

# NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 12-2015)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

## Sampson-White Joiner Shop

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### 1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

**Historic Name:** Sampson-White Joiner Shop

**Other Name/Site Number:** Luther Sampson Shop, Massachusetts Inventory Number DUX.698

**Street and Number** (if applicable): 267 Winter Street

**City/Town:** Duxbury

**County:** Plymouth

**State:** MA

### 2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

**NHL Criteria:** 1, 4

**NHL Criteria Exceptions:** None

**NHL Theme(s):** Theme V. Developing the American Economy

**Period(s) of Significance:** 1785-1843

**Significant Person(s)** (only Criterion 2):

**Cultural Affiliation** (only Criterion 6):

**Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder:** Luther Sampson

**Historic Contexts:**

- XVIII. Technology
  - D. Tools and Machines
- XXX. American Ways of Life
  - B. Farming Communities

### 3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

**Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?**

Yes

No

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### 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. **Acreeage of Property:** less than 1 acre
2. **Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:**

**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates:**

Datum if other than WGS84:

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

**Latitude:**

42.021503

**Longitude:**

-70.744000

**OR**

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
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3. **Verbal Boundary Description:**

The boundaries of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop are outlined in red on the attached map of the site. The site is roughly bounded to the northeast by the historic cobblestone road, to the northwest by the Berrybrook school asphalt parking lot, to the southwest by a modern wood-chipped footpath that provides access to a playground below the school, and the southeast by the wooden fence demarcating the playground.

4. **Boundary Justification:**

The boundaries correspond with the footprint of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop and are expanded slightly to undisturbed areas to encompass potential archaeological sites associated with the 18<sup>th</sup>-century shop. The northeast boundary extends to the cobblestone road, which informed the historic orientation of the building, to capture the important commercial space adjacent to transportation access. While the Berrybrook School property is much larger (35 acres in total), no other nationally significant resources survive on site. At present, the circa 2012 school is not eligible for listing. Had the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century house survived, the boundaries would be larger; the root cellar for the house does survive, but without the house the structure has lost integrity. Likely the archaeological house site, the root cellar, the historic cobblestone road, and two 19<sup>th</sup>-century outbuildings also all on the Berrybrook property could be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places at the local level.

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## **5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION**

### **INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop, the only known surviving eighteenth-century woodworking shop in its original location and with its fixtures intact, is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 1 for embodying the early American woodworking trades that helped to build the young United States, and under Criterion 4, as an exceptional example of an early American joiners' workshop, a distinct but rarely surviving architectural type. The two primary craftsmen associated with the Sampson-White Shop were Luther Sampson (ownership from 1785-1795) and Joseph White (ownership from 1795-1843), establishing its period of significance from 1785 to 1843. At these workshops, men like Luther Sampson and Joseph White used workbenches, tools, and early machines to shape raw lumber into houses, churches, barns, bridges, and other structures that formed the American landscape. While the workshops where they performed such labor varied somewhat in form, they were recognizable for their shared architectural elements and fittings, including light, utilitarian framing; a primary work room featuring workbenches; affixed storage racks and tool racks; windows to illuminate key work surfaces; and overhead or loft spaces for the storage of raw lumber and large finished work. These early shop buildings, though once common on the American landscape, slowly disappeared after the mid-nineteenth century when industrialization and changes in the building industries rendered them obsolete. The survival of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop can be attributed to its continued, intermittent use by White's descendants into the late-nineteenth century, as well as its twentieth-century usage as a storage building for a small private school on the property.

### **PROVIDE RELEVANT PROPERTY-SPECIFIC HISTORY, HISTORICAL CONTEXT, AND THEMES. JUSTIFY CRITERIA, EXCEPTIONS, AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE LISTED IN SECTION 2.**

#### **CRITERION 1**

Men like Luther Sampson and Joseph White, and the workshop where they made their living, represent the craft traditions that literally constructed the early built landscape of the United States. The work performed in shops like Sampson's and White's includes tasks from a wide spectrum of different woodworking trades—including carpentry, joinery, turning, and cabinetmaking. Together, these crafts were vital contributors to both the expanding infrastructure and the growing economy of the United States. Thousands of buildings where Americans lived, worked, and worshipped were at least partially crafted inside workshops like the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, where skilled craftspersons planed, sawed, chiseled, turned, and carved building parts such as floorboards, wallboards, window sashes, doors, mantels, furniture, and countless other structural and decorative components.

#### **Luther Sampson & Joseph White: Housewrights, Joiners, & Yeoman Farmers**

The two craftsmen who give the Sampson-White Shop its name—Luther Sampson and Joseph White—owned the farmstead and shop in consecutive tenures from 1785 to 1795 (Sampson) and from 1795 to 1843 (White). While both men were referred to as “yeoman” farmers in many period documents (as was common at the time) and likely earned their livings through a combination of farming activities and skilled trades, both Sampson and White were best known as skilled (and versatile) wood craftsmen. The Sampson-White Shop embodies their stories, and represents hundreds of craftspersons like them whose workshops have not survived.

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### *Luther Sampson—House Carpenter, Joiner, Planemaker, & Yeoman*

Luther Sampson, who was born in 1760 in Duxbury, Massachusetts, owned the Duxbury shop for ten years, from 1785 to 1795. He was described as a “House carpenter” when he purchased the property.<sup>1</sup> Sampson’s father, Paul Sampson, was described by one historian as “the master carpenter on the meetinghouse in Marshfield,” a town neighboring Duxbury, and probably built other meetinghouses in the area. If true, it is highly likely that Luther Sampson learned his trade from his father from a young age.<sup>2</sup> Sampson served “about three years” in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War (apparently spread out over the course of five years, from 1776 to 1781).<sup>3</sup> After returning from his final service in the war in 1781 (around age 21), Sampson married Abigail Ford in Pembroke, Massachusetts in August of 1783, and within eighteen months, he purchased the Duxbury “homestead farm” containing “eighty acres more or less” and “all the buildings standing thereon.”<sup>4</sup>

When he purchased the Duxbury homestead in 1785, Sampson was only 25 years old—but already established enough to be described as a “House carpenter.” Much evidence points to Sampson as the original builder of the Sampson-White Shop, whether as an entirely new build or as an expansion/reuse of a previously existing structure on the property. The material fabric of the building (with its wrought nails, beaded joists, sash-sawn boards, and vertical board cladding) points to a late-eighteenth century build date, as does limited dendrochronology (a primary workbench was built circa 1785) and a painted date of “1789” on a joist in the secondary room. The deed from his purchase of the farm in Duxbury included “all the Buildings standing thereon,” but there is no way to tell if a workshop existed on the property before the sale, or if any of the “Buildings” could have been an outbuilding repurposed and/or expanded into the Sampson-White Shop.

Evidence of Luther Sampson’s specific activities during the ten years at the Duxbury farm and workshop is thin. With eighty acres, Sampson would have been farming or leasing his farmland for income in addition to any wood craft pursuits. The physical evidence suggests that Sampson built the Sampson-White Shop shortly after purchasing the property, and he likely worked at several different types of woodworking tasks. One factor in Luther establishing his shop in Duxbury around 1785 may have been the new availability of his younger brother Chandler Sampson, who turned sixteen around 1784 and soon left their parents’ farm and “learned the carpentering of his brother, Luther,” a “trade he followed several years, first at the bench and afterwards as builder and contractor.”<sup>5</sup> Luther, only 24 or 25 years old when his brother joined him in the trade, may have viewed young Chandler as a guaranteed source of labor and trusted partnership for his house carpentry business, providing an additional reason to build the substantial shop on his new farmstead in Duxbury.

Since his father was a builder and Luther was described as a “House carpenter,” it is highly likely that Sampson’s work sometimes included building heavy timber frames ranging from large buildings like houses, barns, and meetinghouses, to smaller, more lightly-framed structures (including that of the Sampson-White Shop on his own property). That he was engaged in these heavy jobs might be supported by his own description

<sup>1</sup> Deed of Sale from Luther Sampson to Joseph White, October 10, 1795, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Deed Book 80, page 2-3. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, Plymouth County, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Sampson built the First Congregational Church’s third building, which stood from 1758 to 1837. See Linda Ramsey Ashley, *In the Pilgrim Way: The First Congregational Church, Marshfield, Massachusetts, 1640-2000* (Plymouth, MA: Powderhorn Press, 2001), 41, 102-104; and Thomas Whalen, “In Search of L\*Sampson,” *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 69, No. 3 (September, 2016): 114.

<sup>3</sup> Luther Sampson, “Letter to the Trustees of the Maine Conference” in John O. Newton and Oscar E. Young, *Kents Hill and Its Makers* (Farmington, Me.: Knowlton & McLeary, 1947), 16-20.

<sup>4</sup> Deed dated January 27, 1785.

<sup>5</sup> D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts with Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1884), 1171.

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of an injury that seriously impacted his career and perhaps even prompted him to sell the Duxbury homestead and shop in 1795. When he was “more than thirty years old,” probably around 1794 or 1795, he wrote that he, “hurt myself by a lift [building raising] which caused me to be laid up for a year” and resulted in him being, in his words, “an invalid” for the rest of his life (after his death, an endearing poem written by someone who knew him described “[h]is form, to stoop, but just inclined,” suggesting a permanent back condition).<sup>6</sup> Despite this injury, he apparently continued to attempt some heavy house carpentry even after he sold his Duxbury property and moved to Maine. Sampson reported that in 1800, just after arriving in Maine, “I got the body of my house up, roof shingled, brought the doors and windows from the old house [and installed them in the new house], and moved into it.” While he may have had the help of his son or an apprentice in this work, it is important to note that Sampson also created a “shop to work in” at his Maine house, at one point even (apparently) moving the shop from an outbuilding (the “old house”) to a room in his new house, in order to accommodate a circuit preacher’s family in the other building (Figures 32 and 33).<sup>7</sup> Clearly, Sampson was still involved in some fairly heavy carpentry tasks even after his Duxbury injury.

Even after Luther Sampson was beyond his prime and physically unable to perform the heavy tasks of a housewright and joiner, he demonstrated a commitment to the trades, and ensured that those crafts were incorporated into the curriculum of a school he helped found in Maine, the Wesleyan Seminary (now Kents Hill School). Though it was a school for training in religion, young men could earn their tuition to the school through working in “the mechanic crafts” in one of the school’s “shops,” which were typically “filled to capacity” while employing forty to sixty students in the production of wood products including cabinets, chairs, and trunks. “Mr. Sampson,” remembered one student, thus “made the crafts a lever for accomplishing his educational purposes.”<sup>8</sup> Sampson donated 140 acres of land for a school site together with a new house, barns, sheds, cattle and sheep as well as equipment, all to the value of over \$10,000.<sup>9</sup> Luther Sampson died in 1845 at the age of 84, and is buried in Kents Hill Cemetery in Readfield, Maine.

### ***Joseph White—Housewright, Joiner, Blockmaker, Carpenter, & Yeoman***

In 1795, shortly after Luther Sampson’s injury during a “lift,” he sold to Joseph White his “homestead farm . . . containing 80 acres more or less . . . together with all the Buildings, orchards and fence thereon.”<sup>10</sup> Though both men were listed as “yeoman” farmers in the deed, one of the “Buildings” conveyed on the property was Sampson’s workshop—and Joseph White continued to use the shop for a wide variety of wood crafts for nearly a half century. While Sampson may have built the workshop—and established a very successful business there—his decade of work at the shop is dwarfed by Joseph White’s 48 years of ownership, a reign that lasted from 1795 to 1843.

Joseph White was born around 1767 in Marshfield, Massachusetts to parents Carpus and Anne (Delano) White. White was only 11 when his father died fighting as a soldier in the Revolutionary War in 1778.<sup>11</sup> It is unclear if Joseph learned joinery from Carpus, as no occupation has yet been found for Carpus White. Joseph White married Rebecca Thomas in 1794 in Marshfield, Massachusetts.<sup>12</sup> They moved to Duxbury in 1795, the year

<sup>6</sup> Luther Sampson “Letter,” in Newton and Young, 13-18.

<sup>7</sup> Luther Sampson “Letter,” in Newton and Young, 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> Luther Sampson “Letter,” in Newton and Young, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Frank A. Beard, “Kent’s Hill School Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, August, Maine, February 27, 1979.

<sup>10</sup> Deed of Sale from Luther Sampson and Joseph White, 1795.

<sup>11</sup> Carpus White enlisted in the continental army in 1775 and served until his death in 1778. Justin Winsor, *History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts: With Genealogical Registers* (Crosby & Nichols: Boston, MA, 1849), 146.

<sup>12</sup> Winsor, 337.

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White purchased the shop from Sampson, and both lived at the farm on Winter Street until their respective deaths (Rebecca died in 1830, while Joseph died in 1843).<sup>13</sup>

Joseph White's trade activities, like Sampson's, can be gathered based on limited but revealing documentary evidence along with physical evidence in the Sampson-White Shop. The fluidity between the wood trades (discussed below), as well as Joseph White's impressive versatility and business acumen, is demonstrated by many legal documents listing White's profession and other records listing his real estate holdings and personal property. Out of 30 property deeds and probate documents, almost half of them (14 of 30) list White's profession as a "housewright" (see Figure 23).<sup>14</sup> He also was listed as a "carpenter" (once), a "joiner" (4 times), a "blockmaker" (4 times), and a "yeoman" (7 times). While this diversity of trades demonstrates his versatility, this variety of occupational descriptions is also a bit misleading, since every reference to White as a carpenter, joiner, or blockmaker all occurred within just a three-year period (1798 to 1801). After this, during the 43 years spanning 1801 to 1844, eighteen different documents described White as either a housewright or a yeoman.<sup>15</sup> Five of the last seven of those (spanning about his last 20 years of life) refer to him as a yeoman, with just two describing him as a housewright. This shift in occupational description might reflect his age and social status. White was approaching 60 years old when this shift occurred, and perhaps he could not—or chose not—to engage in strenuous physical labor.

Joseph White's many specializations lend insight into the wide variety of activities that he likely performed within the shop. Four different property deeds, dated in just a two-year span from 1800-1801, describe White (who was in his mid-30s) as a "blockmaker." Blockmakers were skilled carvers and turners who manufactured large pulley blocks, or block-and-tackles, primarily for use on ships. Sailors used blocks "to help with lifting sails, rigging, and other heavy items like cargo," and fully-rigged large vessels required as many as three hundred pulley blocks to run their complicated rigging, and they might need even more pulley blocks for loading freight and supplies while docked.<sup>16</sup> The profession of blockmaker, sometimes called a "pump and blockmaker" (because they also crafted pumps for use in ship hulls), "required advanced technical skills" and indicated "a precision woodcarver."<sup>17</sup> To craft pulley blocks by hand, White would have used "woodworking tools modified for that purpose" including augers, chisels, claves, and gouges, and a lathe for turning the sheaves.<sup>18</sup> In an area with multiple seaports nearby, there would have been steady demand for blockmaking.<sup>19</sup> It is unknown how much, if any, of this blockmaking work White performed within his own shop.<sup>20</sup> It is also

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<sup>13</sup> Probate Inventory for Joseph White (1843-1844), Plymouth County Probate and Family Court, Plymouth County, Massachusetts and Death Certificate for Rebecca White (1830), Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988.

<sup>14</sup> The entire list of Joseph White's recorded professions can be found in Figure 23. In addition to the year the legal document was recorded and White's profession, the deed references are also listed.

<sup>15</sup> Besides the deeds referenced previously, two separate probate documents describe White as both a yeoman and a house wright. Probate Inventory for Joseph White (1843-1844), Plymouth County Probate and Family Court, Plymouth County, Massachusetts.

<sup>16</sup> Dean A. Doerrfeld (with David L. Ames, Bernard L. Herman, and Rebecca J. Siders), *The Delaware Ship and Boat Building Industry, 1830-1940+/-: An Historic Context* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware, Center for Historic Architecture and Engineering, 1994), 89, 179-181.

<sup>17</sup> J.L. Bell, "James Brewer: Pump and Blockmaker," on Boston 1775: History, Analysis, and Unabashed Gossip about the Start of the American Revolution in Massachusetts, blog, July 14, 2007. <http://boston1775.blogspot.com/2007/07/james-brewer-pump-and-blockmaker.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Doerrfeld, 179.

<sup>19</sup> J.L. Bell, July 14, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Dedicated workshops did exist solely for the production of block and pumps. For example, in 1830, nearby Plymouth had at least one "pump and blockmaker" shop, and as early as 1759, Joseph Bucklin IV, of Providence, Rhode Island, was assessed for real estate including a "Block makers Shop." See "The Maritime Heritage Project," at <https://www.maritimeheritage.org/ports/usMaine.html>, and "Joseph Bucklin IV – Biography," Joseph Bucklin Society, <http://bucklinsociety.net/bucklin-family-history/joseph-bucklin-4th-family/joseph-bucklin-4th-bio/>.

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unclear whether this was a brief foray into this specialty or he continued to produce blocks throughout his career.

After White's primary blockmaking years, it is clear from descriptions in many deeds that he was performing housewright work—probably similar in nature to Sampson's, and likely including timber framing, general carpentry, joinery and finish work, and other skilled tasks. In fact, in 9 of 10 property transactions, spanning the years 1801 to 1822, White was listed as a “housewright” (see Figure 23), an indication that he was probably considered a generalist, and even master builder, who often oversaw the complete house building process. In 1820, the U.S. Census indicated that White was engaged in some sort of manufacturing, though the explanations for that classification could be many. That year, for the first time, the census enumerated for each household the “Number of Person Engaged in Manufactures,” and there was one such person tallied at Joseph White's property—almost certainly Joseph, himself. White, who owned at least 80 acres at his homestead when he died, as well as the nearby “Adams farm,” almost certainly was engaged in some level of farming (as his son seems to have done exclusively after inheriting the property), but his housewrighting, joinery work, or perhaps even blockmaking production was substantial enough that he was listed as a “manufacturer” rather than a farmer. This is significant—census officials knew that there would be many people who considered themselves part of all three categories of work offered (agriculture, commerce, and manufactures) but stipulated that people should only be counted as “engaged in manufactures” if they worked primarily in “manufacturing establishments” or were “artificers, handcraftsmen, and mechanics whose labor is preeminently of the hand, and not upon the field.”<sup>21</sup>

White's engagement in “manufactures” went well beyond his professional woodworking. White's probate inventory in 1843 lists a “Shingle mill and Lot” among his real estate holdings. Little is known about this shingle mill—when exactly it was built, its scale, or even its location—though it is highly likely the same shingle mill portrayed in an adjacent neighborhood on an 1857 map (Figure 12).<sup>22</sup> The shingle mill was valued at \$250—substantially less than White's “homestead farm with buildings” (\$2,364) or the “Adams farm with buildings” (\$872), but substantially more than his “3/4 [share] of Saw Mill & Lot” (\$79). Joseph White's ownership of both a shingle mill and a sawmill (and \$133.75 worth of “wood and lumber” at the time of his death) demonstrates that he had owned a workshop and also facilities to process wood into lumber products for his carpentry business. Though he may have been engaged in many woodworking trades as the need arose, White's ownership of both a shingle mill and saw mill might point more towards his work as a “housewright” (as he was called in the 1844 probate document), using the sawn lumber from the mill and the wood shingles from the shingle mill to timber frame buildings and put a roof on them. Both mills may have been business enterprises processing lumber products for the broader market, or they may have served two roles—supplying White's house carpentry work while also providing additional income.

When White died in 1843, his probate inventory listed among his personal estate “carpenter's tools” valued at \$51—a significant sum for 1843, indicating a fairly extensive collection of a serious craftsman. The sole surviving tool remaining in the Sampson-White Shop when it was “discovered” in 2012 was a small, custom-made, special square (used to check or create 90 degree corners) lying mostly out of sight on a high shelf—and stamped with the letters “JW,” almost certainly the touch mark or owner's mark of Joseph White (Figure 24).

<sup>21</sup> “Instructions to Marshalls,” in “1820 Census Instructions to Enumerators,” <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/technical-documentation/questionnaires/1820/1820-instructions.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Plymouth County Probate and Family Court Records, Joseph White 1843 probate, and, Henry Francis Walling *Map of the county of Plymouth, Massachusetts*. Boston and New York: Published by D. R. Smith & Co, 1857.

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The same probate inventory, just below the entry for carpenter's tools, shows White's "wood & lumber" on hand was valued at the substantial sum of \$133.75, worth nearly as much as all of his "household furniture" (\$140.59).<sup>23</sup> Though he was 79 years old when he passed away, these documents reveal either a carpenter still active at his trade when he died, or perhaps overseeing an active shop staffed by a son, apprentice, or other hired hands.

After his death, though White was listed as a "yeoman" in several documents, the very last document listing his trade—a record of a vendue/auction of his estate, written perhaps by someone who knew him well—declared Joseph White as a "House Wright, deceased."<sup>24</sup> Considering that White owned several properties and was likely also engaged in farming and other business enterprises, it is fitting that his final officially recorded occupation was as housewright—an indication that his lifelong identity was bound with building and working wood.

### **The Trades that Built a Nation: The Work of Early American Wood Craftsmen**

The woodworking trades in early America provide context for the work performed by both Luther Sampson and Joseph White in the Duxbury workshop. Contemporary books about craft trades, ranging from the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s, in both England and North America, made clear distinctions between the different woodworking trades, which included "carpentry," "joinery," "cabinetmaking," "chair-making," "house-carving," "turning," and "wheelwrighting." Especially in England, where guilds and trade organizations continued to protect the domains of specialists, craftspeople were often identified along narrow occupational lines for very specific skill sets. In the United States, however, especially as the apprenticeship system broke down after the American Revolution, woodworkers were far more likely to be 'jacks-of-all-trades' as occupational distinctions were often blurred (especially in rural areas) for tradespeople who performed several types of work as the need and opportunity arose. This was certainly the case for both Luther Sampson and Joseph White. Still, it is useful to isolate and elaborate on the tasks performed by the various categories of woodworkers, highlighting the breadth of skills and the range of business activities of men like Sampson and White.

### ***Carpenters***

Both Luther Sampson and Joseph White were described as a "carpenter" or "house carpenter" in a pair of 18-century documents.<sup>25</sup> The primary domain of carpenters was to create the timber frame of a building—the "shell" of the structure—to be completed afterwards through the finish work of a joiner. Contemporaries summarized that the carpenter's job was to complete the "outlines or skeleton," or the "outward Case," of a building, working mostly with the "large pieces" of timber.<sup>26</sup> A carpenter's tasks focused primarily on the structural elements of a house, like hewing timbers with an axe to create posts, beams, and rafters; fitting these structural members together by sawing and chiseling complex mortise-and-tenon joints; and sheathing the building's roof and exterior walls with boards.<sup>27</sup> Before this work, the carpenter might also help dig a cellar and lay a stone foundation (though this was primarily the domain of a stone mason) before raising the frame; once the frame was up, he would likely finish the roof with wood shingles. The carpenter typically framed out the

<sup>23</sup> Joseph White Probate, 1843.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph White Probate, 1844.

<sup>25</sup> Deed of Sale from Luther Sampson to Joseph White, October 10, 1795, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Deed Book 80, pages 2-3. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. Deed of Sale from Blaney Phillips and his wife Sarah to Luther Sampson, January 27, 1785, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Deed Book 65, pages 49-50. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, Plymouth County, Massachusetts.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Hazen, *The Panorama of Professions and Trades; Every Man's Book* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Uriah Hunt, 1837), 205. Robert Campbell, and Thomas Gardner, *The London Tradesman: Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, Both Liberal and Mechanic* (London: Printed by T. Gardner, at Cowleys-Head in the Strand, 1747), 160.

<sup>27</sup> Hazen, 205. Peter Nicholson, *Mechanical Exercises, or, The Elements and Practice of Carpentry, Joinery, Bricklaying, Masonry, Slating, Plastering, Paining, Smithing, and Turning* (London: J. Taylor, 1812), 29.

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opening for doors and windows and often laid the flooring as well. However, anything beyond this rough work—like creating window sashes, decorative paneling or mouldings, or laying a complex stairway—was considered the domain of the joiner.

Still, the house carpenter's work was skilled labor, and it was often highly complex. It required dexterity, experience, the ability to calculate, and, in the case of master carpenters, a knack for managing complicated projects with many moving parts and workers of various skill levels. As Edward Hazen pointed out in 1837, when no architect was employed on a building project, "it most commonly happens, that the master-carpenter acts in this capacity," and this was "especially the case in the erection of common dwellings, and, in fact, of other edifices where nothing very splendid is to be attempted." So for most buildings, the master carpenter acted as a general contractor—making it his business to not only coordinate the design, procure materials, and manage costs, but also to employ and manage "persons capable of executing every kind of work required on the proposed edifice, from the bricklayer and stone-mason to the painter and glazier."<sup>28</sup> According to Robert Campbell from 1747, carpenters needed to have "a solid Judgment," a "strong robust Body," the ability to "read English," a "tolerable [writing] Hand," but also the ability to "Design his work," including a command of "Geometry as relates to Mensuration of Solids and Superficies."<sup>29</sup>

In guides to the trades, a carpenter's work was often contrasted with finer joiner's work. Carpentry was often characterized as an ancient and important trade, but perhaps a lesser one in comparison with joinery. In Joseph Moxon's *Mechanic Exercises: or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*, first published in 1683, in which he discussed joinery before carpentry, he admitted that carpentry was the original wood craft, since "necessity (the Mother of Invention) did doubtless compel our Fore-fathers in the beginning to use the conveniency of the first, rather than the extravagancy of the last."<sup>30</sup> Clearly, the hierarchy of finishes and the trappings of refinement (in addition to the advanced skills required for joinery) elevated joiners to a higher status among tradespeople. Still, he admitted, carpentry was its own trade, involving many services and tasks that were the special domain of carpenters (and "especially a Master Carpenter"), requiring skills—and tools—that "a Joiner need take little notice of."<sup>31</sup>

### Joiners

Luther Sampson and Joseph White both performed joinery work as well, and Joseph White was specifically described as a joiner in several period documents.<sup>32</sup> In comparison to the large and "rough" work of carpenters, joinery was typically described as a "finishing" art, to execute "the more minute parts of the wood-work of edifices," such as flooring, window sashes, wainscoting, doors, mouldings, stairways, and mantelpieces.<sup>33</sup> Architect Peter Nicholson, in 1812, suggested that joinery required "much more accurate and nice workmanship than carpentry, which consists only of rough timbers," while joinery was "used by way of decoration only, and being always near to the eye, requires that the surfaces should be smooth, and the several junctions of the wood be fitted together with the greatest exactness."<sup>34</sup> Precision was a defining characteristic of the joiner's work.

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<sup>28</sup> Hazen, 205.

<sup>29</sup> Campbell, 160.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Moxon, *Mechanical Exercises: or the Doctrine of Handy-Works, Applied to the Arts of Smithing, Joinery, Carpentry, Turning, Bricklayery* (London: Printed for Dan. Midwinter and Tho. Leigh, 1703), p 117-118.

<sup>31</sup> Moxon, 118.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph White was described as a joiner in a series of four deeds from 1799. Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, 1799, Book 85, page 111; Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, 1799, Book 86, page 245; Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, 1799, Book 86, page 246; Plymouth County Registry of Deeds, 1799, Book 92, page 30.

<sup>33</sup> Hazen, 205; Campbell, 161; and Nicholson, 91.

<sup>34</sup> Nicholson, 91.

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Joseph Moxon noted that joinery was “an Art Manual” in which multiple pieces of wood were joined so perfectly that they “seem one intire Piece.”<sup>35</sup> Moxon explained that both carpenters and joiners engaged in “Sawing, Mortessing, Tenanting, Scribing, Paring, Planing, Moulding, etc.,” and used many of the same tools, to work much of the same “Stuff” (lumber). However, he reported that carpenters were “taught to work more roughly” and had “greater difficulty perform[ing] the curious [careful] and nice work” that was the specialty of joiners. He even claimed that carpenters’ tools needed to be stronger because, “Joiners work more curiously [carefully], and observe the Rules more exactly than Carpenters need to.” In other words, joinery was more of an art form than the rougher, more rudimentary work of house carpentry. Robert Campbell observed that “a Joiner’s Work requires a nicer Hand” and even “a greater Taste in Ornament,” and so it was even more important for joiners than carpenters to “be acquainted with Geometry” and calculating complex measurements.<sup>36</sup> As an example, Moxon noted that “we see Joiners Work their Tables exactly flat and smooth, and shoot their Joint so true, that the whole Table shews all one piece,” but though “the Floors Carpenters lay are also by Rule of Carpentry to be laid flat and true, and shall yet be well enough laid, though not so exactly flat and smooth as a Table.”<sup>37</sup>

Multiple guides from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mention the workbench as a “tool” of the joiner, while not discussing benches in the work of the carpenter. While a joiner might work on a building site like a house carpenter—preparing, for example, ceilings for the plasterer or dividing a house with partition walls<sup>38</sup>—much of his labor required carefully cutting, planing, and joining wood at a sturdy bench designed to assist in these tasks. The Sampson-White Shop features three such benches, at least two of which are from the earliest era of the workshop when Sampson used it, underscoring the building’s primary function as a joiner shop.

