Brown plan circa 1771

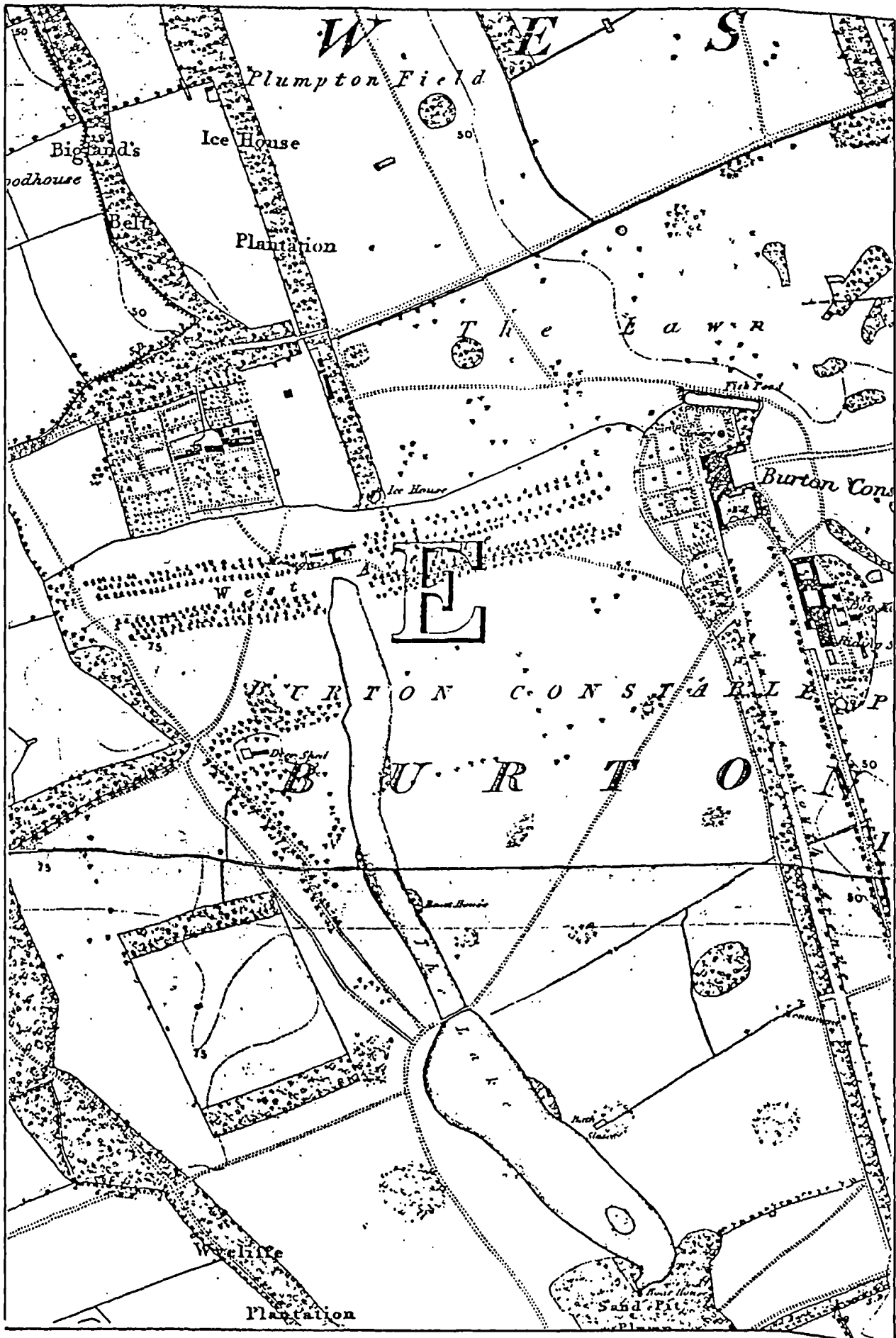




BURTON CONSTABLE Engraving after George Barrett oil painting  
of 1777 showing east front



BURTON CONSTABLE 6" O.S. map 1855



CARLTON

(Map 1 No. 23)

Yorkshire, West Riding (North Yorkshire)  
6 miles S of Selby

Client: THOMAS STAPLETON (d.1821)  
succeeded 1750

Dated of Plan: undated (1780?)

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CARLTON  
IN YORKSHIRE THE SEAT OF THOS. STAPLETON  
ESQ. BY THOS. WHITE  
(upper left, scroll cartouche)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Stables  
D Kitchen garden  
EE Village  
F Menagerie  
Several sunk fences will be wanted to divide  
the grounds which are best designed on the  
spot  
N.B. The old lines are the old boundarys  
Scale of Chains  
(lower left, rectangle)

Size: 52 x 51  
Location: Carlton Towers  
Condition: Creased, torn and faded; stored rolled up

Comments: Stylistically the plan appears to date from  
ca. 1780 or a little earlier; this dating is  
supported by evidence in White's bank account.  
Richard Woods drew up a plan in 1765 which was  
not adopted. Many of White's proposals,  
including the lake, were effected and still  
visible.

Archival White's contra account at Drummonds Bank:  
Material: 1780Mar26 Cash recd his bill on Stapleton £300  
1781 Jul 4 Cash his bill on Stapleton £200  
HUL DDCA (Stapleton papers) reveal no evidence  
of White at Carlton

Other Plans: 1765 Richard Woods (at Carlton Towers)

Other Robinson (AH 1979) pp.116-7, 119  
Material: "... Thomas White, who was responsible for  
many Yorkshire parks including those at  
Burton Constable and Houghton, was  
employed instead. His undated proposals  
were carried into effect and included a

CARLTON - 2

lake on the south edge of the park bisected by the main road from Snaith, wooded walks along the west boundary, leading to the ice house and menageries, a long drive approaching the house from the south and a walled garden to the north. The bones of this layout remain, except that the drive was shifted a hundred yards east in the nineteenth century when the main entrance was moved to the south from the west."  
Plan dated by Robinson to ca. 1769.

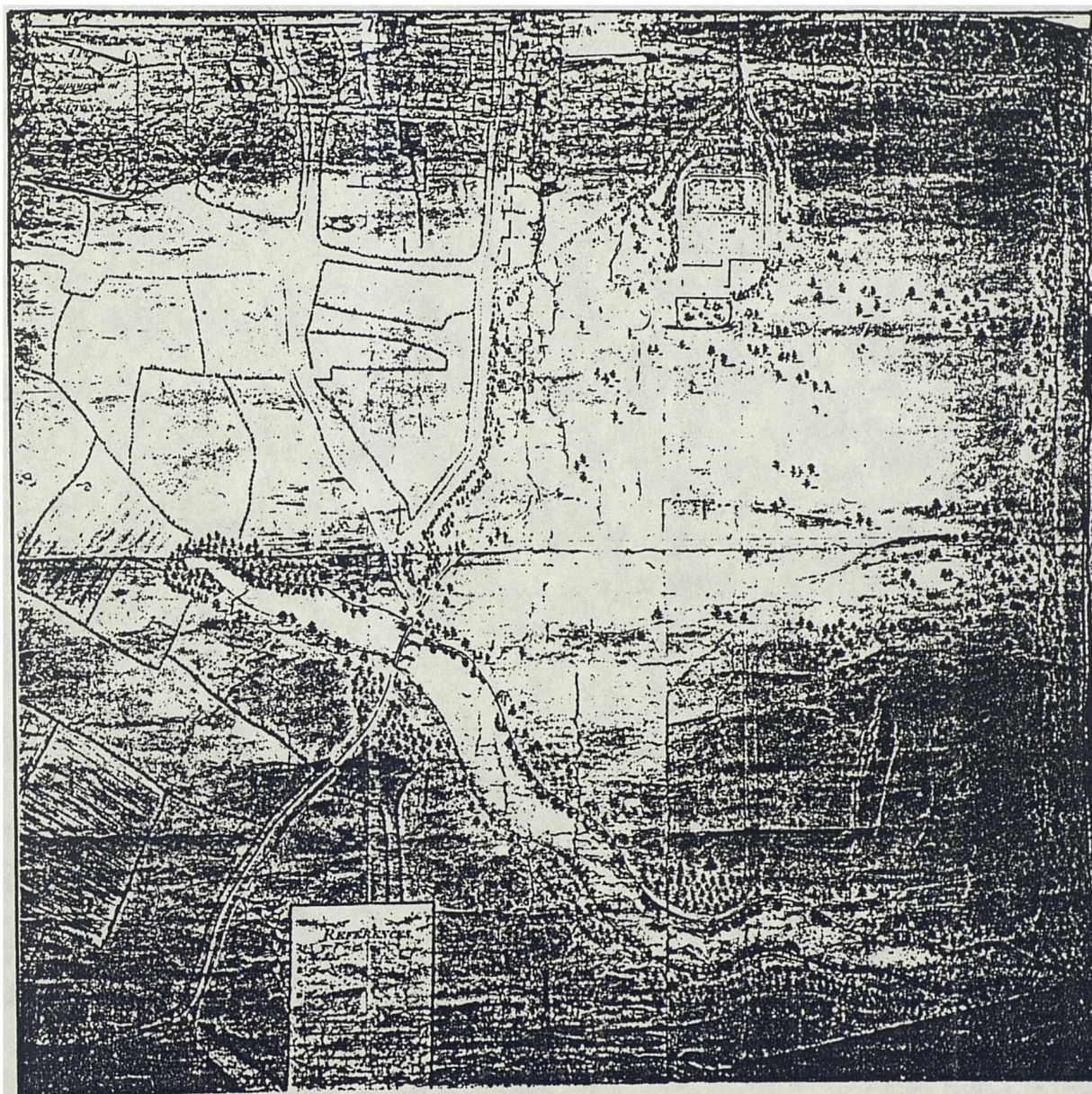
Jacques (1983) pp.86-88

Neave (GSEYN 1984)

Cowell (GH 1986) p.102

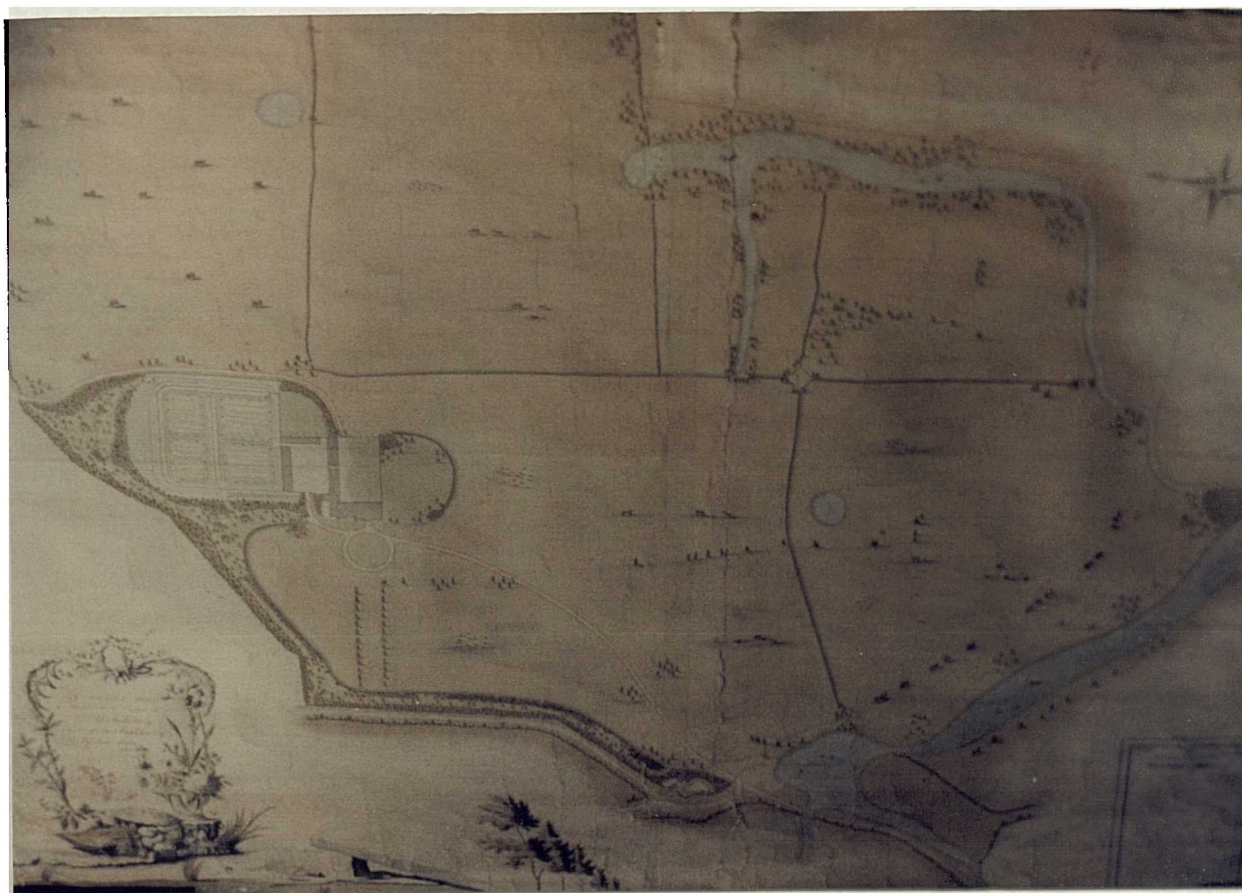
"... at Carlton in Yorkshire where in 1765 Woods and White also produced rival plans, it was the latter's which was the more imaginative and gained White the commission."

CARLTON Thomas White plan circa 1780?

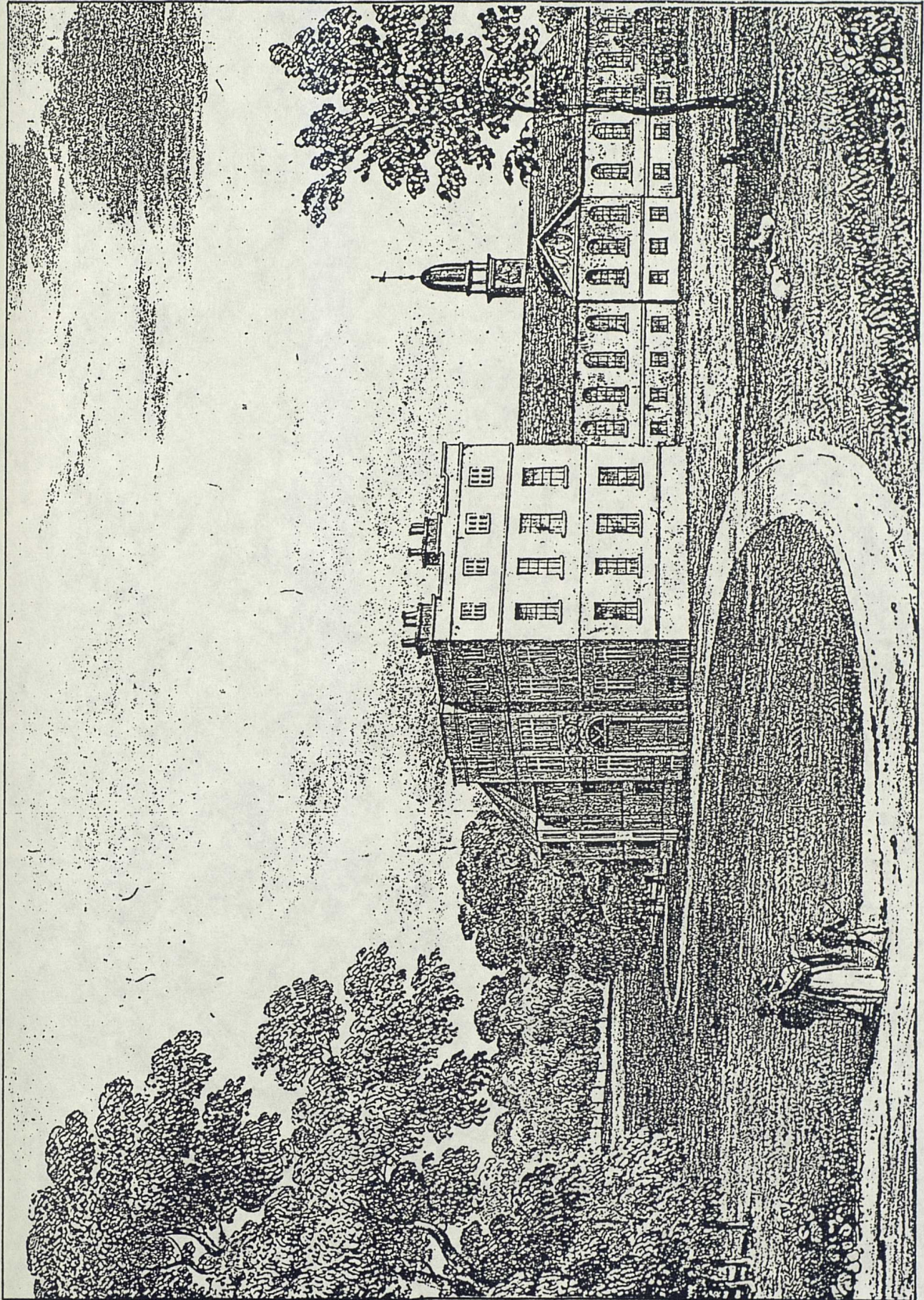




CARLTON    above: Thomas White plan circa 1780? (detail)  
             below: Richard Woods plan 1765







CARLTON Engraving showing house circa 1800



CHILLINGTON  
 Staffordshire  
 Brewood Parish  
 7 miles NW of Wolverhampton

(Map 1 No. 32)

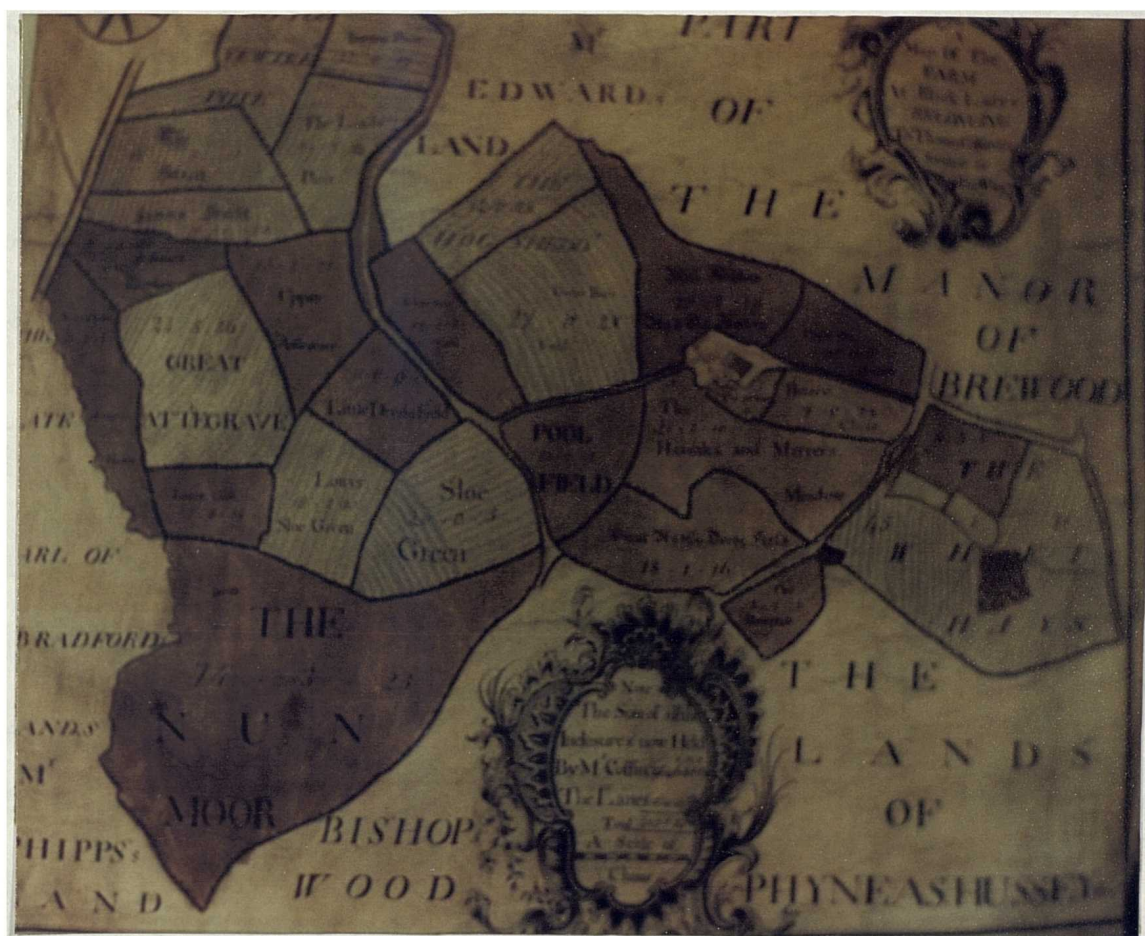
Client: THOMAS GIFFARD  
 (White acting as foreman to Capability Brown)

1. Date of Plan (survey map): 1761  
 Title: A MAP OF THE MANOR OF CHILLINGTON WITH GUNSTON, LONG BIRCH AND THE HATTONS, THE ESTATE OF THOMAS GIFFARD ESQUIRE SURVEYED BY THOMAS WHITE 1761  
 (upper right, rococo cartouche)  
 References: Listing of tenants, acreages, etc.  
 (lower left in rococo frame)  
 Size: 60 x 84  
 Location: StaffRO D590/368  
 Condition: Fair, discoloured and somewhat worn in places  
 Comments: Colour photograph of plan exhibited in 1989 British Museum exhibition on The Victoria History of the Counties of England
  
2. Date of Plan (survey map): undated (probably 1761)  
 Title: A MAP OF THE FARM AT BLACKLADYS BELONGING TO THOMAS GIFFARD SURVEYED BY THOS. WHITE  
 (upper right, rococo cartouche)  
 Size: 26 x 29  
 Location: StaffRO D590/366  
 Condition: Good  
 Comments: White was employed by Capability Brown at Chillington and will have made survey maps upon his instructions. The professional quality of the maps indicates his probable training as a surveyor.
  
- Archival Material: StaffRO D590/619 Disbursement book for Thomas Giffard 1758-1775:  
 1760 (Mr. L. Brown's works)  
 White for the Men's lost time 9 -  
 1761 Mr. White per bills 2 15 2  
 Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows payments to Thomas White 1759-1765
  
- Other Plans: early 18th century Survey StaffRO D590/3636  
 1791 R. Smith StaffRO D590/370
  
- Other Material: Stroud (1975) pp.148,154,107

CHILLINGTON Thomas White survey map 1761



CHILLINGTON Thomas White survey map of Blackladies Farm  
 belonging to Thomas Giffard 1761?



COLWICK  
Nottinghamshire  
SE Nottingham City

(Map 1 No. 31)

Client: JOHN MUSTERS (1753-1827)

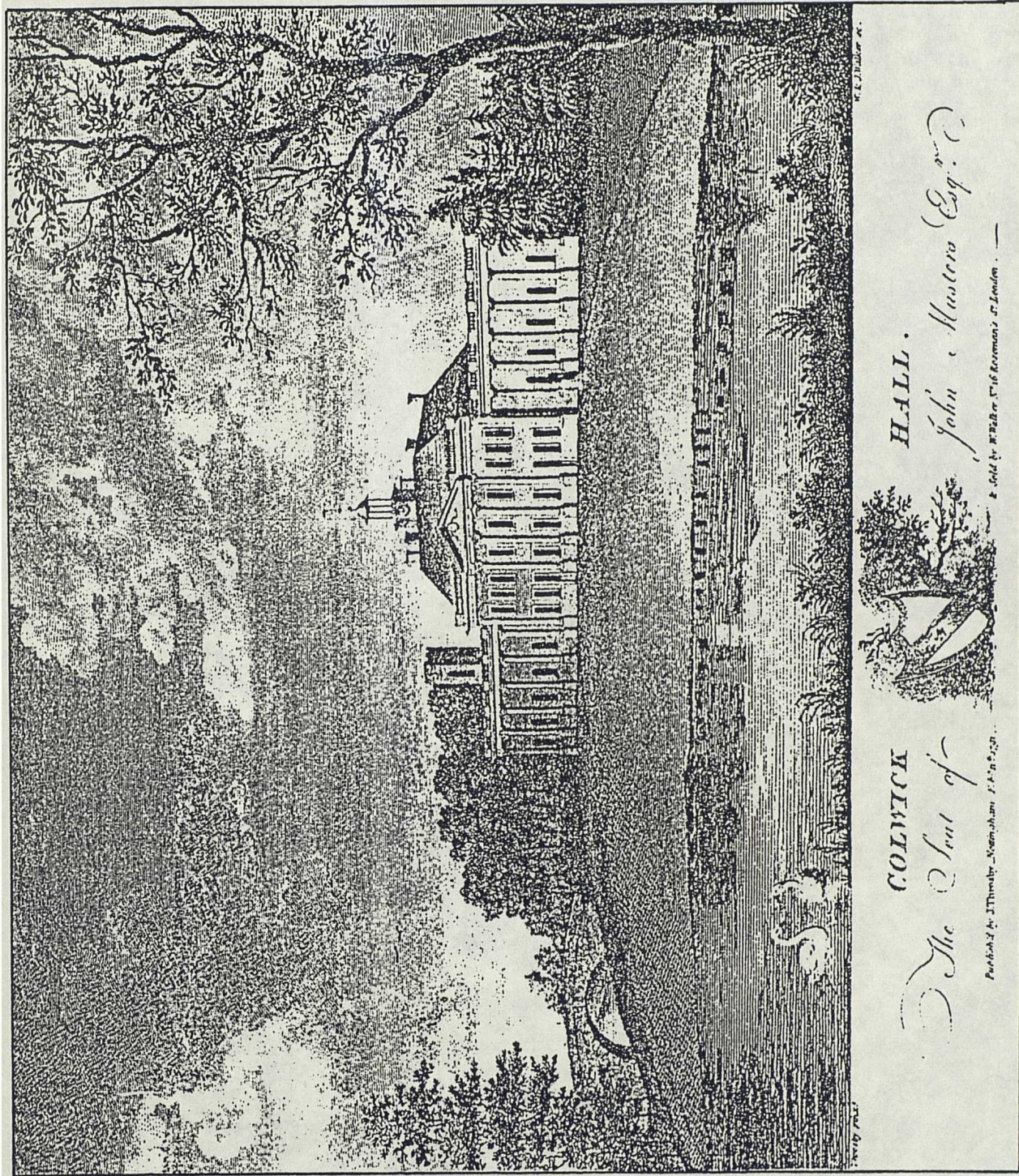
NO PLAN

Date: 1774-79

Evidence: Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank includes payments from John Musters totalling £5666 between 1774 and 1779 which was most probably for work at Colwick Hall. The architect John Carr was engaged at Colwick at around the same time in building a new house. No Musters archives have been located and we have no corroboratory evidence for this commission.

Other  
Material: Neave (GSEYN 1984)





COLWICK Engraving of Colwick Hall published 1791



COPGROVE

(Map 1 No. 16)

Yorkshire, West Riding (North Yorkshire)  
6 miles SE of Ripon (near Newby)

Client: HENRY DUNCOMBE (1728-1818)

NO PLAN

Date: 1767

Evidence: LDA TN/EA/23a correspondence:

- 1 Letter Thomas White to William Stones May 17 1767:  
"I gave orders for Newton at Mr. Duncombes to apply to you for ten men as that work is at a stand for want of hands."  
(23a/44)
- 2 Letter Thomas White to William Stones addressed from Copgrove July 23 1767:  
"I send you this to prevent your letting the digging of the pond as I ordered as I have agreed with Newton at Mr. Duncombes to do it and would have you furnish him with what hands you conveniently can spare." (23a/107)
- 3 Letter Thomas White to William Stones July 2 1767:  
"I hope you have taken the [ ] as I ordered for Mr. Duncombe very exactly."  
(23a/45)



FRYSTON

(Map 1 No. 22)

Yorkshire, West Riding (West Yorkshire)  
3 miles N of Pontefract

Client: RICHARD SLATER MILNES (1759-1804)

NO PLAN

Dates: 1786-1802

Evidence: RSA C1/91 Letter R.S. Milnes to Thomas White  
January 17 1789:

"I take the earliest possible opportunity to address you on your return out of the North to desire you will be so obliging as to state to the Society of Arts and Science the amount of the larch I have planted ..."

Letter Thomas White to Samuel More, Secretary, Society of Arts February 2 1789:

"I have just received the inclosed from my friend, Mr. Milnes of Fryston, near Ferrybridge ... the larches he alludes to were planted under my direction ... from a motive of rendering useful a large tract of unproductive ground; also of decorating his place agreeable to a design, drawn up by your humble servant"

Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank includes payments by Milnes:

1786 May 8	Mills[?] on Denison	£300
1790 Feb 22	Milnes on Denison	100
1795 Nov 7	of R.S. Milnes	17
1802 Aug 12	of R.S. Milnes	79 10

SA Transactions (1790) p.9:

2 Gold medals to Richard Slater Milnes for elms and larch. Letter R.S. Milnes October 28 1789:

"... if you wish to be informed of any other particulars, I beg leave to refer you to Mr. White of Retford who has undertaken all my planting."

p.11 Letter Thomas White to Society of Arts January 15 1790:

"... I contracted with Mr. Milnes for the planting of two hundred and twenty five acres of land with different trees ... the plantations were all made under my direction, the person James Mann who signed the certificate, being my servant."

SA Transactions (1791) Gold medal to R.S. Milnes for mixed planting. p.9 Certificate of planting by James Mann:

"I do hereby certify that between 1 October 1786 and May 1788 I planted under the direction of Mr. Thomas White of Retford for Richard Slater Milnes Esq. at Fryston 94 acres of land ..."

Other  
Material:

Neave (GSEYN 1984)

GLENTWORTH  
Lincolnshire  
11 miles N of Lincoln

(Map 1 No. 29)

Client: RICHARD LUMLEY SAUNDERSON, 4TH EARL  
OF SCARBROUGH  
(White acting as foreman for Capability Brown)

NO PLAN

Date: 1762

Evidence: LDA TN/EA/23a/75 Undated letter (probably 1762)  
Thomas White to Lancelot Brown, Hammersmith:  
" ... his Lordship [Scarborough] took me to  
[Glen]tworth to take the dimentions of  
the grounds [but] the weather being  
rainey I could not exec[ute] his  
Lordships orders ..."  
(the letter is damaged and only the second  
syllable of the word 'Glentworth' remains)

Capability Brown's debit account at Drummonds  
Bank shows payments to White 1759-1765.

GOLDSBOROUGH

(Map 1 No. 17)

Yorkshire, West Riding (North Yorkshire)  
2 miles E of Knaresborough

Client: DANIEL LASCELLES (1714-84)  
brother of Edwin Lascelles of Harewood

Date of Plan: 1766

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
GOLDSBOROUGH THE SEAT OF DANL.  
LASCELLES ESQ. BY THOS. WHITE 1766  
(upper right, rectangle)

References: A The House  
B Stables, offices, etc.  
C The Church  
D The Kitchen garden  
E Sunk fence  
F A Place for fowls  
G Drying ground  
H Seats  
The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
(lower left, rectangle)

A Scale of Chains  
(lower right)

Size: 42 x 30  
Location: LDA Harewood Estate (Building) No.12  
Condition: Good

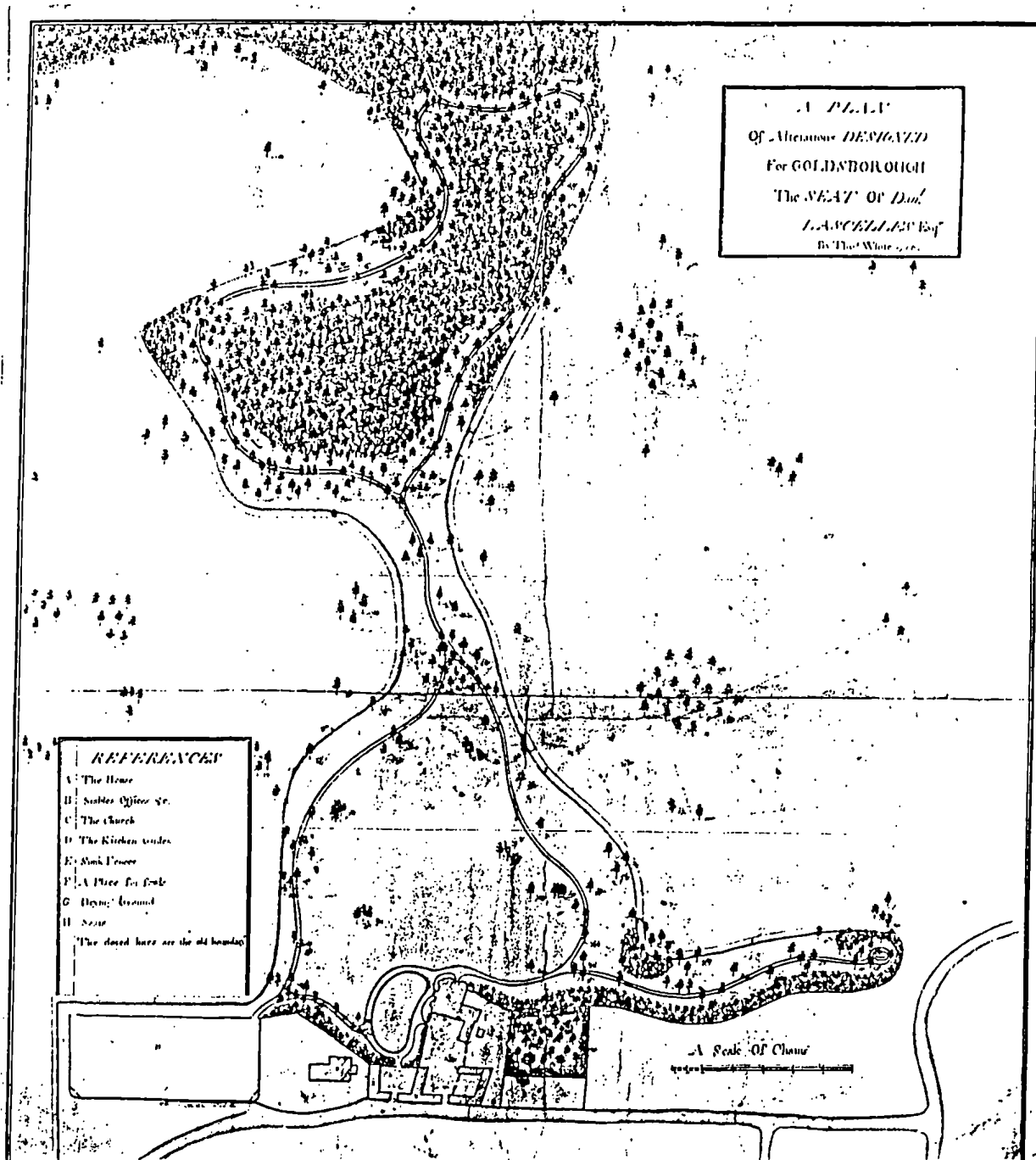
Comments: Parts of plan carried out - kitchen garden,  
planting, sunk fences

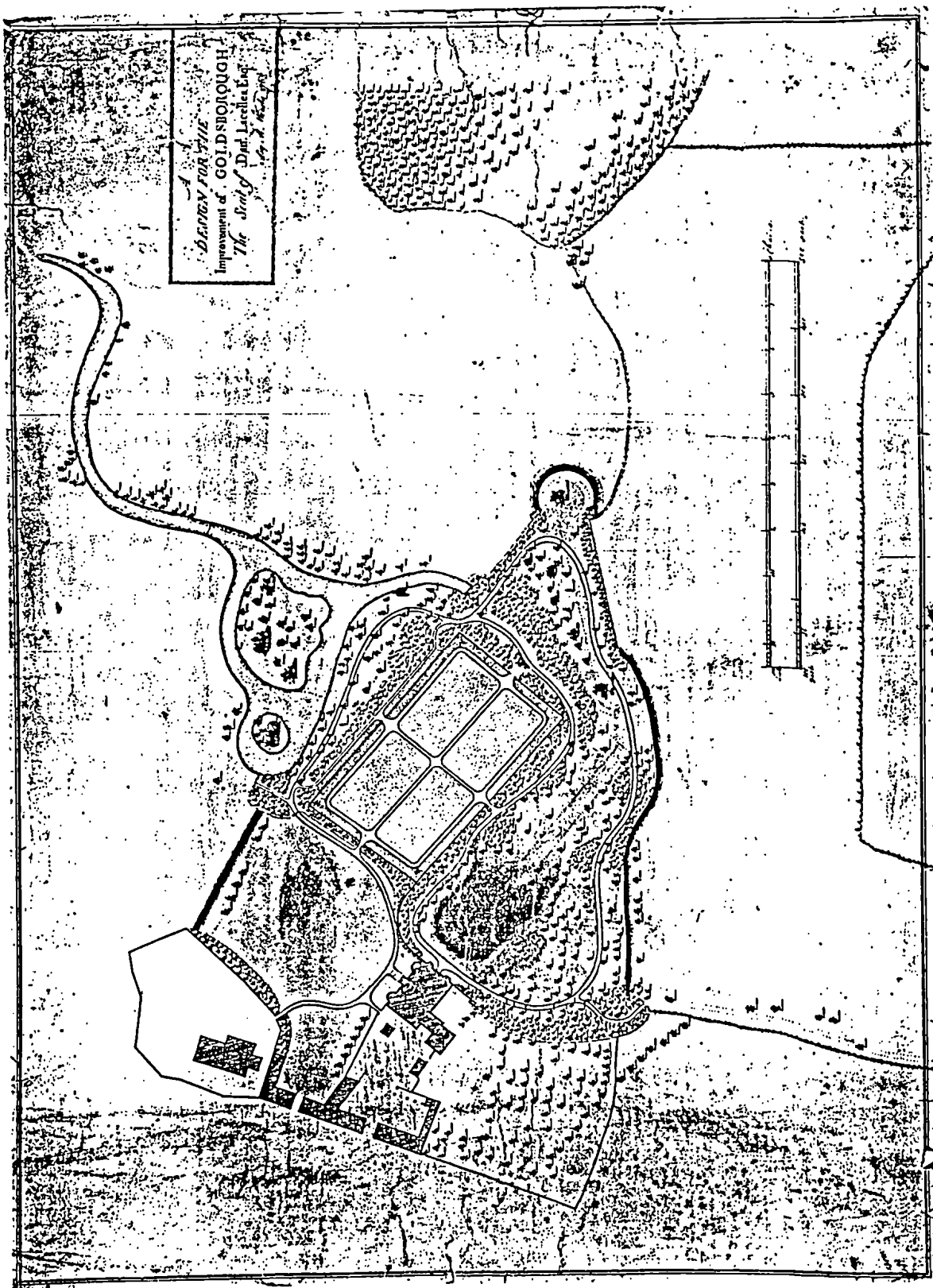
Archival LDA TN/EA/23a/141 undated letter William  
Material: Stones to Richard Woods?:  
"There is a surveyor at Gawthorpe  
[Harewood] they call White which was  
forman to Mr. Brown. He hath been at  
Gouldsbro 3 times but hath done no  
business and he is to draw a plan but  
nothing to be alterd that is finishd."

Other Plans: 1763 Richard Woods (LDA Harewood Estate  
(Building) No.12)

Other Cowell (GH 1986) pp.101-2  
Material: "At both Harewood and Goldsborough, Woods  
was to be replaced by Thomas White, but  
more it seems by his own default than  
anything else."

