

Mark Twain Memorial (Mark Twain House)
531 Farmington Avenue
Hartford
Hartford County
Connecticut

HABS No. CT-359

HABS
CONN,
2-HARF,
16-

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20240

STATE Connecticut	COUNTY Hartford	TOWN OR VICINITY Hartford
HISTORIC NAME OF STRUCTURE (INCLUDE SOURCE FOR NAME) Mark Twain Memorial		HABS NO. CT-359
SECONDARY OR COMMON NAMES OF STRUCTURE Mark Twain House		
COMPLETE ADDRESS (DESCRIBE LOCATION FOR RURAL SITES) 531 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut		
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION (INCLUDE SOURCE) 1874 P.L. Levin, <u>Great Historic Houses</u>	ARCHITECT(S) (INCLUDE SOURCE) Edward Tucker Potter (designed plans) (See Levin, <u>Great Historic Houses...</u>)	
SIGNIFICANCE (ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL, INCLUDE ORIGINAL USE OF STRUCTURE) Residence of successful novelist and publisher Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens). Notable for exterior interplay of shapes and colors reminiscent of the style called "Mississippi steamboat".		
STYLE (IF APPROPRIATE) "Mississippi Steamboat"		
MATERIAL OF CONSTRUCTION (INCLUDE STRUCTURAL SYSTEMS) Brick		
SHAPE AND DIMENSIONS OF STRUCTURE (SKETCHED FLOOR PLANS ON SEPARATE PAGES ARE ACCEPTABLE) Irregular		
EXTERIOR FEATURES OF NOTE Several balconies, turrets, porches trimmed with exterior flower boxes. Some of the brick is painted to form black and red geometric patterns.		
INTERIOR FEATURES OF NOTE (DESCRIBE FLOOR PLANS, IF NOT SKETCHED) Much of the interior was designed and decorated by Louis Comfort Tiffany including stained glass windows, tiles and stenciled walls..		
MAJOR ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS WITH DATES Restored in 1956 by the Mark Twain Memorial Commission		
PRESENT CONDITION AND USE		
OTHER INFORMATION AS APPROPRIATE		
SOURCES OF INFORMATION (INCLUDING LISTING ON NATIONAL REGISTER, STATE REGISTERS, ETC.) Phyllis L. Levin, <u>Great Historic Houses of America</u> , New York: Coward-McCann, 1970, pp. 50-57.		
COMPILER, AFFILIATION Melissa McDonald HABS Historian		DATE 6-1-1983

MARK TWAIN HOUSE
(Samuel Clemens House)
(Mark Twain Memorial)
351 Farmington Avenue
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ADDENDUM TO
MARK TWAIN MEMORIAL
(Mark Twain House)
531 Farmington Avenue
Hartford
Hartford County
Connecticut

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA
REDUCED COPIES OF THE MEASURED DRAWINGS
PHOTOGRAPHS

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

MARK TWAIN HOUSE
(Samuel Clemens House)

HABS NO. CT-359
(page 2.)

An Addendum to: one page previously transmitted
MARK TWAIN MEMORIAL (Mark Twain House)
531 (sic) Farmington Avenue
Hartford
Hartford County
Connecticut

Location: 351 (correction) Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Hartford County, Connecticut.

Present Owner, Occupant, and Use: The former house of Samuel Clemens (better known as Mark Twain), is now owned by a private non-profit organization and operated as the Mark Twain Memorial, a house museum. It is a mixed-use structure and contains exhibit space, offices, and storage areas.

Significance: Completed in 1874, the Mark Twain house was designed by Edward Tuckerman Potter and Alfred H. Thorp for noted American author and humorist Samuel Clemens and his family. The Clemenses lived here from 1874 until 1891, during which time Mr. Clemens wrote a number novels now recognized as classics of American literature, including The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876), A Tramp Abroad (1879), The Prince and the Pauper (1880), Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884), and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889). The house was erected on a portion of the property known as "Nook Farm," a close-knit, prestigious enclave that included, in addition to the Clemens family, authors Harriet Beecher Stowe and Charles Dudley Warner, and suffragist Isabella Beecher Hooker. The Clemenses were known for their ostentatious lifestyle and entertaining. Guests included noted personalities of the day, including literary figures William Dean Howells, Thomas Bailey Aldrich and Bret Harte; actor Edwin Booth, and British explorer and journalist Sir Henry Morton Stanley.

The Mark Twain House, with its irregular configuration, many gables, projecting bays, balconies, and covered porches provides a stunning example of the eclectic European-inspired Continental Picturesque style favored by the well-to-do from the late 1850s through the early 1870s. The design also follows several local conventions with its use of Windsor brick and Connecticut River Valley brownstone and with its glass-enclosed Conservatory modeled after a design attributed to Nook Farm neighbor Harriet Beecher Stowe. Of particular note, Louis Comfort Tiffany and his firm Associated Artists decorated the first floor rooms and central hall of the house. The Aesthetic Movement decor was influenced by East and Near East design and features intricate geometric stencilling on walls and doors, specialty wallpapers and some pierced brasswork and carved teak woodwork. Also, the house was fitted with the most advanced technological equipment of the day, including a telephone, speaking tubes and bells, burglar alarm, gas lighting, central heating, and extensive plumbing.

Historian: Sarah Zurier, HABS Historian, Summer 1995

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 3)

Note: For future reference, "house" will refer to the entire structure, "main house" will refer to the area primarily occupied by the Clemens family (main block), and "servants' wing" will refer to the area primarily occupied by the family's servants (the ell, including the Butler's Pantry).

PART I: HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: Correspondence between the architect and the Clemens family, and other written documentation, date the house to 1873-74. In addition, the house's completion is commemorated in two architectural details. When the Clemenses returned from a trip to Europe in 1873, they imported from Scotland a massive walnut mantel for their new house. The mantel, previously intended for Ayton Hall, had its existing inscription effaced. (The mantel was then carved with the date "1874" and installed in the Clemenses' Library.)¹ Also, in the third floor Billiard Room, architect Edward Tuckerman Potter installed two translucent marble windows. Inscribed with pool cues, beer mugs, and other accoutrements of the "men's parlor," the facing left panel has an "18" around the letter "C" and the facing right panel has "74" around the letter "C."
2. Architects: The architects for the Mark Twain House and Carriage House were Edward Tuckerman Potter (1831-1904) and Alfred H. Thorp (1843-1917). Upon receiving the commission, Potter recorded in his project ledger: "Design + superintendence [sic] of execution of same for house Design + sup. of cottagabarn. Laying out grading + planting." Potter provided the original designs, but he left most of the supervision and on-site work to Thorp, who influenced the design of at least some of the features on the main house. (While Potter was responsible for the 1881 renovations of the main house and any contemporary renovations of the carriage house, Thorp again supervised the work on-site.)² The Clemens house and carriage house was their only collaboration.

Edward Tuckerman Potter was born to a prominent family closely associated with Union College and the Episcopal Church. His father was an Episcopal minister who served as Bishop of Pennsylvania from 1845 to 1865; his mother was the daughter of Dr. Eliphalet Nott, a minister and long-standing president of Union College in Schenectady, New York. Also of note, his uncle Horatio Potter and his brother Henry Codman Potter each served as Bishop of New York, and his half-brother William Appleton Potter also became a prominent architect specializing in ecclesiastical and collegiate design. E.T. Potter graduated from Union College in 1843. Early in his career, he won two commissions for major buildings at his alma mater: the President's House (1857-1861) and a magnificent central rotunda (1858-59, 1872-78) later dedicated to the memory of Dr. Nott.³

Soon after his college graduation, Potter joined Richard Upjohn's New York office as an apprentice. Upjohn (1802-1878) was considered America's leading church architect, and before the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was opened to American students, Upjohn's office

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 4)

served as a sort of "training ground" for promising young architects in the United States. Born in England, Upjohn specialized in the design of Episcopal churches and was especially influenced by the English parish church revival, or Ecclesiological movement. This movement prescribed the Gothic style, bulky masses, and asymmetrical plans for Episcopal church design.⁴

In her definitive study of the Potter brothers, architectural historian Sarah Bradford Landau determined that during his years at the Upjohn office, Potter developed preferences for exterior and interior polychromy, elaborate woody interiors, and piled-up masses. He was also instilled with a sense for "the logic of materials" and learned to create his own models by freely reinterpreting previous examples. Other influences on Potter included the works of John Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, G.E. Street's Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages (1855), contemporary architectural periodicals, and his visits to England and France.⁵

Potter, like Upjohn, established himself as a church architect. After just a year at the Upjohn office, he designed his first church building, the Hillside Methodist Chapel, near Rhinebeck, New York. The picturesque setting of the church in a hillside, the combination of fieldstone and wood trim, and the carved bargeboards all point to Upjohn's influence. Potter's landmark ecclesiastical project was the First Dutch Reformed Church (1862-63) in his hometown of Schenectady, New York. The banded arches, polished stone columns, and subtle exterior polychromy established the First Dutch Reformed Church as one of the earliest examples of the High Victorian Gothic in the United States. Despite the lull in building during and immediately after the Civil War, Potter gathered commissions for new church buildings, alterations, and additions from Rhode Island to Iowa. By the late 1860s, Edward Tuckerman Potter was considered one of the premier church architects in the United States.⁶

In addition to his work in ecclesiastical architecture, Potter also designed a number of houses and vacation cottages. The design for the Susan Hall Farmhouse (1860) was probably influenced by author-architect Andrew Jackson Downing whose pattern books, Cottage Residences (1842) and The Architecture of Country Houses (1852), were extremely popular through the 1880s. Landau pointed out that the Hall Farmhouse echoed the cottages promoted in English architectural pattern books as well--informal examples of the Picturesque movement "with their verandas and irregular outlines.... intended to enhance and be enhanced by a natural setting." The farmhouse design also incorporated some of the features and preferences that Potter later put to use in the Mark Twain House. These included the semi-detached kitchen, Tudoresque corbeled chimneys, angular bays, and stickwork railings. Seemingly unique details on the Mark Twain House (like windows over the fireplaces and the elongated Ombra porch) were, in fact, part of Potter's repertoire. He also carried over to domestic projects some influences from his church architecture, such as clerestory windows, ribbed ceilings, and a feeling for light.⁷

The Clemens estate was the last private dwelling that Potter designed. His father-in-law convinced him to retire early in 1877, and although Potter was closely involved in the

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 5)

tenement reform movement, none of his designs were built. He did, however, come out of retirement to prepare plans for the 1881 renovation of the Clemens house and for a parish house (1894-96) to accompany the Hartford, CT Church of the Good Shepherd, an Episcopal church he had designed in 1867. A prominent architect with a reputation as a poet-philosopher, Edward Tuckerman Potter was well-suited to Hartford's Nook Farm community. George Warner (another Nook Farm resident and Potter client) wrote about the architect: "He is such a child--a child of genius I do believe--and he makes everything he touches upon lovely."⁸

Far less is known about Alfred H. Thorp. He was one of the first Americans to attend the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and he studied in Honore Daumet's atelier from 1864 to 1868. By 1870 he had established an office in New York City, and three years later Thorp joined Edward Potter on the commission to build the Clemens house and carriage house. When choosing to collaborate with the younger architect, Potter probably had in mind Thorp's Beaux-Arts training as well as his ability to serve as an on-site architect for the duration of the project.⁹

Perhaps as a sign of her approval of Thorp's work on the Hartford property, Olivia Clemens's sister hired him in 1874 to design a freestanding octagonal study on the grounds of her property in Elmira, New York. The Clemenses often summered at Quarry Farm with Susan Langdon Crane, and the study was built for Samuel Clemens's use. The gazebo at Quarry Farm echoes features of the Hartford house with a jigsawed latticework frieze reminiscent of that which appears on the Texas Deck and with a paneled railing of chamfered crossbracing like that which appears on cross buck doors to the various porches and balconies. The recurrence of these details suggest that Thorp may have been responsible for a significant amount of the design in Hartford. Thorp went on to win several other commissions for commercial buildings in New York City.¹⁰

3. Original and subsequent owners: Reference is to the Hartford Land Records held in the City Clerk's Office.

1853 Deed, June 15, 1853, recorded in Volume 87, page 414.

William H. Imlay of Hartford

To

John Hooker and Francis Gillette, both of Hartford.

