

In the Garden, 1892, by Childe Hassam.

CELIA THAXTER'S ISLAND GARDEN: A 19th CENTURY FLOWER GARDEN & ITS HISTORIC RESTORATION

BY TESSA IZENOUR
SENIOR SEMINAR: FALL 2004
INSTRUCTOR: SINCLAIR ADAM
TEMPLE UNIVERSITY: DEPARTMENT OF LANDSCAPE
ARCHITECTURE & HORTICULTURE

ABSTRACT:

Celia Thaxter, perhaps the most renowned and popularly successful female poet of her time, was also a passionate and knowledgeable gardener, naturalist, and painter. In 1893, a year before her death, she wrote what today is still considered a garden literature classic, An Island Garden, in which she described what she called her "old-fashioned" small garden, roughly 15' x 50', on Appledore Island, Isles of Shoals, Maine. This book was beautifully, and famously, illustrated with paintings of her garden and home by the American impressionist Childe Hassam, and served as a popular literary chronicle of an famous American garden as well as an emminently practical horticultural how-to guide. This small garden, lying roughly ten miles off the coast of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was renowned in its day and a mecca for the pre-eminent artists, writers, and musicians of late 19th century New England, for which it was a profound inspiration. Likewise, the recreation of her garden, begun in 1976, continues to attract increasing throngs of visitors to this day. This paper attempts to examine, deconstruct, and evaluate Celia Thaxter's original garden-- i.e., what she grew, how she grew these plants in such a harsh North Atlantic island situation, and to discuss the garden's on-going horticultural, art-historical, and cultural significance. It is the author's proposition that Celia's island garden serves as an eminent example of the dynamic dialogue between the mediums of painting and gardening, which also succinctly and emblematically, embodies the essentially ephemeral nature of gardens as works of art and their simultaneous profound potential for affecting lasting impression and significance upon culture. Celia's island garden is further analyzed in regards to issues of gender and the Victorian 'door-yard' garden. Finally, the garden's recreation and its popular success is critically examined and discussed in relation to the amply documented and described original garden, and its effectiveness as a historical restoration effort is evaluated.



Celia Thaxter in her Island Garden, 1887

¹ Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter, Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall, Publ., 2001, p. 84.

INTRODUCTION:

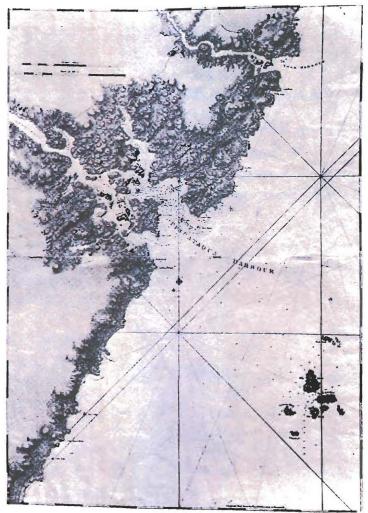
A small, almost insignificant plot of land in a most unlikely and remote location was transformed over time into a lush, overflowing flower garden by the daughter of a lighthouse keeper. Celia Laighton Thaxter was an extremely talented woman who led a remarkably unconventional and independent life by Victorian New England standards. She plied multiple trades and artistic media (including: running a hotel, writing poetry and prose, painting porcelain, and flower arranging) to support herself and her mentally handicapped son, and was long estranged from her husband. Yet, her garden and its creator were famous in their time, and became a tiny beacon for the greatest talent of New England who came to see it, paint it, and simply bask in its color and beauty. Indeed Celia Thaxter's garden and flower-filled parlor constitute one of the first great artistic 'salons' of 19th century America, and arguably can be said to have inspired some of the best American Impressionist paintings ever created. Ultimately this garden was to become a romantic icon of an 'old-fashioned' flower garden which continues to find admirers, and emulators, today. Indeed, her garden can be considered an archetypal model of an idealized and nostalgic American garden type, the 'Grandmother's' garden. Thus, Celia Thaxter's island garden, and its restoration, provide a fascinating context in which to investigate many complex issues surrounding landscape and garden history, botanical and horticultural history, garden literature, the relationship between painting and gardening, concepts of gender as expressed in attitudes towards gardening, and historic landscape restoration.



A postcard view of Celia Thaxter's 'cottage' and garden (from the late 19th century?).²

²Otis, Denise. Grounds for Pleasure: Four Centuries of the American Garden. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002, p. 67.

APPLEDORE ISLAND, OR, "THE SHIFTING INTERFACE BETWEEN LAND, SEA, AND AIR"³: A brief history of Appledore Island and its vegetation:



1779 map of Portsmouth & the Isles of Shoals.4

The first place I set my foote upon in New England was the Iles of Shoulds, being Ilands in the Sea, about two Leagues from the Mayne. Upon these Ilands I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

- Christopher Levett, A Voyage to New-England, 1628⁵

The Isles of Shoals, "nine glacier-scarred granite domes" lying roughly ten miles off the coast of Portsmouth, were among the very first, although under-publicized, places visited and settled by Europeans. The Shoals were well known and used by English, French, Portuguese and Basque fishermen during the 1500s. Captain John Smith first described the Isles of Shoals in writing in 1614 as "a many of

³ Kingsbury, John M. *The Rocky Shore*. Old Greenwich, CT: Chatham Press, Inc., 1970, p. 7.

⁴ Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. Durham, New Hampshire: University Art Galleries; University of New Hampshire, 1978, p. 10.

⁶ Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isles of Shoals. Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum, 1968, p. 1.

barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins (vines) you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars." However, despite this disparaging description, he attempted to claim and name them for himself, 'Smythe's Isles', a name which did not stick, as the fishermen who had preceded him had already bestowed the name 'The Isles of Shoals', or 'Shoalds' to the archipelago, perhaps because it aptly described to navigators the perils of the semi-submerged rock ledges surrounding the islands, and to fishermen, the schools, or shoal(d)s, of fish which were to be found in ample abundance in the region surrounding the islands. The early colonization of the Isles of Shoals was a by-product of the western European fishing industry. The region offered both a seemingly inexhaustible fishery and a convenient and safe stop-over for the processing and curing of the catch, as well as a resting spot for these mariners, before returning to Europe.



Sea approach to the Isles of Shoals.8

Landing for the first time, the stranger is struck only by the sadness of the place, -- the vast loneliness; for there are not even trees to whisper with familiar voices, -- nothing but sky and sea and rocks. But the very wildness and desolation reveal a strange beauty to him. Let him wait til evening comes, "With sunset purple soothing all the waste," and he will find himself slowly succumbing to the subtile charm of that sea atmosphere.

- Celia Thaxter, Among the Isles of Shoals, 18739

As one approaches the Isles of Shoals by boat they gradually emerge from the sea and perhaps the most immediate impression is one of surprise and alarm at the apparent barrenness of the place.

⁷ Smith, Captain John. Travels and Works of Captain John Smith. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910. p. 947.

⁸ Photograph taken by Tessa Izenour, 9/2004.

⁹ Thaxter, Celia. Among the Isles of Shoals. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1897, p. 26.

Appledore is the largest of the nine Isles of Shoals, roughly a mile wide and app. 95 acres. There are no canopy trees, and the islands contrast markedly with islands further up the coast which are characteristic of Maine and dominated by more-or-less mature spruce, fir, and pine trees. It is unclear whether there ever existed such a tree canopy on the Isles of Shoals. One initially wonders if the complete deforestation is the result of their long history of human settlement. However, early settlers were likewise startled by the absence of vegetation, and there are records of long-ago vanquished attempts to plant orchards, ornamental trees, and gardens on the Isles of Shoals over the centuries. The open low-lying profile of the islands, their lack of protection from the sea and winter storms, and the large migratory bird populations which they harbor (and the high-Nitrogen guano loads they deposit), as well as the islands' long history of human habitation and abuse of the land may all be factors which have contributed to promoting and sustaining their relatively barren vegetative character.

Celia Thaxter, who was a more-or-less life long resident, historian, and naturalist of the Isles of Shoals, apparently believed that the islands were once tree covered-- she wrote, ""It is very probable that the islands were wooded many years ago with spruce, and perhaps a rugged growth. I am certain that cedars grew then (by cedars, she possibly meant *Chaemycyparis thyoides*, Atlantic Cedar, or *Juniperus virginiana*, Eastern Red Cedar), for I found on the *highest* part of Smuttynose Point, deep down in a crevice in the rocks, a piece of a root of cedarwood, which, although perfectly preserved, bore marks of great age, being worn smooth as glass with the rain drops that had penetrated to its hiding place... I have seen the crumbling remains of the stumps of some large trees in the principal gorge or valley at Appledore." The botanist Richard A. Howard weighed in on the question of whether or not the Isles of Shoals once supported woody growth in his 1968 plant inventory of neighboring Star island-- "The question may never be answered whether the Isles of Shoals were densely wooded in a fashion comparable to islands off the Coast of Maine. The available historical records suggest that they never possessed a forest as such but at best had only a vegetation of shrubs with a few larger specimens contorted by the wind."

The island vegetation is today dominated by shrubby woody plant species which get to some height, up to 13' or so. Dominant woody species include: Staghorn sumac (*Rhus typhina*) and *Ilex verticillata*, along with wild berry producers such as, *Amelanchier & Aronia* spp., Choke Cherry (*Prunus virgininiana*), Blackberry, Raspberry, *Myrica pennsylvanica*, and of course, Poison Ivy (*Toxicodendron radicans*), which is today rampant on the island. European plants introduced by early settlers have also naturalized on the islands such as apple trees, and herbaceous species such as *Anagallis arvensis* (Scarlet

¹⁰ Thaxter, Celia, as quoted by Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isles of Shoals. Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum, 1968, p. 3.

¹¹ Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isle of Shoals. p. 3.

Pimpernel), and two plants which have survived and spread from Celia Thaxter's original garden-Humulus lupulus, and Clematis vitalba.

The islands provide a fascinating case-study of the effects of both a unique micro-climate and isolation upon species, as well as the naturalization and stabilization of introduced species over almost four hundred years time. The aesthetic impression of the contemporary wild flora of the island is unique, magical, and unlike anything experienced on the mainland. Botanists who have addressed the Isles of Shoals flora have noted and discussed this phenomenon. Richard A. Howard of the Arnold Arboretum observed in *Flowers of Star Island*, "the rugged environment of the Shoals has led to specialization of flower forms not often seen on the mainland. Some plants react by growing bushier and larger, in others the flowers become more brilliant, in still others flowers don't appear... Well known species may be stunted, contorted, compacted, or unusually fleshy. In fact, familiar plants may appear quite different when seen growing on these Atlantic coastal rocks...Strangely, plant forms found on one island are not always found on another....altogether, over 250 different species have been identified on the Shoals. Most of these are naturalized." 12

One may be surprised to learn that despite the Isles of Shoals North Atlantic location in the Gulf of Maine, it has a relatively mild climate (although the islands have historically experienced hurricane force storms at least once every ten years)¹³. The sea moderates temperature extremes, and both winter lows and summer highs vary significantly from the mainland. Celia Thaxter herself noted in 1873 that winter average temperatures on the Isles of Shoals were a surprising twelve degrees warmer that those on the mainland, and a corresponding approximate twelve degrees cooler during the summer. ¹⁴ Archived data accumulated by the Isles of Shoals C-MAN Station, and reported by the environmental monitoring portion of the Open Aquaculture Program of the University of New Hampshire, state that "the annual mean air temperature of 8.7° C (48° F) lays between a minimum monthly average of -1.6° C (29° F) during February and a maximum of 19.2° C (67° F) during August." The average minimum temperature of 29° F would seem to place Appledore Island in an amazing USDA zone 9b, however, this is misleading, as "extrema of -20.9 ° C (-6° F) occurred during January 1988 and 32.3 ° C (90° F) occurred during June 1988"16, and nearby Portsmouth lies within zones 5a-6a. Spring, however, arrives at the Isles of Shoals roughly a month later than on the mainland, as the sea takes longer to warm, but, the reverse is also true, as fall temperatures linger approximately a month later than on the mainland, as the sea holds onto its warmth...¹⁷

_

¹² Ibid., pp. 1-2.

¹³ Boden, Gary. The Vascular Flora of Appledore Island, p. 15.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Site Description and Environmental Monitoring Report, Larry G. Ward, et. al. 2001.

http://www.ooa.unh.edu/environmental/technical_report/chapter_4.html

¹⁶ Thid

¹⁷ Boden, Gary. The Vascular Flora of Appledore Island, p. 15.

CELIA THAXTER: A Brief Biography of a Writer-Gardener-Artist:

Celia Laighton was born in 1835 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire to Thomas B. and Eliza Laighton. In 1839, when Celia was four years old, her father moved the young family to tiny White Island, Isles of Shoals, when he accepted the position of lighthouse keeper. Her isolated childhood on White Island cultivated in her an intense interest in observing nature, and she discovered the joys of gardening here early in life.

"A lonely child, living on the lighthouse island ten miles away from the mainland, every blade of grass that sprang out of the ground, every humblest weed, was precious in my sight, and I began a little garden when not more than five years old. From this, year after year, the larger one, which has given so much pleasure to so many people, has grown. The first small bed at the lighthouse island contained only Marigolds, pot Marigolds (*Calendula officinalis*), fire-colored blossoms which were the joy of my heart and the delight of my eyes. This scrap of garden, literally not more than a yard square, with its barbaric splendors of color, I worshipped like any Parsee. "18

Celia Thaxter, An Island Garden

In 1839 her father purchased Hog, Smuttynose, and Malaga Islands, with the intention of developing the Isles of Shoals as a vacation destination for the emerging New England bourgeoisie looking to escape urban and increasingly industrialized centers during the summer months. At the age of 12 in 1847, she moved with her family to Hog Island, which her father had renamed Appledore (after an early, and abandoned 17th century name for the entire group of islands), where he built Appledore House, which was to become one of the very first resort hotels in America.



View towards Appledore House Hotel across Celia's garden early in the season. 19

18 Thaxter, Celia. An Island Garden, Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1894, pp. v-vi.

¹⁹ Bardwell, John D. *The Isles of Shoals; A Visual History*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall, Publ., 1989, p. 104.

In 1847 Levi Thaxter, a young Harvard graduate who had come to the Isles of Shoals to recuperate from 'nervous exhaustion', was engaged as the tutor of Celia and her two brothers. He was obviously quickly smitten by Celia and they were engaged in 1848. There is some conjecture that their engagement may have been in part to consummate a business deal between her father and Levi who helped fund the building of the Appledore House Hotel.²⁰ They were married in 1851 when Celia was 16 years old (and Levi 27) and the marriage was unhappy from the beginning. Their first child, Karl, suffered brain damage at birth, and was to be a profoundly difficult child who would be forever dependent upon his mother. Two other sons were soon born (John and Roland), and Celia found herself shouldering the overwhelming burdens of raising three small children and managing a Victorian household while still herself a teenager. Levi Thaxter, although a Harvard graduate from a well-off Boston family, refused to work for a living and the family was consistently strapped for money and often had to stay with family and friends. Eventually, Levi's parents bought the young couple a house in Newtonville, Massachusetts, where Celia was never happy and always longed for the Isles of Shoals. Levi, meanwhile would often leave his young family to take extensive, months-long hunting and naturalist collecting trips, leaving Celia without any form of financial support in his absence. Over the years Celia and Levi were to become increasingly estranged and she would return with Karl more and more frequently, and for longer durations, to Appledore Island, ostensibly to care for her aging parents and help run the hotel.



Celia Thaxter with sons Karl (right) and John (left) in 1856.²¹

²⁰ Vallier, Jane E. *Poet on Demand: The Life, Letters and Works of Celia Thaxter.* Portsmouth: Peter E. Randall Publ., 1994, p. 33.

²¹ Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 27.

