

MARK TWAIN CARRIAGE HOUSE  
(Samuel Clemens Carriage House)  
351 Farmington Avenue  
Hartford  
Hartford County  
Connecticut

HABS No. CT-359-A

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CONN  
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16A-

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA  
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PHOTOCRAPHS

Historic American Buildings Survey  
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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

MARK TWAIN CARRIAGE HOUSE

HABS NO. CT-359-A

Location: Rear of 351 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, Hartford County, Connecticut.  
USGS Hartford North Quadrangle, Universal Transverse Mercator Coordinates:  
18.691050.4626060.

Present Owner,  
Occupant, Use: Mark Twain Memorial, the former residence of Samuel Langhorne Clemens (better known as Mark Twain), now a house museum. The carriage house is a mixed-use structure and contains museum offices, conference space, a staff kitchen, a staff library, and storage space.

Significance: Completed in 1874, the Mark Twain Carriage House is a multi-purpose barn with a coachman's apartment designed by architects Edward Tuckerman Potter and Alfred H. Thorp as a companion structure to the residence for noted American author and humorist Samuel Clemens and his family. Its massive size and its generous accommodations for the coachman mark this structure as an unusual carriage house among those intended for a single family's use. The building has the wide overhanging eaves and half-timbering typical of the Chalet style popular in the late 19th century for cottages, carriage houses, and gatehouses. The carriage house apartment was the home of the Clemenses loyal and valued coachman, Patrick McAleer, and his family from 1874 until 1903.

Historian: Sarah Zurier, HABS, Summer 1995

Note on Terms: Samuel Clemens alternately referred to the stable and carriage area as the "barn," the "stable," and the "carriage house." The residential wing was called Patrick's [Patrick McAleer, the coachman] "rooms," "house," or "apartment."<sup>1</sup> For purposes of clarity, "carriage house" will refer to the entire building; "barn" will refer to the main block for stable and carriages; and "coachman's apartment" will refer to the residential wing.

PART I: HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: 1873-1874. The carriage house was built to accompany the Mark Twain House, and construction began on both buildings in the spring of 1873.<sup>2</sup> According to a letter of April 26, 1873 from Samuel Clemens to General Colton Green, the construction for the entire project was to be completed within one year. By late September of 1874 Clemens could boast to his brother Orion: "The stable is all done, and is exceedingly handsome. . . .Patrick and family occupy large handsome rooms in the stable."<sup>3</sup> The carriage house is a Chalet-style structure made of variously-coursed brick with a slate shingle and stick second story and a slate shingle roof.

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2. Architects: Edward Tuckerman Potter (1831-1904) and Alfred H. Thorp (1843-1917). Upon receiving the commission, Potter recorded in his project ledger: "Design + superintendance [sic] of execution of same for house Design + sup. of cottagebarn. 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.<sup>4</sup> [The Clemens house and carriage house] was their only collaboration.

Edward Tuckerman Potter was born to a prominent family closely associated with Union College (in Schenectady, NY) 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 longstanding 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. A graduate of Union College, E.T. Potter won two commissions for major buildings at his alma mater early in his career: the President's House (1857-1861) and a magnificent central rotunda (1858-59, 1872-78) later dedicated to the memory of Dr. Nott.<sup>5</sup>

Soon after his graduation in 1843, 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 served as a sort of "training ground" for an elite group of 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 true Medieval Gothic style, with hulky masses, and asymmetrical plans for Episcopal church design.<sup>6</sup>

In her definitive study of the Potter brothers, architectural historian Sarah Bradford Landau found 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 hargeboards 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

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Island to Iowa. By the late 1860s, Edward Tuckerman Potter was considered one of the premier church architects in the United States.<sup>8</sup>

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. This English-style cottage had a semi-detached servants' wing, elongated veranda, and other features that Potter would eventually put to use in the Clemens house. Landau noted that the Hall farmhouse echoed those 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."<sup>9</sup>

Of Potter's domestic projects, he recorded only two with stable facilities: the Samuel Clemens House and Carriage House and the Charles G. Francklyn Cottage, Coach House, and Stables (1873) in Elberon, New Jersey. Both properties display Potter's feeling for the plan of the entire estate--outbuildings and all--and he may have been influenced by Calvert Vaux's popular publication of 1864, Villas and Cottages. In a discussion of the design for a suburban villa and carriage house, Vaux emphasized that "a simple, straightforward, roomy country barn.... need not be ashamed to take its proper place in a home landscape." He continued:

It is always disagreeable to see such a building, if injudiciously located, where it will be in the way of the view from the house, or have an awkward appearance from the road, or be inconvenient of access, or be so prominent that it attracts an undue share of attention. But, on the other hand, it is very agreeable to catch a view of the inferior buildings belonging to a rural home whenever they happen to be picturesquely designed, and grouped with a due regard to retirement among the trees surrounding the house.

The creative alignment of the buildings on the Francklyn property echoed Vaux's advice. Potter arranged the three structures in line and designed them all in a coherent "Tyrolean chalet" style. As an August 1873 Harper's Weekly supplement reported, the result was such that "the three present one general mass, and the eye is satisfied with the effect, and never stops to ask if the third building is a stable."<sup>10</sup> Potter successfully challenged the standard interpretation of the "outbuilding" as a modest secondary structure that should be hidden from view. His clever siting of the Clemens House and Carriage House again revealed a sensitivity for the picturesque arrangement of the entire property.

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 tenement reform movement, none of his designs were built. He did, however, come out of retirement to prepare drawings for the 1881 renovation of the Clemens house and for a parish house (1894-1896) to accompany the Hartford 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

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child of genius I do believe--and he makes everything he touches upon lovely."<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

3. Original and subsequent owners and tenants: Information was gathered from the Hartford Land Records at the Hartford City Hall Clerk's Office; for a complete chain-of-title to the property see Mark Twain House (HABS NO. CT-359). The tenants of this structure were as follows: From the time of completion in 1874 until ca. 1896 the tenants were Patrick McAleer, the Clemens family coachman, and his family. From 1918 until 1922 the carriage house was used by the Kingswood School. Miss Atkins lived in the apartment from the 1930s until 1981, overlay with the 1956-76 the Junior League's use of the building from 1956 until 1976. Since that time the building has been used as office and storage space by the Mark Twain Memorial.

4. Builder, contractor, suppliers: 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, producer and supplier of hicks--of Windsor.<sup>14</sup>

5. Original plans and construction: The Chalet-style carriage house has an eclectic composition with light references to Continental styles and (perhaps) Northwest Coast Native American wood-carving ornament. The building has an L-shaped plan, with a main block built in a two-story rectangular configuration, and a two-story, central-stairway, four-room wing projecting from the west side of the main block. Both sections are original. While the principal facade of the carriage house faces north towards Farmington Avenue, the principal carriage entryway faces west. The original roof, like that of the main house, was covered with multi-colored hexagonal slate shingles and trimmed with straight rows of slate shingles.

The carriage house was designed to accommodate property lines to the east and south, a ridge to the west and a deed restriction to the north.

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Not only has the interior of the barn has been stripped of its original arrangements for stalls and carriages, but subsequent occupants have made substantial alterations throughout the entire structure over the years. Furthermore, the absence of original drawings and the paucity of historic photographs (none exist for the interior), make it difficult to make an accurate description of the building's original plan.

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 carriage house.

a. Barn:

*First floor and basement:* The horse stalls were located towards the back of the barn along the eastern wall. In a 1956 interview with two members of the Mark Twain Memorial staff, William McAleer (a son of Patrick McAleer) pointed out that the four windows on the eastern facade mark the four box stalls. These four windows are situated at intervals of exactly 5'--the standard width of a horse stall recommended by E.C. Hussey's Home Building (1876) and the minimum width suggested by Andrew Jackson Downing in the Architecture of Country Houses. According to Downing, each stall would have extended in length at least 14' from the wall.<sup>15</sup>

An investigation of the original ceiling revealed two openings (4'1" x 1'4" and 2'10" x 1'4") above the horse stalls, just inside the eastern wall. These openings, now covered with wide board planks, probably served as feed chutes for the stalls below.<sup>16</sup> At its southernmost corner, an exposed portion of the eastern wall is pierced with four holes at about 3-1/2' above the original barn floor. Metal pegs in three of these four holes might have attached a manger or trough to the wall. Another hole at about 6' above the floor may indicate where a horse stall was fastened to the barn wall.

As for the ventilation of the barn, no evidence (physical or photographic) of a cupola has been found, and no other typical ventilation sources (like missing bricks or louvered panel windows) are apparent.<sup>17</sup> The aeration of hay and the ventilation of the stable was instead made possible by the many windows and doors situated on all sides and at all stories of the barn.

In addition to carriage shelter and horse stalls, the first floor most likely contained a harnessing area or tack room, probably on the western wall where there is a chimney behind a modern furring wall. In his 1864 architectural pattern-book, Holly's Country Seats, H. Hudson Holly recommended the presence of "some means of heating" in the harness room so as to prevent the harness equipment from cracking in cold temperatures.<sup>18</sup> With the modern furring wall shielding the chimney from view, it is difficult to see evidence of an original flue opening; however, the presence of four flues in the chimney stack suggests the possibility of another heating element--like a coal stove--in the barn. An open stairway inside the northeastern corner provided access to the

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hayloft from the first floor, and this stairway was accessible from the outside through a external doorway on the eastern facade.

