

THE AMERICAN GARDEN AT POWDERHAM:  
“DELIGHTFUL RETREAT IN THE PLANTATION”

Rebecca Wilkinson Flemer

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2018

---

Advisor  
Laura C. Keim  
Lecturer in Historic Preservation

---

Program Chair  
Frank G. Matero  
Professor

## DEDICATION

To my delightful children, Ana and Jeffrey.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to my advisor and thesis-pist Laura C. Keim, who encouraged and believed in me all along. Her insight and steady stream of edits made this thesis possible.

Thanks to Randy Mason who suggested the garden for my thesis and knew I would be as entranced with it as he was.

Daniel Maudlin, James Daybell, Charlie Courtenay, Diana Walters, Felicity Harper, Simon Bonvoisin, John Dixon Hunt, Mark Laird, Joel Fry, Aaron Wunsch, Stephen Hague, and Marion Harney provided archival material, recent research, and thematic insight for Powderham, Georgian society, and American Gardens.

I cannot possibly thank them enough for their time and enthusiasm.

Thanks to Starr Herr-Cardillo and Becky Yousaf for the fabulous photographs.

And special thanks to John Giganti who cheered me up and cheered me on along the way.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>HISTORY AND SETTING OF POWDERHAM CASTLE .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VISCOUNTS.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>THE POWDERHAM SCANDAL.....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>A BALL FOR KITTY.....</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>AN AMERICAN CONNECTION.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>THE MUSIC ROOM.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<b>EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE HISTORY AND DESIGN .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>THE POWDERHAM CIRCUIT .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>THE LANDSCAPE AND THE GEORGIAN MIND .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>INHABITING THE LANDSCAPE .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>A GUIDED TOUR OF THE GARDEN .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>COADE STONE STATUES: MUSES AND TEMPLES .....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>THE MISSING TEMPLE .....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>PLANTINGS GUIDE THE VISITOR.....</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>NURSERYMEN AND CONNECTIONS TO AMERICAN PLANTS .....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>LABORERS AND BOTANIC GARDENERS IN THE GARDEN.....</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>THE PAVILION.....</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>COMPARISONS WITH OTHER “AMERICAN GROUNDS” .....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>KITTY THE PLANT COLLECTOR.....</i>	<i>90</i>
<i>WHERE ARE THE AMERICAN PLANTS? .....</i>	<i>97</i>

<b>INTERPRETATIVE THEMES: NEW TOURS AND PROGRAMS .....</b>	<b>101</b>
<i>LANDSCAPE AS RETREAT .....</i>	<i>102</i>
<i>THE FRAGRANT LANDSCAPE .....</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>KITTY COURTENAY – HORTICULTURIST .....</i>	<i>104</i>
<i>RECREATING EPHEMERAL FEATURES .....</i>	<i>105</i>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>INDEX .....</b>	<b>117</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1</b> Powderham Castle. Google Maps 2018.....	5
<b>Figure 2</b> Powderham and the Exe estuary .....	6
<b>Figure 3</b> Powderham Park near Kenton. Bing Maps 2018 .....	6
<b>Figure 4</b> Sir William Courtenay, 2nd Viscount with his wife, Francis Clark.....	12
<b>Figure 5</b> Portrait of Kitty by George Romney c.1782. The Nemours Foundation,.....	12
<b>Figure 6</b> William "Kitty" Courtenay (1768-1835) by Richard Cosway. Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. ....	13
<b>Figure 7</b> 3rd Viscount William "Kitty" Courtenay, by Devon born artist Richard Cosway, painter to the Prince Regent. Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide.....	14
<b>Figure 8</b> William Beckford by George Romney. ....	15
<b>Figure 9</b> The Music Room Photo, Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide .....	16
<b>Figure 10</b> View from the top of the Belvedere. Photo R. Flemer .....	24
<b>Figure 11</b> Belvedere built by the 2nd Viscount 1771-1774.....	24
<b>Figure 12</b> "Engagement Portrait" of Sophia, Louisa and Matilda Courtenay by Richard Cosway, Photo Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide.....	29
<b>Figure 13</b> Powderham's hillside grotto. Photo Laura C. Keim.....	29
<b>Figure 14</b> Sir John Shaw and his Family in the Park at Eltham Lodge, Kent. The Art Institute of Chicago .....	35
<b>Figure 15</b> White pillar gates at eastern side of garden. Photo Laura C. Keim 2017....	38
<b>Figure 16</b> Close up of 1839 Tithe map Powderham Castle Archive.....	38
<b>Figure 17</b> Carriage way following Stream. Photo Starr Herr-Cardillo .....	39
<b>Figure 18</b> 1836 Map of the American Garden. Devon Heritage Centre.....	39
<b>Figure 19</b> Powderham's Tithe map from 1839.....	40
<b>Figure 20</b> Mill Stream. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf.....	40
<b>Figure 21</b> Coade and Sealy statue of Flora 1808. Photo Laura C. Keim .....	44
<b>Figure 22</b> Clio Photo Laura C. Keim.....	44
<b>Figure 23</b> Photo of Coade Stone statues, 1933. Powderham Archive.....	45
<b>Figure 24</b> Heveningham Hall Orangery. Photo Ian DuFour .....	45
<b>Figure 25</b> The 1839 Tithe map at Powderham Castle. Powderham Archive. ....	49
<b>Figure 26</b> Approximate Temple location. Photo Laura C. Keim.....	49
<b>Figure 27</b> Humphry Repton's illustration of a greenhouse. ....	50
<b>Figure 28</b> 1906 Ordnance Survey map. National Library of Scotland.....	50

<b>Figure 29</b> A temple form in the Richard Cosway 1797 painting of Lucy, Harriet, and Caroline Courtenay.....	51
<b>Figure 30</b> Thickly growing European linden, <i>Tilia cordata</i> . Photo Laura C. Keim. ....	54
<b>Figure 31</b> <i>Tilia</i> clump in winter. Photo Rebecca Flemer.....	54
<b>Figure 32</b> <i>Rhododendron</i> . Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf. ....	55
<b>Figure 33</b> Brick gothic pavilion. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf. ....	55
<b>Figure 34</b> The varied prospect from the pavilion. Photo R. Flemer.....	56
<b>Figure 35</b> Douglas fir. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf .....	57
<b>Figure 36</b> John Kennedy (1759-1843) E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens. ....	64
<b>Figure 37</b> James Lee (1715-1795) E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens. ....	65
<b>Figure 38</b> Entry for Lee and Kennedy Nursery (otherwise known as the Vineyard Nursery). DRO L1508M/AC/19 .....	65
<b>Figure 39</b> The Kensington Nursery. E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens. ...	66
<b>Figure 40</b> Entries found in the Account books at the Devon Heritage Centre. DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19 .....	72
<b>Figure 41</b> Markham's Farewel to Husbandry, 1676. ....	72
<b>Figure 42</b> Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Estate. Artist: Paul Sandby, 1769. Lewis Walpole Library. ....	73
<b>Figure 43</b> Men using Scythes at Hartwell House. Artist: Balthasar Nebot, 1738. Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society.....	73
<b>Figure 44</b> Tree covered bank in back of pavilion. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf....	74
<b>Figure 45</b> The tripartite gothic brick pavilion. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf.....	78
<b>Figure 46</b> Fireplace in the Pavilion. Photo R. Flemer .....	78
<b>Figure 47</b> Fine mullions and iron eyes visible on Pavilion. Photo R. Flemer. ....	79
<b>Figure 48</b> 1787 map of Powderham glebe. DHC 1508 O E Map .....	79
<b>Figure 49</b> The back of the pavilion. Photo R. Flemer .....	80
<b>Figure 50</b> The Chapple family worked in the basement at Powderham Castle. Photo Laura C. Keim.....	80
<b>Figure 51</b> Rutter's Delineations of Fonthill Abbey .....	86
<b>Figure 52</b> <i>Magnolia grandiflora</i> , by Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708-70); 1743. V and A Collections Museum Number D.583-1886.....	87
<b>Figure 53</b> Lewis Kennedy's American Garden designed for Trent Park in 1815. Morton Arboretum.....	88
<b>Figure 54</b> The serpentine walk at Painshill. Photo R. Flemer.....	88
<b>Figure 55</b> Bald cypress planted at Painshill. Photo R. Flemer.....	89

<b>Figure 56</b> 1839 Tithe map showing pavilion and shed or greenhouse .....	95
<b>Figure 57</b> A Conservatory built for Lord Viscount. Tod, <i>Plans, elevations and sections, of hot-houses</i> , 1806 .....	95
<b>Figure 58</b> <i>Malpighia crassifolia</i> , or nance fruit, growing at Powderham. Andrews, <i>Repository of Rare Plants, 1797-1814</i> . ....	96
<b>Figure 59</b> Sweet chestnuts Photo R. Flemer. ....	100
<b>Figure 60</b> The Turkish Tent at Painshill Park. Photo Flickr .....	107

## INTRODUCTION

Preservation and analysis of gardens is a vexing yet enormously rewarding pursuit. The study of historic gardens is burdened with recording ephemeral plantings, which are, after all, living things – they grow, die, are replaced, cut down, mown over, and subject to the whims of fashion. Complementing the plants' transient nature, structures are temporary; animals and insects invade, and gardens compete with other estate concerns for attention. The reworking and rebuilding of landscapes is a dynamic process, an evolving palimpsest reflecting change over time. Despite the challenges gardens present, they hold deep meaning in western society. According to Judeo-Christian tradition, life began in the Garden of Eden. Gardens lift the human spirit and satisfy a primal need to connect with nature. Studying a historic garden feeds our thirst for knowledge about the past and satisfies our souls.

This paper will explore the history of the American Garden at Powderham in Devon, England. The seven-acre space was created, abandoned, and replanted over the course of over two-hundred years yet manages to convey remarkable integrity and sense of place. In the process of discovering who created the garden, this study aims to bring a deeper understanding of how and why American gardens, and Powderham's in particular, were constructed in the late Georgian period.

Because the Powderham American Garden has changed significantly over the past 200 years, the garden is not as it appeared in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Developing a site analysis based on historic maps, household invoices and inventories, correspondence, diaries and accounts of family members and visitors, artwork, books at Powderham, and treatises of contemporary horticulturists generates

context for understanding the garden's likely historic appearance and use. Other British eighteenth-century American gardens offer comparables for Powderham's garden. This evolving contextualized understanding elucidates the garden's meaning and leads to ideas about its interpretation and presentation to a visiting public today.

This paper will describe Powderham's landscape, particularly the American Garden, in detail, as if the reader were a visitor moving through its spaces. The Georgian garden was designed for movement – meant to be experienced in motion and sequence. As the narration progresses through the garden, this paper will explore the structures, plants, views, spatial organization, and circulation in order to address the central question of this thesis: Who and what forces created the American Garden, and how does the garden convey a broader understanding of and relationship to culture and society in the late Georgian era?

The beginning of this paper will discuss the history and setting of Powderham castle. A brief family history will follow paying particular attention to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount, William Courtenay (1768-1835) who created the American Garden. The next section will discuss the English landscape garden in the Georgian era to give historical context to the landscape at Powderham. An in-depth analysis of the American Garden at Powderham follows with suggestions for new interpretation and visitor experience. Finally, the conclusion offers ideas for future studies and considers the garden's past, present, and future.

This study will focus on the period when Powderham's American Garden was installed, roughly 1793-1803. By the late Georgian period, America and its plant material conveyed a different meaning for English landowners than it had earlier in the eighteenth



century. While mid-eighteenth-century installations may have eluded to the colonial power held by Britain at that time, later installations were more attuned to the perceived wildness of the continent and are tied the romantic movement at the dawn of the industrial revolution. All the while, a mania for plant collecting captured the attention of British gardeners. Powderham's American Garden, functioned as a romantic retreat and showpiece of horticultural acumen. The garden offers insight into the Courtenay family's place in society at the turn of the nineteenth century and Powderham's significance in the Devon landscape.

## HISTORY AND SETTING OF POWDERHAM CASTLE

Powderham castle sits above the estuary of the river Exe about three miles from the sea. It commands a view of the estuary, almost a mile wide, and the river Kenn which runs through the estate grounds. The Exe estuary has served as a trading river since before Roman times.<sup>1</sup> Powderham's holdings consist of over 3,500 acres with a deer park and extensive grounds, including gardens, woodland and pastures.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the castle, there are also stables, sawmill, gatehouse, farm market, gamekeeper's house and bothy on the grounds (Figures 1,2,3).

The Courtenay family, the Earls of Devon, have occupied Powderham castle for over 600 years. The castle, a fortified manor house, has undergone numerous renovations and building campaigns. The core of the castle was built at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. By then the family had established themselves as landowners and influencers in Devon.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Gillham, "Vegetation of the Exe Estuary in Relation to Water Salinity," 739; Stillman et al., "Predicting Shorebird Mortality and Population Size under Different Regimes of Shellfishery Management," 857. The water on this section of the Exe is a transitional brackish type which supports a population of mussels and cockles along with co-dependent shore birds.

<sup>2</sup> French, *Powderham Castle, Gardens and Deer Park*, 4.

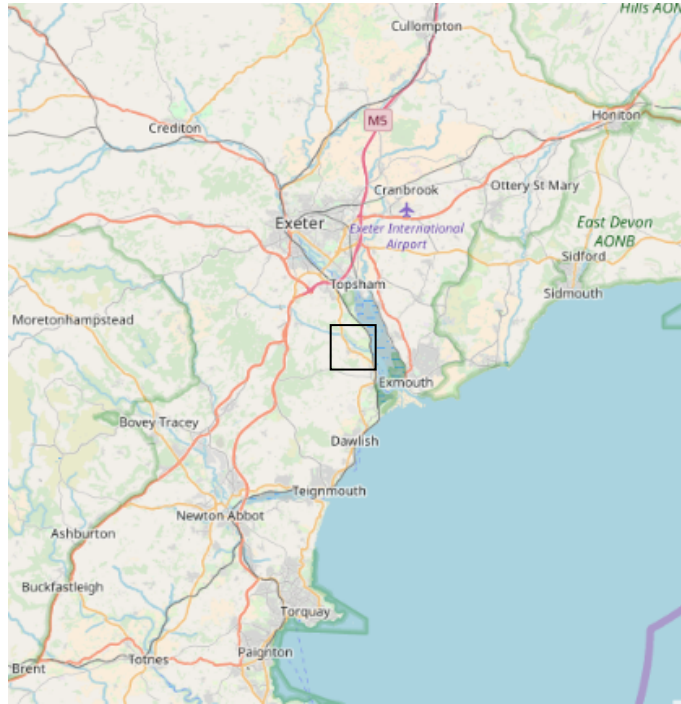
<sup>3</sup> Jones, "Devon's Historic Courtenay Family," *Devonshire Magazine*, February 2017, 22-29, <http://devonshiremagazine.co.uk/powderham-castle-courtenays-earls-of-devon/>; Girouard, "Powderham Castle, Devon-- I," *Country Life*, July 4, 1963, 18-21, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1542708231/> Margaret de Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I married Hugh Courtenay and with her dowry, came Powderham. The manor was gifted to her sixth son, Phillip Courtenay. Phillip constructed the medieval core of the castle. His son, Richard was close to Henry V and became keeper of the King's purse. The family fought on both sides in the War of the Roses. The Courtenays of Tiverton, the main branch of the family, fought the cadet branch of Powderham in Exeter in 1452 in the last private battle on English soil. The Tiverton branch prevailed and the Powderham branch retreated to their castle and sued for peace after a long siege, the attack of the Bonvilles in 1455. During the sixteenth century Henry Courtenay was named Marquess of Exeter. He was first cousin of Henry VIII and so aligned with the Tudor monarchy. The Marquess was eventually imprisoned and beheaded for treason and his son Edward confined to the Tower of London at age 12. He befriended Henry VIII's daughter Mary I, who eventually became queen and released him. He was again sent to the Tower, then released and went into exile in Italy where he was allegedly poisoned and died – the line ending there. Fortunately, the cadet branch of Courtenays at Powderham continued, aligned to Royals in the civil war. The castle was besieged and fell to Parliamentary forces in 1646, left vacant and the family decamped to Forde House in Newton Abbot. Sir William Courtenay married Margaret Waller, daughter of a Parliamentary General Sir William Waller, putting the family in good graces with William of Orange. When the Stuart monarchy was restored, they welcomed



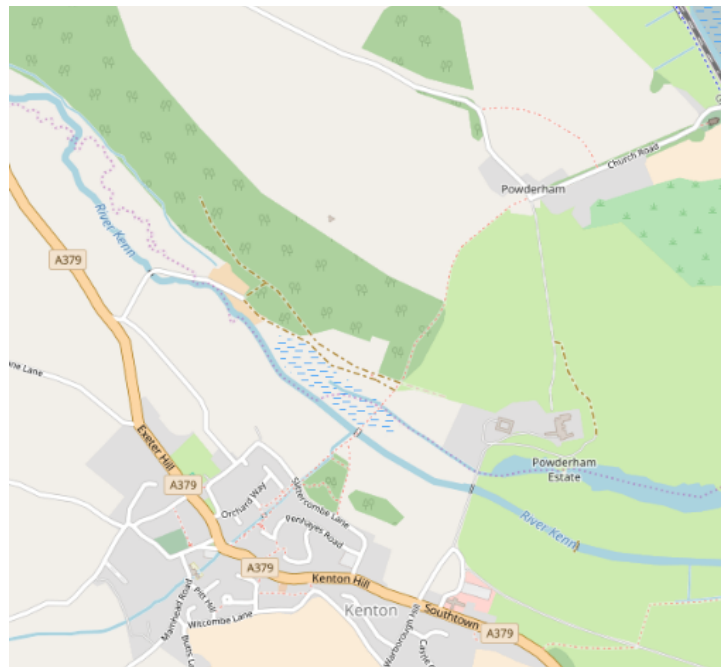
*Figure 1 Powderham Castle Located in Devon in Southwestern England. Google Maps 2018*

---

him at Forde House where he held his first Court on English soil. During the eighteenth century the family's holdings increased in Devon and Ireland.



*Figure 2 Powderham is located on the western wide of the brackish Exe Estuary.*



*Figure 3 Powderham Park near Kenton. The river Kenn running through the park Bing Maps 2018*

## THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VISCOUNTS

Sir William Courtenay (1709-1762), grandson of Sir William and Margaret, was named MP for Honiton and for Devon, Knight of the shire of Devon and named Viscount in 1762. He returned with his family to Powderham castle in the 1730s beginning a building and rebuilding campaign that continued through successive generations. His son, also William Courtenay (1742-1788), 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount, married Lady Francis Clack, and acceded at the same time as he married in 1762. They had 14 children including William Courtenay (1768-1735) 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount, whom everyone referred to as “Kitty”<sup>4</sup> (Figure 4). For the sake of clarity, and because the nickname provides evidence of his foppish character, this paper will refer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount as Kitty. His story is intertwined with that of the garden as the American Garden was created during his residence at Powderham. In 1810 he went into exile in America because of a scandal, finally living in France, where he died in 1735.

### THE POWDERHAM SCANDAL

Although it might appear salacious to include it, the scandal offers context and connections between people and places related to the garden. The “Powderham Scandal” as it is known, involved William Beckford (1760-1844), the wealthiest man in Britain.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Daughters included: Frances (1763-1782) Charlotte (1764-1844) Isabella (1765-1783) Elizabeth (1766-1815) Lucy (1770-1822) Harriet (1771-?) Eleanor (1772-1789) Ann (1774-?) Caroline Eustachia (1775-1851) Amelia (1777-1789) Matilda Jane (1778-?) Sophia (1780-?) Louisa Augusta (1781-1825) Harper, “2nd Viscount Study,” 1995, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ostergard et al., *William Beckford, 1760-1844*, 17–32. Beckford inherited a huge fortune when his father, known as “The Alderman” and Lord Mayor of London, died in 1770. He was only nine years old. The Alderman’s fortune stemmed from several sugar plantations in Jamaica with 2,000 slaves which Beckford never visited but which he continued to profit from his entire life. His mother, who he referred to as ‘The Begum,’ tried in vain to steer Beckford to a seat in Parliament. Beckford was obsessed with the occult, fostered by the tales told by his drawing tutor, Alexander Cozens. She sent him to Switzerland in 1777 with another tutor, Reverend John Lettice, but the unhealthy obsession continued. Mrs. Beckford called her son home to England and dispatched him on a tour of country seats in 1779.