It is clear that Luther Sampson engaged in highly-skilled, more delicate, finish work or joinery. While carpenters specialized in creating timber frames for buildings, a joiner would engage in finishing the shell of a structure with more intricate elements like flooring, doors, windows, paneling, and mouldings. Much of this work involved the use of wood planes to smooth and shape lumber. Sampson’s skills at joinery work may have been put on display just a few feet away from his workshop, inside his own house—which, despite being a fairly common and modest Cape Cod-style dwelling, featured elaborate finish work in at least two of the rooms (Figures 28 and 29). When the dwelling was dismantled in 2012 (a process that led to the “discovery” of the Sampson-White Shop), restoration carpenters working to disassemble the structure noticed that two interior rooms featured surprisingly elaborate finish work—including paneled wainscoting, crown mouldings, and a Federal-era fireplace surround (Figures 30 and 31). The caliber of the decorative, architectural woodwork was akin to what might be observed in finer, larger, high-style dwellings of wealthy merchants or ship captains in town. Yet the dwelling was a relatively modest house, located in a rural area on the edge of town. Searching for an explanation, the restoration carpenters surmised—even before the discovery of the Sampson-White Shop—that a skilled joiner may have once lived at the property and used his house as a showroom of sorts, displaying his skill as a craftsman and showcasing different architectural treatments available to potential customers.<sup>39</sup> While the woodwork could be possibly attributed to another owner of the house, the evidence most strongly suggests that it was installed by Sampson. Some have suggested that the style of the trim may be from the Federal era, which would have been quite new during Luther Sampson’s ownership of the property, yet at least one expert believes that the woodwork actually reflects earlier design idioms—“good-looking, country-

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<sup>35</sup> Moxon, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Campbell, 161.

<sup>37</sup> Moxon, 118.

<sup>38</sup> Campbell, 161.

<sup>39</sup> Phone conversations with local restoration carpenters Gary Naylor and Michael Burrey, and tool collector Tom Whalen, May 2019.

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academic work” with mouldings and an overall style that “seems to reek of the mid-Georgian period.” Citing early-eighteenth century pattern books featuring similar fireplace surrounds, as well as other examples of mantels dating from 1750 to the 1780s, he believes the woodwork was likely installed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, “before lighter, Federal style reared its head locally.”<sup>40</sup> This makes it far more likely that Sampson was behind the elaborate joinery work in his house, since the heavy style of the trim work was nearly entirely out of fashion by the time Joseph White acquired the house and property. Still, we must also consider the possibility that someone else created the interior woodwork, especially since the dwelling was built long before the shop—around 1734 by Blanie Phillips, who had a brother who was a housewright. Joseph White also could have been responsible for installing the woodwork, perhaps shortly after he purchased the farmstead and shop in 1795.

Luther Sampson’s abilities as a joiner is evident in the work he reports doing just after his move to Maine, despite his having seriously injured himself in Massachusetts by a “lift.” One of the first tasks he undertook in Maine—even before finishing his own homestead—was to complete the unfinished meetinghouse in town, which still needed a floor, windows, doors, and pew benches. Sampson immediately got to work on the windows, for which he “made the sashes and bought the glass,” but having pushed himself too hard, he apparently reinjured himself to the point that he “could not stand and work.” Still determined, he found that he “could sit and set the glass,” which he apparently did for the entire meetinghouse. Besides creating all of the windows for the building, he also records that “I and my hired man laid the floor in the meetinghouse.”<sup>41</sup> Having built and installed windows, and laid a floor, Sampson did not yet move on to his own, unfinished homestead, as he carried on the majority of the other finish work at the church. By the time he was finished, he was proud to have “done much work on the meeting house, --glazing it, laying the floor, building the gallery breast work and pulpit, and building all the seats, and built the porch door and glass and did some work in repairing and painting the outside of the house at the cost of at least \$1000 besides what others did.”<sup>42</sup> Only a skilled joiner could pursue such an ambitious project—even with help—especially while he was “lamed.”

### *Turners*

Surviving evidence suggests that Joseph White, and perhaps Luther Sampson, sometimes performed turning work at a lathe. “Turning” involves fixing a piece of wood in a lathe, spinning it, and applying an edge tool (like a chisel or gouge) to the rotating wood to shave it down and create rounded pieces—sometimes with decorative variation in the circumference. As Moxon put it, in quite technical terms, the task of turning required cutting off “all the parts of Substance that lies farther off the Axis” to make the spinning wood piece “Concentrick to the Axis.”<sup>43</sup> Many architectural elements and furniture components were created by turners at the lathe, including columns and pillars, newel posts for stairways, and rounded chair parts like legs, stretchers, and spindles. Handles for farm implements and other tools were also turned on a lathe. Turning could be a specialist profession (in a chair factory, for example), but as Edward Hazen pointed out in the 1830s, the task of turning at a lathe was “a considerable part of the operations of several trades and occupations” including chairmakers, machinists, cabinet-makers, and brass-founders.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Personal correspondence from Ralph Harvard, architectural historian and designer, May 15, 2019. Harvard believes that the trim certainly does not date after 1800, and because of some “oddities” in the trim, it may even be possible that an older interior was salvaged and reinstalled by Sampson (or White) in his own house.

<sup>41</sup> Luther Sampson “Letter to the Trustees of the Maine Conference,” reprinted in *Kents Hill and Its Makers*, 17.

<sup>42</sup> Sampson “Letter,” 18.

<sup>43</sup> Moxon, 167.

<sup>44</sup> Hazen, 219 and Nicholson 355-356.

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### *Wood Carvers*

Carving was also a specialty woodworking trade that general carpenters or joiners typically could not or did not perform. It was “the art of forming figures in various hard substances by means of some cutting instruments, such as a chisel or graver,” frequently used “in the decorative parts of architecture” and “in ornamenting cabinet-ware.”<sup>45</sup> In London, Robert Campbell described carving as “a genteel Profession” that was “properly a Part of Sculpture,” though “Carvers in Wood are not so much esteemed as those in Stone.” The wood carver required an artistic hand, and “a Natural Genius for the Art.”<sup>46</sup> Wood carvers would typically create drawings with a pencil or another instrument, transfer the outlines onto the wood, and then use carving tools to carefully cut away wood from the design by carefully tapping the carving tool with a mallet or the palm of his hand.<sup>47</sup> While carvers often worked on furniture, many architectural elements—especially in more expensive houses—featured carved decorative elements, including mantelpieces, columns and pilasters, and doorway surrounds. Not all carving was decorative, however, and Joseph White’s work as a “blockmaker” (carving wooden pulley blocks) involved careful and extensive carving, even if it did not involve artistic expression.

### *Cabinetmakers*

Cabinetmakers typically created furniture, such as tables, stands, bureaus, sideboards, desks, bookcases, sofas, and bedsteads. No records have been discovered that tie Sampson or White to regular cabinetmaking work, though it would be unsurprising if they occasionally crafted furniture or built-ins for themselves or for customers. Though “many of the operations” of the cabinetmaker’s business were “similar to those of the carpenter and joiner,” Hazen pointed out that the cabinetmaker’s work required “greater nicety and exactness.”<sup>48</sup> Campbell noted that cabinetmakers required even “a much lighter Hand and a quicker Eye than the Joiner,” since he was “employed in Work much more minute and elegant,” and he was, by far, the “most curious [careful] Workman in the Wood Way, except the Carver.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, like the carver, cabinetmakers typically required skills in drawing, training in architecture and mechanics, “a correct taste,” and a strong business sense. A cabinetmaker frequently designed his furniture pieces to harmonize with the architecture surrounding it, “adapt[ing] the style of his wares to that of the building for which they may be designed.”<sup>50</sup> The work of cabinetmakers required such a range of talents and qualifications that they were “seldom concentrated in any single individual,” according to Hazen.<sup>51</sup> It was not uncommon, therefore, for successful cabinetmakers to operate shops that employed several highly skilled tradesmen, and they often worked closely with upholsterers in creating furniture featuring textiles.

### *Toolmaking (Planemaking)*

Toolmaking was not typically considered a wood craft and was not treated as such in period books, mostly because the essence of tool making involved metalsmithing. Yet most tools required wooden parts in addition to their iron or steel components, and it was common for carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to craft their own wood handles and body stocks to be applied to purchased metal tools, typically imported from England. This was frequently done by necessity, as well-worn tools broke or required replacement parts. Some American joiners, such as Sampson, however, tried producing extra tool stock for the market to generate additional income

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<sup>45</sup> Hazen, 228.

<sup>46</sup> Campbell, 164.

<sup>47</sup> Hazen 228-229.

<sup>48</sup> Hazen, 221.

<sup>49</sup> Campbell, 171.

<sup>50</sup> Hazen, 221.

<sup>51</sup> Hazen 221.

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Wood planes were the most common tool to be produced in batches for sale rather than for personal use, and Luther Sampson seems to have engaged in the production of wood planes for the market. Still, demand was simply not high enough to support full-time plane making as a profession in the United States and only a few craftsmen abandoned their original craft to dedicate their careers to toolmaking (and only in the late-eighteenth century did this option emerge as viable). For most New England planemakers during the eighteenth century, the planes they produced were “simply a byproduct of their trades as housewrights, joiners, or cabinetmakers.”<sup>52</sup> Scholars of tool history believe early American woodworkers practiced planemaking as part of their apprenticeships and general training. “Planes were such an essential part of the joiner’s trade that understanding how to adjust, use, and maintain them was as important as learning how to use saws and chisels,” argues tool historian Ted Ingraham, and “after dressing and molding thousands of feet of lumber, an apprentice learned the secrets of the plane, and would be barely one step away from making his own.”<sup>53</sup> Anne Wing and Donald Wing also suggest that “making planes would give a lad experience in mortising, chamfering, fitting, using floats, making special jigs, finishing, etc., and the apprentice would end up with a useable tool.”<sup>54</sup> Indeed, there is documentary evidence that young woodworkers created planes and other wooden tool parts during their training, including William Houston’s 1775 indenture to Major John Dunlap in New Hampshire, which stipulated that Dunlap would “help him to make the Wooden part of a set of tools fit for the trade.”<sup>55</sup>

Most skilled joiners could make most types of planes (the wooden portions) in as little as a couple of hours, but the specialist craftsman who produced duplicate planes for the market developed “a number of specialized tools and templates to speed their work,” especially “mother” or “master” planes (called “counter” planes at the time) used “to cut the soles of molding and joint planes, thus reducing the amount of hand shaping and ensuring consistency.”<sup>56</sup> A modified version of a cabinetmaker’s tool, the planemaker’s float, was used to smooth the plane’s wedge mortise, throat, and escapement, while “numerous templates, patterns, and preset gauges also were used to speed layout and production.”<sup>57</sup> While many woodworkers could easily fashion some of their own tools, producing quality and attractive tool stock at a pace that was profitable was a specialized skill only undertaken by a handful of craftspersons before the mid-nineteenth century.

Sampson not only owned many planes, but he also seems to have manufactured planes for the market. Many antique wood planes stamped with “L\*SAMPSON” and “L^S”, formerly an unidentified maker, have been attributed to Luther Sampson after the discovery of the Sampson-White Shop (and the story of Luther Sampson, himself). Several of these planes contain what appear to be prices (in both shillings/pence and dollars/cents) stamped onto them.<sup>58</sup> This would suggest that Sampson not only used a lot of planes in his work, but also that he was skilled and ambitious enough to manufacture tools for extra income. Yet, as two scholars of early American planemaking have observed, before the American Revolution—and, arguably, for several decades after it—“planemaking was not a full-time occupation” since “the market simply did not exist” for a craftsman “to spend his entire working day making planes.” As such, most planemakers in New England, including

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<sup>52</sup> Ted Ingraham, “The Joiner’s Trade and the Wooden Plane in Eighteenth-Century New England,” *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools: Papers Presented at a Tool Symposium, May 19-22, 1994*, Edited by James Gaynor (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 144-145.

<sup>53</sup> Ingraham, 142.

<sup>54</sup> Anne Wing and Donald Wing, “Planemaking in Eighteenth-Century America,” *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools: Papers Presented at a Tool Symposium, May 19-22, 1994*, Edited by James Gaynor (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 133.

<sup>55</sup> Ingraham, 142-143. Ingraham notes that, “The “wooden part” refers to the large number of tools that a joiner was able to make for himself out of wood, including squares, gauges, clamps, braces, and, of course, the bodies of wooden planes.

<sup>56</sup> Ingraham, 143-144. For reference to “counter” planes, see ad by Samuel Caruthers in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 13, 1764.

<sup>57</sup> Ingraham, 144.

<sup>58</sup> Whalen, 120.

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Sampson, “were listed in legal documents as yeomen, carpenters, housewrights, joiners, or shop-joiners, with only a few being identified as toolmakers.”<sup>59</sup> Most planemaking by these craftsmen was “probably done during the winter months when they were more free from farming and house-building jobs.”<sup>60</sup> A recent survey conducted to identify Luther Sampson-made planes identified dozens of them, but it is unclear just how prolific Sampson’s plane production was—and when, exactly, he was producing most of them. By all accounts, however, the planes he produced were attractive and well-made tools.

### *“Commonly Practiced by the Same Individuals”: The Versatility of Rural Wood Craftsmen in Early New England*

Despite these cleanly divided categories for many different wood trades, in practice it was common for experienced “house carpenters” and “housewrights” like Luther Sampson and Joseph White to be skilled in many areas of carpentry, including joinery, turning, and even furniture-making, in addition to timber framing and rough carpentry. The skills involved in carpentry and joinery, noted Edward Hazen in the 1830s, were “so nearly allied to each other” that they were “commonly practiced by the same individuals.”<sup>61</sup> A similar crossing of trades was evident even in eighteenth-century England, where Robert Campbell observed that joiners were “generally the same Person with the Carpenter,” and that “there are few Joiners but pretend to be Carpenters, so vice versa; but some Hands excel more in the one than the other.”<sup>62</sup> During any single season, tradespeople like Sampson and White might cross traditional occupational lines frequently, engaging in a wide variety of tasks ranging from hewing beams and raising a timber frame, to turning decorative columns on a shop lathe, planing crown mouldings on a bench, sawing boards for walls, making tools for themselves or for the market, assembling window sashes or doors, or (perhaps) even carving architectural elements with elaborate decorative details. These wood craft activities might be performed in addition to farming tasks and other market-oriented work, a mixture of enterprises common among rural “yeomen” who engaged in a trade, like Sampson and White.

The common use of the terms “house carpenter” and especially “housewright” in the United States may, in fact, have been a way to conceptually capture the broader array of skilled work performed by men like Sampson and White who did not limit their work to just “carpentry,” or only “joinery.” The versatility of many early American wood craftsmen is impressive, sometimes reaching even beyond the wood trades. For example, three generations of the Dominy family on Long Island, New York—though they all chose their own strengths and specialties—tended to be multidimensional workers who “could complete with skill and competence almost any task their neighbors asked them to perform,” and from 1765 to 1830, they operated at different times as house and mill carpenters, clockmakers, cabinetmakers, wheelwrights, turners, toolmakers, metal smiths, gun and clock repairers, and surveyors.<sup>63</sup> A similar diversity of skill was evident in August of 1763, upon the death of a rural woodworker named Richard Taylor, when his estate was advertised for auction in Maryland, and included “Carpenter’s, Cooper’s, Joiner’s, Wheelwright’s, and Turner’s Tools.”<sup>64</sup> Closer to Duxbury, Samuel Wing specialized in furniture production at his cabinetmaking shop in Sandwich, Massachusetts, especially in turning, but being situated at the foot of Cape Cod, he also built whaleboats and oars. This “willingness to tackle a variety of tasks” was “typical of most southeastern Massachusetts furnituremakers,” and this was certainly the

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<sup>59</sup> Wing and Wing, 117, 128-129.

<sup>60</sup> Wing and Wing, 129.

<sup>61</sup> Hazen, 205.

<sup>62</sup> Campbell, 161.

<sup>63</sup> Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand; the Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: Published for Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum University Press of Virginia), 1968, 220.

<sup>64</sup> Hummel, 31.

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case with both Luther Sampson and Joseph White.<sup>65</sup>

Many who enjoyed success in the skilled trades did not limit themselves solely to those enterprises. The ownership of agricultural property—and farming it—was a common economic strategy among even well-established tradesmen in New England and throughout the United States. For these craftsmen, achieving a competence involved both their reputation and production in skilled trades as well as the financial independence achieved through farming and other economic activities. This may have been the case with Luther Sampson, who owned at least 80 acres at his farmstead, and it certainly was with Joseph White, who not only owned the farmstead, but also acquired a neighboring farm, a sawmill, a shingle mill, several woodlots, and other land, all of which would have generated substantial income in addition to his own craft production. Indeed, many of these “yeoman” craftsman built substantial wealth.

While we don’t know more about the farming activities of Sampson and White, comparable examples are the well-documented Dominy craftsmen in East Hampton, New York. In his earlier years, Nathaniel Dominy IV even “helped support himself by agricultural labor for others” during the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup> In northern Delaware, the records of an anonymous joiner show that his day-to-day work, like that of many country artisans, “varied considerably and changed with the seasons.” After studying this Delaware joiner’s work patterns, decorative arts scholar Brock Jobe observes that, “In May and June we find him at work in his shop building a tea table, dining table, chest, desk, and coffin, making a jack plane for his own use, purchasing wood from nearby farmers, planting potatoes for himself and others,” as well as meeting on business and traveling, and in July, “he devoted much of his time to cutting hay.” In October, he returned to carpentry work and “began to build a carriage house (described as a “chair house”) for one friend and raised the frame of a residence for another.”<sup>67</sup> When craftspersons were more established, they might rent their land to tenants to farm, while concentrating their own work on more profitable craft production. By 1770, Nathaniel Dominy IV was “sufficiently busy to rent some of his farmland in exchange for a portion of the produce grown on it,” as he focused on craft production. His son and grandson, Nathaniel V and Felix Dominy, were able to focus on their craft work, but “agricultural efforts on their home lot and produce from land they rented constituted a significant portion of the Dominy’s income.”<sup>68</sup> Both Sampson and White amassed significant estates, as did the Dominy craftsmen on Long Island, whose property assessments placed their real estate holdings among the ten highest in value in East Hampton, New York (out of 154 houses).<sup>69</sup>

### *Learning the Trade & Earning A Living*

It took significant time and work before a tradesperson could establish a strong reputation, secure steady commissions, and accumulate that level of capital. Training for these craft professions usually involved a lengthy apprenticeship, whether formal or informal, and, for house carpenters, a period of “journeyman” labor—working for day wages and sometimes “tramping” to gain experience wherever one could find decent work.<sup>70</sup> Through this process, young carpenters could accumulate both experience and capital. It was common for a journeyman carpenter to work under the supervision of a master builder for one or more lengthy projects,

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<sup>65</sup> Jack O’Brien and Derin Bray, “Shaped by the Sea: Cabinetmaking in Southeastern Massachusetts,” in *Harbor & Home: Furniture of Southeastern Massachusetts, 1710-1850* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 31.

<sup>66</sup> Hummel, 215.

<sup>67</sup> Brock Jobe, “The Cabinetmaker’s Shop: Breathing New Life into an Old Trade,” *Mortise & Tenon Magazine* Issue 6, Spring (2019): 125.

<sup>68</sup> Hummel, 215-216.

<sup>69</sup> Hummel, 221.

<sup>70</sup> J. Ritchie Garrison, *Two Carpenters: Architecture and Building in Early New England, 1799-1859* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 2.

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earning wages and absorbing the secrets of the trade.<sup>71</sup> For preindustrial craftsmen, this involved learning both the “art” and “mystery” of a profession, to gain important skills not known to everyday people. Ian Quimby describes this sort of craftsman as:

a workman who possessed specialized skills that set him apart from a common laborer. These skills were his most valuable possession, for they gave him varying degrees of independence, mobility, and status. In the ritualistic language found in the indentures of apprenticeship, the craft skills to be learned by the apprentice are referred to as “the art and mystery”—no matter what the craft. Here *art* is used in its now obsolete sense of practicing technical skills with the aid of magic. *Mystery* connotes more than something unknown or a puzzle to be solved; it suggests the spiritual element, the essential knowledge without which the artisan would be a mere automaton. *Mystery* also smacks of secret rites, and, indeed, the process of apprenticeship is one long rite of passage that earned the apprentice special privileges in society. Apprenticeship assured the continuity of technical skills from one generation to another, but it served other purposes as well. Its primary purpose was educational in the broadest sense and involved the intergenerational transfer of culture itself. Masters stood in loco parentis to their apprentices and servants which, together, helped to constitute the extended family. The craftsman with his leather apron was thus more than a mere producer of goods.<sup>72</sup>

In the case of both Luther Sampson and Joseph White, like many other young workers, some of their training and experience may have been gained with their fathers. Ted Ingraham argues, “The process of master/apprentice or father/son transfer of craft skills was, without question, the most common method by which woodworking and in turn toolmaking skills were transferred throughout New England during the eighteenth century.”<sup>73</sup> Paul Sampson (Luther’s father) was reportedly a housewright who built meetinghouses in the area, and Carpus White (Joseph’s father) was also apparently a builder (he was owed over 37 pounds in a 1770 probate document “for building a barn & other labor”).<sup>74</sup> While Joseph was only 13 years old when his father passed away, he may have still accompanied his father on jobs as a child and at least absorbed the broader dynamics of the trade, if not engaging in some of the work. Craftspersons gained a “competence” at their trades—meaning a respectable independence—once they had gained enough experience to support themselves through their craft or through a combination of economic activities, especially once they owned their own property.

Experienced housewrights and joiners, especially those who achieved the reputation of a master builder or craftsperson, often enjoyed the ability to choose projects that were best suited to their preference, their health and age, and of course, their ability to profit. Men like Luther Sampson and Joseph White, who had families to support and who were geographically grounded (through owning a farmstead), relied on their personal and professional reputation to gain commissions.<sup>75</sup> Their experience and their knowledge—in other words, their “ability to design and make things”—gave Sampson and White a certain intellectual capital which they could translate to social and financial capital by gaining work in Duxbury, Kingston, and beyond.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Garrison, *Two Carpenters*, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Ian M. G. Quimby, *The Craftsman in Early America* (New York: Published for the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum Norton, 1984), 5.

<sup>73</sup> Ingraham, 143.

<sup>74</sup> Probate for Joseph Brewster of Duxborough (Duxbury), Plymouth County, Massachusetts, dated August 6, 1770.

<sup>75</sup> Garrison, *Two Carpenters*, 65.

<sup>76</sup> Garrison, *Two Carpenters*, 65.

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The type of work each craftsman pursued and his ability to perform it all depended on a variety of factors, including his desire (and ability) to hire and manage additional workers, as well as his own personal health and ability to perform strenuous labor. Being of sound mind and body was critical in order to execute many of the tasks of a housewright or joiner, and their work exposed them to persistent risk of injury or illness. First, though their days likely varied depending on the project at hand, housewrights, joiners, and cabinetmakers (like many laborers before the twentieth century) probably toiled at their work for very long work days and work weeks. In 1747, Robert Campbell observed in *The London Tradesmen* that cabinetmakers worked for twelve hours each day, and for six days each week. One scholar has pointed out that their American counterparts almost certainly did the same, whether engaged in cabinetmaking, joinery, house carpentry, or for that matter, farming. These hours were often necessary to remain competitive.<sup>77</sup>

For workers constantly lifting heavy beams and engaging in repetitive tasks, the risk of injury (or aggravating old injuries) loomed constantly. Luther Sampson suffered a serious back injury, which happened during “a lift” and left him “an invalid” for the rest of his life.<sup>78</sup> Injuries of this magnitude were likely a common occurrence for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century builders. For example, a joiner in Delaware during the 1780s recorded that he went “to Thos Wallaces and Joins his [house] frame but not six Minutes until by lifting a piece of Scantling I strain’d my back that makes me unable to work;” afterwards, he could not stand or sit for days, and did not return to regular work tasks for two weeks. Yet back injuries were far from the only injuries (or illnesses) that could render a housewright ineffective. The same joiner in Delaware, a couple of months before his back injury, wrote that, “This day I am much indisposed I believe from working out in the sun” (the day before), and falls, cuts, and other wounds frequently restricted his work production.<sup>79</sup>

The letters of Seth Williamson, a house carpenter working in upstate New York during the first third of the nineteenth century, reveal a seemingly constant string of significant injuries and maladies that affected his ability to work. He once took “a fall through the poles on to Esq Morisons barn floor which broke two of my ribs and injured my hip,” and “there was 4 or 5 days after my fall which I could not help myself.”<sup>80</sup> In another instance, he reported being so “lame that I cannot work” after he “cut my ankle with the broad ax,” after which he still attempted to work and “inflamd it” so badly that it “swelled very much,” leaving him unable to work for many days. In another instance, Williamson was “quite unwell” with “a bad cold,” suffered after working in frigid mid-March weather “ex posd in water fixing a saw mill till 12 O Clock at night” leaving him “affraid that the cold seated so hard on me that it would lead to a consumption,” but days later, he still reported that “I work now and my lungs appears to get more sound.” In still another incident, after cutting his shin, he “had a severe turn of cholera mortus and I have not felt as well since,” leading to his loss of “a profitable job by being sick” since his “employer could not wait for me” and hired “another head workman” for the project. Williamson’s son, Harvey, while apprenticing with his father, suffered the type of injury that could finish a craftsman’s career in an instant. One January, he “fell with an ax in his hand on the ice and cut off three of his fingers on his right hand close up to his hand,” and even though he “sowed them [back] on and put a thin piece of a shingle on” to support the reattachment of the fingers, Williamson knew “he will never have very good use of them.”<sup>81</sup> As Brock Jobe points out, “the reality of disease or injury affected everyone,” but especially for a tradesman,

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<sup>77</sup> Mack Headley, “Eighteenth-Century Cabinet Shops, and the Furniture-Making Trades in Newport, Rhode Island,” in *American Furniture*, edited by Luke Beckerdite (Milwaukee, WI: Chipstone Foundation, 1999), 24.

<sup>78</sup> Luther Sampson, “Letter to the Trustees of the Maine Conference” in John O. Newton and Oscar E. Young, *Kents Hill and Its Makers* (Farmington, Me.: Knowlton & McLeary, 1947), 16-20.

<sup>79</sup> Jobe, 125.

<sup>80</sup> Edward B. Fix, “In a Carpenter’s Own Words: Letters of Seth Williamson, 1810-1835,” *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 56, No. 4 (December 2003):147.

<sup>81</sup> Fix, 147-148.

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“any setback could be devastating.”<sup>82</sup> Certainly, the threat of debilitating injuries would have been a constant presence in the work lives of Sampson and White, since any physical incapacitation could have serious financial implications for themselves and their families. In fact, it seems likely that a serious back injury suffered by Sampson during the 1790s is what prompted him to sell the Duxbury farm and workshop and eventually move to Readfield, Maine to begin his career anew.<sup>83</sup>

To both increase their production and to be more resilient in the face of physical incapacity, tradespeople could expand their operations by hiring journeyman, wage laborers, or taking on apprentices to increase the scale of their projects and consistency of productivity. Luther Sampson had at least one known regular assistant in Duxbury and in Readfield, Maine, both family members. In Duxbury, he employed his younger brother Chandler, who, according to a local history, “learned carpentering of his brother, Luther,” when he was sixteen years old” and worked at the trade for several years, first “at the bench” (presumably alongside Luther) and “afterwards as builder and contractor.”<sup>84</sup> In Maine, where Luther Sampson was “an invalid” by his own description, he seems to have relied heavily on his son, David (who was also sixteen years old when they moved to Maine), who he mentioned as frequently assisting him in carpentry and joinery work there. He also once mentioned “my hired man”—probably not his son—who helped Sampson lay a floor in a meetinghouse.<sup>85</sup>

While cabinetmakers and joiners sometimes worked alone, or employed only a single additional worker—often a brother or a son—housewrights like Luther Sampson and Joseph White would have likely relied often on sizeable crews of several men when they undertook large projects like building a house.<sup>86</sup> The unidentified, rural joiner in northern Delaware during the 1780s, for example, “employed three workmen, including an apprentice . . . and sometimes assembled crews of local hands to assist in larger projects.”<sup>87</sup> A hierarchy of tasks would often emerge in larger projects, with apprentices or young day laborers sawing lumber, planing boards, or even running errands and cleaning the shop, while the master builder and more experienced housewrights would execute the more complicated joinery work and project management.<sup>88</sup>

The formal apprenticeship system was already coming loose at the seams after the American Revolution, and rapid social and economic changes in the United States—especially industrialization and western expansion—ensured that traditional craft production for a primary income source would be a far less viable option by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup> In the face of large-scale industrial production and the extensive transportation networks that emerged after 1820, the generation of housewrights still practicing their trades during the 1830s and 1840s were often the last of their kind. Made somewhat obsolete by the availability of mass-produced building parts, the small workshop buildings of men like Luther Sampson, Joseph White, the Dominys, Samuel Wing, and Major John Dunlap were usually stripped of their fixtures and contents, reused for other purposes, or simply demolished, making the survival of the Sampson-White Shop significant.

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<sup>82</sup> Jobe, 125.

<sup>83</sup> Luther Sampson, “Letter to the Trustees of the Maine Conference” in John O. Newton and Oscar E. Young, *Kents Hill and Its Makers* (Farmington, Me.: Knowlton & McLeary, 1947), 16-20.

<sup>84</sup> Hurd, 1171.

<sup>85</sup> Luther Sampson, “Letter to the Trustees of the Maine Conference” in John O. Newton and Oscar E. Young, *Kents Hill and Its Makers* (Farmington, Me.: Knowlton & McLeary, 1947), 16-20.

<sup>86</sup> Jobe, 120.

<sup>87</sup> Jobe, 125.

<sup>88</sup> Headley, 27.

<sup>89</sup> Quinby, 5-6.

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### CRITERION 4

#### Design of Early American Workshops: A Rare Surviving Form

Early American woodworking shops could take many forms. One scholar has suggested that, historically, “the array of possible shop spaces seems almost endless.”<sup>90</sup> Yet there are also patterns that suggest the most common solutions to creating workspace for woodworkers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Luther Sampson-Joseph White Joiners Shop survives as a rare example of a freestanding, dedicated joiner’s workshop building and the earliest known shop building to survive with many of its earliest fittings intact. By contextualizing its construction, fixtures, finishes, and spaces with recorded evidence from other workshops of its era, we can better understand the Sampson-White Shop as a survival of an architectural type.