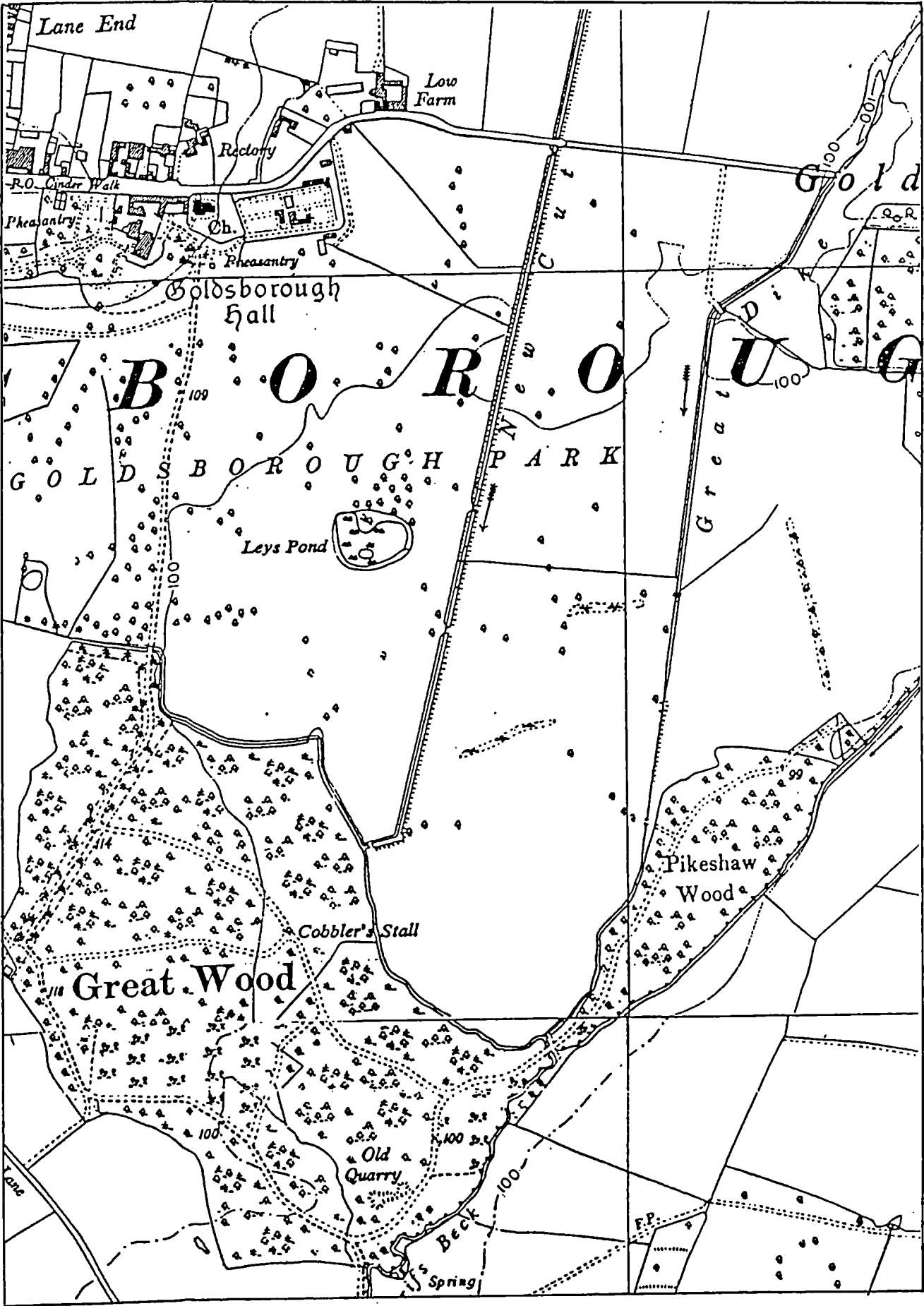
## GOLDSBOROUGH Thomas White plan 1766





GOLDSBOROUGH Richard Woods plan 1763

GOLDSBOROUGH 6" O.S. map 1966



GOSFORTH  
Northumberland  
3 miles N of Newcastle

(Map 1 No. 3)

Client: CHARLES BRANDLING (1733-1802)

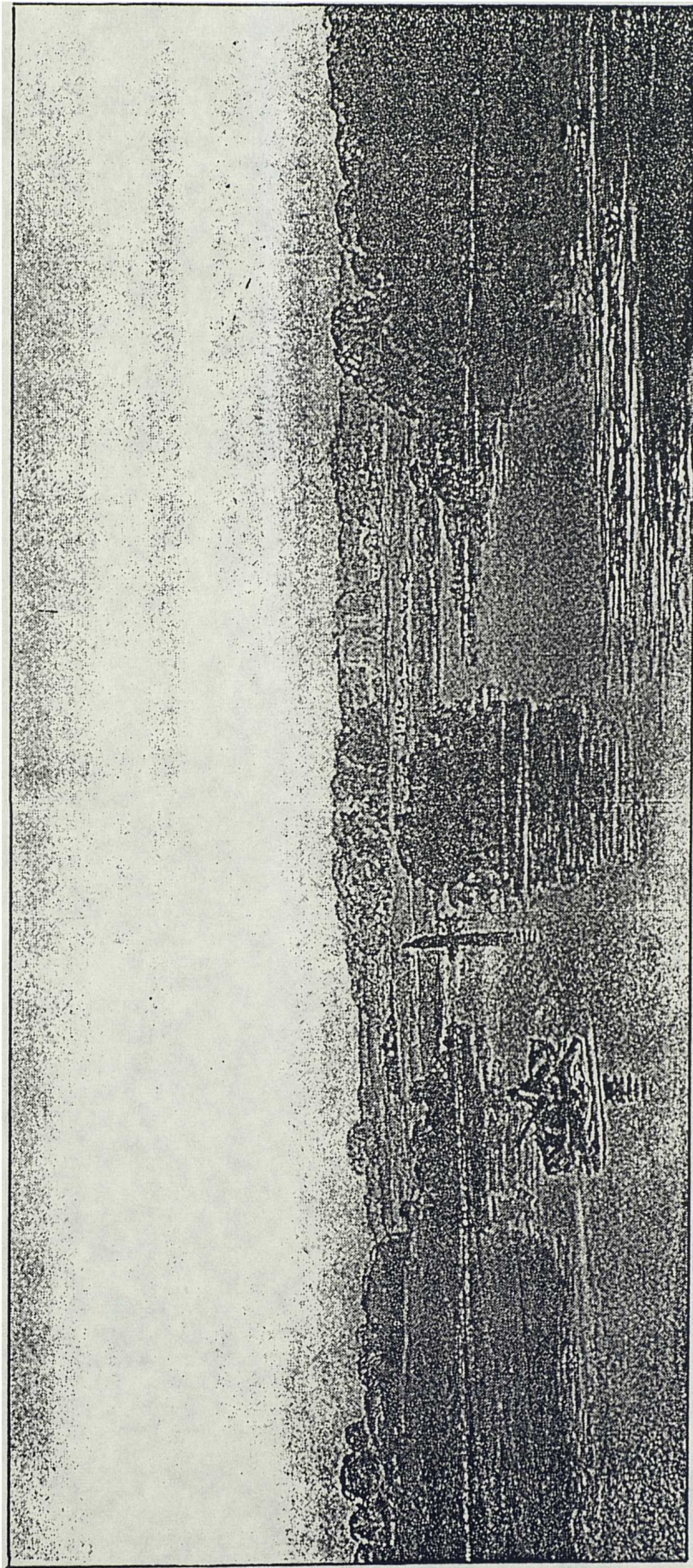
NO PLAN

Date: ?

Evidence: Loudon (EG 1828) para.7586  
"Gosforth House near Newcastle, C.J.  
Brandling Esq. a mansion by Pain, and  
the grounds surrounded by a broad belt of  
wood, and varied internally by clumps,  
and a piece of water by White".

Comments: Gosforth Hall designed by James Paine 1764.  
No further evidence on White's presence at  
Gosforth has come to light.





GOSFORTH Early 19th century watercolour view of Gosforth  
House by Peter de Wint (1784-1849)



GRIMSTON GARTH

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
13 miles E of Hull

(Map 1 No. 11)

Client: THOMAS GRIMSTON (1753-1821)

NO PLAN

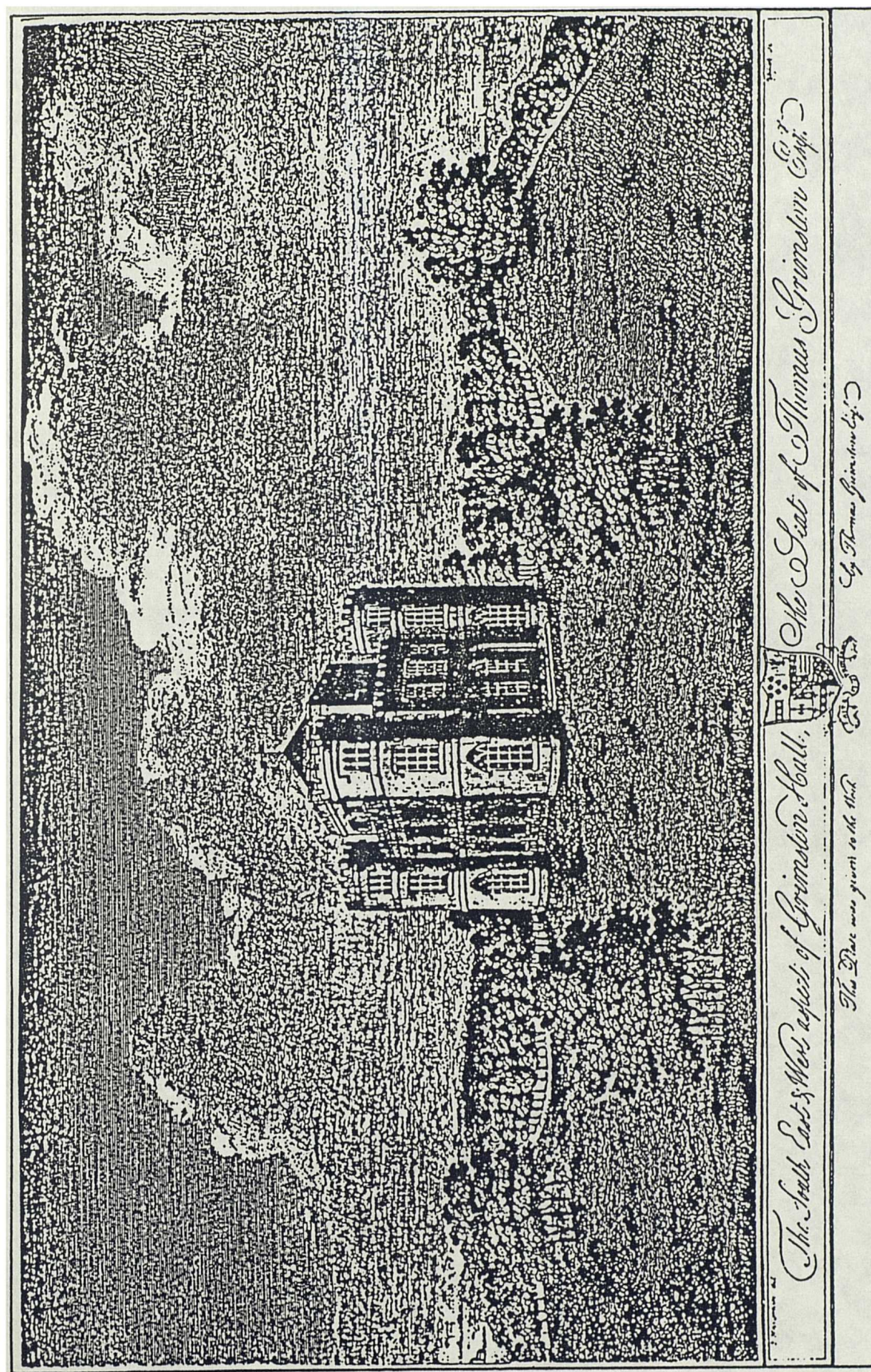
Date: 1782

Evidence: HCRO DDGR/43/2  
Letter Thomas White, Retford to Thomas  
Grimston, Kilnwick June 11 1782  
"I have your plan of Grimston Garth now  
before me and shall, before I leave home,  
draw a rough draft of the improvements to  
be made there whilst they are upon my  
memory ... I hope to wait upon you with  
my plan in the autumn or early in the  
winter."

Other Material: Ingram (1951) p.122  
Neave (GSEYN 1984)

Comments: O.S. maps, contemporary engravings and the  
existing landscape at Grimston Garth would  
suggest that the grounds were probably laid  
out to a design of Thomas White in the 1780s.





GRIMSTON GARTH Late 18th century engraving of Grimston Hall



GROVE  
 Nottinghamshire  
 2 miles E of East Retford

(Map 1 No. 30)

Client: ANTHONY EYRE (1727-1788)

1. Date of Plan (survey map): 1773  
 unsigned

Title: A SURVEY OF THE DEMESSN GROUNDS AT  
 GROVE THE SEAT OF ANTY. EYRE ESQ. 1773  
 (inscribed, upper right)

References: None shown  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 24 x 33  
 Location: NottULMD Ey/514  
 Condition: Fair, torn on top edge, stored rolled up

Comments: Although unsigned the style and script of  
 this survey map are those of Thomas  
 White.

2. Date of Plan: 1773

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR GROVE  
 THE SEAT OF ANTHONY EYRE ESQ. BY THOS.  
 WHITE 1773  
 (inscribed, upper right)

References: A The House  
 B The Office  
 C The Office yard  
 D The Stables  
 E The Village  
 F The Church  
 GG Two lodges  
 The dotted lines show the old boundarys  
  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, rectangle)

Size: 48 x 66  
 Location: NULMD Ey/515  
 Condition: Top faded and damaged, otherwise good,  
 clear colours; stored rolled up

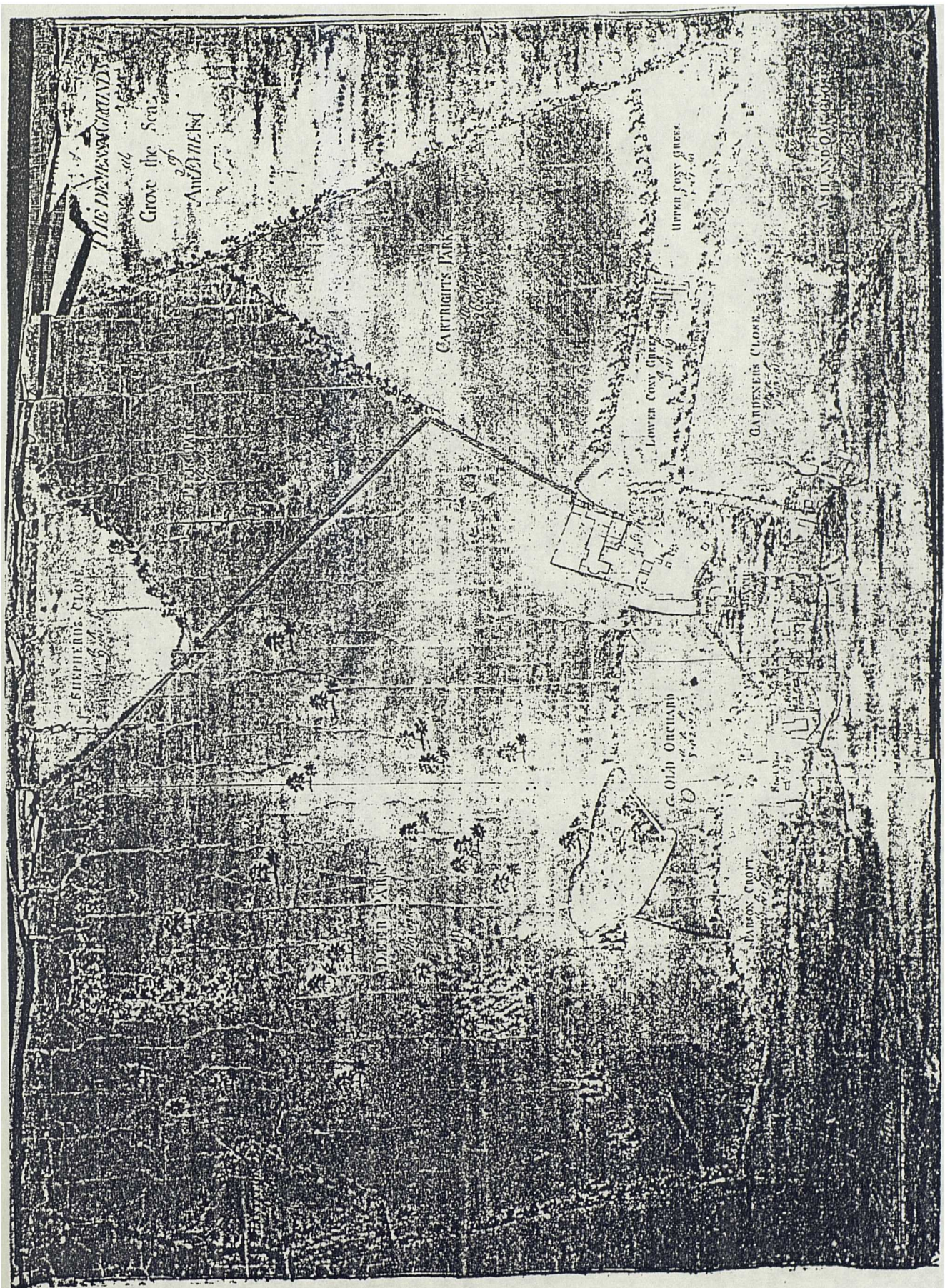
Comments: White acted as both surveyor and designer at  
 the Grove. Some of his proposals were later  
 carried out, including drive and planting.  
 Humphry Repton consulted by Eyre's son c.1790-  
 96. White's son-in-law Abraham Youle rector  
 of Grove 1798-1836. Link by marriage with  
 Cooke family of Owston.

Other Plans: 1773 Grove woods (NULMD Ey/512)  
 1784 Grove estate (NULMD Ey/517)

Other Johnson & Cox (TT 1985) pp.80-83  
 Material:

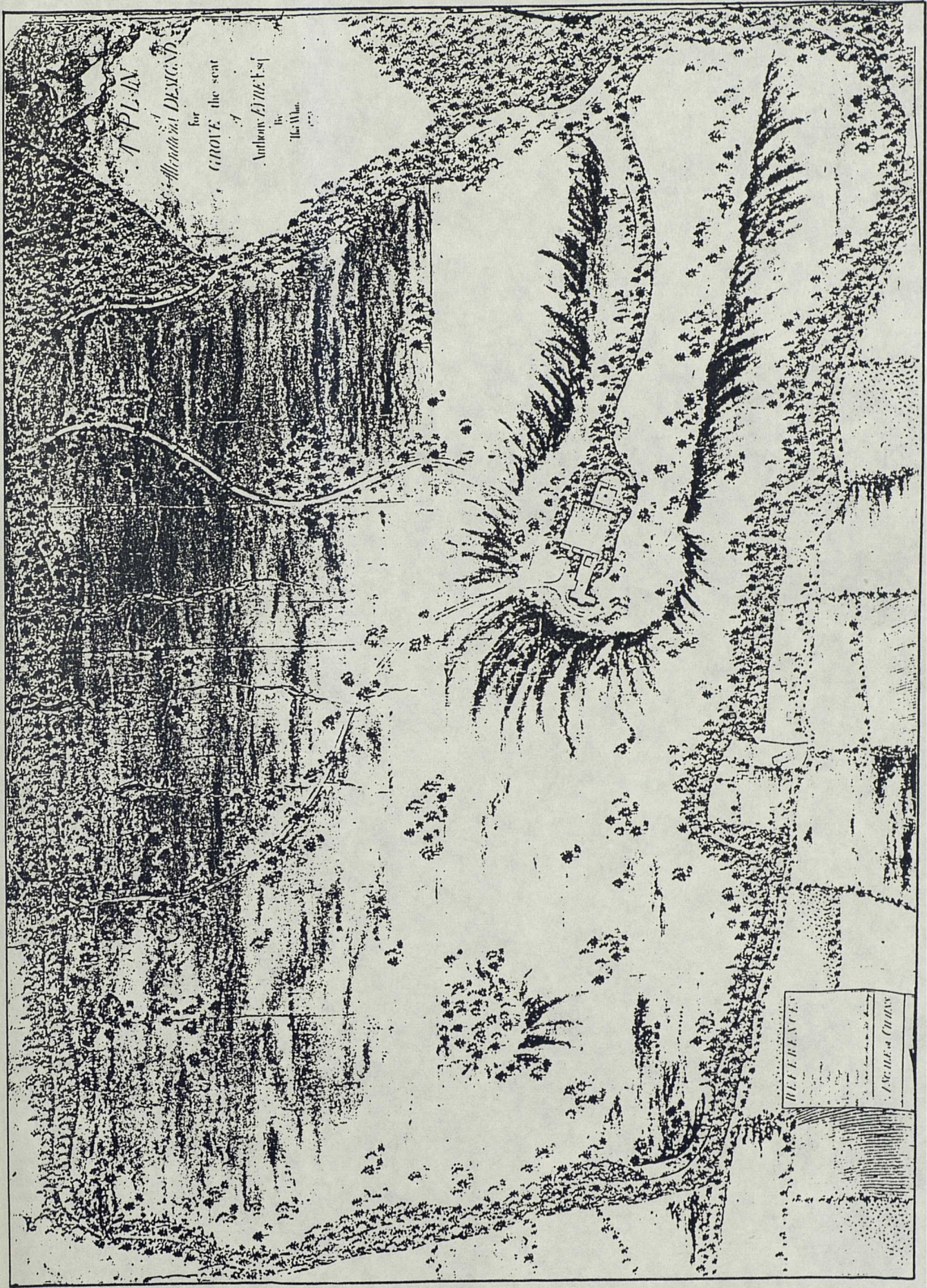


## GROVE Thomas White survey map 1773





GROVE Thomas White plan 1773





HAREWOOD (previously Gawthorpe)  
 Yorkshire, West Riding (West Yorkshire)  
 8 miles N of Leeds

(Map 1 No. 19)

Client: EDWIN LASCELLES (1713-95)

NO PLAN

Date: 1765-68

Evidence: LDA Harewood Stewards Letter Book 1762-92  
 Draft copies of letters from the Steward,  
 Samuel Popplewell to Edwin Lascelles in London  
 (and to Edward Lascelles at Stapleton)  
 containing frequent mentions of White 1766-68  
 e.g. January 11 1766 "Mr. White was here on  
 22 December but not since."  
 February 16 1767 "Mr. White was at Gawthorpe  
 about 3 weeks ago, I did not see him. He  
 stayed about an hour in the grounds and set  
 out the planting upon the large mount. I have  
 not seen him since."  
 LDA Harewood Accounts:  
 Ledger 269 f.126 shows two payments to Thomas  
 White for drawings, setting out ground,  
 travel, attendance 1766 and 1768 £57 15  
 and £30 9  
 (Ledger 247 contains numerous payments of  
 wages to a Thomas White 1768-72 but this would  
 appear to be a different White.)  
 LDA TN/EA/23a/141 Undated letter William  
 Stones to Richard Woods ? 1766 ?  
 "There is a surveyor at Gawthorpe they  
 call White which was foreman to Mr.  
 Brown..."

Other Material: Percy & Jackson-Stops (CL 1974) p.309 (the  
 Travel Journals of the 1st Duchess of  
 Northumberland:  
 "Perhaps her most interesting contribution  
 to the history of English landscape comes  
 at Harewood in 1781 where she found the  
 'pleasure ground very agreeable, was  
 originally a flat but is now scooped out  
 into hill and dale in a very pretty  
 manner designed by White, cost £2000'."

Jewell (1819) p.31 On Harewood gardens and  
 pleasure grounds:

"... they were partly laid out by Mr.  
 Brown of Hampton Court and a part of them  
 by Mr. Sparrow, a part by Mr. White."

Clarke (1963) unpublished typescript

Bilborough (GH 1973) p.11

Firth (LP 1980) pp.127-8

Neave (GSEYN 1984)

Turner (1985) p.159

Cowell (GH 1986) p.101

Hinde (1986) p.160

HAWKSWORTH

(Map 1 No. 18)

Yorkshire, West Riding (West Yorkshire)  
10 miles NW of Leeds

Client: WALTER RAMSDEN BEAUMONT HAWKSWORTH (1746-92)  
succeeded 1760, assumed name of Fawkes 1792

Date of Plan: 1769

Title/  
References: REFERENCES TO THE PLAN OF HAWKSWORTH  
DESIGNED IN THE YEAR 1769 BY T. WHITE

A The House  
B The Stables etc.  
C The Kitchen garden  
D The Village  
EE [trees?] and Seats  
A sunk fence will be wanted near the House  
but that will be best done upon the spot.  
The dotted lines shews the old boundarys

A Scale of Chains  
(lower left, rectangle)

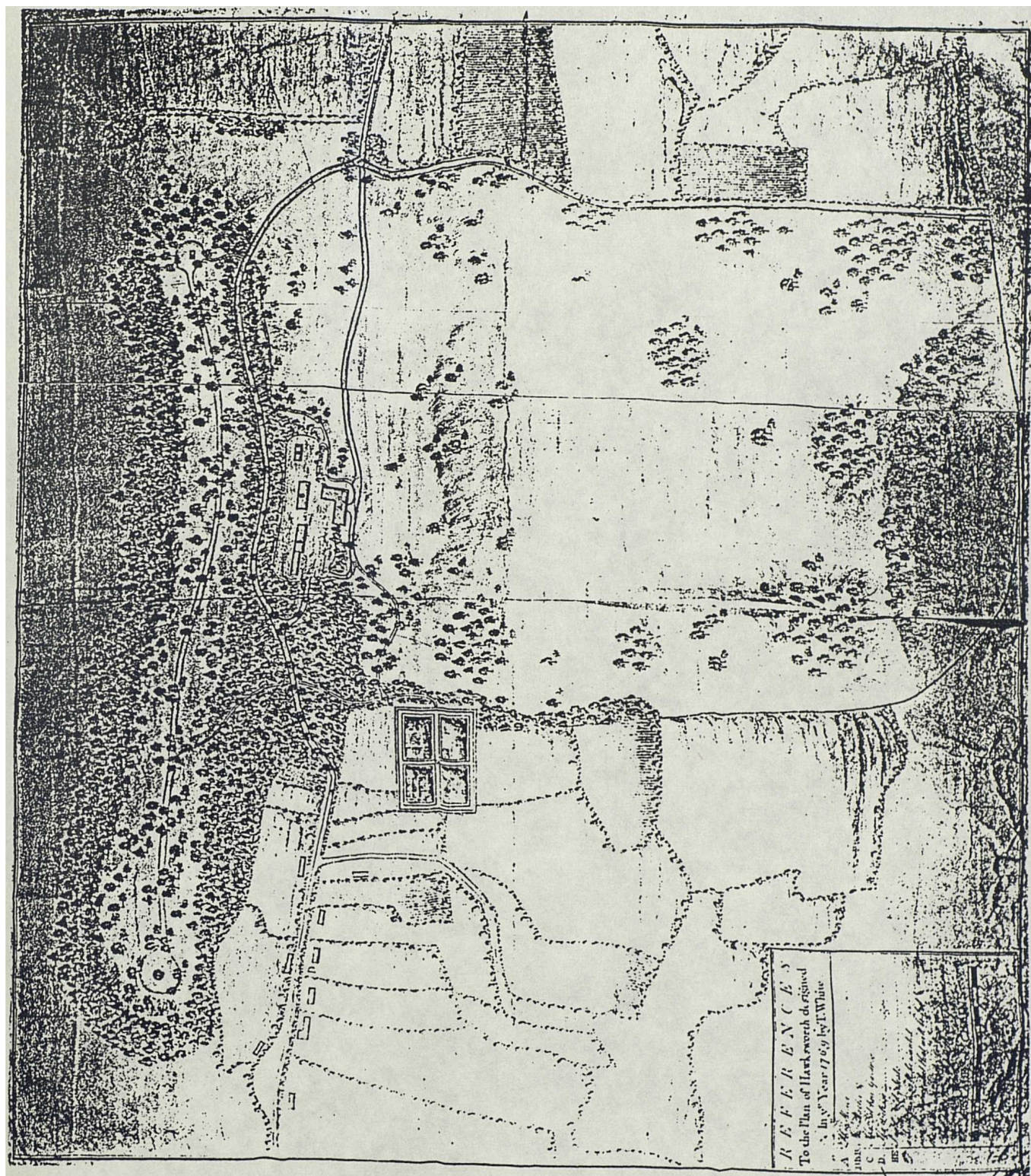
Size: 30 x 32  
Location: p/c YAS Leeds DD 193/9; original with the  
Fawkes family  
Condition: appears good though slightly faded

Comments: No evidence that White's plan was executed

Other Plans: 1768 Anthony Sparrow survey map (YAS)  
1811 unsigned survey map (YAS)



## HAWKSWORTH Thomas White plan 1769





HOLME

(Map 1 No. 14)

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
Holme upon Spalding Moor  
15 miles W of Beverley

Client: MARMADUKE, LORD LANGDALE (d.1781)  
succeeded 1771

Date of Plan: 1777

Title: A PLAN OF IMPROVEMENTS DESIGNED FOR  
HOLME THE SEAT OF THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD  
LANGDALE BY THOS. WHITE 1777  
(inscribed upper right)

References: A The House  
B The Stables  
C The Kitchen garden  
D The Village  
The dotted lines are the old boundarys.  
Some sunk fences will be wanted which  
will be best mark'd out on the spot  
Chains  
(lower right, rectangle)

Size: 46 x 38  
Location: HCRO DDX/160/28  
Condition: Good, stored rolled up

Comments: O.S. maps indicate that some of White's  
planting suggestions were carried out at a  
later date; 1786 Act of Parliament (PR26 Geo  
III) passed for enabling the Rt. Hon. Charles  
Philip Lord Stourton to change estate at  
Holme, to improve same, etc.

Other Pevsner (1972) p.240  
Material: "In 1777 Thomas White drew plans for the  
landscaping of the grounds."

Neave (GSEYN 1984)



HOLME Thomas White plan 1777





HOLME 6" O.S. map 1855



HOUGHTON

(Map 1 No. 13)

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
 Sancton  
 2 miles S of Market Weighton

Client: PHILIP LANGDALE (c.1724-1814)  
 succeeded 1758  
 sister Catherine married William Constable of  
Burton Constable 1775

Date of Plan: 1768

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
 HOUGHTON THE SEAT OF PHILL. LANGDALE  
 ESQ. BY THOS. WHITE 1768  
 (inscribed upper left)

References: A The House  
 B Office court  
 C Kitchen Garden  
 D Stables  
 E Stable Yard  
 F Farm yard and buildings  
 G Orchard  
 H Sunk fence  
 II Post and Chain fence  
 at K in the piece of water a bridge or a  
 ford may be made  
 [ ] lines shews the old [ ]  
 (lower left, rectangle)

A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 36 x 48  
 Location: Houghton Hall, hanging in a hallway  
 Condition: Slightly faded and creased, damage to lower  
 left corner, hanging framed and glazed

Comments: Evidence from O.S. maps and existing layout  
 indicate that White's proposals were largely  
 carried out.

Other Johnson (GSEYT 1961-63) p.36  
 Material: "A map of 1768 preserved at Houghton Hall  
 bears the name of Thomas White of  
 Retford, a minor Capability Brown with  
 many northern contacts, including the  
 destroyed layout at Kilnwick near  
 Driffield, for John Grimston. The germ  
 of the present layout is clearly  
 depicted in the Houghton scheme, and has  
 been splendidly realised and matured."

Oswald (Cl 1965) p.1737

"... the plan of the house is shown complete on Thomas White's plan of that year [1768] for the landscaping of the park. Thomas White was a north-country follower of Capability Brown. So far, little about him has come to light, but it is known that he lived at Retford, and in the same year as he made his 'Plan of Alterations designed for Houghton' he got out a scheme for Burton Constable... White's proposals for Houghton seem to have been carried out, at any rate in great part ... By damming the stream coming down from the Wolds, White formed a long, winding lake, and he diverted eastward the old approach from the south, which, as shown by dotted lines, came straight up to the house. The position of the old house may be indicated by a building of L shape, also shown dotted, a little to the south-east of the present house. He used a serpentine ha-ha on the south front to divide the park from the immediate surroundings of the house ... To north and south of the house the plan shows flanking plantations to frame it. The one to the west was designed as a screen to hide the walled kitchen garden, stables and farm buildings.

Pevsner (1972) p.333

Allison (1976) p.180

Lemmon (1978) p.42

VCH YORKS (1979) p.158

YGSAR (1979) p.47

English Heritage (1984) Part 22

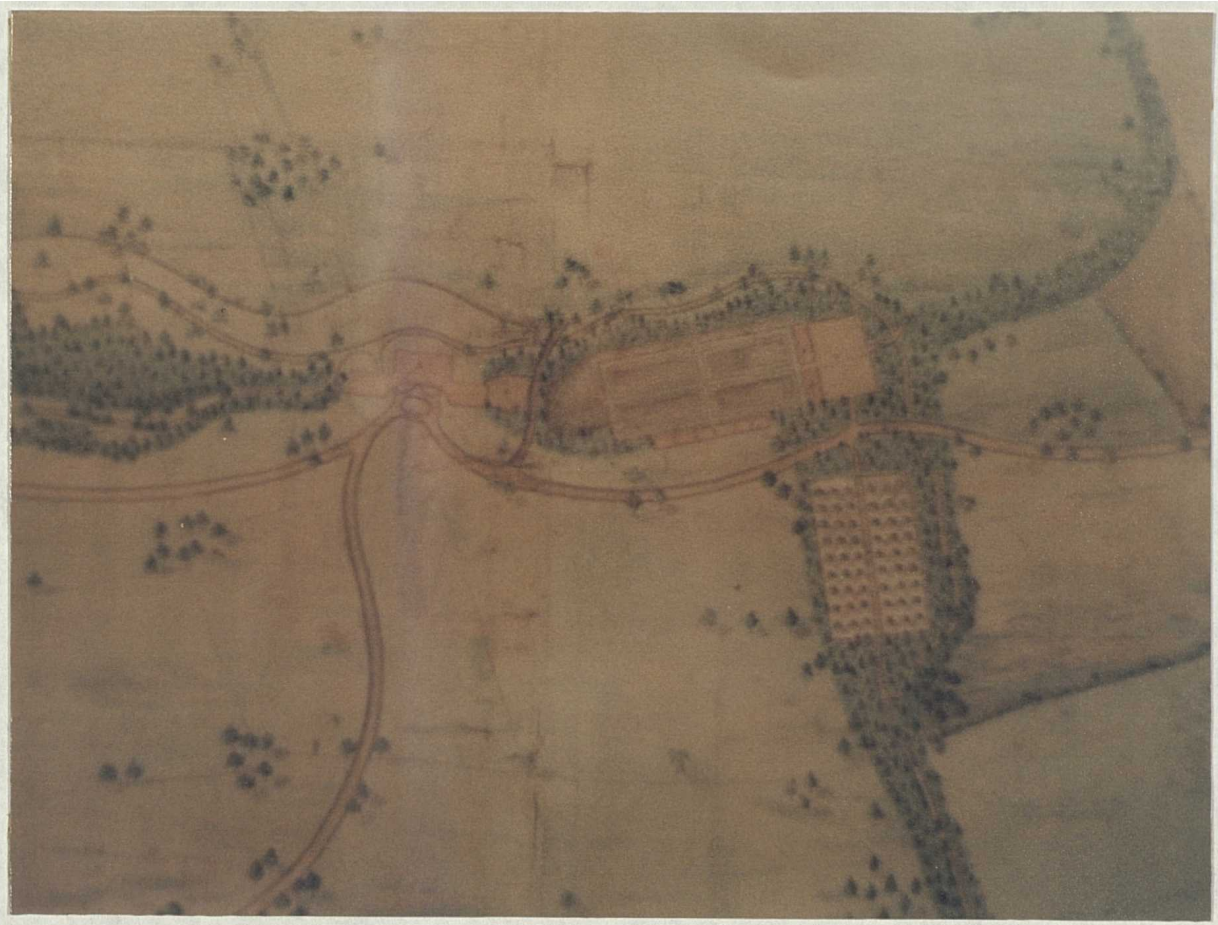
Neave (GSEYN 1984)





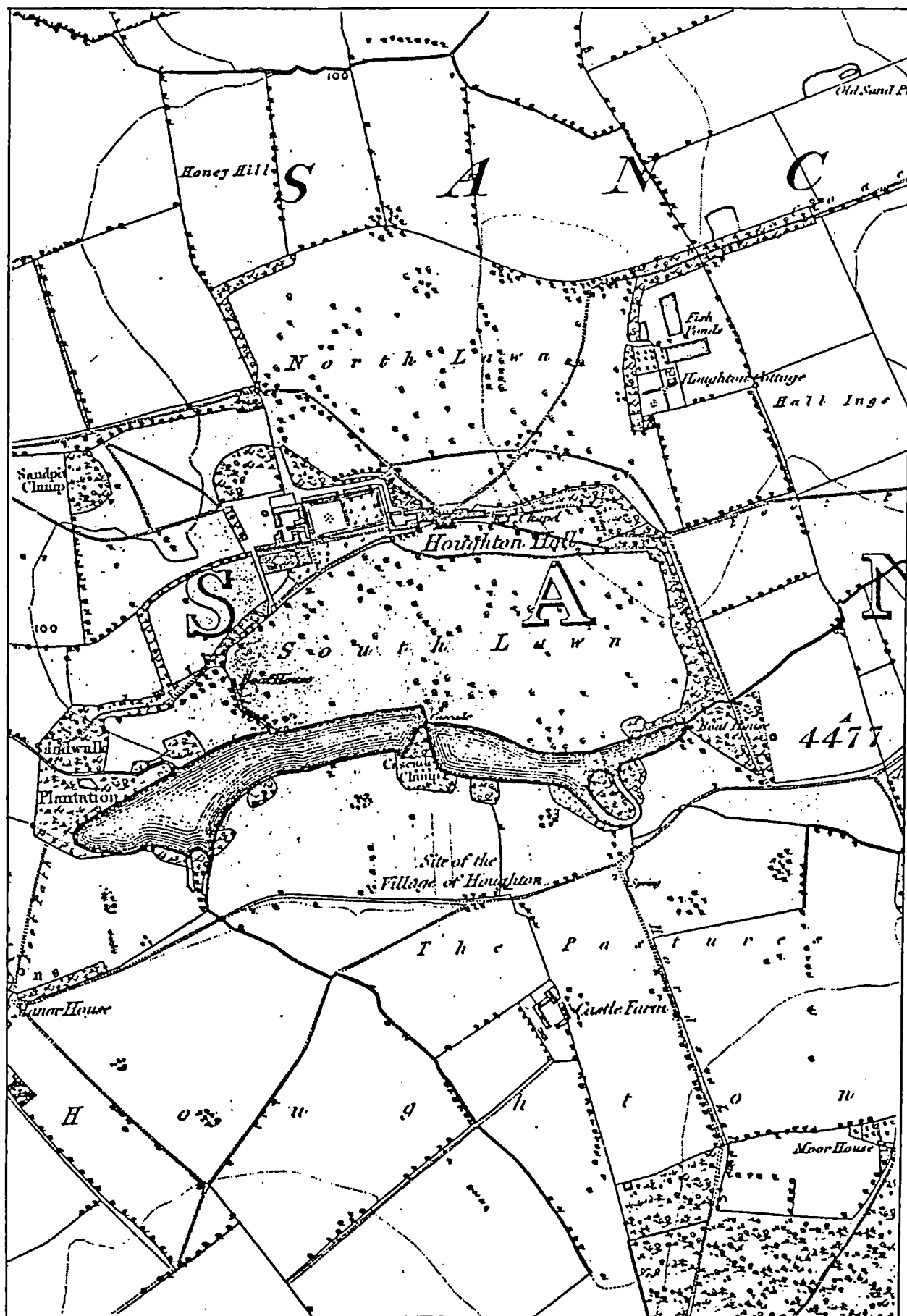


HOUGHTON    above:    Thomas White plan 1768 (detail)  
                 below:    View of Houghton Hall from the lake 1988





HOUGHTON 6" O.S. map 1855



KILNWICK  
Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
7 miles N of Beverley

(Map 1 No. 9)

Client: JOHN GRIMSTON ? (1725-1780)

NO PLAN

Date: pre 1780 ?

Evidence: Johnson (GSEYT 1961-63) p.36  
"... Thomas White of Retford, a minor  
Capability Brown with many northern  
contracts including the destroyed layout  
at Kilnwick near Driffield for John  
Grimston".

