

Bankruptcy and Bigamy: The Secret Past of Ezra Waite, Charleston's Civil Architect, House-BUILDER, and Carver from London

By Michael L. Marshall

Editor's note: For an enlarged view of figures, simply zoom in on your computer.

Introduction

In his informative book *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* Jonathan Poston notes that the Miles Brewton house (Fig. 1) at 27 King Street, “is considered the finest double pile house in Charleston and with its outbuildings constitutes the most complete Georgian town house complex surviving in America.”¹



Figure 1. *Miles Brewton House, Charleston, South Carolina*

Poston adds further that, “Although Ezra Waite claimed correctly to have performed much of the interior carving, recent research has indicated the hands of at least two others in the upstairs drawing (dining) room, including John Lord and Thomas Woodin, master carvers who had immigrated to Charleston from London.” In their monumental work *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680-1820*, Brad Rauschenberg and John Bivins offer a short sketch of Ezra Waite.² It states that on 19 Nov. 1755 an Ezra Waite, “Carver in Carlisle” took an apprentice named “Jos. Patinson” for £20 and that the next British record of a man of that same name is found in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* of May 1764, where Waite’s name appeared in the bankruptcy listings as “Ezra Waite” of “Well-Bank St. Middlesex, carver.” They surmise that his bankruptcy may well have prompted “Waite’s relocation in Charleston five years later as found in a 22 Aug. 1769 advertisement that announced his completion of the Miles Brewton House located at 27 King Street in Charleston.” Bivins, in an article published in the journal of the Museum of Southern Decorative Arts entitled “Charleston Rococo Interiors, 1765-1775: The “Sommers” Carver,” states that “The most important instance of Low Country carving that can be associated with a Charleston carver by documentation is the Miles Brewton house,” with interiors that are the most detailed in Charleston.³ The documentation he refers to is a notice placed by Waite in at least two Charleston

newspapers in Aug. 1769, that prove “to be a revealing source regarding both the design and ornamentation of major portions of Brewton’s sumptuous dwelling.” One of these notices (Fig. 2) appeared in the 23 Aug. 1769 issue of *The South Carolina and American General Gazette*.⁴ Bivins discusses in detail the implications of the claims made by Waite as regards his work on the Brewton house, but as the present focus is on the man himself, they are omitted here. Bivins did, however, offer several observations about Waite, calling him “something of a mysterious figure,” who may have arrived in Charleston after the construction on the Brewton house had already begun. Bivins also took note of Waite’s claim in his 1769 advertisement that he had “twenty-seven years of experience, both in theory and practice,” a date that would suggest he may have entered his profession as a master around 1742, a point that will be touched on again later.⁵ Bivins also reveals what little information he had gleaned about Waite before his arrival in Charleston and that is included here as several of the points he makes will be discussed later in the context of newly revealed information about him.

Architecture.

EZRA WAITE, Civil ARCHITECT, HOUSE-BUILDER in general, and CARVER, from LONDON, has finished the architecture, and conducted the execution thereof, viz. in the joiner's way, all tabernacle frames, that in the dining room excepted, and raised all the said work in the four principal rooms; and also calculated, adjusted, and drew at large for the joiners to work by, the Ionick entablature, and raised the same in the front and round the eaves of *Miles Brewton*, esq.'s. house on White Point, for Mr. *Muncreef*.

If on inspection of the above mentioned work, and twenty-seven years experience in both theory and practice, in noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, be sufficient to recommend, he flatters himself to give satisfaction, to any gentleman or other, by plans, sections, elevations, or executions, at his house in King-street, next door but one to Mr. Wainwright's, where *Architecture* is taught by a peculiar method, never published in any book extant.

N. B. As Mr. Brewton's dining room, as well as some parts of the other rooms, is of a new construction, with respect to the finishing about the windows, cornishes and door-ways, it has been industriously propagated by some, and believed to be done by Mr. *Kersey Burden*, a carpenter, that he the said Waite had no hand in the architecture, nor in conducting the execution thereof: Therefore the subscriber begs leave, in this publick manner, to do himself justice, and to assure all gentlemen that he did absolutely construct every individual part of the said work, and drew the same at large for the house joiners and carpenters to work by, and also conducted the execution thereof; And any man that can prove the contrary, shall receive *One hundred guineas*, as witness my hand this 21st day of August, 1769.

EZRA WAITE.

Nata Veritas Oleum.

Figure 2. Advertisement placed in the 23 Aug. 1769 issue of *The South Carolina and American General Gazette* by Ezra Waite.

A search of records in London has failed to unearth significant information about Waite's English career. One scant entry in the apprentice records of the Public Records Office in London recorded that an Ezra Waite, 'Carver in Carlisle,' took one 'Jos. Patinson' as an apprentice on 19 Nov. 1755 for the consideration of £20. This may be the same individual, but Carlisle is far north of London, close to the Scottish border. In any event, Waite did not long survive the completion of his work in the Brewton house. He made his will on 12 Oct. 1769, and the document was proved less than a month later. A portion of the will directed that the 'Residue' of the estate and all the 'Goods and Chattels' be sold, and the proceeds remitted to Waite's 'Cousin Mr. Moses Waite of the City of London,' who was to disperse the funds among Waite's 'Nearest Relations that may then be alive.' Moses Waite may have been a mason whose yard was situated in Southwark; this individual is recorded as having taken an apprentice in 1760.⁶

Ezra Waite's Work in County Cumberland, England

From the foregoing discussion, it seems that little has heretofore been discovered about Ezra Waite's English origins or whether the man who took an apprentice in Carlisle is in fact the same man who was later judged a bankrupt in London in 1764. With this in mind, an effort was undertaken to examine the actual apprenticeship records, namely the Board of Stamps Apprenticeship Books held by the British National

Archives at Kew, Surrey, England.⁸ The two pages from the actual register (Fig. 3) reveal the following important particulars. Jos^h (i.e., Joseph) Patinson was apprenticed to Ezra Waite “of Carlisle Carver &c” for a term of seven years beginning 19 Nov. 1750 and Waite was paid a total premium of £21 (in two installments) with duties paid on the premiums on 5 Aug. 1755. These records also show that Patinson did not complete his full seven-year term with Waite, but began a second, one year apprenticeship with Peter Herdman “of Penrith, Cumberland Carver &c” that began on 20 Jan. 1755. The premium paid Herdman was £8 (in two installments) and the duties were paid on the premium on 5 Aug. 1755.

Tuesday 5th Aug. 1755

J. Gascoigne	Frederick of the Inner Temple Attorney	Rich ^d Cochrane
J. Mole	Collins of Battell Street Cordw	Rich ^d Innischo
Ezra Waite	of Carlisle Carver &c	Jos ^h Patinson
Peter Herdman	of Penrith Cumberland	Peter
Thos. Clason	of Manchester Lancashire	Peter Baley
Thos. Foster	Cit: & Weaver of London	John Boxhuc
Henry Williams	Cit: & Carpenter of London	John Williams
Francis Taylor	of St James Washin: Mant: maker	Henry Gooden

11 th 1	14. July 1755	6 from Date	10/10 6	10 6	10 6	10 6
11 th 2	0. 1755	7 from 5 th Inst.	4 6	20	1	3
11 th 3	19. Nov 1750	7 from Date	5	3 6		
11 th 4	20. Jan 1755	1 from 2 ^o	3 6			
11 th 5	19. July 1755	5 from 2 ^o	7	3	1 6	
11 th 6	4. Inst.	7 from 2 ^o	5	2 6		
11 th 7	5. 1755	7 from 2 ^o	5 5	2 7 1/2		
11 th 8	11. 1755	6 from 2 ^o	5 5	2 7 1/2		
			29 3	14 7 1/2	30 15 6	1 10 9 1/2

Figure 3. Pages from the British Board of Stamps Apprenticeship Books showing Joseph Patinson as apprentice to Ezra Waite and Peter Herdman.

