

# Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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## The Glorious Seventy Four

*A New Song:*

*To the tune of Hearts of Oak*

Virginia Gazette (*Pinkney*), October 6, 1774  
(Selected verses)

COME, come, my brave boys, from my song you  
shall hear,  
That we'll crown seventy four a most glorious  
year;  
We'll convince Bute and Mansfield, and North,  
though they rave,  
Britons still, like themselves, spurn the chains  
of a slave.

CHORUS:

Hearts of oak were our sires,  
Hearts of oak are their sons,  
Like them we are ready, as firm and as steady,  
To fight for our freedom with swords and with  
guns.

Foolish elves, to conjecture, by crossing of mains,  
That the true blood of freemen would charge in  
our veins;  
Let us scorch, let us freeze, from the line to the  
pole,  
Britain's sons still retain all their freedom of  
soul.  
Hearts of oak, &c.

Their tea still is driven away from our shores,  
Or presented to Neptune, or rots in our stores;  
But to awe, to divide, till we crouch to their sway,  
On brave Boston their vengeance they fiercely  
display.  
Hearts of oak, &c.

With sons, whom I foster'd and cherish'd of yore,  
Fair freedom shall flourish till time is no more;  
No tyrant shall rule them, 'tis Heaven's decree,  
They shall never be slaves while they dare to be  
free.  
Hearts of oak, &c.

The year is 1774, and, as the words to this song attest, colonists in America are having a bit of an identity crisis! On the one hand there is the heartfelt pride of their English heritage and the freedom it brings, on the other, the warmth of blood that rises in the breast of these colonists at the hint of any abridgement of their liberties and rights. Ah, now perhaps, there is the rub. Is it still those rights as subjects of the crown that are being demanded, or is there a shift to a clamor for rights and liberties as AMERICANS?! For Pete's sake, that might lead to a call for—INDEPENDENCE?!

(Phil Shultz, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training)

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## Arts & Mysteries

### *Joshua Kendall and James Gardner: Urban Carpentry in Virginia's Colonial Capital*

by Noel Poirier

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The construction of the colonial city of Williamsburg, Virginia, involved the labor of hundreds, if not thousands, of building tradespeople. Unfortunately, the locations of the shops of prominent Williamsburg builders—like Henry Cary, Benjamin Powell, and John Saunders—who oversaw large public and private construction projects have never been discovered. It could be said that the reconstruction and restoration of homes of Williamsburg's distinguished colonial residents took precedence over reconstructing the homes and workshops of the men who originally built those homes.

One such industrial location exists in a part of the Historic Area yet untouched by restoration or modern intrusions. The lot, nestled behind the George Wythe House north of the Bruton Parish Church wall, fronts on Prince George Street. It served as a work site for two carpenters and joiners from about 1769 until about 1774. Largely shop-centered, Joshua Kendall and James Gardner oversaw smaller projects.

The work done at that location and nearby building sites gives a good idea of the capabilities and methods of Williamsburg carpenters and joiners in the years preceding the American Revolution. What is known of their lives provides the student of eighteenth-century Williamsburg's industrial history with a window on the lives and work of other Williamsburg builders. The property itself, in spite of the imperfect investigation by archaeologists in the first half of the twentieth century, offers clues about the appearance of the workplace of an eighteenth-century Williamsburg carpenter and joiner.

\* \* \* \*

In the early eighteenth century, the land that surrounded the Bruton Parish churchyard, with the exception of the Wythe property itself, was owned by Williamsburg resident John Blair (burgess and auditor general, later president of the governor's Council and acting governor). After 1745, Blair built tenement houses on the properties, which he had subdivided into several smaller lots. The buildings on the Kendall-Gardner lot were erected between 1745 and 1747.<sup>1</sup> Who rented the property between 1747 and

1769 is not clear, but, by 1769, Joshua Kendall and his plumber partner Joseph Kidd had started their business on the lot.

Just who was Joshua Kendall? Little is known about him before his 1768 arrival in Virginia. There is a 1730 baptismal certificate for a Joshua Kendall at the West Yorkshire Records Office in the English town of Halifax, and two persons named Joshua Kendall (although spelled differently) were baptized in Yorkshire, England (1739), and Norfolk, England (1738). If any one of these three became Williamsburg's Joshua Kendall, his age would have been between thirty and thirty-eight years in 1768.<sup>2</sup>

The first clear reference to Kendall is found in the records of Lord Botetourt. In late July 1768, King George III appointed Botetourt as governor of the colony of Virginia.<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterward, Botetourt began to contract with various tradesmen to travel with him to Virginia.

