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Spring/Summer 2012

Honorary President: Gordon Pollock, 40 Glandon Drive, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire, SK8 7EY.

Chairman: David Higgins, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH. Tel: 0151637 2289. Email: david_higgins@talktalk.net.

General Secretary: Libby Key, Rotherhurst, Woodlands Road, Broseley, Shropshire, TF12 5PU. Tel: 01952 882714. Email: libbykey@yahoo.com

Membership Enquiries and Subscriptions: Peter Hammond, 17 Lady Bay Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 5BJ. Email: claypipepeter@aol.com.

Newsletter Editor: Susie White, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH. Tel: 0151637 2289. Email: susie_white@talktalk.net.

Backnumbers: Ron Dagnall, 14 Old Lane, Rainford, St Helens, Lancs, WA11 8JE Email: rondag@blueyonder.co.uk (please enclose SAE for postal enquiries).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE
Jenny Basford, University of York, UK. Email: jenny.basford@york.ac.uk Françoise Duguay, Quebec, Canada. Email: francoise.duguay.1@ulaval.ca Giles Emery, Norwich, UK. Email: giles.emery@norvicarchaeology.com Peter Hammond (details above)

David Higgins (details above)
Joshua Horrocks, University of Bradford, UK. Email: jrhorroc@gmail.com.
Andy Kincaid Virginia, USA. Email: akincaid3@cox.net.
Bill Moore, Shaftsbury, Dorset, UK. Email: bill@m3895.freeserve.co.uk Jan van Oostveen, Tiel, The Netherlands. Email: kleipijp@xs4all.nl Pete Rayner, Beverley, Humberside, UK. Email: jrayner1@jrayner1.karoo.co.uk Ruud Stam, Leiden, The Netherlands. Email: r.d.stam@minlnv.nl Ben Stern, University of Bradford, UK. Email: b.stern@bradford.ac.uk Susie White (details above)

Cover Illustration: Trade Token issued by Abraham Boyes of York in 1670

Did anyone spot the deliberate mistake in the last issue of the Newsletter? The York Conference papers that were published in issue 80 were dated 2010 and not 2011! I do apologies to all concerned.

This Spring/Summer issue of the newsletter is a little later arriving that I had planned, but I hope you will feel that it was worth the wait - I felt it was better to have a fuller but slightly later issue. Besides, I was waiting for Summer to actually arrive before posting out the Spring/Summer issue, but fear I may have a long wait!

The remainder of the conference papers that were presented in York are included in this issue together with some other interesting papers that have been submitted over the past few months. I still have a few short notes and snippets of information to carry over to the next issue, but not a lot, so please keep those contributions coming in. Any papers that are too long for inclusion for the newsletter can be considered for the SCPR Occasional Monograph. Progress on the production of that publication is slow but steady and I am having a concerted effort to get that ready for printing as soon as my spare time allows - hopefully by the end of this year.

Thank you to all those members who emailed through their current email contact details. If you have still not let me have your current email address, or if it has changed in the past 12 months, please email it through on SCPR@talktalk.net. We are doing our best to ensure that membership details are kept up to date so that we can contact you with Society news. Details of what is happening in the Society can be found on our web site www.scpr.co/ and members can exchange notes and queries thorough our Facebook group (https://www.facebook.com/\#!/groups/112974072125953/).

A reminder that this years conference is being organised by Brian Boyden and will be held in Sevenoaks, Kent, at The Vine Baptish Church Hall in Park Lane on Saturday 15th September 2012. The conference will follow the usual format with papers and presentations about pipes on the Saturday, followed by an evening meal. Then on the Sunday (16th) there will be a walking tour of Sevenoaks. A conference booking form is included with this newsletter. Please note that all booking forms and cheques need to reach Brian by 1st September - all details are on the form. Please contact Brian if you would like to present a paper or if you have any interesting pipes you'd like to display for the benefit of conference delegates.

I hope to see as many of you as possible in Kent in September, in the meantime I hope you enjoy this latest issue of the Newsletter. And don't forget to keep those little notes and articles coming in.

## SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: <br> Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Pipemakers in York

by Susie White
By drawing on the research carried out for the author's PhD, this paper sets out to reevaluate who the movers and shakers in the pipe industry in York in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, focussing on just two families - the Boyes family in the seventeenth century and the Shaftoe family in the eighteenth century. Just what were they producing and how far did their influence reach? Were they really the 'big' pipe producers we now consider them to be?

Tables 1 and 2 give a very rough guide to the number of pipemakers operating in York during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively. Some of these individuals may simply have been apprentices or journeymen, but many of them would have been master pipemakers and would have had apprentices of their own. Some may even have passed the business on to sons, or daughters. Most of these families would have been living in relatively close proximity to one another and would almost certainly have been aware of each other. Pipemaking families would no doubt have moved in similar circles even intermarrying, for example in the seventeenth century Abraham Boyes' daughter Sarah married the pipemaker John Whitekerr. John was a very interesting person in himself and may have been apprenticed to Flower Hunt of Bristol at one stage, as well as possibly having been a journeyman working for Abraham Boyes, but that is the subject of a different paper! Another example of intermarrying York pipemakers is found in the eighteenth century with the marriage of Sarah Shaftoe, daughter of Richard Shaftoe, and William Spacey. It is possible that William's father is the same John Spacie [sic] who was witness to the signing of Richard Shaftoe's will in 1705.

There is no doubt that in York, as in many other pipe producing centres in the country, the individual families were closely connected. Through these inter-familial links there is no doubt that pipe styles, particularly when it came to the style of marks, were passed around. But there is also evidence of York pipemakers making their mark on the pipemaking world further afield. The Dutch pipemaker Henry Wilkins and his brother Roger were born and bred in York. Henry was married to Sarah Thomas, the widow of a Kent pipemaker, and both brothers moved to Netherlands in the early part of the seventeenth century. From c1640 both were producing pipes in Amsterdam but they appear to have retailed family links back here in England as some of Roger Wilkins' pipes were recovered from the civil war siege deposits at Sandal castle.

In many ways the pipemaker's of York were no different to the pipemakers from

| Name | Dates | Notes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Balden, Francis | $1681-1713$ |  |
| Barnett, William | 1688 | apprenticed to Mrs Boyes |
| Beeforth, Ralph | 1668 | apprenticed to Abraham Boyes |
| Boyes, Abraham | $1645-1681$ |  |
| Boyes, Frances | $1681-1713$ | widow of Abraham Boyes continued to run the <br> business after her husband's death |
| Cary, Isaac | 1672 |  |
| Dawson, John | $1677-1703$ |  |
| Duncan, John | 1677 |  |
| Farnehill, Charles | $1669-1673$ |  |
| Farnhill, William | 1689 | apprenticed to Richard Shaftoe |
| Gill, William | 1694 | apprenticed to Frances Boyes |
| Holmes, Ralph | $1694-1730$ |  |
| Holmes, Thomas | $1657-1694$ |  |
| Mabson, John | 1673 |  |
| Marshall, John | $1673-1674$ |  |
| Mason, John | 1673 |  |
| Mattison, Matthew | 1668 |  |
| Middleton, John | $1679-1713$ |  |
| Moore, William | $1662-1681$ |  |
| Shaftoe, Richard | $1675-1706$ |  |
| Westaby, Gabriel | $1619-1643$ |  |
| Whitekerr, John | $1677-1681 / 2$ |  |
| Wilday, Francis | 1643 |  |
| Wilkinson, Francis | $1693-1731$ |  |
| Wright, Edward | 1684 |  |
| Wright, John | $1663-1697$ | apprenticed to Abraham Boyes |
| Wright, Thomas | 1684 |  |
|  |  |  |

Table 1: Pipemakers working in York in the seventeenth century.
anywhere else in the country from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but as the conference took place in York, it is York that is the focus of this paper.