Important additional facts as regards Waite's time spent in the north of England were disclosed by another record also held by the British National Archives at Kew, more specifically a legal cause titled "Waite v Holme."⁹ This record has not yet been downloaded by the Archives so the author was unable to obtain the actual particulars contained in the documents. Even so, there is useful information in the abstract, which reads as follows: "Cause: Waite v Holme Accounts of Ezra Waite, apparently of Barnard Castle, DURH., rendered to John Holme, attorney, for carpenter and joiner work done at Carlisle, Dalston (in the church) and Abbey Holme, CUMB., and elsewhere. Referred to by plaintiff's bill." The abbreviations "DURH." and "CUMB" represent the counties of Durham and Cumberland, both in the north of England. The documents in the cause covered the time period 1748-1753. The abstract suggests that Waite was "apparently" from Barnard Castle, a market town in the county of Durham adjacent to the North Riding of the county of Yorkshire. This place will be mentioned again later on in the discussion of Ezra Waite's "Cousin Mr. Moses Waite of the City of London," mentioned in his 1769 Charleston will. Returning to the legal cause, it seems that during the period 1748-1753, Waite carried out work as a carpenter and joiner in three named places in Cumberland, namely Carlisle (where he took Patinson as an apprentice on 19 Nov. 1750), Dalston (where he did work in the church there) and Abbey Holme, as well as elsewhere. These three places, along with another called Penrith,

are indicated on an 1831 map of Cumberland by Samuel Lewis (Fig. 4).¹⁰ The Anglican Church of St. Michael and All Angels is located in Dalston. This red sandstone church was originally built in the 12th century but was partially rebuilt in 1749, and given this date, it seems almost certain that Waite was involved in the rebuilding of the church that took place in that year.¹¹



Figure 4. 1831 map of county Cumberland, England, by Samue Lewis from his topographical dictionary of England.

Further research disclosed that the same year Waite took Patinson as an apprentice he married Mary Dalton, of Clifton, near Penrith, Cumberland.¹² The record shows the actual date of the marriage as 25 Feb. 1749/50. Clifton is actually in the county of Westmoreland, England, but it is only about three miles southeast of Penrith. The marriage bond, dated 24 Feb. 1749/50, refers to him as “Esra Waite”, about 23, joyner (sic) of Annet Well St., parish of St. Mary’s, Carlisle, and to the bride as Mary Dalton, spinster, about 23, of the same parish, Clifton.¹³

A detailed genealogical search was undertaken to try and discover the family history of this Ezra Waite, and the results yielded only one man by that name who would have been “about 23” in 1750. He was the son of Eber Waite of Forelands in Bowes parish, Yorkshire, England, whose baptism was recorded as taking place on 22 Dec. 1723.¹⁴ Ezra’s mother was Elizabeth Hanby, who married Eber Waite in Bowes parish on 20 Nov. 1720.¹⁵ Eber himself was baptized 3 June 1692 in Romaldkirk parish, Yorkshire, which is adjacent to Bowes parish.¹⁶ His father was Francis Waite and his mother was Margaret Lockey, whom Francis had married 26 Oct. 1671 in Romaldkirk parish.¹⁷ These places are identified on an 1822 map of Yorkshire by Thomas Langdale (Fig. 5a, Fig. 5b).¹⁸ It can be seen that both Romaldkirk and Bowes parishes are quite close to Barnard Castle in the county of Durham.



Figure 5a. 1822 map of the county of Yorkshire, England, by Thomas Langdale from his topographical dictionary of Yorkshire.



Figure 5b. Detail from Langdale map showing Barnard Castle in the county of Durham and Bowes and Romalldkirk in the county of Yorkshire.

Eber Waite died intestate in July 1723, and his wife Elizabeth was appointed to administer his estate and conduct an inventory. The inventory she returned to court, which identifies Eber as of Corn Park, is dated 18 July 1727, and its contents indicate that he was probably only a small farmer.¹⁹ Incidentally, Corn Park is a hamlet in Romaldkirk parish about three and a half miles northwest of Barnard Castle. As noted earlier, Ezra was baptized 22 Dec. 1723, so he was only about three and a half years old when his father died. Therefore, it seems probable he would have continued living with his mother until about the age of fourteen, at which time he was likely apprenticed to learn the joiner/carver trade. Since his known English work as a master joiner/carver was all in the north of England, it would appear more likely he learned his craft in that area of the country instead of in London as some have posited. Returning to his date of baptism, 22 Dec. 1723, if he was around the age of twenty-one when he was made free of his indenture, this would have been around the year 1745. In the Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper advertisements placed by Ezra Waite in Aug. 1769, he said he had twenty-seven years of experience, and that would yield a date around 1742 when he became a master joiner/carver. Given his baptismal date, this date seems early unless his apprenticeship was for less than the more usual seven years, which seems doubtful considering the skill he exhibited in his work on the Brewton house. Perhaps a more likely explanation of the dates 1742 vs. 1745 is that Waite may have considered his experience in his trade began during his

apprenticeship at age eighteen, a time when certain freedoms were sometimes earned from the master based on the skills the apprentice had developed, rather than the time his apprenticeship actually ended at age twenty-one.

The Secrets in Ezra's Past

It was while conducting additional research on Ezra Waite's activities while he was still resident in England that an interesting item was discovered in a London newspaper. Specifically, it appeared in *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post* that covered the period 26-29 Mar. 1763 and reads as follows:

Tuesday came on at the assizes at East Grinstead in Sussex, two remarkable indictments against Ezra Waite, alias Zara Dalton Waide, alias Dalton Waide, late a Joyner and Carver in Theobald's Row, Red-Lion Square, for polygamy: His first and real wife was one Mary Dalton, whom he married at Clifton, near Penrith in Cumberland; after this he married one Eleanor Terry, of Theobald's Row; next he married a young gentlewoman of Chichester in Sussex, who was the prosecutrix, his first wife being then and now alive. He was found guilty on both indictments without the jury's going out of Court; and after being burned in the hand, was ordered to be imprisoned six months. It appeared in the course of the evidence, that he made it a practice to change his name, and find

people to give him a character, in order to marry women of fortune; and when detected in these villainous practices, his only excuse was, misfortune in trade.²⁰

There can be little doubt that Waite's imprisonment for six months contributed to his bankruptcy in 1764, as previously noted. Another paper, this one published in Oxford, England, and called *Jackson's Oxford Journal* had this in its 19 May 1764 issue under a heading of BANKRUPTS: "Ezra Waite, late of Wellbank-street, Middlesex, but now of the King's Bench Prison, Builder and Carver. To appear May 18, 25, and June 23, at Guildhall."²¹ The King's Bench Prison was located in Southwark, in the south of London and took its name from the King's Bench court of law, in which cases of defamation, bankruptcy and other misdemeanors were heard and, as such, it was often used as a debtor's prison.²² The description of the charges brought against Waite, as reported in *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, described him as a joiner and carver in Theobald's Row, Red Lion Square, and mentioned that the Eleanor Terry, whom he married under the false name of Zara Dalton Waide, was also from Theobald's Row. The actual marriage took place 22 Nov. 1757 in the parish of St. George the Martyr, Queen Street, Holborn, London, and at the time of the marriage Eleanor was not yet twenty years old.²³ The marriage record called him a "bachelor" and Eleanor a "spinster." This area of London

known as Bloomsbury is shown on a map of London and Westminster and the borough of Southwark by John Rocque (Fig. 6).²⁴

