Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

Connemara Main House

Historic Structure Report

September 2005

Historical Architecture, Cultural Resources Division

Southeast Regional Office

National Park Service

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Historic Structure Report
Connemara Main House
Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site
Flat Rock, NC
LCS#: 05146

Cover image: Carl Sandburg looking away from Main House. (CARL 109103, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

Main House

Historic Structure Report

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic structure report on the Main House at Connemara, part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the historic structures and landscapes of National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. Many individuals contributed to this work, but we would particularly like to thank the staff at Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site for their assistance throughout the process, especially Connie Hudson Backlund, superintendent; Sue Bennett, acting chief of cultural resources; and Johnny Wright, chief of maintenance. Especially helpful, too, was Lynn White Savage, the park's museum curator, whose knowledge of the park's archives and willingness to locate relevant materials have greatly expedited this project. Special thanks also go to William McKay and Julianne Heggoy, great- grandchildren of Ellison Smyth, for sharing their personal photographs, which made a significant contribution to this study. We hope that this study of the Main House at Connemara will prove valuable to park management in ongoing efforts to preserve the building and to everyone in understanding and interpreting this unique resource.

Dan Scheidt, Chief
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Management Summary

"What a hell of a baronial estate for an old Socialist," Carl Sandburg (1878- 1967) remarked after purchasing Connemara in 1945.[1] Originally called Rock Hill, Connemara is located in Flat Rock, one of the earliest and most- famous of the summer resort communities that have been a feature of western North Carolina since before the Civil War. Because so many of the community's residents, who were mostly part- time in the nineteenth century, were from or had connections to Charleston, South Carolina, Flat Rock has often been referred to as "Little Charleston of the Mountains."

Historical Data

The Main House at Connemara was built in the late 1830s by Christopher G. Memminger (1803- 1889), a wealthy lawyer and politician from Charleston who later became secretary of the treasury for the Confederate States of America. After his death, his heirs sold the estate to trustees for Mary Fleming Gregg (1839- died after 1900). Her husband, William H. Gregg, Jr. (1834- 1895), was the son of the famed William H. Gregg, Sr., builder of one of the South's earliest textile mills, at Graniteville, South Carolina, in the 1840s. In 1900, Mary Fleming Gregg sold Rock Hill to Ellison Adger Smyth (1847- 1942), "dean of the Southern textile industry," according to his obituary in the New York *Times*. The Smyths renamed the estate Connemara and, like the Greggs and the Memmingers, occupied the house only about four months out of the year in the early 1900s. Until the late nineteenth century, when epidemics of malaria, yellow fever, and cholera finally began to be controlled, the Memmingers generally left Charleston around the end of June and did not return until the threat of disease began to fade in late October or early November. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the season" at Flat Rock generally ran from late May through September. The Smyths continued to use Connemara as a part- time residence until 1924 when the house was rehabilitated and became their primary residence.

Weary of the harsh winters at their old home in Harbert, Michigan, Carl Sandburg (1878- 1967) and his wife bought the estate in the fall of 1945 and, with their daughters, occupied the house in January 1946. Winner of a Pulitzer Prize in 1940 for his biography of Abraham Lincoln and another in 1951 for his poetry, Sandburg, "the poet of the American people," enjoyed some of his most productive years at Connemara, including completion of *Remembrance Rock*, his sweeping novel of the American experience. After his death in October 1967, his widow deeded the estate to the Federal government, and it became Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site in 1968.

Architectural Data

Built in 1838- 1839, the house is a significant, if modest, example of the early Greek Revival and was apparently designed by Charles F. Reichardt, a Prussian- born architect who was one of the founders of the forerunner of the American Institute of Architecture. As with most old buildings, there have been a variety of alterations and additions to the original house, including a large addition and significant interior alterations that Memminger himself made around 1848 and a series of late Victorian additions and alterations that were most likely made by the Greggs shortly after they

1. Paula Steichen, *My Connemara (*New York, NY: paperback edition, 2002, originally published by Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p. 111. Steichen is Carl Sandburg's granddaughter.

bought the property in 1889. Although the kitchen remained in a seperate building, Smyth built two bathrooms in the house prior to World War I and also wired the house for electric lights around 1920. In 1924, Smyth tore down the Memminger additions and constructed the present range of rooms across the rear of the house. New oak flooring was laid on the first floor, French doors replaced older solid panel doors on to the porches, and part of the Victorian porch on the east side of the house was replaced with a Conservatory. Smyth also added central heating and two additional bathrooms as he adapted the house for year- round occupancy.

The last major changes to the house occurred in the two or three years immediately following World War II when the Sandburgs adapted the house for their own use and undertook a thorough renovation of the building. The house was largely rewired, the master bathroom was replaced, and a bathroom was added on the second floor. A new kitchen was built inside the house and the old outside kitchen was converted into a garage. The basement was gutted and totally reconfigured while bookshelves and nearly two dozen closets were added throughout the house. While most of the house's surviving nineteenth- and early twentieth- century interior features, excepting the basement, were maintained by the Sandburgs, the exterior appearance of the house was significantly altered by the removal of the window blinds and of the muntins from most of the window sash, transforming the original nine- over- nine, six- over- six, and two- over- two window sash into one- over- one sash.

In addition to physical evidence in the existing building, there are several significant sources of documentation for historic alterations to the house. The Sandburgs' alterations are well- documented through a large series of invoices and letters relating to the renovations in 1945- 1946 found in Mrs. Sandburg's Anders File, by Dr. David Wallace's *Historic Furnishings Report* (NPS, 1984), and by extensive oral interviews with Mrs. Sandburg and her daughters. Documentation for Smyth- era alterations has been drawn mostly from historic photographs and from interviews with some of the Smyths' grandchildren. The Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill has a collection of Memminger's papers[2] that includes an account book that Memminger kept of his expenses related to the construction and operation of Rock Hill between 1838 and 1862. Entitled "Account of Expenditures for a/c of Buncombe Establishment," it provides significant amounts of information, especially for the early part of that period. Finally, the park has collected a large number of historic photographs that document most of the early changes to the exterior. While the earliest of these is probably no earlier than the 1880s, there are a large number of images from the Smyth era, beginning in 1901, and the park's collection has been indispensable in establishing the building's chronology.

There is sufficient historical documentation to establish a general chronology for the house, but assigning dates to particular architectural changes has not always been possible. However, an inventory and analysis of the building's historic material fabric, including an analysis of historic painted finishes, reveal a typical pattern of material design and use (and re- use) for each generation of changes to the building. Where alterations are not mentioned in the historical documentation, which is the case more often than not, even in the Sandburg era, identification and dating of alterations have depended on differences in materials, design, and technology.

Summary of Recommendations

The current use of the house primarily as an exhibit for interpreting the life and work of Carl Sandburg will be continued. Any treatment, whether routine maintenance, repairs, rehabilitation, or restoration, must always respect the building's architectural integrity and be planned in such a way as to minimize the loss of historic material. In addition, planning for any treatment must address proper care of the collection, and the cost of that care must be factored into the project budget.

Environmental Improvements

- Relocate staff break area from inside the house
- If additional ventilation equipment is needed as recommended by Watson & Henry, install in Room 004

2. Catalogued as C. G. Memminger Papers (#502) 1803-1915, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

- Restore Conservatory windows to working order; install screening at selected openings
- Rescreen south end of East Porch
- Repair to working order the one or two windows in each room that would be needed for ventilation under the Watson & Henry approach to improving the house's internal environment (see plan on p. 183)
- Replace UV- filtering film on storm windows with new UV- filtering film on window sash
- Inspect underground drainage system and make repairs as necessary
- Install new 6" ogee- style gutter across the rear of the house and, if necessary, a third downspout
- Inspect all gutters for proper drainage

Fire Safety

- Rehabilitate a portion of the garage for a boiler room and an electrical room and relocate boiler and electrical panels from inside the house
- Inspect and repair as necessary every fixture, junction box, or receptacle in the house
- Inspect the lightning rod system and insure proper grounding
- Install appropriate smoke and fire detectors in all rooms and in the attics

Repairs and Maintenance

- Always repair historic materials, replacing the material only where it is irretrievably lost
- Avoid high- pressure washing of house
- Continue to use oil- based paints on wood trim and in the bathrooms and kitchen and acrylic or water- based paints elsewhere on the interior
- Repair, but do not replace, Front Porch columns
- Repair Front Porch deck, piecing as necessary
- Ensure routine inspections and cyclical maintenance as outlined in the preservation guide manual that has been developed for the house
- Always include the cost of collection care in the budget for every project

Further Historical Research

- Transcribe and continue research of Memminger's account book and other papers
- Emphasize building history in the oral history project
- Conduct additional research of Gregg family

Further Building Investigation

- Incorporate building investigation and documentation into any project that includes opening or removal of finishes from walls, ceiling, or floors
- Record historic Sandburg finishes using Munsell notation
- Investigate changes in paint type (e.g., oil- based to latex or semi- gloss to flat) during and after the Sandburg era
- Conduct full study of paint and wallpaper that remains above first- floor ceilings

Administrative Data

Location Data

Building Name: Main House, Connemara, known as Rock Hill prior to 1900.

Location: Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Little River Road, Flat Rock, North Carolina.

LCS#: 05146

Related Studies

Bailey, Louise Howe. *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara": The Story Before Carl Sandburg.* National Park Service, 1980.

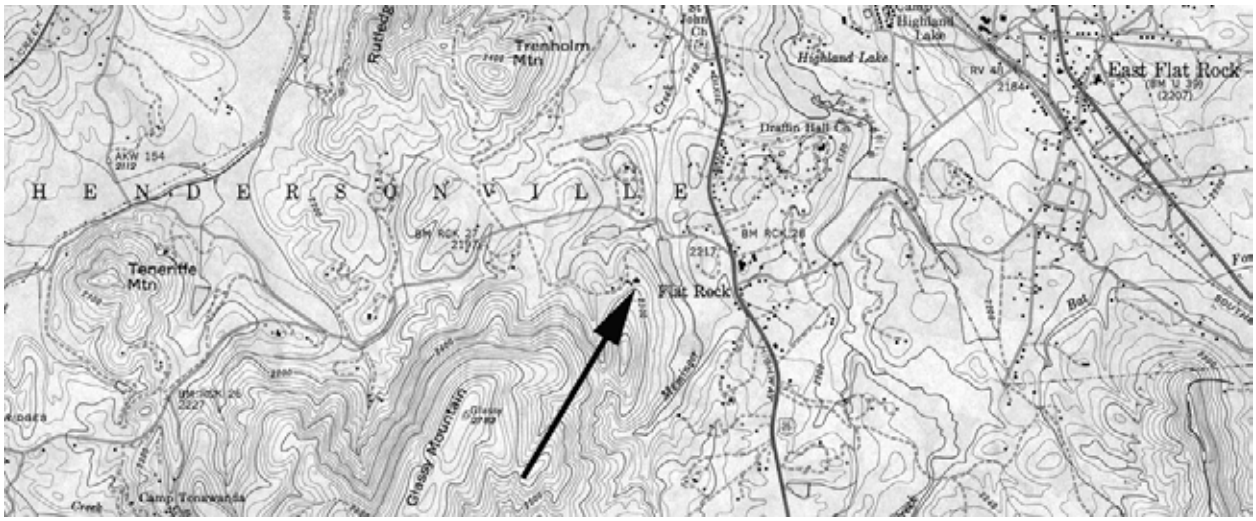

FIGURE 1. United States Geological Survey (1946), with arrow marking location of the Main House

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Cultural Resource Data

National Register of Historic Places

Period of Significance: 1838- 1968

*Proposed Treatmen*t: Preservation.

Historical Background and Context

"What a hell of a baronial estate for an old Socialist," Carl Sandburg (1878- 1967) remarked after purchasing Connemara in 1945.[3] Originally called Rock Hill, the Main House that is the centerpiece of the estate is located in Flat Rock, one of the earliest and most-famous of the summer resort communities that have been a feature of western North Carolina since before the Civil War. Because so many of its residents, who were mostly seasonal in the nineteenth century, were from or had connections to Charleston, South Carolina, it was often referred to as "Little Charleston of the Mountains."

The house was built in the 1838- 1839 by Christopher G. Memminger (1803- 1889), a wealthy lawyer and politician from Charleston who later became secretary of the treasury for the Confederate States of America. After his death, his heirs sold the estate to William H. Gregg, Jr., whose father was one of the pioneers in the Southern textile industry before the Civil War. In December 1900, Rock Hill was acquired by Ellison Adger Smyth (1847- 1942), who was considered "the dean of the Southern textile industry" in the early twentieth century. He renamed the estate Connemara and, in the early 1920s, adapted the main house as a year- round residence. His heirs sold the estate to the Sandburgs in the fall of 1945, and it remained the Sandburgs' residence until shortly after Carl Sandburg's death in May 1967.

Flat Rock

North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge was not open to white settlement until 1785, when the Cherokees ceded the territory under the terms of the Treaty of Hopewell. Land grants began two years later, with the earliest in the vicinity of Flat Rock coming in 1790 with a grant to Col. John Earle, who shortly built a grist mill along the creek that would bear his name, a mile or two east of what became Connemera. In 1792, Buncombe County, which encompassed most of the ceded Cherokee lands in western North Carolina (including what became Henderson County in 1838), was organized. Among the first orders of the county court was that a road "be laid out and constructed the nearest and best way from the ford of Cane Creek to the flat rock near the blue ridge."[4] The following year, the first wagon was driven across a new road through Saluda Gap, and by 1795, there was a rudimentary road following old trading paths from Augusta, Georgia, through Saluda Gap into Buncombe County and continuing to Greenville, Tennessee. This State Road, or High Road as it was sometime called, passed through Flat Rock on a track approximating that of present U. S. 25.

In 1800, the second Federal census enumerated nearly 11,000 people in Buncombe County, many of them small farmers of Scotch- Irish descent, and there were enough in the vicinity of Flat Rock to support founding of Mud Creek Baptist Church, located on the State Road a mile and a half north of what became Connemara. There was also a tavern near the church, and by 1815 a saw- and grist- mill were in operation on Mill Creek a little more than a mile to the southeast of Connemara.[5]

In 1819, South Carolina created a Board of Public Works with the purpose of building an improved

3. Paula Steichen, *My Connemara (*New York, NY: paperback edition, 2002, originally published by Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p. 111. Steichen was Carl Sandburg's grand-daughter.

4. Sadie Smathers Patton, *Flat Rock: Little Charleston of the Mountains* (Hickory, NC: Sadie Smathers Patton, 1961), p. 5.

5. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 15.

road from Charleston to Saluda Gap at the North Carolina line, and in 1824 North Carolina chartered the Buncombe Turnpike Company to construct a road from the gap to Asheville. With completion of the turnpike in 1827, it was finally possible to establish stagecoach service from Charleston and Augusta through Saluda Gap to Asheville and on across the mountains to Greenville, Tennessee. The road improvements greatly increased access to the mountains west of the Blue Ridge and made possible development of a number of resort communities, including Flat Rock, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

While today we think of the mountains as a way to escape the heat and humidity of summer, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, escape from disease was equally important. Tropical and subtropical diseases such as dengue fever, malaria, and yellow fever regularly became epidemic and were especially feared by the Low Country rice planters, who routinely abandoned their plantations during the "fever months," which generally ran from late June until the frosts of autumn. By the War of 1812, some of the wealthy planters and other coastal residents had discovered the relative safety of upstate South Carolina, and were building resort homes in the foothills of the Blue Ridge. The new State Road opened up the mountains themselves to resort development, a trend that was spurred on by the advent of the first cholera pandemic in North America in 1832.

Four families (all foreign born) are traditionally credited with beginning the elite summer community around Flat Rock in the late 1820s and early 1830s. [6] In 1827 Charles Baring (1774- 1865) purchased several hundred acres along the State Road near Mud Creek Baptist Church, and within a short time, he built Mountain Lodge, the earliest of the summer homes at Flat Rock. Born in Exeter, England, Baring was the nephew of Francis Baring, founder in 1763 of what became the famous Baring Brothers & Company Bank.[7] In 1798, Charles Baring married the wealthy widow Susan Heyward, who had inherited rice plantations around Walterboro, South Carolina, from her late husband. It is thought that her money financed Mountain Lodge, which was modeled after an English manor, complete with its own private chapel. The chapel later became the first Episcopal church in western North Carolina, known as St. John in the Wilderness, and out of Baring's vast acreage much of the Flat Rock community was developed.

Another Charlestonian, Daniel Blake began buying land around Flat Rock about the same time as

6. Sadie Smathers Patton, *Flat Rock, The Little Charleston of the Mountains* (Historic Flat Rock, Inc., 3rd edition, n.d.), p. 13; Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, NC: The Miller Printing Company, 1947), p. 202; Mrs. Alicia Middleton Trenholm, *Flat Rock, North Carolina: A Sketch of the Past* (no publication data, 1908), p. 11.
7. Francis Baring's father John was, like C. G. Memminger, a native of Wurtemburg, Germany.



FIGURE 2. Detail from Robert Mills' *Atlas of South Carolina (1825)* , showing route of State Road through Saluda Gap to Flat Rock. (From seventh printing, Southern Historical Press, 1980)

Charles Baring. Blake, who owned a large rice plantation near Walterboro on the Combahee River, bought extensive acreage north of Flat Rock in the area that became known as Fletcher, but he, too, is traditionally counted among the "founders" of the Flat Rock.[8] In 1860, typical of the elite nature of the Flat Rock community, Blake, who was born in England about 1804, claimed $100,000 in real estate and $650,000 in personal property, most of it enslaved human beings.

In 1829, the third of Flat Rock's founders, Judge Mitchell King (1783- 1862), bought some 900 acres to the southeast of Baring, land known as the "Sawmill Tract" after the saw mill that Abraham Kuykendall established on the property before 1815.[9] A native of Scotland, King was a noted lawyer and probate judge of the Charleston City Court and also owned plantations near Savannah. He enlarged and remodeled an older house on the property to create Argyle, the second great house at Flat Rock. When Henderson County was created out of the western part of old Buncombe County in 1838, it was King who donated the land on which Hendersonville was laid out as county seat in 1841.

Some credit Henry McAlpin (1777- 1851) with being the fourth of the founders of Flat Rock.[10] Born in Scotland, he emigrated to America in 1804 and became one of the richest men in the South. His great plantation on the Savannah River in Georgia, the Hermitage, was in the heart of the rice- growing region, but McAlpin was far more than just a planter. In addition to a foundry and a lumber mill, McAlpin ran a thriving brick business, using slave labor to produce the legendary "Savannah gray" brick that was used to construct Fort Pulaski and many of Savannah's early nineteenth- century buildings. So successful were McAlpin' enterprises, the Hermitage was one of the few plantations in the South to produce the majority of its income from non- agricultural sources. McAlpin built a small house at Flat Rock, but within a few years sold it to Thomas Lowndes, who built Dulce Far Nienti on the site. All of the historic structures on the site have now been lost.

Following the lead of Baring and the other founders, Rutledges, Middletons, Pinckneys and others of the Low County elite bought property around Flat Rock in the 1830s and built what were, for the day, luxurious summer homes. None of these families attracted quite as much attention as that of Marie Joseph St. Xavier, Count de Choiseul, long- time French consul in Charleston. How he might have been related to Louis XVI's foreign minister Choiseul has not been documented, but he is thought to have been a Royalist who fled the French



FIGURE 3. One of the last traces of the Buncombe Turnpike in Flat Rock, not far from Mountain Lodge and Mud Creek Church. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 4. St. John-in-the-Wilderness Episcopal Church in Flat Rock, organized in 1836, with the present building constructed to a design by Charleston architect Edward Jones in the early 1850s. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

8. Patton, *Flat Rock*, pp. 8, 13.
9. Edward Read Memminger, *An Historical Sketch of Flat Rock* (Flat Rock, NC: privately published, 1954; originally written in 1922), p. 11.
10. Patton, *Flat Rock*, pp. 13, 54.Edward Read Memminger believed Frederick Rutledge, Jr., (1800-1884), grandson of South Carolina Governor John Rutledge, bought property at Flat Rock before McAlpin. See Memminger, *An Historical Sketch of Flat Rock*, p. 10.

Revolution, returning only after restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1816. In 1836, the Count bought a hundred acres from Charles Baring just south of Baring's Mountain Lodge at Flat Rock, and soon built three modest residences that he called the Saluda Cottages. In 1841, he sold Saluda Cottages to Aaron Smith Willington (1781- 1862), longtime publisher of the *Charleston News and Courier,* and built Chanteloupe. He remained a part of the community until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he returned to France. By 1836, there were enough summer residents to support organization of an Episcopal church, called St. John in the Wilderness, and by the end of the 1830s, some twenty wealthy Charleston families had built summer homes around Flat Rock.



FIGURE 5. Main house at Saluda Cottages, across Little River Road from Connemara, built by Count de Choiseul in 1836 and remodeled in the Second Empire style in the 1870s. (T. jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 6. Thomas Bennett, Jr., House (1802) at 69 Barre Street, Charleston, Memminger's home as a boy and teenager. (from Mills Lane *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina)*

The Civil War destroyed fortunes, especially those built on slavery. Nevertheless, most in the Flat Rock community managed to hang on to their property, although some were forced to sell, unable to pay the taxes. A few were bought by Northerners, while others, like Connemara, were acquired by a new generation of Charlestonians whose wealth did not depend directly on agriculture but often included major investments in new industries such as phosphate production and textile manufacture.[11]

A few of the Flat Rock estates had always been more or less permanent family residences and not simply second homes, but in the twentieth century, as automobiles further reduced the community's isolation, there were more year- round residents. Ties with Charleston loosened as well, and at least in terms of geographic origin, residents became more diverse, especially after World War II. In the late twentieth century, demand for residential real estate in Flat Rock led to the subdivision of several of the historic estates, sometimes including razing of the historic house at its core. Historic Flat Rock, Inc., one of North Carolina's oldest historic preservation organizations, was organized in 1968, but the village of Flat Rock was not incorporated until 1995. Local zoning restrictions have begun to curb some of the development and support preservation of the area's historic character.

The Memmingers

Christopher Gustavus Memminger was born in Vaihingen, a small town in southwestern Germany between Stuttgart and Heidelberg, on 9 January 1803. His father, Gotfried Memminger, was an officer in the Duke of Wurtemburg's Battalion of Foot Jaegers, but he was killed in the line of duty less than a month after the boy was born.[12] A short time later, Christopher's mother, Eberhardina Kohler Memminger, and her parents emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, where she, too, unfortunately died in late 1806 or early 1807. For unknown rea-

11. Edward Memminger's memoir recounts the fate of many of the Flat Rock estates after the Civil War.
12. A letter from Gotfried Memminger to his wife is preserved along with other documentation surrounding the birth of their son Christopher. The letter and other documents can be found in the C. G. Memminger Papers (#502), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill.

sons, after Eberhardina's death, her father moved to Philadelphia, followed shortly by his wife Magdalena, who succeeded in placing their grandchild, Christopher, in the Charleston Orphan House on 29 January 1807.[13]

In 1814, at the age of eleven, Memminger was adopted by Thomas Bennett, Jr. (1781- 1865), a banker and politician who would be elected governor of South Carolina in 1820. Bennett's father had made a fortune from lumber and rice mills, powered by the tides, that he established along the marshes on the west side of the Charleston peninsula. Thomas, Jr., continued and expanded his father's lumber and rice milling operations and, in 1822, built a magnificent mansion in Harleston near the mills, just as he finished a term as the state's governor.[14] Also serving several terms in the General Assembly, Bennett was a widely respected proponent of industrial and social progress in his native state, traits that he passed on to the young Christopher Memminger.[15]

Bennett was clearly able to give the young Memminger many advantages and, in the fall of 1815, sent him to the state capital at Columbia where the boy was enrolled at South Carolina College, the predecessor of the modern University of South Carolina. Years later, a classmate, John S. Groves, remembered Memminger as "the smallest in stature, as he was the youngest in years, of the boys who entered with me the South Carolina College in 1815." Groves continued:

> His appearance, when I first saw him, was that of a mere child. . . . His manner was all earnestness, while his facial expression was that of a person far his senior in age. His most attractive feature were his eyes- - a bluish gray- - and always at perfect rest when he was speaking to you. . . . His face was lean, complexion very fair, nose very prominent, chin with a mouth rather large, and thin, compressed lips- - so much compressed at times that his mouth appeared but as a line. His hair was a dark brown, almost black. . . . He was the student of our class.[16]

Graduating second in his class in 1819, Memminger returned to Charleston where he studied law under the tutelage of Thomas Bennett's brother Joseph. He became a naturalized United States citizen on 22 June 1824 and was admitted to the bar the following year.

Memminger was active politically and, as a Unionist, was a noted opponent of those who believed that states have the right to nullify any act of Congress, publishing a satirical pamphlet "The Book of Nullification" in 1830. In 1834 he was elected alderman in the City of Charleston, and in 1836 he was elected to the South Carolina General Assembly where he served continuously until 1860, except for one term in 1853 and 1854. He quickly drew attention to himself for his financial abilities and for his long- term efforts to improve the state's educational system, serving as chairman of the house committee on education and, after 1838, as chairman of the ways and means committee. In 1855 he led the effort to revamp South Carolina's old free schools and establish a graded school system. That same year, he became a commissioner for schools in Charleston, and he was a trustee of the South Carolina College for more than thirty years.

On 25 October 1832, Memminger married Mary Withers Wilkinson, born in New Jersey around 1813, the daughter of Dr. Willis Wilkinson of Georgetown, South Carolina. Their first child, Ellen Memminger, was born in 1835, followed by Thomas Bennett Memminger in 1836. A daughter Anna was born in 1838, but she died that same year. Another child, Allard Belin, also died as a child, but in addition to Ellen and Thomas, the Memmingers had seven other children who lived to adulthood: Robert Withers, born in June 1839; Christopher, Jr., born in 1840; Lucinda Wilkinson, born in February 1842; Willis Wilkinson, born in 1843; Sarah Virginia, born in 1848; Allard Belin II, born in September 1854; and Edward Reed Memminger, born in 1856 and named for a rector at St. John in the Wilderness.

The Memmingers' primary residence during the antebellum period has not been documented, but it was almost certainly in what is known as Harleston Village near the Bennetts' mills along the Ashley River. A neighborhood noted for its diversity, Harleston was home not only to many of the Bennett clan, who built large houses throughout the

13. Dr. George J. Svejda, "Historic Structure Report, Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site," (NPS, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1972), p. 2.
14. Jonathan Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 489-490.
15. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston*, pp. 489-490.
16. Svejda, p. 3.

neighborhood, but also to many of the city's intelligentsia and other progressives.[17]

At least by the 1840s, the Memmingers were members at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, which was established in 1836 to serve the rapidly growing neighborhood, but by 1851 they had purchased a pew at the new Grace Episcopal, which was completed in 1848. By then, they were probably living in a house, now demolished, at the corner of Wentworth and Smith Streets, three blocks west of Grace Church, where they continued to live until after the Civil War.

Rock Hill

According to his son, Edward Reed Memminger, Christopher Memminger's health as a young man was "delicate, and to keep his health [he] took long journeys on horseback to the Virginia Springs,"[18] a series of eleven hot or warm mineral springs that were scattered along the border of present- day Virginia and West Virginia. As early as the 1760s, these springs began to attract wealthy Southerners anxious to escape the disease- ridden summers along the coast, and Memminger apparently followed that tradition as a young man.

17. Poston, p. 481.
18. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 13.

With a growing family, however, Memminger soon found these jaunts impractical, while at the same time, the opening of the Charleston- Hamburg Railroad in 1833 and of South Carolina's State Road around the same time made possible a relatively short two- week journey from Charleston to the mountains of western North Carolina. A thriving social scene had also developed at Flat Rock by the mid- 1830s, and Memminger apparently began to seriously consider alternatives to the Virginia resorts.

Memminger's first recorded visit to Flat Rock came in the fall of 1836, although he may have visited earlier. It was during that visit that he apparently determined to build his own summer home at Flat Rock. He is reported to have kept a journal and, although the journal has not been located, his youngest son Edward and local historian Sadie Patton published excerpts from it that document his stay at Flat Rock in October 1836.[19]

19. The published dates for Memminger's visit conflict, with Edward Memminger's publication giving a date of 1838 and Patton's giving 1836. However, there are Internal references to "Friday, October 14," which a perpetual calendar shows occurred in 1836 and not in 1838. See Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 39; Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 13.

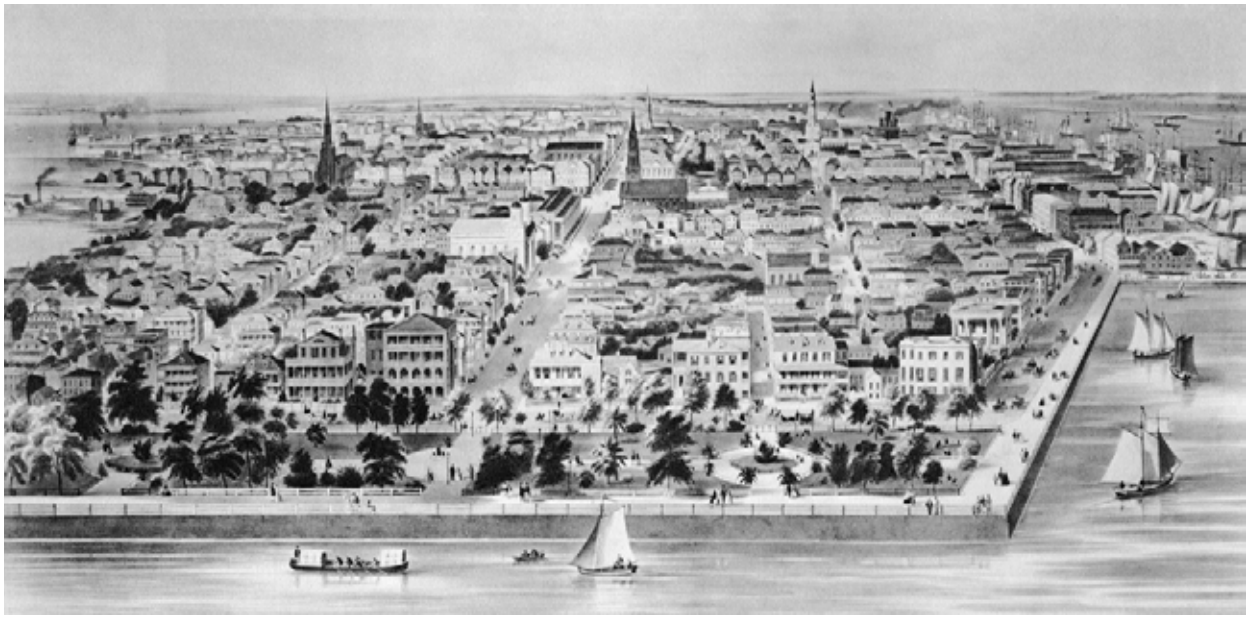


FIGURE 7. Bird's-eye view of Charleston, lithograph by Smith Brothers, 1851, as reprinted in Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina.* The tall spire at upper left is Grace Episcopal Church, built in 1847-1848 on Wentworth Street a block or two east of the Memmingers' residence on the same street and where the Memmingers had a pew in the 1850s.

Memminger arrived in Flat Rock from Asheville on October 8, in the company of Jefferson Bennett, a son of Memminger's patron Thomas Bennett. At Flat Rock, he wrote, "we found our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Willington" (i.e., Aaron Smith Willington, 1781- 1862, longtime publisher of the *Charleston News and Courier*), and "a good comfortable tavern," which was probably George Summey's tavern on the High Road about a half mile south of the present post office. Continuing, Memminger wrote:

> With the Count de Choiseul and his family I was particularly pleased. The Countess is a lady of very agreeable manners and so frank and plain as to possess me very much in her favor. The daughters, too, seem to be girls with whom my wife and her sister might be intimate, and formed another inducement to locate near them. Besides the Count himself so earnestly tendered his services that I was relieved from a considerable difficulty.
>
> Of course, the first comers had the best for residences. But as I also wanted a farm I could not be so easily furnished as the land near Flat Rock is miserably barren. Nevertheless after much cruising I at last found a place that would suit very well and authorized the Count to purchase it if it could be had, on Mr. Baring tendering to let me have some of his contiguous land and the use of a spring from an elevation of his land.
>
> We also sketched the plan of a kitchen to be built for our occupation next summer on the spot,- - - a project by the way which I am rather doubtful because my kitchen is rather too fine an affair. I ought to hire Mr. King's house if possible and build at once.

Events intervened, however, and Memminger's plans appear to have been laid aside, due perhaps to the great financial panic that unfolded in the winter and spring of 1837, sending the country's economy into a depression that did not begin to ease until the early 1840s. Memminger apparently came to some agreement with Baring for the land that he wanted, although he did not actually take title until November 1838 and was still noting payments to Baring "for land" in October 1839.[20] By the end of 1837, he had begun preliminary work, including construction of a bridge across the creek that later formed Front Lake and perhaps leveling a building site in the hillside above. Perhaps as early as late 1837, but certainly by the spring of 1838, Memminger had engaged the services of an architect to design his house and, in the first week in July, paid Charles Reichardt fifty dollars "for plans."[21]

There have been persistent suggestions that the wood- framed building that the Sandburgs called the Buck House predates any other building on the property and that Memminger used it as a temporary residence while the main house was under construction. The Flat Rock area had been settled for nearly forty years by the time Memminger acquired Rock Hill, forests had been cleared for pasture and for agriculture, and it would not be surprising that there might already have been a house on the property. The park's collection of historic photographs contains Smyth- era images of log buildings that may have once stood on the property or nearby and that would have been typical of the houses built by the first wave of pioneers.[22] While the Buck House could have been built prior to 1837, Memminger did not acquire the land on which it sits until 1842. The building could have been moved from another location, but Memminger's son Edward recalled that "when the house was built, my father did not own the vegetable garden, nor stable lot, and water was taken from the spring in the hol-



FIGURE 8. The so-called Buck House, probably built in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as an overseer's house. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

20. Buncombe County Deed Book 21, pp. 445-447.

21. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502) 1803-1915 in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, includes an account book entitled "Account of Expenditures for a/c of Buncombe Establishment" which documents this and many other of Memminger's expenses related to Rock Hill. A detailed description of the development of Rock Hill may be found in the following section of this report, "Chronology of Development and Use."

22. The Buck House is wood-framed, indicating a slightly later date of construction perhaps, but the building remains documented. Architecturally, it has suffered serious damage from neglect and alterations, but it may still contain useful information.

low."[23] Neither he nor his father ever mention the family using another house while the main house was under construction, and Memminger's account book appears to prove that the family did not visit until the main house was completed in 1839.



FIGURE 9. Milford, Columbia, SC, 1838-1841, built by Gov. John Manning with design attributed to Charles Reichardt.(Photograph from Kennedy's *Greek Revival America)*



FIGURE 10. The Charleston Hotel, one of the nation's great Greek Revival buildings. (Image from Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: Greek Revival and Romantic)*

In April 1838, Memminger noted a payment to George Summey "for board for Kenney & Dugan and myself," and there are later entries for similar payments. The other men were his masons working at Rock Hill, and although the entries prove only that Memminger took a lot of meals at Summey's tavern, they also suggest that he may have stayed in Summey's inn as well when he was in Flat Rock checking on the progress of his building.

Charles F. Reichardt. The architect to whom Memminger turned was Prussian- born Charles F. (probably Karl Friedrich) Reichardt, who was all the rage in Charleston in the late 1830s. Reportedly trained under the famed Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who designed for the royal court of Prussia, Reichardt was in New York by the early 1830s. A young man probably still in his twenties, he promoted his connections to Prussia and to Schinkel and soon made a name for himself among architects such as Ithiel Town, Alexander Jackson Davis, and William Strickland, for whom Schinkel's recently completed Altes Museum (1830) in Berlin was a spectacular revelation of the Greek Revival style. In March 1835, Reichardt was one of the finalists in the competition for design of the New York City prison now known as The Tombs, although it was John Haviland's Egyptian Revival design that was actually constructed.

In December 1836, Reichardt was also among the eleven architects, including Strickland, Town and Davis, who met at New York's Astor Hotel to organize the American Institution of Architecture. The organization did not survive the decade, but it was the forerunner of the American Institute of Architects, which was organized twenty years later.

By Christmas 1836, newspaper reports were announcing Reichardt's presence in Charleston, where it is thought he may already have had two great commissions from Wade Hampton II- - a colonnaded grandstand for Hampton's horse- racing track and a great hotel for the city. Subsidized by the railroad, the hotel would be "the architectural symbol the city needed," editorialized the Charleston *Mercury.*[24] In January 1837, the *Mercury* announced "that the plan for the New Hotel by Mr. Reichardt having been chosen, a contract was made for its

23. Quoted in Bailey, *From Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 18.

24. Roger G. Kennedy, *Greek Revival America* (New York: Stewart Tabori & Chang, 1989), pp. 140-141.

immediate execution." It would have, the paper reported, "fourteen colossal Corinthian columns and be unsurpassed in taste and elegance with any similar building in the United States."[25] By the end of March 1838, the hotel was nearing completion and "a celebratory dinner" was held in anticipation of its opening. Within days, however, the hotel was gutted by fire and hundreds of other buildings were destroyed in one of the city's worst conflagrations. Undaunted, the investors regrouped and by June 1838 reconstruction was underway on the surviving foundations, with Reichardt working in partnership with the Potter brothers and Russell Warren, with whom he had collaborated on a number of other projects in the past. Opened with great fanfare in November 1839, the Charleston Hotel more than fulfilled its promise and remained one of the city's great architectural landmarks until it was demolished in 1960.[26]

With those projects to his credit and the cachet of his European training, Reichardt went on to remodel the interior of Gabriel Manigault's Bank of the United States (originally constructed in 1800-1801) and designed a theater modeled after the Hohenzollerns' Royal Theater in Berlin, both projects occurring in 1837. The following year, he added a new steeple to Robert Mills' Circular Congregational Church (1804- 1806) and designed the city's Guard House with its fifteen Doric columns. In between, he produced plans for Memminger's rather more modest residence at Flat Rock.[27]

There were other commissions as well, but Reichardt's life and career remain poorly documented. Roger Kennedy, the noted historian of the Greek Revival, also claims Hampton's remodeling of Millwood and his brother- in- law Gov. John Manning's construction of Milford, both near Columbia, South Carolina, as Reichardt's "greatest commissions." Construction on both began in the late 1830s but neither was completed until shortly after Reichardt disappeared late in 1839 or early in 1840. He may have gone to Central America, or he may have returned to Europe. In either case, he disappeared from the historical record, and his life remains a mystery.[28]

Construction. Memminger contracted with a carpenter, James B. Rosamond, to construct his house,

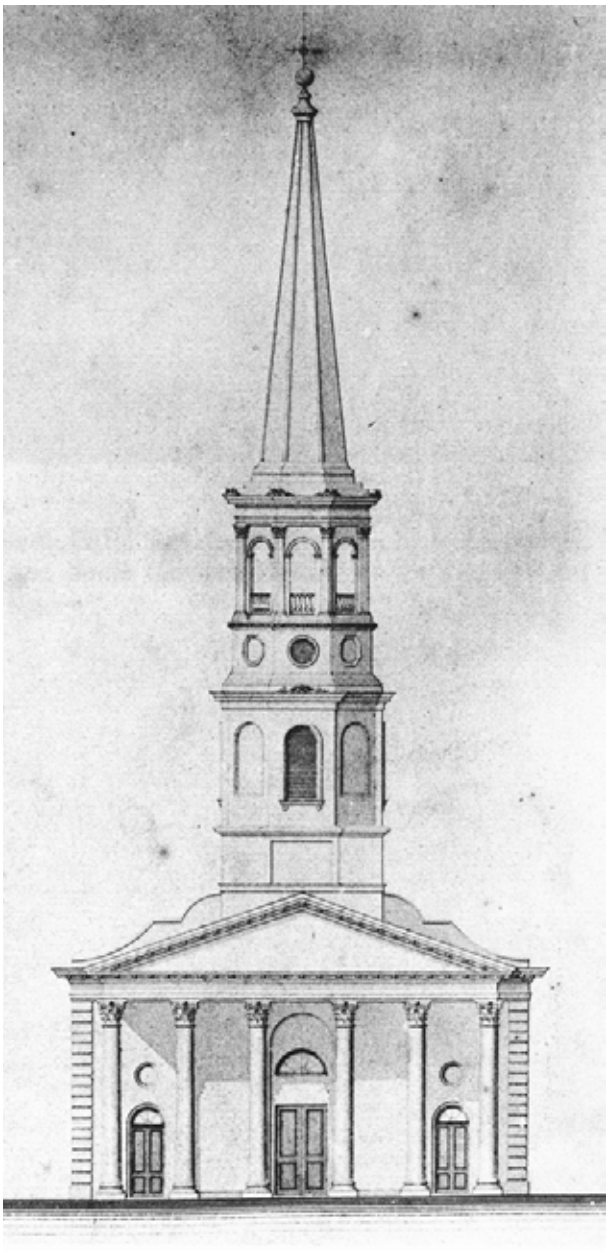


FIGURE 11. Mills' Circular Church with steeple added by Reichardt in 1838. The building burned in 1861. Drawing from Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: Greek Revival and Romantic.*

25. Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina* (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1997), p. 187; Kennedy, *Greek Revival America*, p. 141.
26. Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, p. 98; Kennedy, *Greek Revival America*), p. 140.
27. Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: Greek Revival and Romantic* , p. 95; Kennedy, *Greek Revival America*, p. 141.
28. Talbot Hamlin, in his *Greek Revival Architecture in America (*Oxford University Press, 1944), is less sure than Kennedy and Lane of the works that could be attributed to Reichardt, but Hamlin apparently did not have access to Kennedy and Lane's sources.

kitchen, and a stable at Flat Rock, and to, in effect, function as a general contractor.[29] Little is known of Rosamond beyond what can be gleaned from the Federal censuses. He was born about 1810 in South Carolina, probably in Abbeville County where a large number of Palatinate Germans began settling after 1760. He probably moved to Greenville County, South Carolina, in the 1830s and remained there for most of his life, appearing consistently in the census from 1840 through 1880.

Memminger also brought a stone mason, Patrick Dugan, and a brick mason, John Kenney, from Charleston to Flat Rock to do the masonry work, but he hired a number of the locals, including Kinson Middleton, whose position would soon evolve into Memminger's overseer. Noah Corn, Joseph Kirkendall, Enoch and Sarah Capps, and Jefferson and Martin Hammond were all living nearby, and payments for their work appear frequently in Memminger's account book.

Memminger was in Flat Rock in April 1838 when major construction on the house began and returned in July and October, leaving the project in Rosamond's capable hands in the interim. As noted earlier, Memminger, Kenney, and Dugan appear to have boarded at George Summey's inn nearby, and Rosamond may have done the same.

Memminger bought oxen and mules during the course of the building, and these were used to haul stone from the nearby quarry. Most of the materials used appear to have been purchased by Rosamond and do not appear in Memminger's account book.

29. No formal contract between Memminger and Rosamond has been located, but a contract is implied in Memminger's account of construction.

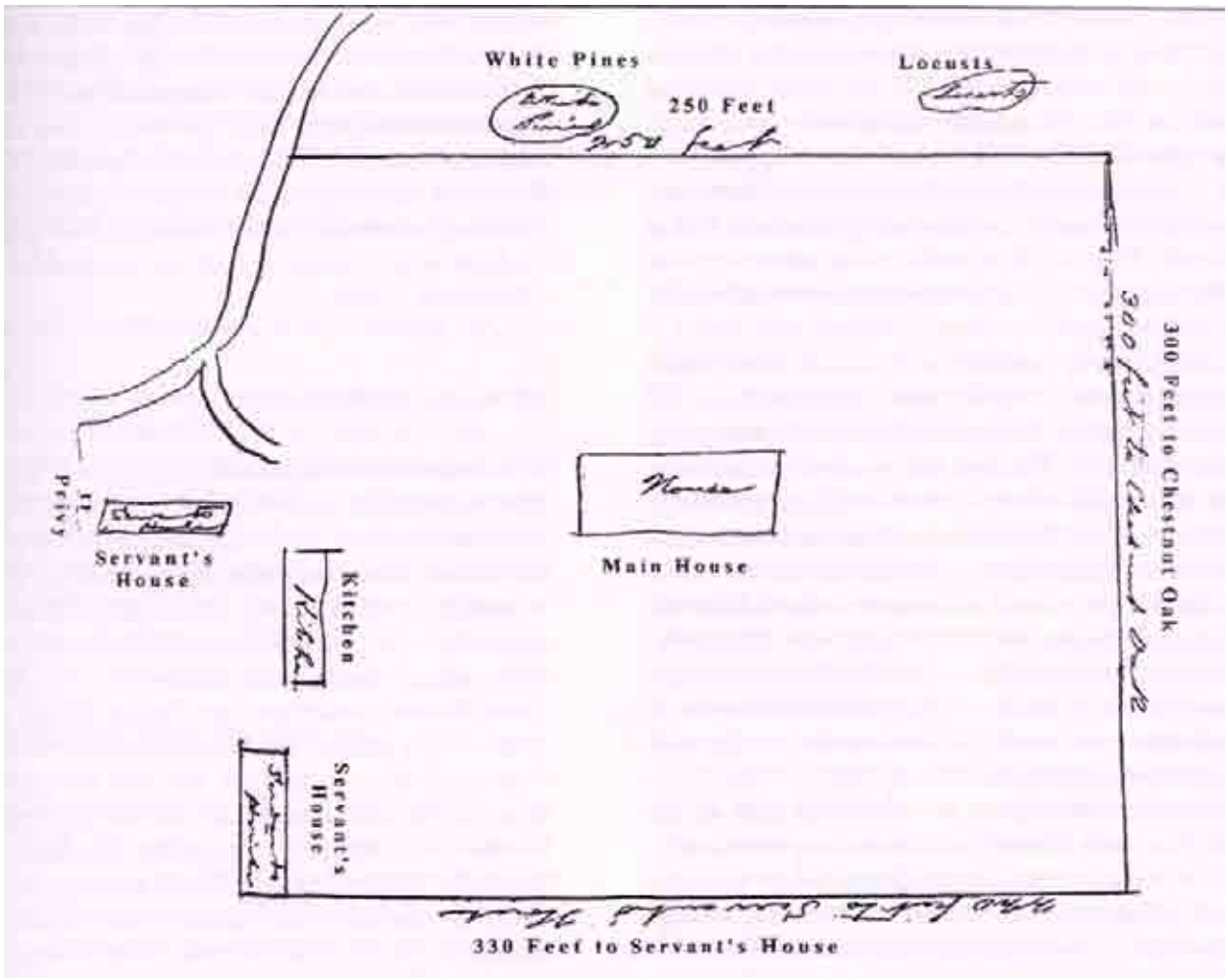


FIGURE 12. Sketch of Rock Hill in Memminger's account book, c. 1852, annotated for legibility. (taken from Pence, *Archeological Overview and Assessment,* 1998)

Lumber and brick were almost certainly acquired locally, and there are a number of payments to local merchants Ripley and Patton for nails and other dry goods. Mantels, the more elaborate moldings, and much of the hardware had to be shipped up from Charleston.

Major construction appears to have begun in April 1838 and been substantially complete by the time the Memminger family arrived at Flat Rock in July 1839. Memminger initially referred to the place as "the Buncombe Establishment," but in account book entries in July 1839, he makes his first reference to "Rock Hill," appropriate enough for a site where stone out- croppings abound.

In the meantime, in September 1838, the Memminger's infant daughter Anna Keith Memminger died, barely six months old. Now buried at St. John in the Wilderness Church, her initial interment may have been in Charleston, although apparently not at St. Peter's where Memminger purchased a lot in 1843. In recent years, the story has circulated that one of Memminger's children drowned in the Front Lake at Connemara, but that is certainly not true, since both of Memminger's children who died young, Anna and the first Allard, died prior to construction of the Front Lake in 1855. Memminger provides a detailed account of the family's first summer in the new house, 1839, but makes no mention of any family member being at Flat Rock in 1838. Mary McKay, granddaughter of a later owner, remembered there having been a drowning in the Front Lake "not long before we bought the place," but does not identify the victim. It would appear that a conflation of facts produced the modern tale of one of Memminger's children drowning in the lake.

Although work was substantially complete by summer 1839, the final details of Rosamond's contracted work were not completed until the fall, and Memminger did not make his final payment to Rosamond until 4 January 1840. The house, kitchen, and stable had cost Memminger just over $4,000, but his total expenses for development of Rock Hill amounted to more than twice that amount by the end of 1842.[30]

30. Memminger records his final reckoning with Rosamond in two places in his account book.

Edward Memminger, who was not born until 1857, recalled that, because of the primitive, isolated nature of the settlement, "the furniture was made on the spot by carpenters, the same being true of all pioneer settlers,"[31] but that is not entirely correct. Memminger paid a Mr. Buckley some $600 for furniture in 1838 and 1839, and although he has not been documented otherwise, Buckley must have been a local craftsman of the sort remembered by Memminger's son. The bulk of Buckley's furniture appears to have been delivered in June 1839 and probably included a number of beds and dressers as



FIGURE 13. View of privy at west end of Swedish House, with Tenant House in background. (CARL3000/17/4P)



FIGURE 14. View of Ice House about 1950, constructed by Memminger in 1847. The circular, subterranean portion of the building is still evident on the landscape just southeast of the Farm Manager's House. (CARL3000/29/1P)

31. Quoted in Bailey, *From Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 18.



FIGURE 15. View of the Memminger-era spring house, c. 1910. (CARL3001/03/01p)



FIGURE 16. View, c. 1960, of the Swedish House, constructed by Memminger as a servants' house in the early 1850s. (CARL3000/17/1P)

well as the large table that would seat twenty- four in the ground- floor dining room. However, Memminger also bought furniture elsewhere, including from Harley & Son, a name that suggests a professional furniture company. There were also payments in July to Brown & Oliphant for crockery and to B. Dunham for sash weights, pots, tin ware, and and-irons.

Most surprising, perhaps, in April 1839, Memminger paid for a shipment of five boxes of furniture that were imported from Germany. The year before, Memminger had helped organize and been the "principal moneyed member" of a firm that was the first to import dry goods directly from Europe to Charleston, and this shipment was no doubt a result of that partnership.[32] The shipment included twenty- four chairs, a dressing bureau, "a glass" or mirror, one armchair, and a tea table. Music was important to the Memmingers (son Thomas played the accordion and daughter Ellen the guitar) and the shipment also included a piano, for which Memminger paid the rather startling amount of $20 for its tuning in September 1839. By early summer 1839, the house was nearly complete, although there would not be hearths at the fireplaces or plaster on the ground floor walls until 1842. Nevertheless, on 19 July 1839, the family set out for their first summer at Flat Rock, where they arrived on the 27th.[33]

They got a late start that year, probably due to the birth of Robert Withers Memminger in early June, but most years they began their journey near the end of June, sending the horses, wagon and carriage ahead by railroad freight to the end of the line at Aiken, South Carolina, a few days before the family and servants also took the train from Charleston. After a rendezvous at Aiken, it was a slow, week-long climb by carriage and wagon up the Piedmont to Greenville and across the Blue Ridge at Saluda Gap, before descending into Flat Rock. Around the end of October, with cooler weather bringing relief from the fever season of summer and fall, the journey was reversed, with the family generally back in Charleston by the end of the first or second week in November. The trip was made a little easier in 1853, when they were able to take a train as far as Colum-

32. *New York Times*, "An Old Southern Merchant," 2 May 1888; obituary for William A. Banister, 2 Nov. 1890.
33. Memminger first recorded expenses for their journeys to and from Flat Rock in his Rock Hill account book in 1839 and continued each year until the late 1850s.

bia, shaving two or three days off the rigorous portion of the journey that had to be made by carriage and leaving only a two- day, horse- drawn journey over the mountains. Not until 1880 was it possible to travel from Charleston to Flat Rock entirely by rail.

Memminger continued to make improvements at Rock Hill throughout the 1840s and 1850s. A small house for the cook, which the Sandburgs called the "chicken house," and a wagon house were built in 1842 or 1843, an ice house in 1847, and a servant's house, the so- called Swedish House, between 1850 and 1853. The ice house was torn down by the Sandburgs in the 1960s, and it is not clear if the "wagon house" still exists. In addition, in 1847- 1848, Memminger constructed a large addition to the rear of the Main House and apparently made some alterations to the original interior at the same time.

The Estate. In addition to the land he bought from Baring in 1838, Memminger bought additional property that enlarged Rock Hill considerably during the antebellum period. The earliest was his acquisition of ten acres through a land swap with George Summey, local postmaster and tavern owner who had boarded Memminger and some of his workmen while the house was being constructed and whose son Albert was treasurer of the Buncombe Turnpike Co.[34]

In 1841, Memminger's friend A. S. Willington bought Saluda Cottages from Count de Choisel, and in March 1842, Memminger paid Willington $77.00 for 15- 1/2 acres, including "use of any surplus water from the spring at the head of the run from which the water is conducted to the residence of said Willington." The deed also mentions Willington's retention of his right to "repairing, replacing, or refitting the pipes or logs laid for conducting spring" to Willington's residence.[35] Two years later, in 1844, Memminger bought a large tract of land a mile or so to the west of Rock Hill. Over the next two or three years, he began developing "Valley Farm," which would later become his son Edward's estate, Tranquility.

Finally, on New Year's Day 1850, Memminger paid Willington $4500 and took title to the entire 250-acre Saluda Cottages estate. He and Andrew Johnstone then laid out Little River Road, and Memminger cut off the part of the Willington estate that was south of the new road and added it to Rock Hill. Saluda Cottages and the remainder of the property north of the road he sold to the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whose son would later marry Memminger's daughter Lucy.[36] In 1855, Memminger made his last major addition to the estate when he paid $300 to Henry Farmer to build the dam for the lake at the foot of the hill from the Main House, "which dam I [Farmer] guaranty [sic] to stand without injury from freshets or otherwise for three years from this date."[37]

Caretakers, Employees, and Tenants. As was typical for Flat Rock's part- time residents, the Memmingers generally occupied Rock Hill from early July through the end of October, although Memminger himself was sometimes absent on business

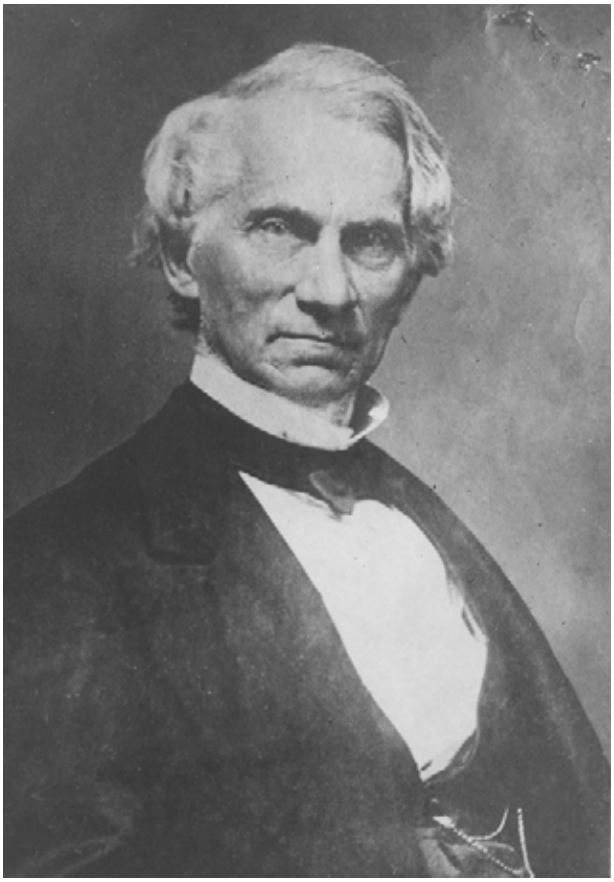


FIGURE 17. Christopher Memminger, c. 1860. (CARL 28430)

34. Henderson County Deed Book 21, pp. 444-445.
35. Henderson County Deed Book 2, p. 342.
36. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 21.
37. Louise Howe Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara": The Story Before Carl Sandburg.* (National Park Service, 1980), p. 18.