(Figure 8). While visiting Powderham Castle with his tutor Reverend John Lettice in 1779, he became infatuated with William “Kitty” Courtenay, then only 11 years old. Beckford told his drawing instructor, Alexander Cozens, and others, of his infatuation and began exchanging letters with Kitty. Mrs. Beckford tried to steer her son away from danger, sending him on a continental tour with Lettice in the summer of 1780. But this distance only served to intensify his longing for Kitty. When he returned to England, the love affair began. The two met at Mrs. Beckford’s townhouse in London when she was not in residence. Beckford arranged for the artist George Romney to paint Kitty’s portrait. (Figure 5). Thirteen-year-old Kitty attended Beckford’s coming-of-age ball in 1781, signalling his parents’ acceptance that there was nothing inappropriate about their relationship. In 1782, Beckford began writing the novel, *Vathek*, a fantastical Gothic novel with characters loosely based on Beckford himself, his mother, and Kitty Courtenay.<sup>6</sup>

Beckford married Lady Margaret Gordon breaking Kitty’s Aunt Charlotte’s heart as she had fallen for Beckford. The couple honeymooned in Switzerland and appeared happily matched. They were presented at court, and Beckford became MP filling the seat his father had held at Wells. Margaret suffered a miscarriage and after a brief convalescence in Scotland, they visited Powderham. Lady Charlotte, Kitty’s aforementioned Aunt was there along with her husband Lord Loughborough, a sworn enemy of Beckford. Beckford and Kitty were caught in *flagrante delicto* by Beckford’s tutor, John Lettice, who heard noises in the night and peered through a keyhole. Under

---

<sup>6</sup> Douglas-Home, *Stately Passions*, 175–90.

pressure from his Uncle Lord Loughborough, Kitty turned over the swooning love letters Beckford sent to him whereby Lord Loughborough released them to the press. All hopes of peerage for Beckford vanished, and he exiled himself with his ill-fated wife who died two years later. Beckford lived in obscurity at Fonthill where he built the Gothic tower of his dreams only to have it repeatedly fall. The architect James Wyatt (1746-1813) designed Fonthill Abbey beginning in 1794, though he was not actively involved in the actual construction of this enormous folly.<sup>7</sup> Behind the walls surrounding his 6,000 acres, Beckford maintained a bevy of servants dressed in exotic costumes and continued an unseemly attraction to young boys.<sup>8</sup> He developed a varied landscape which is relevant to Powderham's American Garden and will be discussed below.

### A BALL FOR KITTY

Meanwhile, young Kitty Courtenay continued to display a homosexual predilection and never married. He inherited Powderham in 1788 before he came of age. His coming-of-age ball in 1790 was an extravaganza of great proportions with three pink and green silk tents to hold the hundreds of attendees. No expense was spared, with such delicacies as fresh peaches served to each guest. A full-length portrait of Kitty in his Van Dyke-style masquerade costume, hangs over the fireplace in the music room at Powderham (Figure 7). Though the scandal with Beckford may have tainted his reputation, he did not shy away from openly flaunting his refined and exuberant taste.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Built in a monastic style, it was inspired by Beckford's travels in Portugal and other Catholic countries where he became fascinated with the rituals of the "old religion." A.W.N. Pugin asserted that those who employed the Gothic style should have true ancient faith. Quoted in Ostergard et al., *William Beckford, 1760-1844*, 133.

<sup>8</sup> Ostergard et al., 16-30.

<sup>9</sup> Harper, "2nd Viscount Study," 1995.

## AN AMERICAN CONNECTION

In 1791, Kitty took American artist and later steamboat inventor Robert Fulton (1765-1815) under his wing. Fulton was studying painting in London when Kitty met him at American artist Benjamin West's atelier. Kitty invited him to Powderham where he stayed as a quasi-artist-in-residence for over three years. This residency is remarkable because Robert Fulton, who hailed from Pennsylvania, was soon to become one of the most famous men in America, inventing the steamboat in 1807 (or perhaps merely duplicating other inventors' designs). Magnetic and charming, Fulton strategically positioned himself to develop favourable contacts. At Powderham, canal building became his new obsession. This interest led to his involvement with "mechanical pursuits." Perhaps the compelling and determined Fulton became a companion to Kitty, though he wrote in a letter that his, "bachelor ideas still possess me."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Fulton's time at Powderham was in the "companion of menials" entertained by the steward.<sup>11</sup> Fulton never married and had no association with any women throughout his life.<sup>12</sup> Later, when Kitty went into exile in New York, Fulton, by then a successful entrepreneur, was one of the few people Kitty knew. "Every door was closed to him except that of Fulton," declared James Renwick, Fulton's nineteenth-century biographer.<sup>13</sup> This connection to Fulton is relevant because Kitty knew at least one American, and it so happens he lived at Powderham concurrent with the installation of the American Garden.

---

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Sale, *The Fire of His Genius*, 51.

<sup>11</sup> Sparks, *David Rittenhouse & Robert Fulton*, by James Renwick, 119.

<sup>12</sup> Sale, *The Fire of His Genius*, 50.

<sup>13</sup> Sparks, *David Rittenhouse & Robert Fulton*, by James Renwick, 120.



## THE MUSIC ROOM

Kitty's most monumental architectural project, the aforementioned music room, hints at another connection to William Beckford. Kitty retained James Wyatt to design the music room in the castle from 1794 to 1796. At this time, Wyatt was at the height of his career, designing in a refined neo-classical style. His years of training in Italy, from 1762-1768, informed his classical style, already by then widespread in England, as seen in the work of Robert and James Adam.<sup>14</sup> Wyatt's Powderham music room with its domed, coffered ceiling, Corinthian pilasters, and classical chimneypiece is a prime example of classical design. Both in its acoustics and its sophisticated decoration, the room was tailor-made for musical soirees of the finest order (Figure 9).

In the eighteenth century, Powderham castle went through several accretions, starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount's division of the medieval great hall, the addition of the libraries, the decoration of the stair hall by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount, and finally the music room by Kitty. Powderham's landscape also underwent alterations from a deer park with demesne to managed woodlots or plantations, garden buildings, features, and sequestered pleasure grounds.<sup>15</sup> This expanding complex and its associated Georgian circuit present a resonant example of the changes in the English landscape in the eighteenth century.

---

<sup>14</sup> Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 1175.

<sup>15</sup> Defined as "A block of land held directly by the lord" like domain. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 177.



*Figure 4 Sir William Courtenay, 2nd Viscount with his wife, Francis Clark and 12 of 14 children. William (Kitty) 5th child, looking up at his father. Painted 1779 by Rev. Matthew Peters. (A Study of Sir William Courtenay, 3rd Viscount. Felicity Harper, Archivist)*



*Figure 5 Christened "the most beautiful boy in Britain," William Beckford commissioned this portrait of Kitty by George Romney c.1782. The Nemours Foundation, Wilmington DE*



Figure 6 The 3rd Viscount, Later 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Devon William "Kitty" Courtenay (1768-1835) In his Van Dyke costume he wore for his coming-of-age Ball. Miniature watercolor on ivory 2.8" painted by Richard Cosway (1742-1821) in 1793 age 25. Collection of Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.





*Figure 7 3rd Viscount William "Kitty" Courtenay, by Devon born artist Richard Cosway, painter to the Prince Regent. Lord Courtenay is dressed in Van Dyke Masquerade attire for his coming-of-age ball. c. 1790. This portrait hangs above the fireplace in the Music Room at Powderham. Photo Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide.*



*Figure 8 William Beckford by George Romney. commissioned in 1781 for Beckford's coming-of-age.*





*Figure 9 Architect James Wyatt designed the Music Room under Kitty Courtenay's direction. Niches house marble urns. The roundels were painted by Kitty and his sisters. The coffered dome provides excellent acoustics for musical performances performed on the 1769 rococo organ. Photo, Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide*

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE HISTORY AND DESIGN

In former days when the family were in its glory, tho' to be sure their whole souls wrapped up in their garden, they used to go when breakfast was over in open carriages and stay all day, dining there, a band of music under the trees, dancing on the grass, acting plays.<sup>16</sup>

This 1827 reminiscence offers a picture of the Courtenay family and friends artfully interacting in the landscape. Historical context of the Powderham landscape and of Georgian landscaping practices are important for understanding the Powderham American Garden and the landscape as a whole. Two construction events led to an opening up of the landscape in the eighteenth century. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount introduced a three towered Belvedere on his hilltop overlooking the river Exe and a shell decorated grotto in the hillside. These features, stops in a traveling circuit in the landscape, informed Kitty's construction of the American Garden, or "Pleasure Garden", a further enhancement of the Powderham circuit. Analysis of these two eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century phases points to the Powderham landscape as an important venue for social interaction.

Georgian culture fostered a literal ground-breaking change in garden design, a move from formal, rectilinear, enclosed gardens of the Baroque, to a new expansive, naturalistic open way of creating framed views across visual expanses of an estate. Additionally, meaning of the designed landscape shifted as gardens transitioned from a formal rectilinear plan which demonstrated man's control over nature to an experience full of symbolism meant to evoke a response in the viewer. Designers guided garden visitors on journeys along pathways, through plantings, and included symbolic statuary

---

<sup>16</sup> "Letters to Mrs. Jane Grimston." East Riding of Yorkshire Council, 1823-1828

and buildings. These shifts in fashion will be important for the study of the Powderham American Garden and its role within the larger estate.

From 1714 to 1830, Georgian England experienced sweeping changes in government, science and the arts. Politicians, scholars, and designers sought to define true representation of “English-ness.” As the Whig party gained power and influence, beginning in the 1720s, they turned to Ancient Rome’s republican ideals as inspiration. As a result, Classical Palladian architectural forms espoused by Inigo Jones one hundred years earlier dominated design.<sup>17</sup> Grand Tours of Europe, especially Italy, influenced aristocratic style makers. Architects replicated the villas and gardens of Italy, to produce English buildings and landscapes in the newest revival of classical taste.

Counterpart changes in the landscape did not begin all at once, began with a new, naturalistic style were more concerned with turning a profit than starting a radical design movement. Stephen Switzer (1682–1745), the English landscape gardener cited the first to promote the *ferme ornée*,<sup>18</sup> turned away from the Baroque formality of French and Dutch gardens. Unlike his English predecessors, Switzer instead promoted a landscape of “grand simplicity.”<sup>19</sup> While his principle concerns surrounded profitable estate management, the resulting landscape was one of human engineered pastoral splendor.

Charles Bridgeman (1690–1738), formally trained as a plantsman, was the first English

---

<sup>17</sup> Jones and Kent, William, *The Designs of Inigo Jones, Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Public and Private Buildings*. William Kent (c. 1685 – 12 April 1748) published the folio featuring the designs of Inigo Jones in 1727, declaring, “his own works are his monument and best Panegyrick (sic); which together with those of Palladio, remain equal proofs of the superiority of those two Great Masters to all others.”

<sup>18</sup> Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden*, 129. The *ferme ornée* is described by Quest-Ritson: “The idea was to integrate farming activity with the life of a gentleman: his house, his garden, his artistic endeavours and the wider landscape.”

<sup>19</sup> Jacques, *Georgian Gardens*, 12.



designer to selectively open up the landscape, deliberately creating features that framed views and vistas. Credited with the invention of the Ha-Ha, a ditch to discourage livestock from grazing on the garden, Bridgeman opened the views from stately homes to open farmland and hills. His designs at Rousham and Stowe (later reworked by William Kent (c.1685-1748)) led to the rise of the picturesque landscape – an important development in English landscape design.

At Powderham's American Garden, elements of the *ferme ornée* were evident where the pastures and meadows were visible across the mill stream from the garden. The views remain today. The deer park, linked to landed gentry, offers additional views of a productive landscape, and can be seen in almost every direction from the castle.<sup>20</sup> From the Belvedere, the view to the river Exe includes fields of crops stretching out below. (Figure 10)

Though it originated in a visually aesthetic realm, the naturalistic landscape garden represented its creator's politics as well as taste. The Earl of Shaftsbury, a dedicated Whig, believed the republic of Rome offered a model for English society, with London to be viewed as the "new Rome."<sup>21</sup> He promoted a new national taste in arts which rejected the Baroque. Meanwhile, Stephen Switzer, collaborated with Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738) and John Vanburgh (1664-1726). They reworked Italian themes and strategies for planning the landscape on a grand scale.

Influential essayist and politician Joseph Addison (1672 –1719) discussed the 'wide fields of nature' in almost all his garden writing. He aligned with the Whigs by

---

<sup>20</sup> Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 190. The Deer Park at Powderham, as at other estates suggested a self-sufficient "live larder" and a luxury unavailable to most even especially in medieval times.

<sup>21</sup> Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, 182.

associating the power of the freeholder with land possession.<sup>22</sup> As David Jacques stated in his book *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature*, “A proficiency in matters of taste was a much-prized accomplishment of the nobility and gentry. Taste could be exercised only by individuals with excess wealth, and ornamental improvement was a luxury amidst widespread rural poverty.” The Courtenays announced their aristocratic status with their abundant and improved, ornamental agricultural acres.

Although research has not generated any associations with the well-known designers of the Georgian landscape garden for Powderham, the general theories and strategies of the times link to changes on the estate. By recognizing the alignment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount and Kitty with landscape trends, we see their intent to establish a tasteful and fashionable landscape. William Kent, Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (1716-1783), and Humphry Repton (1752-1818) are widely recognized for creating and extending the naturalistic English landscape throughout England and beyond.

The picturesque landscape was inspired by the painters Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), whose paintings in the previous century depicted the Italian countryside. These landscape paintings included the rolling hills, classical ruins and temples of ancient Italy. At Stowe, Buckinghamshire and Rousham, Oxfordshire in the 1720s and 1730s, William Kent designed an Italianate temple and peopled it with his ‘British Worthies’ – statues of the best politicians, poets, scientists and philosophers of England.<sup>23</sup> The Kentian landscape, which included statues and buildings

---

<sup>22</sup> Hunt, 185.

<sup>23</sup> Hunt, *William Kent*, 49. For Queen Caroline, wife of George II, he designed a Druidic ‘Merlin’s Cave.’ He incorporated wax figures of Elizabeth I, Elizabeth of York, Minerva and Merlin himself fostering the queen’s association to the crown. Merlin, according to the Whigs, had prophesied the Hanoverian reign and represented the mythical King Arthur who was associated with British liberty.

in recognizable and emblematic forms, celebrated British triumph.<sup>24</sup> After a decade of traveling in Italy training as a history painter, Kent grew familiar with the emblematic landscape. (His affinity for Italian design earned him the nickname Kentissimo!) By his works, he translated the Italian landscape into the English language; a resulting didactic landscape that “requires reading.”<sup>25</sup> Only those that could read it were well versed in the language of antiquity and could read the symbolism, perhaps having traveled on a Grand Tour of the continent. In his 1782 book, *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, Horace Walpole credited Kent with developing naturalistic garden design. Kent “leapt the fence and saw all nature was a garden.”<sup>26</sup> Although Walpole promoted the Gothic as the quintessential English architectural style, he also recognized Kent’s picturesque designs as expressions of good English taste. The gardens of ancient Rome were sympathetic to an English interpretation of nature. The framing of views and placement of paths, temples, follies, and statuary directed the visitor on a contemplative journey which inspired the visitor by its associative connotations. John Dixon Hunt describes these features as Prosopopoeia, a “device by which a poet or orator imagined something or someone in the landscape as speaking directly to a privileged visitor or passer-by.”<sup>27</sup> Winding paths led to bastions and belvederes, where visitors could admire expansive views. This was in contrast with the earlier Baroque *parterre* garden, which demonstrated man’s control over nature.

---

<sup>24</sup> Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 192.

<sup>25</sup> Hunt, 76.

<sup>26</sup> Walpole, *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*.

<sup>27</sup> Hunt, *A World of Gardens*, 229.

Presumably the English views were decidedly different than those in the Italian countryside. Nevertheless, the prospect impressed the observer by displaying the landowner's holdings. In effect, the archetypal naturalistic English landscape, was closely aligned with an Italian philosophy of purposely manipulating nature for the purpose of story-telling and message.

Although it was built later in 1774, The Powderham Belvedere aligns with Kentian tradition. Kent's use of temples and towers, like the Belvedere, hints at ancient ties to the English gentry and helps establish the historical context of Courtenay ancestry. The use of Gothic architectural form, as at the castle, suggests a link to the ancient lineage of the Courtenay family (Figure 11). From Powderham's Belvedere, fields of wheat and crops on view from the top of the hill offer a clear demonstration of the Courtenay family's broad 3,500-acre landholdings, successful agricultural pursuits (the *ferme ornée*) and dominance over the Exe estuary. In Georgian times, as today, this position was a clear indicator of the family's social and economic influence in Devon.

As the eighteenth century progressed, landscape designers continued in a naturalistic vein, claiming it the "true" English model of gardening. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783) created landscapes that were less emblematic and more expressive and picturesque.<sup>28</sup> (His nickname was derived from his favoring the "capabilities" of the natural landscape.) Brown punctuated estates with copses of trees to frame views, draw the eye, and hide the productive estate areas. Meandering rivers were actually lakes, reworked by herds of sheep, whose hooves compacted the ground redirecting the water

---

<sup>28</sup> Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 81.

into sinuous curves. Bridges, some real and some not, traversed the mock rivers. Brown abolished statuary and temples, with little attention to plants, but more to the prospect from, and of, the stately house. He brought the lawn, and not much else, to the walls of the house, which rose above the surrounding landscape. The outer limits of the estates were planted with belts of trees terminating the view. The effort resulted in landscape *parks*, as opposed to landscape *gardens*, which “helped to maintain elements of established hierarchy.”<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Williamson, “Gardens, Legitimation, and Resistance,” 10.



*Figure 10 View from the top of the Belvedere showing fields and Exe estuary. Photo R. Flemer*



*Figure 11 Belvedere built by the 2nd Viscount 1771-1774*

## THE POWDERHAM CIRCUIT

At Powderham, a Brownian-style landscape of the mid-eighteenth century, with paths and copses of tress, is evident in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount's circuit. Roads cut through the plantation conveyed visitors to various points of interest and spectacle. Not everyone was admitted to the landscape; however, those who did travel the roads of the estate were invited to admire this display of fashionable consumption.<sup>30</sup> The grotto, a place of awe, surprise, and terror, was one of these stops. Reverend Swete (1752-1821), a neighbor, painter and commentator on the landscape described the tasteful composition of the grotto in 1799:

'Under a hanging wood composed of an intermixture of firs and forest trees, hewn from the living rock, and separated from the Park by a high pale, is here to be seen a Grotto; not one of those damp subterranees, from whose dropping roof the pendulous Stalactites hangs, and over whose fretted floor the chrystalline rill gurgles: but a dry, cool Excavation, forming a delicious retreat from the Summer Sun. The shelly decorations intermingled with spar and moss, owe their arrangement to the taste of the fair Sisters of Lord Courtenay, by whose hands also have the Roses been planted, and the Woodbines trained which o'er canopy the entrance of the grot, and fill it with perfume.

This is indeed a spot of attraction and not unworthy the strain of some such Muse, as heretofore celebrated a Grotto composed by the united labours of nine Sisters than these perchance, not more fair, or ingenious? The situation of this Grot is at the commencement of a walk or drive, extending upwards of a mile round the Southern acclivity of the hill on whose elevate summit stands the Belvidere. This winds most charmingly, gradually ascending through some of the fine plantations of firs, and forest trees in the County whose beauty and luxuriance arrest every one's admiration.<sup>31</sup>

The "ingenious" decoration of the grotto cannot be seen in Richard Cosway's (1742-1821) 1805 painting of Sophia, Louisa and Matilda Courtenay, said to be an "engagement" painting.<sup>32</sup> Posed as three seated graces, framed by the grotto the women

---

<sup>30</sup> Williamson, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Swete, *Travels in Georgian Devon*.

<sup>32</sup> Harper, "2nd Viscount Study," 1995.

repose in their diaphanous Grecian style attire. The darkened mysterious entrance to the grotto offsets the sisters' ivory complexions and white billowing dresses though, disappointingly, no decorative shells are evident in the painting<sup>33</sup> (Figure 12). Cosway's painting depicts an impressive landscape in the left field away from the grotto. The polite landscape, with its fashionable tasteful features, reinforces the Courtenay sisters' social status.

The grotto is the best representation of a rococo feature in the landscape at Powderham. In fact, the word rococo is derived from *rocaille* or rock or pebblework and *coquille* or shell.<sup>34</sup> Though the staircase hall in the castle may be the foremost example of rococo at Powderham, the grotto also exemplifies this popular mid-eighteenth-century style. As seen in Cosway's painting, grottoes were associated with a feminine sexuality and romance (Figure 13).<sup>35</sup>

In the final quarter of the eighteenth century, Humphry Repton (1752-1818) brought together the various design theories and tied them to more closely to the houses and structures of his clients.<sup>36</sup> His ideas about "improvements" for his patrons' properties are evident at Powderham. Even though Repton is not associated with Powderham, understanding his influence on landscape design sheds light on the developments which came into play at the estate.

---

<sup>33</sup> Barnett, *Richard and Maria Cosway*, 151. "a notable feature of Cosway's portraiture was that he employed no drapery painter in his studio, as did Hudson, Reynolds and so many famous artists."

<sup>34</sup> Symes, *The English Rococo Garden*, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Fist sized niches still evident in the grotto walls may have held shells.

<sup>36</sup> Pregill and Volkman, *Landscapes in History*, 250.