The barn basement housed the cows, calf, and perhaps the donkey. The two sheet metal chutes (each 2'3" x 1'3") present in the basement ceiling must have served to deliver feed to these animals. Six holes pierced in the (central brick) wall below may designate the location of a manger or trough; the wood pieces present in these holes probably provided solid anchoring. According to William McAleer, the cows were kept in the "south end" of the barn and went in and out through a "dutch door,"<sup>19</sup> which most likely hung on the east wall of the barn basement but has since been replaced.

*Second floor and attic:* Directly above the carriage entryway and just beneath a shed dormer there was probably a smaller set of doors through which hay and feed were transported to the second floor hayloft. Centered in the eave of the dormer is a ring, which would have been threaded with rope or would have held a pulley in order to hoist hay, feed, and straw up to the second story. The two pairs of notched wood brackets inside the doorway casing would have been used to hold two rails across the opening, and thus guard someone on the second floor from falling out of the open doors. The hay storage area inside these doors was originally open to the roof; the presence of twentieth century hardware and the change of framing style suggest that the original attic did not extend over this northern third of the hayloft. The north windows, like those on the east and south sides of the barn, served to aerate the hay. There were chutes for hay and feed above the horse stalls in the southeastern portion of the loft.

On the east facade, a stickwork railing originally wrapped around three sides of a small second story balcony. A similar intact balcony appears on the south facade. It is unclear what function they served, besides providing a visual counterpart to the many balconies on the main house. These balconies do, however, suggest possible locations for the study in the hayloft that Samuel Clemens used during the mid-1870s.

One historic account of this study described its walls of "plain pine sheathing" and another located it over the stable beneath "the shaddow [sic] of those big trees."<sup>20</sup> Both the east and south balconies had windows shaded by "big trees," and both balconies are over the stable. In the south end of the hayloft, a north-south wall of tongue-and-groove beadboard pokes directly through to the attic, and it is likely that this partition wall was an early addition if not an original feature of the hayloft. Another east-west partition wall of horizontal tongue-and-groove wide board planks extends through the attic and may have once spanned the width of the hayloft. These partition walls and the surrounding beadboard walls may have been the "plain pine sheathing" which enclosed the study.

Examination of the space in the southeast corner of the hayloft may provide evidence of Clemens's study. The doorway through the north-south partition wall to this space is original to the wall, and the door is made of the same tongue-and-groove beadboard as the wall. If the east-west partition wall had extended the width of the hayloft, it would

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have enclosed a space directly over the stables. With balconies to the east and south, this room would have been an inviting work area. On the other hand, its position directly over the stables would have made feeding from the feed chutes less convenient. Also, the room would have been too distant from the central brick wall for access to the chimney and thus for convenient heating of the space.

The intact room in the southwest corner of the hayloft offers an alternative location for Clemens's study. Although smaller than the southeast space, this room has access to the south balcony as well as access to the chimney. A remembrance of the study by Clemens's friend William Dean Howells refers to "the room above his stable, which had been intended for his coachman"; this reference may suggest the study's location in the southwest room.<sup>21</sup> Also of note is a built-in cabinet stationed in the northeast corner of the room. Its many drawers and shelves would have made it a handy storage piece for an office, and its two sliding doors bearing styles and rails cut with the familiar chamfer-with-lamb's-tongue-stop suggest that this piece is contemporary with other like-patterned doors in the house and carriage house. Also, the major vertical partition within the cabinet is made of the same tongue-and-groove headboard as the north-south partition wall and door. On the other hand, the presence of wire nails in the cabinet's construction, suggest that it was a later addition to the space.

A final piece of evidence of the hayloft study appears in the form of a small door located under the eave on the far south of the barn's west facade. There is no evidence of a stairway outside the door, and it is unclear what purpose an exterior door--without an existing balcony or stairway--might have served on the second floor of the structure. Although the opening has since been blocked with beadboard, the doorway does appear to be original. Perhaps it helped to ventilate Clemens's hayloft study.

**b. Coachman's apartment:** The principle facade of the coachman's apartment faces west, and there was another door on the south facade. A wooden footdeck with a railing ran across the west facade, and a set of exterior stairs went from the deck down to the basement door. A brick load-bearing wall divided the barn from the coachman's apartment from basement to attic.

Samuel Clemens offered a brief description of the coachman's apartment in his Autobiography. In a rundown of the servants' payscale for the year 1877, he noted that coachman Patrick McAleer received "\$600 a year, with gas, hot and cold water, and dwelling consisting of parlor, kitchen, and two bedrooms, connected with the stable, free."<sup>22</sup> On the first floor, the north room with its plainly-carved mantel and brick-lined hearth served as the McAleers' parlor. The south room was the kitchen; an edge of the chimney (now hidden by a set of cabinets) projects into the room and may have contained a flue opening. The landing for an enclosed single flight stairway appeared just inside the front door, and on either side of the second story landing was a door opening on to a large bedroom. The north room had either a private alcove or a passageway that connected to the south room. The south room had a closet with access to the apartment attic.

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It is possible that there was a bathroom partitioned from the south bedroom--the same location of the present bathroom. Because many Victorian architectural pattern books presented designs for carriage houses with modest accommodations for the coachman (at best, a private bedchamber and closet), it is more useful to compare the McAleers' apartment with the more substantial designs for gatehouses. Like a gatehouse, the coachman's wing provided a domestic space near to the workplace (ie. the horses and carriages), but separate from the main house thus affording its occupants a like more privacy. One of H. Hudson Holly's designs for a gatehouse included a kitchen and sitting room on the first floor and three bedrooms, a closet, and a bathroom on the second floor. A bathroom, noted Holly, "may be deemed an unusual and perhaps unnecessary convenience for a gate lodge"; however, a wealthy family had a patriarchal obligation to oversee its servants' hygiene. As Holly wrote, "Certainly there is the truest and humane economy in providing servants and all those under our protection with the means of enjoying the great blessing of cleanliness, which is the first advance to civilization, refinement, and self-respect."<sup>23</sup>

The window in the present second floor bathroom of the coachman's apartment has a latch (with porcelain knob) identical to those which appear on the first floor windows, suggesting it could be an original feature. On the exterior, the stick trim and slates surrounding the bathroom window opening seem undisturbed. The early, if not original, presence of this window may designate a bathroom area, separate from the rest of the south bedroom, requiring its own light and ventilation. The beadboard partition walls are historic, but not may not be original, as they do not extend through the ceiling to the attic. No evidence of original plumbing has been found as of yet.

Beneath the main stairway, another single flight of stairs descended from the kitchen to the basement. Evidence of this stairway is present in the basement. At the location of the original stair opening, a new patch of wood appears on the basement ceiling, and paint on a rafter reveals the stringer's outline. There was a coal chute in the foundations of the apartment's north wall.<sup>24</sup> A door on the west facade of the basement allowed access from outdoors.

**6. Alterations and additions:** The carriage house has never received a major structural addition, but it has undergone a large number of alterations. Although the main house was extensively renovated in 1881, only one slight reference to any contemporary work in the carriage house is available. The Clemenses' nephew Charles Webster, who was overseeing the renovations while the family was in Elmira, wrote to his uncle that "there are some little things that Patrick is having done about the barn not included as I dont [sic] know anything about it."<sup>25</sup> William McAleer noted that at some point Samuel Clemens had fitted up a gymnasium in the hayloft for his daughters, but no reference to this has been found in any of the family's records. Clemens seems to have moved out of his hayloft study by 1877.

Several years after his 1903 purchase of the Clemens property, Richard Bissell arranged for the construction of an automobile entrance in the north (front) facade of the barn. The middle two windows and the wall below them were removed in order to make room for the garage doors now

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in place. A 1930 photograph reveals that by that time, the original carriages' entrance on the western side was entirely bricked in--perhaps by the Bissells who had no need for an additional entryway. Bissell also renovated portions of the hayloft and coachman's apartment for use as athletic facilities. Upon leasing the property in 1918, the Kingswood School enlarged the gymnasium to include the entire hayloft and adapted the coachman's apartment for locker rooms and classrooms.

Four years after they acquired the property in 1919, private real estate speculators converted the carriage house into apartments: one in the former coachman's quarters and another in the hayloft. Even after the Mark Twain Memorial (MTM) acquired the property in 1929, various tenants continued to occupy the carriage house.<sup>26</sup>

Alterations dating from the fifty year occupation of the "Hayloft Studio" include the creation of a kitchen and bathroom in the southeast corner; the intrusion of a small window for the bathroom; the installation of a narrow board wood floor in most of the apartment; and the erection of a windowed partition wall running east-west to separate a north bedroom with two new closets. Several other alterations can be dated to this era by the presence of narrow-width beadboard, which gained popularity in the early twentieth century. These include the resheathing of much of the west wall and west ceiling, the enclosure of the northeast stairwell, and the partitioning of the bathroom. MTM board minutes and Newsletters help in dating other alterations of the hayloft, such as the intrusion of the casement window in the west wall (1941) and the linoleum surfacing of the kitchen and bathroom floors (1939).<sup>27</sup>

At some point during the renters' era, a gypsum board wall went up in the south end of the second floor of the carriage house, separating the "Hayloft Studio" from the apartment in the coachman's wing, which by then included a fifth room in the southwest corner of the hayloft. Alterations to the coachman's wing apartment include: dropped canvas ceilings for the second floor rooms, a new hardwood floor, linoleum flooring in the kitchen and bathroom areas, the removal of the basement stair and subsequent creation of a kitchen closet, the replacement of the bathroom fixtures (1961), the substantial remodeling of the kitchen and bathroom (ca. 1967).<sup>28</sup>

The first floor level of the barn served as a garage for tenants' automobiles until 1955, when it was adapted for use as an office for the Junior League of Hartford. The new tenant necessitated a dramatic conversion of the space, including the blocking of the garage doors, the introduction of a new door and windows in the former carriage entryway, the creation of a partitioned bathroom, the enclosure of the stairway, and the installation of a suspended fiberglass tile ceiling.<sup>29</sup>

Renovations to the carriage house exterior include: reshingling the roof (1931); excavating the areaway by the east basement entrance (1977); replacing the exterior footdeck, railing, and stair on the west (1965); and installing a fire escape on the east facade (before 1940). Other more general alterations include replacing iron pipes with brass pipes (1938), pouring a concrete floor throughout the basement (1977), laying down a flagstone terrace (1961), electrical work, and grading.<sup>30</sup>

In 1976, MTM substantially renovated the barn's first floor for exhibition space. They erected furring walls across the west and east walls, partitioned off a kitchen at the south end of the barn, installed acoustical tiles for the ceiling, and updated the lighting.<sup>31</sup> In 1993, new carpet, paint, wallpaper, and ADA appropriate doorways and facilities were installed to upgrade the multi-use room.