"a certain tract of land known as Nook Farm, situated in the Town of Hartford, a little west of the City of Hartford, bounded North on the Farmington Road, East on land of James Dixon, South and West on Little or Woods River, containing about one hundred and Forty acres, more or less."

1864 Deed, August 15, 1864, recorded in Volume 114, page 702.

Francis Gillette and John Hooker, both of Hartford

To

Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford.

"a piece of land situated in said town of Hartford and within the City of

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 6)

Hartford, bounded North on Farmington Avenue, East on Forest street, South on land this day conveyed by us to Charles F. Howard and in part on Woods river, and West on Woods river"

- 1864 Deed, August 29, 1864, recorded in Volume 114, page 703.
Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford
To
Society for Savings
- 1866 Deed, July 14, 1866, recorded in Volume 121, page 157.
Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford
To
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Colt of Hartford
- 1873 Deed, January 16, 1873, recorded in Volume , page 313.
Elizabeth H. Colt of Hartford
To
Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford
- 1873 Deed, January 16, 1873, recorded in Volume 148, page 632.
Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford
To
Samuel L. Clemens of Hartford
"beginning at a point south of said ..."
- 1873 Deed, March 22, 1873, recorded in Volume 148, page 633.
Franklin Chamberlin of Hartford
To
Samuel L. Clemens of Hartford
- 1874 Deed, February 16, 1874, recorded in Volume 149, page 660.
Samuel L. Clemens of Hartford
To
Charles E. Perkins of Hartford
Quit-claim 145-313 7.1.1869 discharge mortgage. Farm, forest, charles howard, little river
- 1874 Deed, February 16, 1874, recorded in Volume 149, page 661.
Charles E. Perkins
To
Olivia L. Clemens quit claim
- 1873 Power of Attorney, December 27, 1873, recorded in Volume 152, page 280
Franklin Chamberlain
To
Lyman power of atty.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 7)

- 1874 Deed, February 6, 1874, recorded in Volume 152, page 281
Franklin Chamberlain
To
Samuel L. Clemens, \$2000
- 1876 Deed, November 28, 1876, recorded in Volume 169, page 108
Ezra Hall
To
Olivia L. Clemens, west of river
- 1880 Deed, May 24, 1880, recorded in Volume 176, page 404
G.H. Warner & E. Warner
To
Olivia L. Clemens, \$900 land, 25 foot wide strip along south side of carriage house.
- 1879 Deed, June 2, 1879, recorded in Volume 179, page 146
all land in OLC's name/administrator's deed
- 1881 Deed, March 18, 1881, recorded in Volume 184, page 371
Chamberlain
To Olivia L. Clemens, Land with greenhouse. Mentions FLC to build next door.
- 1903 Deed, May 11, 1903, recorded in Volume 295, page 423
Olivia L. Clemens and Samuel L. Clemens
To
Richard M. Bissell, house and land
- 1919 Deed, December 22, 1919
Richard M. Bissell
To
Willie O. Burr
- 1920 Deed, January 13, 1920, recorded in volume 481, page 438
Richard M. Bissell
To
James J. Wall, John J. Ahern and Francis Ahern, 2 pieces of land
- 1919 Deed, December 22, 1919, recorded in Volume 484, page 266
Bissell
To
Burr (same property in vol. 184)
To Kingswood School (lease until 6.30.1920)
- 1925 Deed, May 2, 1925, recorded in Volume 582, page 379
James J. Wall

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 8)

To
Grant A. Kierstead and Daniel W. Murphy.

1929 Deed, June 7, 1929, recorded in Volume 662, page 84
Kierstead, et al
To
Mark Twain Memorial and Library Commission

4. Builder, contractor, suppliers: The Mark Twain House was erected by John B. Garvie, builder; William B. Low, foreman of workmen; John R. Hills, stonemason; William A. Garvie, plumber; David Blevins, slating; Charles C. Macrae, landscaping; Edwin Taylor Lumber Company, lumber supplier--all of Hartford. Walter Willard Loomis, of Windsor, was the producer and supplier of bricks.¹¹

1881 renovations: William A. Garvie, builder; James Ahern, plumber; E.W. Clark & Son, roofers and roof suppliers.¹²

5. Original plans and construction: The house as constructed has a rectangular-shaped, center hall plan with an ell. The main block has four projecting, polygonal bays. A one-story quarter-round bay connects the three-story ell to the main block. The main block is original; the ell was significantly altered and added onto in 1881. The house was built with four porches, at least four balconies, and a porte-cochere. During the Clemenses' occupancy, it had seven bathrooms.¹³ The house's north side faces the street, and the front entrance is located on the east facade.¹⁴

The interior floor plan of the Mark Twain House upon completion in 1874 consisted essentially of a central entry hall with stairway, parlor, dining room, library, conservatory, and guest bedroom with bath and dressing room on the first floor; three bedrooms, nursery, study (later schoolroom), and two baths on the second floor; guest bedroom, billiard room, and two servants' bedrooms on the third floor (see HABS drawings for floor plans).

The Clemens-era configurations of the basement and servants' wing are more difficult to trace than those of the main block. The servants' wing constructed for the house in 1873-74 measured approximately 20' by 20' (in addition to the quarter-round Butler's Pantry), had seventeen windows, and was crowned with a pyramidal hipped roof. The north facade of the house featured an end chimney on which hung a dovecote. Servants came and went through a doorway by the south corner of the east wall, and a few steps descended from this opening to the ground below. The first floor housed the kitchen, and a flight of steps (beneath the apprentice--now a closet) provided the only interior access to the basement. Family sleeping quarters were located on the second floor, with a guest room located on both the first and third floors. Outside the servants' wing was a drying area screened by short hemlock trees and fitted with clothes lines.¹⁵

For the Clemenses, the house was never really finished. Every excursion abroad, every neighbor's comment, every new decorating trend provided them with renewed inspiration

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 9)

for altering the house. Bearing this in mind, it is difficult to identify the house's "original" arrangement. Only two of Edward Tuckerman Potter's renderings survive: a simple line drawing of the Ombra sketched into a letter to Samuel Clemens and a preliminary perspective published in the New York Sketch Book of Architecture in April 1874. This second drawing reveals many features familiar to the present structure: its lateral arrangement to the street, the half-timbered appentice on the servants' wing, ornamental string bands of brick, elaborate trusswork beneath the steep gables, lattice stickwork balustrades, segmental arches crowning the many windows, and a multiplicity of roof shapes and heights.¹⁶ Within the space of five months, the same northeast perspective of the house changed significantly to eliminate roof finials and a parlor window and to accommodate a porte-cochere, balconies under the two east gables, an additional chimney, basement windows, and, of course, the startling geometric patterns painted on brick.¹⁷

6. Alterations and additions: The 1881 renovations significantly transformed the servants' wing. Workers knocked down the north wall--foundations, chimney, and all--as well as much of the east wall. A comparison of photographs before and after 1881 reveal that even the appentice was removed and then reconstructed window by window and brick by brick. In an October 1881 letter to artist Karl Gerhardt, Samuel Clemens reported that "We have pulled down the kitchen & rebuilt it, adding twenty feet to it." This is confirmed by a brownstone ledge protruding from the ground hugging the west facade at approximately 21'6" from the north wall and 20'3" from the Butler's Pantry (to the south): this brownstone ledge marks the foundation for the addition to the servants' wing. With this dramatic expansion, the servants' wing gained six additional windows on the first floor and had a porch and stairway erected for its new entrance on the northern corner of the east facade. Additional space was made available for the sleeping quarters upstairs and a Servants' Sitting Room and a delivery entrance on the first floor. By 1881, the basement had laundry facilities, a coal furnace, a root cellar, storage areas, and two fully equipped bathrooms.¹⁸

Although the structure was not enlarged after 1881, it has undergone a number of alterations, especially to the interior, since its occupancy by the Clemenses and their servants. Of particular note were the decorative elements applied to the first floor and central stairhall by Louis Comfort Tiffany and Associated Artists in 1881, and the addition of a chimney in 1886. In the intervening years between the family's departure from Hartford in 1891 and the sale of the property in 1903, the house required expensive upkeep, including roof repairs, the purchase of a new furnace, painting, and caulking. When they at last found a buyer, the family's agent, Franklin Whitmore, oversaw the extremely complicated moving process. The great walnut mantel in the Library was disassembled and sent, along with much of the other furnishings, to the Clemenses. The (supposedly Tiffany) window over the Entry Hall fireplace, the entry hall stained glass transom and sidelights, and the mirror in the Drawing Room were removed and sold. The bulk of the furnishings, except those offered to the servants and other family friends, were sold at auction. A letter from Livy Clemens instructed Whitmore to leave the shades, screens, and gas fixtures in place.¹⁹

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 10)

The Hartford Courant of May 8, 1903 reported that before the Bissells could move in, "Mr. Bissell will have the house brushed and cleaned up, but he will make no extensive alterations or improvements." The many renovations of the interior included putting up grass paper and wallpapers, converting the Conservatory into a fernery, laying down parquet floors throughout much of the first floor, reglazing the Dining Room's north window, replacing most of the gas fixtures with electric lights, and installing hot water radiators and adding a bathroom off the bedroom formerly occupied by Samuel and Olivia Clemens. The Bissells also made several alterations to the larger property, replacing the greenhouse in 1910 and erecting a squash court behind the carriage house in 1905. The carriage house witnessed the conversion of its hayloft into a gymnasium and the intrusion of garage doors in its northern facade.²⁰

Occupying the property from 1918 to 1922, the Kingswood School made no significant structural changes to any of the buildings but continued to alter the interior to suit their needs. A plain coat of paint covered the walls, shelves were removed from the Library bookcases, and the school assigned new functions to the rooms. In the carriage house, the hayloft served as a gymnasium, and the coachman's apartment housed lockers and additional classrooms. The squash court hosted exercises and military drills, while the land near the river was parceled out for a football field and a baseball diamond. Even the greenhouse, fitted for arts and crafts classes, served a role at the campus on Farmington Avenue.²¹

In 1923, at the close of the Kingswood lease, the developers who had purchased the property three years before announced their plans for the next stage in the life of the house: eleven "family" apartments would be created "[w]ithout damaging the property or without changing in any degree the original lines of the house or its interior." Gypsum board partitions went up; kitchenettes and bathroom facilities were installed; new folding beds emerged from doors. New exterior windows appeared in the north wall of the Drawing Room and the west wall of the Library. Soon afterwards, two apartments in the carriage house became available for rent. Concurrent with their conversion of the house and carriage house, the owners straightened the course of the Little River and constructed four three-story apartment buildings between it and the house.²²

When the Mark Twain Memorial (MTM) took possession of the property in 1929, it invited the "Mark Twain Branch" of the Hartford Public Library to occupy the first floor. It also continued to rent the other apartments in the upper floors of the main house, the servants' wing, and the carriage house. Alterations on behalf of the tenants and the organization caused the introduction of doors where windows had been in the Mahogany Guest Bedroom and in the Butler's Pantry. From the "Commission Room" in the Mahogany Guest Bedroom and later from their offices in the former servants' wing, the MTM oversaw maintenance needs like installing a new boiler, updating the plumbing, installing a fire escape on the south facade. In the meantime, they steadily raised funds to reclaim and restore the rooms in the main house. Eventually, partition walls came down, modern bathrooms and kitchenettes were ripped out, and other modern intrusions were effaced.²³

Starting in force in 1955 and continuing through 1974, the initial restoration process focused on the rooms occupied by the Clemens family. Thorough historical research and materials analysis provided information on how to restore wall finishes, built-in furniture, and period fixtures, and the Memorial launched a general appeal for furnishings and objects owned by the Clemenses. A timeline of the restoration projects appears in Appendix Z, and are summarized here. Craftspeople reapplied Tiffany and Associated Artist stencil patterns to the wood panels in the Entry Hall as well as to canvas wall-coverings in the Library, Drawing Room, Entry Hall, and upstairs Halls. Electricians wired period gas fixtures for electricity. Reproductions of the Clemens-period wallpaper were hung in the Mahogany Guest Bedroom, Dining Room, Billiard Room, and Nursery and Artist Friend's Room. The great walnut mantel returned to the Library, and the original bookcases were recreated. Wood finishes were restored throughout the house. Stencilling was used to decorate most of the upstairs rooms.²⁴