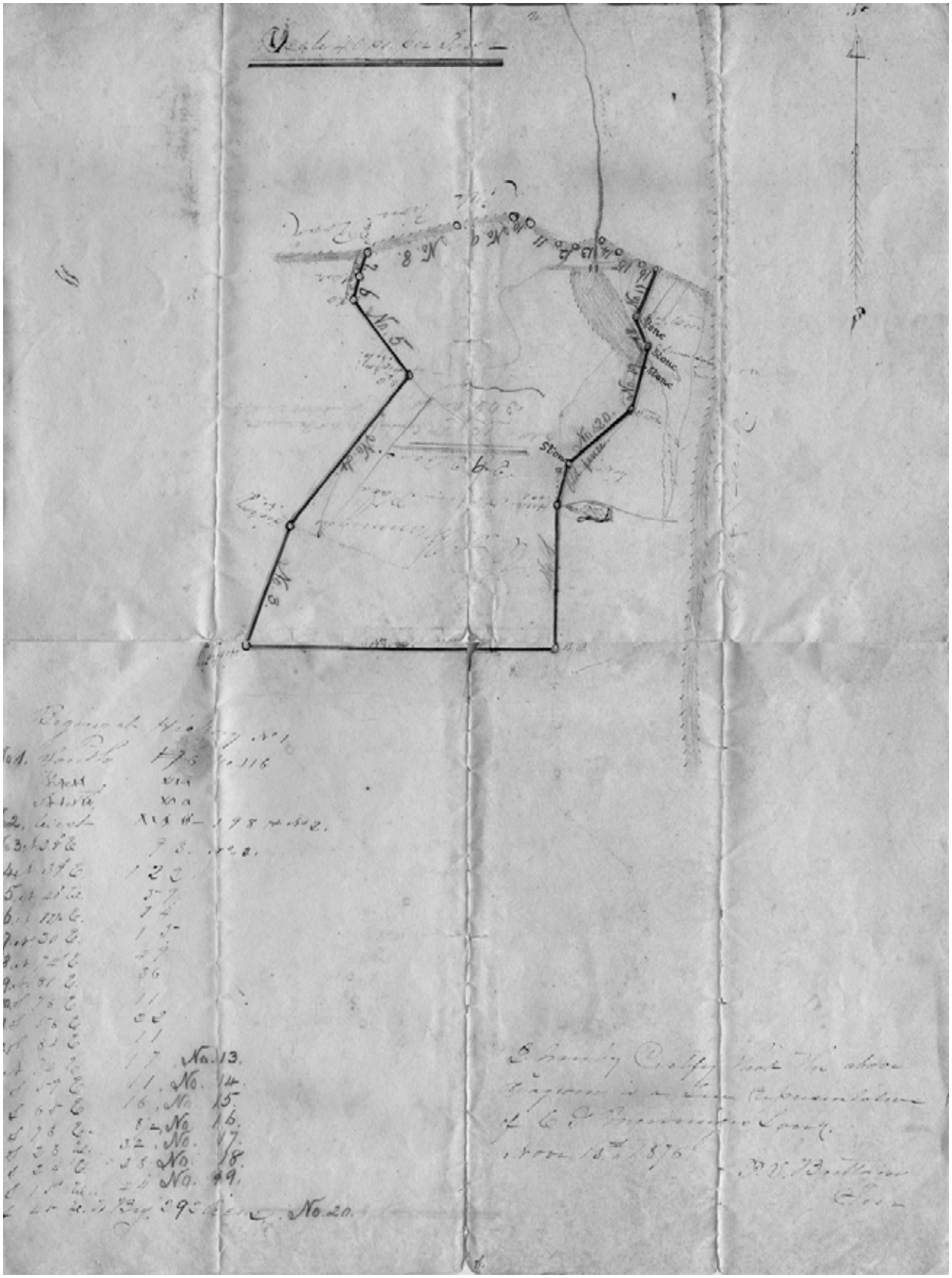


FIGURE 18. A plat of Rock Hill, 1876. (CARL 3005)

in Columbia or Charleston. In addition, Rock Hill was not just a summer home, it was also a working farm with a number of locally hired hands, and to supervise them and to take care of the place in his absence, Memminger always employed an overseer from among the local people.

On 28 October 1839, Memminger apparently hired his first overseer, Kinson Middleton, who for $250 per year agreed "to give my whole time and attention to working and managing [Memminger's] farm at Flat Rock."[38] Probably from the beginning, Memminger had a caretaker's residence at Rock Hill, but it is rarely mentioned in his account book. In 1844, he noted that he paid for "plastering and work on Middleton's house," which was presumably the caretaker's residence at Rock Hill. What is now known as the Buck House may have been a caretaker's residence, as was the building now known as the Tenant House, although neither structure has been well documented and the latter building appears to be of a much later date. Repairs were made to Middleton's house in 1844, probably after he left Memminger's employment, and in 1845, Memminger replaced him with John W. McCarson (born about 1816), who with his wife and five children moved into the overseer's house. In 1850, the Federal census showed that four more children had been added to the McCarson family.

In 1844, Memminger began accounting for development of "Valley Farm," which marks his purchase of what became Edward Memminger's Tranquility, located a mile or so northwest of Connemara.[39] By the 1850s, brothers Andrew (born about 1825) and Alfred (born about 1831) Hart were among the hired hands, and at least by 1855, Memminger was apparently employing both men, who were sons of Ephraim Hart, as dual overseers. Memminger's agreement with the Harts stipulated that Alfred Hart would reside "at the farm," which presumably meant Valley Farm, while Andrew Hart would reside "at the residence," which presumably meant the caretaker's house at Rock Hill.[40]

In July 1852, one of the Memminger's younger sons, Allard Belin Memminger, died of unspecified causes, perhaps in Flat Rock, where he is buried. In the summer and fall of 1854, Memminger and his two oldest children, Ellen and Tom, made a grand tour of Europe, including Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France and were gone from August until November. His wife was pregnant and stayed behind in Charleston, where she gave birth to Allard Belin Memminger II in September. The couple corresponded frequently, with Christopher Memminger commenting while in Switzerland that it was "very like Buncombe [Rock Hill] in October- - - frost in the morning. But the hotels are made for summer, and chimneys are not in each room, and fuel is not as at Buncombe."[41] The Harts managed Rock Hill that year, which was perhaps the only year that the Memmingers did not open Rock Hill for the summer.[42]

Local residents were also employed on the estate on a seasonal basis to work the farm and for other tasks, including painting and small construction projects. Paying fifty cents per hundred, Memminger bought thousands of split rails for fencing from local men, and continued to patronize Abraham Kuykendall, whose sawmill had furnished much of the lumber to build Rock Hill. Like the other summer residents, Memminger took advantage of the fresh poultry and produce local farmers could offer as well.

Memminger also had other relationships with the local residents around Flat Rock. Patton records that in 1860 Memminger built a house at Valley Farm in addition to the two houses already on the property. Memminger apparently let this new, larger house to a family named Hollingsworth, with at least one of their daughters employed at Rock Hill, probably as a maid or laundress. This house was the scene of some events recorded in J. V. Hadley's *Seven Months a Prisoner*, a first- person account of his escape from a Confederate prison and his long journey home. Originally published in 1898, Hadley's book is reported to have provided source material for Charles Frazier's *Cold Mountain* (1997), which was made into a motion picture in 2003.[43]

38. See Memminger Papers, Account Book.
39. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 44.
40. Memminger's account book includes caretaker agreements with Middleton and the Harts, but only the Harts can be located in the Henderson County census. Also see Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.
41. Memminger Papers, Account Book.
42. The Memminger papers include a few letters from Memminger to his wife while he was in Europe.
43. Patton, *Flat Rock*, pp. 44-45.

Slaves and Servants. C. G. Memminger was a slave owner, with twelve slaves listed in his possession in the 1850 census. Most of these slaves were probably family servants, gardeners, or drivers, but Memminger could have rented out some of them, especially if they were skilled craftsmen. The carpenters Ben and Peter mentioned in Memminger's account book were probably slaves as well and apparently built the servants' house that the Sandburgs called the Chicken House, but which was most likely originally built as quarters for the Memminger's cook. Aside from these three names, no other names have been identified out of the dozen or so slaves that Memminger is shown as owning in the 1850 Federal Census.

Except for Robert, the butler whom Memminger sent ahead to Flat Rock each year to open the house, virtually nothing is known of Memminger's servants, nearly all of whom would certainly have been enslaved African Americans. Besides a butler and a cook, the Memmingers' servants most likely included one or more maids, as well as gardeners and perhaps a carriage driver. There were probably at least four servants who made the trip each summer, and it is possible that one or two of them initially lived in the main house, perhaps in one or more of the upstairs bedrooms. As the Memminger family grew, however, more room was needed and in the late 1840s, the main house was enlarged, and in the early 1850s, a new servants' house was constructed. Now known as the Swedish House, this servants' house had four bedrooms and would have provided ample room for the Memmingers' servants.

Civil War

Memminger was an avowed supporter of the Union, beginning with his opposition to the nullification movement in the 1830s and continuing amid the increasing political turmoil of the 1850s. He was one of the principal speakers at a great rally against secession that was held in Columbia in September 1851, and he was one of South Carolina's electors who helped elect Democrat Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire to the Presidency in 1852.[44] He continued to urge moderation, an especially difficult task in South Carolina as the battle over "bleeding Kansas" erupted in 1855. He was roundly criticized in the Columbia newspapers for sending his son Robert to Harvard in 1857, thereby exposing him to the "dangers of sending our Southern youth to be educated in Northern institutions." Nevertheless, Robert graduated from Harvard two years later.[45]

Gradually, however, Memminger realized that secession was inevitable and, like Robert E. Lee and many other Southerners, came to support the Con-

44. "Great Rally against secession," New York *Times*, 29 September 1851.
45. *New York Times*, 2 October 1857, 23 July 1859.



FIGURE 19. Stereographic view of Rock HIll, probably 1870s, the earliest image of the house yet located. (CARL 28466)

federate cause rather than set himself against home, family, and friends. After John Brown's raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859, Memminger was appointed by South Carolina's governor as a special commissioner to address the Virginia legislature concerning a unified defense against rising antislavery violence. According to his biographer, his "conservative views, dignified and conciliatory spirit, [and] thorough knowledge of the questions to be considered, gave him an approach to the people of Virginia, through their General Assembly, that but few men from the extreme South could have secured."[46] However, "the upshot of that meeting," the New York *Times* reported, was that "Virginia was afraid" to act and "South Carolina dare not move."[47]

The election of Abraham Lincoln on 6 November 1860 sent South Carolina over the edge, and four days later it became the first of the Southern states to call for a convention to consider secession. Memminger was a major player in that convention, too, drafting a statement of the causes that justified secession. Ratification of the state's Ordinance of Secession on 20 December 1860 began the attempted breakup of the Union. Six other Deep South states seceded in rapid succession, and there were fireworks and celebration all across the South.

Memminger was one of thirty- seven delegates when the Provisional Confederate Congress convened in Montgomery, Alabama, in February 1861 and was chairman of the convention that drafted the new government's first constitution. Most important, he was appointed secretary of the Confederate Treasury on 21 February 1861, not so much for his financial abilities, according to some, but simply to give South Carolina a position in the Cabinet. He was, the historian E. Merton Coulter wrote, "a man of sound instincts but weak will power, though antagonistic enough to make his dealing with others difficult and largely futile." This last cannot have been entirely true, given Memminger's tremendous accomplishments before the Civil War.[48]

Whatever Memminger's personal failings, his was an impossible task, and well before the end of the war, the Confederate Treasury was little more than a pile of paper. A bitter editor at the Richmond *Whig* excoriated him as "a second rate lawyer in Charleston, famous for the energy and persistence with which he collected small bills and dunned petty debtors. . . . He has done his best, but he has been overtaken- - that is all."[49]

By the spring of 1864, it became clear that Memminger could not rescue the Treasury from insolvency, and under pressure he resigned on 15 June 1864, blamed- - unfairly most would now agree- - for the collapse of Confederate finances.[50] He was replaced by George Trenholm, a well- known Charleston banker and perhaps the richest man in the Confederacy. Trenholm had a summer home at Flat Rock, as did his brother Edward, who bought Baring's Mountain Lodge in the 1850s.

Well after the war was over, recriminations over the Confederate debacle continued to fly, and even General Joseph Johnston weighed in with criticism of the way Confederate finances were handled. In his response to Johnston's second guessing, Memminger refrained from criticizing the general's oft-criticized military tactics, but pointed out that the Confederacy's refusal to raise a tax for the war insured its defeat.[51] Memminger always defended himself by saying that he was forced "to administer plans which I neither originated nor approved."[52]

With Charleston under near- constant bombardment (it was abandoned by the Confederates in February 1865), the Memmingers retreated to Rock Hill where they spent much of the next two years.[53] In his memoir of Flat Rock, written in 1922, the Memmingers' youngest son, Edward, wrote that Rock Hill "possibly [had] more reminders of the dark days of the Confederacy than any other [house] in Flat Rock."[54] Patton recounts "an old tradition among the people at Flat Rock that," as she wrote:

46. Bailey, *Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 23.
47. "The Southern Conference," New York *Times*, 7 March 1860.
48. E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 149.
49. Coulter, *Confederate States*, p. 150.
50. *New York Times*, 24 June,12 August 1864.
51. "The South's Failure," New York *Times*, 1 April 1874.
52. Coulter, *Confederate States*, p. 164.
53. Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, NC: 1954), p. 207.
54. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 14.

> Secretary Memminger at one time urged President Davis to remove headquarters of the Confederate Government to Flat Rock, because he felt that the place here in its mountain fastness could be fortified and protected much better than could Richmond."[55]

While that may well have been considered as the Confederate government retreated southward after the fall of Richmond, it may be significant that his son's memoir does not mention the tradition.

Reconstruction

Edward Memminger's account of the breakdown of law and order as the Confederacy collapsed in 1865 paints a vivid picture of the scene at Rock Hill.

> After the surrender at Appomattox, the Union troops came through Flat Rock and, though they were guilty of no German atrocities, they pillaged some of the houses and took whatever they wanted. In the day the men of the family "took to the woods" to escape the soldiers and had to come back at night to defend the house from a gang of deserters from the Confederate Army, who had turned bandits and terrorized the community with their burglaries and other offences.
>
> As the defenders of the house were but two men and a boy, resort had to be had to other means of defence, so the steps in front of the house, from the portico to the ground, were pulled down, port- holes were cut in the doors holding strategic positions, the windows on the ground floor were barricaded with sand- bags and *chevaux de frises* and communication cut through doors and floors from story to story. The house never was attacked though threatened.[56]

Sometime during this period, the Memmingers' longtime overseer Andrew Hart lost a leg as the result of an accidental gunshot wound. Forced to retire as overseer, he bought an old store on the High Road which, Edward Memminger recalled, "in time became a great nuisance to the community from the sale of whiskey. After [Hart's] death, his sons operated the store but without the sale of whiskey."[57]

In the summer of 1865, with the Memmingers still at Flat Rock, their house at the corner of Wentworth and Smith in Charleston was declared abandoned and turned over to the Freedmen's Bureau for use as an orphanage for African- American children. With roads and railroads in shambles, travel was next to impossible, and any sort of communication difficult at best. "We have neither mails or correspondence," Memminger wrote to a friend, "so that any glimpse

55. Patton, *Henderson County*, p. 207.

56. Memminger, *Flat Rock,* p. 14.
57. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.



FIGURE 20. VIew of Rock Hill, prior to the late Victorian additions and alterations that were made about 1890. (CARL3001/01/48P)

of the doings of the great world is highly acceptable." Weeks- old newspapers dropped off by traveling acquaintances only occasionally pierced Rock Hill's isolation.[58]

In November 1865, Memminger applied for pardon under the terms set forth by Congress, but through a long winter at Flat Rock there was no reply. Other letters were exchanged but it was December 1866 before the pardon was finally granted and early January 1867 before the Freedmen's Bureau returned the house in Charleston. The family may have visited Charleston during that period, since daughter Lucy married Captain Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1839- 1909), the son of the rector at St. John in the Wilderness, there on 1 November 1866. There is no record of how long the family remained in Flat Rock after that, but the house on Wentworth Street was probably somewhat worse for wear and tear, and it may have been some time before it was occupied again.[59] They were probably back in the house, however, when their daughter Sarah Virginia married Ralph Izard Middleton (1840- 1914) in Charleston on 17 December 1867.

Many of Memminger's peers were ruined by the war or at least in severely reduced circumstances. Yet even with the loss of his slaves, Memminger must have had few real financial difficulties and appears even to have prospered. In the 1870 Federal census, he is shown with $20,000 in real estate, a drop of 20% since 1860, but with $100,000 in personal property, which was double the declared amount in 1860 and a remarkable recovery after the loss of his slaves.

In addition to resuming his law practice, Memminger was also actively involved in an array of enterprises after the Civil War. According to Patton, he was "a pioneer in the development of the phosphate industry in South Carolina," In 1868, he organized the Sulfuric Acid and Super- Phosphate Company (later known as the Etiwan Phosphate Company), not only one of the earliest of the South Carolina phosphate companies but also the first company in the South to engage in the commercial manufacture of sulphuric acid.[60]

The boom in phosphate mining began in 1867 when Northern investors started mining the shallow strata of phosphate rock along the Ashley River near Charleston, a feature first identified before the Civil War by the noted agricultural reformer Edmund Ruffin. These mines were the nation's first phosphate mines and, with phosphate selling at twice the price of Peruvian guano, which had been the traditional source of fertilizer, crude strip- mining rapidly denuded large portions of the moribund rice plantations along the Ashley River, most famously at Thomas Drayton's Magnolia Plantation. Phosphate mining made fortunes for wealthy investors and provided much- needed employment to thousands of freed slaves. It was also a boon to cash- strapped planters whose lands were suddenly selling at tremendous prices, and throughout the 1870s and 1880s, phosphate production was one of the state's most lucrative industries. With twenty- one companies in production by 1880, wealth from phosphates transformed Charleston especially, and as historian E. Merton Coulter pointed out, "for the first time

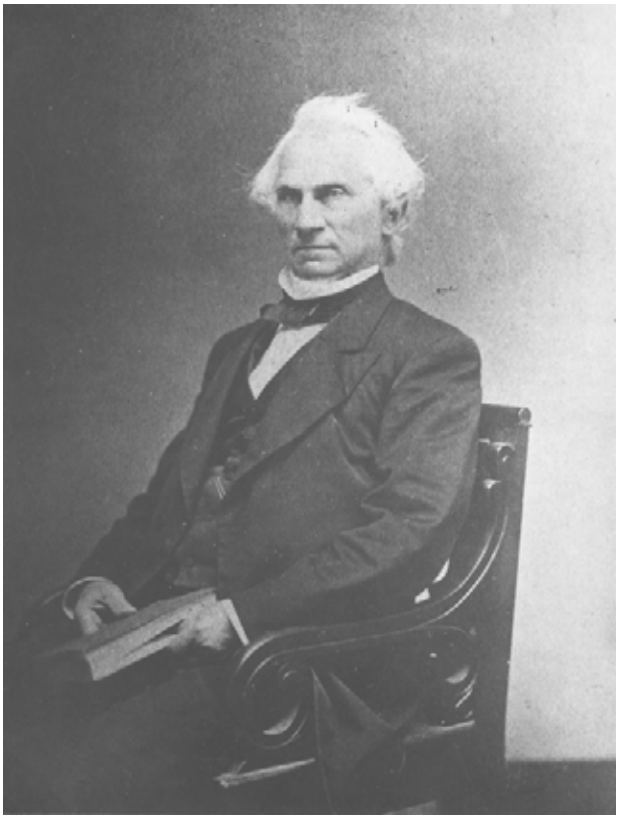


FIGURE 21. Christopher Memminger, c. 1865. (CARL 28429)

58. Bailey, *Rock Hill to Connemara*, p 27.
59. The 1880 Federal Census gives the address as 122 Wentworth Street, between Coming and Pitt, but that number may have been later changed. The house apparently no longer exists.
60. Bailey, *From Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 28; Svejda, p. 10.

since 1861 this war- ridden city learned again the taste of prosperity."[61] It was also an industry that was heavily taxed by an increasingly corrupt state government, and after high- grade deposits were discovered in Florida in 1889, South Carolina's phosphate industry quickly declined in the face of stiff competition from the more than two hundred phosphate mines that were operating in Florida by 1894. Ironically, one of the significant figures in the development of Florida's phosphate industry was Memminger's grandson, C. G. Memminger III.[62]



FIGURE 22. Tranquility, built by Edward Read Memminger on his father's Valley Farm in 1890. (Historic Flat Rock Collection)



FIGURE 23. A 20th-century photograph of Christopher Memminger's youngest son, Edward. (From A Sketch of Flat Rock CARL 7170)

In the 1870s, Memminger bought shares in the Silver Mountain Mining Company in Carbon County, Wyoming, and he continued to be one of the leaders in the effort to establish rail service from Charleston across the Blue Ridge into Tennessee and on to Cincinnati. A route was surveyed in 1838, but by the time the Civil War intervened, track had been laid only as far as Spartanburg. After the war, the Spartanburg and Asheville Railroad was organized to continue the work, with Memminger as its president. His son Edward remembered driving his father to Spartanburg in 1874 for the ground- breaking ceremony, which included "a great celebration with speech making and a barbecue."[63] The line was completed across the Blue Ridge in 1876, but the work proved extraordinarily expensive and the line was not completed through Flat Rock to Hendersonville until 1880. The following year the company was reorganized as the Asheville and Spartanburg Railroad and the line to Asheville was completed in 1886

In September 1874, the Memmingers' daughter Lucinda, wife of Captain Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, died at the age of 32. In November of the following year, Memminger's wife of forty- three years died and was buried at St. John in the Wilderness cemetery. In spite of these losses, Memminger was re- elected to the Legislature in 1876 and, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, worked to restore the state's finances. He also introduced a bill to revive his alma mater, South Carolina College in Columbia, but retired from public life when his legislative term ended in 1877. On 27 March 1878, Christopher Memminger married his late wife's younger sister Sarah Ann Wilkinson, who had long been close to the family.

In November 1885, Memminger resigned as chairman of Charleston's Public School Board, a position he had held since the early 1850s. The *Charleston New and Courier* editorialized:

61. E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. 215.

62. *New York Times*, 14 August 1930.
63. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.

> The retirement of Hon. C. G. Memminger from the Chairmanship of the Board of City School Commissioners closes a most important chapter in the educational history of Charleston and South Carolina. Mr. Memminger is justly regarded as the father of the city public schools and of the present State public school system. Of his long life, which fills no mean page in history, the best years and most earnest efforts have been spent in the cause of public education.[64]

Recognizing his enormous service to the city and state, the legislature authorized a memorial, and on 29 February 1888, a marble bust of Memminger was unveiled in the chambers of the Charleston City Council.[65]

Christopher Memminger died in Charleston on 7 March 1888. In its eulogy for Memminger, the *News and Courier* wrote that he was

> one of those who have given lustre to the name of South Carolina; the towering and never- to- be- forgotten few. Earnest, able, equable. Publicist; man of affairs, apostle of popular education in South Carolina; loyal always to Church and State.[66]

Memminger's remains were placed on the train to Flat Rock, where he was interred next to his first wife in the cemetery at St. John in the Wilderness. At his death, he had eight children still living. His eldest son, Dr. Thomas Bennett Memminger, was a physician in St. Louis, Missouri. Rev. Robert Withers Memminger was a minister and author in Charleston, but remained active in politics, leading a movement in 1892 "to secure affiliation [with the Reform Republican Party in South Carolina] of a number of white men who believed in national Republican doctrines but who were ashamed to join the ranks of carpet- bagger Republicanism."[67]

Christopher G. Memminger, Jr., and Edward Reed Memminger both had orange groves near Tampa, Florida, but both would retire to the mountains of western North Carolina. Their brother Allard, named for the first Allard who died in 1852, was also a doctor, practicing in Charleston where he was dean of the Medical College in 1908. His interests were not limited to medicine, however. In 1890 he was granted German Patent DE 55,926, "Verfahren zur Darstellung von schnell trocknendem Superphosphat," a process of adding a fluoride to ground phosphate before it is treated with acid in order to create a super phosphate.[68]

Memminger's oldest daughter, Ellen, never married and lived with her brother Thomas at Flat Rock after the death of his wife in the early 1900s. Mary Memminger Cotte's husband was a civil engineer in Brussels, Belgium, and was unable to get home in time for her father's funeral. Finally, Virginia Memminger Middleton lived with her husband Ralph Izard Middleton, Jr., in Charleston, but they, too, maintained a summer home at Flat Rock.

Years later, Memminger's cousin Caroline Pinckney Rutledge wrote Carl Sandburg with her memories of "a dear cousin" and his Rock Hill:

> Mr. Memminger! I wish I had the words and the strength to write them- - a righteous man, grave but gracious; hospitable, generous, bringing out the best in everyone- - high, high thoughts- - fine books- - organ and piano in both homes summer and winter- - Lawns! Bursts of color in trees in October. Lovely lake. Herds of Cattle- - flocks of sheep on lawn- - Have I left out anything? Oh, yes, conversation most delightful.[69]

The house at Rock Hill may have sat empty in the summer of 1889. Memminger's son Dr. Allard Memminger had built his own house, Richmond Hill (drastically remodeled and now known as Enchantment), nearby in 1870[70], and Edward Read



FIGURE 24. Christopher and Mary Memminger's graves at St. John-in-the-Wilderness. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

64. Quoted in Svejda, p. 11.
65. Svejda, p. 11.
66. Quoted in Svejda, p. 12.
67. "Convention of the Reform Republican Party, New York *Times*, 13 April 1892.
68. See undated obituary in CARL research files. "Phosphate Fertilizers and Supplements," at <http://pmeiers.bei.t-online.de/p-phos.htm>, accessed 1 March 2005.
69. Caroline Pinckney Rutledge to Carl Sandburg, 29 June 1946, letter in CARL Collection.

Memminger was constructing a new house for himself at his father's old Valley Farm. Called Tranquility, the house was slated for completion and occupancy by the summer of 1890. And so the Memmingers put Rock Hill up for sale. On 12 September 1889, Edward Memminger, acting as executor of his father's estate, sold Rock Hill, its contents, and 292 acres for $10,000 to Caspar A. Chisholm, in trust for Chisholm's sister- in- law Mary A. F. Gregg.[71]

The Greggs

Born in South Carolina about 1839, Mary A. Fleming Gregg was the daughter of Daniel Fleming, a wealthy Charleston merchant. She married William Gregg, Jr., on 10 December 1856. Gregg was born at Graniteville, Aiken County, South Carolina, on 11 October 1834, the eldest son of William and Mariana Jones Gregg. William Gregg, Sr. (1800- 1867), was one of the early proponents of Southern industrialization and, according to one historian, "the most significant figure in the development of cotton mills in the South." Although it was not the first textile factory in the South[72], the model textile factory that Gregg built at Graniteville between 1845 and 1849 was one of the best in the nation when it began operation in 1847. The mill, which remains in operation as a component of Avondale Mills, is now a National Historic Landmark.[73]

Little is known about William Gregg, Jr., who listed his occupation as "planter" in the 1880 census, but who apparently remained active in the textile industry throughout his life. Presumably, Gregg inherited at least a portion of his father's Graniteville Manufacturing Company when the elder Gregg died in 1867, although the nature of any continuing role that he might have had in the company

70. Richmond Hill was built as "a miniature of Rock Hill" according to Patton, *Henderson County,* p. 210. It was later bought by Mrs. Robert E. Lee III, a granddaughter of Christopher Memminger, who restored it and renamed it Enchantment.
71. Henderson County Deed Book 25, pp. 469-470. Chisholm was married to Mary Gregg's sister. The deed also mentions earlier trustees of Mary Gregg, including her father Daniel Fleming and her brother-in-law James Jones Gregg.
72. Textile mills were operating at Roswell, Georgia, and elsewhere by 1840.
73. "Gregg, William," Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, editors, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), pp. 599-600; National Historic Landmark nomination for Graniteville; 1860 Federal Census, South Carolina, Edgefield County, Graniteville, p. 67.



FIGURE 25. View of Connemara in late winter or early spring 1901. Image shows East Porch, the bay window on the west side of the house, and the new front steps, all apparently added by the Greggs around 1890. (CARL3001/01/04P)

has not been documented. William Gregg, Jr., and his wife, Mary Fleming Gregg, appear to have had only two children, a son born in 1860 and a daughter born in 1863.

In the Charleston city directories for 1888- 1890, William and Mary Gregg are listed at 27 Rutledge Avenue near the Battery, just a few doors away from his widowed mother, Mariana Gregg, at 16 Rutledge and just a block and a half from Christopher Memminger's widow on Council Street. At that time, Gregg's occupation was listed in the directory as "phosphates," in which he, like Memminger and other wealthy Charlestonians, had invested heavily after the Civil War.[74] What relationship may have existed between the Memmingers and the Greggs prior to 1889 is not clear. However, C. G. Memminger, Sr., and William Gregg, Sr., were contemporaries and both served in the South Carolina assembly in the 1850s, sometimes on opposite sides of an issue. Both were delegates to the state's secession convention in 1860, and as neighbors in Charleston, quite likely had something more than a passing acquaintance with one another.

In her history of Connemara prior to the Sandburgs, Louise Bailey states that "there is no indication that [Gregg] or his family occupied the house, or that they made any changes in the house or grounds."[75] While that may be true, the Greggs bought Rock Hill fully furnished and, like the Memmingers, employed an overseer, William Slattery (born in North Carolina about 1862), who of course lived on the property year- round.[76] It seems improbable that William and Mary Gregg would not have spent some time in the house, at least prior to his death in February 1895. In addition, as will be discussed in the next section of this report, in the late nineteenth century, a series of changes and additions to the house was executed that was almost certainly a product of the Gregg era.

Gregg's widow retained ownership of Rock Hill for nearly six years after his death, and it is not known

74. Abstract of Charleston city directories at <www.ancestry.com>, accessed 14 June 2004.

75. Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 32.
76. Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 44.



FIGURE 26. View of Connemara after it was repainted by the Smyths in 1901 (CARL3001/01/18P))

what finally precipitated the decision to sell. It is possible that too much of the family's income depended on South Carolina's phosphate industry, which was well on the way to collapse in the face of competition from the new mines in Florida. Or it is possible that the decision to sell related to the tragic drowning of a child, perhaps a grandchild, in Front Lake.[77] Whatever the reason, on 12 December 1900, Mary Gregg conveyed title to Rock Hill to James Adger Smyth and Augustine T. Smyth as trustees for their younger brother Ellison Adger Smyth and his wife Julia Gambrill Smyth.[78]

The Smyths

Called the "dean of Southern textile manufacturers" by the *New York Times* when he died in 1942, Ellison Adger Smyth was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1847.[79] He was the son of Thomas Smyth (1808- 1873) and grandson of Samuel Smith [sic][80], who apparently made a fortune as a grocer and tobacco distributor, perhaps in Belfast in the north of Ireland. While they made their home in northern Ireland for at least a generation prior to coming to America, they were not part of the native Irish population. Thomas Smyth was a Congregationalist in Ireland, and this Protestant association (the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England were Congregationalists) supports the suggestion that the Smyths were part of the great migration from Scotland and the northern parts of England to settle King James' Ulster "plantation" after it was established in 1610.[81]

77. Mary McKay, the Smyths' granddaughter, remembered "somebody drowned in front lake not long before we bought the place," and the Smyth grandchildren were never allowed to swim in the lake as a result. Also see interview with Frank Ballard, 19 October 1982, who recalled the drowning victim as being a child.
78. Henderson County Deed Book 40, pp. 567-572.
79. "Capt. Ellison Smyth, A Manufacturer, 94," *New York Times*, August 3, 1942. He should not be confused with South Carolina Senator Ellison DuRant Smith (1864-1944).
80. Smyth's grandfather Samuel is reported to have changed the spelling of his surname to "Smith," but his father Thomas Smith reverted to "Smyth" in 1837 in order to avoid confusion with another Thomas Smith.The name is pronounced with the sound of a long "i". Most of the family, including Ellison Smyth, spelled the name without a final "e." His brother Augustine Smythe reverted to the archaic spelling of the family name, again as a way to distinguish himself from another Augustine Smith.

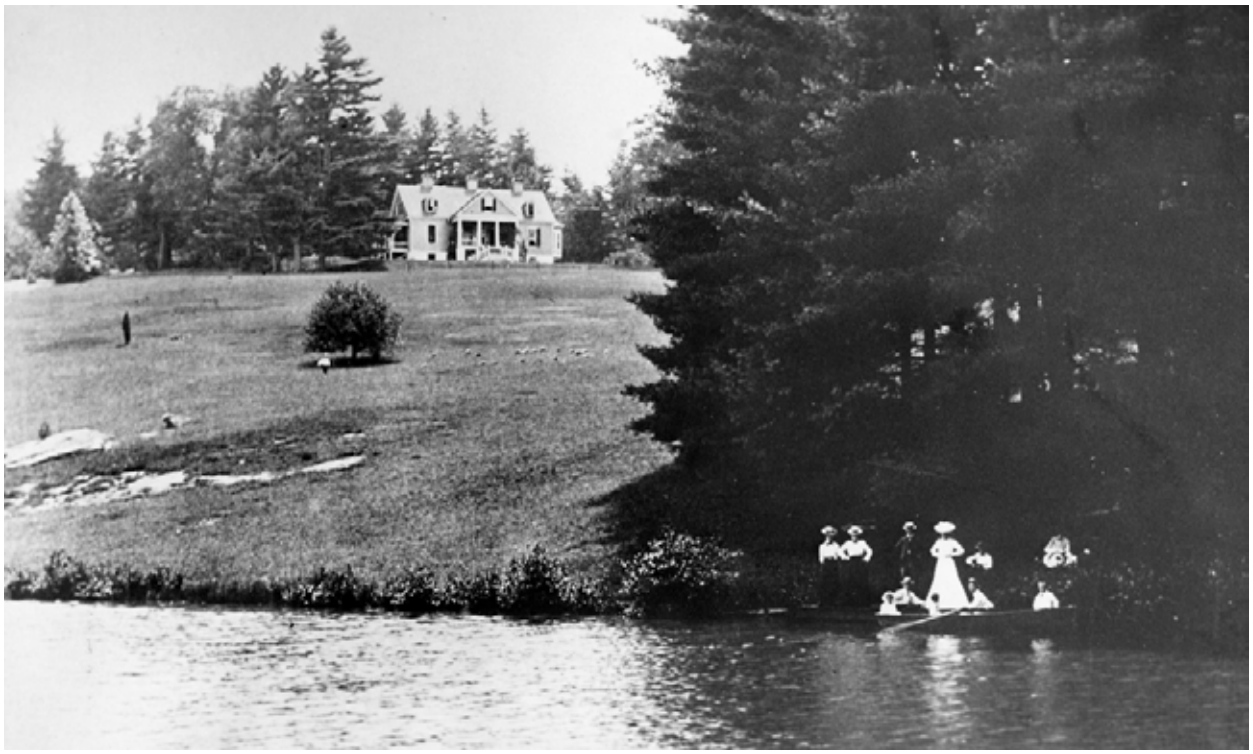


FIGURE 27. Boating at Connemara, c. 1910. (CARL3001/01/41P)

Samuel Smyth's trade appears to have formed the foundation of the family's comfortable circumstances, but he also is reported to have operated a mill (probably producing linen) at Brandon near Belfast.[82] Thomas Smyth graduated, with honors, from Belfast College in 1829, and the following year, the entire family emigrated to New Jersey, where at least one of Samuel's sons, Joseph, had already emigrated prior to 1830.

After a period of study at Princeton Theological Seminary, Thomas settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where he began working at the Second Presbyterian Church, becoming its pastor in 1832, a post he would hold until his death. Shortly after moving to Charleston, Thomas Smyth met Margaret Milligan Adger, the daughter of Charleston banker James Adger and the sister of the Rev. John Bailey Adger. They were married in 1832.[83] Their ancestor James Adger had also operated a linen mill, in County Antrim, Ireland, but it is not known if the two families had connections in the Old World.

Three of Thomas and Margaret Smyth's first four children died young, including two daughters who died of scarlet fever in 1837, but others were born

81. Barry Waugh, Ph.D., "Thomas Smyth," *The Southern Presbyterian Review Digitalization Project: Author Biography., <http://www.pcanet.org/history/periodicals/spr/bios/smyth.html>, accessed 22 June 2004.* In an interview on 3 December 1976, Mrs. Rogers, one of Ellison Smyth's granddaughters remembered that the Smyths were Scots-Irish.
82. William Plummer Jacobs, *The Pioneer* (Clinton, SC: Jacobs & Co. Press, n .d., probably 1934), p. 15.
83. Barry Waugh, "Thomas Smyth"; Jacobs, *The Pioneer,* p. 15.



FIGURE 28. The Smyths on the steps at Connemara, c. 1900. Left to right: Lewis D. Black, Annie Pierce Smyth Blake (holding unidentified child), James A. Smyth, Mary H. Smyth, Mary Smyth McKay (child), A. F. McKissick (holding unidentified child), Julia Gambrill Smyth, Jane Adger Smyth (holding unidentified child), Ellison Adger Smyth. (Collection of Juliane Heggoy, great-granddaughter of the Smyths)

and six lived to adulthood- - James Adger, Augustine T., Susan, Sarah Ann, Ellison Adger, and Jane Ann.

Education, always a high priority in Presbyterian households, was especially so in the Smyth household, and the children grew up in a house overflowing with books. As early as 1829, Thomas began assembling a library and admitted in his autobiography, "My thirst for books in London became rapacious. I overspent my supplies in procuring them at the cheap repositories and left myself in the cold winter for two or three months without a cent.[84]

In the mid- 1840s, the Smyths added three rooms to their house, in part to accommodate the thousands of books, and Margaret cautioned her husband "not to involve yourself too deeply or inextricably in debt by the purchase of books & pictures." Clearly exasperated by her husband's compulsive buying, she continued:

> [O]f the last, with the maps, we have enough now to cover all the walls, even in the new rooms; & the books are already too numerous for comfort in the Study & Library. . . . But I would enter a protest not only against books & pictures, but all other things not necessary & which can come under the charge of extravagance. Do be admonished & study to be economical.[85]

But the Reverend Smyth continued to buy, eventually accumulating more than 20,000 volumes before reluctantly selling half of his library to the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1856. He continued to make donations to the Seminary and, by the time he died, that collection numbered more than 15,000 volumes. His youngest son, Ellison, would inherit at least some of his father's love for books

Ellison Smyth

Ellison Smyth received his formal education in private schools until about 1863 when he enrolled at the South Carolina Military Academy in Charleston, the predecessor of today's Citadel and an institution known for its high academic standards and strict military discipline. In January 1861, Citadel cadets stationed on Morris Island had fired on the U.S. steamer *Star of the West*, preventing it from supplying Fort Sumter with troops and supplies and helping to set the stage for the declarations of war in April. Not yet a Citadel cadet himself, Ellison Smyth watched the bombardment of Fort Sumter from the rooftops of Charleston in April 1861. The prolonged

84. Quoted in Barry Waugh, "Thomas Smyth."

85. Quoted in Barry Waugh, "Thomas Smyth."

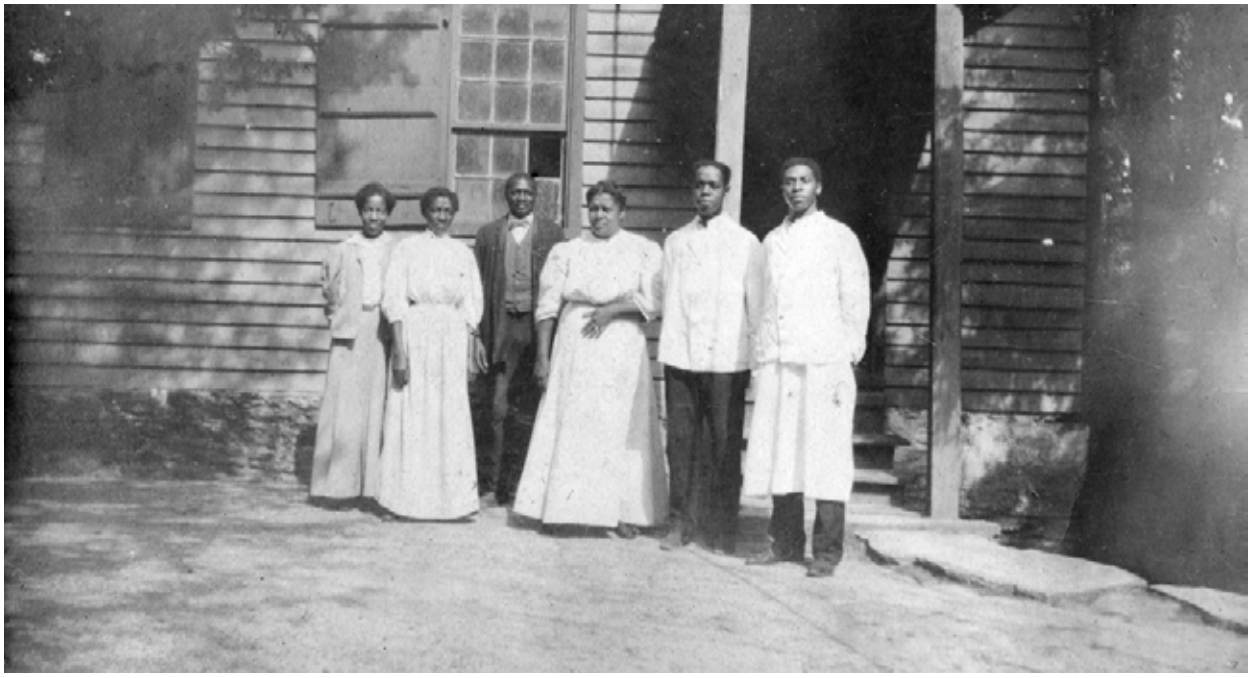


FIGURE 29. The Smyths' servants in front of the kitchen, c. 1910. The building may have been rebuilt by Smyth in the 1920s and was drastically altered when the Sandburgs turned it into a garage in 1945. (Collection of William McKay, Smyths' great-grandson.)

siege and bombardment of the city by Federal forces sent many families fleeing, and after shells twice struck their house, the Smyths themselves sought refuge in Clarendon County in east- central South Carolina in August 1863.

The Smyths' oldest sons, Augustine and James, enlisted in the early days of the war, but, still in his early teens, Ellison was simply too young. In 1864, however, desperate for troops, the state organized its "Seed Corn" regiments of sixteen and seventeen- year- olds led by retired or disabled veterans. As a result, Ellison Smyth was mustered into service as well, reportedly as a sergeant in the 3rd Regiment led by Lt. Col. J. W. Harrington. His mother wrote a friend, "Oh, he looks so young and so alone- - he went, I know not where . . . [but] went off very cheerful and light- hearted." There are conflicting reports as to the amount of action the regiment saw, but they did duty at different points between Charleston and Savannah and were at Savannah when Sherman entered that city in December 1864. They were on James Island at the time of the evacuation of Charleston in February 1865 and were reportedly with Hardee's army in North Carolina when Gen. Joseph Johnston surrendered the last Confederate army east of the Mississippi a few weeks after Appomattox.[86]

The Smyths, like the Memmingers and the Greggs, appear to have survived the war in somewhat reduced, but still comfortable, circumstances. Although the war's immediate aftermath was difficult for all, they avoided the outright poverty suffered by many of their less- prosperous contemporaries. In 1866, young Ellison Smyth began a three- year stint as a clerk in the Charleston wholesale hardware company J. E. Adger & Company, owned by his maternal uncle and namesake James Ellison Adger. Adger made his nephew a partner in the company in 1869, and in February of that same year Smyth married Julia Gambrill at Charleston's Second Presbyterian Church.[87]

Julia Gambrill. Julia was born in Columbus, Georgia, on 18 November 1849, the daughter of one Laurence (or Launcelot, by some accounts) Gambrill, a Baltimore banker and cotton broker, and his wife Ann America Pierce Gambrill. Julia's mother, who was the daughter of the famed Methodist parson Lovick Pierce (1785- 1879), apparently died before 1860, and Julia was sent to Sparta, Georgia, where she was raised by her uncle George Foster Pierce, a bishop in the Methodist- Episcopal Church



FIGURE 30. Smyth grandchildren eating watermelon near the southwest corner of the house. (CARL3001/01/01P)



FIGURE 31. Some of the Smyths' grandchildren and, possibly, their chauffeur James Robinson, in the backyard at Connemara, c. 1910. (CARL3001/01/17P)

86. Jacobs, *The Pioneer,* which is part of the park's collection, contains useful biographical information; Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 36. Bailey's account of Smyth's Civil War service appears to contain at least some apocryphal material.

87. Brent H. Holcomb, Southern Christian Advocate Marriage Notices, 1867-1878 (Columbia, SC: SCMAR, 1993). The family name is spelled "Gambrill" in most early records, and they were apparently unrelated to the huge clan of Gambrells around Anderson, South Carolina.

South.[88] Gambrill himself remarried and, after the Civil War, was living in Charleston. Perhaps while visiting her father, Julia met Ellison Smyth.[89]

The couple remained in Charleston for eleven years, with Ellison continuing to work with his uncle in the hardware business and also, for a time, in his grandfather Adger's bank. Their first child, Margaret, was born in Charleston in January 1870, and another daughter, Julia, arrived in 1872, but lived only four years. Six more children died as infants, but in addition to Margaret, four children- - James Adger, Annie Pierce, Jane Adger, and Sarah Ann- - were born and lived to adulthood.



FIGURE 32. Some of the Smyth grandchildren at play near their grandfather's barns, c. 1915. (CARL3001/04/01P)



FIGURE 33. One of the Smyths' grandchildren behind the Main House with front entrance to Kitchen visible in background. (CARL3001/02/07P)

"Captain" Smyth. During Reconstruction, Smyth became an active leader in the organization of rifle and saber clubs that sprang up all over the state, ostensibly "for social contact and practice in the manly exercise of arms" but essentially paramilitary organizations that played a key role in ending Reconstruction.[90] In 1867, Ellison Smyth was an organizer and vice- president of the Carolina Rifle club, and in 1875, he was elected president of the Washington Artillery rifle club and even bought the club a battery of artillery from the United States Army.[91]

In 1876, Smyth was "a leader" in the "red shirt rebellion" that put Gen. Wade Hampton in the governor's chair and ended Reconstruction in the state.[92] The following year, Gov. Hampton appointed Smyth captain of the Washington Artillery, which he made a part of a formal state militia. Smyth thus gained the moniker Captain Smyth, which he carried for the rest of his life.

In the 1870s, the Smyths lived on Legare Street in Charleston, next door to his brother Augustine, an attorney who would soon begin a sixteen- year stint in the state legislature. Their brother James A. Smyth was mayor of the city, but as one biographer noted, Ellison's "ambition outweighed opportunity in Charleston," where the devastated economy never fully recovered its antebellum strength.[93] In addition to the phosphate mines along the Ashley River, some investors were beginning to look again at South Carolina's nascent textile industry as a source of opportunity.

88. "Captain Ellison Adger Smyth," Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas (Madison, WS: Brant & Fuller, 1892), p. 469. According to his biography in Dictionary of American Biography (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), George Pierce kept a diary from 1836-1866, which could provide more documentation for Julia Gambrill Smyth's youth.
89. 1850-1860 Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia; 1870 Federal Census, Charleston, SC.
90. See Jacobs' *The Pioneer* for a more-detailed account of this phase of Smyth's life.
91. "Captain Ellison Adger Smyth," *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, pp. 469-470.
92. Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 36.
93. "Captain Ellison Adger Smyth," *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, p. 469; Bailey, p. 47.

The Mills

In 1880, in partnership with Francis Joseph Pelzer, Jr., and William Lebby, and "unquestionably influenced" by the pioneering work of William Gregg, Sr., at Graniteville before the Civil War, Smyth began building a model cotton mill, complete with mill village, on 500 acres east of Anderson, South Carolina. Christened Pelzer Mills, and with Smyth as its president, the operation included four mills with nearly 2,000 looms, and more than 3,000 employees by 1896. The mill town itself contained more than 400 mill- worker houses, six stores, a church, and "a good hotel."

Smyth was rarely a passive investor, and in 1881, he moved his family to Pelzer, where they lived until 1887, when Smyth built "a beautiful and attractive residence" at 237 Broadus Avenue in Greenville, South Carolina. That would be the family's home for nearly forty years. A director of a variety of financial and insurance companies, Smyth was elected president of the Greenville Board of Trade, forerunner of its present Chamber of Commerce, and was also president of the Greenville Musical Association.[94]

His success with Pelzer prompted Smyth to organize the Belton Cotton Mills and build two mills at Belton, South Carolina, in 1899. By the turn of the century, according to an article in the *New York Times*, Smyth represented "as much cotton consumption as any man in the United States, his plants consuming 65,000 bales a year."[95] His success at Pelzer led to fourteen years of service as president of the South Carolina Manufacturers' Association, and in 1901, he was appointed to the United States Industrial Commission by President McKinley, the only Democrat to serve on that commission under that Republican administration.

94. "Captain Ellison Adger Smyth," *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*, p. 470.
95. "The Nation's Prosperity," *New York Times*, 2 February 1901.



FIGURE 34. Mr. and Mrs. Smyth in Front Room at Connemara, 1926. (Collection of Juliane Heggoy, great-granddaughter of the Smyths).

With the success of his mills, Smyth diversified his business interests and, by World War I, was on the boards of directors of thirty- six corporations and a dozen banks.[96] Around 1899, he acquired a controlling interest in the *Greenville News* and, by 1903, was its president. Established in 1874, the paper had a circulation of under 5,000 but was, nevertheless, a significant institution in upstate South Carolina. Smyth improved the paper's production and, in 1914, built a new printing plant at the corner of Main and Broad streets. The next year, however, he sold his interest in the paper to B. H. Peace and retired from publishing entirely.[97]

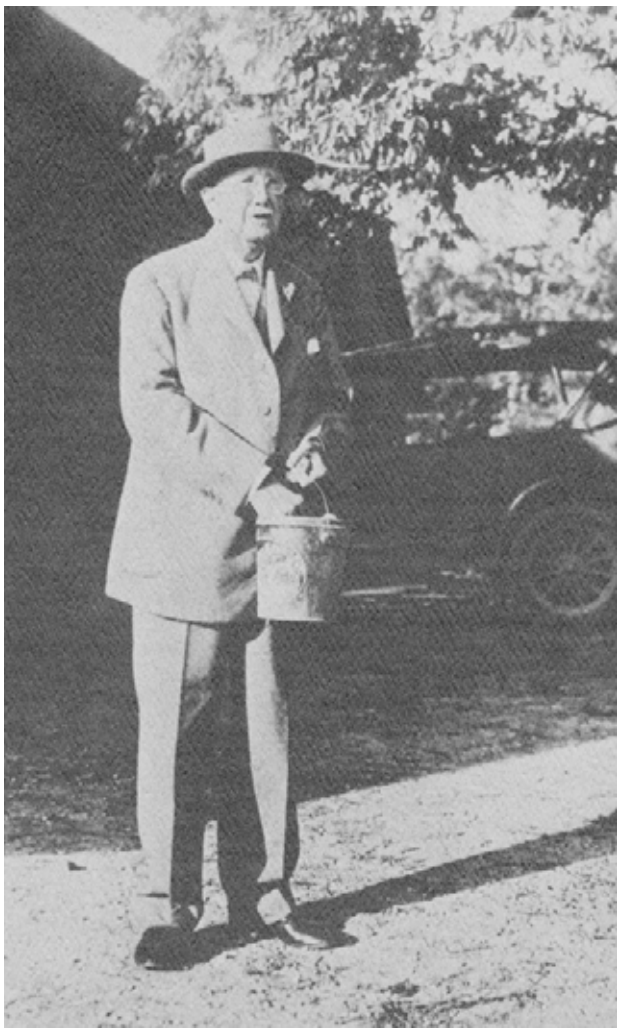


FIGURE 35. Smyth feeding his fowl, 1931. (CARL3001/16/23P)

96. "Capt. Ellison Smyth, A Manufacturer, 94," *New York Times*, 3 August 1942.
97. <http://www.scpress.org/newshistory.htm>, accessed 8 July 2004, provides a brief history of the *Greenville News*.

Connemara

By the turn of the century, Smyth's mills were generating income that made him one of South Carolina's wealthiest citizens, and Smyth made the decision to buy a second home. He and his wife were well into middle age, and while South Carolinians no longer fled to the mountains to escape disease, the oppressive heat and humidity of summer provided more than enough reason to continue the trek, with Flat Rock remaining a popular retreat.

The Flat Rock houses did not change hands often, and even when they did, they generally continued to be owned by descendants, relatives or business associates of the original owners. According to his granddaughter, Smyth had been acquainted with William Gregg, Jr., through the textile business and credited the older man, whose father had been a pioneer of the southern textile industry, with "so much help and inspiration in his [own] business accomplishments." Thus, when Gregg's widow finally decided to sell Rock Hill, it was Smyth who took title to the property in December 1900.

Besides rehabilitating the house, Smyth renamed Rock Hill, christening it Connemara, reportedly because it reminded him of his ancestral Ireland. However, as noted earlier, the Smyths were Ulster Scots, although the Adgers were apparently Irish,[98] and Smyth's use of Connemara was simply a nod to one of Ireland's most picturesque regions. Located in County Galway on the west coast of Ireland, Connemara, "the real emerald of Ireland," is also home to an Irish national park of the same name.

With their Charleston roots and their wealth, the Smyths fit seamlessly into Flat Rock society, but the house was mainly a place for the children and grandchildren to while away the summer months. With the house opened by the caretaker, the women and children arrived in May and stayed until school started in September. For the Smyth grandchildren, Connemara was a delight, with animals, a golf course, and the lakes, woods, and fields to occupy their time. Ellison Smyth and his son generally came up from Greenville and Pelzer on Friday afternoons, catching the return train home on Sunday evening

98. Interview with Mrs. Rogers, one of the Smyths' granddaughters, 3 December 1976, in which she states that the Adgers were Irish and the Smyths were Scots-Irish.

at the station at East Flat Rock.[99] Ellison, or Ellie, as he was known to his siblings, was so pleased with Connemara that he even persuaded his brother Augustine to sell his summer house at Pendleton, South Carolina, and move to Flat Rock. In 1908 "Gus" Smyth bought Many Pines, a couple of miles to the east, which he enjoyed until his death in 1914. That house is still owned by his descendants today.

Caretakers

Rock Hill had been a working farm and Connemara remained one as well. Smyth simply added to and adapted Memminger's old farm complex where he raised sheep, hogs, chickens, ducks, turkeys, and a herd of perhaps two dozen Guernsey cows.[100] Like the Memmingers and the Greggs, Smyth appears to always have employed a caretaker for the estate, a local man who lived on site. In addition to providing year- round security, the caretaker and his family were responsible for opening the house in the spring and closing it down in the fall. They also took care of any livestock, planted the vegetable garden and flowers in the spring, and did all that was necessary to keep the farm in operation. There were always three or four farm "hands" as well, some of whom lived in the Buck House.[101]

The Smyths' first caretaker, William Slattery, was born during the Civil War, reportedly the son of one of the Hollingsworth sisters who sheltered the escaped soldiers in *Seven Months A Prisoner*.[102] A carpenter, among other occupations, Slattery apparently grew up nearby and, as noted above, was a caretaker for the Greggs in the 1890s. It is quite possible, too, that he worked for the Memmingers in the 1880s, although probably not as a caretaker.

In 1912, Smyth had a new house (now known as the Farm Manager's House) constructed for the caretaker. Slattery may not have occupied it at all, however, since around that time he was either fired or left of his own accord and took a position managing one of the other nearby estates.[103] His replacement was Ulysses Ballard, whom Smyth's granddaughter remembered as a "splendid caretaker" and who had been Slattery's assistant.[104] Born in 1886, Ballard married Emily Jane Osteen in 1909, and their first child, Frank, was born in January 1910. Ballard apparently operated a grocery store in Flat Rock prior to working for the Smyths. A daughter was born to the Ballards shortly before they moved into the new caretaker's house at Connemara in 1912, and four more daughters were born after that. Ulysses Ballard would remain caretaker for the estate until shortly after it was sold to the Sandburgs in 1945.

Servants

In addition to the caretaker, who lived on the property year- round, the Memmingers, Greggs, and Smyths brought at least some of their servants to Flat Rock for the summer. Unlike the caretakers, all of whom were white, the service staff was typically



FIGURE 36. James Fisher, c. 1920, Ellison Smyth's valet and, after James Robinson's death, his chauffeur. (CARL3002/10/5P)

99. Bailey's *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara"* recounts many details of the Smyths time at Connemara, as do the series of NPS oral interviews with Smyth's granddaughter Mary McKay in 1973.
100. Interview with Mrs. Rogers, Smyth's granddaughter, 3 December 1976.
101. Interview with Emily Jane Ballard.
102. Mary McKay interview.
103. The name of Slattery's employer in 1920 is illegible in that year's census. Mrs. Rogers in her December 1976 interview thought that there might have been some sort of altercation that led to Slattery's being fired.
104. Bailey, p. 44.