Celia's domestic unhappiness and desperation, along with the need to earn money, seems to have stimulated her initial urge to write. In letters to her editor and friends she describes having found her poems "among the pots and pans" of her dreary and physically exhausting daily labors. Her first poem, "Land-locked", was published in 1861, and it eloquently eluded to her longing and home-sickness for her island home. It was submitted anonymously to the *Atlantic* magazine and catapulted her to relatively instant literary celebrity. The publication of "Land-locked" initiated a period of literary output which was to enable her a means of gaining financial independence and transformed her into perhaps the most successful and popular female writer of her time. However, despite her writing having provided essentially the only means of financial support for the family, her husband still forbade her to hire any household help.

Celia had returned to Appledore every summer since leaving the Isles of Shoals to help her family run the hotel, and beginning in the 1870s she returned there on a more-or-less permanent basis, ostensibly to assist and care for her aging parents. Thus, her family obligations allowed her to escape the drudgeries and unhappiness of her life with Levi and pursue a separate existence of her own (with Karl) back on the Isles of Shoals. On Appledore "she wrote, read, and discussed her work with friends. She cultivated her legendary garden which produced the flowers which decorated the cottage. Celia began to feel indispensable at the Shoals, and in the mid-1870s she spent four consecutive winters on Appledore while Levi lived in the shabby house in Newtonville."

After her mother's death in 1878, Celia took full possession of the house which her parents had built in 1863. From the late1870s until her own sudden death in 1894, her garden on Appledore was to be arguably the focus of her creative energies, and the source of her greatest happiness. On Appledore Celia settled into a comfortable existence surrounded by her son Karl, and her many artist, musician, and writer friends. During this period she would return to Appledore in March each year, where she helped her brothers run the Hotel, cultivated her garden, and decorated her famous parlor with flowers from her garden. In November she would generally return to Portsmouth with Karl to an apartment where they would spend the winter. She continued to write poetry and prose, and began to paint porcelain as well. In 1893 she wrote her last book, *An Island Garden*, which poetically described her garden on Appledore and provided much practical horticultural advice as well. In August, 1894, surrounded by many of her artist friends, (including the American Impressionist Childe Hassam) she died suddenly at the age of 59, and was buried in the Laighton family plot on Appledore Island.

²² Bardwell, John D. The Isles of Shoals: A Visual History. p. 71.

CELIA'S ISLAND GARDEN:



A page of poetry written and illustrated by Celia Thaxter, 1886.²³

It is unclear exactly when Celia's garden was begun, however it seems that it evolved over many years, probably from the time the house was built by her parents in 1863. The garden occupied the space immediately in front of the house, and likely evolved into its mature form from the 1870s onwards, when Celia spent increasingly longer periods of time back on Appledore caring for her ailing mother and helping to run the hotel. In March each year she would return to Appledore bringing the seedlings which she had started in her windows on-shore during the winter, and in April she would transplant them into her garden. "In planting her seeds, nurturing her flowers, and finally transporting them to her parlor, Thaxter achieved a harmony with nature and with herself that she was unable to reach during the earlier, turbulent years of her life."²⁴

²³ Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 129.

²⁴ Mandel, Norma H. Beyond the Garden Gate; The Life of Celia Laighton Thaxter. Hanover: University Press of New England. 2004, p. 138.



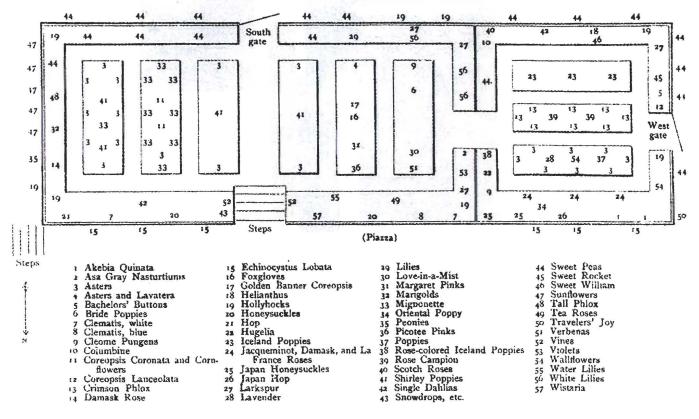
View of front of Celia Thaxter's garden and cottage. 25

Celia Thaxter's garden was an intimate extension of her vine covered piazza and house. It was enclosed by a simple plank board fence and measured 15 x 50 feet. The house was only reached through the garden which was accessed by two gates located to the south and west. Within the fence 9 raised beds were created out of additional wooden planks, to which Celia added amended soils. These nine individual beds were dominated by annuals and planted with from two to four different species which were massed into drifts. Around the perimeter of the garden, inside the fence, was a border which inter-mingled roses, vines, annuals and perennials. Further plantings spilled out beyond the confines of the fence "and tumbled down the bank toward the sea where artemisias and California poppies bloomed." 26

²⁵ Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1990, p. 60.

²⁶Hill, May Brawley. Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995, p. 119.

PLAN OF GARDEN WITH LIST OF FLOWERS



Note -The garden is 50 ft. long by 15 ft. wide, and is surrounded by a border of all sorts of mixed flowers. A bank of flowers at the southwest corner slopes from the garden fence.

Celia's 1893 plan of her garden from An Island Garden.

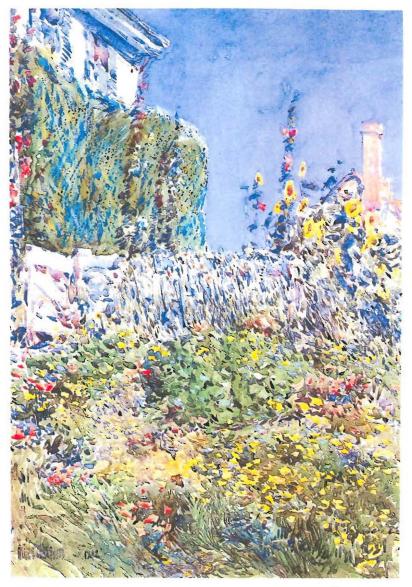
The garden's modest size and simplicity of design were substantially camouflaged by its abundant style of planting which eschewed the geometric underpinnings of the plan. "The garden was without formality except for the narrow paths that separated tiny beds, but even those were half hidden by the spreading plants." The overall effect of the garden was not formal, geometric, or rational, but rather, that of a shifting riot of color. "She never combined more than four kinds of plants in one bed, allowing each type maximum room to grow during the short island season. Plants clambered high on judiciously placed trellises, and Thaxter planted species for a succession of bloom. While the garden was highly structured, the overall impression was one of artless beauty." Denise Otis describes Celia Thaxter's planting style and its visual impact in *Grounds for Pleasure; Four Centuries of the American Garden*-"What really gave the garden its visual richness in her day was the massing of each kind of flower, the explosions of poppies, the armloads of coreopsis and cornflowers, the groves of hollyhocks."

²⁹ Otis, Denise. Grounds for Pleasure; Four Centuries of the American Garden. p. 70.

²⁷ Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isle of Shoals. p. 7.

²⁸Gardner, JoAnn. "In Grandmother's Garden." Old-House Journal. October, 2000, p. 51.

Abstract, exuberant color was perhaps the most dominant element of the garden, and also a significant part of its appeal to the many artists who painted it. Anecdotes of those who saw the garden in its glory during the early 1890s reflect its colorful, impressionistic effect-- "It has been said that once through the gate a visitor would find himself in a new world of color." "Her garden, too, was unlike any other garden, although more beautiful, perhaps, than the more conventional gardens I have seen lately; for it was planted all helter-skelter, just bursts of color here and there,-- and what color!" "



Dexter's (Celia's) Garden, 1892. By Childe Hassam³²

Old Photographs reveal the 'Loggia', or expansive porch, of Celia's 'Cottage' to be literally dripping with vines. The cultivation of vines in this abundant fashion was commonplace in Victorian

³⁰ Howard, Richard A., p. 7.

³¹ Maud Appleton McDowell as quoted in Gerdts, William H. *Down Garden Paths; The Floral Environment in American Art.* Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983, p. 65.

³² Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited, p. 65.

American gardens, and worked to soften the hard lines of the architecture and integrate (and often, almost consume!) the house within the landscape. Vines of all kinds were a dominant architectural feature of Celia Thaxter's garden and provided a lush green backdrop, or 'vine-scape' for the flowers of the garden proper. Celia wrote about her vines which she described as making "a grateful green shade doubly delightful for that there are no trees on my island...The whole of the piazza is thickly draped with vines, hops, honeysuckles, blue and white clematis, Cinnamon vine (by which I think she meant *Dioscorea batatas³³*), Mina lobata, Wistaria, Nasturtiums, Morning-glories, Japanese hops, Woodbine (by which she may have meant *Parthenocissus quinquefolia?*) and the beautiful and picturesque Wild Cucumber (*Echinocystus lobata*, one of the rare natives she grew) which in July nearly smothers everything else." May Brawley Hill in *Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915* adds to the list sweet peas, passionflowers, and Dutchman's-pipe, and Virginia Chisholm, who was involved in the garden restoration, adds *Akebia quinata*. The arch which covered the steps extending down from the piazza was likewise "embowered with the Tropaeolum cultivar 'Lucifer', *Cobaea scandens*, and Mexican morning glories" The ample use of vines in her garden allowed Celia to exploit vertical space and helped to amplify both the real and perceived proportions of her garden.



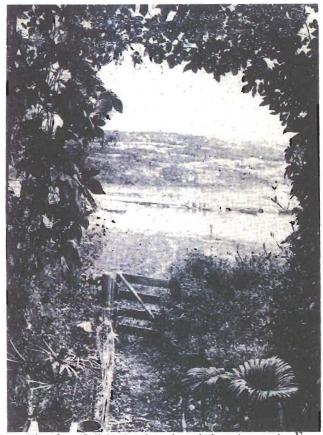
View of Celia's garden and vine-draped Loggia ca. 1890s?³⁶

³⁶ Thaxter, Celia. An Island Garden. 1894. Ithaca, NY: Bullbrier Press, 1985. No page Number.

³³ Adams, Denise Wiles. Restoring American Gardens; An Encyclopedia of Heirloom Ornamental Plants: 1640-1940. Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2004, p. 142.

³⁴ Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isle of Shoals. p. 7.

³⁵ Hill, May Brawley. Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915. p. 119.



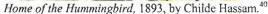
View from Celia's vine-draped porch down into garden.3

It is obvious from the visual documentation of her garden and her writing in An Island Garden that Celia was a gifted gardener and an avid plants-woman, however, it is nonetheless surprising to learn of the tremendous variety of plants which she grew in such a relatively small (15'x 50') space. Although her plan in An Island Garden lists only fifty varieties, in other parts of the book she mentions many others which are not included on the plan. A Mrs. Larz Anderson related that "she often counted as many as one hundred and fifty different flowers."38 Her small garden even included water plants! "She had ten tubs of water plants: the pink lotus of Egypt, purple lily of Zanzibar, and a red one, golden Chromatella, pure white African variety, smaller native white one, yellow water poppy, parrot's feather that creeps all about over the water, water hyacinths, Cape Cod lilies." (*See Appendix B for list of additional plants mentioned in *An Island Garden*, but not included her plan)

39 Ibid.

Bardwell, John D. The Isles of Shoals; A Visual History. P. 102.
 Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isle of Shoals. p. 7.







Larkspurs and Lilies, 1893, by Childe Hassam. 41

The garden proper was dominated by annual flowers of all kinds, particularly in the central nine beds, and these were harvested extensively and used in arrangements which she decorated her parlor with and sold as bouquets in the hotel. Woody plants were limited but she apparently grew quite a number of different kinds of roses, including: 'Bon Silene', 'Catherine', Damask, 'Jacqueminot', 'La France', "Mermets", Polyantha, rugosa, Scotch, "Sunsets", Tea, 'Tuscany'⁴². Other woody plants included *Weigela florida*⁴³, and vines such as Honeysuckle, Clematis and Wisteria. Perennials included columbines, peonies, *Campanula persicifolia*, *Phlox paniculata*, oriental poppies, and daylilies. Classic cottage-garden biennials such as hollyhocks, *Lychnis coronaria*, Sweet William, and foxgloves were also grown. She loved white flowers which she thought "looked lovely in the moonlight. She had a tall white opium poppy she called "The Bride", white petunias, white phlox and white mignonette. Another white plant was the clematis or travellor's-joy (*Clematis vitalba*)."⁴⁴

Celia Thaxter was a dedicated seed-starter and although she collected and saved many, if not most, of her own seeds, she must also surely have known and enjoyed reading the many catalogs of her day during the winters. Annuals were particular favorities of the era, and "the Victorians were well aware

⁴⁰ Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited. p. 74.

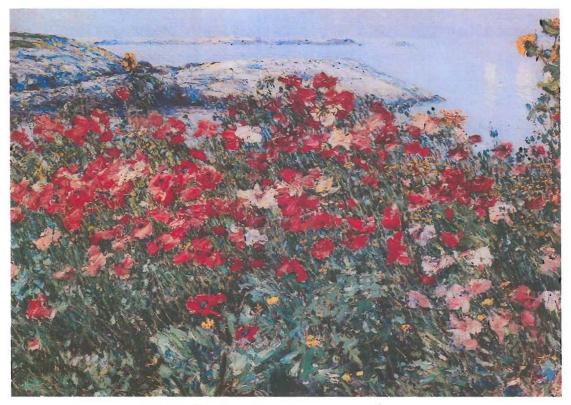
⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴²Ibid, p. 10.

⁴³ Fell, Derek. *The Impressionist Garden*. New York: Carol Southern Books, 1994. P. 38.

⁴⁴ Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens, 46, no. 1, 1990, pp. 66.

of both the old stock of classic annuals and the horticultural gems newly available to them." Celia herself described the plants she grew as "mostly the old-fashioned flowers our grandmother's loved," but she also grew many of the newest plant introductions and hybrids as well as her old-fashioned favorites. "Although Thaxter sought out and revived old plants, such as the rare black hollyhock, like most gardeners she was keen to grow new varieties" like *Eschscholzia californica*, *phlox dummondii*, and zinnias.



Poppies, ca. 1890, by Childe Hassam. 48

Poppies, of all kinds, however, were perhaps Celia Thaxter's favorite flowers above all else, and her garden plan in *An Island Garden* lists five different species, (although she may very well have grown more as the plan omits many flowers she was known to have grown). Poppies were a favorite flower of the arts-and-crafts movement, along with the sunflower, and her poppies were painted frequently by artists visiting the Isles of Shoals. Celia used poppies, above all else, to decorate her parlor. She wrote about them in ecstatic terms and devoted a full chapter to them in *An Island Garden*. "I am always planting Shirley Poppies somewhere! One never can have enough of them, and by putting them into the

⁴⁵ Forsell, Mary. "The Victorian Legacy," *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens*, vol. 48, 1992, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Thaxter, Celia. An Island Garden.

⁴⁷ Gardner, JoAnn. "In Grandmother's Garden." Old-House Journal. October, 2000, p. 51.

⁴⁸ Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited. p. 103.

ground at intervals of a week, later and later, one can secure a succession of blooms and keep them for a much longer time,-- keep, indeed their heavenly beauty to enjoy the livelong summer..."⁴⁹

The Isles of Shoals offered uniquely challenging conditions in which to garden. "The soil is thin" (if any) "and dries quickly; the rock is hard and often heats up unmercifully; the wind is strong and laden with salt spray and lee nooks are few, while the fog reduces the sunshine, and off-shore winds quickly change temperatures." Her garden was sheltered, however, from north winds by her house and piazza, and using raised beds allowed her to grow a huge variety of plants which she certainly could not have grown otherwise. She amended the thin island soil with seaweed, "well-rotted" manure, compost, ⁵¹ and "food ashes" and by adjusting and varying the amendments and soils she placed within the raised beds, she was able to grow species with drastically different soil requirements in close quarters with one another (such as poor soil loving flowers like California Poppies (*Eschscholzia*) and rich soil lovers like Roses, Delphiniums and Sweet peas). Her garden fence, constructed simply of wide boards, is thought to have been designed to provide a further buffer from the constant ocean winds which otherwise would have flattened and dessicated her plants. Water availability was less of a problem on the island during Celia's time then it is today, as "there was a large reservoir and rain water was collected from the roofs."