Repton traversed England on its new improved roadways distributing his “Red Books.”<sup>37</sup> These before and after pop-up books demonstrated how landscape interventions could block unsightly views and frame favorable ones. Many of Repton’s clients belonged to a new social class of business and political power-brokers.<sup>38</sup> In 1793, during war with France, war taxes and reduced agriculture prices contracted land-based gentry income. Repton turned his attention to the newly rich industrial barons profiting from the war, who strove to be accepted in polite society. What better way for the new merchant class to demonstrate social worthiness than to exhibit good taste in villas and surrounding landscapes? Late Georgian designers emphasized ‘improvement’ of the landscape. For Repton, improving meant that gardens and pleasure grounds became more extensive and elaborate. Planting became more varied, dense, and luxuriant with an emphasis on structure and detail.<sup>39</sup> In his book, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Including Some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture* (1805), Repton wrote:

A large extent of ground without moving objects however neatly kept is but a melancholy scene. If solitude delight we seek it rather in the covert of a wood, or the sequestered alcove of a flower garden than in the open lawn of an extensive pleasure ground.

I have therefore frequently been the means of restoring acres of useless garden to the deer or sheep to which they more properly belong; this is now carrying on with admirable affect at Bulstrode, where the gardens of every kind are on a grand scale and were from the choice and variety of the plants, the direction of the walks, the enrichment of art, and the attention of every circumstance of elegance and magnificence the pleasure ground is perfect as a whole while its several parts may furnish models of the following different characters of taste in gardening: the ancient garden, the American Garden, the modern Terrace walks, and the flower garden.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Repton’s “Red Books” were folios with red morocco leather covers.

<sup>38</sup> Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Williamson, “Gardens, Legitimation, and Resistance,” 13.

<sup>40</sup> Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 101.

Furthermore, Repton promoted Gothic style as “more consonant to the Antiquity of the Family and the extent of property annexed.” (quoted in Rogger) The Gothic style, which is widespread over several building campaigns at Powderham Castle, reinforces the antiquity of the Courtenay lineage. The Powderham landscape became more segmented with the installation of the American Garden, aligning with the Reptonian construct of discreet spaces exhibiting types of themed gardens.



*Figure 12 "Engagement Portrait" of Sophia, Louisa and Matilda Courtenay by Richard Cosway, 1805 hangs in the Second Library at Powderham Castle. Transformed from a chapel by the 2nd Viscount in 1769. Photo Jarrold Publishing, Powderham Guide.*



*Figure 13 Powderham's hillside grotto. Kitty Courtenay's sisters decorated the grotto with shells in the late eighteenth century; indentations in the sides and rear walls likely represent impressions from the shells. Bits of tuffa remain at the edges of the grotto opening. Photo Laura C. Keim.*

## THE LANDSCAPE AND THE GEORGIAN MIND

As the power of the church waned in the eighteenth century, the rise of enlightenment ushered in a new subject of reverence: nature. Poets and painters explored man's emotional response to nature. These responses ushered in a new approach to the landscape, especially in England.<sup>41</sup> Edmund Burke wrote about the emotions brought on while experiencing the landscape in his treatise, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste, and Several Other Additions*. He explained, "The beautiful in feeling corresponds wonderfully with what causes the same species of pleasure to the sight. There is a chain in all our sensations; they are all but different sorts of feelings, calculated to be affected after the same manner."<sup>42</sup> As for the sublime, "The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, then those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul in which all its motions are suspended with some degree of horror."<sup>43</sup> Soft lines and curves were linked with the beautiful while angular shapes and rocky forms with the sublime. Both were meant to stir the imagination with their associations. In the landscape, generally this meant the rounded shapes of many deciduous trees such as oaks and maples were beautiful while conifers like larches and firs were considered sublime. "Coniferous trees became the vocabulary for translating the wild sublimity of mountainous scenery."<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Clark, *Civilisation*, 271.

<sup>42</sup> Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste, and Several Other Additions*, 182.

<sup>43</sup> Burke, 177.

<sup>44</sup> Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden*, 188.

Leaving aside philosophical debates about the landscape and the Georgian mind, how the gentry interacted with landscapes provides greater context for Powderham's landscape. Polite society required a polite landscape – as in the landscape was where much entertainment was done. Relatives and acquaintances, or even members of the public who bought tickets to gain entry visited Georgian gardens. Visiting Georgian estates and especially gardens became a tourist industry, akin to visiting a themed tourist park today.

## INHABITING THE LANDSCAPE

In 1805, one visitor to Powderham, Mrs. Price of Chester, recounted her disappointment at not gaining entry to the castle or the gardens:

When we got there, it was past 2 o'clock and the housekeeper came to us to the Chaise and told us she was extremely sorry to inform us that she could not let us see the house, as his Lordship had made a rule that no person should be let in after two o'clock; as he had altered his hour of dining.... I expressed great disappointment, and the housekeeper said she was much distressed to refuse us but that she really durst not act contrary to her orders. I then begged to drive to the front of the house and through the grounds, but that was also refused. I then requested to see the flower garden, having heard it spoke of as a very fine one, she said the gardener was then at this dinner but he would soon have done and then he would wait on us...we came away without seeing anything but the back part of the house and the drive up to it, which is beautiful with a bridge over the river Exe, which runs through his grounds and we also saw his Lordship cross the yard and he came past the carriage but he never turned his head to look at us, feeling conscious I suppose how illiberally he had treated us, and Mrs. Moore as I observed before is a very pretty elegant young woman and was extremely well dressed, as to myself I knew I had no claim to his notice but her youth and beauty I was in hopes would have operated in our favour if he had seen her. His Lordship has a good figure and was dressed in a green jacket, with a black velvet collar and nankeen pantaloons.<sup>45</sup>

This recollecting indicates several things about visitors to the gardens at Powderham in 1805. Not every person gained entry – only those with connections beyond a “very pretty elegant” companion. Perhaps Mrs. Price would have known of the ‘Powderham Scandal’ and Lord Courtenay’s sexual preference but chose to believe her pretty companion Mrs.(!) Moore may have tempted him to allow them access. In any event, the description of Kitty’s deep focus – not “turning his head” – jaunty green jacket and nankeen pantaloons paints a vivid picture of a fashionably dressed dandy perhaps pondering his collections.

---

<sup>45</sup> Nicholas Pearson Associates, “Powderham Restoration Plan for the American Garden,” 1995 quoted from “Diary of Mrs. Price of Chester,” Berkshire Record Office, 1805

Kate Felus' book, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, describes Georgian amusements in the new fashionable landscapes at country houses of the elite. Those close to the family often spent the entire day in the garden, traveling by carriage to a remote spot, picnicking and playing games, acting out plays and having tea. Carriages like the cabriolet were designed for sporty driving, often by women (Figure 14).<sup>46</sup> In fact, roadways were configured with these small carriages in mind. At Mount Edgcumbe in Plymouth, a "Zig-Zag" road was meant to be sped down at an alarming pace – a precursor to our modern-day roller coaster – not for the faint of heart.

One of the most widely read books of the period was Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening*, published in 1771. His writings explained how visitors were expected to react as they moved through English landscape gardens. On riding through a landscape (as opposed to walking), Whately remarked, "progress is the prevailing idea in a riding and the pleasantness of the way is, therefore, a principal consideration."<sup>47</sup> Powderham's circuitry took riders and carriages from the castle to the belvedere to the American Garden in a rough triangle. The carriageways at Powderham passed through a variety of landscape types, from wooded plantations to streamside track to lofty hilltop.

At Powderham, the Courtenay family actively recreated in their landscape. As mentioned before, they spent all day, acting plays, with bands of music. As seen in the painting of the sisters in the grotto, it offered a prized location with romantic associations. The American Garden, another stop on the landscape circuit, also played a role in the

---

<sup>46</sup> Felus, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden*, 35.

<sup>47</sup> Whately and Symes, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, 182.

quotidian life of the family. How can its surviving structure, documentary evidence, and knowledge of Georgian social norms help define and contextualize Courtenay family activities and the creators of the American Garden?

The Belvedere, built by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount, served his purpose, a marker announcing his important position in Devon, able to be seen from the surrounding area, a stage for the Viscount and his daughters, an exterior equivalent to the stair hall in the castle. In contrast, the American Garden was a private, sequestered space which served Kitty's purpose: a retreat from the castle and the scandal swirling around him. It also served as a romantic setting for his sisters, seven of whom were married around the time of the garden's installation. (Harriette in 1797, Lucy in 1798, Matilda in 1800, Sophia in 1804, Louisa in 1805, Caroline in 1812.)<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Harper, "2nd Viscount Study," 1995.





*Figure 14. This family is enjoying the landscape garden in various ways, such as reading and playing with the dog. An open carriage conveyed them this idyllic spot where a tent is ready for their repast. Arthur Devis, English; 1708/11-1787 Europe, United Kingdom, Great Britain, England. 1761. Sir John Shaw and his Family in the Park at Eltham Lodge, Kent. Place: The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Emily Crane Chadbourne, Chicago, Illinois.*

## A GUIDED TOUR OF THE GARDEN

The approach was an important element in the Georgian English landscape garden. As Whately explained:

At other times it may burst unexpectedly out upon them; not on account of the surprize [sic], which can have its effect only once; but the impressions are stronger by being sudden; and the contrast is enforced by the quickness of the transition.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, Powderham's American Garden surprises the visitor. Situated to the west of the castle, the approach follows the mill stream offering views of fields and the village of Kenton in the distance. A white pillared gate announces the entry to the garden (Figure 15). Now overgrown, a similar gate defines the exit from the garden on the western side. Like Whately's observations, the garden is a sudden contrast from the path along the stream and the wooded area that spreads uphill. Once inside the garden the visitor has a feeling of mystery, enclosure, and intimacy.

In 1882, *The Gardeners Chronicle* featured Powderham castle and its gardens. The article clearly describes the American Garden, at this time fully mature, and alludes to this element of surprise:

The entrance to the American garden out of the "Grotto Garden" is bounded by two fine hedges of Rhododendrons, most of them of great age and of grotesque form when examined beneath the surface. At the back of these hedges fine evergreen Oaks are planted at intervals, and a tributary of the river Ken[sic] glides gently through the ground at a few yards' distance from the walk. Presently the scene changes to something of a different character. It is true the water of the river is still of the same clearness, the herbage is of the same luxuriance, and the clear blue sky is not even bedimmed with a single cloud. Still there is a change, at which the visitor-even one who is no stranger to the beauties of a private garden – stops for a moment to admire. The hedges are left behind and the eye has freedom to travel over acres planted with groups and specimens

---

<sup>49</sup> Whately and Symes, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, 187.

of rare trees and shrubs, some of which would not long exist out of the genial climate of South Devon.<sup>50</sup>

Today, the entire garden is enclosed by a laurel hedge, approximately eight feet tall. The original gate pillars, or piers, are painted white, with remnants of a brick wall attached to them. There are no signs of a fence, though one appears drawn as a literal post-and rail fence on the 1838 Tithe map (Figure 16). The 1995 study of the garden mentions remains of a wire fence.<sup>51</sup>

The path running alongside the stream was probably intended as a carriageway (Figure 17). Visitors could alight at different points in the garden. The road appears on both the 1836 and the 1839 maps (Figures 18 and 19). The mill stream not only delineates the garden, it provides ambient noise. As Whately proposed, “a gently murmuring rill, clear and shallow, just gurgling, just dimpling, imposes silence, suits with solitude, and leads to meditation.”<sup>52</sup> While the stream was redirected in the 1770s to power the saw mill and therefore had a practical purpose, it brought water through the garden - an essential ingredient in the English landscape garden (Figure 20). Ducks and other birds paddling in the stream created a lively scene, as they still do today.

---

<sup>50</sup> “Gardeners Chronicle & New Horticulturist. Ser.2 v.17 (Jan-June 1882).” Hathitrust

<sup>51</sup> “Powderham Restoration Plan for the American Garden,” 5.

<sup>52</sup> Whately and Symes, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, 71.





*Figure 15 White pillar gates at eastern side of the garden. Photo Laura C. Keim 2017*



*Figure 16 Close up of fence and east entrance from 1839 Tithe map Powderham Castle Archive.*





Figure 17 Carriage way following Stream. Photo Starr Herr-Cardillo



Figure 18 1836 Map of the American Garden Showing three buildings in the garden and a distinct fence surrounding it. Devon Heritage Centre





*Figure 19 Powderham's Tithe map from 1839 showing the castle, the stables, the mill, belvedere and the American Garden.*



*Figure 20 Mill Stream delineates the south side of the garden. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf*

## COADE STONE STATUES: MUSES AND TEMPLES: WAS WYATT HERE?

Two sculptures depicting Flora and Clio stood on the piers at the eastern gate of the American Garden (Figures 21,22, and 23). They have been moved inside the east entry of the castle for safe keeping. They are notable for two reasons: their maker, Eleanor Coade, originally from Exeter, was an important figure in Late Georgian commercial art production. The manufacturing company, Coade and Sealy, were a favorite of architect James Wyatt (1746-1813), purported to be associated with the garden.<sup>53</sup>

Coade stone, as it is commonly called, is an artificial stone. According to Coade's catalogue, "the property which this *artificial*, has above *natural* stone, of resisting the frost, and consequently of retaining that *sharpness* in which it excels every kind of stone sculpture, renders it peculiarity fit for statues in parks and gardens also for tombs and

---

53

Kelly, *Mrs. Coade's Stone*, 40–44. Courtenay, interview. Eleanor Coade (1733-1821) was born in Exeter in 1733 to a wool merchant, George Coade and his wife, also Eleanor. By 1769 they had relocated to London and shortly thereafter, George Coade died, bankrupt. Around the same time, Eleanor, the daughter, began to work for an artificial stone manufacturing concern with Daniel Pincot in Lambeth. By 1771 she had ousted Pincot for misrepresenting himself as sole-proprietor of the company. By all accounts, Eleanor, who never married, possessed a forceful personality.

Armed with a "secret formula" and the will to succeed, Coade took on a talented designer James Bacon (1740-1799). He oversaw the factory production and introduced a neo-classical style to the product line. After his death, Coade went into partnership with her cousin, John Sealy. The Coade family, all pious dissenters, were apparently close and supported each other through the booms and busts of the wool market and turbulent Georgian economy. The company continued after Eleanor Coade's death but gradually lost its hold on the market.

According to Georgian custom Eleanor Coade was called Mrs. Coade, a courtesy title. Working alongside James Bacon, she became an accomplished sculptor herself and entered several works in the Society of Artist's exhibition. But the real secret to her success was that formula, which, according to some, went with her to her grave. Mrs. Coade was a staunch supporter of women's rights. She went up challenged Horace Walpole in court when he disputed her pricing and won. Needless to say, Walpole refrained from ordering any more pieces from her factory. In her will she left gifts to several women, both acquaintances and family members, under the stipulation that their husbands would have no claim on the inheritance. Her position as a woman business owner at the end of the Georgian era and leading into the Victorian era was very unusual. The majority of her designs were of women, many of them depicting strong mythical female figures.

monuments in the church-yards of this, or a severer climate.”<sup>54</sup> Coade stone was prized for its sharpness and resistance to weathering. From a distance and even up close, it remains difficult to discern the difference between Coade stone and carved natural stone.

The manufacturing process was innovative for its day; an efficient factory of art production. Using modeling clay, a prototype was fashioned at a scale of 13 inches to one foot. A plaster mold was then made from the model. The ceramic mix, comprised of clay, terracotta, silicates, and glass pressed into the mold and fired for four days.<sup>55</sup> Coade’s access to a superior Cornish clay may be the reason for her product’s superior durability. The formula, in part, may be traced back to a patent taken out by the predecessor of Daniel Pincot, manufacturer Richard Halt, who had an interest in china production. The final product, vitrified and shiny, withstood weathering better than natural stone and at “...a considerable saving from the cost of Portland stone...”<sup>56</sup>

Powderham’s garden gate figures depict Flora (as a modified version of Urania), and Clio, muse of history.<sup>57</sup> In her catalogue of 1884, Mrs. Coade lists at least four different Floras.<sup>58</sup> Figures were often modified to suit the customer’s needs. At Powderham, added flowers transformed Urania, goddess of navigation, into Flora, a figure, often placed in garden settings. Usually, Flora is paired with Pomona, goddess of Fruit. At Heveningham Hall, the orangery designed by James Wyatt features Flora and Pomona, depicted with a sickle, in exterior niches (Figure 24). Did Wyatt have a hand in

---

<sup>54</sup> Coade, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade’s Artificial Stone Manufactory ... With Prices Affixed*, 3.

<sup>55</sup> “Coade, Eleanor (1733–1821), Manufacturer of Artificial Stone | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.”

<sup>56</sup> Coade, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade’s Artificial Stone Manufactory ... With Prices Affixed*, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Kelly, *Mrs. Coade’s Stone*, 342.

<sup>58</sup> Coade, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade’s Artificial Stone Manufactory ... With Prices Affixed*.



the placement of the Coade stone goddesses at the gateway to the “new garden” at Powderham?<sup>59</sup>

Wyatt used Coade stone for many of his commissions. He was known for not being on site at many of the hundreds of projects he designed, such as Powderham, where there is no record of his presence. The Coade stone inventory provided Wyatt with the means to add tasteful decorative ornaments and elements to a garden or building edifice. Because the 1808 date on the pair of garden gate sculptures at Powderham, post-dates Wyatt’s 1790s work there, it would seem he was perhaps only indirectly responsible for their placement. The use of Coade Stone hints at Wyatt’s influence and supports the premise that he was, as is rumored, very likely associated with the garden. Speculation regarding his involvement with the garden buildings is of a more tenuous nature than is the attribution of the music room design to him.

---

<sup>59</sup> The American Garden was referred to as the “new garden” or the “pleasure ground” until the late nineteenth century. The garden was not referred to as an “American Garden” until 1882.



*Figure 21 Coade and Sealy statue of Flora, modified from Urania, 1808. Photo Laura C. Keim*



*Figure 22 Clio Photo Laura C. Keim*



*Figure 23 Photo of Coade Stone statues on gate posts from 1933. Powderham Archive, C/8/11 Box 22*



*Figure 24 Heveningham Hall Orangery, designed by James Wyatt. Niches house Flora and Pomona Coade Stone statues. Photo Ian DuFour [www.pevsnersuffolk.co.uk](http://www.pevsnersuffolk.co.uk)*

## THE MISSING TEMPLE

Beyond the gate one carriage path follows the mill stream, while others meander through the garden. The 1836 survey and 1839 Tithe map the depict three buildings in the garden. One is the extant summerhouse, or pavilion, which we will encounter later. But another building stands at this point near the eastern entrance facing the mill stream. The mystery building is delineated with a rounded central section and two wings. A smaller rectangle fronts the building, perhaps a porch or steps leading down to the path and stream. The best description of this building is found in attorney John Wilkinson's letter of May 5, 1824 (Figure 25).

Wilkinson managed Kitty Courtenay's affairs while he lived in exile in France. He handled all the administration of Powderham and other property holdings for the Viscount. A folio volume of his correspondence with Kitty was discovered in a coal shed in 2001 then delivered to Powderham archive. Though the letters are one-sided, only the copies from Wilkinson to Lord Courtenay, they reveal much about the Powderham estate and its management during Kitty's absence.<sup>60</sup> Wilkinson made two visits to Powderham in 1824 and 1825. He described how the current state of the castle and grounds in detail. He reported on conditions, employees, their frustrations, and the good work they executed on behalf of the Lord Courtenay in the unoccupied estate.<sup>61</sup>

Wilkinson described the garden in 1824 as follows:

From these Gardens we went on to that delightful retreat in the plantation where I found everything as regarded the plants and the grounds in as neat order as they

---

<sup>60</sup> Dorothy Presswell, former archivist at Powderham, completed a thorough analysis of the Wilkinson letters and concluded that Wilkinson was a devoted administrator of Kitty's affairs. He undertook numerous personal requests from Kitty in France and protected his interests. Presswell deduced from the letters that Kitty was a "kind, caring and generous man."

<sup>61</sup> Presswell, "The Wilkinson Letters."



possibly could be - I should much wish to see this place in a more advanced stage of the season and when the plants and trees are in their full luxuriance. Should I have the good fortune to be again called upon to make another visit to Powderham I will if possible so arrange as to make it in the summer season or in the autumn. Nothing in my opinion could scarcely excel the beauty of the scenery as it displayed itself last week in the first budding of a lovely spring - but this must fall very short of the appearance which a more ripened state of the seasons must throw up on it.

In the plantation garden I found that the outside wood and frame work of the greenhouse and the pavilion wanted painting. I therefore gave directions for this being done. I also directed the two entrance gates at each extremity of it to be painted. The Temple also required some repairs and indeed a new covering. I did not however order this to be done until I had previously communicated with your lordship on the necessity and as to your wishes on having it kept up. It really seemed to me that it might very well be spared as in the summer season the thick foliage of the lower branches of the trees surrounding it must also exclude it from the view of anyone. If it is pulled down the woodwork may be preserved and as the building is but of a slight and temporary nature it could at any time and it no great expense be put up again. Will your lordship be kind enough to let me know what you wish to have done respecting it.<sup>62</sup>

The “slight and temporary” nature of this temple certainly explains why it no longer stands. Anne Rushout, a visitor at Powderham, wrote another description of the Temple in 1799. Her diary described the American Garden as follows:

The flower garden is charming. It is about a mile from the house and consists of five acres, situated upon a bank open to the south with the river running at the bottom. There are two pretty buildings. In one of which is a room furnished with a table, book[case], etc. The other is made entirely of laths done in different patterns and painted green.<sup>63</sup>

Assuming the pretty buildings were the pavilion and the temple, the furnished building was most likely the pavilion, while the temple was built of lath.