By picking just one or two characters to compare and contrast it is possible to give a feel for the pipemaking profession in and around York in both the seventeenth and

| Name | Dates | Notes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Aray, John | $1768-1804$ |  |
| Aray, Rawson | $1778-1832$ | apprenticed to Alice Holmes |
| Birch, Joseph | $1713-1725$ |  |
| Boyes, Christopher | $1711-1725$ |  |
| Boyes, Samuel | $1708-1733$ |  |
| Brownbill, Henry | 1793 |  |
| Burrell, John | $1720-1726$ |  |
| Carr, William | $1725-1728$ |  |
| Davy, Jacob | 1721 |  |
| Day, James | $1717-1721$ |  |
| Dean, George | 1703 | apprenticed to Frances Boyes |
| Dodgson, William | $1712-1713$ |  |
| Dunning, Charles | $1723-1734$ |  |
| Hall, Andrew | $1702-1753$ | apprenticed to Frances Boyes |
| Hart, George | $1722-1757$ |  |
| Hesp, Mark | $1790-1820$ |  |
| Hillary, Edmund | $1721-1729$ | apprenticed to Frances Boyes |
| Holmes, Alice | $1730-1778$ | widow of Christopher Holmes continued to run the |
| business after her husband's death |  |  |
| Ramsel | $1730-1777$ |  |
| Rames, Christopher | $1724-1764$ |  |
| Holmes, John | 1758 |  |
| Holmes, Thomas | $1721-1755$ |  |
| Law, Thomas | $1739-1749$ |  |
| Lazenby, Robert | 1794 |  |
| Lumley, Lemuel | $1780-1803$ |  |
| Mason, George | $1792-1839$ |  |
| Mason, Thomas | 1786 |  |
| Middleton, George | 1707 |  |
| Morley, Robert | $1703-1727$ |  |
| Nelson, Anthony | 1796 | apprenticed to Mark Hesp |
| Pailiam | $1777-1790$ | widow of William Plaxton continued to run the |
| business after her husband's death |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |


| Name | Dates | Notes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Shaftoe, George | 1718 |  |
| Shaftoe, John | $1712-1739$ |  |
| Shaftoe, John | $1733-1759$ |  |
| Shaftoe, Richard | $1706-1725$ |  |
| Shaftoe, William | 1712 |  |
| Sickling, George | 1797 | apprenticed to Mark Hesp |
| Spacey, William | $1706-1710$ |  |
| Storey, John | $1713-1715$ |  |
| Thompson, Richard | 1796 | apprenticed to Mark Hesp |
| Tirry, Ralph | 1749 |  |
| Watson, Thomas | $1737-1750$ |  |
| West, John | $1710-1721$ |  |
| Wilkinson, Francis | 1721 |  |
| Wilson, George | 1716 |  |

Table 2: Pipemakers working in York in the eighteenth century.
eighteenth centuries, and to think about just who the 'movers and shakers' might have been, and to ask if our view of these pipemakers is skewed by the evidence we have.

During the course of her PhD research, the author recorded a total of 496 pipes from York dating from the period 1660-1690, 250 of which had stamped heels. For the period 1690-1720 a total of 186 pipes were recorded, 129 of which had stamped heels. It is this raw data that forms the basis of the following discussions.

The York maker that springs to most people's minds for the seventeenth century is Abraham Boyes, who is known to have been working from 1645 when he purchased his freedom, through to his death in 1681. Abraham is considered to have been one of the most prolific of the York pipemakers in the seventeenth century, but based on what? Analysis of AB marked pipes by the author suggests that Abraham had at least 12 different dies to mark his pipes. In terms of actual numbers of his pipes recovered, 88 examples attributed to Abrham Boyes have so far been recorded for the whole of Yorkshire, with 56 found just in York itself - that is $11.3 \%$ of all the pipes recorded in York during the period c1660-1690 (Figs. 1 and 2).

Abraham was the son of a Francis Boyes, but we are not sure what his father's profession was. He purchased his freedom in 1645 as a trunk and pipemaker. Abraham's first wife, Elizabeth, died in March 1660 but by the August of that same year he was married to Frances Buckton. Abraham does not appear to have had any children by


Figure 1: Examples of pipes produced by Abraham Boyes (drawn by the author).


Figure 2: Some of the range of heel marks used by Abraham Boyes (drawn by the author).
his first marriage, but he had at least eight children by his second including Sarah (who went on to marry the pipemaker John Whitekerr) and Christopher, who was also a pipe maker (see Peter Hammond's paper in this volume).

We know a reasonable amount about Abraham; he took a number of apprentices between 1663 and 1668 and even had a token issued in 1670 depicting three pipes (Fig. 3). In 1671 he appears in the hearth tax return as having six hearths, which indicates that he was living in a very sizable and well appointed property. The size of the family home; the number of apprentices and a number of different dies he was using, as well as the fact that he was wealthy enough to issue his own tokens, all point to the fact that he was a wealthy and successful pipemaker.

What happens after his death in 1681 is a little unclear. There are a lot of pipes marked AB that have been attributed to an Abraham Boyes for the period 1690-1730 to date a total of 80 examples from the whole of Yorkshire with 40 found just in York, which is $21.5 \%$ of all the pipes recorded for 1690-1720. Abraham and Frances did have a son called Abraham, but he only lived to be about 1 year. It is possible that they


Figure 3: Trade token issued by Abraham Boyes.
went on to have another son called Abraham but the records may simply not survive. Another explanation for the later AB pipes is that Abraham's widow, Frances, went on to run the family business using her husband's name (Fig. 4). This wasn't unusual and we know from the records that she took on at least six apprentices in her own right, compared to Abraham's three. Under Frances's control the business was clearly just as successful, if not more so, than it had been while her husband was alive. There appears to have been a similar number of pipes produced, although the distribution was now confined to within 30 miles of York (Fig. 5).

If just the heel-stamped pipes from York itself are considered then of the 250 pipes that were recorded by the author for the period 1660-1690, 56 (22\%) of them are marked $A B$, which is a very sizeable proportion. The figures for the period when the business was under Frances's control are even more impressive with 40 of the 129 pipes recorded for the period 1690-1720, (31\%) being marked AB!

So, with the Boyes family we seem to have a very successful family business that lasted at least two generations who generated a reasonable amount of wealth. Although Abraham's will and inventory do not survive, that of his son Christopher does and


Figure 4: Pipes produced by Frances Boyes with the AB mark (drawn by the author).


Figure 5: Distribution map of marked AB pipes produced by Abraham Boyes (in black) compared to those produced by Frances Boyes (in grey).
it includes expensive items such as "looking glasses.....silver tankards......silver mugs.......feather beads with hangings.....pictures..... (lots of) chairs" as well as a sizable stock from the shop including " 40 tons of clay.......brass moulds.......... 25 drying racks". It is clearly a sizeable house, and could even be the same house that Abraham had been living in at the time of the hearth tax return in 1671.

A contemporary of the Boyes family is Richard Shaftoe who is known to have been working from 1675, when he purchased his freedom, through to his death in 1706. There is a suggestion that Richard Shaftoe may have moved to York from Leeds in the 1660s. In 1669 Richard married his first wife, Sarah Hanworth. They had at least nine children including Sarah who later went on the marry William Spacey, and Richard who was to inherit his father's working tools. Sarah died in 1691 and Richard went on to take a second wife, Ellis (or Alice) Smith in 1692. This second marriage produced a further three children before Eilis died in 1698.

Just like Abraham Boyes, Richard had a number of apprentices including William Farnhill, and a girl called Katherine Dawson (possibly a link with John Dawson pipemaker of York - maybe a daughter), but she may have been working in a domestic role rather than as an actual pipemaker.

Richard died in 1706. His will survives and items left to the family include "to my daughter Sarah.... £20 and a silver cup" and states that he wishes Sarah to look after and raise Grace and George until they "...be fitt or apprentice..." "...to Grace $£ 10$ to be paid at her marriage...." "...to George $£ 15, £ 5$ when he is apprenticed and $£ 10$ when he is released..." "...to Richard all my worke tooles belonging to the pipemaking traide in my backe shope....".

A total of 45 pipes marked RS, which are likely to be attributed to Richard Shaftoe, were recorded for the whole of Yorkshire, of which 31 were found in York itself (Fig. 6). In order to make that comparable with Abraham Boyes we need to consider that this is $6.3 \%$ of the total pipes from York for the period $1660-1690$, or $12 \%$ if you are taking just the marked heels from York. Compared with Abraham's $11.4 \%$ of the total pipes or $22.4 \%$ of just the marked heels from York. Although Richard was producing around half the number of pipes as Abraham Boyes, $12 \%$ of the marked pipes from York is still a sizeable proportion, with Richard's overall market distribution being similar to that of Frances Boyes, i.e., within 30 miles of York (Fig. 7).

These respectable and successful makers can be compared with a couple of "characters" from the eighteenth century - John Shaftoe I and John Shaftoe II, who's social status was quite different. John Shaftoe I (fl. 1712-1739) appears to have been the nephew of Richard Shaftoe but spent his early years in Hull where he had a wife and family. Shortly after his first wife Ann died (c1706) John remarried and started another family, then moved to York where he took his freedom in 1712 on payment of $£ 1$.

Very little is known about John I apart from a number of court appearances. The first was in 1718 when he was "ordered to keep the peace towards" William Hutchinson and other " civil people". He appears in court again in 1726, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1734, 1736 and 1737 on various charges of abuse, or slander. He finally died in 1739 and was buried on the 17th February at All Saints church, York.

John's son, also called John, is known to have been working from 1733-1759. John II was apprenticed to John Goldwell in Hull, which ties in with the family link with Hull. He married c1728 and at least one child was baptised in Hull, with two more being baptised in Gainsborough suggesting the family were moving around. The first child to be baptised in York was Elizabeth in 1732. John II was freed per patres in 1733.