African- American or "mulatto," and prior to the Civil War they were almost always slaves. Some of the other servants probably remained behind in Charleston or, in the case of the Smyths, Greenville, to see to the head of the house who would often return home for business. As a result, local people were hired to cook and do laundry and other chores. Smyth's granddaughter Mary McKay

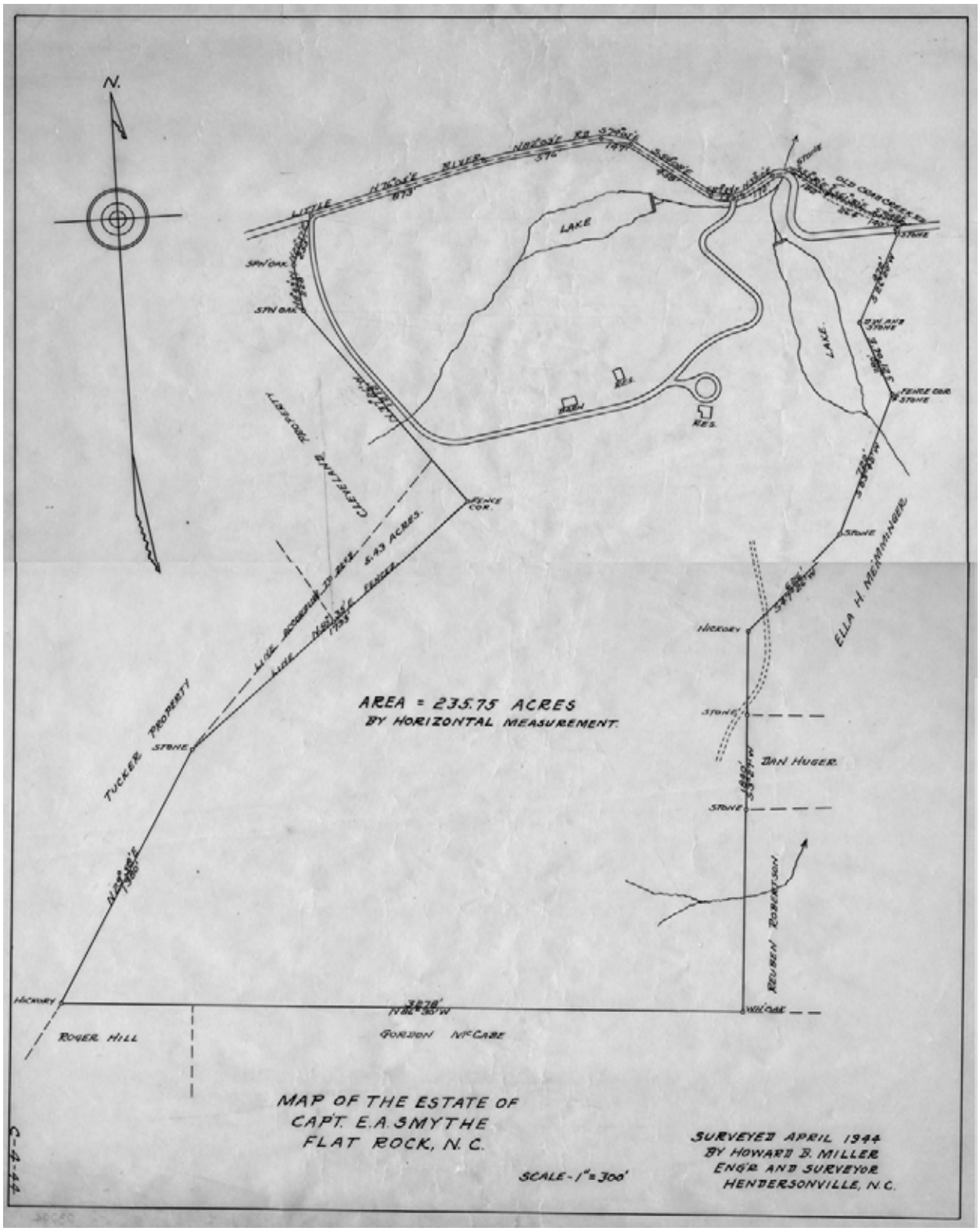


FIGURE 37. Plat of the Smyths' Connemara in 1944. (CARL 23294)

remembered the Smyths' cook at Connemara as being one Johnny Simmons, but there were probably others as well.

In the winter of 1911- 1912, James Fisher (born about 1890) went to work for the Smyths, serving as Smyth's valet and butler. Around 1920, he married the Smyths' maid, Carrie, and with their daughters, Mary and Benny, the Fishers occupied the so-called Swedish House, which had been built by Memminger as a servants' house in the early 1850s.[105]

Ellison Smyth always had a driver or chauffeur as well. Until his death in the mid- 1920s, James Robinson (born about 1875 and apparently never married) was the chauffeur and resided in the "tenant house," which Smyth moved to its present location around 1926 or 1927.[106] After Robinson's death, James Fisher took over as Smyth's chauffeur.

Retirement

Ellison Smyth remained active throughout his long life, continuing to be involved with the operation of his mills and other investments. By the 1920s, however, he must have been contemplating significant changes in his life. He had divested himself of his interest in the Greenville paper and, in 1920, sold Belton Cotton Mills for $4,200,000, although he continued management for the new owners for a few more years. Then in 1923, he sold Pelzer Mills to Lockwood, Green, & Co. of Boston for $9,000,000 cash. With the proceeds from those sales, Smyth established Balfour Mills on some land he bought about two miles north of Hendersonville on what is now U. S. 25, and installed his son Adger as the mill's manager. He left day- to- day operations to Adger and, after the younger Smyth's untimely death in 1927 or 1928, to his grandson Adger Smyth, Jr., but continued to maintain an office at Balfour until his death.[107]

Exactly how the Smyths came to the decision to make Connemara their year- round home is not clear, but by the 1920s, Ellison Smyth was in his seventies, and the chore of commuting between Flat Rock and Greenville was beginning to wear, even with the added convenience of automobiles. According to their granddaughter, Julia Smyth was less than enthusiastic about moving to Flat Rock.



FIGURE 38. Smyth and his dogs on the front porch at Connemara. (Collection of Juliane Heggoy, great-granddaughter of the Smyths)



FIGURE 39. Sylvene, one of Smyth's maids, 1937. (Collection of Juliane Heggoy, great-granddaughter of the Smyths)

105. 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC.
106. 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC. In her December 1976 interview, Smyth's granddaughter Mrs. Rogers, mentions Smyth's relocation of the tenant house from its original location off the Memminger Walk to a location behind the Main House and, from there, to its present location along the driveway.

While Julia Smyth loved Connemara, their old house at 237 Broadus Avenue in Greenville had been their home for many years, and her granddaughter recalled that Julia "never got over the move from Greenville."[108] Nevertheless, the house was rehabilitated and "winterized," which included replacing Memminger's antebellum addition at the rear of the house and installing a central heating system. Sometime in 1924, the Smyths relocated to Flat Rock for good.[109]

Smyth received an honorary degree from Presbyterian College in Clinton, South Carolina, the same year he moved to Flat Rock. He received another honorary degree from the South Carolina Military College, now the Citadel, in 1930, but Julia Smyth had died in 1927 at the age of 77, still missing the Greenville house, and Ellison was alone. He had an assistant, Pauline Harvey, but by 1930 she was dead and his granddaughter Nancy Blake moved to Connemara to care for him. Later, according to another granddaughter, an unmarried cousin of Julia Smyth became Smyth's caregiver.[110]

Through the 1930s, Smyth continued his regular routine, going to his office at Balfour Mills every day, and making his rounds at Connemara, feeding the chickens and ducks at five o'clock each afternoon and then walking down the hill to the road and back with his collie, Laddie.[111] In the snowy winter of 1941- 1942, however, his health took a turn for the worse, with the weather so bad that the doctor had to be driven in an ox cart from the road to

107. "Smyth, Ellison Adger," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (NY: J. T. White, 1945), Vol. 33, p. 398. Balfour Mills was sold to Kimberly-Clark in 1946 after Ellison Smyth's death and rechristened Berkley Mills.
108. McKay interview.
109. McKay interview.
110. McKay and Emily Jane Ballard interviews; 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC.
111. Smyth's granddaughter Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Emily Jane Ballard both recounted Smyth's afternoon routine.



FIGURE 40. Connemara, c. 1940. (CARL3001/01/03P)

the house. Smyth lingered on through the spring and into summer, but died in his bed at Connemara on 8 August 1942. He was 94.

The *New York Times* eulogized him as "the dean of Southern textile operators," while one of his biographers hailed him as "one of the South's greatest industrial leaders."

> [H]is success as a cotton mill executive was due not only to his business capacity but to an unusual gift for managing men. There were never any strikes or other labor troubles in his mills. . . . [He was] governed throughout his career by the highest standards of personal and business honor, was unostentatious, efficient, and always ready to contribute of his time and money to the public welfare. He was deeply interested in the history of North and South Carolina and collected a large and valuable library on the subject.[112]

In the depths of World War II, sale of Connemara was not really an option, and although the Ballards remained as caretakers, the main house apparently remained unoccupied until war's end. Not until the summer of 1945 was an effort made to market Connemara, and within a few days of V- J Day in August of that year, Carl Sandburg's wife was shown the place for the first time. A few days later, a purchase agreement was signed, and on 18 October 1945, the Smyths' Connemara belonged to the Sandburgs.

The Sandburgs

Since Carl Sandburg's life has already been well documented elsewhere, only a brief summary is warranted in this report. He was born on 6 January 1878 in Galesburg, Illinois, the son of poor Swedish immigrants, August and Clara Anderson Sandburg. Forced to leave school in order to work and put his older sister through school, Sandburg delivered milk, worked as a barbershop porter, and managed a series of other odd jobs before striking out for the west in 1895. Riding freight trains, he worked in wheat fields and washed dishes in hotels before returning to Galesburg, where he painted houses. These hardscrabble years instilled in Sandburg a sympathy for working people that he never lost.

When the Spanish- American War erupted in the spring of 1898, Sandburg quickly volunteered, serving in the Sixth Illinois Volunteers until that "splendid little war," as the British ambassador to the United States described it, was over in the fall. When Sandburg returned to Galesburg, he entered Lombard College, which he attended until 1902, although he never graduated. Traveling around the country after graduation, he sold stereopticon photographs and worked a variety of other jobs before



FIGURE 41. Mr. and Mrs. Sandburg in Dining Room at Connemara, February 1956. (CARL 12132, photographed by John Vachon)



FIGURE 42. The Sandburgs' grandchildren, Paula and John Carl, with their pony Patches, c. 1946. (CARL3000/37/02P)

112. "Smyth, Ellison Adger," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (NY: J. T. White, 1945), Vol. 33, p. 397.

settling in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he worked as an organizer for the state's Socialist- Democratic Party. From 1910 to 1912, Sandburg was private secretary to Milwaukee's Socialist mayor, but moved to Chicago in 1912, where he worked for a time as an editorial writer for the Chicago *Daily News*. While in Milwaukee, in 1908, Sandburg met and married Lilian "Paula" Steichen, whose brother Edward was a famous photographer. Their first child, Margaret, was born in 1911, followed by Janet in 1916 and Helga in 1918.



FIGURE 43. Relaxing in the Front Room at Connemara, 1950, left to right, Janet, Margaret, Dana Steichen, Mrs. Sandburg, and Ed Steichen, watching Sandburg and the grandchildren put on a puppet show. (CARL3000.05.15P)

Sandburg began writing poetry, mostly blank verse, while in college and the first publication of his poems came in 1904. In 1914, *Poetry* magazine published a collection of his poems, which they awarded their Levinson prize. In 1916, his *Chicago Poems* was published, which vaulted him to prominence in the literary community, and set him on a career that would bring him international prominence. Sandburg was also a celebrated popular historian and, in 1926, published *The Prairie Years*, a much- acclaimed biography of the young Abraham Lincoln. After working eighteen to twenty hours a day for three years, he was exhausted. "I died when that book was finished," he later remembered.[113] He was soon resurrected, however, and in 1940 won the Pulitzer Prize for his four- volume work *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*. In November of that year, he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and in 1951, he was awarded another Pulitzer Prize for his *Complete Poems*.



FIGURE 44. Mr. and Mrs. Sandburg and Helga in Farm Office, 1946. (CARL 9575, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

In 1928, with the profits made from *The Prairie Years*, the Sandburgs were able to buy five acres of land at Harbert, Michigan, on the shores of Lake Michigan in the extreme southwestern part of the state. There, on a bluff above the lake, they built a large, comfortable house designed by Mrs. Sandburg herself. While her husband wrote, she and their daughter Helga worked the garden and kept chickens and rabbits for meat, and at his suggestion, goats for milk.[114] Beginning with six pure- bred dairy goats, Paula and Helga soon went beyond milking and cheese making and began breeding and showing their herd. In the 1930s, the Sandburgs' Chikaming herd, named for a local Indian tribe, was widely known for the high quality and large quantity of milk that it produced.[115]

113. Eddie Doherty, "'Ghost' of Carl Sandburg Pulls Stakes--by Carload," undated newspaper article, pasted in front of Memminger Scrapbook (CARL Coll. 28461)
114. National Park Service, *Handbook 117: Carl Sandburg Home* (Washington, DC: NPS, Division of Publications, 1982), p. 64.
115. NPS, *Handbook 117*, p. 64.

Carl Sandburg turned 60 in 1938, his wife turned 60 in 1940, and by then the harsh Michigan winters were becoming harder and harder for them to endure. The winds howling off the lake were so bad that they had to re- putty the windows every three years or so to keep them from rattling, and as Mrs. Sandburg put it, they were "sort of frozen out of [their] place in Michigan."[116] The goats were an issue, too, as Sandburg explained to a reporter shortly before they moved.

> The soil around here is sandy and unsuited to goats. There is a hillside near the Carolina property where they can browse and where they can properly develop their legs. But we're mostly going because of Mrs. Sandburg. The climate is too cold here in winter. There are too many steps in this house and too many winding paths that must be walked before you get anywhere.[117]

For a variety of reasons then, as World War II ground to its end in the summer of 1945, Mrs. Sandburg set out with her sister- in- law Dana Steichen and Helga in search of a new home "in the general area" of Asheville and western North Carolina. She had first seen the mountains of western North Carolina in the late 1930s as part of a trip to Florida, and she remembered that the air was "somehow different" there.[118]

Connemara

They could find nothing suitable and affordable around Asheville, but their real estate agent, K.G. Morris of Brownlow Jackson Realty[119], showed them three options around Hendersonville, one of which was Connemara. Mrs. Sandburg liked it immediately, especially the winding drive, with its stone wall and great tall white pines, but she recalled that the place was, at $45,000, "way ahead of everything else- - it was a pretty expensive place."[120] Nevertheless, she returned home to report to her husband.

In spite of a price he thought "near silly,"[121] Sandburg was immediately impressed with the fact that the house had been built by Christopher Memminger. In his research for the Lincoln biography,



FIGURE 45. Mrs. Sandburg in the Kid Room (012) in the ground floor. (CARL 12730, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)



FIGURE 46. Mrs. Sandburg and one of her prize-winning goats, c. 1950. (CARL 955)

116. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.
117. Eddie Doherty, "'Ghost' of Carl Sandburg Pulls Stakes--by Carload," undated newspaper article, pasted in front of Memminger Scrapbook (CARL Coll. #28461)
118. Paula Steichen, *My Connemara* (New York, NY: paperback edition, 2002, originally published by Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p.7.
119. "Noted Poet Buys Smyth Property," undated newspaper clipping. (CARL Coll. 28458)
120. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.
121. Sandburg to Lloyd Lewis, probably January 1946, #483, in Herbert Mitgang, ed., *The Letters of Carl Sandburg* (Harcourt & Brace, 1968).



FIGURE 47. Margaret Sandburg behind the Main House with one of her paintings. (CARL3000/06/11P)



FIGURE 48. Sandburg and his grandchildren, with "Connemara Farm Goat Dairy, Flat Rock, N. C." stencilled on the door of the truck, c. 1951. (CARL 9556, photo by Faircloth)

Sandburg found Memminger to be an "exceptionally fine man and . . . not one of those who wanted to precipitate the Civil War." Mrs. Sandburg recalled that when she told him about Connemara, he immediately sent her to get the volume of *Lincoln: The War Years* in which he had written a page and a half about Memminger.[122]

When Carl came down to see for himself, probably in August or September 1945, he stood on the front porch, took in the magnificent view, and announced, "This is the place. We will look no further." Promising a lecture trip to raise the cash (there would be no mortgages on Connemara), the Sandburgs signed a contract straight away.[123]

Many of the large estates had suffered from deferred maintenance during the Depression and World War II, and as Mrs. Sandburg remembered later, the house at Connemara was in "terrible shape." Its renovation was a major undertaking, costing some $50,000 and overseen almost entirely by Mrs. Sandburg. She found a local builder, Joe Anders, who inspected the house and helped plan the renovation. By the end of September work was underway, even though working out details of the sale with the numerous Smyth heirs delayed actual closing of the deal until the middle of October.

Packing was in full swing in Michigan, and by the middle of November, twenty- one tons of books were on a box car en route to North Carolina. On the 19th, "the Missus," Sandburg wrote a friend, Janet, nephew Eric Johnson, and their young housekeeper, 22- year- old Adeline Polega left Michigan for North Carolina with Adeline driving the family's station wagon towing a trailer full of "sixteen blue ribbon Nubian does." Helga, who had recently divorced, her two children, and Margaret stayed behind with their father, completing the packing and "keeping house amid the ruins," as Sandburg put it. Although the movers were expected within a couple of weeks, it was late December before they were finally able to leave Michigan, only to be met with a severe ice storm that delayed their arrival in Flat Rock until the day after New Year's 1946.[124]

122. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg.)CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 7.
123. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.
124. Wallace, p. 20.

Most Flat Rock residents, many of whom were still in residence only a few months out of the year, appreciated the star in their midst and were at least pleased that he did not change the estate's name again. For some, however, Connemara's ownership by a Yankee was always "a bit of a sore spot." Local historian Louise Bailey, who typed for Sandburg for a few months in 1946 and greatly admired the man, remembered an elderly cousin who opined that Sandburg's Lincoln biography "was probably a very great work, but it was a pity that he had wasted so much talent on a man like Lincoln."[125]



FIGURE 49. The Sandburgs and one of their dogs at east end of house, September 1966. (CARL3000/03/11P)

In spite of such sentiments, Sandburg was reported to have "had no misgivings about moving from the North of his beloved Lincoln to a Southern State, once in Confederate territory. 'If anything,'" he told the reporter, "I've found the colleges and universities and teaching there even more liberal than in the North. Tolerance is there in great measure today." [126]



FIGURE 50. Mr. and Mrs. Sandburg with kids at rear of Connemara, c. 1952. (CARL3000/03/05P)

Adeline Polega came down and stayed until midsummer 1946, helping with the unpacking of thousands of books, but then returned home to Michigan. Even the Ballards left in early spring of 1946, apparently because Frank Ballard did not like dealing with the Sandburgs' goats.[127] A new farm manager or herdsman, Frank Mintz, was eventually found. Around 1954, Leroy Levi was hired as farm manager, serving in that position for the rest of the Sandburgs' tenure at Connemara.[128]

Unlike the Memmingers and the Smyths, the Sandburgs did not employ servants, except for a cook and a housekeeper, neither of whom worked full time or resided at Connemara. The lack of servants was due to the fact, as one friend put it, that the Sandburgs "were accustomed to doing things themselves.,[129] but rising labor costs after World War II prevented many Americans from hiring the domestic help that was common even in many less- than-well- to- do households before the war. There were whispers that Connemara declined under the Sand-



FIGURE 52. Sandburg in 1952, entertaining Paula and John Carl in Room 121. (CARL 9579, photo by June Glen, Jr.)

125. Both quotes taken from an oral interview with Louise Bailey on 16 January 1973.
126. Charles E. Marentette, "Lincoln Historian to Go South," undated newspaper clipping. (CARL Coll. #28454)
127. Interview with Frank Ballard, 19 October 1982.
128. Memorandum, Historian Dr. George J. Svejda to Chief, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 24 May 1971.
129. Interview with Louise Bailey, 16 January 1973.

burgs, but Mrs. Sandburg always said that they simply did not have the money or the manpower to keep the place the way the Smyths had. One of Smyths' granddaughters thought that "maybe they just had other interests," and certainly they did.[130]



FIGURE 51. Carl Sandburg on front steps at Connemara, 1956. (CARL 109107, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

There were numerous well- known friends and admirers that paid visits to the Sandburgs at Connemara, too, but by and large, the Sandburgs did little mixing with the rather insular community around them. Sandburg himself enjoyed socializing and attending parties when he was traveling and lecturing, but back home at Flat Rock, he was much happier with one or two old family friends, especially his brother- in- law Ed Steichen, who remained his best friend and visited often.

Sandburg continued to write, incessantly, producing more than a third of his life's work after moving to Connemara, including his American epic *Remembrance Rock*, published in 1948. His wife thought he would enjoy using the Crow's Nest (Room 207) as a study, but Sandburg refused, knowing the spectacular view would be a distraction from his work. Instead the bedroom (Room 201) at the southwest corner of the second floor became his study, with the connecting room (Room 202) his bedroom.

> Give me a quiet garret alone
> Where I may sit for a few casual callers
> And tell them carelessly, offhandedly,
> "This is where I dirty paper."
>
> Thus each poet prays and dreams
> The eternal hobo asks for a quiet room
> with a little paper he can dirty,
> with birds who sit where he tells 'em.[131]



FIGURE 53. The Sandburgs in the Kitchen in the 1960s. (CARL 5000/2-139)

While his "garret" might be his favorite haunt when he did not wish to be disturbed, Sandburg's "Office" (Room 101) was on the first floor, immediately off the Front Porch. In reality, however, he worked almost anywhere, whether opening mail on the Front Porch or in the Dining Room, reading in the Front Room, or pulling a chair out onto the great rock behind the house when he sought the inspiration of Connemara's natural beauty. Even the house itself seems to have inspired him on occasion:

> I was foolish about windows.
> The house was an old one and the windows were small
> I asked a carpenter to come and open the walls and put
> in bigger windows.
> "The bigger the window the more it costs," he said.
> "The bigger the cheaper," I said.
> So he tore off siding and plaster and lathe
> And put in a big window and bigger windows.
> I was hungry for windows.

130. McKay interview, 16 January 1973.

131. Carl Sandburg, "Galuppi," *Breathing Tokens.*

Windows were not enlarged at Connemara, although muntins were removed, in part to improve the view. And while there were window shades, they were rarely lowered, and the Sandburgs' love of light kept nearly al of the windows without curtains.

Well into his seventies, Sandburg continued to spend six or eight hours a day at his work, and he continued to write and lecture for most of his life. The spectacular natural beauty of Connemara gave tremendous inspiration, right down to the "effulgent thoughtful zinnias who bloomed," Sandburg wrote, for his grandchildren in the summer of 1953.[132]

I have seen zinnias give out
with little songs and begging pardon
for the songs being short.
I have seen zinnias claim their rights
to speak promises saying to beholders,
"Whatever may be your wish, sir or madam,
I promise you shall have it- - today, tomorrow,
somewhere over the blue hills and bright valleys,
it shall be yours to keep- - whatever you wish- -
we so promise- - we zinnias God made for promising"

I have heard zinnias counseling together
"Ever the summer is kind to us,
summer belonging to us as we belong to summer.
When God said, 'Let there be summer"
He also said, 'And let there be zinnias
bathed in colors called from sunsets and early stars.'
And God having so spoken
how can we be either proud or humble?
how can we be aught else than quiet blooming zinnias?"
Thus having heard the zinnias
I shall go again and again to hear the zinnias.

And as Sandburg wrote, his wife managed a vibrant household that included their two oldest children, Margaret and Janet, neither of whom ever married. Both of the daughters were avid birdwatchers, and Margaret maintained her own garden at Connemara, while Janet was the family correspondent and inveterate compiler of scrapbooks. The Sandburgs' youngest child, Helga, who was divorced, and her two children, John Paul and Paula, also were part of the household for the first few years, and Helga's Siamese cats, painting, and bee- keeping were part of the scene at Connemara in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

All three daughters assisted their father with typing and pulling books, or helping their mother with the prize- winning herd of Chikaming goats. The farm



FIGURE 55. Ella, the Sandburg's housekeeper and cook, July 20, 1967. (CARL3000/14/12P))



FIGURE 54. Sandburg and Leslie Dunlop in his Book Room (Room 018), 1956. (CARL 9548, photo by Depew))

132. Steichen, *My Connemara,* pp. 118-119.



FIGURE 56. Mr. and Mrs. Sandburg on Front Porch, February 1957. (CARL 13015, photo by Barber)



FIGURE 57. Helga Sandburg and children at Connemara, 1946. (CARL300/08/23P)



FIGURE 58. Carl Sandburg on the Front Porch at Connemara, 1952. (CARL 2675, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

complex was far enough from the house that the noise from milking and other activities would not disturb Sandburg's writing and that had been a significant selling point in the first place. Nevertheless, the house itself, particularly the ground floor, on occasion became a nursery for the newborn kids, which were raised with as much care and attention as any purebred puppy or kitten.

In February 1951, the Sandburgs saw their youngest daughter Helga remarried, and she and the children moved to a new home in Falls Church, Virginia, near Washington, D. C. It was quieter and probably somewhat lonesome with them gone, but Margaret moved downstairs into Helga's old bedroom (Room 104), using the Children's Room (Room 107) as a personal study. Janet had more room, too, and began to use Margaret's old bedroom (Room 214) to watch television.

"Paula [his nickname for Mrs. Sandburg] is a wonder in all ways as a helpmeet," Sandburg wrote his publisher in the fall of 1953.

> She is steadily reducing the herd but so long as she stays ambulant she will be breeding goats as her brother does delphiniums: it is a genius with her and the goat industry idolizes her for her knowledge and lighted enthusiasms. Janet says, 'I love this place and hope we never move from it': she enjoys her chores with goats, chickens, the garden and butter making. Margaret has become widely read, a scholar who often surprises me with her erudition, knows the Bible and Shakespeare better than I do.[133]

In 1956, Sandburg, who knew the scholarly value of the books and papers he had accumulated, decided to sell a large part of his library to the University of Illinois for $30,000. He made the decision almost "on impulse," Margaret thought, and for her, it was a "traumatic experience" that summer to watch as the University's Leslie Dunlop picked through Sandburg's library, selecting some 6,000 volumes that were carried away. Even then, there remained over 12,000 books at Connemara, and only later did Helga admit to hiding some of the books in which she was most interested in her closet.

Sandburg celebrated his eightieth birthday in 1958, but he continued to travel and lecture. In February 1959 he appeared before a joint session of Congress which he addressed in honor of the 150th anniver-

133. Herbert Mitgang, *ed., The Letters of Carl Sandburg*, (1968), p. 495.

sary of Lincoln's birth, and in 1960- 1961 he spent several months in Hollywood as script consultant for *The Greatest Story Ever Told*.

When Sandburg returned from California, however, his step was noticeably slower, and in 1963 he was hospitalized. After that, he rarely left Connemara. In September 1965, his health was so poor, Mrs. Sandburg had a hospital bed brought into her bedroom. On 22 July 1967, he "breathed away" into death, and Mrs. Sandburg told the press, "Now Carl belongs to the ages." A simple funeral was held at St. John in the Wilderness, where a Unitarian minister spoke a eulogy full of Sandburg's poetry. The organist played "John Brown's Body" and "Shout All Over God's Heaven," the bell tolled once, and it was over.[134] As he wished, Sandburg's body was cremated and the ashes were interred beneath a great granite boulder behind his birthplace in Galesburg, Illinois. When his wife died ten years later, her ashes joined his.

> All my life I have been trying to learn to read, to see and hear, and to write. At sixty- five I began my first novel, and the five years lacking a month I took to finish it, I was still traveling, still a seeker. . . . It could be, in the grace of God, I shall live to be eighty- nine, as did [the Japanese poet] Hokusai, and speaking my farewell to earthly scenes, I might paraphrase: "If God had let me live five years longer I should have been a writer."[135]

Mrs. Sandburg soon made up her mind to offer the place to the Federal government as a memorial to her husband. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was an old friend of the Sandburgs and, after a visit



FIGURE 59. Mrs. Sandburg, her brother Ed Steichen, and Helga Sandburg, relaxing in the Dining Room (112) after Sandburg's funeral, 24 July 1967. (CARL3000/05/50P)

to Connemara in October 1967, threw his weight behind the project. A deed of gift for the house and its contents was signed by Mrs. Sandburg in July 1968[136] and on 17 October 1968 President Lyndon Johnson approved the Congressional Act creating the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site.[137] In the summer of 1969, Mrs. Sandburg, Margaret, and Janet moved out of Connemara and into their new home in Asheville.

134. Steichen, *My Connemara*, p. 176.
135. Preface to *Complete Poems*.
136. Henderson County Deed Book 468, p. 321.
137. Public Law 90-592.

Chronology of Development and Use

From its construction, which was more or less complete by July 1839, until its acquisition by the National Park Service in 1969, the Main House at Connemara was home to four families: the Memmingers, the Greggs, the Smyths, and the Sandburgs. Prior to 1924 when the Smyths adapted the house for year- round residential use, it was occupied only about four months out of the year. Until the late nineteenth century, when epidemics of malaria, yellow fever, and cholera finally began to be controlled, the Memmingers generally left Charleston around the end of June and did not return until the threat of disease began to fade in late October or early November. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the season" at Flat Rock generally ran from late May into September. From 1924 until 1942 and again from 1945 until 1969, when it became a national historic site, the house was a year- round residence.

As with most old buildings, there have been a variety of alterations and additions to the house that Christopher Memminger built in 1838- 1839. These include alterations to the original interior and a large addition that Memminger himself made around 1848 as well as a series of late- Victorian alterations and additions that were most likely made by the Greggs shortly after they bought the property in 1889. In 1924, Smyth replaced Memminger's addition and adapted the house for year- round occupancy. The last major changes occurred in the two or three years immediately following World War II when the Sandburgs made significant alterations to the house as they adapted it for their own use. This section of the Historic Structure Report summarizes the physical construction, modification, and use of the structure, with the text based on historical documentation supported by first- hand observation and materials analysis.

The Sandburgs' early alterations to the house are well documented through a large series of invoices and letters relating to the renovations after World War II, most of them among Mrs. Sandburg's papers now in the park's collection. In addition, the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill has a collection of Memminger papers that includes an account book that Memminger kept of his expenses related to the construction and operation of Rock Hill between 1838 and 1862.[138] Entitled "Account of Expenditures for a/c of Buncombe Establishment," it provides significant amounts of information, especially for the early part of that period.

The park has also collected a large number of historic photographs over the last thirty- five years. While the earliest of these is probably no earlier than the 1870s, there are a large number of images from the Smyth era in the park's collection and with images from the collections of Smyths' great-grandchildren William McKay and Julianne Heggoy have been indispensable in establishing the building's chronology.

Reconstructed floor plans and typical molding details for each period in the house's evolution can be found at the end of this section.

Materials analysis has been limited mostly to visual inspection of accessible portions of the building, and it was not possible to open walls and ceilings to establish all framing details. An analysis of selected painted finishes and mortars produced much useful information, but it too was limited by the non-destructive nature of the present study. (See Appendix for details of paint analysis.)

138. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502).

In spite of these limitations, an inventory and analysis of the building's historic material fabric reveal a typical pattern of material design and use (and reuse) for each generation of changes to the building. Where alterations are not mentioned in the historical documentation- - which is the case more often than not, particularly during the Gregg and Smyth eras- - identification and dating of alterations has depended on differences in materials, design, and technology. While the sum of archival, photographic, and physical evidence establishes a chronology for the house's historic evolution, all questions regarding the building have not been resolved, and the building's floor plan as it existed prior to the alterations in the late 1840s can only be hypothesized.

The Memmingers' Rock Hill

As noted in the previous section of this report, Memminger made his first recorded visit in search of property around Flat Rock in the fall of 1836. "Of course," he wrote in his journal,

> the first comers had the best sites for residences. But as I also wanted a farm I could not be so easily furnished as the land near Flat Rock is miserably barren. Nevertheless after much cruising I at last found a place that would suit very well and authorized the Count to purchase it if it could be had, on Mr. Baring tendering to let me have some of his contiguous land and the use of a spring from an elevation of his land.

Memminger was in Flat Rock for only a little over a week that October of 1836, but in addition to finding land, he wrote,

> We also sketched the plan of a kitchen to be built for our occupation next summer on the spot,- - - a project by the way of which I am rather doubtful because my kitchen is rather too fine an affair. I ought to hire Mr. King's house if possible and build at once.[139]

However, the economic downturn that began early in 1837 apparently stalled Memminger's idea to "build at once," nor did he move forward on constructing his kitchen, which journal entries show he did not begin constructing until 1838. In the meantime, he must have reached some sort of agreement with Baring for the land, and in the late fall of 1837 began some preliminary work, including construction of a bridge across the creek at the foot of the hill.

Design

In planning his house, Memminger consulted an architect, and as was discussed in the previous section of this report, he could not have chosen a more fashionable architect than Charles F. Reichardt. Unfortunately no documentation exists for their relationship beyond a single account book entry, which appears to have been entered after the fact, noting that Memminger paid fifty dollars to "Reichardt for plans" in July 1838. Later in 1838, Reichardt prepared plans for Beth Elohim Synagogue, in Charleston, whose building had been destroyed in the April fire that also destroyed Reichardt's Charleston Hotel. The congregation paid Reichardt one hundred dollars for "a plan of the Exterior & Interior of the Synagogue,"[140] and although the synagogue ultimately did not use his design, the transaction may give an indication of the relative amount of work for Memminger's house at Flat Rock.

Nothing has survived of any drawings or specifications that Reichardt might have produced for Memminger, although a plan, a page or two of specifications for materials, and elevations were likely produced to guide construction. In addition, Reichardt's career is so poorly documented that it is impossible to say what was characteristic of his work, beyond perhaps a few generalizations about his monumental work.

In addition, the house that was finally constructed for Memminger had some stylish Greek details, but neither its plan nor much of its architectural detail were particularly innovative. Indeed, some design details could be found in the widely used pattern books of Asher Benjamin, especially *The Builder's*

139. Both quotations were published in Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 39, and in Memminger, *Flat Rock,* p. 13. Although dates conflict in those published accounts, references to "Friday, October 14" prove 1836 to be the date of these journal entries.

140. Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, p. 192.

Guide, which went through numerous editions and provided the design for much of the moldings, ornaments, mantels, and mill work used in the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States.

In his journal in October 1836, Memminger wrote that "we also sketched out a plan for a kitchen," but the identity of who assisted him in the plan is not clear. His foster father, Thomas Bennett, was an amateur architect of sorts, and Jefferson Bennett, Memminger's traveling companion on that trip, may have had a similar interest and could have helped Memminger sketch out the kitchen. With the Bennett family's long- standing interests in lumber mills, Memminger would have access to all sorts of advice and assistance, including pattern books, and planning construction of his house at Rock Hill would not have been an unusual task for him to undertake.

Greek Revival. Memminger had probably already set his sights on a Greek Revival design prior to contacting Reichardt, which is not surprising given the acclaim surrounding the Charleston Hotel, the reconstruction of which after it burned in April 1838 was getting underway only a few blocks from Memminger's house. As James Fenimore Cooper wrote that same year,

> The public sentiment just now runs almost exclusively and popularly into the Grecian school. We build little besides temples for our churches and banks, our taverns, our courthouse and our dwellings. A friend has just built a brewery on the model of the Temple [sic] of the Winds![141]

While his comments were given tongue- in- cheek, Cooper's perception of the popularity of Greek Revival was accurate, especially in the South where it was only then just being built on a wide scale.

The genesis of the style came in 1762 with publication in Britain of James Stuart's and Nicholas Rivet's *Antiquities of Athens*, which included measured drawings of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, the Temple on the Ilissus, the Tower of the Winds, and the Parthenon, buildings that inspired design throughout the Greek Revival period. Already Rome had provided the models for Palladio, Wren, and Jefferson's Classicism and much else, but Benjamin Latrobe, the nation's first trained architect, was the first to use and even prefer Greek details in his designs, beginning as early as the late 1790s.

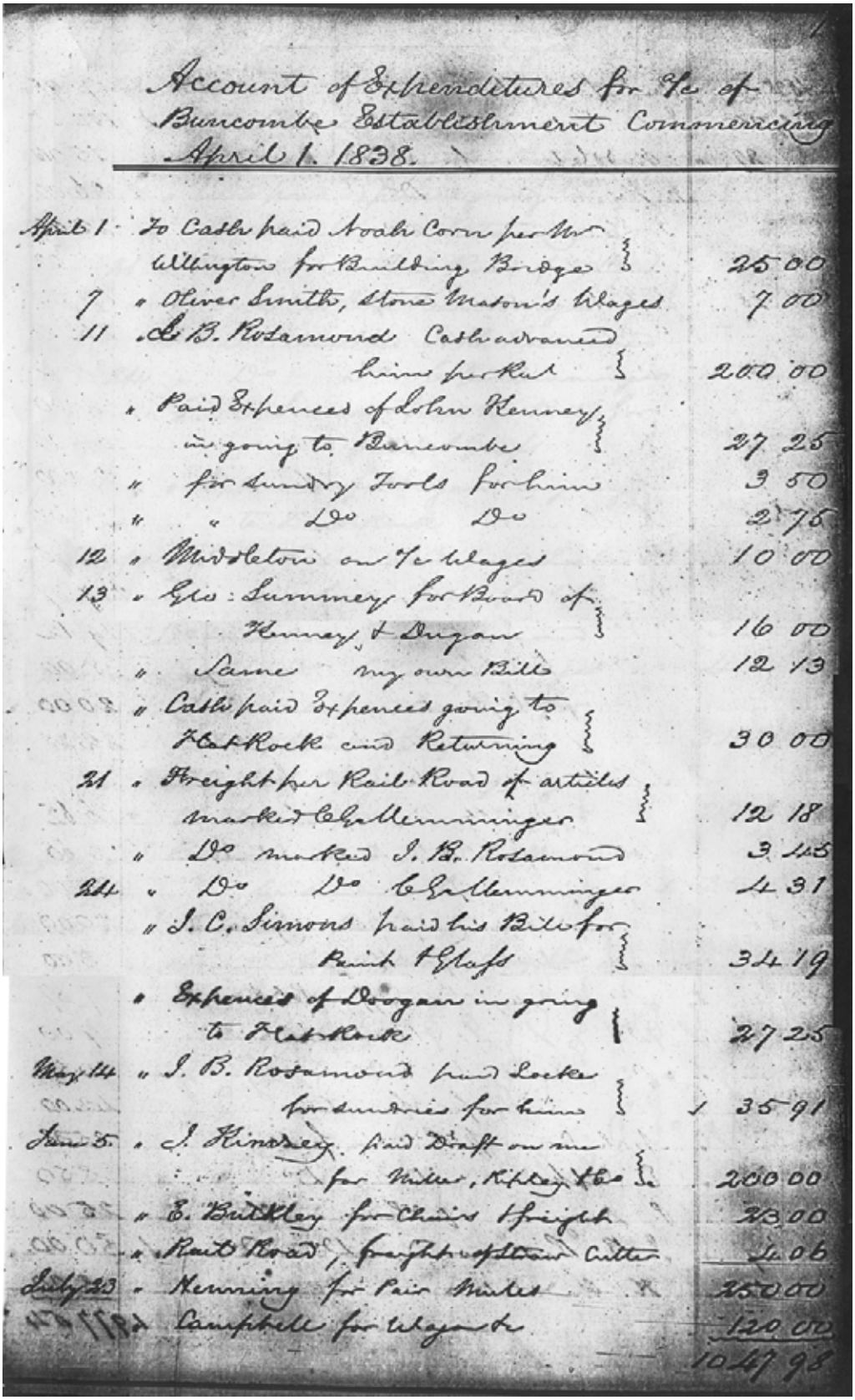
His pupils and successors, especially Robert Mills, William Strickland, William Small, Gideon Shryock, and Thomas U. Walter, generally followed and expanded on his example and with Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis did much of the best work in the early American Greek Revival. Reichardt, though not as prolific as that pantheon of greats, brought with him a Prussian sense of the style that the late architectural historian Mills Lane thought quite significant to the Greek Revival movement.[142]

Robert Mills, who was born in Charleston in 1781, worked for Latrobe off and on for more than a decade, before returning to Columbia, South Carolina, in 1820 and is credited with introducing the Greek Revival into the South. His success was considerable, and his work was part of a movement that transformed the Greek Revival from a rather obscure, avant garde style into a national craze that did not run its course until the Civil War.

In spite of claims to the contrary by contemporary commentators, Greek Revival buildings were rarely, if ever, purely Greek in design and certainly not in their manner of construction. A striving for perfect copies could be accommodated through pattern books such as those of Minard Lefever and Asher Benjamin, which were crucial to the widespread use of Greek design details. But adaptation and innovation, not slavish reproduction, marked the best of the Greek Revival, whether architect- designed or a vernacular interpretation by an obscure builder. As a result, the American Greek Revival as it developed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, produced thousands of adaptations that, at the far end of the spectrum, might be little more than the presence of a vaguely Greek- inspired entrance or Greek columns holding up the front porch. Such was the house that Memminger built at Rock Hill, which might lead one to question whether Reichardt's plans for Memminger were executed at all.

141. Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, p. 195.

142. See especially Roger Kennedy, *Greek Revival America* (New York, NY: Stewart, Tabori, & Chang, 1989)



Account of Expenditures for Pc of
Buncombe Establishment Commencing
April 1. 1838.

April 1	To Cash paid Noah Corn per Mr Ellington for Building Bridge		25 00
7	" Oliver Smith, Stone Mason's Wages		7 00
11	" I. B. Rosamond Cash advanced him per Ret		200 00
	" Paid Expences of John Kenney in going to Buncombe		27 25
	" for sundry Tools for him		3 50
	" " Do Do		2 75
12	" Middleton on Pc Wages		10 00
13	" Pc: Summey for Board of Kenney & Dugan		16 00
	" Same my own Bill		12 13
	" Cash paid Expences going to Flat Rock and Returning		30 00
21	" Freight per Rail Road of articles marked C Gallemminger		12 18
	" Do marked I. B. Rosamond		3 48
24	" Do Do C Gallemminger		4 31
	" I. C. Simons paid his Bill for Paint & Glass		34 19
	" Expences of Dugan in going to Flat Rock		27 25
May 14	" I. B. Rosamond paid Locke for sundries for him	✓	35 91
June 5	" J. Hindrey. paid Draft on me for Miller, Kelly & Co		200 00
	" E. Buckley for Chairs & freight		23 00
	" Rail Road, freight of Stone Cutter		4 06
July 23	" Henning for Pair Mules		250 00
	Campbell for Wagon &c		120 00
			1047 98

FIGURE 60. Opening page of Memminger's Account Book for Rock Hill, photocopy from microfilm. (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection.)

Wood- framed and weatherboarded, Memminger's house was certainly not a Greek temple, and even with an addition to the rear in the 1840s, it remained a relatively small house, especially when compared to Wade Hampton's Millwood and Anderson's Milford, two of the more spectacular residential designs that some have credited to Reichardt. Though not grand, Memminger's house included a stone-walled ground floor that raised the first floor eight to nine feet above grade at the front of the house. The house's front- gabled portico is too steep to be properly Greek, but its four fluted Doric columns, which originally sat on shallow square plinths, are thoroughly Greek in their sturdy proportions, and the entire ensemble must have made a strong impression amid the Federal and plain- style architecture that Memminger's predecessors at Flat Rock constructed in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Today, even without the original portico balustrades, which were executed in a sheaf- of- wheat design used throughout the Classical Revival period,[143] Memminger's house on its magnificent terraced site part way up Glassy Mountain has an aura of classical grandeur unequaled in the area.

Plan. There is strong evidence that the original house, which included the stone- walled portion of the ground floor and the story and a half above, was also altered at a very early date, most likely when the house was expanded to the rear in the late 1840s. Differences in architectural details, painted finishes, and apparent anomalies in the framing all suggest early alterations. Specifically, framing for the floor opening for the ground floor stairs (the staircase itself is gone) is not mortised into adjacent beams and joists, as would be expected if the stairs had been constructed in the 1830s, indicating that they are almost certainly not an original feature. Oddly angled framing members and other irregularities along the west side of the central chimney suggested the possibility that it might not have been part of the house's original construction either, although mortar analysis does not support that idea.

Variations in molding profiles indicate two types of six- panel doors and two types of door casing associated with the antebellum period. These differences suggest that the west wall of the Farm

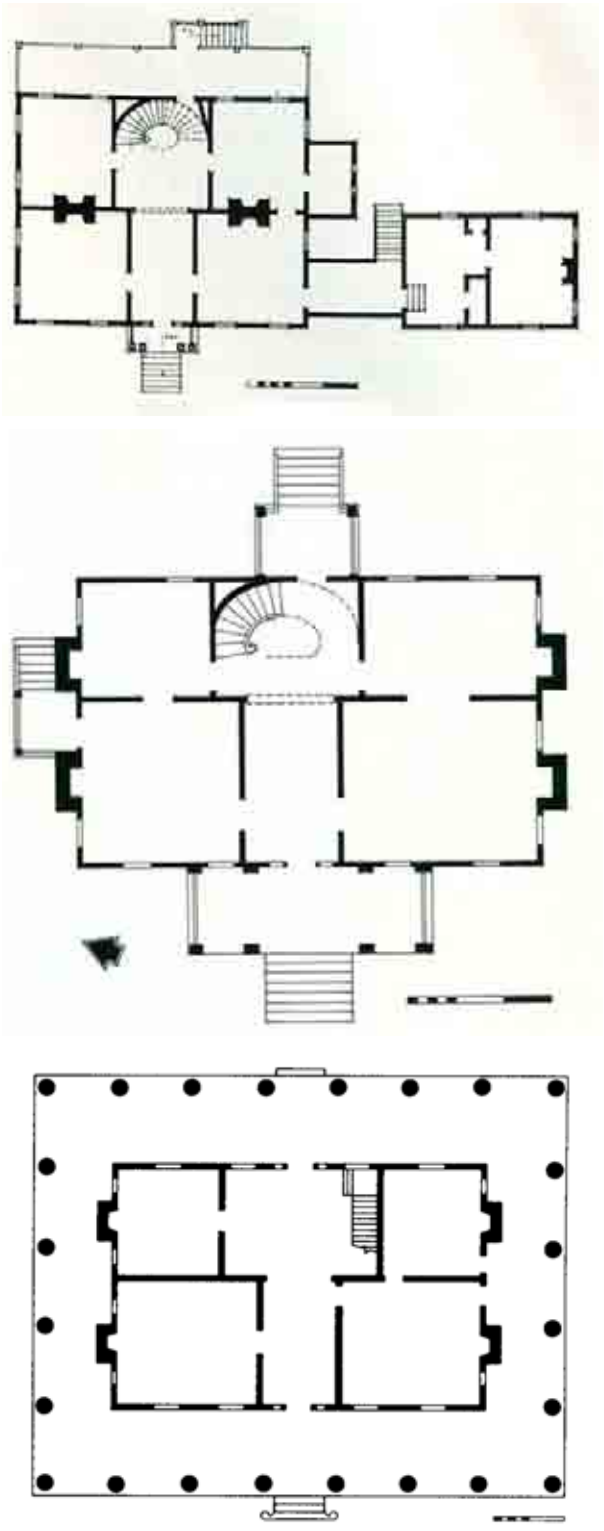


FIGURE 61. The floor plan that Reichardt originally designed for Memminger might have been similar to these, although without the curving stair. Top, Lowther Hall (1822), Clinton, Georgia; center, Brown-Sandford House (1822), Milledgeville, Georgia; bottom, Jackson House, Gaines, Alabama (1830)

143. The Greek Revival was part of a larger revival of interest in the classical architecture of both Hellenic Greece and Imperial Rome.

Office (Room 113) was added after the house's original construction, although it has not been possible to retrieve the paint samples that might confirm or refute that suggestion.

While these issues might have alternative explanations, the preponderance of evidence suggests that there were major alterations to the stair hall at an early date. Reichardt and other architects of the Early Classical Revival eschewed the traditional, front- to- rear, center hall in favor of a stair hall at the rear connecting to a narrower but usually longer front hall in a T- shaped plan. A glance at the present plan of the house shows that such a plan would have been entirely possible within the original house, although how it might have been carried out in terms of stair design and door placement remains entirely speculative.

Original Characteristics. The original house included the present stone foundation and wood-framed story and a half above that. There were at least two brick chimneys, ending in simple corbeled courses without the arched brick flue covers that were added at a later date.

Much of the original 5"- wide lap siding remains intact, but the original roof covering would most likely have been wood shingles. The deeply molded corner blocks and casing on the front of the house are original features, as is the plain beaded casing that was used at the windows (e.g., W- 36) on the sides and presumably the rear of the original house.

Interior walls and ceilings were plaster on split lath on the first and second floor and many of these remain intact, although first- floor ceilings are hidden by the lower, twentieth- century ceilings, except in the Stair Hall (Room 115). Ceilings in the dining room and sitting room (now Rooms 001 and 002) on the north side of the ground floor were paneled with wide, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards, two-thirds of which remain in place. According to Memminger's account book, the stone walls in these two rooms were plastered in 1841, but practically all of that material has now disappeared.

Floors were wooden on all three floors, with the ground floor flooring probably on locust sleepers laid directly on the earth. The ground floor flooring has been lost, but original 5"- to 8"- wide boards are



FIGURE 62. View of Rock Hill, from stereo graph, perhaps as early as the 1870s, part of the park's Memminger collection and the earliest image of the house. (CARL 28466)

concealed beneath later oak flooring on the first floor but are exposed on the second floor.

The original window sash were all double- hung, some with counterweights, with nine- over- nine sash at the first floor and six- over- six at the ground and second floor windows. Original sash remain in most windows, although nearly all of the original muntins were removed by the Sandburgs. The original six- panel exterior doors in the ground floor remain largely intact as well, although some panels were replaced with glass by the Sandburgs. The original six- panel front doors on the first floor were all replaced in the 1920s.

The two- panel doors on the second floor are also original and, like the exterior doors, have raised, square- edged panels on one side and flat panels without molding on the reverse. On the first floor, the original six- panel doors remain at the openings between Rooms 102 and 104, Rooms 115 and 118, and Rooms 115 and 121. These doors also have raised, square- edged panels on one side, but the flat panels on the reverse are finished with a 1"- wide, double-ogee bed mold.

Baseboards in the original house were typically 8" to 9" high with a bead along the upper edge. Whether or not a shoe mold was present is not clear. Picture moldings or rails were almost universal in the nineteenth century as a way of hanging pictures and other items without the necessity of damaging the plaster by insertion of nails. Two images of the Smyths in the Front Room (102) in 1926 show what appears to be a picture rail in Sandburg's Office (101), but the quality of the images is such that it cannot be characterized. It appears to have been set at approximately the present ceiling height in that room, or about two feet below the original ceiling height.

The original deeply molded interior casing, similar to that used on the exterior, remains at the exterior doors and at the windows but with plain, unmolded corner blocks. On the main floor of the house, only three of the original windows (W- 15, W- 17, W- 35) retain the original molded panel below the opening, and all have lost their muntins. Two original windows were turned into doors (D- 25 and D- 37) by removing the sash and the molded panel but the original casing remains in place.

Contractor and Craftsmen

As noted in the historical background, Memminger contracted with James B. Rosamond to build the main house, a stable (which may no longer be extant), and the kitchen (converted into the present garage by the Sandburgs).[144] Hiring Rosamond was probably Memminger's most crucial decision, since the builder could be as important as the architect in determining the final appearance of the house. His judgment in interpreting what were probably very limited, at least by modern standards, architectural specifications was especially critical, but Memminger seems to have chosen well, since there is no record of the sort of disputes that sometimes cloud the builder/client relationship.

Among Memminger's first payments was a seven-dollar charge for "Oliver Smith, Stone Masons wages," paid on 7 April 1838. That is the only payment to Smith, however, and there is no mention of the scope of the work he performed. Four days later Memminger paid "Expenses of John Kenney in going to Buncombe," and a couple of weeks later he paid similar expenses for "Doogan." Both were masons in Charleston, young men in their twenties, perhaps just starting their careers since Memminger recorded purchasing "sundry tools" for the brick mason, John Kenney, in April 1838. Born in Ireland about 1811, Kenney continued to work as a mason throughout his life, but is also credited with being a "leading builder and contractor" in Charleston after the Civil War. [145] Kenney appears to have worked through the summer, returning the following year to complete his work, which would have included at least the chimneys in the kitchen and the main house, all of which were constructed of brick on stone foundations. Less is known about Patrick Dugan, the stone mason, except that he, too, was born in Ireland, around 1815.

Numerous names appear in Memminger's account book, the most frequent perhaps being Kinson Middleton, whom Memminger made his overseer in 1839, and Joseph Kirkendall, both of whom lived nearby. In addition, Memminger apparently employed at least one slave, Peter, at Rock Hill.[146] In 1838, 1839, and 1840, Memminger listed annual pay-

144. Park staff indicate that the building may have been substantially rebuilt in the twentieth century prior to the Sandburg era.
145. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston*, p. 326.

ments of $70 as "wages for Peter," but it is not clear if Memminger was paying one of his own slaves for work, which is unlikely, or was renting Peter from someone else. There are also payments to "carpenter Ben," but they are less frequent than those to Peter, who was also described as a carpenter in one or two ledger entries.

Materials

Memminger's son Edward recalled that "in early days, before dynamite, the quarry on Tranquility was the only workable quarry in the settlement and it furnished rock for most of the houses built at that time."[147] Only later, apparently, did the more prominent quarry near the present Flat Rock Playhouse come into operation. An enormous amount of stone had to be hauled up to the building site, and on 18 April 1838 Memminger paid a hundred dollars for a yoke of oxen and a cart. There was apparently more work than the oxen could handle, and in July, he bought a pair of mules and a wagon as well. His account book records constant use of these animals, which sometimes made trips as far as Green River to retrieve materials.

Memminger's son also recalled that "at the time fine work was not possible, so the house was built from hewn sills and beams... the same being true of all pioneer settlers."[148] In this he was slightly mistaken. True, the house was built with hand- hewn sills and beams, but the bulk of the lumber, including joists, studs, and rafters, was mill sawn, almost certainly at one of the nearby sawmills. Brick, too, may have been produced locally as well, although by whom, we do not know. The source of neither the brick nor the lumber can be determined, since these were apparently included in Rosamond's initial bid, and except for occasional hauling charges, do not appear in Memminger's account book.

Memminger paid for nails (500 pounds in 5 kegs), paint, glass, lime, mill work, and hardware, some perhaps through local suppliers, but all ultimately shipped from Charleston by train to Aiken and then by mule- or ox- drawn wagons the rest of the way. Some of the woodwork, including the two- panel doors and some of the simpler moldings, may have been made by Rosamond or his assistants, probably on site, but the deeply molded casing and corner blocks used at window and door openings on the front of the house and on primary interior elevations were largely machine- made and probably shipped in from Charleston.

Frank Ballard, in interviews in the 1970s, believed that the late Victorian mantels now in the park's curatorial storage were original and had been imported from England. While those mantels clearly date to the late nineteenth century, Ballard might have been recalling a tradition that the building's original mantels, which remain in Rooms 102, 104, and 121, in fact were imported from England.[149] If this is true, Memminger made no notation of the fact in his account book, since their cost also was probably included in Rosamond's original bid.

Memminger also did not account specifically for the Carpenter and Co. locks that remain at the bedroom doors on the second floor. Patented in 1820 and predating 1851 when the name was changed to Carpenter and Tildesly, all of these locks were imported from England, although Rosamond or Memminger probably acquired them from a domestic supplier in Charleston.[150] That they are installed with flat-tipped screws is evidence that they were part of the original construction and not the building campaign in the late 1840s, by which time pointed screws were in use.