---

<sup>62</sup> Wilkinson, “John Wilkinson Letters.”

<sup>63</sup> O’Donoghue, “Extracts for the Diary of Anne Rushout,” In Harper, “2nd Viscount Study,” 1995.

In his 1805 publication, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, Humphry Repton described structures which might reveal this type of construction:

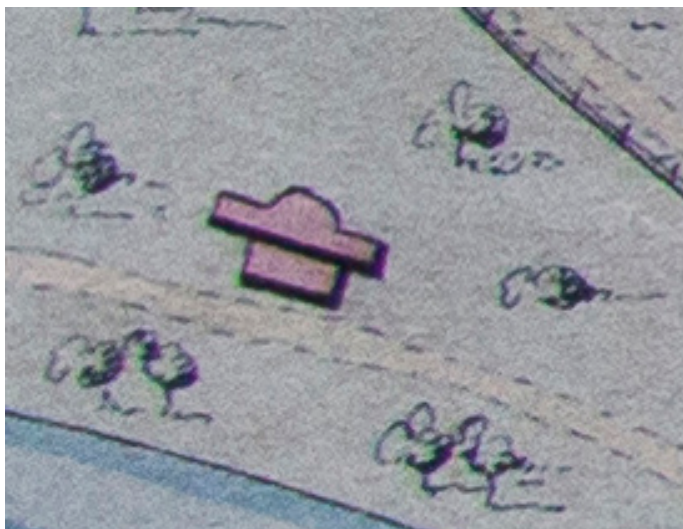
This observation is the result of having lately seen some houses containing rooms of admirable proportion, and well connected together, but which externally appear to be built of lath, and paper or canvass; perhaps the late frequency of living in camps, or at watering-places, may have introduced this unsubstantial mode of building which looks as if it were only intended for the present generation, or rather the present year.<sup>64</sup>

Humphry provided an illustration of a greenhouse which appears to be constructed of lath (Figure 27). The area where the garden temple likely stood is not far from the gate and Coade stone figures. This placement, along with the nomenclature “temple” suggests a neo-classical form. Several scenarios suggest possible forms for the temple. If, as at other sites, James Wyatt was involved in designing garden buildings, the temple may have resembled some of his designs. Anne Rushout’s description makes no mention of any particular style.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Repton and Repton, “Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,” 158.

<sup>65</sup> In Richard Cosway’s 1797 painting of another trio of Kitty Courtenay’s sisters, Lucy, Harriet and Caroline are depicted, again as three graces, in a neo-classical setting (Figure 29). Could the temple in the left field of this painting be the temple in the garden? Cosway’s later painting of three sisters in the grotto shows an actual landscape feature at Powderham, reinforcing the possibility that the classical temple was also a real feature of the Powderham landscape. The temple in the painting does not appear to have wings while the map indicates a building with wings. However, Wilkinson states that the temple is obscured by tree branches, as is the temple in the painting, so perhaps the wings of the structure are not visible in the painting. The painting was completed at least 27 years before Wilkinson’s letter was written, so by 1824 there were likely many more tree branches. Furthermore, Anne Rushout’s description written three years after the painting was completed does not match the temple in the painting.



*Figure 25 The 1739 Tithe map at Powderham Castle showing the missing Temple. Notice the shadowed rectangular shape implying a deck or porch facing the mill stream. Powderham Archive.*



*Figure 26 Area where temple was likely located facing the stream. Photo Laura C. Keim*

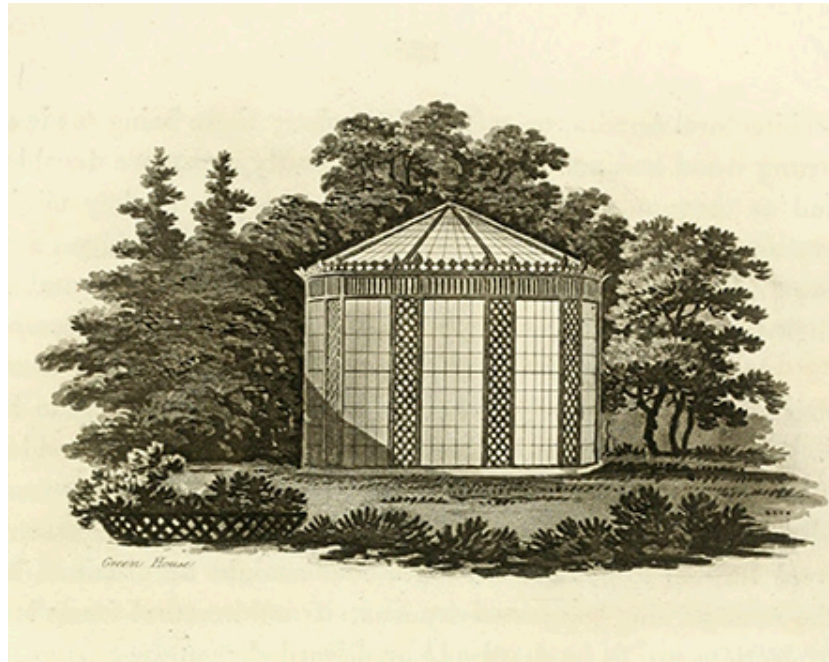


Figure 27 Humphry Repton's illustration of a greenhouse with what appear to be lath panels, may be similar to the missing temple.

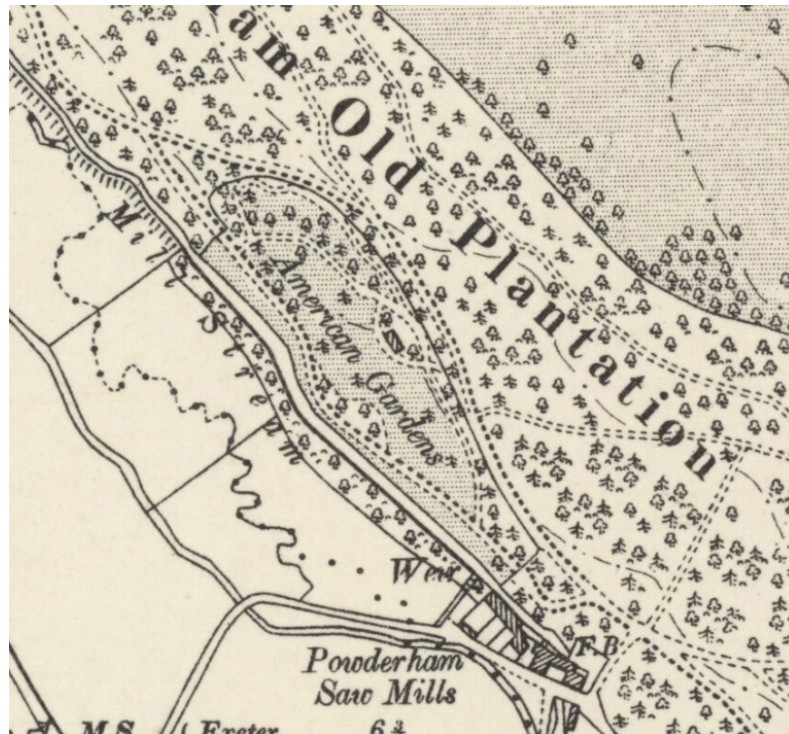


Figure 28 1906 Ordnance Survey map of the Plantation, the American Garden, and the Powderham Saw Mills. National Library of Scotland.





*Figure 29 A temple form in the Richard Cosway 1797 painting of Lucy, Harriet, and Caroline Courtenay.*

## PLANTINGS GUIDE THE VISITOR

Continuing along the path by the mill stream on to the north, a copse of lime or linden trees (*Tilia cordata*) may date to the original planting of the garden. The lime trees point to a hallmark of picturesque design (Figures 30 and 31). Opening up landscapes led to fewer *allées*, or rows of trees, a common feature of eighteenth-century rectilinear landscapes. Repton claimed that, “small plantations of trees, surrounded by fence, are the best expedients to form groups. Because trees planted singly seldom grow well.”<sup>66</sup> In addition to avoid a linear style, the copse guides the visitor to a preferred route. Landscape designers such as Repton devised plantings to obscure a building until it came into full view at its most favorable angle.<sup>67</sup> These lime trees provide that screen for the summerhouse or pavilion.

A rhododendron tunnel (likely planted in the nineteenth century) leads to a large bowl-shaped clearing (Figure 32). A small Gothic summerhouse, also referred to as a “tea house” and a “pavilion,” in Wilkinson’s letter, sits at the back of the clearing (Figure 33). The view from the pavilion appears in planes: first open lawn, followed by the mill stream. Seen beyond that, the pastures with grazing cows, Kenton’s church steeple and rooftops, and at the horizon, a hill with a ring of trees known as the Ringsdon Clump (Figure 34). The garden is seven acres of contrived wilderness, with the plantation woods as a backdrop and a pastoral scene in front. In Horace Walpole’s (1717-1797) essay *Observations on Modern Gardening* he advocated for such a varied prospect as we see today – still virtually unspoiled:

---

<sup>66</sup> Repton and Repton, “Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,” 14.

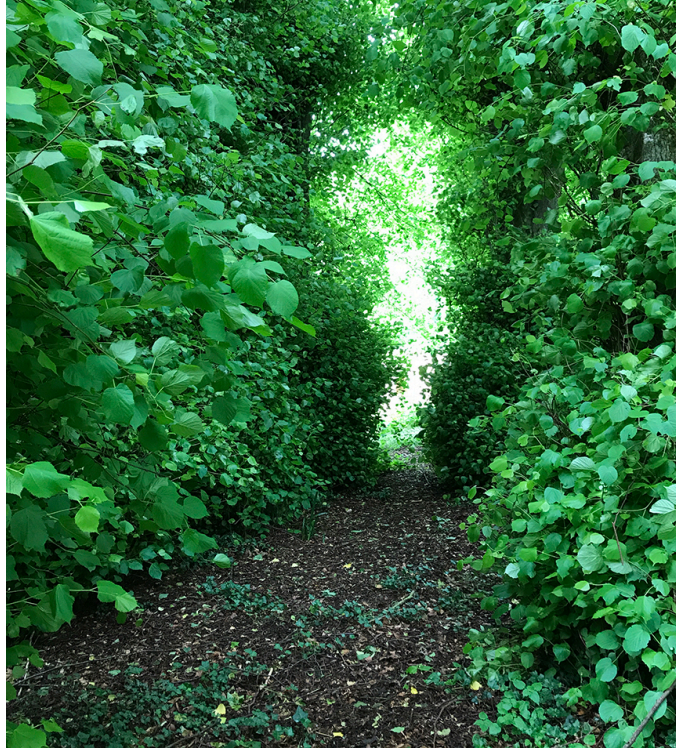
<sup>67</sup> Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 17.

In the mean time how rich, how gay, how picturesque the face of the country! The demolition of walls laying open each improvement, every journey is made through a succession of pictures; and even where taste is wanting in the spot improved, the general view is embellished by variety.<sup>68</sup>

Several additional majestic specimens stand tall in the garden, survivors from the nineteenth century. These include a Douglas fir and cedar of Lebanon adjacent to the pavilion. The size of the Douglas fir suggests it could have been part of the original planting; however, invoices for plants date from 1793-1802 and because Douglas fir was not introduced until 1827 by Scottish botanist David Douglas, the fir likely post-dates Kitty Courtenay's plantings at Powderham.

---

<sup>68</sup> Walpole, *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, 86.



*Figure 30 Thickly growing European linden, Tilia cordata. In summer, the leaves form a dense labyrinth of suckers. Photo Laura C. Keim.*



*Figure 31 Tilia clump in winter. Suckers growing from the trunks are evident. Photo Rebecca Flemer.*





*Figure 32 Rhododendron likely planted in the nineteenth century. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf.*



*Figure 33 Brick gothic pavilion. Also called a tea house or summer house in various accounts. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf.*





*Figure 34 The varied prospect from the pavilion. lawn, stream (now blocked by rhododendron) fields and tree covered hill named the Ringdon Clump. Photo Rebecca Flemer.*



*Figure 35 This Douglas fir, despite its large size does not date to the original planting of the American Garden. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf.*

## NURSERYMEN AND CONNECTIONS TO AMERICAN PLANTS

The Courtenay family account books at the Devon Record office include large payments made to several nurseries, some of them leaders in the industry. Between 1789 and 1793, Courtenay purchased £500 worth of plant material from “Smith and Co. of London Nursery Men.” Another entry reads, “1794-1803 His Lordship spent £1956 for Plants and Flowers from Smith and Co of London.” And in his London Tradesmen Book, there was a balance carried forward for the same company.<sup>69</sup> Warren Luker (d. 1784), seedsman and cornchandler, established a business in 1758 at The Sun in City New Road, parish of St. Luke Old Street. The firm became Luker, Smith & Lewis, opening a nursery under Edward Smith at Dalston in Hackney. With over 30,000 square feet of glass, and expanding to 30 acres, they operated one of the largest London nurseries between 1785-1849.<sup>70</sup>

Lee and Kennedy Nursery, which has a well-documented history and reputation, also received a payment of £1850. John Kennedy (1759-1843) (Figure 36), in partnership with James Lee (1715-1795) (Figure 37), owned the Vineyard Nursery in Hammersmith. John was the son of Lewis Kennedy (1721-1783) who had been gardener to Lord Wilmington (c.1673-1743) and perhaps also to Lord Burlington of Chiswick (1715-1753).<sup>71</sup> Nurserymen often began their careers as gardeners to wealthy patrons. They learned about propagation and care of plants by actively participating in their upkeep.

---

<sup>69</sup> 12 June 1801. Mr's Edward and Samuel Smith, nurserymen, Covent Garden. 1850-0-0 interest: 92-10-0 Covent Garden or Dalston. “DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12.”

<sup>70</sup> Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, 88.

<sup>71</sup> Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, 35.



The Vineyard Nursery commanded a high reputation as one of the best nurseries in England for many years.

The copse of massive linden or lime trees (*Tilia cordata*), encountered earlier near the former temple site, may date to the original planting of the garden. Though *Tilia cordata* is not an American species, it was not always the case that an American garden was limited to American species. A treatise by John Kennedy in Powderham's library explains how American Plants might be preferred by American plantsmen:

I am far from being against the introducing and propagating of foreign trees as many of them are great beauties; but I would not have planters be too sanguine and plant large plantations of foreign trees on the recommendation of foreigners, for all or most nations are partial to their own country, and recommend the produce as far superior to what they see in other places, without considering what it is that makes the difference.<sup>72</sup>

In 1772, Kennedy investigated the growth rate of American oaks he recently received compared to that of English oaks. He concluded that the rapid growth of American plants in their native habitat resulted from the deep loam soil in America. Kennedy's experiments demonstrated an enthusiasm for the new plants available to the nurseries in England, and a willingness to include English and American plants in the same landscape.

Born in Scotland in 1715, relocating to England at about age seventeen, Kennedy's partner, James Lee had a long and notable career.<sup>73</sup> He worked at Whitton Place, Middlesex, the seat of the Scottish nobleman, Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay, later the Duke of Argyle. Nicknamed the "Treemonger" by Walpole, Campbell had a

---

<sup>72</sup> Kennedy (gardener.), *A Treatise upon Planting, Gardening, and the Management of the Hot-House*.

<sup>73</sup> There is also a strong connection of plantsmen with Scotland and an inclination to mentor young Scotsmen entering the trade. Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden*, 139.

large collection of new and exotic plants, so perhaps this is where Lee first practiced his craft.<sup>74</sup> The Duke was a customer of John Bartram's from 1747-1757.<sup>75</sup> James Lee may also have worked for Philip Miller, author of the famous *Gardener's Dictionary* (1731) at the Chelsea Physic Garden.<sup>76</sup>

In 1760, Lee published the first English translation of Carl Linnaeus' (1707-1778), *an Introduction to Botany*, which went through ten editions, the last published in 1810. This standardization of Latin botanical nomenclature proved an important milestone in the history of horticulture. Before Linnaeus, varied plant names created botanical confusion. The categorization of plants became important during the eighteenth century's Age of Enlightenment as part of an increasing interest in the natural world, scientific enquiry and plant collecting. Lee's translation put him at the forefront of botanical research.

Lee and Kennedy received a box of plant material from Philadelphia Quaker botanist and American explorer and plant collector John Bartram in 1756.<sup>77</sup> Bartram's Boxes contained North American seeds and later live plants that he collected and shipped to customers overseas and in America.<sup>78</sup> This Lee and Kennedy shipment was

---

<sup>74</sup> "Campbell, Archibald, Third Duke of Argyll (1682–1761), Politician."

<sup>75</sup> Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John*, 313.

<sup>76</sup> Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, 36.

<sup>77</sup> Fry, (Curator at Bartram's Garden, Philadelphia) in discussion with the author, January 2018.

<sup>78</sup> Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall; with Notices of Their Botanical Contemporaries.*, 505. Englishman, Dr. John Fothergill described in detail how to pack a box of seeds in a letter to Humphrey Marshall, who presumably had experience packing them. It is informative nonetheless: "Make a box of any width and length, but not very deep; six or seven inches may be sufficient. Cover the bottom with moss (*sphagnum*), not quite dry. On this lay acorns, or any large kinds of seeds, in patches; that is, half a dozen or half a score together, according to their plenty. Cover there with moss and strew on the top, in patches likewise, any small scarce seeds. These sent off in autumn, will be committed to proper earth early in the spring, here, and will probably supply us with many plants that we should otherwise procure with difficulty.

recorded in a list of Bartram's customers kept by Peter Collison (1694-1768), Bartram's agent in London. Bartram established a brisk trade in the collection and dissemination of his newly discovered plants.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, the Vineyard nursery grew American plants into the nineteenth century. Bartram's discovery, *Franklinia alatahama*, bloomed at the nursery according to Richard Anthony Salisbury, FRS, in 1806.<sup>80</sup> Most likely, Lee and Kennedy were the purveyors of some if not most, of the American plants installed in the American Garden, as well as other exotic specimens.

The Powderham accounts include entries from another nursery with American connections, Grimwood & Co. of Kensington "paid 47-19-6" in 1802. Daniel Grimwood (b. 1725) purchased the Kensington Nursery, which was in business since 1700, from John Williamson. Williamson had been one of Bartram's best customers ordering eight boxes in 1751, perhaps the largest order Bartram had received from one customer. He continued to order boxes over a period of sixteen years, apparently without complaint.<sup>81</sup> Both Williamson and Grimwood were listed in the Kensington Rate Book in 1784.<sup>82</sup> With Samuel Hudson, Grimwood established Grimwood and Hudson's Seed-shop. The Seed-shop's address was "The Pineapple, Arlington St. Piccadilly."<sup>83</sup> After the death of Dr. John Fothergill, Grimwood and Hudson purchased plants from Fothergill's garden at Upton, West Ham. Fothergill was a customer of Bartram's and of his cousin, Chester

---

<sup>79</sup>Kennedy described a box of "tree seeds from America" including many types of Oaks. These may have come from Bartram's or perhaps his cousin Humphrey Marshall. The year of their shipment, 1772, was when sporadic embargoes interrupted shipments from Philadelphia to London. After the death of Peter Collinson, in 1768 there are few records of shipments: who received them, when were they sent to London, etc.

<sup>80</sup> Fry, interview.

<sup>81</sup> Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John*, 313.

<sup>82</sup> Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, 29.

<sup>83</sup> Willson, 29. Pineapples, very difficult to grow, indicated of a nurseryman's skills and were often included in a nursery's name.

county Pennsylvania resident and botanist, Humphrey Marshall. Grimwood received shipments from Marshall as well. Although Lord Courtenay did not order a large quantity of plant material from Grimwood, their strong link to American plants, and in particular to Bartram and Marshall, warrants attention (Figure 39).

