Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

The Swedish House

Historic Structure Report

September 2005

Historical Architecture, Cultural Resources Division

Southeast Regional Office

National Park Service

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Cultural Resources
Southeast Region
National Park Service
100 Alabama St. SW
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 562-3117

2005
Historic Structure Report
Swedish House
Carl Sandburg Home National Historical Site
LCS#: 05148

Cover image: Swedish House, 1964 (CARL3000/17/20)

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

Swedish House

Historic Structure Report

Approved by: Connie Hudson Backlund 09/28/05

Superintendent — Date

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

Recommended by: 10-3-05

Chief, Cultural Resources — Date

Southeast Regional Office

Recommended by: 10-4-05

Associate Regional Director — Date

Cultural Resource Stewardship & Partnership

Southeast Regional Office

Approved by: Patricia A. Hooks 10/4/05

Regional Director — Date

Southeast Regional Office

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Foreword

We are pleased to make available this historic structure report on the Swedish House at Connemara, part of our ongoing effort to provide comprehensive documentation for the historic structures and landscapes of National Park Service units in the Southeast Region. Many individuals contributed to this work, but we would particularly like to thank Connie Hudson Backlund, Superintendent, Sue Bennett, Chief of Visitors Services, and the staff at Carl Sandburg National Historic Site for their assistance throughout the process. Johnnie Wright, Chief of Maintenance, and Glenn Barnwell, who began working at the park as rehabilitation of the Swedish House was underway in 1977, were most helpful in providing information on the park's treatment of the house over the years. Special thanks goes to Lynn White Savage, the park's Museum Curator, whose knowledge of the park's archives and willingness to locate relevant materials has greatly expedited this project. We hope that this study of the Swedish House at Connemara will prove valuable to park management in ongoing efforts to preserve the building and to everyone in understanding and interpreting this unique resource.

Dan Scheidt

Chief, Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Regional Office
September 2005

Project Team

Primary Research, Building Investigation, and Author	**Tommy H. Jones**, Architectural Historian National Park Service Southeast Regional Office Atlanta, GA
Project Manager, Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site	**Sue Bennett**, Acting Chief of Cultural Resources Carl Sandburg Home National Historical Site Flat Rock, NC
Park Collections Research	**Lynn White Savage,** Museum Curator Carl Sandburg Home National Historical Site Flat Rock, NC
Document Publication/ Intranet Access	**Jay Womack,** Historian National Park Service Southeast Regional Office Atlanta, GA
Program Reviews	**Bob Blythe,** History **Allen Bohnert,** Curatorial & Museum Services **Danny Scheidt,** Historical Architecture National Park Service **Tracy Stakely**, Historical Landscape Architecture Southeast Regional Office Atlanta, GA

Management Summary

"What a hell of a baronial estate for an old Socialist," Carl Sandburg (1878- 1967) remarked after purchasing Connemara in 1946.[1] Not only was there a fine residence, but there were also numerous outbuildings and dependencies, one of which was the Swedish House, a remarkable cottage originally built to house enslaved house servants, but used primarily as a sort of overflow library for storage of the Sandburgs' enormous collection of books and magazines.

Historical Data

The Swedish House at Connemara was built in the early 1850s by Christopher G. Memminger (1803- 1889), a wealthy lawyer and politician from Charleston who later became secretary of the treasury for the Confederate States of America. After his death, his heirs sold the estate, which was then known as Rock Hill, to trustees for Mary Fleming Gregg (1839- died after 1900). Her husband, William H. Gregg, Jr. (1834- 1895), was the son of the famed William H. Gregg, Sr., builder of one of the South's earliest textile mills, at Graniteville, South Carolina, in the 1840s. In 1900, Mary Fleming Gregg sold Rock Hill to Ellison Adger Smyth (1847- 1942), "dean of the Southern textile industry," according to his obituary in the New York *Times*. The Smyths renamed the estate Connemara and, like the Greggs and the Memmingers, continued to use the Swedish House as a servants' house. Like the Main House, the Swedish House was occupied only about four months out of the year in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Until the late nineteenth century, when epidemics of malaria, yellow fever, and cholera finally began to be controlled, the Memmingers generally left Charleston around the end of June and did not return until the threat of disease began to fade in late October or early November. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the season" at Flat Rock generally ran from late May through September. The Smyths continued to use Connemara as a part- time residence until 1924 when the Main House was rehabilitated and became their primary residence. The Swedish House, too, was occupied year- round after 1924.

Weary of the harsh winters at their old home in Harbert, Michigan, Carl Sandburg (1878- 1967) and his wife bought the estate in the fall of 1945 and, with their daughters, occupied the Main House in January 1946. Winner of a Pulitzer Prize in 1940 for his biography of Abraham Lincoln and another in 1951 for his poetry, Sandburg, "the poet of the American people," enjoyed some of his most productive years at Connemara, including completion of *Remembrance Rock*, his sweeping novel of the American experience. After his death in October 1967, his widow deeded the estate to the Federal government, and it became Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site in 1968. Since the Sandburgs did not employ servants, the Swedish House, so called because Sandburg thought it reminiscent of Swedish architecture, was unoccupied except by an occasional overnight guest. The grandchildren liked to play in the house, but it was mainly used for storage of books, newspapers, and magazines that overflowed the bookshelves and Book Room in the Main House.

Architectural Data

Constructed around 1852, this building is a two-story, wood- framed structure, built on a locally-

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

quarried stone foundation. The house features a steeply- pitched, end- gabled roof and scroll- sawn barge boards reminiscent of the Gothic Revival. Approximately 28- 1/2' long (east to west), 18- 1/2' wide (north to south) and around 26- 1/2' from the top of the foundation to the peak of the gable, the house has three rooms on the first floor and two rooms flanking a small hall on the second, with a total floor area of around 950 square feet. A stone chimney and fireplace were reconstructed at the west end of the house in 1977 to replace the original torn down by the Sandburgs in the 1960s.

A number of alterations are evident in the present structure but its historic form, plan, and most architectural details have remained essentially intact, or in the case of the chimney and fireplace, been reconstructed. The building contains architectural features such as nine- over- six windows, a wooden rim lock, and wrought iron hardware not found in any other buildings at Connemara. Building investigation was limited to non- destructive visual inspection, and materials were characterized without laboratory analysis. The building is now empty and only rarely used.

Treatment and Use

The primary purpose of this historic structure report is to document the historic evolution of the Swedish House. An historic structure report was completed in the 1970s, but that report focused primarily only on the building's existing condition.

Overall, the house remains in good condition with most of its historic fabric still intact.[2] Extensive rehabilitation in 1976- 1977 repaired most of the damage done by benign neglect in the 1960s, and early NPS plans for adaptive use that would have destroyed significant historic features have since been abandoned. However, like the other servants' house at Connemara, the so- called Chicken House, the Swedish House is little used and is not routinely interpreted for park visitors.

Use of the Swedish House as a place for interpretive exhibits is perhaps the most reasonable alternative for use. Indeed the architecture itself might be considered an interesting exhibit in its own right and worthy of interpretation. The building is not suitable for display of museum objects, but it would be well- suited to a wide variety of exhibits, either temporary or permanent, that did not require the display of fragile original artifacts.

Although there appear to be no pressing problems of repair, if anything other than exhibit of the house itself is contemplated, some alterations to the electrical system might be needed to provide exhibit lighting. In addition, the building is not handicapped accessible. In order for those with impaired mobility to enter, a ramp to the front stoop is probably the best option, if it were installed in such a way that the existing stoop and steps remain in place. The change in floor level between Room 100 and Rooms 101 and 102 would have to be addressed as well, or entry could be limited to the main room, with the two side rooms fully visible through open doors.

Archival research for this project has been limited, and additional research in Memminger's account book, the Federal census and other sources would no doubt add many useful details to the chronology of the building's evolution and could support a broader interpretation of the site.

In addition, the park has requested funding for an oral history project, and if the interviews routinely emphasized the appearance and evolution of the Swedish House, understanding of the building might be significantly expanded. Use of floor plans and historic photographs would be indispensable in facilitating recall of memories about the house.

2. "Historic" fabric includes but is not limited to the original features and materials. All features and materials that existed in 1968 should be considered part of the building's historic fabric.

Administrative Data

Location Data

Building Name:

Swedish House, Connemara

Location:

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

LCS#: 05148

Related Studies

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

Hart, Susan. *Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site Cultural Landscape Report*. Atlanta, GA: NPS- SERO, Division of Cultural Resources, 1993.

Jones, Russell. "Historic Structure Report: Architectural Data, Home * Garage * Swedish House." NPS: Denver Service Center, September 1976.

Pence, Heather Russo. *Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site: Archeological Overview and Assessment*. Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center/ National Park Service, 1998.

Steichen, Paula. "Hyacinths and Biscuits; The Life and Works of Carl Sandburg," *Handbook 117: Carl Sandburg Home*. Washington, DC: NPS, Division of Publications, 1982.

Svejda, Dr. George J. "Historic Structure Report, Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site." NPS, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1972.

Wallace, David H. *Historic Furnishings Report, Main House and Swedish House at Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Flat Rock, North Carolina*. Frederick, MD: NP, 1984.

Cultural Resource Data

Listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976 as a contributing structure in the Flat Rock, North Carolina, National Historic District. The period of the building's significance is from its construction about 1852 until the Sandburgs sold the estate in 1968. Proposed treatment is preservation.

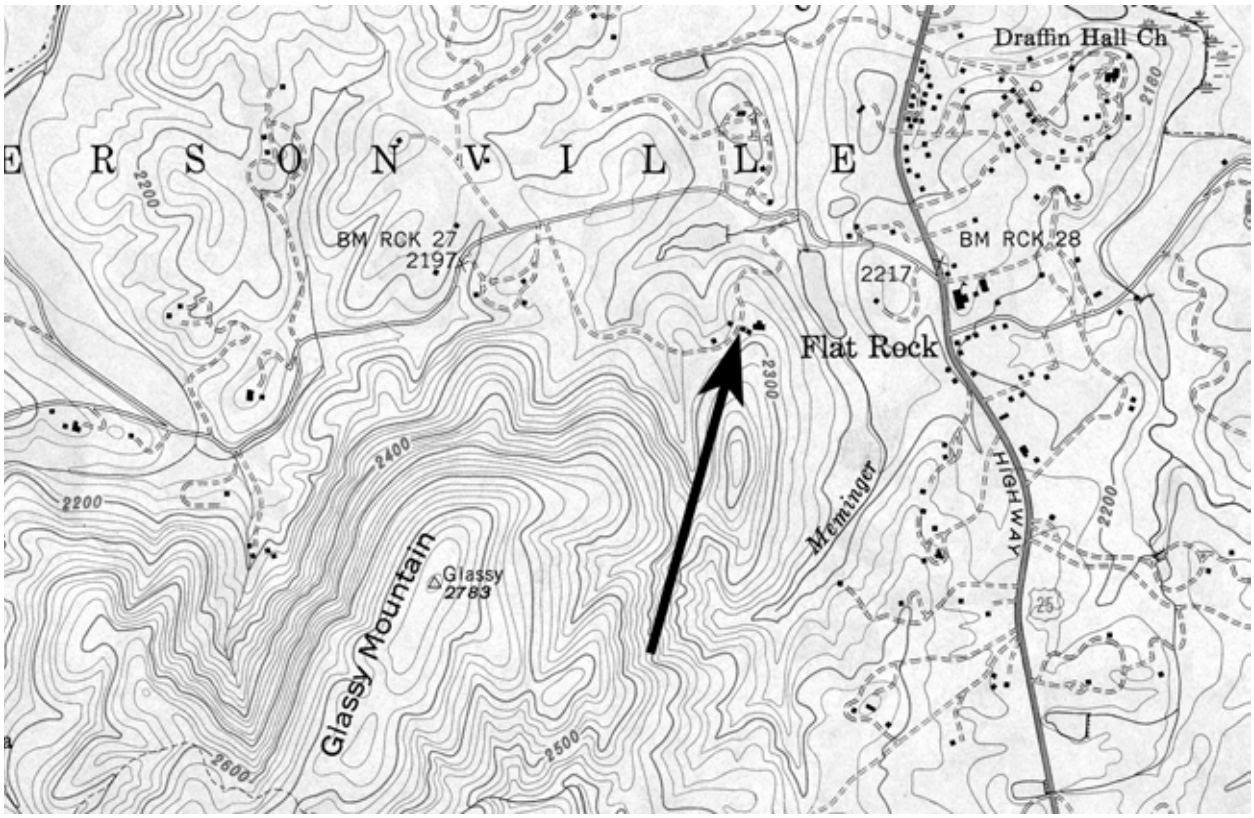


FIGURE 1. United States Geological Survey map (1946), with arrow marking location of Swedish House at Connemara.

Historical Background and Context

Connemara is dominated by the early Greek Revival architecture of the Main House (1838- 1839), but numerous other structures have been built over the nearly 170 years since the estate was established. One of those secondary structures that remains standing is the Swedish House, so called by the Sandburgs because its steeply gabled roof and fanciful barge boards reminded them of Swedish architecture. With a design that grew out of the Gothic Revival, the Swedish House was built between 1850 and 1853 as a residence for enslaved domestic servants and continued to house domestic servants until the early 1940s. After the Sandburgs acquired Connemara in 1945, the house was no longer used as a residence but as a place to store some of the thousands upon thousands of books, magazines, and newspapers that overflowed the Main House.

The Memmingers' Rock Hill

The estate was originally developed by Christopher G. Memminger (1803- 1889), a wealthy lawyer and politician from Charleston who later became secretary of the treasury for the Confederate States of America. According to his son, Memminger's health as a young man was "delicate, and to keep [it he] took long journeys on horseback to the Virginia Springs," a series of eleven hot or warm mineral springs that were scattered along the border of

FIGURE 2. One of the earliest photographs of the Main House at Rock Hill, c. 1880, Baker Barber Collection. (CARL3001/01/48P))

present- day Virginia and West Virginia. With a growing family, however, Memminger soon found these jaunts impractical, while at the same time, the opening of the Charleston- Hamburg Railroad in 1833 and of South Carolina's State Road around the same time made possible a relatively short two-week journey from Charleston to the mountains of western North Carolina, especially around Flat Rock where a number of wealthy families from Charleston, South Carolina, began building summer homes in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

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

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

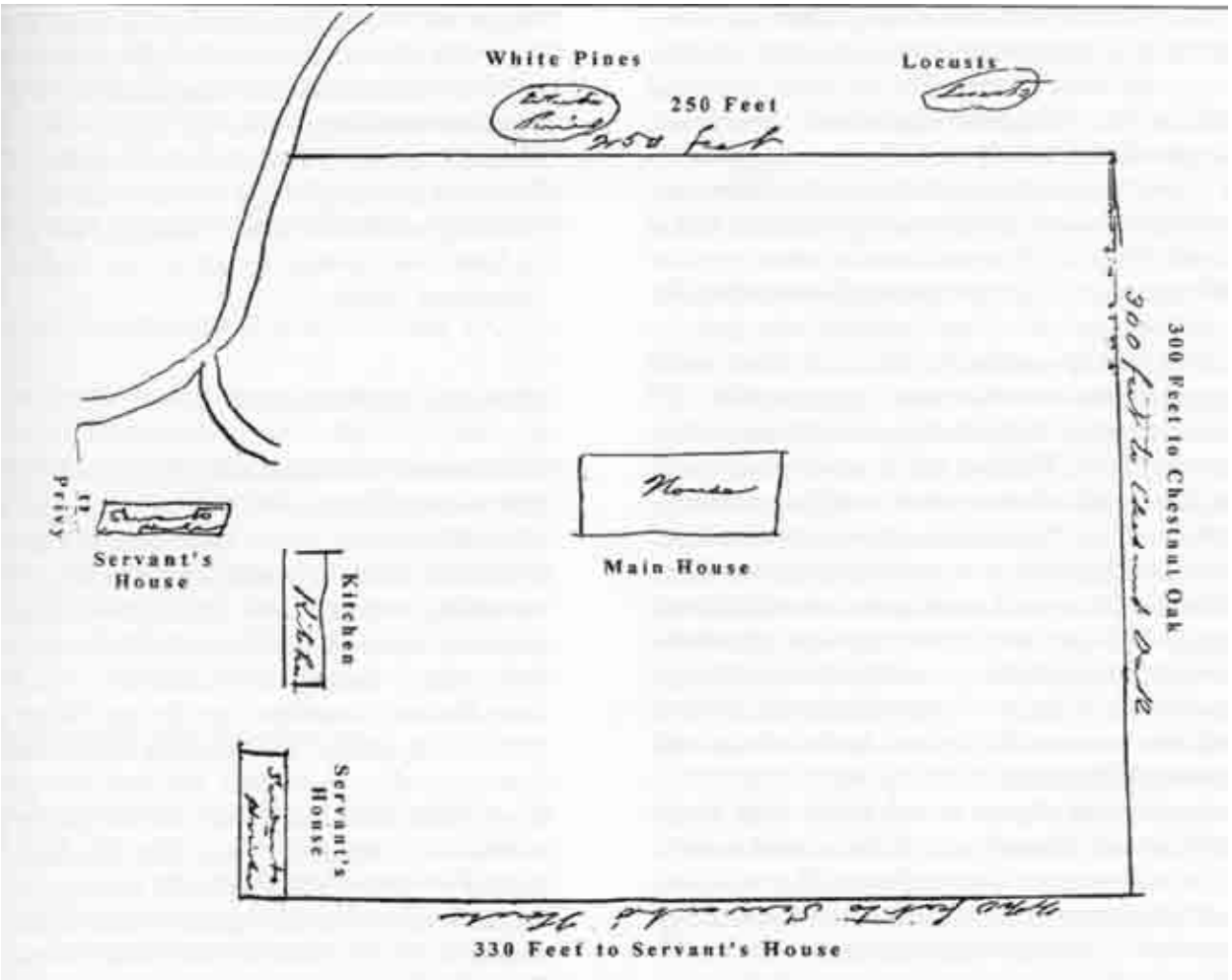


FIGURE 3. Sketch of Rock Hill in Memminger's account book, c. 1852, annotated for legibility. "Servant's House" at left center is the Swedish House. (taken from Pence, *Archeological Overview and Assessment,* 1998)

from it that document his stay at Flat Rock in October 1836.[3] He arrived in Flat Rock from Asheville on October 8, in the company of Jefferson Bennett, a son of Memminger's patron Thomas Bennett.