Comments: There is no direct evidence that White  
landscaped Kilnwick though a 1785 survey  
(Dickensen & Colbeck) shows the park clumped  
and landscaped in the natural style. White's  
letter of June 11 1782 to Thomas Grimston  
(HCRO DDGR 43/2) indicates that he had visited  
Kilnwick, but whether this was at the time he  
was looking over Grimston Garth or earlier is  
not known.  
John Grimston was a good friend of Henry  
Duncombe of Copgrove for whom White worked in  
the late 1760's.

LUMLEY

(Map 1 No. 4)

County Durham  
1 mile W of Chester-le-Street

Client: RICHARD LUMLEY SAUNDERSON, 4TH  
EARL OF SCARBROUGH

Date of Plan: 1768

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR LUMLEY  
CASTLE THE SEAT OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH BY THOS. WHITE 1768  
(inscribed upper right)

References: A The Castle  
B The Stables  
C The Stable Yard  
D A Sunk fence  
E A Post and chain fence  
F A Rails fence  
G The Kitchen garden  
H A Shrub garden or a bowling green or both  
III Are seats  
The old boundarys shewn in doted lines  
The roads and walks in gravel colour  
The rides in green  
K A cave made in the rocks  
A Scale of Chains

Size: c. 42 x 48

Location: Sandbeck Estate Office

Condition: Fair, faded and creased; stored rolled up

Comments: White was at Lord Scarbrough's Sandbeck Estate  
until c.1762 as foreman to Capability Brown,  
and again in 1766. There is no evidence that  
this plan was adopted even in part.

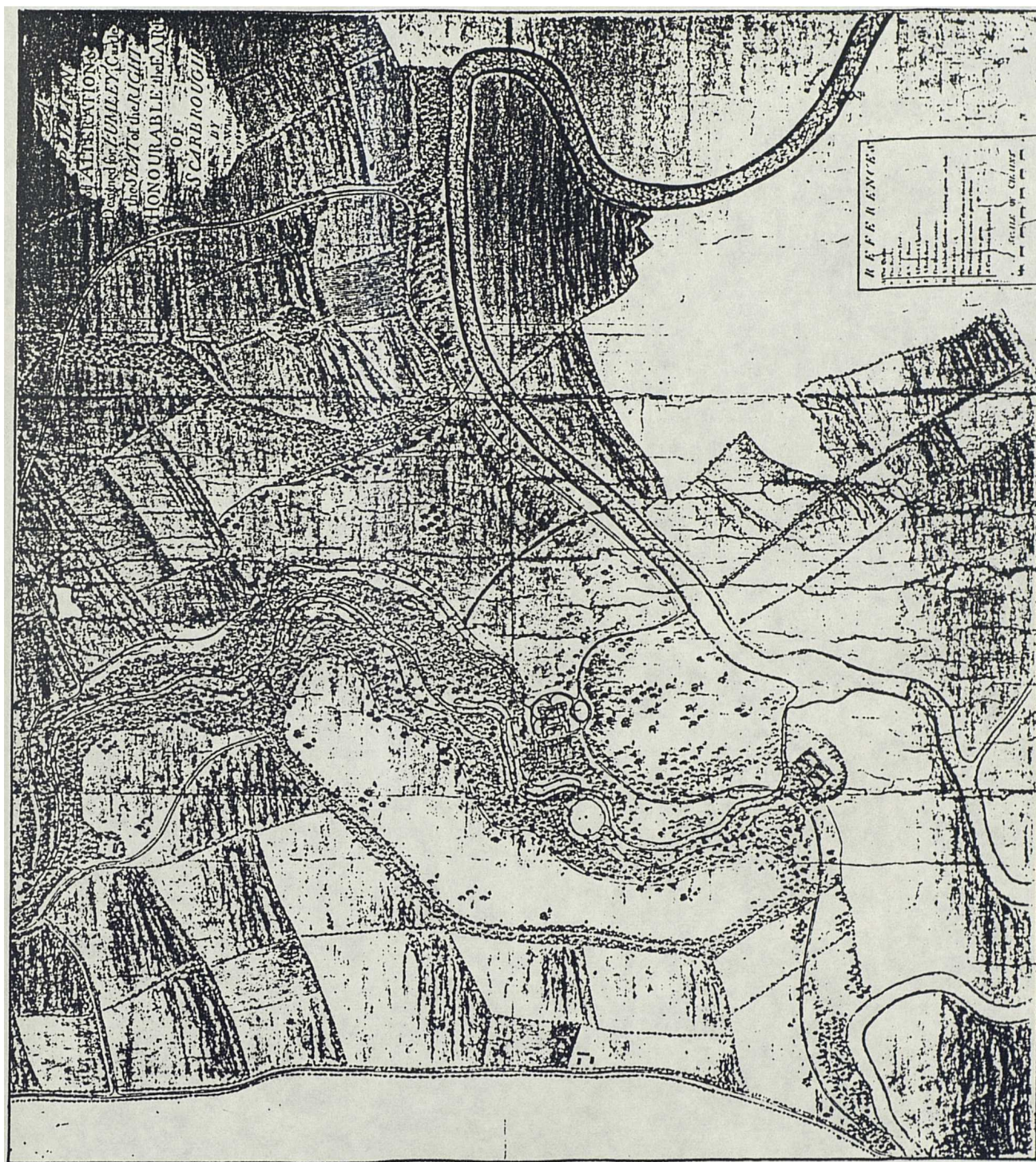
Other Plans: Early 18th century possibly Charles Bridgeman  
(at Sandbeck)

Other Jacques (1983) p.88

Material: Neave (GSEYN 1984)



LUMLEY Thomas White plan 1768





MULGRAVE

(Map 1 No. 7)

Yorkshire, North Riding (North Yorkshire)  
3 miles W of Whitby

Client: CONSTANTINE JOHN PHIPPS, 2ND BARON  
MULGRAVE (1744-1792)

NO PLAN

Date: 1785

Evidence: Mulgrave VI 10/336  
Letter from Thomas White at Allanbank to Lord  
Mulgrave December 23 1784:  
"I am this moment informed that your  
Lordship did me honour to call at my  
house at Retford ... as I shall soon  
return from my northern excursion by way  
of Yorkshire, shall be happy if in my way  
home I can be of any service to your  
Lordship at Mulgrave Hall ...  
and I shall be happy in the honour of a  
further conference with you on the  
subject when I come to town in the spring  
..."

Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds  
Bank includes:  
1785 Jul 13 of Lord Mulgrave per Child &  
Co. £50

NEWBY

Yorkshire, West Riding (North Yorkshire)  
3 miles SE of Ripon

(Map 1 No. 15)

Client: WILLIAM WEDDELL (1736-1792)

Date of Plan: 1766

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
NEWBY THE SEAT OF WILLIAM WEDDELL ESQ.  
BY T. WHITE 1766  
(inscribed upper left)

References: A The House  
B The Stable  
C The Stable yard  
D Drying yard  
E A Place for fowls  
F Sunk fence  
G A Green house  
H The Kitchen garden planted round with  
trees of a low growth  
I The Seats  
K A Riding round the Estate  
The dotted lines shews the old boundarys  
(lower right, rectangle)

A Scale of Chains  
(lower left)

Size: 48 x 48

Location: Hanging in Newby Hall Estate Office;  
reduced p/c at LDA NH 2399

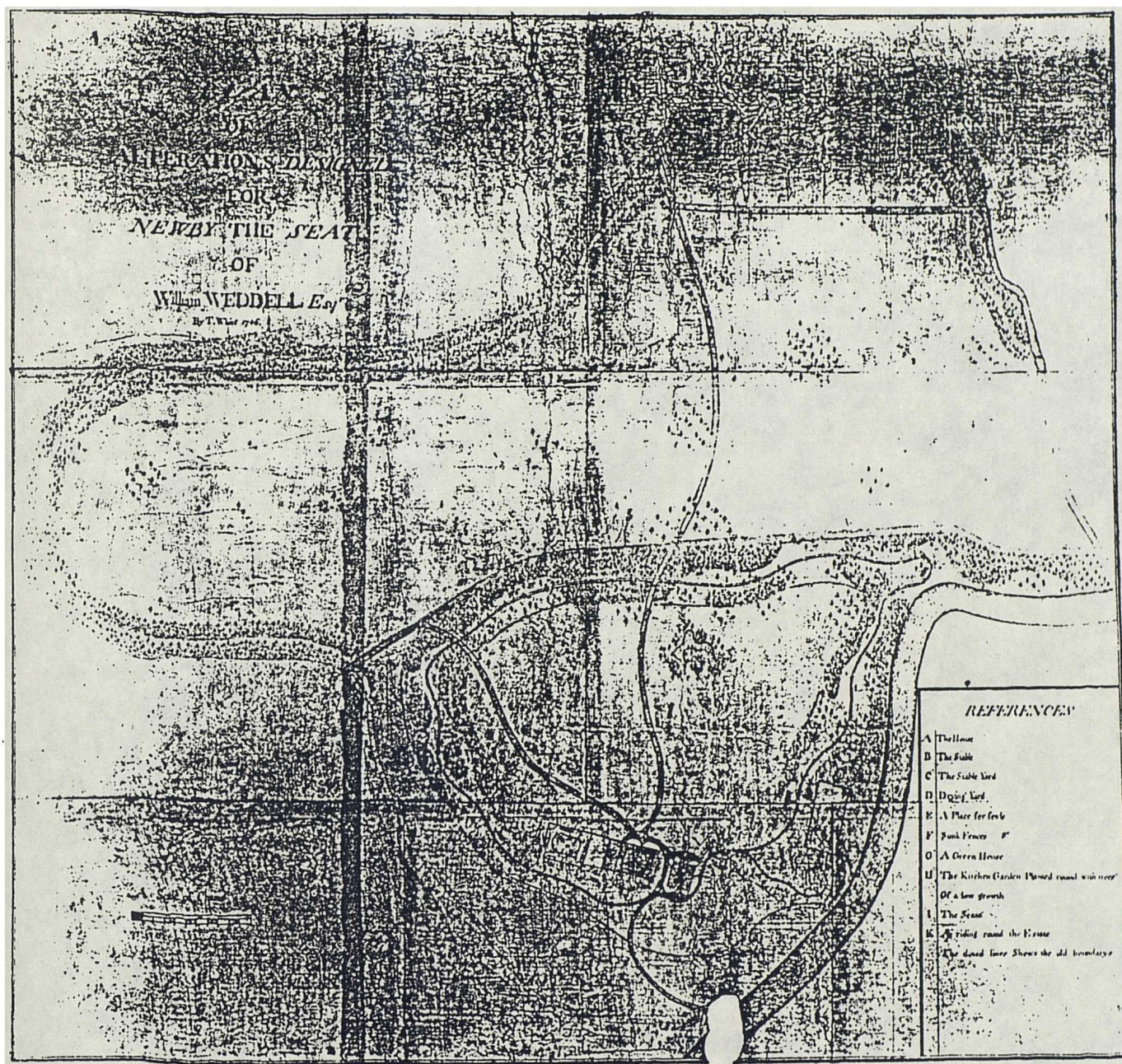
Condition: Faded and creased, torn bottom edge, framed  
and glazed; many pencilled notes on plan.

Comments: Much of White's plan was implemented under a 4  
year contract.  
Peter Aram at Newby in 1694.

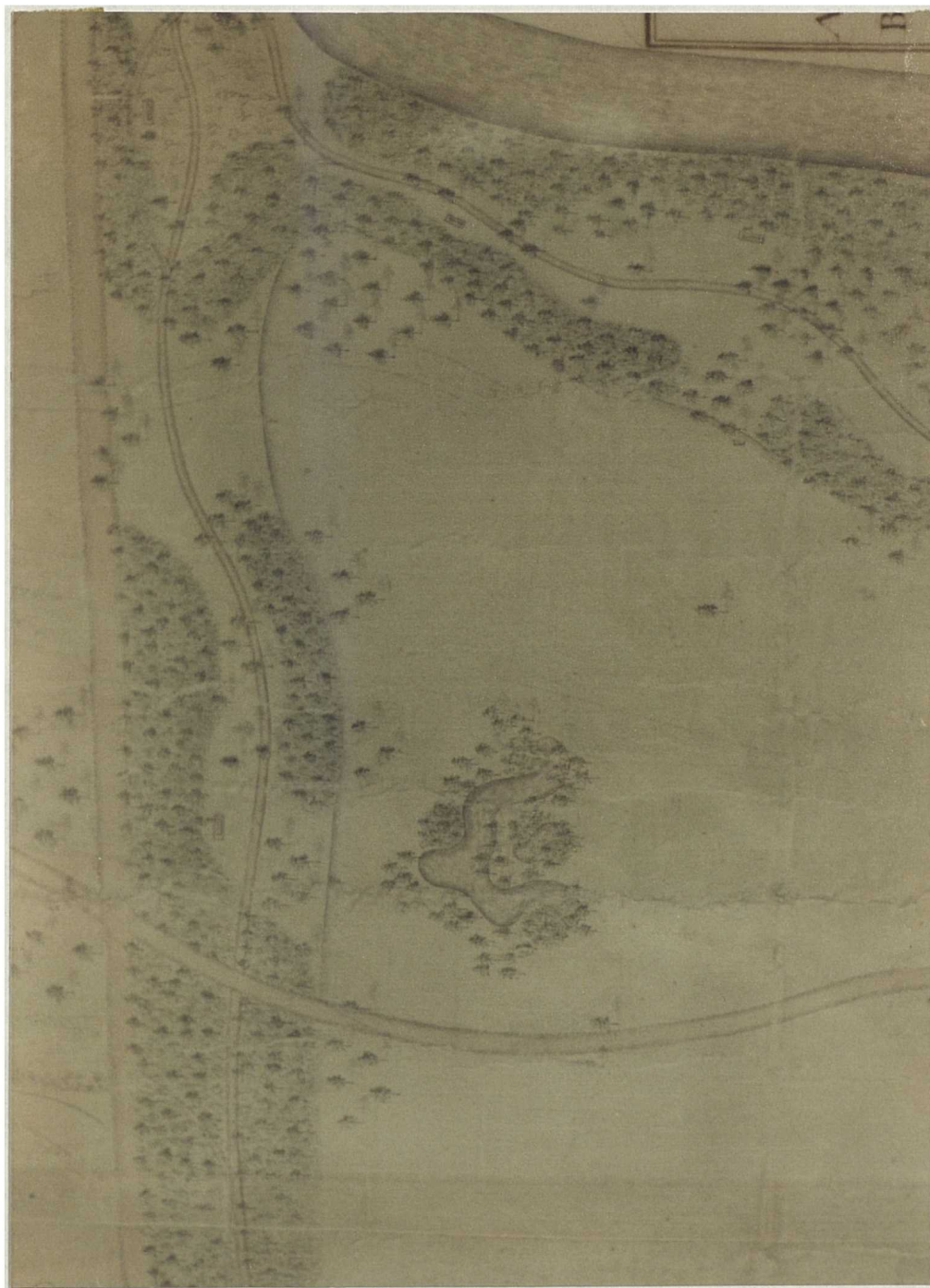
Archival LDA TN/EA/23a includes considerable  
Material: correspondence between Thomas White and his  
foreman, William Stones, dating from January  
1767 to August 1769.

Other Plans: 1853 William Parker survey map (Newby Hall)

NEWBY Thomas White plan 1766

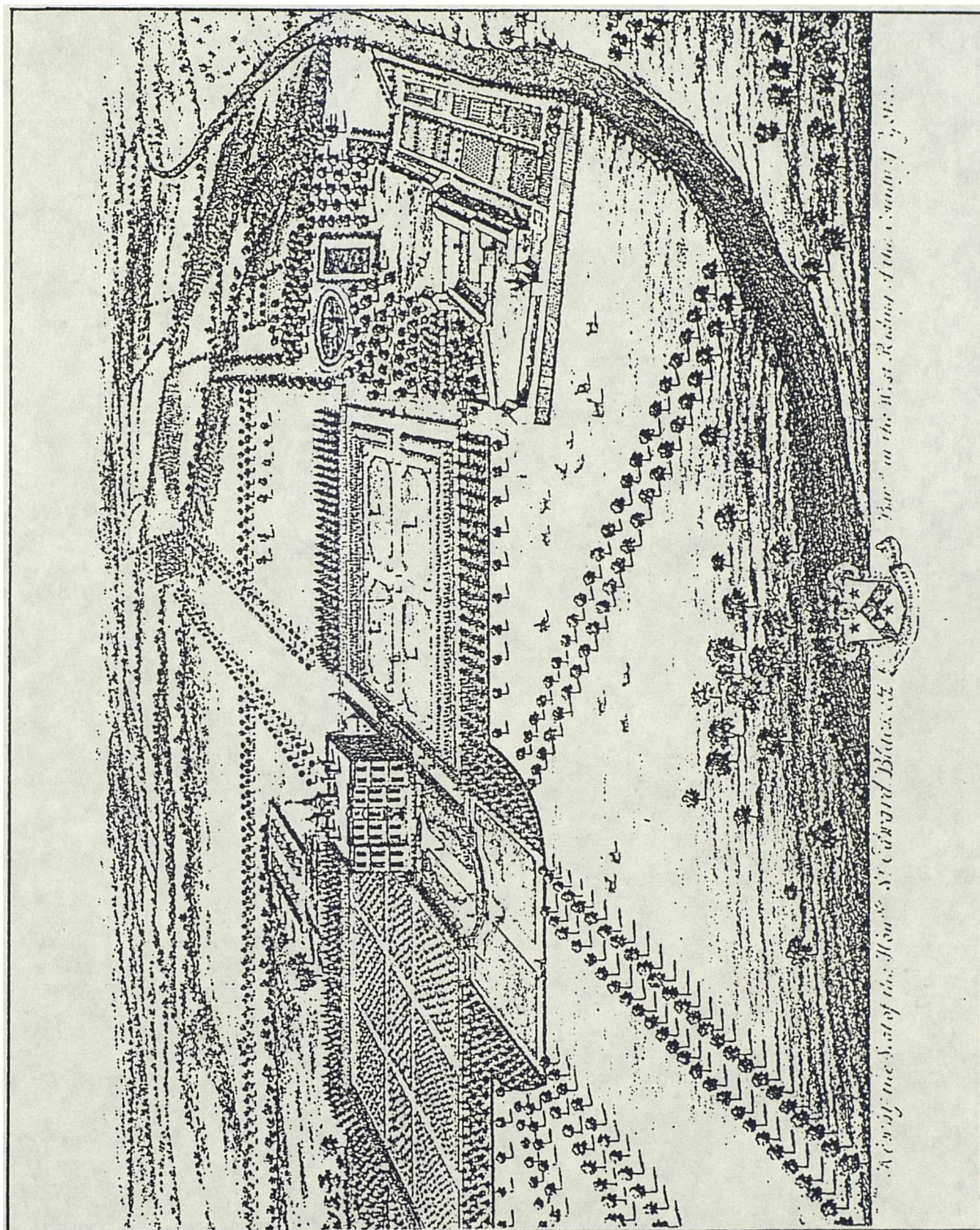




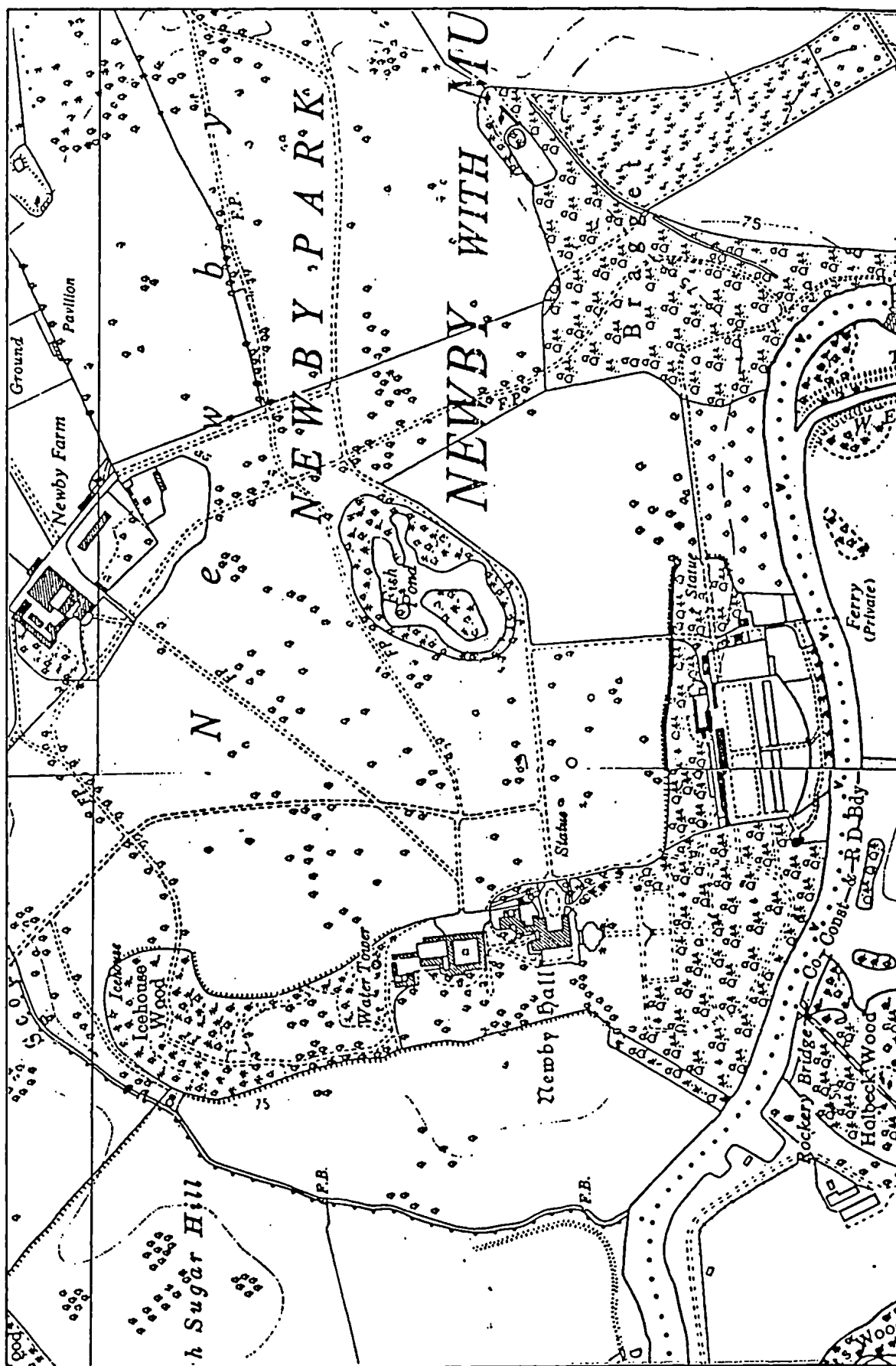


NEWBY Thomas White plan 1766 (detail)





NEWBY 1720 engraving by Johannes Kip



NEWBY 6" O.S. map 1966



NORTON  
 Lincolnshire  
 Bishop Norton  
 15 miles N of Lincoln

(Map 1 No. 28)

Client: JOHN HARRISON (1738-1811)

Date of Plan: 1772

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
 BISHOP NORTON THE SEAT OF JOHN HARRISON  
 ESQ. BY THOS. WHITE 1772  
 (inscribed upper left)

References: A The House  
 B The Offices  
 C The Stables  
 D Stable yard  
 E A Shrub garden  
 F A Managery or drying yard  
 G The Kitchen garden  
 H A Seat  
 I An Orchard  
 K The Village of Spittle  
 The water will require a stop or dam at L  
 the leavels not permitting it to be made  
 in once  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower right, rectangle)

Size: 70 x 70

Location: Norton Place

Condition: Good, stored rolled up

Comments: Evidence from O.S. maps and present layout  
 indicates that much of White's plan was  
 carried through; similarity in design to that  
 for Houghton of 1768

Archival White's contra account at Drummonds Bank  
 Material: has entries possibly relating to Norton:

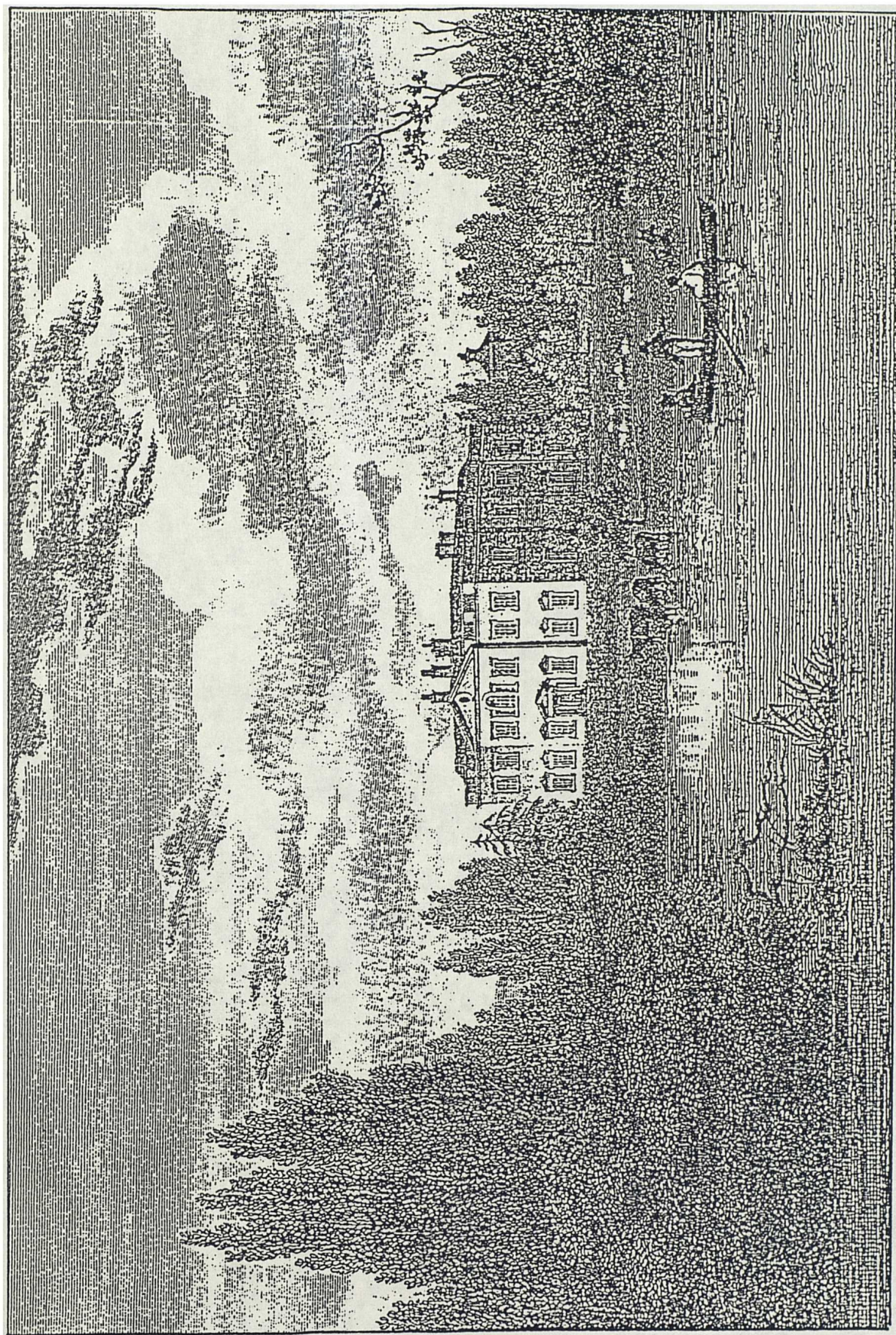
1779	Jun	24	Smith & Co. note per Harrison	£100
"	"	"	"	£100
1781	Mar	24	Russell on Brown per Harrison	£14 14
1783	Jul	19	By cash recd Dunn on Harrison	£27 15

Other Stopp (1986) p.7  
 Material:

NORTON Thomas White plan 1772 (part)



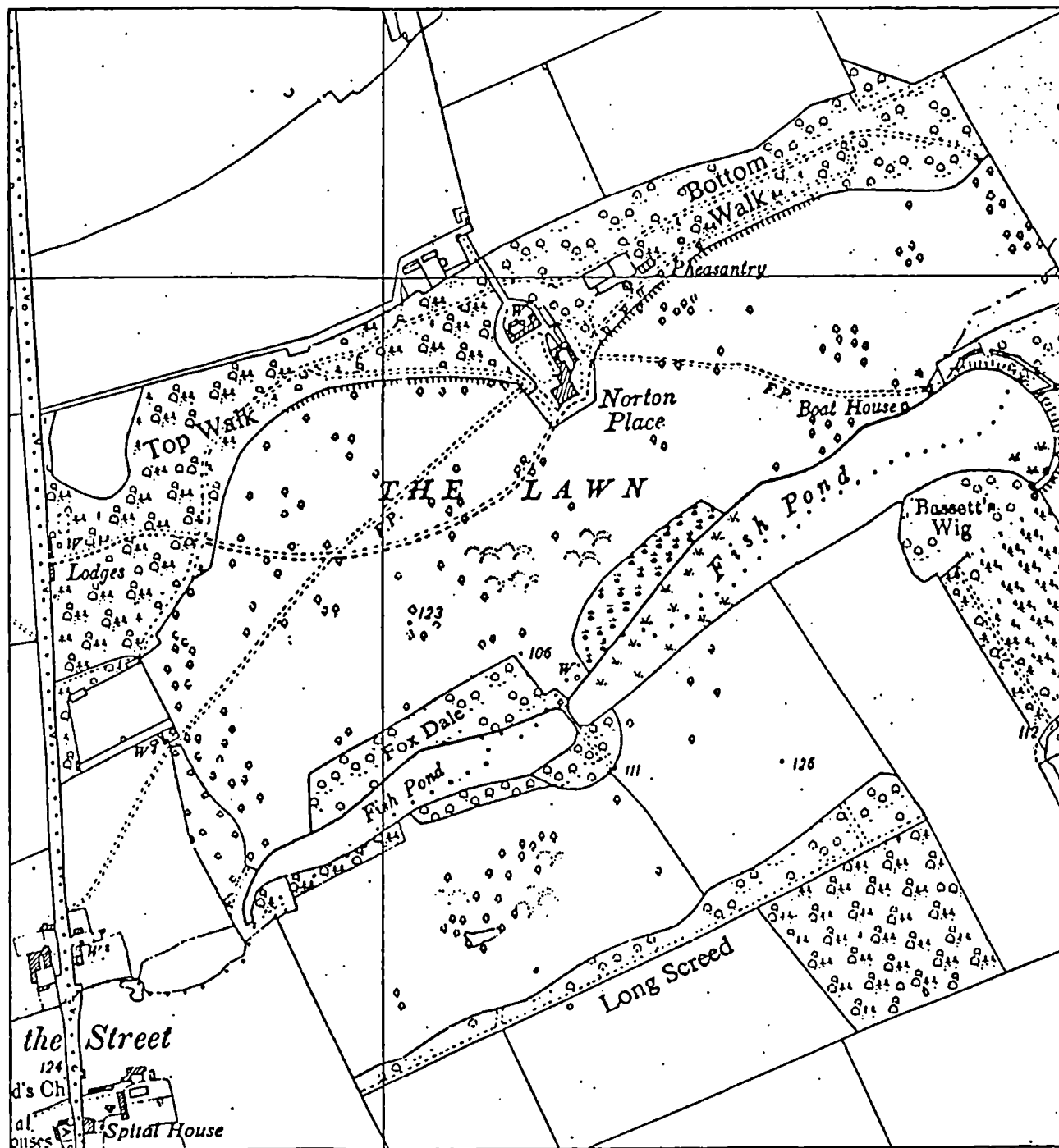




NORTON Engraving of Norton Place published 1803



NORTON 6" O.S. map 1956



OWSTON

Yorkshire, West Riding (South Yorkshire)  
5 miles N of Doncaster

(Map 1 No. 24)

Client: BRYAN COOKE (1756-1821)

Date of Plan: 1785

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE  
GROUNDS ABOUT OUSTON HOUSE T. WHITE  
1785  
(upper left, vignette)

References: A The House  
B Offices and courts to ditto  
C Stables  
D Dung yard  
E Farm and other out buildings  
F Kitchen garden  
G The Present house  
H A Sunk fence  
I Seats  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 54 x 54

Location: DAD DD.DC/H1/3/2

Condition: Poor - scheduled for repair (1988)

Comments: No evidence that White plan was implemented.  
Humphry Repton Red Book dated 1792  
(photographic copies at RCHME)  
Marriage link with Grove, Nottinghamshire -  
Bryan Cooke was grandson of Anthony Eyre.

OWSTON Thomas White plan 1785 and detail





RABY

(Map 1 No. 5)

County Durham  
6 miles NE of Barnard Castle

Client: HENRY VANE, 2ND EARL OF DARLINGTON (c.1726-1792)  
succeeded 1758

Date of Plan: 1774

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR RABY  
CASTLE THE SEAT OF THE RIGHT HONBLE THE  
EARL OF DARLINGTON BY THOS. WHITE 1774  
(inscribed upper left)

References:

- A The Castle
- B A space for the Village, stables, kitchen garden, etc.
- C The Town of Staindrop
- D The Church
- E Dog kennel
- F Farm house
- G Houses at Shotton
- H A Cold bath
- I An ornamental building which commands a fine view of the water
- KK A seat commanding a very agreeable view of the water
- LL Stone bridges to pass over the water
- MM Light wood bridges for the same purpose
- N Two light bridges at one or both of which stops must be made to raise the water
- O A building already made
- P A building commanding the water through the trees
- A Scale of Chains  
(lower right, rectangle)

Size: 71 x 87

Location: Raby Castle Muniments

Condition: Fair, worn and darkened, stored rolled up

Comments: Photograph of plan not permitted.  
Large, ambitious and lavish scheme with extensive water areas; not carried through though earlier ideas of White may have been used in the late 1760s

Archival Material: SRO GD/220/5/1757/11 (Montrose papers):  
letter Erskine to Graeme September 22 1770  
"... White has laid out Raby Castle of Lord Darlington which gives great satisfaction."  
The account of the earl of Darlington at Drummonds Bank shows payments to Thomas White in 1770-71 totalling £1400.

RABY CASTLE - 2

Other  
Material:           SA Transactions (1787) p.22, letter Thomas  
                      White to Society of Arts:  
                      "I remember an experiment tried some  
                      years ago by Mr. Jones, gardener to the  
                      Earl of Darlington at Raby Castle."

Rowan (AH 1972) p.50 White plan Catalogue No.3

SANDBECK

(Map 1 No. 25)

Yorkshire, West Riding (South Yorkshire)  
10 miles E of Rotherham

Client: RICHARD LUMLEY SAUNDERSON, 4TH  
EARL OF SCARBROUGH  
(White acting as foreman to Capability Brown)

NO PLAN

Date: 1762-66

Evidence: LDA TN/Ea/23a/75 Undated letter (probably  
1762) Thomas White to Lancelot Brown,  
Hammersmith:  
"When you was last at Sandbeck you was so  
good as to give me leave to go to London  
for the dead of winter and as I had but  
few men and the season very bad for  
carrying on of work I thought I could not  
be spared in a better time ..."

White resided at Tickhill, close to Sandbeck  
as evidenced by the baptism of three of his  
children there and by Tickhill enclosure award  
of 1766 f.106:

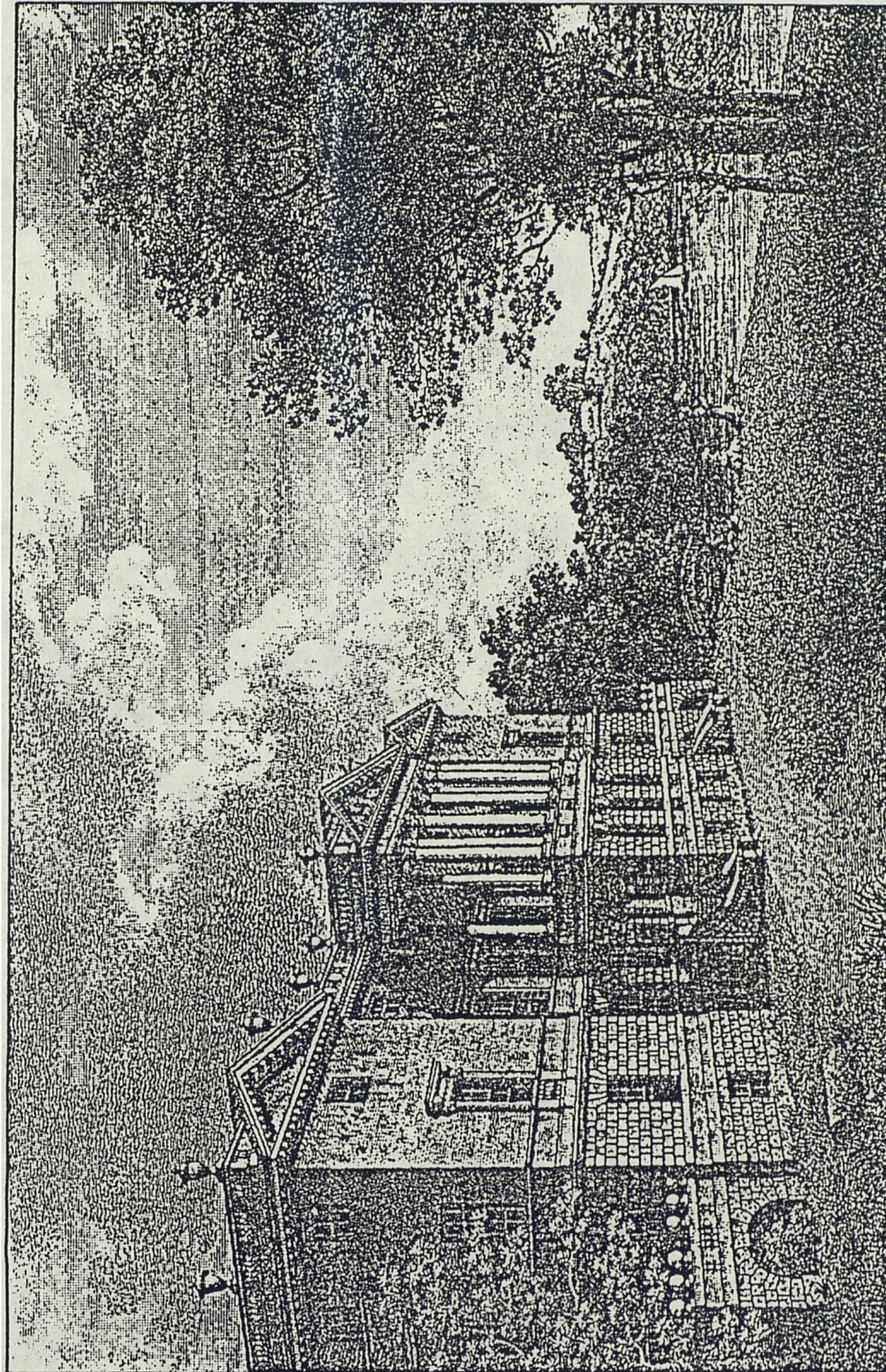
"WHITE, Thomas of Tickhill from 1st May  
... in respect of a Common Right House  
and Croft ... and a Close containing by  
estimation three acres and two roods..."

Sandbeck EMR/8 f.27 February 1 1766  
To Robert Beckatt and Joseph Glossop  
for filling up 97 holes in the where  
Mr. White took up the large trees for  
planting at 3d per hole £1 4 3  
Sandbeck EMR/8 October 11 1766  
To Mr. Perfett of Pontefract for  
trees, shrubs etc. ordered by Mr.  
White as per bill £63 12 8  
To Mr. Cowlshaw of Hodsock for  
trees, shrubs, etc. ordered by ditto  
as per bill £49 11 4

Capability Brown's debit account at Drummonds  
Bank shows payments to Thomas White 1759-1765

Other Neave (GSEYN 1984)  
Material:





SANDBECK Late 18th century engraving of Sandbeck House



SEDBURY

Yorkshire, North Riding (North Yorkshire)  
3 miles N of Richmond

(Map 1 No. 6)

Client: Sir ROBERT D'ARCY HILDYARD (d.1814)

NO PLAN

Date: 1775-1784

Evidence: Ex info (July 8 1987) Myles Hildyard of Flintham Hall concerning letter from Thomas Grimston to Robert D'Arcy Hildyard dated July 30 1775 mentioning Thomas White's employment at Sedbury (ex Edward Ingram c.1951)  
See Johnson & Cox (TT 1985) p.84 note 19

Mulgrave VI 10/336

Letter from Thomas White at Allanbank to Lord Mulgrave December 23 1784:

"...[I] shall be glad to receive the favour of your instructions on that head at Sir Robt Hildyards Bart at Sedbury near Richmond, Yorks."

Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank contains:

1775 Dec 7 of RD Hildyard per letter £52 10  
(the amount of 50 guineas suggests that White drew up a plan for Sedbury)

Comments: The Hildyards were owners of Winestead Hall (Yorkshire, East Riding) and there is a possibility that White was also engaged there.

SLEDMERE

(Map 1 No. 8)

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
9 miles NW of Driffield

Client: CHRISTOPHER SYKES (1749-1801)

Date of Plan: 1776

Title: A GENERAL PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
THE GROUNDS OF SLEDMIRE THE SEAT OF  
CHRISR SYKES ESQR BY THOS. WHITE 1776  
(inscribed upper right)

References: A The House  
B The Stables  
C The Church  
D The Kitchen garden  
E Farm houses  
The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
Chains  
(lower left, rectangle)

Size: 48 x 48

Location: Sledmere House (hanging in proposed Exhibition  
Centre)

Condition: Good, recently restored, framed and glazed

Comments: Plan discovered 1986 in Sledmere Estate  
Office. Some of White's suggestions were  
considered and possibly implemented; White  
also supplied trees for Sledmere. Capability  
Brown consulted and drew up plan in 1777.

Archival HUL DDSY, particularly:

Material: DDSY/62/331 letter Thomas White at York to  
Christopher Sykes April 4 1776 regarding  
Sykes'enclosure dispute  
Letterbook of Christopher Sykes No. 8:  
Christopher Sykes to Mr. Lambert December 27  
1775  
"I have lately had Mr. White over at  
Sledmere (who lays out pleasure grounds  
and rides) and he proposes to carry the  
chief ride that way if the first 7 or 12  
lands can be had which would give room  
for the ride to pass by the side of the  
hill."  
Similar letter to Mr. Johnson February 26 1776  
Christopher Sykes diaries 1774-7 contain  
various references to Thomas White  
Sykes Account book (1771-1800) photocopy  
f.288 'Planting'  
Dec 30 1777 Mr. White on acct. of trees £184 17  
Jul 2 1779 Mr. White for trees on acct. 152 10

Other Plans: c.1742 Plan of Sledmere HUL DDSY/106/4  
1777 Capability Brown (Sledmere House)

Other  
Material:

Neave (GSEYN) 1984

YGSAR (1984) p.14

Popham (CL 1986) pp.128-29

"A year later in December 1775 he [C Sykes] retained 'Mr. (Thomas) White ... who lays out pleasure grounds and rides' to advise him on landscaping the parish .... Evidently White's landscape scheme did not match the exacting standard that Sykes set in all his work ... He [Sykes] employed White and the contractors and nursery men, Perfect and Telford, to plant up the steep uncultivable slopes ..."

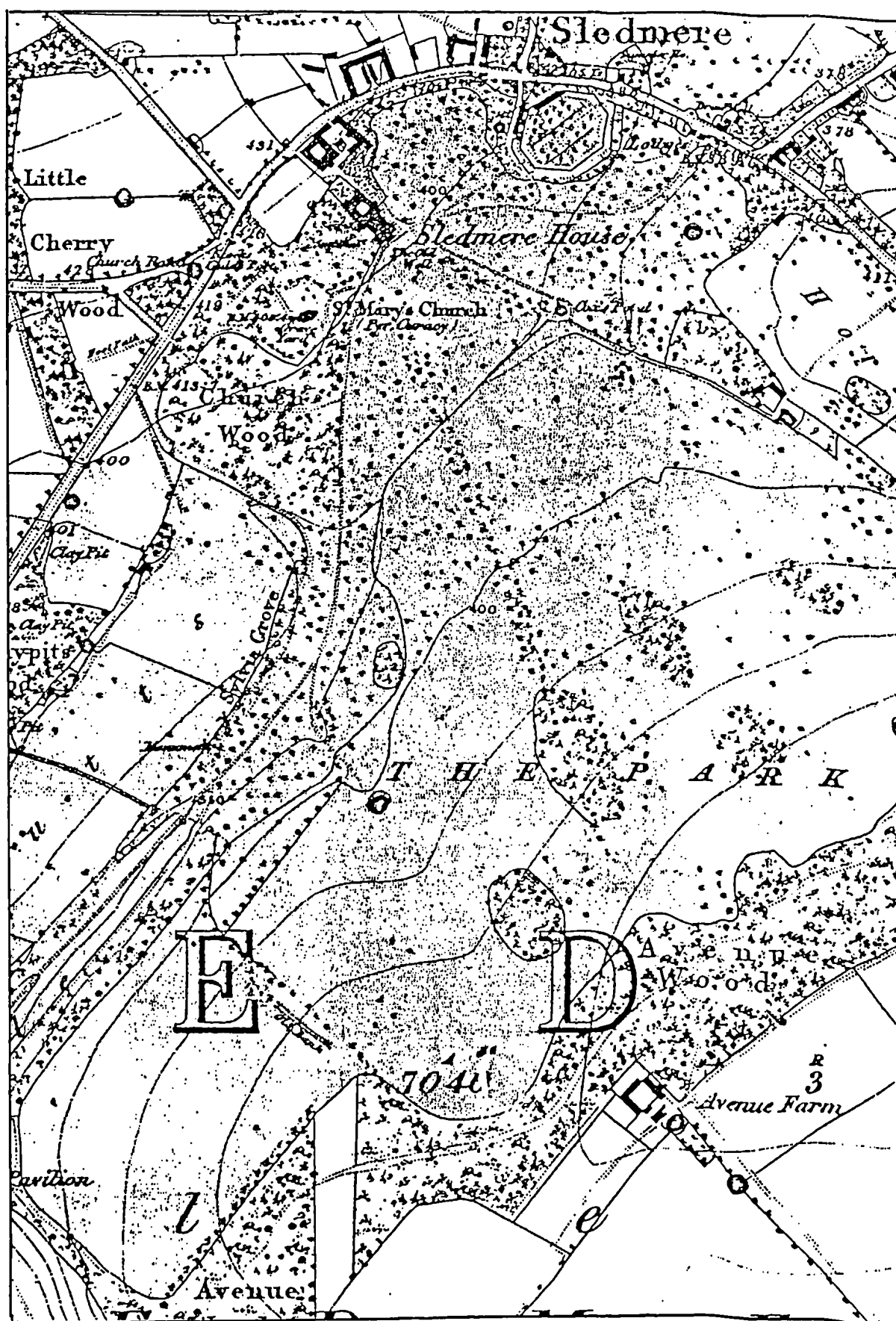


SLEDMERE Thomas White plan 1776





SLEDMERE 6" O.S. map 1854



TEMPLE NEWSAM

(Map 1 No. 21)

Yorkshire, West Riding (West Yorkshire)  
3 miles E of Leeds

Client: CHARLES INGRAM, 9TH VISCOUNT IRWIN (1727-78)  
(White employed as foreman to Capability Brown)

NO PLAN

Date: 1762-65 ?

Evidence: LDA TN/EA/23a/75 Undated letter (probably  
1762) Thomas White to Lancelot Brown,  
Hammersmith:  
"...[I] was extremely sorry to find your  
order for going to Lord Irwin's but hope  
it will be time enough after my return  
home as I found on inquiry at Lady  
Dowager Irwins that his Lordship intended  
staying all winter at Temple Newsham ...  
I intend staying as short a time as  
posable in town and on my return will go  
to Temple Newsham ..."  
(Brown improvement plan for Temple Newsam  
dated 1762 LDA TN/EA/20/5M)

Brown's debit account at Drummonds Bank shows  
payments to Thomas White 1759-65  
Lord Irwin's debit account at Drummonds Bank  
shows payments to Capability Brown between  
August 1762 and September 1771 totalling  
£2870.

WELTON

Yorkshire, East Riding (Humberside)  
9 miles W of Hull

(Map 1 No. 12)

Client: THOMAS WILLIAMSON (c.1735-1809)

Date of Plan: 1769

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
WELTON THE SEAT OF THOS. WILLIAMSON ESQ.  
BY THOS. WHITE 1769  
(inscribed upper right)

References: A The House  
B Little Courts to ditto  
CC Kitchen garden  
D Stables  
E Sunk fence  
F Village houses  
G Seats  
H Iron palisadings  
The dotted lines show the old boundarys  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right, rectangle)  
(references written in script rather than  
White's usual printing)

Size: 48 x 36

Location: HCRO DDTH 68/1

Condition: Fair, damage at top edge, stored rolled up

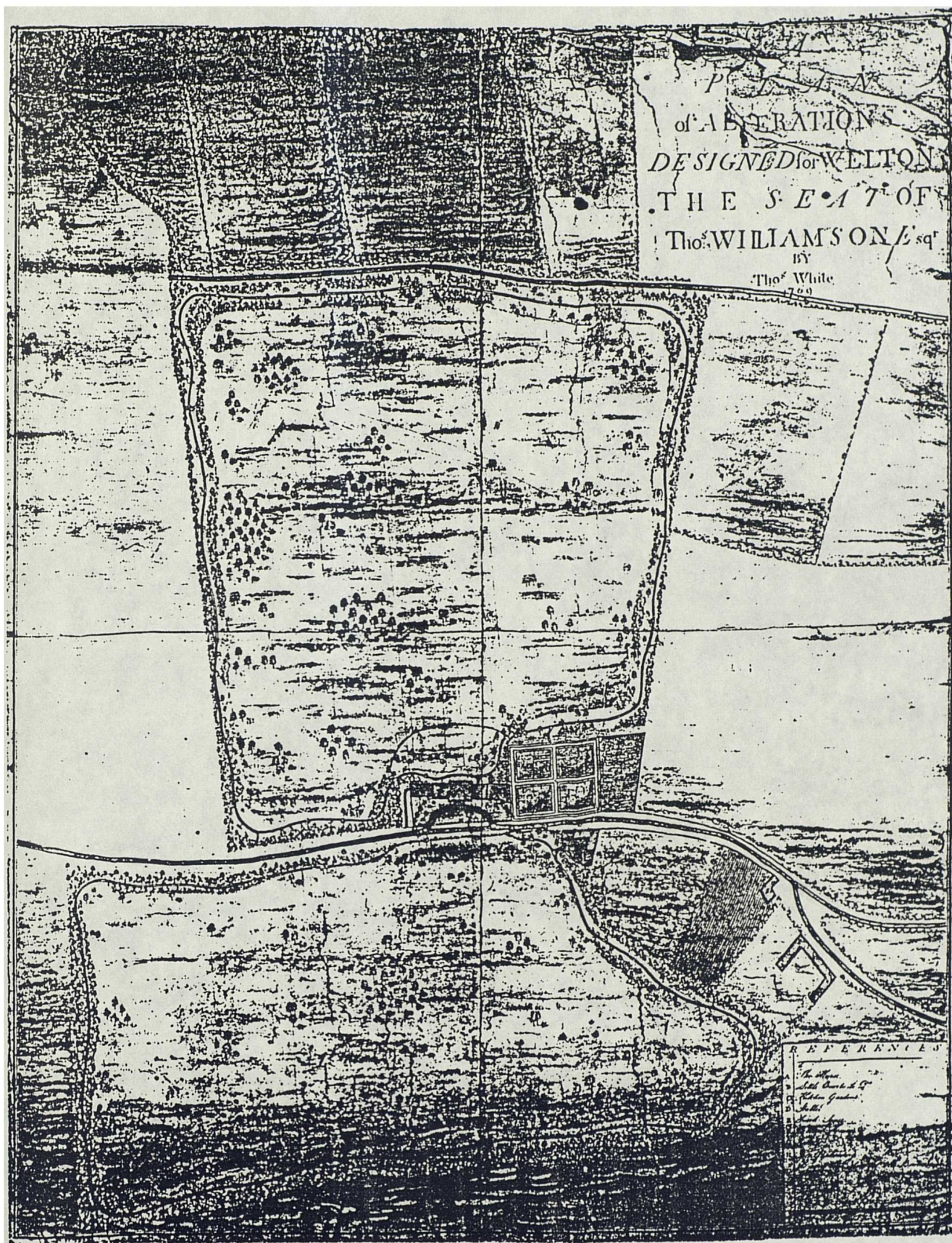
Comments: A simple plan for a small estate. O.S. map  
evidence indicates parts of plan were  
implemented.

Other Material: Neave (GSEYN 1984)

Neave & Waterson (1988) p.63



WELTON Thomas White plan 1769









WORKINGTON

Cumberland (Cumbria)

Workington town

(Map 1 No. 1)

Client: JOHN CHRISTIAN CURWEN (c.1756-1828)

Date of Plan: 1783

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE  
 GROUNDS ABOUT WORKINGTON HOUSE BY  
 T. WHITE 1783  
 (upper right, vignette)

References: A The House  
 B The Stables  
 C The Farm yard  
 D The Office court  
 E The Mill  
 F The Dog kennel  
 G The Deer barn  
 HH Lodges  
 II Seats  
 K Kitchen garden  
 L Melonary or Hothouse garden  
 M The Orchard  
 N A Farm house  
 O A Lime kiln  
 P Mr. Stanley's house  
 Q Mr. Soutchard's house  
 RR Part of the town of Workington  
 Some sunk fences will be wanted which will be  
 best marked out on the spot  
 The road SS to be sunk in a hollow and to  
 pass under a bridge at T which bridge the road  
 U passes over  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (centre right, scroll cartouche)

Size: 72 x 48 (in two halves)

Location: CRO, Curwen Archives D/Cu

Condition: Poor, badly creased and in need of repair

Comments: Descriptions of Workington and OS maps suggest  
 that some of White's suggestions were carried  
 out

Archival Material: CRO D/Cu - accounts, vouchers, letters  
 concerning White's work at Workington and  
 Belle Isle: see Belle Isle entry for fuller  
 details

Other Material: Green (1819) p.297  
 "The grounds have been greatly extended  
 and beautified under the direction of Mr.  
 White."

Mannix & Whellan (1847) p.424

"[Workington Hall] was almost entirely rebuilt by John Christian Curwen Esq. father of the present proprietor, from designs by Mr. Carr of York, when the grounds were planned and improved by Mr. White of Retford."

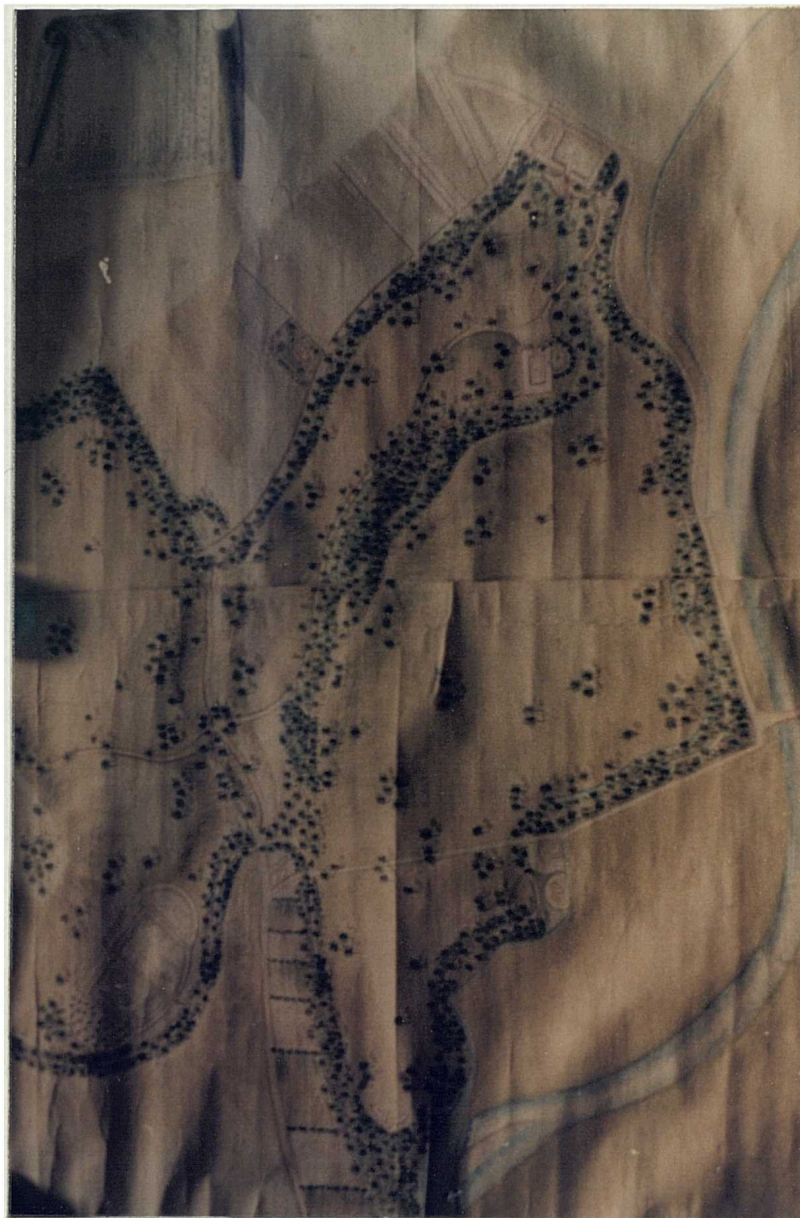
Hughes (1965) p.235

"In March 1784 Thomas White wrote from Retford to say that he had no man available for planting young trees within 200 miles of Workington and that his servant West had 200,000 trees to plant before he could get there. He wondered, therefore, if Curwen's gardener would do the actual planting; he himself was willing to bear any losses through dead trees."

(original letter no longer in CRO - missing from Curwen archives)

Jacques (1983) p.117

Neave (GSEYN 1984)



WORKINGTON Thomas White plan 1783 (part)

## APPENDIX A3

## ESTATES IN SCOTLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND/OR THOMAS WHITE JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED

See Map 2 overleaf (map reference in brackets after estate)

Sr & Jr = Thomas White and Thomas White junior

Jr = Thomas White junior

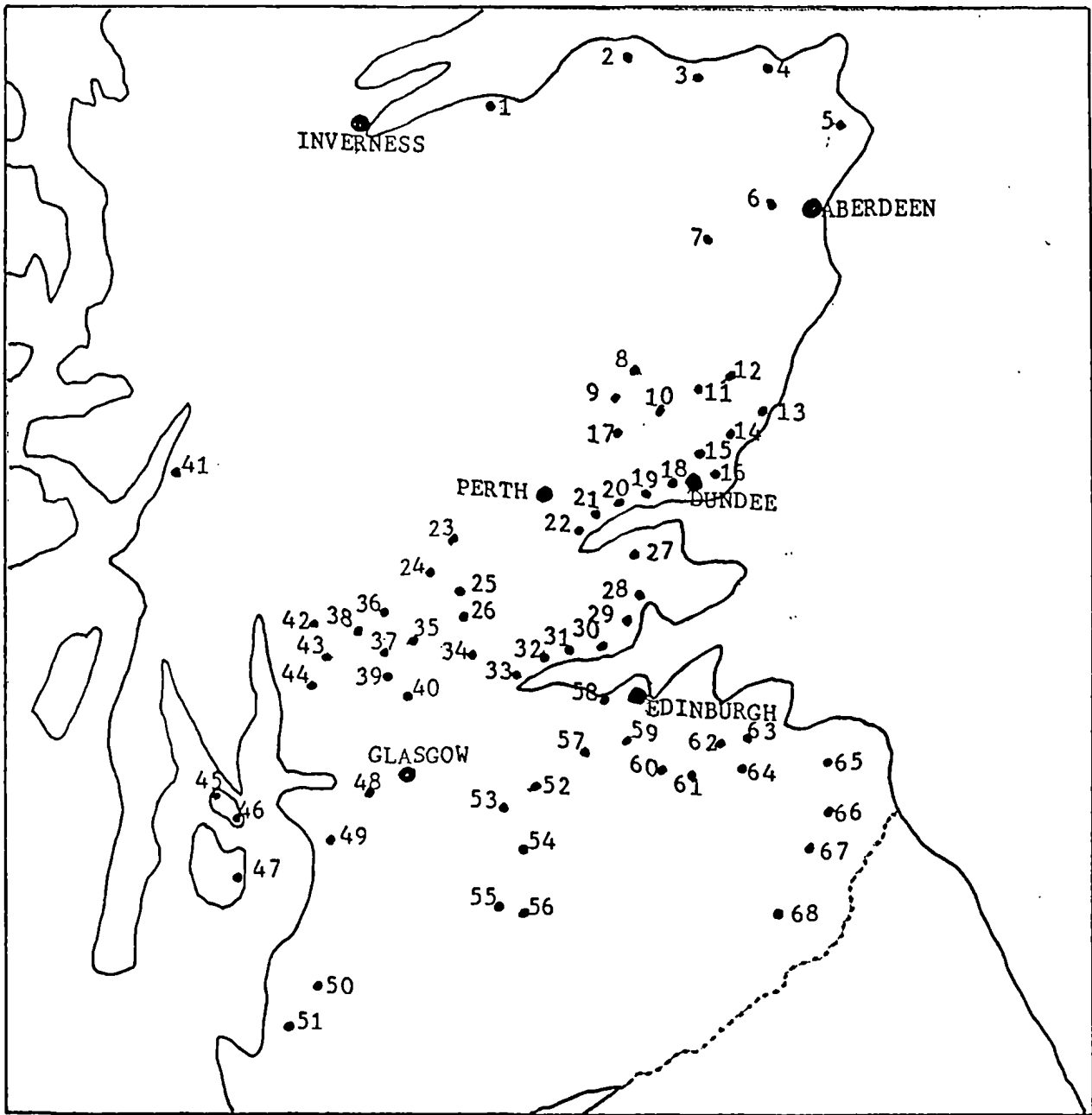
Estate	Date	Page
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ARNISTON	(61) 1791 plan	541
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BALBIRNIE	(28) 1815 plan Jr	545
BARCADDINE	(41) 1818-19 Jr	547
BARGANY	(51) 1802 plans(2) Sr & Jr	548
BLAIR DRUMMOND	(38) 1788 plan	551
BLAIRQUHAN	(50) 1803 plan	554
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DALMENY	(58) 1815 plan Jr	578
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DONIBRISTLE	(31) 1781?	581
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DUDHOPE	(18) 1782	585
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DUNNINALD	(13) 1789 plan	587
DUNS	(66) 1812 plan Jr	589
FINTRY	(16) 1782	591
FORDELL	(32) 1818 plan Jr	592
GARTUR	(40) 1808? Jr	593
GASK	(25) 1797 Jr	594
GLAMIS	(17) 1771-72 plan	595
GLENCORSE	(59) 1793 plan	597
GLENEAGLES	(26) ?	598
GORDON	(2) 1786-92	599
GREEN/GLASGOW	(48) 1820 plan Jr	601
GUYND	(14) 1799 plan Sr & Jr	602
HARBURN	(57) 1815 plan Jr	604
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INVERQUHARITY	(8) 1773 plan	606
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KEITH	(6) 1794	610

## APPENDIX A3 continued

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KIPPENROSS	(37) 1818		Jr 614
LEDDINGTON	(63) 1784	plan	615
LEE	(54) 1805	plan	Jr 616
LINDERTIS	(9) 1812		Jr 617
MOUNT STUART	(46) 1814		Jr 618
MOUNTQUHANIE	(27) 1798	plan	619
MURDOSTOUN	(53) 1811	plan	Jr 620
MYLNEFIELD	(20) pre 1797?		621
NISBET	(67) 1784	plan	622
OLD MELROSE	(68) 1809	plan	624
PANMURE	(15) 1820		Jr 625
PITFIRANE	(33) 1801	plan	Sr & Jr 626
POLTON	(60) 1791	plan	627
PRESTON HALL	(64) 1794	plan	628
RAIT	(21) 1812		Jr 634
RAITH	(30) 1783	plan	635
ROSSDHU	(42) 1797	plan	636
SCONE	(22) 1781	plan	638
TOUCH	(39) 1797	plan	645
WEMYSS	(29) 1801-7		Sr & Jr 649

MAP 2

ESTATES IN SCOTLAND AT WHICH THOMAS WHITE AND/OR THOMAS WHITE  
JUNIOR WERE ENGAGED



1 DARNAWAY	18 DUDHOPE	35 AIRTHREY	52 ALLANTON
2 GORDON	19 DRIMMIE	36 KEIR	53 MURDOSTOUN
3 CULLEN	20 MYLNEFIELD	37 KIPPENROSS	54 LEE
4 DUFF	21 RAIT	38 BLR DRUMMOND	55 DOUGLAS
5 CAIRNESS	22 SCONE	39 TOUCH	56 BOTHWELL
6 KEITH	23 ABERCAIRNY	40 GARTUR	57 HARBURN
7 CASTLE FRASER	24 ARDOCH	41 BARCADDINE	58 DALMENY
8 INVERQUHARITY	25 GASK	42 ROSSDHU	59 GLENCORSE
9 LINDERTIS	26 GLENEAGLES	43 BUCHANAN	60 POLTON
10 AULDBAR	27 MOUNTQUHANIE	44 CAMERON	61 ARNISTON
11 KINNAIRD	28 BALBIRNIE	45 KAMES	62 HERDMANSTON
12 BRECHIN	29 WEMYSS	46 MOUNT STUART	63 LEDDINGTON
13 DUNNINALD	30 RAITH	47 BRODICK	64 PRESTON HALL
14 GUYND	31 DINIBRISTLE	48 GREEN/GLASGOW	65 ALLANBANK
15 PANMURE	32 FORDELL	49 CHAMPFLEURIE	66 DUNS
16 FINTRY	33 PITFIRANE	50 BLAIRQUHAN	67 NISBET
17 GLAMIS	34 KENNET	51 BARGANY	68 OLD MELROSE

ABERCAIRNY

(Map 2 No. 23)

Perthshire (Tayside)  
 Fowlis Wester Parish  
 4 miles E of Crieff

Client: Colonel CHARLES MORAY (1746-1810)  
 Succeeded 1784  
 Married 1778 Anne, eldest daughter of Sir William  
 Stirling of Ardoch

1. Date of Plan: 1791

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ABERCAIRNY  
 THE SEAT OF CHAS. MORAY ESQR. BY T. WHITE  
 1791  
 (lower right, monotone vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Offices  
 C Stables  
 D Stable yard  
 E Bowling green  
 F Farm offices  
 G Kitchen garden  
 H Sunk fence  
 The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 38 x 56  
 Location: Abercairny House  
 Condition: Slightly waterstained; stored rolled up

2. Date of Plan: 1793

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ABERCAIRNY  
 THE SEAT OF CHLS. MORAY ESQ. BY T. WHITE  
 1793  
 (upper right, oval framed vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Stables  
 C Yard to ditto  
 D Bowling green  
 E Shrub garden  
 F Kitchen ditto  
 G Lodges  
 H Sunk fences  
 I Farm offices  
 K Deer park  
 N.B. The dotted lines are the old fences  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche within oval  
 framed vignette)

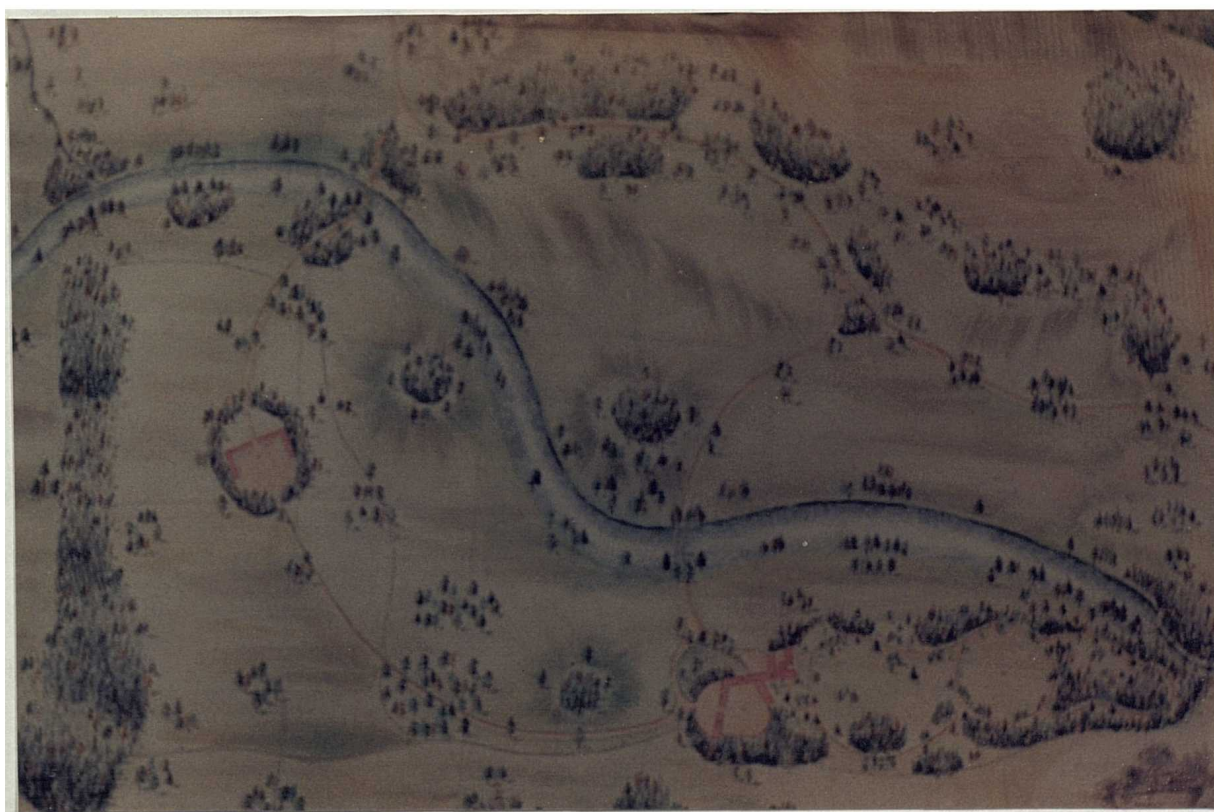
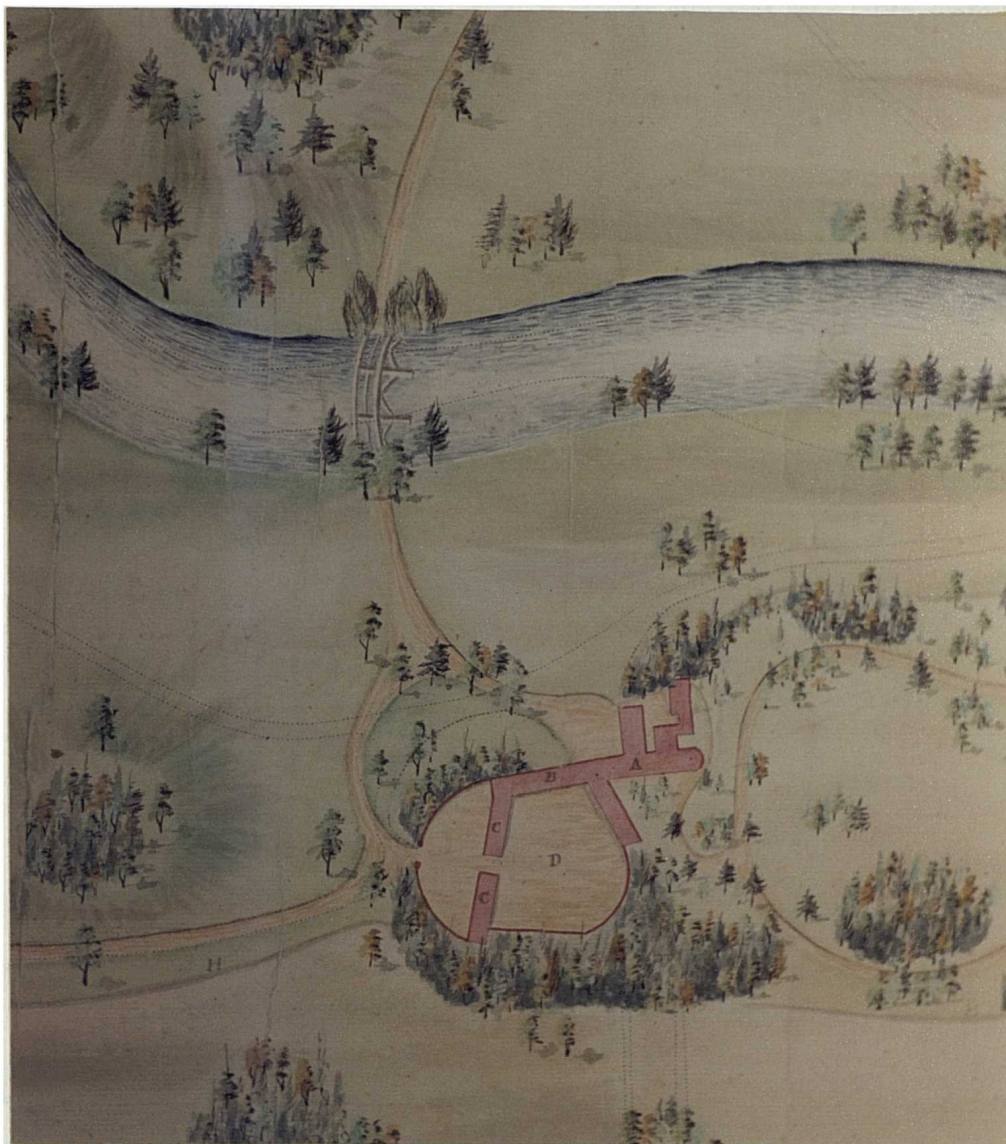
Size: 75 x 63  
 Location: Abercairny House  
 Condition: Badly waterstained and discoloured  
 Stored rolled up



ABERCAIRNY - 2

- Comments: White took a survey of Abercairny in December 1790 and was engaged there until 1798. Estate accounts show that he received a total of £364 7s. for his improvements there.  
New house built 1804 (Richard Crichton).  
There was a family connection (Moray) between Abercairny, Ardoch (1792) and Blair Drummond (1788) estates.
- Archival Material: SRO GD/24 Moray family papers, particularly GD/24/1/624 'Accounts for repairs, rebuilding and furnishing Abercairny House and laying out the lawns and policies'.
- Other Plans: 1761 Robert Robinson (at Abercairny)  
1775 Donald Mackie (SRO RHP 1006)  
1813 Lewis Kennedy (SRO GD 24/5/175)
- Other Material: Hunter (1883) pp.228-9:  
"About the beginning of the century, the grandfather of the present laird employed Mr. White, the landscape gardener, to lay out the grounds with the evident intention of building the present mansion. The lake in front of the house, consisting of several acres, was part of this plan, which appears to have been rather artistic."
- Girouard (CL 1961) p.507:  
"Between 1790 and 1795 a certain Thomas White called variously in the documents 'Landscape Gardener' and 'the Capability Man', appears to have been responsible for the existing lake and the main lines of the planting."
- Tait (1980) pp.148,178
- Binney et al (1980) unpaginated; credits the landscaping of Abercairny to Thomas White junior.
- Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.1-7

ABERCAIRNY Thomas White plan 1791 (details)

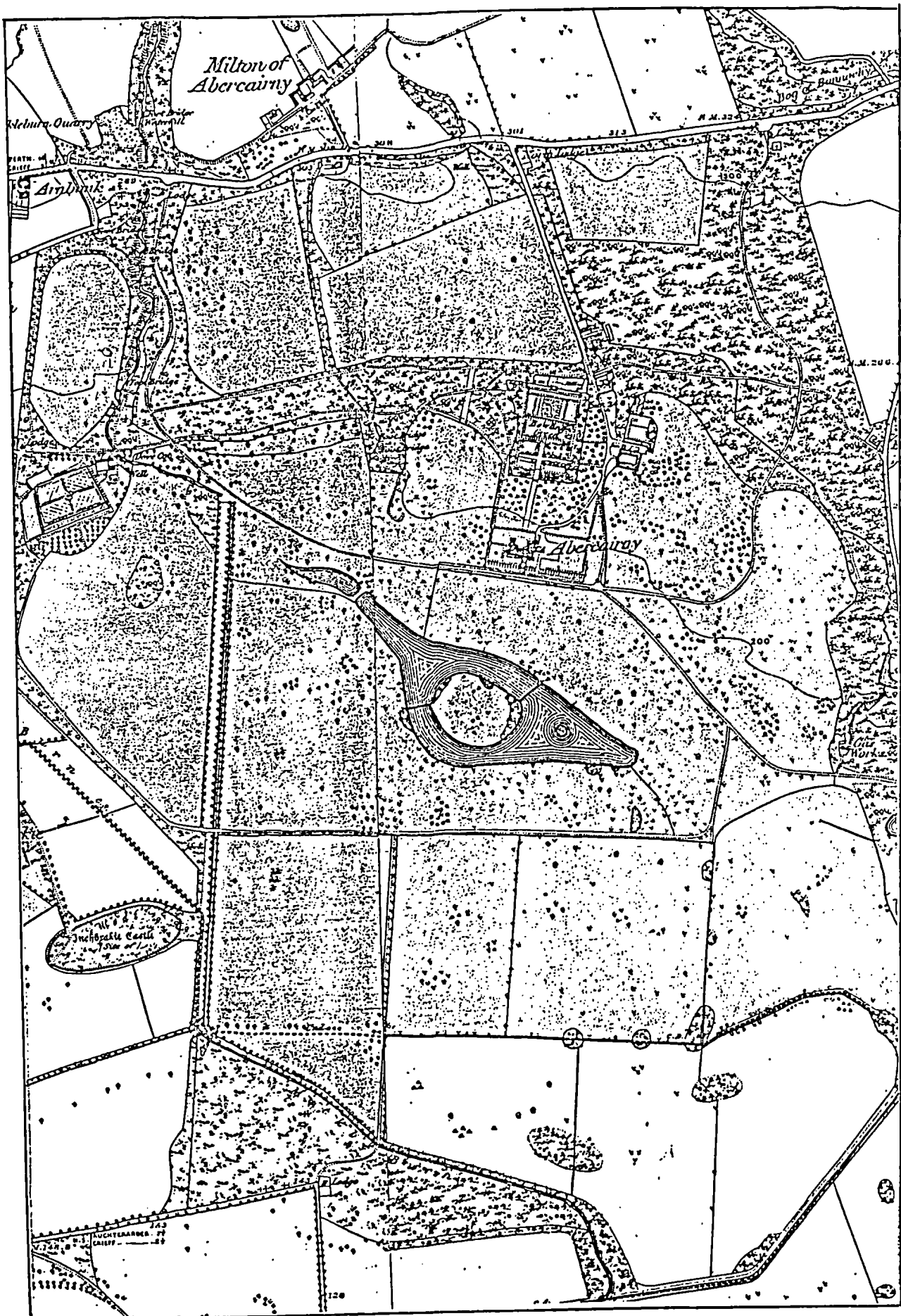






ABERCAIRNY Thomas White plan 1793 (detail)

## ABERCAIRNY 6" O.S. map 1866



AIRTHREY

(Map 2 No. 35)

Stirlingshire (Central)  
 Logie Parish  
 2 miles N of Stirling

Client: ROBERT HALDANE (1764-1851)

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1790

Evidence: Loudon (EE 1830) p.543 and Loudon (EG 1859) p.270:  
 "Airthrey near Stirling and Bargany in Ayrshire are the principal productions of this family [White]."

Robert Haldane devoted great energy to improving his Airthrey estate between 1786 and 1796, when he sold it to General Sir Robert Abercrombie of Gleneagles (Perthshire). Loudon (EG 1828) para. 7636 attributed the landscaping of Gleneagles to White as follows:

"Gleneagles near Stirling; Sir R. Abercrombie. A house in the mixed style of Gothic and Grecian, of Adams, standing in finely varied grounds, well planted, and containing a fine piece of water, by White."

It seems very probable that Loudon was confusing Gleneagles and Airthrey, since Gleneagles is not 'near Stirling' and the description of the house fits that of Adam's Airthrey Castle, as does the 'fine piece of water'.