On August 14, 1768, he hired Joshua Kendall to serve as his servant and "joiner-in-residence" in Virginia. Kendall, who was paid £30 for the one-year contract, may already have been in the governor's service. He may have served as a journeyman joiner for architect and builder Thomas Wright, who had been employed at Stoke Park (Botetourt's home north of Bristol) during the 1760s.<sup>4</sup>

Although Kendall may have worked for some time in and around Bristol, an examination of a number of pre-1768 town records, including poll books and city directories, reveals no evidence of a Joshua Kendall residing in that city. Similarly, marriage indexes from County Gloucestershire for the years preceding 1768 offer no references to Joshua Kendall, and the name does not appear in any index of tradesmen employed in the construction of the Georgian city of Bath.<sup>5</sup>

Neither does a Joshua Kendall appear in trades records for the City of London such as apprenticeship lists of the Joiners and Ceilers' Company nor in records of the Worshipful Carpenters' Company.<sup>6</sup> Unable to determine much about Joshua Kendall's life before his arrival in Williamsburg, we must focus on his life after landing in Virginia.

One of the first public references to Kendall appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in May 1769. At the time, he had formed a partnership with another Botetourt transplant, plumber Joseph Kidd. The two men advertised that they had "engaged a person from England, well acquainted with the useful branches of" plumbing, glazing, and painting. Four months later the men advertised that they had acquired a "choice collection of the most fashionable paper hangings" and that they offered lead products for sale at their shop "behind the church."<sup>7</sup>



This advertisement, while pinpointing the workshop's location, led to a public chastisement of the partners in the competing *Virginia Gazette* printed by William Rind. The complaint accused the partners of violating the recently passed Association, which prohibited the importation of paper, paint, and glass from Great Britain. Shortly after this reproach, and possibly because of it, the partnership of Kendall and Kidd dissolved, and Kendall went into business on his own.<sup>8</sup>

It would appear that Kendall left the lot on Prince George Street vacant when he left his partner. In January 1770, Kendall advertised in both *Virginia Gazettes* that he had begun to work out of a home "nearly opposite Doctor James Carter, in the back street." He advertised himself as a carpenter and joiner and offered to perform work "faithfully and expeditiously." Kendall also advertised that he would carry out house painting and glazing "in the neatest manner."<sup>9</sup>

During this period, Kendall continued to perform work for Lord Botetourt, producing day-to-day necessities as well as luxury goods. The items included a black walnut knife box, library table, covers for meat tubs, boot-jacks, venetian blinds, and a large birdcage.<sup>10</sup> He also executed occasional government projects, like producing and painting ornaments for the Capitol gates.<sup>11</sup>

When Botetourt died, Kendall was employed by the estate to produce a number of items, including the governor's black walnut coffin, staffs, and benches for bearing the corpse. Additional funerary work also involved taking up the pews and flooring in the Wren Chapel, framing the arch for the vault, and replacing the flooring and pews. Kendall was also paid for his personal attendance at the funeral, possibly as a member of the funeral party.<sup>12</sup>

Between 1770 and his death, Kendall's name appears occasionally in the records of York County (more than half of colonial-era Williamsburg was in York County in addition to the countryside between there and Yorktown). In May and June of 1770, Kendall sued Edward Westmore, keeper of the Public Gaol in Williamsburg, for a breach of contract and was awarded a total of £53.10s, to be paid in installments.

A year later, Kendall found himself the target of a lawsuit brought by a York County resident, cabinetmaker Henry Mann. In August 1771, Kendall was one of three men assigned to appraise the estate of the late William Cardwell, a messenger for Governor Botetourt. During the same court period, Hampton inhabitant and former William and Mary student Simon Hollier also sued Kendall.