Construction

Although Memminger did not begin his account of expenditures at his "Buncombe establishment" until 1 April 1838, he records then that one of the local men, Noah P. Corn,[151] had built a bridge on the new property in late fall of 1837, presumably to provide access from Crab Creek Road (now Little River Road) to the hillside on which Memminger planned to build. Early in 1838, work must have also begun to

146. In his account book, Memminger appears to always reference his white craftsmen by their surnames, while the slaves or servants are known only by a first name.
147. Memminger, *Rock Hill, p. 23.*
148. Quoted in Bailey, *From Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 18.
149. A fourth wooden mantel, similar to the one in Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121), is stored in the wood shed.
150. See <http://www.localhistory.scit.wlv.ac.uk/Museum/locks/gazetteer/gazcaa-chu.htm>, accessed 10 August 2004.
151. It is not clear if this is the Noah P. Corn listed as a potter in the 1850 Buncombe County census, nor is it clear his relationship to Peter Corn who was listed as a stone cutter in the 1850 Henderson County census.

create a building site on the steep slope of Glassy Mountain.

If Memminger did not arrive at Flat Rock with his masons, he must have come up soon afterward.[152] He appears to have made three trips to Flat Rock that year, the first in March or April, another in July, and a final trip in October. In the meantime, Rosamond was left to supervise construction while Middleton appears to have directed much of the clearing and fencing and grading that went on simultaneously. Sometimes Memminger left money with Middleton or Rosamond to cover expenses, especially payment of laborers. Other times, neighbor Andrew Johnstone or a "Colonel Lucas" were apparently called upon to advance cash until Memminger's next visit.

Kenney and Dugan, Memminger's masons from Charleston, were in Flat Rock to begin work sometime in the second or third week in March 1838.[153] In April 1838, Memminger purchased a team of oxen and, two weeks later, a team of mules, and hauling of stone for the masons must have been well underway. Memminger paid freight on a stone cutter, too, even though only window and door sills and headers appear to have been dressed in any but the roughest manner. Both Kenney, the brick mason, and Dugan, the stone mason, probably worked on the stone foundation, and by early August, it was mostly complete. Probably in August, 16,000 brick were hauled to the site, and Kenney began work on the chimneys.

Rosamond must have begun work in early April 1838, since Memminger made an advance payment to him on the eleventh, and while the masons were at work, Rosamond appears to have been constructing the stable and the kitchens, probably in that order. In July 1838, painting of "two houses" was added to his contract, but it is not clear if this refers to the main house and the kitchen or the

152. Entries in Memminger's account book are sometimes difficult to interpret, due to double-entry bookkeeping in which credits and debits do not always match, but the general progress of the work can be discerned

153. On 4 August 1838, Memminger paid his mason for nineteen weeks work.



FIGURE 63. Detail from view of Rock Hill, taken prior to the late Victorian additions and alterations that were made around 1890, with Memminger's antebellum addition partially visible at left. Note the absence of stairs to the front porch. (CARL3001/01/48P, photo by Baker Barber)

kitchen and stables, or some other buildings.[154] By the time the ground floor walls were finished in August, Rosamond would have had sills hewn, his sawmill lumber delivered, and if he had not done so already, begun framing the main house. His goal surely would have been to get the house framed, roofed, and "dried in" by the time the rains and cold weather returned in November. It is not clear if work continued straight through the winter, but there was probably a break in activity from shortly before Christmas until around the first of March 1839.[155]

In early April, Memminger paid for 13- 1/2 kegs of white lead and a single keg of green paint, which would have been used on the exterior, the initial color scheme of which was almost certainly white with green shutters. Final painting or wallpapering of the interior plaster would have been delayed until 1840 or 1841, in order to give the plaster time to cure, although curing plaster could be given a temporary covering with a water- soluble distemper paint in the meantime.

The major part of the work was complete and the house was at least partially furnished by the time the Memmingers arrived at Flat Rock near the end of July 1839. Memminger made his last payment to Rosamond on 4 January 1840, and he sold the oxen, mules, and wagon in February. Some work continued after that, and Memminger appears not to have concluded his accounting for the original construction of Rock Hill until 1842.

Addition, 1848

Edward Memminger recalled that the house was not constructed all at once but that "ground was later removed on the back side and the house increased in size."[156] The park's earliest historic photographs

154. The added charge was only $25.
155. There are no account book entries for January and February of 1838.

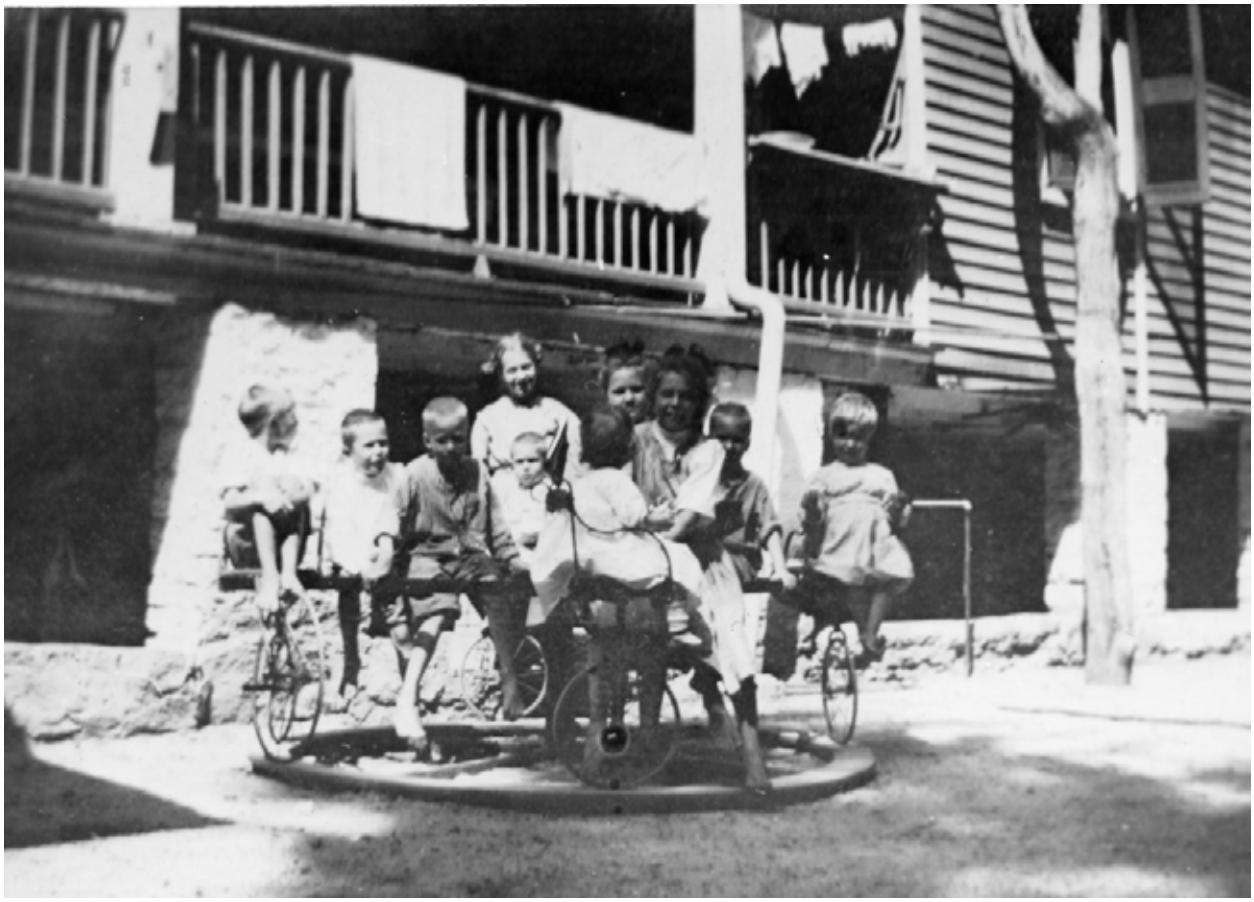


FIGURE 64. The Smyth grandchildren on a home-made merry-go-round, perhaps around 1915, showing one of the most detailed views of Memminger's antebellum addition. (CARL3003/01/05P)

document the nineteenth- century additions at the rear of the house, of which there appear to have been two. The addition to which Edward Memminger referred was no doubt the range of rooms and a porch that were torn down and replaced with the present kitchen, dining room, and bedroom in the 1920s. Since practically all physical evidence of this addition was obliterated in 1924, it would be virtually impossible to date its construction were it not for Memminger's account book. His account book records what appear to have been three significant building campaigns at Rock Hill during the antebellum period. For each of these, Memminger records the acquisition of building materials and payments to workers, but does not state specifically what was being done, except in general terms such as "Improvements" or "Work on the House." Only the Ice House project, from 1847, is mentioned specifically by name.

However, quantities of materials and certain aspects of the work that were recorded suggest that the first campaign occurred in 1841 when the carpenters known only as Ben and Peter, who were almost certainly slaves, built a small servant's house probably for the cook, just south of the kitchen. Undocumented elsewhere except on a sketch map (probably done around 1855) in Memminger's account book, it is too small to have been the product of the two later campaigns. In the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, this servant's house was converted into a wash house by the Smyths and called the "Chicken House" by the Sandburgs),

Significant amounts of work were also recorded in 1848- 1849 under the heading of "Work on House" and in 1850- 1853 under the heading of "Improvements." The largest quantity of stone work appears to have occurred in the 1850s and was probably associated with construction of the stone foundation and chimney for the main servants' house, the so- called Swedish House. The account book entries in 1848- 1849 are most likely related to Memminger's addition to the rear of his original house.

Plan. The addition was wood- framed with a shed roof and ran the length of the house. Later photographs indicate that it was only about 10' in depth, versus nearly 16' in the present addition (which includes Rooms 107- 112, 116- 117, and 120). Edward Memminger was correct in remembering that "ground was removed," as the site was excavated at least three feet. A low stone retaining wall and broad stone piers that tapered toward the top formed an open porch- like area at ground level and provided head room so that there could be covered stairs to a new back porch on the first floor.

At the first floor level, the back porch was flanked by two rooms, one on each side and each with a door opening on to the porch and an internal connection to the original part of the house, probably where windows had originally been located. There

156. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 40.

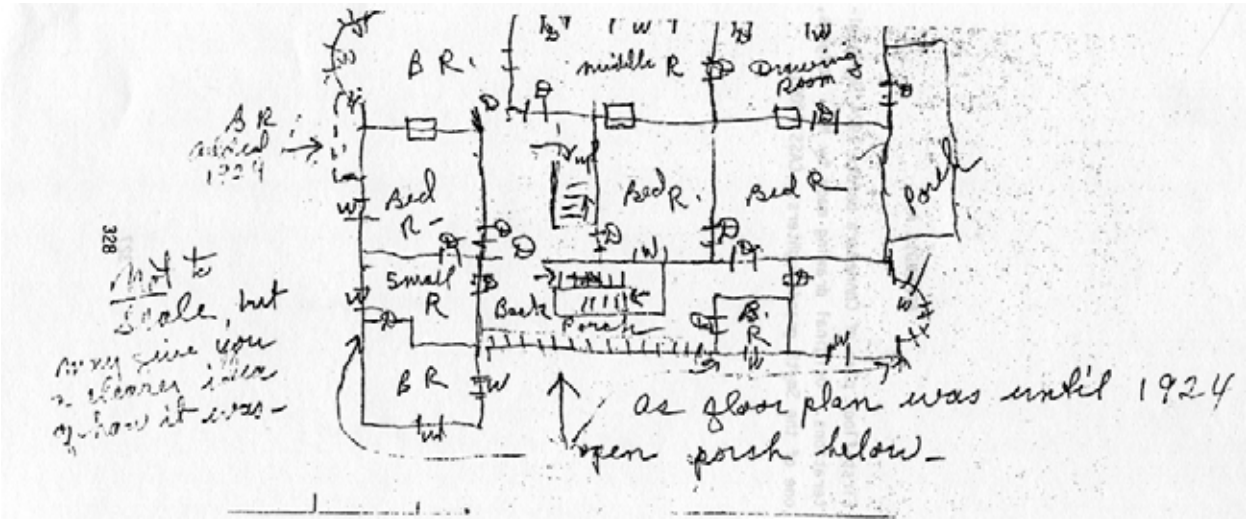


FIGURE 65. Sketch plan of house prior to 1924, as remembered by Mrs. Rogers, one of the Smyths' grandchildren, in the 1970s. (CARL 3001)



FIGURE 66. View at west end of Main House, showing window at west end of Memminger's addition, c. 1910. (CARL3001/01/30P)



FIGURE 67. Smyth grandchild sitting on foundation wall of Memminger's rear addition to the first floor of the original building. (CARL3001/01/27P)

is no indication of how these rooms were used, although they could have been built as large dressing rooms for the adjacent bedrooms.

The addition apparently precipitated some alterations to the interior, but the nature and extent of these alterations remains something of a mystery. It is most likely that the now- missing stairs to the basement dining room and the west wall in Room 113 were created at this time and that the stairs to the second floor were relocated or altered in some way. If there is ever the occasion to remove the shelving on the west wall of Room 113, a closer investigation of the fabric of that wall might provide additional clues to the evolution of this part of the house. According to interviews with the Smyths' granddaughter Mary McKay and to the sketch plan of the house prior to 1924 that was made by one of her sisters (Figure 65), Room 113 was used as a bedroom and, although connected to Rooms 114 and 104 by doors, had only a window opening on to the back porch, where Room 112 is now located. There was no connection to Room 101, and paint analysis suggests that the borrow light on the west wall was not installed until the 1920s, this in spite of the fact that the moldings are typical of those used in the 1840s alterations.

Characteristic Features. In addition to the characteristic rusticated stone piers and retaining wall, the character of the addition's exterior was similar to the original house with 5"- lap siding and a wood-shingled roof. Windows were double- hung, nine-over- nine with louvered shutters, and although casing of the openings is not visible in historic photographs, it was probably a plain beaded casing like that used originally on the sides of the house.

Virtually nothing can be said about the interior finishes of the addition. However, the floor joists beneath the present dining room are cross braced with scraps of beaded tongue- and- groove boards that were quite possibly salvaged from the ceilings of the demolished porch or the adjacent rooms.

The changes on the interior utilized materials similar to the original construction. Six- panel doors with raised, square- edged panels continued to be used but with a smaller, simpler molding against the flat sides of the panels. One of these doors may have been re- used at the opening into Room 010 when that room was constructed in 1924. Door casing is

also similar to the original but also uses a smaller, simpler molding against the backband.

Construction. Construction of the addition is not as well documented in Memminger's account book as the original construction. Most of the lumber was purchased from H. T. Farmer (who built Front Lake for Memminger a few years later), but some was also bought from "King," Count de Choisel, and other suppliers.

The name "Drake" is frequently found among Memminger's accounting entries, a number of them relating to carpentry, but only occasionally is a first name given. James, Nathan, and Nathan M. Drake are identified at various points between 1844 and 1855, but none of them have been surely identified. Many of the payments to "Drake" for oats, corn, and hay were probably to Memminger's neighbor in Henderson County, Nathan Drake, who was born about 1798. He may also have been the N. Drake to whom Memminger paid $70.00 in 1852 for a "wagon to Aiken." The Drake family remains poorly documented.

Other payments to Drakes are clearly related to carpentry work, including a payment to N. Drake for nails and to "Drake, carpenter" in 1844. Payments to unidentified Drakes for carpentry are also shown in 1848 and 1849. A payment of $20.00 for board for Drake is also shown in October 1849. There are also large payments to N. M. Drake and to Nathan Drake in 1853 that may document completion of the Swedish House. Whether this is the same Nathan Drake who provided Memminger with fodder and other supplies is not clear, but many nineteenth-century farmers were competent carpenters who supplemented their agricultural income by hiring out their services as a carpenter.

Payments were also made to a James Drake in 1850, but it is not clear for what. He might be the same James Drake born about 1810 who was residing in Henderson County in 1850. However, that entry in the account book is followed a few lines later by payment for "board" for "Drake" and, a few lines after that, payment of $107.25 for "Drake's bill for trip," the amount suggesting a trip from elsewhere, perhaps Charleston, to Flat Rock. A New Yorker named James P. Drake, born about 1825, appears in the 1850 census in the parish of St. Michael and St. Philip in Charleston, Memminger's home parish. His occupation was given as blacksmith, which suggests the possibility that Memminger brought him to Flat Rock for some specialized work in 1850. There is no clue as to what that work might have been. Additional research will be necessary to determine the identity of the individuals named Drake who received payments from Memminger in the 1840s and 1850s.

Memminger made payments for hauling brick in 1849, but there is no indication of how these might have been used. He also paid Patton & Summey for "tinwork," which might have been only for flashing since the charge for $48.50 does not appear large enough to account for a metal roof over the entire house. Finally, in 1850, Memminger paid $76.00 for three lightning rods, which were presumably installed on the house at that time. Purchases of a bed and of other unspecified items of furniture in 1850 may signal that the rear addition was complete.

Memminger made only erratic entries in his Rock Hill account book after 1853, and evidence for further alterations is limited. However, it is likely that the house's exterior, which was repainted in 1848, was painted at least one more time prior to the Civil War.

Postwar Alterations

Memminger's youngest son Edward, who was eight years old in 1865, recounted the story of the dangerous postwar years and the effect on the house in his memoir of Flat Rock in 1922.

> As the defenders of the house were but two men and a boy, resort had to be had to other means of defence, so the steps in front of the house, from the portico to the ground, were pulled down, port- holes were cut in the doors holding strategic positions, the windows on the ground floor were barricaded with sand- bags and chevaux de frises[157] and communication cut through doors and floors from story to story. The house never was attacked though threatened.[158]

157. Usually a piece of timber or an iron barrel on which rows of sharpened stakes five or six feet long are attached and used to impede cavalry and foot soldiers.
158. Memminger, *Flat Rock,* p. 14.

No physical evidence for these emergency alterations has been observed in the present house, except perhaps for the odd embrasure in the west wall of the old ground floor pantry (Room 018). Measuring around 15" high and but 3" wide on the exterior, the interior of the opening is splayed on both sides to form a larger interior opening, now mostly covered by the modern enclosure for fire-suppression equipment. Although there is no clear indication the opening was an addition to the original house, it appears that the opening could have been created only as a gun port. If ground floor windows were sandbagged, this opening could have provided a well- protected guard post that would cover both the drive up the hill from Front Lake and the farm road coming toward the house from the west.

Since Rock Hill was apparently occupied until the family was able to return to Charleston sometime in 1867, the house may have been better protected against vandalism and other damage. There was, however, bound to have been some neglect and damage, and it is likely that some repairs were made in the late 1860s and 1870s. Historic photographs show that, somewhat surprisingly, the steps to the front portico were not rebuilt, and a balustrade matching the sheaf- of- wheat design of the original balustrades filled the opening where the stairs had been.

All of the original rim locks on the first floor, which were larger than those that remain on the second floor, have been replaced with smaller rim locks with white or brown knobs typical of the late nineteenth century. Between 1840 and 1900 hundreds of patents were issued for improved locks, with the leader in the field being the firm of Russell and Erwin. One of the new designs was the widely used "Mineral" knob, patented in 1851 by John Pepper. Cornelius Erwin helped Pepper form the Mineral Knob Company, which made the knobs in white, "Bennington brown," and black.[159] A number of these knobs can be found in the main house at Connemara, all apparently dating to the postwar period, but are not necessarily Russell and Erwin hardware. A few rim locks are marked "Corbin," another large hardware manufacturer, founded by Phillip and Frank Corbin in New Britain, Connecticut, in 1849. Whether the smaller rim locks throughout the

159. See <http://www.ballandball-us.com/lockhistory.html>, accessed 10 August 2004. Also see *Illustrated Catalogue of American Hardware of the Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Company,* originally published 1865; reprinted by Association of Preservation Technology, 1980



FIGURE 68. Connemara in the spring of 1901, with late nineteenth century alterations in place. (CARL3001/01/04P)

house were installed by the Memmingers, or the Greggs, or even the Smyths, is not clear.

Alterations to the chimneys are apparent in comparing the two earliest images of the house, both images made before the addition of the east porch and the west bay. The Memminger stereographic image (Figure 19), which may have been made as early as the 1870s, shows the center chimney and the east chimney with simple corbeled courses at the top, but the west chimney has a trio of arched, brick flue covers. By the time the next photograph of the house was taken (Figure 20), most likely in the 1880s, the other chimneys had similar covers.

The lightning rods that Memminger noted in his account book as having purchased in 1847 cannot be discerned in any of the early photographs, although the quality of the two earliest images is so poor that they might have still been present at that time. Assuming that the original roof covering was wood shingle, the only other major, nineteenth-century alteration to the house that cannot be dated, but which might be attributed to Memminger, was installation of the standing- seam metal roof, which was present at least by 1900 and presumably, judging from its apparent condition at that time, for some time before that. Again, the quality of the Memminger- era image obscures the detail that would allow characterization of that roof covering.

The Greggs' Rock Hill

Previous studies, following Bailey's lead, have stated that there is no documentation for the Greggs' making changes to or even living in the house after their purchase of Rock Hill in 1889. There is also no documentation that they did not, and it seems unlikely that they would have owned the house for twelve years and not used it, whether or not they made changes. The lack of documentation may simply be because the Greggs' tenure was short (he died in 1895) and they did not have strong ties to the Flat Rock community. More to the point, however, historic photographs show that there were significant additions after the two earliest photographs of the house were taken but prior to the Smyths' first photographs in the spring of 1901.[160] While it is possible that Memminger made significant changes to the house in the 1880s, that does not seem likely, since home owners are generally more likely to undertake major renovations shortly after the purchase of a new home rather than in old age near the end of their tenure on the property. In addition, these changes have never been attributed to the Memmingers, nor did any of the Smyth grandchildren who have been interviewed recall their family having made these changes. The added porches and bay windows do not appear to be brand new in the photographs taken in the spring of 1901, which they would have had to have been if they had been built by the Smyths, and with the general character of the alterations being more reminiscent of 1890 than of 1900, it can only be concluded that the Greggs did, in fact, make some significant alterations to the house around 1890.

Exterior Alterations

On the east side of the house, a long porch was added off the Front Room (Room 102) and Margaret's Bedroom (Room 104). The original nine- over- nine window sash in the openings on the east side of those rooms were removed along with the panel below, and the opening was extended to the floor. Two, large two- over- two sash, each at least 3'- 2" by nearly 5'- 0", were installed to provide access, albeit somewhat awkward access, to the porch. A close examination of the Smyth- era images shows no sign of a door at either opening, and the porch has apparently never been accessible from the ground. Supported by three turned posts, the porch featured a gracefully curved hipped roof on chamfered posts set in pairs, and balustrades with turned balusters. The irregularity of the balusters suggests that they were turned by hand by a local carpenter, but there is no record of who the Greggs might have hired to do that work.

On the west side of the house, off what was probably always a master bedroom (Room 121), the Greggs added the superb demi- octagonal bay window, with its base arched above the ground floor window below and rising in a shallow arc to the outside of the bay window itself. The exterior was panelled with double- and triple- beaded tongue- and-groove paneling, and an exceptionally wide quar-

160. Some of the earliest of the Smyth images are inscribed with dates on the reverse side, inscriptions that are apparently contemporaneous with the images.

ter- round cornice finished the walls to the eaves. The original window in the master bedroom was removed, but the interior casing on the three, new, two- over- two windows in the bay matched the original as did the paneling of the wall below each window, except for the use of a molded panel molding rather than the plain chamfered molding used originally at the window panels.
At the east end of Memminger's rear addition, another bay window was also built, but perhaps because of its less prominent location, it was not as elaborate as the bay window on the west side of the house. Like the west bay, it featured two- over- two sash and was paneled on the exterior with beaded tongue- and- groove boards in much the same manner as the west bay. Several feet lower to the ground than the west bay, it had a straight base supported at its outside edge by a pair of stone posts.



FIGURE 69. Mary H. Smyth and her son Joe, with a view of the room that was added to Memminger's addition, probably by the Greggs about 1890. (CARL3000/01/25P)



FIGURE 70. Olive Hill and Sarah Smyth, 6 April 1901, sitting in bay window added at the eastern end of Memminger's antebellum addition about 1890. (Collection of Julianne Heggoy, great-granddaughter of the Smyths)

In addition, the front steps were finally replaced with a wooden T- shaped stairway, and the original sheaf- of- wheat balustrades on the portico were replaced with turned balusters like those used on the east porch. Although much larger, the turned newel posts at the foot of these stairs were similar to the turned posts on which the east porch was constructed.

Smyth- era photographs also show a room added off the western end of the rear of Memminger's addition. Although it was destroyed when Smyth rebuilt the rear addition in the 1920s, its turned wooden support posts and the presence of two- over- two windows like those in the bay windows suggest that this room was at least roughly contemporaneous with the east porch and west bay. The Smyth photographs of the rear of the house, which were made around 1910, also show what appear to be a pair of water pipes descending from the east side of this room, suggesting that the room could have supplied a wall- hung lavatory, like those that remained in many of the bedrooms in 1945, or even a full-fledged bathroom.

Interior Alterations

The interior floor plan of the house does not appear to have changed dramatically in the late nineteenth century, although there were minor alterations. It is not clear when running water was first introduced into the house, but considering the ease with which it could be done using spring- fed artesian or gravity flow, the Memmingers could have made that improvement at a very early date. It is more likely, however, that running water was not added until sometime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Smyth grandchildren remembered a bathroom at the east end of the back porch from their earliest memory, recalling too that the men usually reserved that indoor bathroom for the women and continued

to use the privy just down the hill at the west end of the Swedish House (see Figure 13).[161] Entered only from the back porch, the bathroom appears to have been added by enclosing part of the back porch and occupied more or less the same position as the present bathroom (Room 111) off the Dining Room. The bathroom or a simple water closet could have been added by the Greggs, but because the room and its fixtures no longer exist, it is impossible to attribute this bathroom to them or to the Smyths.

In addition sinks were installed in most if not all of the bedrooms. The Sandburgs had all but one of these (in Sandburg's Bedroom, Room 202) removed in 1945. The sinks were white porcelain on cast- iron and wall- hung, generally on outside walls where the supply lines were run exposed across the exterior siding. As with the back porch bathroom, it is not known if these sinks were installed in the 1890s or very early in the Smyth era.

Two of the original mantels appear to have been replaced, probably around 1890, with mahogany-stained mantels in the so- called Eastlake style. Presumably these were installed at two of the three locations on the first floor where mantels are now missing (Rooms 101, 113, and 118).[162] The Smyths removed these mantels in the 1920s when central heating was installed and some fireplaces closed. The Ballards took the mantels and installed them in the Farm Manager's House, from which they were removed by the NPS and placed in museum storage.[163] Both are elaborately- decorated mahogany mantels with overmantels and beveled mirrors and most likely were located at the fireplaces in Rooms 101 and 113.

All of the four- panel doors in the house appear to date to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but slight differences in molding suggest they might have been installed at different times. The door between Rooms 104 and 107, which has molded stiles and a square edge to its panels, is probably the oldest of the four- panel doors, but it is not clear if it



FIGURE 71. View of mantel now in storage, installed in the 1890s, probably in what is now Sandburg's Office (101). (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)



FIGURE 72. View of late-nineteenth century mantle, with overmantel detached, installed in the 1890s, probably in the Farm Office (113) or the Utility Room (118). (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

161. McKay interview, 16 January 1973.
162. That there were fireplaces in each of these rooms is proven by the presence of three flues in each of the chimneys.
163. Interview with Frank Ballard, 19 October 1982.

is in its original location since the opening is cased with the plain casing used by the Smyths and the Sandburgs.

The door between Rooms 101 and 102 was also replaced with a four- panel door. Why that would have been necessary is not known, but it may relate to the apparent relaying of flooring that occurred in that same area. The odd design of the connection between the master bedroom (121) and the hall (115) suggests that it was an alteration to the original building, but paint analysis indicates that not to be the case.

A two- panel door that was added between the bedrooms on the west side of the second floor (Rooms 201 and 202) was probably added in the 1890s and is the only door from this era that retains its original spindle- top hinges. A similar opening might have been created between the rooms on the east side (211 and 214) door at the same time, but if so, it was removed for construction of the Sandburgs' closets in 1945.



FIGURE 73. View of Connemara, perhaps around 1915, showing bay window added at west end of Main House in the 1890s. (Photograph by Baker Barber, CARL3001/01/06P)



FIGURE 74. View of carriage turn-around at near northeast corner of house. (Collection of William McKay, great-grandson of Smyths.)

The Smyths' Connemara

As is the case with the Gregg era, there is little documentary evidence for the Smyth-era changes, but valuable information has been gleaned from oral interviews with some of the Smyths' grandchildren, especially Mrs. Mary McKay, and from numerous historic photographs taken by the Smyths, beginning in April 1901 shortly after they acquired the property. Another of the Smyths' grandchildren also made a rough sketch plan of the house (Figure 65) as she remembered it prior to 1924 and, with the historic photographs, provides some of the best documentation for the house as it existed early in the Smyths' tenure.

Early Alterations

Historic photographs show that the Smyths had the house repainted in the spring of 1901, and for the first (and only) time, the house was no longer white with green shutters. Instead, the Smyth grandchildren remember the house being painted green with white trim, a color scheme that may have remained until after World War I.

Water. One of the earliest changes that the grandchildren remembered was Smyth's construction around 1912 of a second bathroom to augment the old bathroom on the back porch.[164] To accomplish this, he had a new reservoir constructed higher up the Glassy Mountain that provided enough "head" for the water to rise to the second floor of the house. Presumably, this was the origin of the dual water supplies- - one spring fed, the other from the reservoir- - which are represented by the valves at the foot of the ground floor stairs in what is now the Laundry Room (015).[165]

164. McKay Interview, 16 January 1973.
165. David H. Wallace, Historic Furnishings Report, Main House and Swedish House at Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Flat Rock, North Carolina. (Frederick, MD: NPS, 1984), p. 10.

The southeast corner of the Upstairs Hall was walled off, incorporating the center dormer into the new bathroom, and a footed, cast- iron tub, wall-hung lavatory, and toilet were installed. Lavatories were also installed in most if not all of the bedrooms at the same time. Installation of the second floor bathroom may have precipitated lowering of the ceiling in Room 113 to accommodate the large, cast-iron waste line that now runs between the two ceilings in that room, since it seems unlikely that Smyth would have left it exposed in that room.[166]

Skylight. No documentation for the skylight has been located during the course of the present study. Memminger might have installed a skylight above the stair hall, but with the light that was originally available from the center dormer, a skylight was probably unnecessary, and it seems unlikely that Memminger would have created a feature that even today is notoriously difficult to maintain. The earliest photograph showing the skylight in place, which is also the earliest photograph of the rear shed of the roof (Figure 85), was taken in 1946 or 1947, but the skylight almost certainly predates the Sandburg era. Smyth's granddaughter Mrs. McKay was asked about the skylight in interviews with her in the early 1970s, and uncertainly replied that she thought it had been there as long as she could remember. The skylight's metal frame and textured, wire- reinforced glass are typical of the early twentieth century, and a more likely explanation for the skylight may lie with the second floor bathroom that Smyth installed shortly before World War I. Even with the translucent panels on the bathroom door, the light from the center dormer was effectively lost on the hall and stairwell. With electric lights not added until around 1920, the skylight above the stairwell was probably installed in conjunction with the upstairs bathroom in order to provide light for those stairs. The "borrow light" on the west wall of Room 113 may have been installed at the same time.

Lighting. Throughout the antebellum period, the Memmingers depended on candlelight or oil-burning lamps to illuminate interiors. By the end of the 1860s, kerosene would have been the fuel of choice, and for the remainder of the nineteenth and continuing into the twentieth century, kerosene lamps would have provided light at Rock Hill. There is no evidence for gas lighting having ever been installed.

A battery- powered, Delco lighting system was installed to provide electric lighting for the house even before the house was renovated for year-



FIGURE 75. View of Connemara after it was painted green in the summer of 1901, showing East Porch and front steps added in 1890s. (CARL 30328, photo by Baker-Barber)



FIGURE 76. Smyth grandchild at west end of Main House, showing west bay and exposed waste lines and vent stacks for the lavatories in the Rooms 118 and 121. (CARL3001/01/32P)

166. It is possible the waste line was changed when the Sandburgs remodeled the house, and it was they who lowered the ceiling. However, there is no record of their having made changes to the waste line.

round use.[167] First offered by the Dayton Engineering Laboratories Co., commonly known as Delco, in 1916, these systems were typically 32 volt, direct current, using batteries that could generate anywhere from 600 to 3,000 watts of electricity, with 850 watts the most common output for residential use. Costing just a few hundred dollars in the 1920s, more than 367,000 of these lighting systems were sold by 1935.[168] By that time, standard electrical service had been brought to Connemara, replacing the old Delco system.

Front Porch. Smyth also replaced the late- nineteenth- century stairs to the front porch with the present concrete staircase. A Smyth- era photograph dated August 1921 shows these concrete steps, and their condition at that time indicates that they had been in place for some time, perhaps as early as 1910 or 1912. Probably at the same time, Smyth made major repairs to the front porch that included shortening the original wooden columns and placing them on the present brick piers. This was probably done because of accumulated damage and deterioration to the column bases. Only the two pilasters against the house were not shortened. The wooden newel posts from the foot of the old stairs were placed on either side of the drive where it splits to go around the house and remained in place into the Sandburg era.

Rehabilitation

In 1923, Smyth established Balfour Mills, just north of Hendersonville, and probably around the same time began making plans to live at Flat Rock on a year- round basis. His renovation of the house apparently took place in 1924, and by 1925 the Smyths had sold their house in Greenville and became permanent residents of Flat Rock. Here,

167. McKay interview, 16 January 1973.
168. http://www.hisfin.org/Stories3.htm



FIGURE 77. Captain and Mrs. Smyth in the Front Room in 1926. Note the electrical extension cord at upper left, trailing down from the overhead light, which is out of view, a common sight as lamps (one is on the table behind Mrs. Smyth) and other electrical devices proliferated in the 1920s. (Collection of Julianne Heggoy, great grand-daughter of the Smyths)

too, no records to document the Smyths' changes have been located beyond the historic photographs and oral interviews mentioned above. Nevertheless, examination of the existing house and of the historic photographs reveals the extent of most of the Smyths' alterations to the house in the 1920s.

Rear Addition. Smyth began his rehabilitation of Connemara for year- round occupancy by completely demolishing Memminger's antebellum addition along with the room added in the late nineteenth century. He might have contemplated simply renovating these rooms, but their relatively small size and perhaps deteriorated condition probably made that seem impractical. Instead Smyth excavated for an addition that would be perhaps four feet deeper than Memminger's addition and built the present rooms at the rear of the first floor (Rooms 107- 112, 116, 117, and 120). While Mrs. McKay appeared to think that her grandfather had simply enclosed and perhaps "enlarged" the old back porch, it is clear both from historic photographs and from examination of the addition's wood frame that nothing remains of Memminger's antebellum addition.

Kitchen. Somewhat surprisingly perhaps, the Smyths used what is now the kitchen (Room 117) only as a butler's pantry, with major food preparation continuing in the old antebellum building off the southwest corner of the house. One of Smyth's granddaughters remembered that they kept the outside kitchen after 1924 "because we had plenty of servants- - - you could get them for so little."[169] Reports of a breezeway having been built from the kitchen to the house are apparently erroneous. It is likely that the Smyth grandchild who reported a breezeway was remembering the carport that Smyth installed before World War II. If a breezeway was constructed it does not appear in any historic photographs or other documentation.

Bathrooms. A bathroom (Room 111) was part of Smyth's new rear addition, replacing the house's original bathroom in Memminger's old addition, and the second floor bathroom (217) may have been renovated in the 1920s as well. In addition to these, two more bathrooms were constructed on the first floor. One of these bathrooms (Room 120) was actually part of the rear addition and served the middle bedroom (Room 118).

The other new bathroom served the master bedroom (Room 121), and it was actually built off the west end of the house on a brick foundation identical to that of the rear addition. Shed- roofed with unboxed eaves and conventional lap siding, the master bathroom was accessed by a narrow door opening created in the side of the bay window. Presumably a full three- piece bathroom, it had two squarish windows set high on its west wall, and although not identifiable in the photograph, the sash in these windows were probably the same sash glazed with translucent glass that were re- used by



FIGURE 78. View of Connemara, undated but probably 1930s. (CARL3001/01/49P)



FIGURE 79. Captain and Mrs. Smyth, daughter Margaret, and unknown visitor on concrete front steps at Connemara, August 1921. (Collection of Julianne Heggoy, great granddaughter of the Smyths.)

169. McKay interview, 21 August 1974.

the Sandburgs and remain on the east wall of Room 012.

Heating. Part of Smyth's rehabilitation of the house for year- round occupancy included installation of a steam heating system, the first central heat in the house. The present furnace room was constructed for that purpose, including the pit in which the original furnace sat. Just inside the rear wall of the original house and adjacent to the furnace room, Smyth constructed a chimney for the furnace flue. The outside of the chimney was plastered where it rose exposed through the southwest corner of Margaret/Helga's Room (104). Conventional steam radiators were installed throughout the house, mounted on ceilings in the ground floor and generally located beneath windows on the first and second floors of the house.



FIGURE 80. Detail of view of Connemara in 1938, showing Conservatory constructed by Smyth on east side of Front Room. (CARL3001/01/45P)



FIGURE 81. Ellison Smyth seated in the Front Room, perhaps around 1930. (CARL3001/16/26P)

With central heat, the fireplaces were not needed, and it was probably at this time that the fireboxes were bricked up in what are now Sandburg's Office (101), the Farm Office (113), and in the old ground floor sitting room at the west end of what is now Room 001. The Smyths' caretaker, Ulysses Ballard, retrieved the two Victorian- era mantels that were probably located in Rooms 101 and 113 and installed them in the Farm Manager's House, where they remained until removed by the NPS and placed in storage in 1996.

Windows and Doors. Smyth made several changes to the windows and doors in the house. At the rear or south end of the Farm Office (113), the original window was removed and the present double French doors flanked by sidelights were installed. At the front of the house, the two antebellum six- panel doors were also replaced by French doors.

At the porch on the east side of the house, Smyth removed the tall two- over- two windows installed by the Greggs in Rooms 102 and 103 and installed the present French doors with nine- light transoms. Paint analysis suggests that the sash in the transom above the front door (D- 10) in Room 101 was also replaced at the same time, but if it was, it is curious that the muntin pattern in the replaced sash is the same as that in the original sash and does not match the transoms above the doors to the east porch. The paint on the transom at D- 11 was not tested, and additional investigation will be necessary to explain this apparent anomaly.

Although Smyth retained most of the original antebellum window sash throughout the house, his effort to "winterize the house" appears to have included installation of the galvanized steel weatherstripping that remains at all of the windows,

except those windows installed by the Sandburgs in 1945.

One of the more unusual features of Smyth's rehabilitation of the house was the vestibule that he had installed on the front porch at the entrance into Sandburg's Office (101). Just tall enough to encompass the door opening and not more than 3' or 3- 1/2' square, the vestibule had walls that were glazed in the manner of French doors. It was no doubt installed to reduce heat loss when entering and exiting the house during cold weather.

Flooring. Smyth was apparently responsible for the installation of oak flooring throughout the first floor of the original house. A common renovation in the early twentieth century, the oak flooring was simply laid over the original pine flooring, but its installation may have required trimming some of the original doors and replacement of saddles at door openings.

Roofing. Smyth replaced the standing- seam metal roof that had been on Connemara perhaps since the mid- nineteenth century. The new roofing was cement- asbestos shingles, widely used in the period between the world wars, not only for its durability but for its resistance to fire as well. Although there is no documentation other than the historic photographs for this alteration, it is likely, given the apparent condition of the roofing in photographs in the late 1930s, that it occurred in conjunction with the renovation in the mid- 1920s.

Conservatory. One of the last major alterations that Smyth made to Connemara was construction of a conservatory off the Front Room. Perhaps not occurring until after Mrs. Smyth's death in 1927, its construction necessitated removal of two- thirds of the 1890s porch. This conservatory was torn down by the NPS in 1969, and the present Conservatory is a mostly accurate reconstruction of the original.

Carport. The origins of the carport on the west side of the house are obscure, but it appears that the present structure was built by the Smyths rather than by the Sandburgs. The earliest photograph showing the entire carport was taken in 1946, and it does not appear to be a new structure at that time. As noted above, one of the Smyths' grandchildren remembered a breezeway having been constructed in the 1920s to connect the kitchen with the main house, but it is likely that she remembered the carport rather than a breezeway. A photograph of the house taken in 1938 (Figures 83) provides a glimpse of a structure off the west side of the ground floor in



FIGURE 82. View of Connemara in 1938. (CARL3001/23/03P, photo by Bayard Wooten, Carolina Coll., University of North Carolina.)

the location of the present carport. Magnification of the image shows that what little is visible of the structure closely resembles the present carport. The use of double- beaded tongue- and- groove paneling on the carport ceiling is perhaps the most conclusive evidence that the carport dates to the 1920s rather than the 1940s. Not only was such material almost never used in the 1940s, the double- beaded boards are identical to the boards used in Smyth's 1920s- era Barn Garage. In addition, the absence of charges for such material in the Anders invoices that document the Sandburgs' renovation lends additional credence to the assumption that the Smyths built the carport.



FIGURE 83. View of west end of house, c. 1938, with bathroom addition just visible beyond the bay window and a glimpse of the carport beyond that. (CARL3001/23/03P, photo by Bayard Wooten, Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina)



FIGURE 84. Detail of 1938 photograph by Bayard Wooten showing Smyth's glass-walled vestibule. (CARL3001/23/03P, Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

Finally, it should be noted that the carport, as it is called on the 1976 plans of the house, was not really the partially enclosed space called a carport that largely replaced fully enclosed garages after World War II. Frank Lloyd Wright was a major proponent of carports, believing garages to be an unnecessary expense. "A carport will do," he wrote in 1938, "with liberal overhead shelter and walls on two sides."[170] Instead, at least for the Smyths, Connemara's carport functioned more as an old- fashioned porte cochere, serving to shelter passengers entering and leaving the house, but not as a place where the automobile was always parked. According to his descendants, Smyth's chauffeur always kept the vehicles in the building now known as the Barn Garage.

The Sandburgs' Connemara

As Dr. David H. Wallace documented in his extensive study of Connemara's historic interiors in 1984, the Sandburgs began remodeling the main house even before the sale was completed on 18 October 1945.[171] Although most of the work was completed by January 1946, material shortages that developed as the nation's economy shifted from war to peace delayed some work, and the last of the Sandburgs' remodeling of Connemara was not completed until the summer of 1948. Over the next twenty years, Connemara underwent typical routine maintenance such as painting along with repairs, minor alterations, and equipment replacement in the house's heating, electrical, and plumbing systems.

Mrs. Sandburg left numerous invoices and some correspondence, especially with Joe Anders, her contractor in 1945. Mrs. Sandburg, who is reported to have designed their Michigan house herself, appears to have drawn up some floor plans, to which she refers in her correspondence with Anders, but none of these nor any specifications

170. H. Ward Jandl, et. al., *Yesterday's Houses of Tomorrow* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1991), p. 119.
171. David H. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report, Main House and Swedish House at Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Flat Rock, North Carolina*. Frederick, MD: NP, 1984.

have been located. If photographs were taken before work commenced in 1945, these have also not been located either.

However, the park's collection includes hundreds of images of the house, both inside and out, taken from 1946 through the 1960s, and the NPS conducted extensive interviews with Sandburg's widow and children over the years, especially as the house was readied for public visitation in 1974 and during the course of Dr. Wallace's 1984 furnishings study.

Most of these sources were incorporated into Dr. Wallace's detailed architectural analysis of the house at that time, and his conclusions were based almost completely on documentary sources from the Sandburg era. The architectural investigation and analysis during the course of the present study support most of his conclusions, and the reader is referred to his report for additional details about the Sandburgs' alterations to and use of the house.

Remodeling, 1945-1948

When the Sandburgs bought Connemara in the fall of 1945, the house remained much as it had been since Smyth's rehabilitation twenty years earlier. As Smyth's health declined in the 1930s, the house had probably been subject to the kind of benign neglect typical of many elderly home owners, and after his death in 1942, the house appears to have sat vacant for over three years. With gloomy interiors, dated systems, and an almost total lack of closets, the house may not have been dilapidated, but a thorough renovation was certainly overdue. At least by the end of September 1945, work was underway to renovate the house, the fourth in a series of major



FIGURE 85. View of rear and west end of house in 1946 or early 1947. Aga stove chimney had not yet been built and the foundation remains unpainted. (CARL3000/15/26P)

building campaigns that began with Memminger's alterations to the original house nearly a hundred years earlier.

Floor Plan. On 5 October 1945, with the closing of their purchase of Connemara still two weeks away, Mrs. Sandburg wrote Joe Anders, the Hendersonville builder that she had hired to renovate the house. "I suppose," she wrote, "by this time you have made good headway with the preliminary work taking out partitions; removing loose plaster and patching up."[172] By then, decisions had already been made for alterations to the floor plan in order to accommodate new bathrooms and closets, and the "partitions" to which she referred would have included the wall on the west side of the fireplace between Rooms 118 and 121, the wall on the east side of the fireplace between Rooms 2 and 214, and all of the partitions in the ground floor. Other demolition was also required to remove the old bathroom from what became the small porch on the west side of the house, to create a door opening between Rooms 101 and 113, and to create a window in each of the new bathrooms (Rooms 123 and 213) and five windows in the kitchen. By the time Mrs. Sandburg arrived for the real estate closing on October 15, the new bathrooms and many of the new closets on the first and second floor were probably framed.



FIGURE 86. John Carl and Paula, with view of old kitchen house after its conversion to a garage in 1945. (CARL3000/010/01P)



FIGURE 87. View of East Porch and Conservatory, showing window added in east gable for new bathroom on second floor. (CARL3000/15/28P)

Electrical System. Invoices suggest that the house was completely rewired by the Sandburgs, a necessity by the 1940s since the original 1920s system would have been limited to overhead light fixtures, with few if any convenience receptacles.[173] A few remnants of the original knob- and- tube wiring system can still be seen (e.g., the west wall of Room 012), but most of the old wiring no longer exists. The new system used modern Romex wiring, black metal junction and switch boxes, and a twelve- circuit fuse box typical for the period. The Smyth- era light fixtures were retained in the Front Room (102), Margaret/Helga's Room (104), and the Utility Room (118), but eight fluorescent fixtures and numerous keyless, porcelain receptacles (with a bare bulb) were used throughout the rest of the house.[174] Smyth- era chandeliers may have remained in Sandburg's Office (101) and the Farm Office (113) for a time, but these too were replaced in the 1950s or early 1960s by the present fluorescent fixtures.

172. Mrs. Sandburg to Joe Anders, 5 October 1945, letter located in Anders file in CARL Coll.
173. The Smyth-era interior photographs shows an electrical cord that was apparently run from the ceiling fixture to a table lamp, a common make-shift as lamps and electrical appliances began to proliferate in the 1920s.
174. Some of the Smyth-era light fixtures replaced by the Sandburgs remain in the park's collection.

Heating System. The Sandburgs retained the existing steam heating system installed by the Smyths in the early 1920s, but some repairs and alterations were required. On 27- 29 September 1945, Mrs. Sandburg had Pace Heating and Plumbing Company in Hendersonville inspect the system to make sure it was in working order. The only repairs shown in the invoices, and probably the only ones that were necessary, were repair of leaking pressure- relief valves located on each radiator. Seventeen Sylphons, a trademark name for thin-walled bellows used to complete the seal in the valves, were replaced, and presumably the heating system was then up and running.[175] It was, however, necessary to expand the system to add radiators in the new bathrooms (123 and 213) and to remove one from where the Smyth- era master bathroom was removed (see below).

Plumbing System. It is unclear how much of the Smyth- era waste and supply lines were retained by the Sandburgs, but since most of that system was only some twenty years old, it is doubtful that much of it was replaced in 1945. The exception might have been the old pre- WWI bathroom on the second floor (217), where reconfiguration of fixtures might have precipitated replacement of the main waste line, which crosses between the ceilings above the Farm Office (113) and down the north wall of the Back Hall (116) and Laundry Room (015). If it was not replaced by the Sandburgs, then the waste line must have run exposed across the original ceiling, which is unlikely, or else Smyth had that ceiling lowered to hide the pipes to the bathroom above. Typical of the period, cast- iron waste lines and galvanized steel supply lines were used for the new bathrooms, just as they had been for the earlier bathrooms.

Bathrooms. The Sandburgs completely remodeled three Smyth- era bathrooms (111, 120, and 217), removed a fourth to form the West Porch, and installed two entirely new bathrooms (123 and 213). Cabinets were built in the old bathrooms, and tile was installed on all of the floors and as a high wainscot on all walls. Many, but not all, of the early-twentieth- century plumbing fixtures were also

175. Wallace, p. 10.



FIGURE 88. Carl Sandburg's Connemara, c. 1952. (CARL 109718, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

replaced. All of the old footed tubs and all of the bedroom lavatories except the one in Sandburg's Room (202) were removed. The tubs were replaced by a metal shower in the original second- floor bathroom (217) and by 4- 1/2'- long, enameled- steel tubs elsewhere.[176] All of the toilets were replaced as well, but since enameled cast- iron lavatories were not available amid the postwar material shortages, Mrs. Sandburg retained the old Smyth- era lavatories and the two large sinks in the Kitchen (117) and Laundry Room (015) until new cast- iron sinks became available. As it turned out, vitreous china lavatories dominated the market after World War II, and in spite of Mrs. Sandburg's misgivings about their quality, these were eventually installed in the two new bathrooms. The other enameled cast- iron lavatories and the large cast- iron sinks in the Kitchen and Laundry Room were never replaced.

Kitchen. Because it was then thought that Smyth had only renovated and not replaced Memminger's addition in 1924, Wallace and others believed that the Sandburgs created the present Kitchen (117) by combining an old dressing room and the Smyths' old pantry or storeroom, which had been converted to a small kitchen after Mrs. Smyth's death. In fact, no walls were apparently removed to create the present space, although it was completely remodeled by the Sandburgs. The room's original fenestration is uncertain, but all of the old windows were removed and five new, smaller windows set higher on the wall were installed. As noted earlier, these and the other windows installed by the Sandburgs can be distinguished by the lack of metal weatherstripping. As already noted, the old cast-iron sink installed when the room was first constructed in 1924 was left in place. "You might not like the idea of using the old kitchen sink," Mrs. Sandburg wrote Anders,

> but [keeping it] will save time and money now, and in the end we can have a much better job, as metal and linoleum are not up to standard now. So it is better to get along with an old sink temporarily, with movable floor cabinet alongside- - both to be replaced in future when better metal will be available, which is very important around water.[177]



FIGURE 89. Sandburg and his secretary in the Front Room. (CARL 12344, photograph by June Glenn, Jr.)

Even with the old cast- iron sink, the kitchen that Anders created for the Sandburgs in 1945 was thoroughly modern, with its high windows, white metal cabinets (which most likely had linoleum countertops), white enameled walls and ceiling, and linoleum floor.

Flooring. All of the Smyth- era oak and pine flooring remained intact and probably in very good condition, required only minor patching. In November 1945, Anders invoiced Mrs. Sandburg for sanding the floors, presumably on both the first and second floor. There was also a charge for 1,125 linear feet of oak shoe molding, since the old shoe molding, which would have been taken up so that the flooring could be properly sanded, was probably damaged in the process.

Mrs. Sandburg did not think the linoleum available in 1945 was "up to standard" and apparently delayed installation of any in the kitchen. By 1950, however, a dark linoleum, in a uniform color that might have been red, had been installed in the room, presumably over the 1920s pine flooring that remained in place.

Closets and Cupboards. When the Sandburgs bought the house, it may have had no more than four closets. One was certainly located on the west side of the chimney in Margaret/Helga's Room (104), and there may have been a similar, narrow closet, typical of the nineteenth century, next to the chimney in the Utility Room (118). These were both replaced by larger closets (105 and 119) and a small closet (103) off the Front Room. Two closets (109 and 110) were also built in the Children's Room (108)



FIGURE 90. View of Front Room, 1956. (CARL 109707, photograph by Douglas Depew)

and another (122) in the northeast corner of Mrs. Sandburg's Bedroom.

It appears that Smyth may have added two closets by partitioning the north side of the Upstairs Hall. The doors to the two closets (204 and 210) both have casing that has a backband with molding, typical of the Smyth period and earlier. In addition, a base cap like that used in Smyth's rear addition was used in place of a proper baseboard, suggesting that these two closets were built by Smyth. The plain casing at the door to the closet (203) off Sandburg's bedroom (202) and the use of plaster board to create the partitioning wall indicate that this closet was almost certainly created by the Sandburgs by partitioning the larger closet from the 1920s.

In addition, the Sandburgs added five other closets (208, 209, 212, 215, and 216) and possibly a sixth (206) on the second floor. Besides these closets, the Sandburgs also added a series of what Wallace calls "cupboards" throughout the house, including in the space above the closets. Most of the present closets and cupboards were installed by the spring of 1946.[178]

Shelving. Partly because of postwar material shortages, Mrs. Sandburg had all of the old shelving from their house and barn in Michigan dismantled and brought to Connemara. There is no record of how much shelving was moved but it must have run into thousands of linear feet. Anders apparently had to dress some small part of the material and run stop molding with which to install it, but invoices show that he bought no more than 1000 feet of shelving new. The shelving around Sandburg's Office (101, where Smyth may have already installed some shelving), in the northeast corner of the Living



FIGURE 91. Sandburg and Leslie Dunlop from the University of Illinois in Sandburg's Office (101), as they select Sandburg's library for books to be donated to the University of Illinois, summer 1956. (CARL 9546, photograph by Douglas Depew)

Room (102), at each end of the Dining Room (112), and around the Upstairs Hall was apparently installed in the winter of 1945- 1946. With that much shelving, the boxes stored in the ground floor could be unpacked, and in the spring of 1946, Anders also erected shelving in what became known as the Book Room (018).[179]

Walls. The plaster walls in the house required extensive repairs, with the older plaster in the original part of the house obviously requiring more repairs than the relatively new plaster in Smyth's 1924 addition. When the Sandburgs bought Connemara, many of the walls were wallpapered, and Mrs. Sandburg remembered that there were "big cracks through the plaster in all directions." Anders' plasterer had assured them that repairs would be straightforward, but as work got underway, it became clear that far more would be required to put the walls in good condition.

Interviews with Mrs. Sandburg suggest wholesale removal of the old plaster, and Wallace stated that "much of the old wood lath had to be replaced with metal lath."[180] Although the Anders invoices include the purchase of metal lath, there were also large quantities of wood lath (which was probably for the ceilings, as discussed below), and it seems likely that most if not all of the metal lath would have been used in tiling the bathrooms and perhaps for isolated repairs elsewhere in the house. There would have been no reason to replace the original lath, in spite of its irregularities (which Mrs. Sandburg greatly exaggerated),[181] although removal of some or even all of the plaster itself in some rooms in the



FIGURE 92. View of Dining Room, 1967. (CARL4011/01-03, photograph by Cecil Stoughton)

original portion of the house apparently was necessary.

Mrs. Sandburg also thought that the walls were not originally plastered. "It was something that they used in those days in place of plaster ... sort of a brown affair."[182] It is worth noting, however, that the original plaster ceilings and what remains on the walls (above the lowered ceilings), even today, appears to remain sound and reparable. It is not clear to what Mrs. Sandburg was referring, since surviving plaster above the ceilings does not quite match her description. Perhaps removal of the wall paper took much of the neat plaster with it, leaving the base "brown coat" exposed. Laboratory analysis of paint and plaster will be necessary to identify how much of the original plaster remains in the house.

Ceilings. Wallace attributed the lowered ceilings on the first floor to the Sandburgs, but he found no documentation to support that assumption beyond Paula Steichen's mention in her memoir that "the ceilings were too high to permit proper heating," although she did not go on to say that the ceilings had actually been lowered.[183] Two of the three interior photographs from 1926 suggest that the ceiling in Room 101, at least, had not been lowered by the Smyths, but the quality of the photographs is such that the opposite conclusion might also be reached.

However, among the first of Anders' invoices for labor and materials are charges for more than one hundred pieces of lumber 2" by 8" and ranging from 12' to 16' long, and it would appear that these could only have been used for ceiling joists. Of some interest is the fact that the ceiling joists do not have the appearance of lumber from the postwar period and are extremely irregular in dimensions, somewhat of a surprise in the postwar era. However, immediately following the war, there were severe



FIGURE 93. View of the Front Room in 1967. (CARL4011/01-07P, photograph by Cecil Stoughton)

material shortages nationwide, especially in lumber, and it is likely that the material used to frame the ceilings was actually salvaged material. By contrast, all of the lumber observed in the ground floor walls, which were constructed in 1947, is in standard modern dimensions.