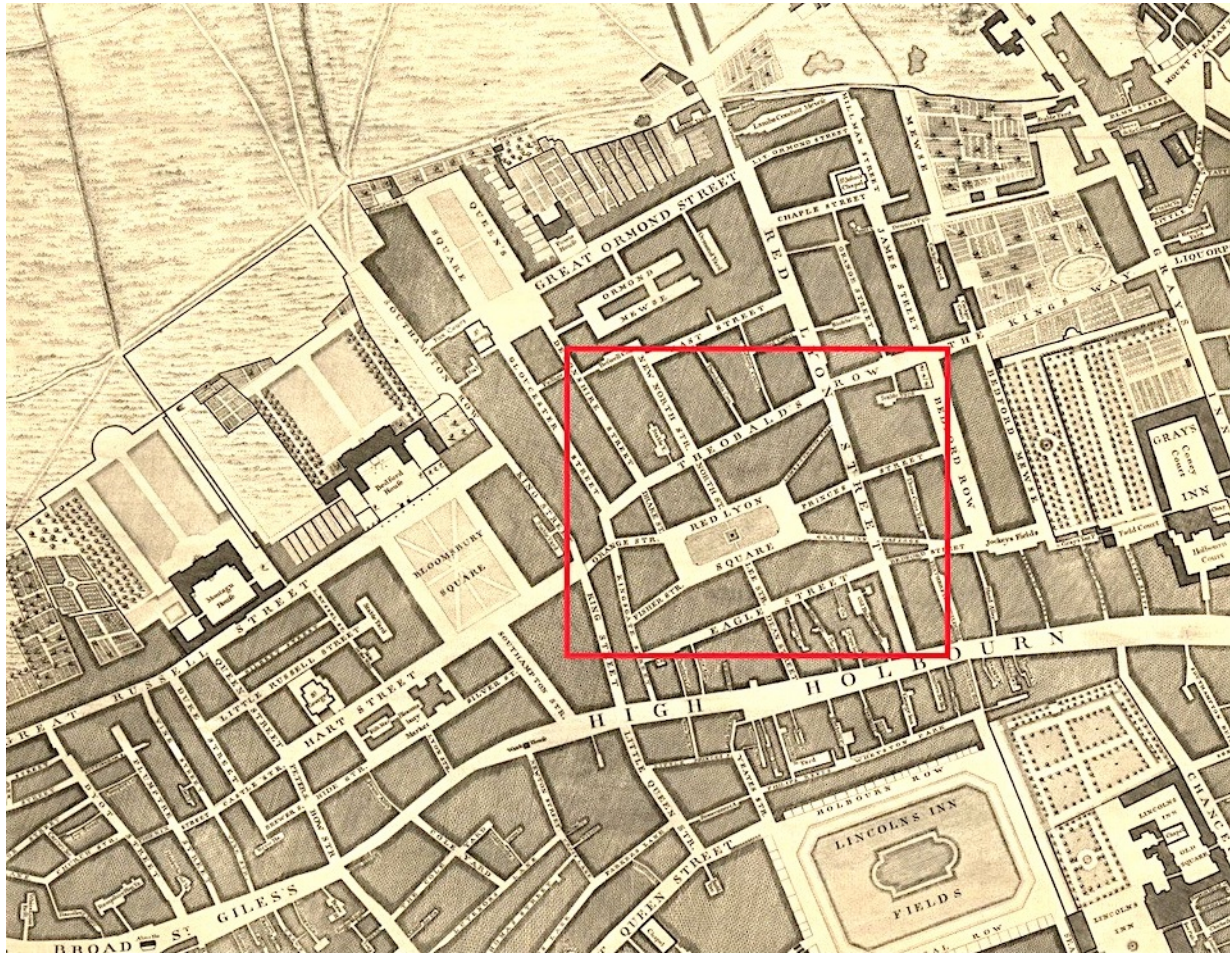


Figure 6. *Detail from 1746 map of the cities of London and Westminster and borough of Southwark by John Rocque et al., showing Red Lyon Square and Theobald's Row.*

Further research disclosed that Eleanor was the daughter of John Terry and his wife Eleanor of Theobald's Row and was christened 27 Dec. 1737 in the parish of St. George the Martyr (Fig. 7).²⁵

42.		Registrum Baptizatorum in Parochia S ^{ti} Georgii Martyris. Anno Domini MDCCXXXVII ^{mo} .	
Octo ^r 30.		Hannah Daug. of Robert & Deborah Bussey of Bedford Court.	
Nov ^r 5.		William Son of John & Margaret Price of Red Lyon Street.	
12.		Elizabeth & 2 Twins of George & Anne Marshall	
		Mary at Lamb's Conduit Passage.	
14.		John Son of James & Mary Maddox of Theobald's Road.	
14.		James Son of James & Anne Ingoll of New North Street.	
15.		Sarah Daug. of Thomas & Anne Gully of Red Lyon Street.	
16.		Jane Daug. of Thomas & Jane Gee of Drake Street.	
24.		William Son of John & Sarah Blancy of Lamb's Conduit Passage.	
24.		Elizabeth Daug. of Richard & Mary Brownjohn of Gloucester Street.	
25.		Edward Son of Robert & Elizabeth Parr. of Gray's Inn Passage.	
25.		Elizabeth Daug. of Joseph & Elizabeth Clay of East Street.	
Decem ^r 4.		Mary Daug. of Philip & Elizabeth Hagggett of Theobald's Road.	
4.		Anne Collier Daug. of Richard & Elizabeth Barnell of Theobald's Road.	
6.		Charles Son of Charles & Mary Smith of Eagle Street.	
9.		Martha Daug. of William & Catherine Brerley of Gray's Inn Pas.	
9.		Mary Daug. of Thomas & Mary Waller of Red Lyon Street.	
10.		John Son of Edward & Mary Gould of Bedford Court.	
16.		Anne Daug. of William & Alice Weller of Eagle Street.	
23.		James Son of James & Sarah Capetson of Princeps Street.	
24.		Mary Daug. of Alexius Clayton Esq. & Bridgett his Wife.	
25.		Elizabeth Daug. of William & Mary Squire of L. Ormond Street.	
27.		<u>Mrs. Pinelock Daug. of Joseph & Penelope Gray of L. Inn Passage.</u>	
27.		<u>Eleanor Daug. of John & Eleanor Terry of Theobald's Road.</u>	
Jan ^r 1.		Ester Daug. of William & Mary Garthwaite of Bedford Court.	
1.		Anne-Mary Daug. of Corbett & Elizabeth Morris of Theobald's Road.	
4.		Mary-Alder Daug. of James & Elizabeth Stephens of Old North Street.	
9.		Elizabeth Daug. of Thomas & Elizabeth Allstone of L. Conduit Mews.	
12.		William Son of William & Mary Roberts of Gloucester Street.	
17.		William Son of William & Jane Cowley of Ormond Yard.	
19.		Susannah Daug. of George & Margaret Roberts of Bedford Court.	
20.		Lucy Daug. of James & Susannah Brattle of Gloucester Street.	
22.		Lydia Daug. of John & Anne Tandy.	
24.		Richard Son of Richard & Mary Pyne of Bedford Court.	
25.		Thomas Son of Thomas & Mary Waller of Ormond Street.	
29.		Sarah Daug. of Thomas & Elizabeth Price of Bedford Court.	
29.		Susannah Daug. of Joseph & Sarah Clark.	
Febr ^r 5.		Stephen Son of Stephen & Esther Wayne of Ormond Yard.	
5.		Elizabeth Daug. of William & Elizabeth Scudder of Theobald's Road.	
9.		William Son of Robert & Mary Threlton of Theobald's Road.	
12.		Mary Daug. of Charles & Catherine Williams.	
12.		Thomas Son of John & Martha Ruff of Bedford Court.	
14.		John Son of John & Sarah Backhouse of Gray's Inn Passage.	
16.		Francis Daug. of Robert & Isabell Christopher of Eagle Street.	
19.		Henry Son of John & Hannah Sharpe of Bedford Court.	
26.		Daniel Son of Thomas & Agniah Gummings of Devonshire Street.	
Mar. 3.		Richard Son of Richard & Sarah Smith of Theobald's Road.	
3.		Henry Son of John & Mary Weeksted of Theobald's Road.	
5.		Mary Daug. of William & Elizabeth Hoare of Eagle Street.	
15.		Anne Daug. of Charles & Anne Howell of Red Lyon Street.	
17.		William Son of William & Catherine Light of Gray's Inn Passage.	
18.		Edward Son of Edward & Elizabeth Edwards of Theobald's Road.	
19.		Anne-Sophia Daug. of John & Anne-Elizabeth Sheeles of R. Street.	
25.		Mary Daug. of John & Anne Taylor of Devonshire Street.	
25.		Edmund Son of Samuel & Priscilla Topp of L. Ormond Street.	
1733. 23.		Elizabeth Daug. of Joseph & Sarah Sumner of Ormond Yard.	
1733. 25.		Anno Domini MDCCXXXVIII ^{mo} .	
		Elizabeth Daug. of Richard & Mary Cartwright.. Schoolmaster.	

Thracu

Figure 7. Page from register of the parish church of St. George the Martyr, London, showing the 27 Dec. 1737 baptism of Eleanor Terry.