Figure 6: Examples of RS pipes produced by Richard Shaftoe (drawn by the author).


Figure 7: Distribution map of marked RS pipes produced by Richard Shaftoe (grey dots).

Just like his father, John II does not appear to have been a stranger to the courts, appearing on a number of occasions. The first was $14^{\text {th }}$ July 1738 to give evidence against a Dority Noble and William Tranby who were accused of assaulting a Matthias Sutton and "unlawfully taking his ox". The second occasion was on $8^{\text {th }}$ October 1756 when he appeared before the courts on charges of "trespass and taking two horses to the common pound". And in 1757, as a result of drunk and disorderly conduct in court where he abused a witness waiting to give evidence against him, he "was ordered to the House of Correction until sureties were found for his good behaviour". John died two years later in 1759.

It is very difficult to distinguish between those pipes marked IS that may have been produced by John I, and those produced by John II but they were all of good quality and approximately 33 IS pipes have been recorded from Yorkshire, with one or two examples from as far west as Ilkley. So we have a yet another distribution that falls within a roughly 30 mile radius (Figs. 8 and 9). It is when the overall figures of the products for Frances Boyes and the Shaftoes are compared that we see the marked difference. Of the total 186 pipes recorded for the whole of Yorkshire for the period 1690-1720 those pipes produced by Frances Boyes account for $21.5 \%$, but with just 8.1\% for the Shaftoes.


Figure 8: Examples of IS pipes produced by John Shaftoe Senior and Junior (drawn by the author).

In conclusion, it is very easy to look at a group of artefacts and jump to conclusions about what they mean. There was quite clearly a marked difference in the social status of Abraham Boyes and Richard Shaftoe in the seventeenth century, to that of the John Shaftoes in the eighteenth century. But this is not apparent from the artefactual evidence as all of them were producing nice pipes with a burnished finish and stamped


Figure 9: Distribution map of marked IS pipes produced by John Shaftoe Senior and Junior (grey dots).
heel. It is only when you consider the documentary evidence as well that it is possible to get a real feel for the people themselves. Abraham Boyes and his family were wealthy, successful business people with money and large estates who were clearly producing lots of pipes. In Abraham's case his sales included a very wide national, and possibly even international distribution. To a lesser extent this is true of Richard Shaftoe. He may not have produced the volume of pipes that Abraham Boyes did, but he was clearly also a wealthy man with a sizable estate. This contrasts quite markedly with the Shaftoes from the early eighteenth century, who only seem to turn up in the court records and don't appear to have accumulated much wealth in the family. They were still producing good quality pipes and achieved a similar market area around York, but they do not appear to have social standing of the Boyes family. This is where documents have proved invaluable in interpreting the archaeological evidence.

## SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: Christopher Boyes, Tobacco Pipemaker and Trunk Maker of York (1671-1725)

## by Peter Hammond

It is well known that many clay pipemakers worked in other occupations in order to make a living, perhaps the most common of these being publicans, while others are known to have been tobacconists and shopkeepers, and in the case of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth- century York pipemaker Mark Hesp, a coal merchant.

However in the case of York we have the very unusual combination of tobacco pipemakers also being listed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as trunk makers. There has been some debate as to what types of trunks these were, but evidence discussed below clearly shows these were trunks, chests and boxes used for carrying belongings. Previous research by John Andrews has identified these makers; for convenience I have arranged these in chronological sequence:

1633 - Mark Burn of Doncaster and Robert Beckwith each apprenticed to Gabriel Westaby, trunk maker
1635 - Gabriel Westaby freed as a trunk maker
1643 - Francis Balden and Francis Wilday each apprenticed to Gabriel Westaby trunk and tobacco pipemaker
1645 - Abraham Boyes freed - trunk and tobacco pipemaker
1662 - William Moore freed as a trunk maker
1679 - John Middleton freed as a trunk maker
1699 - Christopher Boyes - trunk maker
1702 - Andrew Hall freed as apprentice to Frances Boyes - pipemaker and trunk maker
1721 - Thomas Holmes freed as a tobacco pipemaker, son of Ralph Holmes, trunk maker
1722 - George Hart apprenticed to Christopher Boyes - trunk maker
1723 - Charles Dunning apprenticed to Christopher Boyes, pipe and trunk maker
1730 - Christopher Holmes freed as a trunk maker (father Ralph Holmes)
1733 - Apprentice George Hart freed from his master Samuel Boyes as a trunk maker
1737 - Thomas Watson apprenticed to Christopher Holmes, trunk maker and pipemaker

The pipemaker Christopher Boyes was baptised in 1671, son of Abraham Boyes, trunk and pipemaker, from whom pipes are known that are marked ' AB ' (see for
example White 2004, pages 337, 339, 340, 343, 344, 348, 356, 352, 361 and 363 , which she discusses on pages 118-122). Abraham died in 1681 and was succeeded by his widow Frances (who died 1713), the archaeological evidence suggesting that she continued to produce pipes marked 'AB'. Her son Christopher in turn succeeded her.

Christopher Boyes meanwhile had married Dorothy Jackson in 1699 at which time he was described as a trunk maker. The couple had at least five children, at least two of whom died in infancy, but one son, Samuel (born 1708), may have continued pipe making - for a while at least - after his father's death. Dorothy Boyes died in July 1721 and four years later, in August 1725, Christopher must have become ill for he made his last will on $6^{\text {th }}$ August. He was buried just a week after making his will on $13^{\text {th }}$ August at St Martin's, Coney Street.

In his will Christopher Boyes bequeathed to his son Samuel the forepart of the house and the furniture within, along with the back part of the same house with the kitchen, two chambers, with chamber and garrets above and the little yard and pipe shop with passage to street, while to his daughter Rebecca he bequeathed a leasehold house in North Street in tenure of a Mr Baynes and others. One of the witnesses to the will was a certain William Ramsdell - another York pipemaker.

An Inventory of his goods was compiled on $16^{\text {th }}$ August, one of the appraisers again being William Ramsdale [sic]. This Inventory is fascinating. I recall, perhaps over twenty years ago now, locating this in the Borthwick Institute in York (at their former historic premises in St. Anthony's Hall in Peasholme Green) and untying the rather grubby roll with eager anticipation; this was doubly exciting as it had clearly not been untied for a very long time, perhaps not long after it had been used in probate. The Inventory listed the rooms as follows:

- Kitchen
- Hall
- Far shoppe [sic]
- Chamber over entry
- Street chamber
- Chamber over Mr Smith’s shop
- Chamber over the hall
- Chamber over the back kitchen
- Garrett
- Little chamber
- Closett [sic] [in this case workshop]

From this inventory and the will we can deduce that the house in which Christopher Boyes lived and worked must have had two stories, one partly over a passage, with a
kitchen to the rear, six bedrooms and an attic. It appears that the pipe shop was at the rear of the house in a small yard, joined to the street by the entry or passage - and one of the bedrooms extended over the shop of neighbour Mr Smith. No doubt it was a typical jettied timber framed house, of which of course plenty still survive in York.

As with many inventories there is also a wonderfully detailed summary of the portable contents of the house with items such as spits and frying pan, iron pots and brass pots, tea kettle and coffee pot, warming pan, bellows and pewter dishes in the kitchen, a looking glass, silver tankard and mug, cups and spoons in the 'hall', and feather beds, blankets and chairs in the various chambers or bedrooms - nearly all with bolsters, hangings and curtains. Even a close stool and pan is mentioned! The total value came to $£ 159$ and 12 shillings. For those who are interested in learning about the full contents a transcript of this inventory is reproduced in full in White, 2004, pages 189-190. An item that frequently occurs in inventories but is not listed in this one is cheese which was often kept in the chambers (perhaps under the bed); perhaps the Boyes family did not like cheese!

Of particular relevance here though are the items that are seemingly related to trunk and pipemaking. Within the inventory these items were mainly in the 'far shoppe' and 'closett', which must refer in this case to the workshop, but as they are not in any order I have attempted to segregate them as follows:

## Items likely to be related to trunk making:

- 3 male trunks
- 2 port pantles
- 6 trunks covered
- 10 trunks joyn'd
- wigg boxes
- pasteboard boxes
- 2 hundred paste boards
- 9 horse skins
- 15 calveskins
- 7 seals
- shears and other tools
- 20 slitt deals
- total of over 12 dozen locks
- keys
- 18 dozen lock joyntes
- 16 dozen trunk handles ( 5 s 4 d )
- 8 yards chain (2s)
- 18 corner plates (1s)
- several dozen locks
- trunk nails (1s)
- 3 dozen handles
- 6 yards of cloth

Items likely to be related to pipe making:

- Iron rack (3s 6d)
- 25 drying grates ( $£ 126$ s)
- [drying] boards
- 15 screws
- 5 [?] brass moulds ( $£ 17 \mathrm{~s}$ )
- clay by estimation 40 tons ( $£ 40$ )
- 6 gross stock in pipes (15s)
- 2 washing tubs (2s)

There were also two copper pipes - for baking (£4).
The above demonstrates that the types of trunks being made were definitely the type for carrying belongings - the larger trunks typically for clothes and smaller boxes for items such as wigs. Many were clearly lockable.