176. Wallace believed that there was a footed tub only in Room 111 and that the other two Smyth bathrooms (120 and 217) had only a lavatory and toilet. Considering the size of the rooms and what was typical for the period, it seems unlikely that Smyth would not have installed tubs in those bathrooms, too, especially on the second floor.
177. Mrs. Sandburg to Joe Anders, 29 October 1945, letter in Anders file in CARL Coll.
178. Wallace, p. 17.
179. Wallace, p. 74.
180. Wallace, p. 14.
181. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg by Robert Cahn, 1968.
182. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg by Robert Cahn, for article in *Christian Science Monitor*, 1968, Pt. 1, side 2.
183. Wallace, p. 11; Steichen, *My Connemara*, p. 10.

In addition there are charges for more than 500 "bales" or "bundles" of wood lath, 100 or more sheets of metal lath, at least 269 bags of plaster, and more than 50 bags of gauging (finish) plaster. Since these are far more materials than would have been necessary for the new bathrooms (where the metal lath would have been used) and closet walls, it can be assumed that the Sandburgs did, in fact, have all of the first floor ceilings in the original part of the house lowered except in the Front Hall (115).

Windows and Exterior Doors. All of the existing windows and exterior doors were retained by the Sandburgs, but with rather radical alterations. In the three solid six- panel doors on the north side of the ground floor, all of which date to the house's original construction, Anders replaced the four upper panels with glass. In the door from the carport to the Laundry Room (015), which was also an original



FIGURE 94. View west in Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121), 1967. (CARL4011/01-09, photo by Cecil Stougnton)

door although not in its original location, the two center panels were removed and replaced with glass.

Broken sash cords and missing hardware were replaced at the windows, but more significantly, Mrs. Sandburg had Anders remove the dividing muntins from all of the sash except in the windows in the ground floor, in the bay window in Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121), in the Children's Room (108), and in the Back Hall (116). The sash were then reglazed with large sheets of double- strength glass, converting the original nine- over- nine, six- over- six, and two- over- two windows to more modern one- over- one windows. Although this change would not have made the windows any more energy efficient, Mrs. Sandburg may have remembered the problems they experienced with the twelve- over- twelve sash at the house in Michigan, where the winds howling off the lake rattled the panes if they were not reputtied every two or three years.[184] Perhaps even more important, removal of the muntins improved the view through the windows, virtually none of which ever had curtains or drapery during the Sandburg's tenure in the house.



FIGURE 95. Sandburg's study, 1967. (CARL4011/01-06, photograph by Cecil Stoughton)

184. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg, 1967, Roll 2.

Garage. Capt. Smyth, who always had servants and drivers, built the large garage near the farm complex in the 1920s, and it appears to have remained in use throughout his life.[185] By 1945, the old antebellum kitchen may not have been used for a decade or more, and with the new modern kitchen in the house, and without servants to fetch the car, the Sandburgs decided early to convert the old kitchen into a garage.

To accomplish that, it appears that the building was completely gutted, the chimney and fireplace demolished, the east wall reframed for garage doors, and a concrete floor poured inside the building, which was then resided and reroofed. When the boxcar load of 400 boxes of books arrived from Michigan in the second week of November 1945, they were stored in the new garage and in the ground floor.[186]

Roof and Gutters. In 1945, the "buff- red,"[187] cement- asbestos roof that Smyth had installed less than twenty years earlier would have still been in excellent condition, and although the converted garage was reroofed with asphalt shingles, the main roof did not need any repairs at all, except where the new kitchen chimney penetrated the roof.

Anders invoices document repairs to the existing half- round gutters and round downspouts, but with some of the half- round gutters replaced by 80' of modern ogee gutters and 60' of 4" round downspouts and 30' of 3" downspouts replaced.[188] The new gutters appear to have been mostly used across the rear of the house, where photographs show the

185. Wallace's footnotes, p. 30, indicate uncertainty as to who converted the kitchen into a garage, but there appears to be no reason for Smyth to have made that conversion. According to Smyths' grandchildren, the old kitchen remained in use into the 1930s.
186. Mrs. Sandburg to Joe Anders, 5 November 1968, letter in Anders file, CARL Coll. It is assumed that the old kitchen remained more or less intact when the Sandburgs bought Connemara, although there are no historic photographs of the building after the first world war.
187. Svejda, p. 36, recorded the color, which he noted was severely faded and discolored by numerous patches.
188. Anders invoice, 1 November 1945.

original half- round gutters were completely replaced, which would probably have required removal of any crown molding where the fascia meets the roof. Round downspout continued to be used, and the 90' of downspout invoiced by Anders would have been enough to replace all or nearly all of the downspouts around the house, although it is possible that some of this material was used on the garage.

Anders also charged the Sandburgs for 85 square feet of standing- seam metal roofing in an invoice dated 28 February 1946. It is doubtful that the roof on the east bay window would have needed replacement barely twenty years after it was built. This would not have been enough material to reroof the East Porch, but would be approximately enough to reroof the west bay window, the roof of which was probably of the same vintage as that on the East Porch, but because of its low pitch might have been in poorer condition.



FIGURE 96. View of stair hall in 1967. (CARL4011/01-09, photograph by Cecil Stoughton)

Painting. Mrs. Sandburg was careful not to get overextended financially and delayed some work along the way. As she wrote Anders on 29 October 1945:

> Give separate estimate [emphasis in original] on painting house outside, burning off only where necessary as around porch. Don't start painting as this is something that could be put off till summer or fall- - if your total estimate runs higher than we can safely handle right now.[189]

Anders quickly responded and within the week, Mrs. Sandburg wired him to proceed with painting the exterior. Invoices show the purchase of 40 gallons of "O. S. White Paint" in October 1945, which was undoubtedly the ready- mixed, linseed- oil-based, white- lead paint Anders used on the exterior. The old shutters were already down and were not being reinstalled, so there was no need for the green paint that had accented the house since the Memminger era.

Mrs. Sandburg also wrote Anders on 5 November 1945 with instructions "for the color of Kem- tone" for several rooms, most of it "Ivory Kem- tone" but also including "Peach Kem- tone" in Janet's Room



FIGURE 97. Sandburg on the telephone. Note absence of shelving on the west wall of his Office and of the cupboard on the south wall. (CARL3000/02/04P)

189. Mrs. Sandburg to Anders, 29 October 1945, letter in Anders file, CARL Coll.

(211), "Midland Green Kem- tone" in the Guest Room (214), and "Cameo Rose Kem- tone" in the Children's Room (108). The entire interior was repainted, and other colors may have been used, including the blue in the Utility Room and the green- and- white color scheme in the Back Hall and stairs, which John Steichen thought had always been painted in two colors.

Not introduced until 1941, Kem- tone was the first commercially successful, water- based, interior wall paint that could withstand at least some washing. Oil- based paints, glue- based distempers, and whitewash had long been the only options for painting materials, with oil- based paints universally used on exterior and interior woodwork and, quite often, on cured plaster walls as well. Wartime shortages of linseed oil accelerated research into alternative binders and led to development of emulsion paints, while wartime shortages of pig bristles for brushes and the unsuitability of bristle brushes for the application of water- based paints also led Sherwin- Williams to develop its trademark Roller-Koater for applying their new product. The two were wildly successful, and even before the end of World War II, more than ten million gallons had been sold and rolled on to walls and ceilings across the nation.[190] Although Kem- tone and similar water- based paints were widely used, the early versions of these paints were still not as durable and washable as the company's marketing led consumers to expect. Consequently, the new water- based paints were typically used only on walls and ceilings, with oil- based, semigloss enamels still used on woodwork and in bathrooms and kitchens, a pattern of use that continued until the last quarter of the twentieth century. Mrs. Sandburg followed suit and was careful to distinguish between "paint," by

190. See the American Chemical Society's National Historic Chemistry Landmarks at <http://www.rockbridgegroup.com/review/new_nhcl/nhcl_2/landmarks/kem>, accessed 24 October 2004.



FIGURE 98. Sandburg, c. 1946 (CARL 104103, photo by June Glenn, Jr.)

which she meant old- fashioned linseed- oil paint, and Kem- tone. The kitchen was apparently painted white, using oil- based enamel. It was, Margaret remembered, "the kind of white kitchen which many women dream about having."[191]

Ground Floor. In the original part of the ground floor, all of the wood floors, wooden partitions, and perhaps the old staircase from the first floor, if it still survived, were removed in 1945. The floors in Smyth's 1924 addition were probably already paved with concrete in 1945,[192] and additional concrete was poured in the original part of the ground floor after the wood floors had been removed. According to Wallace, only part of the original ground floor was paved at that time, with the Sandburg's grandson remembering the north part of the ground floor (Rooms 101 and 102) still without flooring, leaving the earth below exposed.[193]

While Wallace found that the remainder of the ground floor was apparently not paved and new rooms not created until 1947, the Sandburgs may have had the brick walls and the pair of brick columns in Room 001 constructed earlier. The brick walls probably replaced original wooden curtain walls in the same locations. Smyth's granddaughter did not remember the contemporaneous brick columns as having been present in the 1920s,[194] and although there is little documentary evidence, it is likely that the columns and partition wall were part of the Sandburgs' alterations to the ground floor in the 1940s, and that the columns were installed to support the great weight of books on the floors above.

191. Wallace, p. 157.
192. This is assumed because a concrete floor would be typical of a ground floor in the 1920s, and the patching of the fresh-air intake in the floor of the furnace room appears to indicate that the floor was contemporaneous with the pre-Sandburg furnace.
193. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report, p. 14.*
194. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 52.



FIGURE 99. View of Connemara, c. 1960. (CARL3000/15/12P)

The chimney for the Aga stove that the Sandburgs built in 1947 utilized new brick for which there are receipts, but there are no receipts for the brick used to construct the walls and columns on the ground floor. At least part of the brick apparently came from a chimney flue or fireplace, as evidenced by the blackened surface of some of the brick, and the size of the brick is close to that of the chimneys in the main house. Given the Sandburgs' well- documented propensity to conserve and re- use materials, it is likely that the bricks in these ground floor features were salvaged from the fireplace and chimney of the old kitchen when they were knocked down and the building converted into a garage in 1945.

The wood- framed wall at the west end of Room 018 may have been constructed along with the brick walls in order to enclose the area where so many of Sandburg's books were stored. The wall is unlike the other wood- framed walls in being finished with old lap siding that was clearly salvaged from another location. The red paint on one face of the boards suggest that the boards were salvaged from one of the buildings in the farm complex that the Sandburgs altered and repaired in 1945- 1946. The remainder of the partitions in the ground floor, which created the present floor plan, as well as the rest of the concrete floors, were installed in the spring and summer of 1947. These walls used framing lumber that was in standard dimensions and had grade stamps typical of the postwar period. The rush to provide building materials after extreme wartime shortages sometimes tempted suppliers to sell green lumber, which would often twist and warp as it dried and shrank. "KD," for "kiln dried," could then be specified, as it was on some of Anders invoices, where shrinkage was unacceptable.

Later Changes

According to Wallace, the work in the ground floor in 1947- 1948 completed the Sandburgs' remodeling of Connemara, and the general appearance of the house changed "surprisingly little" after that.[195] Around 1950, the East Porch was screened,[196] and in January 1952 there were significant repairs to the roof. In February 1952, Helga remarried and she and

195. Wallace, p. 18, 20.
196. Svejda, p. 27.



FIGURE 100. Connemara, c. 1960. (CARL3000/15/38P)

the children moved out of Connemara, which provoked some rearrangement of furniture and repainting as Margaret moved downstairs to Helga's old room.

In 1957, the Sandburgs had the old boilers removed from the furnace room, and Pace Heating and Plumbing Company installed a General Electric oil-fired boiler. This eliminated the need for coal storage, and it was probably at this time that Room 013 came into existence.

It is not clear when the acoustical tile ceilings, perhaps Celotex, were installed in the Dining Room (112) and Hall (107). Photographs show them in place by the early 1960s. Wallace's analysis of the park's photographic collection showed that between 1961 and 1963 the present vinyl tile was installed in the Farm Office (113), Back Hall (116), and Kitchen (117) along with the large fluorescent fixtures in the Farm Office and in Sandburg's Office (101).[197] These changes are thought to have occurred while Sandburg was in Hollywood in 1961, and probably coincided with the installation of new counters in the kitchen and repainting the kitchen in its present yellow color.



FIGURE 101. The Sandburgs in the Kitchen, c. 1960. (CARL5000/2-139P)

Wallace also stated that Mrs. Sandburg installed the dishwasher and extended the cabinets on the east wall of the Kitchen (117) prior to November 1963. The formica countertop on the east side of the kitchen, which has an integral backsplash and rolled front edge, no doubt dates to the early 1960s as well, while the older, square- edged, wood- grained formica on the opposite wall may have been installed along with the metal cabinets in the late 1940s.

For unknown reasons, the toilet in the second floor bathroom (213) required replacement around the same time,[198] and parts but certainly not all of the house were probably also repainted. There is no record of the Sandburgs' repainting the exterior of the house, but they must have painted at least once and perhaps twice between 1945 and 1968. Photos show that the red- brick foundation of the Smyth addition at the rear of the house was painted white after 1950.



FIGURE 102. View into Sandburg's Office (101) in 1967. (CARL 4011/01-04, photograph by Cecil Stoughton)

197. Wallace, p. 23.
198. The toilet bear an imprinted date of 1963.



FIGURE 103. Removal of Front Porch columns in the spring of 1974. The only original column that remains intact is the one at left in this image.(CALO4008/01/048P)



FIGURE 104. View at front porch, 1974. (CARL4008/01/45P).)

Carl Sandburg turned 80 in 1962 and was in increasingly poor health, and indeed in the last two years of his life, Sandburg was ill much of the time. Plagued with cataracts, for which there was then no good treatment, Mrs. Sandburg had her hands full just caring for her aging husband, and since she was unable to see clearly, maintenance of the house declined. The Conservatory was rapidly falling into decay, and all around the house little things were left undone. Following her husband's death in July 1967, it must have been with a certain sense of relief that Mrs. Sandburg conveyed Connemara to the National Park Service in 1968, thereby insuring its continued preservation.

National Park Service

After Mrs. Sandburg's departure from the house in the summer of 1969, the NPS appointed her old farm manager, Leroy Levi, to their maintenance team, but the NPS was faced with an array of problems, not the least of which was deferred maintenance. As one NPS staffer reported in September 1969, "the place evidentally [sic] has been neglected for some time."

Exterior

The Conservatory was on the verge of collapse, and in 1970 it was dismantled entirely. In the spring and summer of 1971, the exterior of the house was repaired and repainted by Hendersonville Paint & Sand Blasting Corp. It is likely that this work included stripping of all paint back to bare wood, as documented by the paint study. Of immediate concern, too, was the roof, which was deemed to be in such poor condition that, in 1972, the cement-asbestos shingles were stripped from the roof and replaced with a "temporary roof" of asphalt shingles until appropriate substitutes for the cement- asbestos shingles could be located. Reroofing with a mineral- fiber roofing material resembling the historic shingles was not accomplished until 1983. In 1978, the bay windows and the East Porch were reroofed with flat- seam metal.[199]

199. The park's maintenance files document most of these activities.

In 1974, the front porch floor framing, flooring, and three of the four columns were replaced. This front porch framing and flooring were replaced again in 1996. The exterior was repainted in 1971, and again in 1979, 1985, 1990, and most recently in 2001- 2002.

In 1980, t he Conservatory was reconstructed, mostly on the basis of photographs. The reconstruction was apparently accurate, although the movable, wood- framed screens that were present at some openings were not reinstalled or recreated.

Handicapped accessibility became a pressing issue, and by 1990 the decision had been made to install a lift. In 1991, the balustrade at the south end of the East Porch was removed and a handicapped lift installed at that location. A plywood floor was also installed on part of the porch itself in order to eliminate the differential in floor levels inside and outside the house. Installation of the lift also eliminated the screening at the south end of the porch. That lift was replaced in 2004.

Interior

Much of the early work inside the house involved establishing tour routes and interpretation of the collection. In 1978- 1979, most of the first and second floor of the house was repainted, which included documentation of the historic colors. Halls and stairways from the ground floor to the second floor were repainted in 1989. The weight of books and visitors inside the house was a cause for some concern. The historic framing was in good condition but had inherent weaknesses, for which the NPS compensated in 1981 by installing the system of I- beams and posts to support the floor framing above the Book Room (118).

Systems

A security system was installed ins covers were installed on the bookcases that would be accessible to visitors. In 1975, the house was rewired, which appears to have included replacement of all wiring in the house and installation of larger service panels. Insulation was added in the attic in 1979. A fire-suppression system was installed throughout the house in 1986- 1987. In 1988, the furnace was replaced. It may have been at that time, that exhaust fans were added in the attic, with the exhaust through the east and west chimneys. In 1995 all storm sash were glazed with a light- filtering material (70% filtration of visible light and 90% filtration of ultraviolet light), and where storm sash were not present, light- filtering film was applied to the primary glazing. The oil furnace was converted to natural gas in December 2001. In 2002, in response to curatorial concerns for the collection of furniture, books, and other objects inside the house, Watson & Henry, environmental consultants, conducted an assessment of the house's environmental conditions. A severe outbreak of mold inside the house in 2003 prompted immediate implementation of their recommendation for a comprehensive environmental monitoring program as a first step in determining necessary improvements to the house's internal environment.

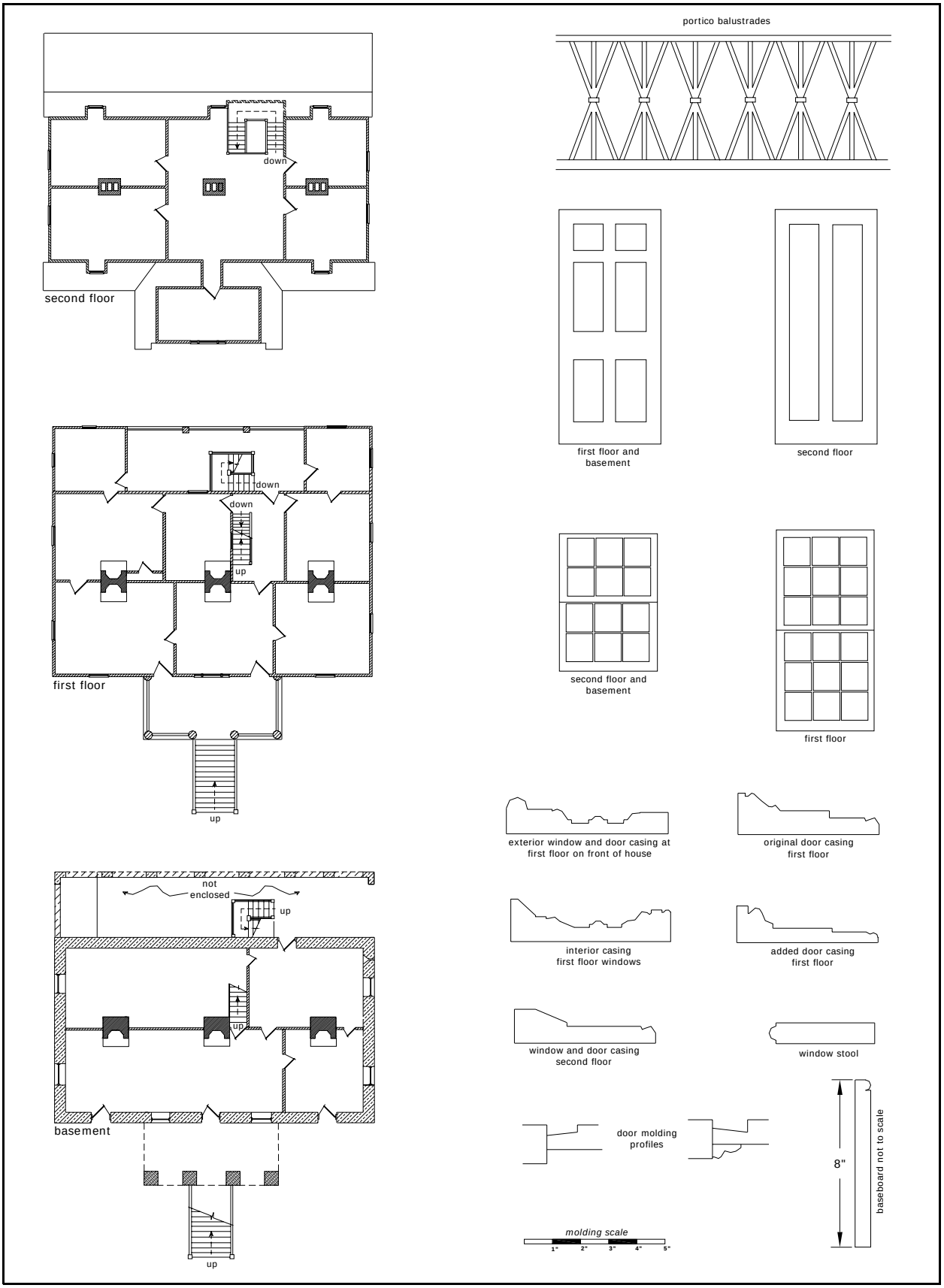
Connemara Time Line

1836, fall	Memminger begins looking for property at Flat Rock
1837,	Noah Corn builds bridge for Memminger
1838, March 15	Probable start of construction
1838, April 1	Memminger begins keeping an account book for his "Buncombe Establishment," i.e. Rock Hill
1838, summer	Kitchen and stable constructed
1839, July	Main house mostly complete and Memmingers arrive for first summer at Flat Rock
1840, January 4	Memminger makes final payment to his builder, James B. Rosamond
1841	Probable construction date of Cook's house (present "Chicken House")
1843	Noah Corn builds wagon shed
1845-1847	Memminger buys and develops Valley Farm, later known as Tranquility
1847	Ice House constructed
1848-1849	Addition of two rooms and a porch across rear of house, and probable date of alterations to the interior of the original house
1850	Memminger purchases three lightning rods for house
1850-1853	Servant's House (present "Swedish House") constructed
1864, summer	Memmingers remove to Flat Rock for summer and do not return to Charleston for over two years
1865-1866	Confederate "bushwhackers" plague Flat Rock, forcing removal of front steps at Rock Hill
1867, winter	Memminger's citizenship restored, and Charleston house returned to his possession
1889	Memmingers sell Rock Hill to Greggs
c. 1890	Probable date of construction of east porch, west bay, replacement of front steps, and addition of another room and possibly a bathroom at rear of house
1900	Greggs sell Rock Hill to Smyths
c. 1912	Addition of a second bathroom as well as bedroom lavatories
c. 1920	Smyth installs furnace and Delco lighting system
1924	Smyth replaces the Memminger additions at the rear, weatherstrips windows and doors, and otherwise rehabilitates the house for year-round occupancy
c. 1930	Smyth removes part of east porch and installs conservatory
1945, October 18	Smyths sell Connemara to Sandburgs, who begin remodeling
1948, June	Most of Sandburgs' alterations are complete
c. 1950	East Porch screened
1952	Helga and the children move to Washington DC
1967	Carl Sandburg dies in May Mrs. Sandburg signs deed of gift of Connemara to National Park Service in June
1968, July	Mrs. Sandburg, Margaret, and Janet vacate Connemara
1970	Security system installed; conservatory removed to avoid collapse

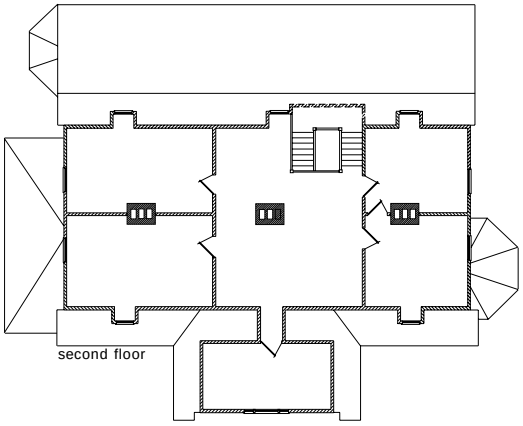
1971	Exterior repainted
1972	Cement-asbestos roof covering replaced by "temporary" asphalt roof; additional hand railings installed at front steps
1974	Front porch floor framing and flooring and three columns replaced
1975	House rewired
1978	Bay windows and east porch re-roofed; exterior repaint begins; second floor repainted
1979	Insulation added in attic; first floor repainted
1980	Conservatory reconstructed
1981	Steel supports added for floors above Book Room (018)
1983	"Temporary" roof replaced with mineral fiber shingles (main roof) and fiberglass shingles (rear roof); gutters rehung; chimneys rebuilt above roof line
1985	Exterior repainted
1986	Fire-suppression system installed
1988	Furnace replaced
1989	Halls and stairways from ground floor to second floor repainted
1988-1990	Repairs and repainting on exterior
1991	Wheelchair lift installed to East Porch
2001	Oil-fired furnace converted to natural gas
2001-2002	Exterior of house repainted
2002	Watson & Henry conduct assessment of the house's environment

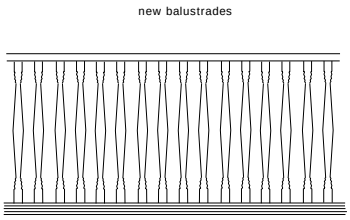
Floor Plans and Molding Details, 1850-1950

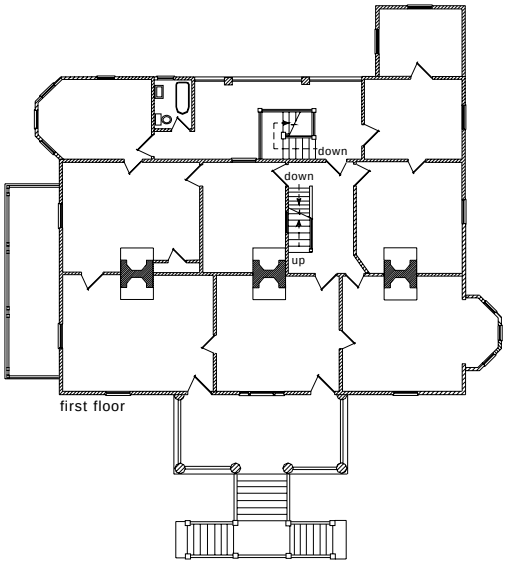
Reconstructed Floor Plans and Details, c. 1850.

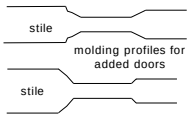


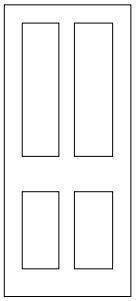
Reconstructed Floor Plans and Details of Added Features, 1900

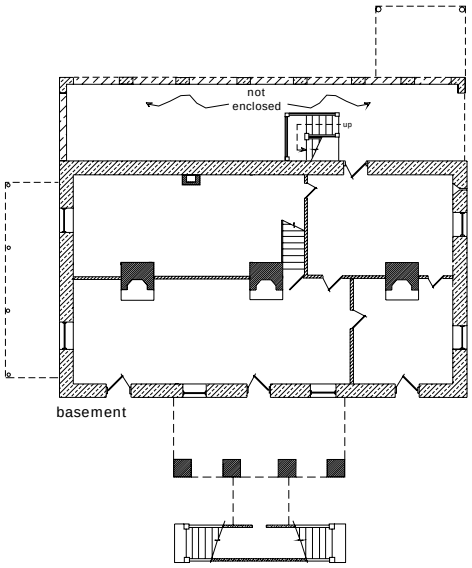


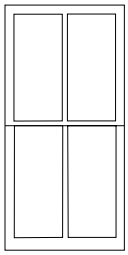




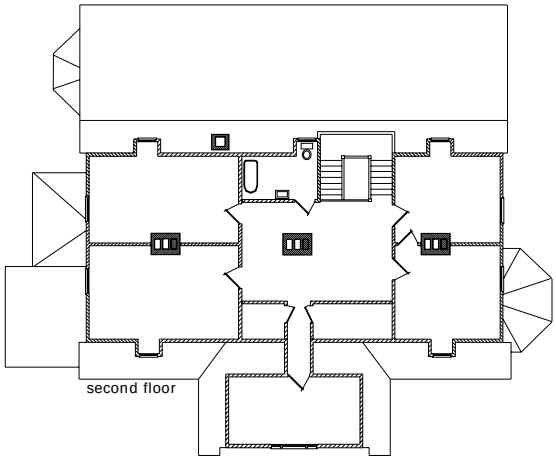


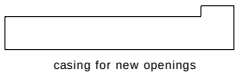


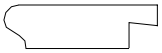


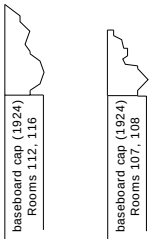


Reconstructed Floor Plans and Details of Added Features, 1925

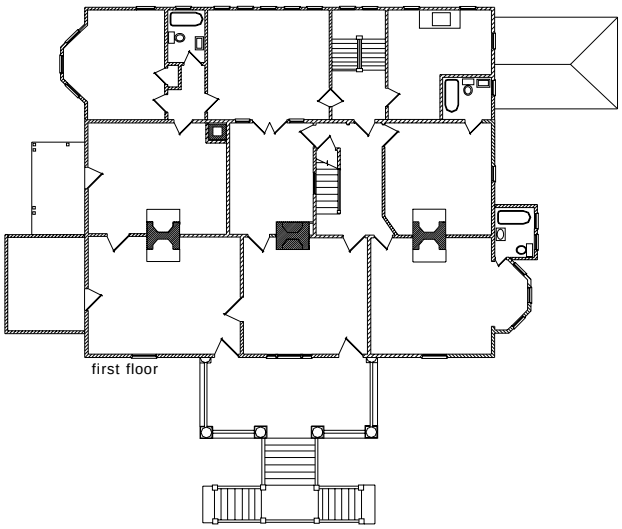




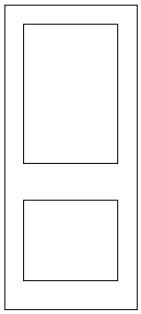




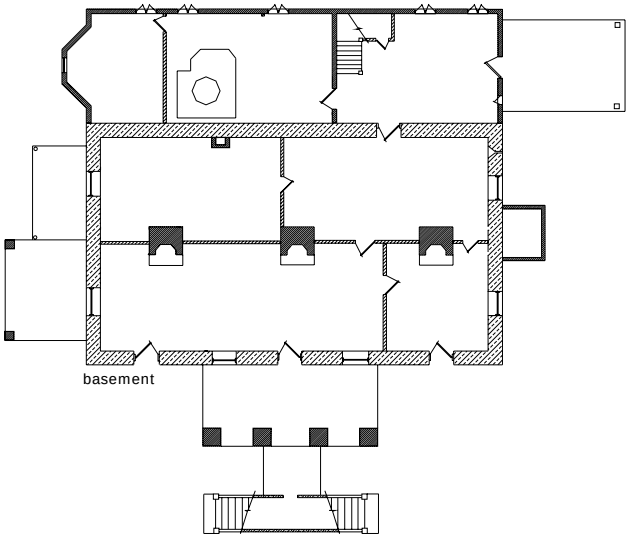
added baseboard and cap

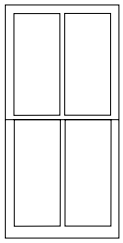






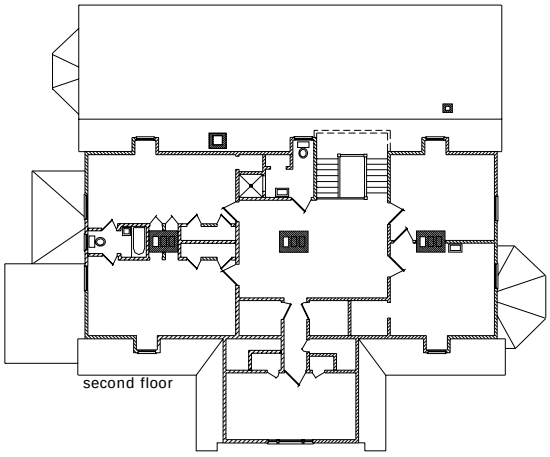
new doors

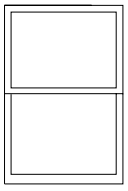


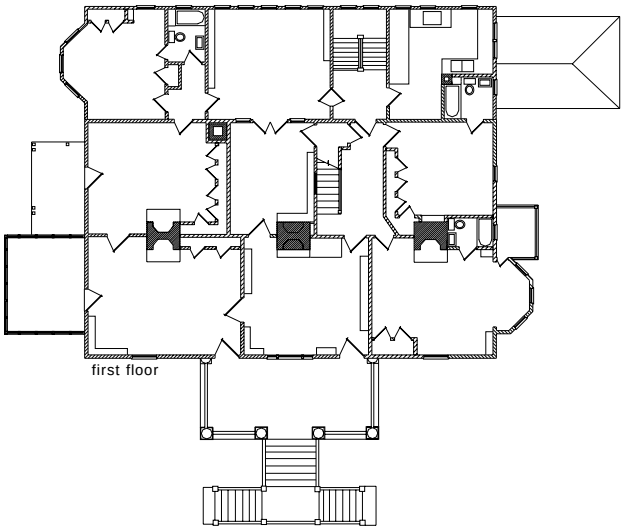


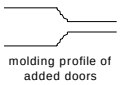
new windows

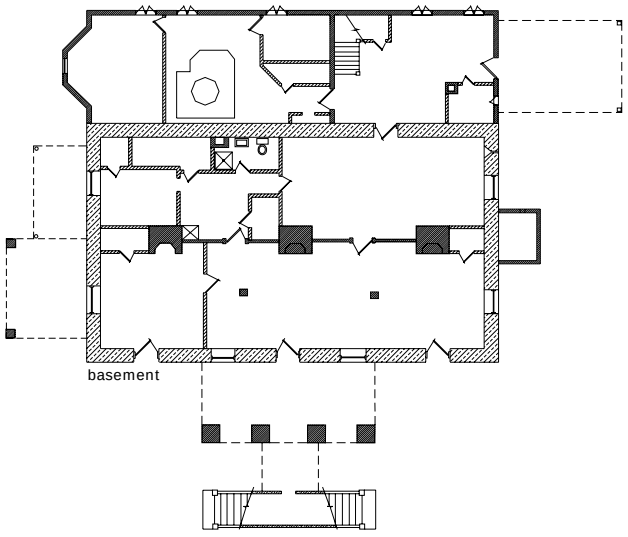
Reconstructed Floor Plans and Details of Added Features, 1950

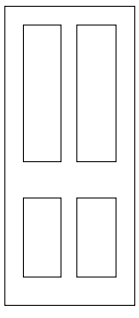



new windows




molding profile of added doors




added doors

Physical Description

Built on a locally quarried, stone foundation that forms a full, day- light ground floor, the original main block of the house is wood framed, end-gabled, and a story- and- a- half high. Built in 1838 and mostly complete by the spring of 1839, the main house at Connemara is a relatively simple interpretation of the Greek Revival, with the style expressed mainly in the fluted Doric columns supporting the portico; in the deeply- molded casings and corner blocks found on the windows and doors on the principal elevation; and in the full cornice returns at the gabled ends of the house. Around 1848, Memminger enlarged the house by the addition of a one-story, shed- roofed range of rooms and a porch across the rear of the house. Around 1890, the house was remodeled by the Greggs, and in 1924 was thoroughly renovated for year- round residential use by the Smyths. After their purchase of the house in 1945, the Sandburgs renovated the house again, adding bathrooms and nearly two dozen closets and, for the first time, bringing the main kitchen inside the house.



FIGURE 105. View of north side of Main House. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Building investigation was limited to non- destructive visual inspection and analysis of selected painted finishes and mortar. Except for the Sandburg era, documentary evidence does not exist for most of the alterations that are evident in the present structure, but numerous photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries along with variations in existing materials clearly show the sequence in which most changes occurred and the approximate date of those changes.

Floor plans and molding profiles of the existing building can be found at the end of this section. All photographs in this section by NPS, 2004.

Building Site

To provide a building site on the steep hillside on which he chose to build the house, Memminger created a series of three, more- or- less level terraces running east and west across the hill side, with the house constructed on the upper terrace. The terraces that presently characterize the site may not have been created at one time, since Memminger's son recorded that his father "dug out" behind the original house in order to make an addition in the late 1840s.

Foundation

The main block of the house sits on a continuous masonry foundation. The original foundation was stone while that of the 1924 addition is brick laid up in a six- course common bond. The East Porch is set on wooden posts resting on stone slabs, while the Front Portico and the Conservatory are built on brick piers. The West Porch which has a continuous brick foundation contemporaneous with the brick foundation at the rear of the house.

Footings

Footings for the masonry walls were investigated prior to 1976, and Jones reported in his historic structure report that year that no footing was found for the stone or for the brick foundations, which is not unusual for residential buildings of the period. At least some of the walls, especially across the rear, may rest on the natural stone of the hillside, but even without footings, there is no evidence of excessive or differential settlement or other signs of foundation failure.

Stone Foundation

The original portion of the house is built on a continuous foundation of irregularly sized stone blocks that create a wall around 26" thick and ranging from a little more than 8- 1/2' high at the northwest corner



FIGURE 106. A view of the house from the southwest (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

of the house to around 6' at the southeast corner. Window and door openings are created using large stone slabs as lintels along with 4"- thick wooden window sills. Door sills were originally wooden, 2- 1/2" thick, but all have been replaced with concrete except at the western door on the north side of the ground floor. The rough coursing of stone visible on the sides of some openings appears to have originally been stuccoed to provide a smoother face framing the opening.

Brick Foundation

The rear addition, which replaced Memminger's antebellum addition in the 1920s, rests on a continuous brick foundation put up in a six- course common bond, using a hard- fired, machine- made, red brick and grey Portland mortar. The foundation of the west porch is contemporaneous with the rear foundation and uses the same hard- fired, red brick. The face of some of the brick in both foundations exhibit the same distinctive, diagonal striations. The earliest photographs of the house show its stone foundation painted white, but the brick foundation was not painted white until after 1950.

The front porch is supported by four masonry columns around 31" square, 8' high, and dating to the building's original construction. Constructed of brick, the columns are stuccoed and were originally scored to resemble large stone blocks, although most of the scored lines are no longer evident on the corner piers.

Originally constructed around 1930 and reconstructed in1980- 1981, the conservatory is supported by two brick piers, both around 17", one around 6'- 8" high and the other 6'- 10" high. Brick are around 8- 1/2" long, larger than any other brick in the building.

Wooden Posts

The foundation for the east porch is formed by a pair of turned, wooden posts, each around 7" in diameter and about 5'- 10" high. Dating to the porch's original construction about 1890, these posts sit on stone blocks resting directly on the ground. The areas beneath the east porch and beneath the conservatory have been enclosed by lattice constructed with boards 3/4" by 1- 1/4". The lattice was originally installed by Smyth, probably in the 1920s, and does not appear in historic photographs until the 1930s. Sandburg- era photographs show it miss-



FIGURE 107. View of center chimney, as reconstructed in 1983. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR,2004)



FIGURE 108. VIew of foundation at east end of 1920s rear addition. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 109. View of foundation at northwest corner of original house.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

ing in the 1950s (CARL3000/15/28P), but replaced by the 1960s (CARL3000/04/12P). The present lattice was installed when the Conservatory was reconstructed in1980- 1981.

Chimneys

Stone also forms the ground- floor foundation for the house's three large, brick chimney stacks which rise through the ridge of the main roof. All three of these chimneys appear to be part of the building's original construction, but all were rebuilt above the roof line in 1983. The original brick, which are still visible in the attic, are variable, ranging between 6- 1/2" and 7- 1/2" long, generally 2- 1/2" thick, and 3- 1/4" to 3- 1/2" wide. The center and the east chimneys are both around 29" by 50" as they rise through the attic; the west chimney is slightly larger at around 31" by 51".

Two additional chimney stacks are located at the rear of the house. Both are brick and rise around 15' above the roof. The easternmost stack is around 30" square and has a stone or concrete coping course at the top. Rising through the southwest corner of Room 104, it was constructed to service the furnace installed by Smyth in the early 1920s. The western stack, which is around 20" square, was installed by the Sandburgs in 1947 to service the coal- burning stove in Room 015 but was little used because of its inadequate draft.

Structural System

The house is wood framed, using a modified braced frame in the original portion of the house and a conventional platform frame in the rear addition. Although much of the framing is obscured by finish materials, about half of the floor framing for the first floor is exposed, and most of the second floor ceiling framing and nearly all of the roof framing are visible in the attic areas. In addition, framing for the lowered ceilings on the first floor is visible from the rear attic that is accessed off the main stairwell and from the top of the closet by the fire place in Room 104. The junction of the studs and top plates of the first floor walls and the original second floor joists are also visible from these areas.

Earlier reports, including historic structure report in 1976, have stated that the house was built entirely of hand- hewn lumber, but that is not the case. Typical of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, sills in the original portion of the house are hand hewn,



FIGURE 110. View of reconstructed conservatory and east end of house. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

but the remainder of the framing material is mill sawn. Lumber from the Memminger era is generally sash sawn (i.e., using a reciprocating saw) in varying dimensions typical of the period. Lumber from the Smyth era is generally circular sawn and in modern standard dimensions that are typically slightly larger than the circular- sawn lumber used in the Sandburg additions.

Mortise and tenon joinery is typical of the Memminger and Gregg eras, with machine- cut nails used for secondary connections. Wire- nailed connections are typical of the Smyth and Sandburg eras.

Sills, Beams, and Plates

Sills and beams in the original part of the house are hewn, approximately 7- 1/2" by 9- 1/2", and are in excellent condition. Top plates are sash sawn around 3- 1/2" to 4" by 7- 1/2" to 8".[200] Sills and beams in the rear addition, which date to the 1920s, consist of tripled members, each member around 1- 1/2" by 9- 1/2". Plates are doubled, with each member around 1- 1/2" by 3- 1/2".

Joists

Floor. First floor joists in the original part of the house are variable, ranging from 1- 3/4" to 3" by 9- 1/2" to 10", with most approaching the larger dimensions, and are set on centers ranging from 19- 1/2" to 24" apart. Second floor joists in the original part of the house are generally 2- 1/2" to 2- 3/4" by 6- 1/2" to 7- 3/4" set on centers ranging from 21" to 27" apart. First floor joists in the original part of the house are connected by a relatively small mortise- and- tenon joint approximately 2- 1/2" wide. Second floor joists are s lapped over the top plates and extend beyond the outside walls to provide "lookouts" for the house's boxed eaves. Floor joists in the rear addition are around 1- 1/2" by 9- 1/2", set on 16" centers and cross braced at mid- span with beaded tongue- and- groove boards that were salvaged from another location, probably from the ceilings of the antebellum rooms at the rear that were replaced in the 1920s. Diagonally laid subflooring around 8" wide was used in the rear addition, but no sub- floor is present in the original portion of the structure.

Ceilings. The ceilings in most of the original first-floor rooms were lowered in 1945. The joists in the

200. Dimensions are actual, not nominal (i.e., 1-1/2" by 3-1/2" rather than conventional 2" by 4", etc.)



FIGURE 111. View of typical original first floor joists, as seen from Room 018. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 112. View of hand-hewn beam in Room 018. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 113. View of typical, cross-braced, floor joists and diagonally laid sub-floor in rear addition. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 114. View east in attic of rear addition with framing of rear wall of original house visible at left. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 115. View of typical connection of rafters in main roof. Note inscribed Roman numeral XVII on face of right-hand rafter. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004



FIGURE 116. View of end rafter at west side of main roof, showing lookouts mortised and pegged in place. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

lower ceilings are quite variable, ranging from 1- 5/8" to 2" by anywhere from 6" to 9" and may have been salvaged from another location. Ceiling joists in the rear addition are between 1- 1/2" to 1- 3/4" by about 7- 1/2", set on 16" centers.

Posts and Studs

Corner posts are inaccessible, but intermediary posts appear to be generally 4" by 7- 1/2" in the original part of the house. Posts in the addition may be 4" by 4" or doubled 2" by 4" members (all nominal dimensions). Studs in the original portion of the house are typically 2- 1/2" to 3" by 3- 1/2" to 4" on centers 26" to 28" apart. These are joined to the plates and sills by tenons about 1" wide. Studs in the addition are around 1- 1/2" by 3- 1/2" joined with wire nails.

Rafters

The original part of the house has a common rafter roof with rafters set on a false plate and joined at the ridge by lapped and pegged connections without the use of a ridge board. Rafters in the main part of the house are typically 2- 3/4" to 3" by 6" to 7" on centers around 28" apart. Roman numerals are visible near the top of each rafter, inscribed during original construction so that rafters, which were cut and lapped on the ground, could be properly matched to one another when finally installed. Rafters for the dormer roofs and for the front gable are around 3" by 4" and are nailed to a ridge board. "Lookouts" to carry the gable eaves are mortised into the gable-end rafters. Rafters for the added shed roof at the rear are around 1- 3/4" by 7- 1/2".

Typical of a common rafter roof, rafters are covered with a continuous roof deck composed of tongue-and- groove material in widths ranging from 6" to 8". The decking on the main roof must have replaced an original open deck for wood shingles when the house was roofed with metal, which requires a solid deck, in the nineteenth century. Decking on the shed roof at the rear dates to the 1920s. Isolated sections of decking have been replaced with plywood during the course of modern repairs by the NPS.

Exterior Finishes

Much of the finish material on the exterior of the house is original millwork, except on the rear addi-

tion where most material dates to the 1920s. Some material around the bathroom and kitchen windows may date to the Sandburgs remodeling after World War II. With very few exceptions, it is all in excellent condition.

Roof

The house's original roof covering was probably wooden shingles, which were replaced with a standing- seam metal roof prior to 1900, probably in conjunction with the alterations to the house around 1890, but possibly much earlier. Photographs show that between the two world wars, probably in the 1920s, the house was re- roofed using a cement- asbestos shingle. That roofing was replaced with a temporary covering of asphalt shingles in 1972. In 1983, the present "mineral- fiber" shingle roof covering on the main roof and fiberglass asphalt shingle covering on the rear shed roof were installed. The roofs of the bay windows and the east porch were always covered with flat- seam metal, with the present metal roofing dating to 1978.

Gutters. Gutters are run across the lower edge of every roof shed, including the side porch and the bay windows, but not the Conservatory. Downspouts empty into 6" terra- cotta pipes and underground drainage lines that carry water away from the house. The Baker Barber photograph of the house from the 1880s (CARL3001/01/48P) shows the presence of gutters and downspouts on the front of the house, but the poor quality of the image makes characterization of the gutters impossible. Better images from the early twentieth century clearly show 4" or 5" half- round, roof- hung gutters and round downspouts, with built- in gutters at the two bay windows.

The present half- round gutters on the front of the house may date to the Sandburg era, but the NPS installed the present half- round gutters across the rear of the house to replace the historic K- style or ogee gutters installed by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. The NPS has replaced other gutters and downspouts around the house, but which ones is not clear.

Skylight. A skylight measuring about 3'- 6" by 3'- 6" is located in the roof above the stair hall (Room 115). It is metal framed, divided into two lights, and glazed with wire- reinforced glass. Although there is no historical documentation, it is most likely that the skylight was installed when Smyth created a second- floor bathroom (Room 217) around 1912, which left the stair hall with little or no natural lighting.



FIGURE 117. View of rear (south) shed of main roof, showing skylight, lightning rods, and typical dormer. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 118. View of Window W-36, showing typical original casing and sill. Nine-over-nine muntins have been removed from original sash. A four-light, exterior storm sash is installed at the opening in this image.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 119. Window W-2, with original sash, in north wall of Room 001. Note wooden sash stop near upper left corner of lower sash. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Dormers. The main roof features five, windowed dormers, three on the rear shed of the roof and two on the front. Part of the original construction of the house, each dormer has a gabled roof and is finished with flush, tongue- and- groove siding on the gabled front and lapped weatherboard on the sides, similar to that on the main body of the house.

Lightning Rods

The house has five lightning rods, four spaced more or less evenly across the ridge of the main roof and one on the ridge near the top of the front gable. Although Memminger's account book mentions installation of three lightning rods in 1847, rods are not visible in the earliest photographs of the house, and it appears that the present rods were contemporaneous with the cement- asbestos roof installed by the Smyths in the 1920s or 1930s. Other lightning rods, perhaps dating to an earlier era, remain in the park's museum collection.

Windows and Doors

The present fenestration of the house includes windows and doors from each of the building's historic periods. The original fenestration of the building was altered by Memminger when he added the range of rooms across the rear of the house in the late 1840s, and there were other alterations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The lack of a single, primary entrance off the front porch is a notable deviation from that which was typical of the Greek Revival. The present arrangement of windows and doors on the front porch was present when the house was first photographed in the 1870s or 1880s, and analysis of painted finishes indicates that the house's original fenestration has not been altered.

The original first floor windows on the east side of the house were enlarged to floor- length openings when the east porch was constructed around 1890. The northernmost window on the west side was lost when the west bay window was built, also around 1890. Original first- floor windows and doors at the rear of the house were relocated and/or replaced when the rear addition was built in the late 1840s. Original or very early windows and doors remain at openings on the east (W- 3 and 4), north (D- 1, 2 and 3 and W- 1 and 2), and west sides (W- 3 and 4) of the original ground floor. The Sandburgs did not replace window sash, but they did convert most of

the multi- light sash to single light sash by removing muntins and reglazing each sash with single sheets of plate glass. The locations of mortises for the muntins are still evident in the stiles and rails of the sash.

Windows. The house has fifty- one exterior window openings, which are fitted with a variety of sash, all of which should be considered historic, even though most of them, except in the ground floor and part of the first floor, were altered by the Sandburgs. None of the original nine- over- nine sash remain intact in the house, but the original six- over- six sash survive in five ground floor windows (W- 1, 2, 3, 4, and 14). The sash in the west bay date to the bay's construction around 1890, while all sash in the rear rooms date to the 1920s, except in the kitchen where the Sandburgs created new windows in 1945 (W- 30, 31, 32, 33, 34).[201] The Sandburgs also created new windows in the new bathrooms (W- 37 and 45).

All of the double- hung windows are counter- weighted, but most sash have been painted shut and many of the sash- weight cords are broken. All of the double- hung windows were weather- stripped by the Smyths, using a crimped zinc strip that fits small grooves let into the edges of the sash. Windows installed by the Sandburgs were not weather- stripped.

The windows on the main floor of the house originally had nine- over- nine sash with six- over- six sash on the ground and second floors. Six- over- six sash were also used in the addition that Memminger constructed before the Civil War, but when a new door was created on the south side of Room 018 around the same time, the old door on the west side of that room was replaced with a double casement window (W- 13), which remains in the opening today.

Window sash during the antebellum period were typically single- hung (i.e., only the lower sash was movable), with a wooden catch on the jamb pivoting to hold the sash in an open position (see east jamb of window W- 1 and elsewhere). Antebellum sash can be readily identified by the pegs used to join mortised rails and stiles with through tenons. Parting rails on these sash are generally 1" wide; stiles and

201. See Anders' copy of invoice from Rigby-Morrow Company, dated 30 November 1945.



FIGURE 120. View of window (W-36), with original narrow beaded casing and thick sills used at openings on the sides of the original house. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 121. View of Window W-21, typical of rear addition (c. 1924), with two-over-two sash intact. A two-light, exterior storm sash is installed at the opening in this image. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

rails are both around 2- 1/2" wide. Windows added in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the 1920s, had two- over- two sash like those that remain in the bay windows and the back stair hall. Two generations of two- over- two sash can be distinguished by the thicker muntins (1- 1/4" vs. 1") in the sash from the 1920s. All of these windows were typically double- hung and counterbalanced.



FIGURE 122. View of Window W-8, typical of ground floor windows in rear addition. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 123. View of window W-13, which was originally a door opening, and the adjacent embrasure. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

In addition, divided- light transoms were installed above the four outside doors on the first floor. The ten- light transoms over the front doors were in place by the 1880s and may, at one time, have been glazed with colored glass in a manner typical of the period. The nine- light transoms over the doors to the conservatory and east porch were installed in the 1920s along with the French doors and have always been glazed with clear glass.

At the ground floor of the rear addition, windows are, with one exception, double casement windows, 3'- 10" by 3'- 6", fitted with interior, wood- framed, side- hinged screens. The exception is the opening at the east side of Room 010 which has a single, fixed, six- light sash that could be easily removed, probably to allow delivery of coal into that room.

On the east and north walls of Room 012 are matching six- light sash, each about 3'- 5" by 3'- 5", and glazed with a machine- made, striated, translucent glass similar to that remaining in the door to the bathroom on the second floor (Room 217). These were probably salvaged from the pair of windows on the west side of the Smyth- era master bathroom where the West Porch is now located.

Exterior Shutters and Storm Sash. Most if not all of the windows were fitted with fixed- louver shutters, probably when the house was originally constructed, but certainly by the 1880s. Louvered shutters now in the Wood Shed may have come from the Main House. Historic photographs indicate that the shutters remained in place throughout the Smyth era and must have been removed when the Sandburgs began their renovations in 1945. Most of the windows are now fitted with removable, wood- framed, storm sash, some of which date to the Sandburg period, while others were installed by the NPS.[202]

Doors. There are seven exterior door openings in the house: three on the north side of the ground floor, one on the west side of the ground floor, two from the front porch, and one from the side porch. The side porch was historically inaccessible from the ground but now is accessed from the ground by a mechanical lift for handicapped accessibility. Like the windows, the house's exterior doors have undergone a number of alterations. All of the exist-

202. See Anders' copy of invoice from Hendersonville Lumber Co., dated 12 December 1945.

ing exterior ground floor doors (D- 1, D- 2, D- 3, D- 4) are original, although the door to the carport (D- 4)is not in its original location. These doors originally had six wooden panels, but the Sandburgs replaced the upper four panels in each door with glass panes in the 1940s.[203] (See descriptions of Rooms 001 and 002 for additional details on these doors.) As part of the 1920s rehabilitation, the two, original, six- panel, front doors were replaced with the present fifteen- light French doors. One of these original doors may be the six- panel door located to the left of the main doors to the Barn. Fifteen- light French doors (D- 13 and 14) as well as transoms also replaced the two large, two- over- two windows on the east side of the house in the 1920s.

Screening

Widespread use of screening for doors and windows did not evolve until after the Civil War, and the first screening at Connemara may not have come until the Gregg's alterations to the house around 1890. The East Porch may not have been screened until the Sandburg era. The Front Porch has never been screened.

Door Screens. Wood- framed screened doors presently exist at all exterior door openings except the one to the Conservatory. The only screens prior to the 1920s were double screen doors at each of the front doors and possibly at the ground floor doors, although the photographic evidence is less clear for the latter. Photographs and the character of the existing screen doors suggest that Smyth replaced the double screen doors, which probably dated to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with the present doors as part of his rehabilitation of the house in 1924.

Window Screens. Most home owners did not use window screens as long as exterior shutters were still being used, since shutters would not close with screens in place. So it was at Connemara, where shutters remained in place throughout the Smyth era, and the Sandburgs appear to have installed the first window screens on the house. These were wood- framed half screens, which covered only the lower sash opening. Some of these screens remain on the house while others are in museum storage.



FIGURE 124. View of Door D-1, one of the house's original doors (c. 1838), altered by the Sandburgs in 1945.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

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FIGURE 125. View of Door D-11, with original casing, mid-19th century transom, and c. 1924 French door and screened door. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

203. Historic photographs from late in the Smyth era show D-1 and D-3 without glass panes.



FIGURE 126. View of original (1838) exterior window casings. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 127. View of typical eaves on original house, top, and on rear addition, bottom. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Storm Windows

It is not clear if the Smyths used storm windows, but they may have been part of the 1924 renovation. Wood- framed storm windows are clearly evident in Sandburg- era photographs, and some of these remain on the house or in storage. Typically, screens were replaced by storm windows each autumn, since both could not be in place at the same time.

Exterior Woodwork

Most of the original, antebellum siding and trim appears to remain in place on the north, east, and much of the west side of the house. Most of the rest of the siding and trim dates to the 1920s and the 1940s. As with the interior woodwork, each generation of alterations and additions is represented in the exterior siding and trim, and nearly all of the existing material should be considered historic. Analysis of painted finishes on the front of the house revealed that the woodwork was apparently stripped of all layers of historic paint in the 1970s or 1980s.