The exterior renovations were also extensive. In 1961, roofers put down a new slate shingle roof; replaced the ridges, valleys, gutters, flashing, caps, and other copper features; resurfaced the Butler's Pantry roof; and installed a skylight on the north slope of the northeast gable. In 1974, the Conservatory received a new plexiglas roof, and in 1983, the Porte-cochere roof was replaced. The systematic repair and replacement of exterior wood trim began at least as early as 1955 with the renovation of the Ombra. In 1962, painters repainted the wood trim and restored the vermilion and black patterns on the brickwork. Carpenters removed the fire escape from the south facade and created an interior stairway (from space occupied by the dressing area and third floor bathroom) that linked up with the servants' stairs.²⁵

Other interior alterations converted the servants' wing into offices for the Mark Twain Memorial. The basement was renovated for exhibit space in 1960 and recently (1993) came to serve as the MTM Visitor Center with a new museum shop, rest rooms, and storage. The two former servant's bedrooms on the third floor were readied to house MTM collections and HVAC equipment. Current projects include additional basement renovations and HVAC relocation. It is hoped that with the removal of the HVAC equipment from the Butler's Bedroom, this room will soon be restored and interpreted.²⁶

B. Historical Context:

1. Early History of the Property, Plans, and Construction, 1853-74

In 1853, John Hooker and Francis Gillette purchased a 140-acre plot of woodland one-and-a-half miles from downtown Hartford. The picturesque area was situated near a nook formed by the Park River in the Asylum Hill neighborhood. As a result of the selective selling of parcels to family members and friends, there developed a close-knit, prestigious community known as Nook Farm. By the early 1870s, authors Harriet Beecher Stowe and Charles Dudley Warner, suffragist Isabella Beecher Hooker, and future stage actor William Gillette counted among the residents. When Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910) and Olivia Langdon Clemens (1845-1904) moved to Hartford with their infant son Langdon in 1871, they rented John and Isabella Hooker's house on Forest Street and were soon embraced by the Nook Farm enclave. For Samuel Clemens,

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 12)

leaving a newspaper job in Buffalo to be closer to his Hartford book publisher (Elisha Bliss of the American Publishing Company) represented a dramatic and welcome career shift. For Olivia Clemens, the move continued her association with the liberal, intellectual environment in which she had been raised in Elmira, New York.²⁷

With her husband away on a lecture tour, Mrs. Clemens began to consider financing a new house. In a letter of December 1871, she announced that she had "about decided what we shall do about building" and proposed that they spend \$29,000 on house, grounds, and furniture. A year later, she inspected a narrow lot bounded on the south side of Farmington Avenue, just east of the Park River. The property had been sold by Gillette and Hooker in 1864 to a relative outsider, a prominent Hartford lawyer named Franklin Chamberlain who had a reputation as a speculator. Chamberlain, in turn, sold the lot to the Clemenses in January 1873 for \$10,000 and an adjoining parcel two months later for \$1000. With the success of his western memoir Roughing It and the prospect of a new house in Hartford, Samuel Clemens delighted in the purchase. Olivia Clemens wrote to her sister Susan Crane, "Mr. Clemens seems to glory in his sense of possession; he goes daily into the lot, has had several falls trying to lay off the land by sliding around on his feet." While the Hartford Land Records refers to Samuel Clemens when listing the first few property transactions, it was his wife who paid for all of the land, construction and renovations, and furnishings and decoration. By 1879, all of the property was formally transferred to her name.²⁸

During the same years that the Clemenses were considering housing needs, their friends George and Elizabeth Gillette Warner were awaiting the completion of their new brick dwelling on an adjacent Nook Farm lot. This was the fourth local project of New York architect Edward Tuckerman Potter, who had established a solid reputation in Hartford due in large part to his design for the Church of the Good Shepherd (1866-69) and the influence of his local patroness Mrs. Elizabeth Colt. Mrs. Colt was the widow of firearms tycoon Samuel Colt and the grande dame of Hartford society. In his 1966 monograph Potter and Clemens, Historian Richard Chafee explained, "Mrs. Colt's patronage was enough to make E.T. Potter the most fashionable architect in Hartford, and her church was an impressive advertisement for her architect." An amateur architectural connoisseur, George Warner was impressed by Potter's projects in the Hartford area and in the midwest (where Warner's company had offices). In 1871, he persuaded Potter to build for him and his wife Elizabeth Gillette Warner a handsome "Elizabethan Gothic" brick house on their lot in Nook Farm. It was their house and their persistent lobbying on Potter's behalf that ultimately secured him the commission for the Clemens house in 1873.²⁹ Construction began that spring and proceeded slowly. On April 26, Sam Clemens reported to his friend General Colton Green, "Well, the builders have been at work digging cellar a week, now, + so it does really look as if a year from to-day (as per contract) the architect might be able to say, "Mr. Clemens your shanty is ready."³⁰

Meanwhile, the Warners continued to be an significant influence. Their house itself convinced the Clemenses of the handsome combination of red brick and red mortar, such that Livy Clemens commented to Elizabeth Warner, "Mr. Clemens says we must have the red paste too, for ours."³¹ Other features prominent on the Warner house resurfaced in Potter's new design: diamond point string courses, latticework balustrades, chunky corbelled chimneys. Potter--joined on the commission by Beaux-Arts trained architect Alfred H. Thorp--again engaged John Garvie,

who had served as general contractor for the Warner house. It is likely that many of the same workmen and suppliers who had contributed to that project were rehired for the Clemens commission. By late September of the following year, the Clemenses moved into rooms on the second floor, as the carpenters finished their work on the rest of the main house. The shanty was sufficiently ready.³² Although the house was deemed complete in 1874, the Clemenses continued to make changes to the house.

2. The Clemenses Occupancy, 1874-91

Beyond the unusual number of bathrooms, the general layout of the house interior as completed in the Fall of 1874 was not remarkable for an upper-class dwelling. Several contemporary architectural pattern books had published similar plans: central entry hall with stair, parlor, dining room, library, conservatory, and guest bedroom for the first floor; bedrooms, nursery, and study on the second floor; guest bedroom, billiard room, and servants' bedrooms on the third floor. For the Clemenses, this arrangement created several zones in the house: a lavishly decorated space on the first floor for the household's public affairs, a more intimate second floor area for the family's private use; and a men's social space--dominated by the Billiard Room--on the third floor.³³ The detached servants' wing provided the servants with their own sphere, about which, unfortunately, less is known. Although George Griffin, the family's beloved butler, often stayed overnight in the bedroom on the third floor of the main house designated as the Artists Friend's Room.

Despite the relatively typical layout and the traditional functions assigned to each room, the plan was not static. Sam Clemens's writing study moved from its second floor room with the nap-inducing built-in divans, to a location above the carriage house hayloft, to an office in downtown Hartford, to the third floor Billiard Room. As the girls grew up, they claimed their father's former second floor office for their schoolroom, Mrs. Clemens's Sitting Room was adapted for use as Susy's Bedroom, and Susy and Clara's Nursery became Clara and Jean's Bedroom. Moreover, their imaginations inspired new interpretations of the existing rooms. The Conservatory transformed into a "jungle" in which explorers Clara and Susy could hunt elephants (their father) and tigers (the butler); the Library and Drawing Room served as theaters for neighborhood productions of The Prince and the Pauper and of Susy's plays; and the hayloft was often used as a playground. The ongoing changes effected by the Clemens family and their servants were compounded by the constant stream of casual stoppers-by, Nook Farm neighbors, and overnight guests.³⁴

Enjoying flush times in 1881, the Clemenses could afford extensive renovations, which included the decoration of the first floor and central stairhall of the main house by Louis Comfort Tiffany and Associated Artists, the comprehensive remodelling of the servants' wing, and a few structural alterations to the main house. "[D]istressed by the darkness of the front hall," Livy Clemens presumably instructed her architects to rip out the walls of the small reception room just inside the front door (lay down a marble tile floor), and create a larger and lighter living hall. The Associated Artists redecorating included elaborate stenciling--borrowing from American Indian, Oriental and Turkish styles--applied to wood paneling and doors, as well as to walls and ceilings. Most of the house's plumbing system was repaired and/or replaced at this time as well. Another significant alteration dating to 1886 came in the form of a new end chimney to provide additional

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 14)

heat for the second floor guest bedroom on the west side of the house.³⁵ The appearance of the larger property never ceased changing either. Subsequent land purchases in 1880 and 1881 (upon which a greenhouse was added) and planned landscaping and gardens, combined with the seasonal changes, resulted in continual changes. Although the structure was not enlarged after 1881, it has undergone a number of alterations, especially to the interior, since its occupancy by the Clemenses and their servants.

Their finances drained by the failed promise of the Paige Compositor, the Clemenses prepared to leave their expensive Hartford lifestyle for a working sojourn in Europe. Samuel Clemens wrote to his publishing house manager on April 14, 1891, "Dear Mr. Hall,--Privately--keep it to yourself--as you are already aware, we are going to Europe in June, for an indefinite stay. We shall sell the horses and shut up the house."³⁶ In June, the family sadly left the house, boarded the carriage, and went on their final carriage ride together with their coachman and old friend, Patrick McAleer. The McAleer family remained on site, occupying their apartment within the west side of the carriage house until at least 1896, the same year that Susy visited Hartford and died of spinal meningitis in the house. Soon afterwards, the Clemenses finalized the long considered decision not to return to Hartford. They continued the repairs necessary to maintain the house and considered selling the property. In the meantime, the family's finances had sufficiently recovered to allow them to return to the United States in 1900, living first in New York City, then at Wave Hill, eventually purchasing a new home in Tarrytown, New York, in 1903, although they never took up residence there.³⁷ Having arranged to remodel the new house, Olivia Clemens hoped to become dispossessed the Hartford house before construction began at Tarrytown. After years of failing to make a sale and even entertaining thoughts of tearing down the house and carriage house in order to sell the property for its land value, the Clemenses finally found a buyer in Richard M. Bissell of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. The Bissells agreed on a purchase price of \$28,000--about a quarter of the Clemenses' investment on its grounds, construction upkeep, and furnishings.

3. Interim years, 1903-29

In the intervening years between the family's departure from Hartford in 1891 and the sale of the property in 1903, the house required expensive upkeep, including roof repairs, the purchase of a new furnace, painting, and caulking. When they at last found a buyer, the family's agent, Franklin Whitmore, oversaw the extremely complicated moving process. The great walnut mantel in the Library was disassembled and sent, along with much of the other furnishings, to the Clemenses. The Tiffany window over the Entry Hall fireplace, the stained glass transom and sidelights, and the mirror in the Drawing Room were removed and sold. Although much of the furnishings were retained, some were offered to the servants and other family friends, with the remainder being sold at auction. A letter from Livy Clemens instructed Whitmore to leave the shades, screens, and gas fixtures in place.³⁸

When Jean Clemens visited Hartford with her camera in early July of 1905, she took a series of photographs of her former home. These images captured the buildings free of people and activity. Her photograph of the carriage house portrayed the structure as it probably had appeared during the Clemens years: dutchman's pipe growing on its north facade, a driveway circling around in front and turning the corner to the main entrance, lush vegetation providing

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 15)

a backdrop. The placid feeling conveyed by the image, however, was an anachronism that failed to record the dramatic transformation underway in Hartford and at 351 Farmington Avenue.