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

> With the Count de Choiseul and his family I was particularly pleased. The Countess is a lady of very agreeable manners and so frank and plain as to possess me very much in her favor. The daughters, too, seem to be girls with whom my wife and her sister might be intimate, and formed another inducement to locate near them. Besides the Count himself so earnestly tendered his services that I was relieved from a considerable difficulty.
>
> Of course, the first comers had the best sites for residences. But as I also wanted a farm I could not be so easily furnished as the land near Flat Rock is miserably barren. Nevertheless after much cruising I at last found a place that would suit very well and authorized the Count to purchase it if it could be had, on Mr. Baring tendering to let me have some of his contiguous land and the use of a spring from an elevation of his land.
>
> We also sketched the plan of a kitchen to be built for our occupation next summer on the spot,- - - a project by the way which I am rather doubtful because my kitchen is rather too fine an affair. I ought to hire Mr. King's house if possible and build at once.[4]

Events intervened, however, and Memminger's plans appear to have been laid aside, due perhaps to the great financial panic that unfolded in the winter and spring of 1837, sending the country's economy into a depression that did not begin to ease until the early 1840s. He apparently came to some agreement with Baring for the land that he wanted, although he did not actually take title until November 1838 and was still noting payments to Baring "for land" in October 1839.[5] By the end of 1837, he had begun preliminary work, including construction of a bridge across the creek that later formed Front Lake and perhaps leveling a building site in the hillside above. Perhaps as early as late in 1837, Memminger had engaged the services of architect Charles Reichardt, and by the spring of 1838, he had contracted with a builder, James Rosamond, and begun construction.

FIGURE 4. Half of a stereoscopic image of Rock Hill, c. 1880, the earliest image of the Main House. (CARL 28466)

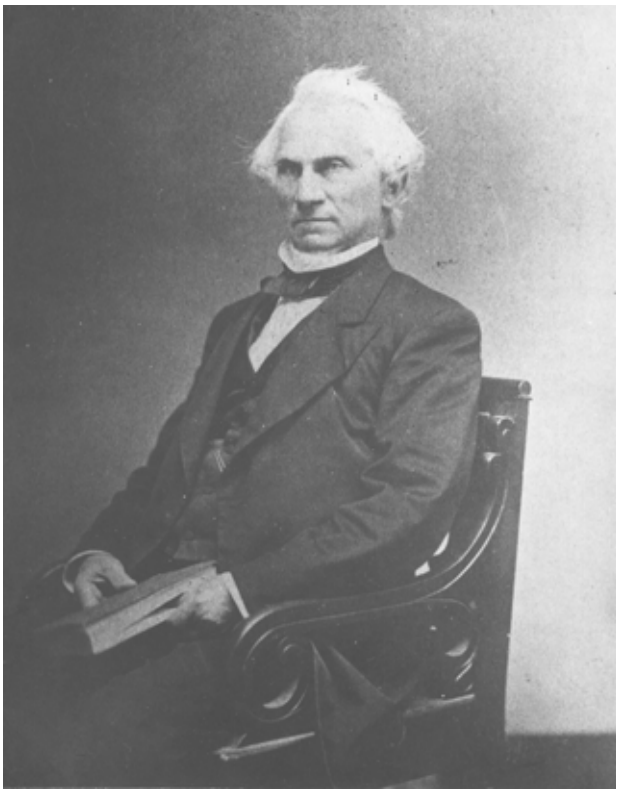


FIGURE 5. Christopher Memminger, c. 1865. (CARL 28429)

3. For additional detail on the development of Flat Rock, see Edward Read Memminger, *An Historical Sketch of Flat Rock* (Flat Rock, NC: privately published, 1954; originally written in 1922); Sadie Smathers Patton, *Flat Rock, The Little Charleston of the Mountains* (Historic Flat Rock, Inc., 3rd edition, n.d.) and *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, NC: The Miller Printing Company, 1947); and Mrs. Alicia Middleton Trenholm, *Flat Rock, North Carolina: A Sketch of the Past* (no publication data, 1908).
4. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 11.
5. Buncombe County Deed Book 21, pp. 445-447.

Construction

Major construction appears to have begun in April 1838, and the Main House, a separate Kitchen, which the Sandburgs converted into a garage in 1945, and a stable, which is apparently no longer extant, were substantially complete by the time the Memminger family arrived at Flat Rock in early July 1839. Memminger initially referred to the place as "the Buncombe Establishment," but in account book entries in July 1839, he makes his first reference to "Rock Hill," appropriate enough for a site where stone out- croppings abound.[6]

Although most work was done by summer 1839, the final details of Rosamond's contracted work were not wound up until the fall, and Memminger made his final payment to Rosamond on January 4, 1840. The house, kitchen, and stable had cost Memminger just over $4,000, but his total expenses for development of Rock Hill amounted to more than twice that amount by the end of 1842.[7]

FIGURE 6. View of Ice House around 1950. The building was constructed by Memminger in 1847. (CARL3000/29/1P)

FIGURE 7. View of the antebellum spring house, c. 1910. (CARL3001/03/01P)

On July 19, 1839, the family set out for their first summer in their new house at Flat Rock, where they arrived on the 27th.[8] Although they got a late start that year, most years they began their journey near the end of June, sending the horses, wagon and carriage ahead to Aiken, South Carolina, by railroad freight a few days before the family and servants also took the train from Charleston. After a rendezvous at the end of the line in Aiken, it was a slow, week-long climb by carriage and wagon up the Piedmont to Greenville and across the Blue Ridge at Saluda Gap, before descending into Flat Rock. Around the end of October, with cooler weather bringing relief from the fever season of summer and fall, the journey was reversed, with the family generally back in Charleston by the end of the first or second week in November. The trip was made a little easier in 1853, when they were able to take a train as far as Columbia, shaving a day or two off the most rigorous portion of the journey that had to be made by carriage and wagon. By 1861, the rail line was completed as far as Spartanburg, which left only a two- day, horse- drawn journey over the mountains. Not until 1880 was it possible to travel from Charleston to Flat Rock entirely by rail.

Memminger continued to make improvements at Rock Hill throughout the 1840s and 1850s. A small house for the cook and a wagon house were built in 1842 or 1843 and an ice house in 1847, the same year that Memminger constructed a large addition to the rear of the Main House and apparently made significant alterations to the original interior as well. Although there is no documentation, the spring house may have been built around this time and there must have been at least one privy along with a

6. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502) 1803-1915 in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, includes an account book entitled "Account of Expenditures for a/c of Buncombe Establishment" which documents many of Memminger's expenses related to Rock Hill.
7. Memminger records his final payment to Rosamond in two places in his account book.
8. Memminger first recorded expenses for their journeys to and from Flat Rock in his Rock Hill account book in 1839 and continued each year until the late 1850s.

a wood shed and other secondary structures. The so- called Buck House, too, may have been constructed by Memminger in the 1840s, probably as a residence for his caretaker. Finally, Memminger built a second servants' house, the Swedish House, between 1850 and 1853.

Memminger continued to use Rock Hill as a summer retreat throughout the antebellum period, except for the summer of 1854, when he and his two oldest children, Ellen and Tom, made a grand tour of Europe, including Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France. His wife, pregnant with their tenth child, remained behind in Charleston, but he wrote her frequently, commenting while in Switzerland that it was "very like Buncombe [Rock Hill] in October- - - frost in the morning. But the hotels are made for summer, and chimneys are not in each room, and fuel is not as at Buncombe."[9]

Civil War and Reconstruction

Memminger's term as Confederate Secretary of the Treasury was fraught with difficulties, and whatever his personal failings, his was an impossible task. Well before the end of the war, the Confederate Treasury was little more than a pile of paper, leading a bitter editor at the Richmond *Whig* to excoriate Memminger as "a second rate lawyer in Charleston, famous for the energy and persistence with which he collected small bills and dunned petty debtors. . . . He has done his best, but he has been overtaken- - that is all."[10] By the summer of 1864, it became clear that Memminger could not rescue the Treasury from insolvency, and he was forced to resign on June 15, 1864, blamed- - unfairly most would now agree- - for the collapse of Confederate finances. He was replaced by George Trenholm, a well- known Charleston banker and perhaps the richest man in the Confederacy. Trenholm had a summer home, which he called Solitude, a short distance northeast of Rock Hill, and his brother Edward was a neighbor as well, having bought Baring's Mountain Lodge in the 1850s. Memminger defended himself by saying he was forced "to administer plans which I neither originated nor approved."[11]

9. Memminger Papers, Account Book. The Memminger papers include a few letters from Memminger to his wife while he was in Europe in 1854.
10. Coulter, *Confederate States*, p. 150.
11. Coulter, *Confederate States*, p. 164.

With Charleston under near- constant bombardment (it was abandoned by the Confederates in February 1865), the Memmingers retreated to Rock Hill where they spent much of the next two years.[12] In his memoir of Flat Rock, written in 1922, the Memmingers' youngest son, Edward, wrote that Rock Hill "possibly [had] more reminders of the dark days of the Confederacy than any other [house] in Flat Rock."[13]

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

FIGURE 8. View of Buck House, 2004, probably built by Memminger as an overseer's house in the 1840s. (NPS 2004)

FIGURE 9. View of Memminger's first servants' house, now known as the Chicken House, probably constructed by slaves in 1842. (NPS 2005)

12. Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, NC: 1954), p. 207.
13. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 14.

> After the surrender at Appomattox, the Union troops came through Flat Rock and, though they were guilty of no German atrocities, they pillaged some of the houses and took whatever they wanted. In the day the men of the family "took to the woods" to escape the soldiers and had to come back at night to defend the house from a gang of deserters from the Confederate Army, who had turned bandits and terrorized the community with their burglaries and other offences.
>
> As the defenders of the house were but two men and a boy, resort had to be had to other means of defence, so the steps in front of the house, from the portico to the ground, were pulled down, port- holes were cut in the doors holding strategic positions, the windows on the ground floor were barricaded with sand- bags and chevaux de frises and communication cut through doors and floors from story to story. The house never was attacked though threatened.[14]

In the summer of 1865, with the Memmingers still at Flat Rock, their house at the corner of Wentworth and Smith in Charleston was declared abandoned and turned over to the Freedmen's Bureau for use as an orphanage for African- American children. With roads and railroads in shambles, travel was next to impossible, and any sort of communication difficult at best. "We have neither mails or correspondence," Memminger wrote to a friend, "so that any glimpse of the doings of the great world is highly acceptable." Weeks- old newspapers dropped off by traveling acquaintances only occasionally pierced Rock Hill's isolation.[15] Memminger applied for pardon under the terms set forth by Congress, but it was not granted until December 1866, and the Freedmen's Bureau did not return the Memminger's house in Charleston until early January 1867.[16]

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

In addition to resuming his law practice, Memminger was also actively involved in a wide variety of

14. Memminger, *Flat Rock,* p. 14.

15. Bailey, *Rock Hill to Connemara*, p 27.
16. The 1880 Federal Census gives the address as 122 Wentworth Street, between Coming and Pitt, but that number may have been later changed. The house apparently no longer exists.

FIGURE 10. View of Connemara, spring 1901, showing alterations from the 1890s. (CARL 3001/01/04P)

enterprises after the Civil War. According to Patton, he was "a pioneer in the development of the phosphate industry in South Carolina," In 1868, he organized the Sulphuric Acid and Super- Phosphate Company (later known as the Etiwan Phosphate Company), not only one of the earliest of the South Carolina phosphate companies but also the first company in the South to engage in the commercial manufacture of sulphuric acid.[17]

In the 1870s, in addition to his investment in phosphates, Memminger bought shares in the Silver Mountain Mining Company in Carbon County, Wyoming, and he continued to be one of the leaders in the effort to establish rail service from Charleston across the Blue Ridge into Tennessee and on to Cincinnati. A route was surveyed in 1838, but by the time the Civil War intervened, track had been laid only as far as Spartanburg. After the war, the Spartanburg and Asheville Railroad was organized to continue the work, with Memminger as its president. His son remembered driving his father to Spartanburg in 1874 for the ground- breaking ceremony, which included "a great celebration with speech making and a barbecue."[18] The line was completed across the Blue Ridge in 1876, but the work proved extraordinarily expensive and the line was not completed through Flat Rock to Hendersonville until 1880. The following year the company was reorganized as the Asheville and Spartanburg Railroad, and the line was completed to Asheville in 1886.

In November 1875 Mary, Christopher Memminger's wife of forty- three years, died and was buried at St. John in the Wilderness cemetery. On March 27, 1878, he married her sister Sarah Ann, who had long been close to the family.

Memminger was re- elected to the Legislature in 1876 and, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, worked to restore the state's finances. He also introduced a bill to revive his alma mater, South Carolina College in Columbia, but retired from public life when the legislative term ended in 1877. In November 1885, Memminger resigned as chairman

17. Bailey, *From Rock Hill to Connemara*, p. 28; Dr. George J. Svejda, "Historic Structure Report, Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site," unpublished MSS for NPS, dated April 28, 1972, p. 10.

18. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.

FIGURE 11. View of Connemara after it was repainted by the Smyths in 1901 (CARL3001/01/18P)

of Charleston's Public School Board, a position he had held since the early 1850s.

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

> one of those who have given lustre to the name of South Carolina; the towering and never- to- be- forgotten few. Earnest, able, equable. Publicist; man of affairs, apostle of popular education in South Carolina; loyal always to Church and State.[19]

Following the funeral in Charleston, Memminger's remains were returned to Flat Rock, where he was interred next to his first wife in the cemetery at St. John in the Wilderness.

The house at Rock Hill may have sat empty in the summer of 1889, since Memminger's son Dr. Allard Memminger had built his own house, Richmond Hill, nearby in 1870[20], and Edward Read Memminger was constructing a new house for himself at Tranquility, which was slated for completion and occupancy by the summer of 1890. And so the Memmingers put Rock Hill up for sale. On September 12, 1889, Edward Memminger, acting as executor of his father's estate, sold Rock Hill, its contents, and 292 acres for $10,000 to Caspar A. Chisholm, in trust for Chisholm's sister- in- law Mary A. F. Gregg.[21]

The Greggs' Rock Hill

Born in South Carolina about 1839, Mary A. Fleming Gregg was the daughter of Daniel Fleming, a wealthy Charleston merchant. She married William Gregg, Jr., on December 10, 1856. Gregg was born at Graniteville, Aiken County, South Carolina, on October 11, 1834, the eldest son of William and Mariana Jones Gregg. William Gregg, Sr. (1800- 1867), was one of the early proponents of Southern industrialization and, according to one historian, "the

19. Quoted in Svejda, p. 12.
20. Richmond Hill was built as "a miniature of Rock Hill" according to Patton, *Henderson County,* p. 210. It was later bought by Mrs. Robert E. Lee III, a granddaughter of Christopher Memminger, who restored it and renamed it Enchantment.
21. Henderson County Deed Book 25, pp. 469-470. Chisholm was married to Mary Gregg's sister. The deed also mentions earlier trustees of Mary Gregg, including her father Daniel Fleming and her brother-in-law James Jones Gregg.

FIGURE 12. Boating on the Front Lake at Connemara, c. 1910. (CARL3001/01/41P)

most significant figure in the development of cotton mills in the South."[22]

William Gregg, Jr., and his wife, Mary Fleming Gregg, appear to have had only two children, a son born in 1860 and a daughter born in 1863. In the Charleston city directories for 1888- 1890, William and Mary Gregg are listed at 27 Rutledge Avenue near the Battery, just a few doors away from his widowed mother, Mariana Gregg, at 16 Rutledge and just a block and a half from Christopher Memminger's widow on Council Street. At that time, Gregg's occupation was listed in the directory as "phosphates," in which he, like Memminger and other wealthy Charlestonians, had invested heavily after the Civil War.[23] What relationship may have existed between the Memmingers and the Greggs prior to 1889 is not clear. However, C. G. Memminger, Sr., and William Gregg, Sr., were contemporaries and both served in the South Carolina assembly in the 1850s, sometimes on opposite sides of an issue. Both were delegates to the state's secession convention in 1860, and as neighbors in Charleston, quite likely had something more than a passing acquaintance with one another.

In her history of Connemara prior to the Sandburgs, Louise Bailey states that "there is no indication that [Gregg] or his family occupied the house, or that they made any changes in the house or grounds."[24] While that may be true, the Greggs bought Rock Hill fully furnished and, like the Memmingers, employed an overseer, William Slattery (born in North Carolina about 1862), who of course lived on the property year- round.[25] It seems improbable that William and Mary Gregg would not have spent some time in the house, at least prior to his death in February 1895. In addition, a series of changes and

22. "Gregg, William," Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, editors, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), pp. 599-600; National Historic Landmark nomination for Graniteville; 1860 Federal Census, South Carolina, Edgefield County, Graniteville, p. 67.
23. Abstract of Charleston city directories at <www.ancestry.com>, accessed 14 June 2004.
24. Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 32.
25. Bailey, *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara,"* p. 44.

FIGURE 13. Smyth family on the steps at Connemara, c. 1903. (Collection of Julianne Heggoy, great-grand-daughter of the Smyths)

additions to the Main House that were almost certainly done by the Greggs was executed in the late nineteenth century.