Other horticultural challenges which Celia Thaxter faced included pests—Slugs, in particular, were her nemeses and she went to elaborate measures to defeat them. Eventually she was to go so far as to import toads, on several occasions, from the mainland in an effort to protect her plants from them. She wrote in 1889 to her friend Annie Fields, "Oh Annie, you would have laughed to see the box of toads which came for me night before last! Ninety toads, all wired over in a box and wondering what fate was in store for them, no doubt. Soon as the mowing was done all the million slugs in my grass charged into my poor garden and post haste, I sent for more of my little dusty pets, my friends, my saviors! And I turned the 90 loose in the fat slugging grounds and such a breakfast as they must have had! If there's one thing I adore more than another, it's a toad! They eat every bug in the garden."⁵⁴

One advantage to gardening on the Isles of Shoals was the effect of the sea in moderating temperature extremes. The cool island summer temperatures were ideal for growing flowers, and in all probability contributed to producing the intensely vivid colors for which Celia's flowers were famous. The peculiar, and magical, effect which the sea has upon flowers has been noted by many, myself included, over time. Both the pureness and intensity of the flower color in seaside gardens may be the

⁴⁹ Thaxter, Celia. An Island Garden. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1894, 1988, p. 50.

⁵⁰Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isle of Shoals. p. 1.

⁵¹ Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens*, 46, no. 1, 1990, pp. 66.

⁵² Dunhill, Priscilla. "Poet Celia Thaxter: An Island Gardener." Victoria, July 1990, pp. 32-39.

⁵³ Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." pp. 66.

⁵⁴ Mandel, Norma H. Beyond the Garden Gate; The Life of Celia Laighton Thaxter. Hanover: University Press of New England. 2004, p. 157.

combined result of cooler summer temperatures which favor the production of higher amounts of anthocyanin pigments, greater atmospheric moisture availability, and both the amount and quality of light which is reflected by the sea. This particular effect was invoked in a Boston review of an exhibit of Childe Hassam's paintings of her garden-- "the watercolors of Mrs. Celia Thaxter's garden will give the world which cannot get to Appledore Island an idea of the peculiar wealth of color which the marine atmosphere, or else some fairy spell of the place, lends to the poppies and marigolds which grow in the poet's garden." ⁵⁵

STYLISTIC INFLUENCES & PRECEDENTS FOR CELIA THAXTER'S GARDEN:

Celia Thaxter self-consciously created what she called in 1893 an 'old-fashioned' garden which, in its simplicity of design, in what was grown, in how it was planted, as well as in its connection to the house, exhibited the characteristics of a traditional American 'dooryard' garden. This kind of 'old-fashioned' garden was an example of a well-defined and understood vernacular American horticultural tradition of the 19th century which has been called a 'Grandmother's Garden' and described as a "uniquely American synthesis of the English cottage garden and the colonial settler's garden which emerged at the end of the 19th century... While its antecedents were planted to be practical as well as beautiful, the point of the Grandmother's Garden was sheer loveliness." The art historian May Brawley Hill has given an exhaustive treatment of this type of garden in *Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915* and traces its origins to earlier in the 19th century. In her treatment of the 'Grandmother's Garden' she firmly establishes that although this type of garden was perhaps not one of the dominant 'high-style' garden styles of the 19th century, it certainly represented a coherent and continuous horticultural tradition which possessed cultural significance and meaning.

Two other, much grander, stylistic approaches have traditionally been presented as the prevailing modes of 19th century American landscape design: the formal garden and the informal, or landscape garden. Patricia M. Tice in *Gardening in America: 1830-1910* presents a summary of these two horticultural styles as practiced in the 19th century. She writes,

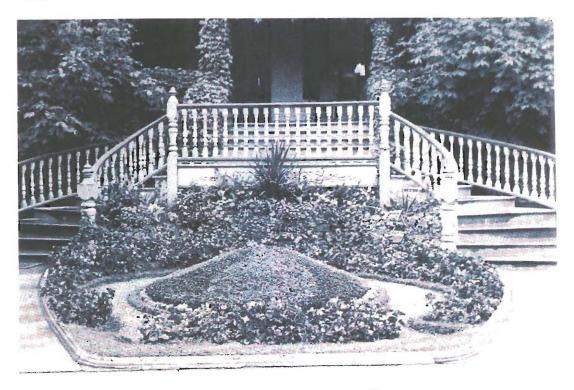
"The formal and informal styles were derived from the gardening traditions of seventeenthand eighteenth-century Europe, and each was practiced simultaneously in the United States
throughout the nineteenth century. In the formal style, symmetrical walks, paths, and various
types of flower beds were arranged to form intricate designs. The main types of flower beds
described by horticulturists included the *carpet bed* in which low, dwarf flowers were massed
to create brilliantly colored beds, the *ribbon bed* in which flowers of contrasting colors were
planted in strips or ribbons, and the *parterre*, a series of elaborately shaped beds in which
flowers were panted in designs and patterns within the beds... By contrast, the informal, or
landscape, school of garden planning stressed a less structured approach to garden design.
Trees, shrubs, and flowers were planted to suggest a natural setting... Like formal gardens,

⁵⁶Gardner, JoAnn. "In Grandmother's Garden." Old House Journal, Oct 2000, p. 51.

19

⁵⁵ Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. p. 118.

landscape gardens, which usually relied upon large tracts of land for effect, indicated status."⁵⁷



A Victorian carpet-bedding scheme. 58

By contrast, the 'Grandmother's Garden' was an intimate and personal expression of its owner, usually a woman, who was generally its sole creator and maintainer. In all likelihood, the 'Grandmother's garden' had been a vibrant vernacular mode of horticultural expression practiced alongside these two dominant, more 'high-design', landscape traditions throughout the nineteenth century.

In many ways, the late 19th century revival of interest in the 'Grandmother's garden' was a reaction against the oppressive formality of the ostentatious carpet bedding schemes which had dominated horticulture in the Victorian era. Celia Thaxter herself alluded to the drastic differences between these two gardening approaches when she wrote in *An Island Garden*, "I have not room to experiment with rock works and ribbon borders and the like, nor should I do so if I had all the room in the world. For mine is just a little old-fashioned garden." In his 1884 article "The Gardens of Our Grandmothers" in *The Ladies' Floral Cabinet*, Fred M. Colby likewise contrasted the 'Grandmother's garden' to the popular bedding schemes of the day—"What roomy, grand old gardens were those of our grandmothers, and what beautiful things grew in them!... How different they are from the studied, stereotyped gardens of today with their showy beds of Coleus or ribbons of richly-colored plants, gaudy Geraniums and Tulips flanked by every variety of Centaurea and contrasted with the dense blue of Lobelia!...Disappeared are

⁵⁷ Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America; 1830-1910. Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1984. P. 68,70.

⁵⁸ Otis, Denise. Grounds for Pleasure: Four Centuries of the American Garden, p. 148

⁵⁹ Thaxter, Celia. An Island Garden. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1894, 1988, p. 71.

those pretty, unaffected gardens...disappeared, too, are the old-time flower-beds of Lavender, Thyme, Sweet-William, Batchelor's-Button and Sweet-alyssium—at least, they are no longer fashionable."

In 1872 Anna Bartlett Warner wrote *Gardening By Myself* which was "certainly the first book devoted completely to the old-fashioned garden" In it she likewise championed the virtues of the old-fashioned garden over the prevalent formal carpet bedding schemes. She wrote, "Not trim shapes, and inlaid figures, and gorgeous masses of colour; but rich, soft mingled bloom, and tender tints, and wafts of nameless sweetness... Fair, rich confusion is all the aim of an old-fashioned flower garden, and the greater the confusion, the richer... No stiffness, no ceremony—flowers, and not a garden—this is the beauty of the old style." Charles Sprague Sargent, Director of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, also reflected the revival of interest in this style of gardening in his editorial titled "Old-fashioned Gardens" which appeared in an 1895 edition of *Garden and Forest*. He wrote:

"Contemporaneously with the reappearance of our grandmothers' sleeves and petticoats the taste for old-fashioned gardens is revived...We are apt to think that we know a good deal more about flowers than our progenitors, but the fact is there was, perhaps, more variety than there is to-day in many of their collections.... The charm of those old gardens was in their wealth and tangle of bloom. One plant leaned upon another. There was no room for weeds, for each flower stood cheek-by-jowl with a neighbor and frowned on the intruders... and always there was perfume and wild charm and lonely grace in unexplored corners, and to one's dying day certain flowers, with their familiar odor, recall a scene perhaps vanished forever, and the old garden rises before the mind's eye ever fresh and fair and fragrant."

The 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia introduced to a wide audience of Americans many aesthetic concepts of decorative art and life which can be correlated to the nostalgic design inspirations of the 'Grandmother's Garden'. Although carpet bedding on a vast scale was a major focus of the horticultural exhibits, a strong nationalistic current also ran throughout the exposition which promoted the revival of more truly "American" decorative styles such as those embodied in the idealized colonial gardens of our past. In fact, many historians "attribute the beginnings of the colonial-revival movement" to the Philadelphia exposition of 1876. The 1892 Columbian Exposition in Chicago appears to have likewise wielded broad influence in horticultural taste, and "reinforced the popularity" of the 'Grandmother's Garden'.

The Grandmother's garden had probably always existed as a vernacular, and eminently practical, gardening style, however, the revival of interest in this kind of garden in the horticultural press from the 1870's onwards was in all likelihood fueled by a nostalgia for the old which was in part a response to the

⁶⁰ Colby, Fred M. "The Gardens of Our Grandmothers." The Ladies' Floral Cabinet, July 1884: p. 222.

⁶¹ Hill, May Brawley. Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915. p. 28.

⁶³ Sargent, Charles Sprague. "Old-Fashioned Gardens." Garden and Forest, July, 1895: p. 281.

⁶⁴ Newcomb, Peggy Cornett. *Popular Annuals of Eastern North America: 1865-1914*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985. P. 70.

⁶⁵ Adams, Denise Wiles. Restoring American Gardens; An Enclyclopedia of Heirloom Ornamental Plants: 1640-1940. Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2004, p. 159.

rapid rate of cultural and technological change brought on by the industrial revolution. It is interesting to consider that Celia's island garden was created concurrently with the first mass-production of the lawn mower in the 1870s, the one invention which was truly to mark the death knoll of the traditional dooryard garden, and emerge to drastically transfigure and redefine the American front-yard. Celia's close friend and fellow writer Sarah Orne Jewett evoked nostalgia for a quickly disappearing, 'old-fashioned' way of life in her essay titled "The Mournful Villager" which was published in the *Atlantic* magazine in 1881. In it she "laments the demise of front yard gardens and "the type of New England village character and civilization with which they are associated."

Patricia M. Tice in *Gardening in America 1830-1910* describes the horticultural passion for the new which had seized the middle classes during the second half of the 19th century, which was concurrent with an emerging nostalgia for the 'old' flowers. "New forms of specimen plants—different strains of calla lilies, roses, fuschias—were continually sought, so much so that horticulturist Edward Rand commented (in 1864) "...we find our gardeners exerting themselves to meet any demand for new, rare, and expensive plants, to the neglect of our old and well-tried favorites... Tomorrow some new taste will develop, and before our new plants...have time to grow into good-sized specimens, they are out of date, and are discarded or neglected as old-fashioned.""⁶⁷ It is particularly interesting to note the interest in antique, or 'old-fashioned', flower varieties at the end of the 19th century, which parallels the same revival of interest in heirloom varieties which we are currently witnessing today...

"There is a particular charm to all those old-fashioned flowers that grew in our grandmother's gardens. London-Pride, Bachelor's-Button, and the sweet bells of the Columbine affect one as the more showy modern ones do not, for they remind one of their lost youth. Each one has associations that stir the memory and set the heart a beating... Many of these humble flowers of our grandmothers' day, though outlawed from our gardens, live in the poet's pages immortalized by genius."

-Fred M. Colby, "The Gardens of Our Grandmother's, 1884⁶⁸

Needless to say, Celia Thaxter knowingly created her 'old-fashioned' garden admist a period of interest in, and active discourse surrounding this type of garden. Her close friend the writer Sarah Orne Jewett revealed her understanding, and by association, Celia's, of this type of garden when she wrote to her artist friend Sarah Whitman about her own garden in South Berwick, Maine, "the garden is so nice—old-fashioned indeed with pink hollyhocks and tall blue larkspurs. You might make a sketch with but slight trouble, with figures of old ladies wearing caps in the long walks." ⁶⁹

69 Nagel, Gwen L. "Sarah Orne Jewett's New England Gardens." p. 44.

⁶⁶ Nagel, Gwen L. "Sarah Orne Jewett's New England Gardens." Colby Literary Quarterly. 22 (March 1986): p. 45.

⁶⁷ Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America; 1830-1910. p. 58.

⁶⁸ Colby, Fred M. "The Gardens of Our Grandmothers." The Ladies Floral Cabinet. July 1884: p. 223.



A "Grandmotherly" woman tending her 'old-fashioned' flowers. 70

AN ARTISTS' GARDEN, AND A GARDEN FOR ARTISTS:

Celia Thaxter, the daughter of a lighthouse keeper, was to become a colorful and prominent personality within a particularly rich community of literary, artistic, and musical talents of late 19th New England. She was introduced to the leading lights of literary America at an early age. She first met Nathanial Hawthorne as a child when he visited the Isles of Shoals, and after her marriage to Levi Thaxter and moving to their Newtonville home outside of Boston, she became immersed in a wide literary circle which included some of the most successful writers in New England. Her literary contacts and friends were numerous and eventually included such luminaries as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Sarah Orne Jewett, among many others. She was even to dine with Charles Dickens on his North American tour and met Robert Barrett Browning during her one visit to Europe.

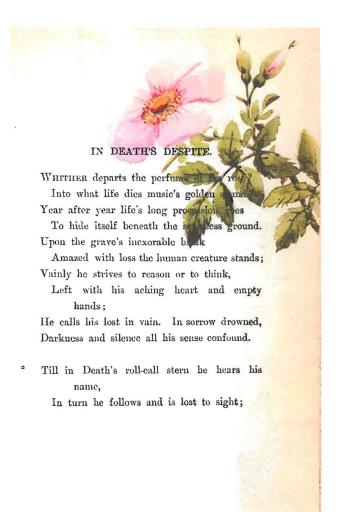
The many painters with whom she was to become close friends, and for whom her island garden was a muse and inspiration, included William Morris Hunt, Frederick Childe Hassam, Ellen Robbins,

23

⁷⁰ Blanchan, Neltje. "The Old-Fashioned Garden", The American Flower Garden, 1913.

Ross Turner, and J. Appleton Brown, among others. Through Celia, many of these artists were introduced to the Isles of Shoals and became frequent summer visitors to Celia's Appledore parlor. Eventually, many of her painter friends would build their own small studio/cottages on the island. Thus Appledore Island became in the late 19th century a vibrant artists' colony which attracted the cultural elite of Boston and New York and which was centered around the magnetic figure and personality of Celia, her garden and parlor.