Regarding pipemaking, it is useful to learn that at the time of his death Christopher apparently owned five brass moulds, 40 tons of clay (at $£ 1$ per ton), and 15 screws the latter implying there were 15 vices in which moulds could have been placed.

As yet there is no proof that Christopher's son Samuel continued pipemaking. George Hart, who had been apprenticed to Christopher as a trunk maker in 1722 was reassigned to Samuel Boyes following his father's death, and was freed as a trunk maker in 1733 . George Hart subsequently married and had children but there is no evidence of his trade in the records.

It is rather peculiar that York, as far as we know, is the only place where the occupations of pipemaking and trunk making were combined. Maybe there were seasonal fluctuations in the trunk business, or maybe it was simply a matter of convenience with both requiring a reasonably sized workshop within a busy town - and thus they could be readily sold. Perhaps future research will suggest a more plausible explanation?

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## Put that in your pipe ...



> A 200 ft alien smoking a pipe in a wheat field at Cherhill, Wiltshire, may be one of a new generation of crop circles created using microwaves and GPS systems.

This article was sent in by one of our member. It appeared in the Daily Telegraph on 1st August 2011 - unfortunately the pipe is not marked so it has not been possible to say where this particular alien has been sourcing his pipes!

## SCPR 2011 Conference Paper:

## Clay Pipes in New France, 1620-1760:

 Can Archaeometry be Helpful in Detecting Imitations?> by Françoise Duguay

## Abstract

A small number of clay pipe bowls from collections housed in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom were submitted to neutron activation, to be used as reference samples. Pipe fragments from an archaeological site in Trois-Rivières (Canada), presenting unusual features (identified through macroscopic and microscopic observations), were also submitted to the same analytic procedure. Comparisons of results tend to support the impression gained from qualitative characterisation, that pipes used in New France were mainly imports from the Netherlands. However, minute chemical component differences with both the Netherlands and UK pipes, combined with visual characterisation, lead to another conclusion: some pipes might be imitations, probably intended to take advantage of the Netherlands's renowned products. Where were they made? We propose that imitations of Dutch clay pipes used in New France originated from continental Europe, perhaps France, since the observed chemical components offer greater similarity to the sample from the Netherlands than to that of the UK. Warning: given the small number of artefacts and samples, the archaeometric findings should not be regarded as definitive.

## New France archaeology: why neutron activation?

New France includes vast expanses, which at one point extended to large parts of Eastern North America (Fig.1), before the British Conquest of the territory in 1760. By definition, historical archaeology in the St. Lawrence Valley can only be postmedieval, since contact between Europeans and North American Indians originated mainly during the sixteenth century. Rules imposed for artefacts therefore apply to clay pipes: they must not be damaged by an invasive procedure and they are to be kept with other artefacts within a site's collection, not as an easily accessible separate corpus. Another problem is the fact that most clay pipes collected in urban areas are in bits and pieces, complete bowls and stems being rare occurrences, which allows little room for extensive descriptions. Dating specific artefacts precisely can also be difficult, granted the general use of fill containing earlier artefacts in urban areas.

The analysis of a collection gathered in Trois-Rivières, one of the three original first half of the seventeenth-century French burgs of the St. Lawrence Valley (along with Québec and Montréal (Tadoussac did not outgrow its trading post status until the mid-nineteenth century)), was used as a starting point to begin gathering data on clay pipes. During this process, clay pipes were described at a macroscopic level, using


Figure 1: New France c1745.
magnification, reference catalogues and various documentary sources. Most were originally identified as Dutch or British, although this classification did not seem to fit a few of them; further study was needed in these cases.

Neutron activation is a non-destructive means of identifying chemical components that has been successfully used with various materials, including clay pipes (Monette, 2006), as well as for identifying the provenience of pipe clay (Vince and Peacey, 2006). Thus, using the technique on clay pipes is not a new idea, even if not much is yet available through publications.

## Beware of French Pipemakers!

Most exports shipped to the St. Lawrence Valley came from Northern France: Rouen, for example, handled large number of French-made ceramics and other goods (LaBerge, 1972). As in other countries, pipemakers in France started their trade during the first half of the seventeenth century (Leclaire and Leclaire, 2008). In Northern France they first used pipe clay imported from the British Isles, but soon turned to other clay, some from Northern France even if it often included pyrites (Boyer, 1827). This clay was used for pipe making in various cities: Lille, Rouen, Dieppe, Dunkerque, St-Omer, etc. (de Vesly, 1916). Thus, there is a strong possibility that some clay pipes exported to New France could have been produced near Northern France's shipping ports, as is the case for ceramics. Identification of Northern French pipes dating from before 1760 is however difficult, since they are not well documented, even if efforts such as those of the Leclaires (2008) and Gosse (2007) in Southern France can be considered breakthroughs.

Clay pipes produced in Northern France are reported to imitate Dutch pipes (Boyer, 1827; Garsonnin, 1919). Of the few French pipe marks illustrated by de Vesly (1916) and Jean-Léo (1971), some are original designs while others are quite close to Gouda marks. What little is known is that patterns using fleurs de lys are recurrent (Brongniart, 1844; Jean-Léo, 1971), both on the bowl and stem, while a Jonah type bowl is illustrated by Jean-Léo (1971). Therefore, style and marks alone, given the production of imitations and limited documentation, are not enough to go on to identify French pipes produced before 1760. Could neutron activation be of help in this context?

## UK and Netherlands samples

Pipes bowls were collected, both in the Netherlands and the UK, as reference samples. As far as possible, given the restriction that the collected samples didn't show maker marks, the areas represented were mostly London and Amsterdam. This procedure was used to counter previous neutron activation analysis, which had presumed the country of origin by using descriptive characteristics alone, disregarding the fact that imitations do exist. The chronological sequence of both samples was similar, covering the mid-seventeenth to mid eighteenth centuries. The number of specimens had to be kept low, since neutron activation is a costly process: therefore, only three pipes were analysed for each country.

## Selected Artefacts

Five clay pipes fragments were selected from the place d'Armes collection, because their descriptive characteristics did not quite match available existing documentation. These artefacts, which are far from being complete, present the following features:

- No 274a: heel fragment

Four letters: CI / VS. Heel size: $0,84 \mathrm{~cm}$. Mark undocumented in the Netherlands, Gouda style lettering, probably produced after 1680 (Duco, 2003). Archaeological context date (level 5B12): 1650-1725.

## - No 310a: bowl fragment

'Jonah’ type representation (whiskers and goatee). Very apparent mould line running down the centre of the face. Clay body includes black specks. Documented production style: France, c1650 (JeanLéo, 1971). Archaeological context date: 1580-1657 (level 5B13).

## - No 384: stem fragment

Greyish and porous body. Stamped letters "BO / OX", undocumented mark, although UK products can sometimes show a simila type of lettering on the stem, no date. Diameter: 0,78-0,85cm. Archaeologica context date: 1625-1770 (level 7B5).


## - No 459; bowl fragment

Bi-conic shape, stylised Tudor rose pattern. Letter 'B [...]' stamped on the heel, mark style undocumented in Gouda (Duco, 2003) and in Rouen (de Vesly, 1916). Clay body showing black specks (inclusions). General shape and style usually associated with low grade Dutch, second half eventeenth century archaeological context date: 1659-1700 (level 7B11).

## - No 520a; bowl fragment



Funnel shape, whitish cream-coloured body, smooth surface, general style associated with XVIII ${ }^{\text {th }}$ c. Dutch. Mark on heel: crowned 65, used in Gouda after 1729 (Duco, 2003). Badly moulded Gouda's Coat of Arms and letter 'C'(should be an 'S', to identify a lesser grade), at the joint of the stem and the base of the bowl. Archaeological context date: 1700-1770 (level 7D8).

Observation alone already raises questions, about the origin of the pipes. No. 274a's features resemble Dutch products, which is also the case for nos. 459 and 520a, but the use of non-registered marks on nos. 274a and 459, as well as the bad craftsmanship of the Gouda Coat of Arms on no. 520a, do question a Dutch provenience. As for the two other pipes, documentation shows that no. 310a could be a French Jonah type, while no. 384 could be from the UK.

## Sample Characterisation and Comparison with Artefacts

Samples collected in the Netherlands $(\mathrm{N}=3)$ and the $\mathrm{UK}(\mathrm{N}=3)$, as well as artefacts
( $\mathrm{N}=5$ ), were submitted to neutron activation, using a Slowpoke 2 nuclear reactor. 38 chemical elements were identified, from higher concentrations to lower ones. The first phase consisted in comparing both samples with one another, to try finding some differences in the chemical composition of pipe clay used in the UK and the Netherlands. This line of thinking might seem like an unreasonable task, from the point of view of European pipe specialists, but it does make sense in a North American perspective; regionalism is not an issue, but producing countries are.