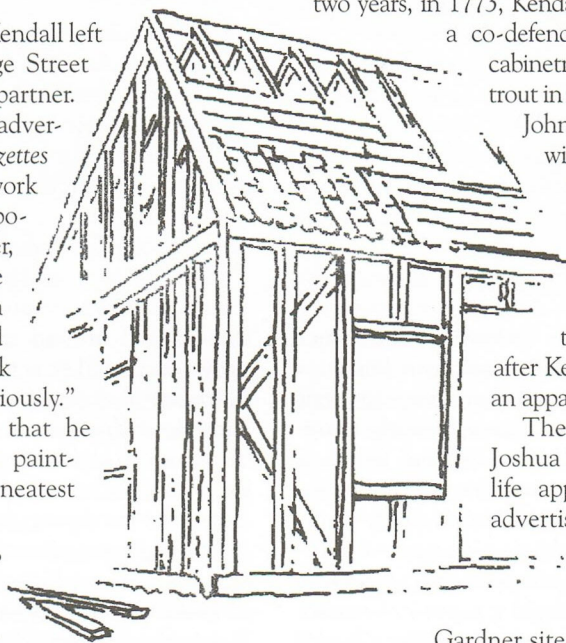
Although he managed to stay out of court for two years, in 1773, Kendall found himself named a co-defendant with Williamsburg cabinetmaker Benjamin Bucktrout in a suit filed by joiner John Johnson. The court sided with Johnson and ordered the defendants to pay Johnson £16.9s. Later that year, local blacksmith James Anderson sued Kendall, but the case was dismissed after Kendall made payment on an apparent debt.<sup>13</sup>

The last reference to Joshua Kendall's Williamsburg life appears in a newspaper advertisement in August 1777 placed by John Holt, who occupied a lot near the Kendall-Gardner site. In it, Holt stated that

he was selling the tools, household furniture, and clothes owned by the late Joshua Kendall. The sale was held on the doorsteps of the home of Williamsburg resident Donald Ross.<sup>14</sup>

By 1771, the site previously occupied by Kendall and Kidd was rented to James Gardner, another Williamsburg carpenter/joiner. Like Kendall, very little is known about the early life of Gardner. Possible candidates include: James Gardner, son of Mary and William Gardner, born and baptized in 1738 at Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County; or the James Gardner who married Ann Smith on July 4, 1749 in Middlesex County; or perhaps he was the young man named James Gardner enrolled in Donald Robertson's school in Drysdale Parish in King and Queen County to learn English for half of the year 1762.<sup>15</sup>

A further slight possibility is the James Gardner who arrived in America in 1749 as a convict servant from the town of Churchdown in Gloucestershire County, England (coincidentally, the same county as Lord Botetourt).<sup>16</sup> In the end, not enough information exists to identify any of these James Gardners as the man who occupied the Kendall-Gardner site in Williamsburg during the first half of the 1770s.





The first evidence of carpenter/joiner James Gardner's existence in Williamsburg appeared in a 1771 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*. Gardner advertised that he had opened a carpenter/joiner shop "behind the Church," where he offered "well executed" work and the production of "window sashes, on reasonable terms."<sup>17</sup>

His name appeared that year and subsequently, in the account book of Benjamin Weldon. The accounts list Gardner's trade as "joiner," and indicate that he purchased wood from Weldon on occasion. In January 1772, Gardner, who had been renting the lot behind the Wythe House, purchased the property outright from the estate of John Blair for the sum of £133. He also purchased the lot adjoining the property to the north along Prince George Street, which was previously inhabited by tailor John Warrington.<sup>18</sup>

Gardner's name, like Kendall's, appeared in the York County records during his occupancy of the Kendall-Gardner site. In June 1772, Gardner was in court as a witness for merchant Matthew Holt in a case against Williamsburg resident James Pride and served as a juror in another case. During August, Gardner sued Richard Dudman for breach of promise and was awarded £7.6s.<sup>19</sup>

Less than a year later, in March 1773, Gardner advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for the return of two of his apprentices who had run away. The amusing notice offered a reward of twenty shillings for the return of apprentice Charles Chandler but only a "handful of shavings" for the second apprentice, William Bolton. Apparently only the unwelcome Bolton was returned; he proceeded to run away again in 1773, this time "during divine service."<sup>20</sup>

Gardner evidently vacated the Kendall-Gardner property in late 1774. In December of that year, he sold the property to James Wilson, steward for the College of William and Mary, for the identical sum that Gardner paid in 1772. Less than a year later, Donald Ross, printer Alexander Purdie, and merchant Robert Nicholson attached debt payments to Gardner's property.<sup>21</sup>

Gardner's whereabouts following the sale of the Williamsburg lot are sketchy at best. A number of individuals named James Gardner appear in Virginia census records following the Revolutionary War. The only surviving will and inventory for one is recorded in Southampton County, Virginia. The papers, dated December 2, 1793, listed the woodworking tools owned by the late James Gardner. Among them were iron wedges, a whipsaw (or pitsaw), a grindstone, a parcel of timber, axes, a crosscut saw, and a saw rest.<sup>22</sup>