By 1905, 351 Farmington Avenue could no longer be considered a pastoral outpost of urban Hartford. Most members of the Nook Farm community had passed away or moved on. The grand mansions with expansive grounds were disappearing, as middle and upper class families headed to the nearby suburbs of West Hartford, Wethersfield, and Bloomfield. By the late teens and 1920s, several of Hartford's largest insurance companies moved their headquarters into Asylum Hill, thus inspiring the construction of apartment buildings and small businesses to accommodate the numerous clerical workers who wished to live and work in the neighborhood. A trolley system had already replaced the old horse cars in 1895, and after this time, automobile usage began to climb.³⁹

The Hartford Courant of May 8, 1903 reported that before the Bissells could move in, "Mr. Bissell will have the house brushed and cleaned up, but he will make no extensive alterations or improvements." The many renovations of the interior included putting up grass paper and wallpapers, converting the Conservatory into a fernery, laying down parquet floors throughout much of the first floor, reglazing the Dining Room's north window, replacing most of the gas fixtures with electric lights, and installing hot water radiators. The Bissells also made several alterations to the larger property, replacing the greenhouse in 1910 and erecting a squash court behind the carriage house in 1905. The carriage house witnessed the conversion of its hayloft into a gymnasium and the intrusion of garage doors in its northern facade.⁴⁰

Despite early reports, Richard Bissell effected a most dramatic change to the property in 1918, when he leased it to the Kingswood School. The newly-established country day school, at which Richard Bissell, Jr. was a student, had already outgrown its quarters at 274 Farmington Avenue. As chairman of Kingswood's board of trustees, Mr. Bissell found that leasing the property satisfied both the growing school's needs and his family's desire to move to the suburbs. One year later, he sold to his neighbor Willie O. Burr the strip of land containing the greenhouse (the old greenhouse was replaced by the Bissells in 1910). The following year, real estate speculator James J. Wall and local undertakers John and Francis Ahern bought the rest of the Bissell property for \$55,000. In the terms of each sale, Bissell stipulated that Kingswood's current lease would stand and could be extended until 1922.⁴¹ Kingswood did indeed extend its lease and reinterpreted the domestic spaces to suit the needs of a private boy's school. The house was parceled into classrooms, dining facilities, and offices.

By the time Kingswood left in 1922, Wall and the Ahern brothers had devised a plan for the property. Wall, already an investor in other nearby properties, realized the tremendous potential in building apartment buildings along booming Farmington Avenue. When he and his partners announced their plans to raze the existing buildings on site and erect new apartment buildings, they sensed the possibility of an even greater profit-making scheme. They could tap the growing public sentiment for "Mark Twain's house" and sell the treasured site at a steep profit. On March 4, 1923, the Hartford Courant reported that the owners had put a \$125,000 price on the house, expensive but well down from their 1920 price of \$300,000.⁴²

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 16)

While the newly-formed "Friends of Hartford" began their campaign to raise funds for the rescue of the property, Wall and the Aherns went ahead with their decision to "remodel." In May 1923, they divided the house into eleven apartments, and soon afterwards prepared the carriage house for tenants, carving out two additional apartments. In addition, Wall arranged for a section of the Park River to be straightened in order to accommodate four three-story apartment buildings (the "Mark Twain Apartments") on the land west of the house.⁴³

By 1925, Wall's financial situation had changed for the worse, and he and the Aherns could only afford to retain the four apartment buildings. Grant U. Kierstead and D.W. Murphy (both officers of the American Coal Company) paid \$81,500 for the house, carriage house, and remaining grounds. They continued to rent the apartments in the house and carriage house and announced a \$155,000 price for the property. Meanwhile, the Friends of Hartford continued to accumulate donations. School children nationwide mailed in their dime contributions, and local elites made multi-thousand dollar pledges. On April 29, 1929, the Connecticut General Assembly approved a charter for the Mark Twain Memorial and Library Commission. Five days later, that group purchased the property.⁴⁴

4. Mark Twain Memorial, 1929-1995

On June 7, 1929, the Hartford Courant announced that "The Mark Twain Library and Memorial Commission Thursday afternoon took possession of the Mark Twain Home at 351 Farmington Avenue." Saddled with a \$55,000 mortgage, the newly chartered organization proceeded slowly on its pledge to honor and interpret the legacy of Mark Twain. While the property had changed from profit to non-profit, rentals still provide the primary source of income. The Hartford Public Library established its Mark Twain Branch on the first floor of the house. The apartments upstairs, in the servants' wing, and in the carriage house continued to be available for tenants. MTM trustees conducted tours, operated a small sales desk, and started to acquire collections. Until 1951, the Memorial's most immediate concerns were the payment of the mortgage and the maintenance of the property.⁴⁵

Once the mortgage was paid in full in 1955, the board of trustees inaugurated the "restoration era." A committee appointed by the trustees collected research and reference materials to guide the restoration efforts, and the museum launched a general appeal for furnishings and objects owned by the Clemens family. With the gradual dispersal of the tenants in the main house came the removal of modern partitions and intrusions. Guided by the historic research and materials analyses, skilled craftspeople painstakingly restored rooms on three floors of the main house. Until her death in 1962, Clara Clemens shared her talents and memories with the Mark Twain Memorial. Her benefit musical performances, her donation of materials owned by the family, and her consultation on the appearance of the house during her family's time there represented a singular contribution.⁴⁶

Notably, neither the servants' wing nor the two servant bedrooms in the third floor of the main house) fell under the MTM's interpretive aim "to restore the entire house as nearly as possible to the state enjoyed by the Clemens family during their 17-year residence." When the Hartford Public Library ended its tenancy in 1955 or 1956, the MTM chose to supplement its rental income by leasing a portion of the carriage house to the Junior League of Hartford. The first

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 17)

floor of the barn was duly converted into an office.⁴⁷ Substantial completion of the main house restoration was completed in 1974--in time for the house's centennial. The MTM is currently undergoing study and reinvestigation, of which the HABS documentation is a part.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement:

1. Architectural character: Completed in 1874, the Mark Twain house is constructed of brick on a three-story, rectangular, center hall plan, with a two-story ell providing a semi-detached servants' wing. With its many gables, projecting bays, balconies, and covered porches, the structure's irregular configuration provides a stunning example of the Continental Picturesque style favored by the well-to-do from the late 1850s through the early 1870s. This eclectic suburban style is largely based on the rustic architecture of fashionable resorts in France and Germany; like other Picturesque styles, it is characterized by aesthetically pleasing interplay of spaces, colors, textures, and ornament. Half-timbering over ornamentally laid brick and the polychromatic slate shingle roof recall French villa architecture; elegant bargework and geometric lattice balustrades point to the Chalet style; clerestory windows and ribbed ceilings borrow from the High Victorian Gothic. The design also follows several local conventions with its use of Windsor Connecticut brick and Connecticut River Valley brownstone and with its glass-enclosed Conservatory modeled after a design attributed to Nook Farm neighbor Harriet Beecher Stowe. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the Picturesque is displayed in the sensitive arrangement of the buildings on the property, so that the irregular outlines of house and carriage house harmonize with the natural landscape. Of particular note, Louis Comfort Tiffany and his firm Associated Artists decorated the first floor rooms and central hall of the house. The Aesthetic Movement decor was influenced by East and Near East design and features intricate geometric wall stencilling, pierced brasswork, carved teak woodwork, and specialty wallpapers. Also, the house was fitted with the most advanced technological equipment of the day, including a telephone, speaking tubes and bells, burglar alarm, gas lighting, central heating, and extensive plumbing. Picturesquely situated, uniquely decorated inside and out, and equipped with state-of-the-art technology, the house was a landmark in late nineteenth-century Hartford and persists as such today.⁴⁸
2. Condition of fabric: The general condition of the structure is good. Currently the building contains eighteen restored rooms on three floors, offices of the Mark Twain Memorial in the former servants' wing, and the visitor center, museum shop, and mechanical support areas in the basement. Restoration to the period of the Clemenses' occupancy was based on information gathered from materials analysis and historical research. Perhaps the most dramatic intrusion in the main house is the secondary stairway, which was introduced in 1962 in order to update the structure to contemporary fire codes. It utilizes space formerly occupied by the Clemens's bedroom dressing room and bathroom and the third floor bathroom. On the other hand, research or restoration work targeting the servants' wing has not yet been undertaken. It is hoped that with the creation of other offices on-site and the continued research on the servants' lives, efforts

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 18)

will be made to restore and interpret this important part of the house. A 1990 architectural conservation assessment of the property pointed out problems with moisture control, the roof slates and ridges, the Conservatory windows and roof, woodwork on the southern exposure, the exterior drainage system, and pigeon infestation.⁴⁹ Also, the servants' porch is in poor condition (work in these areas is underway).

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: The L-shaped plan of the main block of the house measures 68'4" x 58' joined by a quarter-round section to a 22'9" x 39'3" kitchen and servants' wing. The house has irregular fenestration; the main house is nine bays wide on the first floor of the east facade and six bays wide on the second floor, and the servants' wing is three bays wide on the first floor of the east facade and two bays wide on the second floor. An appentice with three bays also appears on the east facade of the servants' wing. The main house is 42'-8" tall from the foundation to the peak of the north-south gable, and the servants' wing is 31'-4" tall from the foundation to the peak of the hipped roof.
2. Foundations: The foundations are made of Connecticut River Valley brownstone in random-range ashlar. The quarry-face stones are tooled at the corners of the foundation. The basement has numerous windows and an areaway (to the south) which formerly served as a coal chute.⁵⁰ Just above the foundations, a bevelled water table of dressed, light buff sandstone runs along the perimeter of the entire house.
3. Walls: The brick walls are laid in an assortment of bond types, decorative string courses, and ornamental masonry configurations. The bricks are laid with a soft red mortar, the color of which was described in 1872 by Nook Farm neighbor George Warner as "a mixture of Venetian Red and Brandon Red."⁵¹ The mortar joints are grapevined. Most repointing has introduced a hard reddish mortar or a non-tinted mortar. The bulk of the facade is laid in stretcher courses with occasional courses of Flemish bond. Projecting string courses with stretchers at top and bottom sandwiching diamond point headers form nearly continuous ribs around the main house at approximately 1', 7', and 8-1/2' above the water table and around the servants' wing at approximately 1' and 6-1/2' above the water table. This particular string course occurs at various heights and for various durations on every facade of the house. A similar projecting string course with diamond point sailors appears less frequently. Herringbone and basketweave masonry is prominently featured. Half-timbered panels with herringbone and basketweave infill alternate with windows on the appentice (east); a similar arrangement of windows, panels, and brick half-timbering appears on the Butler's Pantry (west). These masonry patterns appear again as infill between the contours of chamfered half-timbering on the south facade. Other masonry applications include recessed panels, corbelling, and brick grillework.

On the face of the brick surface, additional patterns have been highlighted with vermilion and black paint--sometimes emphasizing brickwork in place, sometimes adding pattern. For example, the stretcher rows of the various projecting string courses are further emphasized with vermilion paint; the basketweave and herringbone masonry bear various

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 19)

applications of color; and a painted diamondwork pattern on stretcher rows spans the house. The presence of the paint, however, does not consistently match up with the bond of the brick. Another painted pattern of what would appear to be occasionally painted header bricks is entirely misapplied to a stretcher course: the black paint appears wherever it suits the pattern, whether on bricks or on mortar. While Potter had worked with multi-colored brick and stone on previous projects, it is possible that his decision to apply painted patterns to the brick surface was made after the masonry had already been completed. Certainly, Potter and Thorp were aware of the ornamental brick applications and the use of colored bricks and tiles in the contemporary designs for Newport resorts and on the pages of European architectural periodicals. As for the particular hues and configurations of paint on brick, historical research and conservation studies in the early 1960s determined that the vermillion and black patterns that appear on the house today indeed correspond with the appearance of the house during the Clemenses' occupancy.⁵²

4. Structural systems, framing: The house is framed with wood rafters, floor joists, and ceiling joists on load-bearing masonry walls.
5. Porches, stoops, balconies, porticoes, bulkheads: The house has an impressive number of porches and balconies of various size, decoration, and structure. No two are exactly alike, although all have floors composed of tongue-and-groove wood planks, and all have decorative trim and supporting elements made of wood unless noted otherwise. The porches and balconies are grouped by type.
 - a. First floor porches: These three covered porches have shallow or flat roofs with ceilings and soffits lined with beadboard. Their exposed roof structure consists of chamfered and scrolled rafters extending to the soffits. The ridge beams and the columns are chamfered, and decorative friezes span between the columns. All of these porches feature the identical lattice stickwork railing with an elaborated double-boxed X pattern, described elsewhere as "Chinese Chippendale."⁵³

Porte-cochere (first floor, east): The Porte-cochere has a gable roof covered with flat-seamed copper sheets. It extends from the front door across the width of the driveway. The roof has a built-in copper gutter supported by a series of simple brackets, whose upper ovolo and lower cyma reversa profiles meet in a fillet. A complex series of rafters, beams, brackets, and columns support the roof. The rafters lie across two large chamfered beams with scrolled ends featuring carved anthemion leaves. Each section of the frieze of scrolled brackets and decorative, naturalistic, jigsaw brackets also contains two metal tie rods for additional support.⁵⁴ The columns on the far side are supported by buttress-like braces that rest on finished brownstone slab bases. Between these columns is arranged a wood bench with a back support consisting of a "hullseye" molded boss centered on stick cross-bracing. This pattern also appears on grillework over some of the basement windows and on skirting around the Ombra and Porte-cochere. Also between the two columns and approximately 5-1/2' above the top of the bench spans a stickwork frieze, on top of which is attached a decorated wood planter. Chamfered cross-beams, scrolled brackets, and decorative, naturalistic, jigsawed brackets stretch

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 20)

across the width of the Porte-cochere. These cross beams are connected to the ridge beam with scrolled brackets and spiraled kingposts.