Robert Adam provided the designs for Airthrey ca. 1790 and a letter from his agent John Paterson March 14 1790 (NLS 19993) contains a possible reference to Thomas White:

"The young man from Mr. White came yesterday; how he may turn out I know not but he is very awkward."

Other Material: Haldane E(1934) p.121  
 "White laid out Airthrey near Stirling and Bargany in Ayrshire."

Inventory (1987) Vol.4, p.272  
 "Thomas White Snr and Jnr have been noted as being responsible for the layout of the designed landscape but there are no known design plans which confirm this."

ALLANBANK

(Map 2 No. 65)

Berwickshire (Borders)  
 Edrom Parish  
 8 miles W of Berwick

Client: Sir JOHN STUART (1714-1796)

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1782-1786

Evidence: Bolton (1927) p.46  
 Letter from 'John Castle Esq' (John Stuart) to John Soane, architect August 20 [1782]:  
 "You need not now enquire about Mr. Yeames [William Emes], as I have got a Mr. White from that country, who is carrying on some great works in the beautifying way, to look at Allanbank."  
 In a letter to Soane September 5 1780 (Bolton p.38) Stuart had enquired if Soane knew 'of any person who has taste in laying out grounds, and who would come down for a few days upon any moderate terms since 'the great Brown as you know is not come-at-able.'  
 Mulgrave VI 10/336 letter from Thomas White to Lord Mulgrave addressed from Allanbank December 23 1784.  
 Scone B1513 Account 6 letter from Thomas White at Allanbank December 24 1785 to William Blair at Scone regarding sending his foreman Teal from Allanbank back to Scone.  
 Scone 632/27 letter from Thomas White at Douglas Castle to Lord Stormont August 30 1786 mentioning his foreman Teal:  
 "I have received a letter from him [Teal] at Allanbank ..."

Other Material: Stroud (1975) p.207

ALLANTON TW senior & junior (Map 2 No. 52)  
 Lanarkshire (Strathclyde)  
 Cambusnethan Parish  
 5 miles E of Motherwell (adjoining Murdostoun estate)

Client: Sir HENRY STEUART (1759-1836)

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1788-1808

Evidence: Sir Henry Steuart's The Planter's Guide of 1828 contains a considerable amount of material on Thomas White and his son, relating both to their work at Allanton and their own estate of Woodlands (pp.41,202-3,403,424-6,451,459,464).  
 Appendix includes Report of a Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, 1823, which stated:

"The grounds were originally laid out by Mr. White, the well-known landscape gardener."

From 1779 onwards Steuart acted as manager of Archibald Seton's Touch estate for which White drew a plan in 1797.

White's debit account at Drummonds Bank gives various purchases of lottery tickets including:

Jan 30 1788 For a lottery ticket for him and  
                   H. Stuart of Allington registered in  
                   both their names                               £17 1s

Other Plans: 1765 Estate survey map (SRO RHP 3665)  
 1808 Survey by John Leslie shows the estate as landscaped by White

Other Material: Scott (QR 1828) p.332  
 "The grounds of Allanton had been about 40 years ago, ornamented with a belt and clumps by a pupil of Browne."

Edwards (1962) p.23  
 "[White] was also privileged to construct the park at Allanton House for that celebrated arboriculturist Sir Henry Steuart."

Stroud (1975) p.207

Tait (Burl 1976) pp.14-22

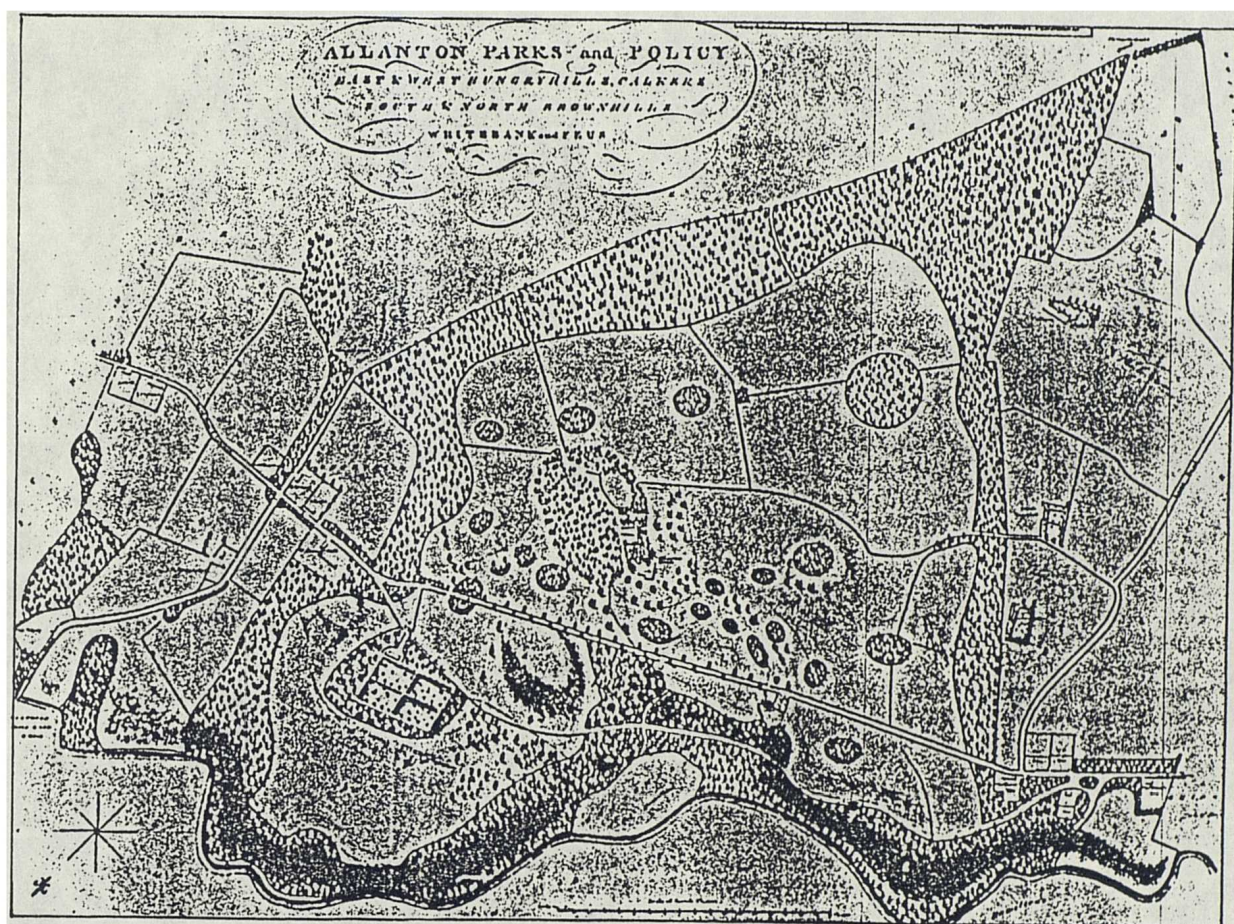
Binney et al (1980)  
 "Supposedly one of the best gardens in Scotland, by the author of The Planter's Guide, although originally laid out by the elder Thomas White from 1788 ..."

Tait (1980) pp.214-16,220-2

Inventory (1987) Vol.2, pp.122-23



ALLANTON John Leslie survey map 1808





ARDOCH

(Map 2 No. 24)

Perthshire (Tayside)  
 Muthill Parish  
 12 miles S of Crieff

Client: Sir WILLIAM STIRLING (d.1799)  
 Daughter Anne married 1778 Charles Moray of  
Abercairny

Date of Plan: 1792  
 (unsigned)

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ARDOCH THE  
 SEAT OF SIR WILLIAM STIRLING BARONET 1792  
 (upper centre, vignette of tented Roman camp)

References: A The House  
 B Stables etc.  
 C Kitchen garden  
 D A Bowling green and Shrubbery  
 E Roman Camp  
 F Lodges  
 N.B. The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
 Some sunk fences will be wanted which will  
 be best mark'd on the spot  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche within oval  
 vignette)

Size: ca. 36 x 48  
 Location: Abercairny House  
 Condition: Good, clear colours; stored rolled up

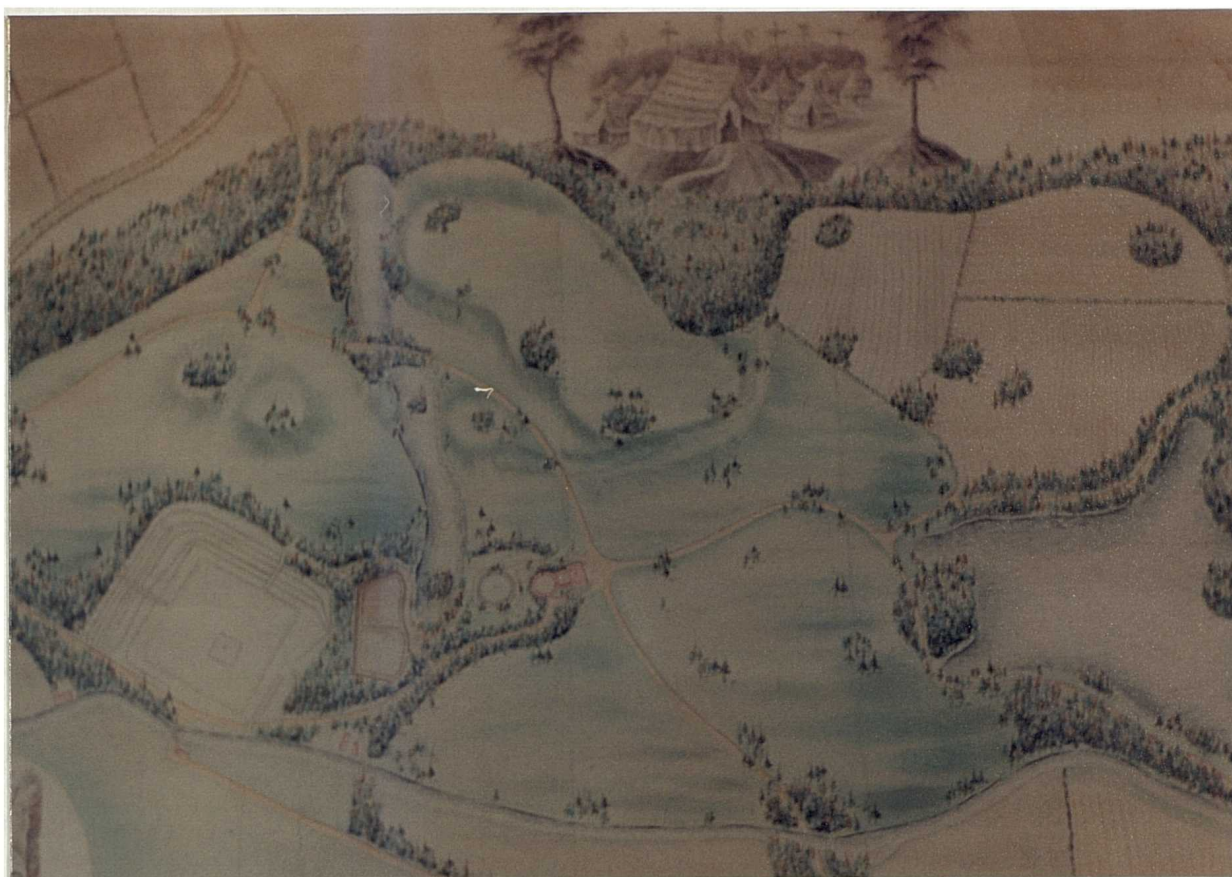
Comments: The plan is unsigned but very definitely in  
 the hand of Thomas White.  
 Existence of plan ascertained August 1989.  
 Plan shows site of Roman Camp near house,  
 imaginatively recreated in White's title  
 vignette.  
 House built 1793.  
 Distant relationship with Stirlings of Keir.  
 Thomas White junior possibly involved at  
 Ardoch 1812-1816.

Archival SRO GD/24/1/624/30 White account at Abercairny  
 Material: 1798: 'Jan. 2 Attending this day and till  
 eleven o'clock the next at Abercairny waiting  
 for Coln. Moray's answer from Ardoch'

Strathclyde Regional Archives T-SK 21/4-1  
 White junior account at Keir with James  
 Stirling:  
 March 19 1812 'Travelling from Ardoch and  
 looking over grounds with Mr. Davison'  
 Sep 16 1816 'Travelling from Ardoch and  
 looking over the grounds of Keir'



ARDOCH Thomas White plan 1792 (details)  
(showing site of Roman camp)



ARNISTON

(Map 2 No. 61)

Edinburghshire (Lothian)  
 Temple and Borthwick Parish  
 12 miles S of Edinburgh

Client: ROBERT DUNDAS, Chief Baron Dundas (1758-1819)  
 Succeeded 1787  
 Married 1787 Elizabeth, daughter of Henry  
 Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville

Date of Plan: 1791

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ARNISTON  
 BY T. WHITE 1791  
 (upper right, attractive vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Offices  
 C Stable  
 D Dungwell  
 E Stable yard  
 F Other convenient yards or courts  
 G Farm offices  
 H Yards to ditto  
 I Kitchen garden  
 K Farm houses  
 L Seats and summerhouses  
 M Village houses  
 N Cottages and detached houses  
 O Roads  
 P Walks  
 Q Green rides  
 R Piece of water  
 S Head to ditto  
 The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower right, scroll cartouche)

Size: 72 x 72

Location: Original with Mrs. A. Dundas-Bekker, Arniston  
 House; photocopy at SRO RHP 83428

Condition: Good

Comments: Massive scale, ambitious and impressive plan;  
 evidence that some proposals later carried  
 through.

Other Plans: c.1726 William Adam (illus. Tait (1980)  
 p.30) and other early 18th century  
 plans at Arniston  
 1791 William Ireland (p/c SRO RHP 5246/6)

ARNISTON - 2

Other  
Material:

Tait (Burl 1969) p.140:

"Slowly the grid stretched across the gardens and park by William Adam was broken and destroyed and, ultimately, in the plan of the improver Thomas White of 1791, obliterated. In this scheme little of the garden that even Pococke saw was permitted to remain - all was grass, trees, and a little water, with a few 'Seats and Summerhouses' as useful ornaments. This plan, like Adam's encompassed the whole estate, including Shank and other property that had been added to the north, but unlike the old pattern of fields and farms a vast area was turned into a pastoral idyll by White with the distasteful farmyards and stables well hidden by thick circles of trees."

McWilliam (1978) p.82:

"Some of the avenues remain, but the overall pattern was obscured by Thomas White's new layout in the Capability Brown manner in 1791."

Tait (1980) pp.148,156

Inventory (1987) Vol.5, pp.10-17



ARNISTON Thomas White plan 1791





AULDBAR  
Forfarshire (Tayside)  
Aberlemno Parish  
6 miles NE of Forfar

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 10)

Client: WILLIAM CHALMERS

NO PLAN

Date: 1820

Evidence: NLS Ms.15420 f.96 letter from Thomas White junior at Brechin Castle to Alexander Guthrie at Craigie, Dundee May 30 1820:  
"I arrived here last night from Panmure and have today visited Auldbar which is a very fine old place ... I could put many pounds into Mr. Chalmer's pocket yearly and save the rest of the standing trees from perdition. I could be of equal use in the alteration that should be made in the grounds .... if therefore your friend through your representation should think it proper to take a plan from me for the improvements to be made ..."

Comments: No further evidence as to whether a commission was undertaken at Auldbar

BALBIRNIE (TW junior) (Map 2 No. 28)  
 Fifeshire (Fife)  
 Markinch Parish  
 1.5 miles E of Glenrothes

Client: General ROBERT BALFOUR (d.1837)  
 succeeded 1813

Date of Plan: 1815

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE GROUNDS  
 AT BALBIRNIE THE SEAT OF M. GENERAL BALFOUR  
 BY THOS. WHITE 1815  
 (inscribed upper left)

References: A House & offices  
 B Farm ditto  
 C Gardens  
 D Flowers ditto  
 E Stables  
 F Drying green  
 G Sunk fences  
 H Roads  
 I Walks  
 K Lodges  
 L Seats  
 The dotted lines are the old fences  
 A Scale of Chains 74 feet each  
 (inscribed lower centre)

Size: 39 x 44  
 Location: SRO RHP 24334  
 Condition: Good

Comments: A 1779 plan by Robert Robinson was implemented  
 and enlarged and broadened in White junior's  
 scheme.  
 New house designed 1815 by Robert Crichton

Other Plans: 1779 Robert Robinson (SRO RHP 24335)  
 1815 Survey (at Balbirnie)

Other Material: Rowan (CL 1972) p.1673:  
 "As soon as the extension of the house was  
 put in hand fresh proposals were drawn up  
 for the park. The landscapist on this  
 occasion was Thomas White, the son of  
 the elder Thomas White who was one of  
 Brown's most successful pupils and had  
 worked extensively in Scotland. Here the  
 younger White had Robinson's landscape to  
 improve on, and with more funds was able  
 to suggest that the public road that ran  
 across the park to the west of the house

should be re-routed beyond a rise still farther to the west, out of sight of the main rooms. Though White's plan of 1815 was not adopted at once its major proposals were put into practice. Indeed the park of 200 acres remains today as one of his most typical creations."

Stuart (1979) p.204

Tait (1980) pp.81, 226

Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.348-53

Giffard (1988) p.236

"The rest of the parkland follows Thomas White's design of 1817. [sic]"

BARCALDINE TW junior  
Argyllshire (Grampian)  
Archattan Parish  
9 miles NW of Taynault

(Map 2 No. 41)

Client: D. CAMPBELL

NO PLAN

Date: 1818-19

Evidence: SRO GD/170/2759/1-3 (Campbell papers)  
Letters Thomas White junior to D. Campbell,  
Esq., Barcaldine:

- 1 From Woodlands June 25 1818  
" ... Since I had the pleasure of seeing  
you at Mr. Hills I have met with many  
things to prevent my getting to  
Barcaldine ..."
- 2 From Luss December 1 1818  
" ... as soon as my plan is done I will  
forward it to you ..."
- 3 From Woodlands March 4 1819  
" ... I have been enabled to get my design  
done for the improvement of your grounds  
which incloses your two surveys and paper  
of contents which i brought away from  
Barcaldine ... I will not despair of  
again visiting your most beautiful place,  
in some fine summer weather, when  
probably some of your friends may want my  
aid ..."

BARGANY (TW senior & junior) (Map 2 No. 51)  
 Ayrshire (Strathclyde)  
 Dailly Parish  
 20 miles S of Ayr (approx. 10 miles SW of Blairquhan)

Client: Sir HEW DALRYMPLE HAMILTON (1774-1834)  
 Succeeded 1800

1. Date of Plan: 1802

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE GROUNDS  
 ABOUT THE INTENDED HOUSE OF BARGANY THE SEAT  
 OF SIR HEW DALRYMPLE HAMILTON BART. BY  
 T. WHITE JUN. 1802  
 (lower right, ornamental vignette)

References: ?

Size: ca. 72 x 94  
 Location: Bargany, in possession of Captain N.  
 Dalrymple-Hamilton  
 Condition: Good, vivid colours, stored rolled up  
 Comments: Although signed T. White junior, the  
 plan appears to be in the hand of Thomas  
 White - this was most likely a joint  
 commission

2. Date of Plan: 1802

Title/  
 References: REFERENCES TO A DESIGN FOR THE  
 IMPROVEMENT OF THE GROUNDS ABOUT THE  
 PRESENT HOUSE OF BARGANY BY THOS. WHITE  
 JUNR. 1802  
 A The House  
 B Court to ditto  
 C Stables  
 D Washing Green  
 E Garden  
 F Gardeners House  
 The dotted lines are old fences etc.  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (inscribed lower right)

Size: 24 x 38  
 Location: SRO RHP 1725  
 Condition: Good

Comments: The Whites prepared two plans for Bargany one  
 showing an intended house and one the present  
 house. Their work at Bargany involved a 1000  
 acre planting contract resulting in a lawsuit.  
 John Hay and William Sawrey Gilpin at Bargany  
 in nineteenth century.

BARGANY - 2

Archival SRO CS 237/W7/47 Inventory of Writs  
Material: RD3/339 Contract of Sale and Assignation 1811  
RH4/57 Vol.2 f.59 1832 'Calculation of  
Expenses' mentions "White's Old Nursery"

Other Plans: 1774 George Robertson (SRO RHP 1724)  
(illust. Tait (1980) p.88)

Other Loudon (EE 1830) p.543 and (EG 1859) p.270  
Material: "Airthrey near Stirling and Bargany in  
Ayrshire are the principal productions  
of this family [White]."

Haldane E(1934) p.121  
"White laid out Airthrey near Stirling and  
Bargany in Ayrshire."

Tait (1980) pp.165-171

Inventory (1987) Vol.2, pp.171-6





BARGANY Thomas White junior plan (1) 1802



BLAIR DRUMMOND

(Map 2 No. 38)

Perthshire (Central)  
 Kincardine/Kilmadock Parish  
 6 miles NW of Stirling

Client: GEORGE HOME DRUMMOND  
 succeeded Henry Home, Lord Kames 1782

Date of Plan: 1788

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BLAIR  
 DRUMMOND THE SEAT OF GEORGE DRUMMOND ESQ.  
 BY T. WHITE 1788  
 (upper right, monotone vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Stables  
 C Lodges  
 D Kitchen garden  
 E Gardeners house  
 F Workmens houses  
 G Farm ditto  
 H Ice ditto  
 I Overseers ditto  
 Some sunk fences may be wanted which are best  
 directed on the spot  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 52 x 57

Location: Abercairny House

Condition: Good, stored rolled in tube

Comments: Existence of plan ascertained August 1989

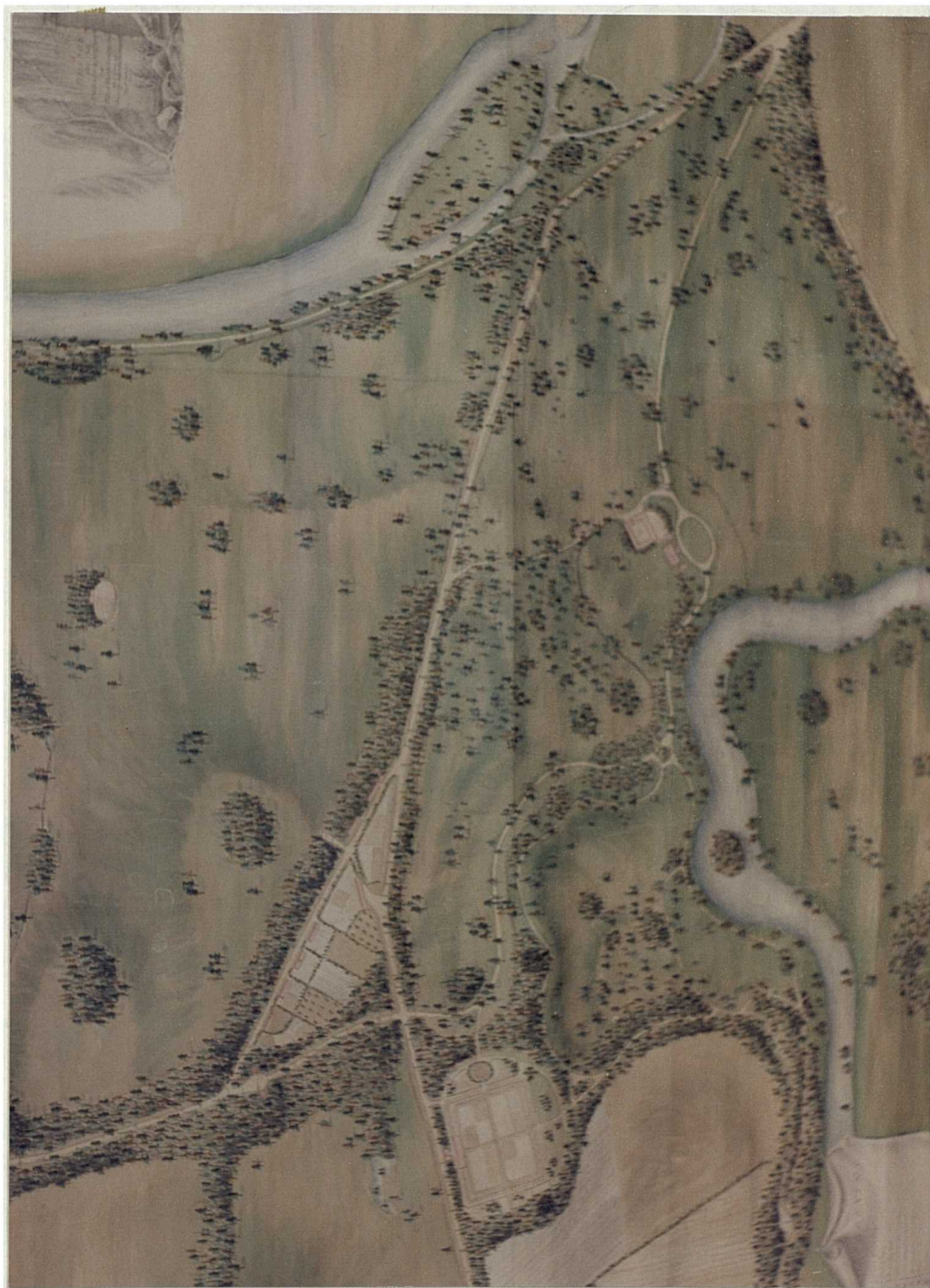
Other SA Transactions (1789) p.45

Material: Letter from Thomas White, Retford  
 February 17 1788:

"[I] cannot deny myself the pleasure of  
 laying before the Society, an account of  
 some of the oldest and largest Larch  
 Trees in Britain, which I have this day  
 received from a very ingenious and  
 speculative gentleman, Mr. Drummond of  
 Blair Drummond in Scotland, son of the  
 late Lord Kames."

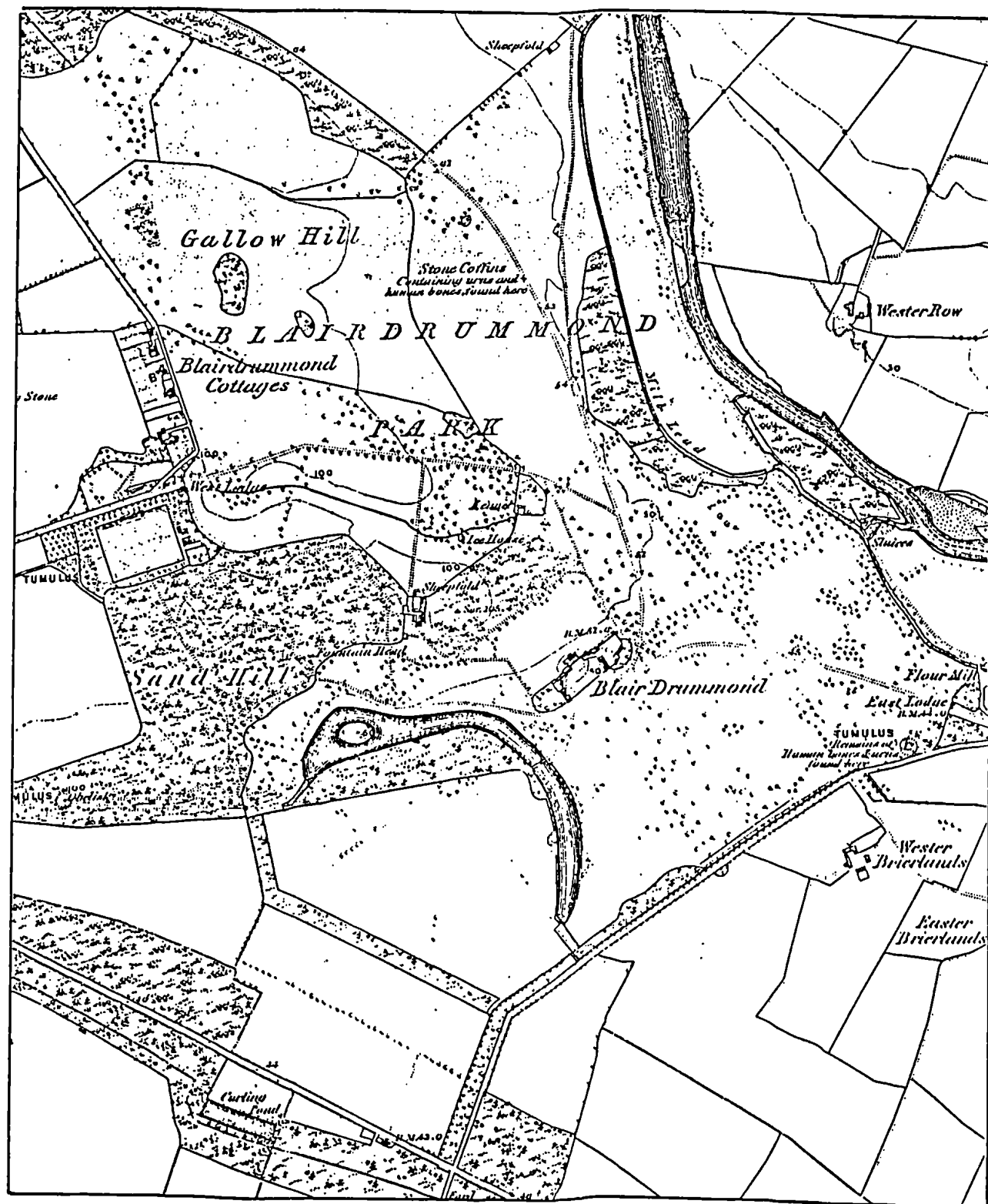
Letter George Drummond to Thomas White  
 (1788):

"When I had the pleasure of seeing you  
 here in November last, you bestowed so  
 many handsome compliments upon my  
 Larixes, that I should be ungrateful if I  
 neglected to perform the promise I then  
 made of sending you the dimensions of the  
 largest ones."



BLAIR DRUMMOND    Thomas White plan 1788 (part)

BLAIR DRUMMOND 6" O.S. map 1864



BLAIRQUHAN

(Map 2 No.50)

Ayrshire (Strathclyde)

Straiton Kirkmichael Parish

14 miles S of Ayr (approx. 10 miles NE of Bargany)

Client: Sir DAVID HUNTER BLAIR  
succeeded 1800

Date of Plan: 1803

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BLAIRQUHAN  
THE SEAT OF SIR DAVID HUNTER BLAIR BARONET  
BY T. WHITE 1803  
(upper centre, part-circle framed vignette)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Stables  
D Yards to ditto  
E Garden  
G Poultry yard  
H Hot beds  
I Lodges  
(lower left, circular framed vignette)

Size: 36 x 48

Location: Hanging in Blairquhan Estate Office

Condition: Faded and browned in tone, unframed and  
unglazed  
Addition of notations in pen and pencil

Comments: Proposals not implemented; policies laid out by  
Sir David Hunter Blair

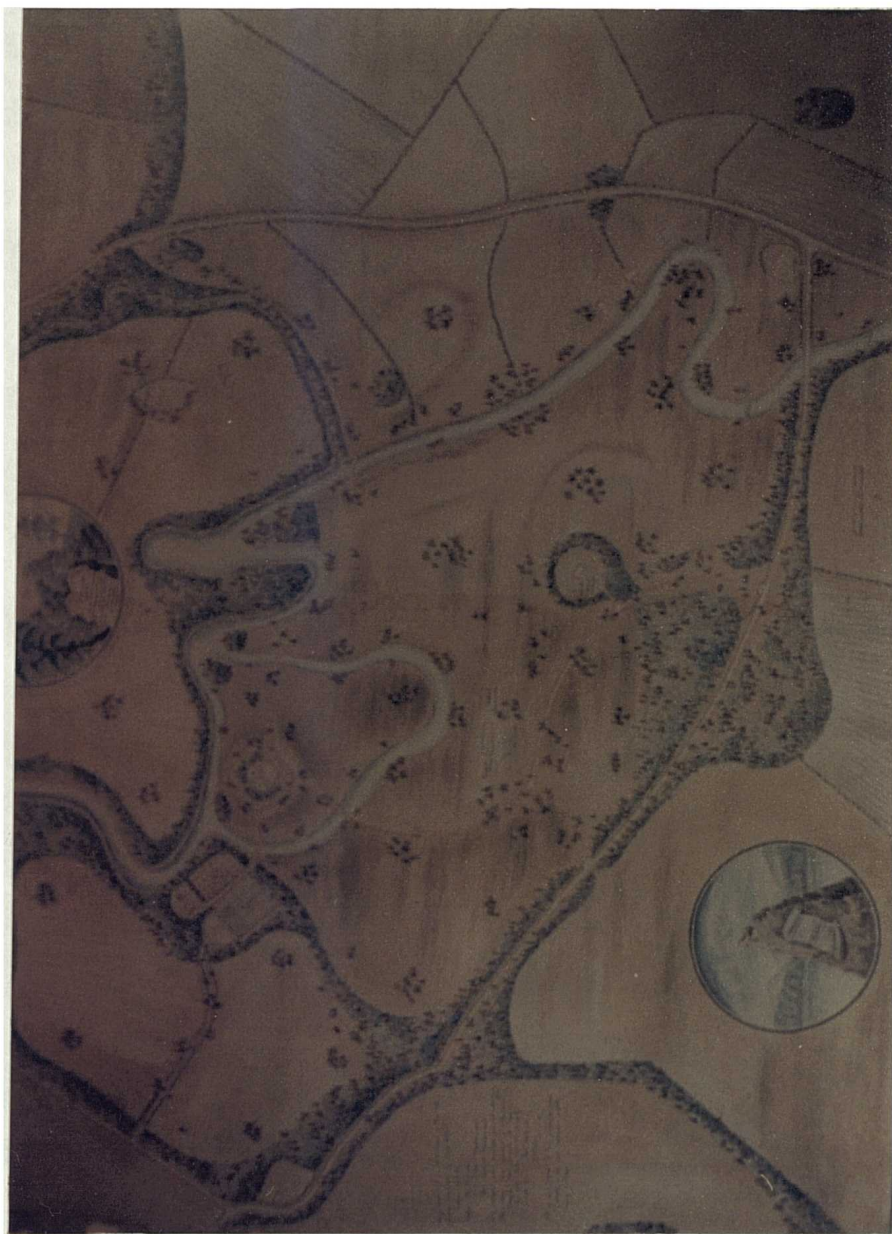
Other Plans: 1787 William Crawford Survey Map (Blairquhan)

Other Rowan (CL 1973) p.1057

Material: "In 1803 perhaps with a view more to  
planting than to building, he [Sir David  
Hunter Blair] had commissioned a scheme  
for the improvement of Blairquhan from  
Thomas White, the landscape architect.  
White proposed a new Classical house in  
the meadows across the river from the  
castle, a great lake to be scooped out of  
the Girvan and no less than four bridges  
to connect the house with the park.  
Perhaps it was his policy to flatter  
clients by a lofty disregard for the  
limits of their finances, but if this is  
the case, it failed him at Blairquhan and  
at a good many more Scottish estates.  
Nothing was done."

Tait (1980) pp.147-8, 170-71

Inventory (1987) Vol.2, pp.189-194



BLAIRQUHAN Thomas White plan 1803





BLAIRQUHAN 6" O.S. map 1859

BOTHWELL

(Map 2 No. 56)

Lanarkshire (Strathclyde)

Bothwell Parish

10 miles S of Lanark (by Douglas)

Client: ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS (1748-1827)

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1783

Evidence: Scone 1232/8 letter William Blair to Lord  
Stormont November 30 1784  
"From some experiements he [White] made  
last year at Bothwell Castle, I find he  
is now quite against lint [flax] as being  
a scourging crop ..."

Tait (1980) p.147

"Lord Douglas recommended White to Robert  
Graham and may have employed him at  
Bothwell after James Playfair's  
reconstruction."

Archibald Douglas was a sustaining patron of  
Thomas White; White was engaged at Douglas  
Castle from 1770 until at least 1790.



BRECHIN TW junior  
Forfarshire (Tayside)  
Brechin Parish  
8 miles NW of Montrose

(Map 2 No. 12)

Client: LORD PANMURE

NO PLAN

Date: 1820

Evidence: NLS Ms.15420 letter from Thomas White junior  
letter to Alexander Guthrie May 30 1820  
regarding Auldbar addressed from Brechin  
Castle.

BRODICK TW junior  
Arran (Strathclyde)  
Kilbride Parish

(Map 2 No. 47)

Client: EARL OF BUTE ?

NO PLAN

Date: before 1814

Evidence: Tait (1980) p.259 lists under works of Thomas  
White junior:  
Brodick Castle, Arran, before 1814 (Mount  
Stuart Muniments)

BUCHANAN

(Map 2 No. 43)

Stirlingshire (Central)

Buchanan Parish

By Loch Lomond 17 miles NW of Glasgow

Client: JAMES MARQUIS OF GRAHAM (1755-1836)  
succeeded as 3rd Duke of Montrose 1790

Date of Plan: 1789

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BUCHANNAN  
THE SEAT OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MONTROSE  
BY T. WHITE 1789  
(lower left, vignette)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Stables  
D Stable yard  
E Shrubberies and flower garden etc.  
F Kitchen garden  
G Orchard  
H Keepers house  
I Lodges  
K Quarry  
L Church  
M Sunk fences  
N Detach'd houses  
The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right, scroll cartouche)

Size: 56 x 95

Location: With the Marquis of Graham, Auchmar House

Condition: Good, stored rolled up

Comments: A vast horizontal plan, parts of which were  
implemented in conjunction with James  
Playfair's building work. White entered into  
a planting contract with the Marquis of Graham  
in 1787 which continued until 1795.  
Buchanan Castle demolished in 1954

Archival SRO GD/220 Montrose papers:  
Material: GD/220/6/592/33 Heads of Planting  
Contract September 1787  
GD/220/6/585/17 Contract between Marquis  
of Graham and Thomas White November 1787  
GD/220/6/51 Factors Accounts 1788-1803  
GD/220/5/1757/11 Correspondence David  
Erskine and David Graeme

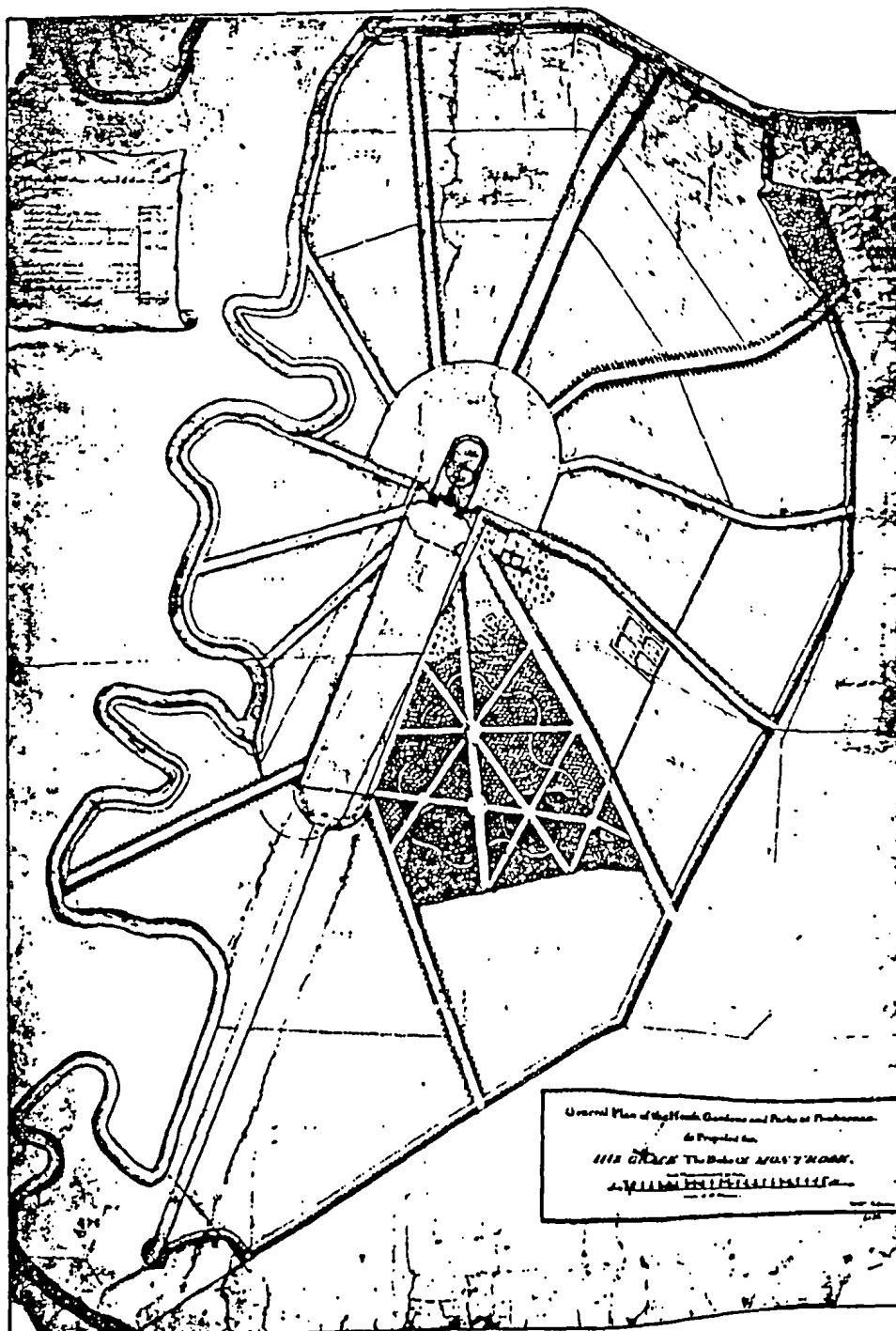
Other Plans: 1745 William Adam (SRO RHP 6150)  
18th Century unsigned (SRO RHP 6151)  
(Robertson?)