Celia Thaxter was herself an extremely talented woman who excelled in many creative mediums, chiefly, poetry, prose, china painting, and gardening. She began writing poetry as a young wife and mother, and later in life took up the painting of china and volumes of her own poetry on commission. Her skill as a painter was noted in an 1873 article about her in the *Portsmouth Journal of Literature & Politics* which noted, "Not only is she a writer, but an artist of delicate taste. She decorated a volume of her poems in dainty fashion, painting across the pages so skillfully that they seemed like pressed flowers."⁷¹



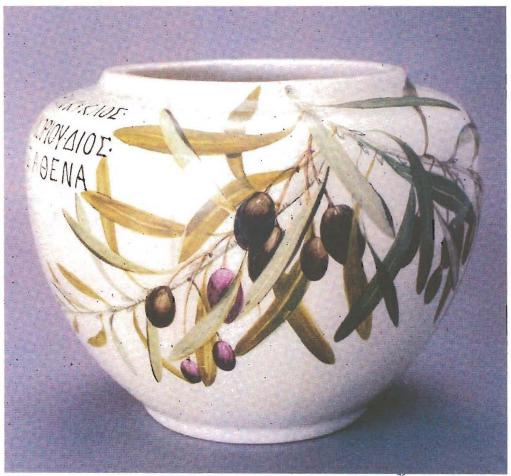
Page of her poetry illustrated with watercolor by Celia Thaxter.⁷²

⁷² Ibid., p. 128.

24

⁷¹ Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 98.

Indeed, she had studied painting formally with many well-known artists—Ross Sterling Turner, J. Appleton Brown, William Morris Hunt, and Childe Hassam, all of whom were to become her close friends. She wrote in 1874 in ecstatic terms of her enjoyment of this medium—"I can scarcely think of anything else. I want to paint everything I see; every leaf, stem, seed vessel, grass blade, rush, and reed and flower has new charms, and I thought I knew them all before. Such a new world opens, for I feel it in me..."⁷³ Interestingly, her china painting almost exclusively featured botanical subjects, such as her favorite poppies, sea weeds, and olive branches, which were depicted "with a delicate realism and a naturalist's eye for detail."⁷⁴ Art-historical interest in her painting has recently been stirred with a 2001 major loan exhibition and a book on her painting titled One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter, edited by Sharon Paiva Stephan.



Stoneware vase painted by Celia Thaxter, ca. 1880-87.75

⁷³ Ibid., p. 114. ⁷⁴ Ibid., p. xv.

⁷⁵ Ibid,, p. 143.

The art of floral arranging was another of Celia Thaxter's chosen mediums. Throughout the growing season she was known to be out in the garden each morning by 4 or 5 am, working and cutting flowers (most often poppies) for a daily ritual of decorating her parlor with a succession of exquisite floral displays. In fact Celia herself said that her garden was primarily a cutting garden and despite its small size "it yielded a hundred or more bouquets of freshly cut flowers each week." Her flower arrangements were perhaps as famous as her garden. Candace Wheeler, a leader of the American Arts and Crafts Movement, whom Celia had entertained on Appledore wrote of her flower filled parlor "I have never seen such realized possibilities of color! The fine harmonic sense of the woman and artist and poet thrilled through these long chords of color and filled the room with an atmosphere which made it seem like diving into a rainbow."





Photograph and Hassam painting of Floral Arrangements in Celia Thaxter's parlour.⁷⁸

Any discussion of the artistic significance of Celia Thaxter's garden must include the numerous paintings which it inspired. Her garden is practically synonymous today with the paintings of the

⁷⁶ Fell, Derek. *The Impressionist Garden*. p. 37.

Wheeler, Candace. Content in a Garden." New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1902, pp. 56-57

American Impressionist Frederick Childe Hassam (1859-1939) which are considered to be among the best of his work. Indeed, the watercolors he painted of her garden between 1890 and 1894 have been described as "the richest and most colorful excursions into this genre, and probably the most exquisite works of his career." Childe Hassam is generally considered to be among the best American Impressionist painters, and the artist who first introduced the ideas of the French Impressionists to America. His work, however, is also firmly grounded in the American Arts-and-Crafts, or Aesthetic, Movement of the 1870s and 80s. "Hassam's paintings of the Shoals are imbued with a sense of nostalgia for pre-industrial landscapes and New England's rural heritage. Celia Thaxter's cottage at Appledore embodied Aesthetic ideals, and in his representations of her garden especially we see Hassam echoing those tenets of spontaneity, harmony, and refuge from urban modernity."



Childe Hassam painting on Celia's loggia.81

81 Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited. pp. 33.

⁷⁹ Clayton, Virginia Tuttle. "Reminiscence and Revival: The Old-Fashioned Garden, 1890-1910." *The Magazine Antiques* (April, 1990), p. 903.

⁸⁰ Gibson, Robin. "Inside a Nineteenth Century Salon and Garden: Celia Thaxter and Childe Hassam." Winston-Salem, NC: Reynolda House Museum of American Art. 1994, p. 13.

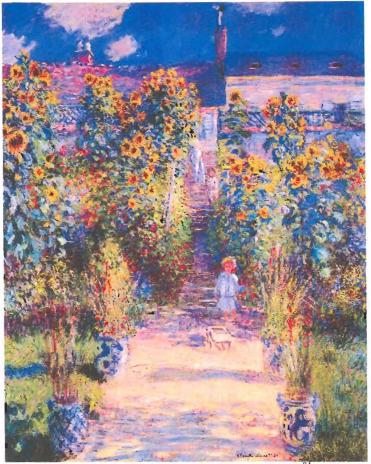
Celia Thaxter herself is now considered to be very much at the center of the Arts-and-Crafts, or Aesthetic, movement in the United States, and her work in the medium of china painting and her "old-fashioned" garden are in this tradition. Celia was a lifelong reader and devotee of the concepts of John Ruskin, an intellectual, art-critic, and naturalist who advocated for the close study of nature, rejection of modernity and industrialization, and revival of the traditional handicrafts at which Celia excelled. Ruskin was a progenitor of the Arts and Crafts movement in England and his writings and ideas were central to the artistic milieu in which she traveled. Indeed, Thaxter quoted Ruskin several times in *An Island Garden*.

* * *

Celia Thaxter's garden on the Isles of Shoals provides a fascinating context in which to examine and discuss the affinities between painting and gardening and the broader distinctions between artistic media. Where do the boundaries of one medium to another lie? Are these boundaries artificial or superficially imposed? What are the relationships between painting, poetry and gardening? The art historian William H. Gerdts has explored some of these issues in Down Garden Paths; The Floral Environment in American Art and has noted the horticultural focus of so many artists working in a variety of media during this era. He writes "American poets took naturally to garden imagery, which in turn, reflected the art of the period, two faces of a single coin, and each honoring the fourth art of garden design."82 (emphases my own.) Derek Fell in The Impressionist Garden also has examined the relationship between gardening and painting which many impressionists explored. He writes, "The great French Impressionists - painters such as Monet, Renoir, Pissaro, their immediate successors Cezanne and Van Gogh, and American Impressionists such as Frieseke and Hassam not only revolutionized the art of painting, they also introduced innovative ways of looking at gardens. The new vision which they brought to their art was reflected in their gardens, both on canvas and in reality."83 I would suggest, however, that in fact, the reverse was true—it was the gardens, and the act of gardening, which initiated change in their painting.

⁸² Gerdts, William H. *Down Garden Paths; The Floral Environment in American Art.* Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983, p. 118.

⁸³ Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. p. 6.



The Artist's Garden, by Claude Monet, 1880.8

Celia Thaxter, I would like to suggest, occupies a prominent place in the tradition of artist-gardeners, for whom there existed no real distinction between painting and gardening. Indeed, for the great painter-gardeners, Monet being perhaps the most famous, gardening was the freest, and ultimately most satisfying, medium in which they worked. I believe the same to have been true for Celia Thaxter-her garden was the particularly successful consummation of a lifetime of creative inquiry and exploration into the world which she was attempting to understand and render comprehensible. This is what artists do, and what gardeners do—we attempt to synthesize and distill the random data, stimuli, and experience to which we are all exposed into a coherent expression, which is at best, both meaningful and beautiful.

The mediums of painting and gardening, it is my feeling, have a special affinity. Both forms of visual expression are fundamentally concerned with manipulating and synthesizing the essentially abstract elements of color, texture, pattern, and form to create a cohesive, and hopefully, transcendental, statement. "The artists used plants as they used paints: to manipulate color effects and to introduce new color schemes – by using hues that intensified by contrast with one another, or that blended and harmonized with each other…"⁸⁵ Gardening, however, has the added layer of interest and excitement of

85 Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. p. 6.

⁸⁴ Curry, David Park. An Island Garden Revisited. p. 96.

working with living entities, which are dynamic and evolving in their own right. This is something which Celia Thaxter, and all great gardeners, implicitly understood and reveled in as an opportunity to engage in a never-ending dialogue with plants, the landscape, the public viewers of their garden(s), and their own creative visions.

ISSUES OF GENDER AND THE LATE 19TH CENTURY FLOWER GARDEN:

One of the earliest, and most fascinating, court documents pertaining to the Isles of Shoals (dating from the early 17th century) declares that "no wimin (women) shall live upon the Isles of Shoals". It is fascinating that perhaps the earliest civic documentation of the Isles revolved around a gender dispute, which no doubt reflected multiple interests in preserving the islands as a male-only haven and long-held bastion of the young, migratory fishermen populace of the islands who were perhaps threatened by the increased influx of European, non-fishermen, colonists (including 'their' women/wives). This earliest historical record is rendered all the more poignant and ironic, when we consider that the Isles of Shoals were eventually to become renowned and synonymous with the life, words, and creations of one woman, Celia Laighton Thaxter, the "Island Queen."

Celia Thaxter, at first glance, might seem to have led an exceedingly non-conventional life for a Victorian woman-- her unusual childhood isolated from society on a small island, her successful career as a poet and writer, her financial self-sufficiency, her having led a quite separate and independent existence from her husband, and her role as diva in her own artistic salon. Yet, for all these apparently non-traditional roles, her life was still very much defined and circumscribed by the societal mores of her day. Celia Thaxter's artistic ouvre was entirely relegated to those mediums which were considered socially acceptable for a woman, and generally inferior to other male-dominated mediums-- poetry, china painting, gardening, and floral arranging. Indeed, the very life and garden which she created satisfied a Victorian concept of femininity-- "The ideal image projected by popular literature and material culture of the time was that of a lady surrounded by flowers."

88 Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America; 1830-1910. p. 58.

⁸⁶ Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. p. 11.

⁸⁷ Older, Julia. The Island Queen. Hancock, NH: Appledore Books, 1994.



Hand-tinted photograph of Celia Thaxter in her garden ca. 1890.8

Interestingly, all of her creative efforts, except for gardening, were motivated, at least in part, by the need to make money. She began writing poetry as a young, overworked wife and mother, and her success in this field substantially enabled her to develop an independent persona and escape her domestic burdens. However, despite her success and popularity as a writer, she was relatively underpaid for her efforts, typical of all female authors during the 19th century.⁹⁰ She began to turn to other artistic mediums which were more lucrative, and took up china painting. A contemporary female writer, Lucy Larcom, wrote, "Mrs. Thaxter was at Mrs. Fields's painting china plates by the dozen; she seems to have exchanged poetry for pottery. I doubt not she finds it more profitable business."91 China painting was

 ⁸⁹ Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 90.
 90 Ibid., p. 98.

⁹¹ White, Barbara A. "Legacy Profile: Celia Thaxter (1835-1894). Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers. 7:1, 1990. p. 62.

during this era considered to be a socially acceptable means for women to earn money. Celia Thaxter's talents as a flower arranger were also to evolve into yet another method of augmenting her income. A Mrs. Emma Anderson noted, "At first, the garden was started entirely for pleasure, but in after years it became quite a source of revenue, as the hotel guests gladly availed themselves of the privilege to possess the lovely corsage bouquets arranged by her own hands."

In a 1900 essay titled "The Artistic Impulses of Men and Women" the author reveals the cultural bias and devaluation of these forms of artistic expression-- "China painting and decorative art in general are the specialty of woman, who excels in the *minor personal artistic impulses* and in this way gives vent to her restrictive life." (emphases my own) Floriculture, in particular, was encouraged as an acceptable past-time, with surprisingly moral dimensions, for 19th century women. In his 1876 catalogue, seedsman D. M. Ferry extolled the virtues of gardening as an outlet for Victorian women-- "Ladies should cultivate flowers as invigorating and inspiring out-door occupation. Many are pining and dying from monotony and depression, who might bury their cares by planting a few seeds, and secure bloom in their cheeks by their culture... The beautiful flower, unfolding to the brightness of the sun, will illustrate the pure heart, unstained by immorality, and uncontaminated by vice." And, Patricia Tice in *Gardening in America:* 1830-1910 writes that during the Victorian era, "the societal roles for women became more clearly defined as those of nurturer, arbiter of taste, and guardian of morals. Few activities were deemed as tasteful, or refined, or as wholesome as the cultivation of flowers...The gentility and spiritual beauty of the rose transferred, in part, to the woman who tended it. She herself became like the rose, the emblem of gentility and an ornament of the home."

The lives of Victorian American women were incredibly circumscribed and the flower garden was one arena in which they held dominance and were able to express themselves both physically and creatively. For Celia Thaxter, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Emily Dickinson, three contemporary female New England women writers, gardening was a shared passion and perhaps the creative avenue which allowed them their freest expression. Gardens, and an intense appreciation for the beauty of the natural world, featured prominently in the writing of all three women. In her essay titled 'By Pen and Spade' Patrice Todisco writes, "The gardens they [Jewett and Thaxter] created were an integral part of their daily lives and surfaced in their writings as part of the intimate landscape which was celebrated in their work. In this world of household chores and endless rounds of social duties, to be alone and to be creative was an incredible act of freedom... To Claim nature within a personal space was the joy the garden provided,

-

92 Gerdts, William H. Down Garden Paths; The Floral Environment in American Art. p. 62.

95 Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America; 1830-1910. p. 58.

⁹³ Randall, E. A. "The Artistic Impulses of Men and Women." (1900), as quoted by Hill, May Brawley in *Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden 1865-1915*. New York: Harrry N. Abrams, Inc., Publ., 1995. p. 36.

⁹⁴ Norcross, Marjorie R. "Cataloging America's Cultural Roots." Cornell Plantations, vol. 47, no. 1, 1992, p. 18.

enabling them to construct an intimate environment from which to observe and record the universe beyond the garden gate." Gardens featured particularly prominently in all of Sarah Orne Jewett's writing in which "she explicitly identifies the New England front yard garden with women: "It was not man-like to think of the front yard, since it was the special domain of the women, — the men of the family respected but ignored it."

Despite her popular success as an artist and personality, Celia Thaxter was always hounded by the need to support herself, and her dependent son Karl, and never enjoyed the level of financial independence and freedom which would have been necessary to fully explore herself as an artist. Barbara A. White in her profile of Celia Thaxter's legacy writes, "Thaxter's true profession was the creation of beauty from chaos, to please those around her. Her production of a lush garden from barren rock is the most powerful symbol... This continual beautification was what her friends and readers wanted from her...but it was not the way of growth and development for... a serious and self-conscious artist." Interestingly, however, she revisits her somewhat dismissive analysis of Celia Thaxter's ouvre several years later and writes, "I suspect that 'serious' may be synonymous with 'male' and wonder if (the) complaint that Thaxter "chose to pursue minor art forms" really means that she chose art forms often preferred by women and thereby defined as minor." This is a fascinating and complex point, which is further highlighted when one considers the increased appreciation which the garden as an art form has gained in the 20th century, as more and more men have ventured professionally into this field.

* * *

Celia Thaxter was obviously an extremely talented woman, and her garden and floral arrangements were perhaps her most successful artistic expressions. However, considering that Celia Thaxter was also a gifted painter and a natural colorist, one can't help but wonder what the paintings she could have made would have looked like if she had been encouraged to channel these same talents into this traditionally male-dominated medium. Indeed, it is fascinating to consider the relationship of Celia's garden to the many paintings of it. It is ironic that the garden that inspired what are considered to be among the best American Impressionist paintings ever made, was created by a woman, and painted exclusively by men. Ellen Robbins was the sole female member of the artistic circle surrounding Celia on

99 Ibid.

.