As mentioned in the indictment, following his first polygamous marriage, Waite married again to a “young gentlewoman of Chichester in Sussex,” who was the prosecutrix in the case. Using the false name Dalton Waide and this time calling himself a “widower,” Waite married on 24 Dec. 1761 in the parish church of St. Andrew, Chichester, Sussex, to Martha Mant.²⁶ Martha, who was the daughter of William Mant and his wife Frances, was christened 8 Apr. 1729 in East Lavant, Sussex, so she was nearly thirty-three years old at the time of her marriage.^{27,28} It is perhaps not surprising that Martha never married again after this incident and died at the age of seventy-five in Dec. 1804, styling herself in her will “Martha Mant of the City of Chichester in the County of Sussex Gentlewoman.”²⁹ From the bequests in her will it may be said that Martha probably qualified as a woman of fortune, though not an immense one.

Since statutory notices connected with legal proceedings such as bankruptcy were required to be published in one of the official British journals of record or government gazettes, *The London Gazette* being one of them, a search of this publication was undertaken. It revealed nine entries concerning the bankruptcy proceedings for Waite, and these are given here in chronological order by date of the publication beginning with the earliest.³⁰ The first of these appeared in the 8-12 May 1764, issue: “Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against Ezra Waite, late of Wellbank Street in the Parish of St.

Mary le Bone in the County of Middlesex, but now of the King's Bench Prison, Builder and Carver, Dealer and Chapman, and he being declared a Bankrupt, is hereby required to surrender himself to the Commissioners in the said Commission named, or the major Part of them, on the 18th and 25 Days of May instant, and on the 23rd day of June next, at Four in the Afternoon , on each of the said Days, at Guildhall, London, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects; when and where the Creditors are to come prepared to prove their Debts, and at the Second Sitting to chuse Assignees, and at the last Sitting the said Bankrupt is required to finish his Examination, and the Creditors are to assent to or dissent from the Allowance of his Certificate. All Persons indebted to the said Bankrupt, or that have any of his Effects, are not to pay or deliver the same but to whom the Commissioners shall appoint, but give Notice to Mr. John James, at his Chambers No. 2. Tanfield Court Inner Temple.” This is the first instance that has been found where Waite has been described as a “Dealer and Chapman.” Research disclosed that the rather archaic term “chapman” has had several meanings over time. For example, it has been used to describe a customer or buyer and also a trader or merchant, but when or where Waite acted in any of these capacities is unknown.³¹ The next notice was published in the 4-8 June 1765 issue: “Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. First Notice. Ezra Waite, formerly of Wellbank-Street, late of Edward Street, both in the

Parish of St. Mary le Bone in the County of Middlesex, Carpenter.” This was followed by another in the 11-15 June 1765 issue: “Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. Second Notice. Ezra Waite, formerly of Wellbank-Street, late of Edward Street, both in the Parish of St. Mary le Bone in the County of Middlesex, Carpenter.” Shortly after that a third notice was published in the 18-22 June 1765 issue: “Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. Third Notice. Ezra Waite, formerly of Wellbank-Street, late of Edward Street, both in the Parish of St. Mary le Bone in the County of Middlesex, Carpenter.” The next several notices are more interesting, beginning with one published in the 7-10 Sep. 1765 issue of the *Gazette*: “Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. First Notice. Ezra Waite, formerly of West Cowes in the Isle of Wight, late of Portsmouth, both in the County of Hants, Carver.” No other record of Waite in the county of Hants, i.e., Hampshire, has been found nor has anything come to light to indicate he was resident in either West Cowes or in Portsmouth. What can be said is that Portsmouth, Hampshire, is not that distant from Chichester in Sussex, where Waite, using the alias Dalton Waide, married Martha Mant. Moreover, Cowes in the Isle of Wight is just on the other side of the Solent Firth from Portsmouth (Fig. 8).

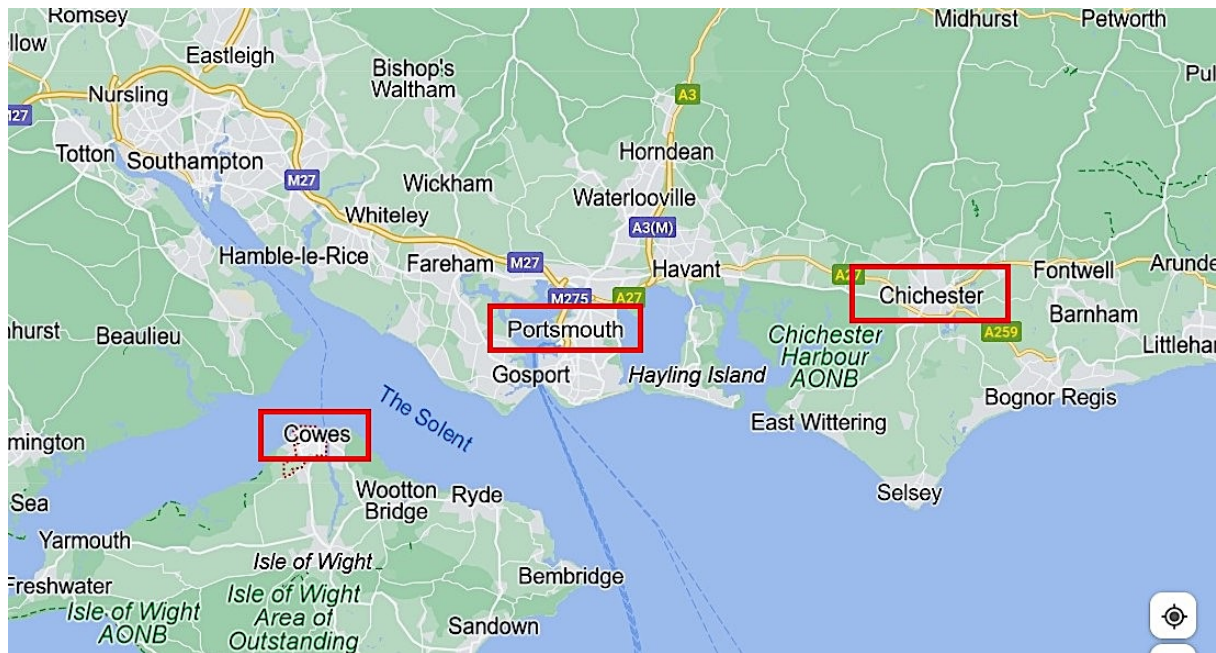


Figure 8. *Google map of part of the counties of Hampshire and Sussex showing Chichester, Portsmouth, and Cowes.*

It was some fifteen months after Waite married Mant that she charged him with polygamy, so it is quite possible he was operating as a carver in those two places during that time. The next notice in the *Gazette* appeared in the 10-14 Sep. 1765: “Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. Second Notice. Ezra Waite, formerly of West Cowes in the Isle of Wight, late of Portsmouth, both in the County of Hants, Carver.” The next notice offers a possible clue as to how Waite may have eventually been discharged from bankruptcy. It appeared in the 3-7 Dec. 1765 issue: “The following Persons being Prisoners for Debt, in the respective Prisons, or Goals, hereafter mentioned, do hereby give Notice, That they intend to take up the Benefit of an Act of