Several payments to local nurseries including Lucombe also appear in the Courtenay accounts. William Lucombe, who was employed at Mamhead by Thomas Ball, F.R.S., crossed the Turkey oak and cork oak to develop the Lucombe oak (*Quercus ×hispanica* 'Lucombeana') in 1763.<sup>84</sup> There are several old Lucombe oaks growing at Powderham. Lucombe started his nursery circa 1720 in St. Thomas near Exeter. According to the account books, between 1797 and 1799, Courtenay paid “Mr. John Lucombe of Exeter, Nursery Man.”<sup>85</sup> John Lucombe allegedly died in Exeter aged 105. Ann Lucombe Ford, granddaughter of William Lucombe married Robert Pince in the early nineteenth century.<sup>86</sup> Pince became partner at Lucombe’s in 1828. Please and Ford nursery also appeared in the accounts. In 1831, after William Ford’s death, Ann Ford became owner of the nursery. These closely intertwined nurseries were linked to a center of horticulture, in St. Thomas the Apostle near Exeter.<sup>87</sup> Later in the nineteenth century,

---

<sup>84</sup> “A group of hybrids between *Q. cerris*, the Turkey oak, and *Q. suber*, the cork oak, mainly represented in cultivation by the original Lucombe oak ('Lucombeana') and its derivatives. A hybrid between the cork oak and the Turkey oak raised about 1763 from seed of the latter by Lucombe, a nurseryman of Exeter, who propagated it in large quantities by grafting on Turkey oak. It is a handsome and stately tree of a distinct habit when mature, with spreading branches upswept at the ends and swollen at the base. This is well shown in the drawing of the original tree in its winter state reproduced by Loudon (*Arb. et Frut. Brit.*, Vol. III, fig. 1712). The bark is scarcely corky and the leaves persist throughout much of the winter on the outer part of the crown. The original clone, i.e., the true 'Lucombeana', is comparatively rare outside the south-west, but there is a fine specimen at Kew.” International Dendrology Society, “Bean’s Trees and Shrubs.”

<sup>85</sup> “DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12.”

<sup>86</sup> Harvey, *Early Nurserymen*, 72.

<sup>87</sup> Harvey, 72. William Lucombe’s son reportedly worked as a gardener at Powderham in the early eighteenth century.

Exeter was home to the famous Veitch and Sons firm which dispatched plants collectors to far flung corners of the globe collecting exotic plants. Kitty's payments larger to nurseries in London expressed his interest in unusual plants while the local nurseries carried more common varieties, notwithstanding the famous Lucombe oak.

To follow are several, but not all, payments to nurserymen and women in the Courtenay account books from the Devon Record Office:

- 21 July 1796 to ditto Paid Mr. Phillips for 6 Lemon & orange trees bought of him by my Lord this month 10-10-0

Country tradesmen unsettled bills

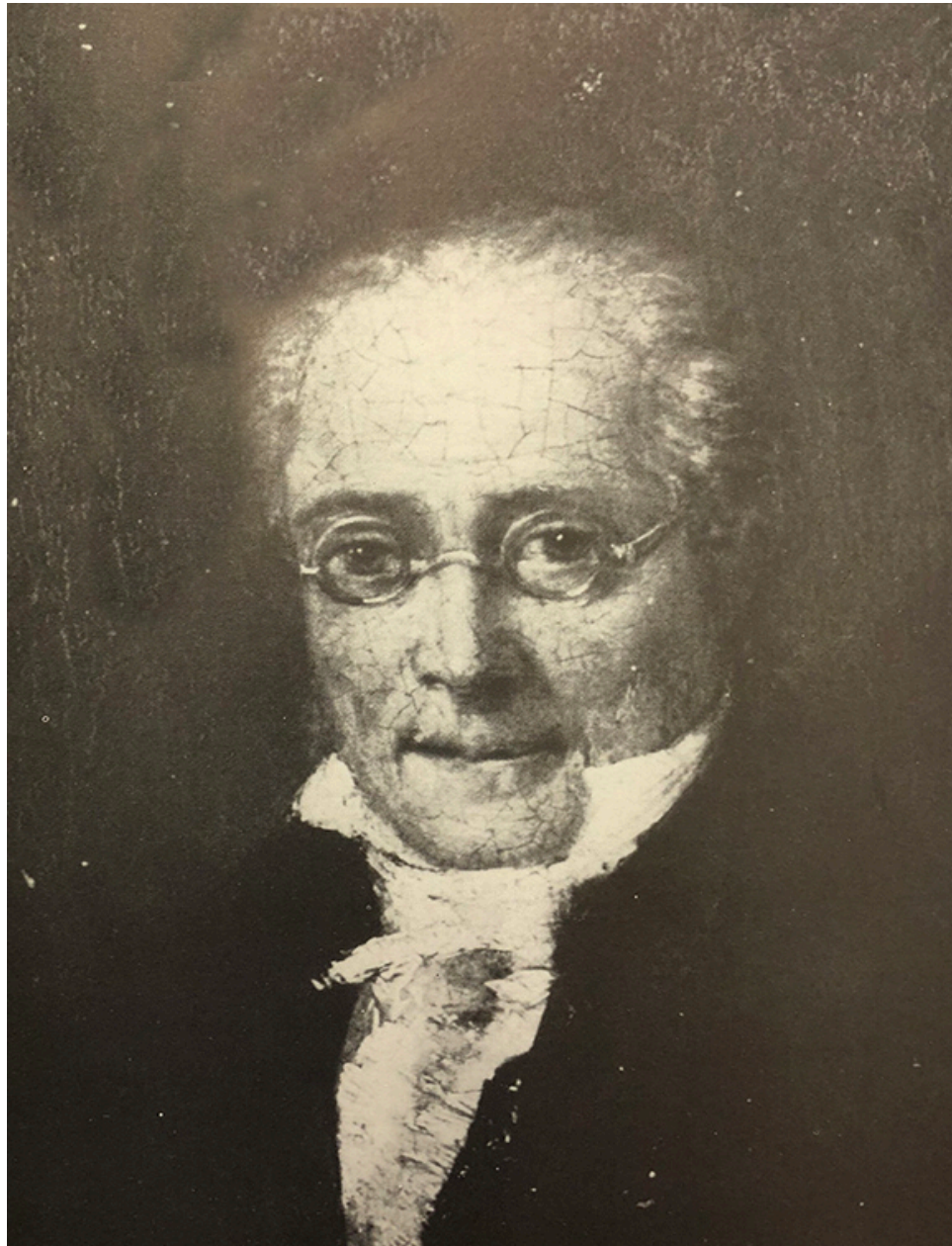
- 17 August 1803 Thomas Please, nurseryman, of the city of Exeter 267-0-0
- 7 Feb 1797 Mrs. Elizabeth Ford, for plants &etc. Mr.s Ford and Please, New Bridge 256-4-8 ½

From The Present Lord Viscount Courtenay Bonds to his London Tradesmen

- 13 May 1801 Mr.s Lee and Kennedy Nurserymen, Hammersmith 1415-0-0 interest: 70-15-0
- 12 June 1801 Mr.s Edward and Samuel Smith, nurserymen, Covent Garden. 1850-0-0 interest: 92-10-0 Covent Garden or Dalston
- 1801-1802 Mr. Grimwood & Co. Nurseryman, Kensington 47-19-6<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> "DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19."



*Figure 36 John Kennedy (1759-1843) owner with James Lee of the Vineyard Nursery. E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens*





Figure 37 James Lee (1715-1795) in partnership with John Kennedy at the Vineyard Nursery. Author of a translation of Linnaeus' Introduction to Botany. E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens.

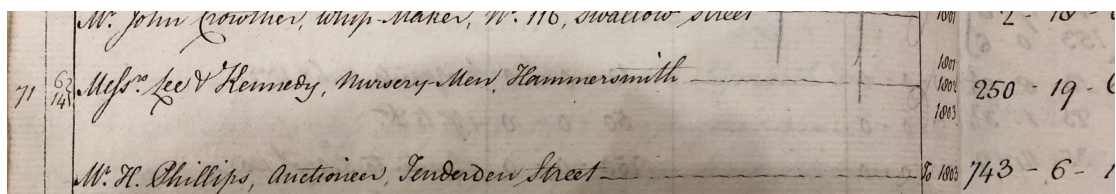


Figure 38 Entry for Lee and Kennedy Nursery (otherwise known as the Vineyard Nursery). DRO L1508M/AC/19



*Figure 39 The Kensington Nursery formerly Grimwood Nursery, an entry in the account book. Kensington Nursery bought Dr. John Fothergill's famous plant collection, including many American Plants, upon the sale of his estate Mill Hill. E.J. Willson, West London Nursery Gardens*



## LABORERS AND BOTANIC GARDENERS AT WORK IN THE GARDEN

A steady stream of plant material arrived at Powderham between 1793 and 1803, but who was planting and tending the garden? Several references to gardeners and botanical gardeners are found in the account books of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount.

- 30 April 1793: Paid to Mr. Dowell, gardener, 8 months wages due to his labourers in the garden at Powderham Castle house to the end of February last
- Feb 2 1795: To be Paid Mr. Thos. Dowill, gardener, for 18 months wages due to the labourers in the garden at Pow'dm Castle 30<sup>th</sup> Sept. last. 396-8-8
- 9 Jan 1796: To be paid Mr. Dowill, gardener, 9 months wages due to his labourers in the gardens at Pow'dm house to the end of Oct last 182-6-7 ½
- 1802-1803: Mr. Thomas Dowill's Labourer's account in the Plantations 109-14-8
- 1802-1803: Mr. Thomas Smiles, kitchen gardener, Labourer account in the gardens 224-10-8
- 6 Feb 1796 To be paid John Carnall the 82 days work in the gardens at Pow'dm Castle at 16s a day & due to him this day when he quitted the service 5-9-4
- 2 July 1796 To be paid John Payne for 179 days labour done in the new garden at Powderham in this last year at 16s a day. 11-18-8
- 24 Oct 1796 To be paid John Brown for 36 days works done in the gardens at Powd'hm Castle in this & last month at 16d a day 2-8-0
- 25 Dec 1801 Richard Mountjoy, Botanic Gardener 42-0-0
- 1803-1804 Richard Mountjoy Botanical Gardener wages to mid last 74-11-0<sup>89</sup>

It appears Mr. Dowell oversaw a crew of men as the entries mention "wages due to his labourers in the garden." Since it is not known how many labourers there were, it is

---

<sup>89</sup> "DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19"; "DHC D1508/M/Ledgers/V/6."

difficult to ascertain how much they were paid. Other entries, such as that for John Payne and John Carnell, mention 16 pence per day. This was a fair wage for work in the early nineteenth century. Compared to other workers at Powderham, the gardeners were paid relatively well (Figure 40).

A page of the 1798 account book recorded wages for the year 1797. The head gardener earned £30 while the under-gardener was paid £42. Perhaps he worked longer hours. The three yachtsmen were paid £29 6s 7d each for two of them and £23 0s 5d for the third. So slightly less than the head gardener. The groom's helper £12 12s, while the coachman's helper earned £21 as did a housemaid.<sup>90</sup> The gardeners earned more, and in the case of the under gardener, substantially more than other servants. It is interesting to note the wage of the housemaid equaling the coachman's helper – women were routinely paid much less than men.<sup>91</sup>

Wages in the eighteenth century in relation to goods were much lower than they are today. Lord Courtenay spent thousands of pounds for plant material but paid his gardener £30 per year. The tallow chandler (candle maker) earned £400, the tailor, £4,076, and £42 was spent for “hairpowder had by his Lordship.” Presumably, the tailor included the sisters' clothing as well.<sup>92</sup>

The below 1769 quote from Robert Woods of Irnham to Lord Arundell about a strike by his gardeners offers a comparison for pay and working conditions at Powderham and other estates:

I could scarcely in a sheet of paper describe the disposition and behavior of those unaccountable creatures in human shapes indeed but that is all,

---

<sup>90</sup> “DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12.”

<sup>91</sup> Dauntton, *Progress and Poverty*, 104.

<sup>92</sup> “DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12.”

for in all other respects are Bruits. The first Monday morning after I arrived they all draw'd up in a body, swore they wou'd not unlock a tool unless I would give them 18d. a day, The planting being at hand I was oblig'd to comply being at so great distance from any of my own companys.<sup>93</sup>

The pay at Powderham, 16d. per day, was below what the gardeners at Irnham were earning thirty years earlier. However, because wages were nearly stagnant throughout the eighteenth century, pay did not increase much in thirty years.<sup>94</sup> There are no records of any complaints from the workers at Powderham – or reference to them as “Bruits!” Work was difficult - horticultural practices had advanced very little since medieval times, all tasks completed with manual labor. Establishing a lawn was a laborious process. The standard practice, as described in Philip Miller’s *Gardener’s Dictionary* of 1754, did not differ much from Markham’s *Farewell to Husbandry*, published in 1653; that is, ploughing, harrowing, burning, and sowing. Markham explained the process of using a herd of sheep eating turnips and “manuring it...for it is to be intended, that in these barren earths, sheep are the greatest stock of which the Husbandman can boast.”<sup>95</sup> (Figure 41)

In numerous landscape paintings of the period, two men march in lockstep dragging a cylinder roller behind them (Figure 42). They used the roller to flatten the grass in one direction after which the dew weighs it down over night. In the morning, they cut it in the other direction.<sup>96</sup> At Powderham, the deer and cattle controlled much of

---

<sup>93</sup> Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, 21.

<sup>94</sup> Dauntton, *Progress and Poverty*, 105.

<sup>95</sup> Markham, “Markham’s Farewell to Husbandry...” 11.

<sup>96</sup> The following account was written by a French visitor to Kew in 1770: The labor which this requires, constitutes the chief employment of English gardeners, for in the month of May, and June, it is repeated every week: at other seasons 15 days of rest intervene. Their method of working is this: about sunset the gardeners roll the grass with enormous cylinders of cast iron; which are hollow, and 4 or 5 feet long with

the plantation grass. A tall retaining wall kept them from the area immediately around the castle. However, in the American Garden, the fencing, clearly evident on the 1839 tithe map, excluded sheep and cattle from grazing (Figure 16). Presumably this barrier prevented their eating the highly valued flowers and shrubs.<sup>97</sup> The gardeners likely practiced this labor-intensive method of rolling and cutting the grass within the garden (Figure 43).

Most of the laborers' entries mentioned "the grounds at Powderham castle," and one entry specifically noted the kitchen garden. However, John Payne worked in the "new garden" for 179 days in 1796. This "new garden" is likely the space now known as the "American Garden." His pay, at 16d. per day, was not any more than the gardeners at Powderham castle. He may have been mowing, weeding, installing plants and moving soil. The bowl-shaped lawn in front of the pavilion suggests an enormous amount of earth moving, all completed with shovels and wheelbarrows. In addition, a bank planted with trees behind required manual building up of the earth (Figure 44).

The accounts list Richard Mountjoy as *Botanic* and *Botanical Gardener* between 1800 and 1804.<sup>98</sup> The word *Botanical* implied some expertise beyond that of the other *gardeners*. A Richard Mountjoy was born in Chittlehampton Devon, about fifty miles northwest of Powderham, on June, 20 1770. He died in Barnstable, nearby

---

about a foot diameter. These moving cylinders, whilst it levels the ground, flattens the blades of grass, which the weight of the dew keeps in that situation. The new day, before the sun dispels the dew, and has put the grass into a condition to raise itself again, they cut it down, taking it in a direction contrary to that which it received from the cylinders passing over it. Before the scythe has mowed the broadest walks which the cylinder has been rolled over they appear to the eye like large pieces of white and green mohair. Quoted in Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, 23.

<sup>97</sup> It may also have served to keep pests like moles and squirrels out of the garden. One entry in the accounts book reads, "Sept 15th 1798 to be paid John Goldsworthy for catching 420 moles on the farms in this and last year" "DHC D1508/M/Ledgers/V/6."

<sup>98</sup> "DHC D1508/M/Ledgers/V/6."

Chittlehampton, in 1847.<sup>99</sup> No other Richard Mountjoy appeared in Devon for birth or death records during that period. A skilled horticulturist may have traveled such a great distance for employment, while regular laborers were hired from nearby.

---

<sup>99</sup> “England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975 - AncestryLibrary.Com.”

To D <sup>r</sup> paid M <sup>r</sup> W. Bear Jun <sup>r</sup> for 2 Oxen bought of him in Nov <sup>r</sup> last	27	6	0
28 To D <sup>r</sup> paid Capt. Galley for 35 Quarters of Coal at 24 <sup>s</sup> a Quarter	42	0	0
29 To D <sup>r</sup> paid M <sup>r</sup> W. Ash for 15 Quarters of Welch Coals at 20 <sup>s</sup> a Quarter	15	0	0
Feb <sup>r</sup> 2 To D <sup>r</sup> paid M <sup>r</sup> Tho <sup>s</sup> Druitt, Gardener for 10 Months wages due to the Labourers in the Garden at Pond <sup>m</sup> Castle 30 <sup>th</sup> Sep <sup>r</sup> last	396	8	8
To D <sup>r</sup> paid M <sup>r</sup> Daniel Frost, Hind for 10 Months D <sup>r</sup> to the Labourers on the Farms at Pond <sup>m</sup> Castle due 30 <sup>th</sup> Sep <sup>r</sup> last	876	17	10
To D <sup>r</sup> paid D <sup>r</sup> for Task work done on the Farms last Year	22	15	1/2

Figure 40 Entries found in the Powderham Account books at the Devon Heritage Centre. DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19

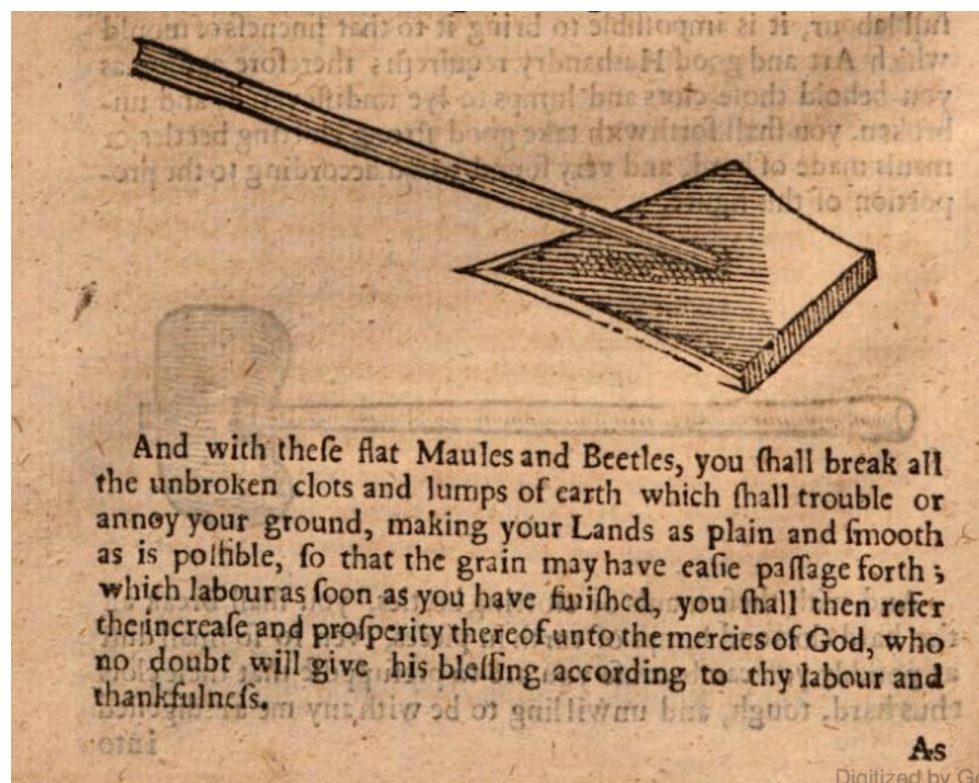


Figure 41 Markham's Farewell to Husbandry, 1676. Many of the techniques for clearing and planting did not progress from this point until after the Georgian era.





*Figure 42 Laborers pulling a roller at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Estate. Artist: Paul Sandby, 1769. Lewis Walpole Library.*



*Figure 43 Men using Scythes to cut grass at Hartwell House. Artist: Balthasar Nebot, 1738. Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society*



*Figure 44 Tree covered bank in back of the pavilion. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf*

## THE PAVILION

Garden building terminology is confusing. Myriad names applied by various people and at different points in time to the same structure complicates our desire to call a garden structure by its proper “original” or period name. Even in Georgian times the words “tea house,” “summerhouse,” or “pavilion” were used interchangeably. John Wilkinson referred to the brick, gothic building as a pavilion in his 1724 letter, “In the plantation garden I found that the outside wood and frame work of the greenhouse and the pavilion wanted painting.” For clarity, this study will refer to the structure as a pavilion.

The pavilion, at the rear center of the garden serves as a stage, a respite, a shelter, and a focal point (known as an “eye-catcher”) (Figure 45).<sup>100</sup> The building is three rooms wide, one-room deep; each space could be heated with a fireplace (Figure 46). The roofline is obscured by a castellated parapet. Glazed, gothic arched double doors blur the distinction between inside and outside while framing views out to the bowled lawn and beyond. Despite its brick Flemish bond construction, often a decorative treatment in itself, the building was rendered at some time, and iron eyes regularly spaced in the brick suggest the pavilion supported an armature for growing vines, which would have offered a leafy edge for the view frame in warmer months (Figure 47). There is virtually no trace of exterior render remaining. As mentioned before, the back of the building abuts a small hill (Figure 44). Originally two openings in the rear on either side of a three-sided bay provided some sort of service access: the outline of two filled-in doors is perceptible, one

---

<sup>100</sup> “Eyecatcher is a feature placed to be seen from within or beyond the garden and park, often on an eminence and remote from the house.” An eyecatcher is an intentional focal point. Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, 47.

with arched voussoirs (Figure 49). The pavilion sits nested and secluded from view from behind and provides shelter from inclement weather.