Neutron activation was used in the case of the Henderson clay pipe factory in Montréal, which was in operation during the second half of the nineteenth century, to determine if the pipe clay used was local or imported. Results were clear-cut in that case: white pipe clay was compatible with the UK products, while reddish pipes where produced using local deposits (Monette, in Roy, 2006). It means that pipe clay was imported from the UK to produce white clay pipes in Montréal, since white clay deposits in the St. Lawrence Valley contained too much iron to fire white.

It is true, however, that pipe clay is often a mix of various clays, a recipe submitted to changes through the years and between manufacturers within a country or even a region, depending on various factors. On the other hand, there was a slight chance that differences could be measured between the pipe clay used in the British Isles and that used in Continental Europe, considering the formation process of pipe clay beds. It was a hypothetical gamble, but one that could be tested, even while using a small number of samples, to detect potential differences.

Analysis results show an obvious similar chemical composition connecting both samples, as well as the artefacts: high levels of silicium and aluminium are always present, in that order, which account for $87 \%$ to $94 \%$ of the total composition. Pipe clay is therefore something that could be identified by pipemakers, using plasticity, colour and so on... without the need for a nuclear reactor. Since the primary goal was to distinguish between both clusters of samples, it seemed rational to focus on differences instead of parallels. Trace elements were, however, excluded, since the accuracy of measurements decreases when getting towards minor components.

Five chemical elements were identified for differentiation purposes, using mutually exclusive dispersion patterns or patterns that only overlapped in extreme measurements: Magnesium (Mg), Chlorine (Cl), Sodium (Na), Tin (Sn) and Zinc (Zn). Potassium (K) was also used, because two of the artefacts showed a high concentration of this element, in one case almost doubling the average amount measured in the UK and Netherlands samples. Graphs (Fig. 2) offer a visual comparison between distribution patterns in the samples and measures in the artefacts, for the specified discriminating components.


Figure 2: Comparison of the specified discriminating components, Magnesium (Mg), Zinc (Zn), Sodium (Na), Tin (Sn), Chlorine (Cl) and Potassium (K).

## Associations and Interpretation

When comparing artefacts measurements to those identified for each sample, they fall either within or beyond the ranges measured for the Netherlands or the UK (Fig. 3). These associations aren't specific identification, but they can represent trends :

- No 274a is mainly associated with the Netherlands;
- No 310a is associated with the Netherlands to some level, but presents some similarities with the UK in one case, while falling within both gaps in another and beyond range in still another;
- No 384 is mainly associated with the UK, while being in the Netherlands gap in one case and in both for another;
- No 459 is a mix of the Netherlands and UK gaps, while beyond range in one case;
- No 520a is mainly associated with the Netherlands, while being beyond range in two cases.

| Artefacts | $\mathbf{M g}$ | $\mathbf{C l}$ | $\mathbf{N a}$ | $\mathbf{S n}$ | $\mathbf{Z n}$ | $\mathbf{K}$ | Association |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{2 7 4 a}$ | NED | NED | NED | NED | NED | NED / UK | Trend: NED |
| $\mathbf{3 1 0 a}$ | NED | UK | NED | NED | - | NED | Neither |
| $\mathbf{3 8 4}$ | NED | UK | UK | UK | UK | NED /UK | Trend: UK |
| $\mathbf{4 5 9}$ | NED | NED | UK | UK | UK | - | Neither |
| $\mathbf{5 2 0 a}$ | NED | NED | - | NED | NED | - | Neither |

Figure 3: Table showing whether the measurements fall within the ranges measured for the Netherlands or the UK.

When it comes to probabilities, artefact no. 274a seems, most probably, to be from the Netherlands. Why would one go to the trouble of imitating a mark representing four letters, 'CI / VS', when this stamp was not recognised as proof of a top-notch product? In this case, it is probably an undocumented mark, used in a small or shortlived production that took place within the Netherlands. As for artefact no. 384, probabilities would link it with the UK. The kind of lettering observed on the stem is documented in the UK, even if the particular mark ' $\mathrm{BO} / \mathrm{OX}$ ' is not. Again, it might well be a small or short-lived production, as yet undocumented. Since the date of the archaeological level covers part of the second half of the Seventeenth century, it could be a post British Conquest import.

The three other artefacts - nos. 310a, 459 and 520a - are troublesome, since they can't be clearly associated with either of the two countries, showing a mix in components' distribution, as well as out of range measurements. Artefact no. 310a is closer to the Netherlands numbers than the UK ones, but without a clear association; documentation points to the fact that it could be a French Jonah type, which it probably is. Artefact
no. 459's major components range within the Netherlands, while minor ones are close to the UK; its mark is of unknown origin. Some components of artefact no. 520a are close to the ones found in the Netherlands, while being out of range for others; it also shows a badly crafted Gouda Coat of Arms. Two artefacts, nos. 459 and 520a, also show elevated levels of Potassium (K). We propose that these results could hint that the later artefacts are imitations of Dutch pipes, in one case taking advantage of the high reputation of Gouda pipes. Their composition shows ties to Continental Europe, since major components levels are closer to the ones of the Netherlands than those of the UK. Could French pipemakers be the culprits, using Northern France’s clay deposits?

## Conclusion

The findings obtained through neutron activation closely resemble those of macroscopic observation, showing that some peculiarities extend to a chemical level. Is this a sign that three of the artefacts analysed are French made? Maybe, but an answer to that question is still a long way down the road. The Jonah type bowl (no. 310a) is documented as a possible French product, which could well be the case given the presence of black specks in the clay body. As for nos. 459 and 520a, they should probably be classified as imitations of Dutch products, their country of origin being less than certain, since both macroscopic observations and neutron activation results tend to dissociate them from the Netherlands, even if their general style is Dutch. Research is not always about finding answers, but it is often a way to ask more questions. Questions are now raised about the provenience of some clay pipes found in New France.

Is neutron activation an approach that can lead to eventually identify imitations? Potentially, yes, but not at this point, since archaeometric research is in its infancy as regards clay pipes and pipe clay. Its usefulness in this case was to provide hints to back up the descriptive approach. Many more samples would be needed to establish standards, which should take into account regionalism within a country, as well as modification of the pipe clay "recipe" through time. French pipe clay deposits, in Northern France, would also need to be analysed, to establish variance from deposits located in the British Isles and the Netherlands, as well as the ones in Germany and Belgium. Only then would it be possible to differentiate provenience. Some guidelines could also be established, as well as procedures standardisation, so that various archaeometric findings could be compared with one another. But even using thorough sampling procedures does not guarantee a sure identification, since a mix of various clays can be used in pipe production.

The findings stated in this paper are not conclusive, but the process did pinpoint a problem in New France archaeology: probable misidentification of some clay pipes, through lack of proper studies. Implications of wrongful identification are numerous;
the first one being that it can bring up numbers of Dutch imports to New France. Macroscopic observation, done by a clay pipe specialist, can be as accurate as neutron activation to identify discrepancies. A database of pre-1760 French maker's marks, decor and style would therefore be a blessing. To do so, Northern France's clay pipe productions would need to be documented extensively, especially for the period covering the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries to achieve the building of a proficient documentary base. Recent archaeological surveys in Northern France production centres - Lille, for example - bring hope that it may happen sometime in the near future.

No law prevented French pipemakers from imitating other productions, so they might have done so. However, this fact needs to be documented and its tell-tale signs recognised. Up to now, no Northern French clay pipe collection has been thoroughly described. Furthermore, archival records have not been systematically checked for registered marks and models, except when it comes to later productions, like the Fiolet factory in St-Omer (which opened after 1760). The descriptive approach used in the UK and the Netherlands is a sound one and it should be replicated in other clay pipe producing countries... even if acquiring the requisite knowledge to do so can be considered a lifelong process. Both approaches - descriptive and archaeometric - complement each other and would be useful in identifying imitations, as well as French-made clay pipes.

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## Clay Pipes: A Social Perspective from the Last Century

> by David Higgins

The following article appeared in The New Statesman Magazine for 5 July 1913. It is simply entitled 'Clays' and provides interesting insights into the ways in which clay pipes were perceived in the run up to the First World War, as well as shedding
light on the contemporary styles that were available and the smoking experiences of the author. The article was written by Philip Edward Thomas, a writer and poet, who often just published under the name Edward Thomas. The Wikipedia entry for Thomas (accessed 6.1.12) says that he was born in Lambeth in 1878 but moved to Sevenoaks in Kent in 1905 and, later, to Steep in East Hampshire. He died on Easter Monday 1917 at the end of the Battle of Arras in France. Given the subject of his article and his fondness for smoking, there is a dark irony in the fact that he was killed by a shell blast as he stood to light his pipe.