Parliament, passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of His present Majesty King George the Third, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors*, at the next General or Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be held in and for the County, Riding, Division, City, Town, Liberty, or Place, or any Adjournment thereof, which shall happen next after THIRTY DAYS from the FIRST Publication of the under-mentioned Names, viz. Prisoners in the KING’S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. First Notice. Ezra Waite, of Edward-Street Cavendish Square, London, late of Portsmouth Common in Hampshire, Gentleman.” Incidentally, Portsmouth Common is that part of the city of Portsmouth known today as Portsea. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, British bankruptcy laws began to evolve toward offering the bankrupt at least some means of finally obtaining a discharge from bankruptcy. There were several successive Acts of Parliament that sought to provide relief for insolvent debtors, in essence by obliging their creditors to accept the utmost satisfaction they are capable to make, and thereafter restoring them to their liberty. The other things of interest in this 3-7 Dec. 1765 notice are first that he is referred to as a “gentleman,” and second, that his address is given as Edward Street, Cavendish Square, London. The only possible explanation for his claim to be a gentleman comes from his marriage to Martha Mant, who characterized her social status as that of a “gentlewoman,” but whether this suggestion is correct cannot be said based on currently known facts. The next *Gazette* notice was published in its 7-10 Dec. 1765 issue and is essentially the same as the

previous other than it being a second notice to creditors and others involved in Waite's bankruptcy proceedings. The final notice appeared in the 10-14 Dec. 1765 issue: "Prisoners in the KING'S BENCH Prison, in the County of Surry. Third Notice. Ezra Waite, of Edward-Street Cavendish Square, London, late of Portsmouth Common in Hampshire, Gentleman." No further record of Waite has thus far been found in the English records after this final notice in Dec. 1765. No evidence could be found as to when Waite finally departed England for Charleston or when he arrived there although it seems it would have been no earlier than 1766. As a final thought regarding Ezra Waite, it has been seen that he was christened in Dec. 1723 and drew his will in Charleston in Oct. 1769 and died less than a month later, so he was not yet forty-six years old at the time of his death. Although it was better than some, King's Bench prison still had a reputation for being dirty, overcrowded and prone to outbreaks of various diseases including typhus. It seems he was convicted of polygamy in March 1763 and no doubt sent to King's Bench prison soon after, and he was still languishing in prison there in Dec. 1765, more than two and a half years later. If this is correct, it is quite possible his health deteriorated considerably during this period, and this could have certainly contributed to his early death.

Ezra Waite's "Cousin M^r. Moses Waite of the City of London"

It has already been seen that Ezra Waite's Charleston, South Carolina, will contained a provision for a residue of his estate to be remitted to "my Cousin Mr. Moses Waite of the City of London," who was to disperse the funds among Waite's nearest relations then living.

Regarding this Moses Waite, John Bivins added that he "may have been a mason whose yard was situated in Southwark; this individual is recorded as having taken an apprentice in 1760." Research by the author confirms the conjecture by Bivins that he was a mason and that he lived in Southwark. Indeed, Moses Waite was a highly-respected master mason who had been granted his freedom of the City of London by a court called for that purpose on 19 June 1750. The document (Fig. 9) reads in part, "It is Ordered that the said Moses Waite be admitted into the Freedom of this City by Redemption in the Company of Masons."³²

A handwritten notation in the left margin of this document adds the further information that Moses was the "Son of Matthew Waite of Bernard Castle in the County of Durham Mason." A search of the Board of Stamps Apprenticeship Books revealed that Moses Waite of London did have several apprentices over the years including George Gwilt, whom he took as apprentice on 1 Aug. 1760, for seven years.³³ Gwilt became well known as an architect and surveyor for the County of Surrey, and who, with his two sons George and Joseph, was involved with numerous architectural projects around London, including work on the West India Docks warehouses.³⁴ Moses Waite lived in the parish of Kingston-Upon-Thames in Southwark, Surrey, where he also held

important offices such as Bailiff of Kingston.³⁵ He left a will dated 31 Jan. 1785, which was probated in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 21 Feb. 1785.³⁶ It was four pages in length, and its bequests indicate he had a very large estate at the time of his death. The several beneficiaries named included family and other individuals living in Barnard Castle, Durham, and Romalldkirk in Yorkshire, and elsewhere.

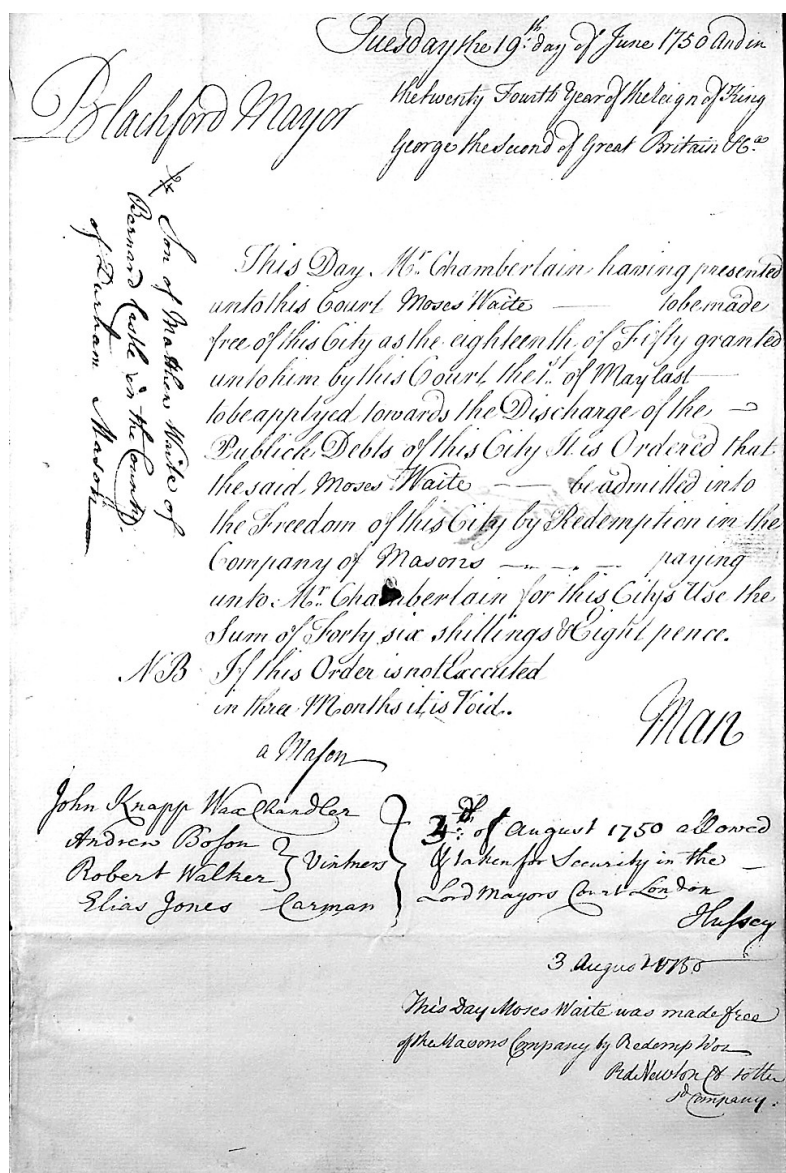


Figure 9. Freedom of the City of London Admission Papers for Moses Waite.

As previously noted Moses Waite was the son of Matthew Waite of Barnard Castle in the County of Durham, who was himself a mason and possibly the master that taught his son the trade. The gravestone of this Matthew Waite still stands in the church yard of St. Mary's in Barnard Castle.³⁷ It is considerably worn in part but reveals that he died 17 Mar. 1745, and that he was the son of Aaron Waite and his wife, Jane. This would be Jane Hawden, whom Aaron Waite married in the parish of Rokeby, Yorkshire, on 28 Jan. 1738.³⁸ Rokeby is near the border between the North Riding of Yorkshire and the county of Durham and about three miles from Barnard Castle. Further research determined that Aaron was christened in the parish of Romaldkirk, Yorkshire, on 20 June 1717, the son of Matthew Waite and a wife named Dinah.³⁹ Research disclosed that this wife was Dina Appleby, whom Matthew had married in the parish of Romaldkirk on 1 May 1701.⁴⁰ This Matthew, in turn, was christened in the parish of Romaldkirk on 25 Feb. 1676, the son of Francis Waite.⁴¹ This is the same Francis Waite, who married Margaret Lockey, as noted earlier, making this Matthew a brother to Eber Waite, the father of Ezra Waite. So, Moses Waite of London, mason, was indeed a cousin of Ezra.