Did these represent items owned by a carpenter turned farmer or a farmer who also happened

to do occasional carpentry? If this was the James Gardner born in Middlesex County in 1738, he would have only been in his mid-fifties at the time of his death. If, on the other hand, he was the James Gardner who married Ann Smith in 1749, he would have likely been in his seventies in 1793. Regardless, there is no direct evidence to tie the Southampton County James Gardner to the Williamsburg carpenter/joiner of the same name.

\* \* \* \*

While information about the carpenters/joiners who worked on the Kendall-Gardner site can be uncovered through the study of historical documents, determining the appearance of the lot requires examination of a number of different sources. Close study of the archaeological record reveals much about the physical, industrialized environment in which Kendall and Gardner worked.

The famous Frenchman's Map of 1782 (see Figure 1), which details the placement of buildings in and around the city of Williamsburg, shows two small structures oriented east to west on the southern portion of the lot. A fence line runs along their southern edges. Another map, drawn about the same time by French cartographer Jean-Nicholas Desandrouins, clearly shows a structure to the west of the Wythe property in almost the same places as the two smaller buildings on the Frenchman's Map.<sup>23</sup>

Did Desandrouins simplify his drawing by combining the two small structures into one larger building? Archaeology conducted during the 1930s supports these period depictions of the layout of the Kendall-Gardner site. Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists found two earthen cellars (one with brick steps), which are separated by distances similar to those shown on the Frenchman's Map.

While neither the Frenchman's nor Desandrouins's map shows any structure on the northern portion of the lot, the archaeological survey of the property uncovered the remnants of a building foundation. The rectangular remains, approximately 20 feet by 30 feet in dimension, could be those of a tenement house erected by Blair on the property between 1745 and 1747. This building may have served as a home and shop for tailor James Warrington prior to Gardner's purchase of the two lots. Gardner likely used the structure as his residence during his occupation of the entire property, focusing the labor on the southern portion of the lot.

Another piece of archaeological evidence that assists in determining the layout of the Kendall-Gardner work site is the placement of a pit detail on the southern half of the lot. This pit (4 feet wide, 13 feet long, and 6 feet deep) is located just 20 or so feet north of the church wall. People unfamiliar with the operation of an eighteenth-



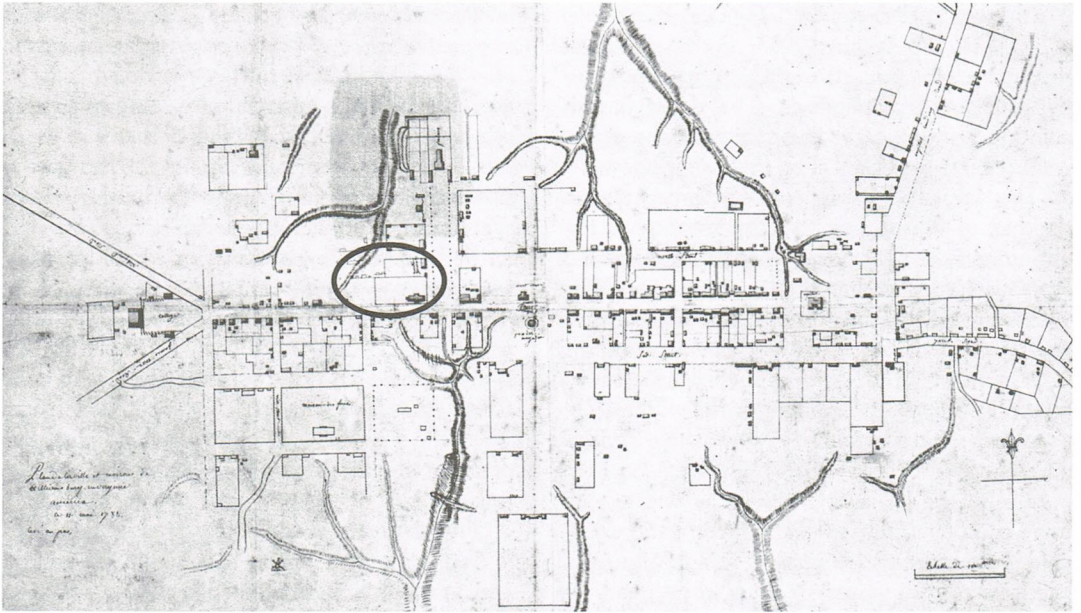


Figure 1: The Frenchman's Map of 1782

century carpenter/joiner shop might assume that this feature was simply a trash pit of some kind. The artifacts in the pit—broken bottles and mugs—are exactly the types of items one would expect to find in a colonial sawpit!<sup>24</sup>