#### *Workshop Location & Form*

Surviving evidence, including period images and descriptions, as well as extant shop buildings, indicates that rural, single-proprietor joiner shops were typically modest-sized, single-story, one- or two-room structures that were either attached to the craftsperson’s dwelling or situated very near it. There are many period references to rural carpenters’ shops being incorporated into existing outbuildings or sometimes in a room inside the craftsperson’s house. For example, a young Boston cabinetmaker named Isaac Vose noted in 1792 that he kept his shop “within house,” though perhaps only while establishing himself since he was soon operating out of a large, dedicated, two-story structure just six years later.<sup>91</sup> Luther Sampson, after relocating from Duxbury to Readfield, Maine, in 1799, seems to have comingled residential and workshop spaces, reporting that “we made a shop of the west room,” and “in a few years I gave up the west room for the circuit preacher’s family to live in and occupied the other part of the house for a shop to work in.”<sup>92</sup> It seems that Sampson may have lived in this house, described as “small” and “old,” while building a larger, new house on the property.

Perhaps most commonly, workshops were incorporated into a portion of a large outbuilding or attached as a small addition onto a house. For example, the highly-industrious minister, Jonathan Fisher, in rural Blue Hill, Maine, recorded that he created a workspace in his barn at the turn of the nineteenth century, before upgrading to a dedicated building in 1811.<sup>93</sup> During the 1830s, a pair of cabinetmakers in central Massachusetts operated their shop “over the woodshed adjoining the brick house.”<sup>94</sup> In 1806, a New York man renting a large stable advertised that “the upper part of said stable was lately used as a cabinet shop, and is well adapted for that purpose.”<sup>95</sup>

Just as commonly, workshops were attached as small, one-story wings on dwellings. For example, the Dominy family of craftsmen in East Hampton, New York, built both a carpenter’s shop (c. 1750) and a clock shop (c. 1798) on opposite ends of their dwelling, both of which were accessible from the interior of the house (Figure 14).<sup>96</sup> The addition of an ell along one side of a house was common, especially in New England, where connected outbuildings were the norm for agricultural complexes by the nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup> Samuel Wing’s

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<sup>90</sup> Brock Jobe, *Mortise and Tenon*, 115.

<sup>91</sup> Jobe, 115.

<sup>92</sup> Newton and Young, 17-18.

<sup>93</sup> Christopher Schwarz, “Bringing Jonathan Fisher Back to Life,” *Lost Art Press* (Lost Art Press, March 14, 2017)

<https://blog.lostartpress.com/2017/03/14/bringing-jonathan-fisher-back-to-life/>.

<sup>94</sup> Jobe, 115.

<sup>95</sup> Jobe, 115.

<sup>96</sup> Hummel, 6-8.

<sup>97</sup> Jobe, 115 and Thomas C. Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn the Connected Farm Buildings of New England* (Hanover: University Press of New England), 2004.

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workshop in Sandwich, Massachusetts, was built as a lengthy side addition to his house and its façade stretched wider than the house's own façade.<sup>98</sup> Samuel Doggett's shop in Middleborough, Massachusetts was also located "in an ell of his home."<sup>99</sup> In Warwick, Massachusetts, during the 1810s, the Stearns family constructed a wing on their house for both a workshop and wood storage.<sup>100</sup>

A freestanding workshop may have been the least common approach, perhaps reserved for the most ambitious of joiners and cabinetmakers.<sup>101</sup> This was probably more common in urban environments, where artisans might benefit more from a visible "shop" to promote their wares. For example, Abiel White's shop building in Weymouth, Massachusetts was reportedly a detached two-story structure, large enough to employ at least six workmen and an unfinished second floor for the storage of lumber. In planning their workshop buildings, craftsmen often created a building that could accommodate multiple types of work spaces, both industrial and domestic, into a single building. For example, a cabinetmaker's workshop in New York, a two-story structure directly behind the owner's house, featured "a cellar which answered the double purpose of a kitchen and an eating room."<sup>102</sup> Though freestanding, it is possible that the Sampson-White Shop, with its multiple levels and several different rooms to perform a variety of work tasks, may have been a multifunctional work building—a New England equivalent to the "ancillary buildings" found in Pennsylvania German areas (see, for example, the Joseph Keim ancillary house, described below in "Comparable Properties," which was also an embanked building, featuring a turner's shop and summer kitchen upstairs, and a spring-fed diary/wash house downstairs). The Sampson-White Shop's basement level has a cobble stone floor and may have had a fireplace, forge, or kettle at the base of the chimney. Pencil graffiti showing nineteenth-century calculations on a board on the southeast wall indicate some sort of work being performed in this lower level, as do the splotches of paint where someone apparently tested colors on the same wall and ceiling joists above.

Though not attached, freestanding workshops were usually located very close to the house. The dwelling associated with the Sampson-White Shop was disassembled in 2012, but a site plan drawn when it was still standing shows that the shop stood approximately 40' feet from the rear of the house's eighteenth-century section. In Weymouth, Massachusetts, Abiel White's shop was "a few steps from his home," according to a contemporary map of his property. Period paintings showing properties with workshops often portray houses "only a short distance from their shop or wareroom," and in Virginia, numerous insurance surveys reveal "the presence of shops no more than 30 feet from their owners' homes."<sup>103</sup> This close proximity makes sense, for reasons of both time and convenience, but also so they could easily be found either by family or customers.

### *Workshop Size*

Except for joiners or cabinetmakers who needed extra space to increase output, rural workshops tended to be modestly sized and compact, thus facilitating efficiency of movement during work. Samuel Wing's shop in Sandwich measured around 20 x 12 ½ feet, which "may well have been the norm for rural shops in the late eighteenth century."<sup>104</sup> Samuel Doggett's shop in Middleborough, Massachusetts, measured 20 x 16 feet; another joiner's shop in Middleborough was 20 x 15 feet.<sup>105</sup> The Dominy shop on Long Island was similar in

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<sup>98</sup> O'Brien and Bray, 28.

<sup>99</sup> O'Brien and Bray, 29.

<sup>100</sup> Garrison, *Two Carpenters*, 5.

<sup>101</sup> Jobe, 115.

<sup>102</sup> Jobe, 124.

<sup>103</sup> Jobe, 118.

<sup>104</sup> O'Brien and Bray, 29.

<sup>105</sup> Margaret K. Hofer, "The Tory Joiner of Middleborough, Massachusetts: Simeon Doggett and His Community, 1762-1792" (Masters Thesis, University of Delaware, 1991), 48.

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size, at about 22 ½ x 15.<sup>106</sup> The freestanding Sampson-White Shop is on the larger side of the spectrum, measuring around 30 x 16 feet, which likely allowed it to accommodate multiple work spaces.

### *Workshop Construction: Framing & Finish*

Early American workshop buildings tended to be very efficient, practical structures—often lightly framed and utilitarian in their construction, much like other outbuildings found on New England farmsteads. Despite the woodworking skills of the men who used them, and their access to the raw materials for building, the construction of the Sampson-White Shop, and others, reveals a pragmatic and hierarchical approach to framing and finishing.

As elsewhere in New England, the Sampson-White Shop's frame was light and simple. Three pairs of shouldered, oak posts, about 7 feet tall, support the oak wall plates and tie beams that bring the walls together. Horizontal nailing rails, set approximately 3 feet off the floor between the posts, stiffen the walls and provide support for the vertical board sheathing that runs from the sills to the plates. The rails also supported all the windows that were originally smaller and located above these rails. The joists are located on 21-24 inch centers, with thicker joists set under rafter pairs. The secondary (southeast) room has heavier joists set on 42 inch centers (and did not originally support a floor above). There were only three studs on the working floor: two that defined an entry into the secondary (southeast) room and one at the midpoint of the west wall (on the house side) of the main workshop room. These may have been framing for doors into both rooms (and perhaps a window in the main workshop room), though it is difficult to interpret these walls now since they were later altered.<sup>107</sup>

Like the framing, the interior finish of the Sampson-White Shop (and other workshops of similarly skilled woodworkers) was comparatively rough or unfinished. This was likely a common approach to workshop buildings in New England and beyond, especially at rural shops that did not double as “warerooms” or stores. The Dominy carpenter's shop in East Hampton, New York, featured walls and ceilings that were “unfinished,” according to documentation by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). The interior of the Samuel Wing shop in Sandwich, Massachusetts was also left “unfinished,” with exposed studs, rafters, and exterior sheathing.<sup>108</sup> While the Sampson-White Shop's framing was dressed to ease edges, the vertical sheathing was simply nailed up rough and unplanned. Only the fireplace wall of the shop was finished with smoothed boards. This combination of finished and unfinished surfaces seems to be characteristic of shops, barns, sheds, cowhouses, and other support structures in New England. Surfaces that were frequently touched or handled—tool racks, for example—might be smoothed, but surfaces that were visible but not touched much were left unsmoothed. While it is possible that Luther Sampson intended at some point to panel or plaster the interior, few agricultural outbuildings or purpose-built shops in New England had finished interiors, and it was probably meant to always remain an unfinished, utilitarian space.<sup>109</sup>

### *Outside the Shop: In the “Yard”*

It is important to remember that the areas outside a workshop were often important extensions of the workspaces inside the shop, and this was likely the case with the Sampson-White Shop. In decent weather, some hewing, sawing, or shaving might occur in the yard next to the shop, performed on workhorses or shaving

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<sup>106</sup> Jobe, 115.

<sup>107</sup> Adapted from Adam, Robert, Michael Burrey, and J. Ritchie Garrison. “Massachusetts South Shore Joiners Shops: Standish-Briggs Shop, Pembroke, Luther Sampson Shop, Duxbury,” Field trip guide, Vernacular Architecture Forum-New England Chapter, October 26, 2013, [VAF-NEShopTour2013.pdf \(wildapricot.org\)](#).

<sup>108</sup> O'Brien and Bray, 29.

<sup>109</sup> Adapted from Adam, Burrey and Garrison.

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benches in the open air. Frequently, lumber was also stored in adjacent structures—whether freestanding or as a lean-to on an existing workshop or outbuilding. These structures, typically open on at least one side for easy access and for air circulation, not only stored wood for later use but also allowed it to “season.” Depending on the type of wood and its intended use, it was best for some wood to cure for a period lasting even multiple years.

Though archaeology might illuminate how spaces adjacent to the Sampson-White Shop were utilized, there is currently no known evidence about the existence or location of a wood storage structure on the site. Evidence does survive at other sites, however, and suggests the possibilities at the Sampson-White Shop. One scholar suggests that “impermanent structures for seasoning and storing timber were commonplace, but rarely survive.”<sup>110</sup> An attached shed or lean-to for wood storage on the side of a workshop building seems to have been the most common solution. In 1805, an insurance survey in Lynchburg, Virginia, recorded a cabinetmaker’s shop measuring 32 x 20 ½ feet, with a “Shed addition” measuring 14 ½ x 20 feet. In Charlottesville, Virginia, Thomas Jefferson designed his “joinery” at Monticello to include a wooden lean-to on one side of the building. Period images showing workshops sometimes reveal similar shed or lean-to structures for lumber storage, like George Bradley’s open lean-to that is depicted in an early nineteenth century painting owned by Old Sturbridge Village.<sup>111</sup>

While covered sheds were the ideal place to season lumber, most woodworkers would have likely kept stacks of boards in multiple locations surrounding their workshop. The boards might have sometimes been laid horizontally with blocks between them, allowing air to circulate—keeping the boards dry and clean. While many housewrights might have relied heavily on procuring sawn lumber from a mill after contracting to commence work on a project, one can imagine many busy joiners accumulating significant amounts of lumber, for both current and future projects, and storing them all over their farmsteads. Besides lumber pieces stored in the loft of his workshop, Boston cabinetmaker Samuel Fisk, when he passed away in 1797, kept “nearly 4,000 feet of ‘Bay Mahogany’ in a pile outside his shop; “in the Shed” lay two black walnut logs and pieces of maple; an adjacent barn held even more lumber; and within his shop were sawn veneers and boards ready for use.”<sup>112</sup> An apprentice recalling life around a workshop in New York around 1816 remembered that, “Every part of the yard except a small alley that went round the building was piled with lumber; and a large frame in the extreme rear and a cellar under the warehouse were two other depositories for the same material.”<sup>113</sup> As Brock Jobe points out, accounts like these create an image of “a crowded scene centered on the shop but spilling out into adjacent areas dotted with timber of every description.”<sup>114</sup>

Besides the work inside and adjacent to the workshop, it is important to remember that timber framing and rough carpentry work often occurred on the site of the building project. In fact, for practical reasons, this was necessary for much of the work. The size of the timbers, beams, and scantling used in framing a building required working and assembling them outside, and both the size and weight of these building parts made transportation over long distances a difficult task. However, joinery (or finish carpentry) was best executed in a controlled environment with the proper equipment to carefully work wood—typically a small outbuilding with benches, fixtures, and, of course, tools.

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<sup>110</sup> Jobe, 116.

<sup>111</sup> Jobe, 117.

<sup>112</sup> Jobe, 116.

<sup>113</sup> Jobe, 124.

<sup>114</sup> Jobe, 116.

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### Inside the Shop: Work Environments of Early American Woodworkers

The survival of the Sampson-White Shop preserves an ever-so-rare glimpse into the work environments of the types of important tradespersons who built America's houses, churches, barns, bridges, and even ships. While the insides of workshops varied to some degree in their components and arrangements—just as they did in their location, size, and form—period imagery, written records, and surviving workbenches reveal a remarkable consistency in their design, layouts, and fittings.

### Layout: Rooms & Spaces

The Sampson-White Shop's main floor was divided roughly in half by a partition wall with a fireplace/chimney, with the main workshop on one side and, on the other, a secondary work room—perhaps used at times as a “clean room” for finish work. A ceiling above the main workshop not only retained some heat from the fireplace, but it also created a loft space—accessed by a makeshift ladder from the secondary room—used primarily for the storage of lumber. Since the Sampson-White Shop was embanked into a hillside, space under the southeastern half of the building (under the secondary room) was finished into an additional, third work room that may have featured a fireplace in the base of the chimney to facilitate work tasks.

At minimum, a joiner's shop obviously required a primary workshop featuring at least one sturdy workbench for planing, sawing, chiseling, and other tasks. However, many shops included secondary rooms and other ancillary spaces. The two-room main floor of the Sampson-White Shop was likely a common form for early New England workshops. For example, the shop building of Major John Dunlap, a “cabinetmaker, house joiner, and farmer” in Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, featured strong similarities in its layout, though its footprint was larger than the Sampson-White Shop.<sup>115</sup> Dunlap's plan “For a Shop,” sketched during the late-eighteenth century, laid out a two-room workshop building, with a partition wall and chimney between, with the largest room featuring a fireplace.

### *Secondary Rooms/Finishing Spaces*

These secondary rooms were likely used for a variety of tasks, including finishing work. A “clean room” was sometimes required for varnishing or painting, since floating wood dust and other debris in the dirty main workshop could easily ruin the finish on freshly treated furniture or cabinetwork as it dried.

### *Lofts*

For a trade involving the constant processing of large pieces of raw material, as well as producing large finished pieces, it was critical to have easy access to large storage spaces. A favorite solution to this problem for woodworkers was a shop loft. For example, in Delaware, a joiner recorded in 1786 that he “put the Boards I got from McDonald on Shop loft,” and the probate of Samuel Fisk reveals that he stored a mix of materials including “Pieces of Mahy &c” (mahogany and other boards) in the garret above his shop.<sup>116</sup> The Dominy carpenter shop in East Hampton, New York, featured a fixed ladder at the north end of the room, leading to an attic space or “store room” (as it was described by a descendant).<sup>117</sup> This loft space was likely used “to store lumber, large clamps, saws, and other bulky items.”<sup>118</sup> Abiel White's cabinetmaking shop in Weymouth, Massachusetts featured “an unfinished second floor for the storage of lumber.”<sup>119</sup> Paintings and engravings of workshops from the eighteenth and nineteenth century often show evidence of lofts and other overhead storage

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<sup>115</sup> Ann W. Dibble, “Major John Dunlap: The Craftsman and his Community,” *Old-Time New England* 68, no. 251 (Winter/Spring, 1978): 50.

<sup>116</sup> Jobe, 116.

<sup>117</sup> Nathaniel M. Dominy, “Restoration Drawings of the Nathaniel Dominy House, Clock & Woodworking Shops Formerly Located in East Hampton, L.I., N.Y.,” 1957. Downes Collection, Winterthur Museum.

<sup>118</sup> Hummel, 10-11.

<sup>119</sup> O'Brien and Bray, 29.

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areas, including the presence of ladders even where a loft is not visible. The Sampson-White Shop's loft above the main workshop room—accessed by a makeshift stair/ladder with only two high steps—was supported by extra floor joists, which were capable of bearing the weight of a significant amount of stacked lumber and supplies above.

Besides providing secure storage that was walkable overhead, the ceilings that were installed to create such lofts or garret spaces were advantageous (in the winter, at least) for retaining heat in the workshops below. The fairly low ceiling in the Sampson-White Shop is a possible indication that heat retention was a consideration. However, the presence of a low ceiling also imposed limitations, making it difficult to move large boards vertically and preventing leaning boards on end against the wall of the workshop room for easier access. An 1816 painting of an English joiner shop reveals open framing above, which would allow long boards to stand upright and ready for use.<sup>120</sup> In the Sampson-White Shop, this may be one reason that the secondary room did not originally feature a ceiling or loft above, but instead consisted of only three widely-spaced joists overhead, which could easily be used as de facto storage racks for lumber or finished sections of paneling, or left open for easy maneuvering with large, upright boards that could project into the area under the roof.

### *Doors and Windows: Facilitating Movement & Light*

Major John Dunlap's main workroom in his New Hampshire shop had four windows and two exterior doors, allowing plenty of light as well as access in and out of the shop in multiple directions facilitating the easy movement of wood and people. Dunlap did not indicate on his plan if there were any interior doors between workrooms, though there likely was at least one (the smaller Sampson-White Shop features two doors in its partition wall).<sup>121</sup> Almost certainly, the main workshop room of the Sampson-White Shop featured an exterior doorway on its southwest wall, where the three-window feature is now located. Without such a door, it would have been awkward to bring long boards into the main workshop room, since it would have required carrying them into the secondary room, swinging them around 90 degrees, then entering the doorway to the main shop. There might have also been a window in this southwest wall, opening the possibility of an illuminated work space on that wall that preceded the current bench and windows.

Windows were critical features in early American workshops since, before electrification, sunlight was the primary light source by which a worker could perform his careful craft, since a fireplace could not cast sufficient light and a lantern introduced the ever-present danger of a catastrophic fire. Windows were "essential" in a workshop,<sup>122</sup> so it is unsurprising that historical images portraying joiners or cabinetmakers at work in their shop almost always show them working directly adjacent to a window (Figure 25). In the Dominy shop in East Hampton, New York—now recreated at Winterthur Museum in Delaware—the primary workbench was positioned in front of the east window, "admitting light from the rising sun and providing sufficient light for the craftsmen to work into the early part of the afternoon," indicating it was "undoubtedly the most important of the three benches in the Dominy's woodworking shop."<sup>123</sup> The positioning of the benches in the Sampson-White Shop seems anomalous, since the planing bench (later converted to a lathe) and the cutting bench sit in front of the northwest and northeast windows, respectively, suggesting that these windows provided adequate light for the main workshop room, even if not positioned on the southern side of the building.

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<sup>120</sup> Jobe, 121-123.

<sup>121</sup> Jobe, 115-116.

<sup>122</sup> Hummel, 13.

<sup>123</sup> Hummel, 53.

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### Main Workshop Room: Contextualizing its Components

Early American woodworking shops varied considerably, of course, reflecting the specialties and eccentricities of their users. Yet there were extraordinary similarities in their general size, spatial arrangement, fixtures, and the tools found within them. These features also remained remarkably consistent over the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Discussing nineteenth-century cabinetmaking shops, Brock Jobe observes that “the range of tools and outfitting of work spaces changed very little from the previous century” and the “traditional methods of construction persisted.” He continues that woodworkers “relied on the same tools as their predecessors, and the basic kit identified as early as 1678 by Joseph Moxon remained in place,” as “saws, planes, chisels, gouges, a brace and bit, awl, marking gouge, hatchet, square, compass, mallet, vise, and bench” remained “as important in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as they had been 150 years earlier.”<sup>124</sup> Though much changed in the United States during the nearly 60 years Luther Sampson and Joseph White owned the workshop (1785-1843), and though both of their careers varied and evolved, the workshop where they performed much of their work remained fairly static—at least in its basic components and in the tools they used to execute their trades. However, certain elements of the main workshop room at the Sampson-White Shop were clearly altered, retrofitted, and updated occasionally to facilitate evolving work tasks, and to increase convenience and comfort.

### *Benches*

Early American joiner shops featured at least one workbench—and sometimes two or three—arranged against perimeter walls to take advantage of sunlight from exterior windows. The workbench was critical to a joiner’s work. As a leading expert on the subject, Scott Landis, has observed, the workbench is “the foundation tool of the woodworking trade, upon which all handwork is performed and without which we would have difficulty completing a single project.”<sup>125</sup> An elevated workbench brought the joiner’s work closer and provided a steady surface for him to work his wood with tools. Yet workbenches were also frequently characterized as “tools” (as early as the late-seventeenth century by Joseph Moxon) because they were “the most useful of all their tools for holding and gripping boards being planed, sawed, or shaped.”<sup>126</sup> Landis explains that, “In one very simplified view, the history of the workbench is the gradual development of an aid or replacement for the body as holding device,” allowing work to proceed more quickly and conveniently “without [wood] having to be physically restrained by the craftsman.”<sup>127</sup> For all of these reasons, the workbench was typically the “focal point” of a joiner’s workshop.<sup>128</sup>

While it was not uncommon for joiners to work at a single, multipurpose bench, in many cases, including in the Sampson-White Shop, the craftsman constructed multiple benches creating several workstations at which different types of work would be performed. Historians who studied cabinetmakers in the same region as the Sampson-White property concluded that, “Judging from the shop contents recorded in estate inventories, most southeastern Massachusetts workrooms had two benches.”<sup>129</sup> Some had even more, but these tended to be urban

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<sup>124</sup> Jobe, 120.

<sup>125</sup> Scott Landis, *The Workbench Book: A Craftsman's Guide to Workbenches for Every Type of Woodworking* (Newton, CT: Taunton Press), 1998, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Hummel, 53. See also Andre Roubo’s *L’Art Du Menuisier*, an eighteenth-century French treatise on woodworking, in which chapter 5 opens with the declaration that, “The workbench is the first and most necessary of all tools for woodworking.” Andre Roubo, Translation by Christopher Schwarz, “Andre J. Roubo: Translation of ‘L’Art Du Menuisier,’” *Lost Art Press* (Lost Art Press, June 7, 2008) <https://blog.lostartpress.com/2008/06/07/andre-j-roubo-translation-of-‘l’art-du-menuisier>.

<sup>127</sup> Landis, 6-7. The author points out that the first workbench may have been developed by a Roman carpenter, and that after that point, “No more would a craftsman be constrained to work on the ground, gripping a chunk of wood in one hand while planing or chopping it with the other. By placing the work upon a bench and fixing it with wedges or against a stop, he could hold it securely while freeing both hands to attend to the plane.”

<sup>128</sup> O’Brien and Bray, 29.

<sup>129</sup> O’Brien and Bray, 29. They further explain that during the early nineteenth century, “both chairmaker Jacob Beal, Jr. of

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shops or rural furniture makers with many hired hands and large outputs.

Though workbenches tended to be very similar in their composition—including their size, construction, height, and basic features—workers could customize their benches to suit their needs and preferences. During the preindustrial era (and continuing, for some, to this day), it was customary for a woodworker to construct his own workbench. Just as many young carpenters crafted their own tools as part of their training and for expediency, building one's own workbench may have served as a bit of a rite of passage and even served as good practice for constructing benches for farmers and other craftspersons. For example, in 1773, Nathaniel Dominy IV billed a neighbor 10 shillings for a “joiners bench,” and decades later, his son Nathaniel V charged another neighbor “To cut [a] pair of bench screws” for a vise.<sup>130</sup> Whether constructing a bench for himself or a customer, a joiner would have been well-versed in their construction, and likely observed other woodworkers' benches (and other fixtures) for ideas about how to make their own benches (and work flow) the most efficient and convenient.

Considering the skill of these woodworkers, as well as their need for sturdy work surfaces, the construction of their benches—like their shop buildings, themselves—could be surprisingly basic and even rudimentary. Scott Landis observes of the Dominy workbenches that the “workmanship on all three is rather crude” and that “many of the twisted wooden base members were obviously riven, and are joined with undersize mortises and single-shoulder tenons, roughly fitted to one another and drawn together with large wooden pins.”<sup>131</sup> The Dominy benches also did not feature stretchers between the legs to provide more stability. Yet the benches also featured ingenious features, like small grease cups that swivel out from the underside of all three benchtops, to “provide ready lubrication of the vice screws, plane bottoms and sawblades.”<sup>132</sup>

To optimize work conditions, the positioning of workbenches inside the shop was important, and tended to be very consistent—almost always being located against an exterior wall, directly in front of a window to “take full advantage of the daylight.”<sup>133</sup> As mentioned above, the benches at the Sampson-White Shop might be a bit anomalous since they are positioned in front of northern windows, though the cutting bench (on the northeast wall) would have received substantial sunlight in the morning, while the planing bench (on the northwest wall) would have been well-illuminated in the afternoon. There is no way of knowing for certain, but arrangement could plausibly reflect the daily rhythms of work at the farmstead or the preferred division of woodworking tasks throughout the day inside the shop. Charles Hummel has observed that the two smaller workbenches in the Dominy workshop in East Hampton, New York, were placed end-to-end on the same wall, “each placed in front of a window to receive light from the midafternoon and evening sun.”<sup>134</sup> One can imagine a joiner, even working on the same project, shifting his work from one side of the shop to the other as the sunlight shifted and brightened different spaces.

The layout of the Sampson-White Shop bench indicates the possibility of a spatial arrangement that reflects an orderly workflow that circulated boards counter-clockwise around the shop. Boards could enter the shop for initial sawing and shaping at the cutting bench (northeast wall), turn the corner for smoothing or additional

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Hingham and cabinetmaker Isaac Washburn of Taunton kept four benches in their shops. These rank among the largest establishments in the region; their size, however, fell well below the busiest Boston workrooms. In 1833 urban chairmaker Solomon Loud maintained a shop with eleven benches.”

<sup>130</sup> Hummel, 55.

<sup>131</sup> Landis, 13.

<sup>132</sup> Landis, 14.

<sup>133</sup> Jobe, 121-123.

<sup>134</sup> Landis, 13 and Hummel, 55.

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shaping with planes on the planing bench (northwest wall), then round the corner to the painting bench (southwest wall) for final treatments with painting, varnishing, or gluing.<sup>135</sup> Though the markings on the benches in the Sampson-White Shop's indicate a clear separation of work tasks at different benches, rural joiners commonly built basic, multipurpose workbenches that could be used for a wide variety of tasks. In discussing the Dominy workbenches, Landis points out that the Dominys were "country craftsmen" who "were woodworking generalists" like most of their rural counterparts, and he suggests that their conservative benches, with their "simple vises, stops and holdfasts would have proved more adaptable to such diverse activities" than more specialized and cutting-edge features like tail vises and shoulder vises. Still, the benches at the Sampson-White Shop will be discussed separately here, highlighting the primary work tasks performed at each.

### *Planing bench*

Before its conversion for use as a lathe (sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century), the bench on the northwest wall of the Sampson-White Shop—the planing bench—was used primarily for smoothing and shaping boards with wood planes. Dated by dendrochronology to around 1785, and thus aligning with Luther Sampson's purchase of the property, the bench's principal function was to securely hold boards firmly in place, to resist movement during planing—generally accomplished with vises, stops, holdfasts, and clamps. That this bench was used primarily for planing is revealed not only by some of its fixtures, but also because of the lack of scarring or damage on its surface from other cutting tools and its location safely removed from the fireplace, a spark from which could easily set aflame piles of shavings.

The planing bench at the Sampson-White Shop is easily its longest allowing it to accommodate long boards for smoothing and shaping. It measures over 16 feet, 2 inches long, is 2 feet, 3 inches wide, and vertically, its top measures 5 ¼ inches thick in the front, similar to the dimensions of the adjacent cutting bench that terminates into it, which is thus shorter, but also measures 2' 3" in depth and nearly 5 inches thick. However, the appearance of these workbenches is a bit deceptive, especially because of the construction of the bench tops. All of the Sampson-White bench tops, like many of the same era, are actually composed of a thick plank—rising almost to the scale of a beam—for the front portion of the bench, providing a very strong and sturdy work surface nearest the woodworker, while the bench's depth (and work surface) was widened by adding another, thinner plank behind the primary bench member. This arrangement clearly reflects a design type of the era, as shown by the Dominys' primary workbench, moved to the recreated shop at Winterthur Museum, which was also constructed in the eighteenth century. That bench's "main surface is made from a solid piece of red oak more than 12 feet long, 17 ½ inches wide, and 5 ½ inches thick," and the addition of "a supplementary board, 10 ¾ inches wide and 1 ¾ inches thick, provides a wider work surface."<sup>136</sup>

The height of the planing bench and other benches at the Sampson-White Shop is 30 ½ inches, which may appear low to modern eyes, but is very much in line with the height of most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century workbenches. Early American workbenches averaged between 28 and 33 inches in height (the primary Dominy bench stands 29 ½ inches high) which is similar to workbenches portrayed in trades manuals of that period, like Peter Nicholson's *Mechanical Exercises* (32 inches high) and Andre Roubo's *L'Art Du Menuisier* (31 ¾ inches high). While these are all "much lower than the average modern cabinetmaker's workbench," they are substantially higher than early Roman benches, which tended to "hover around knee height."<sup>137</sup> The low bench heights were likely the result of "the intensive use of the handplane" by early American craftsman," who could

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<sup>135</sup> Jeffery Klee, "Sampson Joiner's Shop, further observations, Duxbury, Massachusetts," Unpublished field memorandum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, October, 2012.

<sup>136</sup> Hummel, 53.

<sup>137</sup> Landis, 12.