New Findings Concerning the Work of Thomas Woodin in London

It was stated earlier that two other craftsmen contributed to the work in the upstairs drawing (dining) room of the Brewton House: Thomas Woodin and John Lord, master carvers who had immigrated to Charleston from London. Bivins, in his article on Charleston Rococo interiors, discusses both these men in some depth and is the source of the following unless otherwise indicated. Although the date Woodin arrived in Charleston is unknown, it is certain that he was in that city as early as 1764 when the names of two of the family members he had arrived there with appeared in a 22 Oct. 1764 advertisement in *The South Carolina Gazette*, namely Elizabeth and Rebecca Woodin.⁴² The names of all the family members were recorded in a petition dated 2 July 1765, found in the *Journal* of the South Carolina governor's council and submitted by John Woodin, Thomas Woodin, Elizabeth Woodin, Rebecca Woodin and Ann Oxenham, all of whom were signatories, who alleged that "they were Protestants Lately arrived in this Province." According to Bivins, Elizabeth was apparently Thomas Woodin's wife, John and Rebecca his children and Ann Oxenham another member of the Woodin household. As to Woodin's history before arriving in Charleston, Bivins had this to say: "Very little is known of Woodin's career in London, but he was certainly established on his own by 1746, when the indenture records for that year record that Thomas "Wooding," carver and gilder, who was located in St. James', Westminster, took Samuel Norman as an apprentice for a premium of 15 guineas." Norman became one of

London's principal carvers and cabinetmakers by the end of the 1750s, and an extensive biography for him can be found using the British and Irish Furniture Makers Online (BIFMO) search function.⁴³ Woodin is also known to have taken other apprentices in London including Henry Brook in 1746 and William Bishop and William Powell (or Porsell) in 1755, and there were likely others. According to Bivins, Woodin was still in London in 1760, "the latest date found for him in England," as in Sep. of that year he was called in by the Duke of Bedford as an arbitrator to evaluate the "large Glass," which Woodin's former apprentice, Samuel Norman, had made for the "Blue Parlor" at Woburn Abbey. The *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers, 1660-1840* also states that Woodin emigrated to South Carolina around 1760 as does his BIFMO entry.⁴⁴

An interesting question is whether there is other, previously unpublished information that can be added to the record as regards Woodin's London career, and as the following will show, the answer is, yes. For one thing, Thomas Woodin was a member of a firm called "Messrs. Williams and Woodin" that was located across from the Beaufort Buildings, Strand, London, as early as 11 Dec. 1758, when they were mentioned in a notice in *The Public Advertiser of London*.⁴⁵ Another advertisement, this one in the 24 Dec. 1759 issue of the same paper (Fig. 10), refers to this company as "Upholderers," a term that will be explained presently.⁴⁶

Public Notice is hereby given,
THAT an Assortment of beautiful Carpets
of different Sizes and Qualities of the Chaillot Work, and of
Screens and Backs, and Seats of Chairs, of the Gobelin Work, all
from the Manufactory, removed from Fulham to Exeter, are now
lodged for Sale with Messr. Williams and Woodin, Upholsterers, oppo-
site Beauford Buildings in the Strand, where, and at the Proprietor's at
Exeter only. Orders will be taken in for Carpets of all Designs and Di-
mensions, from 3os. to 100s. per square Yard, as also for Screens and
Seats and Backs of Chairs to any Design whatever, and the Proprietor
hopes that the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, particularly those
who have been distinguished by their Endeavours to promote Arts and
Manufactures, will encourage so laudable an Undertaking, and they
may depend on a faithful Execution of such Orders as they shall be
pleased to give, he being determin'd to make no more for the future
but such only as shall be expressly bespoke.

Figure 10. Advertisement placed in the 24 Dec. 1759 issue of *The Public Advertiser* by Messrs. Williams and Woodin.

Woodin's partner in this firm was Joseph Williams, who died in London in 1760.⁴⁷ A further notice also found in this same newspaper (Fig. 11) and dated 22 Oct. 1760 gave the particulars regarding a sale by auction of "The genuine Household Furniture of Mr. JOS. WILLIAMS, Cabinetmaker, &c., deceas'd, At his late Dwelling House, opposite to Beauford Buildings in the Strand, with the Rest of his Furniture bought from his House at Fulham."⁴⁸ It added that "Catalogues to be had at Mr. Woodin's Warehouse behind the said Dwelling House . . ."

To be SOLD by AUCTION,
 By Mr. PERVILL,
Wednesday the 29th instant, and the two following Days,
 By Order of the EXECUTOR.

THE genuine Household Furniture of Mr.
 JOS. WILLIAMS, Cabinet maker, &c. deceased,
 At his late Dwelling House, opposite to Beaufort Buildings in the
 Strand, with the Rest of his Furniture brought from his House
 at Fulham.

Consisting of Damask, Harrateen, Check, and other Furnitures, in
 Beds, Window Curtains, Sofas, Chairs, &c. a fine Mahogany Li-
 brary Book Case with a Desk Drawer, Chests of Drawers, Dining,
 Card, Pembroke and other Tables, carved Sconces in gilt and painted
 Frames, Turkey and Wilton Carpets, Stove Grates, and Kitchen Fur-
 niture.

The Whole to be viewed on Monday the 27th and to the Time of
 Sale, which will begin each Day at Twelve o'Clock precisely.

Catalogues to be had at Mr. Woodin's Warehouse behind the said
 Dwelling House, at Grigsby's Coffee-house behind the Royal Exchange,
 at Sam's Coffee house in St Paul's Church-yard, and at Mr. Pervill's
 in Bow-Street, Covent Garden.

The said Front House to be let.

Figure 11. Advertisement placed in the 22 Oct. 1760 issue of *The Public Advertiser* announcing the upcoming sale of the furniture of Joseph Williams, deceased.

An especially informative account published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* provides additional details on the firm Messrs. Williams and Woodin in an article on the location of the offices of that Society and is the source of the following information.⁴⁹ It states that the first permanent offices of the Society were located in 1755 in Craig's Court,

Charing Cross, but this space proved insufficient for its needs so that in 1756 it moved into a house at the corner of Castle Court on the east side, “opposite the New Exchange.” However, by 1758, this space too had become inadequate to serve the Society’s growing needs, and a committee established to recommend new quarters reported favorably on a proposal to acquire space in Exeter Exchange (popularly known as Exeter Change), but the costs to do that proved prohibitive. The article continues: “Eventually the Society came to terms with Messrs. Williams and Woodin, who carried on the business of upholsterers and carpenters in the premises opposite Beaufort Buildings in the Strand.” These premises included the house “afterwards No. 380 and 381, Strand, and a warehouse and yard behind.” As an inducement to enter into a lease Messrs. Williams and Woodin “agreed to build a Great Room for the Society on the site of their warehouse, and to let this room, with another good-sized room on the ground floor, together with a certain part of the house, for a payment of £200 and a rent of £120 a year for three years, and £100 afterwards, for a term of fifteen years from Midsummer 1759.” As noted in the article, “If the conclusions drawn from an examination of the plans and documents in the Bedford estate offices are correct, the ‘Great Room’ was worthy of its name, being an apartment 80 ft. long by 40 ft. broad [and] A considerable amount was expended in fitting and furnishing the rooms and offices, besides the costs of the structural alterations.” A year and a half later, in Jan. 1761, additional promises were secured by the Society from Woodin regarding a property to be

used as a residence by a Dr. Templeman, the Society's then newly appointed secretary. The description of this property in the lease was insufficient to allow its identification with certainty, but may have comprised a house adjacent to the Great Room and looking into Bennet's Court. As previously mentioned, Joseph Williams died in 1760, but that did not end the business as Thomas Woodin acquired his interest in the firm and continued operation under his own name. Woodin also resided on the premises, presumably taking over the house Williams had used according to a rate book entry for 1763, where his name is given as "Thos. Wooden." The house stood on ground which was then part of the property of the Duke of Bedford and had been leased by him in 1753 to John Price, by whom it was demised to Williams and Woodin. Could this connection between the Duke of Bedford and Thomas Woodin be one of the reasons the former had relied on Woodin as one of the arbitrators to evaluate the "large Glass" Samuel Norman had made for use at Woburn Abbey, the Duke's country residence? The answer is probably, yes, along with other considerations. A notice that appeared in *The Public Advertiser* on 21 Nov. 1760 (Fig. 12) refers to Woodin as an "Upholder" and gives some indication as to the size, diversity and extravagance of items carried in his inventory

Public Notice is hereby given,
THAT an Assortment of very beautiful
 CARPETS and SCREENS of various Sizes,
 Qualities, and Prices, made after the Manner as at
 Challiot; as also Backs and Seats of Chairs and Screens,
 after the Manner of the Gobelines, are arrived in
 Town from the Carpet Manufactory, removed from
 Fulham to Exeter, to be disposed of at moderate
 Prices, by THOMAS WOODIN, Upholder,
 opposite Peaufort-Buildings in the Strand: And as
 the true fine Challiot Work was thought too expen-
 sive, the Proprietor now makes Carpets on another
 Plan in Beauty and Strength vastly exceeding the
 Turkey Carpets from 20, 24, 30 to 36 s. per Square
 Yard; and of which Samples are to be seen at the
 said Mr. Woodin's.
 The Nobility and Gentry may have Carpets, Chairs
 and Screens made to their own Designs and Dimen-
 sions, either on the new Plan, or the fine Challiot
 and Gobeline Work, by giving their Orders to the
 said Mr. Woodin, or the Proprietor at Exeter, and
 may depend on a faithful Execution of the same.