Other Macaulay (1986) p.3  
Material: "The Duke of Montrose called in a  
follower of Capability Brown to Buchanan  
in Stirlingshire."

## BUCHANAN Thomas White plan 1789 and detail



BUCHANAN William Adam plan 1745







CAIRNESS (Buthlaw)  
 Aberdeenshire (Grampian)  
 Lonmay Parish  
 30 miles N of Aberdeen

(Map 2 No. 5)

Client: CHARLES GORDON  
 inherited 1775

NO PLAN

Date: 1792-3

Evidence: AUL Ms.1160/28/1/1 (Gordon of Buthlaw and  
 Cairness papers)  
 Letter Thomas White at Retford to Charles  
 Gordon July 16 1793  
 "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that  
 your plan is completed ... I have  
 decorated as much only of the opposite  
 ground as will ornament the piece of  
 water when extended to the limits of my  
 second plan ..."  
 (it would appear from this letter that  
 White produced two plans for Cairness)

SRO GD/44/51/374  
 Account Thomas White with Duke of Gordon 1792  
 "Waiting upon his Grace ... from Buthlaw  
 in 1792 ..."

Other Walker (Cl 1971) p.248  
 Material: "... in July 1793 Thomas White (then at  
 Retford, Notts.) was called in to see  
 what could be done with the grounds."

Ex info David Walker February 4 1972:  
 "The White scheme was not carried out  
 completely, if at all, as the commission  
 was too late in Charles Gordon's lifetime  
 to be seen through."

Tait (1980) p.151



CAMERON TW junior (Map 2 No. 44)  
 Dunbartonshire (Strathclyde)  
 Bonhill Parish  
 By Loch Lomond - 16 miles NW of Glasgow

Client: Captain JOHN SMOLLETT (d.1842)  
 inherited 1799, later became Rear Admiral

Date of Plan: 1819

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE GROUNDS  
 OF CAMERON HOUSE THE SEAT OF CAPT. SMOLLETT  
 BY T. WHITE 1819  
 (inscribed upper left)

References: A The House  
 B Stables  
 C Garden  
 D Farm offices  
 E Stack yard  
 F Sunk fences  
 G Lodges  
 H Roads  
 I Walks  
 The dotted lines are the old fences  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (inscribed upper right)

Size: 39 x 42  
 Location: SRO RHP 20113  
 Condition: Fair - creased

Comments: Some proposals probably carried through but no  
 real evidence available. Thomas White  
 prepared plan for neighbouring estate of  
Rossdhu in 1797.

Archival Material: SRO GD/170/2759/1 letter Thomas White junior  
 to D. Campbell of Barcaldine June 25 1818:  
 "...I... hope to return to Scotland and  
 proceed direct to Capt. Smollett near  
 Dunbarton and after leaving that to  
 Barcaldine, but will write you from that  
 place in order that you may not expect me  
 sooner than I can arrive."  
 SRO GD/170/2759/2 letter Thomas White junior  
 to D. Campbell December 1 1818 addressed from  
 Luss (near Cameron)

Other Material: Tait (1980) p.166

CAMERON Thomas White junior plan 1819



CASTLE FRASER  
 Aberdeenshire (Grampian)  
 Cluny Parish  
 14 miles W of Aberdeen

(Map 2 No. 7)

Client: Miss ELYZA FRASER (1734-1814)  
 inherited 1792 from brother, William Fraser

Date of Plan: 1794

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CASTLE  
 FRASER THE SEAT OF MISS FRASER BY  
 T. WHITE 1794  
 (upper right, vignette in circular frame)

References: A The House  
 B Buildings  
 C Garden  
 D Lodges  
 The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, vignette with scroll cartouche)

Size: ca. 48 x 36  
 Location: Castle Fraser  
 Condition: Good, hangs unframed in muniment room

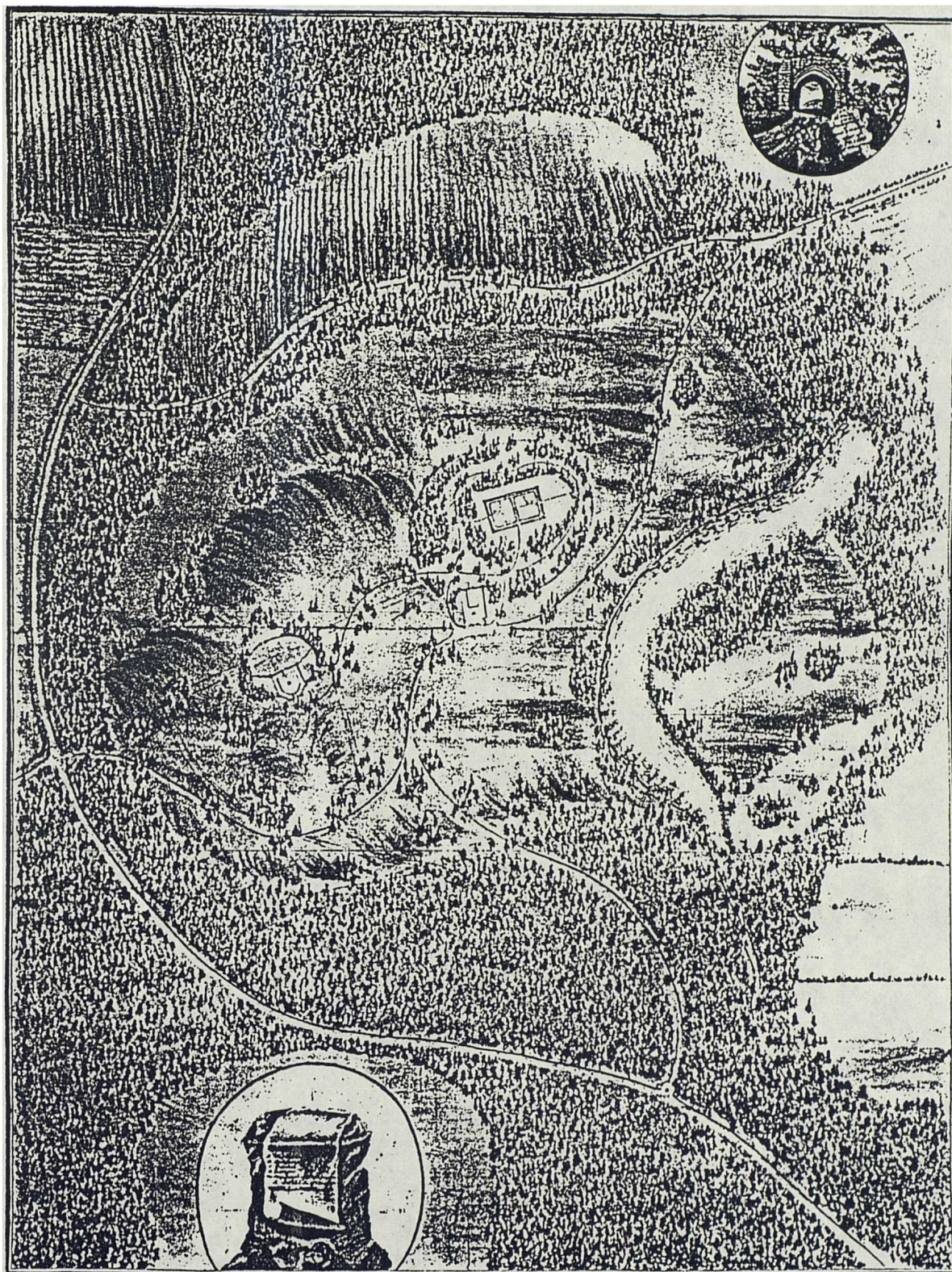
Comments: Some proposals including lake carried out, but  
 not planting proposals. The old avenue  
 leading north from the house is shown as faint  
 lines on White's plan. 1864 O.S. map shows  
 the avenue still in existence.  
 Castle Fraser is a National Trust property.

Other Cornforth (CL 1978) pp.373,443  
 Material: "In 1794, the year when the Statistical  
 Account of Scotland noted her "carrying  
 on improvements with great Spirit", Elyza  
 Fraser got a plan from T. White for the  
 transformation of the old layout into a  
 natural landscape complete with what  
 turned out to be a short-lived lake on  
 which she kept a boat ... White's plan  
 shows the site of the new stables  
 designed by John Paterson that year."

Inventory (1987) Vol.3, pp.167-172



CASTLE FRASER Thomas White plan 1794







CHAMPFLEURIE

(Map 2 No. 49)

West Lothian (Lothian)  
Linlithgow Parish  
2 miles ESE of Linlithgow

Client: ALEXANDER JOHNSTON

Date of Plan: 1792

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
CHAMPFLEURIE THE SEAT OF ALXR JOHNSTON  
ESQ BY T. WHITE 1792  
(upper right, cartouche)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Court to ditto  
D Stables  
E Courts to ditto  
F Kitchen garden  
G Cottages  
H Quarrys  
The dotted lines are the old boundaries.  
Some sunk fences will be wanted which will be  
best marked on the spot  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: ca. 42 x 42

Location: SRO RHP 9170

Condition: Good, stored rolled up

Comments: Not known whether this plan was implemented.  
Possible similarities with Allanton scheme.

Other Tait (Burl 1976) pp.19-20

Material: Tait (1980) pp.148,220

## CHAMPFLEURIE Thomas White plan 1792





CULLEN

(Map 2 No. 3)

Banffshire (Grampian)  
 Cullen Parish  
 SW edge of town of Cullen

Client: JAMES 7TH EARL OF FINDLATER AND 4TH  
 EARL OF SEAFIELD (1750-1811)  
 succeeded 1770

1. Date of Plan: 1789

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
 CULLEN THE SEAT OF FINDLATER &  
 SEAFIELD BY T. WHITE 1789

References: ?

Size: ?

Location: Cullen House ?

Condition: ?

Other Binney (CL 1985) p.2041

Material: "In Mr. Martin's possession is a  
 hitherto unpublished survey of the  
 grounds of Cullen, drawn in 1789 by  
 Thomas White. This shows a new  
 house, marked as 'thecastle' on the  
 key, with a circular court of  
 offices behind, and a circular  
 stable block some distance away.  
 Adam's drawings show circular office  
 courts and stables matching  
 precisely with those on White's  
 plan, while White's outline of the  
 castle itself with six turrets on  
 the east side correspond exactly  
 with Adam's drawings ... White and  
 Adam's most radical proposal was for  
 the wholesale removal of the old  
 town of Cullen to a new site nearer  
 the sea laid out on a formal  
 symmetrical plan."

2. Date of Plan: 1789

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE  
 WEST APPROACH AT CULLEN HOUSE BY  
 T. WHITE 1789  
 (upper left, vignette)

References: No references or scale shown

Size: 42 x 37

Location: SRO RHP 12876

Condition: Fair

CULLEN - 2

3. Date of Plan: 1790

Title: THE EXTENSION TO A DESIGN FOR THE  
IMPROVEMENT OF CULLEN THE SEAT OF THE  
RT HONBLE THE EARL OF FINDLATER AND  
SEAFIELD BY T. WHITE 1790  
(lower left, rocky vignette)

References: None shown  
  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right)

Size: 48 x 96  
Location: SRO RHP 12877

Comments: White worked at Cullen in conjunction with Robert Adam and several of his proposals were carried out. The relationship of the three plans to each other is difficult to work out; plan 1 is the most detailed giving the kitchen garden, castle and new town of Cullen; plan 2 is a somewhat vague planting plan of the area to the west of the estate; plan 3 shows the estate as a whole and incorporates plans 1 and 2.

Archival Material: SRO GD/248 Seafield and Findlater papers  
GD/248/3425/5 letter Thomas White junior to Earl of Findlater regarding plans 1 and 2 May 26 1789  
GD/248/589/2/61 letter William Wilson, gardener at Hawkhead regarding White at Cullen Sep 28 1788  
GD/248/1286 Expenditure/Income accounts 1807/8 include dispute over £61 10s remittance due to White  
GD/248/3439/8 letter Lord Findlater to John Wilson (factor) regarding gardener Machattie and his wish to emulate 'Mr. White'  
GD/44/51/374 Gordon Castle accounts include in 1792 Thomas White: "Waiting upon his Grace from Cullen in the year 1790"  
White's contra account at Drummonds Bank:  
1790 Nov 11 Findlater on Coutts £150

Other Plans: 1764 Peter May survey map (Cullen)

Other Material: Grant (1978) Ph.D. Thesis, Vol.ii pp.76-7 and Appendix 23  
  
Tait (1980) pp.151,157-162  
  
Tait (Burl 1986) p.740  
  
Inventory (1987) Vol.3, pp.192-97

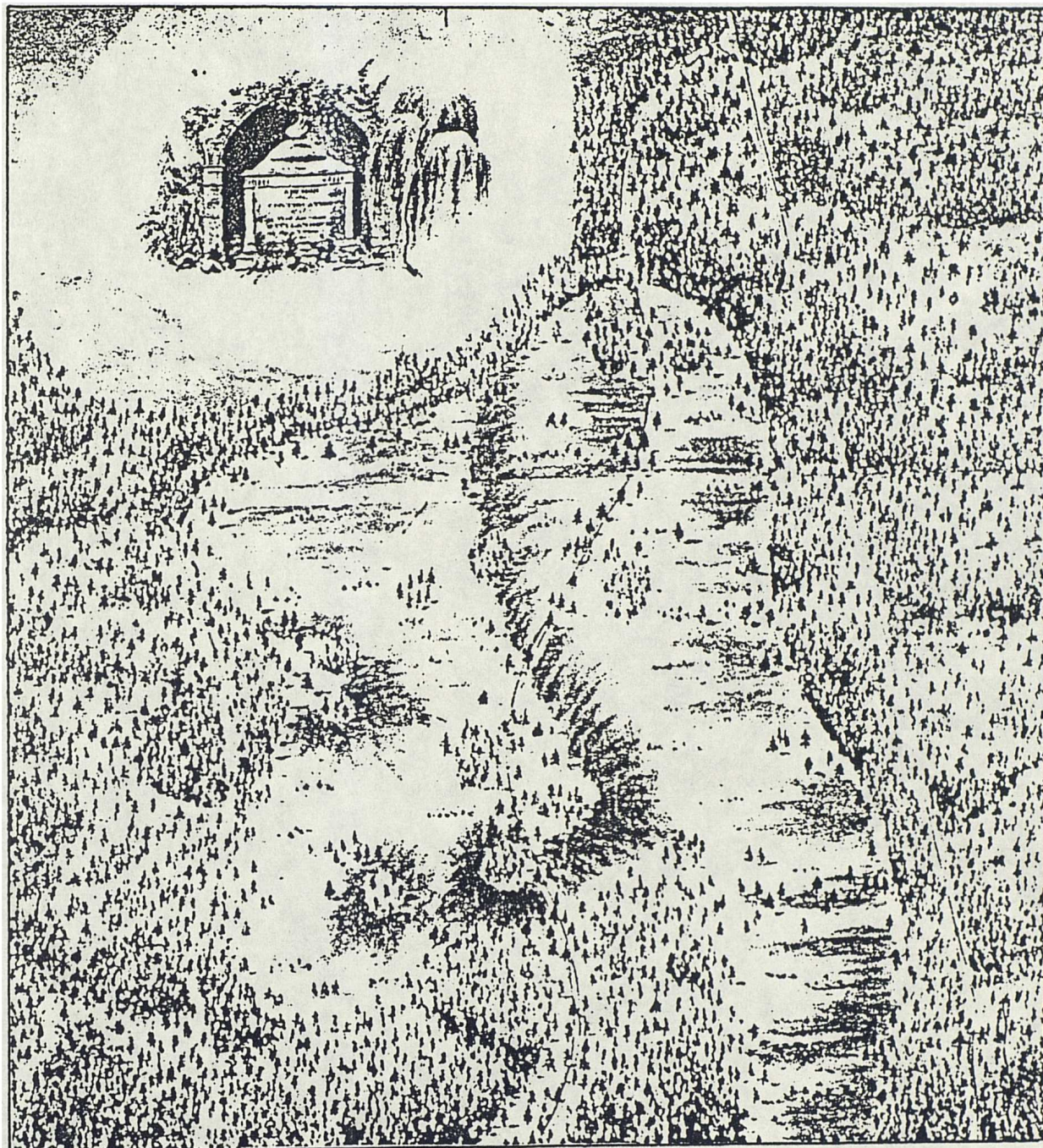


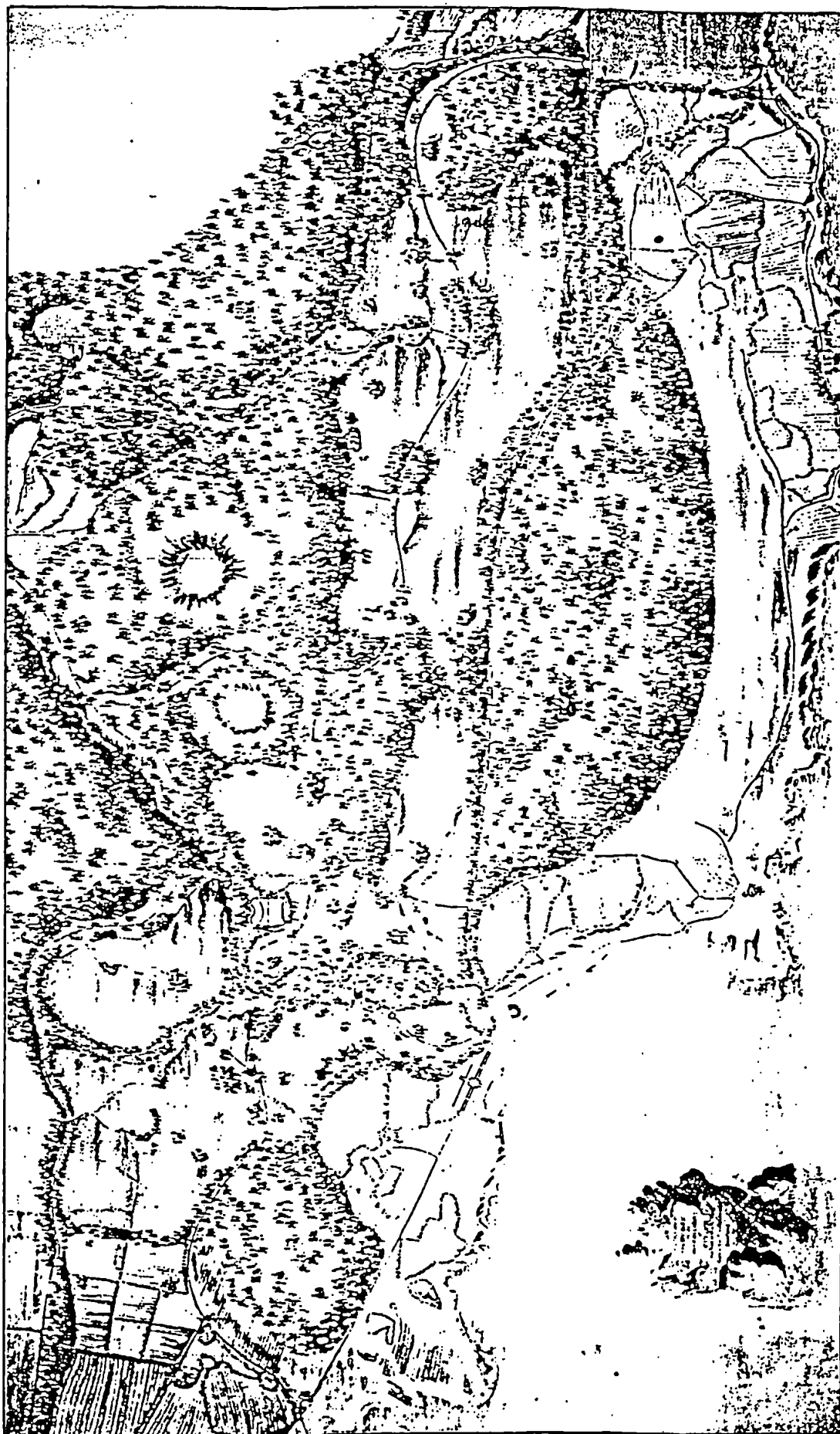
CULLEN Thomas White plan 1789(1)





CULLEN Thomas White plan 1789(2)





CULLEN Thomas White plan 1790(3)





DALMENY

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 58)

Edinburghshire (Lothian)

Dalmeny Parish

7 miles W of Edinburgh

Client: ARCHIBALD JOHN PRIMROSE, 4TH EARL  
OF ROSEBERY (1783-1868)  
succeeded 1814

Date of Plan: 1815

## Title/References:

REFERENCES TO A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF THE GROUNDS OF DALMENY PARK THE SEAT  
OF THE RT. HBLE THE EARL OF ROSEBERY BY  
THOS. WHITE 1815

References A - N

A Scale of Chains  
(inscribed sideways, lower centre)

Size: ?  
Location: Dalmeny House  
Condition: ?

Comments: An ambitious plan; much of the suggested  
planting was executed as shown in 1860  
Strachan survey map.

Other Plans: 1860 T. Strachan survey map (at Dalmeny)

Other Material: Tait (1980) pp.170-71

Robinson (Ap 1984) p.400  
"The rolling wooded landscape, framing  
romantic views across the sea, is  
largely the work of the English gardener,  
Thomas White, whose plans are dated  
1815."

Inventory (1987) Vol.5, pp.55-60

Robinson (CL 1989) p.45  
Erroneously illustrates 1860 Strachan  
survey as "A design for landscaping the  
park, prepared by Richard White in 1814".





DALMENY Thomas White junior plan 1815

DARNAWAY

(Map 2 No. 1)

Elginshire (Grampian)  
Dyke & Moy Parish  
2.5 miles NE of Forres

Client: FRANCIS 9TH EARL OF MORAY (1737-1810)

NO PLAN

Date: ?

Evidence: There is no direct evidence that Thomas White was involved at Darnaway, but two indication that he may have been:

SRO RH4/50 (Earl of Bute letterbook Vol.1)  
Letter from 4th Earl of Bute to his Edinburgh lawyer in 1794 asking him to:

"find out whether White, the English gardener or surveyor, who laid out Lord Moray's place..."

(this could refer to Darnaway or Donibristle)

SA Transactions (1784) p.17

Extract from letter Earl of Moray to Thomas White June 6 1781 enclosing:

"Memorandum of the number of trees planted at Darnaway in the County of Elgin since November 1767." (7,646,000 trees; Moray received Society of Arts Gold medal in 1767)

(this could have been sent to White purely for interest and does not necessarily mean he was involved in work at Darnaway)

DONIBRISTLE  
 Fifeshire (Fife)  
 Dalgety Parish  
 3 miles W of Aberdour

(Map 2 No. 31)

Client: FRANCIS 9TH EARL OF MORAY (1737-1810)

NO PLAN

Date: 1781- ?

Evidence: Scone 667/46  
 Letter William Blair to Lord Stormont October 16 1783:  
 "On receipt of your Lordships last letter I wrote Mr. Maule's, Lord Moray's factor at Dunnbristle to know if Mr. White had been or if he was expected there this season and had for answer 'that Mr. White had not been there since last year nor had he heard of his being in Scotland this last summer, that he was next to certain if he had, he would have been with Lord Moray ... that if he comes to Dunnbristle he would let him know of his being wanted at Scone'."

SA Transactions (1784) p.17  
 Extract from letter Earl of Moray at Donibristle to Thomas White June 6 1781:  
 "The works here are going briskly on, they will I hope, meet with your approbation ..."

SRO RH4/50 (Earl of Bute letterbook Vol.1)  
 Letter from 4th Earl of Bute to his Edinburgh lawyer asking him to:  
 "find out whether White, the English gardener or surveyor who laid out Lord Moray's place and many others, means to be in Scotland this year."  
 (this could also refer to Darnaway but is more likely to be Donibristle)

Other Plans: 1772 'A Plan for the Improvement of Donibristle' unsigned does not appear to be in the hand of Thomas White (SRO RHP 14331)

Other Material: Carruthers (1887) p.297  
 "Donibristle Park was laid out, about seventy years ago [i.e. 1770s] by Mr. White a famous improver in his day."  
 Tait (1980) p.150  
 Inventory (1987) Vol.3, p.373

DOUGLAS

(Map 2 No. 55)

Lanarkshire (Strathclyde)  
 Douglas Parish  
 10 miles S of Lanark

Client: ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS (1748-1827)  
 created 1st Baron Douglas (English) 1790

Date of Plan: 1770

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
 DOUGLAS CASTLE THE SEAT OF THE HONBLE  
 ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS ESQ. BY THOMAS WHITE 1770  
 (inscribed upper left)

References: A The Castle  
 B The Stables  
 C The Stable yard  
 D The Kitchen garden  
 E The Common road to the stables  
 F The New town of Douglas  
 G The Church  
 H The Parsonage house  
 I The Farm to ditto  
 At K and l or any other convenient part of the  
 water light wood bridges will be [wanted] to  
 pass the same. At No. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 dams  
 or stops to flow up water will be made and  
 which will be so many [ ].  
 MNO are morassy grounds made into water for  
 the use of fish. And which by placeing proper  
 plantations may appear connected with each  
 other and with the river. The doted lines are  
 the old boundarys  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, rectangle)

Size: 54 x 72

Location: Earl of Home  
 p/c SRO RHP 21983

Condition: Original in damaged condition; photocopy very  
 poor.

Comments: White's first commission in Scotland.  
 Archibald Douglas was to become a sustaining  
 patron - see also Bothwell and Dudhope.  
 Planting Contract 1780-90.

Archival Material: SRO GD/220/6/585/1 (Montrose papers) Planting  
 Contract between Archibald Douglas and Thomas  
 White.  
 Scone 632/27 letter Thomas White to Lord  
 Stormont August 30 1786 addressed from Douglas  
 Castle White's contra account at Drummonds  
 Bank shows payments received of 'Makonochie'  
 Douglas' factor between 1780 and 1790  
 totalling over £1300; also payments 'Scott on  
 Down per Douglas' between 1792 and 1800  
 possibly relating to Douglas Castle.

DOUGLAS - 2Other  
Material:

Steuart (1828) p.424

"... [White] had planted, before the year 1780 for Lord Douglas at Douglas Castle, about fifteen hundred acres of ground, which are now covered with fine wood ..."

Edwards (1962) p.23

"In the 1770s he [White] laid out the park and estate at Douglas Castle, for Lord Douglas, and there planted about fifteen hundred acres of barren land."

Tait (Burl 1976) p.20

Binney et al (1980)

"Extensive if decayed park by James [sic] White remains with lakes."

Tait (1980) pp.147-50

DRIMMIE (Rossie Priory)  
 Perthshire (Tayside)  
 Inchtute Parish  
 6 miles W of Dundee

(Map 2 No. 19)

Client: GEORGE 7TH BARON KINNAIRD (d.1805)  
 succeeded 1767

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1781-88

Evidence: SRO RH4/119/14 (Graham papers)  
 Undated letter (probably late 1781) Thomas  
 White to Robert Graham:  
 "...[I] shall be much obliged if you will  
 take the trouble to favour my agent at  
 Drimmie with your answer to this  
 request."

SRO GD/44/51/374 (Gordon papers)  
 Account Thomas White to Duke of Gordon, 1788  
 addressed from 'Lord Kinnairds, Drimmie House,  
 Dundee'.

Letter Thomas White to Hoy at Gordon Castle  
 November 14 1788 addressed from Drimmie House:  
 "As I have not been favoured with a letter  
 from you at this place as I expected and  
 am about to leave it ..."

Other Binney et al (1980)  
 Material: "The Park may have been laid out by Thomas  
 White senior c.1786."

Tait (1980) p.151

Comments: The evidence indicates that White was actively  
 engaged at Drimmie for some six years or more.

DUDHOPE  
Dundee City

(Map 2 No. 18)

Client: ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS (1748-1827)

NO PLAN

Date: 1782

Evidence: SRO RH4/119/14 (Graham papers)  
Letter Thomas White to Robert Graham of Fintry  
November 12 1782:

"... you was so kind as to recommend Mr. Abercrombie to take a Survey of Dudhope - but upon application made to him he told me he did not chose to undertake the business and at Dundee I was recommended to apply to you to let your steward whose name I have forgot take a plan of the place and I sent my servt. over to Fintry with a card to Mr. Douglas on the occasion who said in answer that he would speak to you and have the plan done whilst he was in the country ... as I should wish to commit my ideas of Duddop to paper whilst they are recent with me, I have taken the liberty of giving you the trouble to request if the survey of the grounds about Duddop are not already taken by him that you will be kind enough to discover he will send me a little plan of the same ..."

Other Material: Tait (1980) pp.138,147



DUFF

(Map 2 No. 4)

Banffshire (Grampian)  
Banff/Gamrie Parish  
S side of Banff town

Client: JAMES DUFF, 2ND EARL OF FIFE (1729-1809)

NO PLAN

Date: 1780s ?

Evidence: Loudon (EG 1828) para.7640 on Duff House:  
"A magnificent quadrangular building by  
Adams, in a park 15 miles in  
circumference chiefly laid out by the  
late Mr. White. On the other parts of  
the estate more trees have been planted  
than on any property in the country."

Comments: No further direct evidence of White's  
involvement at Duff has come to light. The  
Earl of Fife wrote to the Society of Arts in  
1787 and 1788 (SA Transactions (1788)) with  
reports of his various plantations, for which  
he received a Gold medal, and it is certainly  
possible that White was engaged in planting  
work at Duff.

DUNNINALD

(Map 2 No. 13)

Angus (Tayside)  
 Craig Parish  
 2 miles S of Montrose

Client: DAVID SCOTT (c.1746-1805)

Date of Plan: 1789

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF DUNNINALD  
 THE SEAT OF DAVID SCOTT ESQ. BY T. WHITE  
 1789  
 (upper left, vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Stables and other out offices  
 C A Seat  
 D Kitchen garden  
 E Lodges  
 F New cottages  
 G Detached houses  
 H Sunk fences  
 The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 42 x 38

Location: Dunninald House

Condition: Good, bright clear colours, stored rolled up

Comments: No indication that White's proposals were ever implemented

Other Plans: 1811 George Robertson (Dunninald)  
 1819 James Gillespie (Dunninald)

Other Material: Rowan (CL 1969) p.386  
 "In 1789 Thomas White, the Co. Durham landscape gardener, proposed a different house and a scheme of total transformation that re-landscaped the entire estate. White always thought on an enlarged scale and few of his schemes seem ever to have been fully realised. In his home county, at Raby Castle, and in Scotland at Cullen and Arniston, they went unexecuted, and the same fate met his proposals for Dunninald."



DUNS TW junior (Map 2 No. 66)  
 Berwickshire (Borders)  
 Duns Parish  
 15 miles W of Berwick on Tweed

Client: WILLIAM HAY (1788-1876)  
 succeeded 1807

Date of Plan: 1812

Title/References:

REFERENCES TO A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT  
 OF THE GROUNDS OF DUNSE CASTLE THE SEAT  
 OF WILLIAM HAY ESQ BY T. WHITE 1812

A The House and offices  
 B Stables  
 C Garden  
 D Orchard  
 E Kennel and poultry yard  
 F Drying green  
 G Lodges  
 H Sunk fences  
 I Roads  
 K Walks  
 L Rides

A Scale of Chains - English  
 (inscribed, lower left)

Size: 37 x 30  
 Location: Duns Castle  
 p/c SRO RHP 14531  
 Condition: ?

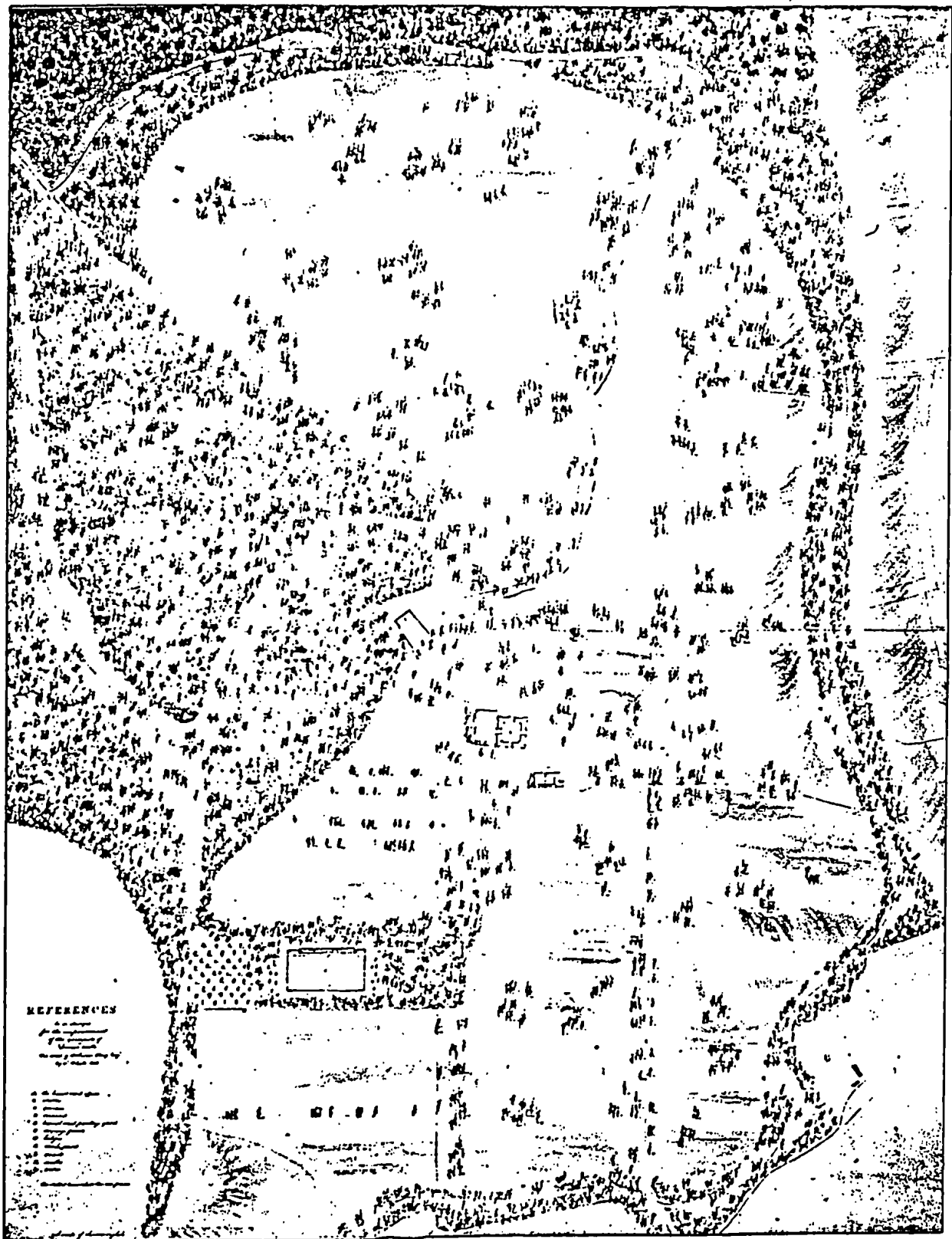
Comments: Some of Thomas White junior's suggestions were  
 carried out though later altered by William  
 Hay into a more picturesque fashion

Other Hay (1922) p.34  
 Material: from William Hay's 'Notes upon Duns Castle':  
 "I can, perhaps, explain my intentions on  
 this point by saying it was my desire and  
 intention to create scenery that would be  
 appreciated by the admirers of  
 Gainsborough, Wynants, Ruysdal, and  
 Hebbimar, rather than the followers of  
 Brown, Repton and Whyte."

Tait (1980) pp.171-2

Inventory (1987) Vol.5, pp.297-301

DUNS Thomas White junior plan 1812



FINTRY (Linlathen)  
Forfarshire (Tayside)  
Mains & Strathmartine Parish  
3 miles NE of Dundee

(Map 2 No. 16)

Client: ROBERT GRAHAM

NO PLAN

Date: 1782

Evidence: SRO RH4/119 microfilm (ex GD/151)  
Undated letter (late 1781?) Thomas White to  
Robert Graham of Fintry:  
"I am favoured with yours at this place  
and shall be very happy to give you my  
assistance in designing the improvements  
that may be made at Fintry when I visit  
Scotland the next year in August."

Letter Thomas White to Robert Graham November  
12 1782:

"... when I had the honour and pleasure  
of spending a day with you and Mr.  
Douglas at Fintry ..."

Comments: Robert Graham was to act as game warden to the  
Earl of Strathmore (Glamis) and Archibald  
Douglas (Douglas) from 1784.  
No further evidence that a design was drawn up  
or carried out at Fintry.

FORDELL TW junior  
 Fifeshire (Tayside)  
 Dalgety Parish  
 3 miles NNE of Inverkeithing

(Map 2 No. 32)

Client: Rear-Admiral Sir P.C. DURHAM

Date of Plan: 1818

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE  
 GROUNDS OF FORDEL THE SEAT OF REAR  
 ADMIRAL SIR P.C. DURHAM K.C.B. BY  
 THOS. WHITE 1818  
 (inscribed, lower right)

References: A The House and offices  
 B Stables and farm offices  
 C Castle  
 D Chapel  
 E Gardens  
 F Lodges  
 G Factors house  
 H Roads  
 I Walks  
 K Coal road  
 L Sunk fences  
 M Hedges and other fences  
 The dotted lines are the old fences  
 (inscribed, lower left)

A Scale of Chains  
 (lower centre)

Size: 47 x 37  
 Location: SRO RHP 3803  
 Condition: Good

Comments: Not known whether White junior's plan  
 implemented.  
 Fordell in same parish as Donibristle.  
 House demolished 1963.

Other Plans: 1796 Bell & Reid survey map SRO RHP 3818  
 1800 Bell survey map (unfinished) SRO RHP 3826  
 ? Bell survey map (finished) SRO RHP 3807

Other Material: Adams (1966-89) Vol.4, p.47  
 "Plan of Fordell House and Policies  
 showing proposed layout of roads, drives  
 and trees. Buildings lettered to  
 correspond with description in  
 references. Lines of old fences noted.  
 Relief by grey brush wash. Coloured."



GARTUR TW junior ? (Map 2 No. 40)  
 Stirlingshire (Central)  
 St. Ninians Parish  
 3 miles W of Stirling (adjoining Touch)

Client: WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM of Gartmore

NO PLAN

Date: 1808 ?

Evidence: NLS 19208/85 (Seton papers)  
 Letter from Sir Henry Steuart at Allanton to  
 Archibald Seton in Delhi June 29 1808:  
 talks of Mr. Graham of Gartmore purchasing  
 "Woodend (formerly Mr. Sutherland's) and  
 building an excellent house":  
 "You know also, I believe, the smallness  
 of his landed property in this quarter,  
 and how much he is hemmed in by you, so  
 much so indeed, that lately when Mr.  
 White gave him a plan for the improvement  
 of the place it was found he could not  
 have an entrance or road to his house  
 without touching on the south-east corner  
 of the grounds of Touch ..."