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take advantage of the lower height to bear their weight upon the plane as they ran it across the board, adding additional pressure to each stroke.<sup>138</sup>

This makes even more sense when one considers the sheer volume of planing executed by a housewright during construction of even a single, average-sized house. Based on the careful study of “every piece of wood” used to build an average-sized Cape Cod house in 1787 in Danville, Vermont (around the exact time the Sampson-White Shop seems to have been constructed), one researcher calculated that “the completed house required more than 7,500 board feet of white pine lumber, which was surfaced on one side only” used primarily for flooring, panel walls, and siding, while the “doors, window sashes, and trim required an additional 2,000 board feet of pine, which had to be dressed on both sides” raising the total square feet of smoothed board surface to over 11,000 square feet.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, every square foot of board would require 6-8 passes, since the blade of an average trying plane was only about 2 ½ inches wide, meaning that “the joiner, or more likely his apprentice, would have had to push his trying plane at least 66,000 linear feet, or more than twelve and a half miles, just to prepare his stock prior to actually building with it.”<sup>140</sup> Yet for much of the building stock, there was far more work to be done with planes to shape the wood for construction. Walls of panel-and-frame constructions, doors with stiles and rails, window sashes with complicated joints, and various types of mouldings and trim all required additional shaping with planes—sometimes even multiple types of planes in different phases. The result was something like 8,400 additional linear feet of joints and over 5,000 linear feet of mouldings.<sup>141</sup> This is all the more impressive when one considers an experiment by craftsmen at the Hay shop at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, where they attempted to calculate the amount of time required to flatten and smooth rough-sawn boards. Though they determined that the time would vary “depending on the density and evenness of the grain,” they concluded that about “one hour per square foot of plank, trued and planed to the desired thickness, would be a reasonable average for preparing stock.”<sup>142</sup> Experienced joiners and their apprentices would have worked at a pace likely unmatched by modern workers, but there is little doubt that the time required to prepare lumber for house construction was enormous.

Planing boards required them to be held firmly in place in order to reduce movement or slippage under the pressure of the worker’s plane. This appears to have been accomplished at the Sampson-White Shop’s main planing bench with a rectangular “stop” on the top of the bench (a hole into which a peg could be set to protrude above the surface, acting as a stop to prevent a board from moving while smoothing its surface), and just adjacent to that stop, a (since-removed) leg vise near the southwest end of the bench (used to plane board edges with tongues and grooves). For the latter purpose, there would have been some feature for securing the other end of the board, on the right half of the bench. As Charles Hummel points out, “When long boards were fastened in the screw vise to square, or “shoot,” the edges or to place a molding on the edge, it was necessary to support the end of the board away from the vise to minimize its vibration,” a problem usually solved “by boring a series of holes into the legs of the bench,” allowing a holdfast, or peg, to be inserted into the holes as a rest for the other end of the board.<sup>143</sup> In Samuel Wing’s shop, he “mounted two vices to the bench for fastening boards while he shaped them.”<sup>144</sup> At the Sampson-White Shop, it is not entirely clear what the apparatus was for securing the board end away from the vise, but it was probably a leg with holes like those of the Dominy shop benches.

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<sup>138</sup> Landis, 12.

<sup>139</sup> Ingraham, 140-141.

<sup>140</sup> Ingraham, 140-141.

<sup>141</sup> Ingraham, 142.

<sup>142</sup> Headley, 31.

<sup>143</sup> Hummel, 53-55.

<sup>144</sup> O’Brien and Bray, 29.

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Above the planing bench, at either end, are sets of enclosed shelves, suspended on both the southwest and northwest walls. It is highly likely that one or both of these shelves stored the multitude of different planes owned by Sampson and White. The southwest shelf, in fact, shows evidence of scarring from the sharp blades on the bottom of planes. Joiners or housewrights would have likely owned dozens of planes—including three primary categories: bench planes (to smooth rough surfaces), joint planes (to cut mechanical joints for assembling multiple pieces), and moulding planes (for decorative or ornamental shaping of architectural elements or furniture). Each of these main categories of planes includes many subtypes—for example, bench planes included jack planes, trying planes, and smooth planes; joint planes included plow planes, tongue planes, rabbet planes, and half-lap planes; and moulding planes featured thousands of configurations, including side bead planes, simple pairs of hollow and round planes, and more complex shapes like the common ogee and ovolo planes, to name a few.<sup>145</sup> The shelves above the Sampson-White planing bench likely contained dozens of such planes, kept at close hand for quick access above this workstation. Solutions for storing planes varied, and the Dominy shop reveals the similar storage of planes on a shelf above the door to the house, as well as less formal storage of planes in a gap between the back of the bench and the wall (Figure 20).

### *Cutting bench*

The workbench on the Sampson-White Shop's northeast wall, the cutting bench, measures 12' 9" long, 2' 3" wide, and 4 ¾ inches thick. Physical evidence here reveals that this bench experienced a great deal of wear and tear from activities such as sawing, chiseling, cutting, and chopping boards. This bench was likely a multipurpose space where planing sometimes occurred, as well. Here, the craftsperson could scribe cut lines and saw boards to proper size, chisel boards and beams with mortise-and-tenon joints, cut dovetails for joining corners, or carve decorative patterns on architectural elements or furniture. Decades of these activities left this bench top so cut, chipped, and scarred that at some point an additional sacrificial plank was laid atop the original bench to again provide a more even surface; this plank, in turn, shows a similar amount of wear and tear, indicating that it was probably laid quite early.

To support the tasks at the cutting bench, Luther Sampson and Joseph White utilized the unfinished walls above the bench for securing tools using a series of racks, pegs, and nails. Remarkably similar racks and hangers existed at other early workshops, and are visible in old photographs of the Dominy workshop on Long Island, New York, and in the Samuel Wing workshop in Sandwich, Massachusetts—as well as in period paintings and engravings of joiner and cabinetmaking shops (Figures 16, 21, 25, 26 and 27). Many of the Sampson-White horizontal racks are of a similar type—made of pine and about one inch thick. These racks vary in length, but in form they somewhat resemble a wooden handle affixed to the wall at each end with a wrought nail, with a space between the rack body and wall for slotting in tools from above (Figure 19). These are highly similar to horizontal racks from the Dominy shops, except many racks there contain a large slot in the middle, rather than relying on the wall as a backing. These handle-style racks would have held many types of small, wood-handled tools, such as chisels, gouges, and gimlets.

There are several more specialized racks, shelves, and hangers. These include a small shelf with a single slot (measuring just 1" wide and ¼" deep) for a specialized tool (Figure 26), probably a saw wrest (which was used for tuning and sharpening saw blade teeth). Another rack, measuring 10 ½ inches wide and 1 ¾ inches deep, features two rows of circular holes for storing smaller tools (with six larger circles across the middle of the rack, a dozen smaller holes near the front edge, and one rectangular hole in the middle). This rack likely held auger bits or other small circular tools. An interesting feature above the right half of the bench is a unique sort of rack or holder, possibly for carpenter squares, consisting of three stacked, wooden blocks that create a "stepped"

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<sup>145</sup> Ingraham, 137-138.

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effect, allowing it to hold several similar objects of different sizes (Figure 27). The wall above the cutting bench also features intriguing markings and wear patterns, including two places where clusters of dozens of small holes seem to reveal the makeshift storage strategy for a carpenter's awl (a sharp, pointed tool used to scratch guide lines for sawing or chiseling), which apparently was simply jabbed into the wooden wall to keep it out of the way until it was needed again.

### *Painting bench*

The third bench at the Sampson-White Shop, positioned against the southwest wall (in front of the three 20<sup>th</sup>-century windows) was the last bench installed in the shop (probably during Joseph White's ownership), and has been referred to by some as the painting bench. Measuring 12' 7.375" long, 2' 1.5" wide, and 1.5" thick, this bench now sits in front of the three replacement windows on the southwest wall. It runs the length of the wall from the partition wall until it attaches to the planing bench.

### *Lathes*

The extant lathe in the Sampson-White Shop is located on the northwest wall of the main workshop room, and was created by essentially converting the middle section of the planing bench into a treadle lathe. This was accomplished by cutting a hole through the ceiling above the bench to accommodate what was originally a fairly large wooden wheel (later replaced by the iron wheel that survives there to the present), as well as a lengthy slot (over 6 feet long) running parallel with the front edge of the bench, to accommodate the adjustable wooden "puppets" (poppets or poppetheads) for holding the turning wood.<sup>146</sup> A long treadle was installed below the bench, for powering the lathe by foot—by setting into motion a vertical puppet (accommodated through another small slot cut in the bench) that spun the wheel above and thus the belts that turned wood at the lathe. A wood partition was installed just to the left of the lathe to preserve a small workstation at that end of the former planing bench. Additional shelving was added at this time on the northwest wall, likely to hold chisels, gouges, and other tools used for shaping rotating wood. Many pairs of small wooden pegs, which may predate the lathe, are located high above the planing bench/lathe in the sheathing and the end girt and could have held a wide variety of handled tools from augers to hammers.

It is unclear if the lathe on the northwest wall was the first installed in the Sampson-White Shop. It seems likely, however, that Luther Sampson would have had installed at least a pole lathe somewhere in his shop, and it is possible that the secondary room might have been used for this purpose. Even today, there is a large pole, about 1 ½ inches in diameter, suspended on the ceiling joists near the shelving at the southeast corner of that room, which could have been a pole for a pole lathe, but more than likely was a makeshift ceiling rack. Pole lathes were often used by craftsmen who did not expect "to do enough turning to justify the installation of a large wheel lathe."<sup>147</sup> They were "relatively easy to construct" and were configured so "one person could operate this lathe and keep both hands free," making them a popular solution for woodworkers well into the nineteenth century. Their construction was fairly straightforward: "A rope, tied to a pole suspended from ceiling beams, was wrapped about the stock to be turned and tied below the lathe bed to a foot treadle. Stepping on the treadle caused the stock to revolve toward the turner; releasing the treadle cause the pole to "spring," reversing the direction of the stock and lifting the treadle to its former position."<sup>148</sup> Yet they also had limitations, since "with

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<sup>146</sup> Early writers like Moxon use the term "puppet" for the wooden supports for lathe centers, and Charles Hummel repeats this usage in *With Hammer in Hand* and in his essay "Using Tools to Earn a Living . . ." in Gaynor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools*. However, the standard modern term for these supports appears to be "poppets" or "poppetheads." A local restoration carpenter and tool collector, Gary Naylor, suggests the present iron wheel was probably recycled from a piece of nineteenth-century farm equipment. Phone interview with Gary Naylor, conducted by Michael Emmons, April 18, 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Hummel, 94.

<sup>148</sup> Hummel, 93.

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the pole lathe, gouges and chisels can only be used when the wood being turned is moving toward the turner,” meaning the tool had to be quickly pulled away before each back stroke of the pole reversed the direction of the spinning wood. Still, a skilled craftsman would likely master this rhythm quite quickly.

Lathes were used to turn architectural elements like columns or spindles for balustrades and stairways, but they were also used to make furniture with rounded pieces, especially chairs. As one furniture historian points out, “Farmers supplemented their income by sawing planks into roughly shaped chair seats; turners fashioned stretchers, legs, and spindles on water-powered lathes; and chairmakers joined and finished the parts, often commissioning women to make rush seats and decorate the completed objects with paint,” but the lathe was “the key to the entire process”—including traditional treadle lathes like the one in the Sampson-White Shop. In addition, Joseph White’s hand (pre-mechanized) manufacture of ships’ blocks would have required a lathe to turn the disks that form the sheaves of blocks. These disks were usually fashioned from *lignum vitae*, one of the densest and hardest woods known, and a lathe would be essential in converting billets of this tropical hardwood into sheaves.<sup>149</sup>

### *Finishing/Assembly Tables*

Whether chairs, window sashes, or wainscot paneling, many items crafted in joiners’ shops in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needed to be joined, assembled, glued, or finished with paint or other treatments. The main workshop room of the Sampson-White Shop features a finishing or assembly table, situated roughly in the center of the room, where these types of tasks may have occurred. The construction of this table, with its early circular sawn planks and cut nails, likely dates it to the 1830s or 40s, during the ownership of Joseph White.

### *Overhead Racks / Other Tool Racks and Hangers*

Throughout the Sampson-White Shop’s first floor, and especially in the main workshop room, overhead racks were created by nailing thin, narrow pieces of wood to the joists above—creating convenient storage spaces for boards, patterns, furniture pieces, large tools, and other lengthy items that would be in the way on the floor or wall. These overhead racks were a common feature in early woodworking shops, and are evident in photographs of the Samuel Wing shop in Sandwich, Massachusetts, the Dominy carpenter’s shop in East Hampton, New York, and in period images of workshops.

### *Fireplaces*

The presence of a chimney at the Sampson-White Shop, as well as patch lines in the floor and partition wall, reveal the site of a former fireplace in the main workshop room. The fireplace would have been on the partition wall, slightly off-center towards the northeast wall. The early reworking of the chimney stack (which is now substantially thinner) and the presence of a protected hearth area on the floor, show that a stove replaced the fireplace—probably quite early, though this stove has since been removed, as well. A fireplace (and later a stove) would have been a welcome feature in a New England workshop, where its presence offered warmth to workers in the winter, while also providing a means of heating hide glue for joinery, and perhaps also a place to dispose of piles of wood shavings that formed after just a couple of hours of planing or even chiseling.<sup>150</sup> Yet a fireplace in a lightly-framed building full of wood shavings and lumber also posed a considerable hazard. About 30 miles to the west, in Wrentham, Massachusetts, a contemporary of both Sampson and White—a cabinetmaker named Silas Metcalf—lost his entire shop, including its tools, timber, and unfinished furniture. A report of the incident in 1798 explained that, “Some small children...in attempting to kindle a fire in the stove with pine shavings, let them drop on the floor...and immediately set the surrounding shavings in a flame, and

<sup>149</sup> Jobe, 118; Carolyn C. Cooper, “The Portsmouth system of manufacture.” *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 2 (1984): 182-225.

<sup>150</sup> Jobe, 115-116.

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soon left the room, and shut the door. The workmen being absent, it was impossible to extinguish the fire.”<sup>151</sup> It is unclear how many early American woodworking shops featured a fireplace or stove, but one scholar suggests that almost all American shops were built with one after about 1790.<sup>152</sup>

### *The Sensory World of Workshop Interiors*

Today, the Sampson-White Shop can only provide a quiet stage set at which we can imagine the busy scenes that played out here two centuries ago. Still, our knowledge of traditional woodworking practices and some fragmentary evidence allow a glimpse into the sensory world of such work environments. First, without modern climate controls, work in the Sampson-White Shop would have been performed in a wide variety of weather conditions—from frigid winter days to hot and humid summer afternoons. Sampson and White would have almost certainly attempted to minimize their exposure to the most extreme temperatures by organizing their work patterns around them, but there is little doubt that these men and their assistants would have, by necessity, spent long hours in challenging conditions. Kindling a fire in the fireplace or throwing open the windows and doors for a breeze would only go so far to alleviate their discomfort.

Though the Sampson-White Shop is today empty and silent, its rooms would have been historically packed full of tools, lumber, and people resulting in a messy and noisy environment where fast-paced work occurred. Paintings and engravings of wood shops during this era typically show workmen laboring intensely at a workbench, almost always in front of a window, with wood shavings piling up around them as well as a clutter of tools, patterns, boards, furniture pieces, and architectural elements. The constant presence of raw lumber in such shops would have resulted in the persistent scent of wood in the air, though it likely mixed and mingled with other scents, both fair and foul. A late eighteenth-century description of a rural joiner’s shop in England, though a fictional account in *Adam Bede* written by George Eliot, seems based on personal observation—and captures a scene that could have occurred at shops like Sampson’s and White’s:

The afternoon sun was warm on the five workmen there, busy upon doors and window-frames and wainscoting. A scent of pine-wood from a tentlike pile of planks outside the open door mingled itself with the scent of elder-bushes which were spreading their summer snow close to the open window opposite; the slanting sunbeams shone through the transparent shavings that flew before the steady plane, and lit up the fine grain of the oak paneling which stood propped against the wall. On a heap of those soft shavings a rough, grey shepherd dog had made himself a pleasant bed, and was lying with his nose between his fore-paws, occasionally wrinkling his brows to cast a glance at the tallest of the five workmen, who was carving a shield in the centre of a wooden mantelpiece.<sup>153</sup>

Yet Eliot’s poetic prose, and the relaxed imaginary scene it creates, probably provides a false sense of the actual pace of work in such shops—which would have been anything but casual. As Mack Headley points out, “Modern perceptions about historic trades often conjure up images of infinitely patient craftsmen working to the highest standards with no thought given to the time invested,” when in reality, “eighteenth-century tradesmen were extremely concerned with both efficiency and profit” and would have worked at an intense pace to keep on schedule and meet required production.<sup>154</sup>

Despite the frequent intensity of early American craft shops, the workers who labored within them found down

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<sup>151</sup> Jobe, 123.

<sup>152</sup> Jobe, 123.

<sup>153</sup> As cited in, Jobe, 120.

<sup>154</sup> Headley, 17.

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time for rest and play, and the Sampson-White Shop's walls are covered with intriguing historical graffiti, paper ephemera, and other markings that help bring to life the personalities and worldviews of the young men who put them there. These markings deserve systematic study. Among the more interesting wall graffiti include carvings of ships in the partition walls; a painting of a late-eighteenth century soldier marching (on the northeast door in the partition); a series of scratched, concentric circles atop that soldier's body; many calculations in chalk; early paint smears and writing (including the "1789" on a joist above the secondary room, and "O.W."—almost certainly the initials of Joseph's son, Otis—on the southwest door to the workshop); and circular symbols including upside-down hearts and several "daisy wheels" or hexafoils (drawn with a compass or dividers), which sometimes have apotropaic or protective intent, which could be the case here, where they are found on the narrow stairs to the loft, on the main workshop room door, and in the middle of a ship carved on the partition wall. Also intriguing are the early paper ephemera, though fragmentary, that is still attached to several walls for decoration, entertainment, or thoughtful contemplation. Though only a portion of each survives, they include a fragment of a Universalist newspaper (Joseph White owned a pew at a Universalist church); an early-nineteenth century newspaper clipping with a cautionary tale of temperance (titled "Murder! Murder!"); another that seems to contain advertisements for entertainment (including the word "Valse," which is French for waltz); an engraving with the heading, "Token of Love," and containing an image of a man carrying flowers, with a poem referencing cabbage and carrots; two different magazine images featuring images of cattle; an advertisement for Dr. Conine's Syrup of Ginseng and Malva (which seems to date to the 1850s, when similar ads were published in the *Boston Herald*); and another clipping fragment of what appears to be a panoramic cityscape with casks or barrels in the foreground. A few others seem to portray the rescue of people stranded on a foreign island; a portrait of P.T. Barnum; and a scene entitled "Ballet Scene from 'Pas Strategique'" (the latter two published in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* in May 1851). The majority of the paper ephemera appear to be taken from early- to mid-nineteenth century magazines or newspapers.

### Comparing the Sampson-White Shop to Other Workshop Buildings in the United States

There are no known eighteenth-century woodworking shops in the United States that survive in their original locations and with their workbenches and other major fixtures *in situ* like at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop. Since few early American joiner shops remain on the landscape, finding comparable properties is difficult. To date, no similar property has been nominated as a National Historic Landmark. However, as the result of researching the collections of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the National Register of Historic Places, and the National Historic Landmark designations, coupled with knowledge of extant properties, a number of comparable resources have been identified and are analyzed below. Comparable properties for the Sampson-White Shop include three National Historic Landmark properties, two undesignated workshops, and two museum collections. Some of these comparable sites date to the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, while other extant eighteenth-century shops do not retain the same level of integrity or interior fittings that the Sampson-White Joiner Shop does, or they are museum exhibits that have been removed from their original contexts.

#### Keim Homestead, Oley, Pennsylvania

The Keim Homestead (circa 1753), designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2016, is listed under Criteria 4. This property is a farm complex that was listed as a significant example of eighteenth-century domestic German-American vernacular architecture.<sup>155</sup> Located on the farm is an "ancillary building" that is comparable to the Sampson-White Joiner Shop in form and function. The Keim ancillary building is an embanked stone outbuilding, with two rooms on the first floor—a turner's shop and an outkitchen. The cellar level was used for

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<sup>155</sup> Philip E. Pendleton, "Keim Homestead," National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2015), 14.

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a variety of purposes, including food storage and dairying, with a spring running along the west wall of the structure on the inside.<sup>156</sup> Like the Sampson-White Shop, there is also a central chimney, which heated both interior first floor spaces. A great deal of physical evidence still illustrates the use of the ancillary house as a turner's shop. The lathe and the workbench have been removed from the Keim ancillary building, but other alterations have been minimal.<sup>157</sup> Stanchions remain for the pole lathe; there is a depression in the floor where the foot treadle was located, the large window in the gable end backlit the lathe. Tool racks along the walls, and storage racks nailed to the joists, are still extant. The material fabric of the Keim ancillary building still conveys the work process undertaken in an eighteenth-century turner's shop.

### W.A. Young & Sons Foundry and Machine Shop, Rices Landing, Pennsylvania

The W.A. Young & Sons Foundry and Machine Shop, built circa 1900, was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2014, under Criteria 1 and 4. The foundry is an outstanding example of a small twentieth-century foundry and machine shop, which operated between 1900 and 1965.<sup>158</sup> Few twentieth-century, belt-driven foundries and machine shops like W. A. Young & Sons survive today. These structures were once far more common, like the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, as an integral part of the American industrial economy. W. A. Young & Sons is nationally significant because it is one of the most complete examples of its type from its period of significance.<sup>159</sup> While the W.A. Young & Sons Foundry and Machine Shop was constructed much later than the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, the two buildings share some commonalities. Both shops are perhaps the best examples in the country of their respective building types.<sup>160</sup> These two shops were both family-owned small craft businesses. Lastly, both buildings share a high level of integrity of interior fittings, including tool racks, work benches, work spaces, and machines which together convey the material culture of each respective craft. It is this completeness of these resources that make them both nationally significant.

### Gruber Wagon Works, Reading Vicinity, Pennsylvania

First listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972, and then designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1977, the Gruber Wagon Works is an important wagon shop. The legacy NHL nomination recognizes the significance of the site related to the theme of industry, from roughly 1882 (when the shop was constructed) to 1976 (when the shop was relocated by the Army Corps of Engineers). The Gruber Wagon Works is situated in the famous Conestoga wagon-making region of Pennsylvania, and survives as perhaps the last of the family-owned and operated wagon shops.<sup>161</sup> Like the W.A. Young & Sons Foundry and Shop, as well as the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, the wagon works survived into the late 20<sup>th</sup>-century replete with machinery, tools, and other elements of material culture all related to this craft. Located within the wagon works is a blacksmith shop, bench shop, painting area, a forge, a spoke tenoning machine, a hub-boring device, a mortising apparatus, and various handheld implements that were used in the shop, all which survive.<sup>162</sup> At the time of the nomination Robert M. Vogel, then Curator at the Smithsonian's National Museum of History and Technology said of the wagon works, "extraordinary does not say it...While there are a number of small 19<sup>th</sup> century factories in the United States that survive with their machinery and other equipment intact, I know of no other where this is true to the extent that it is at Gruber's...[it] is nothing less than a three-dimensional document of

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<sup>156</sup> Pendleton, 10.

<sup>157</sup> Pendleton, 11.

<sup>158</sup> Gerald Kuncio, "W.A. Young & Sons Foundry and Shop," National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2014), 3

<sup>159</sup> Kuncio, 3.

<sup>160</sup> Kuncio, 3.

<sup>161</sup> George R. Adams, "Gruber Wagon Works," National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977), 3.

<sup>162</sup> Adams, 3.

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one particular American industry, fixed within a particular, narrow time frame.”<sup>163</sup> The same could be said of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, it is nothing less than a three-dimensional document of the early American wood working industry. While the wagon shop retains high material integrity for all the interior fittings of the shop, the structure was moved in 1976 as a result of an Army Corps of Engineers project. The wagon shop sat in an area that was to be flooded, and was relocated five miles west, but in a similar location.

### Samuel Ankrim Shop, Oxford, Pennsylvania

Surveyed by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in 1956, the Samuel Ankrim Shop survives as a late eighteenth-century (c. 1790) freestanding brick multi-purpose woodworking and shoemaking shop. Like Luther Sampson and Joseph White, archival resources for Samuel Ankrim are few. In primary source materials, most notably tax assessments, Ankrim had many professions attributed to him like Joseph White.<sup>164</sup> Ankrim was listed as a turner, spinning wheel maker, and a shoemaker, perhaps again reflecting the versatility of rural woodworkers. The shop differs from the Sampson-White Shop in a number of ways materially. It is only one room, measuring 12’ by 14’, it is made of brick construction, and the interior walls of the shop are finished (but this could have been done during a later period).<sup>165</sup> Like the Sampson-White Shop, the Ankrim Shop is situated facing south, with the entry door away from the road. The shop was heated by an interior brick chimney, then later a stove.<sup>166</sup> Interestingly the house associated with the shop was made of log construction, so unlike with the Phillips-Sampson-White House, Ankrim was not likely using the house to display his woodworking skills, instead he invested a substantial amount of money into constructing his shop out of expensive permanent materials. While the Samuel Ankrim Shop is still extant today, no documentation, recordation, research, or surveys have been conducted at the site since 1956. What material fabric survives on the interior is unknown.

### Standish-Briggs Shop, Pembroke, Massachusetts

The David Standish-Alden Briggs property was recommended for listing under Criteria A and C to the National Register of Historic Places in 1998 by Claire W. Dempsey, Professor of American and New England Studies at Boston University, as part of a study of first period architecture of the Plymouth Bay Colony.<sup>167</sup> This survey focused attention primarily on the house (which dates to circa 1720); however, a recent Vernacular Architecture Forum-New England Chapter fieldtrip visited the site in 2013 to analyze the eighteenth-century joiner’s shop on the property. It is currently thought that this structure was not purpose built as a workshop, but likely was originally a single-room dwelling that was reused as a shop sometime in the eighteenth century.<sup>168</sup> Like the Sampson-White Shop, this shop is freestanding and lightly framed. Unlike the Sampson-White Shop, it is only one-room, with no cellar space. The interior space has an intact 19<sup>th</sup>-century workbench assembled with cut nails. Other undated tool racks survive in the shop as well.<sup>169</sup> Perhaps the most significant feature of the Standish-Briggs Shop is the survival of a late 18<sup>th</sup>-century overhead lathe wheel, which J. Ritchie Garrison, Professor of Early American Material Culture at the University of Delaware, has noted is “one of only four or five eighteenth-century lathes that survives in the United States.”<sup>170</sup> This differs from the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, as there does not appear to have been a lathe present in that shop during the eighteenth century. Luther

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<sup>163</sup> Adams, 3.

<sup>164</sup> Historic American Buildings Survey, “Samuel Ankrim Shop, HABS PA-1194,” 1959, 2. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. <https://www.loc.gov/item/pa0296/>

<sup>165</sup> HABS, Samuel Ankrim Shop, 3.

<sup>166</sup> HABS, Samuel Ankrim Shop, 4.

<sup>167</sup> Stephen A. Brighton, “Alden Briggs House, 69 Brick Kiln Lane, Pembroke.” Massachusetts Historical Commission Inventory Form B – Building (PEM.8) (March 1998), 16. <http://mhc-macris.net/Details.aspx?MhcId=PEM.8>.

<sup>168</sup> Adam, et al., 2.

<sup>169</sup> Adam, et al., 2

<sup>170</sup> Adam, et al., 2.

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Sampson and David Standish were employed in different types of woodworking trades during the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century—Sampson was a housewright and planemaker, while Standish was a cabinetmaker/turner. Thus, the form, contents, and surviving material fabric of each shop is significantly different.

### Dominy Shop at the Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library, Wilmington, Delaware

Surveyed by HABS in 1940, the Dominy House (circa 1715) stood in East Hampton, New York until the house and two workshops were disassembled and demolished. The workshops, a clock shop and a joiner shop, which were both attached to the Dominy family's house, were disassembled and reinstalled at the Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library, with all the interior fittings of both shops and, perhaps most impressively, nearly all of the tools once used in them.<sup>171</sup> Around 800 tools, templates, and machinery—accumulated over two centuries by three generations of rural craftsman—survived at the Dominy Shops. Had both shops survived *in situ*, they would almost certainly be the most important examples of each type of craft shop in the country. Now all that remains is the material fabric of the interior, reassembled with a mixture of original and reclaimed framing members, as well as new fenestration patterns that allow modern day visitors to see into the shops (to accommodate viewership, windows and wall sheathing were removed and replaced with large swaths of glass). This reinstallation of the joiner shop at Winterthur was made possible by a single surviving interior HABS photo, and floor plan of the ground floor of the shop. What makes the Dominy Joiner Shop a notable comparable to the White-Sampson Joiner Shop is the similarity of the benches, tool racks, and other hanging fixtures in the shop. There are a number of commonalities in the construction of these features, their position on the walls in the shop, especially in relation to the workbenches. Essentially, the Sampson-White Joiner Shop retains its original site and major fixtures, while the Dominy Shop is completely without its original shop, but has all the tools and moveable objects that would outfit a joiner shop. Studying both the Dominy Joiner Shop and Sampson-White Joiner Shop together provides the best understanding of an eighteenth-century joiner shop.