Gregg's widow retained ownership of Rock Hill for nearly six years after his death, and it is not known what finally precipitated the decision to sell. It is possible that too much of the family's income depended on South Carolina's phosphate industry, which was well on the way to collapse in the face of competition from the new mines in Florida. Or it is possible that it related to the tragic drowning of a child, perhaps a grandchild, in Front Lake.[26] Whatever the reason, on December 12, 1900, Mary Gregg conveyed title to Rock Hill to James Adger Smyth and Augustine T. Smyth as trustees for their younger brother Ellison A. Smyth and his wife Julia G. Smyth.[27]

FIGURE 14. View south at west end of Main House, c. 1915, with earliest image of the Swedish House, showing part of east gable, at extreme right. (CARL3301/18/06P)

The Smyths' Connemara

Called the "dean of Southern textile manufacturers" by the *New York Times* when he died in 1942, Ellison Adger Smyth was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1847.[28] He was the son of Thomas Smyth (1808- 1873) and grandson of Samuel Smith [sic][29], who apparently made a fortune as a grocer and tobacco distributor in Belfast in the north of Ireland.

In 1880, in partnership with Francis Joseph Pelzer, Jr., and William Lebby, and "unquestionably influenced" by the pioneering work of William Gregg, Sr., at Graniteville before the Civil War, Smyth began building a model cotton mill, complete with mill village, on 500 acres east of Anderson, South Carolina. Christened Pelzer Mills, and with Smyth as its president, the operation included four mills with nearly 2000 looms, and more than 3,000 employees by 1896. The mill town itself contained more than 400 mill- worker houses, six stores, a church, and "a good hotel."

By the turn of the century, Smyth's mills were generating income that made him one of South Carolina's wealthiest citizens, and Smyth made the decision to buy a second home. He and his wife were well into middle age, and while South Carolinians no longer fled to the mountains to escape disease, the oppressive heat and humidity of summer provided more than enough reason to continue the trek, with Flat Rock remaining a popular retreat. The Flat Rock houses did not change hands often,

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

and even when they did, they generally continued to be owned by descendants, relatives or business associates of the original owners. According to his granddaughter, Smyth had been acquainted with William Gregg, Jr., through the textile business and credited the older man with "so much help and inspiration in his [own] business accomplishments." Thus, when Gregg's widow finally decided to sell Rock Hill, it was Smyth who took title to the property in December 1900.

Besides rehabilitating the house, Smyth renamed Rock Hill, christening it Connemara, reportedly because it reminded him of his ancestral Ireland. With their Charleston roots and their wealth, the Smyths fit seamlessly into Flat Rock society, but the house was mainly a place for the extended family to while away the summer months. With the house opened by the caretaker, the women and children arrived in May and stayed until school started in September. Ellison Smyth and his grown son generally came up from Greenville and Pelzer on Friday afternoons, catching the return train home on Sunday evening at the station at East Flat Rock.[30]

Ellison Smyth remained active throughout his long life, continuing to be involved with the operation of his mills and other investments. By the 1920s, however, he must have been contemplating significant changes in his life. He was in his seventies, and the chore of commuting between Flat Rock and Greenville was beginning to wear, even with the added convenience of automobiles. According to their granddaughter, Julia Smyth was less than enthusiastic about moving to Flat Rock. Nevertheless, the house was rehabilitated and "winterized," which included replacing Memminger's antebellum addition to the rear of the house and installing a central heating system. Sometime in 1924, the Smyths relocated to Flat Rock for good.[31] While Mrs. Smyth loved Connemara, their old house at 237 Broadus Avenue in Greenville had been their home for many years, and her granddaughter recalled, Julia "never

30. Bailey's *From "Rock Hill" to "Connemara"* recounts many details of the Smyths time at Connemara, as do the series of NPS oral interviews with Smyth's granddaughter Mary McKay in 1973.
31. McKay interview.

FIGURE 15. View of Connemara, 1938. (Photograph by Bayard Wooten, CARL3001/23/09P)

got over the move from Greenville."[32] She died in 1927.

Smyth stayed on at Connemara, cared for by an assistant, Pauline Harvey, and after her death by his granddaughter Nancy Blake. Later, according to another granddaughter, an unmarried cousin of Julia Smyth became Smyth's caregiver.[33]

Through the 1930s, Smyth continued his regular routine, going to his office at Balfour Mills every day, and making his rounds at Connemara, feeding the chickens, turkeys, and ducks at five o'clock each afternoon and then walking down the hill to the road and back with his collie, Laddie.[34] In the snowy winter of 1941- 1942, however, his health took a turn for the worse, with the weather so bad that the doctor had to be driven in an ox cart from the road to the house. Smyth lingered on through the spring and into summer, but died in his bed at Connemara on August 8, 1942. He was 94.

FIGURE 16. Mr. and Mrs. Sandburg in Dining Room at Connemara, photographed by Vachon. (CARL 12132)

32. McKay interview.
33. McKay and Emily Jane Ballard interviews; 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC.
34. Smyth's granddaughter Mrs. Rogers and Mrs. Emily Jane Ballard both recounted Smyth's afternoon routine.

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

> [H]is success as a cotton mill executive was due not only to his business capacity but to an unusual gift for managing men. There were never any strikes or other labor troubles in his mills. . . . [He was] governed throughout his career by the highest standards of personal and business honor, was unostentatious, efficient, and always ready to contribute of his time and money to the public welfare. He was deeply interested in the history of North and South Carolina and collected a large and valuable library on the subject.[35]

In the depths of World War II, sale of Connemara was not really an option, and the Main House apparently remained unoccupied until war's end. Not until the summer of 1945 was the place put up for sale.

The Sandburgs' Connemara

For the Sandburgs, both of whom were in their sixties in the early 1940s, the harsh Michigan winters were becoming more difficult to endure. The winds howling off the lake were so bad that they had to reputty the windows every three years or so to keep them from rattling, and as Mrs. Sandburg put it, they were "sort of frozen out of [their] place in Michigan."[36] Mrs. Sandburg's herd of prize goats was an issue, too, as Sandburg explained to a reporter shortly before their move.

> The soil around here is sandy and unsuited to goats. There is a hillside near the Carolina property where they can browse and where they can properly develop their legs. But we're mostly going because of Mrs. Sandburg. The climate is too cold here in winter. There are too many steps in this house and too many winding paths that must be walked before you get anywhere.[37]

For a variety of reasons then, as World War II ground to its end in the summer of 1945, Mrs. Sandburg set out with her sister- in- law Dana Steichen and daughter Helga in search of a new home "in the

35. "Smyth, Ellison Adger," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (NY: J. T. White, 1945), Vol. 33, p. 397.
36. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.
37. Eddie Doherty, "'Ghost' of Carl Sandburg Pulls Stakes--by Carload," undated newspaper article, pasted in front of Memminger Scrapbook (CARL Coll. #28461)

general area" of Asheville and western North Carolina. Mrs. Sandburg had first seen the mountains of western North Carolina in the late 1930s as part of a trip to Florida, and she remembered that the air was "somehow different" there.[38]

So it was that they came to buy Connemara, in spite of the asking price of $45,000, which Mrs. Sandburg remembered as being "way ahead of everything else- - it was a pretty expensive place."[39] Sandburg himself thought the price "near silly,"[40] but expensive or not, it suited their needs exactly, and he immediately promised a lecture trip to raise the cash.[41]

38. Paula Steichen, *My Connemara* (New York, NY: paperback edition, 2002, originally published by Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1969), p.7.
39. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.
40. Sandburg to Lloyd Lewis, probably January 1946, #483, in Herbert Mitgang, ed., *The Letters of Carl Sandburg* (Harcourt & Brace, 1968).
41. Interview with Mrs. Sandburg (CARL-4023/2/03), 1967, Roll 2.

As Mrs. Sandburg remembered later, the house was in "terrible shape," and its renovation was a major undertaking, costing some $50,000 and overseen almost entirely by Mrs. Sandburg. She found a local builder, Joe Anders, who inspected the house and helped plan the renovation. By the end of September 1945 work was underway, even though working out details of the sale with the numerous Smyth heirs delayed the actual real estate closing until the middle of October.

A month later, Mrs. Sandburg, daughter Janet, nephew Eric Johnson, and their young housekeeper, 22- year- old Adeline Polega left Michigan for North Carolina, with Adeline driving the family's station wagon towing a trailer full of the most valuable bucks and pregnant does. Helga, who had recently divorced, her two children, and Margaret stayed behind with their father, completing the packing and "keeping house amid the ruins," as Sandburg put it. Although the movers were expected within a couple of weeks, it was late December before they were finally able to leave

FIGURE 17. Carl Sandburg and Main House, 1946. (Photograph by June Glenn, Jr., CARL 109103)

Michigan, only to be met with a severe ice storm that delayed their arrival in Flat Rock until the day after New Year's 1946.[42]

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

And as Sandburg wrote, his wife managed a vibrant household that included their two oldest children, Margaret and Janet, neither of whom ever married. Their youngest child, Helga, who was divorced, and her two children, John Carl and Paula, also were part of the household until Helga remarried and moved away in 1952. All had a role to play, whether with household chores or helping with the prize-winning herd of Chikaming goats. The farm complex was far enough from the house that the noise from milking and other activities would not disturb Sandburg's writing and that had been a significant selling point in the first place. Nevertheless, the house itself, particularly the basement, on occasion became a nursery for the newborn kids, which were raised with as much care and attention as any pure-bred puppy or kitten.

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

> She is steadily reducing the herd but so long as she stays ambulant she will be breeding goats as her brother does delphiniums: it is a genius with her and the goat industry idolizes her for her knowledge and lighted enthusiasms. Janet says, 'I love this place and hope we never move from it': she enjoys her chores with goats, chickens, the garden and butter making. Margaret has become widely read, a scholar who often surprises me with her erudition, knows the Bible and Shakespeare better than I do.[43]

42. Wallace, p. 20.

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

FIGURE 18. The Sandburgs on the front porch of the Main House, September 1966. (CARL3000/03/09P)

.In 1956, Sandburg, who knew the scholarly value of the books and papers he had accumulated, decided to sell a large part of his library to the University of Illinois for $30,000. He made the decision almost "on impulse," Margaret thought, and for her, it was a "traumatic experience" that summer to watch as thousands of his precious books were carried away. Only later did she admit to hiding some of the books in which she was most interested in her closet.

Sandburg celebrated his 80th birthday in 1958, and he continued to travel and lecture. In February 1959 he appeared before a joint session of Congress which he addressed in honor of the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, and in 1960- 1961 he spent several months in Hollywood as script consultant for *The Greatest Story Ever Told*. When Sandburg returned from California, however, his step was noticeably slower, and in 1963 he was hospitalized. After that, he rarely left Connemara. In September 1965, his health was so poor, Mrs. Sandburg had a hospital bed brought into her bedroom, and it was there that he spent more and more time.

On July 22, 1967, he "breathed away" into death, and Mrs. Sandburg told the press, "Now Carl belongs to the ages." A simple funeral was held at St. John in the Wilderness, where a Unitarian minister spoke a eulogy full of Sandburg's poetry. The organist played "John Brown's Body" and "Shout All Over God's Heaven," the bell tolled once, and it was over.[44] As he wished, Sandburg's body was cremated and the ashes were interred beneath a great granite boulder behind his birthplace in Galesburg, Illinois. When his wife died ten years later, her ashes joined his.

> All my life I have been trying to learn to read, to see and hear, and to write. At sixty- five I began my first novel, and the five years lacking a month I took to finish it, I was still traveling, still a seeker. . . . It could be, in the grace of God, I shall live to be eighty- nine, as did [the Japanese poet] Hokusai, and speaking my farewell to earthly scenes, I might paraphrase: "If God had let me live five years longer I should have been a writer."[45]

Mrs. Sandburg soon made up her mind to offer the place to the Federal government as a memorial to her husband. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was an old friend of the Sandburgs and, after a visit to Connemara in October 1967, threw his weight behind the project. The house and land were sold to the government and a deed of gift for its contents was signed by Mrs. Sandburg in July 1968.[46] On October 17, 1968, President Lyndon Johnson approved the Congressional Act creating the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site.[47] In the summer of 1969, Mrs. Sandburg, Margaret, and Janet moved out of Connemara and into their new home in Asheville, North Carolina.

The Help

The Memmingers, the Greggs, the Smyths, and the Sandburgs all needed help in running the estate, which through most of its history was a working farm in addition to being a summer resort and, after 1924, a year- round residence. Except for the Sand-

FIGURE 19. Mrs. Sandburg in front of the Swedish House, 1968. (CARL3000/04/20P)

44. Steichen, *My Connemara*, p. 176.
45. Preface to *Complete Poems*.
46. Henderson County Deed Book 468, p. 321.
47. Public Law 90-592.

burgs, there was a variety of domestic servants, including cooks, maids, and butlers, and all four families engaged a full- time overseer or caretaker from the local community (the Sandburgs called him the "farm manager" or "herdsman") as well as several hired "hands" for a variety of agricultural work. During the antebellum period, many of the Memminger's domestic servants were African-American slaves, but even then the Memmingers hired local people, all white, as farm laborers and sometimes even as domestic servants.

Overseers and Hired Hands

In October 1839, Memminger apparently hired his first overseer, Kinson Middleton, who for $250 per year agreed "to give my whole time and attention to working and managing [Memminger's] farm at Flat Rock."[48] Probably from the beginning, Memminger had a caretaker's residence at Rock Hill, but it is rarely mentioned in his account book. In 1844, he noted that he paid for "plastering and work on Middleton's house," which was presumably the caretaker's residence at Rock Hill. What is now known as the Buck House was probably built as a caretaker's residence, and the so- called Tenant House may also have served as a caretaker's residence prior to construction of the Farm Manager's House in 1912.

FIGURE 20. The Smyths' maid Sylvene, 1937, location uncertain. (Collection of Julianne Heggoy Collection, great-grand-daughter of the Smyths)

In 1845, Memminger replaced Middleton with John W. McCarson (born about 1816), who with his wife and five children moved into the overseer's house. In 1850, the Federal census showed that four more children had been added to the McCarson family.

In 1844, Memminger began accounting for development of "Valley Farm," which marks his purchase of what became Edward Memminger's estate, Tranquility, located a mile or so northwest of Connemara.[49] By the 1850s, brothers Andrew Hart (born about 1825) and Alfred Hart (born about 1831) were employed by Memminger. Their agreement stipulated that Alfred Hart would reside "at the farm," which presumably meant Valley Farm, while Andrew Hart would reside "at the residence," which presumably meant the caretaker's house at Rock Hill.[50]

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

Memminger also had other relationships with the local residents around Flat Rock. Patton records that in 1860 Memminger built a house at Valley Farm in addition to the two houses already on the property. Memminger apparently let this new, larger

48. See Memminger Papers, Account Book.
49. Patton, *Flat Rock*, p. 44.
50. Memminger's account book includes caretaker agreements with Middleton and the Harts, but only the Harts can be located in the Henderson County census. Also see Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.

house to a family named Hollingsworth, with at least one of their daughters employed at Rock Hill, probably as a maid or laundress. This house was the scene of some events recorded in J. V. Hadley's *Seven Months a Prisoner*, a first- person account of his escape from a Confederate prison and his long journey home. Originally published in 1898, Hadley's book is reported to have provided source material for Charles Frazier's *Cold Mountain* (1997), which was also made into a motion picture.[51]

Sometime during this period, the Memmingers' longtime overseer Andrew Hart lost a leg as the result of an accidental gunshot wound. Forced to retire as overseer, he bought an old store on the High Road which, Edward Memminger recalled, "in time became a great nuisance to the community from the sale of whiskey. After [Hart's] death, his sons operated the store but without the sale of whiskey."[52]

Rock Hill had been a working farm, and after Smyth's purchase of the property in 1900, Connemara remained one as well. Smyth simply added to and adapted Memminger's old farm complex where he maintained sheep, hogs, chickens, ducks, turkeys, and a herd of perhaps two dozen Guernsey cows.[53] Like the Memmingers and the Greggs, Smyth employed a caretaker for the estate, a local man who lived on site. In addition to providing year- round security, the caretaker and his family were responsible for opening the house in the spring and closing it down in the fall. They also took care of any livestock, planted the vegetable garden and flowers in the spring, and did all that was necessary to keep the farm in operation. There were always three or four farm "hands" as well, some of whom lived in the Buck House.[54]

The Smyths' first caretaker, William Slattery, was born during the Civil War, reportedly the son of one of the Hollingsworth sisters who sheltered the escaped soldiers in *Seven Months A Prisoner*.[55] A carpenter, among other occupations, Slattery grew up nearby and, as noted above, was a caretaker for the Greggs in the 1890s. It is quite possible, too, that he worked for the Memmingers in the 1880s, although he was probably too young to have been the principal caretaker.

In 1912, Smyth had a new house (now known as the Farm Manager's House) constructed for the caretaker, or farm manager as he came to be called. Slattery may not have occupied it at all, however, since around that time he was either fired or left of his own accord and took a position managing one of the other nearby estates.[56] His replacement was Ulysses Ballard, whom Smyth's granddaughter remembered as a "splendid caretaker" and who had been Slattery's assistant.[57]

Born in 1886, Ballard married Emily Jane Osteen in 1909, and their first child, Frank, was born in January 1910. Ballard apparently operated a grocery store in Flat Rock prior to working for the Smyths. A daughter was born to the Ballards shortly before

FIGURE 21. Three of the Smyths' grandchildren at rear of Main House, c. 1910, with one of the servants, perhaps Paul Thompson. (CARL3001/01/17P)

51. Patton, *Flat Rock*, pp. 44-45.
52. Memminger, *Flat Rock*, p. 24.
53. Interview with Mrs. Rogers, in which she states her belief that at least some of the farm buildings predated her grandfather's purchase of Rock Hill.
54. Interview with Emily Jane Ballard.
55. Mary McKay interview.
56. The name of Slattery's employer in 1920 is illegible in that year's census. Mrs. Rogers in her December 1976 interview thought that there might have been some sort of altercation that led to Slattery's being fired.
57. Bailey, p. 44.

they moved into the new caretaker's house at Connemara in 1912, and four more daughters were born after that. Ulysses Ballard would remain caretaker for the estate until shortly after it was sold to the Sandburgs in 1945.

Slaves and Servants

The Memmingers, the Greggs, and the Smyths all depended on servants to keep their households running. Unlike the caretakers, all of whom were white, the service staff was typically African- American, listed in the census as "black" or "mulatto," and prior to the Civil War they were apparently all enslaved servants. Some of the servants probably remained at the family's primary residence during the summer, since the men would often return home for business. As a result, as noted above, local people were hired to cook, do laundry, and other chores while the family was at Flat Rock.