Thomas's article and experiences reflect his time spent living in the south of England and, to an extent, the literary circle within which he moved. The premise for the article is that he had met a man at an inn who has left his pipe behind and so they get talking about clays. The man appears to know about the manufacture of pipes and a brief summary of the production process is given, the only inaccuracy being that pipes were never baked in their moulds. The information given specifically mentions the Portsmouth/Aldershot region, and both of these towns are places where pipe making continued into the early years of the twentieth century. It is frustrating that the actual location of the workshop mentioned is not given, particularly since the last pipemaker working there is said to have once made the man a pipe with five bowls. Pipes of this date with three, five or seven bowls and usually with a horse on the stem, are occasionally encountered (for example, see the seven bowl pipe illustrated by Jackson in 1990). The style of these pipes, as well as the mould types used, both suggest that they were all made in the same workshop. This tantalising reference provides the first clue that the workshop making these multi-bowled pipes might have been located in either the Portsmouth area or Aldershot. The latter is perhaps more likely since that is where the famous Swinyard family worked and there is an example of a different style of multi-bowl pipe made by them in Guildford Museum. What is not known is whether Thomas actually met someone in an inn, or whether this person was simply a fictional creation and Thomas was drawing on his own experiences in the east Hampshire area where he lived (Thomas was clearly a keen smoker, as is shown by his view on black Kendal twist, alluded to in another publication (Higgins 1990, 13)).

The article goes on to make it clear that not only was clay pipe making a dying industry but that the use of clays had specific social connotations. Thomas talks about people feeling conspicuous if they smoked clays in public and how he tended to smoke them when he was alone, or in places where he would not attract attention. The two months about Christmas are mentioned as a period when many clays were sold and, indeed, there are plenty of surviving examples with festive slogans on them, or modelled with the bowl depicting Father Christmas himself. This seasonal sale presumably reflects a prevailing attitude whereby clays were seen as an old fashioned or traditional type of pipe, but one which evoked a sense of occasion or tradition over this particular period - "ceremonious and convivial" as he puts it.

Thomas mentions pipes being sold for a half penny or being given away by inn keepers between the North and South Downs, particularly those with the R. A. O. B. design on them (Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes). This reference makes it clear that this design was freely available, and not specifically associated with that particular organisation. He goes on to discuss his various experiences with thin pipes and thick pipes, soft pipes and hard pipes. Those he liked best were cherished and cleaned by burning in the fire "a score of times before they came to an end". This gives an indication of the life expectancy of a favourite pipe - those of lesser merit would have been broken or discarded much sooner. He concludes by saying that he has finally found the perfect clay in terms of material, shape and finish. The only trouble is, he doesn't say what it was or where he found it!

Fortunately, this article was clearly a draft section from his book, In Pursuit of Spring, which was published the following year with a revised version of the same text, which it has been possible to compare. This reveals that the perfect pipes he found were obtained in Oxford and Melksham - although the manufacturer of them is still not revealed. The moral of his tale, as with all our collecting and researching today, is that you must keep searching until you find what you are looking for.

## CLAYS

THE other man at the inn consumed his supper in silence, and then adjusted himself in the armchair, stretching himself out so that all of him was horizontal except his head. He was smoking a cigarette dejectedly, for he had left his pipe behind at Romsey. I offered him a clay pipe. No-he disliked clays, they stuck to his lips. But he volunteered to talk about them and the declining industry of manufacturing them. He seemed to know all about the ten-inch and fifteen-inch pipes, from the arrival of the clay out of Cornwall in grey blocks to the wetting of the clay and the beating of it up with iron rods, the rough first moulding of the pipes by hand, the piercing of the stems, the baking in moulds, the scraping of the rough edges by girls, and the sale of the finished pipes to Aldershot, Portsmouth, and such places, in the two months round about Christmas. These longer pipes, at any rate, have
become ceremonious and convivial, though personally I have seldom seen them smoked except by literary people under thirty. No wonder that in one of the principal factories only one artist is left, as this other man declared, to pierce the stems with unerring, unaided thrust. It was wonderful that even one man could be found to push a wire up the core of a long thin stick of clay. He had never himself been able to avoid running the wire out at the side before reaching the end. The great man who always succeeded had once made him a pipe with five bowls.

He could not tell me why the industry is decaying. But two causes seem at least to have contributed. First, a great many of the men who used to smoke clays smoke cheap cigarettes. Second, those who have not taken to cigarettes smoke briar pipes. Cigarettes appear to give less trouble than pipes. Anyone, drunk or sober, can light them and keep them alight. They can be put out at any moment and returned to the cigarette case, or tucked behind the ear. Also, it is held by snobs as well as by haters of foul pipes that cigarettes are more genteel, or whatever the name is of our equivalent vice. But if a pipe is to be smoked, the briar is believed to cast some sort of faint merit on the smoker which the clay does not. That Tennyson used clays probably now only influences a small number of young menand that but for a year or two--of a class that would not take to clays as a matter of course. A few others of the same class begin in imitation of a labourer, sailor, or gamekeeper, with whom they have come in exhilarating contact ; and, in turn, others imitate them. The habit so gained, however, is not likely to endure. Nearly everyone sheds it, either because he really does not enjoy it, or he has for some reason to keep it in abeyance too long for it to be resumed, or he supposes
himself to be conspicuous and prefers not to be.
In the first place he may have been moved partly by a desire to be conspicuous, to signalise his individuality by a visible symbol, but such can seldom be a conscious motive with the most self-conscious of men. For some years I met plenty of youths of my own age who were experimenting with clay pipes, nervously colouring small thorny ones, or lying back and making of themselves cushions for long churchwardens, or carrying the bowl of a two-inch pipe upside down like a navvy. But I was never much tempted myself until I went to live permanently in the country. As I was pretty frequently walking at lunch time, I took that meal at an inn, and one day, remembering that as a child I had got clays from a publican for nothing, I asked for one with my beer, and got it. I shall not pretend that this pipe was in any way remarkable, for I have no recollection of it. All I know is that it was not the last. Most, if not all, of my briar pipes at the time were foul. I took more and more to smoking clay pipes when I was alone, or where they would not attract attention.

It was not long before I made the discovery that there are clays and clays. Those given away or sold for a halfpenny by innkeepers between the North and South Downs were usually thin and straight, sometimes embellished with a design in relief, particularly with a horned head and the initial letters of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes. Many and many a one of these mere smoking utensils was broken very soon in my teeth or in my pocket, or discarded because I did not like the feel or look of it, or simply because it was an unnecessary addition to my supply. For a time I could and did smoke almost anything, fortified possibly by a feeling (though I cannot recall it) that the custom was worth persisting in. At any rate it was persisted in.

If I pursued singularity I was not blindfold. Not many weeks were occupied in learning that thin clays were useless, or were not for me. They began by burning my tongue, and they were very soon bitten through. On the other hand, thickness alone was not sufficient. For example, Irish pipes up to a third of an inch thick are as rapidly bitten through as the harder thin clays. It was necessary to fit them with mouthpieces connected by a tin band, and since these would corrode, I refused them. Even a clay that was hard as well as thick was not therefore faultless. I kept one for several years, at intervals trying to make terms with it on account of its good shape-the bowl set at more than a right angle to the stem, and adorned with a conventional ribbed leaf underneath-but always in vain : the clay being hard, after the manner of flint, gritted on the teeth, and was no sweeter at the tenth than at the first pipe.
Wherever I went I bought a clay pipe or two. The majority were indifferent. Only after a time was the goodness of the good ones manifest, and by then I might be a hundred miles away from the shop, if I had not forgotten where it came from. These I did everything to preserve. Some of them went through the purification of fire a score of times before they came to an end by falling or-which was rare-by being worn too short. They had the great virtue of being hard without being stony. They resembled bone in their close grain, sometimes being as smooth as if glazed. But I had little to do with the glazed " colouring" clays. They stank, and I was not ambitious except of achieving a cool, everlasting, and perfectly shaped pipe.

How to use the fire on a foul pipe was learnt by very slow degrees. Many a good pipe cracked or flaked in the flames. They had, I was at last to discover, been
too suddenly submitted to great heat. If it was done gradually, the fiercest heat could be and should be imposed on them : they lay pinkish white in the heart of the fire until they possessed more than their original purity. A few of the best would emerge with almost an old ivory hue all over. Some I remember breaking when they had come safely out and were nearly cool, by tapping them to shake out the fur. Most of them were toughened as well as sweetened in the process.

How very rare were those good pipes! Probably I did not find more than one in twelve months, though I bought scores. I was continually trying Irish clays in a stupid hope that they would not be bitten through. The best pipe in the majority of shops was merely one that was not bad. It did not burn much; it was not bitten through until it was just reaching its ripeness.