### Samuel Wing Collection at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts

The Samuel Wing Shop, part of the Edward Wing House, was located in Sandwich, Massachusetts until the shop was disassembled and many of the interior contents were acquired by Old Sturbridge Village. Samuel Wing, like many of the craftsman discussed in the comparable section, was a cabinetmaker/turner, but also carried out many other woodworking activities. Like the Dominy Shop, only one interior photograph survives of the Samuel Wing Shop. Prior to disassembly, Old Sturbridge Village purchased the tools, patterns, and equipment that remained on the property. The only measurements recorded (no known plans exist) are the shop structure's dimensions, which measured 20' by 12 ½".<sup>172</sup> However, unlike the Dominy Shop, this collection is not on display, and not too much additional information is known about the shop before disassembly. In the Wing, Dominy, and Sampson-White shops the main focal points were the workbenches in the room. Windows were arranged above the workbenches providing light. These three shops all shared a number of other commonalities as well: the interior walls were unfinished; studs, rafters and exterior sheathing provided the location for tool storage as well as finished and unfinished parts.<sup>173</sup> The Samuel Wing Shop is an important geographic and temporal comparable to the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, but due to the complete loss of the structure any further comparison is limited.

The above comparative analysis supports the identification of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop as the only known surviving eighteenth-century wood joiner's shop in America, replete with almost the entirety of its original fittings. This, coupled with the exceptional historic integrity of the building, clearly makes the

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<sup>171</sup> Hummel, 6.

<sup>172</sup> O'Brien and Bray, *Harbor and Home*, 29.

<sup>173</sup> O'Brien and Bray, *Harbor and Home*, 29.

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Sampson-White Joiner Shop significant at the national level.

### **National Significance of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop**

At a national symposium for scholars of woodworking, hosted at Colonial Williamsburg in May of 1994, workbench expert Scott Landis lamented that, “When it comes to colonial American workshops and assessing the work life they encompassed, we are faced with a major handicap: they don’t exist.” He observed that most eighteenth-century workshops “have long since been dismantled and dispersed,” with only “a few buildings [surviving] without tools and a few sets of tools [surviving] without buildings,” but he was “unaware of a single eighteenth-century American woodworking shop that still stands in its original environment with its walls, floor, roof, and many of its original tools intact.”<sup>174</sup> The discovery of the Luther Sampson-Joseph White Joiner Shop nearly answers Landis’s call, being the most intact eighteenth-century woodworker’s shop known to survive in the United States.

The architectural historian at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Jeff Klee, points out that, “In North America, very few 18<sup>th</sup> century trade shops survive in any condition, much less with so much early fabric and so many fittings intact” as seen at the Sampson-White Shop. Beyond its rarity, Klee highlights the shop’s educational value, pointing out that, “In addition to enlarging our understanding of early American industrial practice, this research has also helped to inform the reconstruction of the James Anderson Armoury complex at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation,” one of the most important living history museums in the United States.<sup>175</sup> Scott Landis argues that, “We can tell a lot about [early American] work life by looking closely at the mundane details of shop construction. The configuration of benches and vises, for example, points to the kinds of tools used and the nature of work that took place in the shop,” and “even wear patterns on the floor and the bench can provide telltale clues about a craftsman’s occupation.”<sup>176</sup>

Historian J. Ritchie Garrison notes that the Sampson-White Shop is “probably the oldest joiner’s shop in the United States still standing on its original site with its early benches and fittings,” and adds that “the survival of interior fittings that are fixed in place, including tool racks, workbenches, and shelving, is part of the shop’s enduring importance as a document”—especially since “some of these fittings seem to date to Sampson’s period.”<sup>177</sup> Those fittings and fixtures, alone, are rare and valuable artifacts worthy of close study and preservation. Trades scholar and curator Jay Gaynor once pointed out that, “Benches dating before 1840 or 1850 are very rare,” and as such, every early bench that survives is “an important document that, by characteristics as subtle as stains or wear patterns, might have much to tell us about early benches and early woodworking method.”<sup>178</sup> However, as Charles Hummel confirms, most shops like the Sampson-White Shop “disappeared in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the transition from craft to factory production and the resultant need for new types of tools,” making the buildings obsolete.<sup>179</sup> Due to this shift, and the sometimes ephemeral nature of their construction, few workshops survive to tell the story of early American craftsmanship and the contribution of men like Luther Sampson and Joseph White in shaping the landscape of the United States.

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<sup>174</sup> Scott Landis, “In Search of the Colonial Woodworking Shop: Benches, Shops, and the Woodworking Process,” *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools: Papers Presented at a Tool Symposium, May 19-22, 1994*, Edited by James Gaynor (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 163.

<sup>175</sup> Jeff Klee, introductory essay to Sampson-White Shop photo album, Flickr.  
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/7240095@N02/albums/72157631844871371/>

<sup>176</sup> Landis, “In Search,” 163.

<sup>177</sup> J. Ritchie Garrison, “Saving Ghosts,” 21-24.

<sup>178</sup> See Gaynor’s essay, “Dating Workbenches,” in Landis, 11.

<sup>179</sup> Hummel, 31.

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### **6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY**

#### **Ownership of Property**

Private: X  
Public-Local:  
Public-State:  
Public-Federal:

#### **Category of Property**

Building(s): X  
District:  
Site:  
Structure:  
Object:

**Number of Resources within Boundary of Property: 1**

#### **Contributing**

Buildings: 1  
Sites:  
Structures:  
Objects:  
Total: 1

#### **Noncontributing**

Buildings:  
Sites:  
Structures:  
Objects:  
Total: 0

### **PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY**

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated)

#### **Summary**

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop is located in Plymouth County, Massachusetts in the Town of Duxbury five miles southwest of the Town's coastal center and three miles north of the Town of Kingston center. The building is on the Berrybrook School property, a preschool founded in 1954. The wood-framed shop was constructed circa 1785 by Luther Sampson and still sits in its original hillside location orientated to a cobblestone road. Beyond the proposed boundary, a series of changes have occurred on the school property adjacent to the shop. Until 2012 the shop was located next to an early eighteenth-century dwelling that had been occupied by Luther Sampson and Joseph White; Berrybrook School used the dwelling as a school from 1954 until 2012 (Figures 28 and 29). The eighteenth-century dwelling was deconstructed in 2012 and replaced with a larger school building that sits no more than 100' to the southwest of the former house site.

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop is a two-room wood shop on the first floor, with a one-room basement embanked into the hillside. Storage lofts are located above the two first floor rooms—that above the northern room being original and the one above the southern room having been added later by laying loose boards across the formerly uncovered joists. The building is lightly framed and measures approximately 29'6" by 16'6". The exterior walls are clad with vertical sheathing boards, likely covered in wood shingles on the exterior, but now hidden under a protective layer of vinyl siding.

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop retains a remarkably high degree of integrity. This shop is the only known survival of a purpose-built eighteenth-century wood worker's shop in the entire country. Contained within the unexpanded walls of the building are original workbenches, tool racks, and other fixtures, all surviving with a remarkably high degree of integrity. During the period of significance, the second shop owner, Joseph White, made alterations to the building to sustain his woodworking profession. White retained most of Sampson's earlier racks, benches, and other fixtures. The largest changes that occurred in the shop under White's tenure was the insertion of a lathe and the addition of a third work bench.

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The physical description is organized around three key periods of the shop construction and later alteration. The first is Period I Original Appearance: The Luther Sampson Era from 1785 to 1795. The second is Period II Alterations and Additions: The Joseph White Era from 1795 to 1843. The final phase is Period III the Briggs-Judith-Otis White Era from 1843 to 1904, which although outside the period of significance, witnessed additional changes in the structure during its life as a shop. Some minor changes did occur to the structure later, but after its use as a shop.

### Present Physical Appearance (2019)

#### **Description of Exterior**

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop is a small rectangular building consisting of a wood frame set onto a mostly continuous uncoursed fieldstone foundation. Located in the center of the building is a small re-worked brick chimney. The building is embanked into the hillside and sited along an old, now defunct, cobblestone road (described as an “Indian path used as a road” in 1923), which connected to central roads leading to the Town of Kingston three miles south.<sup>180</sup>

#### **Foundation**

Much of the foundation is continuous uncoursed fieldstone. Along the southwest and northwest elevations, the foundation is visible, ranging from as flush with the ground to 1’6” in height. Due to the embankment of the building, the foundation is different along the northeast and southeast elevations. The southeast gable end has squared wood posts resting on a wood sill laid on the ground. The uncoursed fieldstone foundation is present along roughly half of the northeast elevation (spanning in length about 14’ from the front corner south). Where the foundation terminates, matching the construction of the southeast gable end, squared posts are set into a wood sill on the ground. The flooring in this embanked basement space is cobblestone, patched in some areas with later cement. The flooring under the continuous stone foundation, mainly the northwestern shop room, is dirt. Within its perimeter stone foundation, the northwestern shop room has a dirt-floored crawl space beneath its wood-framed floor.

#### **Walls**

Today, the Sampson-White Joiner Shop is covered in a protective layer of vinyl siding, replete with vinyl corner boards and fascia. Underneath are wide vertical wood boards that range in width from 9 ½” to 1’6 ¾”. These vertical boards provide stability to the lightly framed building—called “post-and-sheathing” construction. The boards are not full height—they terminate between the first and second floors.

#### **Structural system framing**

Measuring 16’6” deep by 29’6” long, the shop is framed with three structural bents, each of which is composed of two six-inch square flaring oak posts approximately seven feet tall. Each post terminates in an English tying joint that supports the building’s 4½” by 5” oak wall plates and a lateral 6” by 7” oak tie beam. Horizontal nailing rails, set approximately 3 feet above the floor between the posts, stiffen the walls and provide support for the vertical board sheathing that runs from the sills to the wall plates. The frame is stiffened by rising braces of sawn oak, measuring 3” by 4”, which are tenoned into the posts and the wall plates and the end tie beams of the frame.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Henry A. Fish, “A Map of Duxbury, Mass., 1923,” insert, *Duxbury Massachusetts Ancient and Modern* (Duxbury: Henry A. Fish, 1924). Copy on file at the Drew Library.

<sup>181</sup> Jeffery Klee, “Sampson Joiner’s Shop, further observations, Duxbury, Massachusetts,” Unpublished field memorandum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, October, 2012, 1. The English tying joint is a standard framing detail that dates from the seventeenth century and characterizes New England frames into the nineteenth century. This joint is therefore diagnostic of the late

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### *Roof*

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop has a side-gable roof that is covered in replacement single-tab asphalt shingles over original wide sheathing boards. It is framed with sawn common rafters that are tenoned together at the ridge. There are five pairs of mortise-and-tenoned rafters above the workroom and four pairs above the clean room. These later rafters are spaced differently than those in the workroom; these rafters are all 4¾ x 7" and set on 3'6" centers.<sup>182</sup> Additionally, the five pairs of rafters above the workroom have pegs driven from the northwest, while the four rafters above the clean room are pegged from the southeast.

Spanning between the front and rear wall plates are a series of pine joists that support the boarded loft floors over the two rooms. Above the northwestern workroom, the joists are placed 21" to 22" on center, and alternate between 3" by 7" and 4½" by 7" in cross-section. The heavier joists are paired with the rafters above, while the lighter members fall between rafter locations and simply help to support the loft floor. The loft floor above the southeastern "clean" room was added later by laying loose boards across the formerly uncovered joists.

### *Chimney*

The interior brick chimney is located roughly in the center of the shop, laid in a running stretcher bond. The chimney walls are one brick thick and the chimney measures 1'7" by 1'7". Each face of the chimney displays two stretchers and one corner brick in each course. The original chimney was larger, also certainly of brick construction, but was reconfigured around 1870 to accommodate a stove in the work room; the thimble for this stove is the only opening in the chimney as reconstructed in the period between 1843 and 1903 (defined hereafter as 'Period III'). Today, the chimney is capped at the roof and covered in asphalt shingles to further protect the shop from precipitation and animals. Condition issues are present in the basement, with a large portion of bricks missing from one corner of the chimney—this has been fitted with a makeshift wooden lally column (or jack post) to support the weight of the chimney above.

### *Southwest Elevation*

The southwest elevation of the shop is two bays wide and provides the only access to the first floor of the shop. Sited at grade, the northern bay is comprised of a triple window with six-over-six double hung sash wood windows. This bay was modified in the second half of the twentieth century (likely under the tenure of the Berrybrook School), reconfiguring a single window or door opening. Currently, this window is boarded by plywood on the exterior. The second bay is a sliding doublewide wood plank door, hung on the exterior of the building. A wood box encloses the track for the door. This bay was also altered, likely around 1870—replacing the original narrow entry door. The original door post remains, and the robbed pocket for the stud is visible on the underside of the plate on the interior, providing evidence of this alteration.

### *Northwest Elevation*

The northwest elevation contains a single window. The western corner of the building is sited at grade and drops 1'6" across the elevation to the east, exposing the uncoursed fieldstone foundation. The only bay is a now plywood-covered window opening. This opening was enlarged under Joseph White's ownership of the property, as the current opening is cut through the interior medial rail, and the nails are machine-cut nails instead of wrought nails. A wood six-over-six double hung sash window was *in situ* as late as 2012 but has since been removed. An opening at the attic level was cut through the exterior wallboards during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; this opening is not visible on the exterior, as it is covered in vinyl siding. No physical evidence presently indicates

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eighteenth-century date that the nomination assigns to the Sampson-White Shop. The English tying joint is explained and illustrated in detail, with variants, through elegant drawings of exploded examples in Jack A. Sobon, *Historic American Timber Joinery: A Graphic Guide* (Becket, Mass.: Timber Framers Guild, 2002), pp. 8-10.

<sup>182</sup> Klee, 1.

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that it accommodated a door or a window. Additional physical evidence might be visible on the exterior if the vinyl siding were to be removed.

### *Northeast Elevation*

The northeast elevation is embanked into the hillside; there are two windows on the first floor and one bay window at the basement level. All are plywood-covered window openings. At the first level, there is one window per room: one in the northwestern room and one in the southeastern room. Both windows were enlarged under White's ownership, as they are also cut through the medial rails. The northeastern window was eight-over-twelve double hung sash wood. It was in place as late as January 2019. The southeastern window is still *in situ* and is a six-over-six double hung sash wood. The window at the basement level is roughly aligned with the window in the southeastern room. It, too, is boarded over without an interior window.

### *Southeast Elevation*

The southeast elevation is the only side of the building that is two stories in height. There is one boarded window opening at the first floor. It contains a six-over-six double hung sash wood window. This opening has also been reworked, with evidence on the interior that the original opening was larger. There are two openings at the basement level for a door and window. Both openings are boarded with plywood. The door is an early-twentieth century board-and-batten door that swings out from the building. Adjacent to the door is a boarded narrow window opening. This opening is smaller than the other window in the basement and was cut into the wall during the twentieth century when this floor was used for housing animals of some sort. The upper sash remains and is four-light wood; presumably the lower sash was identical. Additionally, there is a boarded window bay at the attic level. It likely contained a fixed single sash window, but it has been removed.

### **Description of Interior**

The interior of the building is divided into three primary rooms: the shop room (northwest), the clean room (southeast), and one room in the basement (underneath the southeast room). Neither first-floor room has interior wall surfaces and the exterior sheathing boards are exposed on all walls. These are 1" thick white-pine boards, which were mill-sawn and left unplaned.<sup>183</sup> These two rooms are separated by a partition wall, which is carefully finish-planed on both sides, with a narrow ¼" bead. Additionally, the floor and ceiling boards are treated in the same manner as the exterior wall sheathing. Surficial markings are visible on the face of several floorboards; most notably, lumberyard tally marks are still scribed into the surface. The six major framing members (four corner post and two intermediate posts) are also left roughly finished. They display deep axe and adze marks from hewing the members roughly square. The exposed joists, plates, and rails are all neatly chamfered, even when they are obscured by interior fittings like the benches. The most remarkable interior fabric that remains *in situ* in the shop room are the Period I fixtures, including two woodworking benches (northwest and northeast benches), the tool racks, open shelving, overhead racks, and many other tool hangers or organizers.

### *The Shop (Northwest) Room*

The shop room is 16' in width by 14'11" in length. Three windows historically lit this space. There is one window located above each of the Period I benches along the northwestern and northeastern walls. Both openings were enlarged and cut through the medial rail during the Period II reworking of the shop. Neither opening retains a window. A twentieth-century triple wood window was inserted along the southwestern wall, replacing an earlier door or window.

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<sup>183</sup> Klee, 2.

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Period I and Period II tool racks, workbenches, cabinets, and shelving are found throughout this space. In general, the earliest Period I fittings are separated from later ones by the wrought nails used to attach them to the walls; later periods of construction utilized cut nails.<sup>184</sup> Three workbenches line the interior walls, while the fourth wall provides access to the fireplace, and the clean room. The benches along the northwest and northeast walls date to the Period I construction of the shop; the planing bench was dated by dendrochronology to 1785. The two earliest benches display different wear patterns and indicate their early use. The northwest bench, which was converted in Period II to accommodate a lathe, was originally a planing bench.<sup>185</sup> The bench itself is 5 ¼" thick and 9 ½" wide. Historian and Early American Material Culture Professor Ritchie Garrison has noted that the northwestern bench was,

an ideal size for planing the pieces used in frame-and-panel construction. Normally workers do not use chisels or saws on these benches because a scarred bench top mars the soft pine commonly found in local paneling. The planing bench has very few scars from stray tools and it is furthest from the fireplace. Shavings pile up, but they are still far from danger. It is also no accident that the shelves for the molding and bench planes are located to either end of this planing bench. Scars show where Sampson and others placed molding planes.<sup>186</sup>

The northeastern (cutting) bench suffered a lot of damage during the woodworking process. It was so marred by tools that, during Period II, a sacrificial plank was used to reface the bench.<sup>187</sup> Based on wear patterns on the bench, the wood workers of the shop were cutting tenons, chopping out mortises, and pinning joists with pegs.<sup>188</sup> The assemblage of nailed racks for chisels, bits, awls, squares, saws, and saw wrests along the northeastern wall further supports the usage of this bench for those identified purposes.<sup>189</sup> It was important to have tools as handy as possible while woodworking. The bench along the southwestern elevation, known as the painting bench, is from Period II and is constructed differently than the earlier two benches. In the center of the shop room is an unfixed finishing (or assembly) table, comprised of circular sawn boards. The table has been attributed to the Period II reworking of the shop.<sup>190</sup>

Just like the benches, the surviving tool racks suggest different purposes for each area of the workroom. Above the northeast bench, to the south of the window, there are remains of at least three Period I tool racks. During a 2012 site visit to the shop, architectural historian Jeffrey E. Klee noted,

[a]t the upper right, about two feet above the horizontal rail, is a small rack with just a single, narrow 1-inch slot in it. At lower left, close to the bench and to the window, is a longer rack with 7 circular holes drilled through it. 6 of these are 7/16" in diameter, seemingly to hold auger bits. The 7<sup>th</sup> is centered at the front of the rack and has a rectangular stop cut into the rack around it. On either side of this centered hole are 12 small square holes. Both of these racks are solid, have eased edges, and are fixed to the plank sheathing with wrought nails, and are therefore likely original. A third rack has been removed but the two wrought-nailed standoffs for it survive. These sit about 18" above the rail and formerly held a single, roughly 42" long piece off the wall to allow several handled tools, perhaps chisels, to be dropped

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<sup>184</sup> Garrison, "Saving Ghosts," 24.

<sup>185</sup> Garrison, "Saving Ghosts," 24.

<sup>186</sup> Garrison, "Saving Ghosts," 24.

<sup>187</sup> Garrison, "Saving Ghosts," 24.

<sup>188</sup> Adam, et al., 2.

<sup>189</sup> Adam, et al., 2.

<sup>190</sup> Personal correspondence with Professor J. Ritchie Garrison to Catherine Morrissey, June 5, 2019.

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in behind it.<sup>191</sup>

Besides the tool racks, other tool hangers survive along the northeastern and northwestern walls. Sets of small wooden pegs (Period I), clustered along or adjacent to the plates, provided additional tool storage. Additionally, underneath the northeastern longitudinal plate is a rack that stored planes. Affixed to the underside of that rack are 7 wrought-nailed sticks, placed perpendicular to the wall. These sets of sticks likely held saws and were conveniently located above where the chopping and sawing occurred.<sup>192</sup> Another interesting surviving tool storage feature (dated to Period II), located on the northeastern wall to the south of the window, is a set of nested squares. These square racks likely held sets of measuring squares. Between the window and the tool cabinet are three other long tool racks, each with deep slots. Two are carefully shaped and secured with wrought nails, indicating that these are Period I fixtures. The third is a Period II addition, as it is secured with cut nails. All three racks are 2'6" long and likely stored smaller handheld tools.<sup>193</sup>

Above the northwestern (planing) bench, at both ends, are two neatly constructed planed cabinets, both of which have 11" deep shelves and sit between the plate and the medial rail. The western cabinet has five shelves, while the eastern cabinet has four. Both are dated to Period I and are wrought-nailed in place. Neither cabinet was ever fitted with doors. Two tool racks are located to the west of the northwest window, dating to Period I, as they are wrought-nailed to the exterior sheathing board. Seven pairs of small wooden pegs are driven into the sheathing boards and the plates between the northwest window and the eastern cupboard.<sup>194</sup>

Under Joseph White's ownership of the property, the northwest bench was reworked to accommodate new types of woodworking activities. White inserted a foot-powered treadle lathe for turning work. The slab of the planing bench was cut through to accommodate a 6" slot to support the movement of a sliding tailstock or a puppet (which is still located in the shop).<sup>195</sup> Additionally, a partition wall, consisting of three boards, was added. Physical evidence in the framing indicates the size of the Period II lathe wheel; the current wheel, Period III upgrade, is made of iron and smaller than the previous wheel.

Along the southwestern wall, few fixtures survive as a result of a twentieth century reworking of the window opening. However, a few traces of earlier tool hangers and racks are present. Towards the southern end of the painting bench, adjacent to the partition wall, is a single wrought-nailed shelf and a piece of a cut-nail tool rack.<sup>196</sup> This tool rack was shortened when the triple window was inserted into this wall. Adjacent to the cabinet on the north end of this elevation is a clear paint edge, providing the dimension of a now-removed board. It is 9 3/4" from the cabinet and was likely another cabinet (like the two that remain).<sup>197</sup> A surviving wrought nail on the topside of the medial rail indicates that the missing cabinets were at least 1'4" long and 9 3/4" wide and that the bottom of the cabinet (like the other two cabinets and the Period I windows) rested on the rails. Based on the physical evidence along the wall (mainly the many layers of haphazardly applied paint), this Period I cabinet was removed during the Period II reworking of the shop and corresponded with the addition of the painting bench.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Klee, 6.

<sup>192</sup> Klee, 6.

<sup>193</sup> Klee, 6. The tool racks at the Dominy Shop now located at the Winterthur Museum is an excellent comparable to the surviving fittings at the Sampson-White Shop. Several similar tool racks survive, along with the Dominy's original tools.

<sup>194</sup> Klee, 7.

<sup>195</sup> Klee, 8.

<sup>196</sup> Klee, 8.

<sup>197</sup> Klee, 6-7.

<sup>198</sup> Klee, 6-7.

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### *The Clean (Southeast) Room*

The clean room (14'6 by 16'6) has fewer interior fittings than the shop room. Both board-and-batten wood doors, which are located along the partition wall, swing into the clean room, on either side of the center chimney. No opening currently exists in the chimney to heat the clean room. Adjacent to the chimney, on the southwestern side, is a narrow and steep ladder with three treads, which provides access to the attic space above the shop room. In the eastern corner of the room is a wood-lined closet, which was added in Period III; a closet door that swung out into this space has been removed. Along the northeastern wall is one reworked six-over-six double hung sash wood window. Along the northwestern wall of the Period III closet are two shelves, which likely provided tool storage of some sort towards the end of the nineteenth century. The southeastern wall also has a reworked six-over-six double hung sash wood window. This window rests in a notch cut into the top of the horizontal nailing rail rather than fully extending below the severed rail as do the other refitted Period II windows in the building. Along the southwestern wall is the Period III sliding door. Visible on the underside of the southwest longitudinal plate is the robbed pocket for the original Period I door post. Located to the south and adjacent to the sliding door is more tool storage, with two upper shelves and a lower trough or basin. No physical evidence suggests that the trough was ever waterproofed, so its current function is unknown. Along the joists is evidence of a pole (possibly for a lathe); however, no other physical evidence remains to suggest the function of the pole lathe in the room. The clean room did not originally have an overhead floor; today, loose boards are laid atop the floor joists and provide extra storage space.

### *Attic Spaces*

Currently, there is an attic space above both the shop (northwest) and the clean (southeast) room, while historically only the shop had an attic space above. The shop room attic space is accessed by a unique, and very narrow, three-step stair, which is positioned along the southwest side of the chimney (this stair was relocated during the Period III reworking of the chimney). The attic floorboards above the shop room are nailed into the attic floor joists below using hand-forged nails. The attic floorboards are treated in the same manner as the floorboards of the shop floor below, being rough mill-sawn and not planed. The sash-sawn oak attic rafters have neatly eased corners.<sup>199</sup> A later opening was cut into the northwest gable end. No physical evidence suggests that this opening had a door, or a window hung. The Period III lathe wheel is cut through the attic floorboards and braced in place by two additional boards. This space was historically used for over-sized storage including unprocessed lumber, large finished pieces, and large tools, specifically saws.

The southeast garret space was originally open to the first floor, with no flooring above. Today, there is a floor, and unlike the northwest attic space, the milled boards are loose and not nailed to the floor joists. In the gable end is a window frame and sash, although no muntins or glass survive. Physical evidence suggests that this opening was once larger, with newer sheathing boards placed below the window opening.

As previously mentioned, the rafters are spaced differently above the northwest and the southeast rooms. There are five pairs of mortise-and-tenoned rafters above the shop room and four pairs above the clean room (this count includes the end rafters above the plates).

### *Cellar Spaces*

The historic function of the cellar space is currently unknown, but it likely accommodated joiner and wood shop activities. In the early-twentieth century, the space was fitted to house livestock, probably chickens. The most notable feature of the cellar room is that it is not symmetrical and the placement of the intermediary stone foundation wall jogs across the width of the space. On the southwest fieldstone wall, there are no openings as

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<sup>199</sup> Klee, 2.

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this space is entirely under grade. The southwest wall measures almost 12' in length, and it terminates at the intermediate stone foundation wall. In contrast, the northeast wall, which is above grade on this elevation and constructed of vertical wood sheathing boards and wood corner posts, terminates at the intermediate stone foundation wall at 15'11". The northwest intermediate wall spans the full width of the cellar (15'3" on the interior), but jogs back to the northwest at 5'8", creating the irregular room configuration. Interestingly, this intermediate stone wall is not placed underneath the partition wall between the shop and clean rooms above.

The southwestern and northwestern walls are made of fieldstone and contain no openings. The southeastern and northeastern walls of the cellar are both of "post and sheathing" construction, like the story above. There are two square hewn corner posts and an additional square hewn post underneath the summer beam. The only other vertical-framing members are a set of door posts (3.75"x2.75") and two sets of window posts (3.75" x 2"), all of which are later milled dimensional lumber.

There are only three openings in the cellar, two of which are a door and window on the southeastern wall. The early board-and-batten door provides the only entrance into the space. A later narrow window is cut into the wood sheathing boards nearly adjacent to the door. The only other window is along the northeastern wall and is wider than the southeastern window by 8". The northeastern window is also later or reworked from the original opening.

The chimney is located adjacent to the intermediate stone foundation wall job. This is a later, smaller brick chimney, and its present configuration did not heat the cellar space. Physical evidence on the floor of the cellar space indicates the original size of the Period I chimney and includes the partial remains of a brick hearth. Some of these hearth bricks are scorched, indicating that this space was heated historically.

The flooring in the cellar space is a laid cobblestone floor. The pine floor joists are hewn square but left un-chamfered, denoting hierarchically a lower finish than the shop room above. There is one summer beam that spans the width of the building, at roughly 12', and sits atop the intermediate stone foundation wall before it jogs to the northwest. This, too, is pine, hewn square and left un-chamfered.

The cellar space directly below the shop (northwest) room is an unfinished crawl space. There is no flooring, only dirt, and the entirety of this room is supported by a continuous fieldstone foundation. The floor joists differ from those of the finished cellar space; they are oak, approximately 8" in diameter, and left partially in-the-round, some with bark still attached, and taper at the ends to slot into the sills. A trap door, adjacent to the northeastern work bench in the shop room above, provides access into the crawl space and likely provided a way to clean sweepings out of the shop and onto the ground below.

### Historic Physical Appearance

#### **Period I Original Appearance: The Luther Sampson Era (1785-1795)**

In 1785, Luther Sampson likely built his shop in one building campaign. As today, the shop measured 29'6" by 16'6" and partitioned nearly in the middle to create two interior workrooms, one of which was heated by a chimney and fireplace. The shop was framed on the embankment of a hill, with a partially continuous stone foundation under the northwestern (shop) room. Under the southeastern (clean) room was a full workspace at the cellar level. These three rooms comprised the workspaces created by Luther Sampson.

The exterior siding and the roofing were both clad in wood shingles. Underneath the wall shingles were wide vertical wood sheathing boards (intact) that range in width from 9 1/2" to 1'6 7/8". These vertical boards provided stability to the lightly framed building—called "post-and-sheathing" construction. The boards were not full height—terminating between the first and second floors—unplaned, nailed to the frame.

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The shop was framed by Sampson with 6" square, shouldered oak posts at the four corners and at the intermediate partition—six posts in total, all dressed with eased edge (intact)s. Each of the three pairs of posts were roughly 7' tall, flare towards the top to take a 4.5x5" oak wall plate and a 6x7" oak tie beam. Along the outer walls, 3" square horizontal rails, set about 3' from the floor, joined the posts. These rails stiffened the walls and provided support for the vertical board sheathing that ran from the sills to the plates. Additionally, the rails also supported all of the windows that were originally smaller with the windows sills resting atop the rails. 3x4" sawn up-braces were pegged to the posts and the tie beams, also providing further stability and rigidity to the structure.