The Memmingers' Servants. C. G. Memminger was a slave owner, as were the Greggs but perhaps not the Smyths. Assuming that all slaves were enumerated, which was not always the case, the 1850 census of the Parish of St. Phillips and St. Michaels in Charleston shows Memminger with twelve slaves, seven female, and five male, all adults eighteen or over except for a ten- year- old girl. In 1860 there were no slaves listed in Memminger's possession in Charleston, but six men, all in their thirties or forties were shown in his possession in Henderson County, North Carolina. Apparently all of Memminger's domestic slaves escaped enumeration that year.[58]

The enslaved servants no doubt included a cook, a butler, maids, gardeners, drivers, and other domestic servants, but the enslaved men in the 1860 census were most likely farm laborers at Rock Hill or at Memminger's Valley Farm nearby. In addition, Memminger could have rented some of his slaves, especially if they were skilled craftsmen. The carpenters Ben and Peter mentioned in Memminger's account book were probably slaves and apparently built the servants' house that the Sandburgs called the Chicken House, but which was most likely constructed as a residence for the Memminger's cook and perhaps the butler or a nursemaid.

At least one of Memminger's slaves appears to have gained a position of some trust within the family. For several years in the 1840s, Memminger noted in his

58. 1850 and 1860 Federal Census, Slave Schedules, which do not list slaves by name but only by age, sex, and skin color.

FIGURE 22. The Smyths' servants in front of the Kitchen, c. 1910. (Collection of William McKay, great-grandson of the Smyths)

account book payments for train fare and other expenses between Charleston and Flat Rock for one Robert. Since Memminger appears to have used surnames to refer to white workers and only given names for black workers, it seems that Robert was Memminger's trusted black butler, who was sent ahead to Flat Rock a week or two early to get the house ready for their arrival. Aside from these three- - Robert, Peter, and Ben- - almost nothing else can be said about the Memminger's slaves.

There were probably at least four servants who made the trip each summer, and it is possible that one or two of them initially lived in the main house, perhaps in one or more of the upstairs bedrooms. As the Memminger family grew, however, more room was needed and in the late 1840s, the main house was enlarged, and in the early 1850s, a new servants' house was constructed. Now known as the Swedish House, this servants' house had four bedrooms and, with meals taken in the servants' dining room in the Kitchen, would have provided ample room for the Memmingers' servants.

Emancipation brought freedom to Memminger's slaves, but it cannot be said how many, if any, of them continued to work for him as employees after the war. Some may have, while others appear to have left, including perhaps the black Memminger households at Walterboro, South Carolina, that show up in the 1870 Federal census.

The Memmingers still needed servants after the war, and these continued to be African Americans for whom freedom from bondage may have made little difference in their day- to- day existence. Five African Americans were listed as part of the Memminger household in the 1870 Federal census, all probably residing in a servants' house behind the Memmingers' residence on Wentworth Street in Charleston. Two, Thomas and Grace Whilden (both born about 1820), were apparently married, with him listing his occupation simply as laborer and her listed as a "washer." Cupid McLowed, a "hostler" or groom born about 1840, was probably Memminger's driver, while thirty- year- old Mary Bowser and fifty- year- old Martha Price were both "domestic servants," no doubt in the Memmingers' household. At least some of the servants would have gone with the family to Flat Rock, but there is no way to know which ones.[59]

The 1880 Federal census lists only two servants in Memminger's employment: John Jenkins, a black man born about 1830, who was probably the butler, and Charlotte Ray, a mulatto woman born about 1820, who was probably the family's cook. However, these were only the servants living on the premises at the Memmingers' residence in Charleston, and there were probably others besides them residing elsewhere in the city.

The Smyths' Servants. One of the Smyths' granddaughters remembered that "there were always plenty of servants; you could get them for so little."[60] Nothing is known about the Greggs' servants, but a number of the Smyths' servants can be identified in the Federal census, and their last butler, James Fisher, was interviewed by the park in the 1970s. Still, except for the Fishers, very little is known about these people beyond their names and perhaps their approximate ages.

The 1870 census shows the Smyth household with two servants, a nurse, Lydia B. Perry, born about 1835, and another domestic servant, Heyward Perry, born about 1850, and perhaps Lydia's son. Heyward Perry cannot be located in the 1880 census, but

FIGURE 23. Robert Marshall, c. 1900, the Smyths' butler in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Julianne Heggoy Collection)

59. Some of the servants' surnames are difficult to discern in the census schedules.
60. Interview with Mary McKay.

Lydia remained in the family's employment, assisted by a second servant, Mary Ellis, born about 1836.

The 1890 Federal census was mostly destroyed by fire, but the 1900 census lists nine African Americans as part of the Smyths' household. These included Mary Margreth, born in July 1875, John Singleton, born September 1840, Ginny Singleton, born December 1880, Paul Thompson, born June 1872, and Kate, whose last name is illegible, born in 1840.

In addition, there appears to be a family group, the Golightlys, that is also part of the Smyth household. The first name of the elder male, born in 1873, is illegible, but not that of presumably his wife, Lizzie, born in September 1877. Three children are also listed: Lizzie, born June 1896, Alistir, born March 1898, and Ruben, born December 1899.

Only one servant is listed in the Smyth household in 1910: Lavonia Lawson, born around 1860, but there must have been others. Photographs from the Smyth family include two of a man named Robert Marshall, who was the family's butler in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the nature of the photographs suggest that he occupied a special place in the household. Born about 1850, he married a woman named Eva around 1890, and was living with her and her 87- year- old mother on Thompson Street in Greenville in 1910.[61]

FIGURE 24. Undated photograph, probably of Smyth's chauffeur James Robinson. (CARL3002/10/05p)

Marshall must have died or become incapacitated in 1910 or 1911, and in the winter of 1911- 1912, James Fisher (born about 1890) went to work for the Smyths, serving as Smyth's valet and butler.[62] Around the end of World War I, Fisher married the Smyths' maid, Carrie, and their first child, Mary, was born in July 1919. Another daughter, Benny, was born in 1922.[63] They did not live with the Smyths, however, but had their own home in Greenville on Glenn Street not far from the Smyths' home on Broadus Avenue. After 1924, they resided in the Swedish House year- round.

The Smyth grandchildren also remembered the family's cook, Johnny Simmons, but he has not been located in the Federal census and nothing else is known about him.

Ellison Smyth always had a driver or chauffeur as well. Until his death in the mid- 1930s, James Robinson was the chauffeur and resided in the "tenant house," which Smyth moved to its present location around 1926 or 1927.[64] Born about 1875, Robinson married around 1900, but there is no record of children from the marriage and the identity of his wife remains undocumented.[65] After Robinson's death, James Fisher took over his responsibilities.

The Sandburgs' Help. Adeline Polega came down and stayed until midsummer 1946, helping with the

61. Ages and relationships are documented by the 1910 Federal Census, Greenville County, South Carolina, which also documents Marshall's occupation as the Smyths' butler.
62. James Fisher was interviewed by the park staff on 18 November 1975 and gave the date of his employment.
63. 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC, documents birth dates.
64. In her December 1976 interview, Smyth's granddaughter Mrs. Rogers mentions Smyth's relocation of the tenant house from its original location off the Memminger Walk to a location behind the Main House and, from there, to its present location along the driveway.
65. 1930 Federal Census, Henderson County, NC, documents marriage and age.

unpacking of thousands of books, but then returned home to Michigan. Even the Ballards left in early spring of 1946, apparently because Frank Ballard did not like dealing with the Sandburgs' goats, but a new farm manager or herdsman was eventually found.[66] After Ballard's departure, the Sandburgs hired Frank Mintz, Jr., (born about 1912) as farm manager. Around 1954, Leroy Levi was hired as farm manager, serving in that position for the rest of the Sandburgs' tenure at Connemara.[67] Art Golby, Helga's second husband, also worked at Connemara for a time.

Unlike the Memmingers and the Smyths, the Sandburgs did not employ servants, except for a cook and a housekeeper, neither of whom worked full time or resided at Connemara. The lack of servants was due to the fact, as one friend put it, that the Sandburgs "were accustomed to doing things themselves."[68] Even without the rising labor costs after World War II, which reduced the demand for the domestic help that had been common even in many less- than- well- to- do households before the war, Sandburg, the "old Socialist," was simply not one to employ servants.

66. Interview with Frank Ballard, 19 October 1982.
67. Memorandum, Historian Dr. George J. Svejda to Chief, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 24 May 1971.
68. Interview with Louise Bailey, 16 January 1973.

Chronology of Development and Use

Dubbed the Swedish House by the Sandburgs, this building was constructed around 1852. The primary source of documentary evidence is Memminger's "Account of Expenditures for a/c of Buncombe Establishment," an account book that he kept for Rock Hill. Beginning on 1 April 1838 and ending in 1862, the book provides documentation for certain aspects of Memminger's development of the estate prior to the Civil War, including a sketch map locating the Main House and adjacent structures, one of which is in the same location and orientation as the Swedish House.[69] That structure is marked "servant's house" and, because the present structure has characteristics and materials that are typical of the antebellum period, it is assumed to be the same structure as the Swedish House. Entries in the account book showing payments for materials and labor in 1849, 1850, and 1853 suggesting that the Swedish House was being constructed some time during that time.

The Swedish House appears in only a few historic photographs in the park's collection. The earliest dates to the 1920s, but shows only a glimpse of the east gable. The others date to the Sandburg period, but most show only portions of the building's exterior. In spite of the paucity of photographic or documentary evidence, variations in building materials help establish a general sequence in which most changes occurred and similarities of some of the materials to those used in the main house suggest possible time frames in which some of these changes might have occurred. An analysis of painted finishes might confirm some of the conclusions here and might be useful in establishing the chronology of the changes that can be observed.

Gothic Revival

With its steep gables and fanciful barge boards, the Swedish House is not a traditional building but, rather, has a design clearly influenced by the Gothic Revival. One of Flat Rock's earliest Gothic Revival buildings[70], the house stands in marked contrast with not only the Greek Revival design of the Main House but also with the vernacular design of the original kitchen (1838), which was converted into a garage by the Sandburgs, and the other servants' dwelling (1841), which the Smyths used as a wash house and which the Sandburgs used to house chickens and, at times, baby goats, thus leading to its designation as the "Chicken House" in the Sandburg era.

There is no documentation for the source of the design of the Swedish House, but it is worth noting that Memminger's relationship with the Bennetts and others in Charleston insured that he would have been aware of the latest architectural trends and would have had many resources at his disposal. Gothic- inspired architectural details were widely used in eighteenth- century Britain and even appear on a mantel in the celebrated Miles Brewton House that was built in Charleston in the late 1760s. Always associated with Europe's medieval cathedrals, the "Gothick" style became especially popular for ecclesiastical buildings, beginning in this country in the 1820s, but it was not until Andrew Jackson Davis' work in the early 1830s that Americans began building Gothic Revival residential architecture. Davis' *Rural Residences* (1837) included numerous Gothic designs, and his friend Andrew Jackson Downing popularized the style through his pattern

69. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

70. Ravenswood, one of Flat Rock's best-known Gothic Revival houses was constructed 1859-1860.

FIGURE 26. Mill workers' Gothic Revival housing, Graniteville, SC, 1848. (From Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*)

FIGURE 25. Earliest image of Swedish House, 1946, with early wooden steps and porch still intact. (CARL3000/17/1P Coll.)

books, especially *Cottage Residences* (1842) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850).

When William Gregg, Sr., (whose son bought Rock Hill from the Memmingers in 1889) began developing his cotton mill at Graniteville, South Carolina, in the mid- 1840s, he envisioned a model community that would, as Mills Lane wrote, "through good architecture and community planning encourage moral improvement in the mill's employees." In July 1846, Lane reports, Gregg wrote Richard Upjohn, one of the nation's foremost architects of the period and famous for his Gothic churches, requesting his assistance at Graniteville. "I should like. . . to decide on some cheap stile of Architecture, that we may . . . build up a uniform Village conforming to some sort of order."

Gregg apparently already had in mind cheap but attractive houses for the mill workers that would be sixteen by thirty feet, with a single brick chimney and unfinished interior. By the spring of 1848, forty of these "cottages of the Gothic order of architecture [built] after handsome Architectural plans" had been erected at Graniteville. Gregg is known to have sent his carpenter to meet with Upjohn in New York, but it is not clear that Upjohn actually designed the mill workers' houses at Graniteville.[71]

The Swedish House is similar to Gregg's mill housing, even if Gregg's mill houses were unlikely to have been the sole source for Memminger's design for his servant's house. Gregg's mill village received widespread attention, and given that Memminger and Gregg appear to have had more than a passing acquaintance, it is quite possible that Memminger saw the village first hand since his journey to and from Flat Rock each summer took him within five or six miles of the mill.

Although the Swedish House lacks board- and- batten siding, which was one of the hallmarks of the Gothic cottages of Downing, Upjohn, and others, it has a similar form, with the second story behind a steeply- pitched gable roof; a prominent barge board, though its design is far from Gothic; and a very similar scale, 18- 1/2' by 28- 1/2' versus the 16' by 30' that Gregg initially proposed to Upjohn.

71. Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South, South Carolina*, p. 218, 221.

Construction

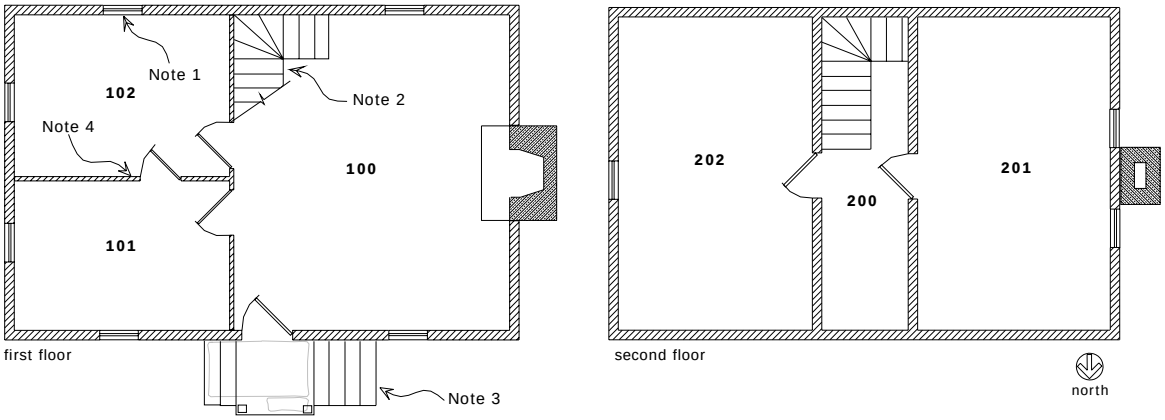
Memminger's account book for Rock Hill documents construction of the Main House, the Kitchen, and a stable in 1838, all of them mentioned by name. Also mentioned specifically are a "wagon house," which was built by Memminger's Flat Rock neighbor Noah Corn in 1843, and an "Ice House" built in 1847. "Work on House" is documented in 1847- 1849 and almost certainly refers to the addition that Memminger is known to have made to the rear of the house at some point during the antebellum period.

In addition to work on his caretaker's house in 1844, Memminger recorded purchases of lumber and other materials as well as payments for labor that appear to indicate construction of at least two other buildings, one in 1841 and one between 1850 and 1853. These must have been the two servants' houses (now known as the Chicken House and the Swedish House) shown on the undated sketch map that Memminger included in his account book (see Figure 3), since both buildings are clearly of antebellum origin, and there is no suggestion in Memminger's papers that they were ever replaced.

Walker and Shephard's archaeological investigation in 1976 "deduced from window glass fragments" that the Swedish House was built prior to 1845.[72] In 1841, Memminger paid for unspecified work by Peter and Ben, who were apparently slaves and only listed by their first names, but to whom he referred as carpenters. While it is possible that the building being built was the Swedish House, that seems unlikely. Not only did the 1841 structure precede Downing's popularization of the Gothic Revival style, which began in 1842 with publication of his *Cottage Residences*, the charges in Memminger's account book are smaller than those that are documented in 1850 and 1853. More significantly, there are no charges for stone work in 1841, which is a significant element of the Swedish House's architecture. In addition, it should be remembered that dating a building on the basis of glass fragments or any other single building material alone, as the archaeologists did, can only provide a general range of time during which the building might have been constructed.

Memminger typically did not itemize materials, and his entries are erratic in that some entries list payee, what was bought, and amount, while others show only the payee or only what was bought. In the

72. Heather Russo Pence, *Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site: Archeological Overview and Assessment* (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center/ National Park Service, 1998), p. 56.



Notes on Building Evolution

1. This window is thought to have been present originally, based on typical fenestration of the period.
2. Material differences suggest that the wall enclosing the staircase might not have been originally present.
3. The presence of stone steps was documented by Walker and Shepherd's archaeological investigation in 1976. A sheltering shed roof over the entrance was probably always present. A wooden stoop with steps on both sides of the stoop was added at an early date.
4. Although the existing wall was constructed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, there was probably always a wall at this location. The present door was added after the present wall was constructed, probably in the early twentieth century, since rooms of the period of the house's construction were typically not connected in this way.

FIGURE 27. Plan of Swedish House with notes on alterations. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

1840s and early 1850s, he bought much of his lumber from his neighbors Elisha King and H. T. Farmer, but there were smaller purchases from Charles Grier and Count de Choisel. There were also payments for lumber to Barnett, a local wagon and cabinet maker. Ripley and Patton seem to have been Memminger's usual supplier of hardware and sundries through the store they operated in Hendersonville.