⁹⁶ Todisco, Patrice. "By Pen and Spade." Hortus: A Gardening Journal. (Summer 1990): 34-44.

⁹⁷ Nagel, Gwen L. "Sarah Orne Jewett's New England Gardens." Colby Literary Quarterly. 22 (March 1986): p. 45.

⁹⁸ White, Barbara A. "Legacy Profile: Celia Thaxter (1835-1894). Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers. 7:1, 1990. p. 62.

Appledore and she worked exclusively in the genre of flower still life painting, a genre which was considered acceptable for female painters in the late 19th century.

Ultimately, her work, her gender, and her times provocatively raise many questions which make her contribution "difficult to assess." Jane Vallier in her comprehensive treatment of Celia Thaxter's literary output described her "career as a sign and symbol for all that women in the nineteenth century could – and could not – accomplish."

AN ISLAND GARDEN: A CLASSIC HORTICULTURAL TREATISE:



Gold-embossed fabric cover of the 1894 edition of An Island Garden. 102103

An Island Garden was published by Houghton Mifflin in 1894, the year of Thaxter's death at the age of fifty-nine. It was gorgeously illustrated with watercolors of her garden by Childe Hassam, and the edition was beautifully designed by the arts-and-crafts designer Sarah Wyman Whitman. An Island Garden is considered a classic horticultural treatise which some believe "set a standard for American garden writing that has never been surpassed." Of all of Celia Thaxter's literary output, An Island Garden has proven to be perhaps her most lasting work, and while "her verses seem sadly outdated

lbid.

¹⁰¹ Vallier, Jane E. Poet on Demand: The Life, Letters and Works of Celia Thaxter. 1994.

¹⁰² Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 85.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁰⁴ May, Stephen. "An Island Garden, A Poet's Passion, A Painter's Muse," Smithsonian, 21, Dec. 1990, p. 75.

nowadays, her prose... has a timeless quality that makes delightful reading today."¹⁰⁵ An Island Garden remains a seminal work in an illustrious tradition of female American garden writers, which includes other such writer-gardeners as Helena Rutherford Ely, Anna B. Warner, Alice Morse Earle, and Louise Beebe Wilder, who came to dominate this genre of literature from the late 19th century until the end of World War II.

In *An Island Garden* Celia Thaxter "distilled a lifetime of practical gardening experience" and lyrically described her island garden, offered much practical cultural advice, provided a plan of her garden, listed and described the many flowers she grew, as well as their use in decorating her home. Allen Lacy in his essay "Celia Thaxter and Louise Beebe Wilder: Romanticism in the Garden", writes—"Many of the best passages in *An Island Garden* are rich and glowing portraits of individual plants, where Thaxter writes with very close observation and an obvious satisfaction that is purely aesthetic." May Brawley Hill in her discussion of Celia's garden in *Grandmother's Garden; The Old Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915* describes Thaxter's language in *An Island Garden*, as "painterly in its descriptive power,... a moving testament not just to the seductive beauty of such an old-fashioned American garden, but to the spiritual grace to be derived from its creation and nurture."

An Island Garden was successfully received upon publication and has been reprinted many times over the last century. Garden writer Almon Dexter who wrote And the Wilderness Blossomed (1901) included Thaxter's An Island Garden "among the six books he considered indispensable for a gardener's library." (Also included in this list were, "William Robinson's The English Flower Garden, just beginning to be widely known... Gray's Botany, Liberty Hyde Bailey's Cyclopedia of American Horticulture, Dana's How to Know the Wild Flowers, and Charles Dudley Warner's My Summer in the Garden." (116)

Interestingly, Virginia Chisholm, who was instrumental in the restoration of Celia Thaxter's garden, has noted the usefulness of *An Island Garden* as an essential text for "those who wish to restore or create a garden of this period." The restoration of Celia Thaxter's garden has been based entirely on the 1893 plan, planting list, and additional descriptions of plants which Celia included in *An Island Garden*.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

lbid

Lacey, Allen. The Gardener's Eye and Other Essays. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1992, pp. 144-45.
 Hill, May Brawley. Grandmother's Garden; The Old-Fashioned American Garden: 1865-1915. p. 119.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 140.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens, 46.1 (1990): p. 66.

THE GARDENS' RECREATION:

Celia Thaxter died in 1894 and was buried in the Laighton family cemetery on Appledore Island. For some time after her death her sister-in-law attempted to maintain her house and garden as she had left it to satisfy the visitors who continued to flock to see it. One anonymous author who made the pilgrimage to Appledore to pay homage to Celia Thaxter's garden wrote in 1899,

"I leaned with eager interest over the fence inclosing a little garden just before her island home. If the spot of burial just visited told of something gone, the garden told of something going on, continued, life taking such beautiful forms. What a blaze and bewilderment of phloxes, larkspurs, sweet peas, marigolds, nasturtiums, while humble censers were breathing out the fragrance of mignonette; and oh! The tall hollyhocks with blossoms that had generous doors of colors thrown wide open to every bee that might call! This might suggest a tangle, that there was no order of arrangement, that handfuls of miscellaneous seed had by her been thrown off from the piazza into its drapery of green foliage. No, the seed had been dropped into divided space, and then each space had been expected with the help from the sun and the rain, in its own way, to do its best. The favorites were children of the generation of flowers preceding this day, and not Japanese importations. "Old-fashioned," their title, but new-fashioned in their freshness and tinting. Yes, flowers do grow at the Shoals, and Celia Thaxter's flowers grow right along in their own willful way of vivid color. I found a teacher in that luxuriant old-fashioned garden, a teacher that said to me that the gifts and graces of a rare woman who loved flowers will in another life continue finding more beautiful expression than ever. After I had left this fascinating spot I turned and gave one more look at the tall hollyhocks so resplendent and soldierly, like sentinels set on guard by a beloved mistress over her treasures."112

In 1914, however, a fire destroyed both Celia's house and the grand Appledore House hotel which her family had built and run since 1848. This marked the end of an era and the island and remaining houses gradually fell into abandon and ruin. The old foundations were quickly obliterated by staghorn sumac, poison ivy, and other indigenous and naturalized species which had long been held at bay by the Thaxter's and other island residents.



Abandoned buildings on Appledore. Island, ca. 1960s? 113

^{112 &}quot;Celia Thaxter's Grave and Garden." Literary World. 19 Aug., 1899.

Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. p. 82.

Then, in 1966 Appledore Island began to be reclaimed with the founding of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, a summer institute for the study of Marine Sciences jointly administered by Cornell and the University of New Hampshire. Dr. John Kingsbury, founder and Director of the Shoals Marine Lab possessed an interest in Celia Thaxter and restoring her garden, and in late 1976 he initiated the restoration with the aid of students such as Gary Boden (author of the *The Vascular Flora of Appledore Island*) and volunteer members of the Rye Driftwood Garden Club, particularly Virginia Chisholm. Plants for the first season's planting in 1977 were propagated at Cornell; however, Chris Robarge of the Thompson School of Applied Science of the University of New Hampshire and his students took over this responsibility early on. Each year he and his students continue to deliver the season's plants by boat at the end of May. Mr. Robarge has also assisted in the installation of an irrigation system for the garden. Virginia Chisholm took charge of the garden in 1979 when Dr. Kingsbury retired, and the Rye Driftwood garden club members continue to supervise the garden's yearly planting and maintenance, as well as conduct guided tours of the garden, all proceeds from which are donated to a scholarship fund for the Marine Laboratory.



Cleared and Rototilled plot of the first garden restoration, 1976. 114

The original garden had been amply documented both in the paintings of Childe Hassam and the many photographs made by Celia's son Karl. Although her original garden spilled outside her fence and downwards towards the sea, the garden restoration has been limited to the area inside the confines of the fence which was described, along with a planting list, in Celia's 1893 book on her garden *An Island*

¹¹⁴ Kingsbury, John M. Here's How We'll Do It; An Informal History of the Shoals Marine Lab. Ithica, NY: Bullbrier Press, P. 325.

Garden. The old foundation of her house was easily located from the many old photographs of the house and garden which have survived. It was, however, completely overgrown with staghorn sumac, and other naturalized species which had reclaimed the island in the intervening time. The restoration effort first involved the removal of these woody plants with a backhow. Fascinatingly, during the restoration process, several of Celia's original garden plants were rediscovered once the site was cleared—among these were her Hops vine (*Humulus lupulus*), snowdrops (*Galanthus spp.*), tawny daylilies (*Hemerocallis fulva*)¹¹⁵, and a "tiny blue scilla"¹¹⁶ which had survived the 90 odd years since her death! In fact, her hops has become somewhat naturalized on the island.

An interesting early anecdote arising from the restoration process related by Dr. Kingsbury was the discovery of why her simple garden fence was constructed of such wide boards. Many had long assumed it was to keep wayward livestock from wandering into her garden, which no doubt it served to do, but the garden's restorers soon discovered that the fence was also almost certainly designed to help diminish the effects of wind, as the garden's restorers discovered that the relentless sea breezes flattened and dessicated the flowers without the protection of this wide board fence.

One of the first major challenges which the garden's restorers faced was identifying appropriate flower hybrids which Celia grew, or might have grown, in 1893. Many, if not most, of the varieties available in 1893 were no longer available when the garden restoration was initiated. Indeed, Victorian gardens such as Celia's present a specific restoration challenge, as the late 19th century was an era of "tremendous horticultural instability... According to Dr. Kingsbury, the garden was more difficult to recreate than a Colonial garden from the 1660's when plants were more botanically stable. "In Celia's time, plants were 'Luther Burbanked,' with a lot of genetic cross-breeding and experimentation... New plants coming on the market were discarded a few years later.""¹¹⁷

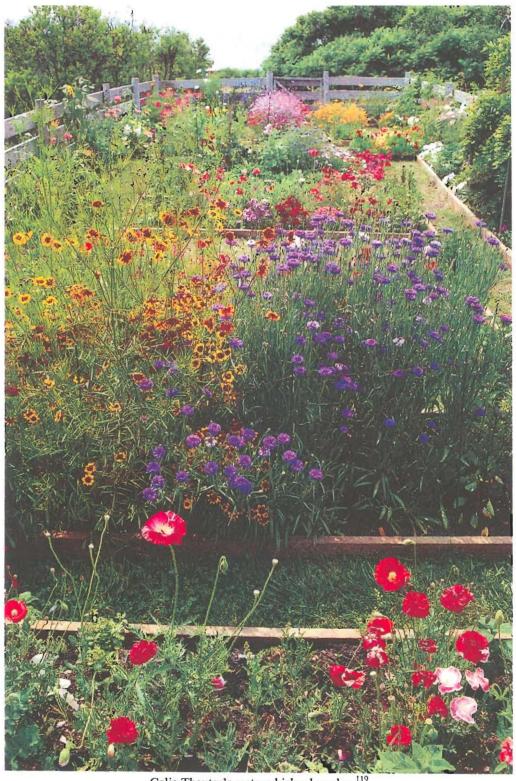
Substantial archival research into the historic varieties which Celia would most likely have grown was conducted in the early days of the garden's restoration by Joanna Kingsbury Smith, Dr. Kingsbury's daughter and then botany student at Colgate University, and she published her findings in her paper, "Restoring a Flower Garden of 1893". Using the extensive seed catalog collection of the Bailey Hortorium at Cornell University, she researched what varieties would have been available to Celia Thaxter in 1893. (*See Appendix C: "List of seeds Celia grew and three companies which carried them", which lists the flowers Celia included in her garden plan in *An Island Garden* and some possible 1893 sources for these plants.) In her paper Joanna Kingsbury poignantly eluded to the substantial challenges of locating Victorian seed varieties at the time of the initial garden restoration and hinted at the vagaries of horticultural taste which have historically encouraged the development of always newer, 'improved'

¹¹⁵ Kingsbury, Joanna. Anecdote relayed via email correspondence.

Rayfield, Susan. "Blossoms by a Summer Sea," Americana, 18, May/June 1990, p. 33.

Dr. John Kingsbury, as quoted by Rayfield, Susan in "Blossoms by a Summer Sea," Americana, 18, May/June 1990, p. 33.

hybrids. Thus, the old flowers are lost as "the last few packages of seeds gather dust until the seeds are no longer viable, and finally the strain dies out and disappears forever." 118



Celia Thaxter's restored island garden. 119

 $^{^{118}}$ Kingsbury, Joanna. Restoring a Flower Garden of 1893., p. 20.

Peggy Cornett Newcomb in *Popular Annuals of Eastern North America: 1865-1914* specifically discusses the dilemma of attempting to restore gardens which were predominately populated by old annual flower varieties. She writes in her introduction,

"In examining sites that were the gardens of a century or more ago, landscape historians look to the physical remnants for indications of the shapes of the past. But annuals, the most ephemeral of ornamental plants, leave no impressions on the historic landscape—no discolored imprints of their decayed roots in the soil, no vegetative regenerations of woody crowns. If escaped flowers persist, reseeding themselves yearly among the weeds, it can be argued that they are descendants that prove their ancestors once existed in cultivation. But these echoes of the past fix neither time nor place. Generations of reversion have most likely taken the flower's present aspect back toward its aboriginal state, its state before the forms were developed that the late-nineteenth century gardener knew. The dilemma remains. Among the tangible artifacts yielding to the archeologists's trowel, annuals will remain the most elusive of garden elements." 120

Marilyn Barlow, founder of Select Seeds, an heirloom seed company, in her article titled "In Search of Antique Annuals" describes the processes involved in reintroducing to trade lost antique annual varieties—"Once an antique annual is rediscovered, period catalogs provide the means to authenticate it. Trialing (growing the variety and comparing it with as many written descriptions and illustrations as possible) is also necessary. If all goes well, these varieties end up in my seed stocks and catalog and/or those of heirloom seed merchants around the world, ready to flourish once again."¹²¹

Modern breeding efforts have been rather singularly focused on producing shorter, more compact plants with larger flowers. These cultivars and hybrids have a dramatically different effect in the landscape from the blousy old-fashioned flowers which Celia Thaxter grew. Virginia Chisholm wrote of the difficulty in finding "seeds of some of the old-fashioned flowers that had not been dwarfed, doubled or so developed that they lost their scent." Where possible, species and comparable historic varieties were identified and have been used. As interest in heirloom plants has grown in recent years, locating appropriate varieties has become easier. Dr. Kingsbury estimated that in 1977, the garden's first season, "the garden had about one-quarter of the right plants... By 1984 there were many more." However, "finding the last of the more than fifty kinds listed in *An Island Garden* may be a long task... As a last resort, it may even be necessary to breed back toward certain plant materials, if they can no longer be found." 123

Otis, Denise. Grounds for Pleasure: Four Centuries of the American Garden. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002, p. 67.

¹²⁰ Newcomb, Peggy Cornett. *Popular Annuals of Eastern North America: 1865-1914.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985. P. 1.

¹²¹Barlow, Marilyn. "In Search of Antique Annuals," *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens*, vol. 48, 1992, pp. 25-29.

¹²² Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens, 46, no. 1, 1990, pp. 66.

Dr. John Kingsbury, as quoted by Rayfield, Susan in "Blossoms by a Summer Sea," *Americana*, 18, May/June 1990, p. 33.