Other than the six principal posts, there were only three other vertical members on the first floor during Period I. Two of these were a 3 ¼" stud and a 3 ¼ x4" pegged door post, framing a narrow entry into the southeastern (clean) room. The doorpost remains but the stud was removed during Period III renovations ("the Briggs-Judith-Otis White Era, 1843-1904"). A second stud sat in the middle of the southwestern wall of the shop room. The role of this stud in the original structure of the building is unclear. Conceivably, it was used to define one side of a door or window opening.<sup>200</sup>

Above the shop (northwestern) room, extant pine ceiling joists were set on 21 to 22" centers and alternate between 3x7" and 4.5x7" in cross-section. The heavier joists were associated with rafter pairs, above, while the lighter members fell in between to help support the loft floor over this space. There were five pairs of mortise-and-tenoned rafters above the workroom and four pairs above the clean room (intact). These later rafters were spaced differently than those in the workroom; these rafters were all 4.75x7" and set on 3'6" centers.<sup>201</sup> Additionally, the five pairs of rafters above the workroom have pegs driven from the northwest, while the four rafters above the clean room were pegged from the southeast. Only the shop room had a ceiling in the Period I configuration. The floor over the shop held in the heat from a fireplace. The clean room did not originally have a floor above it and was open to the attic space above; this configuration allowed for storage of lumber or unfinished timber in the shop. In the clean room, one of the joists is marked "1789" with black paint on its southeast face, visible when entering the only door into the shop.

The fenestration on all four elevations is original, although all openings have been enlarged to allow more light into the interior workspaces. The original height of all windows in the shop cannot have been more than the distance between the top of the rail and the underside of the wall plate, or 3'4 ½". These window sashes (measuring 1'10" wide) were likely both 6-over-6, which Sampson was capable of making himself on site.<sup>202</sup> On the southwest elevation, both openings have been enlarged from a single opening in width to that of double or triple their original width.

The interior configuration of the shop has remained consistent since 1785. There were two interior rooms on the first floor (the workroom and the clean room) and one room in the cellar. No physical or archival evidence suggests any alternative configuration of the interior space. The interior partition wall also dates to the first period of construction. It is the only wall that was finished with smooth boards, carefully planed on both sides, replete with a narrow ¼" bead at the joints of the board.<sup>203</sup> The combination of finished partition wall and unfinished exterior walls seems to be characteristic of shops, barns, sheds, cowhouses, and other support

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<sup>200</sup> Klee, 3.

<sup>201</sup> Klee, 1.

<sup>202</sup> Klee, 3.

<sup>203</sup> Klee, 2.

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structures in New England.<sup>204</sup> Few agricultural outbuildings or purpose-built shops in New England had finished interiors.<sup>205</sup>

The Sampson-White Joiner shop had a fireplace when it was constructed that was downsized and later removed. Cuts in the floorboards of the first floor and evidence along the partition wall mark the larger size of the earlier brick fireplace, which was approximately 5'3" deep by 6' wide and provided a heated workspace in the work or shop room, as well as the cellar space below. It is currently unknown if this large chimney stack also provided heat for the clean room as no physical evidence remains in the joiner shop to support or refute this.

As it was originally laid out, the shop room was equipped with two adjoining benches on the northwest and northeast walls (intact). These benches were similarly built, with a heavy, continuous slab fronting a narrower rear board, together forming the bench surface.<sup>206</sup> The slabs were supported with just two legs apiece at the front, with no rear legs supporting either bench. These legs were dovetailed into the top slabs and cut through for a screw for leg vises.<sup>207</sup> The two benches were joined to each other with ledgers and the frame of the building at the northern corner post. Several tool racks and pegs were located along the southwestern, northwestern, and northeastern walls. These held a mixture of handheld tools in easy reach of the wood workers working at the benches.

In addition to the benches, tool racks, and pegs, three neatly planed tool cabinets were located in the shop room. The two extant cabinets, which rest on the medial rails, have 11" deep shelves. The western cabinet had five shelves and the eastern cabinet had four shelves, all of which remain. These two cabinets were never fitted with doors. The third cabinet was located adjacent to the western cabinet and was 9 3/4" in width and 1'4" long.

Very little is known about the Period I function and layout of both the clean room and cellar room. In the clean room, there were two windows, one along the northeastern wall and the other along the southeastern wall, both in the locations they exist today. The large brick fireplace would have occupied more floorspace. Based on the material evidence in the floor, the ladder to the attic would have been in a different location, perhaps on the other side of the chimney where the Period II doorway was inserted into the partition wall. There was no floor located above the clean room—the space was open to the roof rafters.

The cellar only had one room historically, like today. Underneath the work room was a crawl space supported by a continuous fieldstone foundation. A full height room was below the clean room, which remains. The northwestern and southwestern walls were comprised of a continuous fieldstone foundation and embanked into the hillside. The northeastern and southeastern walls were constructed with post-and-sheathing framing, matching the construction of the first floor. There were two square hewn oak corner posts, both located along the northeastern wall, one adjacent to the intermediary fieldstone foundation (northwest) wall and the other at the eastern corner. The pine floor joists were also hewn square but left unchamfered. The floor of this cellar room was laid cobblestone (intact). Additionally, evidence survives in the overhead floor and the joists of the original chimney configuration. Remains of a brick hearth can also be seen in the floor. The other material fabric present in the cellar space—the windows, doors, posts, and lally column—all date to later periods.

### Period II Alterations and Additions: The Joseph White Era (1795-1843)

The Joseph White era marks the longest use of the space by one owner. Based on physical evidence from the

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<sup>204</sup> Adam, et al., 1.

<sup>205</sup> Adam, et al., 1.

<sup>206</sup> Klee, 6.

<sup>207</sup> Klee, 6.

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building, White made a series of alterations to the shop, but that was likely towards the end of his ownership of the property. Around 1830, the shop was refitted and improved to accommodate new forms of woodworking, including turning. During this reconfiguration, a second door was added in the partition wall into the work room (adjacent to the northeast bench); a lathe was inserted in the northwest workbench (still present); and the painting bench, assembled with cut nails, was also installed along the southwestern window, perhaps replacing an earlier bench.<sup>208</sup> When the painting bench was inserted, the third tool cabinet was removed. Even with these changes, the flow of work processing raw materials into finished goods followed the same circulation path in the shop, from roughly east to west.<sup>209</sup>

Additionally, during this reconfiguration, the window openings over both early benches were enlarged to accommodate 9-over-6 double hung sash wood windows. Evidence of this refit is visible, such as in the cutting of medial rails to install larger windows. Mature, machine-headed cut nails fixed new ledgers below the sills to secure the top of the newly unsupported sheathing boards under the windows.

### **Period III Alterations and Additions: The Briggs, Judith, and Otis White Era (1843-1904)**

While less is known of the usage of the shop during this third era of ownership, some material changes did occur that indicate its continued use as a woodworking shop of some sort. Period III changes, which date to around 1870, updated the lathe with new metal parts, converted the old narrow entrance to the building to the current broad sliding door, and inserted a wood-lined closet in the clean room.<sup>210</sup> The other major change in this era includes the reduction of the fireplace. The Period I brick fireplace was much larger (about 5'3" deep by 6' wide), but was replaced by a single-flue brick chimney that vented a stove in the workroom. When the chimney was reconfigured, the opening for the fireplace was downsized. The original opening is visible, as the new boards used to enclose the larger opening do not align with the older partition wallboards. They are, however, planed on both sides, with a matching narrow ¼" bead. Of note is that the later inserted board closest to the stove hole displays a pencil signature of "Phillips." This board could have perhaps been reused from the house or another outbuilding on site, as the Phillipses (some of whom were house wrights) resided on the site for 61 years prior to Luther Sampson's purchase of the property and are attributed with the construction of the no longer extant farmhouse.

The cellar room was also reworked during this period. The door and the windows date to the late-nineteenth century or early-twentieth century. It is unclear if this was a reworking of Period I openings or if these are new openings in new locations. Additionally, to support the door and windows, the dimensional window and door posts were inserted. As mentioned, the chimney was also downsized, and the heat source was removed from the basement during the Period III reworkings.

### **Integrity of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop**

After 1904, the structure appears to have fallen out of use as a shop, thus preserving the layers of Period I, II, and III changes. Very few changes occurred, particularly after the Berrybrook School began operations on site. The triple window, inserted into the southwestern wall, was added in the second half of the twentieth century, replacing an earlier door or window. When this opening was reworked, a remedial Period I stud was removed to accommodate the window. Additionally, vinyl siding and an asphalt roof weatherproofed the eighteenth-century

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<sup>208</sup> This date is based on the physical inspection by several prominent architectural historians, historians, and restoration carpenters including J. Ritchie Garrison, Willie Graham, Jeffrey E. Klee, Michael Burrey, Gary Naylor, Peter Follansbee and Claire W. Dempsey.

<sup>209</sup> Garrison, 24.

<sup>210</sup> Klee, 1.

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building. Lastly, in the twenty-first century, the chimney was capped, again with the preservation of the structure in mind. The Berrybrook School used the Sampson-White Joiner Shop for storage of school materials until 2012 and made no other major changes to the structure.

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop retains an exceptional degree of integrity dating to the period of significance of 1785-1843. The material composition and the overall feel of the Luther Sampson-Joseph White Joiner Shop is still one of a late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century workshop, with its original features predominating—including its location, overall form, layout, exposed framing, wallboards, floorboards, workbenches, wall racks and ceiling racks, wear patterns on floors and benches, wooden pegs for hanging, wrought and cut nails, historical graffiti and wall ephemera, stone floor in the lower level, and at least one exterior window. As such, the Sampson-White Joiner Shop has exceptional integrity to all seven aspects of integrity defined by the National Park Service, which are design, materials, workmanship, setting, location, feeling, and association.

The original design of the building by Luther Sampson (c. 1785) is retained, as are the subsequent alterations undertaken by Joseph White. The Sampson-White Joiner Shop is a remarkable example of a common type of 18<sup>th</sup>-century structure, a freestanding, lightly framed, woodworking shop. Additionally, almost the entirety of the Period I and Period II woodworking fixtures—including the workbenches, tool racks, and tool cabinets—illustrate the design and use of the building. As such, the flow of the work can still be seen in the arrangement of the shop today. The design and layout of the Sampson-White Shop benches indicates the spatial arrangement of an orderly workflow that circulated boards counter-clockwise around the shop. Boards could enter the shop for initial sawing and shaping at the cutting bench (northeast wall), turn the corner for smoothing or additional shaping with planes on the planing bench (northwest wall), then round the corner to the painting bench (southwest wall) for final treatments with painting, varnishing, or gluing. While the workbenches have undergone a series of repairs and re-workings this was a very common occurrence in a workshop. Historian Scott Landis has discussed the series of repairs undergone by historic workbenches:

As a piece of utilitarian shop furniture, the workbench was often built out of available materials. When subsequent owners set about repairing or modifying an old bench, they probably felt even less constrained to maintain whatever integrity may have existed in the original. Old benchtops are frequently mounted on newer bases. Vises are added or removed...It's not unusual to find hardware and materials from several centuries mixed in one workbench. This curious amalgamation of disparate elements can present a minefield of obstacles for anyone attempting to assign provenance to an old workbench. But it also provides tantalizing clues about the various owners and lifetimes that a bench has survived.<sup>211</sup>

The survival of so much of the interior material fabric, coupled with the construction of the freestanding workshop as a *type* of structure together illustrate the exceptional integrity of design.

The Sampson-White Joiner Shop also retains an exceptional degree of integrity to the materials and workmanship seen throughout the joiner shop. The Period I and Period II fittings, as well as the framing of the shop, and the finish on the partition wall all reflect the materials and workmanship of the shop. Even though both Sampson and White were skilled joiners, the utility of the shop itself, trumped the need to finely finish surfaces in the shop. These 18<sup>th</sup>-century woodworking shops were often crudely constructed, as these craftsmen put more time into the products they were selling than the outfitting of their own shops. Sampson's skill as a craftsman can be seen in the partition wall, which is neatly planed on both sides, and finished with a fine ¼"

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<sup>211</sup> Landis, *Workbenches*, 10.

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bead. Because the building remains unrestored, the physical material conveys an exceptional degree of workmanship appropriate to 18<sup>th</sup>-century shops. This includes the extant tool racks, but also “ghost markings” where previous tool racks were located, and a large amount of wall ephemera including graffiti, paper, paint, and pencil markings. The intact exterior and interior convey the workmanship of Luther Sampson who designed, built and equipped the shop, and of Joseph White who later modified it. Additionally, what the shop also conveys is the way in which raw materials were processed into finished goods during the period of significance.

As illustrated in the “comparables” section, some 18<sup>th</sup>-century shops survive without their interior fittings, while some interior fittings survive without their 18<sup>th</sup>-century buildings. The fact that the Sampson-White Joiner Shop survives in its original location and setting, underscores the integrity and importance of the site. Additionally, because this site has been only recently discovered and altered very minimally, there is the potential for archaeological components to remain adjacent to the shop in the work yard. Due to the fact that this is the only known 18<sup>th</sup>-century joiner shop, virtually undisturbed, in its original location, it has great potential to yield additional information archaeologically.

Lastly, the Sampson-White Joiner Shop retains exceptional integrity of historic feeling and association. Due to the preservation of so much original historic fabric in the shop, it still feels like an 18<sup>th</sup>-century woodworking shop. Due to the retention of the other six aspects of integrity, the Sampson-White shop retains an exceptional level of association. What makes this space truly exceptional as a joiner’s shop is the near *completeness* of the interior material fabric, coupled with the location and setting of the building.

While alterations did occur in the Sampson-White Joiner Shop outside of the period of significance, they were limited. The most significant alterations that occurred outside the period of significance include the addition of the three-window feature on the southwest wall (20<sup>th</sup> century), the expansion to a sliding door on the southwest wall (late-19<sup>th</sup> century), the updating of the lathe (during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), the addition of the closet in the clean room (late 19<sup>th</sup> century); and in the lower level, the addition of light partitioning with chicken fencing and poured concrete foundation under the two frame walls (mid-20<sup>th</sup> century). In some instances, a later unknown woodworker made these modifications to the shop, including the insertion of the larger door, the reworking of the chimney, and the updates to the treadle-lathe wheel. Even these later modifications show continued use of the building as a woodworking shop into the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century. The Sampson-White Joiner Shop retains all seven aspects of integrity.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)
[X] Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in only 4, 5, and 6 below)

- 1. NR #:
2. Date of listing:
3. Level of significance:
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A[X] B\_\_ C\_X D\_\_
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A\_\_ B\_\_ C\_\_ D\_\_ E\_\_ F\_\_ G\_\_
6. Areas of Significance: Commerce, Industry

- Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office:
Other State Agency:
Federal Agency:
Local Government:
University: Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware
Other (Specify Repository):

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Original Digital Photography Files archived at the Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, 19716. All photographs by Michael J. Emmons, Jr. January-April 2019, unless otherwise noted.

### **Photograph 01. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_001**

Aerial view of the Berrybrook School property, showing the larger setting of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop.

### **Photograph 02. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_002**

Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the southwest and southeast elevations, facing north.

### **Photograph 03. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_003**

Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the southeast and northeast elevations, facing west.

### **Photograph 04. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_004**

Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the northeast and northwest elevations, facing south.

### **Photograph 05. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_005**

First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the northeast and southeast walls, with the Period III closet, facing east.

### **Photograph 06. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_006**

First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the northeast and northwest walls, showing the Period III chimney, Period I door, and Period II door, facing north.

### **Photograph 07. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_007**

First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the Period II board and batten door into the shop room, facing northwest.

### **Photograph 08. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_008**

First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the Period I board and batten door, and the Period III stair and chimney.

### **Photograph 09. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_009**

First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the southwest and southeast elevations, facing south.

### **Photograph 10. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_010**

First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the trough and shelves, facing south.

### **Photograph 11. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_011**

First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the floor joists, and the nailed racks.

### **Photograph 12. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_012**

First floor, interior, shop room: Perspective view showing the northwest and northeast elevations, with the assembly table in the foreground, facing north.

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### **Photograph 13. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_013**

First floor, interior, shop room: View of the northeast elevation, showing the cutting bench, and several tool racks, facing northeast.

### **Photograph 14. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_014**

First floor, interior, shop room: View of the northwest elevation, showing the planing bench, plane cabinets, lathe, and several tool racks, facing northwest.

### **Photograph 15. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_015**

First floor, interior, shop room: View of the southwest elevation, showing the painting bench, Period III window, plane cabinet, and tool racks, facing southwest.

### **Photograph 16. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_016**

First floor, interior, shop room: View of the southeast partition wall, showing the reworked Period III chimney, layers of paint, and a painted solider on the Period II board and batten door, facing southeast.

### **Photograph 17. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_017**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the sacrificial plank on the cutting bench.

### **Photograph 18. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_018**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the pairs of sticks used to hang saws above the cutting bench. Also visible are rows of nails, and the "square" hanger.

### **Photograph 19. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_019**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the pairs of pegs, and nails above the planing bench.

### **Photograph 20. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_020**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the Period III lathe, inserted into the planing bench.

### **Photograph 21. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_021**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the racks nailed to the joists for additional storage.

### **Photograph 22. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_022**

First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of some of the paper ephemera affixed to the shop walls, covered in later layers of paint. The ad on the left for Dr. Conine's Syrup dates to c. 1852-1854.

### **Photograph 23. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_023**

Attic, interior, above shop room: View of the northwest gable end wall, showing the Period III lathe wheel, pegged rafters, and an unframed window opening, facing northwest.

### **Photograph 24. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_024**

Attic, interior, above clean room: View of the southeast gable end wall, showing pegged rafters, and a framed window opening, facing southeast.

### **Photograph 25. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_025**

Cellar, interior: View of the northwest intermediary stone foundation wall, showing Period III chimney, facing northwest.

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### **Photograph 26. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_026**

Cellar, interior: View of the northwest intermediary stone foundation wall, showing Period III chimney, facing west.

### **Photograph 27. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_027**

Cellar, interior: View of the northeast board wall, facing northeast.

### **Photograph 28. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_028**

Cellar, interior: Perspective view of the northeast and southeast elevations, showing the later animal pen, facing east.

### **Photograph 29. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_029**

Cellar, interior: View of the southeast elevation, showing the animal pen, and only entry into the cellar space, facing southeast.

### **Photograph 30. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_030**

Cellar, interior: Detail view of the cobblestone floor.

### **Photograph 31. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_031**

Cellar, interior: View of the crawl space underneath the shop room, showing the floor joists.

### **Photograph 32. MA\_Plymouth County\_Sampson-White Joiner Shop\_032**

Detail view of the mantel and wainscoting removed from the Phillips-Sampson-White house. These pieces have been attributed to Luther Sampson

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**Photograph 01:** Aerial view of the Berrybrook School property, showing the larger setting of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop.



**Photograph 02:** Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the southwest and southeast elevations, facing north.

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**Photograph 03:** Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the southeast and northeast elevations, facing west.



**Photograph 04:** Perspective view of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing the northeast and northwest elevations, facing south.

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**Photograph 05:** First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the northeast and southeast walls, with the Period III closet, facing east.



**Photograph 06:** First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the northeast and northwest walls, showing the Period III chimney, Period I door, and Period II door, facing north.

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**Photograph 07:** First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the Period II board and batten door into the shop room, facing northwest.

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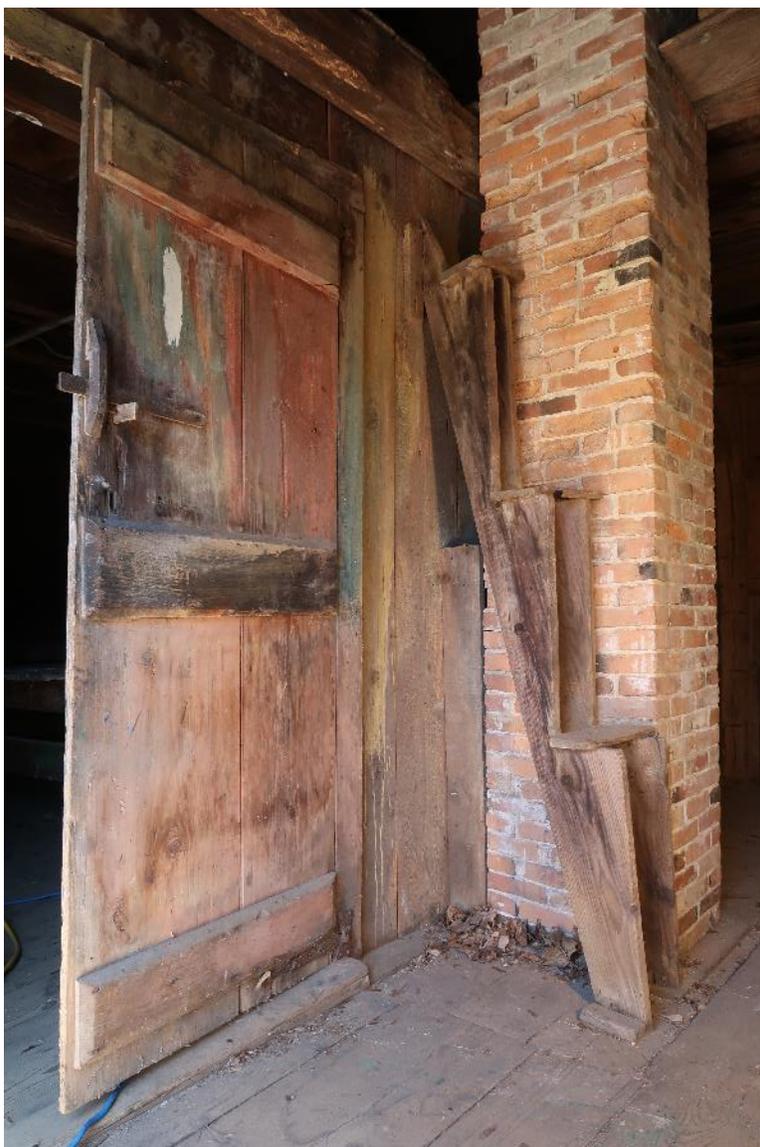
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**Photograph 08:** First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the Period I board and batten door, and the Period III stair and chimney.

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**Photograph 09:** First floor, interior, clean room: Perspective view of the southwest and southeast elevations, facing south.



**Photograph 10:** First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the trough and shelves, facing south.

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**Photograph 11:** First floor, interior, clean room: Detail view of the floor joists, and the nailed racks.



**Photograph 12:** First floor, interior, shop room: Perspective view showing the northwest and northeast elevations, with the assembly table in the foreground, facing north.

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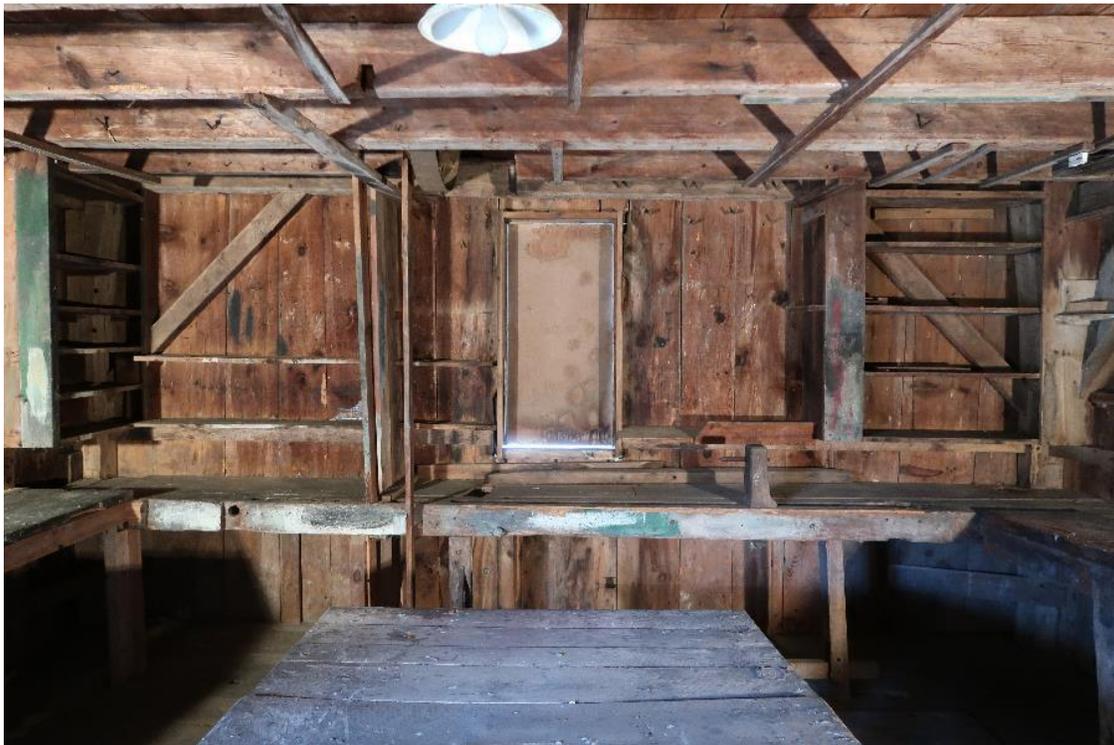
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**Photograph 13:** First floor, interior, shop room: View of the northeast elevation, showing the cutting bench, and several tool racks, facing northeast.



**Photograph 14:** First floor, interior, shop room: View of the northwest elevation, showing the planing bench, plane cabinets, lathe, and several tool racks, facing northwest.

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**Photograph 15:** First floor, interior, shop room: View of the southwest elevation, showing the painting bench, Period III window, plane cabinet, and tool racks, facing southwest.



**Photograph 16:** First floor, interior, shop room: View of the southeast partition wall, showing the reworked Period III chimney, layers of paint, and a painted slider on the Period II board and batten door, facing southeast.

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**Photograph 17:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the sacrificial plank on the cutting bench.



**Photograph 18:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the pairs of sticks used to hang saws above the cutting bench. Also visible are rows of nails, and the “square” hanger.

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**Photograph 19:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the pairs of pegs, and nails above the planing bench.

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**Photograph 20:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the Period III lathe, inserted into the planing bench.



**Photograph 21:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of the racks nailed to the joists for additional storage.

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**Photograph 22:** First floor, interior, shop room: Detail view of some of the paper ephemera affixed to the shop walls, covered in later layers of paint. The ad on the left for Dr. Conine's Syrup dates to c. 1852-1854.



**Photograph 23:** Attic, interior, above shop room: View of the northwest gable end wall, showing the Period III lathe wheel, pegged rafters, and an unframed window opening, facing northwest.

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**Photograph 24:** Attic, interior, above clean room: View of the southeast gable end wall, showing pegged rafters, and a framed window opening, facing southeast.



**Photograph 25:** Cellar, interior: View of the northwest intermediary stone foundation wall, showing Period III chimney, facing northwest.

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**Photograph 26:** Cellar, interior: View of the northwest intermediary stone foundation wall, showing Period III chimney, facing west.



**Photograph 27:** Cellar, interior: View of the northeast board wall, facing northeast.

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**Photograph 28:** Cellar, interior: Perspective view of the northeast and southeast elevations, showing the later animal pen, facing east.



**Photograph 29:** Cellar, interior: View of the southeast elevation, showing the animal pen, and only entry into the cellar space, facing southeast.

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**Photograph 30:** Cellar, interior: Detail view of the cobblestone floor.

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**Photograph 31:** Cellar, interior: View of the crawl space underneath the shop room, showing the floor joists.



**Photograph 32:** Detail view of the mantel and wainscoting removed from the Phillips-Sampson-White house. These pieces have been attributed to Luther Sampson.

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**Figure 1:** Proposed National Historic Landmark boundaries of the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop, outlined in red. Google Aerial Imagery, 2019.

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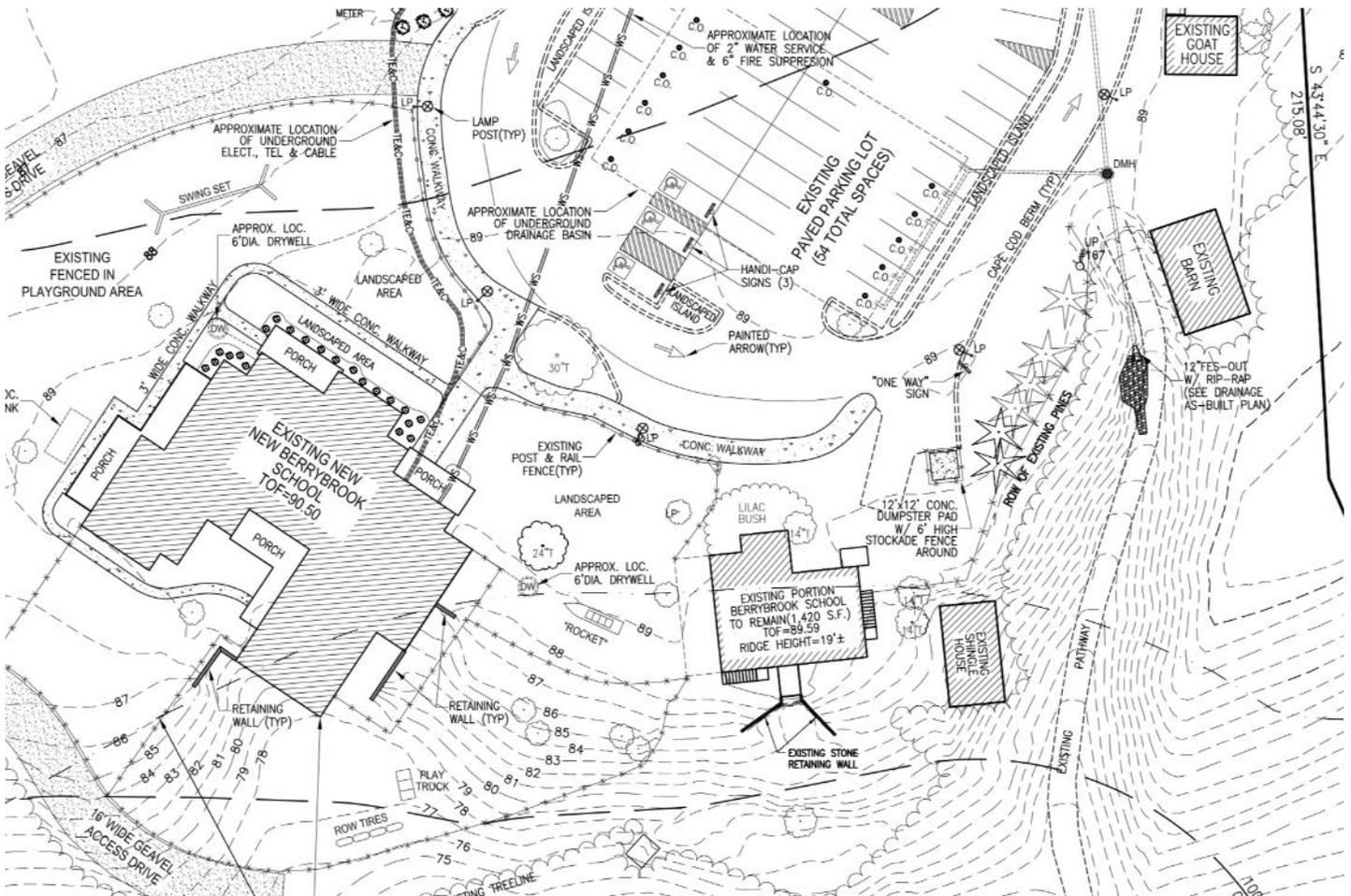
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**Figure 2:** Site plan of the Berrybrook property showing the Sampson-White Joiner Shop (labeled “shingle house), the no longer extant Phillips-Sampson-White House, the barn, the goat house, the new Berrybrook school, and the old cobblestone road. Drawn by Webby Engineering Associates, Inc. Plympton, Massachusetts.