Figure 12. *Advertisement placed in the 21 Nov. 1760 issue of The London Chronicle by Thomas Woodin.*

and clearly illustrates that he was certainly catering to high-end patrons, including members of the gentry and nobility.⁵⁰ It has been seen that Woodin has been characterized as a carver and gilder but, according to

this 1760 notice, he was also referring to himself as an upholder. A good explanation of what this term meant in the mid-eighteenth century can be found in a book published in 1747 called *The London Tradesman*.

"I Have just finished my House, and must now think of furnishing it with fashionable Furniture. The Upholder is chief Agent in this Case: He is the Man upon whose Judgment I rely in the Choice of Goods; and I suppose he has not only Judgment in the Materials, but Taste in the Fashions, and Skill in the Workmanship. This Tradesman's Genius must be universal in every Branch of Furniture; though his proper Craft is to fit up Beds, Window-Curtains, Hangings, and to cover Chairs that have stuffed Bottoms: He was originally a Species of the Taylor; but, by degrees, has crept over his Head, and set up as a Connoisseur in every Article that belongs to a House. He employs Journeymen in his own proper Calling, Cabinet-Makers, Glass-Grinders, Looking-Glass Frame-Carvers, Carvers for Chairs, Testers, and Posts of Bed; the Woolen-Draper; the Mercer, the Linen-Draper, several Species of Smiths, and a vast many Tradesmen of the other mechanic Branches."⁵¹

As can be seen, at this time, London upholders served the function of what are today referred to as interior decorators with responsibility for every aspect of a room's décor. Some were members of the London Upholders' Company, but many firms that engaged in this business

involved furniture-making partnerships with a cabinet maker paired with an upholder, a term also used interchangeably with upholsterer. The exact size of Woodin's operation at this time is unknown, but it seems that he would have employed several journeymen, possibly including cabinetmakers, carvers, guilders, upholsterers, etc.

Given the complex nature of Woodin's operation as an upholder, the loss of his partner Joseph Williams and what were likely large financial obligations he had taken on in providing the Great Room and other facilities for the offices of the Royal Society of the Arts, it would not be surprising that all this led Woodin into financial difficulty, and the evidence shows that it did. In its 31 July – 3 Aug. 1762, issue, *The London Chronicle* reported that "Thomas Woodin, of St. Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, Cabinet-maker" was a bankrupt and would have to appear at Guildhall Aug. 7, 14, and Sep. 11 of that year.⁵² A publication called *Miscellaneous Correspondence* edited by Benjamin Martin also reported in an Aug. 1762 issue that Woodin was bankrupt and called him a cabinet maker and upholder.⁵³ A search of *The London Gazette* for official notices related to Woodin's bankruptcy yielded only three results.⁵⁴ The first appeared in the 21-25 Sep. 1762 issue and reads as follows: "Pursuant to an Order made by the Right Honourable Lord Henley, Baron of Grange, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, for Enlarging the Time for Thomas Woodin of the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, Cabinet-maker and Upholder, (a

Bankrupt) to surrender himself, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects, for Forty Nine Days, to be computed from the 11th of September Instant; This is to give Notice, that the Commissioners in the said Commission named and authorized, or the major Part of them, will meet on the 30th of October next, at Ten o’Clock in the Forenoon, at Guildhall, London; when and where the said Bankrupt is required to surrender himself, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure, of his Estate and Effects, and finish his Examination; and the Creditors who have not already proved their Debts, may then and there come and prove the same, and assent to or dissent from the Allowance to his Certificate.” The next notice did not appear until the following year when it ran in the *Gazette* in its 29 Mar.-2 Apr. 1763 issue: “All persons, who are indebted to the Estate of Thomas Woodin, late of the Strand, Cabinet-maker and Upholder, a Bankrupt, are desired to pay the same to Mr. Atkinson, Goldsmith, the Corner of Cecil Street in the Strand, who has proper Authority from the Assignee to settle, received, and discharge the same; and all Persons, who have any Demand on the said Bankrupt’s Estate, and have not proved under the Commission, are desired to leave Particulars of their respective Demands, properly attached, with the same Person at the same Place.” The third and final notice ran in the 14-18 Feb. 1764 issue: “The Creditors of Thomas Woodin, of the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields in the County of Middlesex, Cabinet-maker and Upholder, who have proved their Debts under a Commission of Bankrupt awarded against

him, are desired to meet the Assignee of his Estate, on the 22d of February instant, at Five o’Clock in the Afternoon, at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand, in order to assent to or dissent from the Assignee commencing one or more suit or Suits in Law or Equity relating to the Bankrupt’s Estate; and to his compounding, submitting to Arbitration, or otherwise agreeing, any Disputes, Matters or Thing concerning the same.” No further notices were found in a search of the *Gazette* but, several months later, *The London Chronicle* in its 24–27 Dec. 1763 issue under a column called “BANKRUPTS” and subheading “Dividends to be made to Creditors” listed “Thomas Woodin, of St. Martin in the Fields, Cabinet-maker.”⁵⁵ As with Ezra Waite, given the records available to the author nothing further could be found with respect to Woodin’s bankruptcy, including how or when it was finally resolved allowing him to leave England with his family to settle in Charleston, where he was living by Oct. 1764. Bivins, in his article on Charleston Rococo interiors, did provide the following information linking Woodin to an important Charleston family, the Wraggs.⁵⁶ During his years in Charleston, Woodin acquired a substantial estate that included several large tracts of land. In his will, Woodin left most of his real and personal property to his son and daughter. However, he left 1,600 acres to John Wragg in England. The exact wording used by Woodin in his will reads: “And to my Godson & Nephew John, the Son of Joseph Ragg or Wragg in England as a Reward for the many friendly Offices done for me in England, the one thousand Acres Called Hollis-Six Hundred Acres on

the great Saltketchers.”⁵⁷ As noted by Bivins, Joseph Wragg, Jr., also a resident of London, was the son of the exceedingly wealthy Charleston merchant Joseph Wragg, Sr. The wording in the will seemingly suggests that Woodin married a sister of Joseph Wragg, Jr. However, as Bivins admits, no details regarding this union have been found. Additional research by the author also failed to discover anything further about such a marriage. One possible explanation offered by Bivins is that in the eighteenth-century family relationships were often loosely described, so that Waite may have meant something like “step brother” for “brother in law.” Regardless, Bivins conjectures that it was probably the Wragg connection which had encouraged Woodin to emigrate to Charleston. If so, perhaps the many friendly Offices that John Wragg had done for Woodin in England included help in sorting out his bankruptcy there. Hopefully, future discoveries will shed more light on this.

The other carver discussed by Bivins, who did work on the Brewton house, was John Lord. In a 17 June 1766 advertisement in *The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* (Fig. 13), Lord introduced himself in Charleston as a “CARVER and GILDER, from London,” who had opened “a Shop in Church-street, opposite to Messrs. *Sheed* and *White*’s Store, where he intends to carry on the said Business in all it various Branches.”⁵⁸ In this same advertisement, Lord quite proudly announced that he had “had the Advantage of doing all the different Parts of his Business at the Shop of Mr. NORMAN, Carver and Gilder

to his Majesty.” As stated by Bivins, “One might speculate upon how a journeyman from the huge establishment of Samuel Norman, a former apprentice to Thomas Woodin, had found his way to Charleston,” then added that perhaps Lord had emigrated on the advice of Woodin himself.