The historical evidence, when combined with the known physical evidence, confirms the assertion that the lot in question served as the site of an urban carpenter/joiner shop in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. The only question left to answer, and it is a big one, is what did the site look like during those years? Further archaeological investigation will help in this determination, but so will an examination of existing structures as well as period descriptions and illustrations.

\* \* \* \*

When George Wythe looked over the fence that separated his property from the Kendall-Gardner site, what did he see? The archaeology done in the first half of the twentieth century offers clues to the locations of buildings, but what of their appearance? To determine the appearance of the Kendall-Gardner site, one must examine surviving structures of the same type, as well as period imagery depicting carpenter/joiner shops. While collectors have amassed large collections of woodworking tools over the last two hundred years, few individuals have attempted to preserve the workshops themselves. Fortunately, some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, preindustrial shops remain standing.

One of the earliest surviving carpentry shops in North America is displayed at the Canterbury Shaker Village in Canterbury, New Hampshire. This 1806 building is a simple, story-and-a-half

structure with the downstairs devoted to shop space and the upstairs used as storage for material. The gable ends of the building include four nine-over-six windows, with two more windows on each face of the building.<sup>25</sup>

These provisions for light are details found in other carpenter/joiner shops, including two late-nineteenth-century survivals at the Weald and Downland Museum in Chichester, England. Both buildings have entire walls devoted to windows, testifying to preindustrial carpenters' reliance on natural light. Brick piers raise the joiner's shop, originally located in Witley, and allow wood to be stored in an area beneath the building.<sup>26</sup>

Another example of a carpenter/joiner shop, the Dominy Shop of East Hampton, New York, was relocated to the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. This small, early-American carpenter/joiner shop had space for only two workbenches along each of its long walls. However, even this small shop had large, twenty-five-light windows to provide ample illumination of the workspace.<sup>27</sup>

As late as the 1880s, carpenters and joiners still relied on natural light for their primary illumination. Two photographs of rural Massachusetts shops depict interiors with benches stretched along the walls to capture as much light as possible flooding in through numerous windows.<sup>28</sup>

Period paintings and drawings depicting shop interiors can also prove useful in determining the general appearance of workplaces. One such painting, titled *English Joiners* (1816), demonstrates again the need for light in the preelectrified shop. In it, two joiners work at their benches, while light floods in from the twelve-light windows in front of them.<sup>29</sup>



Another English painting, *The Carpenter's Shop at Forty Hill, Enfield* (circa 1813), portrays a similar shop with one wall consisting of at least three twenty-eight light windows. The detail of this painting also indicates the quality of the glass—poorer “bulls-eye” glass—used in those windows.<sup>30</sup>

The French encyclopedia craze provided a number of illustrations of carpenter/joiner environments. In *The Joiner II*, Diderot depicted French joiners working in an unfinished building with open walls. His illustration of *The Cabinet-maker* is more practical, showing the men working in a shop with multiple, forty-eight-light windows providing ample illumination for the workmen.<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, determining the probable appearance of the carpenter/joiner shop on the southern portion of the Kendall-Gardner site will require more thorough archaeological investigation coupled with continued study of the appearance of eighteenth-century work buildings in general.

It will be easier to ascertain the appearance of the building discovered on the northern portion of the Kendall-Gardner lot. As noted, John Blair constructed tenement buildings on the property between 1745 and 1747. Several tenement buildings survive, including the Timson House only a block away on the corner of Nassau and Prince George streets.