## 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, 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.<sup>32</sup>

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. Gillette and Hooker had in 1864 sold a substantial parcel to a prominent Hartford lawyer named Franklin Chamberlain. Chamberlain, in turn, sold the x-acre 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.<sup>33</sup>

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

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dame of Hartford society. In his 1966 monograph *Potter and Clemens*, 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.<sup>34</sup>

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."

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."<sup>35</sup> 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 A. 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.

While the Chalet style of the new carriage house featured several eclectic design references accumulated over Potter's nineteen-year practice and Thorp's study in Paris, the architects utilized local materials like Windsor brick, Vermont slate, and Connecticut River Valley brownstone. Furthermore, their design for the carriage house displayed an awareness of neighboring structures. In addition to replicating features of the Warner house, the Clemens carriage house also responded to the nearby Chamberlain carriage house by echoing its chamfered stone lintels and plain stone sills and by mimicking its doors' cross-bracing motif.

Of course, the Clemens carriage house also featured elements and materials used on the main house. The two structures shared such major components as polychrome hexagonal roof slates, red brick with red mortar, and brownstone foundations. The Chinese Chippendale stickwork railing on the carriage house's exterior footdeck and stairway also appeared on the porches on the first story of the main house.<sup>36</sup> The two balconies and their stickwork balustrades also gestured to the many balconies and porches on the main house. The prevalence of woodwork cut with chamfers or chamfers with lamb's-tongue-groove stops further linked carriage house with house; it also implies that the architects ordered architectural elements from millwork catalogs.

The repetition of other design elements spoke of the function and status of the carriage house in relation to the main house. For example, the diamond-in-square window sash present on all

facades of the carriage house appeared only on the porte-cochere (where carriages pulled up) and on the servants' wing of the main house. Likewise, the interiors of the coachman's apartment and servants' wing were decorated with similar beadboard wainscoting, window hardware, and wide board plank floors.

As suggested, 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 carriage house. In order to accommodate such a substantial mass on the narrow lot, Potter and Thorp fitted the structure's east and south walls just inside the Clemens property lines. They chose to place the carriage entryway on a side (the west), and on the front (north) they composed a brick facade with ornamental string courses and a series of windows. The arrangement of this elegantly decorated building with neither a tell-tale ventilating cupola nor a frontal carriage entryway would indeed cause a visitor to wonder: where is the carriage house?<sup>37</sup>

In July 1874, Samuel Clemens visited the construction site and reported to his wife his perceptions about their future home:

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.<sup>38</sup>

Clemens's reflections about the buildings' blending 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. Several months after the intended date, the carriage house was completed, and coachman Patrick McAleer (1846-1906) and his family had settled into their apartment. By late September, 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.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. The Carriage House, the Clemenses & the McAleers, 1874-1903

Despite its unique exterior decoration, siting, and size, the structure's interior plan followed several basic conventions of Victorian carriage house and cottage design. The barn housed livestock, carriages, riding equipment, feed, and supplies for the maintenance of the property. As was typical of contemporary plans, horse stalls were located in back, and the family's two carriages and sleigh were probably kept inside the main entryway. The basement contained additional stables for the other animals—an arrangement recommended by popular pattern-book

architects Calvert Vaux and H. Hudson Holly. Bills from local suppliers indicate that the barn was stocked with at least one ton of hay and many pounds of feed every month, and the large bins in the hayloft stored oats, shorts, bran, and other feed. The attached apartment wing provided a home for the family's coachman Patrick McAleer, his wife Mary, and their growing family. With four rooms, a full basement, and possibly a bathroom, its substantial accommodations were generous for a coachman; however, the "two rooms up and two rooms down" plan was typical of cottage and gatehouse architecture.<sup>40</sup>

There existed a formal distinction between the worlds of the carriage house and the main house. The porte-cochere did not appear in Potter's 1874 perspective drawing of the main house, and its eventual inclusion may have been at Livy Clemens's suggestion: her childhood home in Elmira featured a prominent porte-cochere. The carriage porch allowed the coachman to load or discharge passengers directly at the front entrance of the house without subjecting them to the utilitarian space of the barn. Mrs. Clemens took particular pleasure in her daily afternoon carriage rides: her husband wrote in 1873 that "I know that small carriage and that old red horse rank next in Livy's affections to her child." Nonetheless, she only indulged in the elegant experience of a carriage ride about town, not in horseback riding. The refined pleasures of the daily ride and of the family's annual Christmas circuit to deliver food and gifts to Hartford's poorer homes were further enhanced by McAleer's gentlemanly bearing and his elegant livery.<sup>41</sup>

The Clemens family enjoyed the freer environment of the carriage house. In the spring of 1875, the increasing "distractions and domestic sounds" of infant daughters Susy (b. 1872) and Clara (b. 1874), led Samuel Clemens to consider abandoning his study on the second floor of the main house. Meanwhile, Clemens had invited western author William Wright (better known as Dan De Quille) to visit and work on a manuscript about the Nevada silver mines. On May 13, architect Edward Tuckerman Potter wrote to Clemens about setting up a workshop in the carriage house hayloft:

As to the smell of the stable I hope it can be managed so as not to bother you if you go to write in loft over it. It seems as if it would be a nice quiet place under the shadow [sic] of those big trees. You know in Italy they have hotels over stables. But then perhaps the buildings have floors more solid and imperviable.... & then italians [sic] are not so sensitive as we are.... I don't remember if the carriage house & stable are lath & plastered over head. If so the smell could scarcely strike through--but then it might come in the windows?

Soon after Wright's arrival in early June, the two started to work in the hayloft study.<sup>42</sup>

A letter from Wright to his sister in Iowa reported on their new work area. "Don't laugh," he commented, "as his stable is as fine as most houses." According to Wright, Clemens had proposed that they write in the hayloft, and the idea pleased Wright: "The Savior was born in a stable, which circumstance encourages me when I think of the place in which my book is liked to be brought forth." By the end of the summer, Wright had completed The Big Bonanza and he delivered the manuscript to Clemens's Hartford publisher. The story of Nevada's famed Comstock Lode was published in 1876 and proved a modest success. Clemens's summer in the

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hayloft study was also productive: he finished his manuscript of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer in early July.<sup>43</sup>

It is difficult to establish a firm time frame for the use of the hayloft study, because Clemens did not work on a consistent schedule and he did not work consistently in the same space. William McAleer remembered that Clemens and Bret Harte collaborated on "Ah Sin" there during the fall of 1876 and winter of 1877. Probably by 1877, Clemens had moved out of the hayloft; however, he did import a memento--a set of wood cubbyholes--to his new favored work area in the Billiard Room on the third floor of the house. This utilitarian shelving unit was probably intended for the storage of tack and harness equipment in the barn, but Clemens used it for stashing away manuscripts and correspondence.<sup>44</sup>

Mr. Clemens was not the only family member to frequent the carriage house. As the Clemens girls grew older, they, like their mother, delighted in the afternoon carriage rides. In his unpublished "Family Sketch," Samuel Clemens noted how it was "Susy never on the box, Clara always there, holding the reins in the safe places & prattling a stream; & when she outgrew the situation Jean [b. 1880] took it." In the carriage house, the hayloft, with its giant feed bins and piles of hay, served as their playground. The stable, with its horses, cows, ponies, coach dog, ducks, and donkey, was their private petting zoo.<sup>45</sup>

When the girls visited the carriage house, they were in Patrick McAleer's domain. Their parents taught the girls not to hurt animals, but McAleer instilled them with a love for animals. He showed the girls how to tend the barn animals and escorted the girls during morning horseback rides from the Clemens property along the Park River (acquired in 1876) and across Hartford to the south end. According to the "Family Sketch,"

The children had a deep admiration for Patrick, for he was a spanking driver, yet never had an accident; & besides, to them he seemed to know everything & how to do everything. They conferred their society upon him freely in the stable, & he protected them while they took risks in petting the horses in the stalls & in riding the reluctant calves.