The Reverend Swete's description of the garden in 1799 included mention of a "summer building":

Below these, on a glade, in part open to the Sun are the pleasure gardens, formed within the last ten years by the direction of Lord Courtenay; These are much visited; and consisting of Pastures of the most beautiful flowers, interchanged by close shaven lawns, shrubberies, and a Summer building forming at once an elegant room and a conservatory for curious plants certainly deserve the attention of every visitor of Powderham.<sup>101</sup>

As Swete's description implies, the building has an elegant form. The arches frame the varied prospect of garden, field, village, and distant hills. Only two restored window frames are extant, but their delicate frames and mullions demonstrate an ornamental intent for the pavilion (Figure 47).<sup>102</sup> Swete's reference to a "Summer building" infers it was used in fine weather only, however, the fireplaces in each room suggest possible occupation during cold weather months.

Although both the belvedere and the pavilion are gothic in style, there are marked differences in their construction. The American Garden does not appear on the 1787 map of Powderham, suggesting the pavilion was built at least fourteen years after the belvedere (Figure 48). The frames surrounding the windows and doors of the belvedere are made of stone, while the pavilion's openings are wood-framed. Quatrefoil windows pierce the belvedere's towers, while the pavilion's openings are all pointed arches. However, there are similarities between the buildings. Both structures are of a Flemish

---

<sup>101</sup> Swete, *Travels in Georgian Devon*. Quoted in "Powderham Restoration Plan for the American Garden," 5.

<sup>102</sup> Swete did not describe the temple. Perhaps because it didn't exist, or perhaps because he merely omitted it from his description.

bond construction later rendered in plaster. This evidence, along with entries in the account books from 1796-1800, suggest the mason John Chapple or his sons contributed to both buildings.<sup>103</sup> John Chapple is documented as the mason who built the belvedere.<sup>104</sup> The name “T. Chapple” and the year 1801 are inscribed into the plaster of the cellar wall under the west courtyard of Powderham castle (Figure 50). This charming building, which has recently been partially restored, continues to delight visitors.

---

<sup>103</sup> April 3 1802 to be paid to Mr. Chapple, Mason, Being the amount of his bill for the years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1799 and for measured work in 1800 - £4206-12-8 “DHC D1508/M/Ledgers/V/6.”

<sup>104</sup> Harper, “2nd Viscount Study,” 1995.





*Figure 45 The tripartite gothic brick pavilion. Photo Rebekah Zubaida Yousaf*



*Figure 46 Fireplace in the Pavilion. Photo Rebecca Flemer*





Figure 47 Fine mullions and iron eyes visible on Pavilion. Photo Rebecca Flemer.

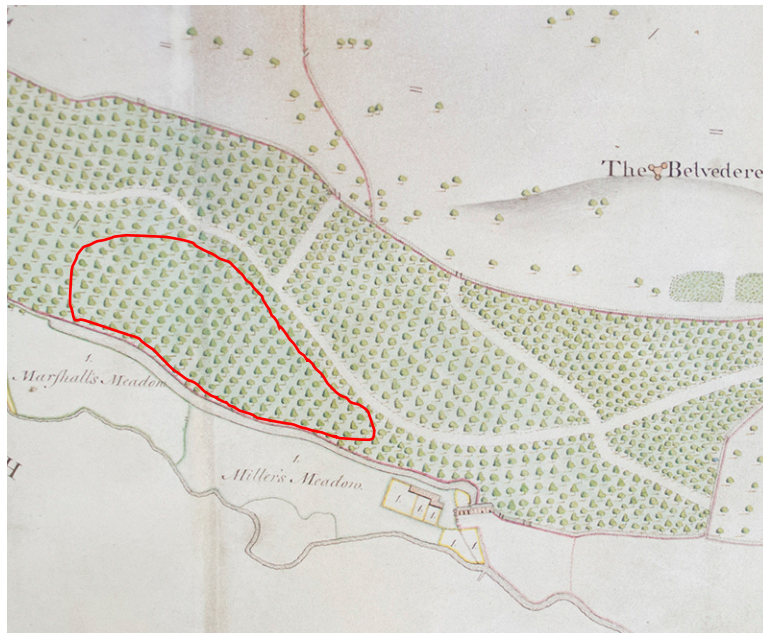


Figure 48 1787 map of Powderham glebe with no pavilion nor American Garden built. DHC 1508 O E Map



*Figure 49 Arched voussoirs surrounding a bricked-in entry on the back of the pavilion, perhaps for servants to enter. Photo Rebecca Flemer*



*Figure 50 The Chapple family worked in the basement at Powderham Castle and perhaps built the pavilion. Photo Laura C. Keim.*



### COMPARISONS WITH OTHER “AMERICAN GROUNDS”

William Beckford, embroiled in scandal with Kitty Courtenay, also installed an American ground sometime after 1801. Like Courtenay, he was also a skilled plantsman who appreciated botany and horticulture as highly as the "liberal arts in general."<sup>105</sup> When he wasn't directing the construction of his fateful house, Fonthill Abbey, he walked and rode around his grounds inspecting work and directing the gardeners. He wrote to his friend, Gregorio Franchi, "everyday this place becomes more immense and beautiful." Beckford received a medal from the Royal Society of Arts for the plantings in his plantations. As the wealthiest man in Britain, he spent liberally on his gardens, which brought him much joy, "fatiguing the senses with the colors and perfume of groves of rhododendrons and magnolias."<sup>106</sup> Flowers, especially fragrant ones, were a vital part of the cultivated landscape. Beckford's great uncle, Charles Hamilton of Painshill, likely influenced his choices. Beckford's visit with his uncle at nineteen, developed his interest in horticulture and the laying out of grounds.

While no documentary connection between Beckford's American Garden and Lord Courtenay's exists, it is notable that the two were built at almost exactly the same time. Although, the two men had not been in contact with each other for many years by 1800. They both had an appreciation for horticulture and plant collecting. Furthermore, they both relied on the garden as an escape, a place to take refuge from the pressures of the public arena.

---

<sup>105</sup> Ostergard et al., *William Beckford, 1760-1844*, 139.

<sup>106</sup> Ostergard et al., 140.

John Rutter wrote one of the most detailed descriptions of Beckford's Fonthill Abbey.<sup>107</sup> He looked not only at the enormous building Beckford built but at the grounds and the individual gardens, the "Fonthill Domain." Rutter's outstanding illustration of the American Garden exhibited its wild character (Figure 51).

We follow the northern margin of the lake till we reach the American Gardens — and here how shall we describe the labyrinth of sweets by which we are surrounded! It was our good fortune to behold this extraordinary shrubbery at the season of its greatest beauty. Its winding paths led us through groves of the loftiest rhododendrons, whose deep pink flowers shed an universal glow over an extensive declivity — here and there the beautiful magnolia displayed the exquisite whiteness of its large blossoms— while clusters of azaleas mingled with these loftier exotics in the richest harmony of colour and fragrance ; the Carolina rose profusely studded the walks with its gorgeous blossoms — the allspice of the same region shed its exquisite perfume over the whole extent of these gardens — and the arbutus luxuriated in groups as lofty and as branching as the Portugal laurel. We must borrow from the greatest of descriptive poets some images that may furnish a faint idea of these unrivalled plantations.<sup>108</sup>

Another author, John Britton, described Beckford's American garden for his volume, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill abbey*, also published in 1823:

Returning to the Abbey-grounds we have to notice one of the most attractive and, to many visitors [sic], the most interesting places within their precincts: this is the American plantations, near the bottom of a hill, directly south of the Abbey, and on the bank of Bittern-lake. All visitors must be delighted with this spot in fine weather; for here grows, in apparent native wildness, almost every kind of the American flowering shrub and tree. The magnolia, azalia, rhododendron-ponticum, coccinea-aurantina, coccinea-major-flammea, rosa-carolinensis, calicanthus-floridus, angelica, robinia-latifolia, with different species of andromeda, abound here; and, in the flowering season, perfume the air with their spicy effluvia:

"While groves of Eden, vanish'd now so long,  
Live in description, and look green in song."

The luxuriance of the shrubs and trees in this part of the grounds, the wildness of some spots contrasted with the smoothness and softness of others, the shape and undefined borders of the lake, all conspire to render it interesting to every person;

---

<sup>107</sup> Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey*, 22.

<sup>108</sup> Rutter, 57.

but more peculiarly so to the artist and botanist. A profusion of English and foreign heaths are planted on the sides of the paths.<sup>109</sup>

This additional account describes Beckford's garden's appearance and smell. Britton stressed "wildness and luxuriance." Both Wilkinson's letter describing Powderham and these two depictions of Fonthill Abbey's garden were written at least twenty years after the gardens' installations. By the 1820's both gardens were well established, with mature plantings. The plantings in Beckford's garden, hint at what likely grew in Powderham's American Garden.

American plants were prized for their strong fragrance. *Magnolia grandiflora* or southern magnolia, in particular, was in great demand. Peter Collinson imported it from the Bahamas and it bloomed in his garden in 1739. He described it as a "water Lillie Figure, but as large as the Crown of Ones Hatt."<sup>110</sup> Miller, declared, "this is one of the most beautiful evergreen trees yet known."<sup>111</sup> At Powderham, author John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) recorded a prized *Magnolia grandiflora* "upwards of 30 ft. high" in 1854.<sup>112</sup> He also recorded a tree at Saltram planted sixty years before that was twenty-five feet tall (Figure 52). Other fragrant plants new to the English palette were, Carolina allspice (*Calycanthus floridus*), summersweet (*Clethra alnifolia*), and, swamp azalea (*Azalea viscosum*) – the first azalea native to North American grown in Britain.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Both authors inserted poetry in their descriptions of gardens. This was a common practice of writers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Britton, *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire*, 35.

<sup>110</sup> Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, 76. Collinson's collection was considered the finest collection of North American plants in England. His greenhouses were robbed twice. Plant robbery became so rampant that a bill was passed by Parliament declaring it a transportation offense to steal curious plants.

<sup>111</sup> Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary*, 340.

<sup>112</sup> Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, 266.

<sup>113</sup> NYBG, "Research Guides."

Another description of an American garden is found in *Notitiæ on the improvements proposed for Trent Park & House, Middx., John Cumming Esq.*, a folio prepared by Lewis Kennedy (1789-1877) in 1815 (son of John Kennedy, and owner, of the Vineyard Nursery with James Lee). This lushly illustrated proposal, similar to a Repton “Red Book”, but covered in blue leather, described improvements that might be carried out at Trent Park for John Cumming, a wealthy Russia merchant.<sup>114</sup> We can guess that Cummings, who also held a seat in Parliament, was one of the newly minted merchant class with sufficient money to make significant “improvements” to his estate to confirm his arrival in the upper echelon of society.<sup>115</sup> The Palladian style villa was to be complemented by decidedly rustic garden structures (Figure 53). Kennedy even included a charming “Agnury,” a sheep shed. The American garden was presented as place to view the scenery, a spot for ladies to retreat, and a stage for prized American plants.

The American and other shrub Gardens proposed as continuation of the flower garden to the West of the House, from the scenes they may command will, when the shrubberies have gained some size, offer many new points of scenic effect, combining in some places the immediate scenery whence these objects are viewed. The termination of these Gardens will be that for American plants, where an American hut may be appropriately placed serving as a lady's work room enjoying from its window the view and being within hearing of The Rustic Cascade of which I have endeavoured to give some idea in the vignette drawing attendant upon this page. Part of these shrubberies, that is those the more distant from the dwelling, are intended to be kept close planted with wild furze<sup>116</sup>, thorns &c [etc.] growing near the stems of the trees<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 656. John Cumming's obituary in the Gentlemen's magazine in 1832 stated: “at Trent Park, aged 75, John Cumming, esq. an eminent Russia merchant. The sale of his valuable effects has since attracted considerable public attention.”

<sup>115</sup> Tymms and Camden, *Camden's Britannia Epitomized and Continued*, 13.

<sup>116</sup> Furze is another name for gorse – a scrubby plant in the pea family.

<sup>117</sup> Kennedy, *Notitiæ on the Improvements Proposed for Trent Park & House, Middx., John Cumming Esq.*, 14.



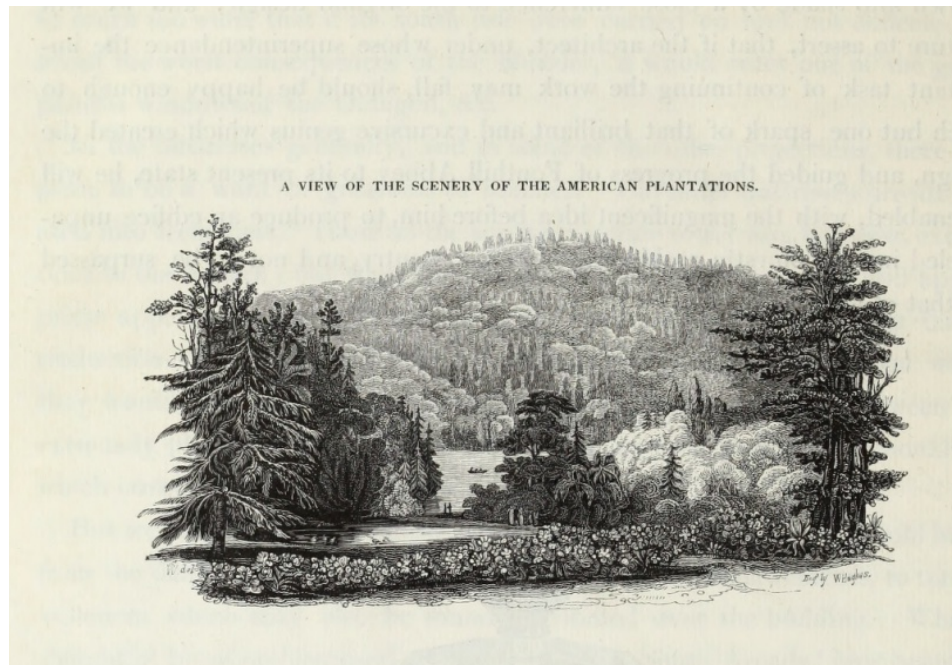
Lewis Kennedy was most likely not involved in the design of Powderham's garden. He was only eleven years old when plants were arriving, and work in the "new garden" was underway.<sup>118</sup> Although it is likely he began his design career at a young age alongside his father at Stow Hall in Norfolk. Work began in 1797 at Stow Hall, one of Lewis Kennedy's best documented installations, and plans were signed by both Lewis and his father John (Lewis's folio for Stow Hall is dated 1812). By that time, like his folio for Trent Park, his illustrations were expertly rendered and colored. Although he did not go into the nursery business, as his father had hoped, Lewis Kennedy became one of the most well-respected landscape gardeners in the beginning of the nineteenth century, taking for Repton's place after his death.<sup>119</sup>

As mentioned before, Painshill, developed by William Beckford's great Uncle, Charles Hamilton, contained many American Plants. Hamilton's important collection was coddled in a walled garden before being planted out in the landscape. His gardens, called his Elysium, formed a circuit with distinct vistas, and emotive garden buildings placed along the way. He planted Weymouth pines (*Pinus strobus*) in his Woodland Walks, and bald cypress (*Taxodium distichum*) on the shore of his lake. (Figure 55) In the graduated beds of his amphitheater and serpentine walk, he planted small trees like the redbud, (*Cercis canadensis*) and several varieties of rhododendron from North America, all imported from Bartram's garden in Philadelphia. Painshill, like the other so called American gardens, was (and is again after a complete restoration) a spectacular collection of native and exotic plants.

---

<sup>118</sup> Woudstra, "Lewis Kennedy, Landscape Gardener," 215. Lewis Kennedy's education included studies in Russia in 1804 at the age of sixteen.

<sup>119</sup> Woudstra, 215.



*Figure 51 Rutter's Delineations of Fonthill Abbey describes William Beckford's American Garden*



Figure 52 *Magnolia grandiflora*, southern magnolia. Powderham boasted a fine tree highlighted in Loudon's *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*. Botanical study of a Bull Bay (*Magnolia grandiflora*) by Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708-70); watercolour and gouache on vellum; London; 1743. V and A Collections Museum Number D.583-1886.





*Figure 53 Lewis Kennedy's American Garden designed for Trent Park in 1815 featured a lady's reading room, a serpentine walkway, evergreen trees and a sylvan backdrop. Morton Arboretum.*



*Figure 54 The serpentine walk at Charles Hamilton's Painshill. American plants were included with native plants in graduated beds. Photo Rebecca Flemer.*





*Figure 55 Bald cypress planted at Painshill. Note its distinctive knees at its base. Seeds came from Bartram's garden in Pennsylvania. Photo Rebecca Flemer.*

## KITTY THE PLANT COLLECTOR

On the 1836 and 1839 maps of Powderham, the building directly behind the pavilion is possibly the greenhouse mentioned in Wilkinson's 1824 letter (Figure 56). Whether this was a heated structure or a shed with a cold frame attached is unknown. There are numerous references to greenhouses in the Courtenay accounts, however they are possibly in the kitchen garden closer to the castle. While a heated greenhouse so far removed from the castle was unlikely, nevertheless, a structure described in a catalogue of greenhouses points to Kitty's interest in horticulture and willingness to invest his revenues to great effect.

A Publication by George Tod entitled *Plans, elevations and sections, of hot-houses, green-houses, an aquarium, conservatories, &c. Recently built in different parts of England, for various noblemen and gentlemen*, featured a conservatory designed for Lord Courtenay.<sup>120</sup> The preface to the book assured the reader that all the buildings depicted were actually built, however this is not necessarily true, especially since the description of Courtenay's plate mentions that it has "to be built." The notable features for this structure were a pit for "exotic plants" and a single flue which heated above the ground and underneath the floor (Figure 57).

Another volume explains what Kitty was growing in the conservatory. Henry Charles Andrews (1759-1838), botanical artist and engraver, published a ten volume *Repository of Rare Plants*, issued in 137 monthly issues between 1797 and 1814. Two of

---

<sup>120</sup> Tod, *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Hot-Houses, Green-Houses, an Aquarium, Conservatories, &c., Recently Built in Different Parts of England, for Various Noblemen and Gentlemen : Including a Hot-House and Green-House in Her Late Majesty's Gardens at Frogmore: Plate X. A Conservatory. Executed for the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Courtenay, Powderham Castle, Devon.*



the volumes featured tropical plants grown by Lord Courtenay. In the first volume, *Malpighia crassifolia*, nance fruit, was shown in a colored plate and described: “The figure was made from a specimen communicated by the right honourable Lord Viscount Courtenay to whose most superb collection at Powderham Castle near Exeter flowered for the first time in England in the month of September 1798.”<sup>121</sup> Again John Kennedy was involved at Powderham - he was credited as writing the descriptions of plants featured in Volumes 1-5. Andrews was married to John Kennedy’s daughter Anne Kennedy (1784-?).<sup>122</sup> The description of *Malpighia* also mentioned that Messrs. Lee and Kennedy are recognized as introducing the plant from Jamaica in 1792 (Figure 58)<sup>123</sup>

Lord Courtenay was also mentioned in the fourth volume as the grower of Norfolk Island hibiscus (*Hibiscus patersonius*). “Our figure is from a specimen received from the right hon Lord Viscount Courtney in who's collection at Powderham, in Exeter, it flowered for the first time in the year 1800; and where also the seeds ripened.” Discovered in 1792 by Colonel Paterson, who was stationed on the island, Kitty displayed his horticultural talents by bringing the plant to seed in such a short time period.

Growing rare and collectable plants, published in volumes such as this repository was a marker of horticultural acumen. Not only was success in growing new exotic plants a demonstration of skill, but evidence of wealth and prestige. The plants often commanded steep prices and required luxury heated greenhouses. We do not know what

---

<sup>121</sup> Andrews, *The Botanist's Repository*, Volume 1:102.

<sup>122</sup> Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, 39.

<sup>123</sup> Lee and Kennedy – or the Vineyard nursery – had plant collectors in the field supplying new and rare plants for the nursery to grow. They were dispatched to North America, South America and South Africa.

Lord Courtenay purchased from Lee and Kennedy, nor how much the *Malpighia* or *Hibiscus* might have cost., Kitty likely purchased them from Lee and Kennedy as the years mentioned in the repository overlap with those in the Courtenay account books and they were noted growers of those plants.

Lee and Kennedy plants were prized possessions. They supplied royalty in England and abroad.<sup>124</sup> John Kennedy was involved in the gardens at Powderham on several fronts. He edited the text associated with the rare plants grown by Lord Courtenay in the *Botanist's Repository*. His book, *A treatise upon Planting, Gardening, and the Management of the Hot-house*, is in the library at Powderham. And Kitty made several purchases were made from Lee and Kennedy nursery between 1789 and 1803, (although he was not paid until the accounts were settled in 1803 with interest). His name is associated with American plants bought from John Bartram in 1754 and possibly 1772. His skill at propagating and producing plant stock is well documented. His son, Lewis Kennedy, is associated with other American gardens, such as that at Trent Park outside London. This evidence suggests John Kennedy had an important role in the creation of the American Garden at Powderham.