One-by-one, however, historically appropriate plants have gradually been located. Dame's Rocket, for instance, was donated by someone whose grandmother was given seeds by Celia Thaxter herself. "The correct sunflower variety was found at historic Hamilton House in South Berwick, Maine." Marilyn Barlow, founder of Select Seeds (a Union, Connecticut based heirloom seed catalog business) has consulted on the garden's recreation, and her catalog, along with the British seed company Thompson & Morgan, are used as primary seed sources for the garden today. (*See Appendix D & E: 2004 Planting List and Seed sources for Celia Thaxter's Garden.) The recreated garden "has been planted according to her diagram (in *An Island Garden*), but as the summer goes on, it is supplemented with other plants which she wrote about but did not include in the diagram." 125

* * *

The recreation of Celia Thaxter's island garden has been a popular success. Full to capacity tours are led throughout the summer, and apparently many more people are turned away because of the garden's limited viewing times (it is open for tours only one day a week). When one considers the garden's meager size, relatively restrained plantings, (particularly when compared to the lush, overflowing character of Celia's original garden), and the difficulty in getting there, this success might be considered somewhat surprising. The garden restoration, although beautiful, has a manicured appearance which is not characteristic of Celia's original garden, and presents a sparse, somewhat arbitrary and forlorn appearance in the landscape today without being anchored to her house. The abundance of vines, which was such a dominant feature of the original garden, and characteristic of Victorian gardens, is notably absent. If Celia's cottage were recreated, it would not only provide the appropriate architectural backdrop and context for the garden and vines, it would also provide substantial protection from north winds and recreate the micro-climate that would allow the plants to achieve the lusher, fuller proportions which were so characteristic of Celia's original garden.

Celia's garden was the idiosyncratic and unique creation of one individual, and the successful restoration of such an individual garden may present specific interpretive challenges, unlike the restoration of a more generic landscape. It is my feeling that the many paintings of the garden by Childe Hassam document and reveal the lush aesthetic and stylistic character of the garden and constitute a unique and historic resource which should be used as a guide for a painterly reinterpretation of Celia Thaxter's garden. "It is by studying the gardens...as well as the potent images that the painters made, that it becomes possible to reinterpret their vision in gardens today." 126

41

¹²⁴ Rayfield, Susan. "Blossoms by a Summer Sea." p. 34.

¹²⁵ Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." p. 66.

¹²⁶ Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. p. 6.

Thus, as a restoration effort the garden proves to be a fascinating study. What is it that draws so many people across the ocean to see this small garden on a sparse granite rock? It is my assertion that Celia Thaxter's garden restoration is successful for several reasons. First of all, the recreated garden is emblematic of her original garden, and is informed by its lasting legacy and mythic aura. Certainly much of the influence of the original garden is linked to the powerful and gifted personality which Celia Thaxter obviously possessed and transmitted through her garden and writing, as well as in the paintings which she inspired others to create. I would also attribute part of the garden restoration's success to the attraction, romance, and relative exoticism of the island locale. And finally, it is my feeling that Celia's self-described "old-fashioned" (in 1893) cottage garden remains a powerful nostalgic archetype of a timeless garden style, the 'Grandmother's Garden', one which still resonates profoundly today.

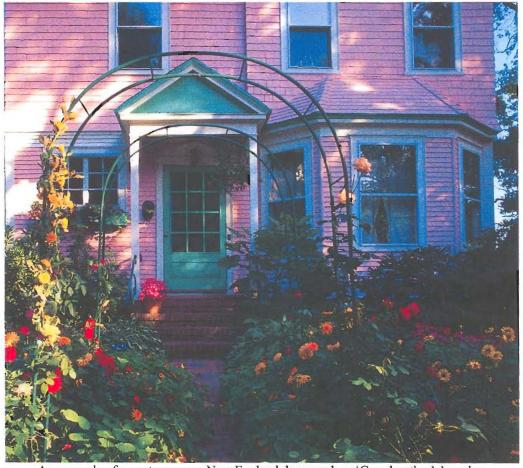
"A large part of the charm of old-fashioned gardens...arises not so much from their splendor and luxuriance as from the affectionate toil and care they represent, which hallows the ground to us who remember the toilers. Into our modern grounds must be put the same thought and supervision if they are to mean anything to our successors or to bear real significance even to ourselves. Only by entering into the spirit which created the old-fashioned gardens can we ourselves leave behind others which shall be valued by future generations as those of a former day are now." 127

-Charles Sprague Sargent, "Old-fashioned gardens", 1895.

¹²⁷ Sargent, Charles Sprague. "Old-Fashioned Gardens." Garden and Forest, July, 1895: p. 282.

CONCLUSION:

Celia Thaxter's island garden stands as an icon and model of an historic and still very vital American garden style. Indeed, the 'old-fashioned', or 'Grandmother's garden' continues to be a popular American horticultural aesthetic which is particularly dominant in New England. The garden of Beth Straus, Senior Vice Chairman of the New York Botanical Garden, for instance, in Sommesville, Maine, has a rectangular cutting garden which is "in feeling, very much like Celia Thaxter's rectangular garden as portrayed in Childe Hassam's paintings, burgeoning with the brilliant seaside hues of poppies and roses against the silver gray of a weathered board fence." Thus, Celia's island garden stands as a model and paradigm with lasting influence which continues to be emulated.



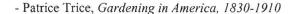
An example of a contemporary New England door-yard, or 'Grandmother's' garden, which is very much in the tradition of Celia Thaxter's. 129

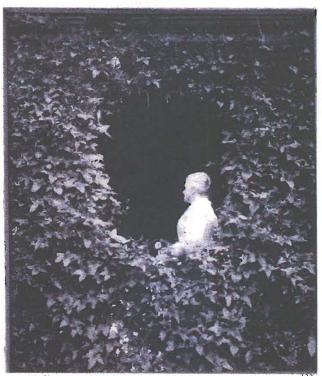
¹²⁸ Dietz, Paula. "A Cultivated Coast; Between Meadow and Water, Beth Straus's Garden Continues a Maine Tradition." *House & Garden*, Sept 1991: 126-131.

¹²⁹ Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. p. 115

At the very least it can be said that Celia Thaxter's small island garden is a complex entity which embodies many idealized concepts and symbols of 19th century American art and culture. The original garden and its recreation serve as an archetypal model of a 'Grandmother's garden', an American garden type which remains a powerful cultural symbol signifying a nostalgic and idealized vision of American life which continues to be a vibrant and influential horticultural mode today. Patricia M. Tice wrote in *Gardening in America*, 1830-1910, "The cyclical life-giving properties of the garden cut across time and space to touch upon emotions as basic as the human condition itself. "¹³⁰ This statement ultimately alludes to the potential which gardens, and their restorations, have to wield lasting influence upon culture, and points to the case for the preservation, and restoration, of such gardens as Celia Thaxter's.

"And yet, for all the changes and challenges which the nineteenth-century gardener encountered, the traditional image of the garden held fast, like a fixed point, and anchor in the tempests of change. This steadfast ideology of the garden underscores not only the unchanging bond with the organic but also the human striving to turn the environment into a true garden, a paradise, a place of delight."





Celia seated on her vine-clad porch, date unknown. 132

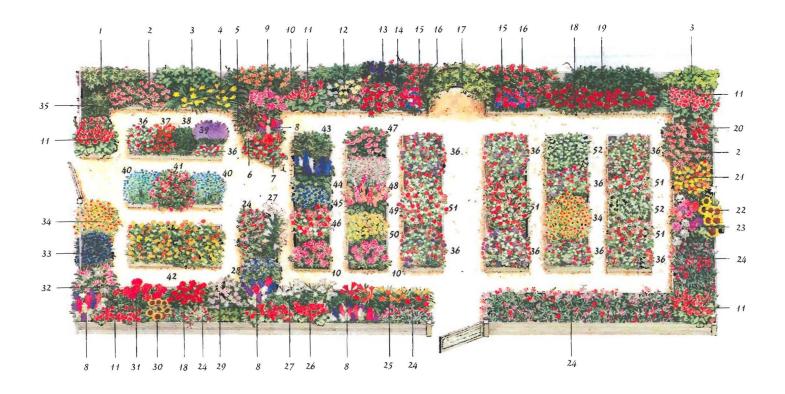
¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America, 1830-1910. p. 73.

¹³² Stephan, Sharon Paiva. One Woman's Work; The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter. p. 171.

APPENDIX A: AN ILLUSTRATED PLAN & PLANT LIST OF CELIA'S FLOWER GARDEN

(from The Impressionist Garden, by Derek Fell, p. 38)



CELIA THAXTER'S CUTTING GARDEN

- 1 Akebia quinata
- 2 Rosa x damascena
- 3 Humulus japonicus
- 4 Hemerocallis citrina
- 5 Weigela florida
- 6 Iberis sempervirens
- 7 Tropaeolum majus
- 8 Consolida ambigua
- 9 Cleome hassleriana
- 10 Lonicera japonica
- 11 Alcea rosea
- 12 Echinocystis Iobata
- 13 Clematis x jackmanii
- 14 Rosa hybrids
- 15 Verbena x hybrida
- 16 Lonicera sempervirens
- 17 Wisteria sinensis
- 18 Red dahlias
- 19 Clematis 'Henryi'
- 20 Papaver orientale

- 21 Tagetes erecta
- 22 Helianthus annuus
- 23 Phlox paniculata
- 24 Lathyrus odoratus
- 25 Lilium Asiatic hybrids
- 26 Lavatera trimestris
- 27 Lilium longiflorum
- 28 Aquilegia vulgaris
- 29 Rosa pimpinellifolia
- 30 Helianthus x multiflorus
- 31 Dianthus barbatus
- 32 Paeonia lactiflora (silvery-pink)
- 33 Centaurea cyanus
- 34 Coreopsis tinctoria
- 35 Sweet violets
- 36 Callistephus chinensis
- 37 Eschscholzia californica
- 38 Wallflowers
- 39 Lavendula angustifolia
- 40 Linum perenne
- 41 Silene coeli-rosa

- 42 Papaver nudicaule
- 43 Clematis terniflora
- 44 Delphinium hybrids
- 45 Nigella damascena
- 46 Papaver somniferum
- 47 Paeonia lactiflora (pink)
- 48 Dianthus plumarius
- 49 Digitalis purpurea
- 50 Coreopsis grandiflora
- 51 Shirley poppies
- 52 Reseda odorata

APPENDIX B: OTHER PLANTS CELIA GREW AND MENTIONED IN AN ISLAND GARDEN:

(Sources: An Island Garden, by Celia Thaxter; The Flowers of Star Island, by Richard A. Howard; Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum, 1968; Restoring American Gardens: An Encyclopedia of Heirloom Ornamental Plants: 1640-1940. by Denise Wiles Adams; The Impressionist Garden, by Derek Fell; Botanica, by R.G. Turner, Jr.)

Asperula Poppies-- 'The Bride' (somniferum) Begonia – tuberous rooted Iceland Candy-tuft Oriental Carnations - 'Margaret' Shirley Cinnamon vine Thorn Chrysanthemums Primrose—English Cobea Scandens Ragged Robin (Lychnis flos-cuculi) Crocus Rose - Bon Silene Daffodils Catherine Dahlias - 'Star of Lyon' Damask Delphinium Jacqueminot Erysimum La France Erythronium Mermets Eschscholtzia (Californa Poppy) polyantha Eyebright (Euphrasia) rugosa Flax - crimson and blue Scotch Forget-me-knot - blue and white Sunsets Gaillardia tea Gill-over-the-ground Tuscany Gillyflower (Annual Stocks) Scilla siberica Gladiolus Stock Hyacinth Sweet pea (Lathryrus odoratus) Lavatera 'Adonis' Mina lobata 'Blanche Ferry' Morning fringe 'Butterfly' Mourning Bride 'Carmine Invincible' Mullein pink 'Orange Prince' Nasturtium 'Princess Beatrice' Nicotiana 'Queen Victoria' Nigella Pansy Thunbergia Penstemon Tropaeolum lobanum lucifers Phlox 'Drummond's tall' Tulips Plumbago 'Lady Larpent' Weigela florida Zinna

Water Plants mentioned:

'Pink lotus of Egypt'
'Purple lily of Zanzibar'
'a red one' (assuming Water lily; Nymphaea)
'Golden Chromatella' (Nymphaea 'Chromatella')
'Pure white African variety' (assuming Nymphaea)
'smaller native white one' (Nymphaea odorata)
'yellow water poppy' (Hydrophyllum nymphoides or Nuphar lutea?)
'parrot's feather' (Myriophyllum aquaticum)
'water hyacinths' (Eichhornia crassipes)
'Cape Cod lilies' (??)

APPENDIX C: APPENDIX OF PLANTS AND HISTORIC VARIETIES POSSIBLY GROWN BY CELIA THAXTER IN 1893 (Used here with permission of the compiler, Joanna Kingsbury Smith):

Name of plant	Name of plant Seed catalogues			,
	Burpee's Farm Annual	Burpee's Autumn Bulbs	Greer's Garden. Calendar	Gardener's Gard. Annuals. & Fall Bulbs
	1893	1893	1893	1893
Akebia quinata -	_	_	X	_
Alcea rosea	X	X	X	X
Aquilegia sp.	X	-	-	X
Argemone mexicana	-	_	_	-
Callistephus chinensis	X	X	X	X
Cheiranthus cheiri	Χ'	X	X	X
Clematis X jackmanii (white)	-	-	X	X
Clematis X jackmanii (blue)	X	-	X	-
Cleome spinosa	X	X	X	_
Coreopsis basalis -	-	X	X	X
Coreopsis coronata	-	X	-	-
Coreopsis lanceolata-	-	-	X	X
Centaurea cyanus	X	X	-	X
Dahlia pinnata	X	X	X	X
Delphinium exaltatum	X	X	X	X
Dianthus barbatus	X	X	X	X
Dianthus caryophyllus (Picotee)	X	X	-	-
Dianthus sp (marguerite)	X	X	X	-
Digitalis purpurea	X	-	~	X
Echinocystus lobata	-	_	_	-
Eschscholtzia californica	X	_	X	X
Gilia sp.	X	_	X	X
Helianthus annus	X	X	X	X
Hesperis matronalis	X	-	-	X
Humulus japonica-	-	_	X	X
Humulus lupulus	_		X	-
Lathyrus odorata			A	-
cvs: Adonis	X	X	X	X
Blanche Ferry	-	X	X	X
Butterfly	X	X	X	X
Carmine Invincible	X	X	X	X
Orange Prince	X	X	X	X
Primrose	X	X	X	X
Princess Beatrice	X	X	X	X
Queen Victoria*	-	-	Λ -	_
Lavatera trimestris	-	-	_	-

^{*}Celia could easily have confused the Queen Victoria with the Queen of England variety which fits her description and was available from each of the four catalogues above.

	Burpee's Annual	Burpee's Bulbs	Greer's	Gardener's
	1893	1893	1893	1893
Lavandula angustifolia	-	_	-	-
Lilium auratum	X	X	X	X
Lilium candidum	X	X	-	X
Lilium longiflorum	X	-	-	X
Lonicera sp.	-	-	-	-
Lonicera japonica	-	-		-
Lychnis coeli-rosa	-	-	-	-
Nigella damascena	X	X	X	X
Papaver alpinum	-	-	-	X
Papaver nudicaule	-	-	X	
Papaver orientale	X	-	X	X
Papaver pavonium	-	=	-	X
Papaver rhoeas				250-7954
var. Corn	-	-	-	X
Scarlet	-	-	X	-
Shirley	X	-	X	X
Papaver somniferum	X	-	X	~
Papaver sp.				
Cv. Carnation	X	X	X	-
Snowdrift	X	X	X	×
Paeonia lactiflora	X	-	X	-
Phlox drummondii	X	X	X	X
Phlox paniculata	X	-	X	-
Ranunculus asiaticus	-	X	-	-
Reseda odorata	X	X	X	X
Rosa centifolia parvifolia	-	-	-	-
Rosa damascena	-	-	X	-
Rosa gallica	-	-	-	-
Rosa odorata				
var. Bon Silene	-	-	X	-
Catherine Mermet	X-	-	X	-
Gabrielle deLuizit'	X	-	X	-
General Jaqueminot	X	-	X	-
La France	X	-	X	-
Sunset	X	-	X	~
Rosa X rehederana	X	-	X	-
Rosa spinosissim	-	-	-	-
Tagetes erecta	X	X	X	X
Tagetes patula	X	X	X	X
Tropeolum lobianum	-	-	X	-
Verbena X hybrida	X	X	X	X
Viola odorata				
Cv. White Czar	X	-	-	-
Wisteria sinensis -	-	-	X	-

APPENDIX D: THE 2004 PLAN AND PLANTING LIST OF THE GARDEN RESTORATION:

THE PLAN OF THE GARDEN AND THE LIST OF FLOWERS

Celia Thaxter's garden (15x50) is planted by the plan in her book AN ISLAND GARDEN. It is very evident in reading her book that she grew many more plants than are listed on her plan. Over the years these "other" flowers have made their way back into the garden. It is hoped that by updating her plan it will be easier to find the flowers that interest you.