The name "Drake" is frequently found among Memminger's accounting entries, a number of them relating to carpentry, but only occassionally is a first name given. James, Nathan, and Nathan M. Drake are identified at various points between 1844 and 1855, but none of them have been surely identified. Many of the payments to "Drake" for oats, corn, and hay were probably to Memminger's neighbor in Henderson County, Nathan Drake, who was born about 1798.[73] He may also have been the N. Drake to whom Memminger paid $70.00 in 1852 for a "wagon to Aiken." Other payments to Drakes are clearly related to carpentry work, including a payment to N. Drake for nails and to "Drake, carpenter" in 1844. Payments to unidentified Drakes for carpentry are also shown in 1848 and 1849. A payment of $20.00 for board for Drake is also shown in October 1849. There are also large payments to N. M. Drake and to Nathan Drake in 1853 that may document completion of the Swedish House. Whether this is the same Nathan Drake who provided Memminger with fodder and other supplies is not clear, but many nineteenth- century farmers were compentent carpenters who might supplement their agricultural income by hiring out their services as a carpenter. The Drake family remains poorly documented.

Payments were also made to a James Drake in 1850, but it is not clear for what. He might be the same James Drake born about 1810 who was residing in Henderson County in 1850. However, that entry in the account book is followed a few lines later by payment for "board" for "Drake" and, a few lines after that, payment of $107.25 for "Drake's bill for trip," the amount suggesting a trip from Charleston to Flat Rock. A New Yorker named James P. Drake, born about 1825, appears in the 1850 census in the parish of St. Michael and St. Philip in Charleston,

73. Federal Census of Henderson County, 1850-1860.

FIGURE 28. View of rear of Swedish House, c. 1964?, with antebellum privy and tenant house in background. (CARL 3000/17/4P)

Memminger's home parish. His occupation was given as blacksmith, which suggests the possibility that Memminger brought him to Flat Rock for some specialized work in 1850. There is no clue as to what that work might have been. Additional research will be necessary to determine the identity of the individuals named Drake who received payments from Memminger in the 1840s and 1850s.

Historic Alterations

In addition to periodic repainting, the house has undergone a number of minor alterations that are evident from an inspection of the existing building, but it appears to retain its original form and plan and most of its original features such as windows and doors. There are no obvious material differences to suggest that the partition walls on both floors were added after the building's initial construction (although one wall was later reconstructed), but analysis of painted finishes could confirm the assumption that the present plan is original.

No documentary evidence for any of the observed alterations has been located, and with one exception (see Figure 15), historic photographs of the building are absent prior to World War II. However, some replacement or added material in the Swedish House is similar or identical to material in the Main House, and it is likely that at least some of the significant alterations at the Swedish House occurred around the same time as some of the alterations in the Main House. For that reason, it is probable that the alterations to the windows and siding on the south side of the Swedish House, the installation of new flooring in Room 100, and the addition of a door between Rooms 101 and 102 all occured around the time that the house became a year-round residence in the 1920s.

Walls

One of the earliest substantial changes appears to have been removal of the wall that separates Rooms 101 and 102. Why this would have been necessary is

FIGURE 29. View of front of Swedish House in 1964. (CARL3000/17/20P)

not known, but remnants of what was clearly an unframed, vertical- board wall similar to the east wall of Room 100 are visible along the south edge of the ceiling in Room 101, nailed to one of the floor joists on that side of the room and then later sawn off.

At a later date, the existing wall that partitions Room 101 from Room 102 was constructed. The wall is wood- framed and finished on one side with a narrow, beaded, tongue- and- groove material similar to that used in construction of the west bay window on the main house, which suggests that this alteration may have occurred contemporaneously, i.e. around 1890. The presence of knob- and- tube wiring running through this wall suggests that the change occurred before the house was wired for electricity around 1920.

The wall that encloses the upper flight of the staircase is composed of plain, 3- 1/2" tongue- and- groove boards. The boards are blind nailed and so the type of nail used could not be determined, but the lumber suggests that this wall might have been added in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, enclosing what had been open stairs.

Differences in materials used suggest that the door opening between Rooms 101 and 102 was not contemporaneous with the wall. The use of double-beaded boards for the door and the use for door stop of a molded base cap like that used in Smyth's rear addition suggests that this alteration might have occurred in the 1920s when the house became a year- round residence.

Flooring

On the second floor, in Room 201, large areas of the original flooring, which was 8"- 9" wide, have been removed and replaced with a 5- 1/2" tongue- and- groove flooring. When and why this alteration might have been necessary is unknown, but the use of 5- 1/2" material suggests that the change occurred in the nineteenth century.

Elsewhere in the house, the original flooring remains mostly intact, but in Room 100 it is overlaid with a 3- 1/2" tongue- and- groove pine similar to

FIGURE 30. View of Swedish House in March 1969. (CARL4012/3P)

that which was used in Smyth's rear addition to the Main House in 1924. With eighty- five years of use by that time, it is conceivable, even likely, that the original flooring was badly worn in this room, particularly around the fireplace, and that the existing flooring was installed when the house became a year- round residence in the early 1920s.

Windows

All of the first- floor windows are nine- over- six, as is the window in the east gable on the second floor. The two smaller windows in the west gable are both four- over- four. Three molding profiles are present (see Figure 35), with two probably representing replacement sash, since it seems unlikely that Memminger would have used salvaged material in the original construction. Analysis of painted finishes could confirm that assumption. The earliest sash appear to be those with a triangular muntin, typical of the period. Original sash remain in the second floor windows and in the window in Room 102. The original lower sash survives in the north window in Room 101, but the original upper sash was destroyed by a falling tree and replaced in the 1970s. Sash with Type B profile could have been installed at an early date, but those with Type C were most likely installed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Stylistically and functionally, a window would be expected on the south wall of Room 102. However, the south side of the house has been completely resided on the exterior, and bookshelves cover the south wall in Room 102, obscuring any evidence for a window in that location. There is no documentation that would provide a possible date for closure of the window, but it might have been an alteration from early in the Sandburg era, contemporaneous with installation of the shelving and residing of the south side of the house.

Exterior Siding and Trim

As previously mentioned, the original siding over the entire south side of the house has been replaced with a modern, re- sawn or beveled siding attached with wire nails. This replacement might have been necessitated simply because of deterioration, since the south side of buildings typically degrade at a faster rate than the other facades. The use of beveled siding and wire nails suggests that this must have occurred in the twentieth century, perhaps as

FIGURE 31. View of east end of house in 1974. (CARL4008/03/12P)

FIGURE 32. View of typical shutter, c. 1970. (CARL5026/2/3P)

late as the Sandburg era, although there is no mention of such work in the historic record. Siding replacement probably coincided with closure of the south window in Room 102 and alterations to the south window in Room 100. At that location the entire window was taken out of the opening, the original sash replaced with two- over- two sash, and the window frame re- installed with inside and outside reversed in the opening. The decorative barge board at the west end of the house was lost during the Sandburg era, probably in conjunction with demolition of the chimney, which occurred in the mid- 1960s (see below).

Roofing

The photograph of the house in 1946 (Figure 26) shows a standing seam metal roof covering, which might have been the original. Historic photographs show that roof covering having been replaced prior to 1964 with the existing V- crimp metal roofing. The earliest roofing visible at the front stoop is wood shingles, replaced by asphalt shingles when the stoop was reconstructed by the Sandburgs prior to 1964.

Front Stoop

Historic photographs show that the small concrete stoop and single flight of concrete steps at the front door were constructed by the Sandburgs prior to 1964 to replace an earlier wooden stoop which had a flight of steps on both its east and west sides. The earlier steps had wooden railings, which were not reconstructed for the concrete steps. At the same time, the shed roof sheltering the stoop was replaced with the present roof, which has a much more shallow pitch than the earlier roof. The archaeological investigation in the 1970s found large stones beneath the existing stoop and suggested that these were an

FIGURE 33. View of Swedish House, 1971. (CARL5026/2/3P)

original architectural feature and formed the original stoop at the building's entrance.[74]

Wiring

In the early twentieth century, the house was wired for electric lighting. The system was probably installed at the same time that Smyth first wired the main house around 1920. Much of this original, knob- and- tube, wiring system, which was run exposed on ceilings and walls, remains intact but is no longer in service.

Shelving

The Sandburgs installed the shelving that is present in every room in the house. There is no mention of the work in the Sandburgs' records, but it most likely occurred in the 1940s or early 1950s and was the only significant alteration that the Sandburgs made to the interior.[75]

Fireplace and Chimney

According to the 1976 Historic Structure Report on the building, "the chimney . . . was removed [or collapsed] during the Sandburg period because of deterioration."[76] No date is given for this occurrence, but historic photographs show that it occured after 1964 and was perhaps the last significant alteration to the house during the historic period.

NPS Repairs

When the park first opened, the Swedish House still contained many of the books, magazines, and newspapers that the Sandburgs had stored there, and the house was open on a daily basis. Since there was no interior climate control, louvers were installed at the windows so that the lower sash could be left open to keep the building ventilated.

As historic photographs show (e.g., Figure 26) and early NPS reports document, the Swedish House was in poor repair by the time the NPS acquired the property. The Sandburgs treated the structure for an infestation of powder post beetles in 1965 and maintained the roof, but few if any repairs were made to the building. With the NPS initially focused

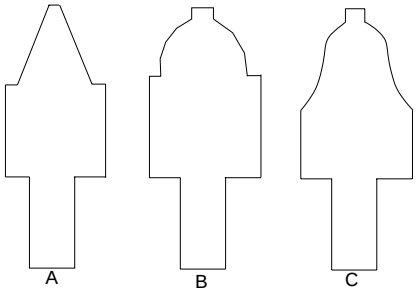


FIGURE 34. Muntin profiles in Swedish House, with Type A representing muntins in original sash and B and C muntins in later replacement sash.

FIGURE 35. View of west end of Swedish House, spring 1971. (CARL4008/03/06P)

FIGURE 36. View of south foundation during repairs, 1977. (CARL4008/03/25P)

74. Pence, p. 56.
75. Wallace, p. 211.
76. Jones (1976), p. 7.

on stabilizing the main house, significant work on the Swedish House was delayed, but in September 1976, Russell Jones, restoration architect with the Denver Service Center, completed an historic structure report on the Swedish House, which allowed the NPS to begin a major campaign to rehabilitate the building that fall, with work continuing into the summer of 1977.

Archaeology

In preparation for installation of a drainage line around the building, in November 1976, John H. Walker and Stephen Shepherd conducted an archaeological investigation around and under the Swedish House. Two test pits were opened along the south side of the house and there was extensive excavation at the west end of the house and around the front porch.

In addition, portions or all of the flooring on the first floor had been taken up in order to inspect and repair the framing, and this allowed for archaeological testing around the fireplace hearth. No architectural or cultural features were discovered except for the stones under the front stoop mentioned above.[77]

Framing Repairs

Initial investigation quickly revealed significant deterioration of the framing, especially at the east end of the house where the wood frame was in contact with the earth. Siding was removed from the lower walls on the east and south sides of the house and all of the siding was removed from the north (front) side of the house, presumably to allow for inspection of the framing. Significant damage to thesills and joists from rot and termites necessitated replacement of the eastern half of the building's sills as well as an undetermined number of joists at that end of the building.

Foundation

Much of the foundation, especially at the east end of the structure, was in poor condition and sections were little more than loose rubble laid at grade.

77. Pence, pp. 41, 54-56.

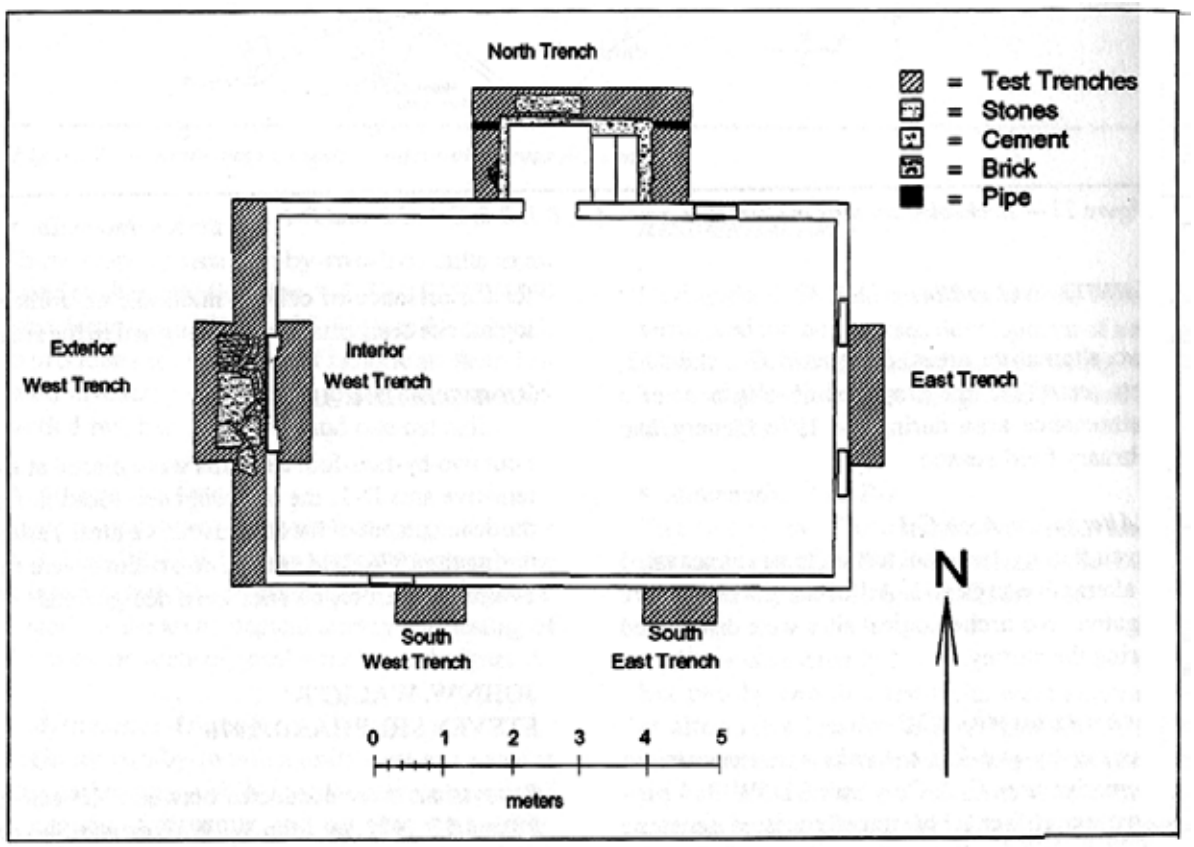


FIGURE 37. Site map from Pense, *Archaeological Overview and Assessment* (1998), showing areas excavated in 1976.

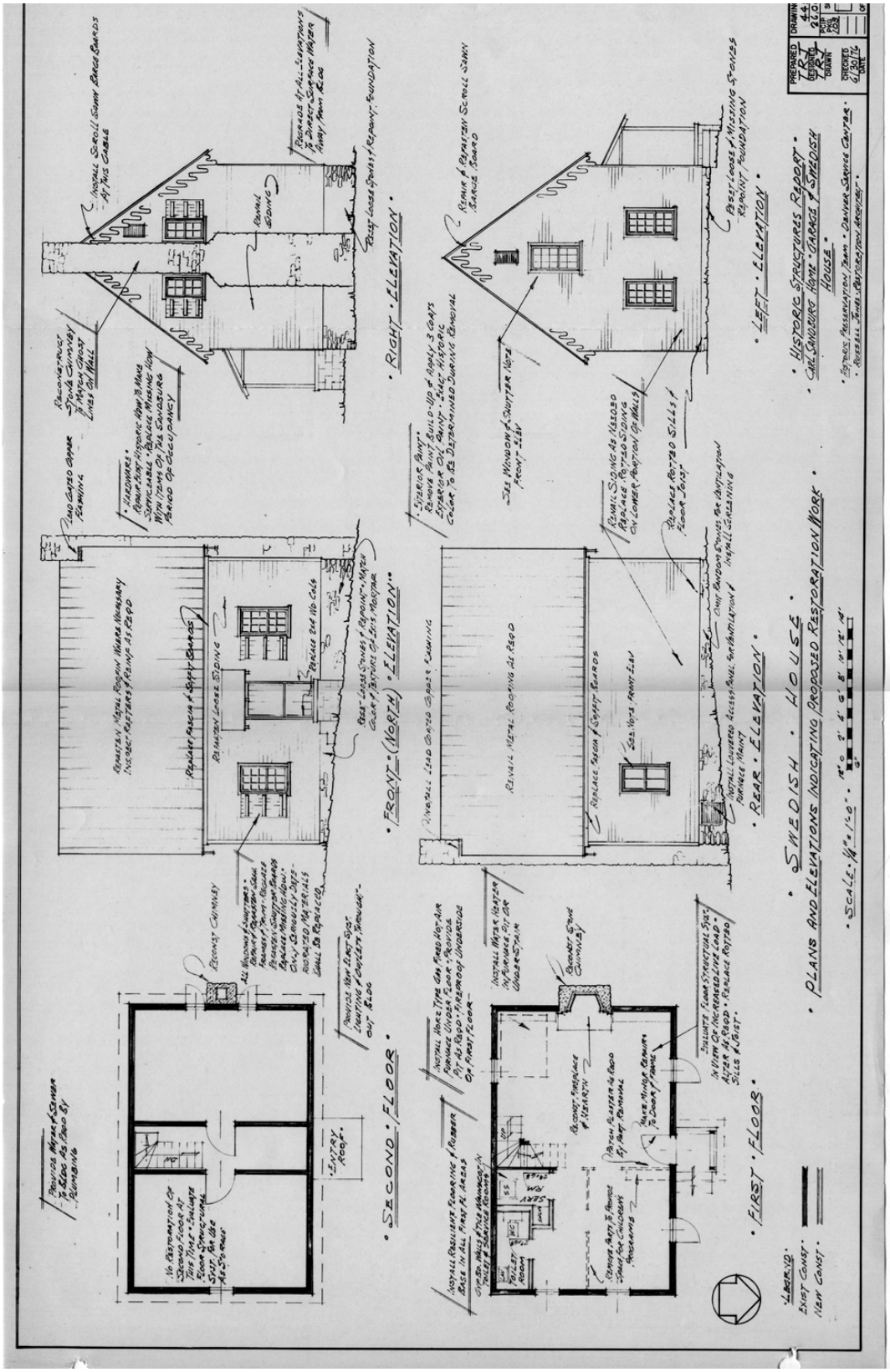


FIGURE 38. "Plans and Elevations Indicating Proposed Restoration Work," from Russell Jones' historic structure report on the Swedish House, 1976.