SRO RD3/328 f.138

Power of Attorney Thomas White junior to John  
 Lawson

States that Thomas White junior and his father  
 Thomas White of Woodlands have "certain claims  
 to prosecute against .... (inter alia) William  
 Cunningham Cunningham Graham of Gartmore  
 Esquire" indicating a possible dispute over  
 Thomas White junior's plan for Gartur?

GASK TW junior  
Perthshire (Tayside)  
Gask Parish  
Near Auchterarder

(Map 2 No. 25)

Client: LAURENCE BLAIR OLIPHANT

NO PLAN

Date: 1797

Evidence: NLS Ms.82.3.10  
Receipt from Thomas White junior dated  
December 11 (30 ?) 1797:  
"Recd of L. Oliphant Esq. the sum of  
twenty guineas for a plan of improvements  
for the grounds at Gask by me  
Thos. White Junr."

GLAMIS

(Map 2 No. 17)

Forfarshire (Tayside)  
 Glamis Parish  
 12 miles N of Dundee

Client: JOHN 9TH EARL OF STRATHMORE (1737-1776)  
 succeeded 1753

Date of Plan: undated (1771?)  
 unsigned

Title: Untitled

References: A The Glammis Castle  
 B The Office court  
 C The Drying ground  
 D The Stables  
 E Kitchen garden  
 F New farm house  
 G The Village of Glammis  
 The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower right, rectangle)

(The reference points are not marked upon  
 the plan)

Size: 62 x 76

Location: Glamis Castle P.41

Condition: Good, fresh colours; stored rolled up

Comments: Plan previously attributed to Robert Robinson  
 1764 (Tait (1980) p.134) but now considered to  
 be by Thomas White. White possibly called in  
 to advise on trees. Abercrombie's plans most  
 probably implemented rather than White's.

Archival Glamis (Earl of Strathmore muniments):  
 Material: Vol.22 Factors Accounts f.75:

Whyte, Mr. Thos.

Jan 27 1772 To cash given you by a bill  
 in London per receipt £40

Paid exchange therefore at Dundee 5

Oct.24 1772 To ditto repaid Mr. Lyon  
 the payment made by him to you per £42

Vol.44 1774 Crop Account

"Mr. Thos. White at two different times  
 for coming to Glamis to give his advice  
 about thinning the trees in the lawn and  
 bounding the several plantings to be made  
 £82 5

Other Plans: 1746 Thomas Winter (SRO RHP 6493)  
 1768 James Abercrombie(Glamis P44 p/CRHP 6497)  
 c.1771 James Abercrombie(Glamis P45 p/CRHP 6498)

Other

Material: Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.126-133





GLAMIS Thomas White plan 1771-72?



GLENCORSE

(Map 2 No. 59)

Edinburghshire (Lothian)  
Glencorse Parish  
12 miles S of Edinburgh

Client: Reverend JOHN INGLIS ? (1763-1834)

Date of Plan: 1793

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
GLENCORSE BY T. WHITE 1793  
(upper left, vignette)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Stables  
D Kitchen garden  
E Orchards  
F The Church  
G A Sheep walk on each side the  
approach to the house  
N.B. The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
(lower right, vignette)

Size: 36 x 48

Location: Sir Maxwell Inglis, Miltonbank, Penicuik  
p/c SRO RHP 13482

Comments: No further information available

GLENEAGLES

(Map 2 No. 26)

Perthshire (Tayside)  
Blackford Parish  
3.5 miles SW of Auchterarder

Client: R. ABERCROMBIE ?

NO PLAN

Date: ?

Evidence: Loudon (EG 1828) para.7636:  
"Gleneagles. Sir R. Abercrombie. A house  
in the mixed style of Gothic and Grecian  
of Adams, standing in finely varied  
grounds, well planted, and containing a  
fine piece of water, by White."

It is very probable that Loudon has confused  
Gleneagles with Airthrey (see Airthrey entry).

Banffshire (Grampian)  
Bellie Fochabers Parish  
1 mile N of Fochabers

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1786-1792

Other Plans: 1808 Survey map of Gordon Castle by John J. Roy shows Gordon after White's improvements (SRO RHP 2382)  
1786 unsigned, unfinished survey map possibly by Will. McKay (SRO RHP 2385)

Other Material: T. Dick Lauder as Editor of Gilpin's Remarks on Forest Scenery (1834) Vol.II pp.237-9 wrote a scathing attack on "a certain landscape gardener from England - one whom we shall forbear to name" who was at Gordon in the 1780s and was most probably Thomas White.

Binney et al (1980)

Tait (1980) pp.154-60

Inventory (1987) Vol.3, pp.238-243



GORDON John Roy plan 1808





GREEN OF GLASGOW  
Glasgow City

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 48)

Client: CITY OF GLASGOW ?

Date of Plan: 1820

Title/References:

REFERENCES TO A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF THE GREEN OF GLASGOW BY T. WHITE 1820

A The Gaol  
B The Monument  
C The Washhouse  
D The Humane Society house  
E The Well  
F The Mineral spring  
G The Walks  
H The Ride  
J The Gateways  
A Scale of Chains  
A Scale of Feet  
(inscribed lower right)

Size: Plan on paper mounted on card  
49 x 37

Location: StrathRA Glasgow D.TC 13/652

Condition: Badly damaged on left side, very faded

Comments: This is the last known plan of Thomas White junior. Very sketchy and crudely drawn. Several plans were produced for the Green of Glasgow, the city's first public park, between 1780 and 1837. No evidence that White's plan was used.

Other Plans:	1780	James Moor	(SRA D.TC 13/646)
	1797	James Ramsay	" 13/647
	1813	James Cleland	" 13/649
	1837	Alexander Taylor	" 13/65

GUYND (TW senior & junior) (Map 2 No. 14)  
 Forfarshire (Tayside)  
 Carmylie Parish  
 9 miles NE of Dundee

Client: JOHN OUCHTERLONY

Date of Plan: 1799

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF GUYND  
 THE SEAT OF JOHN OUCHTERLONY ESQR BY  
 T. WHITE JUR 1799  
 (upper left, oval framed vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Offices  
 C Farms ditto  
 D Garden  
 E Washing greens  
 G Lodges

A Scale of Chains  
 (inscribed lower left)

Size: ?

Location: At Guynd (plan unlocatable on visit in 1988)

Condition: Photograph (obtained from RCAHMS) indicates  
 damage in centre and considerable creasing and  
 waterstains.

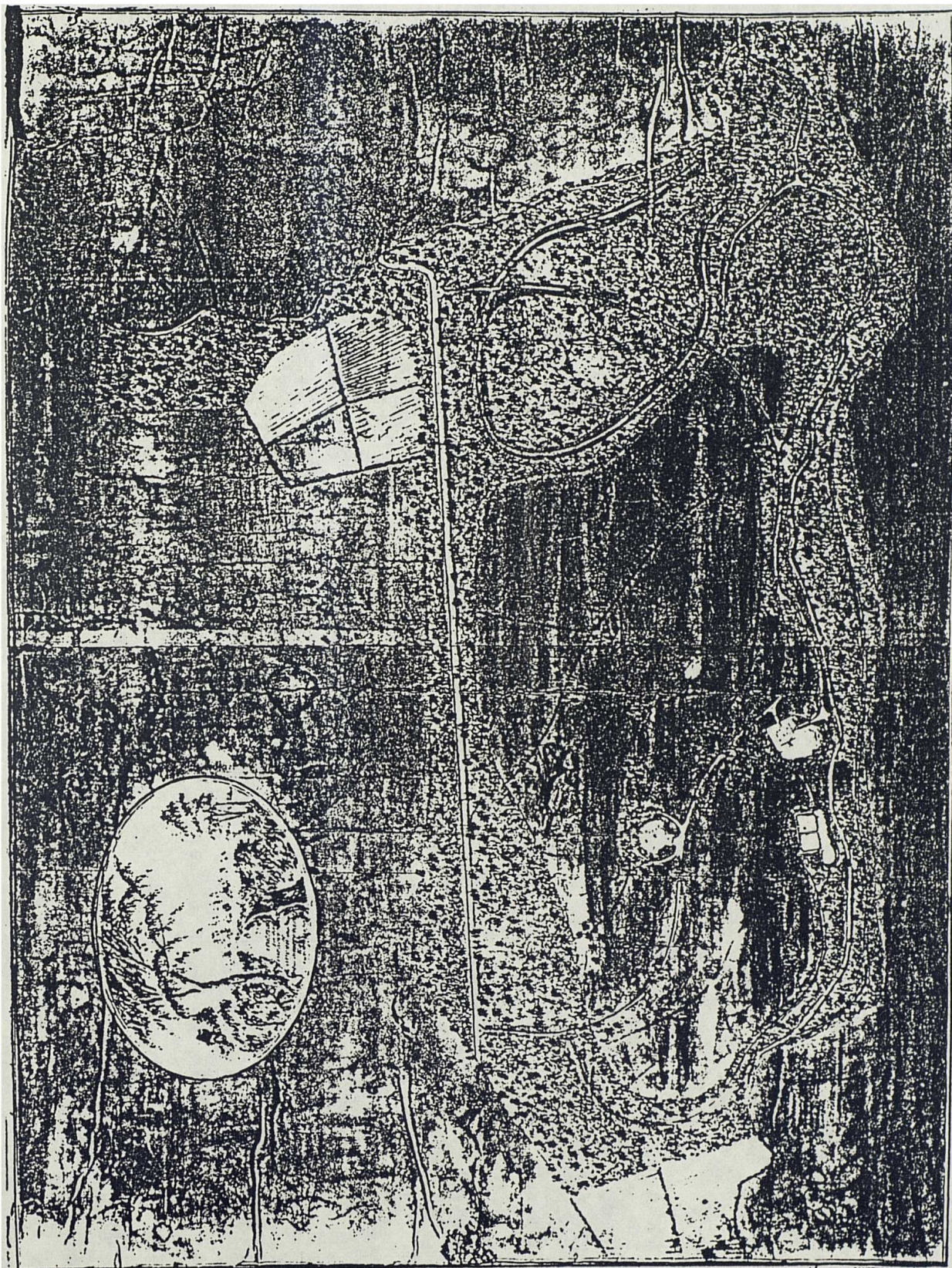
Comments: Although signed as by Thomas White junior, the  
 plan appears to be a joint production of  
 father and son, TW junior perhaps drawing  
 titles and references. No evidence that  
 proposals were effected.

Other Plans: 1775 James Abercrombie junior (SRO RHP 2594)  
 1797 Thomas Allan survey map (at Guynd)  
 1798 William Ireland (SRO RHP 2609)  
 1839 James Corsair (SRO RHP 2595)

Other Tait (1980) pp.137-8

Material: Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.155-59





GUYND Thomas White junior plan 1799



HARBURN

Edinburghshire (Lothian)  
Calder West Parish  
15 miles SW of Edinburgh

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 57)

Client: ALEXANDER YOUNG ?

Date of Plan: 1815

No further information available.

Tait (1980) p.259 states Thomas White junior's 1815 plan is at Harburn, but it has not proved possible to verify this.

HERDMANSTON TW junior (Map 2 No. 63)  
 Haddingtonshire (Lothian)  
 Saltoun Parish  
 4 miles SW of Haddington (between Lennoxlove and Preston Hall)

Client: LORD CHARLES SINCLAIR (1768-1863)

Date of Plan: 1807

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE  
 GROUNDS OF HERDMANSTON THE SEAT OF  
 THE RIGHT HON. LORD SINCLAIR BY  
 T. WHITE JUN. 1807  
 (lower left, circular vignette)

References: A House  
 B Court  
 C Stables and farm offices  
 D Poultry yard  
 E Stock and dung yard  
 F Garden  
 G Cottage ditto  
 H Orchard  
 I Sunk fence  
 K Burial ground  
 L Washing green  
 The dotted lines are the old fences

A Scale of Scotch Chains  
 (inscribed lower right)

Size: 48 x 36  
 Location: NLS Ms.5460(ii)  
 Condition: Good, freshly coloured, stored rolled up

Comments: No documentary evidence of White junior's  
 involvement at Herdmanston has been located.

Other Binney et al (1980)  
 Material: "The grounds were landscaped by Thomas  
 White Jnr. 1807."

INVERQUHARITY

(Map 2 No. 8)

Forfarshire (Tayside)  
Kirriemuir Parish  
3.5 miles NE of Kirriemuir

Client: SIR JOHN OGILVY (1754-1802)

Date of Plan: 1773

Title: A PLAN OF ALTERATIONS DESIGNED FOR  
INVERCARETY THE SEAT OF SIR JN OGILVY  
BART BY THOS. WHITE 1773  
(inscribed upper left)

References: A The Intended house  
B The Stables  
C The Kitchen garden  
D A Seat  
E Dispurs'd buildings  
The dotted lines show the old boundarys  
A Scale of Chains  
(inscribed lower right, rectangle)

Size: 42 x 60

Location: Inverquharity Castle, on loan from Lord Lyell  
of Kinnordy (1988)

Condition: Good, creased, colours fresh, stored rolled up

Comments: Present owner states that some of White's  
planting scheme may have been carried out.  
Possible social link with nearby Glamis  
estate.

Other Plans: 1818 Blackadder survey map (Inverquharity)  
(copy of 1798 Ainslie survey)





KAMES  
Rothesay  
Isle of Bute

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 45)

Client: 4TH EARL OF BUTE ?

NO PLAN

Date: 1814

Evidence: Tait (1980) p.259 lists under works of Thomas  
White junior:  
Kames Castle, Bute, 1814 (Mount Stuart  
Muniments)

KEIR TW senior & junior  
Perthshire (Central)  
Dunblane and Lecropt Parish  
2 miles SW of Dunblane

(Map 2 No. 36)

Client: JAMES STIRLING (1766-1831)  
inherited 1793

PLAN UNLOCATED

Date: 1801; 1811-18

Evidence: SRA T-SK 21/4-1 Account of Thomas White junior with James Stirling April 22 1818 lists a total of 26 days worked February 28 1811 to April 20 1818 at 2 guineas per day £54 12s Receipt signed by Thomas White junior April 24 1818

Inventory (1987) Vol.4, p.317

"Documentary evidence of the extent of the landscape influenced by design resides primarily in a plan by Thomas White senior dated 1801 which is at Keir House."

p.319 "The 1801 plan by Thomas White shows scattered trees and clumps throughout an extensive parkland with flowing lines of shelterbelts, woodlands and a curving driveway."

(to date verification of the existence of this plan has not been possible)

KEITH

(Map 2 No. 6)

Aberdeenshire (Grampian)  
Keithall and Kinkell Parish  
15 miles NW of Aberdeen

Client: WILLIAM, 6TH EARL OF KINTORE (1766-1812)

NO PLAN

Date: 1794

Evidence: AUL Ms.3064 Bundle 294 (Factors Accounts)  
include a payment to Thomas White in 1794 for  
his ornamental plan of Keith Hall £42 - -

Other  
Material: Inventory (1987) Vol.3, pp.271-5

Worsley (CL 1987) p.140

"White was a capable if unoriginal practitioner of the Brownian landscape with a successful practice in Scotland. By 1794, when he was paid £42 for an ornamental plan of Keith Hall, he had already worked at three great houses in north-east Scotland, Scone Palace, Gordon Castle and Cullen House, and he was the obvious choice for Kintore. Sadly the plan does not survive, but his scheme is still recognisable on the ground if some of the planting is now thin."

KENNET TW senior & junior ? (Map 2 No. 34)  
Clackmannanshire (Central)  
Clackmannan Parish  
10 miles E of Stirling

Client: ALEXANDER BRUCE

Date of Plan: 1803

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
KENNET THE SEAT OF ALEXR BRUCE ESQ.  
BY T. WHITE 1803  
(upper centre, circular framed vignette)

References: A The House  
B Stables  
C Garden  
D Washing green  
E Orchard  
F Lodges  
G Farm house  
The dotted lines are the old fences etc.  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 42 x 57  
Location: Original ?  
p/c SRO RHP 24822  
Condition: ?

Comments: Plan appears to be a joint production with  
inscriptions in the hand of TW junior and  
design by TW. No evidence as to its  
implementation.  
Kennet House demolished 1967.

KINNAIRD

(Map 2 No. 11)

Angus (Tayside)  
 Farnell/Brechin Parish  
 3.5 miles SE of Brechin

Client: Sir DAVID CARNEGIE (1753-1805)  
 succeeded 1765

Date of Plan: 1791

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
 KINNAIRD THE SEAT OF SIR DAVID  
 CARNEGIE BART. BY T. WHITE 1791  
 (upper right, vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Stable  
 C Stableyard  
 D Menagery  
 E Wash house  
 F Kitchen garden  
 G Orchard  
 H Farm offices  
 I Yards to ditto  
 K Roads  
 L Walks  
 M Green rides  
 N Burial ground  
 O Sunk fences  
 The dotted lines are the old boundaries  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, large scroll cartouche)

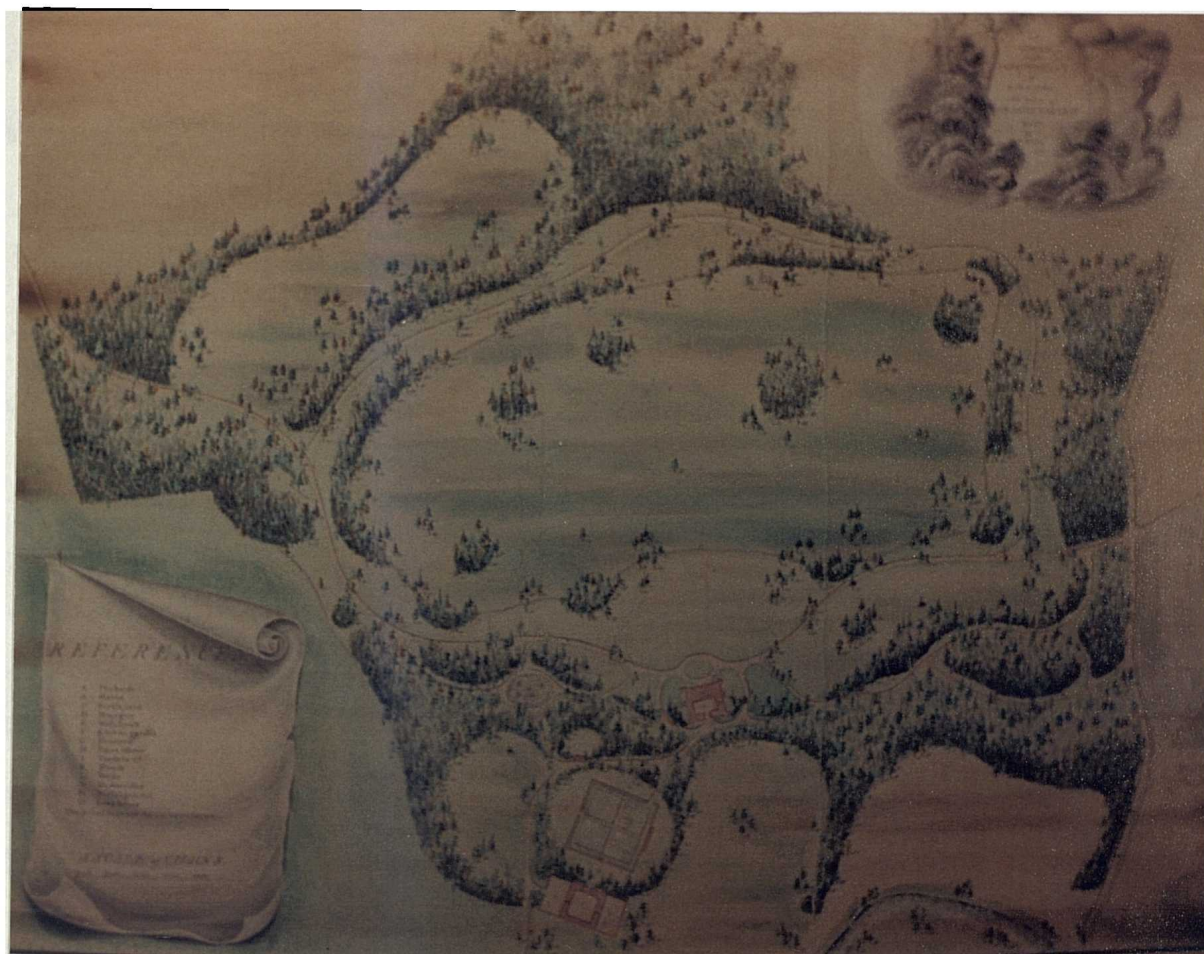
Size: 38 x 45  
 Location: Kinnaird Castle, hanging in recreation hall  
 Condition: Good, not framed or glazed

Comments: OS maps and present layout suggest that many  
 of White's proposals were implemented in  
 conjunction with rebuilding of house by James  
 Playfair.

Other  
 Material: Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.193-7



KINNAIRD Thomas White plan 1791 and detail





KIPPENROSS  
Perthshire (Central)  
bounds on Keir Estate

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 37)

Client: JOHN STIRLING ?

NO PLAN

Date: 1818

Evidence: SRA T-SK 21/4 Letter from Thomas White junior  
to James Stirling of Keir enclosing his  
account April 22 1818 addressed from  
Kippenross.  
(Stirlings of Kippenross a branch of Stirlings  
of Keir family)

LEDDINGTON (Lennoxlove)  
Haddingtonshire (Lothian)  
Haddington Parish  
17 miles E of Edinburgh

(Map 2 No. 64)

Client: LORD BLANTYRE

Date of Plan: 1784

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
LEIDINGTON BY T. WHITE 1784  
(upper left, vignette)

References: A The House  
B Offices  
C Stables  
D Farm house  
E Lodges  
F Kitchen garden  
G Seats  
Some sunk fences will be best done on  
the spot  
Scale of Chains  
(lower centre, scroll cartouche)

Size: 70 x 78

Location: Lennoxlove House, hanging in Estate Office

Condition: Good though brownish tones due to varnishing,  
framed and glazed

Comments: Plan apparently not carried out

Other Material: Inventory (1987) Vol.5, pp.137-142

LEE TW junior (Map 2 No. 54)  
Lanarkshire (Strathclyde)  
Lanark Landward Parish  
2.5 miles NW of Lanark

Client: Sir CHARLES MACDONALD LOCKHART ?

Date of Plan: 1805

Comments: No further information - plan has not been  
located. NRA(S) 137 p.7 gives:  
'Plan for the improvement of Lee: 1805  
(vignette of a rock)  
Surveyor: T. White Jnr.  
Plan at Lee and Carnworth Estate Office'

Other Tait (Burl 1976) p.22  
Material: "In Lanarkshire itself [White] made  
schemes for Murdostoun ... and more  
grandly at the Lee in 1805."  
  
Inventory (1987) Vol.2 p.315  
"The designed landscape at Lee was laid  
out in the early 19th century but the  
landscape designer is unknown."

LINDERTIS

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 9)

Angus (Tayside)

Arlie Parish

3 miles SW of Kirriemuir

Client: Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN ?

NO PLAN

Date: 1812

Evidence: SA Transactions (1813) p.97  
Letter to Society of Arts from Thomas White  
junior September 10 1813:  
" ... six other trees I took an account of  
at Lindertis in the county of Angus  
(whilst employed there a year ago in my  
profession of laying out grounds) ..."

MOUNT STUART

Isle of Bute (Strathclyde)  
Kingarth parish

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 46)

Client: JOHN STUART, 4TH EARL OF BUTE (1744-1814)

NO PLAN

Date: 1814

Evidence: SRO RH4/50 Letterbook of the 4th Earl of Bute  
Letter 1794 to his Edinburgh lawyer requesting  
that he:

"find out whether White the English  
gardener or surveyor, who laid out Lord  
Moray's place, and many others, means to  
be in Scotland this year."

Tait (1980) p.147

"The contemporary opinion of White junior  
was that of Lord Bute's factor in 1814.  
White had visited Mount Stuart, where his  
father had been invited in 1794, and was  
shown the whole estate and asked to  
dinner. However nothing came of it and  
the factor concluded 'we do not want any  
of his assistance, but I wished to know  
what stress might be laid on his opinions  
respecting the pruning of wood, which he  
gave me very fully." (Mount Stuart  
Muniments, Letterbook of A. Brown  
ff.402,439)

(verification of the above from the Mount  
Stuart Muniments office has not yet been  
forthcoming)

MOUNTQUHANIE

(Map 2 No. 27)

Fifeshire (Tayside)  
 Kilmany Parish  
 4.5 miles NNW of Cupar

Client: DAVID GILLESPIE

Date of Plan: 1798

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF MOUNTWHANY  
 THE SEAT OF DAVID GILLESPIE ESQ. BY  
 T. WHITE 1798  
 (upper right, circular vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Offices  
 C Garden  
 D Stable  
 E Seats  
 F Lodges  
 (lower left, circular vignette)

A Scale of Chains  
 (centre right)

Size: 32 x 42

Location: At Mountquhanie with A.H.B. Wedderburn-Bethune  
 p/c SRO RHP 10206

Condition: ?

Comments: References and titles possibly written by  
 White junior.  
 No documentary or other evidence that the plan  
 was followed.  
 John Claudius Loudon at Mountquhanie later  
 (Loudon (1806) p.248)

Other Material: Tait (1980) p.147

MURDOSTOUN TW junior (Map 2 No. 53)  
Lanarkshire (Strathclyde)  
Shotts Parish  
3 miles E of Motherwell

Client: Colonel HAMILTON

Date of Plan: 1811

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENTS OF THE  
GROUNDS OF MURDIESTON THE SEAT OF  
COLONEL HAMILTON BY T. WHITE 1811

References: A The House and offices  
B Stables  
C Garden and orchard etc.  
D Farm offices and yards to ditto  
E Lodges  
F Roads  
G Walks  
H Rides  
I Sunk fences  
K Hedges

The dotted lines are the old fences  
(inscribed lower left)

A Scale of Chains  
(lower right)

Size: 43 x 36 (+ small extension on right side of  
plan)

Location: StrathRA Glasgow TD 1029 (previously SRO RHP  
14713)

Condition: Good

Comments: Proposed railway line superimposed on plan.  
No documentary evidence available.

Other Tait (Burl 1976) p.22

Material: "In Lanarkshire itself [White] made  
schemes for Murdostoun, a house virtually  
adjoining Allanton ..."



MYLNEFIELD

(Map 2 No. 20)

Perthshire (Tayside)  
Longforgan Parish  
7 miles W of Dundee

Client: ?

NO PLAN

Date: pre 1797 ?

Evidence: Tait (1980) p.259 lists under works of Thomas  
White:

Mylnefield, Perthshire before 1797  
(SRO GD/44/51/374)

This information has not been confirmed.

NISBET

(Map 2 No. 67)

Berwickshire (Borders)

Edrom Parish

3 miles S of Duns (close to Allanbank)

Client: Miss CARR

Date of Plan: 1784

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF NISBET  
THE SEAT OF MISS CARR BY THOS WHITE 1784  
(upper right, vignette)

References: A The House  
B The Offices  
C The family burial vault  
D The Stables  
E The Kitchen garden  
F The Orchard  
G Farm houses, mills, cottages, etc.  
H A piece of water, the road to the house  
to pass over a bridge which will be  
best marked on the spot  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right, scroll cartouche)

Size: 68 x 61

Location: NLS Ms.5460(i)

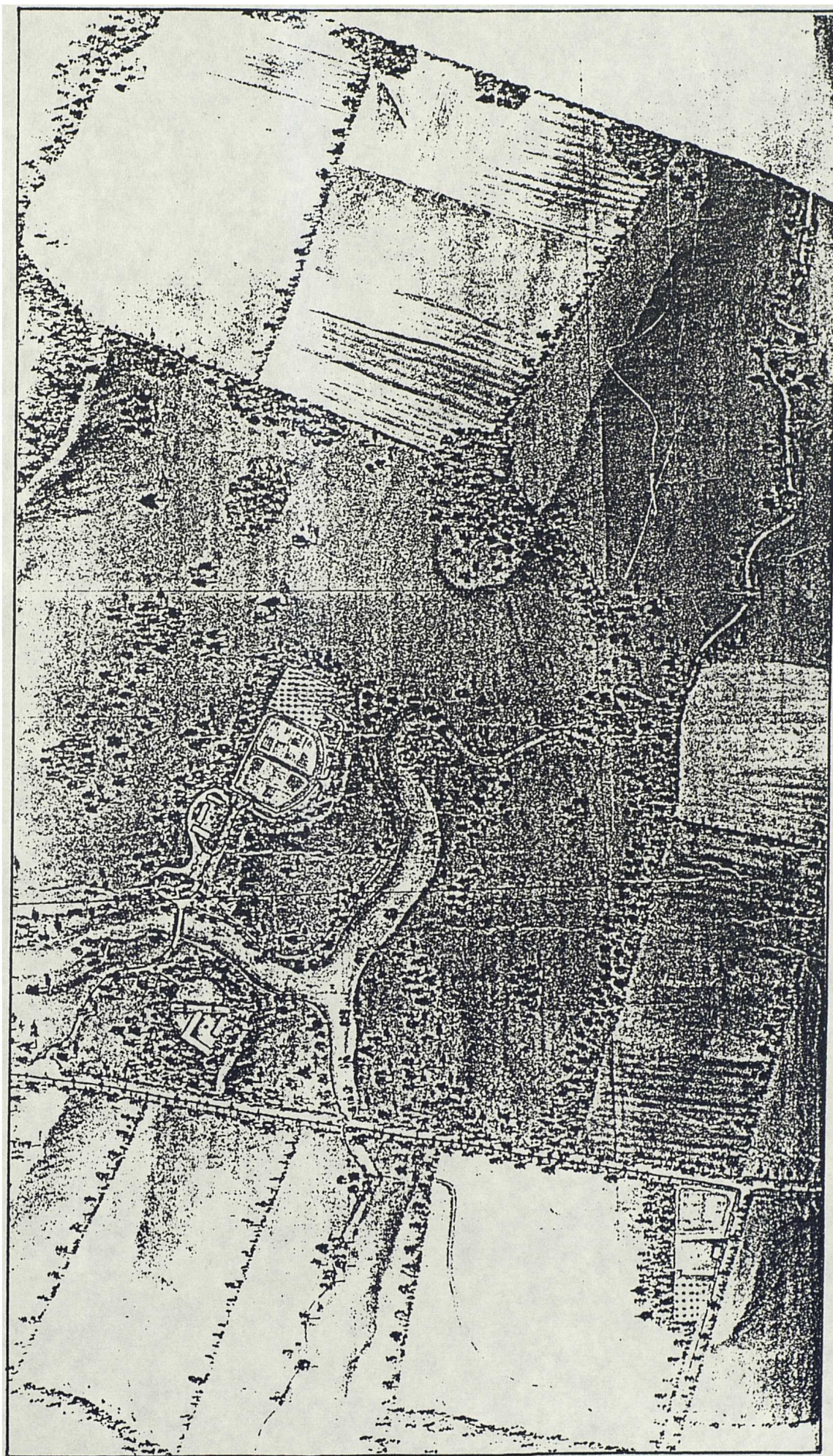
Condition: Good, clear freshly coloured

Comments: Some suggestions possibly implemented at a  
later date

Other Tait (Burl 1976) pp.19-20

Material: Tait (1980) pp.147-50





NISBET Thomas White plan 1784 (detail)



OLD MELROSE

Roxburghshire (Borders)

Melrose Parish

5 miles SE of Galashiels

TW junior

(Map 2 No. 68)

Client: Colonel LOCKHART

Date of Plan: 1809

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF OLD  
MELROSE THE SEAT OF COL. LOCKHART BY  
T. WHITE JUN 1809  
(upper left, circled vignette)

References: A House  
B Stables  
C Farm offices, wash houses etc.  
D Drying green  
E Stack yard  
F Garden  
G Summer house  
H Hedges  
I Lodges  
The dotted lines are the old fences  
A Scale of Chains  
(inscribed lower right)

Size: 38 x 44

Location: SRO RHP 3656

Condition: Good

Comments: No further evidence.

PANMURE TW junior (Map 2 No. 15)  
Forfarshire (Tayside)  
Panbride Parish  
8 miles NE of Dundee (near the Guynd)

Client: WILLIAM RAMSAY MAULE, 1ST BARON  
PANMURE (1771-1852)  
succeeded 1787

NO PLAN

Date: 1820

Evidence: NLS Ms.15420 f.96  
Letter Thomas White junior to Alexander  
Guthrie May 30 1820 addressed from Panmure's  
Brechin estate:  
"I arrived here last night from  
Panmure..."

PITFIRrane TW senior & junior (Map 2 No. 33)  
 Fifeshire (Tayside)  
 Dunfermline Parish  
 2 miles W of Dunfermline

Client: Sir CHARLES HALKETT

Date of Plan: 1801

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
 PITFIRrane THE SEAT OF SIR CHARLES  
 HALKETT BART. BY T. WHITE 1801  
 (upper right, circled vignette)

References: A The Castle  
 B Stables  
 C Garden  
 D Nurserys  
 E Farm buildings  
 F Lodges  
 (lower left, circled vignette)

A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 37 x 46  
 Location: NLS Ms.6510 No.2  
 Condition: Good

Comments: Titles and references in the hand of Thomas  
 White junior and possibly the entire plan.

Archival Thomas White junior was at Pitfirrane in 1811:  
 Material: SRA T-Sk 21/4-1 Keir accounts  
 Feb 28 1811 One day travelling from Pitfirrane  
 to Keir

Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds  
 Bank shows:  
 1803 Jul 2 Halkett on Christie £70

POLTON

(Map 2 No. 60)

Edinburghshire (Lothian)  
Lasswade Parish  
5 miles S of Edinburgh

Client: ROBERT DUNDAS

Date of Plan: 1791

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF  
POLTON BY T. WHITE 1791  
(upper left, vignette)

References: A The House  
B Stables  
C Stable yard  
D Kitchen garden  
E Detached houses  
F Roads  
G Walks  
The dotted lines are the old boundarys.  
Some sunk and net fences will be wanted  
which mr. White will better mark out on  
the spot when in the country  
A Scale of Chains  
(lower right, scroll cartouche)

Size: 36 x 46

Location: Original with Mrs. Dundas-Bekker, Arniston  
House  
p/c at SRO RHP 83429

Condition: Fair, slightly torn and waterstained; stored  
rolled up

Comments: A modest plan with no evidence of its  
implementation



PRESTON HALL

(Map 2 No. 64)

Edinburghshire (Lothian)  
 Cranston Parish  
 5 miles SE of Dalkeith

Client: JOHN CALLANDER (1739-1812)  
 succeeded 1792, created Baronet 1798

Date of Plan: 1794

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRESTON  
 HALL THE SEAT OF JOHN CALLANDER ESQ. BY  
 T. WHITE 1794  
 (upper left, oval framed vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Stables  
 C Kitchen garden  
 D Wash house  
 E Lodges  
 F Menagery  
 The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower right, oval framed scroll cartouche)

Size: 50 x 39

Location: Preston Hall, Mrs. Mary Callander

Condition: Fairly good, top left torn away, stored rolled

Comments: Later survey maps suggest that some of White's  
 suggestions were put into effect

Archival Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds  
 Material: Bank indicates a possible payment for Preston  
 Hall:  
 1794 Dec 17 Backhouse on Esdaile of Ardern  
 per Pattison £265  
 (John Paterson was factor at Preston Hall)

Other Plans: 1794 unsigned sketch plan which has been  
 attributed to White but seems doubtful; may  
 possibly be the architect Robert Mitchell?  
 (Preston Hall)  
 1776 James Fiddes survey map "  
 1806 John Lauder survey map "  
 1842 Thomas Carfrae survey map "

Other Inventory (1987) Vol.5, pp.199-205  
 Material:

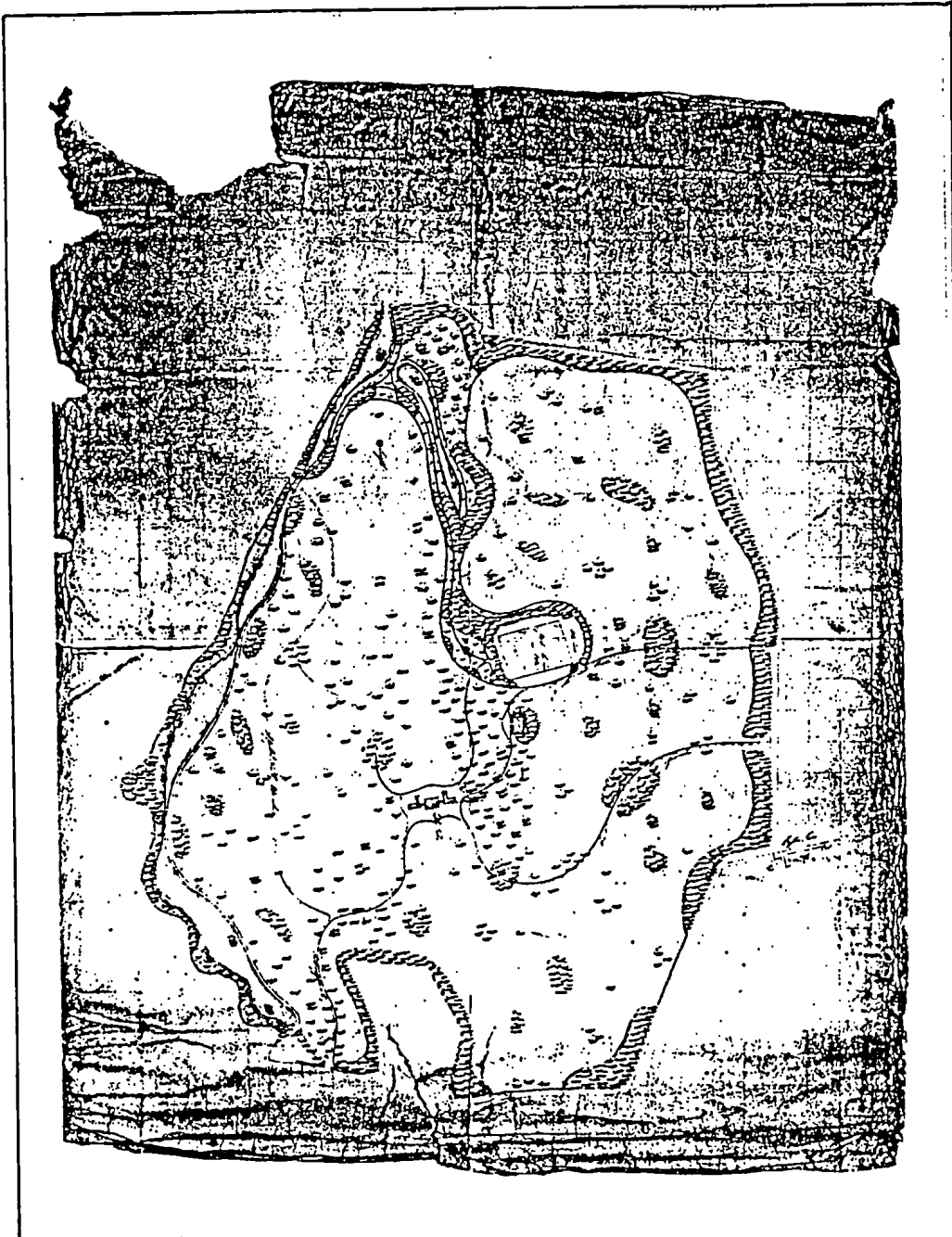


PRESTON HALL Thomas White plan 1794





PRESTON HALL Unsigned sketch plan 1794





PRESTON HALL left: James Fiddes survey map 1776  
right: Thomas Carfrae survey map 1842



## PRESTON HALL Engraving published 1795



*Engraved by E. Scott from an Original Drawing by A. Carr.*

PRESTON HALL.