APPENDIX E: 2004 VARIETIES LISTING FOR CELIA THAXTER'S GARDEN RESTORATION:

(Copied with permission from the staff of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, Sept., 2004)

				11.	10.	Mi.	ebox Copy se do
				you	Ilm	reac	CHOOK COPY
						\bigcirc	1 1/1
				U		1100	
0 V Tt 4- 4- 0 4		1		T		Plea	Le do
Cella I naxters Garde	en, Appledore Island 2004 Varieties Listing			ļ			-
CROP NAME	VARIETY NAME	SOURCE			<u> </u>		Memore
			Sources	L	<u> </u>	ļ	_
Alberta		A de de se	S-Select Se				Donne
Akebia	Chocolate Vine	Appledore	ST-Stokes		<u> </u>		Junore
Anemone	Japanese Anemone	E	I & M-I nor	mpson & Mo	rgan		
Artemesia	Silver Queen	MS		ee Garden S		ļ	
Aster	Milady Mix	T&M		Greenhous	e		
Balsam	Obl Camellia Fird Mix	ST	VC-Virginia				
Begonia, Tuberous	Non-Stop Mix	PB	MS-Mary S				1
Calendula	Indian Prince	S	PB-Pam Bo		<u> </u>		
Campanula	Percicifolia	Appledore		Winterover r		al	_
Candytuft	Flash Mixed	T&M	E-Ellison's	Greenhouse	s, Exeter		_
Chrysantemum	Summer Festival	T&M]
Clematis	Paniculata-Autumn	Appledore]
Cleome	White Queen	S]
Cleome	Rose Queen	S					}
Columbine	VC/PB	Appledore]
Coreopsis Lanceolata	Basilis (Calliopsis)	ST	•]
Coreopsis, Perennial	Sunburst	E]
Comflower	Cut Flower-Mixed	T&M					
Comflower	Blue Diadem	T&M] "
Cosmos	Sensation Mixed	T&M]
Dahlia	Victoriana Mix-Single-Tall	S]
Dahlia	Dandy-Single Dwarf	Ellisons					
Dianthus/S, William	Victoriana-China Pink	S					
Dianthus	D.plumarious Cottage Pinks(pheasant eyed)	S					Ì
Digitalis	Purpurea-Hybrid Mix	T & M					ì
Flax, Scarlet	Red scarlet flax	T&M					1
Flax, Blue Annuai	Linum grandiflorum 'Blue Dress'	T&M					,
Flax, Perennial	Linum-perenne	T&M					1
Four O'Clocks	Broken Colors	S	240]
Gaillardia/Blanket Fl	Monarch	E					1
Geraniums	TSAS Geraniums Pink & Red	TSAS					1
Helianthus	Lemon Queen, Annual Sunflower	S					1
Helianthus	Perennial	Appledore					1
Heliotropium	Marine	S					1
Heliotropium		Appledore					1
Hesperis	See Sweet Rocket	Appledore					1
Hollyhocks	Alcea-rosea- Fig "Happy Lights"	S					1

Hollyhocks	Alcea-rosea-Fig "Nigra"	S	
Hops	Japanese (Celia's)	Appledore	
Lantana	Mixed Hybrids	E	
Larkspur	Giant Imperial	S	
Larkspur	Blue Cloud	S	
Lavatera	Mont Blanc	T & M	
Lavatera	Silver Cup	S	
Lavender	English, 'Lady'	PB	
Lily, Auratum		Appledore	
Lily, Rubrum		Appledore	
Lily, Easter	LAU CE CL AND	Appledore	
Marguerite	Yellow	E	
Marigold	TSAS Marigold Yellow Bonanza	TSAS	
Mignonette	Machet	S	
Moonflower	Ipomoea Alba	S	
Morning Glory	Scarlet O'Hara	S	
Morning Glory	Pearly Gates	PT	L
Morning Glory	Heavenly Blue	S	
Nasturtium	Jewel of Africa	S	
Nicotiana	Jasmine Tobacco	S	
Nigella	Damascena Persian Jewels	PT	
Pansy	TSAS Pansy Mix	TSAS	
Penstemon	Early Bird Mixed	T & M	
Peony	Red	Appledore	
Petunia	White-Celebrity	E	
Phlox Drummondii	Tapestry	S	
Phlox Drummondii	Leopoldii	S	
Phlox,Per.	White "Miss Lingard"	E	
Plumbago	Plumbago	Appledore	
Рорру	White Cloud	S	
Poppy	Prickly poppy 'Purity'	S	
Poppy/rhoeas	Single Shirley		
Poppy/rhoeas	Single Shirley 'Angel Wings'		
Poppy/rhoeas	Double Shirley Mixed	PT	
Рорру	Peony Type Pink	S	
Poppy/Eschscholtzia	California 'Golden West'	S	
Poppy/Eschscholtzia	Aurantica	PT	
Poppy	Iceland Meadow Pastels	S	
Rose Campion	Lychnis Coronaria	MS	
Rose, Damask	Lychino doronaria	Appledore	

Rose, Polyantha	The Fairy"	Appledore .	T	-T	7
Rose, Rugosa	Transplanted from Star-Most likely Celia's	Appledore		+	
Rose, Scotch		Appledore	 		
Rose, York		Appledore		+	
Rose, Lancaster		Appledore	 	 	
Scabious, Sweet	Black Knights	S			
Scabious atropurpurea	Summer Sundae	S	 		
Snowdrops	Celia's	Appledore	1	 	
Stock	Trysomic-"7 week stock" Tail	E	1	 	+
Stock	Legacy Crimson-12"	E	1	 	+
Sweet Pea, Ann.	Old Spice Mix	S	†		
Sweet Pea, Ann.	Mammoth Mix	PT	1.	 	
Sweet Pea, Per.	Lathyrus Latifolius	PT		+	
Sweet Rocket	Hesperis Matronaliks	Appledore		·	i
Venidium	Fastuosum 'Jaffa Ice'	T & M		 	
Verbena	Dwarf Jewels	T & M		 	1
Viscaria	Lychnis coelirosa 'Rose of Heaven'	HUME SEEDS			
Viola	Lemon Swirl	PT			Less
Viola	Hybrid-Mixed	E			1,3 -1
Wisteria		Appledore			
Woodruff, Sweet	Galium odoratum	PB	 		
Zinnias	Benary Giant Mix	S	L		<u> </u>

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Adams, Denise Wiles. Restoring American Gardens: An Encyclopedia of Heirloom Ornamental Plants: 1640-1940. Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2004.

Arber, Edward, ed. Travels and Works of Captain John Smith. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910.

Bailey, Liberty Hyde, ed. How to Make a Flower Garden. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1903.

Bardwell, John D. *The Isles of Shoals: A Visual History*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter Randall Publisher, 1989.

Barlow, Marilyn. "In Search of Antique Annuals," *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens.* 48 (1992): 25-29.

Beecher, Catherine E & Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home: or, Principles of Domestic Science; Being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes.* New York: Arno Press, 1971 (reprint of the 1855 edition).

Blanchan, Neltje. The American Flower Garden. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

Boden, Gary T. *The Vascular Flora of Appledore Island*. Ithaca, NY: Shoals Marine Laboratory at Cornell University, 1979.

Boris, Eileen. Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, ca. 1986.

Breck, Joseph. New Book of Flowers. New York: Orange Judd & Co., 1866.

Burke, Doreen Bulger. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

"Celia Thaxter's Grave and Garden." Literary World. 19 Aug. 1899: 265.

Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens*, 46.1 (1990): 62-67.

Clayton, V.T. "Reminiscence and Revival, The Old-Fashioned Garden 1890-1910. *Antiques*. April 1990: 892-905.

Clayton-Payne, Andrew. Victorian Flower Gardens. London: Seven Dials, Cassell & Co., 2000.

Colby, Fred M. "The Gardens of Our Grandmothers." The Ladies' Floral Cabinet. July 1884: 222-23.

Curry, David Park. Childe Hassam: An Island Garden Revisited. New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1990.

Davies, Jennifer. The Victorian Flower Garden. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.

Dietz, Paula. "A Cultivated Coast; Between Meadow and Water, Beth Straus's Garden Continues a Maine Tradition." *House & Garden*. Sept 1991: 126-131.

Downing, Andrew Jackson. A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences." New York: Orange Judd Agricultural Book Publisher, 1865.

---. Cottage Residences, Rural Architecture & Landscape Gardening. 1842. Watkins Glen, N.Y.: Library of Victorian Culture, 1967.

---. "On the Drapery of Cottages and Gardens." The Horticulturist. Aug. 1849: 353-59.

Dunhill, Priscilla. "Poet Celia Thaxter: An Island Gardener." Victoria. July 1990: 32-39.

Earle, Alice Morse. *Old Time Gardens, Newly Set Forth: A Book of the Sweet O'the Year.* New York: Macmillan, 1928 (ca. 1901).

Elliot, Charles. "Field Notes: Lost Gardens," Horticulture. Jan. 1989: 22-25.

Emmet, Alan. So Fine A Prospect: Historic New England Gardens. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996.

Farr, Judith & Louise Carter. *The Gardens of Emily Dickinson*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Favretti, Rudy & Joy. For Every House a Garden: A Guide for Reproducing Period Gardens. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990.

---. Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings. Second Edition, Revised: A Handbook for Reproducing and Creating Authentic Landscape Settings. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1997.

Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Art Galleries, 1978.

Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. New York: Carol Southern Books, 1994.

Forsell, Mary. "The Victorian Legacy," Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens. 48 (1992): 6-11.

Gardner, JoAnn. "In Grandmother's Garden." Old-House Journal. Oct. 2000: 49-53.

Genders, Roy. The Cottage Garden and the Old-Fashioned Flowers. London: Pelham Books, 1969.

Gerdts, William H. *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art.* Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1983.

Gibson, Robin. "Inside a Nineteenth Century Salon and Garden: Celia Thaxter and Childe Hassam." Winston-Salem, NC: Reynolda House Museum of American Art. 1994.

Griswold, Mac & Eleanor Weller. *The Golden Age of American Gardens: Proud Owners, Private Estates 1890-1940.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991.

Hill, May Brawley. *Grandmother's Garden: The Old-Fashioned American Garden 1865-1915*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995.

Hoopes, Josiah. "How to Plant a Rural Home." The Horticulturist. June 1872: 164-7.

Hottes, Alfred C. A Little Book of Annuals. New York: A.T. DeLaMare Co., 1925.

Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isles of Shoals. Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum, 1968.

Jacobs, Katherine L. "Celia Thaxter and Her Island Garden." Landscape 24 (1980): 12-17.

Johnson, Mrs. S.O. Every Woman her Own Flower Gardener: A Handy Manual of Flower Gardening for Ladies, 7th ed. New York: Ralph H. Waggoner, 1889.

Keeler, Harriet L. Our Garden Flowers. New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1910.

Kent, Crystal Ward. "The Restoration of an Island Garden." *Accent on Home & Garden*. July/August 2004: 62-72.

Kingsbury, Dr. John. Foreward. An Island Garden. By Celia Thaxter. 1894. Ithica, NY: Bullbrier Press, 1985.

---. E-mail interview. Sept. 2004.

---. Here's How We'll Do It: An Informal History of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, Appledore Island, Isles of Shoals, Maine. Ithica, NY: Bullbrier Press, 1991.

Lacy, Allen. "Celia Thaxter and Louise Beebe Wilder: Romanticism in the Garden" *The Gardener's Eye and Other Essays*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1992.

Leighton. Ann. American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century: "For Comfort and Affluence." Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Long, Elias. Ornamental Gardening for Americans. New York: Orange Judd, 1893.

Loudon, Mrs. Jane. Gardening for Ladies, and, Companion to the Flower Garden. New York: John Wiley, 1862.

---. The Ladies' Flower Garden of Ornamental Annuals. 2nd Edition. London: W.S. Orr, 1849.

Mandel, Norma H. Beyond the Garden Gate: The Life of Celia Laighton Thaxter. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2004.

Marranca, Bonnie, ed. American Garden Writing. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Martin, Tovah. Victoria: Moments in a Garden. New York: The Heart Corp., 1991.

May, Stephen. "An Island Garden, A Poet's Passion, A Painter's Muse," Smithsonian. 21 Dec. 1990: 68-76.

McGuire, Diane Kostial, ed. American Garden Design: An Anthology of Ideas That Shaped Our Landscape. New York: MacWilliam, 1994.

Moberly, Susan O. "The Bed of Annuals." The Mayflower. April 1899: 172.

Nagel, Gwen L. "Sarah Orne Jewett's New England Gardens." Colby Literary Quarterly 22 (1986): 43-62.

Nevins, Deborah. "Poet's Garden, Painter's Eye." House & Garden. August 1984: 93ff.

---. "The Triumph of Flora: Women and the American Landscape, 1890-1935." *The Magazine Antiques*. April 1985: 904-19.

Newcomb, Peggy Cornett. *Popular Annuals of Eastern North America: 1865-1914.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985.

Norcross, Marjorie R. "Cataloging America's Cultural Roots." Cornell Plantations. 47.1 (1992): 15-22.

Norwood, Vera. *Made From This Earth: American Women and Nature*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

"Old-fashioned Flowers." Vick's Monthly Magazine. Dec. 1882: 360-2.

Older, Julia, ed. Celia Thaxter: Selected Writings. Hancock, New Hampshire: Appledore Books, 1997.

---. The Island Queen. Hancock, NH: Appledore Books, 1994.

"An Ornamented Cottage". New England Farmer. May 1856: 224-5.

Otis, Denise. *Grounds for Pleasure: Four Centuries of the American Garden.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002.

Packard, Wilnthrop. Literary Pilgrimages of a Naturalist. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1911.

Parker, Constance. "The Garden of Forgotten Flowers." Good Housekeeping. April 1907: 390-96.

Piscataqua Garden Club. Gardening from the Merrimack to the Kennebec. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1978.

Plan of the Garden and List of Flowers. Appledore Island, ME: Shoals Marine Laboratory, 2004.

Rand, Edward S. Popular Flowers and How to Cultivate Them. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876.

Rayfield, Susan. "Blossoms by a Summer Sea," Americana. May/June 1990: 28-34.

Reed, Helen Leah. "Celia Thaxter and Her Island Home." New England Magazine. Nov. 1893: 208.

Robarge, Christopher. E-mail interview. Sept./Oct., 2004

Robbins, Ellen. "Reminiscences of a Flower Painter." New England Magazine. July 1896: 532.

Sargent, Charles Sprague. "Old-Fashioned Gardens." Garden and Forest. July 1895: 281-82.

Schenker, Heath M. & Ouellete, Suzanne C. "The Garden As Women's Place: Celia Thaxter and Mariana van Rensselaer." *Proceedings of the 'Gendered Landscapes; An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Past Place and Space' Conference.* State College, PA.: Pennsylvania State University, 2000.

Scott, Frank J. *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent.* New York: John B. Alden, 1886.

Shurtleff, Arthur A. "Some Old New England Flower Gardens." New England Magazine. 21 Dec. 1899: 422-24.

Sitwell, Sacheverell. Old Fashioned Flowers. London: Country Life Limited, 1939.