FIGURE 39. View of new footings, 1977. (CARL4008/03/15P)

FIGURE 40. Glenn Barnwell, former maintenance employee, standing, inspecting foundation repairs at rear of house, 1977. (CARL4008/03/27P)

FIGURE 41. Chief of Maintenance Charlie Hamm, left, and Joe Moore, temporary carpenter, at front of house with siding removed, 1977. (CARL4008/03/38P)

Archaeological testing around the northwest corner showed that no footings were present. As a result, it was decided to reconstruct much of the foundation on new concrete footings. The reconstructed foundation included a new access door on the south side, since there had previously been no access to the crawl space beneath the house.

Siding and Trim

It is not clear how much siding was replaced, but it is assumed that most of the original siding was reinstalled, albeit with the regrettable loss of fasteners. Large amounts of the historic siding on all but the front of the house were not disturbed at all, and above the level of the window sills to about a foot below the eaves, the historic fasteners remain intact. On the west gable, the original scalloped barge boards were lost, probably when the chimney was taken down, and were replaced by plain barge boards. The barge boards in the west gable were recreated and the original barge board at the east end was repaired. In addition, fascia was replaced across the rear side of the house. Windows and shutters were also repaired, the missing shutter from the south window was recreated, and missing hardware was replaced.[78]

Fireplace and Chimney

Following the 1976 archaeological investigation, which identified the chimney's foundation, the fireplace and chimney were reconstructed. Archaeology showed that the chimney had incorporated both brick and stone, and historic photographs showed what appeared to be a stuccoed brick chimney shaft above the roof. In addition, the mantel remained in place inside the house, and the original fireplace opening through the wall could be clearly identified. All of this allowed for what appears to be a reasonably authentic reconstruction of the chimney and fireplace, although no historic photographs have yet been located that would document the actual appearance of the original chimney and fireplace.

Insulation

In order to install batts of fiberglass insulation in the walls, additional siding was removed to expose the

78. Russell Jones, *Historic Structure Report: Architectural Data: Home*Garage*Swedish House* (NPS, 1976), p. 7.

tops of the walls on the south, east, and west sides (the front had already been stripped). This allowed the insulation to be installed from the exterior without disturbing the plaster walls inside the house.

Modern Utilities

In 1977, the NPS completely rewired the house, bypassing but not removing the original electrical system, much of which dated to around 1920. Around the same time, a sprinkler system was installed throughout the house to protect against fire. A mechanical pit for sprinkler valves was created under the southwest corner of the house, accessed through the new opening in the foundation.

FIGURE 42. View of west end, 1977. (CARL4008/03/30P)

Use

Memminger built the Swedish House as another residence for his enslaved house servants. The original servants' house (the present Chicken House), only had two rooms, which were home to two of the family's most important servants, the cook and the children's nursemaid. Where the Memminger's butler, maids, driver, and other servants lived during that period is not known, but the Swedish House was probably built for them. Since the servants took their meals in the servants' dining room, which occupied part of the kitchen building, neither of the servants' houses had kitchens but were designed strictly for ordinary living and sleeping. Until 1924, both would apparently have been used only when the family was in residence in the main house.

There is no definitive documentation to identify the servants who lived in the Swedish House in the nineteenth century, but the Smyths' granddaughters remembered that the male servants, including their butlers Robert Marshall (before 1912) and James Fisher (after 1912), used the house in the early twentieth century. The Smyths referred to the house as "the Hall." After the Smyths moved to Flat Rock on a year- round basis in 1924, Fisher, his wife, and three children lived in the house.[79] According to one source, the Smyths' cook also lived in the house, which was apparently vacant after Smyth's death in 1942.[80]

FIGURE 43. View of east end of house, 1977. (CARL4018/02/118P)

79. Wallace, pp. 211-212; also interview notes with one of Smyth's granddaughters, referenced in Pence, p. 54.
80. Svejda, p. 40.

FIGURE 44. View of east end of house after installation of insulation. (CARL4008/03/39P)

FIGURE 45. View north in Room 100 in 1969. (CARL4012/3)

FIGURE 46. View southeast in Room 102 in 1969. (CARL4012/3)

Sandburg Era

Since the Sandburgs did not employ servants except for a part- time cook and housekeeper who did not live on the premises, they did not use the Swedish House as a servants' house. The building had no heating or plumbing, and only occasionally, an overnight guest would sleep on an iron cot in the main room on the first floor. Old rugs, the Victrola that the Sandburgs bought when they were newly wed, and odds and ends of furniture were scattered through the house. Inexplicably, a human skull was displayed on the mantel.[81]

The Sandburg's grandchildren enjoyed playing in the house, but for the most part the Sandburgs used the house for storage of the mounds of magazines that accumulated and the overflow books that Sandburg, for whatever reason, decided not to keep in the main house. Long- time farm manager Leroy Levi was interviewed in 1969 and remembered:

> Mr. Sandburg never would let anybody live in this house. He kept his books and magazines in it and newspapers. . . . He would spend a lot of time in this house at times.[82]

Margaret and Helga tried to keep the collection organized, but it was generally a losing battle against the tide of books and magazines that flowed from the Main House. What Margaret managed to accomplish in organizing the collection was lost forever when the building had to be treated for powder- post beetles in 1965.[83]

National Park Service

When the park opened to the public in 1974, the first floor of the house was open on a daily basis, the books and magazines that the Sandburgs had stored there were on display, although some of the books were removed to the Main House to fill the gaps left on the shelves after Sandburg's bequest to the University of Illinois library.

Plans for the building's rehabilitation in 1976 included adaptation of the Swedish House as a site for some of the park's educational programs. The plans (see Figure 35) called for removal of the partition walls on the first floor, installation of restroom facilities on the southeast side of the first floor, and

81. Wallace, pp. 211-215.
82. Quoted in Wallace, p. 213.
83. Wallace, p. 212.

other modifications to adapt the building to the new use. In the end, the interior was not altered as it was decided to adapt the garage and add a temporary trailer restroom nearby instead. Plans for adaptive use of the Swedish House were abandoned, and visitors continued to see the house as before. For a few years, a "retired" traveling exhibit on Sandburg was displayed in the main room. In 1995 the park's new museum storage building was completed, and because the lack of climate control was taking a serious toll on the artifacts in the building, work began removing the magazines and newspapers from the first and second floor. The main room on the first floor remained on display until the last of the books were removed for exhibit in the Book Room in the Main House in the summer of 2000. Since that time, the building is used occasioinally for educational programs, but otherwise is not open to the public.

FIGURE 47. View southeast in Room 202, 1969. (CARL4012/3)

Connemara Chronology	
1836, fall	Memminger begins looking for property at Flat Rock
1838, March 15	Probable start of construction of Main House
1838, April 1	Memminger begins keeping an account book for his "Buncombe Establishment," i.e. Rock Hill
1838, summer	Kitchen and stable constructed
1839, July	Main house mostly complete and Memmingers arrive for first summer at Flat Rock
1841	Probable construction date of Cook's house (present "Chicken House")
1843	Noah Corn builds wagon shed
1845-1847	Memminger buys and develops Valley Farm, later known as Tranquility
1847	Ice House constructed
1848-1849	Addition of two rooms and a porch across rear of Main House, and probable date of alterations to the interior of the original house
c. 1852	Servant's House (present "Swedish House") constructed
1864, summer	Memmingers remove to Flat Rock for summer and do not return to Charleston for over two years
1865-1866	Confederate "bushwhackers" plague Flat Rock, forcing removal of front steps at Rock Hill
1867, winter	Memminger's citizenship restored, and Charleston house returned to his possession
1889	Memmingers sell Rock Hill to Greggs
c. 1890	Probable date of construction of east porch, west bay, replacement of front steps, and addition of another room and possibly a bathroom at rear of house
1900	Greggs sell Rock Hill to Smyths
c. 1920	Smyth install Delco lighting system for Main House and probably for Swedish House as well
1924	Smyth replaces the Memminger additions at the rear, weatherstrips windows and doors, and otherwise rehabilitates the Main House for year-round occupancy
1942	Smyth dies; Fishers vacate Swedish House a short time later
1945, October 18	Smyths sell Connemara to Sandburgs, who begin remodeling of Main House
1948, June	Most of Sandburgs' alterations are complete
1967	Carl Sandburg dies in May Mrs. Sandburg signs deed of gift of Connemara to National Park Service in June
1968, July	Mrs. Sandburg, Margaret, and Janet vacate Connemara
1976, September	Historic Structure Report completed by Russell Jones; plans for rehablitation include major alterations to the interior for adaptive use
1976-1977	Repairs and rehabilitation, including reconstruction of chimney and fireplace; plans for interior alterations abandoned
1977	Building's electrical system replaced and fire suppresion system installed
1995	Park's new museum storage facility completed and work begins removing historic contents of Swedish House
2000, summer	Last of the historic books and magazines are removed from the house
2001	Lead paint abatement

Physical Description

Constructed around 1852 , the Swedish House is a two- story, wood- framed structure, built on a locally- quarried stone foundation. The house features a steeply- pitched, end- gabled roof and scroll- sawn barge boards reminiscent of the Gothic Revival. Approximately 28- 1/2' long (east to west), 18- 1/2' wide (north to south) and around 26- 1/2 from the top of the foundation to the peak of the gable, the house has three rooms on the first floor and two rooms flanking a small hall on the second, with a total floor area of around 950 square. The house was used as a servants' house until World War II, but the Sandburgs, who did not employ servants living on site, used it mostly for additional storage space for books and magazines. Major repairs, including reconstruction of the chimney and some archaeological investigation occurred in the mid-1970s. Proposals to significantly alter the building's interior were not executed, and the building is now empty.

FIGURE 48. View to southwest of front of Swedish House. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

A number of alterations are evident in the present structure but, as discussed in the preceding section, its original form, plan, and significant architectural details have remained essentially intact, or as in the case of the chimney and fireplace, been reconstructed. The building contains architectural features, such as nine- over- six windows, a wooden rim lock, and wrought iron hardware that are unique to the site. Building investigation was limited to non- destructive visual inspection, and materials were characterized without laboratory analysis.

Building Site

Located little more than fifty feet southwest of the Main House, the facade of the Swedish House is somewhat obscured by a thick grove of bamboo, which has apparently been a feature of the site since at least the 1920s. The building's east- west orientation is perpendicular to the north- south orientation of the original Kitchen (1838), which the Sandburgs remodeled into a garage, and the first servant's house (1841), which the Smyths converted to a laundry and the Sandburgs used as a chicken house.

A wire fence, an historic feature of the site, is attached to the northwest corner of the house and runs a few feet west before turning south and then east to the Chicken House. A wooden picket fence is attached to the northeast corner of the house and runs to the northwest corner of the Garage. With a third fence between the Chicken House and the Garage, these fences form a large enclosure that the Sandburgs typically used for their goats. A gravel walk, one of the primary routes taken by visitors leaving the Main House, runs down the hill directly in front of the Swedish House.

A plan of the existing building can be found at the end of this section.

In 1976, archaeological investigation documented the presence of a large, natural- stone "step" beneath the present concrete stoop at the front door. The site map of the excavations (Figure 13 above) shows this feature to be slightly larger than the present stoop and also shows a smaller stone feature on the north side of the large stone feature

FIGURE 49. View to northeast of rear and west end. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

that appears to be a step to the stone landing at the front door. These features apparently remain *in situ*.[84]

Foundation

The house is set on a low, random- range, ashlar foundation using locally- quarried stone similar to that used on the main house. The foundation's height ranges from only a few inches at the building's southeast corner to slightly more than three feet at the west end. Approximately 18" thick, the foundation is continuous except for a small, plywood- covered access door on the rear near the west end.

84. Pence, *Archaeological Overview and Assessment, p. 55.*

In the winter and spring of 1976- 1977, some of the historic foundation was demolished, concrete footings were installed, and a new foundation constructed re- using stone from the original foundation. At the same time, the remainder of the foundation was repointed, and the access door on the south side of the foundation was created.

The chimney was also reconstructed in 1977, using random- range ashlar, similar to the foundation and presumably replicating the historic chimney. The base of the chimney measures around 31" by 69", with the chimney rising in that dimension to approximately the level of the second floor where three corbeled courses of stone provide a transition to a brick stack around 26" by 34" that continues to less than two feet above the ridge of the roof. The chimney terminates with a coping course of concrete or dressed stone. The masonry is in excellent condition.

FIGURE 50. View to northwest of rear and east end. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 51. View of west gable. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 52. View of northwest corner of house, showing typical roof decking and exterior finishes. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 53. View of window on east side of Room 102. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Structural System

The house is wood framed, using a modified braced frame typical of the mid- nineteenth century. Sills are hewn around 7" by 10" in dimension. Running north and south, joists are sash sawn, around 2- 1/2" to 3" by around 8" and are mortised into the sills. Posts and studs could not be observed except through photographs taken in the 1970s (e.g., see Figures 36, 38, 39) but they are similar to those found in the antebellum portions of the Main House. Studs appear to be around 3" by 4", with 4" by 7" posts. The ends of rafters, which are visible, are around 2- 1/2" to 3" by 6" to 7". Examination of the 1970s photographs indicates that the rafters are notched over the top plates of the walls, but there is no indication of the type of ridge connections.

Exterior

The exterior finishes of the structure appear to be mostly original, except for the chimney which was reconstructed in 1976, the south side where the siding was replaced sometime in the twentieth century, and the porch which was rebuilt by the Sandburgs prior to 1964.

Roof

The rafters are decked with closely spaced, random- width boards, around 1" thick and 2" to perhaps 6" in width. Some of the decking is apparently slab sawn. The earliest historic image of the building dates to early in the Sandburg era and shows the Swedish House with a metal roof that appears to be standing- seam metal along with a wood- shingled roof on the entrance porch, which was much steeper than the present roof. The present roof covering on the main roof is V- crimp metal sheets installed by the Sandburgs in 1961. The roof covering of the entrance porch is wood shingles.

Siding and Trim

Exterior woodwork was thoroughly repaired in the 1970s and remains in mostly good condition. The house was originally sided with 3/4" by about 6" boards, lapped to a reveal of around 5'- 1/2". During the historic period, all of the original siding was removed from the rear (south side) of the house and replaced with a 1/2" thick, beveled siding, attached with wire nails. Although not original, the beveled siding is historic and should be preserved.

Much of the siding is historic, but much of it was also taken down in the 1970s to facilitate framing repairs and installation of insulation. Although most of the historic material was re- installed, the original cut nails with which it was attached were lost. Siding was not removed from the areas below the tops of the windows and above the window sills, except on the front of the house where all of the historic material was taken down and re- installed.

Windows and the front door are all cased at headers and jambs with a 2- 3/4" casing with a 1/4" bead along the inside edge. There are no drip caps and sills are generally around 1" thick. Eaves are not completely boxed. A fascia board is present along with a 4" or 5" board returning on but not completely covering the soffit. The house's most distinctive architectural features are the barge boards on each gable. Using boards around 11" to 12" wide, the barge boards were cut in long, narrow, vertical scallops around 3" wide and 9" long. The barge boards in the east gable are original; those in the west gable were recreated in 1977.

FIGURE 54. View of twentieth-century stoop and shed roof at front door. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Windows

Except on the south side, first floor windows are 2'- 4" by 4'- 8", with double- hung, nine- over- six sash. A number of the original sash have been replaced, but the original muntin pattern was maintained. On the south side, a window into Room 102 has apparently been covered over completely, while the window into Room 100 on the same side of the house has been significantly altered, including reversal of the frame. Existing sash in that opening are two- over- two and give the opening measurements of 2'- 5" by 4'- 6".

The second floor window in the east gable is similar to the original windows on the first floor. It is around 2'- 4" by 4'- 8" with double- hung, nine- over- six sash. The west gable has two smaller windows flanking the chimney stack, both of which appear to have been part of the original construction. These windows are 1'- 9" by 3'- 10" with double- hung, four- over- four sash.

All of the windows have solid, board- and- batten shutters on the exterior, originally hung with wrought- iron strap hinges, some 10- 1/2" long and some 15" long. Shutters are all of similar construction, using vertical, tongue- and- groove boards, 8' and 4" wide and joined by horizontal boards, 4" and

FIGURE 55. View of front door. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

5- 1/4" wide with chamfered edges. The shutter at the window on the south side of Room 100 was recreated in 1977 to replace an original shutter which had probably been lost when the original siding on the rear side of the house was replaced sometime in the twentieth century.

To provide ventilation for the structure, which in recent years has been generally unoccupied, the NPS has fitted all of the window openings on the ends and the rear of the house with wooden louvers that are fixed beneath the partially- opened lower sash in each opening. In addition, small wooden louvers around 8"wide and 16" high are mounted in the gables. Presumably part of the original construction, these were designed to ventilate the small, inaccessible attic above the second floor. Two vents flank the chimney in the west gable and there is one vent in the east gable.

Porch

At the front door is a small concrete porch that replaced an earlier wooden porch sometime between 1946 and 1964. Its foundation and two steps are formed by common concrete block with a 3" concrete slab forming a floor. A simple shed roof with exposed, 2" by 4" rafters, set on plain 4" by 4" posts, shelters the entrance. The pitch of the present roof is signifi- cantly less than the pitch of the earlier, wooden porch that appears in a Sandburg- era photograph dated 1946.