The oldest portion of the house, likely built by planter William Timson as a tenement, dates from the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The footprint of the original section of the house is similar in size to the archaeological remains located on the northern half of the Kendall-Gardner site. Williamsburg's Bracken Tenement also has a similar-sized footprint. The architectural details of these buildings, along with surveys of similar Virginia structures, can provide the necessary particulars for the tenement house Blair constructed on the Kendall-Gardner site.<sup>32</sup>

The sawpit found on the southern half of the lot, while not the most dramatic feature, is important. Sawpits came in many shapes and sizes, and an examination of other English and colonial sawpits proves a useful study. Their appearance can be gleaned from a variety of sources. In 1737, Blaise Ollivier, master shipwright to the king of France, toured the dockyards of Britain and Holland in an effort to improve French shipbuilding techniques. He made some of the keenest observations about the sawpits found in those shipyards:

*They have at their dockyards sawpits which are 22 to 25 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 6 feet deep, situated 3 to 4 feet one from the other. . . . The walls of these sawpits are lined with brick, with two or three small lodging places cut into the walls where the sawyers keep their tools. When they wish to saw up a timber they place it on rollers over one of the pits; the rollers*

*are blocked with wedges; one of the sawyers descends into the pit, the other stands on top of the timber, and after they have sawn the full length afforded by the pit they slide the timber easily on its rollers with no need of a device other than a crow[bar].*<sup>33</sup>

Ollivier was impressed enough by the sawing methods used at these shipyards that he drew a sketch of the pits. Similar sawpits can be found in the British colony of Antigua, where His Majesty's ships were often refitted or repaired.<sup>34</sup>

George Sturt, a turn-of-the-century British wheelwright, described the local sawpits of his youth as an enclosed pit, “five or six feet” deep, with brick sides. The sides of the pit contained open spaces where the pitman could stash wedges and small pots of oil. Sturt remembered the sawpit fondly as a place that provided him with “a sense of great peace.”<sup>35</sup>

English chairmaker Thomas Hudson described a sawpit as a “rectangular hole dug in the ground with . . . a few boards wedged in the ends to keep the earth from falling in”; and it was “damp and dark.”<sup>36</sup> Sometimes, in the mild English summers, sawyers would work in sawpits in the woods, which often had no covering. Only in winter months did they prefer the shelter of a saw house.<sup>37</sup>

The use of sawpits in America is also well documented. In February 1760, George Washington noted in his diary that “Mike and Tom sawed 122 feet of oak” in the sawpit at Mount Vernon. Thomas Jefferson built a sawpit on Mulberry Row at Monticello as well, adding a structure for wood storage and drying adjoining the pit.<sup>38</sup>

In some cases, sawpits were enclosed in a house to protect the sawyers and the pits from the weather. In March 1768, a Warwick County, Virginia, landowner advertised that he had a “saw-house for three pairs of sawyers.” The house that covered the sawpits in Antigua was simply a post building with a gable roof and open sides.<sup>39</sup>

In his book *The Village Carpenter*, Walter Rose provides a photograph of an old, English sawpit, which probably resembled those found on colonial plantations and in timberyards.<sup>40</sup> In the far larger and more industrial dockyards of Britain, the sawpits were often entirely enclosed in large brick buildings.

\* \* \* \*

Joshua Kendall and James Gardner, while not among the “great men” of Williamsburg's past, are nonetheless worthy of our attention. Their contributions to the appearance of the city of Williamsburg, and those of carpenters and joiners like them, are considerable. These men quite literally built Williamsburg.

The grand public buildings, the wallpapered private homes, and the sturdy tenement houses owe their lasting durability to the skills of the men who constructed them. The residents of Williamsburg



relied on men like Kendall and Gardner to provide them with their most basic necessity: shelter.

The location of the Kendall-Gardner site speaks to the truly urban, industrial environment in which Williamsburg residents lived. Just a stone's throw from the fine ornamental and kitchen gardens of George Wythe was a bustling trade shop, with its unique scents and sounds.

<sup>1</sup> H. Bullock, "Historical Report, Block 21 and 22" (orig. title: "Blair's Tenements & Bellini's House"), Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 1501 (Williamsburg, Va.: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, 1935), 1.

<sup>2</sup> References to Joshua Kendall found in Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, <http://www.familysearch.com/Search/IGI/Holding> (accessed 19 April 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, August 6, 1768.

<sup>4</sup> Patricia A. Gibbs, "The Governor's Household and Its Operations: A Thematic Paper Prepared for the Department of Interpretive Education," Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 218 (Rockefeller Library, 1981); Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, Rockefeller Library, Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia (Microfilm, M-1395).

<sup>5</sup> D. Dyer, Bristol Central Library, to author, May 11, 2000; Colin Johnston, Bath Records Office, to author, May 31, 2000.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Freeth, Keeper of Manuscripts Guildhall Library, London, to author, May 24, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 11, 20; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 4, 1769, September 28, 1769.