Perhaps I should have remembered more varieties of goodness and badness had I not twelve months ago met the perfect clay pipe. It is so hard that I have only once bitten one through, yet it is soft to the teeth and tongue. Nor is it very thick ; the bowl in particular I should have been inclined, at first sight, to condemn as too thin. It is smooth-in fact, polished. Its shape is graceful-the stem slightly curved, slightly flattened, but thickening and developing roundness where it becomes rather than joins the bowl, into which it flows so as to form something like a calabash. There are other shapes of this excellent material. But this is not an advertisement.

## Edward Thomas.

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## Chemical Evidence of the Use of Nineteenth-century Clay Pipes for Tobacco Smoking.

by Joshua Horrocks \& Ben Stern, University of Bradford

The extraction, instrumental analysis and interpretation of surviving organic molecules can provide direct molecular evidence of the use and function of archaeological objects. This methodology is now routinely applied to ceramic vessel assemblages. Similar work has been applied to archaeological clay pipes from the Cresp Mound site in West Virginia in which nicotine was identified from one out of the three clay pipes analysed (Rafferty 2002/2006). The molecule nicotine is associated with tobacco and we have carried out modern experiments which confirm that the burning of tobacco leaf deposits nicotine into the ceramic bowl and the stem of the pipe.

In our study, we analysed the visible deposits from the interior of the bowls of ten archaeological clay pipes donated by Dr. Nigel Melton. These clay pipes (with one seventeenth century exception) date from the early nineteenth century and were found in various sites across the UK in unstratified archaeological contexts. Nicotine was detected in four out of the ten samples. This recovery is similar to that experienced with ceramic vessels and indicates that although nicotine does survive in the burial environment it is similarly vulnerable to degradation. One additional problem is that if samples have been exposed to modern tobacco smoke or have been conserved using nicotine then this modern signal will confuse the interpretation of the archaeological samples.

Despite these issues, there is a lot of promise in this area. The modern experiments demonstrated that nicotine is also deposited within the clay of the pipe bowl (in addition to the visible deposits analysed here) - analysis of this clay-absorbed nicotine may yield more positive results due to greater survival in the burial environment. However this would require destructive sampling of a portion of the clay pipe. Finally, in addition to nicotine, we recovered some other lipids which generally indicated the use of plant material and burnt cellulose.

The recovery of nicotine is not particularly unexpected. However, further work is underway with the aim to examine, in addition to nicotine, the presence of other psychoactive drugs such as opium and cannabis as well as different herbs or other plants which could flavour the tobacco. What we are planning to achieve is to examine a range of different smoking pipes to detect any changes in the smoking habits in England throughout the centuries. If you would be happy to contribute some pipe samples for this analysis then please contact b.stern@bradford.ac.uk or jrhorroc@ gmail.com. There is further information about organic residue analysis and the methods involved at: http://www.bradford.ac.uk/archenvi/research/molecular/ molarch.php

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## SCPR 2011 Conference Paper:

A 'Mason' and His Mark: The Branding of Clay Tobacco Pipes, c1750-1850

> by Jenny Basford

Between 1800 and 1839, George Mason, resident of Monkgate, was one of four pipe makers in York (Pigot 1829). Mason began his trade apprenticed to the 'father' of nineteenth-century York pipemaking, Mark Hesp in 1792 and was freed in 1800 (Andrews 1989). In turn, Mason took on three apprentices of his own, as well as passing on the business upon his death to his son, George Mason Jr, who worked from his father's Monkgate premises until his death in 1866 (White 1855, 425). A surviving example of a George Mason Sr. manufactured pipe, recently recovered from Hungate, one of the biggest archaeological excavations to take place in York, has revealed that Mason marked his pipe bowl with a shield device incorporating his name and the year, 1828, and the City of York coat of arms on the opposing side (Fig. 1). As Susie White has shown, the shield motif Mason used bore a very close resemblance - if not an exact imitation - of the shield mark used by his former master,

Hesp. Upon inheriting the business in 1839, George Mason Jr. also employed the same mark as his father, changing the year to 1848 (White 2007, 3). Particularly intriguing about this process are the wider questions prompted by the repetition of marking practices. While we might interpret this repetition as a simple, pragmatic reuse of moulds between makers, we can also read it in an alternative manner; one that will provide us with a different way of interpreting the wider practice of commodity branding between 1600 and 1900 to the established historiography.


Figure 1: Mason pipe from Hungate, York. (Photograph courtesy of the York Archaeological Trust).

Social, cultural and medical historians have taken a keen interest in the consumption of tobacco and have interwoven into their primarily documentary-driven analysis a variety of material artefacts such as tobacco jars, wrappers and pouches, stoppers, lighters and cleaning materials, in order to draw conclusions about broad issues of gender and class (cf. Rickards 2000; Molineux 2007; Goodman 1993; Rapaport 2004). By contrast, clay tobacco pipes have largely been overlooked, their use in the tobacco consumption package has been presented as a given. Despite their high value to archaeologists in terms of dating sites, it has been suggested that pipe fragments 'do not seem to be promising for theoretical excursus' (Johnson 1996). Yet the plethora of marks found upon some clay pipe fragments presents an ideal opportunity to reinterpret the way in which historians have presented commodity branding between 1600 and 1900.

The history of branding has also been subjected to an implicitly simplistic narrative, in which the brand, deemed a mark of commerce, was 'invented' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a direct result of the industrial revolution and the need to differentiate products from the otherwise identical output of rival firms (cf. Moor 2007; Mooij 1998 and Klein 2010). In such discussions, 'branding' has been used as shorthand for a specific type of mark: a proprietary, or retailer's mark, which
represents a 'brand image'; a symbol that transmits semiotic or abstract values about a product or company as a whole, a communication that has been portrayed as one between manufacturer and final consumer (in this instance, the smoker). This stems from the way in which branding is used and interpreted today by both specialists in marketing and advertising, as well as the wider public. A critical reading of George Mason Sr's pipe, however, complicates this understanding. The shield symbol was not only a mark of commerce, but can be interpreted as a mark of production as well. Furthermore, the incorporation of the City of York coat of arms reflects a different type of branding: a non-proprietary mark, reflecting the state or civic culture.

The clay pipe, therefore, clearly presents a prime opportunity to reconsider how we think about historical branding practices, the subject of my doctoral research. In conjunction with a study of branded drugs, liquid blacking and drink, I aim to highlight the subtle nuances of commodity marking that have been overlooked by the majority of historical analyses, beginning with a closer reading of both archaeologicallyexcavated and museum-curated artefacts. Fundamentally, I argue that branding can be redefined as a multifaceted process, broadly separated into two categories: they reflect emblems of the state, as well as the more familiar proprietary devices. It is the latter with which we begin our reading of the marks found upon clay pipes.

## Proprietary Marks on Clay Tobacco Pipes

As outlined in the introduction, proprietary branding has often been portrayed as a simple link between manufacturer and final consumer. However, when the evidence presented by marked clay pipe indicates that it constituted two types of symbol: maker's marks and advertising devices. Sudbury and Atkinson's analysis demonstrates that both of these types, along with commemorative marks, are the most commonly found marks on pipes (Sudbury 1978). Commemorative pipes, however, are not discussed in this paper due to word limit constraints, although they feature in my extended doctoral analysis. The advertising marks found upon pipes represented tobacconists or public houses, inns and hotels (cf. Davey and White 2002, 238; Walker 1977, 158). Examples of both types have been found in excavations throughout York, including a stem fragment bearing the legend, 'W. SOUTHORN \& CO / BROSELEY' and two other incomplete moulded stems, as well as a pipe referring to 'SHIP [CANAL] / MANCHE[STER]' (White 2007, 4). In the recent Hungate excavations, maker's marks, which included initials as well as symbols or motifs, are best illustrated by examples such as the Mason pipe, as well as one from the late eighteenth- or early nineteenth century marked 'O’B[RIEN] / MAYO [ST] / D[UBLIN]', a late seventeenth-century example marked 'HENRY HOLME', and a number of bowls from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century marked 'AB', believed to be the mark of York pipemaker, Abraham Boyes (White 2008, 2).

Proprietary marks fundamentally highlight the importance of trust in commercial
transactions. As Frank Fanselow (1990) and George Akerlof (1970) have established, brand names and trademarks are symbols used to imply standardisation in a product's origin and quality. Proprietary devices therefore represented an attempt by manufacturers or retailers that consumers were able to trust that the product would maintain certain standards. The evolution of George Mason's mark demonstrated how he sought to create and maintain trust in his pipes through his incorporation of the mark of an established pipe maker with whom he had links. As shown with Mark Hesp, George Mason Sr. and George Mason Jr., it is apparent that pipe makers emphasised this 'lineage' in their marks, utilising identical devices of shields and type layout. Such close similarities between the three marks imply that the Masons felt the marks had value in terms of highlighting their workmanship and skill. These marks represented decades of training and experience; in short, their marks could be trusted to reflect an expected standard of quality. Historian David Garrioch has described shop signs as 'a poor person's heraldry at work, a combining of elements which, to the connoisseur, would indicate the identity or the professional ancestry of the tradesman.'(Garrioch 1994, 32). Marks on commodities, as shown with Hesp and the Masons, can be interpreted in a similar way.