According to the 1976 archaeological investigation, the present stoop or porch rests on "a natural stone step located directly in front of the door to the structure." The feature "is located on a layer of sterile mottled clay [and] probably represented an original architectural feature."[85]

Interior

The house is small, containing around 475 square feet of floor space on the first floor and slightly less

85. Pence, *Archaeological Overview and Assessment*, p. 56.

FIGURE 56. View southwest in Room 100. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

on the second. Entry is into the house's largest room (Room 100), which occupies slightly more than the western half of the first floor and has the house's only fire place. The remainder of the first floor is divided into two rooms, both accessed from the main room, with the front room (Room 101) slightly smaller than the rear room (102). Steep, enclosed stairs rise in the south- east corner of the first floor to a windowless, center hall (200) on the second floor. The hall is flanked by two bedrooms, which are more or less equal in size.

Room 100

This was the main "living room" for the house, providing access to all of the other rooms. Meals were probably never prepared in the house, since the servants are thought to have taken their meals in a servants' dining room attached to the original kitchen next door.

Floors. Painted, tongue- and- groove flooring, 3- 1/2" wide, is laid over the original flooring, which is also tongue- and- groove but 7" to 8" wide. Its dimensions suggest that the narrower flooring was installed in the twentieth century.

Walls. The north, south, and west walls are plaster on wood lath, presumably part of the room's original finishes. The east wall is an unframed curtain wall of vertical, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards, 10- 1/2" to 12" wide, installed against nailers at the floor and ceiling. The beading is visible only on the opposite side of the wall.

Ceiling. The ceiling is set at 8'- 1" above the floor and is also plaster on wood lath. Piping for a modern sprinkler system is run across the ceiling and there are elements of an early, twentieth- century, surface- mounted wiring system on the ceiling as well.

Windows. The room has two windows, one in the front (W- 1)) wall and one in the rear wall (W- 5). The front window is 2'- 4" by 4'- 8" with double-hung, nine- over- six sash with a different molding profile from the original sash in the other windows in the house. The rear window, which is 2'- 5" by 4'- 6", has been altered to accommodate two- over- two sash that replace the original nine- over- six sash. The window frame has been reversed, which explains the presence of a single iron pentil like those used for exterior shutters. This is the only such pentil on the interior of the house.

FIGURE 57. View northeast in Room 100. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Doors. The front door appears to be original. It is 3'- 0" by 6'- 4", made with 7/8"- thick, tongue- and- groove boards, 5" to 8" wide, hand- planed, and held together with three horizontal battens with chamfered edges. The door is hung with fixed- pin, 3" by 4", butt hinges. The door has three, surface-mounted locks. The upper lock, which is apparently the oldest, is an upright, dead- bolt, rim lock without a knob and measuring 4- 3/4" by 3- 1/8".. The lower lock is also a standard upright rim lock, 3- 1/4" by 3- 3/4" with a brown Mineral knob and was perhaps installed in the late nineteenth century. Between the two locks is a modern Yale rim lock with a thumb latch. In addition to the front door the room has two other doors opening into Rooms 101 and 102. Both are board- and- batten doors, much like the front door, and are described below.

Trim. Windows and doors are cased with 2- 1/2"- wide boards with a 3/8" beaded sash stop. Window stools are 2- 1/2" by 7/8" and aprons are plain boards, 4- 1/2" wide.

Stairs. The stairs to the second floor rise in the southeast corner of the room in steps with an 8" rise and 9- 1/2" run. Three steps rise along the south wall to a series of four winders followed by an enclosed, straight flight of six steps to the second floor. There is no balustrade or railing but the upper flight is closed by a wall of 3- 1/2" plain tongue- and- groove boards that may have been added in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Fireplace. The fire place, which was reconstructed in 1977, has a fire box measuring 41" wide, 31" high, and 26" deep. Presumably its proportions were derived from the original mantel that remains in place. ***Where did material come from?*** The simple wooden mantel is approximately 78" wide and 72" high and appears to be original except for the mantel shelf which has been replaced with a plain 1" by 10" board.

Miscellaneous. Along the west wall, the Sandburgs installed shelving that runs from floor to ceiling on

FIGURE 58. View southeast in Room 100. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

both sides of the fire place. It is now considered an historic feature of the house.

An sprinkler system was added in the 1980s and pipes are run exposed across the ceiling. In addition, some of an original, early twentieth- century wiring system remain on the ceiling. Wires, which are no longer active, are cloth- covered and run on porcelain cleats attached to the ceiling. Presumably this system would have been powered by Smyth's Delco electrical system, which was installed around 1920. A modern wiring system was installed in the house in 1977 and lighting continues to consist of a single bare bulb

FIGURE 59. Detail view of mantel in Room 100. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Room 101

Located in the northeast corner of the first floor and the smallest room in the house, this rooms was probably used as a bedroom in the nineteenth century but may have had other use after the house became a year- round residence in the 1920s. The room is around 7'- 9" by 12'. The remains of what appears to be an earlier wooden curtain wall is visible at the top of the south wall. For unknown reasons the wall was entirely replaced, with the character of the replacement boards suggesting that the change occurred in the nineteenth century.

Flooring. The original flooring remains exposed in this room. It is painted, tongue- and- groove, 7" to 8" wide, laid east to west and is in mostly good condition.

Walls. The north and east walls are plaster on wood lath. The west wall is an unframed curtain wall of vertical, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards, 10- 1/2" to 12" wide, installed against nailers at the floor and ceiling. The south wall is framed with 1- 3/4" by 3- 1/2" studs finished on the Room 102 side of the wall with sash- sawn, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards 2- 3/8" to 2- 1/2" wide. At the ceiling are visible what appear to be the remains of an earlier curtain wall.

Ceiling. The ceiling is plaster on wood lath, around 8'- 2" above the floor.

Doors. The room has two doors, one opening from Room 100 and a later door opening into Room 102. The door that opens into the room from Room 100 is 2'- 11" by 6'- 5", board- and- batten, made up with two 12"- wide boards and a 10"- wide board, each

FIGURE 60. View northeast in Room 101. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 61. View southwest in Room 101. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 62. View southeast in Room 102. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

evidently hand- planed, the entire door much like the front door in Room 100. Hinges are modern, 3- 1/2", loose- pin. The lock is a vertical rim lock, 3- 1/ 8" by 4- 1/8" with porcelain knobs.

Windows. The room has a window on the north and on the east walls. Both openings are 2'- 4" by 4'- 8", double hung with nine- over- six sash. The sash exhibit three distinct profiles, most likely indicating replacement of the original sash, which appear to have been similar to the lower sash that remains in the north window.

Trim. The room has an 8" baseboard set flush with the plaster on the north and east walls. Windows and doors are cased with a plain board, 2- 1/2" wide with a 3/8" beaded stop. Window stools are 2- 1/2" by 7/8" and aprons are plain boards, 4- 1/2" wide.

The door to room 102 is cased with 3- 1/2", double-beaded, tongue- and- groove boards and uses a 2" base cap similar to that used in constructing the dining room in the main house in the 1920s, suggesting that the door opening might have been made at that time.

Miscellaneous Features. Along the west wall, the Sandburgs installed shelving that runs from floor to ceiling. It is now considered an historic feature of the house. A sprinkler system was added in the 1980s and pipes are run exposed across the ceiling. In addition, some of an original, early twentieth-century wiring system remain on the ceiling. Wires, which are no longer active, are run on porcelain cleats attached to the ceiling. Presumably this system would have been powered by Smyth's Delco electrical system which he installed around 1920. A modern wiring system was installed in the house in 1977 and lighting continues to consist of a single bare bulb.

Room 102

Located in the southeast corner of the first floor and also probably used as a bedroom, this room is approximately 9'- 8" by 12'. Presumably there was once a window on the south wall that was apparently lost when the siding on the south side of the building was entirely replaced in the twentieth century. The south wall is now covered by book shelves installed by the Sandburgs, and any window that might have been present is no longer visible inside or outside the house.

Flooring. The original flooring remains exposed in this room. It is painted, tongue- and- groove, 7" to 8" wide, laid east to west and is in mostly good condition.

Walls. The south and east walls are plaster on wood lath. The west wall is an unframed curtain wall of vertical, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards, 10- 1/2" to 12" wide, installed against nailers at the floor and ceiling. The north wall is framed with 1- 3/4" by 3- 1/2" studs finished with sash- sawn, beaded, tongue- and- groove boards 2- 3/8" to 2- 1/2" wide.

Ceiling. The ceiling is plaster on wood lath, around 8'- 2" above the floor.

Doors. The room has two doors, one original opening from Room 100 and an added opening from Room 101. The door from Room 100 is a board- and- batten door, 2'- 7" by 6'- 5", very similar to the front door and the door between Rooms 100 and 101. The door is hung with 3" by 4", fixed- pin, butt hinges, which are not original, and a Corbin rim lock, 3- 1/4" by 3- 3/4" with brown Mineral knobs. The door also has what is surely its original wooden latch, indicating that the Corbin lock might have been the first lock on the door. The door to Room 101 was probably added in the early twentieth century. Measuring around 2'- 3" by 6'- 5", is a board- and- batten door made with 3- 1/2" by 3/8", double- beaded, tongue- and- groove boards. It is hung with 2" by 3" butt hinges with ball- top spindle. There is no lock or knob, only a simple hook and eye latch.

Windows. The room has a single window on the east wall. It is around 2'- 4" by 4'- 8", double hung with nine- over- six sash. Both sash have the distinctive V- profile muntins that are typical of what appear to be the house's original window sash.

Trim. The room has a 9" baseboard, beaded along the upper edge. The window stool is 2- 1/2" by 7/8" and the apron is a plain board, 4- 1/2" wide.

Miscellaneous Features. The entire south wall is covered by floor- to- ceiling shelving installed by the Sandburgs.

Room 200

This stair hall is about 4'- 3" wide and runs the width of the house.

FIGURE 63. View west in Room 102. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 64. View of stairs to second floor. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 65. View south of stairs in Room 200. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Flooring. Flooring is typical, original, tongue- and-groove flooring 8" to 9- 1/2" wide, painted, and running east and west.

Walls. Walls are plaster on wood lath.

Ceiling. Ceiling is plaster on wood lath and set around 9' above the floor.

Doors. Doors to the adjacent bedrooms open on either side of the hall. The door from Room 201 is board- and- batten, 2'- 11" by 6'- 4". The door is made with two exceptionally- wide boards, 3/4" thick, one 16- 1/2" wide and the other 17- 3/4" wide. Battens are 1- 1/4" by around 6" with chamfered edges. The door is notable for the use of wooden hinges, 23- 1/2" long and for a hand- wrought hook on the interior face. The door opening into Room 202 is 2'- 10" by 6'- 3" and is also board- and- batten, but uses boards only 9- 1/2" wide and is hung with 3" by 4" fixed- pin, butt hinges.

Trim. The hall has a 9" beaded baseboard and doors are cased with a beaded casing, 3" to 3- 1/2" wide.

Room 201

This room was undoubtedly used simply as a bedroom. The most obvious change to the room is the book shelves installed by the Sandburgs all around this room.

FIGURE 66. View southeast in Room 201. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Flooring. Flooring is tongue- and- groove, around 5- 1/2" wide, and the size difference suggests that the original flooring was replaced by the present flooring at an early date.

Walls and Ceiling. Walls and ceiling are typical plaster on wood lath. Ceiling height is around 9'.

Doors. See Room 200 for door description.

Windows. The room has two small windows flanking the exterior chimney at the west end of the room. Both windows are 1'- 9" by 3'- 10", double-hung with four- over- four sash. Muntin profiles are V- shaped typical of what are assumed to be original window sash. The left side of the lower sash in the north window has been seriously damaged by an animal's claws or teeth.

Trim. The room has a typical 9" beaded baseboard. Door casing is beaded and 3" to 3- 1/2" wide. Win-

dow casing is also beaded but only 2- 1/2" wide with a 3/8" beaded casing. Window stools are 3/4" by 2- 1/2" and aprons are a plain 3"- wide board.

Miscellaneous Features. The perimeter of the room has been lined with shelving, installed by the Sandburgs.

Room 202

This room is very similar to Room 201, but has only one window instead of two. It, too, must have been used as a bedroom.

Flooring. Flooring is painted, tongue- and- groove, 8" to 9" wide and is assumed to be the original flooring.

Walls and Ceiling. Walls and ceiling are typical plaster on wood lath. Ceiling height is around 9'.

Doors. See Room 200 for door description.

Windows. This room has only one window, located on the east wall. It is 2'- 4" by 4'- 8", nine- over- six, with the triangular muntins typical of the house's original windows.

Trim. The room has a typical 9" beaded baseboard. Door casing is beaded and 3" to 3- 1/2" wide. Window casing is also beaded but only 2- 1/2" wide with a 3/8" beaded stop. Window stools are 3/4" by 2- 1/2" and aprons are a plain 3"- wide board.

Miscellaneous Features. As they did in Room 201, the Sandburgs installed shelving around the perimeter of this room.

Systems

Parts of the surface- mounted knob- and- tube wiring system remain in place in the house, particularly on the ceiling. It is probably contemporaneous with the original wiring system in the house and activated by the same Delco power supply that Smyth installed in the early 1920s for the main house. The building was completely rewired in 1977, bypassing the historic wiring system but maintaining the simplicity of that earlier system. There is no evidence that the house ever had running water or that it had heating beyond that provided by the fireplace in Room 100.

FIGURE 67. View northeast in Room 202. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

FIGURE 68. View west in Room 201. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

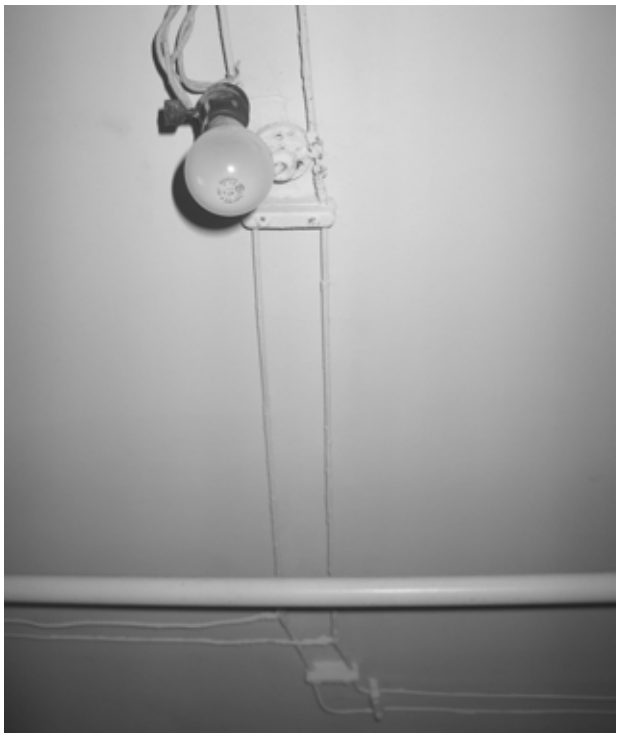
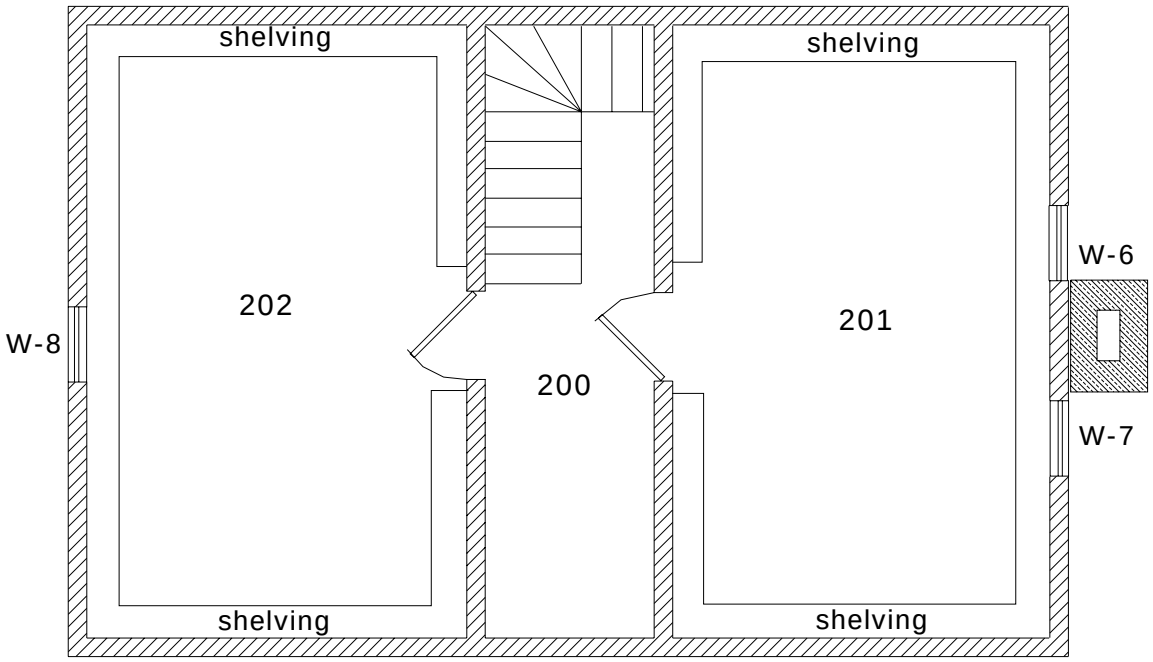
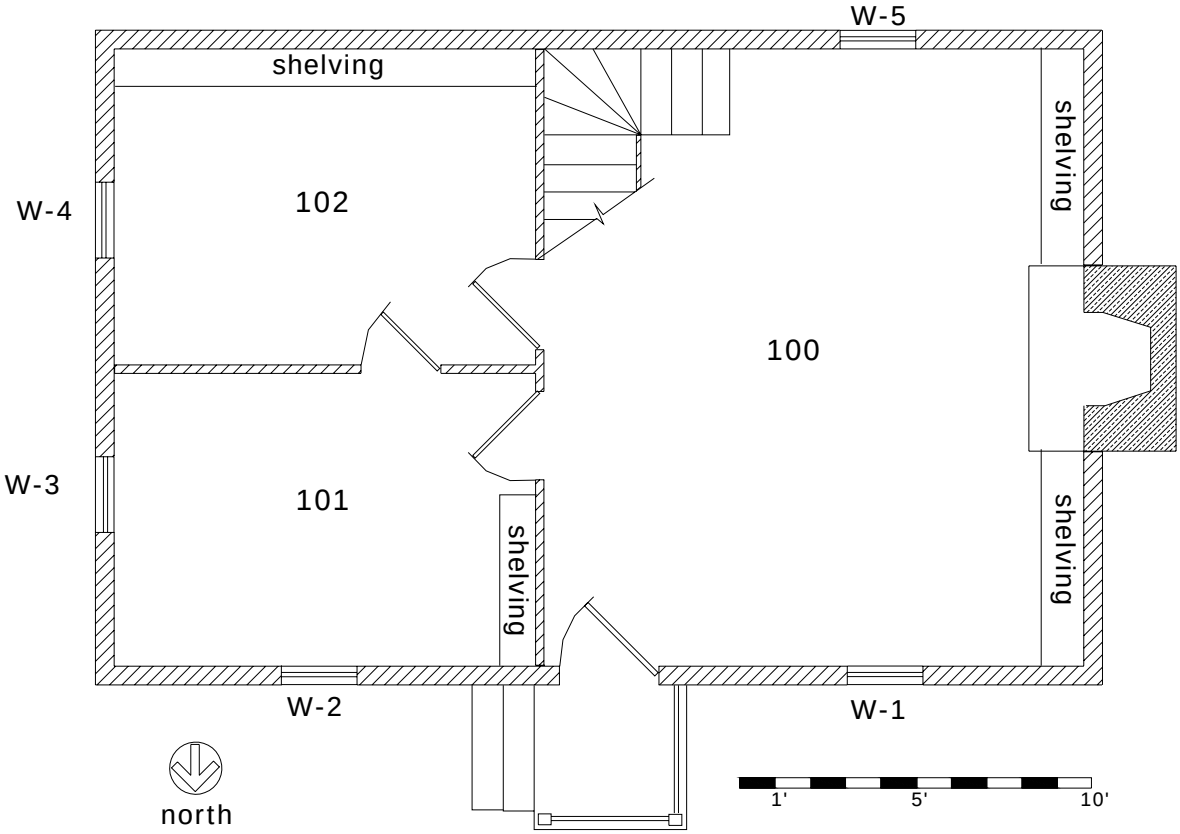