<sup>8</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), November 2, 1769; and Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), January 18, 1770.

<sup>10</sup> Gibbs, "Governor's Household," 20; Robert Carter Nicholas Accounts, "Accounts of the Botetourt Estate, 1768-1771," Rockefeller Library, Special Collections (Microfilm, M-22-3; original, Library of Congress), 28.

<sup>11</sup> John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772* (Richmond, Va.: [The Colonial Press, E. Waddey Co.], 1906), 91.

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Accounts, "Accounts of the Botetourt Estate," 27.

<sup>13</sup> "Joshua Kendall," Biographical File, York County Records Project, Rockefeller Library, Special Collections (Microfilm M-1797.1-152).

<sup>14</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), August 15, 1777.

<sup>15</sup> John Otto Yurechko, Christ Church Parish Register, Middlesex County, Virginia, 1653-1812 (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publishers, 1996), 104; "Middlesex County Records," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser. 10 (1930): 219; "Donald Robertson's School, Drysdale Parish, King and Queen County Virginia, 1758-1769," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 33 (1925): 292.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Wilson Coldham, *Bonded Passengers to America, Vol. 5: Western Circuit, 1664-1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983), 17.

<sup>17</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), January 3, 1771, p. 3, c.1.

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Weldon Account Book, Rockefeller Library, Special Collections (Microfilm M-153-3); York County Records, Deed Book 8, 186-188.

<sup>19</sup> "James Gardner," Biographical File, York Co. Recs. Proj.

<sup>20</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), March 18, 1773; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 18, 1773.

<sup>21</sup> York County Records, Deed Book 8, 466-468; "James Gardner," Biographical File, York Co. Recs. Proj.

<sup>22</sup> Inventory of James Gardner, Southampton County, Va., Records, Will Book with Inventories and Accounts, no. 4, 1783-1797, 607-608.

<sup>23</sup> Martha W. McCartney, "Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins and His Overlooked Map of 18th-Century Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (December 1999/January 2000), 44.

<sup>24</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, "George Wythe House Archaeology Report, Block 21 Building 4," Colonial Williamsburg Research Report no. 1488 (Rockefeller Library, 1960), map insert and 5-17, 28-29, 21-28.

<sup>25</sup> "Carpenters Shop, 1806," [http://www.shakers.org/carpenters\\_shop.html](http://www.shakers.org/carpenters_shop.html) (September 2000).

<sup>26</sup> "Joinery, 19th Century Building Construction Exhibition," <http://www.wealddown.co.uk/joiners-shop-19th-century-building-construction-exhibition.htm> (September 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 5-10.

<sup>28</sup> George and Walter Howe, photographs, c. 1880, in Mark Erlich, *With Our Hands: The Story of Carpenters in Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 10.

<sup>29</sup> George Forster, *English Joiners* (oil on canvas, 1816), in James M. Gaynor and Nancy L. Hagedorn, *Tools: Working Wood in Eighteenth-Century America* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993), frontispiece.

<sup>30</sup> John Hill, *The Carpenter's Shop at Forty Hill, Enfield* (oil on canvas, c. 1813), in Gaynor and Hagedorn, *Tools*, 44.

<sup>31</sup> Charles C. Gillispie, ed. *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry, Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates Selected from 'L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métier' of Denis Diderot* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987), 2: plates 291, 293.

<sup>32</sup> Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg: A Study of Architecture and Building in the Colonial Capital of Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990), 250-251, 67.

<sup>33</sup> David H. Roberts, ed., *18th Century Shipbuilding: Remarks on the Navies of the English and Dutch from Observations made at their Dockyards in 1737 by Blaise Ollivier Master Shipwright to the King of France* (Rotherfield, East Sussex, Eng.: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992), 75.

<sup>34</sup> Jonathan Coad, *The Royal Dockyards, 1690-1850* (Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1989), 359.

<sup>35</sup> George Sturt, *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 57-58.

<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Seager, ed., *The Countryman Book of Village Trades and Crafts* (London: David and Charles, 1978), 103-104.

<sup>37</sup> Sturt, *Wheelwright's Shop*, 29.

<sup>38</sup> Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 1:239; Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 85.

<sup>39</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), March 7, 1768; Coad, *Royal Dockyards*, 359.

<sup>40</sup> Walter Rose, *The Village Carpenter* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1987), 29.