The north wall of the Porte-cochere has two brick panels topped with a wood frame containing five removable windows, which correspond with the five-light pattern found throughout the carriage house exterior: four muntins form a diamond shape in the center, and four muntins radiate from its four corners to the styles and rails of the sash. The pattern repeats three times within each fifteen-light sash. The repetition of this window pattern visually links house and carriage house. Inside the wall appears a jigsawed lattice frieze depicting stylized mushrooms, lilies and butterflies. Outside the wall, a small pent roof with fishscale slate shingles hangs above the windows.

Ombra (first floor, east and south): This porch begins south of the front door and wraps around the southeast corner of the house. It is known as the "Ombra" (Italian, meaning shadow)—a term used by Edward Tuckerman Potter to designate the dramatic elongated verandas he created for several of his clients. The Ombra has four projecting bays: one octagonal bay, one curvilinear bay, one rectangular bay fitted with a seat, and a large octagonal bay enclosing the south end of the porch. The frieze consists of chamfered brackets, notched secondary brackets, notched kingpost, and decorative, naturalistic, jigsawed brackets. The flat roof has an asphalt prepared surface topped with gravel. Clemens family photographs from the 1880s reveal that a separate wood step had originally encircled the Ombra's southern bay. A wood bench is fastened to the Ombra floor in front of the recessed panel of the house's east facade. Presented to the Mark Twain Memorial in 1961, it is not original to the house.⁵⁵

Servants' entry stair (first floor, northeast): A single-flight open-string stairway ascends from the ground level to a landing at the Servants' entry. The seven wood steps have overhanging treads, and the lattice railing ends at the bottom of the flight with a modest newel post finished with a diamond point. Two metal pipe columns from the ground help support the stairway and landing. Sheltering the landing, the shallow gable roof is topped with standing seam copper sheets, and it has built-in copper gutters supported by simple brackets with a cyma reversa profile. Beneath the gable appears bargework consisting of half-arches and kingpost. The frieze beneath the eaves is composed of chamfered beams and plain crossbracing. This entryway dates to the 1881 renovations of the servants' wing, and its design may have been by John Garvie, the general contractor.⁵⁶

b. Octagonal porches: Each of these three covered porches appears on top of a projecting polygonal bay. The porches have octagonal roofs, and the porch ceilings and soffits are lined with wide board planks. The exposed roof structure reveals scrolled rafters radiating from a central pendant out to the soffits. All of the octagonal porches feature decorative friezes that span between chamfered columns.

Billiard Room porch (third floor, west): The porch outside the Billiard Room has a railing of brick grillework topped with a dressed stone handrail. The chamfered and notched wood columns perch on brick and stone piers in the railing. The frieze of

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 21)

chamfered brackets, notched secondary brackets, and notched kingpost is similar to that which appears on the Ombra, and five metal rings for holding plants (or possibly to support awnings that once hung here) hang from the frieze. The roof structure is exposed in a spoke-like pattern supported by a large post. Exposed rafters extend from the ends of each spoke to the roof's peak. A separate octagonal roof crowns the major roof and performs the work of a vent in circulating air through the porch and up through the roof. Multi-colored hexagonal slate shingles trimmed with straight rows of grey slate shingles cover the porch's sharply-sloped tent roof, and grey hexagonal slate shingles and a copper cap cover the ventilating element. The roof has built-in copper gutters supported by a series of simple brackets whose upper ovolo and lower cyma reversa profiles meet in a fillet.

Clemens Bedroom porch (second floor, north): The porch outside the bedroom originally occupied by Livy and Sam Clemens has a railing with an intricate cross-bracing and circles lattice pattern. The frieze is identical to that which appears on the Billiard Room porch. The gutters, roof, and roof structure also replicate that of the Billiard Room porch in all but two details: the lower spokes of the roof structure intersect the brick wall above the porch door, and the roof has no ventilating element. A second copper gutter lines the outer edge of the porch floor.

Texas Deck (third floor, southeast): The porch that Potter had originally labelled the "Upper ombra" was referred to by the Clemens family as the "Texas Deck"--a term used to designate the topmost deck of a steamboat. The railing features an elaborated cross-bracing stickwork pattern, and the wide handrail serves as a shelf, pierced with small holes for drainage. A gutter encircles the floor of the porch. A jigsawn lattice frieze depicting what Vincent Scully has described as "Indian wind imagery" appears on all eight sides.⁵⁷ An eave of the main gable slightly intercepts the porch space on the west. Sheathed with narrow board siding, the three interior walls have a molded baseboard, and the floor has been resurfaced with painted fiberboard. An asphalt-prepared surface with a silver-colored coating covers the roof.

c. Balconies: Gable roofs with flared eaves overhang all four balconies on the third floor. The eaves are lined with wide hoard planks and feature elegant bargework that incorporates the balconies themselves. Scrolled and chamfered brackets support both balcony and eaves. Each balcony has a stickwork railing and a different configuration of bargework.

Trunk Room balcony (third floor, southeast): The balcony outside the Trunk Room has a railing featuring a Chinese Chippendale geometric stickwork pattern.⁵⁸ Two stylized leaf decorations are applied to the terminating ends of the balcony on the exterior. A notched, multi-centered arch slopes beneath the balcony floor, and a rustic kingpost hangs just beneath the peak of the gable.

Butler's Bedroom balcony (third floor, northeast): The balcony outside the Butler's Bedroom has a railing decorated with an elaborated cross-bracing lattice pattern. Beneath the balcony rafters stretches a chamfered beam decorated with notches and terminating

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 22)

anthemion leaves. The bargework also includes a large denticulated arch, below a lateral beam, with a kingpost that extends to the roof.

Artist Friend's balcony (third floor, north): The balcony outside the Artist Friend's Bedroom has a railing featuring a busy, geometric stickwork pattern. Carved consoles affix a beveled, circular plant shelf to the center top of the railing. The north end of the roof's main gable overhangs this balcony, and intricate bargework appears beneath the eave. A large notched arch extends to a lateral beam between two chamfered and spiraled columns (on either side of the balcony). Above this beam, two notched half-arches radiate from a kingpost to the exposed rafters. The central section of the kingpost is spiraled, and a pendant hangs below the large arch.

Billiard Room balcony (third floor, south): The balcony outside the Billiard Room has a railing decorated with a geometric pattern of chamfered stickwork, also reminiscent of Far Eastern design.⁵⁹ Metal straps help secure the railing to the floor, and additional diagonal metal bracing spans from the railing to the sill of the balcony door. The balcony is supported by a series of decorated beams, brackets, and cross-bracing--a mortise and tenon joint with a wood peg. At the outer edge of the balcony hangs a drop finial, carved with an oak leaf design, and a similar engaged drop finial appears on the face of the house. The south end of the roof's main gable overhangs this balcony, and the bargework features a spiraled cross-beam, spiraled kingpost, and grooved anthemion leaf pendant.

d. Other: A modern open-string stairway was added to the west facade to provide an entrance to a first-floor apartment in the Butler's Pantry.⁶⁰ Its three steps ascend to a landing with a railing of cross-braced stickwork. Two metal pipe columns help support the stairway and landing.

The former coal chute is marked by a window in a concrete areaway on the south foundation. As a result of later regrading, the areaway has been extended with a semi-circular metal retaining wall.

6. Chimneys:

a. Main house: The main house presently has four chimneys and one stub chimney. They are all laid primarily in stretcher courses, and the surviving chimneys feature dramatic corbelling highlighted with black and vermillion paint. Only two chimneys retain their original brownstone cap; the others have concrete caps.

Four chimneys were constructed for the main house in 1874. The north end chimney is an integral feature of the north facade, as the same diamond point string courses and some of the painted geometric patterns of the house exterior walls continue uninterrupted across its exposed stack. The stack has a sloped section which features mousetoothing. Intercepted by the flared eave of the main gable and secured with two metal tie rods, the chimney stack features pronounced zigzag corbelling--a Tudoresque architectural technique--emphasizing the number of flues. A ridge chimney to the east has a tripartite

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 23)

stack with a central recessed panel; it contains six flues. The central chimney to the south has a similar stack with an appendage for a seventh flue. Historic images of the central chimney to the west depict a corbelled stack slightly plainer than the other three (it appears to have been identical to the 1886 chimney described below). This chimney had disappeared from view in a photograph of the house from 1908, by which time its stack had been damaged or willfully shortened.⁶¹ Currently this stub chimney projects about 3' from the roof, and contains two flues. The exterior chimney on the west facade was added in 1886 in order to provide a fireplace for Mrs. Langdon's second-story bedroom.⁶² It corbels out above a relieving arch on the first floor, contracts and expands in its climb up the wall, and emerges through the eave of a gable dormer. The chimney contains a single flue.

b. Servants' wing: The servants' wing presently has one chimney. The original chimney was located on the exterior of the north facade, and images from the 1870s show that it was topped with a large hood.⁶³ After the 1881 expansion of the servants' wing, a new interior chimney emerged from the ridge of the hip roof. It has a corbelled stack highlighted with vermillion and black paint, and contains three flues.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors:

Main house: The main house has eleven doorways: three entrances to the first floor (one east [front], one west, and two south); three balcony entrances (two east, one north, and one south); and four upper-story porch entrances (one north, one west, and two south). Many of the doorways are marked by lintels of stretcher bricks in the form of a flat stepped arch or a segmental arch: black paint on some of the bricks creates the illusion of a keystone and large voussoirs. Most of the porch and balcony openings feature wood doors with one light over a chamfered cross buck.

The front (east) doorway has an arched transom and adapted Tiffany stained glass sidelights above panels of basketweave bricks. During their visit to London in 1879, the Clemenses purchased three stained glass windows and had them installed in the entry frontispiece, over the original plate glass sidelights and transom. When they sold the house in 1903, the stained glass was removed and sold. In 1964, the Mark Twain Memorial installed two Tiffany sidelights depicting a landscape with lilies.⁶⁴ The doorway has a brick lintel in the form of a segmental arch, a marble threshold, and a stone sill. The massive chestnut door has ten raised panels set in a chamfered molding. Notched and grooved wood casing frames the door and side panels.

The doorway from the Library (west) features a fixed one-light transom above a wood door with two glass panels. It has a wood surround, threshold, and sill, but there is no physical or photographic evidence of any stairway descending to the ground approximately 4' below. Confirmation of the door's historic existence is provided by its original latches and hinges and by a reference by Clara Clemens to a childhood episode that transpired in the Library. In her biography of her father, Clara recounted how an

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 24)

intruding snake interrupted the daily storytelling session: "Father dropped us both to the floor and seizing a pair of tongs from the fireplace lifted the snake in the air and precipitated him through a door in the bay window that faced the wooden ravine."⁶⁵

The doorway to the Ombra (southeast) was created in 1933 to provide an alternative access to the former Mahogany Guest Bedroom, then used as the Mark Twain Memorial and Library Commission "Commission Room."⁶⁶ A fixed transom window appears over the French doors. Each leaf has a panel of glass above a raised and beveled wood panel. The wood sill projects over the water table, and a removable wood step fits beneath the threshold. This opening had probably resembled the full-length one-over-one window that appears on the other side of this projecting bay.