Smith, Joanna M. (nee Kingsbury). "Restoring a Flower Garden of 1893", or "The Identity and Source of Plants Celia Thaxter Grew in Her Garden." Honors paper, Colgate University, 1979.

---. E-mail interviews. Sept.-Oct., 2004.

Smith, Mary. Telephone and E-Mail interviews. Sept./Oct., 2004.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Sorelle, Eugene. "An Old Fashioned Garden and What Grows in It." *Indoors and Out.* Mar. 1907: 278-80.

Spain, Daphne. Gendered Spaces. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Stephan, Sharon Paiva. *One Woman's Work: The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 2001.

Stuart, David. Gardening with Heirloom Plants. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest Assoc., 1997.

Tabor, Grace. Old-fashioned Gardening; A History and a Reconstruction. New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1913.

Tankard, Judith. "An Impressionist's Garden: Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." Labyrinth 2 (1992): 8-9.

Taylor, Geoffrey. The Victorian Flower Garden. Essex: Anchor Press, 1952.

Thaxter, Celia. Among the Isles of Shoals. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1897.

---. *An Island Garden*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1894, 1988. (facsimile reproduction with original Childe Hassam watercolor illustrations.)

---. Letters of Celia Thaxter Edited by Her Friends A.F. (Annie Fields) and R.L. (Rose Lamb). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895.

Thaxter, Rosamond. Sandpiper: The Life and Letters of Celia Thaxter. Hampton, NH: Peter E. Randall Publ., 1999.

---. "My Grandmother's Garden on the Isles of Shoals." New Hampshire Profiles. April, 1989: 48ff.

Thomas, H.H. Everybody's Flower Garden. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1916.

Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America, 1830-1910. Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1984.

Todisco, Patrice. "By Pen and Spade." Hortus: A Gardening Journal. Summer, 1990: 34-44.

Turner, R.G., Jr., and Ernie Wasson, eds. Botanica. New York: Random House Australia, 1997.

Vallier, Jane E. *Poet on Demand: The Life, Letters, and Works of Celia Thaxter.* Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1994.

Vick, James, ed. "Flowers and Flower-beds." Vick's Monthly Magazine. 1878, Feb.: 39-41.

"The Victorian Lady and Her Flowers;" American Heritage. Aug./Sep. 1978: 99-103.

Ward, Larry G., Raymond E. Grizzle, Frank L. Bub, Richard Langan, Gwynne Schnaittacher, and Jennifer A. Dijkstra. *Site Description and Environmental Monitoring Report, Open Aquaculture Program, University of New Hampshire*. 2001.

http://www.ooa.unh.edu/environmental/technical report/chapter 4.html>

Westbrook, Perry D. "Celia Thaxter, Seeker of the Unattainable." *Colby College Quarterly* 6 (1964): 500-12.

Wheeler, Candace. Content in a Garden." New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1902.

White, Barbara A. "Legacy Profile: Celia Thaxter (1835-1894)." Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers 7 (1990): 1.

Williams, H.T. "Climbing Plants as Helps to Home Adornment." *The Gardener's Monthly*. Dec. 1870: 361-65.

2004 Varieties Listing for Celia Thaxter's Garden Restoration. Appledore Island, ME: Shoals Marine Laboratory, 2004. (Copied with permission from the staff of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, Sept., 2004)

Tessa Izenour

(Completed, Fall 2004)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

"Celia Thaxter's Island Garden: A 19th Century Flower Garden and its Historic Restoration"

Adams, Denise Wiles. Restoring American Gardens: An Encyclopedia of Heirloom Ornamental Plants: 1640-1940. Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2004.

Arber, Edward, ed. Travels and Works of Captain John Smith. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910.

Bailey, Liberty Hyde, ed. How to Make a Flower Garden. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1903.

Bardwell, John D. *The Isles of Shoals: A Visual History*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter Randall Publisher, 1989.

Barlow, Marilyn. "In Search of Antique Annuals," *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens.* 48 (1992): 25-29.

Beecher, Catherine E & Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The American Woman's Home: or, Principles of Domestic Science; Being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful, and Christian Homes.* New York: Arno Press, 1971 (reprint of the 1855 edition).

Blanchan, Neltje. The American Flower Garden. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

Boden, Gary T. *The Vascular Flora of Appledore Island*. Ithaca, NY: Shoals Marine Laboratory at Cornell University, 1979.

Boris, Eileen. Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, ca. 1986.

Breck, Joseph. New Book of Flowers. New York: Orange Judd & Co., 1866.

Burke, Doreen Bulger. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

"Celia Thaxter's Grave and Garden." Literary World. 19 Aug. 1899: 265.

Chisholm, Virginia. "Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." *Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens*, 46.1 (1990): 62-67.

Clayton, V.T. "Reminiscence and Revival, The Old-Fashioned Garden 1890-1910. *Antiques*. April 1990: 892-905.

Clayton-Payne, Andrew. Victorian Flower Gardens. London: Seven Dials, Cassell & Co., 2000.

Colby, Fred M. "The Gardens of Our Grandmothers." The Ladies' Floral Cabinet. July 1884: 222-23.

Curry, David Park. Childe Hassam: An Island Garden Revisited. New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1990.

Davies, Jennifer. The Victorian Flower Garden. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.

Dietz, Paula. "A Cultivated Coast; Between Meadow and Water, Beth Straus's Garden Continues a Maine Tradition." *House & Garden*. Sept 1991: 126-131.

Downing, Andrew Jackson. A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences." New York: Orange Judd Agricultural Book Publisher, 1865.

---. Cottage Residences, Rural Architecture & Landscape Gardening. 1842. Watkins Glen, N.Y.: Library of Victorian Culture, 1967.

---. "On the Drapery of Cottages and Gardens." The Horticulturist. Aug. 1849: 353-59.

Dunhill, Priscilla. "Poet Celia Thaxter: An Island Gardener." Victoria. July 1990: 32-39.

Earle, Alice Morse. Old Time Gardens, Newly Set Forth: A Book of the Sweet O'the Year. New York: Macmillan, 1928 (ca. 1901).

Elliot, Charles. "Field Notes: Lost Gardens," Horticulture. Jan. 1989: 22-25.

Emmet, Alan. So Fine A Prospect: Historic New England Gardens. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996.

Farr, Judith & Louise Carter. *The Gardens of Emily Dickinson*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Favretti, Rudy & Joy. For Every House a Garden: A Guide for Reproducing Period Gardens. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990.

---. Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings. Second Edition, Revised: A Handbook for Reproducing and Creating Authentic Landscape Settings. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1997.

Faxon, Susan C. A Stern and Lovely Scene: A Visual History of the Isles of Shoals. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Art Galleries, 1978.

Fell, Derek. The Impressionist Garden. New York: Carol Southern Books, 1994.

Forsell, Mary. "The Victorian Legacy," Plants & Gardens, Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record: American Cottage Gardens. 48 (1992): 6-11.

Gardner, JoAnn. "In Grandmother's Garden." Old-House Journal. Oct. 2000: 49-53.

Genders, Roy. The Cottage Garden and the Old-Fashioned Flowers. London: Pelham Books, 1969.

Gerdts, William H. *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art.* Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1983.

Gibson, Robin. "Inside a Nineteenth Century Salon and Garden: Celia Thaxter and Childe Hassam." Winston-Salem, NC: Reynolda House Museum of American Art. 1994.

Griswold, Mac & Eleanor Weller. *The Golden Age of American Gardens: Proud Owners, Private Estates* 1890-1940. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991.

Hill, May Brawley. Grandmother's Garden: The Old-Fashioned American Garden 1865-1915. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995.

Hoopes, Josiah. "How to Plant a Rural Home." The Horticulturist. June 1872: 164-7.

Hottes, Alfred C. A Little Book of Annuals. New York: A.T. DeLaMare Co., 1925.

Howard, Richard A. Flowers of Star Island, The Isles of Shoals. Jamaica Plain, MA: Arnold Arboretum, 1968.

Jacobs, Katherine L. "Celia Thaxter and Her Island Garden." Landscape 24 (1980): 12-17.

Johnson, Mrs. S.O. Every Woman her Own Flower Gardener: A Handy Manual of Flower Gardening for Ladies, 7th ed. New York: Ralph H. Waggoner, 1889.

Keeler, Harriet L. Our Garden Flowers. New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1910.

Kent, Crystal Ward. "The Restoration of an Island Garden." *Accent on Home & Garden*. July/August 2004: 62-72.

Kingsbury, Dr. John. Foreward. An Island Garden. By Celia Thaxter. 1894. Ithica, NY: Bullbrier Press, 1985.

---. E-mail interview. Sept. 2004.

---. Here's How We'll Do It: An Informal History of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, Appledore Island, Isles of Shoals, Maine. Ithica, NY: Bullbrier Press, 1991.

Lacy, Allen. "Celia Thaxter and Louise Beebe Wilder: Romanticism in the Garden" *The Gardener's Eye and Other Essays*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1992.

Leighton. Ann. American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century: "For Comfort and Affluence." Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Long, Elias. Ornamental Gardening for Americans. New York: Orange Judd, 1893.

Loudon, Mrs. Jane. Gardening for Ladies, and, Companion to the Flower Garden. New York: John Wiley, 1862.

---. The Ladies' Flower Garden of Ornamental Annuals. 2nd Edition. London: W.S. Orr, 1849.

Mandel, Norma H. Beyond the Garden Gate: The Life of Celia Laighton Thaxter. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2004.

Marranca, Bonnie, ed. American Garden Writing. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Martin, Tovah. Victoria: Moments in a Garden. New York: The Heart Corp., 1991.

May, Stephen. "An Island Garden, A Poet's Passion, A Painter's Muse," Smithsonian. 21 Dec. 1990: 68-76.

McGuire, Diane Kostial, ed. American Garden Design: An Anthology of Ideas That Shaped Our Landscape. New York: MacWilliam, 1994.

Moberly, Susan O. "The Bed of Annuals." The Mayflower. April 1899: 172.

Nagel, Gwen L. "Sarah Orne Jewett's New England Gardens." Colby Literary Quarterly 22 (1986): 43-62.

Nevins, Deborah. "Poet's Garden, Painter's Eye." House & Garden. August 1984: 93ff.

---. "The Triumph of Flora: Women and the American Landscape, 1890-1935." *The Magazine Antiques*. April 1985: 904-19.

Newcomb, Peggy Cornett. *Popular Annuals of Eastern North America: 1865-1914.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985.

Norcross, Marjorie R. "Cataloging America's Cultural Roots." Cornell Plantations. 47.1 (1992): 15-22.

Norwood, Vera. *Made From This Earth: American Women and Nature*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

"Old-fashioned Flowers." Vick's Monthly Magazine. Dec. 1882: 360-2.

Older, Julia, ed. Celia Thaxter: Selected Writings. Hancock, New Hampshire: Appledore Books, 1997.

---. The Island Queen. Hancock, NH: Appledore Books, 1994.

"An Ornamented Cottage". New England Farmer. May 1856: 224-5.

Otis, Denise. *Grounds for Pleasure: Four Centuries of the American Garden.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2002.

Packard, Wilnthrop. Literary Pilgrimages of a Naturalist. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1911.

Parker, Constance. "The Garden of Forgotten Flowers." Good Housekeeping. April 1907: 390-96.

Piscataqua Garden Club. Gardening from the Merrimack to the Kennebec. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1978.

Plan of the Garden and List of Flowers. Appledore Island, ME: Shoals Marine Laboratory, 2004.

Rand, Edward S. Popular Flowers and How to Cultivate Them. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1876.

Rayfield, Susan. "Blossoms by a Summer Sea," Americana. May/June 1990: 28-34.

Reed, Helen Leah. "Celia Thaxter and Her Island Home." New England Magazine. Nov. 1893: 208.

Robarge, Christopher. E-mail interview. Sept./Oct., 2004

Robbins, Ellen. "Reminiscences of a Flower Painter." New England Magazine. July 1896: 532.

Sargent, Charles Sprague. "Old-Fashioned Gardens." Garden and Forest. July 1895: 281-82.

Schenker, Heath M. & Ouellete, Suzanne C. "The Garden As Women's Place: Celia Thaxter and Mariana van Rensselaer." *Proceedings of the 'Gendered Landscapes; An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Past Place and Space' Conference.* State College, PA.: Pennsylvania State University, 2000.

Scott, Frank J. The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent. New York: John B. Alden, 1886.

Shurtleff, Arthur A. "Some Old New England Flower Gardens." New England Magazine. 21 Dec. 1899: 422-24.

Sitwell, Sacheverell. Old Fashioned Flowers. London: Country Life Limited, 1939.

Smith, Joanna M. (nee Kingsbury). "Restoring a Flower Garden of 1893", or "The Identity and Source of Plants Celia Thaxter Grew in Her Garden." Honors paper, Colgate University, 1979.

---. E-mail interviews. Sept.-Oct., 2004.

Smith, Mary. Telephone and E-Mail interviews. Sept./Oct., 2004.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Sorelle, Eugene. "An Old Fashioned Garden and What Grows in It." *Indoors and Out.* Mar. 1907: 278-80.

Spain, Daphne. Gendered Spaces. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Stephan, Sharon Paiva. *One Woman's Work: The Visual Art of Celia Laighton Thaxter*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 2001.

Stuart, David. Gardening with Heirloom Plants. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest Assoc., 1997.

Tabor, Grace. Old-fashioned Gardening: A History and a Reconstruction. New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1913.

Tankard, Judith. "An Impressionist's Garden: Celia Thaxter's Island Garden." Labyrinth 2 (1992): 8-9.

Taylor, Geoffrey. The Victorian Flower Garden. Essex: Anchor Press, 1952.

Thaxter, Celia. Among the Isles of Shoals. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1897.

---. *An Island Garden*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1894, 1988. (facsimile reproduction with original Childe Hassam watercolor illustrations.)

---. Letters of Celia Thaxter Edited by Her Friends A.F. (Annie Fields) and R.L. (Rose Lamb). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895.

Thaxter, Rosamond. Sandpiper: The Life and Letters of Celia Thaxter. Hampton, NH: Peter E. Randall Publ., 1999.

---. "My Grandmother's Garden on the Isles of Shoals." New Hampshire Profiles. April, 1989: 48ff.

Thomas, H.H. Everybody's Flower Garden. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1916.

Tice, Patricia M. Gardening in America, 1830-1910. Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1984.

Todisco, Patrice. "By Pen and Spade." Hortus: A Gardening Journal. Summer, 1990: 34-44.

Turner, R.G., Jr., and Ernie Wasson, eds. Botanica. New York: Random House Australia, 1997.

Vallier, Jane E. Poet on Demand: The Life, Letters, and Works of Celia Thaxter. Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1994.

Vick, James, ed. "Flowers and Flower-beds." Vick's Monthly Magazine. 1878, Feb.: 39-41.

"The Victorian Lady and Her Flowers;" American Heritage. Aug./Sep. 1978: 99-103.

Ward, Larry G., Raymond E. Grizzle, Frank L. Bub, Richard Langan, Gwynne Schnaittacher, and Jennifer A. Dijkstra. *Site Description and Environmental Monitoring Report, Open Aquaculture Program, University of New Hampshire.* 2001.

http://www.ooa.unh.edu/environmental/technical report/chapter 4.html>

Westbrook, Perry D. "Celia Thaxter, Seeker of the Unattainable." *Colby College Quarterly* 6 (1964): 500-12.

Wheeler, Candace. Content in a Garden." New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1902.

White, Barbara A. "Legacy Profile: Celia Thaxter (1835-1894)." Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers 7 (1990): 1.

Williams, H.T. "Climbing Plants as Helps to Home Adornment." *The Gardener's Monthly*. Dec. 1870: 361-65.

2004 Varieties Listing for Celia Thaxter's Garden Restoration. Appledore Island, ME: Shoals Marine Laboratory, 2004. (Copied with permission from the staff of the Shoals Marine Laboratory, Sept., 2004)