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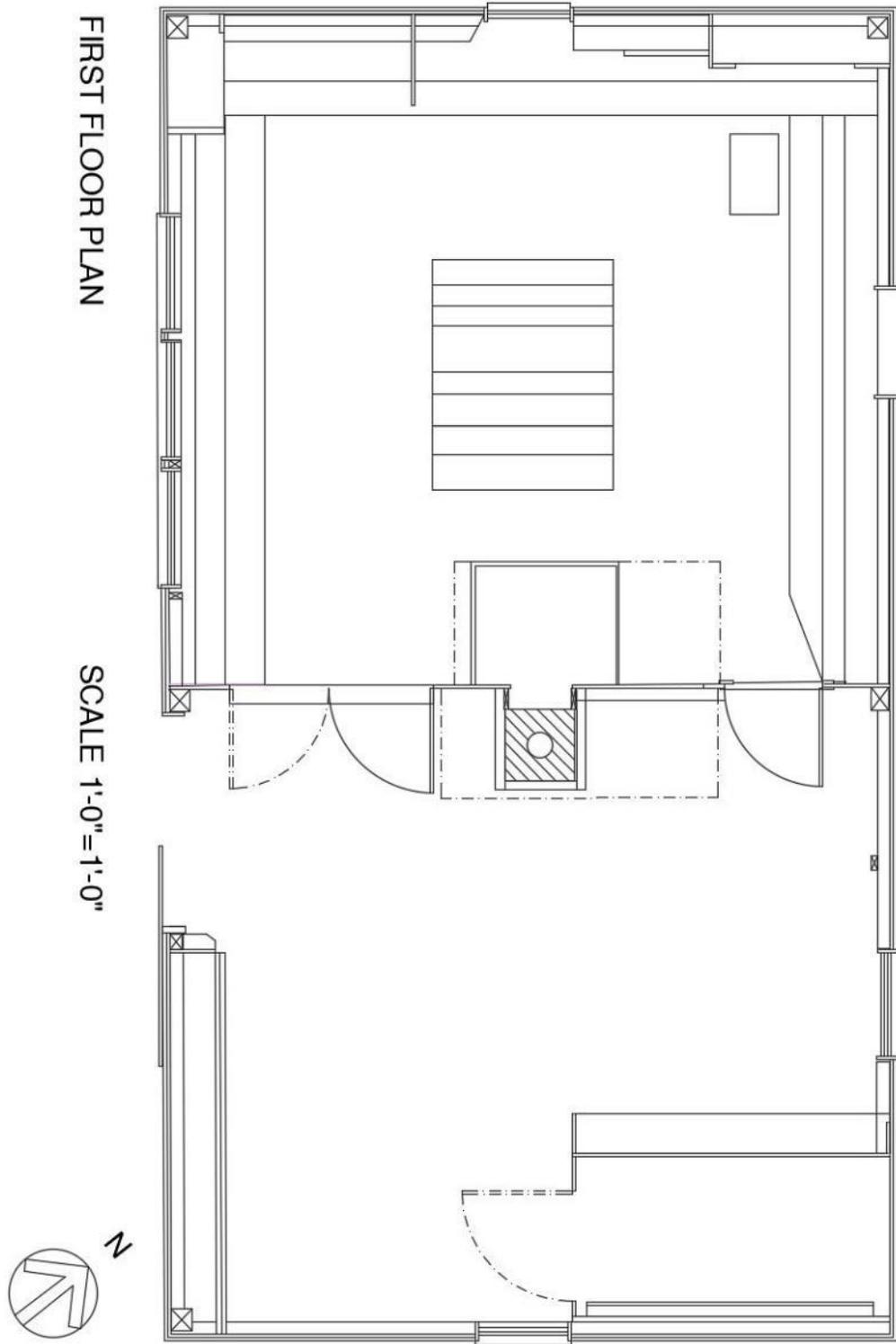


Figure 3: First floor plan of the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop. Drawn by Catherine Morrissey, June, 2019.

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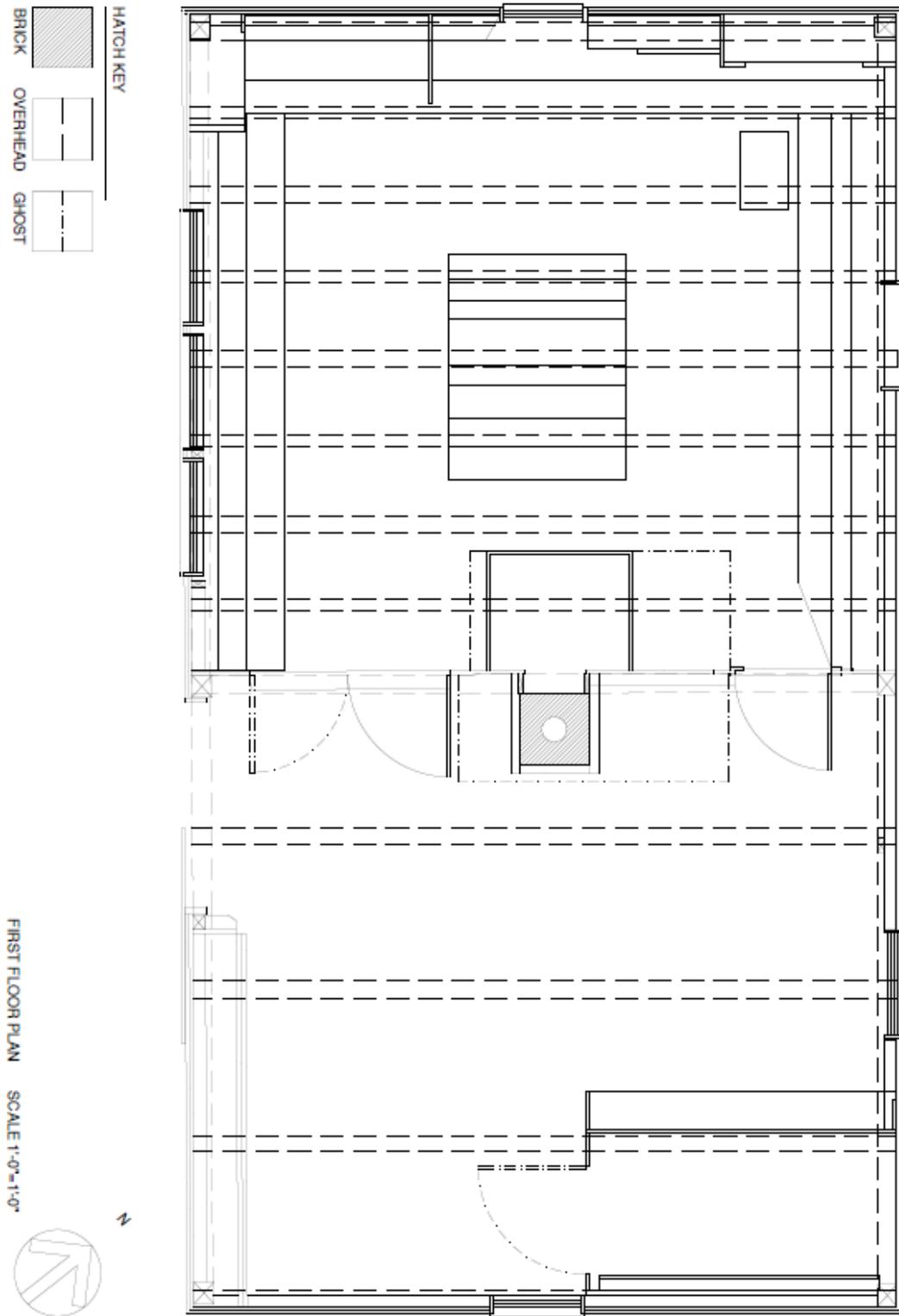


Figure 4: First floor plan of the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop, with overhead elements. Drawn by Catherine Morrissey, June, 2019.

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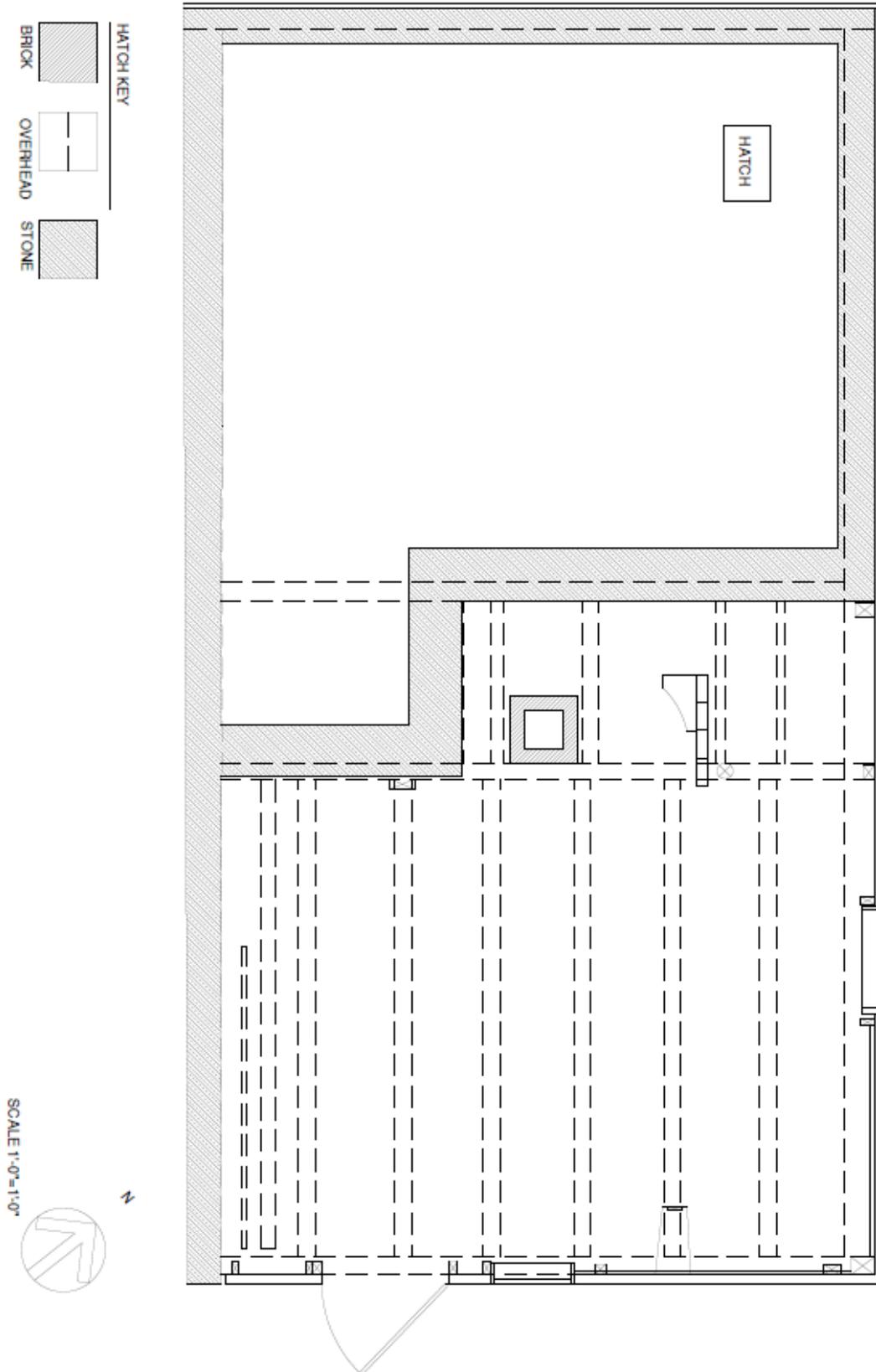
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**Figure 5:** Basement floor plan of the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop, with overhead elements. Drawn by Catherine Morrissey, June, 2019.

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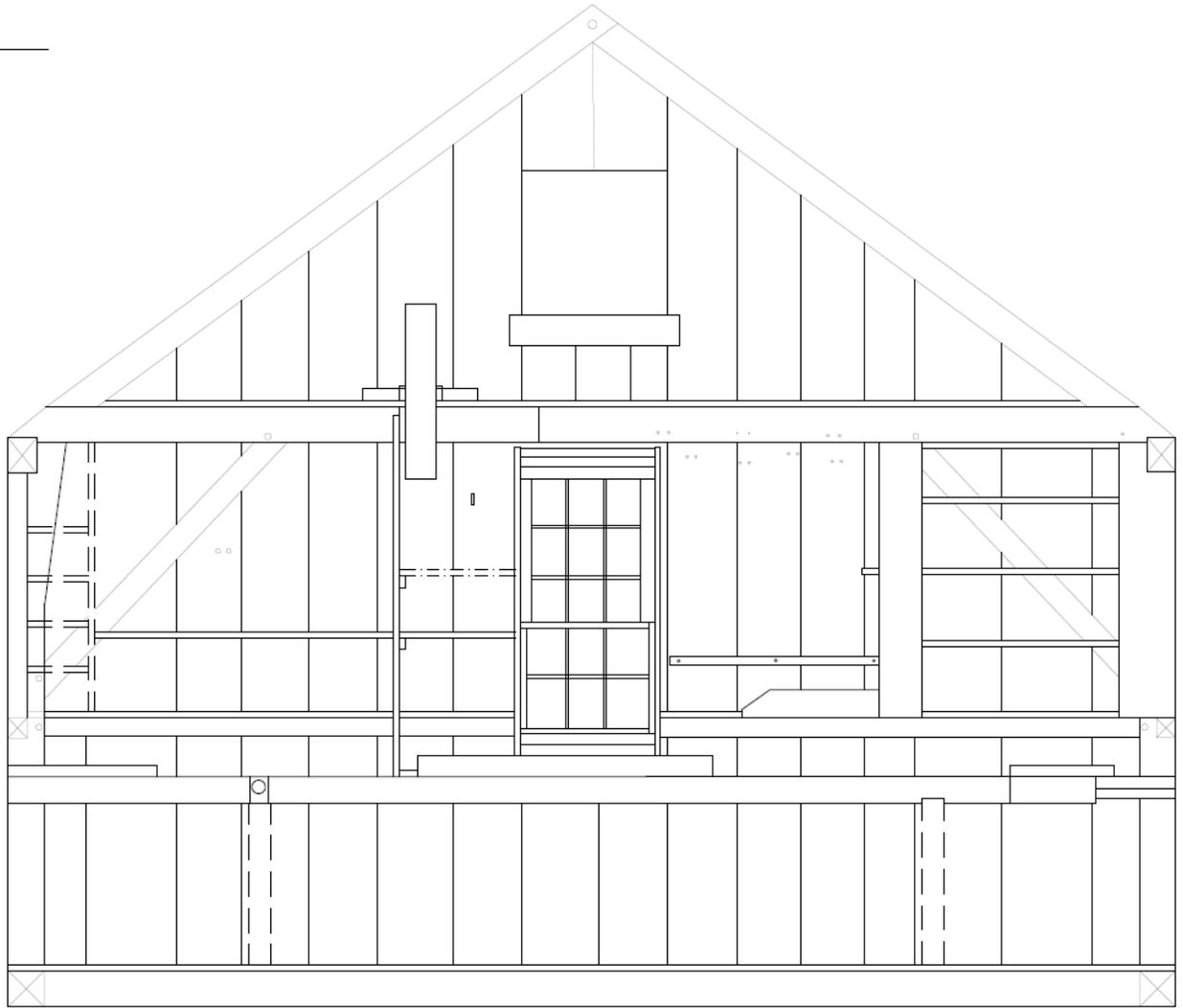
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HATCH KEY



GHOST



NORTHWEST SECTION SCALE 1'-1/2"=1'-0"

**Figure 6:** Section of the northwest gable end of the shop room in the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop. Drawn by Catherine Morrissey, June, 2019.

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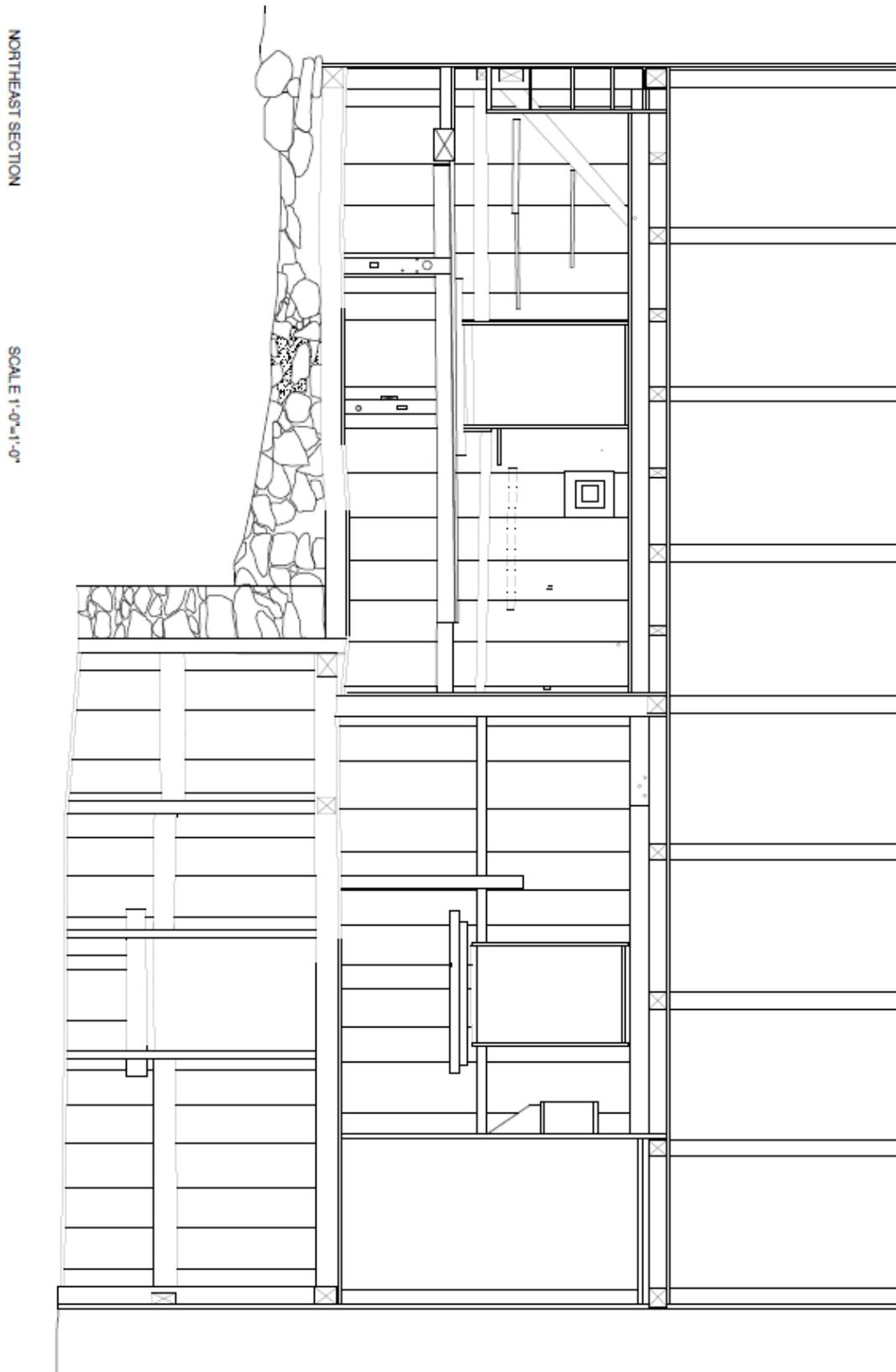


Figure 7: Northeast longitudinal section of the Sampson-White Joiner's Shop. Drawn by Catherine Morrissey, June, 2019.

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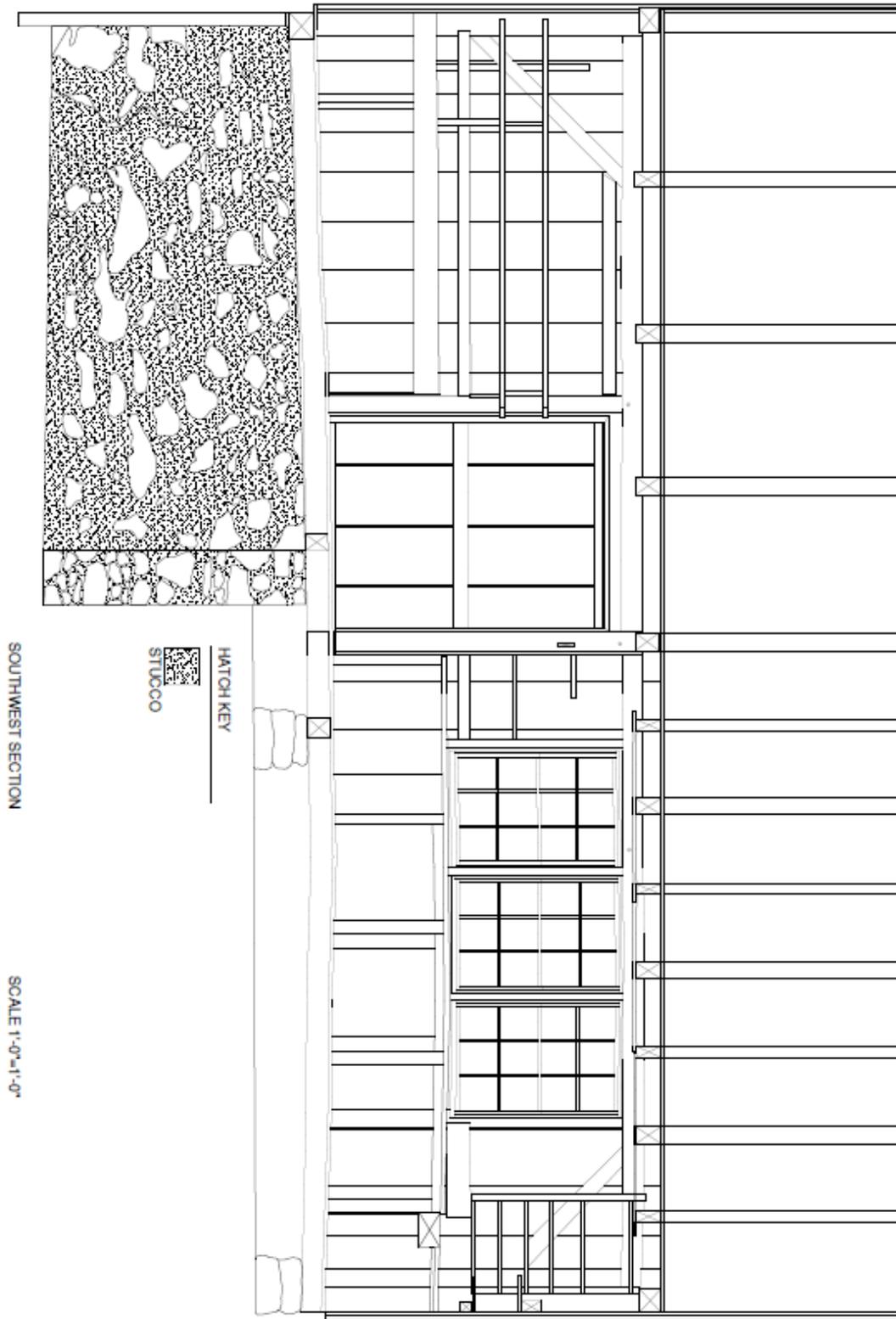


Figure 8: Southwest longitudinal section of the Sampson-White Joiner Shop. Drawn by Kevin Barni, June, 2019.

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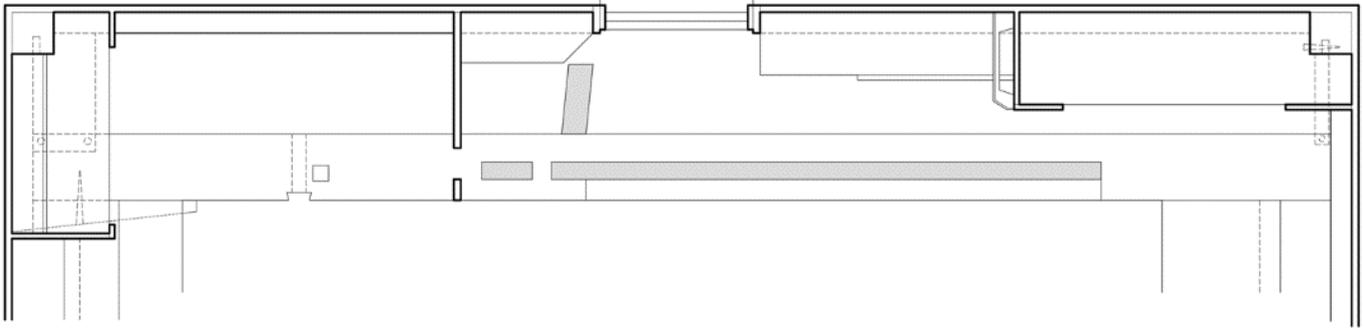


Figure 9: Detail drawing of the northwest planning bench. Drawn by Jeffrey E. Klee, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2012.

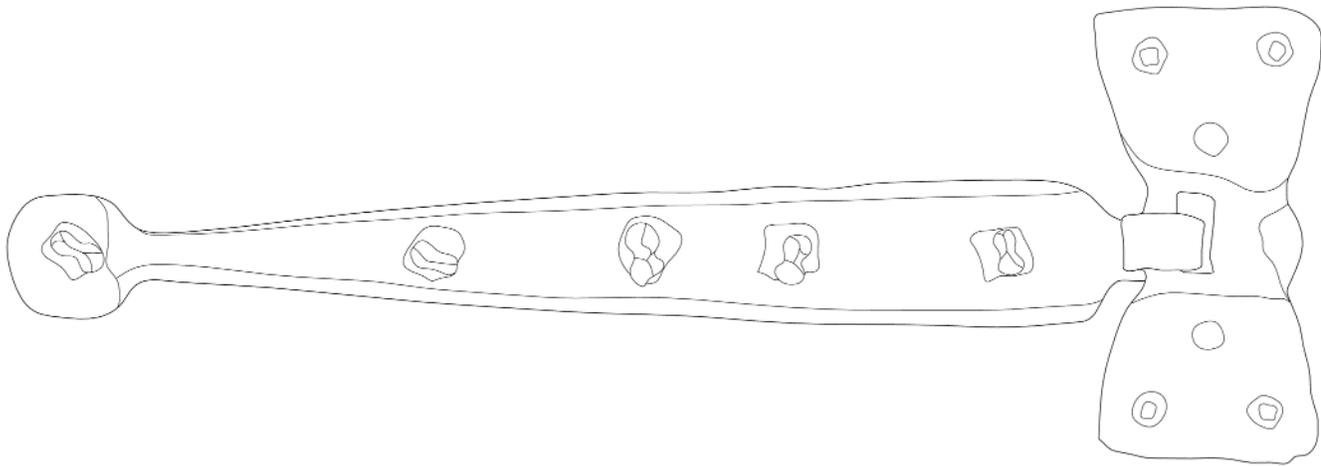


Figure 10: Detail drawing of a Period I door hinge, on the interior partition wall. Drawn by Jeffrey E. Klee, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2012.