Siding. The exterior of the original portion of the house is finished with a conventional lapped siding, using boards that are around 3/4" by 6" to 7" and laid with an exposure of around 5- 1/2". Some of the siding on the west and north sides of the house may have been replaced when Memminger enlarged and altered the house in the late 1840s, and some siding might have been replaced on the east side when two first- floor windows there were changed to door openings around 1890. Siding on the rear addition dates to the 1920s, but there may have been some replacement in conjunction with the Sandburgs' changes to the kitchen windows. Siding is in excellent condition all around the house.

Window and Door Casing. Two types of casing were used on the exterior of the original house. On the front, a deeply molded casing (see drawings at end of this section),5- 1/2" wide and similar to contemporaneous casing on the interior, was installed along with "bull's- eye" corner blocks. On the sides and presumably the rear as well, casing was a simple board about 3" wide, beaded on the inside edge, and found in conjunction with a 3" sill at the window (W- 36) on the west side of Room 118 and around the doors to the conservatory (D- 13, D- 14), which were originally windows but were converted into door openings around 1890. Casing of the openings around the rear addition (c. 1924) is typically a plain

board about 4" wide with a 3/4" backband projecting about 1/2" beyond the face of the casing. Sills are typically 1- 1/2" thick at the openings created in the 1920s. The Sandburgs used a similar treatment in the window openings they added in the 1940s.

Eaves. The eaves are relatively narrow, projecting about 12" from the walls. Typical of the Greek Revival, there are full cornice returns on each gable end. The fascia is plain, about 8" wide, with a 3" ogee crown molding at its junction with the roof deck. A similar 3" ogee crown molding finishes the junction of the soffits and walls. The eaves on the rear addition are similar but use slightly narrower moldings. The crown molding at the edge of the rear shed roof was removed when the Sandburgs installed boxed gutters across the rear of the house in the 1940s. Eaves on the west bay (c. 1890) feature an exceptionally wide crown molding where the soffit meets the walls.

West Bay Window. The bay window on the west side of the house, which was part of the late Victorian alterations, is paneled on the exterior with three types of tongue- and- groove boards. Originally, the sides were paneled with 4- 1/2" double- beaded boards, but some of these have been replaced on the south side of the bay with 3- 1/2" double- beaded boards, probably the result of repairs when the adjacent bathroom was removed. The outstanding design of the lower portion of the bay, with its curves springing over and around the ground floor window below, is accentuated by 4- 1/2"- wide, triple- beaded, tongue- and- groove boards.



FIGURE 128. View of west bay window.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 129. View of part of bay window on west side of house.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Portico

The portico is an original feature of the house, as evidenced by an examination of the framing where the front gable meets the main roof (visible from closets off Room 207), which shows no evidence that the portico was a later addition. With its spectacular views and ample size, the portico was a much- used feature of the house from the beginning. Given its exposure to the elements, numerous repairs were probably made during the historic period, at least including replacement of some or all of the flooring. The floor framing would almost certainly have been completely rebuilt when the brick piers and concrete steps were constructed around 1920, and it was probably that material that was replaced by the NPS in 1973. The existing flooring,



FIGURE 130. View of Portico.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 131. View of typical Portico details. .(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 132. View of pilaster plinth on Portico. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

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FIGURE 133. View of northeast corner of Portico showing typical balustrade (c. 1890) and brick pier (c. 1924). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

joists, and beams date to a second NPS reconstruction in 1996.

Flooring. Flooring is 1" by 2- 3/8", tongue- and-groove, painted grey, and also dates to 1996. Flooring is in good condition except for some rot at the ends of some boards at the front steps

Ceiling. The ceiling, which is set at 12'- 6" above the floor, is finished with 1" by 8", beaded, tongue- and-groove boards that were most likely part of the building's original construction. Boards are around 8' long, laid with staggered joints in a manner typical of the early nineteenth century. The deep header that surrounds the porch is finished with a 1"- diameter bead mold along the lower edges, and the junction between ceiling and header is finished with a 4" ogee crown molding.

Columns. The portico roof is supported by four fluted Doric columns terminating in an unmolded abacus approximately 2" thick. The columns originally extended to the floor until shortened and set on brick piers in the 1920s, probably due to deterioration of column bases. Original, full- length pilasters survive at the wall on each side of the porch. These too may have sustained damage to the base, but only a few inches of the original pilaster were removed and the present plinth installed, perhaps in conjunction with installation of the late Victorian balustrade that presently surrounds the porch. The plinths are around 6" high with a 3/4" chamfer at the upper edge. Three of the four original columns were replaced by the NPS in the 1970s. Only the column on the west side of the front steps is original.

Piers. Dating to the 1920s, the painted brick piers were built on top of larger antebellum foundation piers described earlier and are around 20" by 20" except for the top two courses which are corbeled out about an inch on all sides. A 2"- thick, painted, concrete cap around 22" by 22" and probably contemporaneous with the pier itself serves as a base for the wooden column. The masonry that projects through the floor at the two corner piers may be the result of a construction error. At the center columns, the wood floor system covers the change in dimension between the added brick piers above and the wider antebellum piers at the ground floor level. At the corners, however, new brick construction followed the wider dimension to floor level so that the transition between the two dimensions is exposed.

Balustrade. The existing balustrades date to the late Victorian renovation of the house and generally match the balustrades that survive on the East Porch. In relatively good condition, they replaced the original balustrades and were installed around 1890 with installation of the first wooden, T- shaped front steps, which featured similar balusters. The present balustrade is about 31- 1/2" high and includes a 4- 1/2" by 2- 1/2" oval top rail and a 2- 3/4" by 2- 3/4" bottom rail, reeded on both faces. The top of the bottom rail angles to a ridge down the center of the rail, with the baluster ends broadly notched to sit on the ridge. Turned balusters are around 1- 3/4" by 1- 3/4" but are extremely variable in their molding, indicating that the balusters were hand- turned, perhaps locally.

Front Steps. The original front steps, which may have descended in a single flight to the ground, were removed in 1865. The present T- shaped staircase and the balustrades are concrete, installed by Smyth prior to 1921 to replace a wooden T- shaped staircase built about 1890. The balustrade consists of a 4"- thick concrete wall on which the imprint of the vertical tongue- and- groove form work is clearly visible, a 7"- wide concrete coping, and 9" concrete newel posts with 12" concrete caps. Smyth installed a 2" metal pipe railing on both sides of each flight of steps prior to 1938, but some or all of that railing was replaced in 1972.

East Porch

The north half of the porch that was built on the east side of the house around 1890 was replaced by the Conservatory in the late 1920s or early 1930s, but the southern half of the porch remains intact. Designated Room 106 in earlieri plans of the building, it retains many of its original features, and even the shortened roof maintains the concave ridges of the original hipped roof. The porch underwent significant alterations in 1991 when the NPS installed a mechanical lift at its south end.

Floor. The historic floor framing appears to remain mostly intact. Sills are circular sawn, around 4" by 6", with 2"- thick joists set on 24" centers. Joists range from 7" to 8- 1/4" deep which creates 1- 1/4" slope to the floor away from the house. The original supporting posts remain in place at each corner of **t**he porch. These are turned, about 6- 1/2" in diameter, and set on a low stone block resting on the ground. Flooring is 4- 1/2" tongue- and- groove



FIGURE 134. View of original posts and balustrades (c. 1890) on East Porch..(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 135. View of lift to East Porch..(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 136. View of East Porch and Conservatory..(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

boards, but the south side of the floor is covered with a modern 3/4" plywood floor. The wood floor is modern, painted grey, and was installed to raise the floor to the level of the door sill for handicapped accessibility.



FIGURE 137. View northeast in Conservatory..(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

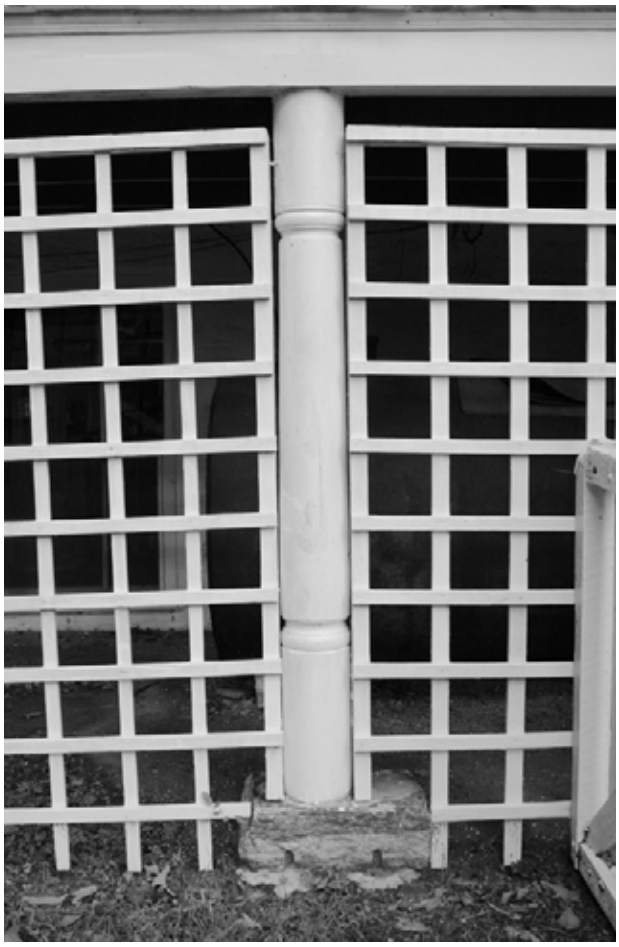


FIGURE 138. View of lattice under East Porch..(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Ceiling. The ceiling is at 10'- 5" above the floor and finished with 4- 1/2"- wide, double- beaded boards similar to those used on part of the late Victorian bay on the west side of the house.

Posts and Balustrades. The existing chamfered posts are an original feature of this porch. Set in pairs, each post is about 3- 3/4" by 3- 3/4", with edges chamfered from about 36" above the floor. The balustrades are more- or- less identical to the balustrades just described for the portico.

Screening. It is not clear when the East Porch was first screened, but at least by 1951 detachable wood-framed screens had been installed. These screens remain in place only on the east side, but the screens from the south end, which were removed for installation of the handicapped lift, are in storage.

Miscellaneous Features. Large iron hooks are mounted on two of the columns with two matching hooks mounted on the wall of the house. These were evidently used to hang hammocks.

Conservatory

The Sandburgs referred to the glass- enclosure off the east side of the house as the Conservatory to distinguish it from the larger greenhouse located near the vegetable garden. Built around 1930, the historic Conservatory was so badly deteriorated that it was removed sometime between June 1970 and April 1971. It was reconstructed in 1980 - 1981 and apparently replicates most of the features found in the historic Conservatory, except for the screened sash that were present at four of the openings. The only original material are three of the windows and the wall below them on the south side of the Conservatory and the metal drip trough that runs along the interior of the Conservatory's east side.

Floor. Sills and center beams are made up of doubled 2" by 10" members; joists are also 2" by 10" set on 24" centers. A diagonally- laid sub- floor is overlaid with 4- 1/2" tongue- and- groove flooring. All of this material dates to the 1980 reconstruction.

Enclosure. The conservatory is surrounded by a low wood- framed wall, paneled on the interior with double- beaded tongue- and- groove boards and on the exterior with a continuation of typical lapped siding. Surrounding the space are sixteen, awning-hung, single- light windows, all 2' by 4'. The side walls above these windows are finished with verti-

cal, double- beaded boards like those paneling the lower walls. The ceiling/roof is wood- framed with over- lapping panes of glass forming the covering.

Lighting. An early twentieth century electric light fixture is mounted to the wall near the door into the space. Supplied by surface- mounted wiring, the fixture probably dates to the first electrification of the house around 1920.

West Porch

This porch rests on the brick foundation of a bathroom constructed by the Smyths in the 1920s and removed by the Sandburgs in 1945. The brick here is identical to that used in the foundation of the rear addition. The Sandburgs removed the bathroom, had a concrete slab poured for a floor and installed a balustrade. The balusters are identical to those used on the Portico and on the East Porch and were probably salvaged and stored when Smyth removed part of the east porch and constructed the Conservatory in the 1920s. An access door on the south side of the foundation provides entry into the unfinished ground floor of the structure.

Carport

Constructed by the Smyths in the 1920s, the so-called carport might better be termed a porte cochere. It was built on a poured concrete pad about 12'- 6" by 18- 6". The structure consists of a flat, built- up roof supported by a pair of boxed columns, 8- 1/2" by 8- 1/2", set on plain 2"- thick plinths. The original round downspouts remain in place. The ceiling is finished with 3- 1/2"- wide, double-beaded, tongue- and- groove boards. A 2" bed mold trims the soffit, but the crown molding that originally trimmed the fascia was removed when the present box gutters were installed by the Sandburgs after World War II.

Interior

The Sandburgs altered the ground floor considerably by removing all of the original wood floors and all of the original wall partitions. In the original part of the main floor, the Sandburgs added a bathroom and a number of closets, but retained nearly all of the historic finish material, much of which dates to the antebellum period. They also maintained most of Smyth's rear addition from the 1920s, except in



FIGURE 139. View of West Porch. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 140. View to northeast of porte cochere. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 141. Light fixture, c. 1920, on west wall of conservatory. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

the bathroom and the kitchen, both of which were thoroughly remodeled. Although the Sandburgs added a second bathroom on the floor, the second floor is the least altered part of the house, with most of its original flooring, plaster, and woodwork, and all of its original doors and their hardware still intact.

Under the NPS, most rooms have been repainted (in the original colors) at least once, the electrical and heating systems have been rehabilitated, and a sprinkler system has been installed. Nevertheless, the NPS has maintained the appearance of the house with very few changes since the Sandburg era.

Ground Floor

Sandburg himself was adamant that the house did not have a "basement," which he understood to mean a floor that was at least partially below grade.[204] However, in the nineteenth century, the term was commonly used to refer to a building's ground floor, and not until the twentieth century did the term gain the connotations of modern use where "basement" refers to cellars and secondary spaces that are at least partially below grade.

The ground floor occupies a footprint of about 3000 square feet with eight main rooms and eleven closets and other secondary spaces. The floor houses the main visitor contact point and book sales; the building's furnace, main electrical panels, and other utilities; as well as spaces furnished and maintained for interpretation.

The original ground floor was limited to the stone-walled portion (Rooms, 001- 009, 018, 019) of the present floor. The rooms at the rear (010- 017), which are surrounded by the brick foundation, were all constructed as part of the Smyths' renovation of the house in 1925. The Sandburgs removed all of the partitions in the original part of the ground floor and created an entirely new floor plan in that area, but the newer rear part of the ground floor was little altered.

The floors in Rooms 001- 009 are approximately 6" lower than the floor in the remainder of the ground floor. The elevation of Room 018 and the rooms at

204. Wallace, p. 71.



FIGURE 142. View east in Room 001. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

the rear is most likely due to the presence of subsurface rock that made it not feasible to lower the grade in that area.

The ground floor has some of the house's most significant architectural features, including original hand- wrought iron hinges at one of the entrances into Room 001. Although much of the lumber for the house was mill sawn, and all of the late nineteenth and twentieth century moldings, doors, and windows were machine- made, the door between Rooms 015 and 118, where evidence of hand planing is visible on the panels, is an excellent example of the original craftsmanship, probably that of James Rosamond, Memminger's carpenter and contractor for construction of the house.

Workshop and Closet (001 & 019). This room is used for visitor contact and includes the site's book store. Measuring about 40' by 16' and encompassing the western two- thirds of the house's original dining room, the present space was created in the 1940s when the Sandburgs removed a wall that originally created a small sitting room at the west end of the present space and then built a new wall to create the present Room 002.

Flooring: Pouring of a concrete floor is documented in Room 018 in 1945, and the concrete floor in this room was apparently created in 1946 or 1947 in conjunction with the Sandburgs' other changes in the ground floor. One of the Sandburg children remembered this floor as being dirt,[205] but the room almost certainly had a conventional wooden floor at least as long as the room continued in use as a dining room. McKay remembered wide tongue- and-groove flooring, probably laid over sleepers of locust or some other insect- and rot- resistant wood, in Room 018 and similar flooring most likely existed throughout the ground floor at one time.

Walls: The north and west walls are formed by the coursing of the house's stone foundation, which Memminger's account book indicates were originally plastered. All of the plaster is now missing, except at the sides of the window and door openings, which are stuccoed and roughly scored in a diamond pattern

The south walls between the fireplaces are brick, with the brick generally 7- 3/4" by 2- 1/4" by 3" and laid in a common bond with a hard, Portland mor-

205. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 53.



FIGURE 143. View west-southwest in Room 001. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

tar. The Sandburgs removed the original wooden curtain walls and constructed these walls using brick that was probably salvaged from the old kitchen chimney when the kitchen was converted to a garage in 1945. The east wall, which was also constructed by the Sandburgs in the 1940s, consists of vertical, tongue- and- groove boards around 3/4" by 7" to 7- 1/2" wide.

Ceiling: Set around 8' above the floor, the ceiling is finished with beaded, tongue- and- groove boards ranging from 9- 1/2" to 13- 1/2" wide. It appears to date to the building's original construction. Some ceiling boards were removed at the east end, probably when the wall creating Room 002 was built in the 1940s. In 1979, the ceiling was taken down and reinstalled by the NPS, apparently to remove debris trapped above the ceiling. Of interest is the ghosted outline of the wall that created what the Smyths called "the little sitting room" at the west end of the original dining room, the outline being most visible at the edge of the western- most window on the north wall. At the east end of the room where the ceiling boards have been removed (probably by the Sandburgs), ghosting on the underside of the flooring in Room 102 indicates that those floor boards have been taken up and relaid or salvaged from another location.

Doors: Two exterior doors in the north wall open into this space. Both are around 3'- 6- " by 7'- 0" by 1- 1/4", with stiles and rails mortised and pegged together. The western- most door is notable for its two wrought- iron strap hinges, each about 17- 1/4" long, one of only two pair of hand- wrought hinges that survive in the main house (the other is at Door D- 3 in Room 002), although similar hinges can still be found in the Wash House and in the Swedish House. This door also features a large, cast- iron rim lock about 5" by 8" in dimension that has lost its knob but is apparently an original feature as well. Just above it is a smaller Corbin rim lock with porcelain knob that is typical of hardware installed in the last half of the nineteenth century.

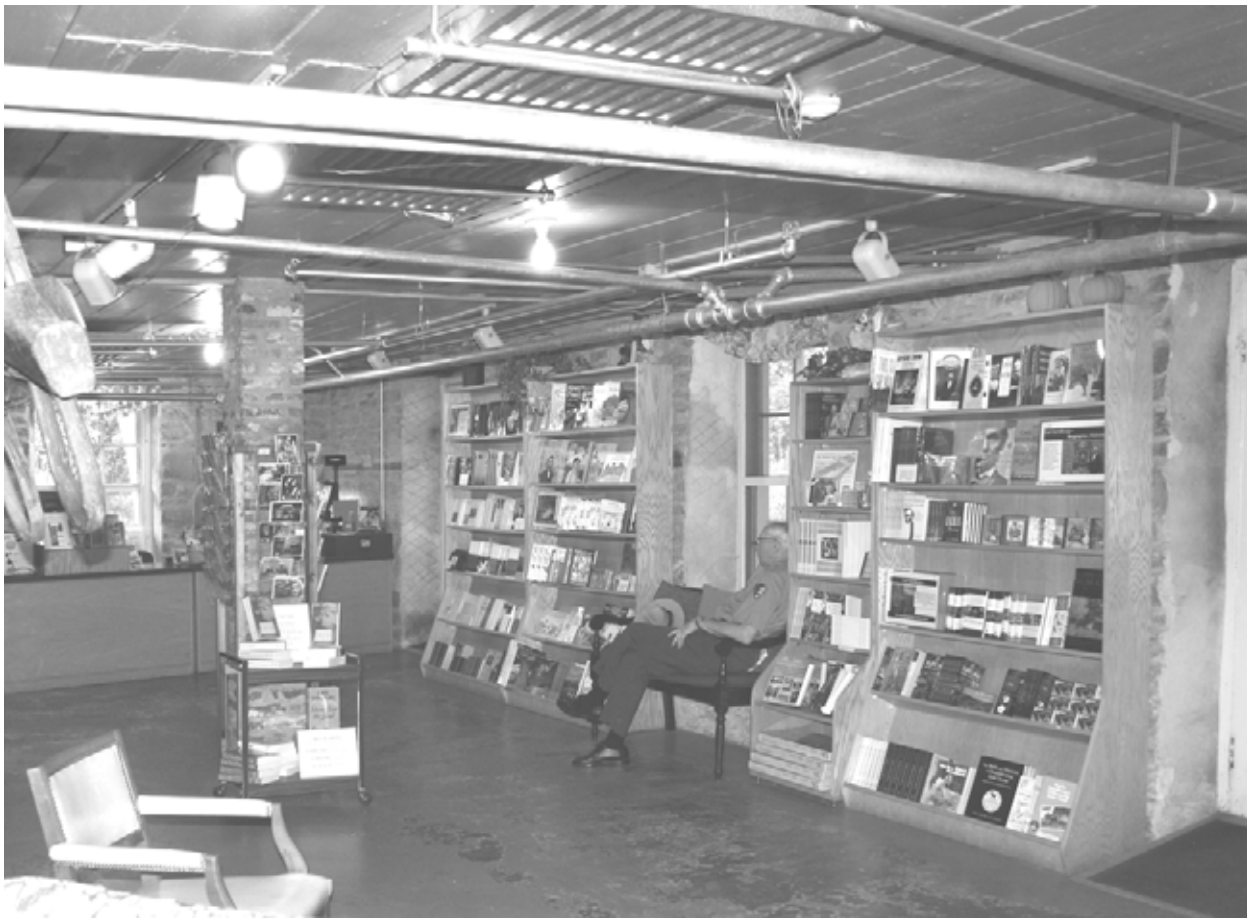


FIGURE 144. View northwest in Room 001. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Door D- 2 may have been added at an early date, perhaps replacing an original window at that location. It has molded flat panels (D- 1 and D- 3 have flat panels without molding) and has 3" by 4- 1/2" butt hinges with fixed pins, which are apparently original. The ghost of a large rim lock similar to those found on D- 1 and D- 3 can also be discerned. A smaller horizontal rim lock, dating to the nineteenth or early twentieth century, replaces the larger lock, which is missing. The Sandburgs altered both exterior doors by replacing four wooden panels in each door with glass.

A door from Room 018 opens on the south wall, typical of the doors installed in the ground floor by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. The existing door is varnished pine or fir, 2'- 0" by 6'- 5", with a large light above a single, flat, wood panel. The door opening into Room 005 also dates to the Sandburgs' alterations in the 1940s. It is varnished pine or fir, 2'- 6" by 6'- 7" with three horizontal wooden panels below three vertical glass lights. On the east wall is the door into Room 002, which also dates to the 1940s. Measuring 2'- 5" by 6'- 5", it is painted pine or fir and features three large horizontal panels.

Windows: The room has three windows, one on the west wall and two on the north wall. All are six- over- six, single- hung, around 3'- 5" by 5'- 2", and apparently original features of the building. Each has a single, center- mounted, cupped lift installed in the twentieth century, probably by the Smyths

Lighting: Lighting is provided by five, ceiling-mounted fixtures. Four keyless porcelain fixtures are generally along the room's center line, while a fifth light illuminates the northwest corner of the room. This fifth light, which is fitted with a green metal shade, was rather haphazardly installed, probably by the Sandburgs. The non- standard wiring that runs across the ceiling to supply this fixture is no longer active, having been replaced by the NPS with concealed wiring. In addition to the five historic light fixtures, modern track lighting has been installed by the NPS to illuminate modern displays on the north and the south walls of the room.

Heating: The north half of the ground floor in what are now Rooms 001 and 002 was originally heated by three, large, interior fireplaces. All three featured fire boxes 36" to 40" wide by about 18" deep. The fire box openings were originally around 38" high



FIGURE 145. View of west jamb of Door D-1. Left of center is part of the wooden nailer inset into the masonry. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 146. View of typical ceiling-hung radiator. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 147. View of door from Room 001 into 005, typical of varnished fir doors installed by the Sandburgs around 1947. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

but were lowered to around 31" using a cast- iron lintel, perhaps as part of a conversion to coal in the late nineteenth century. The western fireplace in Room 001 has been closed by masonry infill, probably before the Sandburgs' alterations to the ground floor plan. A pair of ceiling- hung radiators, which date to the 1920s, now provide heat for the space. Each is about 28" wide, with the radiator at the west end of the ceiling around 7' long and the one at the east end less than 6' long. Pipes to the radiators on the main floor of the house are also exposed across this ceiling.

Miscellaneous Features: Each about 12" by 12", the two brick columns that interrupt this space were installed to provide additional support for the walls forming the east and west side of Room 101. As discussed above, they were probably installed along with the south wall by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. Along the west and north walls, rough- sawn boards are mounted in the masonry wall, apparently to serve as nailers for a plate rail since there is no evidence that the walls were ever paneled. The boards were mounted at heights that vary from 56" to 59", except on the south side of the west window where the nailer is mounted at about 68" above the floor and may continue into what is now Room 019.

Bedroom and Closet (002-003). Encompassing the eastern third of the original dining room, this room and its adjacent closet were created by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. It was used as a room for the goats' kids initially before being converted to a studio for Helga. By 1951, it was furnished as a guest room, which continued to be its use through most of the remainder of the Sandburg era. The Sandburg's granddaughter Paula Steichen used the room when she was staying at the house in 1967- 1968. It is now used for visitor orientation.[206]

Flooring: The floor is concrete, probably contemporaneous with the floor in Room 001. Wall- to-wall, low- pile carpeting installed by the NPS was removed in February 2005.

Walls: The north and east walls are formed by the stone foundations walls. The south wall on the west side of the fireplace is brick; the remainder of that wall is wood framed. The west wall is a wood-

206. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 55.



FIGURE 148. View southwest in Room 002. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

framed wall finished with plain tongue- and- groove pine or fir boards, 7" to 7- 1/4" wide, installed vertically. Rising damp has cause significant efflorescence of the plaster and mortar but the underlying stone remains sound.

Ceiling: The ceiling is finished with a 1/2"- thick fiber board panels, a material widely- used as a finish material in secondary rooms in the 1930s and 1940s. It is most likely contemporaneous with the creation of the room by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. The original ceiling boards at the east end of Room 001 were removed, probably to construct the wall that created this room, and how much, if any, of the original boards remaining on this ceiling is not known.

Doors: In addition to the door from Room 001, there are two other doors in this room. On the north wall, Door D- 3 is almost identical to Door D- 1, with wrought- iron strap hinges, unmolded flat panels on the interior, and a large rimlock that is completely intact. The closet (Room 003) was added by the Sandburgs and is closed by a two- panel, fir door, 2'- 0" by 6'- 8".

Windows: The window in the east wall is 3'- 5" by 5'- 2", six- over six, single- hung, and still contains its original sash.

Lighting: Typical of the ground floor, lighting is provided by a ceiling- mounted, porcelain fixture with a single bare bulb.

Heating: The fireplace on the north wall remains open but has undergone modifications similar to those evident in the fireplaces in Room 001, including installation of a cast- iron lintel that lowered the firebox opening to 31". The room is now heated by means of a typical, ceiling- mounted, cast- iron radiator, about 4- 1/2' long in four sections.

Miscellaneous Features: At the south end of the east wall, a board has been mounted horizontally between the stone coursing of the foundation wall about 55" above the floor. Like the similar ones at the west and north sides of Room 001, the board was probably placed to provide a nailer for shelving or a plate rail.



FIGURE 149. View northeast in Room 002. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Guest Room & Closet (004 & 007). This room and its adjacent closet were created along with Rooms 005- 009 by the Sandburgs in 1947, and like Room 002 was used as a guest bedroom.[207]

Flooring: The floor is poured concrete, presumably dating to 1947.

Walls: The east wall is formed by the stone foundation, while part of the north wall is formed by the base of the east chimney stack, although the masonry there is obscured by a plywood covering. The remainder of the walls are finished with vertical tongue- and- groove paneling, generally 7- 1/4" wide and dating to the Sandburgs' 1940s remodeling. Because of plumbing and heating lines that run along the east side of the ceiling, the wall was not completed to the ceiling above the closet door. Chicken wire was installed to fill the gap, perhaps to keep the Sandburgs' cats out of the closet.

Ceiling: The ceiling is finished with fiber board panels with lattice strips covering the joints between the panels, all painted white.

207. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 57.

Doors: Dating to the late 1940s, the door from Room 005 is varnished pine or fir, 2'- 8" by 6'- 4" with three horizontal panels below three vertical glass lights, similar to the door that opens from Room 001 into Room 005. The closet door is also varnished pine or fir, 2'- 0" by 6'- 4", with two panels.

Windows: The window in the east wall originally lit the large room along the southeast side of the ground floor that served as a store room prior to the Sandburg era. The opening, which measures 3'- 5" by 5'- 2", contains two of the building's original antebellum, six- light sash. The large stone lintel exposed near the ceiling is typical of the original ground floor windows. Attached to the window's right jamb is an iron hasp with the antique padlock still attached, and on the left jamb is a corresponding iron bracket. These were apparently meant to hold a wooden or iron security bar which would secure some sort of interior covering for the window.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a typical bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted porcelain fixture.

Heating: The spaces are unheated.



FIGURE 150. View southeast in Room 004. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Miscellaneous: Waste and water supply lines from one of the second- floor bathrooms (213) traverse the east side of the ceilings and penetrates the wall above the closet door. Wall paneling stops short of the waste and water lines, with the gap between the wall and ceiling covered with chicken wire, perhaps to keep the Sandburgs' house cats out of the closet.

Hall, Closet, and Preserve Room (005, 006, & 008). Constructed along with the surrounding rooms in 1947 and functioning mainly as a hallway or passage, the hall connects to Room 001, Room 004, and Room 018 as well as to the Sandburg- era bathroom in Room 009 and the closets at Rooms 006 and 008, which was used by Mrs. Sandburg as a place to store preserves.

Flooring: The floors are poured concrete, dating to the 1940s.

Walls: Walls in the hall are paneled with varnished, tongue- and- groove paneling, 7- 1/4" wide, installed vertically. Walls in the closets are unfinished.

Ceiling: The ceiling is finished with fiber board and lattice battens typical of the 1940s.

Doors: In addition to the door opening into Room 004 the door opening from Room 001, doors also open from the two closets (006 and 008) and into the bathroom (009). The closet doors are both varnished pine or fir, 2'- 0" by 6'- 4", but the door to 008 has only two panels while the door to Room 006 has five panels. All, however, are apparently contemporaneous, dating to the 1940s.

The door that opens into Room 018 was re- used from another location in the house. Its style associates it with the late Victorian alterations to the house, but its original location is not known. The door is 2'- 9" by 6'- 8" by 1- 3/8" and has four, vertical, raised panels typical of the period. It is fitted with a rim lock with white porcelain knobs. The lock has patent dates of 21 October 1869 and 20 March 1873. It is hung with 4" loose- pin, butt hinges with ball finials typical of those used by the Smyths and Sandburgs in the twentieth century.

Lighting: Lighting is by a typical ceiling- mounted, bare- bulb fixture.

Miscellaneous: In the northeast corner of the hall, the Sandburgs built a laundry chute, measuring about 26" by 28" in plan. It runs from a second-



FIGURE 151. View northeast in Room 005. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

floor closet (Room 215) through a first- floor closet (north end of Room 105) into this room, where laundry could be collected and carried to the laundry in Room 015. It is partially lined with fiber board at the lower level. What appear to be antique wooden hangers are let into the first- floor joists above Room 008 (and in Room 018).

Bathroom (009). This bathroom was created by the Sandburgs, but precisely when is uncertain. Margaret Sandburg and John Carl Steichen thought it was in place by 1950, which may be true. However, the toilet bears a date of 4 April 1955, although that may simply indicate that the original toilet was replaced.

Flooring: The floor is typical poured concrete.

Walls: The south wall is plywood installed over the stone foundation wall. The west and north walls are typical tongue- and- groove paneling, 7- 1/4" wide, but the north wall is not full height, stopping some ten inches from the ceiling. The east wall is also wood paneled except where the brick furnace flue rises in the southeast corner of the room.

Ceiling: The ceiling is a continuation of the fiberboard ceiling found in the hall (Room 005).

Doors: The door into this room is varnished pine or fir, two panel, 2'- 0" by 6'- 4".

Windows: A roughly- made opening about 1' by 2' is present high on the south wall. Covered with lattice, it appears to have been created simply to provide additional ventilation, probably in association with the partitioning of the southeast quadrant of the original ground floor in the 1940s.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a typical bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted porcelain fixture.

Miscellaneous: The brick chimney built by Smyth to serve the furnace in Room 011 rises in the southeast corner of this bathroom. On its west face near the floor is a cast- iron door to allow for cleaning out the



FIGURE 152. View west in Room 005, with view into Room 006. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

flue. On the south wall next to the toilet is a wall-hung, vitreous china sink. In the northeast corner of the room is a metal shower stall about 30" by 30" and of a type widely used for secondary bathrooms in the mid- twentieth century.

Kid Room (010). Part of Smyth's rear addition in 1925, this room was created at an early date, perhaps in conjunction with installation of central heat in the early 1920s. It may have been created for coal storage, which was probably delivered by removing the window sash on the east side of the room. When a more- efficient furnace requiring less coal was installed prior to 1945, coal storage was shifted to Room 012. Helga Sandburg used this room for her cats until about 1950, when Mrs. Sandburg started using it for new- born kids. After 1952, she partitioned the space so that two sets of kids could be housed. A wooden ramp to the east window, the sash of which could be taken out easily, allowed the older kids to use a fenced run underneath the east porch.[208]

Flooring: Like the other ground floor floors, this floor is poured concrete.

Walls: The north wall is formed by the stone foundation. The east and south walls are brick and were constructed in 1925. The west wall is constructed of horizontally installed board, 8" to 10" wide, perhaps installed around the same time.

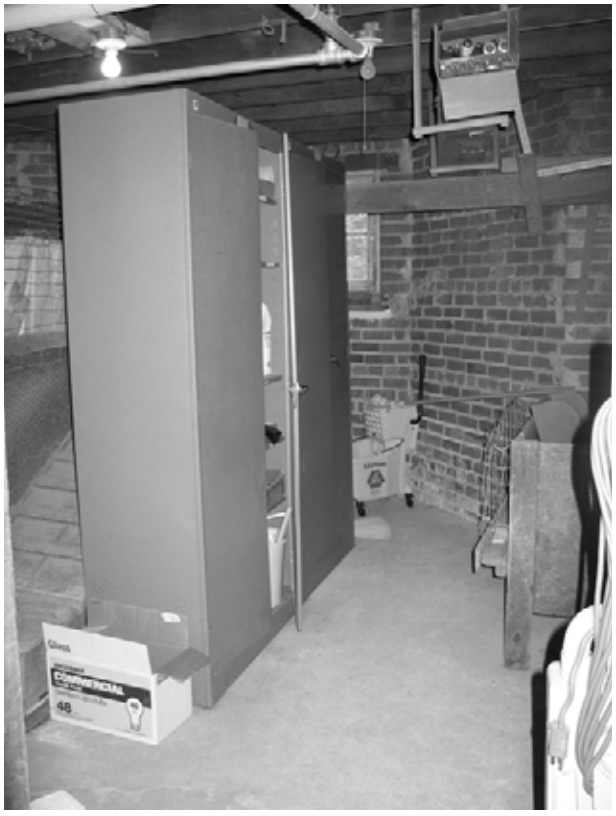
Ceiling: There is no finished ceiling.

Doors: The opening into this room from Room 011 is hung with a very early door measuring about 3'- 1" by 6'- 4" by 1- 1/4" and having six panels raised with square edges on one side and flush without molding on the other. The door retains a nineteenth or very early twentieth- century paint scheme in yellow and brown. The door is hung with wrought- iron, strap hinges similar to those at Door D- 1, and it is fitted with a rim lock and brown "mineral knob" of a type first patented in 1851.[209] The design of the door and the use of wrought- iron hinges suggests that this door is one of the first or second generation of at least five generations of doors present in the house, but it differs from the house's other antebellum doors in the dimensions and proportions of the

208. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 61.
209. See <http://www.ballandball-us.com/lockhistory.html>, accessed 4 August 2004.



FIGURE 153. View of re-used antebellum door between Rooms 010 and 011. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



IGURE 154. View southeast in Room 010. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

raised panels and in the absence of molding on the flat side of the panels. If it could be determined that the door was installed along with construction of the adjacent wall in the 1920s, it might be assumed to have been salvaged from Memminger's rear addition, but it is also quite possible that the door was salvaged from the kitchen when it was converted into a garage in 1945.

Windows: The window on the south wall is a casement window with double sash like those Smyth used all across the south wall of the ground floor in 1925. Each sash measures 17" by 41" and the window is fitted with a wood- framed storm sash mounted on the interior. The window at the east end of the room measures 2'- 4" by 2'- 5" with six lights. There is no evidence that the sash was ever hinged, and it is currently held in place by three or four nails in such a way that it can be easily removed.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a typical bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted porcelain fixture.

Miscellaneous: The low wooden partitions and ramp were constructed by the Sandburgs for the goats after 1952.[210]

Furnace Room (011). Like Room 010, this room was part of the Smyth addition. Room 011 has apparently always been used as a furnace room. Initially, there may have been no wooden partitions, so that what are now Rooms 011- 014 was all one space, but the presence of knob- and- tube wiring running through the top of the east wall indicates that Room 012 was created prior to the Sandburg period, perhaps when the Iron Fireman was installed in the 1930s. Room 012 was roughly partitioned by the Sandburgs to create Room 013, which was used initially as separate storage for the coke used to fire the Aga stove in Room 015.[211] No more than a foot deep, what was designated Room 014 on earlier plans is not really a room at all, but only a roughly- made enclosure, perhaps to hang mops or other housekeeping equipment.

Flooring: The floors are poured concrete, dating to the 1920s. A large pit for the furnace occupies the center of the room. On the south side of the pit the concrete has been patched, apparently to fill in an exterior air duct for the original, coal- fired furnace.

Walls: The south wall is formed by the brick foundation and the north wall by the stone foundation. There is also a brick wall separating these spaces from Room 015. In addition to the wooden east wall,

210. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Plan*, p. 63.

211. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Plan*, p. 67.

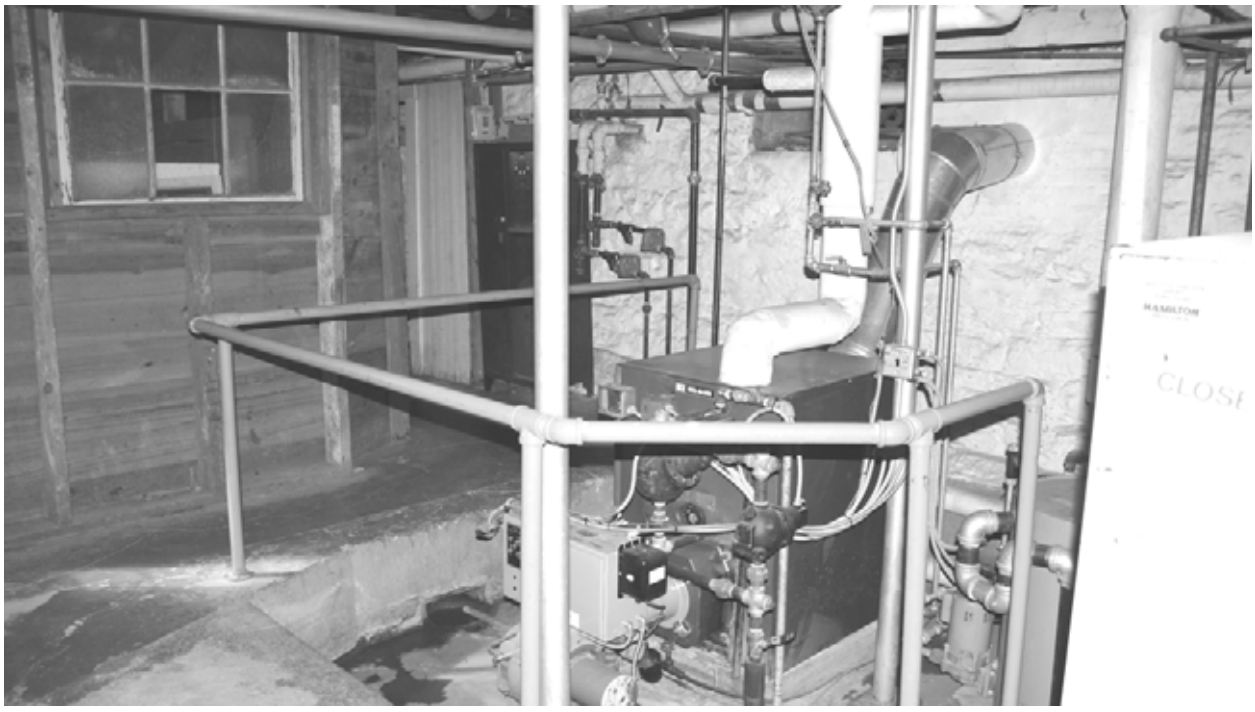


FIGURE 155. View northwest in furnace room. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

other wood walls partition the west side of the space into Rooms 012- 014.

Ceiling: There is no finished ceiling. The exposed joists are cross- braced with beaded tongue- and-groove boards that may have been part of the Memminger addition replaced by Smyth in the 1920s. Old flooring used as a sub- floor in the bathroom above the southeast corner of this room may also be from the Memminger addition.

Doors: In addition to the antebellum door opening into Room 010, another antebellum door hangs at the opening from Room 015. The door measures slightly less than 3'- 0" by 7'- 0" and has six raised square- edged panels on one side and flat panels with applied molding on the other. A cross- braced, board- and- batten door, painted white and possibly salvaged from another location, opens from Room 012.

Windows: There are two windows on the south wall of Room 011 and one on the south wall of Room 012. All are typical casement windows with double sash like those Smyth used all across the south wall of the ground floor in 1925. Each sash measures 17" by 41", and each window is fitted with a wood- framed storm sash mounted on the interior. Of interest on the wall separating Room 011 and 012 are the window sash glazed with a striated translucent glass like that which remains in the door to the second floor bathroom (Room 217). These sash were probably salvaged from one of the early twentieth- century bathrooms, perhaps from the one that was removed and converted into a side porch on the west side of the house in the 1940s.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a typical bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted porcelain fixture.

Miscellaneous: Connemara was heated only by fireplaces and, perhaps, stoves prior to Smyth's installation of a hot water and steam heating system in 1924. A large coal- fired boiler, "encased in mortar and set in a drained pit," according to Wallace, was located in the pit where the present boiler is now located. Prior to the Sandburg's acquisition of the house, that boiler was replaced by an "Iron Fireman," a new, self- regulating type of furnace that was more efficient and easier to maintain than the original



FIGURE 156. View to east in Room 011. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

boiler. It was installed by Citizens Transfer and Coal Company in Asheville, whose card recording the installation remains on the east wall near the door to Room 010. In 1957, the Sandburgs had the old boilers removed, and Pace Heating and Plumbing Company installed a General Electric oil- fired boiler, which eliminated the need for coal storage in the ground floor. In 2001 the NPS installed the present Weil-McLain, gas- fired boiler. In the northeast corner of the room are two water heaters. The one closest to the corner is an "Electric 600" by Sears and Roebuck and was installed by the Sandburgs to replace a pair of earlier, Smyth- era water heaters. The Sears heater is no longer operative, having been replaced by the NPS after 1975. The metal pipe railing around the furnace pit was installed in 1975 to protect employees from injury.

Coal Bin and Coke Room (012-013). Room 012, which was initially combined with Room 013, was created by the Smyths when the Iron Fireman was installed. That furnace did not require as much coal as the original furnace boiler and so this smaller coal- storage room was created. Room 013 was created by the Sandburgs for the coke used to fire their Aga stove in the nearby downstairs kitchen (015).

Laundry Room (015-016). Part of the Smyth addition to the ground floor in the 1920s, the Laundry Room provides a rear entrance to the house, with entry from the carport and a wide staircase rising to the first floor. The large, enameled, cast- iron sink is one indication that Smyth may have built this room as a scullery for the outside kitchen, which presumably remained in use until Smyth's death in 1942. The Sandburgs used this room for a laundry, but also utilized it for canning fruits and vegetables and for various activities relating to the goats.[212] The low closet under the stairwell (Room 016) was used for storage.

Flooring: As elsewhere on the ground floor, the floor is poured concrete, probably dating to construction of the addition in the 1920s.

212. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 68-71.



FIGURE 157. View southwest into Room 012. Window sash was probably salvaged by the Sandburgs when they demolished Smyth's master bathroom where the west Porch is now located (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Walls: Walls surrounding the space are formed by the brick and stone foundation walls, with wood-framed, plastered partitions forming Rooms 016 and 017. All of these walls probably date to the 1920s.

Ceiling: The ceiling is plaster over wood lath, dating to the 1920s, and the only plaster ceiling found in the ground floor rooms.

Doors: In addition to the door into Room 011, already described, a second antebellum door opens into Room 018. The door may be an original exterior door, and if so it is the only one of the exterior doors to have survived unaltered. Since the grade had to be lowered in order for Memminger to build his addition to the house in 1848, this opening was probably created at that time, and this door relocated from where the casement window is now located at the west end of Room 018. The six- panel door to the carport is also an early door, measuring 3'- 6" by 6'- 10" by 1- 3/8" and with the ghosted outline of a large rim lock visible on its inside face. Its original location cannot be determined, but most likely, it was part of Memminger's addition and was installed at this location when the addition was replaced in 1924. The Sandburgs replaced the two center panels with glass.

Windows: There are two windows across the south wall, both typical double casement windows dating to the 1920s, with the overall opening measuring around 34" by 41". The east window (W- 9) retains its original, wood- framed screens, hinged on the inside; at the other window, the screen is replaced by a fixed, interior storm sash.

Lighting: Lighting is a typical bare bulb in a ceiling-mounted porcelain holder.

Heating: Heating is provided by a single, ceiling-mounted radiator.

Miscellaneous Features: On the south wall is an enameled cast- iron sink, marked "Kohler USA," similar to the other Smyth- era sink that remains in the Kitchen upstairs. Around six feet long, it has enameled legs and a center basin with drain boards on each side. Next to it is a deep, double laundry sink made of galvanized steel. It is not clear if it was installed by the Smyths or by the Sandburgs. On the north wall next to the closet is an early- twentieth-century, wooden, pie safe that remained in the house from the Smyth era. The rear edges of the boards making up the sides have been cut to follow the irregularities of the stone wall behind it.



FIGURE 158. View east in Laundry Room. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

The waste line from Smyth's second floor bathroom (217) descends against the north wall opposite the foot of the ground floor stairs. Along side it are pipes and valves for the water system first installed by Smyth in 1924. There were apparently two sources of water, one from a spring near the house and the other from the reservoir up Glassy Mountain, but when one was used rather than the other is not known.[213]

Closet (017). This room was created by the Sandburgs and houses the circuit breakers for the house's electrical system. The main breaker panel is a 400-amp panel. The Sandburgs' stove chimney, which was constructed in 1947, was run through the southeast corner of this room.

Flooring: Flooring is concrete. Walls and ceilings are plaster on wood lath but have been badly damaged by installation of various pieces of electrical equipment. Much of the historic shelving that lined the walls in this room has been removed. On the west wall is a single- sash, casement window dating to the 1920s. It has six- lights and is about 1'- 6" by 2'- 0".

213. Wallace, p. 10.

Book Room (018). Part of the original ground floor of the house, this large room served as a serving pantry for the adjacent dining room (Room 001) until construction of the new dining room (Room 112) in the 1920s. Since McKay remembered the original stairway from the first floor opening directly into the dining room, it is likely that the stairs were walled off from the pantry, but that is not certain.[214]

Flooring: The Sandburgs replaced the original wood flooring with the present poured concrete in November 1945.

Walls: The south and west walls are the stone foundation of the house. The north wall is the brick wall that was probably constructed by the Sandburgs to replaced an earlier wooden wall in 1945. The east wall is wood- framed, covered with exterior lapped siding salvaged from another location, and was also part of the Sandburgs' remodeling of the ground floor in 1945- 46. The siding almost certainly came from one of the barns, since its reverse side is painted red.

214. McKay interviews



FIGURE 159. View southwest in laundry room. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Ceiling: There is no closed ceiling. The underside of the original first floor boards are visible throughout the space.

Doors: In addition to the Sandburg- era door on the north wall at Room 001, there are two other doors, the earliest being the door on the south wall that opens from Room 015. Measuring 3'- 5" by 6'- 9", it has six raised panels and is similar to the exterior doors at the front (north side) of the ground floor that were altered by the Sandburgs. Entirely hand-planed, the door dates to the original construction of the house, but may have originally been located in the door opening that was later converted to the present window opening at the west end of Room 018. The door is hung with 5", fixed- pin hinges, which probably replaced earlier wrought- iron strap hinges when the door was installed at its present location sometime before the Civil War. The door has lost its original, large rim lock, but the original escutcheon, 1- 3/4" in diameter, remains in place on the 015 face of the door. The door now has a smaller, nineteenth century rim lock and a mineral knob.

Windows: The room is lit by a double casement window on the west wall. It measures 3'- 5" by 5'- 0" with ten lights in each sash. Glass is antique and the frame has pegged, through tenons which distinguish the window from similar casement windows in Rooms 015, 012, and 010 that were installed by Smyth in the 1920s. Irregularities in the stone wall below the window opening and the lack of a projecting window sill indicates that this window opening is the result of closing an original door opening, probably when the grade was lowered for Memminger's rear addition, which allowed for a sheltered opening into the north side of the Book Room.

The design of the door on the east wall into Room 005 indicates that it was originally part of the late-Victorian alterations to the house. It was salvaged by the Sandburgs from an unknown location and installed in its present location as part of the their remodeling of the ground floor in the 1940s. The door is 2'- 9" b y 6'- 8" by 1- 3/8" and has four vertical panels raised on one side and molded stiles and rails. The door is hung with 4", loose- pin hinges with ball- tops, typical of the hinges used by both the Smyths and the Sandburgs. The door is fitted with a rim lock around 3- 1/2" by 4- 1/2" with porcelain knobs and inscribed with patent dates of 21 October 1869 and 20 March 1873.

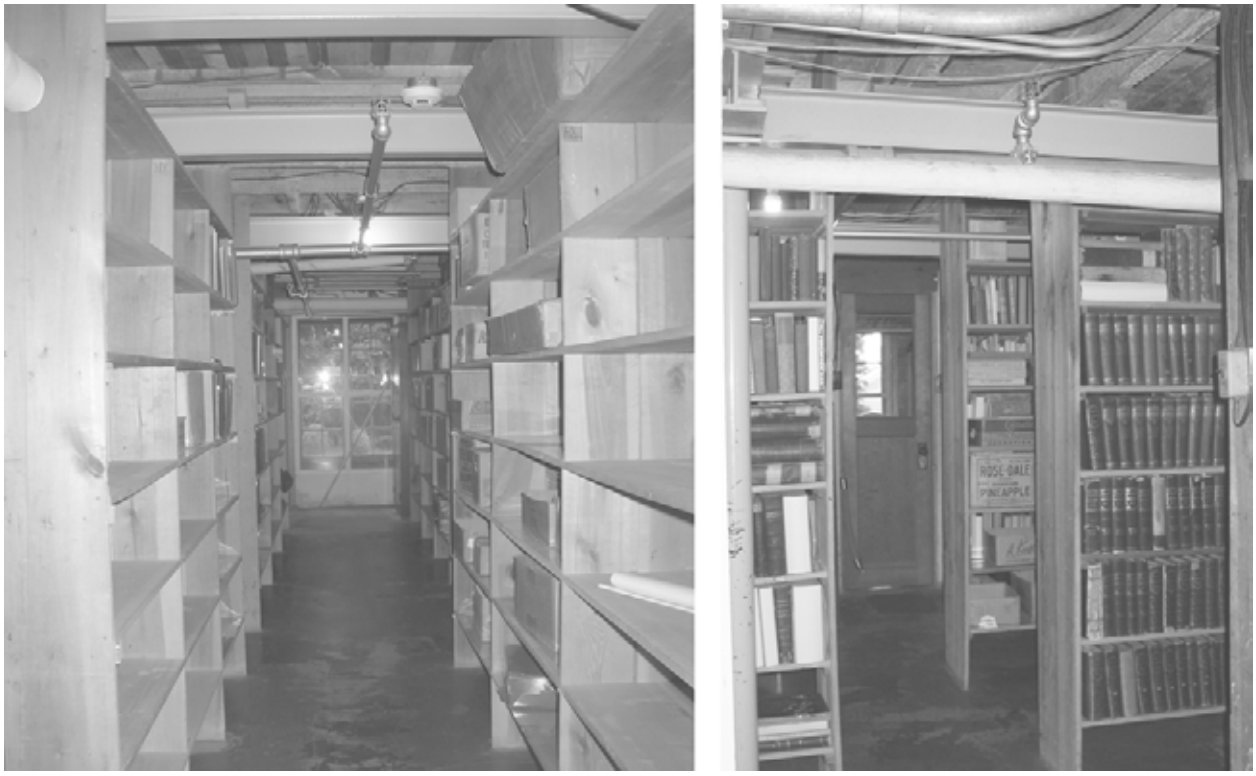


FIGURE 160. Left, view west in Room 018; right, view north in Room 018. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 161. Both faces of D-36, presumed to be typical of original first-floor doors, but with hardware installed in 1924. (T. Jones,



FIGURE 162. Both faces of D-48, antebellum but with slightly different panel molding (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 163. View of late nineteenth-century, four-panel doors D-43 (left) and D-26 (right) (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Lighting: Lighting is by bare, incandescent bulbs dating to the 1940s rewiring of the house. The three- way switch for the lights was installed by Helga Sandburg in the 1950s.

Shelving: According to McKay, the room originally had large bins and shelves for storage, but the present shelving was installed by the Sandburgs in 1946.

Miscellaneous: The NPS added a steel structure to reinforce the first floor framing above this room in 1981. The structure consists of six, 4"- diameter metal posts supporting a rectangular frame of 4" by 6" I- beams.

Room 020. This space is encompassed by the brick foundation that was created when Smyth added a bathroom in the 1920s. The bathroom was removed by the Sandburgs, who then poured a concrete slab for a floor above and created the present balcony. This space was probably never used except to provide access to the bathroom's waste and supply lines.

First Floor

Encompassing around 3000 square feet of floor space, not including the porches and conservatory, the first floor is furnished and exhibited much as it was during the Sandburgs' occupancy. The exceptions are Room 108, which is used by the park's curatorial staff, and most of the closets and cupboards, some of which are used for general storage.

Plan: The original plan of the first floor remains mostly intact, although there appear to have been some antebellum changes to the Stair Hall (Room 115) and the adjacent Farm Office (Room 113), which probably occurred in conjunction with Memminger's addition of two rooms flanking a porch at the rear of the house in 1848. Smyth removed Memminger's antebellum addition and built the present range of rooms (Rooms 107- 112, 116, 117, and 120) across the rear of the main block of the house in 1924. The Sandburgs made some alterations to create the present kitchen (117), to add a bathroom off the master bedroom (123), and to add numerous closets and book shelves in almost every room.

Walls and Ceilings: Walls are plaster, mostly on wood lath, as are ceilings in the main part of the house, all of which the Sandburgs lowered about two feet in

1945, except in Room 121 (Mrs. Sandburg's Bedroom) where the ceiling was lowered by less than a foot and in the Stair Hall (Room 115) where the original height remains at 12'- 7". The original plaster ceilings and upper portion of the plaster walls remain visible above the present ceilings in the original part of the house, accessible through the rear attic by way of the service door on the stair landing. Original antebellum plaster was installed over split wooden lath, while late nineteenth and twentieth century plaster was installed over sawn lath, except for some metal lath that was used in the bathrooms in 1945.

Walls and 9'- high ceilings in the rooms in the 1920s rear addition were originally plaster on sawn lath, although some metal lath may have been used in the bathroom and perhaps in the kitchen as well. The Sandburgs covered the ceilings in the Hall (107) and the Dining Room (112) with fiberboard acoustical tiles on 1" x 4" furring strips.