The last phrase refers to how McAleer convinced Clara that if she tended to its needs, curried its coat, and outfitted it with a harness and blanket, her calf "Jumbo" would transform into a pony. At the age of ten, Jean convinced her father that she would become "a horse jockey & live in the stable," and at the age of sixteen, she founded a branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.<sup>46</sup>

An examination of the uses of the carriage house would be incomplete without considering the McAleer family's experiences there. Patrick McAleer (1846-1906) emigrated to New York from his native County Tyrone, Ireland in 1862. When newlyweds Samuel and Olivia Clemens moved into their furnished Buffalo house (with stable, horse, and carriage), the "wedding outfit" included the services of the twenty-four year-old McAleer as coachman. Soon after the Clemenses decided to build their new house, they telegraphed "our old Patrick" and invited him and his new wife Mary Reagan to Hartford. With an annual salary of \$600 a year (in 1877), in

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addition to the generous accommodations in the coachman's apartment, Patrick McAleer was the highest-paid member of the Clemenses' staff.<sup>47</sup>

Mrs. McAleer worked as a laundress for some time and served as one of Clara's seven wet-nurses. The McAleers raised eight children, who were contemporaries of the Clemens girls, yet who were very occasionally mentioned in the Clemens family records. The few mentions of the McAleer children include an episode when scarlet fever quarantined them in the coachman's apartment, the children's presence at Christmas parties, and Samuel Clemens's notebook remark to "Put Jimmy McAleer on"--perhaps a note about hiring one of the McAleer boys to set type with the Paige Compositor. When William McAleer visited the property in 1956, he recalled how he and his siblings liked to jump off the east balcony, for at least twenty-two years, the carriage house provided the setting of the McAleers' own family history.<sup>48</sup>

Although the Clemenses would leave their home in 1891--unaware at that time that they would not return--the McAleers would stay on until 1903, maintaining a foothold. "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," Samuel Clemens wrote to his publishing house manager on April 14, 1891. Their finances drained by the failed get-rich-quick promise of the Paige Compositor, the Clemenses prepared to leave their expensive Hartford lifestyle for a working sojourn in Europe. In June, the family sadly left the house, boarded the carriage, and went on their final carriage ride together with McAleer. By that summer, the coachman had sold, as per instructions from business agent Franklin Whitmore, the harness, carriage, and horses. Although McAleer was employed elsewhere, his family continued to board at the carriage house. As the Clemenses' intended three years abroad stretched into five years abroad, their friends, the Days, agreed to rent the house. Livy wrote to Alice Beecher Day with instructions to "do as you like about the stable" and evict the McAleers if necessary.<sup>49</sup>

The McAleer family remained in their apartment 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 and purchase a new home in Tarrytown, New York. While they never took up residence there, Samuel Clemens recorded its potential: the Tarrytown estate had a stable large enough to hold a circus and a second floor grand enough to host a ball. "Ah," he commented, "that's a stable that banishes care and makes life worth the living."<sup>50</sup>

Having arranged to remodel the new house, Olivia Clemens hoped to dispose of 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, and upkeep. On May 28, 1903, the carriage house provided its last service for the Clemens family. It served as the warehouse for the auction of much of their possessions. The Clemenses' relationship with Patrick McAleer, however, did

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not end with the sale of the Hartford property. When Jean and her father rented a house in Dublin, New Hampshire, they hired Patrick McAleer as their coachman for the summer. In his Autobiography, Samuel Clemens recalled:

He was just as brisk there in the New Hampshire hills as he was thirty-six years ago. He was sixty-four [sic?] years old, but was just as alert and springy on his feet, as he was in those long-vanished days of his youth.... There was always plenty of feed for the horses; the horses were always shod when they needed to be shod; the carriages and sleighs were always attended to; he kept everything in perfect order.... He was my particular servant, and I didn't need to tell him anything at all.<sup>51</sup>

### 3. Interim years, 1903-29

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 (the earliest extant image devoted exclusively to this subject--see picture z) 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 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 the World War I era, 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, and the larger Asylum Hill neighborhood ceased to be an elegant address. 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. 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 in the decades following, automobile usage began to climb. Throughout Hartford and throughout the country, carriage houses and barns were converted into garages, and new dwellings were erected with detached garages.<sup>52</sup>

Like the main house, which Mrs. Bissell had extensively redecorated, the carriage house was updated for the tastes and technologies of the new century. With the purchase of her new electric automobile, Mrs. Bissell followed the trend set by other independent-minded women of privilege. The electric automobile provided these women with the freedom to pay calls and do errands at their own pace.<sup>53</sup> About thirty years after Olivia Clemens had indulged in taking carriage rides about town, Mrs. Bissell possessed the freedom to go for a drive by herself.

With at least one automobile substituting for the horses and carriage, the Bissells soon replaced their coachman with a chauffeur. To accommodate the car(s), they caused the installation of garage doors on the north facade of the carriage house. By 1908, workers had opened up the

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wall, removed two windows, laid down a concrete sill, arranged two sliding doors in the center of the facade, and repointed the surrounding brick.<sup>54</sup> While faithful to the panelling pattern found on the carriage entryway doors, the new doors upset the architects' original presentation of a disguised utilitarian structure. The doors irrevocably unmasked the building and declared it a garage.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bissell transformed another area adjacent to the carriage house to suit his needs. In 1905, he erected a squash court on the land immediately behind the carriage house, and perhaps as late as 1916, he converted parts of the hayloft and coachman's apartment into athletic facilities. His modifications to the carriage house produced distinctively masculine spaces. There, Mr. Bissell could participate in the early twentieth century quest for athletic fitness and engage in "the cult of the strenuous life" advocated by Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>55</sup>

In fact, Richard Bissell effected a most dramatic change in the use of 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.<sup>56</sup>

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, and the carriage house provided spaces for extra-curricular functions. In his fifty-year retrospective of the school, alumnus Melancthon W. Jacobus '26 remembered Kingswood's use of the carriage house and squash court:

... the stable top gymnasium was enlarged to include the rest of the old hay loft, and two more rooms in the cottage [coachman's apartment] were pressed into use to provide additional space for lockers. Another room out there was earmarked for a science laboratory, with an adjoining cubbyhole to be equipped as a darkroom. The squash court was still used for shooting baskets and midget York-Lancaster games and, as long as the War lasted, drill with dummy rifles was continued in this diminutive armory.

The school laid out football and soccer fields on the flood plain of the Park River and created a baseball diamond on the meadow west of the river. A "twisting Indian trail" ascended the steep slope between the playing fields and the locker rooms. Jacobus also recalled that the groundskeeper and his horse were quartered in the barn.<sup>57</sup>

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

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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.<sup>58</sup>

While the newly-formed "Friends of Hartford" began their campaign to raise funds for the recovery 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, they prepared the carriage house for tenants. Gypsum board and beadboard partition walls went up, kitchen and bathroom fixtures were installed and/or updated, and electric wiring was put in for the two new apartments. Miss Florence Atkins moved into 347 Farmington Avenue and offered lessons on the two grand pianos in her "Hayloft Studio." Another tenant moved into the former coachman's apartment, now known as 349 Farmington Avenue. Tenants in both buildings were permitted to garage their automobiles in the barn's first floor level. 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.<sup>59</sup>

By 1925, Wall's fortunes had declined, and he and the Aherns could only afford to retain the four apartment buildings. Both officers of the American Coal Company, Grant U. Kierstead and D.W. Murphy 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 dollar contributions, and local elites made multi-thousand dollar grants. 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.<sup>60</sup>

#### 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 MTM proceeded slowly on its pledge to honor and interpret the legacy of Mark Twain. While the property changed from profit to non-profit use, rentals provided the primary income for the MTM. A new tenant, 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 residence. 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.<sup>61</sup>

Once the mortgage was paid in full in 1955, the MTM inaugurated the "restoration era." A committee appointed by the trustees collected research and reference materials to guide the restoration efforts, and the MTM 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

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removal of modern partitions and intrusions. Guided by detailed 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.<sup>62</sup>

Notably, neither the carriage house nor the servants' wing (nor for that matter, 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 on February 1, 1957, the MTM chose to supplement its rental income by leasing a portion of the carriage house to the Junior League of Hartford. The first floor of the barn was duly converted into an office. Meanwhile, tenants were invited to rent spaces for their automobiles at a newly-created parking lot on the west side of the property.<sup>63</sup>

Soon after the substantial completion of the main house restoration in 1974 (for the house's centennial), the MTM was able to consider new uses for the space in the carriage house. In 1976, the barn's first floor was converted into an exhibit area. In 1978, a new concrete floor in the basement readied the space for collections storage. With the 1980 creation of a new exhibit area in the basement of the main house, the barn's first floor was renovated to serve as a conference room. The "Hayloft Studio" was vacated in 1981; in 1984 the MTM transferred much of their collections storage to that space. By 1992, growing staff numbers necessitated the use of the coachman's apartment for museum offices and library. These last several uses of the carriage house space persist today. It is hoped that with the imminent construction of a new multi-purpose building on site, the MTM can proceed with the restoration of the carriage house.<sup>64</sup>

## PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

### A. General Statement:

1. Architectural character: Completed in 1874, the Mark Twain Carriage House is a multi-purpose barn with a coachman's apartment in a wing off the west side. Its massive size and its generous accommodations for the coachman mark this structure as an unusual carriage house among those intended for a single family's use. The building has the wide overhanging eaves and half-timbering typical of the Chalet style popular in the late 19th century for cottages, carriage houses, and gatehouses. Brick laid out in ornamental string courses and a slate shingle roof disguise the utilitarian functions of the barn. Combining these features with diamond-in-square patterned windows, geometric stickwork railings, and elegant chamfered and scrolled brackets, the building echoes some of the elements of the main house and presents itself as an integral part of the larger Clemens estate. On the other hand, such whimsical features as figurative lattice trim, an image of a griffin silhouetted in a dormer cheek, and stately feathered cross-beams establish this structure in its own right as a notable example of carriage house architecture.