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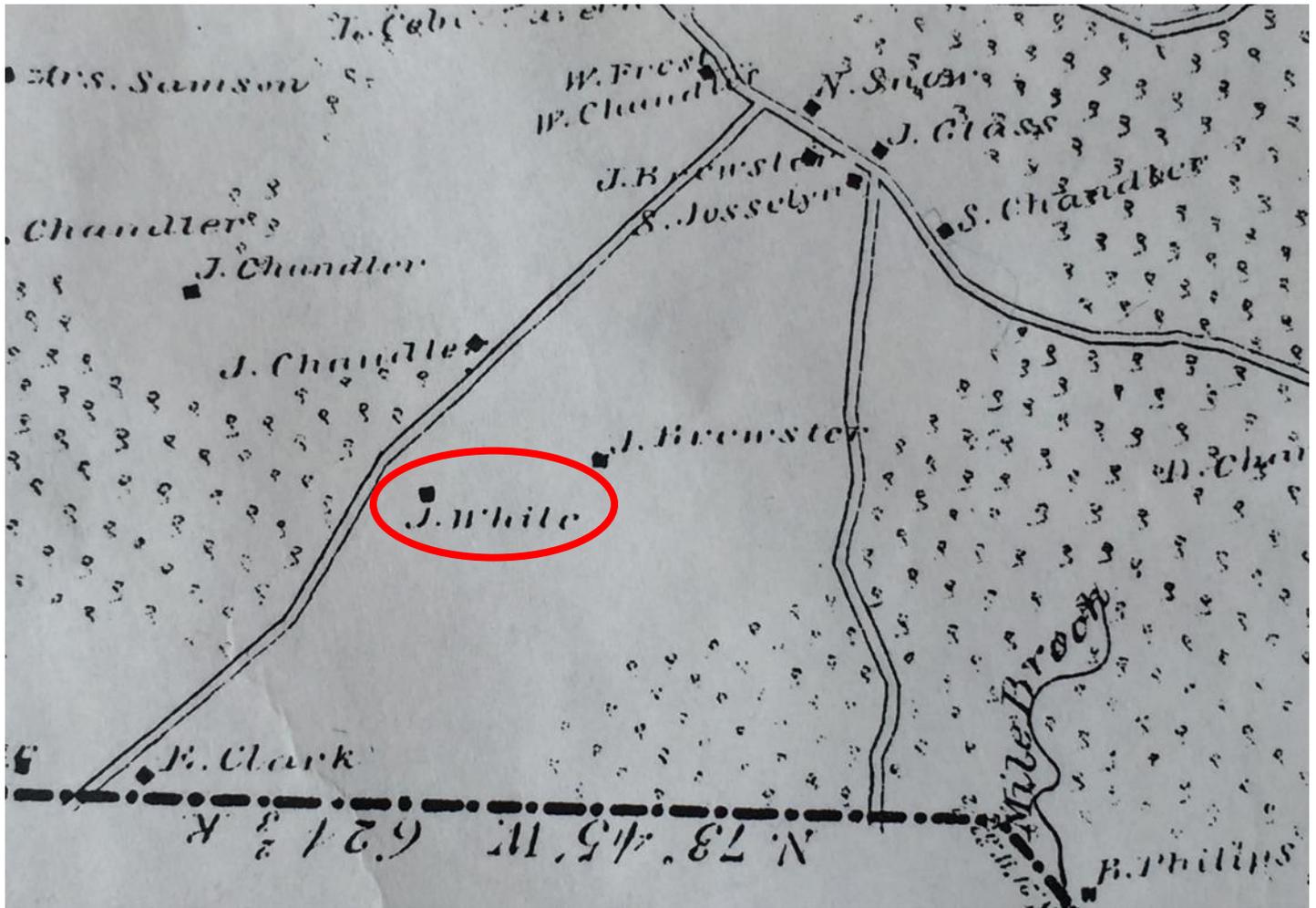


Figure 11: 1833 map showing Joseph White's property. John Ford, Jr., surveyor. *A Map of Duxbury, Mass.* Copy on file at the Drew Library, Duxbury, Massachusetts, 1833.

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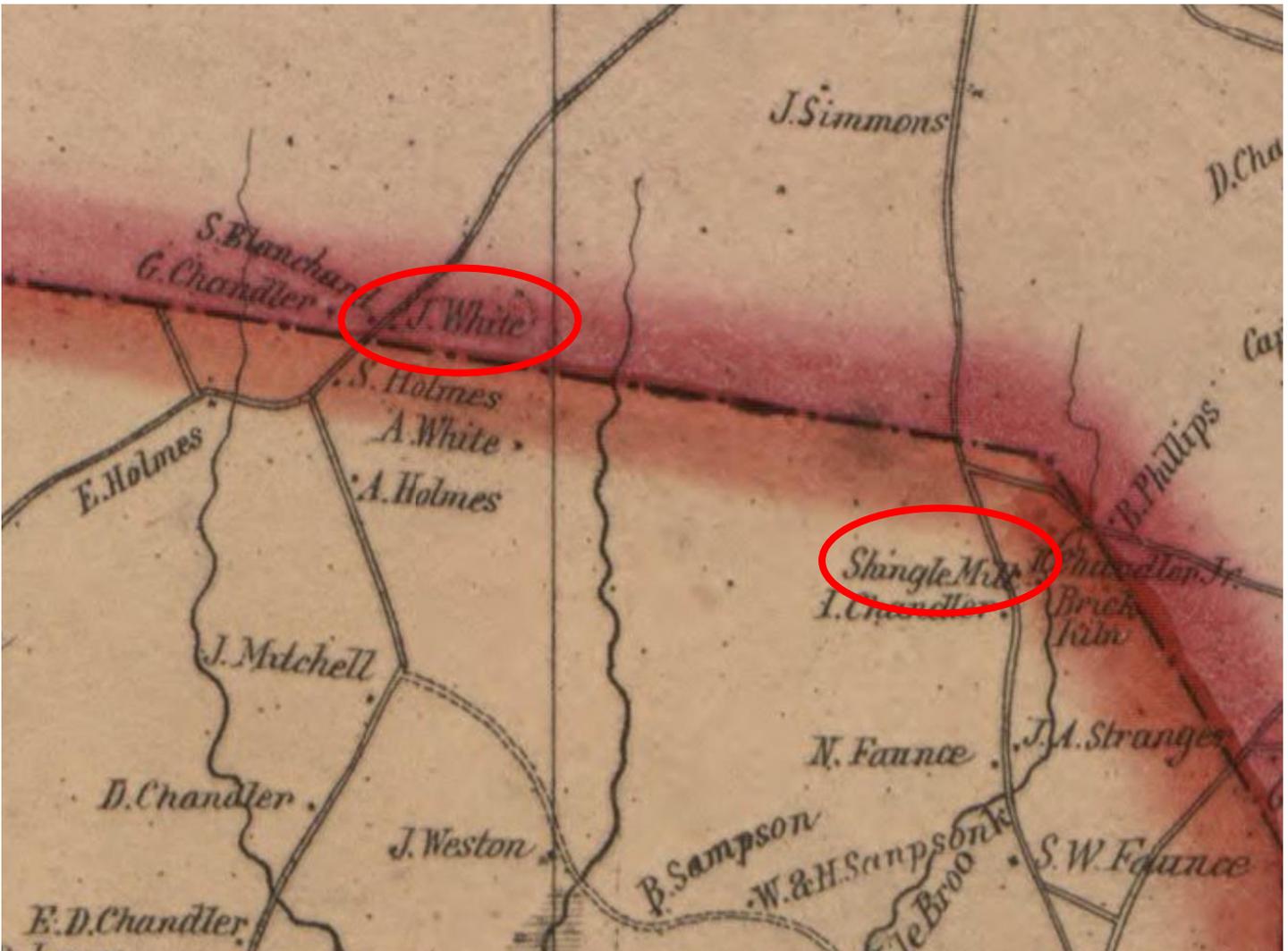
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**Figure 12:** 1857 map showing J. White, and the location of a nearby shingle mill, possibly Joseph White's. Henry Francis Walling *Map of the county of Plymouth, Massachusetts*. Boston and New York: Published by D. R. Smith & Co, 1857.

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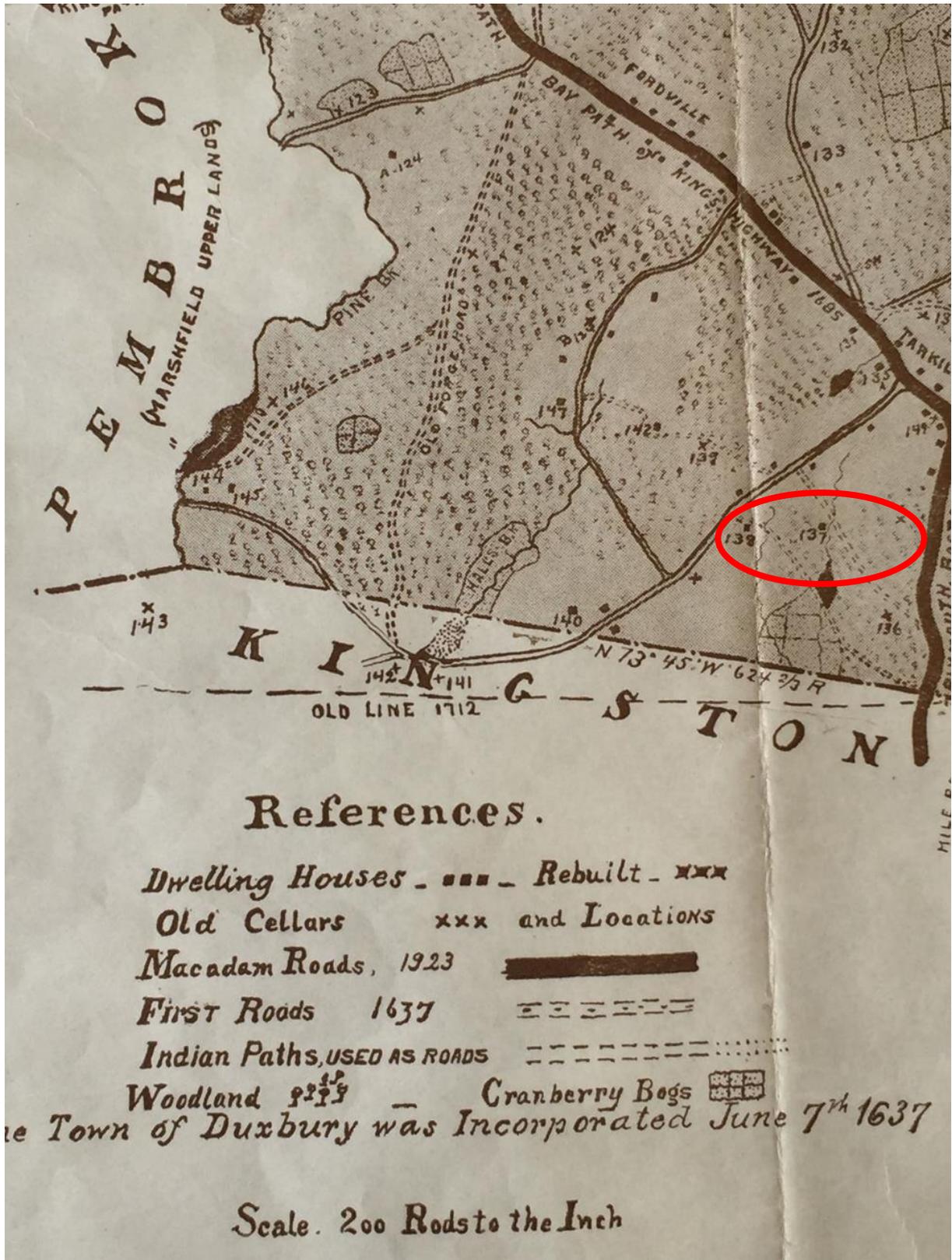


Figure 13: 1923 map of the Sampson-White property (#137), note the old "Indian Path" that was located adjacent to the property. A Map of Duxbury, Mass. Copy on file at the Drew Library, Duxbury, Massachusetts, 1923.

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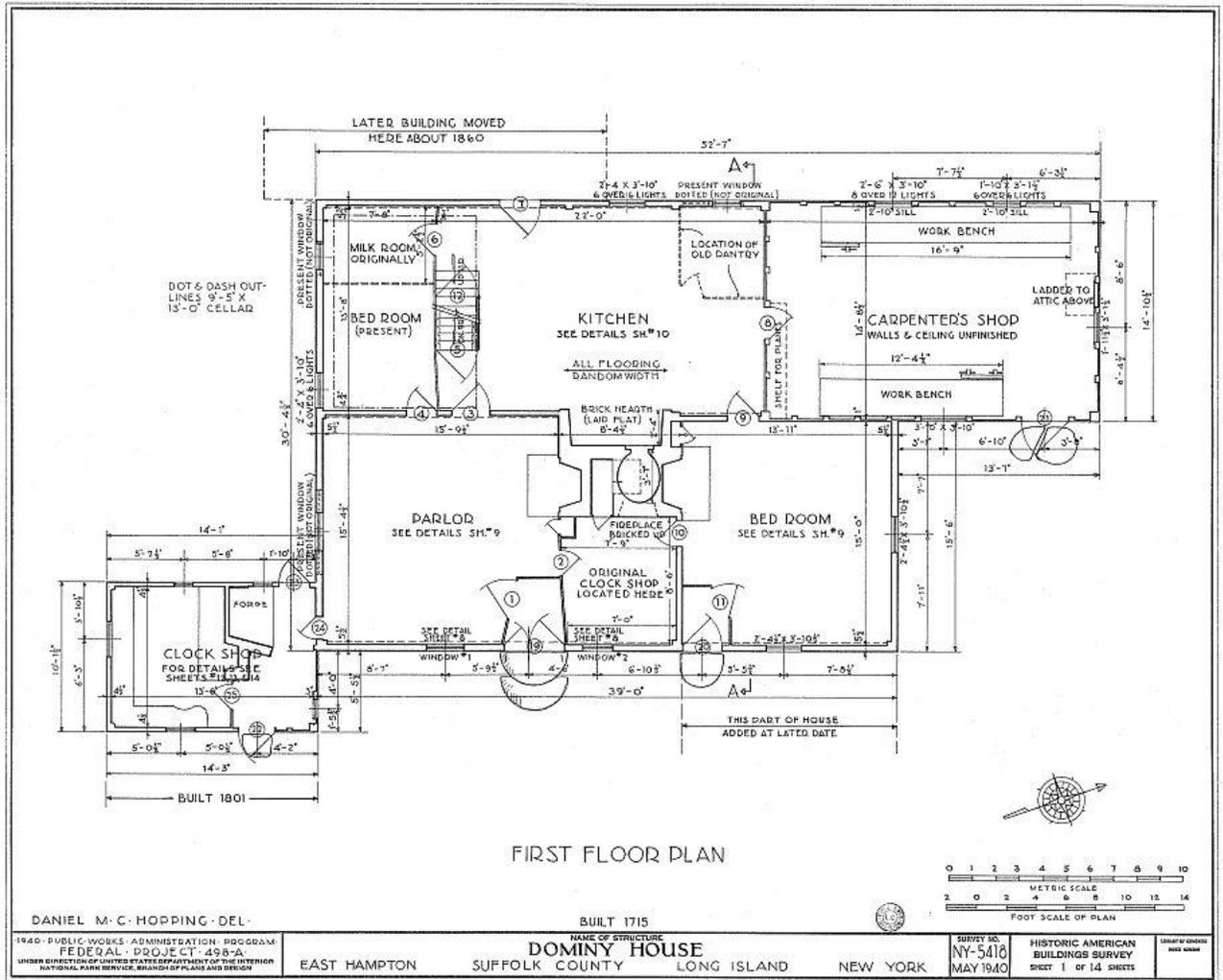
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**Figure 14:** First floor plan of the Dominy Joiner Shop in East Hampton, New York, prior to deconstruction. Image courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1940.

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**Figure 15:** Exterior photograph of the Dominy Joiner Shop in East Hampton, New York, prior to deconstruction. The two-story, shed-roof appendage on the right hand side of the image is the where the joiner shop was located. Image courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1940.

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**Figure 16:** Interior photograph of the Dominy Joiner Shop in East Hampton, New York, prior to deconstruction. Image courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1940.

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**Figure 17:** Top photo, tool rack at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, showing circular slots for tools or bits. Bottom photo, tool rack at the Dominy showing circular slots for tools.

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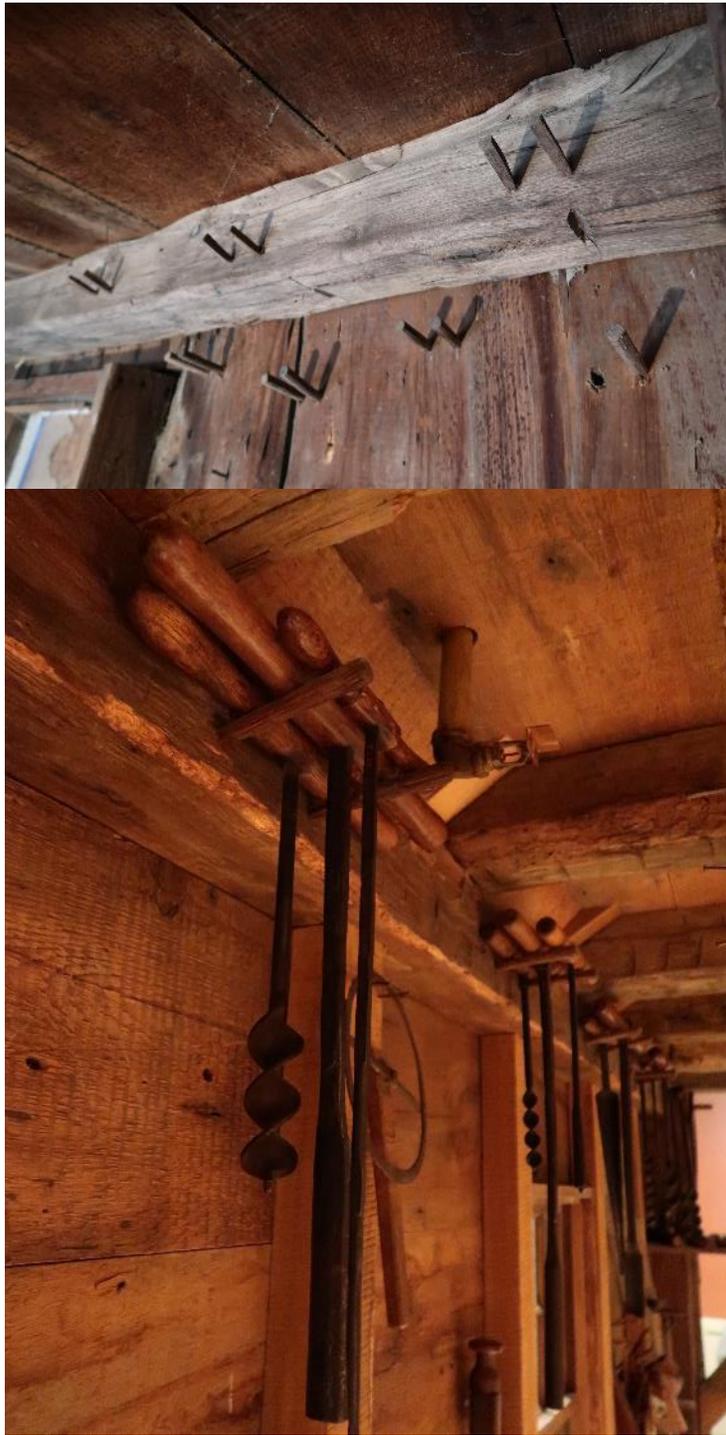
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**Figure 18:** Top photo, wooden pegs located on the plate and board wall at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop. Bottom photo, wooden pegs located on the plate at the Dominy shop.

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**Figure 19:** Top photo, wooden tool racks at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop. Bottom photo, wooden tool racks at the Dominy shop.

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**Figure 20:** An example of plane storage at the Dominy shop. The Dominy's utilized the space between the bench and the board walls to store frequently used planes.

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**Figure 21:** Interior photograph of the Samuel Wing turner shop in Sandwich, Massachusetts, prior to deconstruction. Photograph courtesy of Old Sturbridge Village, 1965.

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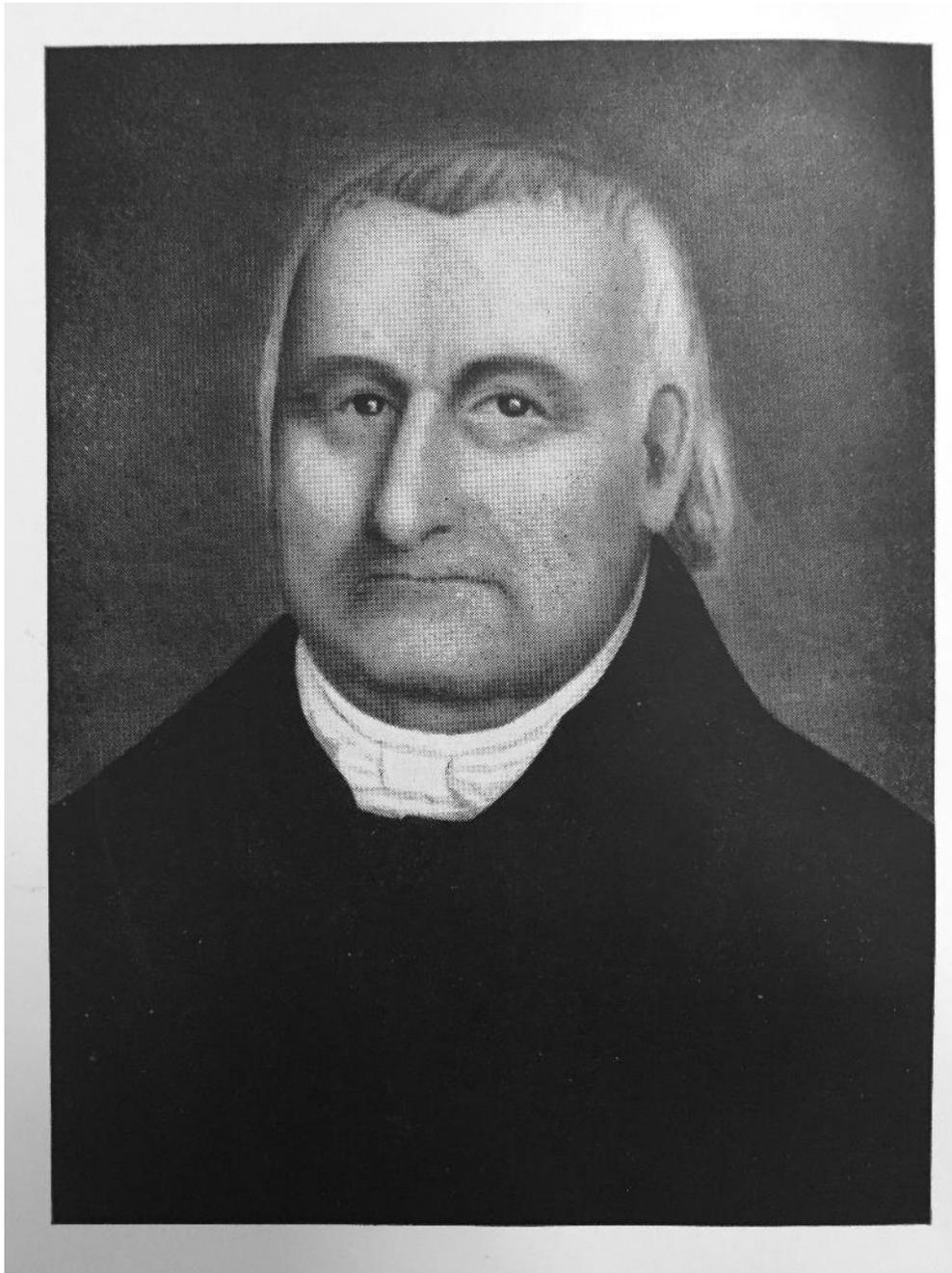
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**Figure 22:** Painting of Luther Sampson from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century while he lived in Readfield, Maine. Painting is unattributed. Painting owned by the Kent Hill School, Maine. Photograph courtesy John O. Newton and Oscar E. Young, *Kents Hill and Its Makers* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton & McLeary, 1947).

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**Joseph White occupation (Plymouth County, MA docs)**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Deed Book/Page</u>		
1793	Housewright	73/186		
1795	Housewright	79/172		
1795	Yeoman	80/2-3 (from L. Sampson)		
1798	Carpenter	84/205		
1799	Joiner	85/111		
1799	Joiner	86/245		
1799	Joiner	86/246		
1799	Joiner	92/30		
1800	Blockmaker	90/147		
1800	Blockmaker	89/100		
1800	Blockmaker	89/196		
1801	Blockmaker	89/262-263		
1801	Housewright	96/46		
1801	Housewright	96/47-48		
1802	Housewright	96/47		
1803	Yeoman	98/279		
1805	Housewright	108/223		
1808	Housewright	113/78		
1813	Housewright	120/171		
1814	Housewright	124/128-130		
1817	Housewright	131/129		
1822	Housewright	144/260		
1822	Housewright	147/110		
1822	Yeoman	147/175		
1827	Yeoman	165/83-84		
1828	Housewright	163/157		
1830	Yeoman	171/33		
1834	Yeoman	184/65		
1843	Yeoman	Probate document		
1844	Housewright	Probate document		

**Figure 23:** Chronological chart of Joseph White’s professions, assembled from primary source materials by Priscilla O’Neill and Michael J. Emmons, Jr.

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**Figure 24:** Surviving tool in the Sampson-White Joiner Shop, stamped with “J.W.” on the end.

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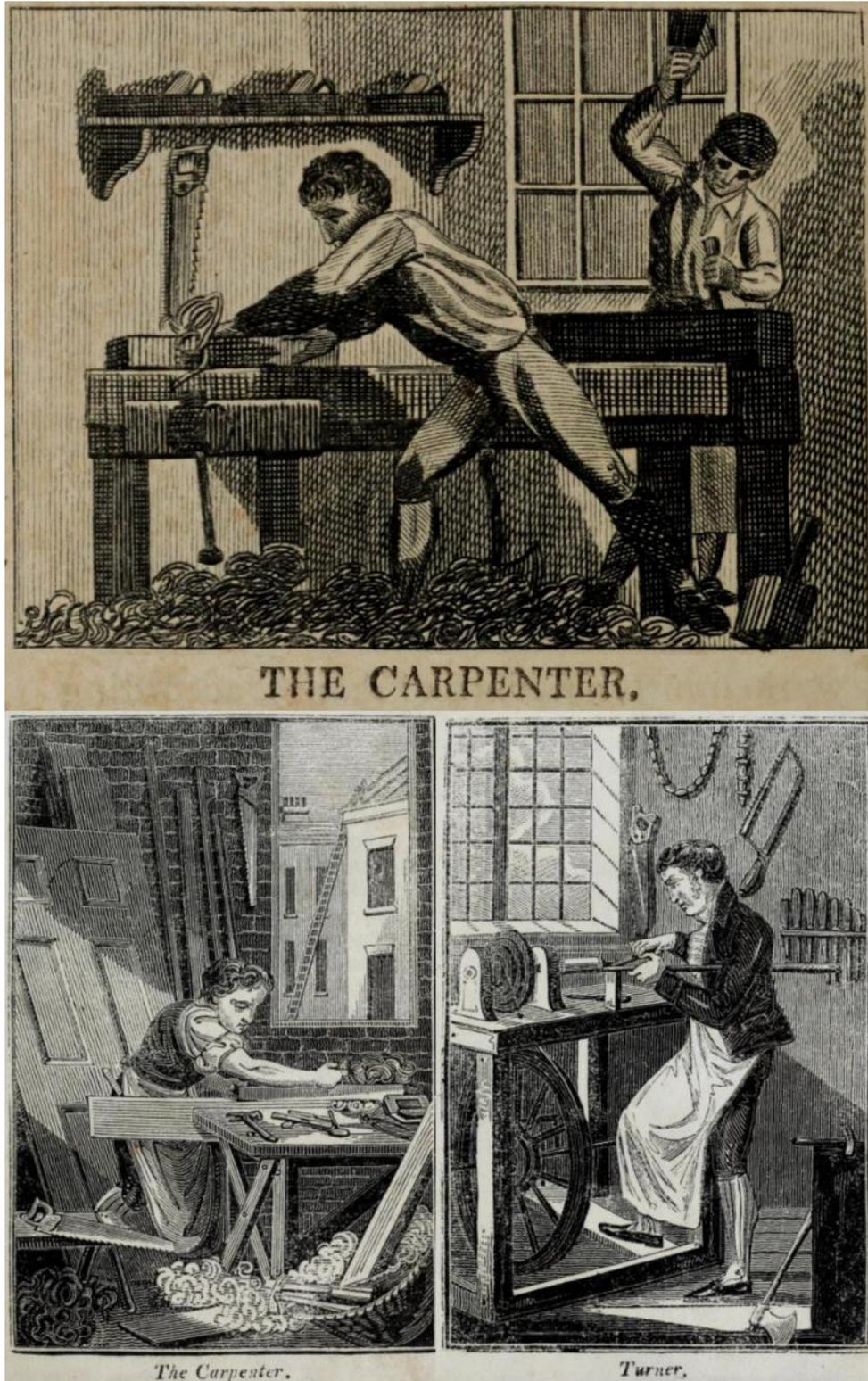
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**Figure 25:** Early 19<sup>th</sup>-century engravings showing a carpentry and turner work. Note in the images the benches, lathes, tool racks, and other fittings in common with the Sampson-White Joiner Shop. Top, *Little Jack of All Trades* (1814) Bottom left and right, *Book of English Trades* (1827).

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**Figure 26:** Detail view of the saw wrist at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop.



**Figure 27:** Detail view of the square holder at the Sampson-White Joiner Shop.

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**Figure 28:** Wendy Frontiero/Candace Jenkins, perspective view of the front elevation of the c. 1733 Phillips-Sampson-White house. Photo courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Commission, 2009.



**Figure 29:** Wendy Frontiero/Candace Jenkins, perspective view of the rear elevation of the Phillips-Sampson-White House. Photo courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Commission, 2009.

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**Figure 30:** Detail view of a late-eighteenth century classical mantel from the Phillips-Sampson-White House. This piece has been attributed to Luther Sampson. Photo courtesy of Gary Naylor, 2012.

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**Figure 31:** Detail view of cross-topped window trim, wainscoting, and dentilated crown moulding from the Phillips-Sampson-White House. These pieces have been attributed to Luther Sampson. Photo courtesy of Gary Naylor, 2012.

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**Figure 32.** Front elevation of Luther Sampson’s second shop built circa 1800 located in Readfield, Maine. Photo courtesy of Art Gaffar, 2019.



**Figure 33:** Rear elevation of Luther Sampson’s second shop built circa 1800 located in Readfield, Maine. Photo courtesy of Art Gaffar, 2019.