Flooring: Oak flooring, 2- 1/4" wide, was laid over the wider pine flooring in the original part of the house in the 1920s. In the rooms added at the rear in the 1920s, the flooring is pine, 2- 1/2" wide. In the Dining Room (112) and the Hall (107), quarter- sawn pine was used. The Back Hall (116), the Kitchen (117), and the Farm Office (113) are covered with a vinyl-asbestos tile installed after World War II.

Doors: Doors on the first floor include several six-panel doors dating to the antebellum period (D- 31, 32, 36, 46, and 48), although some of these are not in their original location. All of these have square-edged, raised panels with molded flat panels on the reverse side, but differences in molding suggest that they are from different antebellum eras. It appears that the double- ogee molding (e.g., D- 36) represents the original type and the simple ogee molding (e.g., D- 31) represents the type added as part of Memminger's alterations in 1848. Although the door between Rooms 102 and 104 (D- 36) has lost its original rim lock, the original hinges, door frame, and casing have survived. There are also three four-panel doors that date to the late nineteenth century (D- 26, D- 43, and D- 45). The several French doors date to 1924. Doors in the rooms added in the 1920s are generally two- panel as are the doors added by the Sandburgs, with a slight difference in the molding of stiles and rails distinguishing the two (see molding profiles at the end of this section).



FIGURE 164. Left, view of typical door dating to 1924 and, right, typical door dating to 1945. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 165. View of baseboard and casing at southwest corner of Hall (115). Casing at right is assumed to be original (1838) while casing at left dates to Memminger's remodeling in 1848. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 166. View of baseboard and casing typical of 1924 additions.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 167. View of mantel in Front Room (102). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

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FIGURE 168. View of mantel in Room 104. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 169. View of mantel in Mrs. Sandburg's Bedroom (121). A similar mantel was removed from the house, probably from Room 113 or 118, and is now stored in the wood shed. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

All of the nineteenth- century rim locks were replaced with the present brass mortise locks in 1924. Mortise locks added in 1945 were of very similar design. All feature a rectangular escutcheon measuring 2- 1/4" by 7". Antebellum hinges are generally 3" by 4" with fixed pins. Twentieth century hinges are slightly larger and have loose pins with ball top.

Moldings: All of the original windows, probably including those across the rear of the original house, were trimmed on the interior with a deeply- molded casing differing only slightly from that used on the exterior at the front of the house, but with plain corner blocks rather than the molded bull's- eye blocks used on the exterior. Casing is run to plinths at the floor at these windows, with a single flat panel fixed with a widely- chamfered bed mold, 1- 3/8" wide. The west bay windows (W- 38, 39, and 40) were finished in a similar fashion but with a double-ogee bed mold instead of the chamfered bed mold. Stools are generally 3/4" by 1- 3/4".

Antebellum door casing is of two types, both being about 5- 1/2" wide but differing in the original use of a quirked ovolu with astragal at the backband (see D- 32 between Rooms 101 and 115) and a simple ovolu molding at the backband on door casing added or altered before the Civil War (see D- 48 between Rooms 115 and 118). See "Drawings," following this section for molding profiles. Doors altered or added by Smyth in the 1920s are generally cased with a plain 4- 1/2" casing and a 3/4" backband projecting about 1/2" beyond the face of the casing. Sandburg- era windows and doors generally are cased with plain boards without a backband.

Most of the original 8" beaded baseboard remains in the original part of the house, but in the twentieth century additions an 8" baseboard with a molded base cap is used. Baseboard installed after World War II is typically a plain 1" by 4" or 1" by 6", without a cap. Somewhat unusually for a house with plaster walls, there are no picture rails, since these were removed when the ceilings were lowered in 1945.

Mantels: Four of the house's six original, Early Classical Revival mantels remain intact, although one (probably from the Farm Office) was removed by the Sandburgs and is now stored in the wood shed. The remaining mantels (in Rooms 102, 104, and 121) are similar in design, differing mainly in the treat-

ment of the pilasters flanking the firebox. In the late nineteenth century, two of the original mantels, probably those at the fireplaces in Rooms 101 and 118, were replaced by Eastlake- style mantels, which were themselves removed by Smyth in the 1920s. At that time, Ballard installed both Victorian mantels in the farm manager's house, from which they were removed and placed in storage by the NPS. In oral interviews, Frank Ballard stated that the mantels had been shipped from England and "hauled up from Charleston by ox cart," but the late- Victorian style of these mantels contradicts that tale. Quite probably they were manufactured in Charleston around 1890 and installed as part of the Greggs' remodeling.

Sandburg's Office (101). Entered from the exterior by one of the French doors off the portico, this room functions as an entrance hall, but was used as a library by the Smyths and continued to be used in essentially that capacity by the Sandburgs, although they referred to the room as Sandburg's "office" or "downstairs workroom."[215] The Smyths kept a bookcase in front of the door to Room 121, while the Sandburgs removed the door entirely and installed the present shelving along that wall as well as cabinets and shelving on the south wall.

Flooring: Flooring is 2- 1/4" wide, oak, varnished, installed over the original, wider, tongue- and-groove flooring in the 1920s.

Walls: Walls are largely concealed by floor- to- ceiling bookshelves, but are all plaster on wood lath.

Ceiling: The ceiling is plaster on wood lath, set at 10'- 6", and dates to 1945 when most of the ceilings on the first floor were lowered.

Doors: The exterior door opening from the portico (D- 10) is a fifteen- light French door, 3'- 6" by 7'- 9", installed in the 1920s. It retains its original 5" ball-pin hinges and mortise lock with glass knobs. There is a wood- framed, screened door that is probably contemporaneous with the French door. The door is surmounted by a multi- light, fixed transom that was an original feature, although the transom was replaced in 1924. The door to the Hall (D- 22) is a six- panel door, 3'- 2" by 7'- 5" by 1- 3/8", part of the house's original construction. The door opening into the Front Room (D- 12) is original, but the four-panel door itself is typical of the late nineteenth century and measures 3'- 7" by 7'- 5" by 1- 1/4". Hardware is twentieth century. The door opening between this room and the Farm Office (D- 17) was created by the Smyths in 1924. The door is a fifteen-light French door, 3'- 2" by 7'- 5".



FIGURE 170. View of original window panels, right, and panels added c. 1890, left.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 171. View southwest in Room 101.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

215. Wallace, p. 85.

Windows: The room has a trio of double- hung, one- over- one, windows on the north wall, which are original to the house. The center window is 3'- 5" by 7'- 7" and is flanked by smaller openings, 1'- 4" by 7'- 7". As with most of the sash, the Sandburgs had the nine- over- nine muntins removed and the sash reglazed as one- over- one windows.

Trim: Parts of an original 8" beaded baseboard survive on the walls that are not covered by book cases. Window casing is typical of the casing used in the original construction. Door casing at D- 10, D- 12, and D- 22 is typical of original woodwork, although the casing at D- 12 is 4- 1/2" wide while that at D- 10 and D- 22 is only 4" wide. D- 17, which was added by the Sandburgs, is cased with a plain 1" by 4" board with no backband.

Lighting: The room is illuminated by a fluorescent fixture, 16" by 96", installed in 1961 or 1962 by the Sandburgs and hanging from metal rods about seven feet above the floor.

Heating: A single radiator, 52" long and about 27" high and dating to the 1920s, is located under the front window.

Miscellaneous: Both McKay and Ballard remembered this room as being the Smyths' library, with McKay saying that Smyth installed some of the shelving in the room, although only movable bookcases are visible in historic Smyth- era photographs.[216] Smyth is known to have had a large library, although not as extensive as his father's or Sandburg's. Smyth may have installed some of the shelving on the north and east walls, but Wallace stated that most of the shelving was added by the Sandburgs in 1945- 1946, while the shelving on the west wall and the cabinets and upper shelving on the south wall were added in May or June 1948.[217]

It is likely that one of the two Victorian mantels now in museum storage was removed from this room when the fireplace on the south wall was closed, probably by Smyth in the 1920s.

Front Room (102-103). This room, which includes a closet built into the south wall on the west side of the fireplace, appears to retain its original plan. The room was probably used as a parlor in the nine-

216. Ballard interview, 19 October 1982; McKay interview, 16 January 1973.
217. Wallace, p. 86.



FIGURE 172. View northeast in Sandburg's office (101).(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

teenth and early twentieth centuries. Although Sandburg used the room as a work room for a period in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was otherwise used as a parlor or living room. The Sandburgs primarily used it as a family room, for entertaining visitors, and as a music room, and it is likely that the Memmingers did as well. In September 1839, Memminger paid twenty dollars for tuning their piano, which had been imported from Europe and delivered to the house in the spring of that year.

Flooring: Flooring is typical, twentieth- century 2- 1/4" oak flooring laid over the original wider pine flooring. The underside of some of the earlier flooring is visible from the ground floor at the east end of Room 001 and shows marks that indicate it was taken up and relaid. The reason for that is not known.

Walls: Walls are typical plaster on wood lath. Much of it is thought to have been replaced in 1945.

*Ceilin*g: The ceiling is plaster on wood lath, set around 10'- 6" above the floor, and dates to 1945 when most of the ceilings on the first floor were lowered.

Doors: The door opening from the portico (D- 11) is original, although the present, fifteen- light, French door in the opening was one of the doors installed by Smyth in the 1920s. Similar to D- 11, this door measures 3'- 6" by 7'- 9" and also retains its original 5" ball- pin hinges and mortise lock with glass knobs. There is a wood- framed, screened door that is probably contemporaneous with the French door. The door opening is surmounted by a multi- light, fixed transom, about 24" high, the sash of which was replaced in 1924.

Historic photographs show that the door to the conservatory (D- 13) was originally a typical window opening with nine- over- nine sash. As part of the late Victorian remodeling, the opening was extended to the floor and changed to a double-hung, two- over- two window that allowed access from the parlor to the new piazza on the east side of the house. In the 1920s, the window sash were removed and the present French door installed. Measuring 3'- 2" by 7'- ", it has fifteen lights and mortise lock with glass knobs. Since the size of the original window opening was not reduced, a 32", nine- light transom, which differs slightly from the ten- light transoms over the portico doors, was also installed in the 1920s.

The door that opens from Room 104 (D- 15) is one of the few original doors in its original location. It measures 3'- 2" by 7'- 5" and has a raised, square-



FIGURE 173. View northwest in Front Room (102).(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

edged panel on one side with the reverse side flat with molding at stiles and rails. It is hung with 5", fixed- pin, butt hinges, typical of the earliest hinges, but has a mortise lock with metal knobs and rectangular escutcheons, typical of the hardware from the 1920s. The door that opens from Room 101 (D- 12) is typical of the doors added during the late Victorian period, although the opening itself is apparently original. The door measures 3'- 7" by 7'- 5" x 1- 1/4" and has four, vertical, slightly- raised panels with molded stiles and rails. The original 5" butt hinges have been replaced with 4" loose- pin, ball- top hinges typical of the 1920s.

Window: There is one window in this room, located on the north wall. It is double- hung, one- over- one, 3'- 5" by 7'- 7" and has an exterior wood- framed storm sash divided into four lights. The window sash are original (1838), but as elsewhere, the Sandburgs had the muntins removed and the sash reglazed as a one- over- one window.

Trim: The room has its original 8" beaded baseboard. Casing of windows and doors, except at the added closet doors on the south wall, are all typical antebellum moldings.

Lighting: The room has a ceiling- hung, four- light chandelier with tulip- shaped, frosted- glass, down-lighting shades, with each light individually switched. It is one of the few light fixtures that survive from Smyth's wiring of the house in the early twentieth century.

Heating: A 32"- long radiator is located under the north window. The fireplace has a firebox about 33" high, 33" wide, and 16" deep., with a cast- iron lintel and a concrete hearth, the latter probably dating to the 1920s. The Federal- style mantelpiece with its fluted pilasters and elaborated ogee moldings is nearly identical to the mantelpiece in Mrs. Sandburg's bedroom (Room 121), both presumably original features. The top of the mantel is at 57" but the original mantel shelf has been replaced by a much-thicker, boxed shelf dating to the 1920s.

Miscellaneous Features: The small closets (103) on the west side of the fireplace were added by the Sandburgs in 1945- 1946. A pair of two- panel doors, 2'0" by 6'- 0", open the closets proper, while plywood doors, 2'0" by 3'- 0", open the cabinets located above the closets.



FIGURE 174. View east in Front Room (102).(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Helga's/Margaret's Bedroom (104-106). Probably always used as a bedroom, this room connects to the parlor, to the small hall off the east end of the dining room, and to the east porch. Major changes have included replacement of windows on the south and the east walls with doors and the Sandburgs' installation of closets (105) in 1945- 1946.[218]

Flooring: Flooring is typical 2- 1/4" oak flooring laid over the original wider pine flooring.

Walls: Walls are typical plaster on wood lath. Much of it is thought to have been replaced in 1945. The boxed shaft for the furnace chimney installed in 1924 rises in the southwest corner of the room.

Ceiling: The ceiling is plaster on wood lath, set around 10'- 6" above the floor, and dates to 1945 when most of the ceilings on the first floor were lowered.

Doors: In addition to the door from the Front Room (D- 15), a second door (D- 16) opens from the Hall (107). This latter door, which has been taken down by the park and is currently stored in Room 108, may be characteristic of the doors added by Memminger when he constructed the rear addition around 1850, but it is probably not in its original location since the surrounding door casing appears to date to the twentieth century. The door is about 2'- 7" by 6'- 7" by 1- 1/2" and has four vertical raised panels along with molded stiles and rails joined by through tenons. The door to the east porch (D- 14) measures 3'- 2" by 7'- 0" and is a typical, fifteen- light French door installed in the 1920s. The five closet doors in the room are all around 2'- 0" by 6'- 0", two- panel doors installed along with the closets in 1945.

Windows: The room originally had a window on the east wall, but it was replaced with a floor- length, walk- through window similar to the one that was installed on the east wall of the Front Room when the east porch was first constructed in the late nineteenth century. Originally, there was also at least one window on the south wall, probably in the center, but it was closed or replaced by a door when Memminger constructed his addition before the Civil War.

Trim: There are elements of the room's wooden trim that date to all eras of the house's history. The 8"

218. One of the few original closets in the house was located on the west side of the chimney breast.



FIGURE 175. View northeast in Margaret's/Helga's Room.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

beaded baseboard, 5" door casing at D- 15, and the more- elaborate casing of the window that is now a door (D- 14) is typical of that used in the house's original construction. Casing at the door to Room 107 is typical of casing from the 1920s. The closet doors are cased with a plain 5" board, typical of the Sandburg era.

Lighting: The room has a ceiling- hung, four- light chandelier with tulip- shaped, frosted- glass, down-lighting shades with painted details and with each light individually switched. It is one of the few light fixtures that survive from the 1920s.

Heating: The fireplace is an original feature as is the Federal- style mantelpiece. The fire box, which has a cast- iron header, may have been reduced in size for burning coal but that is not certain. A typical cast-iron radiator, 36" long, sits under the north window.

Hall (107). This small hall, part of the 1920s addition, provides a passage between the dining room, the bathroom, and the two bedrooms (Rooms 104 and 108) on the east side of the house.

Flooring: Flooring is typical 1920s tongue- and-groove flooring, 2- 1/2" quarter- sawn pine. Smyth's addition was apparently built so that the finished floor level in the new part of the house would match the original floor level in the main part of the house. However, the addition of new flooring over the original flooring in the main part of the house left the floors in the addition about an inch lower than those in the main part of the house. This difference is evident at the doorway between this room and Room 104.

Walls: Walls are plaster on lath dating to the 1920s.

Ceiling: The ceilings were originally around 9' high but the Sandburgs covered the original 1920s plaster ceiling with 12" by 12" acoustical tiles apparently installed on 1" by 4" furring strips.

Trim: The ceiling is finished with a 3/4" cove molding where the ceiling meets the walls. The baseboard is 8" high with a 1- 3/4" molded base cap from the 1920s. Door casing is typical 1920s, 4- 1/2" wide with a 3/4" backband.

Lighting: A bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted, keyless fixture lights the space. A push- button switch, the only one of its type in the house, is located on the



FIGURE 176. View west in Margaret's/Helga's room (104). Similar banks of closets were added in most of the other bedrooms.(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

east wall and was probably part of Smyth's original wiring system.

Children's Room, Margaret's Study (108-110). Part of the 1920s addition, this bedroom replicated a room of slightly smaller size in Memminger's 1849 addition along with a bay window that was added to that earlier room around 1890. This room was used as a bedroom by the Smyths and then by the Sandburgs' grandchildren. The Sandburgs added the closets (109 & 110) in 1945. After 1952 the room became Margaret's study, although still sometimes used as a guest room. Since October 1975, it has been used by the curatorial staff as a work room and is not furnished or exhibited.[219]

Flooring: Dating to the 1920s, flooring is typical 2- 1/2"- wide tongue- and- groove pine, but as a cost saving measure, the flooring is straight sawn, not quarter sawn like that in the hall and dining room.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath, dating to the 1920s.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which is around 9' high, is plaster on wood lath, dating to the 1920s.

Doors: The door from the Hall is a typical two-panel door from the 1920s, measuring 2'- 7" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/4". Hardware is brass, with 4" hinges and ball- tipped pins and a mortise lock with escutcheon measuring 2- 1/4" by 7". The door to the closet (Room 110) on the west wall dates to the 1940s and has similar hardware, but measures 2'- 6" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/8". The two, two- panel doors to the south closet (Room 109) are 2'- 4" by 7" by 1- 1/4" and date to the 1940s. The door opening into the bathroom (Room 111) was also created by the Sandburgs and has a two- panel door, 2'- 6" by 7'- 0".

Windows: The room has four windows, one on the south wall and three in the bay window on the east. All date to the 1920s and are among the few sash which retained their muntins after the Sandburgs' remodeling in 1945. Windows are two- over- two, double- hung, counter- weighted, measuring 2'- 9" by 5'- 5". Each window has a single, cupped, brass lift mounted at the center of the bottom rail of the lower sash. Muntins in the sash in the bay windows are 1- 1/4" thick; muntins in the other two- over- two

219. Wallace, pp. 116-120.



FIGURE 177. View southeast in Children's Room (108).(T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

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FIGURE 178. View of Hall (Room 107) from Margaret's Room (108). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 179. View of Bathroom (111). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 180. View of Bathroom (111). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004

sash in the house, they are generally 1" wide. A paint study might indicate whether they were salvaged for re- use in 1924, perhaps from the Gregg- era bay window in this location.

Trim: The room has a typical 8" baseboard with a 1-3/4" molded cap like that used in the Hall (Room 107). Doors and windows are trimmed with a plain 4- 1/4" casing with a 3/4" backband on all but the doors to Rooms 109 and 111, which were installed by the Sandburgs using a 1/2" backband. Windows have a plain 4- 1/4" apron and 3- 1/2" stool with an ogee curve at the front edge.

Lighting: There is a single, ceiling- mounted, keyless fixture with a bare bulb to light the room.

Heating: There is a 32" radiator under the south window.

Bathroom (111). This bathroom was part of the 1920s addition and replaced an earlier bathroom that had been added, probably around 1900, off the old back porch. The Sandburgs removed the old footed tub, built a cupboard in the southeast corner of the room, and installed a built- in tub, 4- 1/2' long. They also installed the ceramic tile and created a door opening into the adjacent bedroom.[220]

Flooring: The floor is tiled with an unglazed, 1"- diameter, hexagonal, ceramic tile in black and white laid in a basket- weave pattern.

Walls: Walls are tiled to a height of 52" with a 4- 1/4" white tile with a narrower black border and a black base tile. Walls are plaster above the tile and were most likely replaced when the Sandburgs remodeled the room in 1945.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which is around 9' high, is plaster on wood lath, dating to the 1920s, but it has undergone significant repairs by the NPS.

Doors: The door from the hall is a typical, two-panel door from the 1920s, measuring 2'- 4" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/8", with 4" brass hinges and a brass mortise lock and privacy latch.

Window: The window is double- hung, 2'- 4" by 4'- 6", dating to the 1920s. The Sandburgs removed the

220. Wallace, pp. 121-125.

original muntins, changing the window from six- over- six to one- over one.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a single- light fixture, probably installed in 1945 or 1946. The fixture is mounted above the medicine cabinet and has a chrome- plated base and a frosted glass shade that appears to be original.

Heating: A small radiator, 10" long, stands on the west wall between the sink and the door.

Miscellaneous Features: The 24"- wide, wall- hung sink with a 12' back splash is porcelain- enameled cast iron dating to the 1920s. In addition to replacing the old tub with the present, porcelain- enameled-steel, Master Pembroke tub, 4'- 4" long, the Sandburgs also installed the Kohler toilet, the tank lid of which is imprinted with the date 9/6/45. At least one of the old footed tubs was used as a watering trough and was in the Buck House in 1969.[221] Two footed tubs are presently exhibited in the wood shed, and another is used as a watering trough at the barn.

221. Wallace, p. 125.

Dining Room (112). The dining room is located in the approximate position of the antebellum back porch, but contrary to Wallace and to Mrs. McKay's recollection, her grandfather did not simply enclose the porch, but tore it down along with the rest of the rear addition and replaced it with entirely new construction in the 1920s.[222] The Sandburgs added the book shelves at each end of the room and the acoustical tile ceiling. The room was an important gathering place for the family, one that Wallace called "the heart of the house."[223]

Flooring: Flooring is typical 2- 1/2" tongue- and-groove pine, quarter sawn to provide more attractive and durable flooring. As noted earlier, Smyth's addition was apparently built so that the finished floor level in the new part of the house would match the original floor level in the main part of the house. However, the addition of new flooring over the original flooring in the main part of the house left the floors in the addition about an inch lower than those in the main part of the house. This difference is evident at the doorway between this room and the Farm Office (113).

222. Wallace, pp. 125-145.
223. Wallace, p. 128.



FIGURE 181. View east in Dining Room (112).

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath dating to the 1920s.

*Ceilin*g: Set 8'- 11" above the floor, the acoustical tile ceiling, which is probably Celotex brand, was installed prior to 1960 on 1" by 4" furring strips nailed against the original 1920s plaster ceiling, which had been damaged by a persistently leaking roof. Although the roof has long since been repaired, the damaged tiles, which existed during Sandburg's lifetime, have been preserved in place.[224]

Doors: The door from Room 107 is a typical two-panel door from the 1920s, measuring 2'- 7" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/4". Hardware is brass, with 4" hinges and ball- top pins and a mortise lock with rectangular escutcheon measuring 2- 1/4" by 7". The door to the Hall (116) leading to the Kitchen (117) is also two-panel, 3'- 0" by 7'- 9" by 1- 3/4" but is mounted as a swinging door. A large three- part opening on the north wall dates to the 1920s, connecting with and providing light to the Farm Office (113). Double doors, each 2'- 6" by 1- 3/4" with ten lights, are flanked by 2'- 0" by 7'- 0" side lights, each also with ten lights.

Windows: A bank of five one- over- one, double-hung windows nearly fills the south wall. All are 2'- 9" by 5'- 5" and are typical of the windows installed in the 1920s, except that the Sandburgs removed the muntins, converting two- over- two windows into one- over- one.

Trim: The eight- inch baseboard has a 2- 1/4" molded cap with a slightly different profile from that used in the adjacent Hall (107) and bedroom (108). Window and door casing is 4- 1/2" wide with a back band typical of the 1920s addition.

Lighting: The Sandburgs replaced the Smyths' 1920s light fixture with the present 36"- long fluorescent fixture. In early January 1946, Anders billed the Sandburgs for three of these fixtures at $15.50 each. Two are located in the kitchen.

Heating: Heat is provided by a single 48"- long radiator located under the center window on the south wall.

Miscellaneous: The Sandburgs installed book shelves on the east and part of the west walls.

224. Wallace, p. 145, note 39.



FIGURE 182. View northwest in dining room (112). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Farm Office (113). Like the adjacent Stair hall (Room 115), there remains some uncertainty as to the early characteristics of this room, since the bookcases prevented investigation of the room's west wall. Early occupants, including the Smyths, used the room as a bedroom before 1924, after which it was used as a library. The Smyths installed the present door and sidelights as well as the French door into Room 101. The Sandburgs added the book shelves on the west wall, and Mrs. Sandburg used the room as her office.

Flooring: The original flooring was probably overlaid with narrow oak flooring in 1924, but the Sandburgs installed the present vinyl- asbestos, 12" by 12" tile around 1960.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath and probably date to the nineteenth century, except on the south which was altered in the 1920s.

Ceiling: The ceiling is plaster on wood lath and set at 10'- 9" above the floor.

Doors: In addition to the double French doors and sidelights on the south wall and the French door to Sandburg's Office (Room 101), this room has a door on the west wall (D- 18) opening to the passage beneath the main staircase. It is 3'- 2" by 6'- 11" with six raised panels on one face and molded flat panels on the reverse, typical of what are assumed to be the doors added as part of Memminger's alterations in 1848. The mortise lock is typical of the hardware installed by Smyth in the 1920s.

Windows: The room originally had a window on the south wall, but it was replaced by the present door and sidelights in the 1920s. On the west wall is a transom- like "borrow light" that provides light from the stair well. Paint evidence suggests that this window was created by the Smyths. The opening is 2' by 4' with a 2- light sash with a 1- 1/4" muntin like those in the windows in the east bay.

Trim: The room has a typical 8" beaded baseboard, typical of the nineteenth century. The door on the west wall to Room 114 is cased with a 5"- wide casing typical of what appears to be the casing used as part of Memminger's 1848 alterations. Casing of the borrow light on the west wall is similar. Casing of the French doors and sidelights is typical 5" casing with straight backband, while casing of the door to Sandburg's Office is plain 1" by 5" boards.



FIGURE 183. View south in Farm Office. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Lighting: The room probably had a ceiling hung fixture from the 1920s before the Sandburgs installed the present fluorescent lighting sometime before 1963.

Heating: The room was originally heated by a fireplace on the north wall but it was apparently closed by Smyth in 1924. One of the two late- Victorian mantels that were removed from the Farm Manager's House by the NPS probably came from this room (see mantel notes in Sandburg's Office, above). There is no radiator.

Stair Closet (114). Combined as one "room" for the purpose of reporting, this space historically consisted of a short connecting passage between the hall and Room 113 and, at an early date, stairs that descended under the main staircase to the ground floor dining room.[225] When the addition and the present ground floor stairs (116) were created in the 1920s, the stairs here may have been removed or that might not have occurred until the Sandburg era. The use of drywall in part of the wall on the west side suggests that this space was enclosed on that side by the Sandburgs using nineteenth- century materials salvaged from somewhere else in the house. Paint analysis shows that the vertical beaded tongue- and- groove boards beneath the outside stringer of the stairs was also a product of the Sandburg era.

Front Hall and Stairs (115). This is the only room on the first floor where ceilings have not been lowered. Paint analysis and stylistic considerations indicate that the present stairs were installed as part of Memminger's 1848 alterations to the house, but why that was done so soon after the house's construction is not clear, nor is there any indication of the configuration of the original stairs.

Flooring: Flooring is typical 2- 1/2" oak tongue- and- groove flooring laid over the original flooring in the 1920s.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath, but the west wall may date to the house's original construction while the east wall may date to the changes in 1848.

Ceiling: The ceiling is the only ceiling in the original part of the house remaining at its original height of

225. Framing for the ground floor stairs is nailed and not mortised into place, as it almost certainly would have been if it had been part of the original construction.



FIGURE 184. View north in Farm Office (113). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

12'- 7". Much of the ceiling is the original plaster over split lath.

Doors: The door opening to the Back Hall (116) originally opened on to the back porch and was probably created when the porch was originally built around 1848. In 1924, Smyth removed the original door, which was probably a solid panel door, and installed the present fifteen- light French door, 3'- 6" by 6'- 10" by 1- 3/4", with 4" butt hinges. The door opening into Room 118 (D- 20) is six panel, 3'- 1' by 6'- 11" by 1- 3/8", typical of the earliest antebellum doors in the house. The door opening into the hall from Room 114 (D- 19) is a six- panel door, 3'- 1" by 6'- 10" by 1- 3/8" and may have originally been located between Rooms 101 and 121.

Window: Windows like the one above the stairs on the east wall are often called "borrow lights," since it was intended to allow additional light from the skylight into Room 113. Casing and trim match that on the Farm Office side of the window. The wall of which it is a part may have been added in the late 1840s, but paint analysis suggests that the window itself is a product of the 1920s.

Skylight: As noted earlier, no documentation for the skylight has been located, but it is most likely to have been installed when Smyth installed the second-floor bathroom around 1912, which cut off light to the stairwell from the center dormer at the rear of the house.

Trim: The room has a typical 8" beaded baseboard dating to the antebellum period. Door casing is antebellum, 4" to 5" wide, with the earliest openings characterized by the use of Type C molding at D- 20 and D- 22, and Type D molding at D- 21, the door to Room 116, and the borrow light.

Lighting: A ceiling- hung, three- light metal chandelier, c. 1924, is located at the north end of the hall.

Staircase: The U- shaped stairway, which is apparently not the original staircase, rises in two flights, with one flight to a landing at about 8' above the floor and then a second, shorter flight returning in the opposite direction to the second floor. Steps generally have a rise of 7- 1/2" and a run of 10- 1/2". The balustrade has a plain, circular railing and 3/4" by 1" balusters. The stair is cased below the stringer with 3- 1/2" tongue- and- groove boards with qua-



FIGURE 185. View south in Front Hall (115). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)



FIGURE 186. View north in Front Hall. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)



FIGURE 187. View south in Back hall (116). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)



FIGURE 188. View southwest in Kitchen (117). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)

druple reeding along one side, similar to that used in construction of the west bay window around 1890. However, the paint study revealed only three layers of paint, suggesting that the boards were not installed until the Sandburg era. This apparent anomaly has not been explained.

Back Hall (116). Part of Smyth's 1924 addition, this hall includes stairs to the ground floor, replacing exterior stairs in the antebellum back porch. The waste line from the second- floor bathroom is boxed into the northeast corner of this room.

Flooring: The original flooring is assumed to be the same quarter- sawn pine over a diagonal sub- floor that was used in the dining room (112). The Sandburgs installed the existing, 9"- square, brown, marbleized vinyl tile over Masonite sheets around 1960.

Walls: Walls are typical plaster on wood lath dating to construction of the room in 1924.

Ceiling: The ceiling is original plaster on split lath and is at 9', typical of the original ceiling heights in the 1924 addition.

Doors: See notes in Rooms 112 and 115.

Trim: An eight- inch baseboard with 2- 1/4" base cap like that used in the Dining Room (112) is original to the space. Doors and windows have a 4- 1/2" casing with 3/4" backband typical of the 1924 addition.

Windows: A large double window with two- over- two double- hung sash with double, two- light transoms above opens on the south wall. Each window is 2'- 9" by 5'- 5", with transoms measuring 2'- 9" by 2'- 9". The sash apparently date to the 1920s and are among the few in the house that retain their original muntins.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a single bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted, porcelain, keyless fixture.

Heating: A 24" radiator stands next to the balustrade return at the head of the stairs.

Miscellaneous Features: The stairs to the ground floor have a rise of 7- 1/4" and a run of 11- 1/4". The balustrade features an 8" square newel post, molded hand railing, and square pickets that are all typical of

early- twentieth century Colonial Revival architecture.

Room 117 (Kitchen). Constructed as part of the 1924 addition, this room was initially used by the Smyths as a store room for foodstuffs and as a serving pantry for food cooked in the old kitchen outside. Smyth installed the large, enamelled, cast- iron sink, and at least some, if not all of the cooking was being done in this room toward the end of Smyth's life. In 1945, the Kitchen was thoroughly remodeled (but apparently not enlarged) by the Sandburgs, and new windows were installed that were smaller and set higher on the walls in order to accommodate the kitchen cabinets.[226]

*Floorin*g: The flooring is probably 2- 1/2" pine, tongue- and- groove, typical of that used in the 1920s addition. Since it was used as a kitchen by the Smyths, it is likely that some sort of linoleum floor covering existed at one time. The floor is now covered with 9" brown vinyl tile installed by the Sandburgs around 1960.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath, some of it probably dating to the 1920s but much of it dating to the 1940s, since the Sandburg alterations would have required numerous repairs.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which is around 9' high, is plaster on wood lath. It is likely that the west and south walls required extensive repairs, if not total replacement, when the windows were changed in 1945.

Doors: The door to the hall is a typical, two- panel door from the 1920s. Hung with 4" ball- pin hinges, it is 3'- 0" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/4".

Windows: Five one- over- one, double- hung windows light the room. The pair on the west wall is 2'- 4" by 4'- 2"; the trio on the south wall are 2'- 9" by 4'- 2". All date to 1945.

Trim: The door has typical 1920s casing, 4- 1/2" wide with a 3/4" backband. The windows are cased with plain boards, 4- 1/2" wide without a backband, typical of the Sandburg era. The baseboard is a plain board, 3- 1/2" wide, painted black.

226. Wallace, pp. 154-156.



FIGURE 189. View northwest in Kitchen. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a pair of ceiling-mounted 2- light fluorescent fixtures and one larger 3- light fixture installed by the Sandburgs in 1945.

Fixtures: The enamelled, cast- iron sink on the south wall, which is very similar to the one in the ground floor, was installed after 1924. The "Youngstown Kitchens by Mullins" enameled steel sink in a metal cabinet on the north wall was installed by the Sandburgs in the 1940s. At some time before November 1960, an electric dishwasher was installed next to the cast- iron sink and the cabinet and countertop on the east wall was extended.

Room 118-119 (Utility Room). Used as a bedroom by the Smyths, this was Captain Smyth's room after his wife's death until his own death in 1942. Construction of the master bathroom (Room 123) and the closets (Room 119) by the Sandburgs reduced the size of the room considerably. The Sandburgs used the room mostly for sewing and ironing and occasionally as a guest room for their more familiar guests.[227]

Flooring: Flooring is 2- 1/4", tongue- and- groove oak installed over the original wider tongue- and-groove flooring in the 1920s.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath. The west and south walls are mostly original; the north and east walls date mostly to the 1940s.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which was lowered to its present 10'- 6" as part of the 1940s renovation, is plaster on wood lath.

Doors: The door to the hall is a six- panel door, 3'- 1" by 6'- 11" by 1- 3/8", hung with 5" butt hinges that are original and a typical 1920s mortise lock and privacy latch. The door to the bathroom is two- panel, 2'- 6" by 6'- 10" by 1- 3/8" and dates to the 1940s. It has a typical mortise lock and privacy latch.

Window: The window on the east wall is 3'- 5" by 7'- 7" and is one of the house's original windows, although the Sandburgs removed the original nine-

227. Wallace, p. 161.



FIGURE 190. View northeast in Utility Room (118). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

over- six muntins to convert the window to one-over one.

Trim: The original window casing and paneling remain in place at this window, one of three such windows that remain intact on the first floor. The casing of the door to the hall is typical original casing, Type C. Casing of the bathroom door is plain 4-1/2" wide with 3/4" backband. The room has an 8" beaded baseboard typical of the antebellum period.

Lighting: Smyth's original 3- light, metal chandelier remains in this room

Heating: There is a typical 1920s radiator, 36" long, under the window. The room originally had a fireplace on the north wall approximately where the book shelf is now located, but the fireplace was closed, perhaps when central heating was installed.

Miscellaneous Features: In addition to the closets, the Sandburgs also installed shelves against part of the south wall and where the mantel had been located on the north wall. A mantel similar to the one remaining in Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121) is now stored in the wood shed and may have been originally located in this room. It was probably removed by the Sandburgs in 1945. It is also possible that the original mantel in this room was replaced by one of the Victorian mantels now in storage that were removed by Smyth in the 1920s.[228]

Room 120 (Bathroom). This was one of the bathrooms installed by Captain Smyth, perhaps as early as the 1920s. The Sandburgs removed the old footed cast- iron tub and replaced it with an enameled steel tub. As they did elsewhere, they retained the original enameled, cast- iron sink. There was a delay in obtaining the tubs, and this bathroom was not completed and tiled until 1947, after construction of the stove chimney that rises in the southeast corner of the room.

Flooring: The floor was tiled by the Sandburgs in 1947, using unglazed tiles, in black and white, 1' in diameter, in two hexagonal shapes like the other bathrooms.

Walls: Walls are tiled to a height of 52" with a 4- 1/4" beige tile with a narrower black border and a black base tile. Walls are plaster above the tile and may have all been replaced when the Sandburgs remodeled the room in 1945.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which is around 9' high, is plaster on wood lath, dating to the 1920s.

Doors: The door from the Utility Room is a typical, two- panel door from the 1920s, measuring 2'- 4" by 7'- 0" by 1- 3/8", hung 4" brass hinges and with a brass mortise lock and privacy latch.

Window: The window is one- over- one, double-hung, 2'- 4" by 4'- 6", dating to the 1920s, although it was originally six- over- six until the Sandburgs removed the muntins.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a simple fixture with a curved glass shade mounted above the medicine cabinet.



FIGURE 191. View of Bathroom (120) off of Utility Room. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

228. Interview with Frank Ballard.

Heating: The room has a small 14" radiator against the west wall

Miscellaneous Features: The 24"- wide, wall- hung sink with a 12' back splash is porcelain- enamel cast iron dating to the 1920s. The Kohler toilet is imprinted with the date 8/22/45.

Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121-122). According to tradition this bedroom was used as a bedroom by Mrs. Memminger and Mrs. Smyth and it was also used as a bedroom by Mrs. Sandburg.[229] The elaborate bay window was added by the Greggs about 1890, and may be an indication that it was not always used as a bedroom. In 1924, Smyth added a bathroom on what is now the west balcony, but it was removed and the present bathroom in Room 123 was installed by the Sandburgs in 1945. They also installed closets (122) along the north wall and a small cabinet on the west side of the bathroom door. There were originally two entrances into this room, one from Sandburg's Office (Room 101) and one from the Hall (Room 115). One of the Smyths' grandchildren remembered and historic photographs corroborate that both entrances remained in existence until the Sandburgs closed the entrance from Sandburg's Office in 1945. The door from that opening is probably the door (D- 19) between Rooms 114 and 115.

229. Wallace, p. 164.

Floor: Flooring is oak, 2- 1/4" wide, tongue- and-groove, laid over the original antebellum flooring.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath, most of them original.

Ceiling: Like all of the ceilings, except in the Front Hall (115), the ceiling in this room was lowered by the Sandburgs and now stands at 11"- 10". Unlike the other ceilings, this one was lowered less than a foot, probably because a lower ceiling height would have spoiled the aesthetics of the arched opening to the bay window on the west wall.

Doors: The door from the Front Hall is a six- panel door, 3'- 1" by 7'- 4", and bears the ghost of a 4" by 7"



FIGURE 192. View of northwest Mrs. Sandburg's Room (121). The free-standing cabinet left of center is a dehumidifier installed by the NPS on a temporary basis. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

rim lock, typical of the original doors in the house. The swing of the door has been reversed. The door to the bathroom is two- panel, 2'- 0" by 6'- 5". The doors to the closets are also two- panel, 2'- 0" by 6'- 0". The two- panel doors all are typical of the 1940s.

Windows: The window in the north wall is 3'- 5" by 7'- 7" and is one of the house's original window openings, although the Sandburgs removed the muntins from the original nine- over- nine sash and converted them to one- over- one. The bay window has three window openings, each 2'- 9" by 7'- 2" with two- over- two sash that are original to the bay (c. 1890). Windows are fitted on the interior with louvered, bi- fold shutters that are probably also original.

Trim: The original window casing and paneling remain in place at the north window, one of three original windows that remain intact on the first floor. The casing of the door to the hall is typical original casing, Type C. Casing of the bathroom door is plain 4- 1/2" wide without a backband. The room has an 8" beaded baseboard typical of the antebellum period.

Lighting: Lighting is a shallow, ceiling- mounted fixture of a type common in the 1950s and 1960s.

Heating: The room has two radiators, one 36" long under the north window and a smaller 32" unit under the north window of the bay. The fireplaces throughout the house are around the same size, except in this room where the fire box is larger and the mantel shelf is set higher (at nearly five feet) than any of the others. The fire box opening is 38" wide, 36" high, and 16" deep, which is 5" wider and 3" higher than the others. The Federal- style mantelpiece is completely intact. The top shelf of the mantel in the Front Room (102) was probably identical to the one here.

Bath Room (123). This bathroom was constructed by the Sandburgs to replace the bathroom that Smyth had constructed on what is now the adjacent West Porch. It was created out of space from both Room 118 and Room 121. This and the bathroom between the bedrooms on the second floor (Room 213) were both constructed new by the Sandburgs, while the other bathrooms on the first and second floor were rehabilitations of earlier, Smyth- era bathrooms.



FIGURE 193. View southeast in Mrs. Sandburg's bedroom. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 194. View southeast in Master Bathroom (123). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 195. View of door at Crow's Nest (207), typical of original bedroom doors on the second floor. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Flooring: The floor is tiled with the same unglazed, black- and- white, hexagonal tile used in the other bathrooms.

Walls: Walls are tiled to a height of 52" with olive-green, glazed, 4- 1/4"- square tile accented with black border and a black base. Above the tile, walls and ceiling are plaster dating to the 1940s.

Door: The two- panel door dates to the 1940s and is 2'- 0" by 6'- 0" with a mortise lock and privacy latch.

Window: The window, which dates to the room's construction, is one- over- one, measuring 2'- 10" by 3'- 6".

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a simple fixture with a curved glass shade, mounted over the sink and medicine cabinet.

Heating: A small 14" radiator is located against the south wall.

Miscellaneous Features: Like the other bathrooms, this bath was not completed until 1947 when the 4'- 3" steel tub was installed. The wall- hung, Kohler sink dates to the same period as does the toilet, which bears a date of 2/12/1947.

Second Floor

Although there have been some changes, mostly additive in nature rather than destructive, the rooms on this floor, which contains about 1740 square feet, are the least altered of any in the house. The original tongue- and- groove flooring remains exposed and the original doors remain in their original locations. The bedrooms on the west side of the hall were joined by a new doorway in the late nineteenth century, and there may have been a similar connection added between the somewhat larger bedrooms on the east side of the hall, but it was obliterated when the closets were installed by the Sandburgs in 1945.

Around 1912, the Smyths enclosed the southeast corner of the hall and added a bathroom with running water from a reservoir that was built higher up on Glassy Mountain. They also installed lavatories in some of the bedrooms. In the 1920s, the Smyths built closets against the knee walls on both sides of the passage to the Crow's Nest (207) on the north side of the hall.

In 1945, the Sandburgs apparently removed a cast-iron bathtub in the Smyths' old bathroom and installed a metal shower surround in the northeast corner of the room. They also created a small closet in the bathroom's southeast corner for the adjacent bedroom and added a second bath between the east bedrooms on the east side of the east chimney and banks of closets for both bedrooms on the west side of the chimney. Finally, the Sandburgs subdivided one of the Smyth- era closets to create a separate closet for Sandburg's bedroom.

Upstairs Hall and Closets (Rooms 200, 204, 206, and 210). Sometimes referred to as the Lincoln Room because of the Lincoln memorabilia and books that Sandburg displayed or stored here, this hall provides access to all the rooms on the second floor. If, as was suggested in the preceding section of this report, the stairwell was altered or relocated as part of Memminger's addition to the house in the late 1840s, there would have been significant alterations to this space.

Around 1912, Smyth created a second bath room for the house (there was already a bathroom on the first floor off the back porch), made possible by a new reservoir on Glassy Mountain that allowed water to rise to the second floor level of the house. Located in the southeast corner of the Upstairs Hall, the bath blocked light to the stairwell from the center dormer window and was likely the occasion for installing the skylight. Smyth also appears to have created the bank of closets (203, 204, and 210) against the knee wall on the north side of the hall. In 1945- 1946, the Sandburgs installed book shelves against the north, west, and east walls and on all but the west side of the chimney.

Accessed through a plywood door, Room 206 is not a finished space but was apparently opened to provide access to the attic above the front bedroom (207) and to provide a view of the framing and decking of the original roof. Judging from the materials present, the space appears to date to the last half of the twentieth century. Smyth's granddaughter believed the passage to the Crow's Nest was wider at one time- - in fact examination of the structure reveals that the passage is at its original width but was made longer when the closets (Rooms 203- 204 and 210) on the north side of the upstairs Hall were installed by Smyth in the 1920s.[230]

230. Wallace, p. 196.



FIGURE 196. View east in Upstairs Hall (200). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

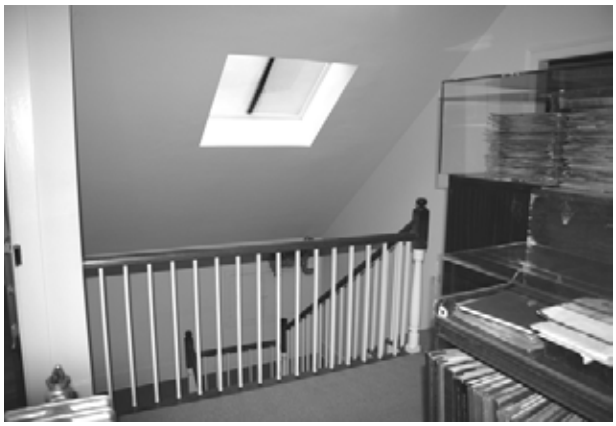


FIGURE 197. View southwest in Upstairs Hall (200). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 198. View of Carpenter & Co. rim lock, typical of original locks on second floor. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

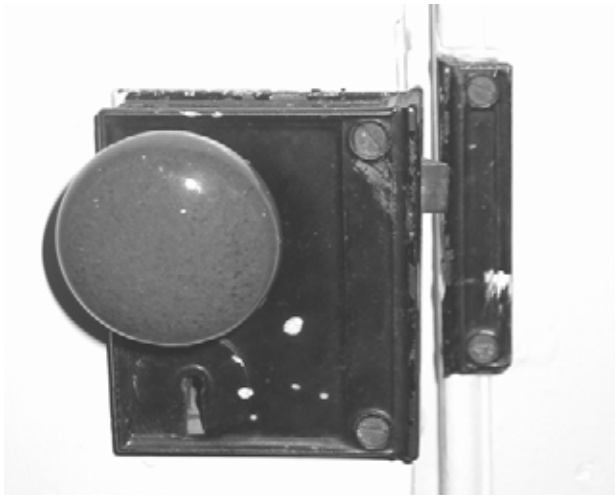


FIGURE 199. View of typical late-nineteenth century rim lock in Sandburg's Study (201). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Flooring: The original tongue- and- groove flooring remains in place and in good condition. Widths ranging from 5- 1/2" to 8" wide, unlike the first floor, where widths were generally around the smaller dimension.

Walls: The west and east walls are probably the original plaster on split lath. The north wall and the walls creating the bathroom are probably plaster on sawn lath, dating to the 1920s and around 1912, respectively.

Ceiling: The ceiling in the hall is at 8'- 11" and is the original plaster on split lath.

Doors: The five doors opening into the bedrooms appear to have been part of the original construction of the house. All are around 3'- 0" by 6'- 8" by 1- 1/4" with two vertical, square- edged, raised panels, and except for the door to Mr. Sandburg's Study (201), all have what must be their original Carpenter & Co. rim locks, 4" by 5" with small brass knobs. The original lock on the door to Sandburg's office was replaced in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by the present 3- 1/4" by 4" rim lock with brown mineral knobs.

The door opening from the bathroom was part of that room's original construction around 1912. Measuring 2'- 10" by 6'- 9" by 1- 3/8", it has two vertical raised panels below four lights of translucent glass, is similar to and probably contemporaneous with that found in the window sash at the ground floor coal bin (012). The door has a small rim lock, 4" by 4- 1/2", bearing the imprint "Belknap, Blue Grass, Louisville, K," with a white porcelain knob. The two- panel doors to the two closets (204 and 210) are 2'- 4" by 6'- 0" with a molding profile that suggests they were installed in the 1930s or 1940s.

Skylight: The metal- framed skylight is around 3'- 6" square, divided into two lights glazed with wire-reinforced plate glass. A simple beaded molding about 1" wide trims the otherwise plainly finished skylight shaft.

Trim: All of the original bedroom doors (and windows) have a similar 4- 1/2" Greek Revival casing, Type G. Casing of the closet doors is molded, in two profiles. Casing of the door to Room 204 is 4" wide with a profile similar to that on the door between Rooms 201 and 202. Casing of the door to Room 210

is 4- 1/2" wide, molded but without the beaded edge, unlike any other found in the house. Instead of a baseboard, both closets use a 2- 1/4" molding similar to the base cap used in the Dining Room (112) and Back Hall (116). The bathroom door is cased with plain boards 4- 1/2" wide.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a 30" metal fluorescent fixture located in the northeast side of the ceiling.

Heating: A typical radiator, 32" long, 37" high, and 8" deep, stands against the west side of the chimney breast. The radiator dates to the 1920s. Typical of the nineteenth century, the second- floor bedrooms remained unheated until introduction of steam heating in the 1920s. There was never a fireplace in this room and no evidence of a stove either.

Miscellaneous: The Sandburgs installed a modern disappearing stairway to the attic in the ceiling on the east side of the chimney stack.

Sandburg's Study (Room 201) . One of the original bedrooms, this room was more or less identical to the adjacent bedroom (Room 202). The two were not connected originally, but in the nineteenth century, probably around 1890, a connecting door opening was created on the east side of the chimney breast. Although Mrs. Sandburg thought her husband would have his office in the Crow's Nest (207), he decided that the spectacular view from its windows would prove distracting and instead set up his office in this room.

Floor: Flooring is like that in the hall, original, 5" to 8" wide tongue- and- groove and is typical of the second floor.

Walls: Walls are the original plaster on split lath.

Ceiling: The ceiling is the original plaster on split lath, 8'- 11" above the floor.

Doors: In addition to the door opening from the hall, the added door to Room 202 opens into this room. Similar to the door between 101 and 102, it is 2'- 9" by 6'- 9" by 1- 3/8" with four, vertical, raised panels, and original 4" butt hinges with spindle- top pins. The rim lock is 3- 1/2" by 4- 1/2" and has a white porcelain knob.



FIGURE 200. View northeast in Upstairs Hall. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Windows: Two windows light the room, one on the west wall and the dormer window on the south. The west window is 3'- 4" by 5'- 2" and has its original sash, minus the original six- over- six muntins which the Sandburgs had removed in 1945. The dormer window is 2'- 10" by 4'- 6" and its original six- over- six muntins were also removed in 1945.

Trim: The 9" beaded baseboard is original. The casing of the windows and of the door to the hall is generally 4- 1/2"- wide, typical of that used originally at the doors and windows on the second floor. Casing of the door between Room 201 and 202 is similar to that found at the door to one of the closets (204) on the north side of the hall. Window stools are around 5/8" thick with a wide, half- round bead along the facing edge. Aprons are around 3- 3/4" wide with a bead across the lower edge.

Lighting: The room is lit by a fluorescent fixture typical of those installed by the Sandburgs in the 1940s and 1950s.

Heating: In addition to a typical 1920s radiator located under the west window, the room has a small, "Dixie Flyer" stove added by Sandburg. The stove is made of sheet metal and cast iron, is wood burning, and is vented into the chimney breast on the north wall. The room never had a fireplace.

Sandburg's Bedroom (Rooms 202-203). Another of the original bedrooms, this one has a closet (203) created out of one of the Smyth- era closets (204) by the Sandburgs after World War II.

Flooring: Flooring is typical tongue- and- groove pine, 5" to 6- 1/2" wide.

Walls: Walls are all assumed to be the original plaster on split lath.

Ceiling: The ceiling is at 8'- 11" and is the original plaster on split lath.

Doors: In addition to the door opening from the hall and into Room 201, this room has a closet door opening, 2'- 0" by 6'- 0". The left- hinged door itself is not present and was apparently not present during at least part of the Sandburg era.



FIGURE 201. View east in Sandburg's Bedroom (202). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Windows: Windows are similar to those in Room 201 with one on the west wall and a dormer window on the north. The west window is 3'- 4" by 5'- 2" and has its original sash, minus the original six- over- six muntins which the Sandburgs had removed in 1945. The dormer window is 2'- 10" by 4'- 6" and its original six- over- six muntins were also removed in 1945.

Trim: The 9" beaded baseboard is original. The casing of the door to the hall and the casing of the windows are typical original casing for the second floor. Window stools are around 5/8" thick with a wide, half- round bead along the facing edge. Aprons are around 3- 3/4" with a bead across the lower edge. Casing of the door into Sandburg's office (201) is similar to that found at the door to one of the closets (204) on the north side of the hall. The closet door opening is cased with plain 4- 1/2" boards without a backband. A 2- 1/4" molding similar to the base cap used in the dining room and elsewhere in the 1920s addition is used in place of a baseboard in the closet.

Lighting: The room is lit by a 24"- long, ceiling-mounted, fluorescent fixture installed by the Sandburgs.

Heating: A 24" radiator is located under the west window.

Miscellaneous Features: The Sandburgs installed the range of book shelves behind the bed against the west wall. On the south wall on the west side of the chimney breast is a wall- hung sink, porcelain-enameled cast iron, 18" by 24" with a 10" back splash. Similar to the sink that remains in the Smyth- era bathroom (217), this is the only sink remaining of a number of sinks that were installed in nearly all of the bedrooms during the Smyth era. It appears to have retained all of its original fittings, except for the waste line and trap, which may have been replaced in the 1940s.

"Crow's Nest" (207-209). Referred to as "the Bull's Eye" by the Smyths, the Sandburgs called this room the "Crow's Nest." It provides a spectacular view of the valley in front of the house and the mountains to the northeast. The Sandburgs created small openings on the south wall and built closets (208 and 209) above the roof framing behind the wall.



FIGURE 202. View of late Victorian hinge, door, and casing at door between Rooms 201 and 202. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Floor: Flooring is original tongue- and- groove pine, 5” to 8” wide.

Walls: Walls are typical plaster on split lath.

Ceiling: The ceiling is at 8’- 11” and is the original plaster on split lath.

Doors: In addition to the original two- panel door opening from the Upstairs Hall passage, two plywood doors are present on the south wall. Both doors are 3/4" plywood, 26" by 63".



FIGURE 203. View southwest in Crow’s Nest (207). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 204. View north in Crow’s Nest (207). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Windows: A large double- hung, one- over- one window is centered on the north wall and flanked by narrow windows of the same type. The center window is 3'- 5" by 5'- 3" and the flankers are 1'- 6" by 5'- 3". As elsewhere in the house, the Sandburgs removed the muntins from these windows.

Trim: The room has a typical 9" beaded baseboard and door and window casing and trim like that found in the other bedrooms on this floor. All of the trim is original except for the small closet doors, which are cased with plain 1” by 3” boards.

Heating: A small 24” radiator is located in the southwest corner of the room.

Miscellaneous Features: The interior of one closet (208) is finished with plain 2- 1/2" tongue- and- groove boards. The other closet (209) is finished with plain 3- 1/2" tongue- and- groove boards.

Janet’s Room (211 and 212). The two bedrooms on the east side of the house (211 and 214) have architectural features similar to those found in Rooms 201 and 202 but the east bedrooms are about 6'- 7" longer, east to west, than those on the west. This bedroom was reduced in size in the 1940s when the Sandburgs added the bathroom (213) on the east side of the chimney breast, cabinet and shelves across the chimney breast, and the closet (212) on the west side of the chimney breast, the latter perhaps covering a connecting door similar to the one between Rooms 201 and 202.

Flooring: Flooring is typical tongue- and- groove pine, 5- 1/4" to 8" wide.

Walls: Walls are all assumed to be the original plaster on split lath, except the south wall, most of which dates to the 1940s. The NPS made significant repairs to the north wall.

Ceiling: Set at 8’- 11”, the ceiling is original plaster on wood lath.

Doors: In addition to the original door opening from the hall, double doors to the closet (212) and the door to the bathroom (213) are all two- panel, 2'- 0" by 6'- 0" by 1- 3/8", with typical mortise locks from

the 1940s. The door to the cabinet built against the chimney breast is 3/4" plywood, 17" by 64". A smaller plywood door above the closet door at 212 opens to additional storage space above the closets.

Windows: Windows are similar to those in the other bedrooms with one on the east and a dormer window on the north. The east window is 3'- 4" by 5'- 2" and the dormer window is 2'- 10" by 4'- 6". Both have had their original six- over- six muntins removed to create one- over- one windows.

Trim: The 9" beaded baseboard is original.The casing of the door to the hall and of the windows is typical original casing for the second floor. Window stools are around 5/8" thick with a wide half- round bead along the facing edge. Aprons are around 3- 3/4" with a bead across the lower edge. Casing of the doors into the bathroom (213) and the closet (212) are cased with plain 4- 1/2" boards without a backband, typical of the Sandburgs' work.