FIGURE 69. View of a portion of the knob-and-tube wiring system, which is no longer active. (T. Jones, NPS, 2004)

Floor Plan of Existing Building





Treatment and Use

The primary purpose of this historic structure report is to document the evolution of the old servants' house that Carl Sandburg nick- named "the Swedish House." An historic structure report was completed in 1976, but that report focused primarily on the building's existing condition. Mrs. Sandburg and her daughters were interviewed extensively, but researchers did not have access to Memminger's papers nor had there been much documentation of the Smyths' tenure at Connemara. In 1984, Dr. David Wallace produced a historic furnishings report that included good documentation for the building as it existed during the Sandburg era, but there remained only a limited understanding of the Swedish House prior to the Sandburg era.

The estate is historically significant for its associations with Carl Sandburg, of course, but also for its associations with Christopher Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America, and with Ellison Smyth, one of the leaders in the Southern textile industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Memminger, Smyth, and presumably the Greggs as well employed servants (mostly African- American slaves before the Civil War), some of whom resided in the Swedish House. When the Main House became a year- round residence in 1924, the Swedish House did, too.

Overall, the house remains in good condition with most of its historic fabric still intact.[86] Extensive rehabilitation in 1976- 1977 repaired most of the damage from benign neglect, and early NPS plans for adaptive use that would have destroyed significant historic features have since been abandoned. However, like the other antebellum servants' house at Connemara, the so- called Chicken House, the Swedish House is little used and is not routinely interpreted beyond its use by the Sandburgs for storage of books, newspapers, andmagazines.

86. "Historic" fabric includes but is not limited to the original features and materials. All features and materials that existed in 1968 should be considered part of the building's historic fabric.

Requirements for Treatment and Use

Good stewardship of an historic structure requires careful control over treatment and use, beginning with basic, common- sense guidelines. The building must be carefully monitored, particularly after storms or heavy rains, and should be thoroughly inspected at least once a year. Data documenting the building's condition should be recorded and analyzed to determine any necessary treatment or changes in use. Any ground disturbance around the building should always be cleared or monitored by an archeologist.

Any work on the Swedish House, including routine maintenance, should be done by qualified people in conformance with approved plans and specifications or work procedures. All maintenance personnel who work in, on, or around the building should be given appropriate training, and the entire park staff should be made aware of the significance of the Swedish House and the major threats to its preservation.

Legal Requirements

A number of laws and regulations circumscribe treatment and use of the the Swedish House and the other historic structures in our national parks. In addition to protecting the cultural resource, these requirements also address issues of human safety, fire protection, energy conservation, abatement of hazardous materials, and handicapped accessibility.

National Historic Preservation Act. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended (NHPA) mandates Federal protection of significant cultural resources. In implementing the act, a number of laws and authorities have been established that are binding on the NPS.

A routine step in the park's planning process for the treatment of historic structures is compliance with Section 106 of NHPA, which requires Federal agencies "to take into account the effect" of any undertaking involving Nation¦al Register properties. To satisfy the requirements of Section 106, regulations have been promulgated (36 CFR Part 800,"Protection of Historic Properties") that require, among other things, consultation with local governments, State Historic Preservation Officers, and Indian tribal representatives. Prior to any undertaking at the Main House, the NPS is required to "afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this act [NHPA] a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking."

In 1995, in an effort to expedite the review process, a programmatic agreement was made between the Advisory Council and the NPS that allows for a categorical exclusion of some activities from the Section 106 review process. These excluded activities are limited to routine repairs and maintenance that do not alter the appearance of the historic structure or involve widespread or total replacement of historic features or materials.

Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990. The Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) establishes comprehensive civil rights protection for disabled Americans, both in employment and in their right to free, unaided access to public buildings. While people with restricted mobility have most frequently benefited from ADA, protection also extends to those with other disabilities. This would include visitors with impaired vision or hearing, for whom printed tour scripts and audio tours allow for interpretation of the site.

Requirements for full compliance with ADA regulations are extensive and easiest to apply to new construction. Full compliance for historic buildings is more difficult and sometimes would require significant alterations to the historic character of the property. Where that is the case, ADA authorizes a process for arriving at alternatives to full compliance that can preserve historic character while maximizing a disabled visitor's access to the historic building.

International Building Code. Building codes are generally applicable to all buildings whether they are historic or not. As a matter of policy, the NPS is guided by the International Building Code, which includes this statement regarding codes and historic buildings:

> 3406.1 Historic Buildings: The provisions of this code related to the construction, repair, alteration, addition, restoration and movement of structures, and change of occupancy shall not be mandatory for historic buildings where such buildings are judged by the building official to not constitute *a distinct life safety hazard* [emphasis added].

Threats to public health and safety should always be eliminated, but because this is an historic building, alternatives to full code compliance are always sought where compliance would needlessly compromise the integrity of the historic building.

NFPA Code 914. The National Fire Protection Association (NFPA) has promulgated codes for historic buildings, most notably NFPA 909, "Code for the Protection of Cultural Resources Properties - Museums, Libraries, and Places of Worship," and NFPA 914, "Code for Fire Protection of Historic Structures." Because the park has already rewired the building and installed a sprinkler system, fire protection will revolve around fire *prevention* through prohibiting storage of flammable materials and smoking inside the building.

DOI and NPS Policies and Regulations

NPS policy requires planning for the protection of cultural resources "whether or not they relate to the specific authorizing legislation or interpretive programs of the parks in which they lie." Thus, the Swedish House should be understood in its own cultural context and managed in light of its own values so that it may be preserved unimpaired for the enjoyment of present and future generations.[87]

In addition to Director's Order #28, which has guided development of this historic structure

87. "Cultural Resource Management Guidelines," (1997), p. 1

report, there are policies and regulations that have been issued by both the Secretary of the Interior and the Director of the National Park Service which circumscribe treatment of historic buildings.

Secretary's Standards. The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* have established a framework in which to plan and execute treatment of historic structures. Guidelines for interpreting the *Standards* have been issued, and the NPS has also published forty- two *Preservation Briefs* that provide detailed direction for appropriate treatment of a variety of materials, features, and conditions found in historic buildings. Regardless of treatment approach, the *Standards* put a high priority on preservation of existing historic *materials* and not just the architectural form and style. Replacement of a column, for instance, even when replacement is "in kind," diminishes the authenticity of the building, if for no other reason than the elimination of the evidence of the passage of time, which after all is fundamental to the authenticity of an historic structure. The *Standards* also require that any alterations, additions, or other modifications be reversible, i.e., be designed and constructed in such a way that they can be removed or reversed in the future without the loss of existing historic materials, features, or character.

General Management Policies. Finally, the NPS General Management Policies (2001) guide overall management of the historic buildings at Connemara, especially Chapter 5 "Cultural Resource Management." Based upon the authority of some nineteen Acts of Congress and many more Executive orders and regulations, these policies require

> planning to ensure that management processes for making decisions and setting priorities integrate information about cultural resources, and provide for consultation and collaboration with outside entities; and stewardship to ensure that cultural resources are preserved and protected, receive appropriate treatments (including maintenance), and are made available for public understanding and enjoyment.[88]

Section 5.3.5, "Treatment of Cultural Resources," provides specific directives, including a directive that "the preservation of cultural resources in their existing states will always receive first consideration." The section also states that

> treatments entailing greater intervention will not proceed without the consideration of interpretive alternatives. The appearance and condition of resources before treatment, and changes made during treatment, will be documented. Such documentation will be shared with any appropriate state or tribal historic preservation office or certified local government, and added to the park museum cataloging system. Pending treatment decisions reached through the planning process, all resources will be protected and preserved in their existing states.[89]

Alternatives for Treatment and Use

Historic structure reports typically consider and evaluate alternative uses and treatments for the historic structure. Emphasis is on preserving extant historic material and resolving conflicts, especially those that might result between the mandate to preserve and the necessity for use.

Use

One of the primary concerns in the preservation of historic buildings is use of the resource. An unused building is much less likely to attract the attention (and consequent funding) necessary to insure its continued preservation. On the other hand, a poorly conceived program of use can lead to significant loss of historic material and compromise of historic character. There were, as noted above, plans in the 1970s for adaptive use of the Swedish House that would have required extensive alterations and loss of historic materials.

Residential Use. The building's original use as a residence is probably no longer feasible without the addition of modern utilities, especially a bath room. Such an adaptation need not necessitate significant loss of historic materials or be irreversible, and it would bring life back into the building. Even with adaptation, however, there is really no need for on-site housing, except perhaps for the occasional consultant, NPS employee, or others working in the park who might enjoy the proximity of the building to the work at hand.

88. NPS General Management Policies (2001), p. 50.

89. NPS General Management Policies (2001), p. 56

Open for Visitors. In the twentieth century, the NPS routinely opened the first floor of the Swedish House for visitors, satisfying NPS policy that the park's cultural resources be "made available for public understanding and enjoyment." Since 2000, however, the building is rarely opened to the public. Many visitors might enjoy the opportunity of entering the house, and the park might consider leaving the building open again. An attendant would not be necessary, especially since the locked gate on the stairs effectively prevents entry to the second floor.

Display of the Sandburgs collection of magazines and books once in the house could not be considered without the addition of climate control. However, a cost- benefit analysis of the addition of climate control solely to facilitate display of such artifacts would probably not support such a change.

Staff break Area. One of the recommendations that emerged from the Watson- Henry study of the environmental conditions in the main house was that the staff break area be removed from the Main House in order to reduce the chance of attracting pests that would be detrimental to the collection. The Tenant House has been suggested for a break area, but the Swedish House could be an alternative, although that might require the addition of running water, if not a restroom, as well as heating and air-conditioning. While a wall- hung sink could be added with little loss of character or materials, a restroom, as was proposed in the 1970s, would be difficult to add without significant damage to the building and its historic character. Since all of these utilities are already present in the Tenant House, their addition to the Swedish House does not seem warranted.

Treatment

The quality of the architecture of the Swedish House dictates careful consideration of any treatment in order that its well- preserved historic character not be compromised. As suggested above, adaptive use would not necessarily require rehabilitative treatment that would compromise the building's character, but certainly the sort of adaptation suggested in the 1970s should not be considered again.

Restoration of the building is an approach to treatment that might be considered. Removal of the present concrete stoop and steps and shed roof and reconstruction of the wooden stoop, double steps, and earlier shed roof would restore the building to its appearance prior to 1964, but would be inconsistent with the approach taken in the Main House and be of little value in interpretation of the Sandburg era.

Removal of the building's electrical system, the flooring added in Room 100, and the shelving added in all the rooms along with reconstruction of the missing window on the south wall of Room 102 would essentially restore the building to its appearance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Reconstruction of the partition wall between Rooms 101 and 102 to match the south wall of Room 100, removal of the paneling that encloses the stairs to the second floor, and excavation of the original stone stoop and step at the front door would restore the building to more- or- less its original appearance. However, restoration of the building's appearance prior to the Sandburg era would be counter- productive to the park's purpose of interpreting the life and work of Sandburg. The limited nature of changes could be easily interpreted through photographs, drawings, and other means without actual reconstruction or recreation of lost features.

Ultimate Treatment and Use

Use of the Swedish House as a place for interpretive exhibits is perhaps the most reasonable alternative for use. The building is not suitable for display of museum objects, but it would be well- suited to a wide variety of exhibits, either temporary or permanent, that did not require the display of original artifacts. The building itself could be exhibited by simply opening the first floor to the public, as was done until recently. The gate at the stairs to the second floor effectively prevents entry to that part of the building.

Interpretation might be limited to the Sandburgs' use of the building, but it might also focus on the lives of servants (and antebellum slaves), a number of whom have been identified, caretakers, and farm managers and how they contributed to the estate's operation, or on some other aspect of the long history of the site.

Treatment

Overall the Swedish House is in excellent condition, and there appear to be no pressing problems of repair. Although little used, the house is being well maintained.

Lighting. If anything other than exhibit of the house itself is contemplated, some alterations to the electrical system might be needed to provide exhibit lighting. These should be designed so that the impact on the historic structure is minimized.

Handicapped access. The building is not handicapped accessible. In order for those with impaired mobility to enter, a ramp to the front stoop is probably the best option, if it were installed in such a way that the existing stoop and steps remain in place. The change in floor level between Room 100 and Rooms 101 and 102 would have to be addressed as well, or entry could be limited to the main room, with the two side rooms fully visible through open doors.

Repairs and Maintenance. Routine repairs and maintenance are potential threats to the integrity of any historic building. While it is true that preservation *is* maintenance, a careless approach can lead to significant loss of historic material and diminishment of the site's authenticity as an historic site. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Buildings* and the guidelines that accompany them aim to preserve not only the architectural *form* of an historic structure but its substance as well. Thus, reconstruction of an original chimney, for example, diminishes the resource, even if the original brick are re- used (as is proposed for the chimney at the Farm Manager's House), since all of the mortar and, for all practical purposes, all evidence of historic craftsmanship will be lost. Likewise, replacement of siding may retain the *appearance* of the historic building, but at the expense of the original nails (which in and of themselves can be important dating devices, if nothing else); and again for all practical purposes, evidence of the historic craftsmanship will be lost.

"In-kind" Material. Replacement of materials, even "in kind," is problematic and should only be undertaken when absolutely necessary. "In kind" replacement of historic wooden siding, for instance, does not mean that any wooden siding is appropriate as replacement material. In the 1830s and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, old-growth lumber, some of it quarter- sawn and all of it extremely durable, was used for exterior woodwork. Such lumber is now almost impossible to acquire, so that repairs should always avoid removing any more historic material than is absolutely necessary. If the end of a run of siding is damaged, for example, the entire run should not be replaced but only that which is necessary to repair the damage.

Further Historical Research

Archival research for this project has been limited. Examination of Memminger's account book in its original form at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and a full transcription would form the foundation for continued research that would no doubt add many useful details to the chronology of the building's evolution and could support a broader interpretation of the site.

For example, the account book includes references to many individuals, and with further research in the Federal census and other sources, the park would be able to better interpret the enslaved servants and the overseers, craftsmen, contractors, and common laborers that built and maintained Rock Hill. Memminger's account book ends in 1862, but more extensive census data and other useful resources exist for the period after the Civil War and would be a rich source of information on the free black servants, overseers, laborers and other individuals for whom Connemara was home.

In addition, the park has requested funding for an oral history project, and if the interviews routinely emphasized the appearance and evolution of the Swedish House, understanding of the building might be significantly expanded. Use of floor plans and historic photographs would be indispensable in facilitating recall of memories about the house.

The interviews naturally focus on the Sandburg family, but it would also be helpful to interview those who knew and worked with Sandburg, like local historian Louise Bailey and the Sandburg's housekeeper Adeline Polega. The oral history project should also include interviews with older members of the Smyth family who have memories of Connemara. The children of the Fishers and the Ballards, if they could be located, might also make significant contributions to the project.

Sources of Information

Manuscript Collections

Chapel Hill, NC. C. G. Memminger Papers (#502), Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. Includes account book kept by Memminger during construction of Connemara as well as letters and other documents relating to Memminger's life and career.

Flat Rock, NC. Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site Collection. Includes numerous photographs, letters, and other documents relating to all periods of the site's history.

Personal Collections of Smyth great- grandchildren William McKay and Julianne Heggoy.

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Fisher, James. 18 November 1975, interviewed by Warren Weber. Smyth's butler and valet.

McKay, Mary. 16 January 1973 and 21 August 1974, interviewed by Warren Weber. Smyth's granddaughter.

Rogers, Mrs. _____. 3 December 1976, interviewed by Warren Weber and Len Brown. Smyth's granddaughter.

Sandburg, Lillian Steichen. 1967. Interviewer unknown. (CARL 4023/2/I- VII). Widow of Carl Sandburg.

Sandburg, Lillian Steichen. Early 1968, interviewed by Robert Cahn. Widow of Carl Sandburg.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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