One of the six-light windows surrounding the Conservatory (south) serves as a door and has a wood sill. Two filled holes on the water table mark the former location of four steps to the ground. An image from the Mark Twain Memorial Photographic Collection indicates that this short stairway was used at least through the late 1960s.⁶⁷

The doorway to the (second floor north) Master Bedroom porch has head and jambs featuring recessed panels edged with chamfers with lamb's-tongue stops. The doorway has a flat stepped arch lintel and a wood sill and threshold. Historic photographs reveal that a single door with one light over a chamfered cross buck hung in the doorway, and interior curtains shielded views into the Clemenses' bedroom.⁶⁸ Presently the doorway is hung with two doors: a cross buck door appears on the exterior, and inside it is a four-panel door that resembles those found throughout the upper stories of the main house. This door has four beveled and raised panels: horizontal rectangular panels at top and bottom and two vertical rectangular panels in the center. All but the uppermost rail are beveled, and the styles and rails are cut on the upper three sides of each panels with a cyma reversa chamfer that terminates on the styles with a lamb's-tongue stop.

The two openings to the Texas Deck and the opening to the Billiard Room porch (third floor south and west) are all hung with the same cross buck door. The Billiard Room doorway to the Texas Deck has a wood sill, and its paneled head and jambs are similar to that which appears on the master porch. The third floor hall doorway to the Texas Deck has a wood threshold, sill, and surround. The doorway to the Billiards Room porch has a wood surround and threshold, as well as a fixed one-light transom.

The openings to both east balconies (third floor) are hung with three-light French doors with arched tops. Also, both of these doorways have wood sills, thresholds, and surrounds, as well as brick lintels in the form of a segmental arch. A flat stepped arch lintel marks the doorway to the north balcony (third floor). The doorway features a stone sill, wood threshold, wood surround, and wood door with two glass panels. The doorway to the south balcony (third floor) has a full frontispiece of fixed fanlight and two-light fixed sidelights above recessed panels of basketweave bricks. A sawtooth arch and keystone of stretcher bricks crowns the fanlight. Notched and chamfered wood casing frames the door and sidelights.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 25)

Servants' wing: The servants' wing has three doorways: one on the east facade and two on the west facade (at the basement level and at the first floor level). A flat stepped arch marks the main servants' entry (east), featuring a two panel door. The upper panel (probably once glass) has been replaced with plexiglas, and the bottom has a raised and beveled wood panel. The styles and rails are cut with wide cyma reversa chamfers, some with lamb's-tongue stops.

The west exterior entryway to the Butler's Pantry was added during the apartment era. Trimmed on the exterior with a surround of rowlock and header bricks, the doorway has a stone threshold. The four-panel door is identical to that which appears on the interior of the doorway to the Master Bedroom Porch, and it might have originated as an interior door.

The location of the original basement doorway (west) is marked by its brownstone sill. In 1958, the door was removed and some of the surrounding wall was knocked down in order to accommodate the passage of a Paige typesetting machine into the basement.⁶⁹ The new entryway contains a transom and a side panel filled with plywood, as well as a four-panel wood door. The door has four lights above two beveled and raised wood panels. Its styles and rails are cut with chamfers with lamb's-tongue stops. The brownstone jambs are tooled and chamfered.

b. Windows: Double-hung, one-over-one-light sash windows predominate throughout the entire house. Also, most of the windows have sandstone sills, wood surrounds, and lintels of stretcher bricks in the form of a flat stepped arch: black paint on some of the bricks creates the illusion of a keystone and large voussoirs. This arrangement of sill, surround, and lintel is implied unless otherwise stated in the descriptions that follow. It should be noted that wood frame storm sashes cover most of the windows.

Main house: The basement has eleven windows, which were all probably three-light hopper windows. Most have been blocked with metal or wood. They all feature brownstone surrounds with vermiculated or tooled jambs and tooled or sawed sills. Grillework consisting of a "bullseye" molded boss centered on stick crossbracing covers nine of the windows, and iron grillework covers the other two windows. Two more windows, now blocked with brick, would have been located beneath the Ombra.

The first floor has twenty-five windows. There are fourteen one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows. A triple window of one-over-one-light double-hung sash has a fixed one-light transom and molded mullion trim with blocks. The Conservatory (south) is lined with eight openings, seven of which are fixed six-light windows with wood surrounds and wood sills; two of the windows are a single-pane casements. Located above the Ombra roof (east), three one-light, clerestory windows (two fixed, one hopper) shed light into rooms on the east side of the house.

Of particular note, the Dining Room has one fixed window (north) containing a beveled pane surrounded on three sides by five panes of leaded glass--all set in a wood frame. The leaded glass was installed by the Bissell family soon after their purchase of the house

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 26)

in 1903. Their window replaced one designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany for the 1881 renovations of the first floor. Tiffany's window featured the same beveled pane surrounded on three sides by a leaded grid of 3" square stained glass. The effect was a tonal landscape with a design portraying a subtle gradation of color from earth to sky, repeating the glass pattern intact as an overmantel on either side of the window, inside the Dining Room. Historic photographs suggest that the original (1874-1881) window frame may have contained a single pane of glass.⁷⁰

The second floor has fifteen windows. There are twelve one-over-one-light double-hung sash windows and three triple windows, each one-over-one-light, double-hung sashes.

The third floor has ten windows. There are six one-over-one light double-hung sash windows. The two fixed translucent marble windows in the Billiard Room (south) have sills, surrounds, and flat arches made of brick [(see I.A.1., Date of erection for description)]. The two casement windows on the north facade are covered with brick grillework.

The Clerestory has four fixed windows, and three hopper windows which replaced an earlier pivot system.

The attic has a fixed fanlight window with a brick sill and a brick segmented arch on the north side. Two cross-shaped, pierced brick openings for ventilation appear on the south side of the attic.

Servants' wing: The basement has seven two-over-two double-hung-sash windows with shouldered arches--all on the west facade and all covered with wire grillework. The five windows in the 1874 servants' wing have brownstone surrounds with sawed sills and chamfered jambs with a sawed face; the faces of the shouldered arch lintels are vermiculated with tooled margins, sawed chamfers, and sawed soffits. The two windows on the 1881 addition (northwest) are similar but not identical to the earlier windows. They have sawed sills and chamfered jambs with a tooled face; the faces of the shouldered arch lintels are vermiculated and sawed with tooled margins, sawed chamfers, and sawed soffits.

The first floor has thirteen one-over-one light double-hung sash windows. The four windows in the Butler's Pantry (west) have shouldered arches with stone lintels, jambs of rowlock bricks, and wood lintels. A fifth window in the Butler's pantry was removed to accommodate a door.

The second floor has one single, two double, and three triple windows of one-over-one lights with double-hung sash.

Half-timbering on the appentice (east) showcases panels of ornamentally laid brick alternating with three double-hung one-over-one-light windows.

8. Roof

a. Shape, covering: The complex roof of the main house has one major gable and a number of minor gables, dormers, and projecting bays. The major gable runs north-south and is adjoined on its east face by a shallow-sloped roof extending approximately 16' and then forming the ridge to a steeply sloped roof which extends to the east wall of the house. Two projecting gables emerge from this steep slope. Octagonal tent roofs crown the three-story polygonal bay on the west side (first floor, Library; second floor, schoolroom; third floor, Billiards Room) and the two-story polygonal bay on the north side (first floor drawing room; second floor, Mr. & Mrs. Clemens Bedroom). The south side has a one-story curvilinear bay with a conical tent roof (conservatory) and a three-story polygonal bay crowned with an octagonal flat roof (first floor Mahogany Guest Room; second floor, Jean and Clara's Bedroom; and third floor, Texas Deck).

The steep-sloped roof on the east side, the octagonal roofs on the north and west sides, and all of the gables are covered with multi-colored hexagonal slate shingles and trimmed with straight rows of grey slate shingles where the eaves flare. Silver-colored coating on top of an asphalt-prepared surface appears on the shallow sloped roof as well as the octagonal roof on the south side. Glazed with plexiglas (formerly glass), the interior of the conical roof is supported by a series of wood rafters, metal ribs, and copper gutters that provide the Conservatory with its own interior drainage system. Copper valleys, ridges, and built-in gutters--the gutters supported by simple brackets, whose upper ovolo and lower cyma reversa profiles meet in a fillet--line all the roofs.

The servants' wing has a hipped roof terminating on its north end in a lower cross-hip gable. It also features an appentice and four gable dormers. Its covering and drainage system is identical to that which appears on the main gable of the house. The appentice on the east facade houses the servants' stairway, and its roof is covered with straight rows of slate shingles and lined with a copper gutter. A quarter-round bay with a shed roof projects from the south side of the servants' wing. This shed roof (on the Butler's Pantry) is covered with an asphalt-prepared surface and a silver-colored coating. Before the 1881 renovations, the servants' wing had a pyramidal hipped roof and two dormers.

b. Cornice, eaves: The wide, exposed, gable eaves of the main house are supported by a series of scrolled rafters and brackets spaced at regular intervals. The shallow eave of the curvilinear conical roof is supported entirely by a number of short rafters.

The main roof of the servants' wing also has wide exposed eaves supported by a series of scrolled rafters and brackets spaced at regular intervals. The appentice has an unusual wood cornice with half-timbering in the form of silhouetted shapes, over inlaid panels of hexagonal slate shingles. The quarter-round shed roof is supported entirely by scrolled rafters.

c. Dormers: The main house has one skylight, one shed dormer (on the east side), and four gable dormers (two on the east, one on the west, and one on the south).

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 28)

All of the gable dormers feature the same surfacing as the main gable and have wide, flared eaves supported by scrolled beams, rafters, and/or brackets. Beneath the west dormer roof, a one-over-one double-hung sash window appears on each side of the end chimney. The three other gable dormers each have a single lateral brace consisting of a turned post with three square blocks. The dormer on the south side has a pair of two-light casements beneath a fixed one-light window. A pattern of chamfered half-timbering with panels of brick infill incorporates the frames of the two windows. The dormers on the east side have one-over-one double-hung sash windows.

The shed dormer contains a clerestory window with four fixed sashes and three hopper sashes. Originally, all seven sashes were pivotal windows, allowing for ventilation. Segmental arches top the seven windows on the exterior. The roof is supported with scrolled rafters and brackets and has an asphalt-prepared surface with silver-colored coating. The skylight (an addition from 1961) has a copper casement frame containing two lights of 1/4", rough, wire glass.⁷¹

The servants' wing has four gable dormers with copper roofs, half-timbering in the gable ends, and diamond-in-square sashes. The east dormer has two double windows with casement sashes; the north dormer has a triple window with a central fixed sash and casement sashes on each side; one west dormer has a triple window and the other west dormer has a double window.

C. Description of Interior:

The interior floor plan of the Mark Twain House (upon final completion by the Clemens family and as currently interpreted) consists essentially of a central entry hall with stairway, parlor, dining room, library, conservatory, and guest bedroom with bath and dressing room on the first floor; three bedrooms, nursery, schoolroom, and two baths on the second floor; guest bedroom, billiard room, and two servants' bedrooms on the third floor (see HABS drawings for detailed floor plans, architectural features and molding profiles). The current condition of the elaborate Victorian-era interior decor, and the spacial relationship of the rooms, furnishing and other interior features can be ascertained by examining the accompanying large-format, black & white HABS photographs. In the interest of facilitating further restoration efforts, a comprehensive study of the interior use of space, development of a furnishings plan, and an examination of the applied decorative features--particularly the work undertaken by Louis Comfort Tiffany and Associated Artists--is currently underway. Due to this factor, this HABS report will not include a detailed description of the interior features extant, but will instead defer to the later findings of those studies.

D. Site:

The architects developed a design approach committed to the integrity of the entire estate--an approach derived from the Picturesque movement popularized in the United States by pattern-book author/architects Andrew Jackson Downing and Calvert Vaux. On the Francklyn property (1873), Potter had placed the stables and coachhouse on the same prominent oceanfront axis as the master cottage so as to blur the boundaries between primary and secondary structures.