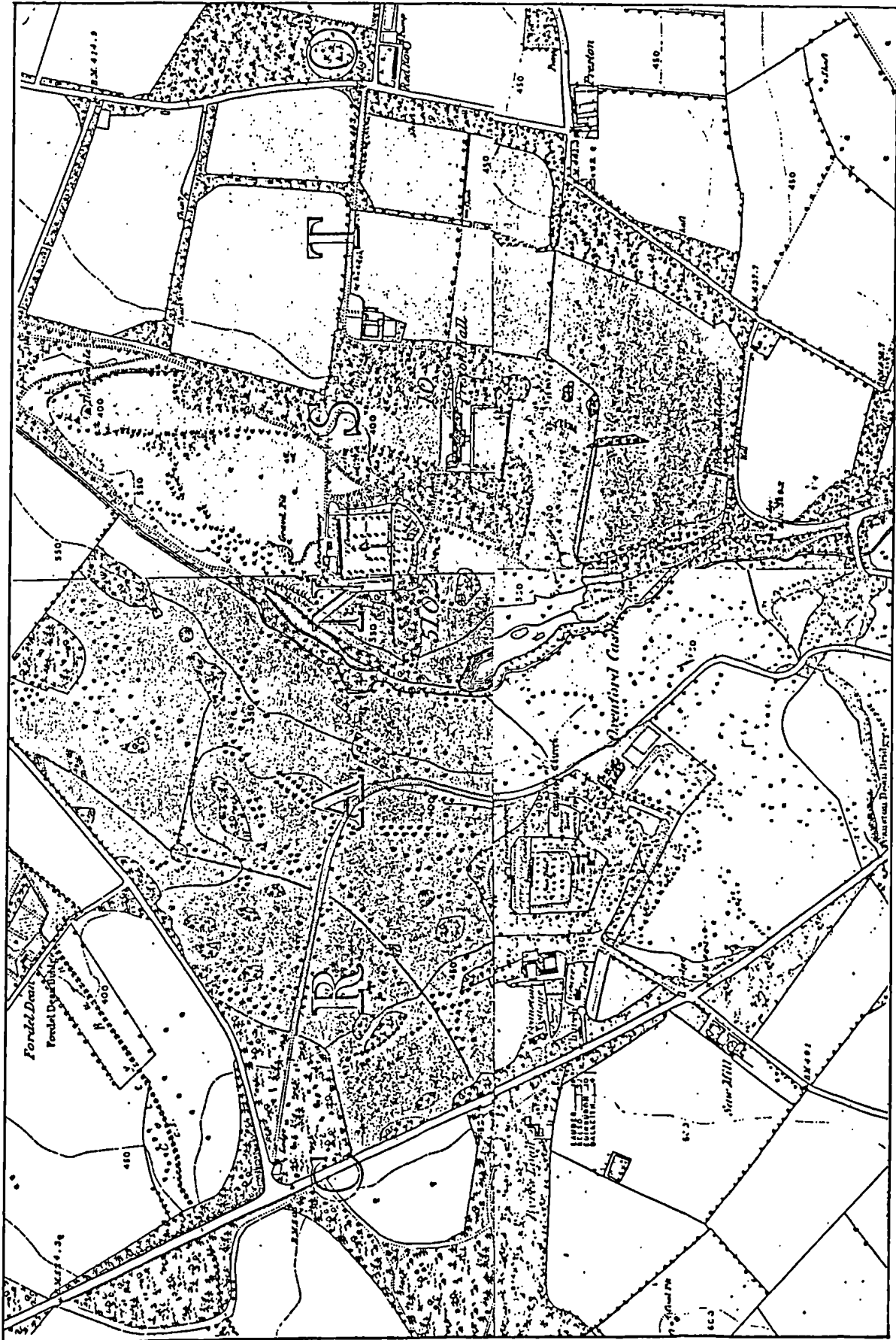


*the Seat of Colonel Callander of Crichton.*

*In whom this plate is very properly dedicated, by the publisher.*

*Printed at the Press, by W. Gordon Perth, & R. Kirkwood Edinburgh 1795.*





PRESTON HALL 6" O.S. map 1852

RAIT TW junior  
Perthshire (Tayside)  
9 miles E of Perth

(Map 2 No. 21)

CLIENT: ?

NO PLAN

Date: 1812

Evidence: Ex info Alan A. Tait (February 18 1988)  
listing Thomas White junior at Rait in 1812.  
No further information ascertained.



RAITH

(Map 2 No. 30)

Fifeshire (Fife)  
 Abbotshall Parish  
 3 miles W of Kirkcaldy

Client: WILLIAM FERGUSON

Date of Plan: 1783

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RAITH  
 THE SEAT OF WM. FERGUSON ESQUIRE BY  
 THOS. WHITE 1783  
 (upper right, vignette)

References: A The Present house  
 B The Stables to the same  
 CCC Are farm houses and cottages  
 D The Intended house  
 EE Two convenient houses  
 F The Intended stables  
 G The manure yard to ditto  
 H The Dog kennel  
 I A Farm yard with useful outbuildings  
 K A Stack yard  
 L A Kitchen garden  
 M A Hot house garden  
 N The Hot house  
 OO Flower gardens or one of the spaces may  
 be a drying yard  
 P A Reservoyr for water  
 QQQ Are small yards or courts for many useful  
 purposes such as the containing coals,  
 bottles, chickens, etc. etc.  
 The dotted lines are the old boundarys.  
 Some sunk fences will be wanted which will be  
 best marked out on the spot  
 R The Town of Kirkcaldy  
 S The Kirk  
 T The Ruin of Abbots Hall  
 V A Temple or summerhouse  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left, scroll cartouche)

Size: 58 x 66

Location: Original with A.B.L. Munro, Raith  
 p/c SRO RHP 44084

Condition: Fair

Comments: Large and ambitious design; some of plan  
 probably carried through. Walter Nicol at  
 Raith and Wemyss.

Archival Scone 1233/2 letter White to Lord Stormont  
 Material: December 2 1784 addressed from Raith - "I am  
 favoured with your Lordship's letter at this  
 place".  
 White's contra account at Drummonds Bank gives  
 possible payment for Raith:  
 1783 Dec 12 Cash recd Ferguson on Mill £105

Other Tait (1980) pp.140,151,177  
 Material:

ROSSDHU

(Map 2 No. 42)

Dunbartonshire (Strathclyde)  
 Luss Parish  
 By Loch Lomond 20 miles NW of Glasgow

Client: Sir JAMES COLQUHOUN (d.1805)

Date of Plan: 1797

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF ROSEDOE  
 THE SEAT OF SIR JAMES COLQUHOUN BART.  
 BY T. WHITE 1797  
 (upper right, vignette)

References: A - E  
 (lower right, vignette)

A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 36 x 42  
 Location: ? With Colquhoun family ?  
 Condition: ?

Comments: It would appear that parts of White's design  
 were realised.  
 TW junior produced a plan for the nearby  
 estate of Cameron in 1819.

Other  
 Material: Tait (Burl 1976) pp.19,21  
 "Even at Rosssdhu, deep in the wild and  
 sublime scenery of Loch Lomond he [White]  
 failed in his improvement plan to  
 register its influence and even went so  
 far as to ignore the possibilities of so  
 romantic an object as the original old  
 tower."

Tait (1980) pp.132,162-7



ROSSDHU Thomas White plan 1797





SCONE

(Map 2 No. 22)

Perthshire (Tayside)  
 Scone Parish  
 2 miles NE of Perth

Client: DAVID MURRAY 7TH VISCOUNT STORMONT (1727-1796)  
 succeeded 1748; succeeded as 2nd Earl of  
 Mansfield 1793

Date of Plan: 1781

Title: A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE GROUNDS  
 ABOUT THE PALACE OF SCONE THE SEAT OF THE  
 RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT  
 BY THOMAS WHITE 1781  
 (upper right, rococo cartouche)

References: A The Palace of Scone  
 B The Offices  
 C The Stables  
 D The Village of Scone  
 E The Family Burial Vault  
 F The Kitchen garden  
 G The Farm of Rome  
 HH A Water fence  
 II Sand beds in the river  
 A sunk fence will be wanted near the house  
 which will be best shown on the spot  
 The dotted lines are the old boundarys  
 Scale of Scotch chains  
 (inscribed upper left)

Size: 48 x 48  
 Location: Scone Palace Muniments Plan 4  
 Condition: Poor, faded and creased though recently  
 repaired

Comments: Thomas White engaged at Scone 1781-87;  
 contract drawn April 29 1783 between the  
 parties; the plan was largely executed.

Archival Material: Scone Palace Muniments contain a considerable  
 amount of material directly related to Thomas  
 White's work there, most particularly:  
 Bundles 632,666,667,1229,1232,1233,1401  
 Factors Crop Accounts 1775-1787 (William  
 Blair)  
 Vouchers - bundles 1492,1497,1511,1512,1513  
 Volume 111 William Booth 1822 Plans and  
 Descriptions of Scone  
 Volume 117 John Claudius Loudon 1803 Treatise  
 on Scone  
 Volume 148 Journal of David 7th Viscount  
 Stormont 1773

Other Plans: 1801 Andrew Cock survey map (Scone Plan 5)

SCONE - 2

Other

Material:

Hunter (1883) p.106

"At one period Scone was said to be well wooded, but the blunder of a landscape forester denuded it of its arboreal beauty. During the absence of the Earl who then held the property, and who was at the time an Ambassador abroad, a Mr. White was employed to 'embellish' the estate, but his idea of embellishment was closely allied to Vandalism, as he executed his commission by cutting most of the old oak timber on the property. The 'landscape forester' must have carried out his work of destruction most completely, as at the present day there is no oak timber beyond 70 years of age, with the exception of a few trees in the neighbourhood of the Palace."

Tait (1980) pp.2,6,84,147-154,182,195-99

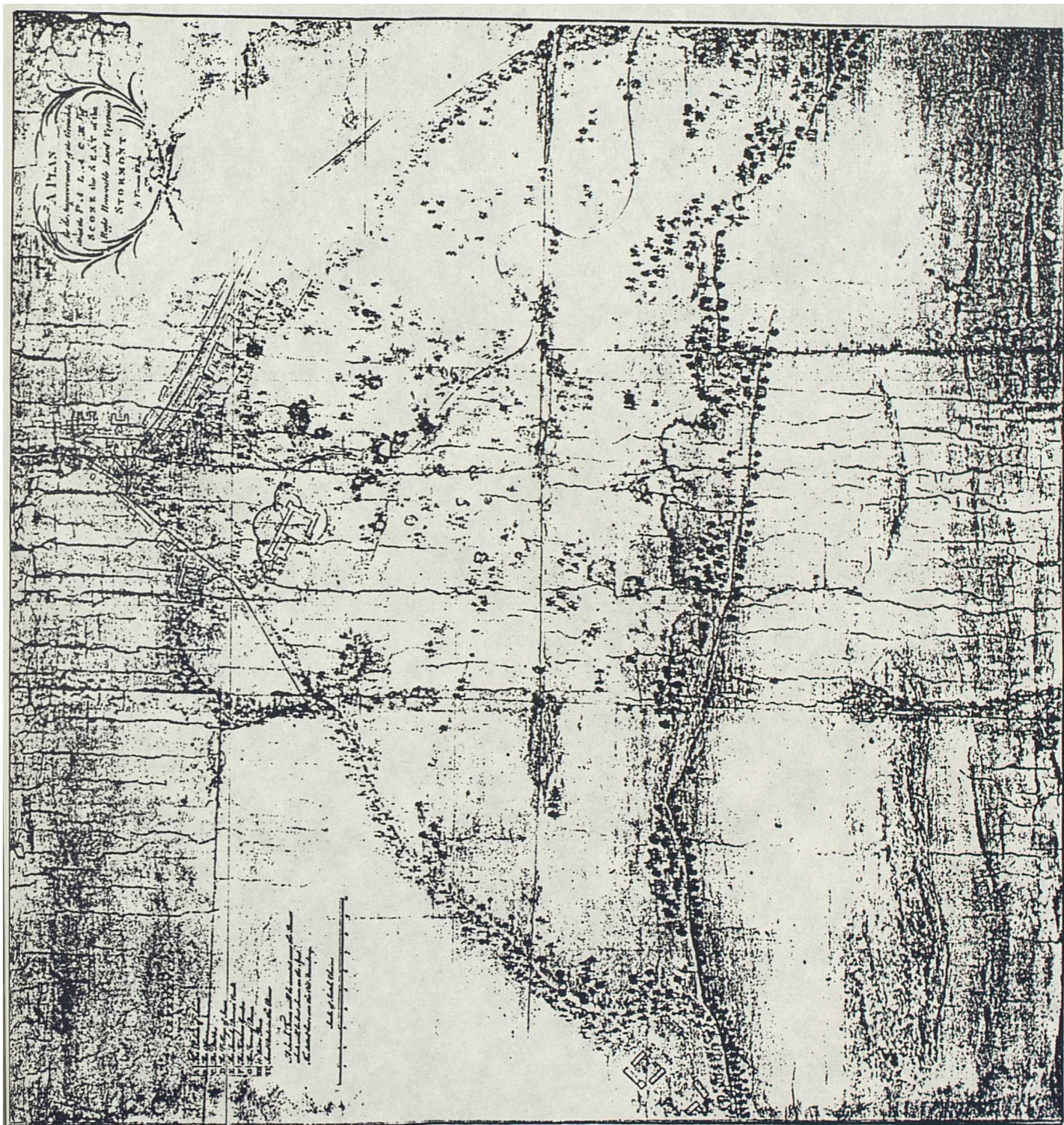
Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.246-254

Cornforth (CL 1988) pp.74,95

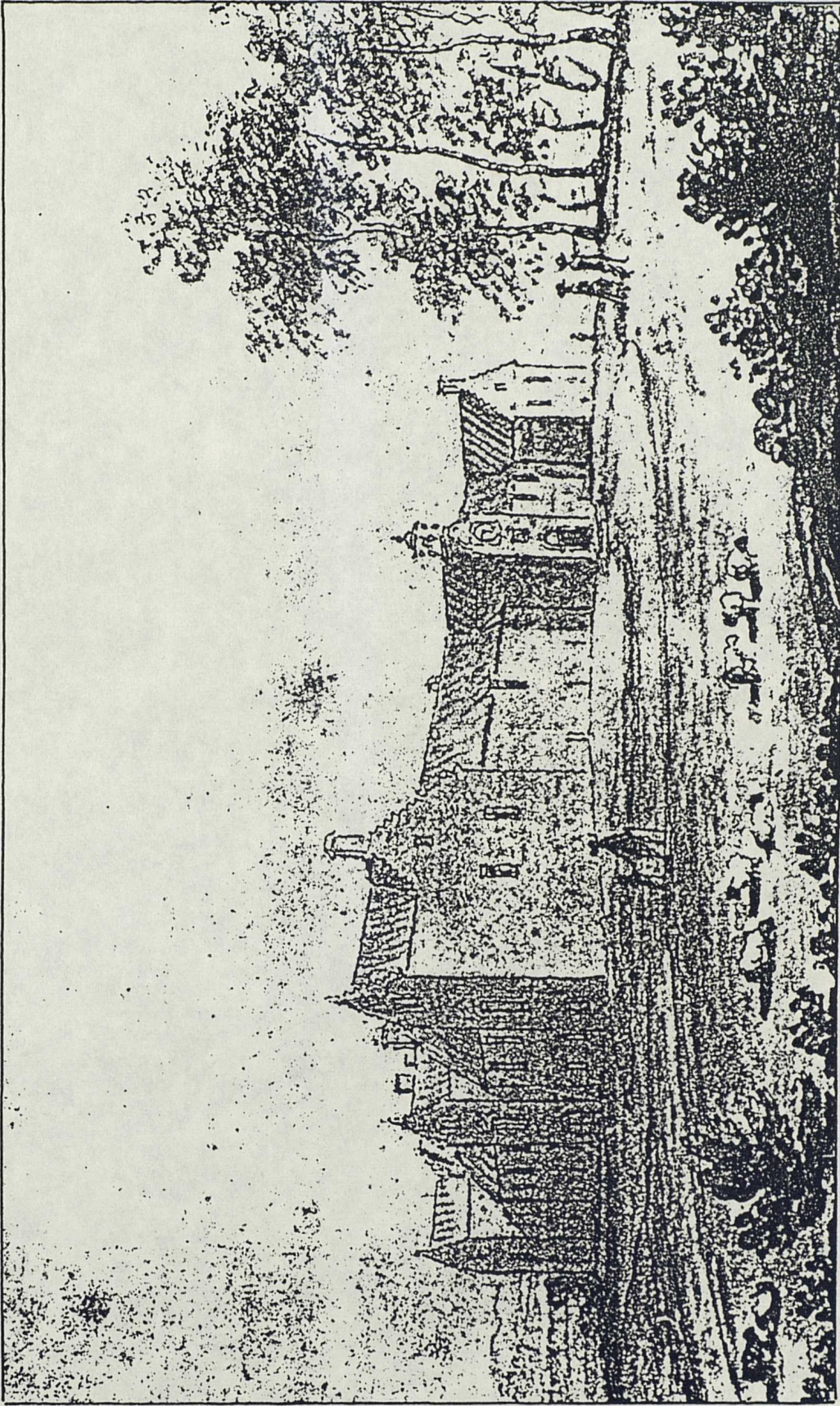
"Thomas White gave advice about the setting of the house .... [the 7th Viscount] had not got on with Thomas White who had come up to advise on the landscape. In a letter of 1786 White wrote to his client that 'such a scene of desolation my Eyes never beheld within the pale of any Gentleman's domain'; and in another letter of the same year that it was a relief 'that a business that has given me more pain than pleasure is to have an end' ... Loudon in fact, was no more complimentary of the setting than White."



## SCONE Thomas White plan 1781







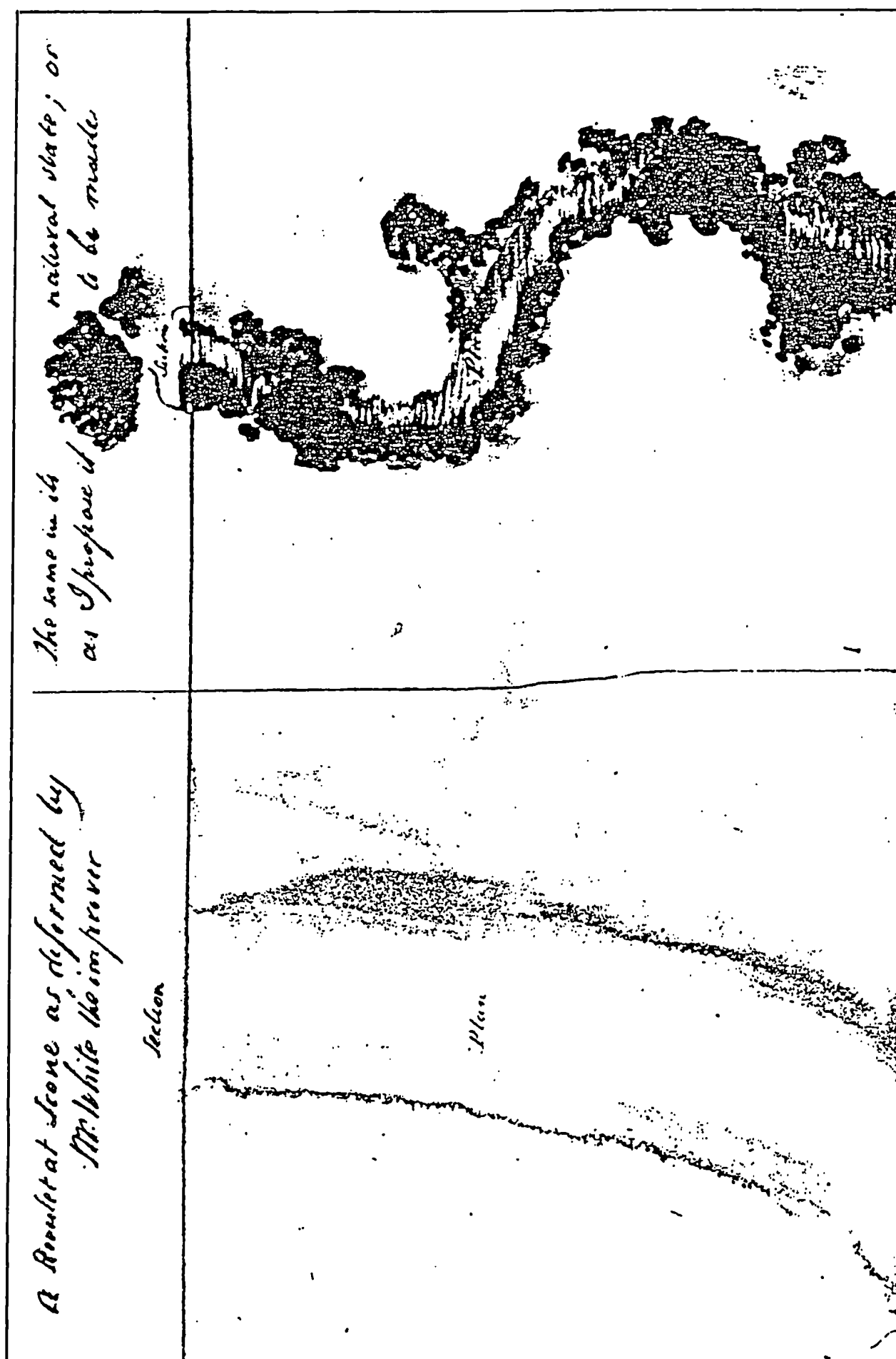
SCONE 18th century engraving of Scone Palace



SCONE    above:    sandbeds in river Tay at Scone Palace  
         below:    Thomas White's one arch bridge at Scone



SCONE Page from John Claudius Loudon 'Treatise on Scone'  
1803 on rivulets





TOUCH  
 Stirlingshire (Central)  
 St. Ninians Parish  
 3 miles W of Stirling (adjoining Gartur)

(Map 2 No. 39)

Client: ARCHIBALD SETON (d.1818)  
 Seton absent in India 1779 onwards and estate managed by Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, his brother-in-law

Date of Plan: 1797

Title: A DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF TOUCH  
 THE SEAT OF ARCHD SETON ESQ. BY  
 T. WHITE 1797  
 (upper centre, round vignette)

References: A The House  
 B Otre [sic] Offices  
 C Stables  
 D Stack yard  
 E Kitchen garden  
 F Farmhouses  
 G Lodges  
 The dotted lines are the old fences  
 (lower right, circular vignette)  
 A Scale of Chains  
 (lower left)

Size: 72 x 50  
 Location: Touch House  
 Condition: Good, clear colouring, stored rolled up

Comments: Little of White's plan apart from some planting appears to have been carried out

Archival Material: NLS 19208 Seton Correspondence, particularly: f.88 letter to Archibald Seton from Henry Steuart regarding Mr. Graham of Gartmore June 29 1808:  
 "Lately when Mr. White gave him [Graham] a plan for the improvement of the place it was found he could not have an entrance or road to his house without touching on the SE corner of the grounds of Touch ... the outside of the Woodend field gate (where your new Porters Lodge was intended by Mr. White)."  
 NLS 19204-9 f.138 letter Archibald Seton to Henry Steuart October 19 1812  
 "As my mind strongly leans towards the line of approaches recommended by you and Mr. White."

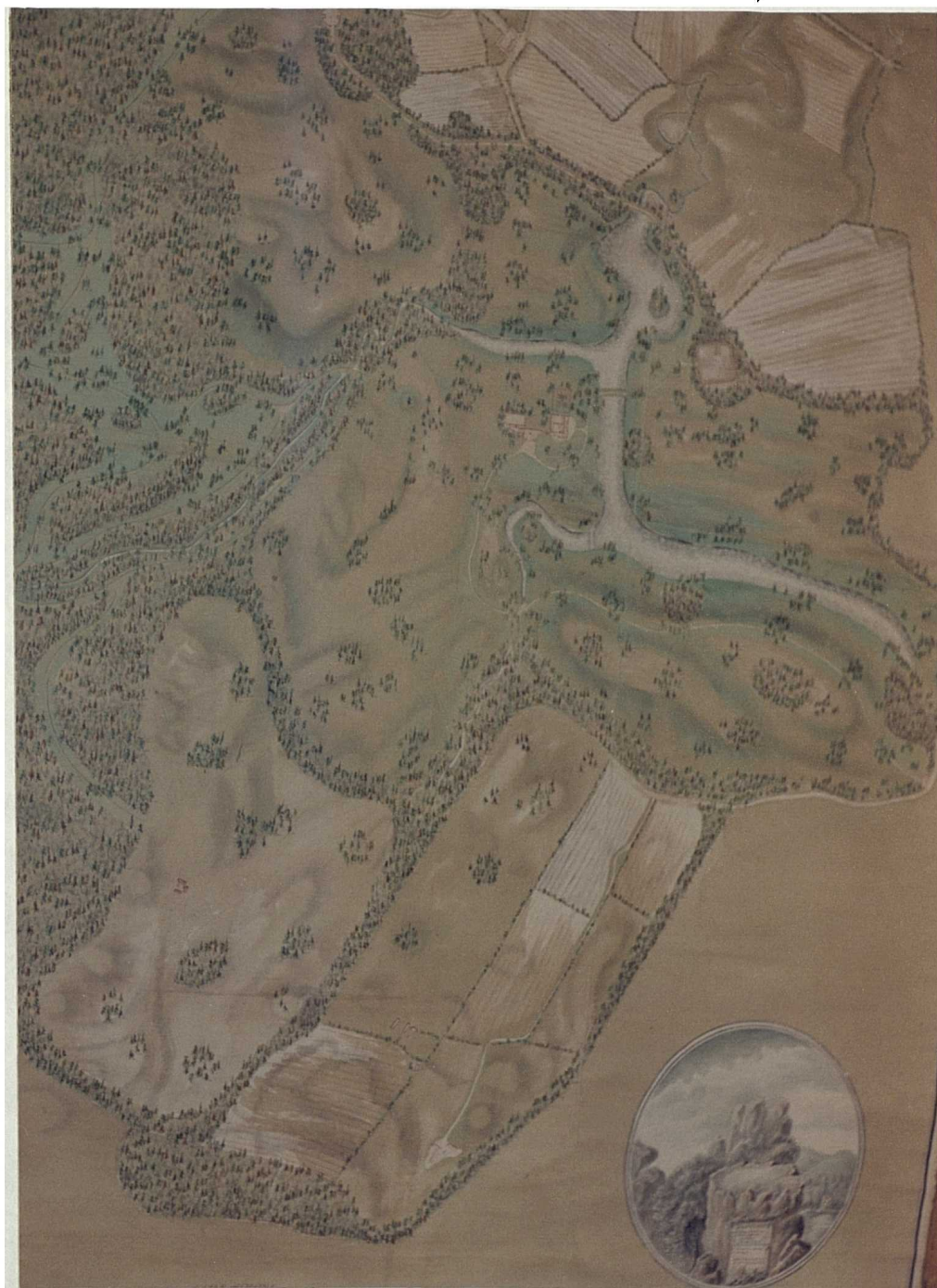
TOUCH - 2

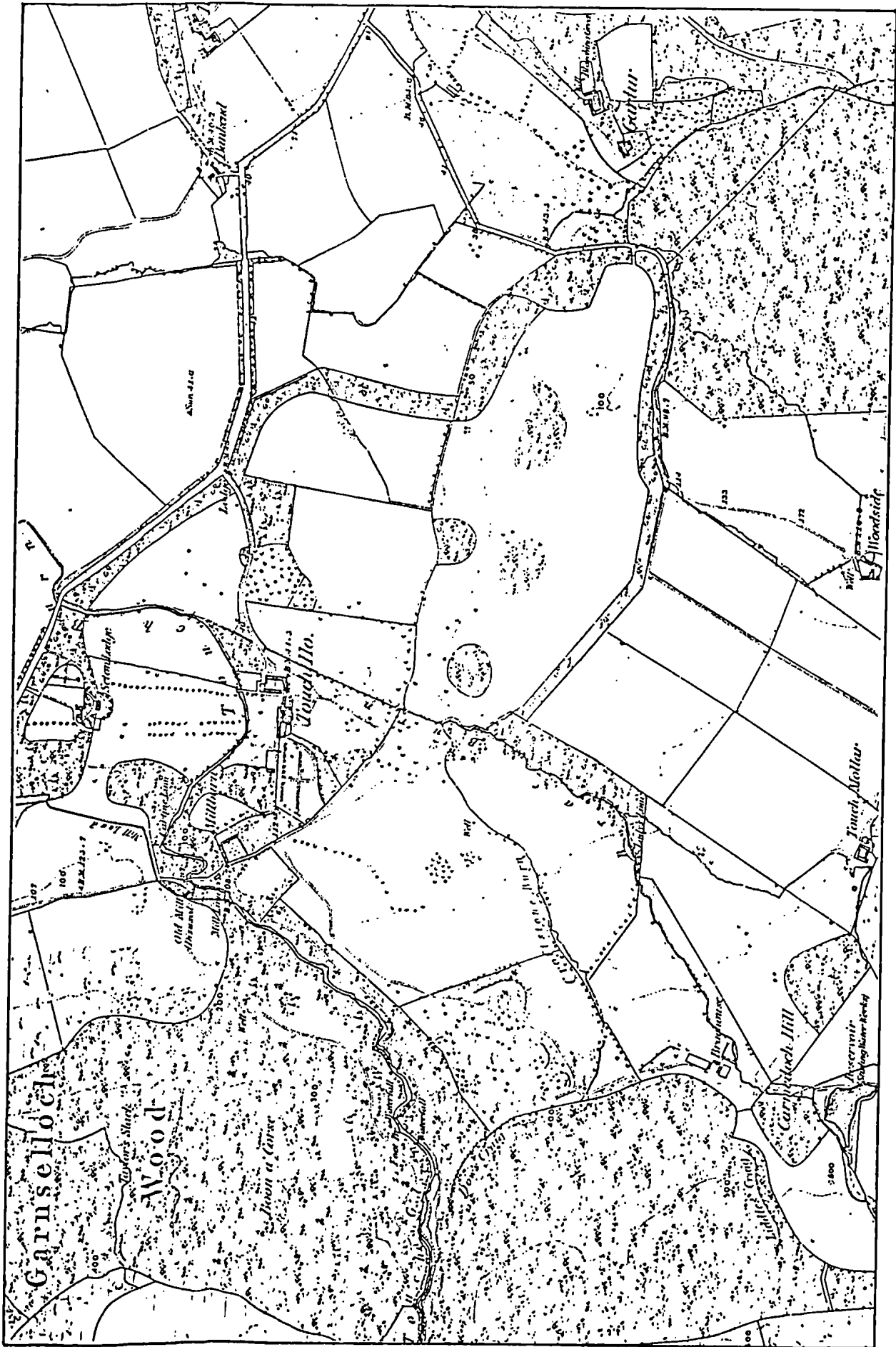
Other Plans: 1797 John Bell survey map (at Touch)  
1800 John Bell (copy White plan) (SRO RHP 3604)  
1801 I d'Auvergne (copy White plan) (at Touch?)  
1810 John Leslie survey map (at Touch)

Other Material: Tait (Burl 1976) pp.14,18-19  
Tait (1980) pp.148,216-222  
Adams (1966-89) Vol.3, p.129  
Inventory (1987) Vol.4, pp.336-342



TOUCH Thomas White plan 1797





TOUCH 6" O.S. map 1860 (showing GARTUR)

WEMYSS TW senior & junior (Map 2 No. 29)  
 Fifeshire (Fife)  
 2 miles NE of Dysart (near Raith)

Client: GENERAL WILLIAM WEMYSS ? (1760-1822)

NO PLAN

Date: ca. 1801-7

Evidence: Loudon (EG 1828) para.7635  
 "Wemyss Castle, near Kirkcaldy; Gen. Wemyss. Long famous for its kitchen-garden laid out by Nicol, and its pleasure-grounds by White of Durham. The house is surrounded by extensive plantations, and the whole place is kept in the highest degree of order and neatness."

NorthRO M14-B7/163

Letter Elizabeth White to Reverend John Hodgson December 15 [1807]:

"... On Sunday week he [Thomas White junior] had a sudden and violent attack of the lumbago at Wemyss Castle in Fife."

Thomas White's contra account at Drummonds Bank gives a possible payment for Wemyss: 1801 Apr 28 [Forbes] of Wemyss per Forbes £113

## APPENDIX A4

ESTATES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND AT WHICH THOMAS  
WHITE MAY HAVE BEEN ENGAGED

Possible Estate	Possible Client	Possible Date	Page
BALMUTO	Claud Boswell	1784-94	651
BROOMHALL	Lord Elgin	1792	652
CALLENDAR	Sir William Forbes	1781-1804	653
DALKEITH	Duke of Buccleuch	?	654
HAGGERSTON	Sir Carnaby Haggerston	1780-82	655
HAZLEWOOD	Sir Walter Vavasour	1793-94	656
LAMBTON	General John Lambton	1790-94	657
MELBOURNE	Henry Vavasour	1793-94	656
SKELTON	John Hall Stevenson	1775	658
STAPLETON	Charles, Lord Stourton	1783-84	659
WOODEND	Samuel Crompton	1786-80	660
?	Gillies	1789-93	661

"Boswall"

BALMUTO HOUSE ?  
Fifeshire

Possible Client: CLAUD BOSWELL

Possible Dates: 1784 - 1794

Evidence: White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1784 Jan 13 By cash recd Boswall on Coutts £42  
1794 Feb 3 Boswall on Coutts £107

Comments: Colvin (1978) p.100  
John Baxter alterations at Balmuto 1797

"Lord Elgin"

BROOMHALL ?  
Fifeshire

Possible Client: 7TH EARL OF ELGIN

Possible Date: 1792

Evidence: White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1792 Jun 14 of Lord Elgin £42



"Forbes"

CALLENDAR PARK ?  
Stirlingshire

Possible Client: Sir WILLIAM FORBES (d.1815)

Possible Dates: 1781 - 1804

Evidence: White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1781	Jan	16	Cash recd Forbes on Wickender	£200
1787	Mar	29	Forbes on Moffatt p Mackonochie	120
1789	Feb	10	Forbes on Moffatt	234 10
1791	Jan	14	Cash recd Forbes on Moffatt	150
	Mar	1	Forbes on Moffatt	201
1797	Mar	24	Forbes on Moffatt per Brimmer	100
1801	Mar	31	Forbes on Moffatt	124 13
1804	Oct	24	Forbes on Moffatt per Hamilton	300

Comments: Colvin (1978) pp.133, 238  
 1785 Craig plan for internal alterations  
 at Callendar park  
 1787 Brazier design for entrance

"Buccleuch"

DALKEITH     ?  
Midlothian

Possible Client:            HENRY SCOTT, 3RD DUKE OF  
                              BUCCLEUCH     (1746-1812)

Possible Date:                ?

Evidence:            Consett Guardian (1902) p.7 states:  
                              "[Thomas White and his son Thomas]  
                              ornamented the grounds of many seats of  
                              the nobility and gentry including the  
                              Duke of Fife and the Duke of  
                              Buccleuch..."

"Haggerston"

HAGGERSTON HALL ?  
Northumberland

Possible Client: Sir CARNABY HAGGERSTON

Possible Dates: 1780-82

Evidence: White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1780 Jun 19	Haggerston on Ourselves	£500
1781 May 31	"	500
1782 Jan 21	Sir Carnaby Haggerston Bart to	
	Cash paid Mr. White	200
Mar 21	Haggerston on Ourselves	200

"Vavasour"

HAZLEWOOD CASTLE  
Yorkshire, West Riding  
(North Yorkshire)  
3 miles SW of Tadcaster

Possible Client: Sir WALTER VAVASOUR

Possible Dates: 1793-94

Evidence: White's Drummonds Bank contra account:

1793 Jul 9	Vavasour on Child	£234 18
1794 Oct 11	Vavasour on Child	239 7

Comments: The Vavasours also owned Weston Hall (Yorkshire, West Riding, near Otley) and Melbourne Hall (Yorkshire, East Riding, near Pocklington)

LDA Vavasour papers No.1325 is 'A Plan for the Improvement of Haslewood, the Seat of Sir Walter Vavasour, by A. Sparrow 1768'; Sparrow and White connection at Harewood and Hawksworth in 1760s.

MELBOURNE HALL  
Yorkshire, East Riding  
(Humberside)  
5 miles W of Market Weighton

Possible Client: HENRY VAVASOUR

Possible Dates: 1793-94

Evidence: White's Drummonds Bank contra account:

1793 Jul 9	Vavasour on Child	£234 18
1794 Oct 11	Vavasour on Child	239 7

Comments: Melbourne Hall was described as 'lately erected' in 1790 and built on land inclosed in 1782 (VCH Yorks E. Riding (1976) Vol.III p.184)

"Lambton"

LAMBTON CASTLE ?  
County Durham  
(bordering Lumley)

Possible Client: General JOHN LAMBTON (1710-1794)

Possible Dates: 1790-94

Evidence: White's Drummonds Bank contra account:

1790	Sep 25	Lambton on Masters	£200		
1792	Jan 14	Lundell on Masters of			
		Lambton per Fenwick	150		
	Sep 28	Lambton on Master	100		
1794	Jan 18	Lambton on Boldero of			
		Lambton per Fenwick	71	7	9

"Stevenson"

SKELTON CASTLE ?  
Yorkshire, North Riding  
3 miles from Guisborough

Possible Client: JOHN HALL STEVENSON (d.1785)

Possible Date: 1775

Evidence: White's Drummonds Bank contra account:  
1775 Feb 6 Stevenson on Luttons £105

Comments: Pevsner (1972) p.344 states that alterations were being made at Skelton ca. 1775. Thomas White was at Sedbury in Yorkshire, North Riding in 1775.



"Stourton"

STAPLETON PARK ?  
Yorkshire, West Riding  
(North Yorkshire)  
Near Pontefract

Possible Client: CHARLES PHILLIP, 17TH LORD  
STOURTON (1752-1816)

Possible Dates: 1783-84

Evidence: White's Drummonds Bank contra account:

1783 Feb 18	Stourton on Wright	£300
1784 Mar 13	Stourton on Wright	300

Comments: Stourton (1899) p.574 states that the 17th Lord Stourton purchased the manor of Stapleton in March 1789 from Edward Lascelles:

"Lord Stourton caused Stapleton Park to be known by the name of 'Stourton Place' as is proved by the old maps of that period. As early as 5 May 1784 [5 years before purchase] the Holme Hall register states that Lord and Lady Stourton resided at Holme Hall whilst their house at Stourton Place (Stapleton) nr. Ferrybridge was being fitted for them."

Stroud (1975) pp.198-9

Brown's account book shows he was at 'Stourton' in October 1782 and received £69 10. The 17th Lord Stourton purchased the estate of Allerton Mauleverer in 1805 and gave it the name of Stourton. Stroud feels that this may be the 'Stourton' estate referred to in connection with Brown. It seems unlikely that Allerton is the correct estate as until 1786 it belonged to the Mauleverers, then to the Duke of York until 1789.

The Lascelles connection also seems to make Stapleton a more likely candidate for 'Stourton' in both White and Brown's case. Perhaps White took over on Brown's death in 1783?

"Crompton"

WOODEND ?  
Near Thirsk  
Yorkshire, North Riding

Possible Client: SAMUEL CROMPTON

Possible Dates: 1776 - 1780

Evidence: White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1776 Apr 27	Crompton on Lee	£110	
1777 Oct 25	"	104	7
1779 Jun 18	" per Crompton	100	
Aug 18	Crompton on Lee	100	
Dec 31	"	100	
1780 Jan 25	"	150	

Comments: Neale (1818-25) Vol.4 states:  
"This handsome residence received  
considerable additions about thirty  
years since ..."

"Gillies" of Kincardineshire

Possible client:               ?    GILLIES

Possible dates:               1789-93

Evidence:           SA Proceedings (1917) p.256 note:  
                       "A letter from William Nicholson a  
                       Newcastle artist settled in Edinburgh to  
                       the Rev. John Hodgson adds a little to  
                       our knowledge on this point. Writing in  
                       July 1811 Nicholson says 'I have just  
                       returned from dining with Mr. Gillies (a  
                       nephew of Lord Gillies, a Scottish  
                       judge). He is most pleased with your  
                       poem of Woodlands. Mr. White to whom  
                       you dedicated it, laid out his father's  
                       grounds in Kincardineshire'."

White Drummonds Bank contra account:

1789 Jan 17	Gillies on Anderson	£140
1790 Jul 24	"	100
1793 Aug 5	Gillies on Gillies	140

The location or owner of this estate has not yet been established. Possibly Dr. John Gillies, historian (older brother of Adam Gillies) or Colin Gillies, "a good agriculturist" who "became eminent as a general merchant and manufacturer" in Brechin (NSA (1845) p.531).