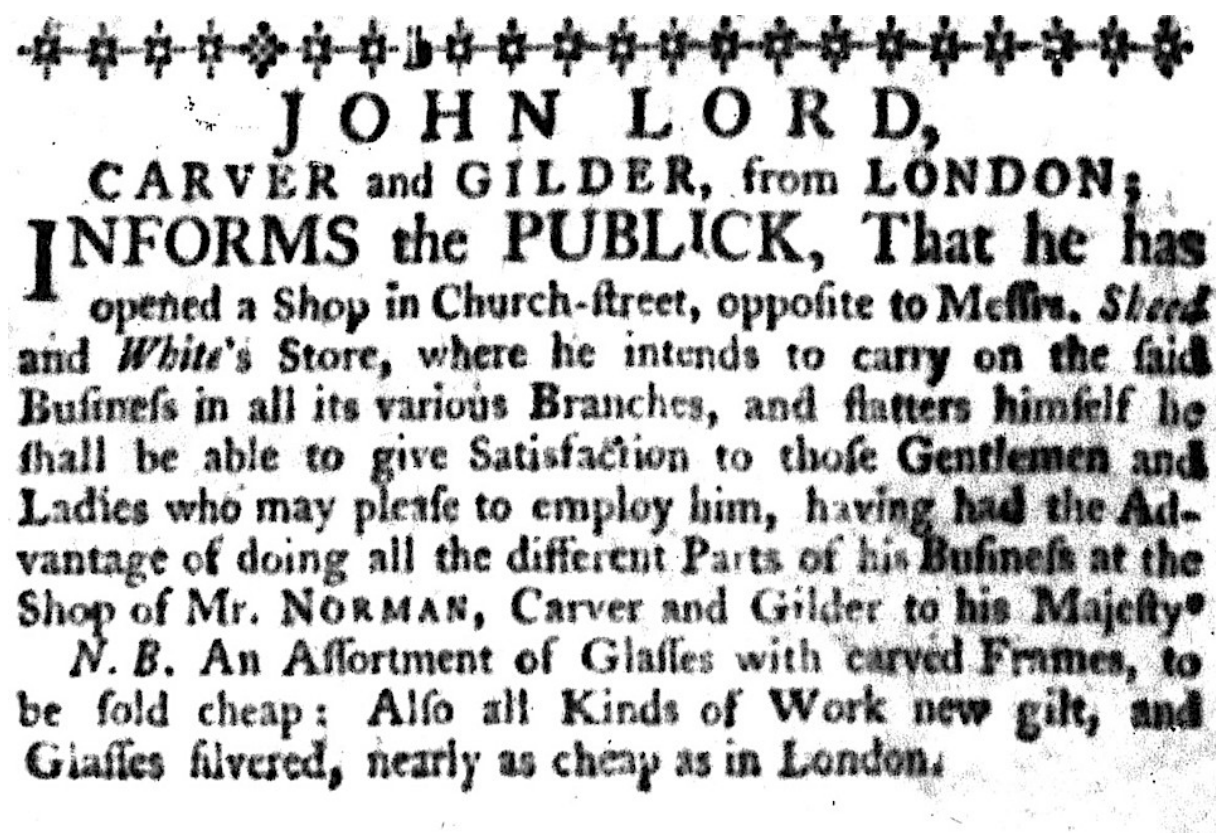
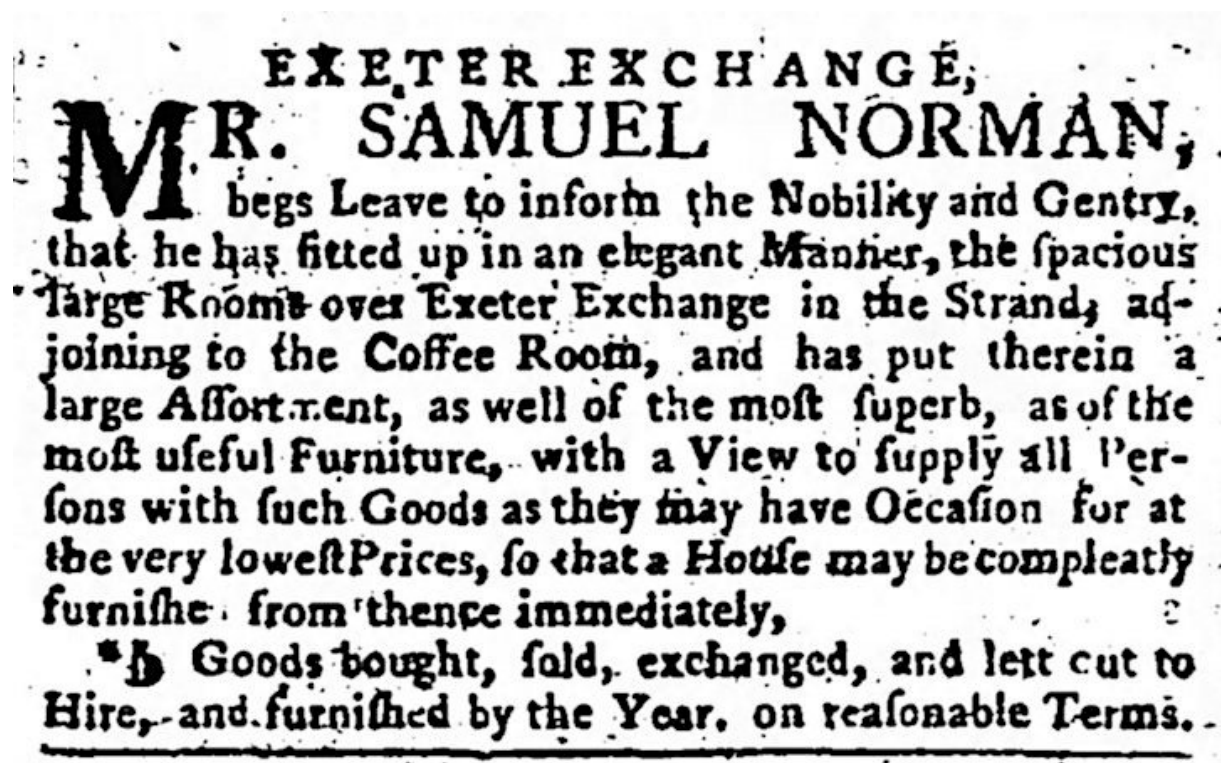


Figure 13. *Advertisement placed in the 17 June 1766 issue of The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal by John Lord.*

The BIFMO entry for Samuel Norman states that there is no known major work by him after 1766, and he went bankrupt in 1767. In this regard, it might be interesting to note that Norman placed notices in *The Public Advertiser* beginning with the 20 Jan. 1766 issue (Fig. 14) in

which he stated that he “begs Leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry, that he has fitted up in an elegant Manner, the spacious large Rooms over Exeter Exchange in the Strand,” in which he placed a large assortment of superb and useful furniture.⁵⁹ The notice went on to state that he had a sufficient quantity of goods on hand to furnish a house immediately suggesting he was carrying a rather large inventory. It may be recalled that this space in Exeter Exchange was the one deemed by the Royal Society of Arts in 1758 as too expensive to lease, so it must have been let to Norman at a considerable price.



EXETER EXCHANGE,
MR. SAMUEL NORMAN,
begs Leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry,
that he has fitted up in an elegant Manner, the spacious
large Rooms over Exeter Exchange in the Strand, ad-
joining to the Coffee Room, and has put therein a
large Assortment, as well of the most superb, as of the
most useful Furniture, with a View to supply all Per-
sons with such Goods as they may have Occasion for at
the very lowest Prices, so that a House may be compleatly
furnished from thence immediately,
* Goods bought, sold, exchanged, and lett out to
Hire, and furnished by the Year. on reasonable Terms.

Figure 14. *Advertisement placed in the 15 Jan. 1766 issue of The Public Advertiser by Samuel Norman.*

As with Woodin, all of these expenses probably led to Norman's bankruptcy. It may be that Lord could see this coming and decided to leave London for Charleston, where he arrived in 1766. Woodin and Lord almost certainly knew each other through their connections with Samuel Norman. It is not clear how Ezra Waite ended up working with them on the Brewton house, but it is possible that Woodin and Waite became acquainted through their respective experiences with bankruptcy in the London courts. Whatever the case may actually be is likely to remain unknown, but the story would no doubt be an interesting one.

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[5] Bivins, “Charleston Rococo Interiors,” p. 37.

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