Lighting: Lighting is provided by a bare bulb in a ceiling- mounted keyless porcelain fixture.

Heating: A small 24" radiator is located under the east window

Bathroom (Room 213). This bathroom was installed by the Sandburgs in 1946 and is similar to the first- floor bathrooms that they installed at the same time. It is finished with tile similar to that used in the downstairs bathrooms.

Flooring: The floor is tiled with the same unglazed, black- and- white, hexagonal tile used in the other bathrooms.

Walls: Walls are tiled to a height of 52" with olive-green, glazed, 4- 1/4"- square tile accented with black border and a black base. Above the tile, walls and ceiling are plaster dating to the 1940s.

Door: The two- panel doors to the adjacent bedrooms date to the 1940s and are 2'- 0" by 6'- 0" with mortise locks and privacy latches.

Window: The window, which dates to the room's construction in 1945, is double- hung, one- over-one, and measures 2'- 4" by 3'- 11".



FIGURE 205. View west in Janet's Room (211). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)



FIGURE 206. View east in Janet's Room (211). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)

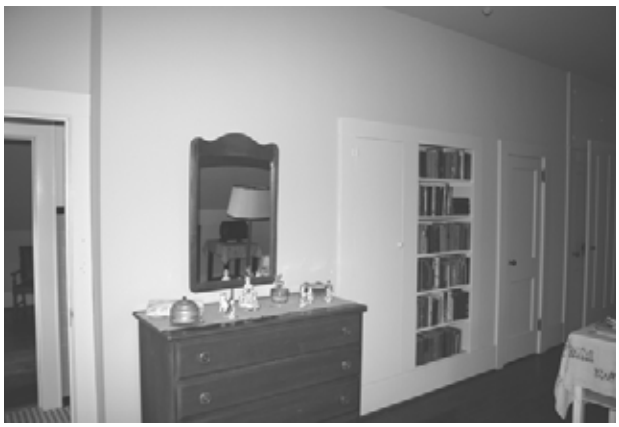


FIGURE 207. View southwest in Janet's Room (211). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CRD, 2004)



FIGURE 208. View southwest in Guest Room (214). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

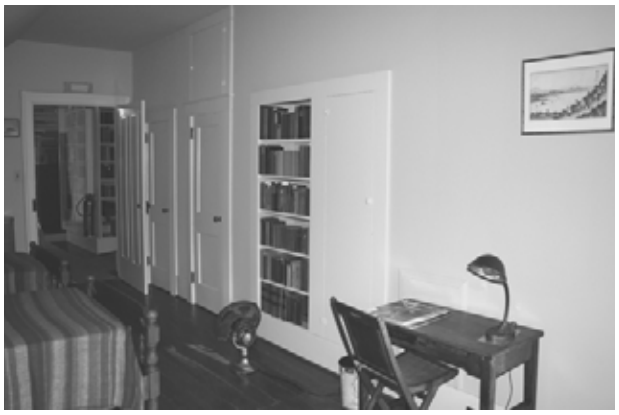


FIGURE 209. View northwest in Room 214. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

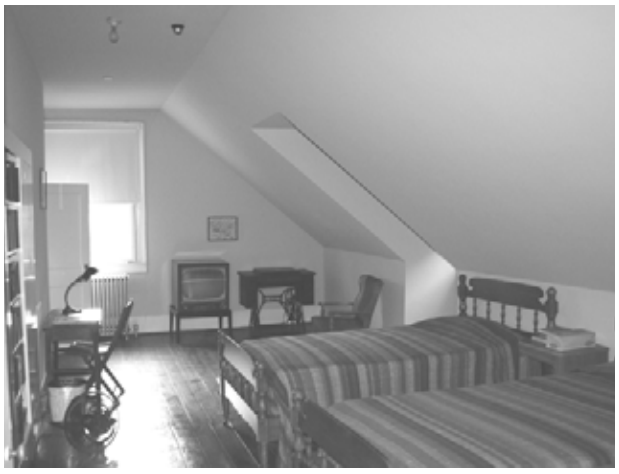


FIGURE 210. View southeast in Guest Room (214). (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

Fixtures: Begun in 1945, this bathroom was not completed until the 4- 1/2' long tub was delivered in 1947. The toilet was apparently replaced in the 1960s since the existing toilet bears a date of 25 June 1963.

Guest Room (214-216). Like Janet's Room (211), this bedroom is 6'- 7" longer than the west bedrooms, and like Janet's Room, it was reduced in size in the 1940s when the Sandburgs added the bathroom (213) on the east side of the chimney breast, cabinet and shelves across the chimney breast, and the closet (215) on the west side of the chimney breast, the latter perhaps covering a connecting door similar to the one between Rooms 201 and 202. They also created another closet (216) out of part of the Smyth-era bathroom (217).

Flooring: Flooring is typical tongue- and- groove pine, 5- 1/4" to 8" wide.

Walls: Walls are all assumed to be the original plaster on split lath, except most of the north wall which dates to the 1940s.

Ceiling: The ceiling, which is around 8'- 11" high, is original plaster on split lath.

Doors: In addition to the original door opening from the hall, double doors to the closet (215) and the door to the bathroom (213) are all two- panel, 2'- 0" by 6'- 0" by 1- 3/8", with typical mortise locks from the 1940s. The door to the cabinet built against the chimney breast is 3/4" plywood, 17" by 64". A smaller plywood door above one of the closet (215) doors opens to additional storage space above the closets. The door opening to the west closet (216) is also plywood.

Windows: Windows are similar to those in the other bedrooms with one on the east and a dormer window on the south. The east window is 3'- 4" by 5'- 2" and the dormer window is 2'- 10" by 4'- 6". The Sandburgs removed the original six- over- six muntins from the sash, converting them to one-over- one

Trim: The 9" beaded baseboard is original. The casing of the windows and of the door to the hall is typical original casing for the second floor. Window stools are around 5/8" thick with a wide bead along the facing edge. Aprons are around 3- 3/4" with a bead across the lower edge. Casing of the doors into

the bathroom (213), and the closets (215 and 216) are cased with plain 4- 1/2" boards without a backband, typical of the Sandburgs' work.

Lighting: Lighting is by a bare bulb in a ceiling-mounted porcelain fixture.

Heating: A 24" radiator is located under the east window.

Upstairs Bathroom (Room 217). As noted above, this space was created by the Smyths around 1912. The Sandburgs removed the old footed, cast- iron tub that sat along the east wall and installed a metal shower surround in the northeast corner of the room and, in the southeast corner, another small closet (216) for the adjacent bedroom and a small closet for the bathroom itself against the south wall.

Walls: Walls are plaster on wood lath, except the west wall, where the infilled portion is paneled with 3- 1/2", double- beaded, tongue- and- groove boards installed vertically. Boards 3- 1/2" wide run along part of the west and north walls and hold a series of brass clothes hooks, probably dating to the early twentieth century.

Ceiling: The ceiling is plaster on wood lath.

Window: The room is lit by a single, double- hung, one- over- one window. The opening, which is 2- 10" by 4'- 6", is original but, as elsewhere, the original six- over- six muntins were removed by the Sandburgs in 1945.

Trim: A 9" beaded baseboard runs along the south wall while a 4- 1/2" beaded baseboard was used along the west and north walls. Window casing is typical antebellum casing. The door is cased with plain 4- 1/2" boards.

Fixtures: The wall- hung, enameled, cast- iron sink is apparently original to the room (c. 1912). Similar to the lavatory in Sandburg's bedroom, it has retained all of its original fittings. The metal shower surround is about 30" by 30" and dates to the 1940s. The original toilet was replaced in 1945 by the present unit, which bears a date of 8/22/45.



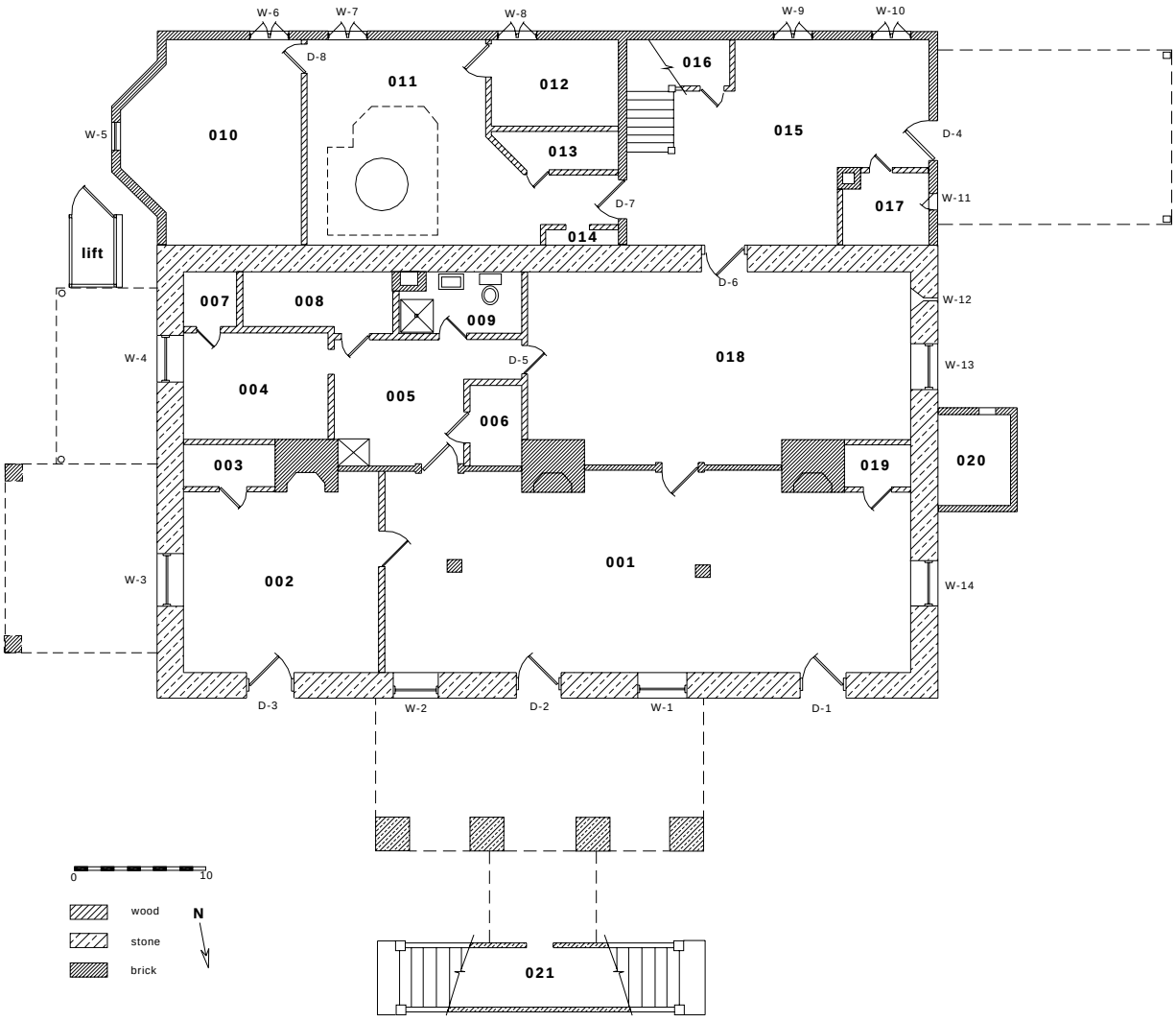
FIGURE 211. View southeast in Room 217. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)



FIGURE 212. View northeast in Room 217. (T. Jones, NPS-SERO-CR, 2004)

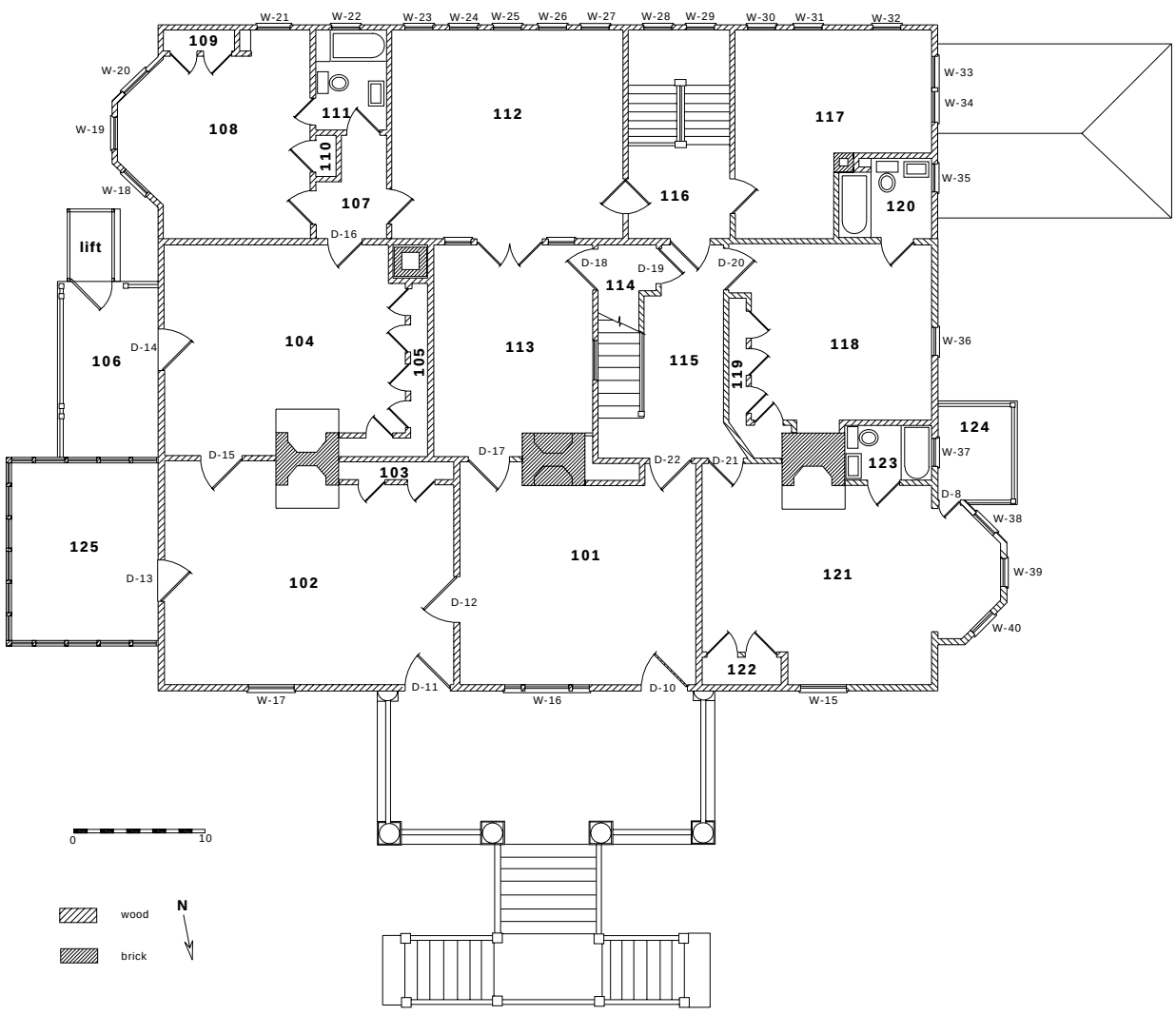
Floor Plans and Molding Details, 2004

Plan of ground floor



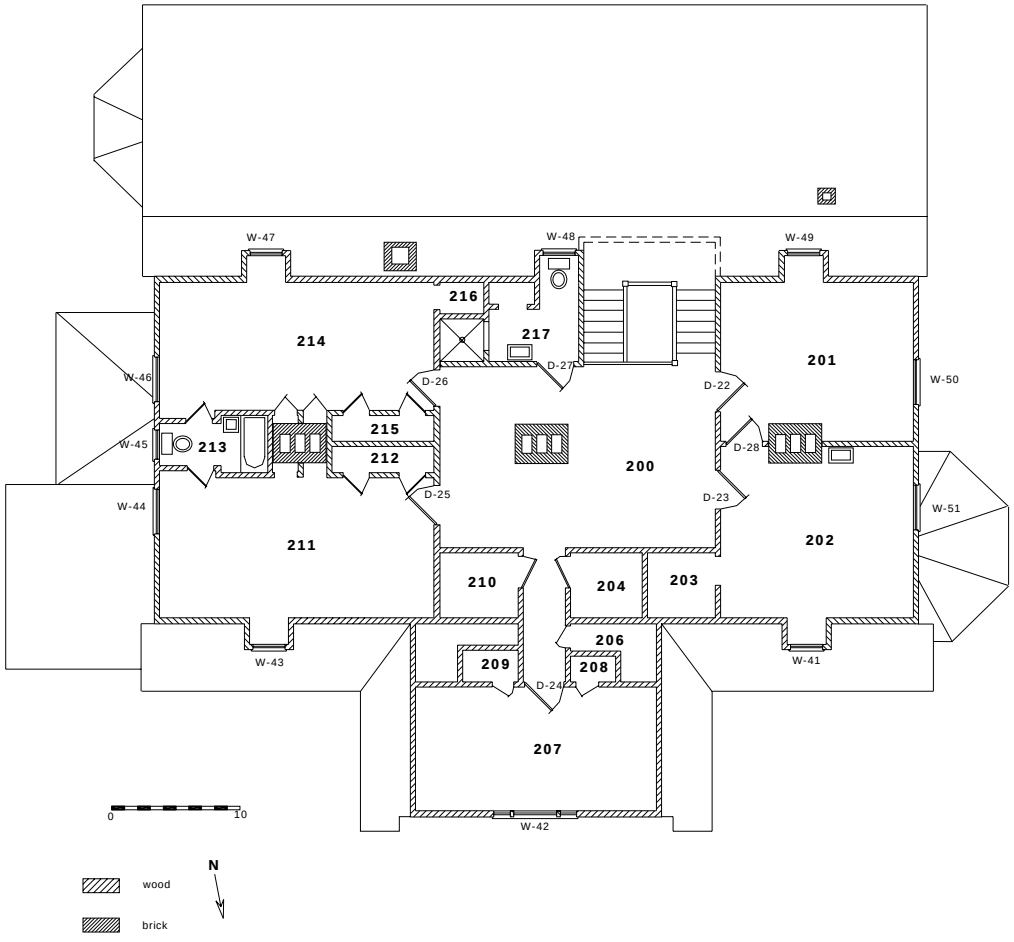
001 Workshop
002 Studio/Bedroom
003 Closet
004 Guest Room
005 Hall
006 Closet
007 Closet
008 Preserve Room
009 Bathroom
010 Kid Room
011 Furnace Room
012 Coal Bin
013 Coke Bin
014 Cabinet
015 Laundry Room
016 Closet
017 Storage Room
018 Book Room
019 Closet
020 Old Bath Foundation

Plan of First Floor



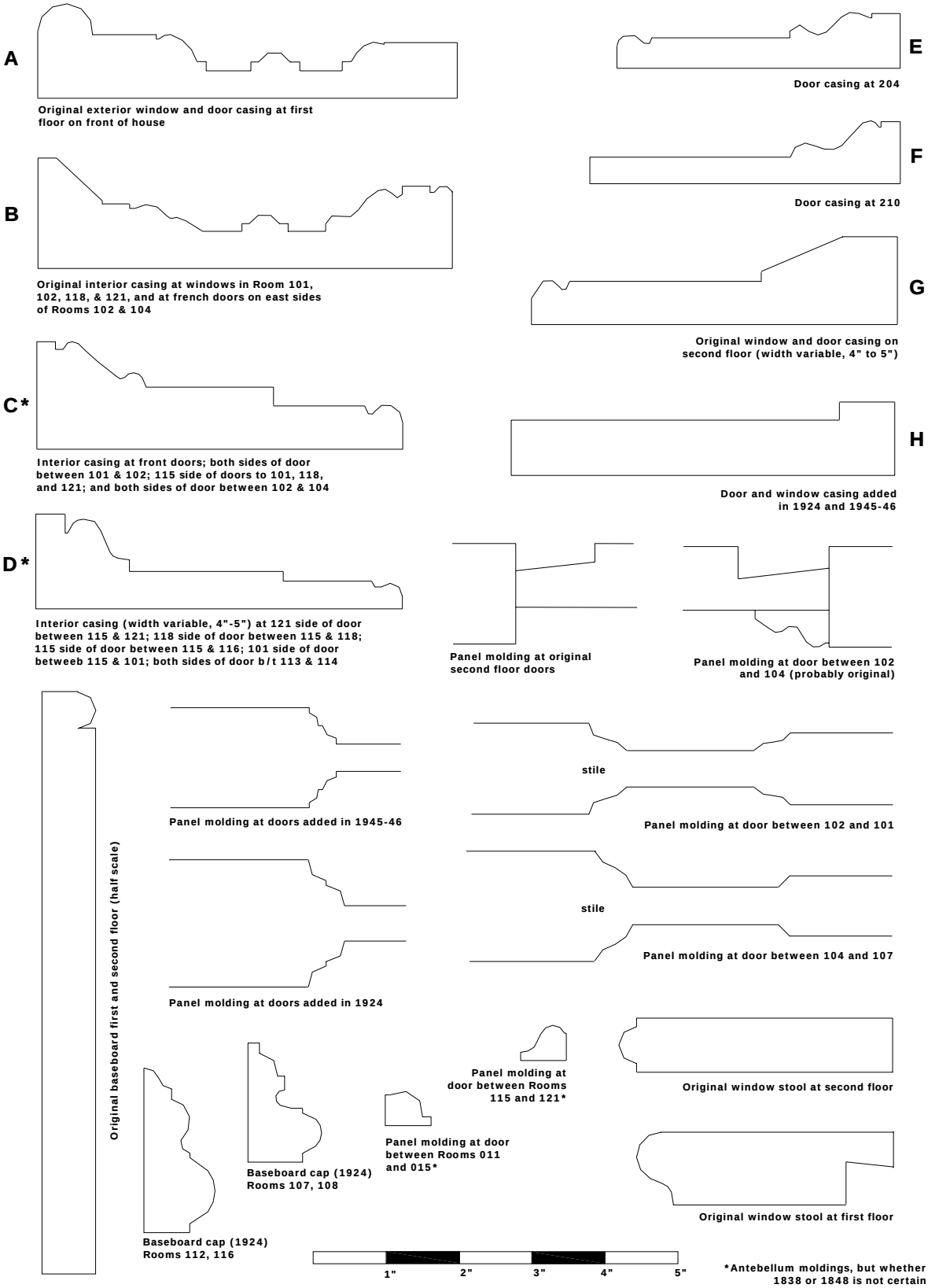
101 Sandburg's Office	106 Side Porch	111 Bathroom	116 Back Hall	121 Mrs. Sandburg's Bedroom
102 Front Room	107 Hall	112 Dining Room	117 Kitchen	122 Closet
103 Closets	108 Margaret's Study	113 Farm Office	118 Utility Room	123 Bathroom
104 Margaret's Room	109 Closet	114 Closet	119 Closet	124 West Porch
105 Closets	110 Closet	115 Front Hall	120 Bathroom	125 Conservatory

Plan of Second Floor



200 Upstairs Hall
201 Sandburg's Study
202 Sandburg's Bedroom
203 Closet
204 Closet
205 Hallway
206 Closet
207 Crow's Nest
208 Cupboard
209 Closet
210 Closet
211 Janet's Room
212 Closet
213 Bathroom
214 Guest Room
215 Closet
216 Closet
217 Bathroom

Molding Profiles



Treatment and Use

The primary purpose of this historic structure report has been to document the historic evolution of the Main House at Connemara. An historic structure report was completed in the 1970s, but that report focused primarily on the building's existing condition. Mrs. Sandburg and her daughters were interviewed extensively, but researchers did not have access to Memminger's papers. In 1984, Dr. David Wallace produced a historic furnishings report that included copious documentation for the building as it existed during the Sandburg era. There remained, however, only a limited understanding of and, in fact, some significant misconceptions about the historic evolution of the house prior to the Sandburg era.

In addition, Watson & Henry Associates, preservation architect and engineers out of Bridgeton, New Jersey, conducted an assessment of the environmental conditions inside the Main House in 2002. One result of that assessment has been a comprehensive environmental monitoring program that is now underway. Their report also included a series of recommendations for improvements to not only the building's mechanical and electrical systems but also to the building envelope. The wide- ranging scope of their recommendations highlighted the need for a broader understanding of the house's history and existing condition in order to minimize the impact of the proposed improvements on the historic fabric of the building.

Built in 1838, the house is historically significant for its associations with Carl Sandburg, of course, but also for its associations with Christopher Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America, and with Ellison Smyth, one of the leaders in the Southern textile industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The house is also architecturally significant as a good example of the Greek Revival in the South, designed by a Prussian- born architect who was one of the founders of the American Institution of Architecture, the country's first professional association for architects. Expanded by Memminger in 1848, the house was remodeled by a subsequent owner around 1890, renovated by Smyth in 1924, and finally renovated again by the Sandburgs in 1945-1946. Conveyed to the Federal government by Sandburg's widow in 1968, the house has been preserved by the National Park Service through routine maintenance, except for reconstruction of the Conservatory and much of the Front Porch, installation of systems for fire- suppression and security, and rehabilitation of the mechanical and electrical systems. Overall, the house remains in good condition with most of its historic fabric still intact.[231]

Requirements for Treatment and Use

A number of laws, regulations, and functional requirements circumscribe treatment and use of the the historic structures in our National Parks. In addition to protecting the cultural resource, these requirements also address issues of human safety, fire protection, energy conservation, abatement of hazardous materials, and handicapped accessibility. Any treatment must be carefully considered in order that the historic fabric of the structure be preserved.

National Historic Preservation Act

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended (NHPA) mandates Federal protection of significant cultural resources. In implementing the

231. "Historic" fabric includes but is not limited to the original features and materials. All features and materials that existed in 1968 should be considered part of the building's historic fabric.

act, a number of laws and authorities have been established that are binding on the NPS.

Section 106. A routine step in the park's planning process for the treatment of historic structures is compliance with Section 106 of NHPA, which requires Federal agencies "to take into account the effect" of any undertaking involving National Register properties. To satisfy the requirements of Section 106, regulations have been promulgated (36 CFR Part 800,"Protection of Historic Properties") that require, among other things, consultation with local governments, State Historic Preservation Officers, and Indian tribal representatives. Prior to any undertaking at the Main House, the NPS is required to "afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this act [NHPA] a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking."

In 1995, in an effort to expedite the review process, a programmatic agreement was made between the Advisory Council and the NPS that allows for a categorical exclusion of some activities from the Section 106 review process. These excluded activities are limited to routine repairs and maintenance that do not alter the appearance of the historic structure or involve widespread or total replacement of historic features or materials.

Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990

The Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) establishes comprehensive civil rights protection for disabled Americans, both in employment and in their right to free, unaided access to public buildings. The Basement is partially accessible to handicapped visitors, and installation of a lift from the ground to the East Porch has made the first floor accessible to most visitors with restricted mobility. The second floor remains inaccessible to most of those visitors. While people with restricted mobility have most frequently benefited from ADA, protection also extends to those with other disabilities. This would include visitors with impaired vision or hearing, for whom printed tour scripts and audio tours allow for interpretation of the site.

Requirements for full compliance with ADA regulations are extensive and easiest to apply to new construction. Full compliance for historic buildings is more difficult and sometimes would require significant alterations to the historic character of the property. Where that is the case, ADA authorizes a process for arriving at alternatives to full compliance that can preserve historic character while maximizing a disabled visitor's access to the historic building.

International Building Code

Building codes are generally applicable to all buildings whether they are historic or not. As a matter of policy, the NPS is guided by the International Building Code, which includes this statement regarding codes and historic buildings:

> **3406.1 Historic Buildings**. The provisions of this code related to the construction, repair, alteration, addition, restoration and movement of structures, and change of occupancy shall not be mandatory for historic buildings where such buildings are judged by the building official to not constitute *a distinct life safety hazard* [emphasis added].

Threats to public health and safety should always be eliminated, but because this is an historic building, alternatives to full code compliance are always sought where compliance would needlessly compromise the integrity of the historic building.

DOI and NPS Policies and Regulations

In addition to Director's Order #28, which has guided development of this historic structure report, there are policies and regulations that have been issued by both the Secretary of the Interior and the Director of the National Park Service which circumscribe treatment of historic buildings.

Secretary's Standards. The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* have established a framework in which to plan and execute treatment of historic structures. Guidelines for interpreting the *Standards* have been issued, and the NPS has also published forty- two *Preservation Briefs* that provide detailed direction for appropriate treatment of a variety of materials, features, and conditions found in historic buildings. Regardless of treatment approach, the *Standards* put a high priority on preservation of existing historic *materials* and not just the architectural form and style. Replacement of a column, for instance, even when replacement is "in kind," diminishes the authenticity of the building, if for no other reason than the elimination of the evidence of the passage

of time, which after all is fundamental to the authenticity of an historic structure.

The *Standards* also require that any alterations, additions, or other modifications be reversible, i.e., be designed and constructed in such a way that they can be removed or reversed in the future without the loss of existing historic materials, features, or character. Thus, in installing the lift to the East Porch, where the porch floor is lower than the interior floor, the historic porch floor was not removed and rebuilt but was covered by a new floor that eliminates the difference in floor levels. The balustrade which had to be removed was not discarded, so that the lift could be removed in the future and the porch restored with minimal compromise of its authenticity.

General Management Policies. Finally, the NPS General Management Policies (2001) guide overall management of the Main House at Connemara, especially Chapter 5 "Cultural Resource Management." Based upon the authority of some nineteen Acts of Congress and many more Executive orders and regulations, these policies require

> planning to ensure that management processes for making decisions and setting priorities integrate information about cultural resources, and provide for consultation and collaboration with outside entities; and stewardship to ensure that cultural resources are preserved and protected, receive appropriate treatments (including maintenance), and are made available for public understanding and enjoyment.[232]

Section 5.3.5, "Treatment of Cultural Resources," provides specific directives, including a directive that "the preservation of cultural resources in their existing states will always receive first consideration." The section also states that

> treatments entailing greater intervention will not proceed without the consideration of interpretive alternatives. The appearance and condition of resources before treatment, and changes made during treatment, will be documented. Such documentation will be shared with any appropriate state or tribal historic preservation office or certified local government, and added to the park museum cataloging system. Pending treatment decisions reached through the planning process, all resources will be protected and preserved in their existing states.[233]

Alternatives for Treatment and Use

An Historic Structure Report typically considers and evaluates alternative uses and treatments for the historic structure. Emphasis is on preserving extant historic material and resolving conflicts, especially those that might result between the mandate to preserve and the necessity for use.

Given that exhibit and interpretation of the Sandburgs' home and life is the primary reason for the park's existence, there are few reasonable alternatives that could be conceived to the current approach to treatment of the house, which essentially has been to preserve and maintain the house as it was during Sandburg's life. Except for reconstruction of the Front Porch floor and of the Conservatory, which were badly deteriorated by the time the NPS acquired the site, restoration and reconstruction has not been part of the NPS approach to treatment of the site. The NPS has even resisted the urge to replace water- stained acoustical ceiling tiles in the dining room, although the faulty roof that was the source of the damage during the Sandburg era has, of course, been repaired.

Most of the house is used as an interpretive museum exhibit, with nearly all of the main floor and the second floor furnished and interpreted with original Sandburg furnishings and artifacts that are part of the park's museum collection. However, certain areas on all three floors of the house are used for storage and curatorial functions, or for other reasons are inaccessible to visitors. Throughout the house, visitor impact is carefully controlled by the use of runners, the roping off of some rooms, and, most important, the constant vigilance of NPS rangers and volunteers who always accompany visitors through the house. Here, too, it is difficult to envision alternative uses for most of the structure that would not diminish the historic resource.

Basement

The Basement and a few other areas in the house do lend themselves to alternate uses. Little altered since

232. NPS General Management Policies (2001), p. 50.

233. NPS General Management Policies (2001), p. 56

the Sandburg era, the basement is used primarily for visitor contact (001) and orientation (002), sale of books and other interpretive material (001), staff support facilities (004, 005, and 009), and building utilities (011 and 017). A number of spaces are used for general storage (003, 006- 008, 010, 012- 014, and 019). The Laundry Room (015) and Book Room (018) are the only spaces that are furnished and interpreted as they were in the Sandburg era.

If there were a separate visitors center or other point of visitor contact, it would be possible to refurnish the Workshop (001) and Studio (002) to reflect their use during the Sandburg era. A separate visitors center could also make possible use of Rooms 001 and 002 as space for exhibits. However, a separate visitors center would likely have its own exhibit space, and portions of the Swedish House or Garage could also be adapted for exhibit space.

Room 108

The Children's Bedroom (108) and the Crow's Nest (207) are currently used by the park staff for curatorial services, and the door to Room 108 from the hall is routinely kept closed. In his plan for recreating the house's historic interiors, Wallace suggested that the Children's Room could be useful in interpretation of the period when there were two small children in the house (1946- 1952), a period which is "not otherwise visible at Connemara."[234] In addition, with its bay window dating to the Smyth era, but replicating a bay window from the Gregg era, and with its floor the only one of the plain- sawn, 3-1/2", pine floors that remains visible, the room has some architectural interest as well.

However, the park does not have the appropriate furnishings for this approach, although the room could be refurnished to reflect Margaret's use of it as an office. Furthermore, the park's curatorial staff requires a room in which to accomplish its ongoing work of conserving the thousands of books and other artifacts in the house, and logistics require that space be available for that purpose on each floor of the house.

Room 207

The only other significant room in the house that is not fully accessible to visitors is the Crow's Nest (Room 207) above the Front Porch. It provides a spectacular view of the Front Lake and the mountains to the north and west, and if visitors were allowed access to the room, it might significantly enhance their experience of Connemara. However, the floor system in the room (which also forms the ceiling of the Front Porch) lacks the capacity to handle large numbers of people without major restructuring. If safe load limits could be established, and if curatorial services could be relocated to one of the large closets nearby, visitors might be allowed into the room a few at a time or, at the very least, allowed entry into the passage to the room. The logistics would be difficult, however, and for most tours, increased accessibility to the Crow's Nest will not be an option.

Watson & Henry Recommendations

Watson & Henry's recent assessment of the house's environmental conditions includes recommendations for improvements to not only the building's mechanical and electrical systems but also to the building itself. Most of these are well- founded, although with caveats regarding preservation of original material; but as discussed below, full implementation of their recommendations for the electrical system and for the windows have the potential for unnecessarily compromising the building's historic fabric.

Room 004. The Watson and Henry recommendations would alter use of part of the basement. Specifically, the recommendation is made to relocate the staff break room outside the house in order to reduce the chances for pests being introduced into the house.

In addition, the room is the only practical location for the air- handling equipment, since it is adjacent to a chimney and to the laundry chute, both of which serve as utility chases. It is likely that even with operable windows (see below), the house will require additional ventilation, and use of this room for air- handling equipment will be necessary. The impact of this change on the historic fabric of the house would be relatively minor, limited mostly to alterations in Room 004 to allow installation of duct work and the air- handling equipment itself.

Boiler. Watson & Henry's recommendation to remove the boiler from the Furnace Room (011) to a separate building or into a separate mechanical area with fire- rated construction has wider implications.

234. Wallace, *Historic Furnishings Report*, p. 240.

Removal of the boiler from inside the house would certainly eliminate that risk of catastrophic explosion and/or fire in the house. In addition, relocation of the boiler would eliminate some safety concerns, so that the Kid Room (010) could be interpreted if desired.

Construction of a new building for the boiler would certainly be an unacceptable intrusion on the historic landscape, unless it were placed underground, which would present the usual problems of maintenance of an underground structure. One of the three nearby buildings might be used, but certainly such use of the Swedish House or the old Wash House would not be considered due to the large impact installation of a boiler room would have on the historic fabric and character of those buildings. Adaptation of part of the Garage for a boiler room is not, however, out of the question, since the impact on its historic character and fabric could be relatively small. Design of such a boiler room in the garage would have to address sound and other factors that might negatively affect use of the remainder of the building as a class room.

The risk from the boiler would be greatly reduced, although not entirely eliminated, if a fire- rated enclosure were provided inside the house. Such an enclosure would necessarily greatly alter the character of the Furnace Room (011) and effectively eliminate visitor viewing of the historic room. If the boiler were left inside the house, adaptation of the Kid Room as a fire- rated boiler room might be preferable, since there would then be no impact on the way the house is currently presented to visitors.

Electrical System. Watson and Henry recognized a number of issues with the existing electrical system, including the fact that all components are not grounded. As a first step in planning rehabilitation of the electrical system, the park should identify those light fixtures and receptacles that are essential to interpretation and to routine maintenance. All others should be put out of service. Improvements to the house's ventilation system will automatically reduce the need for fans and extension cords, and careful planning could eliminate the need for many other receptacles. The necessary lighting and convenience receptacles could then be rewired and isolated on grounded branch circuits that could be deactivated at night and at other times the house is not occupied.

Circuits that are essential for fire protection, security, and emergency lighting should be on their own circuit or circuits, independent of the lighting and convenience receptacle circuits.

Flexible or rigid conduit, which greatly reduce the chance of accidental damage to wiring, should be installed wherever that can be achieved with minimal damage. Where installation would require significant trenching of plaster walls or other major damage, first consideration should be given to abandoning the relevant receptacle or circuit. Lighting that is necessary should be placed on remotely activated circuits that would eliminate the necessity for rewiring switches.

Fire Detection and Suppression. Watson & Henry also recommend expanding the house's fire detection system to include all spaces in the house, and they recommend changes that would improve water delivery to the house's sprinkler system. These alterations would significantly improve the ability to limit damage should a fire break out inside the house. The impact of the alterations on the historic fabric of the house need not be great if wiring is not placed in conduit or if wireless sensors are utilized where appropriate. An "addressable system" wired as a loop would eliminate many "home- runs" to the panel and thus reduce the impact on the house's historic fabric. The Watson & Henry recommendation for installation of an auxiliary generator to insure that water can reach the sprinkler system at all times should also be considered.

Windows. Finally, Watson & Henry recommended that all of the windows in the house, including the conservatory, be repaired to working order, so that they might be used to manage the house's environmental conditions. The most intrusive part of this work would be replacing sash cord for the counterweights. Because there are no access panels in the older sash channels, casing on both sides of each window may have to be removed in order to gain access to the counterweights and to re- tie the ropes. This could cause significant damage to the adjacent plaster walls. Alternatively, pockets to access the counterweights might be cut into the sash channels, but in either case, the metal weatherstripping would be damaged or destroyed and would be difficult or impossible to replace. However, operable sash are not necessary at every opening, and since these repairs expose the woodwork to damage and will inevitably lead to the loss of

antique nails and, if not carefully executed, historic plaster and weatherstripping as well, the work should be limited to those openings which will actually be used for ventilation.

In addition, if the windows are to be operable, the storm sash will have to be replaced with screens each spring and the screens with storm sash each fall, a routine that was also followed by the Sandburgs. The storm windows are fitted with UV- filtering film, and although screens would reduce some UV and visible light, protection would not be absolute. This should be considered when deciding which windows will be operable and which will remain closed.

The existing UV- filtering film on the storm sash is reaching the end of its useful life. When it is replaced, the new film should be installed on the window sash rather than on the storm sash. This would allow seasonal installation of screens at all windows, including those that will not be opened, while maintaining UV and visible light filtration. Seasonal replacement of storm sash and screens at *all* windows would have the benefit of allowing a more authentic presentation of the house to park visitors. In recent years, at least some storm sash have typically been left in place year round, which significantly alters the historic appearance of the house during warm seasons of the years.

Ultimate Treatment and Use

The current use of the house primarily as an exhibit for interpreting the home and life of Carl Sandburg should be continued. Tours could be expanded to allow visitors to view but not enter Rooms 108 and 207; but for the forseeable future, both rooms will continue to be used for curatorial services and be off limits for tours.

Environmental Improvements

Careful preservation of the status quo and repair when necessary is the only viable option for treatment of the house. However, the collection is threatened by less- than- ideal environmental conditions, and certain improvements are necessary if the rate of loss is to be reduced.For the most part, Watson & Henry's recommendations for improvements to the mechanical and electrical systems inside the house and to the building itself should be implemented, although there should be some modification of their recommendations in order to reduce the impact on the historic fabric of the building.

Pest Control. To reduce the risk of attracting pests inside the house, Watson & Henry also recommended that the staff break room now in Room 004 be relocated outside the Main House. This could free that room for installation of some of the additional ventilation equipment that they also recommended, since it is ideally suited for that purpose due to its proximity to available equipment chases through the laundry chute and the adjacent chimney stack.

Ventilation. The recommendation that all windows be repaired to operable condition appears to be unnecessary, since only some of the windows would be routinely used for ventilation. In the Front Room and Sandburg's Office, for instance, the doors offer ample ventilation without the necessity of opening windows. In addition, if a window is open, UV and visible light protection for the interior is lost or reduced. The repair process poses the risk of glass breakage, damage to adjacent plaster and to window casing when it is removed, and the process will also lead to the practical loss of historic nails. Because of the potential for damage to woodwork, plaster, and glass, this project should be limited to those openings that would be necessary to accomplish the goals set forth in Watson & Henry's recommendations.

Because of the tremendous heat gain in the summer from the poorly ventilated Conservatory, its windows should be restored to an operable condition. Again, proper ventilation may not require that all the Conservatory windows be operable, but since the design of these windows makes the risk of damage during repair less than inside the house, limiting the number of windows to be repaired may not be necessary. The historic screening of four Conservatory window openings should be restored and should provide adequate ventilation. There has never been a screen door at the opening between the Front Room and the Conservatory, and one should not be added, but all of the existing screen doors elsewhere should be repaired and maintained.

Gutters and Downspouts. Reducing moisture penetration into the house is one of the primary goals of the Watson & Henry recommendations, and gutters and downspouts that function properly are the first line of defense. The half- round gutters along the rear of the house are sometimes unable to carry all of the runoff from the roof, leading to saturation of the soil and increased dampness in the basement. Watson & Henry recommend the addition of a third downspout, but replacement of the six- inch half- round gutter with a six- inch ogee-style box gutter, which was present during at least part of the historic period, would double the carrying capacity of the system, so that an additional downspout might not be necessary. All of the gutters should be inspected for proper pitch. The existing underground drainage system should be inspected and any necessary repairs made to insure that it functions properly as well.

Fire Safety

Disaster was narrowly averted in the 1970s when the boiler in the basement furnace room exploded while the house was unoccupied. Damage was limited then, but a number of changes now would significantly reduce the risk of loss from fire or another explosion inside the house. A Fire Security Survey is scheduled for the house and will probably confirm some if not all of the recommendations made in the Watson & Henry report.

Boiler. A new boiler room and electrical room should be constructed inside the garage and the boiler removed to that enclosure. This change would greatly reduce the risk of explosion and/or fire inside the house. Only the northern third of the garage would need to be altered, leaving the remainder of the building free for its present use for lectures and other presentations.

Lightning Protection. The lightning protection system should also be inspected for proper grounding. Because of the house's exposed location, lightning protection should be maintained at all times.

Fire Detection. Although the house is completely sprinkled, Watson & Henry have noted the dearth of fire and smoke detectors inside the building. Following their recommendation, detectors should be installed in all rooms throughout the house and in the attics as well. Use of wireless sensors would minimize the impact on the house's historic fabric.

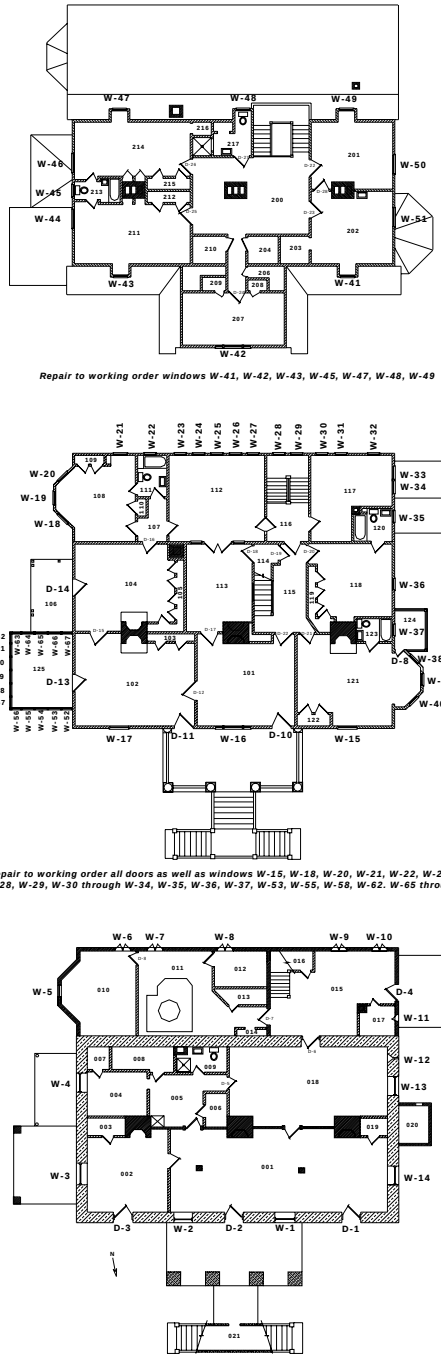


FIGURE 213. Windows suggested for repair to operable condition.

Their recommendation for emergency power for the pump that serves the sprinkler system should also be implemented.

Repairs and Maintenance

Because preservation *is* maintenance, the NPS has developed an Historic Structure Preservation Guide for the Main House at Connemara. Complete with

inspection checklists and guidelines, it is meant to insure that simple, routine maintenance remains simple and routine and does not allow larger problems to mushroom out of control. Too often, maintenance tends to be crisis- driven, that is action is taken only after deterioration is well advanced, thereby unnecessarily compounding the damage and expense of repairs.

However, routine repairs and maintenance are potential threats to the integrity of the historic building. While it is true that preservation *is* maintenance, a careless approach can lead to significant loss of historic material and diminishment of the site's authenticity as an historic site. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Buildings* and the guidelines that accompany them aim to preserve not only the architectural *form* of an historic structure but its substance as well. Thus, reconstruction of an original chimney, for example, diminishes the resource, even if the original brick are re- used (as is proposed for the chimney at the Farm Manager's House), since all of the mortar and, for all practical purposes, all evidence of historic craftsmanship will be lost. Likewise, replacement of siding may retain the *appearance* of the historic building, but at the expense of the original nails (which in and of themselves can be important dating devices, if nothing else); and again for all practical purposes, all evidence of the historic craftsmanship will be lost.

"In-kind" Material. Replacement of materials, even "in kind," is problematic and should only be undertaken when absolutely necessary. "In kind" replacement of historic wooden siding, for instance, does not mean that any wooden siding is appropriate as replacement material. In the 1830s and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, old-growth lumber, some of it quarter- sawn and all of it extremely durable, was used for exterior woodwork. Such lumber is now almost impossible to acquire, so that repairs should always avoid removing any more historic material than is absolutely necessary. If the end of a run of siding is damaged, for example, the entire run should not be replaced but only that which is necessary to repair the damage.

Painting. Painting will always be part of routine maintenance of Connemara, but a distinction should always be made between routine exterior painting, which is necessary to preserve the building, and interior painting, which is generally not necessary for the building's preservation and is only done to improve aesthetics. Given that the Sandburgs seem to have repainted the interior infrequently, the park has a certain amount of latitude in how much wear is acceptable.

The distinction between those areas finished with oil- based paints and those finished with latex or water- based paints should be maintained. As noted in the previous section of this report, the Sandburgs originally used oil- based enamels with their glossy or semi- glossy appearance in the kitchen, the bathrooms, the small hall at the east end of the dining room, and on most of the woodwork in the house. Plaster walls and ceilings in the rest of the house were finished with "Kem- tone," the new water-based paints that had a flat finish. Although modern acrylic paints can mimic the appearance of an oil-based enamel, the match in sheen is not perfect and, if not applied carefully, the painted surface can take on the appearance of grapefruit peeling.

Mildew on exterior woodwork is an ongoing problem. Prior to repainting, the house should be washed with a solution of household bleach, which kills the mildew, and a detergent like trisodium phosphate. Washing should be by hand scrubbing and not by pressure washing, although compressed- air sprayers can be used for delivering the bleach solution and for rinsing if the pressure is greatly reduced. As the Watson & Henry study pointed out, high- pressure washing risks injecting the house with moisture by forcing water through cracks and joints into the walls of the house. After washing, the house must be allowed to dry but then repainted within two weeks to prevent reinfection of the surfaces with mildew. Most modern paints contain mildewicides to protect the surface but additional mildewicides can also be added to most paints.

Problems of Repair. Overall the house is in excellent condition, but as with any old building, ongoing repairs and preventive maintenance will always be necessary. In any project, cost of proper care of the museum collection, including removal, storage, and any cleaning or conservation necessary as a result, should always be a part of the project budget.

Front Porch Columns: As of this writing, the park is proposing replacement of the four columns on the Front Porch. Three of the columns were replaced in

the 1970s, leaving only one of the original columns in place, on the east side of the front steps. Total replacement of a major character- defining feature such as these columns should never have been undertaken, except as a last resort, but it is now imperative that the original column be repaired and preserved. Although the columns show signs of deterioration typical of such features, the damage is not so far advanced that the column cannot be repaired and preserved. Clearly total column replacement has offered no great advantage, if they are now requiring replacement only thirty years later. Careful repair of the existing columns is recommended, including insertion of a moisture barrier between the concrete pier caps and the wooden column base and careful maintenance of the caulked joint between the cap and the column. Here and throughout the house, the principle that repair is preferable to replacement, even if "in kind," should guide treatment if the authenticity of the building's architecture is to be preserved.

Front Porch Deck: Repairs to the Front Porch deck are needed, but here, too, total replacement of boards is not recommended. Typically, damage occurs at the outside end of boards, and repairs can be limited to replacing perhaps only two feet of each board. Although in this case, the decking dates to the 1970s and is, therefore, technically not historic, replacing only the outside ends of damaged boards would replicate treatment used by the Sandburgs themselves.[235]

Plaster Repair: Most of the plaster walls and ceilings are in good condition, with only a few areas of concern. Plaster repair inevitably generates significant amounts of fine, gritty dust that can penetrate well beyond the immediate work area. In damp weather, moisture in the air can combine with the lime in the dust, making the dust difficult to remove, especially from porous materials such as books and textiles. Furniture and other objects that are part of the house's museum collection must be removed or otherwise protected until the repairs are complete. It would be preferable if any repairs necessary at the present time be delayed and implemented as part of a larger repair project after the other recommendations which will necessitate plaster repairs (window repair, e.g.) are implemented. This would also allow time for determining the cause of the recurring plaster damage that has occurred beneath windows and behind radiators in some rooms, particularly in Rooms 108 and 211.

Doors: The door is missing from the closet in Sandburg's Bedroom (Room 202), but historic photographs suggest that it was taken down during Sandburg's lifetime and should, therefore, not be re- hung.

Further Historical Research

Archival research for this project has been extensive but not exhaustive in terms of information that might be useful in interpretation of the building's long history. Memminger's papers, especially his account book, were critical to development of this HSR's chronology of the building's development and use in the antebellum period, but they remain a rich source of interpretive material.

Memminger's Account Book. Examination of the original document at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and a full transcription would form the foundation for continued research that would no doubt add many useful details to the chronology of the building's evolution and could support a broader interpretation of the site.

For example, the account book includes references to many individuals, and with further research in the Federal census and other sources, the park would be able to better interpret the enslaved servants and the overseers, craftsmen, contractors, and common laborers that built and maintained Rock Hill. Memminger's account book ends in 1862, but more extensive census data and other useful resources exist for the period after the Civil War and would be a rich source of information on the free black servants, overseers, laborers and other individuals for whom Connemara was home.

Oral History Project. In addition, the park has requested funding for an oral history project, and if the interviews routinely emphasized the appearance and evolution of the historic building, understanding of the building could be significantly expanded. Use of floor plans and historic photographs would be indispensable in facilitating recall of memories about the house.

The interviews naturally focus on the Sandburg family, but it would also be helpful to interview

235. See CARL Photo #109107 in Figure 37.

those who knew and worked with Sandburg, like local historian Louise Bailey and the Sandburg's housekeeper Adeline Polega. The oral history project should also include interviews with older members of the Smyth family who have memories of Connemara. The children of the Fishers and the Ballards, if they could be located, might also make significant contributions to the project.

Further Building Investigation

A non- destructive approach to building investigation was taken during the course of developing this HSR. While this approach has been sufficient for present needs, much remains to be learned.

Ongoing Investigation. Much of the building's wood frame is hidden from view, as are the surfaces of original floors, decking, and other materials. As repairs and other treatments necessitate removal of wall and ceiling finishes, flooring, and roof coverings, the affected areas should be thoroughly investigated and the as- found conditions *recorded*, both photographically and narratively. If the HSR is then periodically updated with this and other new information, the park's understanding of the historic building will continue to grow.

Paint and Wallpaper. The analysis of the painted finishes in selected areas of the house that was conducted in the course of the present study was directed primarily at determining the evolution of the stair hall and adjacent rooms, which appear to have been altered prior to the Civil War. There remain records of the paints used by the Sandburgs, and most of these can still be readily reproduced, although recording the colors using the Munsell system would help insure that the paints could always be reproduced. Other aspects of the house's paint and wallpaper are not as certainly known and could benefit from additional investigation.

There may have been subtle changes in the historic finishes (e.g., repainting enameled walls with latex or acrylic paints) over the years, but careful analysis of the existing finishes may be necessary to determine the extent of those changes. In addition, portions of the house's original walls and ceilings are preserved above the present lowered ceilings on the first floor, and these are a potentially rich source of information. On those walls and ceilings is a complete history of how those features were treated between 1838 and 1946, and complete analysis could allow full interpretation of that aspect of the house's history.

Summary of Recommendations for Treatment and Use

The current use of the house primarily as an exhibit for interpreting the life and work of Carl Sandburg will be continued. Any treatment, whether routine maintenance, repairs, rehabilitation, or restoration, must always respect the building's architectural integrity and be planned in such a way as to minimize the loss of historic material. In addition, planning for any treatment must address proper care of the collection, and the cost of that care must be factored into the project budget.

Environmental Improvements

- Relocate staff break area from inside the house
- If additional ventilation equipment is needed as recommended by Watson & Henry, install in Room 004
- Restore Conservatory windows to working order; install screening at selected openings
- Rescreen south end of East Porch
- Repair to working order the one or two windows in each room that would be needed for ventilation under the Watson & Henry approach to improving the house's internal environment (see plan on p. 185)
- Replace UV- filtering film on storm windows with new UV- filtering film on window sash
- Inspect underground drainage system and make repairs as necessary
- Install new 6" ogee- style gutter across the rear of the house and, if necessary, a third downspout
- Inspect all gutters for proper drainage

Fire Safety

- Rehabilitate a portion of the garage for a boiler room and relocate boiler from inside the house
- Rewire house, eliminating unnecessary fixtures, receptacles, and circuits
- Inspect the lightning rod system and insure proper grounding
- Install appropriate smoke and fire detectors in all rooms and in the attics

Repairs and Maintenance

- Always repair historic materials, replacing the material only where it is irretrievably lost
- Avoid high- pressure washing of house
- Continue to use oil- based paints on wood trim and in the bathrooms and kitchen and acrylic or water- based paints elsewhere on the interior
- Repair, but do not replace, Front Porch columns
- Repair Front Porch deck, piecing as necessary

- Insure routine inspections and cyclical maintenance as outlined in the preservation guide manual that has been developed for the house
- Always include the cost of collection care in the budget for every project

Further Historical Research

- Transcribe and continue research of Memminger's account book and other papers
- Emphasize building history in the oral history project
- Conduct additional research of Gregg family

Further Building Investigation

- Incorporate building investigation and documentation into any project that includes opening or removal of finishes from walls, ceiling, or floors
- Record historic Sandburg finishes using Munsell notation
- Investigate changes in paint type (e.g., oil- based to latex or semi- gloss to flat) during and after the Sandburg era
- Conduct full study of paint and wallpaper that remains above first- floor ceilings

Sources of Information

Manuscript Collections

Chapel Hill, NC. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502), Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. Includes account book kept by Memminger during construction of Connemara as well as letters and other documents relating to Memminger's life and career.

Flat Rock, NC. Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site Collection. Includes numerous photographs, letters, and other documents relating to all periods of the site's history.

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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