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2. Condition of fabric: The overall condition of the fabric is good. Although the structure was never enlarged, it underwent a number of considerable alterations since its use as a carriage house during the Clemenses' occupancy at 351 Farmington Avenue from 1874 to 1891. Currently it houses offices of the Mark Twain Memorial in the coachman's apartment, a large meeting room on the first floor of the barn, and the museum's collections in the former hayloft.

On the exterior of the building, two new pedestrian doors appear on the first story, in addition to at least three new windows, a set of garage doors, and a fire escape. Straight rows of plain slate shingles have replaced the multi-colored roof of hexagonal slates. Little trace of the barn's former life as a stable and carriage shelter is apparent on the first floor interior. New walls, partitions, ceilings, and floors were erected throughout the barn and coachman's apartment. While the main house experienced both dramatic alterations and extensive restoration efforts, the carriage house retains a good deal of its original features just beneath the new construction--due in large part to the hayloft's more than fifty-year occupancy by a single tenant.

A 1990 architectural conservation assessment of the carriage house highlighted problems with encroaching vegetation, the inefficient drainage system; loose window sash; and loose foundation and chimney mortar.<sup>65</sup> The Mark Twain Memorial has followed through on several of these projects. HABS investigation discovered the only structural problem: the sixth roof rafter from the south end has two large splits.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: The L-shaped plan measures 63' x 25' for the barn with a 20' x 32' ell for the coachman's apartment. The carriage house is three bays wide on the first floor of the north facade and four bays wide on the second floor; it is six bays wide on the first floor of the west facade and eight bays wide on the second floor. The structure is 29' tall from the foundation to the peak of the north-south gable.

2. Foundations: The foundations are rough-cut, irregularly coursed brownstone, approximately 2' thick. About 5' from the building, a brownstone wall runs two-thirds of the way along the east facade. The areaway inside this wall has been excavated, and an irregular set of steps of brownstone, fieldstone, and brick jog down to the basement door, and a brownstone rip-rap ramp runs up the other side. Plantings and cobblestone rip-rap fit between the basement wall and the steps. Three windows are located along the east foundation. On the west side of the foundation are a single window and a door. On the north foundation of the coachman's apartment, a window in a concrete areaway (the former coal chute) has been covered with plywood. A bevelled water table of sawed brownstone runs along the perimeter of the entire carriage house.

3. Walls: The first story red brick walls of the barn are composed of four to eight stretcher courses, alternating with an occasional Flemish bond course. Three projecting string courses with stretchers at top and bottom sandwiching diamond point headers form nearly continuous ribs around the barn at approximately 3'6", 8'4", and 12' above the water table--the topmost rib at the top of the first story. The appearance of the Flemish bond is somewhat irregular.

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The first story walls of the coachman's apartment consist of two to nine plain stretcher courses, alternating with an occasional Flemish bond course. Three projecting string courses identical to those on the barn form continuous ribs around the wing at approximately 3'6", 8'4", and 10'4" above the water table--the topmost rib at the top of the first story. This projecting string course appears again between the windows and door on the apartment's west facade. The northwest and southwest corners of the coachman's wing have canted corners.

The bricks are held 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."<sup>66</sup> The mortar joints are grapevined. Most alterations to the brickwork have introduced a hard reddish mortar, and some repointing was done with a non-tinted mortar.

The second story of the barn features infill panels of grey-tone slate shingles overlaid with half-timbering. The shingles run in straight rows, with every fourth row laid in sawtooth shingles. The north, west, and south sides feature a repeating pattern of framed crossbracing, a popular decorative pattern for late 19th century barns and carriage houses.<sup>67</sup> On the east side the half-timbering has frames with diagonal intersects. A half sawtooth row of red slate tiles appears at the top of some of the panels on the north, west, and south facades, as well as on the south end of the east facade. On the north side of the barn, the second story is a projecting bay supported by a series of scrolled joists, alternating with square molded wood panels.

A similar configuration of slates and half-timbering, without the cross-bracing or diagonals, appears on the north and south facades of the coachman's apartment. On the west side, a projecting bay supported by scrolled joists features slates and half-timbering. Centered on the bay is a bay window.

4. Structural systems, framing: The carriage house has a structural system of wood beams and joists on brick bearing walls. On the first floor, two metal truss joists (probably a later addition) span the width of the barn beneath the original ceiling and above the modern suspended ceiling.

5. Porches, stoops, balconies, porticoes, bulkheads: A balcony appears on the south side of the barn just outside of the three double-hung-sash windows on the second story. Its floor is composed of wood planks running east-west, and it is supported beneath by four scrolled wood joists. A geometric Chinese Chippendale stickwork frieze forms the railing.

On the east side appears a similar balcony, located outside the windows and door on the second story. Like the south balcony, it has a floor of wood planks (here running north-south), Chinese Chippendale stickwork railing, and scrolled joists. The east balcony, however, was altered during the twentieth century in order to accommodate a fire escape. One-third of the balcony was removed: one joist, one third of the floor, and part of the railing. Probably at this time, a plain bracket was added to attach the shortened balcony to a rafter.

On the west exterior, a footdeck of wood planks spans across the first floor front of the coachman's apartment. It rests on earth at each end and is also supported at its center by an iron pipe column. Plain wood skirting, 13" wide on the west and 3-1/2" wide on the south, appears

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beneath the planks. An elaborated, double-boxed X, Chinese Chippendale stickwork pattern, decorates the wood railing.<sup>68</sup> This pattern also appears on the railing along a wood stairway that leads from the north end of the deck to a landing outside the west basement door.

In the north foundation of the apartment's basement, there is a window in a concrete areaway, which once served as a coal chute. Presently, plywood covers this opening.

6. Chimneys: One interior chimney emerges from the ridge of the east-west gable, close to the intersection with the north-south gable. The chimney runs through the central wall that separates the coachman's wing from the barn. Laid in common bond with several corbelled courses, the chimney has four flues. Its base is lined with copper flashing, and it has a concrete cap.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: The carriage house has a total of ten exterior doorways: two at the basement level (one each on the west and east facades); six at the first floor level (one on the north, two on the west, two on the south, and one on the east facade); and two at the second floor level (one on the east side and another on the west). All of the doors are made of wood (or wood with glass) and have plain wood casings. The six original doors on the basement and first floor levels all had brownstone sills. All of the brownstone lintels are carved with a chamfer with lamb's-tongue stops.

*Barn* (seven doorways): A massive wood lintel marks the original carriages' entryway. The lintel is cut with a single chamfer with lamb's-tongue stops. The transom below features diagonal plank panelling behind a horizontal and a vertical chamfered mullion. The original opening has been filled with a modern wood door (with a full glass panel) and two plate-glass windows (one above the door). The original eight-panel, sliding barn doors stand inside the building on either side of the opening. The styles and rails are chamfered with plain stops.

The two sliding garage doors on the north facade are set beneath a plain wood lintel. These six-panel doors feature the same chamfered pattern as the original barn doors. The concrete sill and the repointed brick outside the wood casing provide physical evidence of the garage doors' 1903 intrusion into the north facade.

On the east side, a brownstone lintel marks the door to the barn stairway, and the four-panel door has chamfered styles and rails. The doorway to the east balcony has a wood sill, and the door bears a double diamond-in-square glass panel above three horizontal, rectangular wood panels. The basement doorway has a concrete sill layered on top of the original brownstone. The door, a modern replacement, features diagonal plank paneling on its interior side and vertical beaded paneling on its exterior.

A modern wood door with a full glass panel appears on the south facade. The upper sash of the window replaced by this door now forms a transom. The concrete sill and the different-colored brick and mortar outside the casing further indicate that the doorway

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was a modern intrusion.

A 5' door with two glazed panels over two wood panels appears on beneath the eave on the western facade. Its wood sill rests on top of a door-width brick header course--the only such course on the entire carriage house.

*Coachman's apartment* (three doorways): On the south facade of the coachman's apartment is a door topped with a segmental arch. It has two long, glazed panels above two shorter wood panels. A brick lintel, in the form of a segmental arch, appears above the doorway opening.

A brownstone lintel marks the main (west) entrance to the coachman's apartment. Both this entrance and the basement (also west) entrance feature doors with two glazed panels, each divided by a horizontal mullion, above two shorter molded wood panels.

b. *Windows*: The carriage house features a variety of window types and styles--all with plain wood surrounds. One particular pattern predominates, referred to as diamond-in-square: 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. At least one window of this pattern, though varied in size, shape, and configuration, appears in every view of the carriage house. All of the brownstone lintels are carved with a chamfer with lamb's-tongue stops.

*Barn*: The basement (on the east side) has one three-light hopper window and two windows with three-over-three single-hung-sash--all of which have brownstone sills.

The first floor has a variety of window types and styles. The two three-light awning windows on the north side have wood sills. Each of the four four-light hopper windows on the east side has a brownstone lintel and a plain stone sill. One of these four windows has been painted over with a fan vent inserted in one of its panes.

All of the double-hung-sash windows on the first floor have top and bottom sash with the diamond-in-square pattern (five-over-five lights). The east side features a triple window, divided by two vertical mullions, crowned by a single brownstone lintel, and perched on a plain stone sill. The other two double-hung-sash windows appear on the south side, where there once had been a bank of three identical windows. These two windows (and part of the modern door) are framed with a half-timbered jamb and mullion trim that extends above to frame three panels of brick laid in a basketweave configuration.