Nurserymen in the later Georgian era influenced garden design. Because gardens were places to demonstrate a patron's taste for the rare and collectible, the nurseries who grew exotic plants influenced the choices of their patron's gardens. An American garden

---

<sup>124</sup> Josephine Bonapart spent £2,600 in 1803 for plants from the Vineyard Nursery. Those plants were given special protection by the admiralty if shipments were intercepted. John Kennedy was given a special passport to travel to France and advise Josephine. Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, 220. Josephine so valued her Lee and Kennedy plants at Malmaison that following her divorce from Napoleon, Lady Eleanor Butler wrote that, Napoleon "uprooted all her famous plants which she had from Lee and Kenney." Quoted in Willson, *West London Nursery Gardens*, 38.

was a vehicle for presenting a living and beautiful cabinet of exotic horticultural curiosities, in keeping with the Georgian passion for discovery and scientific natural history. North American plants were “to be admired closely rather than [as] materials of an extensive landscape... This ultimately, was the legacy of Linnaeus: the world seen through the spectacles of classification.”<sup>125</sup> The nurserymen were the purveyors of these curiosities, and Lee and Kennedy’s Vineyard Nursery was the pinnacle of that industry bringing a wide range of exotic plants to England. By employing the best nurseryman in England, Courtenay reinforced his refined taste and elite standing in society.

The Courtenay account books and other documents reveal Kitty’s horticultural pursuits with other purchases besides plants. Two entries are for pots bought from the above-mentioned Ford Nursery in St. Thomas near Exeter.

- To Be paid Mr. Humphry Ford, Potter for Garden pots had by his Lordship from 17th Oct. 1796 to 20th Feb. 1797
- Nov 22 1799 to be paid Wm. Ford for garden pots had of him last year £31-19-4

Perhaps these pots were used for growing some of the exotic species featured in Andrew’s *Repository*. £31, around \$3,800 in today’s dollars, is a significant sum to spend on garden pots.

In 1815 an advertisement for the house and grounds where Kitty lived in New York City reveals that he continued his horticultural interests in America. The following description of the property was published shortly after he left for France:

For Sale: Claremont, the seat formerly occupied by Lord Courtenay, near Manhattanville. The prospect from the mansion house for diversity and extent is certainly not surpassed by any in America, embracing that of the most cultivated part of the Island, the wild bordering of Jersey, and the busy changeable scenes of

---

<sup>125</sup> Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden*, 188.

the North River. The twenty acres of land of which the place consists have been tastefully arranged to gratify alike the pursuits of the Botanist, or the luxury of Romance. The Greenhouse is well filled with upwards of 300 valuable plants. The fruit which the place produces, are in great variety, and of the choicest qualities.

Even after allowing for the florid pen of a real estate agent, the property must have contained a remarkable garden. The “300 valuable plants” indicates he was actively growing specimens in a greenhouse, carrying on where he had left off at Powderham.

Once exiled in France, Kitty sent for books and tools to continue his botany habit.

Felicity Harper, archivist in the archives at Powderham compiled the following entries:

- 1824 Paid for Treatises on the cultivation of flowers
  - Paid for a pair of fumigating Bellows
  - Paid Mr. Cook for Pine (pineapples)
- 1825 Aug 1<sup>st</sup> Smith of Covent Garden for Pine Apples sent to Lord Courtenay
- 1826 Jan 27 Mr. Smith for fruit trees and seeds sent to Lord Courtenay
- 1827 Aug 23 Mr. Smith for Pines sent to Lord Courtenay
- 1827 Oct Mr. Colville his account for plants sent to your Lordship

The shipment of pineapples is notable, they were difficult to grow and required a greenhouse. Three shipments of pineapples either indicates his passion for growing them, or repeatedly failing to do so. The beautiful gardens at the Chateau of Draveil, where Kitty resided, are still there today.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> Harper, “The 3rd Viscount’s Love of Plants.”



Figure 56 1839 Tithe map showing pavilion and rectangular building which may have been the greenhouse mentioned in Wilkinson's letter. Powderham Castle Archive.

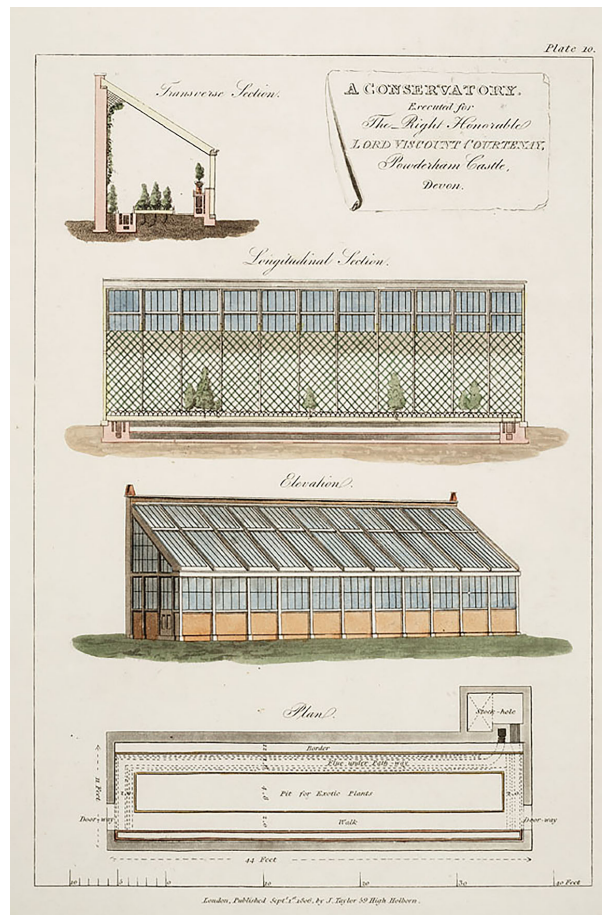


Figure 57 A Conservatory built for Lord Viscount "Kitty Courtenay. This may have been closer to the castle, however it predates the walled garden. Tod, Plans, elevations and sections, of hot-houses... 1806



Figure 58 *Malpighia crassifolia*, or nance fruit, growing at Powderham. Kitty was credited for bring the plant to flower and to seed in 1798. Andrews, Repository of Rare Plants.



## WHERE ARE THE AMERICAN PLANTS?

Back in the garden, turning from the area where the greenhouse may have been, stands a grove of large sweet chestnut trees, *Castanea sativa*, native to Europe and Asia (Figure 59). Like the linden or lime trees, they may be associated with the original planting. Although they are not American plants, they do comply with the general design principles of the enclosed American Garden - clumps or copses of trees which provided protection and a backdrop for the rare “shrubberies” of American plants, as well as a screen for the pavilion providing privacy to visitors. The American plants, such as summersweet or swamp azalea, were planted in protected spots in the garden in single specimens. According to records and explained to me when I visited with head gardener Andy Mills, this was how the American plants at Painshill were arranged.<sup>127</sup> Charles Hamilton mingled American species with native plants, to create a varied display.<sup>128</sup> Many American plants had showier autumn color and berry displays than their European counterparts.<sup>129</sup> And as stated before, their fragrance was another notable feature.

John Claudius Loudon wrote numerous volumes and periodicals relating to horticulture and architecture over the course of 38 years.<sup>130</sup> He described the *Magnolia grandiflora* at Powderham in his eight volume *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*. His *Hortus Britannicus* was over 750 pages and his *The Encyclopedia of Gardening* was over

---

<sup>127</sup> Mills, (Head Gardener, Painshill Park, Surrey) in discussion with the author, January, 2018.

<sup>128</sup> Flowers and shrubs were planted in a graduated display with smaller flowers in the foreground and larger shrubs and trees behind them. Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden*, 124.

<sup>129</sup> Symes and Hamilton, *Mr. Hamilton's Elysium*.

<sup>130</sup> Loudon's wife Jane Webb (1807-1858), 24 years his junior, helped write his books and continued his work after he died. She was a well-known author in her own right. Starting with her fictional, *Mummy! Or a tale of the Twenty-Second Century*, she went on to write horticultural works aimed at a female audience. MacDougall, *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*.

1,500 pages with thousands of entries. These publications compiled information he gathered himself as well as that compiled from other garden experts.<sup>131</sup> While some readers have harshly judged Loudon in their assessment of his works, he remains an important source because his books, reflect the ideas and theories of gardeners in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He described how an American garden was arranged:

An American garden combines shrubs and even low trees. These may be arranged in the mixed method according to color height and even time of flowering, the trees and shrubs alone, and the plants alone of both combined: but the most suitable way is to follow the natural orders, attending, at the same time, to keep the higher sorts farthest from the walk or side from which the group, or border, is to be chiefly viewed. This arrangement has an excellent effect in an American shrubbery, where the low species of heaths and other bog under-shrubs which are introduced, supply the place of herbaceous plants.<sup>132</sup>

The plants Loudon described did not survive two hundred years. They were shrubs and low growing species.

The 1882 *Gardeners Chronicle* article mentioned earlier lists trees and shrubs growing in Powderham's American Garden. It is not evident which plants date from the installation of the garden eighty years earlier. However, the list conveys a clear description of what was growing there:

There are large Cedars of Lebanon, fine Tulip Trees, and Douglas Firs from 80 to 90 feet high. Clumps of Kalmias are planted by the side of the running stream, and groups of Rhododendron and hardy Azaleas are opening their blossoms of many colours. The collection of hardy Azaleas at Powderham is among the finest in the country, and when in full bloom the different colours are said to give a fascinating effect – the luxuriance of foliage and the variety of other trees and shrubs, tending in a great measure to produce an unrivalled combination of variety and colour. Magnolias grow and flower as freely as the commonest

---

<sup>131</sup> Loudon described the Magnolia grandiflora at Powderham mentioned on page 63

<sup>132</sup> Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture and Landscape-Gardening, Including... a General History of Gardening in All Countries*, 907.

Rhododendron, some of them indeed are clothed to the ground with branches of unusually natural-like symmetry forming objects of great beauty when in flower or even leaf. I am, of course referring to the deciduous Magnolias. Copper Beech make very handsome single specimens, and a remarkable specimen of *Abies cephalonica* is said to be the finest in England. The variety in this garden is endless, so to speak, owing to so many effects being created by arrangement. A grand clump of scarlet Rhododendron catches the eye on a slope, or a clump of *Deutzia crenata flore-pleno*, or it may be an established clump of *Gynerium argenteum*, or a group of *Phormium tenax* by the brink of the river.

While some of these plants, such as the tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), mountain laurel (*Kalmia*) and pampas grass (*Gynerium argenteum*), are from the new world, others are native to Asia (*Deutzia*) and the South Pacific (*Phormium*). The author continues with a description of Eucalyptus from Australia and Camellias from Asia. As mentioned before, the Douglas fir was not introduced in Britain until 1837. These large specimens must have been planted shortly after that date and decades after the initial installation of the garden. This geographically diverse selection of plant material was then growing in what is notably the first written reference to Powderham's enclosed garden as the "American Garden." Further study of the American Garden could yield useful information regarding who contributed to the additional plantings and maintenance of the garden. While it was referred to as an American Garden, clearly the space was a ground for experimentation and collecting well into the nineteenth century.

Although it appeared to be well maintained until twentieth-century, Powderham's American Garden became overgrown after many years of neglect. By the 1990s it consisted of trees and lawn, the "shrubbery" cleared out for easier maintenance. The restoration of the garden in the 1990s reestablished many plants which could have been present at the time of the garden's initial installation. The selections were

compatible with plants known to be imported and growing in England in 1800. Some of the trees mentioned in the 1882 article, such as the Douglas fir, are survivors of the nineteenth century and some, such as the limes and sweet chestnuts likely date back to the original planting.



*Figure 59 Sweet chestnuts which likely date back to the original planting of the American Garden. Photo Rebecca Flemer.*

## INTERPRETATIVE THEMES: NEW TOURS AND PROGRAMS

Freeman Tilden of the National Park Service defined interpretation as: “An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.”<sup>133</sup> He went on to outline six principles which I will not elaborate here, however, one is particularly relevant to the interpretation of the American Garden at Powderham. That is his second principle, “Information, as such, is not Interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.”<sup>134</sup> This paper presents myriads of information about the American Garden. How can this information become a revelation? How can this information be communicated to visitors at Powderham to help the garden speak to them?

The information in this paper reveals how people built, interacted, and moved through the space of the American Garden at the time of its installation. Using this research and historic context, tours and programs offer the possibilities to bring the garden to new audiences and make it relevant for repeat visitors to the castle. Hopefully these programs will help connect visitors more deeply with the garden and its sense of place. After experiencing a tour or program of the garden, perhaps the visitor will leave with a feeling of history rather than the facts.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 8.

<sup>134</sup> Tilden, 9.

<sup>135</sup> Adair, Filene, and Koloski, *Letting Go?*, 321.



## LANDSCAPE AS RETREAT

In keeping with idea that Kitty may have spent time in the garden as a therapeutic exercise, visitor experiences could be geared toward using the garden as a place of retreat. In addition, horticultural therapy, a well-studied field, is proven to bring healing powers to people suffering from disease, mental illness, and recovering from surgery.<sup>136</sup>

Studies were conducted following breast cancer patients, half of whom spent two hours in a garden daily and half who did not. The patients who spent time more time in the garden were less fatigued after the three-week study.<sup>137</sup> Being in a natural setting contrasts with harsh hospital environments where painful treatments and an anxiety provoking diagnosis may have taken place. A garden, especially a sequestered space such as the American Garden, takes the patient to a peaceful place where they can find comfort in the beauty around them.<sup>138</sup>

Veterans recovering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) responded to a survey regarding their views on nature and hypothetical (rather than existing) gardens. They mentioned an enclosed space, though not too closed in, would provide a peaceful setting. Veterans also proposed a gently running stream as a characteristic of a garden that would help bring them comfort.<sup>139</sup> These are two features of the American Garden. The stream is not overly loud and the space, though not wide open, is also intimate and

---

<sup>136</sup> Ulrich, "View through a Window May Influence Recovery from Surgery." Marcus and Sachs, *Therapeutic Landscapes*.

<sup>137</sup> Cimprich and Ronis, "An Environmental Intervention to Restore Attention in Women With Newly Diagnosed Breast Cancer."

<sup>138</sup> Marcus and Sachs, *Therapeutic Landscapes*, 115.

<sup>139</sup> Parkins, "Soft Touch for a Silent Voice: Creating Outdoor Healing Environments for Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder."

comforting. Perhaps some local veterans' groups could visit the garden on a regular basis as part of a recovery process for those suffering from PTSD.

Already on site in the walled garden, the Dawlish Garden Trust works with adults with learning disabilities and other impairments. The Trust places these adults in gardens and its own nursery where they practice horticulture. Because the people from the trust are already on site at Powderham, the American Garden could be another place on the estate where workers practice their horticultural skills. Powderham and the Courtenay family support endeavors which make life better for people facing challenges. They understand that horticultural work builds self-esteem and rewards people with real life skills.

Other more recreational pursuits, though still therapeutic in nature, are well suited for Powderham's American Garden. These might be yoga, meditation, or prayer groups. The site, with its peaceful and private setting, befits this type of activity.

### THE FRAGRANT LANDSCAPE

American plants introduced new sensory experiences to the English Georgian garden through their fragrance and leaf textures. Written accounts of the American Garden at Powderham emphasize this feature (certainly something to consider when we think about hygiene at the turn of the nineteenth century). However, this theme is also relevant when we consider visitors who would appreciate the sensory experience of a fragrant garden, especially blind visitors or those with dementia.

Scent is closely aligned with memory. Like Proust's memories of his childhood awakened tasting a *madeleine* dipped into tea in his *À la Recherche du*

*Temps Perdu*, this is a familiar experience to most people. However, studies show it is not just a “feeling.” Odors, or olfactory cues, are particularly potent in eliciting rich memories.<sup>140</sup> One study showed that the scent of pine needles increased cerebral activity in areas of the temporal lobe associated with memory, and the frontal lobe area for feeling and judgement.<sup>141</sup> The fragrance and “luxuriance” of Powderham’s American Garden may help Alzheimer patients recall childhood memories. Fragrance also provides blind visitors with a way to experience the landscape.

#### KITTY COURTENAY – HORTICULTURIST

Like Kitty, Georgians were avid plant collectors. Having the latest introductions in their collections demonstrated access to novel botanical discoveries. Possible activities and events associated with this theme of plant collectors and their legacy might include flower shows involving local garden clubs. Societies specializing in particular species such as Orchids or Daffodils (which were widely planted at Powderham in the eighteenth century) could hold meetings or shows on the grounds.

The British landscape faces serious ecological challenges. Some once prized exotic species have become invasive in Britain. *Rhododendron ponticum* in particular has blanketed the British countryside.<sup>142</sup> Many organizations are addressing issues surrounding invasive species. Powderham would make an ideal setting for a conference or symposium regarding invasive species. After all, it was at gardens like the American

---

<sup>140</sup> de Bruijn and Bender, “Olfactory Cues Are More Effective than Visual Cues in Experimentally Triggering Autobiographical Memories.”

<sup>141</sup> Jo, Fujii, and Cho, “An Experimental Study on Physiological and Psychological Effects of Pine Scent.”

<sup>142</sup> Dehnen-Schmutz and Williamson, “*Rhododendron Ponticum* in Britain and Ireland.”

Garden where these species “took root.” Other concerns such as rising sea levels and climate change are also relevant to the landscape at Powderham which fronts on an estuary close to the sea and would serve as excellent program topics.

### RECREATING THE TEMPLE AND OTHER EPHEMERAL FEATURES

Several other historic gardens have recreated lost buildings. One of these, which may be closest to Powderham’s lost buildings, is at Painshill. There, a dilapidated gothic tower was reconstructed to match the historical record. If the temple at Powderham were to be reconstructed, it might be similar in scale to Painshill’s Gothic Tower. Constructing a building of a “slight and temporary nature,” perhaps with lathe as described by Anne Rushout, would be an appropriate intervention.

The Turkish tent at Painshill, reconstructed in fiberglass, was originally built from *papier-mâché* and textile (Figure 60). The general form was known from photographs and two contemporary sketches. An oval brick drum, the inner core of the tent survived until 1870. It was designed as a permanent building, and not disassembled in the winter.<sup>143</sup> Powderham’s account books include an entry for a “Large Marquee Tent with furniture compleat” from “John and Coutts Trotter of London, tent-makers” 1789-95.<sup>144</sup> This purchase likely coincided with Lord Courtenay’s coming of age ball in 1790. According to Powderham’s guidebook, there were three tents made of pink and green silk.<sup>145</sup> John and his brother Coutts supplied military goods and held a near monopoly on

---

<sup>143</sup> Symes and Hamilton, *Mr. Hamilton’s Elysium*, 106.

<sup>144</sup> “DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19.”

<sup>145</sup> French, *Powderham Castle, Gardens and Deer Park*, 17.

British Army supplies, and certainly would have made tents for celebrations too.<sup>146</sup> There were probably a limited number of tent-makers who could complete such a large order.

Although there is no record that the “large marquee tent” was pitched in the American Garden, it is in keeping with the historical record to recreate such an intervention. We know the family spent time entertaining in the garden, we also know they owned an elaborate tent.<sup>147</sup> We can speculate about the tent form by looking at Painshill’s Turkish tent and Lord Courtenay’s *lit a la Polonoise* or ‘bed of the Polish type.’ Essentially, a round dome with voluminous fabric cascading from it. Present-day fabrication and placement of a tent could re-create an appropriately playful and exotic atmosphere in the American Garden.

The Coade Stone figures from the entrance gate of the American Garden are kept in the castle for safe keeping. Probably an excellent idea as recent auction prices for comparable pieces indicate they are worth a staggering £26,000 each.<sup>148</sup> However, they are a missing element in the garden and it would be appropriate to place reproductions of these pieces on the pillars of the garden gate entrance.

Opening the American Garden at Powderham is not just a process of opening the gates. The garden presents opportunities for more varied experiences for visitors to the castle grounds. Repeat visitors can enjoy the garden in different seasons or return for different programs and events. Touring the ever-changing landscape holds the possibility of drawing repeat visitation. Seeing, touching, smelling, and listening play significant

---

<sup>146</sup> “Trotter, John (1757-1833), Storekeeper General. The Archive of John Trotter.”

<sup>147</sup> In the eighteenth century furnished meant complete with textile hangings. “DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12.”

<sup>148</sup> “Two Fine Coade Stone Figures.”



roles in a garden visit. The garden offers an immersive multisensory experience, a respite for mind, body and soul.



*Figure 60 The Turkish Tent at Painshill Park. Recreated using fiberglass instead of textiles. Photo Flickr.com. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/vgenburgos/433892277/in/>*

## CONCLUSION

Gardens are by their very nature places of beauty and the British populace holds them especially dear. Over 27 million Britons, or most of the adult population, consider gardening their favorite pastime.<sup>149</sup> Along with working in their own gardens, many residents and foreign tourists enjoy historic gardens visiting as a pastime. Historic gardens offer visitors a living history, significant for understanding culture and change. Powderham's American Garden presents a piece of this history with an authentic restoration of the Georgian era garden. The garden may draw visitors who are more interested in horticulture than visiting the castle.