Creative alignment and plan also came into play in the design for the Clemens main house and carriage house. In July 1873, Samuel Clemens visited the construction site and reported to his wife his perceptions about their future home and its siting:

You may look at the house or the grounds from any point of view you choose & they are simply exquisite. It is a quiet, murmurous, enchanting poem done in the solid elements of nature. The house & the barn do not seem to have been set up on the grassy slopes & levels by laws & plans & specifications--it seems as if they grew up out of the ground & were part & parcel of Nature's handiwork. The harmony of size, shape, color, everything----is harmonious. It is a home----& the word never had so much meaning before.⁷²

Clemens's impressions regarding the manner in which the buildings' blend into the landscape not only provide a layman's insight into the irregular and natural beauty of Picturesque design but also offer a hearty endorsement of Potter and Thorp's work.

As with the study of the interiors of the house, an examination of the significant features of the landscape is also underway which will reveal more information regarding the changes over time to the property (or environmental setting) on which the Mark Twain House is sited.

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Drawings

Perspective sketch. Published as "Residence of Mr. Samuel Clemens ('Mark Twain'), Hartford, Conn." New York Sketch-Book of Architecture I, no. IV (April 1874): plate XVI.

[various plans and elevations held at MTM]

B. Early Views

House-Exteriors-Carriage House. House-Exteriors. House-Interiors. House-Grounds. SLC and Family Groups. Photographic Collection. Mark Twain Memorial, Hartford, CT.

C. Interviews/Correspondence

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MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 33)

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E. Additional, Unused Sources:

A number of repositories hold manuscripts pertaining to the Clemens family. While most of the primary material (or copies of primary material) used in this project is held by the Mark Twain Memorial in Hartford, the sources a.-g. are most likely to contain additional correspondence pertaining to family life and the architectural history of the house on Farmington Avenue. The Twain's World software, the issues of Mark Twain Quarterly and its continuation Mark Twain Journal, and the two bibliographies listed in the previous section may provide leads to other likely sources.

- a. Berg, Albert A. and Henry W. Collection. New York Public Library, New York, NY.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 35)

- b. Kingswood-Oxford Archives. Kingswood-Oxford School, West Hartford, CT.
- c. Twain, Mark. Papers. Bancroft Library. University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- d. Twain, Mark. Collection. Special Collections Department. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.
- e. Twain, Mark. Letters. Various private collectors, MO.
- f. Twain, Mark. Papers. Jean Webster McKinney Family Papers. Rare Books and Manuscripts. Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY.
- g. Twichell, Joseph H. Papers. Beinecke Library. Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- h. Twain's World. Parsippany, NJ.
- i. Mark Twain Quarterly (serial), 1936-54. Mark Twain Journal (serial), 1954-present.

PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

The documentation of the Mark Twain House was undertaken in the summer of 1995 by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) of the National Park Service, Robert J. Kapsch, chief of HABS/HAER. The project was sponsored by the Mark Twain Memorial; the principals involved were John V. Boyer, Executive Director, and Marianne Curling, Curator, of the Mark Twain Memorial; and Paul D. Dolinsky, Chief of HABS. The field project was developed by Joseph D. Balachowski, HABS architect and executed under the direction of projects leaders Frederick J. Lindstrom, HABS Architect, and Catherine C. Lavoie, HABS Historian. The field recording was conducted by project supervisor, Prof. John P. White (Texas Tech University), historian, Sarah E. Zurier (Yale University), and architecture technicians: John Brandon Anderson (Texas Tech University), Sarah Dotti (Virginia Tech University), Rebecca Geist (Kansas State University), Scot H. Murdoch (University of Arizona), Ruchira Nageswaran (University of Notre Dame), Michael A. Santos (Roger Williams University), and Volodymyr Dumalsky, (ICOMOS, Ukraine). Large-format photography was undertaken by HABS Photographer, Jack E. Boucher.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 36)

Notes:

1. A letter from Samuel Clemens to General Colton Green noted the inauguration of construction in April 1873 and its expected completion date a year later. By September 1874, however, the Clemens family moved into the second floor of the house, while construction work persisted through the fall. See Samuel L. Clemens (SLC) to General Colton Green (CG), 26 April 1873, Lyman L. Pierce Collection, Mark Twain Home Foundation; SLC to Orion Clemens (OC), 21 September 1874, Mark Twain Collection (MTC), Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; Marianne J. Curling, "The Central Hearth," Mark Twain News.
2. E.T. Potter Ledger, E.T. Potter Papers, Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University; Sarah Bradford Landau, Edward T. and William A. Potter, American Victorian Architects (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 69. Landau referred to the 22 October 1881 issue of American Architect and Building News to cite Potter as the sole architect of the 1881 renovations. In response to the Clemenses' concerns about financing the renovations, Potter refused a stipend but insisted that Thorp be paid for his work on the project. It is likely, however, that Thorp and--especially for the kitchen renovations--builder William A. Garvie had a hand in the 1881 designs. A letter from Samuel Clemens to his nephew Charles Webster (who was overseeing the renovations) states, "Never mind Thorp. Let Garvie build that kitchen verandah according to his own design, which was a very good one." SLC to Charles L. Webster (CLW), 4 September 1881, Samuel C. Webster Collection, Vassar College Library.
3. Landau, American Victorian Architects, 10-21. For a recent discussion of the Nott Memorial, see Vernon Mays, "What Nott?" Historic Preservation 34, no. 4 (July/August 1995):32-37, 98. For more information on the work of W.A. Potter, see Landau's American Victorian Architects and Lawrence Wodehouse, "William Appleton Potter, Principal Pasticheur of Henry Hobson Richardson," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XXXII, no. 2 (May 1973): 175-92.
4. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Register of Historic Places, Inventory-Nomination Form, Nott Memorial Hall, prepared July 1985; Richard Chafee, "Edward T. Potter and Samuel Clemens: An Architect and His Client," (master's thesis, Yale University, 1963, revised 1966), 45, Mark Twain Memorial (MTM); Landau, American Victorian Architects, 87-89; Allan Gowans, Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1992), 155-58.
5. Landau, American Victorian Architects, 92-105, 172.
6. *Ibid.*, 97, 111-154; Landau, "Mark Twain's House in Connecticut," Architectural Review CLXIX, no. 1009 (March 1981): 162-166; Henry Russell Hitchcock, speech delivered at the Mark Twain Memorial Annual Meeting, House-Architect-Hitchcock, Research Files, MTM.
7. Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 79; Landau, American Victorian Architects, 354-78.
8. *Ibid.*, 30-31; George Warner (GW) to Elizabeth Gillette Warner (EGW), 27 May 1872, Warner-Gillette Letters, Stowe-Day Library (SDL), Harriet Beecher Stowe Center, Stowe-Day Foundation.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 37)

9. Francis Whiting Halsey, Authors of Our Day at Their Homes (New York: James Pott & Company, 1902), 32; Landau, American Victorian Architects, 68-70.
10. *Ibid.*
11. "Mark Twain's House," Hartford Daily Times, 23 March 1874; [name of article], Windsor Historical Society News XI, no. 3, (May 1993): 3; "Memo of Conversation," Robert S. Garvie (of Robert & William A. Garvie Brothers, plumbers) and Walter K. Schwinn, 10 June 1975, in Walter K. Schwinn Working Files, folder 21.5; Sereno B. Gammell, "Twain Mansion Drew Attention From Beginning," Hartford Times, 1 November 1935.
12. Bills Collection (1881), MTC. See previous endnote in regard to Garvie.
13. "Memorandum of an agreement made this 26th day of August 1881 between James Ahern of Hartford Conn. and S.L. Clemens of the same place," House-Tradesmen, Research Files, MTM.
14. From June 1, 1995 to June 30, 1996, a team from the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) is conducting research and preparing a materials analysis of the site. These investigations may yield additional information about the original plans and construction of the house.
15. Mark Twain House-Exteriors, 1874-1881, nos. 1, 2, 7, 13, Photographic Collection, MTM.
16. Edward Tuckerman Potter, Preliminary Perspective Drawing, Photos and Images File, MTM.
17. Edward Tuckerman Potter (ETP) to SLC, 30 May 1875, Letters-Friends, MTM; Henry Darbee, "The Architecture of the Mark Twain House," House-Architect-Darbee, Research Files, MTM.
18. Mark Twain House-Exteriors, 1881-1905, nos. 4, 6, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, Photographic Collection, MTM; SLC to Karl Gerhardt, 9 October 1881, Boston Public Library. See also a letter to Mary Mason Fairbanks in which Clemens wrote, "We have rebuilt our kitchen & doubled its size." SLC to Mary Mason Fairbanks, 18 September 1881 in Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, ed. Dixon Wecter (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1949), 242-246. Mark Twain in Susy Clemens, Papa: An Intimate Biography of Mark Twain, ed. Charles Neider (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1985), 95; "Memorandum," 26 August 1881, House-Tradesmen, Research Files, MTM.
19. Hartford Land Records, 11 May 1903, vol. 295, 423, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; SLC to Franklin Whitmore (FW), 18 July 1891 and 24 August 1891, MTC; SLC to FW, May 1903 and 20 May 1903, Letters--SLC, MTM; FW to OLC, 19 April 1902, Letters-Family, MTM; OLC to FW, 9/10 May 1903 and 15 May 1903, Letters-Family, MTM; Isabel Lyon to FW, 23 May 1903, Letters-Friends, MTM; FW to OLC, 29 May 1903.
20. Walter K. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 225-30, MTM; Permits no. 673 and 550, 11 August 1910 and 1 November 1905, Office of Building Inspector, City of Hartford.
21. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 256-58; Melancton W. Jacobus, Kingswood: Fifty Years: 1916-1966 (West Hartford, CT: Kingswood School, 1966), 20-29. For a profile of Richard

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 38)

Bissell, Jr., who was born at 351 Farmington Avenue and later attended Kingswood School there when his parents leased the property to the school, see "Man of Intelligence," Kingswood-Oxford Magazine (Autumn 1994):16-21.

22. "Mark Twain House Sold To James J. Wall And John J. And Francis Ahern," Hartford Daily Courant, 20 December 1919; Hartford Land Records, 13 January 1920, vol. 481, 438-40; Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 258-66; Building Permit no. 1934, 29 August 1923, Office of Department of Building Inspection, Hartford, CT; Plumbing Permit no. 880, 20 September 1923, Office of Department of Building Inspection; Electrical Permit no. 1025, 23 May 1925, Office of Department of Building Inspection.

23. "Mark Twain House Opens For Donors," Hartford Courant, 25 January 1929; Trustees' Meeting, 16 September 1929, MTM; Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 289; Permits nos. 1361, 265, 2011, 429, and 235, years 1929-1955, Heating Division, Department of Building, Hartford, CT; Permits nos. 366, 575, 396, 921, 516, and 287, Electrical Division, Department of Building, Hartford, CT; Permits nos. 399, 7893, P-431, Plumbing Division, Department of Building, Hartford, CT; Permits nos. 79-H, 103-H, and 1252-H, years 1929-1955, Building Division, Department of Building, Hartford, CT.

24. Refer to the MTM minutes for the years 1929-1955 and to the MTM Newsletters beginning in 1955. For an overview of the restoration process, see Wilson H. Faude, The Renaissance of the Mark Twain House: Handbook for Restoration (Larchmont, NY: Queens House, 1978).

25. Robert S. Ordway (RSO) to MTM, 16 March 1961, House--Restoration--roofs & chimneys, Research Files, MTM; Application For Building Permit no. B-0425-HC and B-14365-HC, 12 June 1974 and 11 October 1983, Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Hartford; Faude, Renaissance, 29; Meeting of the Trustees, 25 June 1962, MTM; Report of Annual Meeting of Trustees, 19 June 1955, MTM; Meeting of the Trustees, 15 November 1966, MTM; Meeting of the Trustees, 19 November 1962, MTM.