The second floor also has a number of window types--all with wood sills. All of the original windows have sashes with the diamond-in-square pattern. Four hopper windows appear on the north side; two single-hung-sash windows, one on either side of a door, appear on the east side; and three single-hung windows topped with three fixed windows appear on the south side. The w.c. windows, which are not original, include four eight-light casement windows on the west side and one hopper window on the east side. Two sixteen-light casement sashes replaced the former hayloft doors.

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*Coachman's apartment:* The first floor has one triple, one double, and four single double-hung-sash windows; all of them have the same diamond-in-square pattern (five-over-five lights). The double window on the north side is divided by a wood mullion and sits on a plain stone sill; above it appears a lintel of stretcher bricks in the form of a flat stepped arch. The four windows on the west side have individual plain stone sills and chamfered stone lintels. The triple window on the south side is divided by a wood mullion, crowned with a single chamfered stone lintel, and perched on a single plain stone sill.

The second floor displays two window types. A two-over-two, double-hung-sash window appears on the south side. A bay window on the west side features five single-hung-sash windows with diamond-in-square pattern in front and one one-over-one, single-hung window on the return at each side. Below each of the windows appears a half-timbered panel; the panels on the west facade feature cross-bracing.

8. Roof:

a. Shape, covering: The carriage house has a cross hip-on-gable roof covered with straight rows of slate shingles. A snow guard composed of iron pipes appears on the northwest corner of the roof.

b. Cornice, eaves: The roof has wide, exposed, overhanging eaves supported by a complex series of wood rafters, beams, and brackets. The primary scrolled and chamfered brackets support massive heams that run the width of the barn. Some of the beams have elaborate feathered ends, and others have scrolled ends. The beams support trios of two (chamfered and scrolled) secondary brackets and a turned kingpost. These trios, in turn, support projecting beams with scrolled ends. On top of the projecting beams rest the exposed rafters with scrolled tails and above them the eaves. Where the roof hips, the hip rafters are directly supported by scrolled brackets from the exterior wall.

The hipped gable on the west side of the carriage house is entirely supported by elements emerging from the projecting bay. The bay window is in part supported on each side by a beam, bracket, and cross-bracing--a mortise and tenon joint with a wood peg--which connects to a projecting beam.

On the south side of the carriage house, two new plain brackets extending from the exterior wall to two rafters provide additional support for the roof.

Beneath the north, east, and west eaves appears a jigsaw frieze above a series of decorative wood moldings and dentils. The frieze is composed of stemmed five-point stars with a small hole in the center of each star. Metal gutters and downspouts appear on the eaves.

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c. Dormers: Straight rows of slate shingles cover the shed dormer on the north end of the west side of the barn. Scrolled brackets support the scrolled rafters which appear on the wide board plank soffit. Beneath the dormer's eave is the same configuration of jigsaw frieze and decorative wood moldings and dentils. The silhouette of an antic is carved in the north dormer cheek.

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans:

a. Barn: There is a partial basement under the main block. A brick loadbearing wall separates this basement from the apartment basement, but an interior doorway has been added to provide passage between the two spaces. The chimney supports extend through the central wall, and there is a cleanout on either side.

On the first floor of the barn, a modern wall now partitions a kitchen/bathroom area on the south end from the main conference room. The stairway (to the hayloft) in the northeast corner has been walled off.

The former hayloft now has four rooms. A wall running east-west separates a north room with two closets in the northwest and northeast corners. A large L-shaped room has a door to the stairs in the northeast corner and a door to a balcony on the east side. A third room has a bathroom partitioned from its northeast corner. A fourth room has a walk-in closet, and on its west side, a doorway provides access to the second floor of the coachman's apartment.

The attic now extends above the entire hayloft.

b. Coachman's apartment: The coachman's wing has a full basement with access to the barn basement.

The first floor has a central stairway with a parlor to the north and a kitchen to the south. A fireplace is situated on the east wall of the parlor. Two closets are fit behind the stairs: one in the south wall of the parlor and another in the north wall of the kitchen. An exterior door appears on the south side of the kitchen.

There is a doorway at either side of the landing at the top of the central stairway. The north room has a closet, and the south room has a closet with access to the attic. Partition walls separate a bathroom from the south bedroom. Two wood steps and a doorway lead through the east wall up to the hayloft.

2. Stairways: The carriage house contains two stairways--one in the barn and one in the coachman's apartment. The barn has a dogleg stairway in a well enclosed by beadboard, brick, gypsum board, and plywood. It had probably been an open stairway, as was typical of Victorian era carriage houses and yet, as Andrew Jackson Downing pointed out in The Architecture of

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Country Houses, quite impractical, as hay from a second floor hayloft tended to rain down on the carriages below via the open stairs.<sup>69</sup> The first flight has an open stringer with two rails and a chamfered newel finished in a diamond point. The railing on the second floor has been sheathed with beadboard.

The landing for a closed single-flight stairway appears just inside the front door of the coachman's apartment. 17" above the stringer is a wide, wood, engaged rail, which forms a sort of wainscot. Four wood plates and four metal railing brackets attach a plain post wood handrail to the south wall.

A metal fire escape extends from the balcony to the ground on the east facade.

3. Flooring: The original flooring of the carriage house has been almost entirely overlaid. The entire basement has a concrete floor, poured over the original dirt floor in 1978. In the apartment basement, a gap in the surface near the present boiler reveals some brick flooring. Near the west masonry wall, the poured concrete gives way to dirt.

On the first floor of the barn, plywood topped with concrete covers the floor. The front conference room has been carpeted, and resilient tile flooring covers the south kitchen and bathroom. The original tongue-and-groove, wide board plank floor (laid north-south) is visible through holes that appear in the basement ceiling.

The hayloft originally had a floor of wide board tongue-and-groove wood planks laid east-west. Although this early flooring remains intact throughout the entire hayloft, it is visible on the surface only in the north room and north closets. The main room of the hayloft now has a narrow board floor, which has been laid north-south over the original floor. Plywood topped with linoleum surfaces the floors in the south of end of the barn.

The coachman's apartment had flooring of tongue-and-groove wood planks laid north-south. This early floor is visible inside the parlor closet on the first floor and inside both closets on the second floor. Today, a hardwood floor covers the original surface throughout most of the apartment. The new wood flooring upstairs and in the parlor runs east-west, and the new flooring in the kitchen and on the front landing run north-south. The bathroom and part of the kitchen have a linoleum surface over a layer of plywood.

4. Walls and ceilings:

a. Barn: At the first floor level, an acoustical tile ceiling is suspended about 1'9" feet below the original whitewashed wood ceiling. The original brick walls were exposed until gypsum board walls were erected to create a new interior plan, probably sometime after 1955 when it ceased to be used as a garage. Papered furring walls now extend along most of the east and west sides; however the brick surface is partially visible on the north wall, the south wall, and on the south end of the east and west walls. A crown molding is visible behind the furring walls and probably encircled the barn's first floor interior. It is possible that at least the walls of the stable area were whitewashed. Many

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American stable interiors were covered with whitewash, because its easy cleaning and rewashing made it a convenient and sanitary wall finish.<sup>70</sup> The basement has walls of exposed masonry walls and ceilings of wide board planks with exposed rafters.

While Clemens's hayloft office was supposedly "fitted up with plain pine sheathing," the many layers of wall coverings make it difficult to determine the original. The ceiling and walls of the northern third of the hayloft probably resembled that which has remained untouched in a closet created in the northeast corner of the hayloft: unfinished with exposed rafters and structure. The walls and ceiling of the other two-thirds of the hayloft space were probably sheathed with beadboard. A combination of gypsum board, wood boards and battens, plain wood sheathing, and several varieties of beadboard now line the walls and ceiling; gypsum board and beadboard form new partition walls as well. A plain crown molding runs throughout much of the hayloft, and a plain baseboard appears sporadically.

b. Coachman's apartment: The coachman's apartment originally had plaster walls and lath and plaster ceilings, all of which are still intact. The kitchen has a crown molding, molded chair rail, beadboard wainscot, and molded baseboard. To the right of the kitchen closet, the wainscot has been shortened and the chair rail removed. The parlor has a picture molding and a molded baseboard. A framed and covered 10 3/4" x 16 1/2" opening appears in the parlor ceiling. Its interior is lined with finished wood and extends 13" to the underside of the floor above. This opening may have held a metal grate to conduct heated air into the north bedroom.

Painted canvas trimmed with narrow wood strips provides new dropped ceilings in the north and south rooms of the second floor. The north room has both plain and molded baseboards. A beadboard wainscot was added beneath the window, probably at the same time that a beadboard wall and door were erected to convert the alcove or passageway into a closet. The south bedroom has plain baseboards on three walls; the fourth (east) wall is made of gypsum board over beadboard sheathing, and it has an ovolo crown molding and a baseboard with a shoe molding. The bathroom has a plain baseboard and is clad in gypsum board over beadboard sheathing, except on the south (plaster) wall, which has a crown molding and a molded baseboard.

The basement has exposed masonry walls and ceilings of wide board planks with exposed rafters.

#### 5. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: All of the entryways on the first floor of the barn have plain surrounds. There were probably only three or four original doorways on the second floor of the barn, but subsequent alterations have added doors for new living and storage spaces. Most of the doorways, new and old, have plain surrounds and plain casings; only the doorway to the northwest closet has an architrave. The interior doors include:

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three four-panel doors without molding, two two-panel doors with fluted moldings, one wood slab door, and two four-panel doors with cyma reversa moldings. Some of the gypsum board between the two southern rooms has been removed to reveal the presence of an early doorway.