This thesis investigated who created the American Garden and why. Although there are no historic planting plans, this study offers possibilities for species that historically may have been grown in Powderham's American Garden. From the accounts, it is clear that Lee and Kennedy's Vineyard Nursery supplied plant material. The accounts also reveal who worked in the garden, what structures were there, and how the landscape functioned for the Courtenay family both physically and symbolically. This knowledge generates an understanding of Powderham's American Garden and its relationship to the larger landscape. Clearly the American Garden holds a special place in the landscape at Powderham. Created at the end of the Georgian era and at the dawn of the industrial revolution, it reflects the time of its construction. It also reveals the complex character of its creator, Kitty Courtenay.

---

<sup>149</sup> Calnan, *Rooted in History*, 1.

One question, which remains largely unanswered, is whether Kitty's political leanings influenced his choice to create an American Garden. The garden was not called "American" until 1882 when the *Gardeners chronicle* article described the landscape at Powderham. However, other gardens used that terminology, such as Beckford's "American Ground" and Lewis Kennedy's creations. Perhaps, family and visitors called it "American" informally. In 1888, the ordnance survey map delineated the space without naming it, while the 1906 map labeled it "American Garden." Any American plantings in the garden, were most likely connected to the mania for collecting North American plants rather than to any political stance.

Kitty's acquaintance with Robert Fulton and his later exile to America suggest his affinity for the fledgling country. According to some accounts, an imminent arrest for his homosexual activity forced his hasty departure in 1811. Kitty supposedly boarded the first ship on which he could find passage, and by happenstance journeyed to, America.<sup>150</sup> However, he may have had time to plan his escape. The British perceived America as a place where a person could escape persecution for homosexuality and criminal charges he faced at every turn in Devon.<sup>151</sup> Did Kitty choose America for his exile because of its relatively lenient attitude toward homosexuality, because he was drawn to the idea of a new republic or because America was the destination of the first vessel he could find? And did this destination have anything to do with planting an American Garden? He may have departed America, again in haste, because of the War of 1812.<sup>152</sup> Because of these

---

<sup>150</sup> Joseph Farington diary quoted in Harper, "2nd Viscount Study," 1995.

<sup>151</sup> He attempted to build a house in Torquay but was thwarted by treatment of his workers by local townsfolk who protested his homosexual reputation. Harper. Crompton, "Homosexuals and the Death Penalty in Colonial America."

<sup>152</sup> Harper, "2nd Viscount Study," 1995.

unanswered questions, it remains unclear how important America was to the creation of the American Garden.

In 1815 Kitty emigrated to France. While he severed his American connection, he rekindled his familial connection to France, an idea which may have been latent in his mind.<sup>153</sup> If Kitty felt a close affinity to France, his American plants probably had little to do with any particular affection for America. More likely, he was collecting the newest, most fashionable and exotic plants available and planting them in a current style.

As the Georgian era drew to a close, new technology and social reform changed the way people created gardens. Lawn mowers replaced gardeners with sickles. Advances in glass and iron production made greenhouses more accessible to the burgeoning middle class. Commercial production lowered prices for plants.<sup>154</sup> Suburban development and terrace housing provided space for gardens, democratizing horticultural pursuits. Citizens widely read periodicals devoted to horticulture, such as the *Gardener's Magazine*. Reformists advocated for public parks which improved conditions for the poor.<sup>155</sup> The once rarified air of gardening settled into the general British population. Powderham and its American Garden exemplify an earlier time, when horticulture was a genteel pastime, exclusive to those with the land and the resources to buy expensive and exotic plants. The garden is an important survivor representing a specific era in landscape history.

Later development of Powderham's American Garden is beyond the scope of this study, nonetheless, it would be helpful to understand all the stages of this living

---

<sup>153</sup> In the music room Kitty hung the official French embassy portrait of Louis XVI (by Calet) – the French King then-recently-beheaded in the French Revolution. "Powderham Guide Book, Draft."

<sup>154</sup> Dehnen-Schmutz and Williamson, "Rhododendron Ponticum in Britain and Ireland," 335.

<sup>155</sup> Bilston, "Queens of the Garden."

palimpsest. Future study might reveal others who tended the garden after Kitty. Camellias and Douglas fir were planted later, when Asian and Australian trees and shrubs expanded the fashionable British planting palette. As the nineteenth century progressed, the American Garden, despite its confusing nomenclature, represented plants imported from all corners of the globe. Dating these plants, especially shrubs without tree rings to count, is almost impossible. When trees and old shrubs reach the ends of their lives, counting the rings for age would be useful. However, the accounts of the nineteenth century, especially any nursery receipts, may reveal what was planted and by whom.

The English landscape garden of the Georgian era is well represented within Powderham's demesne. The Belvedere's prospect over the family's holdings, the Georgian circuit, the mysterious grotto, and finally the enclosed American Garden all reflect the English elite ethos and culture of the late eighteenth century. The American Garden at Powderham conveys history while embracing a most basic human instinct - to be in nature. To see, smell, and feel the garden touches the soul on a deep level as a living and changing place. The preservation of this place, with all the challenges that entails, is a worthy endeavor. The garden enlivens the past and tells the story of the people and place that is Powderham.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Adair, Bill, Benjamin Filene, and Laura Koloski, eds. *Letting Go? Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World*. Philadelphia: The Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, 2011.
- Andrews, Henry Charles. *The Botanist's Repository, for New, and Rare Plants. Containing Coloured Figures of Such Plants, as Have Not Hitherto Appeared in Any Similar Publication....The Whole Executed by Henry Andrews, Author of the Coloured Engravings of Heaths, in Folio*. Vol. Volume 1. 10 vols. London, 1797.
- Barnett, Gerald. *Richard and Maria Cosway: A Biography*. Tiverton, Devon : Cambridge: Westcountry Books ; Lutterworth Press, 1995.
- Berkeley, Edmund. *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John*. Tallahassee : University Presses of Florida, c1982.
- Bilston, Sarah. "Queens of the Garden: Victorian Women Gardeners and the Rise of the Gardening Advice Text." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36, no. 1 (2008): 1–19.
- Britton, John. *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire :With Heraldical and Genealogical Notices of the Beckford Family* . London :, 1823.  
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044033409558>.
- Bruijn, Maaike J. de, and Michael Bender. "Olfactory Cues Are More Effective than Visual Cues in Experimentally Triggering Autobiographical Memories." *Memory* 26, no. 4 (2018): 547–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2017.1381744>.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste, and Several Other Additions*. Philadelphia, 1806.
- Calnan, Mike. *Rooted in History: Studies in Garden Conservation*. London: National Trust, 2006.
- "Campbell, Archibald, Third Duke of Argyll (1682–1761), Politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed April 19, 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.
- Chambers, Douglas. *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden : Botany, Trees, and the Georgics*. New Haven : Published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993.
- Cimprich, Bernadine PhD, RN, FAAN, and David L. PhD Ronis. "An Environmental Intervention to Restore Attention in Women With Newly Diagnosed Breast Cancer." *Cancer Nursing* 26, no. 4 (August 2003): 284–92.
- Clark, Kenneth. *Civilisation: A Personal View*. [1st U.S. ed.]. New York,: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Coade, Eleanor. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade's Artificial Stone Manufactory ... With Prices Affixed*. London, 1784.
- "Coade, Eleanor (1733–1821), Manufacturer of Artificial Stone | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography." Accessed February 28, 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.
- Colvin, Howard. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*. 4th ed. New Haven : Yale University Press, 2008.
- Courtenay, Charles, 2018. Powderham Castle Archive.
- Creighton, O. H. *Castles and Landscapes*. The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, 1100-1600. London New York: Continuum, 2002.
- Crompton, Louis. "Homosexuals and the Death Penalty in Colonial America." *Journal of Homosexuality* 1, no. 3 (June 20, 1976): 277–93. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v01n03\\_03](https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v01n03_03).
- Darlington, William. *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall; with Notices of Their Botanical Contemporaries*. Philadelphia,: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1849.



- Dauntton, M. J. *Progress and Poverty : An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850*. Oxford, England : Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Dehnen-Schmutz, Katharina, and Mark Williamson. "Rhododendron Ponticum in Britain and Ireland: Social, Economic and Ecological Factors in Its Successful Invasion." *Environment and History* 12, no. 3 (August 1, 2006): 325–50.
- "DHC 1508/M/London L1508/AC/19." Devon Heritage Center, January 2018.
- "DHC D1508/E/Ledgers/V/12." Devon Heritage Center, January 2018.
- "DHC D1508/M/Ledgers/V/6." Devon Heritage Center, January 2018.
- "Diary of Mrs. Price of Chester," 1805. D/EEg/Z1. Berkshire Record Office.
- Douglas-Home, Jamie. *Stately Passions: The Scandals of Britain's Great Houses*. Michael O'Mara Books, 2012.
- "England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975 - AncestryLibrary.Com." Accessed April 6, 2018. <https://search.ancestrylibrary.com/>.
- Felus, Kate. *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden : Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* /. London : I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016.
- French, Daniel. *Powderham Castle, Gardens and Deer Park*. Peterborough UK: Jarrold Publishing, 2014.
- Fry, Joel T., February 2018. Bartram's Garden.
- "Gardeners Chronicle & New Horticulturist. Ser.2 v.17 (Jan-June 1882)." HathiTrust. Accessed April 6, 2018. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.c2617238?urlappend=%3Bseq=608>.
- Gillham, Mary E. "Vegetation of the Exe Estuary in Relation to Water Salinity." *Journal of Ecology* 45, no. 3 (1957): 735–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2256955>.
- Girouard, Mark. "Powderham Castle, Devon-- I: The Seat of the Earl of Devon." *Country Life (Archive : 1901 - 2005)*; London, July 4, 1963.
- Harper, Felicity. "A Study of Sir William Courtenay, 2nd Viscount." Devon, England, 1995. Powderham Castle Archive.
- . "A Study of Sir William Courtenay, 3rd Viscount." Devon, England, 1995. Powderham Castle Archive.
- . "The 3rd Viscount's Love of Plants." Powderham Castle, Devon, 1995. A Report of Sir William Courtenay, 3rd Viscount. Courtenay Archive.
- Harvey, John. *Early Nurserymen: With Reprints of Documents and Lists*. London: Phillimore, 1974.
- Hobhouse, Penelope. *Plants in Garden History: An Illustrated History of Plants and Their Influence on Garden Styles - from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day*. Paperback ed. London: Pavilion Books, 1997.
- Hunt, John Dixon. *A World of Gardens*. London : Reaktion Books, c2012.
- . *Garden and Grove : The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1986.
- . *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992.
- . *William Kent : Landscape Garden Designer : An Assessment and Catalogue of His Designs* /. London : A. Zwemmer, 1987.
- International Dendrology Society. "Bean's Trees and Shrubs." Encyclopedia. Bean's Trees and Shrubs. Accessed March 4, 2018. <http://www.beanstreesandshrubs.org/>.
- Jacques, David. *Georgian Gardens : The Reign of Nature* /. Portland, Ore. : Timber Press, 1984.
- Jo, Hyun-Ju, Eijiro Fujii, and Tae-Dong Cho. "An Experimental Study on Physiological and Psychological Effects of Pine Scent." *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture* 38, no. 4 (2010): 1–10.

- Jones, Inigo, and Kent, William. *The Designs of Inigo Jones, Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Public and Private Buildings*. London,: B. White, 1770.
- Jones, Nigel, ed. "Devon's Historic Courtenay Family," March 2017.
- Kelly, Alison. *Mrs. Coade's Stone*. Upton-upon-Severn, England : Self Publishing Association, 1990.
- Kennedy (gardener.), John. *A Treatise upon Planting, Gardening, and the Management of the Hot-House*, 1776.
- Kennedy, L. (Lewis). *Notitiæ on the Improvements Proposed for Trent Park & House, Middx., John Cumming Esq.* Trent Park (Enfield, London, England) -- History., 1815.
- Laird, Mark. *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden : English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- "Letters to Mrs. Jane Grimston," 1828 1823. DDGR/45/13. East Riding of Yorkshire Council.
- Loudon, J. C. *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*. Ed. 2. London., 1854.  
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027>.
- Loudon, John Claudius. *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture and Landscape-Gardening, Including... a General History of Gardening in All Countries*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822.
- MacDougall, Elisabeth. *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1980.
- Marcus, Clare Cooper, and Naomi A Sachs. *Therapeutic Landscapes: An Evidence-Based Approach to Designing Healing Gardens and Restorative Outdoor Spaces*. Somerset, UNITED STATES: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2013.  
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/upenn-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1411617>.
- Markham, Gervase. "Markhams Farewell to Husbandry, or, The Enriching of All Sorts of Barren and Sterile Grounds in Our Nation to Be as Fruitfull in All Manner of Graine, Pulse and Grasse, as the Best Grounds Whatsoever : Together with the Annoyances, and Preservation of All Graine and Seed, from One Yeare to Many Yeares : As Also, a Husbandly Computation of Men and Cattels Dayly Labours, Their Expences, Charges, and Utmost Profits /," 1653.
- Miller, Philip. *The Gardeners Dictionary. Containing the Methods of Cultivating and Improving All Sorts of Trees, Plants, and Flowers, for the Kitchen, Fruit, and Pleasure Gardens; as Also Those Which Are Used in Medicine. With Directions for the Culture of Vineyards, and Making of Wine in England. In Which Likewise Are Included the Practical Parts of Husbandry*. The 4th ed., cor. And enl. London,: Printed for the author, 1754.
- Mills, Andy. Head Gardener, Painshill Park, Surrey, January 28, 2018.
- NYBG. "Research Guides: Azaleas at The New York Botanical Garden: Native Azaleas."  
NYBG. Accessed April 20, 2018. <http://libguides.nybg.org>.
- O'Donoghue, Jon. "Extracts for the Diary of Anne Rushout," 2005. A Study of Sir William Courtenay, 3rd Viscount. Powderham Castle Archive.
- Ostergard, Derek E., Philip Hewat-Jaboor, Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, and Dulwich Picture Gallery, eds. *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Parkins, M. "Soft Touch for a Silent Voice: Creating Outdoor Healing Environments for Veterans with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder." Master of Landscape Architecture, Univeristy of Oregon, 2011.
- "Powderham Guide Book, Draft," 2018. Powderham Castle Archive.
- "Powderham Restoration Plan for the American Garden." Exeter : Devon:, 1995.

- Pregill, Philip, and Nancy Volkman. *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Western Tradition*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993.
- Presswell, Dorothy, ed. "The Wilkinson Letters," 2004.
- Quest-Ritson, Charles. *The English Garden : A Social History*. London ; Viking, 2001.
- Repton, Humphry, and J. Adey Repton. "Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening : Including Some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture, Collected from Various Manuscripts, in the Possession of the Different Noblemen and Gentlemen, for Whose Use They Were Originally Written : The Whole Tending to Establish Fixed Principles in the Respective Arts," 1805. <http://agris.fao.org>.
- Rogger, André. *Landscapes of Taste: The Art of Humphry Repton's Red Books*. The Classical Tradition in Architecture. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Rutter, John. *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey*. Shaftesbury : London: The Author ; C. Knight, 1823. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100236895>.
- Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Fire of His Genius: Robert Fulton and the American Dream*. New York: Free Press, 2001.
- Sparks, Jared. *David Rittenhouse & Robert Fulton, by James Renwick*. Harper & brothers, 1902.
- Stillman, R. A., J. D. Goss-Custard, A. D. West, Seald Durell, S. Mcgrorty, R. W. G. Caldow, K. J. Norris, et al. "Predicting Shorebird Mortality and Population Size under Different Regimes of Shellfishery Management." *Journal of Applied Ecology* 38, no. 4 (August 2001): 857–68. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2664.2001.00644.x>.
- Swete, John. *Travels in Georgian Devon*. Tiverton: Devon Books in association with Halsgrove., 1997.
- Symes, Michael. *A Glossary of Garden History*. Shire Garden History 6. Princes Risborough: Shire, 1993.
- . *The English Rococo Garden*. 2nd ed. Shire Garden History 5. Princes Risborough: Shire, 2005.
- Symes, Michael, and Charles Hamilton. *Mr. Hamilton's Elysium: The Gardens of Painshill*. London: Lincoln, 2010.
- The Gentleman's Magazine*. R. Newton, 1832.
- Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. 4th ed., expanded and updated. Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, c2007.
- Tod, George. *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Hot-Houses, Green-Houses, an Aquarium, Conservatories, &c., Recently Built in Different Parts of England, for Various Noblemen and Gentlemen : Including a Hot-House and Green-House in Her Late Majesty's Gardens at Frogmore: Plate X. A Conservatory. Executed for the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Courtenay, Powderham Castle, Devon*. London : J.Taylor, 1806. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.TodGPlans>.
- "Trotter, John (1757-1833), Storekeeper General. The Archive of John Trotter." Accessed March 24, 2018. [www.christies.com](http://www.christies.com).
- "Two Fine Coade Stone Figures." Accessed April 7, 2018. <https://www.decorativecollective.com/blog/arabesque-antiques/two-fine-coade-stone-figures>.
- Tymms, Samuel, and William Camden. *Camden's Britannia Epitomized and Continued*, 1842.
- Ulrich, R. S. "View through a Window May Influence Recovery from Surgery." *Science* 224, no. 4647 (April 27, 1984): 420–21. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.6143402>.
- Walpole, Horace. *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*. New York : Ursus Press, c1995.

- Whately, Thomas, and Michael Symes. *Observations on Modern Gardening: An Eighteenth-Century Study of the English Landscape Garden*. 2016 edition. Garden and Landscape History 5. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1771.
- Wilkinson, John. "John Wilkinson Letters," 1825 1824. Powderham Castle Archive.
- Williamson, Tom. "Gardens, Legitimation, and Resistance." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (1999): 37–52.
- Willson, E.J. *West London Nursery Gardens*. Greenwich, UK: Neptune House, 1982.
- Woudstra, Jan. "Lewis Kennedy, Landscape Gardener: And His Work at Buckhurst Park." *Apollo* 125, no. 362 (1992): 215–21.

## INDEX

- Addison, Joseph, 19  
Andrews, Henry Charles, 90  
Bartram, John, 60, 61, 92  
Beautiful, 30  
Beckford, 7, 8  
Beckford, William, 81  
belvedere, 76  
Belvedere, 22, 34  
Bridgeman, Charles, 18, 19  
Britton, John, 82  
Brown, Lancelot 'Capability', 20, 22  
Burke, Edmund, 30  
cedar of Lebanon, 53  
Chapple, John, 77  
Claremont, 93  
Coade stone, 41, 42, 43, 106  
Coade, Eleanor, 41, 42  
Collison, Peter, 61  
coming-of-age ball, 9  
Cosway, Richard, 25, 48  
Courtenay family, 4  
Dawlish Garden Trust, 103  
Douglas fir, 53, 100, 110  
Exe estuary, 4  
eye-catcher, 75  
*ferme ornée*, 18  
Fonthill Abbey, 9, 81, 82  
Ford Nursery, 93  
Ford, Ann, 62  
Fothergill, Dr. John, 61  
fragrance, 103  
Fulton, Robert, 10, 109  
*Gardener's Magazine*, 110  
Grimwood & Co., 61  
Hamilton, Charles, 81, 85, 97  
Kennedy, John, 91  
Kennedy, Lewis, 84, 85  
Kent, William, 19, 20, 22  
Lee and Kennedy Nursery, 58, 63, 92, 93, 108  
Lettice, 8  
linden, 52  
Linnaeus, Carl, 60  
Lorrain, Claude, 20  
Loudon, John Claudius, 97  
Loughborough, 8  
Lucombe oak, 62  
magnolia, 81, 83  
Magnolia, 98  
magnolias, 99  
Marshall, Humphrey, 62  
Miller, Philip, 69  
Mount Edgcumbe, 33  
Mountjoy, Richard, 70  
Painshill, 81, 85, 105  
Palladian Architecture, 18  
pavilion, 75-81  
Poussin, Nicolas, 20  
Powderham Scandal, 7  
Prosopopoeia, 21  
Repton, Humphry, 20, 26, 27, 28, 48  
rhododendron, 52, 98  
rococo, 26  
Romney, 8  
Rousham, 20  
Rushout, Anne, 47  
Rutter, John, 82  
Smith & Co. Nursery, 58, 63, 94  
St. Thomas the Apostle, 62  
Stowe, 20  
Sublime, 30  
summerhouse, 75  
sweet chestnut trees, 97  
Swete, Reverend, 25, 76  
Switzer, Stephen, 18-19  
tea house, 75  
therapeutic landscape, 102  
Tilden, Freeman, 101  
*Tilia cordata*, 52, 54, 59  
Tod, George, 90  
Trotter tents, 105  
tulip tree, 99  
Vanburgh, John, 19  
Walpole, Horace, 21, 52  
Whately, Thomas, 33, 36  
Wilkinson, John, 46, 83, 90  
Wyatt, James, 11, 43, 48  
Zig-Zag, 33