26. Maura Hagearty, conversation with the author, 19 June 1995, Hartford, CT.

27. Hartford Land Records, 15 June 1853, vol. 87, 414, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; Joseph S. Van Why, Nook Farm, ed. Earl A. French (Hartford, CT: The Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975), 7-9. In Elmira, Livy had attended the Park Congregational Church, where Thomas K. Beecher (yet another member of the Connecticut Beecher clan) was pastor. Also, in 18xx Livy had shared a room at the Elmira Water Cure with Isabella Beecher Hooker and came to develop a friendship with Mrs. Hooker's daughter Alice. Historian of Nook Farm Kenneth R. Andrews wrote plainly, "The ties between Nook Farm and Elmira were very close." Andrews, Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 250, n. 39. Caroline Thomas Harnsberger, Mark Twain, Family Man (New York: The Citadel Press, 1960), 54; Gregory E. Andrews and David F. Ransom, Structures and Styles: Guided Tours of Hartford's Architecture (Hartford, CT: The Connecticut Historical Society and the Connecticut Architecture Foundation, 1988), 143, 217-18; Hartford Architecture Conservancy Survey, Hartford Architecture, Volume Three: North and West Neighborhoods, (Hartford: Hartford Architecture Conservancy, Inc., 1980), 139-140.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 39)

28. Olivia L. Clemens, (OLC) to SLC, 2 December 1871, in The Love Letters of Mark Twain, ed. Dixon Wecter (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), 166-69; Hartford Land Records, 15 August 1864, vol. 114, 702-703, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; Hartford Land Records, 22 March 1873, vol. 148, 633, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; Hartford Land Records, 16 January 1873, vol. 148, 632, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain: A Biography, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912), 480.
29. Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 15; ETP to GW, 25 December 1898. Potter himself described the Warner house as "Elizabethan Gothic"--as reported in a letter from George Warner to his wife Elizabeth Gillette Warner, EGW, 1 November [1871]. In a letter to his wife, George Warner wrote, "I want immensely to get that house for Potter." Two days later, she replied, "I'll do all in my power [to get house for Potter]." See GW to EGW, 27 May 1872, and EGW to GW, 29 May 1872.
30. Permission to publish required from the Mark Twain Memorial.
31. SLC to CG, 26 April 1873, Pierce Collection, EGW to GW, 14 January, 1873, Gillette Collection, SDL.
32. SLC to OLC, 3 July 1874, Mark Twain Home Foundation, Hannibal, Missouri; SLC to Mrs. G.A. Cole, 20 September 1874, Private Collection, Arkansas.
33. For comparable plans, see Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), 322, 339, and 343; E.C. Hussey, Victorian Home Building: A Transcontinental View of 1875 (Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation, 1976), nos. 21, 22, 24, 32. For comparable contemporary designs without so many bathrooms, see H. Hudson Holly, Country Seats & Modern Dwellings: Two Victorian Domestic Stylebooks (New York: American Life Foundation Library of Victorian Culture, 1977), nos. 27 and 29 (Country Seats) and no. 23 (Modern Dwellings); Hussey, Victorian Home, no. 37. In 1878, Holly noted that the billiard room's conventional location "in some out-of-the-way part of the house.... frequently in the attic" often discouraged women from indulging in the game. Holly, Domestic Stylebooks, 118.
34. For a glimpse of family life at the Hartford house, see S.L. Clemens's "Family Sketch"--especially pp. 7, 29-30, 35 of the typescript. Their "Family" includes not only the Clemenses but also their family of servants and their extended family of neighbors, guests, and visitors.
35. Olivia Langdon Clemens (OLC) to GW, 10 August 1881, Letters-Family, MTM; GW to OLC, 2 August 1881, MTM. The busy communication between Samuel Clemens, his nephew and business agent Charles Webster, architect Alfred A. Thorp, builder William A. Garvie, and plumber Charles Ahern is excerpted and summarized in Mark Twain, Business Man, ed. Samuel Charles Webster (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1946), 162-70. SLC to Elizabeth E. Jenkins (EEJ), 2 October 1886, Foote Collection, SDL.
36. SLC to Fred Hall, 14 April 1891 in Mark Twain's Letters, vol. II (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1917), 547; Justin Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966), 354-360, 365-366; SLC to FW, 18 July 1891 and 24 August 1891, MTC.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 40)

37. SLC to FW, 14 September 1896, Letters-SLC, MTM; SLC to Laurence Hutton, 1 January 1900, Princeton University Library; SLC to FW, 27 August 1901, 7 December 1901, 14 June 1902, MTC; 4 May 1902, MTP.
38. Hartford Land Records, 11 May 1903, vol. 295, 423, Office of the City Clerk, Hartford, CT; SLC to Franklin Whitmore (FW), 18 July 1891 and 24 August 1891, MTC; SLC to FW, May 1903 and 20 May 1903, Letters--SLC, MTM; FW to OLC, 19 April 1902, Letters-Family, MTM; OLC to FW, 9/10 May 1903 and 15 May 1903, Letters-Family, MTM; Isabel Lyon to FW, 23 May 1903, Letters-Friends, MTM; FW to OLC, 29 May 1903.
39. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 231-32; Andrews and Ransom, Structures and Styles, 143-59; Hartford Architectural Conservancy, Hartford Architecture, vol. 3, 152-54. In her master's thesis on the Clemens family in Hartford, Katherine Day noted that Harriet Beecher Stowe died in 1896, Charles Dudley Warner in 1900, and John Hooker in 1901. See her "Mark Twain's First Years in Hartford and Personal Memories of the Clemens Family," (master's thesis, Trinity College, May 1936).
40. Walter K. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 225-30, MTM; Permits no. 673 and 550, 11 August 1910 and 1 November 1905, Office of Building Inspector, City of Hartford.
41. Hartford Land Records, 13 January 1920, vol. 481, 438-40, Office of the City Clerk; Hartford Land Records, 22 December 1919, vol. 482, 172, Office of the City Clerk; Hartford Land Records, 24 December 1919, vol. 484, 266, Office of the City Clerk, "Man of Intelligence," Kingswood-Oxford Magazine, (Autumn 1994): 16-21.
42. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," c. 1982, 260-65; Hartford Courant, 4 March 1923.
43. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 260-65; Building Permit 1934, 29 August 1923, Office of Building Inspector, Municipal Building, Hartford, CT; Plumbing Permit 880, 20 September 1923, Office of Building Inspector, Municipal Building, Hartford, CT.
44. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 265, 289; Connecticut Legislature, An Act Incorporating the Mark Twain Library and Memorial Commission Substituting for House Bill 574, 1929.
45. "Mark Twain House Becomes Property Of Memorial Body," Hartford Courant, 7 June 1929; "1995/1996 IMS General Operating Support," 12, MTM; Newsletter XVIII, no. 3 (July 1974).
46. Board of Trustees 3.16.1959; Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 345; Annual Meeting, 16 June 1930, MTM; "Mark Twain's Daughter Will See Childhood Home In Its Original Condition," Hartford Courant, 24 April 1930; "Fine Music In Concert for Memorial," Hartford Courant, 25 April 1930.
47. "1995/1996 IMS General Operating Support," 12, MTM; Meeting of the Executive Committee, 16 February 1956, MTM; Applications for Permits H2317, P2942, B-1875HC, Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Hartford.

48. Virginia and Lee McAlester, Great American Houses and Their Architectural Styles (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 138-51; Landau, "Richard Morris Hunt, the Continental Picturesque, and the 'Stick Style,'" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XLII (October 1983):272-289; Landau, "Mark Twain's House in Connecticut," Architectural Review:163-166; Gowans, Styles and Types, 164-209; Curling, "Historic Structures Report: Proposal for Funding: National Endowment for the Arts" (MTM, September 1994). It is difficult to assign an appropriate architectural style to this house. It has been alternately labelled Continental Picturesque, Queen Anne, Picturesque Gothic, Stick, Steamboat Gothic, High Victorian Gothic, and "wholly and absolutely Mark Twain." For the reference to the "Mark Twain" style and one of the origins of the myth that the house was intended to resemble a steamboat, see Charles W. Burpee's letter to the editor of the Hartford Times of 25 September 1928, collected in House-Architect-Potter, Research Files, MTM.
49. Sara B. Chase, "Architectural Conservation Assessment" (MTM, Hartford, CT, 1990, photocopy).
50. Fall Meeting of the Mark Twain Memorial, 17 November 1955, MTM.
51. GW to Dr. Andrew D. White, 25 October 1872.
52. Landau, "Mark Twain's House," 164-65; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 25 June 1962, MTM; Henry Darbee, "Report on Exterior Decoration," 20 March 1962, Research Resumes, vol. 1, MTM.
53. Gregory E. Andrews and David F. Ransom, Structures and Styles: Guided Tours of Hartford Architecture (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society and the Connecticut Architectural Foundation, 1988), 180. See also endnote 39.
54. Potter often incorporated very straightforward imagery into his architectural designs, for example, installing marble windows carved with pipes and pool cues for the Clemenses' Billiard Room or designing the Colt Memorial Parish House to resemble a ship complete with nautical iconography carved in relief. While the exterior of the Mark Twain house does not feature any such direct imagery, it does contain a significant amount of stylized, naturalistic motifs. This subtle theme appears in the jigsawed brackets on the Ombra and Porte-cochere (perhaps depicting rushes or tree branches), the jigsaw friezes on the Porte-cochere and Texas Deck (perhaps showing mushrooms, lilies, and butterflies and perhaps presenting images of the wind or sea), and the drop finials carved with oak leaf designs. The multiple uses of the anthemion leaf motif also enhance this picturesque design scheme. On Potter's not-so-subtle imagery, see Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 97-101 and Landau, American Victorian Architects, 45-48. John Boyer, conversation with author, 1 August 1995.
55. Samuel L. Clemens and Family Groups, no. 1, Photographic Collection, MTM; Minutes of the Meeting of the Trustees, 26 June 1961, MTM.
56. It is likely, however, that Thorp and--especially for the kitchen renovations--builder William A. Garvie had a hand in the 1881 designs. A letter from Samuel Clemens to his nephew Charles Webster (who was overseeing the renovations) states, "Never mind Thorp. Let Garvie build that kitchen verandah according to his own design, which was a very good one." SLC to Charles L. Webster (CLW), 4 September 1881, Samuel C. Webster Collection, Vassar College Library.

MARK TWAIN HOUSE (Samuel Clemens House)
HABS NO. CT-359 (page 42)

57. In his discussion of the so-called "steamboat" style of the house, Chafee refers to Viennese author Friedrich Eckstein's memories of this "strange building" with its "white-washed open porch, fashioned after a 'Hurricane Deck.'" Eckstein, quoted in Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 96. Vincent J. Scully, Jr., Lecture to the Victorian Society of America, Hartford, 10 May 1975, as quoted by Landau, American Victorian Architects, 45.
58. Boyer, conversation with author, 1 August 1995.
59. Compare this porch balustrade with that presented in Viollet-le-Duc's illustration of "Fat Fau's House," in his Habitations of Man in All Ages (reprinted in American Architect I, 1876). This image appears in Scully, The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 35, figure 17 following page 114.
60. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 262.
61. V. and L. McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994) p. 356; House-Exteriors, 1903-1950, no. 7, Photographic Collection, MTM.
62. SLC to EEJ, 2 October [1886], Foote Collection.
63. Mark Twain House-Exteriors, 1874-1881, nos. 1, 3, 7, 13, 14, Photographic Collection, MTM.
64. [name of article], Newsletter of the Mark Twain Memorial and Library Commission VIII, no. 1 (March 1964):3.
65. Clara Clemens, My Father, Mark Twain (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1931), 2-3.
66. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 262; Meeting, 12 June 1933, MTM.
67. House-Exteriors, 1950-1974, no. 41, Photographic Collection, MTM.
68. House-Exteriors, 1874-1881, no. 3, Photographic Collection, MTM.
69. Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 28 October 1958, MTM.
70. Curling, conversation with the author, Hartford, CT, 2 August 1995; House-Exteriors, 1881 to 1903, no. 14 and 1874 to 1881, no. 3, Photographic Collection, MTM. Potter had made use of this interesting arrangement of a window over a fireplace in his design for the rectory of St. Paul's Memorial Church in Staten Island (1866). From the Clemenses' time to the present, the Dining Room window (and to a lesser degree, the window above the Entry Hall and Drawing Room fireplaces) continues to fascinate visitors at 351 Farmington Avenue.
71. The installation of the skylight dates to the 1961 roof renovations. RSO to MTM, 16 March 1961, House-Restoration-roofs and chimneys, Research Files, MTM.
72. SLC to OLC, 3 July 1874, Private Collection, Missouri.