In the coachman's apartment, all of the known original doorway surrounds have architraves. The exterior doorway from the kitchen has an architrave in the form of a segmental arch. The later passageways have less elaborate surrounds. The doorways to the bathroom and south bedroom have plain trim, and the closet door in the north bedroom has no trim at all.

It is difficult to arrive on date for the second floor passageway between the coachman's apartment and the barn. On the one hand, this doorway fits cleanly on the west wall, and the steps to it appear to be constructed with ca. 19th century cut nails. On the other hand, the doorway has plain trim and is hung with a door that does not resemble the other original apartment doors. It has styles and rails cut with chamfers with lamb's-tongue stops, and it has four beveled and raised panels. This door is identical to those which hang in the servants' wing of the house, and it probably originated there.

The removing and replacing of doors has shuffled about the original arrangements. The kitchen closet door, bathroom door, south bedroom closet door, and both bedroom doors are original and have four cyma reversa molded panels. Some of these original cyma reversa doors--those for the south bedroom and the bathroom--were probably removed from their original locations at either side of the first floor landing. The door in the parlor closet has two molded panels, and the closet door in the north bedroom is made of beadboard.

b. Windows: The original surrounds and sill of the triple window on the east side of the barn have been covered by a furring wall and applied architrave; however, they probably resembled the plain trim and sill of the windows on the south side. The four single windows on the east and the two north windows have plain trim. In the hayloft, there is a pair of twelve-light hopper windows in the partition wall between the north room and the main room. These windows were probably added to transfer some of the light and air from the north bedroom to the main space. The other hayloft windows have plain sills, if any, and simple surrounds, occasionally with a bead of trim.

Each of the windows in the coachman's apartment have an architrave. Identical molding appears beneath the sills in the parlor and south bedroom. This molding has been truncated by the wainscoting in the north bedroom and kitchen. The bathroom window has a less elaborate molding beneath its sill.

6. Decorative features and trim: A fireplace with an arched opening lined with black bricks is centered on the east wall of the parlor. It has a wood surround with molded pilasters below large brackets with decorative carving. The brackets support the mantel shelf, and a ornamental molded keystone is centered above the arched fireplace opening.

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A wood apparatus of unknown use is fastened to the partition wall in the south end of the hayloft. The apparatus has two projecting parts attached to the side rails. Beveled consoles hold the top piece, which pokes through the ceiling to the attic, and the lower piece is bolted to the hayloft floor. Because this apparatus does not extend into the main floor of the barn, it is unlikely that it was used for lowering feed or hay. Perhaps it is a remnant of the hayloft's former use as a gymnasium.

A 6' x 5'1" built-in wood cabinet appears in the southwest room of the hayloft. Two sliding doors open to reveal six drawers and five shelves inside. Each door bears a single panel surrounded by styles and rails cut with chamfers with lamb's-tongue stops. Molding crowns the top of the cabinet. The left side has grooved trim, and the right side intersects the north-south partition wall.

7. Hardware: The original doors contain most of their original hardware. What are thought to be the original interior doors in the coachman's apartment have porcelain doorknobs. The doorknobs and locks on the exterior doors have been replaced.

All of the first floor windows and the bathroom window in the coachman's apartment have identical latches with porcelain knobs. The large windows on the south and east of the hayloft have original opening mechanisms in place. These consist of a metal pin in the lower sash and two push-pull mechanisms on the jamb for securing the lower sash at designated positions along the jamb.

8. Mechanical equipment:

a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: The coachman's apartment originally had a working fireplace in the parlor. According to the "Family Sketch" written by Clemens in ca. 1896, Patrick "filled the cellars with coal and wood," so it is likely that the McAleers also had coal heat or at least a coal stove for cooking in their apartment.<sup>71</sup> There also may have been a coal stove vented to the chimney on the first floor of the barn. The apartment and hayloft currently have radiators for steam heat, and the barn has electric heat. As stated, ventilation of the barn was made possible by the many windows and doors at all sides and at all stories of the structure.

b. Lighting: According to his 1877 review of the servants' payscale, Samuel Clemens noted that he provided Patrick with gas lighting. Part of a gas pipe lodged in the north exterior wall of the coachman's apartment provides evidence to this effect, though no interior fixtures have been located. In a 1956 interview with two members of the Mark Twain Memorial Staff, William McAleer remembered an electric light hanging from a tree near the carriage house,<sup>72</sup> but no other reference to electric light has been found. Modern electric light is now in use throughout the entire carriage house.

c. Plumbing: Also in the payscale breakdown, Clemens recorded that the coachman's apartment had "hot and cold water," but he makes no reference to a bathroom in the coachman's apartment.<sup>73</sup> No evidence of original plumbing has been found as of yet,

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and no mention of a toilet for the coachman's apartment appears in the 1881 correspondence regarding new toilets for the house's seven bathrooms.

Nonetheless, several factors make it highly unlikely that the coachman's apartment was not equipped with a bathroom. First of all, records show that the Clemenses provided the house servants with access to two bathrooms: one in the basement and one in the servants' wing. Secondly, with his substantial apartment and his \$600 a year salary (as of 1877), Patrick McAleer was by far the best compensated member of the staff, and he probably had at least the same standard of living as the other servants. Finally, the coachman was required to tend the stables as well as appear in formal livery for the family's daily carriage rides through the city. Photographs of Patrick McAleer portray a well-groomed, elegantly outfitted gentleman who must have had access to a bathroom facility.<sup>74</sup> The barn and coachman's apartment now have modern plumbing.

d. Other: A ceramic knob and tube electrical system lines the floors of the barn attic. One source refers to the presence of speaking tubes between the barn and the main house.<sup>75</sup> A remnant of the speaking tube system may be present behind the furring wall. Between the west interior wall and a projecting brick column south of the carriage entryway appears 13 1/2" of 1 3/4" wide metal pipe at 6'5" above the floor.

D. Site:

1. Historic landscape design: Originally a dirt driveway approached the north facade and turned a circle before rounding the corner to the west entrance.<sup>76</sup> The principal facade of the coachman's wing faces west towards a wooded glade which once sloped down to a pasture near the Park River.

2. Outbuildings: In 1905, Richard Bissell erected a squash court outbuilding behind the carriage house. The building permit describes a one-story wood frame building supported on piers with a roof covered with gravel. The Kingswood School for boys used the squash court for athletics and practice drill practice. A photograph of the carriage house taken in 1940 reveals that the structure was still standing at that time; it is not known when the Mark Twain Memorial razed the structure.<sup>77</sup>

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Drawings

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[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.

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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.
- b. Kingswood-Oxford Archives. Kingswood-Oxford School, West Hartford, CT.
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- e. Twain, Mark. Letters. 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: Bureau Development, c. 1993.
- 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.

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Endnotes:

1. For references to the "stable," "barn," "carriage house," "rooms," and "house," see Samuel L. Clemens (SLC) to Orion Clemens (OC), 21 September 1874, Mark Twain Collection (MTC), Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; SLC to Franklin Whitmore (FW), 22 May 1882, Letters-SLC, Mark Twain Memorial (MTM); Samuel L. Clemens, "Family Sketch," 29-30. Clemens once conceived of the carriage house as having "Patrick's part" and a "horse part" in a letter to Whitmore, 14 September 1896, Letters-SLC, MTM.
2. Despite the fact that construction evidently began in the spring of 1873, the land upon which it sits was not purchased until February of 1874, ten months later.
3. SLC to General Colton Green, (CG), 26 April 1873, Lyman L. Pierce Collection, Mark Twain Home Foundation (MTHF). SLC to OC, 21 September 1874, MTC.
4. 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 Webster (CLW), 4 September 1881, Vassar College Library.
5. 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.
6. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Register of Historic Places, "Inventory-Nomination Form: Nott Memorial Hall," July 1985; Richard Chafee, "Edward T. Potter and Samuel Clemens: An Architect and His Client," (master's thesis, Yale University, 1963, revised 1966), 45; Landau, American Victorian Architects, 87-89; Allan Gowans, Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 155-58.
7. Landau, American Victorian Architects, 92-105, 172.
8. *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.

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9. Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 79; Landau, American Victorian Architects, 354-78.
10. Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages: A Series of Designs Prepared for Execution in the United States (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970), 241; Harper's Weekly supplement, 23 August 1873, as quoted by Landau, American Victorian Architects, 366.
11. George Warner (GW) to Elizabeth Gillette Warner (EGW), 27 May 1872, Warner-Gillette Letters, Stowe-Day Library (SDL), Harriet Beecher Stowe Foundation.
12. Landau, American Victorian Architects, 68.
13. Francis Whiting Halsey, Authors of Our Day in their Homes (New York: James Pott & Company, 1902), 32; Landau, American Victorian Architects, 69-70.
14. "Mark Twain's House," Hartford Daily Times, 23 March 1874; Robert Garvie, interview by Walter K. Schwinn, folder 21.5, Walter K. Schwinn Working Papers, MTM; "Bricks for Mark Twain," Windsor Historical Society News XI, no. 3, (May 1993): 3.
15. In a discussion of stable layouts, Clive Aslet noted that horse stalls were usually arranged to face east or west. It was believed that south-facing stalls might subject the horses' eyes to direct sunlight, and stalls facing north might "invite fatal drafts." Aslet, The American Country House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 183. William McAleer, interview by Edith Salsbury and James Thomson, 1956, House-Carriage House, Research Files, MTM; E.C. Hussey, Victorian Home Building: A Transcontinental View of 1875 (Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation, 1976), plate no. 39; Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), 213-17.
16. The wide board planks covering the chute openings are identical to the wide board planks of the original ceiling. It is possible that the coverings were original and would be applied to the chutes at will.
17. Eric Arthur and Dudley Witney, The Barn: A Vanishing Landmark in America (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1972), 234.
18. H. Hudson Holly, Country Seats & Modern Dwellings: Two Victorian Domestic Stylebooks by Henry Hudson Holly (New York: American Life Foundation Library of Victorian Culture, 1977), 64.
19. McAleer, interview.
20. "Mark Twain's Home," Hartford Daily Courant, 23 September 1885 or see "A Model State Capital," Scribner's Monthly Magazine 71 (425), 1885, 731. The November 1876 Scribner's reported that "Mr. Clemens does most of his writing in his barn,—a habit which, to avert some wretched punster, ought to be cited as one reason why among humorists of the day, his works are stable while others perish." "The Charter Oak City," Scribner's Monthly Magazine 13, no. 1 (November 1876):1-21. Edward Tuckerman Potter (ETP) to SLC, 13 May 1875, Mark Twain Project, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

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21. William Dean Howells, My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticisms (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1916), 14.
22. Mark Twain, Mark Twain's Autobiography, vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1924), 10.
23. Holly, Two Stylebooks, 33-34.
24. Meeting of the Trustees, 2 November 1961, MTM.
25. CLW to SLC, 9 September 1881; McAleer, interview, SLC to Mary Mason Fairbanks (MMF), 14 April 1877, in Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, ed. Dixon Wecter (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1949), 414. In this 1877 letter to his old friend and critic "Mother Fairbanks." Clemens penned in response to her query: "'Where do I write?' In the billiard room--the very most satisfactory study that ever was. Open fire, register, & plenty of light."
26. The addition of the garage doors took place no earlier than 1905, when Jean Clemens visited the Bissell property. Among her photographs is an image of the front of the carriage house with the windows and wall intact and covered with vines of Dutchman's Pipe. House-Exteriors-Carriage House, no. 1, Photographic Collection, MTM; Walter K. Schwinn, [get name and date of manuscript], 257; Melancthon W. Jacobus, Kingswood Fifty Years: 1916-1966 (West Hartford, CT: Kingswood School, 1966), 20-27.
27. Schwinn, [name of manuscript], 263.; Liz Pritchett, "Beaded Boards," Old House Journal, XXI, no. 2 (April 1993):45-49; Monthly Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 8 February 1939 and 1 May 1941, MTM.
28. "Restoration Progress," Newsletter, XI, no. 3 (September 1967):1; House Committee Meeting, 15 June 1961, MTM; Meeting of the Trustees, 26 June 1961, MTM.
29. J.G. Gorton to Zoning Board of Appeals, 7 October 1929, Farmington Avenue--351-400, Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Hartford; "Future Plans," Newsletter I, no. 1 (November 1955): 2; Application For Heating Permit H-2317 and Application For Plumbing Permit P-2942, 16 April 1956, Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Hartford; Application for Building Permit B-1875HC, 17 April 1956, Department of Licenses and Inspections, City of Hartford.
30. Minutes of the Trustee's Meeting, 20 April and 22 June 1931, MTM; Newsletter X, no. 1 (February 1966):3; "Carriage House," WKS Working Files; Newsletter XXII, no. 1 (January 1978):5; Monthly Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 21 April 1938, MTM. See also House-Exteriors-Carriage House, nos. 2, 3, 5, Photographic Collection, MTM.
31. "Carriage House," Mark Twain Memorial Newsletter XX, no. 3, (November 1976): 3.
32. 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

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member of the Connecticut Beecher clan) was pastor. Also, 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 Harsberger, 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.

33. 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.

34. Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 15; ETP to GW, 25 December 1898, MTM. 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, Stowe-Day Foundation. 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, Stowe-Day Foundation and EGW to GW, 29 May 1872, Stowe-Day Foundation.

35. SLC to CG, 26 April 1873, Pierce Collection, EGW to GW, 14 January, 1873, Gillette Collection, SDL.

36. Potter again used this latticework pattern on a porch of the house he built for himself in Newport in 1876.

37. About the prevalence of cupolas on carriage houses and stables, Clive Aslet notes, "There was something about a cupola that most owners found hard to resist. It came close to being a cliché. . ." Aslet, The American Country House, 181.

38. SLC to OLC, 3 July 1874, Private Collection, Missouri.

39. SLC to OLC, 3 July 1874, Private Collection, Missouri; SLC to Mrs. G.A. Cole, 20 September 1874, Private Collection, Arkansas.

40. Vaux, Villas and Cottages, 240; Holly, Two Stylebooks, 63; Stanley Schuler, American Barns: In a class by themselves (Exton, PA: Sciffer Publishers Ltd, 1984), 8; Bills--1876-90, MTC.

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41. Chafee, "Potter and Clemens," 26-27; SLC to Charles E. Perkins (CEP), 8 May 1874, Letters-SLC, MTM; Mary Lawton, A Lifetime with Mark Twain: The Memories of Katy Leary for Thirty Years His Faithful and Devoted Servant (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), 70-71.
42. William Wright (WW) to Mrs. Lou Benjamin, 2 June 1875, William Wright Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; Oscar Lewis, introduction to The Big Bonanza, by Dan De Quille, Frontier Library (London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1969), xv-xxii; ETP to SLC, 13 May 1875, Letters-Friends, MTM.
43. WW to Mrs. Lou Benjamin, 2 June 1875, William Wright Papers; Lewis, introduction, xxiii-xxv; SLC to William Dean Howells (WDH), 5 July 1875 in Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William Dean Howells (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), 91.
44. McAleer, interview. William Dean Howells recalled the room above the stable in My Mark Twain, 14. Jared I. Edwards, "The Recreation of the 'Billiard Room,'" 23 April 1967, 6, WKS Working Papers, file 14; OLC to Olivia L. Langdon (OLL), 16 November 1879, Letters-Family, MTM. Livy wrote to her mother about some of the home improvements she was overseeing while her husband was away. Among the improvements, she listed "A curtain made to be put in front of some pigeon holes that he has at the stable so that he can have them in the billiard room." April 23, 1967.
45. S.L. Clemens, "A Family Sketch," 28-32; Edith Colgate Salsbury, Susy and Mark Twain: Family Dialogues (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 268.
46. S.L. Clemens, "A Family Sketch," 24-25, 28-29. In her biography of her father, Clara Clemens remembered how at the peak of her interest in the barn animals she was instructed to "keep one dress especially for the stable." See My Father Mark Twain (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931), 265-66. SLC to MMF, 13 October 1890, in Wecter, ed., Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, 265-66.
47. "Coachman Many Years for Mark Twain," Hartford Courant, 1906; S. Clemens, "Family Sketch," 28; Salsbury, Susy and Mark Twain, 162; Twain, Autobiography, 55.
48. OLC to OLL, November 1879, MTM; Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals, gen. ed. Frederick Anderson, vol. 3 (1883-1891), eds. Robert Peck Browning, Michael B. Rank, and Lin Salerno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 547; McAleer, interview.
49. 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; OLC to Alice Hooker Day, 26 January 1895, Collections, SDL; Clara Clemens, My Father Mark Twain, 87-88.
50. SLC to FW, 14 September 1896, Letters-SLC, MTM; SLC to Laurence Hutton, 1 January 1900, Collections, Princeton University Library; SLC to FW, 27 August 1901, 7 December 1901, 4 May 1902, 14 June 1902, MTC; Samuel Clemens quoted in Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 206-207.

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51. *Ibid.*; Isabel Lyon for SLC to FW, 2 May, 1903, Letters-SLC, MTC; Twain, Autobiography, 31-32.
52. 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).
53. Virginia Scharff, "Gender, Electricity, and Automobility," in The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life, eds. Margaret Crawford and Martin Wachs (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 75-100. For Mrs. Bissell's renovations of the main house, see [main house report].
54. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 228-29; House-Exteriors-Carriage House, no. 1, Photographic Collection, MTM.
55. Building Permit 580, 1 November 1905, City of Hartford, Office of Building Inspector, City Hall; Jacobus, Kingswood, 22; T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 108.
56. 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, [find volume and issue] (Autumn 1994): 16-21.
57. Jacobus, Kingswood, 20-26; Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 233-235, 256-258; "A Man of Intelligence," Kingswood-Oxford Magazine, 1923, 16-21.
58. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 260; Hartford Courant, 4 March 1923.
59. Schwinn, "Mark Twain's Hartford House," 265; 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.
60. 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.
61. "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.
62. 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.

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63. "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.
64. Marianne Curling, conversation with the author, 2 August 1995, Hartford, CT.
65. Sara B. Chase, "Architectural Conservation Assessment," (MTM, Hartford, CT, September 1990).
66. GW to Dr. Andrew D. White, 25 October 1872.
67. Lawrence Grow, Country Architecture: Old Fashioned Designs (Pittstown, NJ: Main Street Press, 1985), 16-19.
68. Andrews and Ransom, Structures and Styles, 180.
69. Downing, Country Houses, 213-14.
70. Ibid., 368-69; Jan Jennings and Herbert Gottfried, American Vernacular Interior Architecture: 1870-1940 (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1988), 94.
71. S. Clemens, "Family Sketch," 28, ca. 1896.
72. McAleer interview.
73. Twain, Autobiography, 10.
74. Ibid.; Servants, nos. 1-3, Photographic Collection, MTM.
75. Salsbury, Susy and Mark Twain, 162.
76. GW to OLC, 2 August 1881, MTM; McAleer, interview.
77. Building Permit 580, 1 November 1905, City of Hartford; Jacobus, Kingswood, 23, 45; Photographic Collection, MTM.