Proprietary devices clearly held value to contemporaries, as shown with the seventeenth-century Gauntlet family pipes, a case reported in Fuller's Worthies of England. The Gauntlet family were suppliers of pipes to the Marquis of Hertford (later second Duke of Somerset) (Crittall 1959). Their pipes were perceived to be of an excellent quality, perhaps worth the fact that they cost two and a half times more than the average pipe. As Fuller described, 'Gauntlet-pipes, which have that mark on their heel, are the best'. Such a reputation lay the Gauntlet family open to fraudulent use of their mark by counterfeiters. However, when taken to court, the defendant claimed that his gauntlet's thumb faced a different way to the original, which would constitute a difference in heraldry (Fuller 1662). As Fuller pointed out, the difference was incredibly slight: 'surely such, who bought his pipes, never took notice of that Criticisme, or consulted which way the Thumb of his Gauntlet respected' (Fuller 1662). The fact that the family took legal action suggests that even before the legal system formally recognised trademarks as intellectual property in the nineteenth century, makers were aware of the value of such devices and the potential damage that could be done to their reputation by an imposter that appropriated their mark. Proprietary marks, therefore, were incredibly important in terms of providing assurance both in terms of authenticity and standards of quality.

Advertising marks that referred to pubs, hotels or tobacconists have also revealed that branding was a more complicated process than has been articulated by historians. The presence of marks like these reflect the multiple transactions that one pipe may have passed through. These were proprietary devices branded onto the pipe for a wholesaler, hotel or publican owner. The pipemaker did not put the mark on the
product with the smoker in mind, but rather with their customer, the publican, instead The assumption in most historical discussions of branding that advertising marks on pipes were aimed at the smoker has overlooked this initial transaction. Once the marked pipe was received by the publican, it then performed as a proprietary device for him, and transmitted his mark to his customers, the drinkers in his pub that purchased tobacco from him, supplied in one of his branded pipes. Branding was therefore, context-specific, and one mark might hold different meanings for different audiences.

There were, therefore, multiple commercial transactions invested in each pipe. The 'imagined consumer' evoked when historians have discussed branding was not only the person who eventually smoked from the pipe; it was the retail tobacconist who purchased pipes wholesale; it was the innkeeper or hotel owner who bought them, either from a wholesaler or directly from the maker; and, of course, it was the smoker. Rather than privilege this latter individual, a critical reading of the marks upon the pipes reveals this multiplicity of ways in which branding took place, complicating what have been presented as implicitly simple distribution and retail mechanisms.

## Marks of the state

Proprietary marks are a core aspect of branding, and have a powerful resonance with our consumer-focused society in terms of portraying trust in a product's origin, and therefore, quality. However, as outlined in the introduction, a closer reading of the marks found upon commodities reveals another category of branding: marks of officialdom, which have been overlooked by historians of commodity consumption. Where such symbols have been considered, it has been as part of the role of the early modern guild, an institution that declined in importance over the period. It has been left unsaid by this historiography that official marks on commodities therefore declined in tandem.

Instead, rather the opposite occurred. Symbols of monarchy and state, rather than guilds, began to multiply upon commodities; like today, they were to be found on an eclectic range of material surfaces including coinage, buildings and pottery. Marks of statehood and monarchism were omnipresent in the lives of nearly every individual in the period, upon luxury and mundane goods. Some of these remain in use today, such as hallmarks on pewter, gold and silver or currency (cf. Gadd 1998; Hatcher and Barker 1974 and Bell 1905). This type of mark maintained a steady and subtle nationalistic presence in people's lives, what social scientist Michael Billig would term 'banal nationalism'. War, according to Billig, is an example of extreme nationalism; it does pass without drawing attention. The unnoticed symbols, practices and customs of a nation, however, are just as important at creating a sense of nationhood. It is the constant repetition and omnipresence of these marks that 'blinds' people to their presence (Billing 1995). The marks found upon clay pipes very often conformed to this building of a collective national consciousness: the inclusion of coats of arms in
pipe designs transmitted this type of covert state branding, representing a subcategory of this 'banal nationalism': what we might call a kind of 'banal civic culture'. There was something exceptionally powerful about such devices, particularly so given that these were symbols on objects that were (and still are) handled by citizens, kept close to their person, taken into their homes, place of worship or drinking establishment of choice. Pipes in particular, as something quite literally consumed by citizens, were actually very overt examples of this otherwise rather unnoticed process.

The comparison between Garrioch shop signs as 'a poor person's heraldry' and clay pipes is particularly appropriate as marks on pipes utilised a considerable amount of heraldic language (Garrioch 1994, 32). Stars, shields and roses amongst others, were all employed as maker's marks and appeared in a variety of locations on clay pipes. While it is certainly possible that many were motifs chosen purely for their aesthetic qualities or were a play on words as with the Gauntlets, there is no denying the strong link between heraldic devices and marks on pipes. As Garrioch has noted of signs, many of the pipe marks 'came directly from medieval heraldry: the castle and portcullis; the arms of towns...; the fleur-de-lys itself; and the many heraldic animals (Garrioch 1994, 32)'. A similar process of appropriating heraldic symbolism happened in other industries too: in the nineteenth century, the Sheffield Cutler's Company, by their own admission, 'ransacked' books of heraldry for ideas for new makers' marks to register (Anon 1862, 85).

These types of marks bore a strong resemblance to guild marks, which had a strong heraldic foundation. Other incorporated trades such as goldsmiths and pewterers drew upon a similar symbolic heritage, which included emblems of lions, hearts and shields, and in so doing appropriated the marks in order to imbue their own trade with a kind of associative credibility implied by these established identifiers of authority. Work by Jan Gadd on reveals how the Lion Passant was used to represent sterling silver; a crowned leopard's head was referred to as the 'King’s Mark', and was used in conjunction with the sterling silver lion. Gadd has outlined the legal action taken against the Pewterer's Company in 1636 by the Goldsmith's Company, for using silver hallmarks on pewter (Gadd 1998). The goldsmiths considered the appropriation of such marks by the pewterers as particularly concerning; it risked undermining the trust consumers placed in the mark as a symbol of genuine precious metals.

Perhaps the most overtly heraldic marks found upon pipes can be seen in the stamping of coats of arms upon pipes, as on the opposite side of the George Mason pipe bowl, which utilised the City of York arms. To borrow from Billig's conceptual vocabulary, we might term this 'banal civic culture'; in addition to the evocation of heraldic devices, the mark's use as a symbol of the city also raised wider issues about local or city pride. The recent Hungate excavations also uncovered other pipe fragments with a coat of arms and Prince of Wales feathers on them (cf. White 2008 and White

2004, 298, 405, 417 and 431). Coats of arms were examples of such official motifs that featured upon many commodities regularly throughout the period. Symbols of 'royal and lordly authority', they seem to have been found in greater numbers in the US rather than Britain (Johnson 1996, 186). The Scottish essayist Thomas Carlyle, noted for his love of pipe smoking, wrote to his sister in 1840 from Chelsea: ‘The Pipes I have at present have no "royal arms" on them; mere simple rib-work instead; they are extremely welcome to drop the royal arms' (Carlyle to Carlyle Aitken, 1840). Marks such as these appear to have evoked commentary only in the negative; otherwise they went unnoticed, indications of their stealth-like presence in the daily interactions of most individuals. Audrey Noël Hume, in analysing the deposits of colonial Williamsburg, found 76 pipes with variants of the Hanoverian arms on the bowls, featuring the crown, flanked by the lion and unicorn and the motto 'DIEU ET MON DROT' beneath them, as well as maker's marks on the heel or spur of the pipe. Others included the Prince of Wales feathers and the motto 'ICH DIEN' ('I serve'), or the Hanoverian arms with 'JE MAINTIENDRAY' ('I will maintain', coat of arms of the Netherlands). Only four of those examined by Noël Hume came from non-tavern sites, which suggests these may have been less a symbol of loyalty to the Prince of Wales and more a reference to the name of a pub (cf. Noel-Hume 1971, 146; Cheminant 1981). This latter example represented the merging of the two types of branding - proprietary and state - upon clay pipes. While the symbol was intended as an advertising device, the fact that the pub was named after royalty was in itself a nationalistic statement, whether its patrons acknowledged this or not.

## Conclusion

Overall, I hope that I have demonstrated how a closer reading of the marks upon pipes force us to re-evaluate our definitions of early modern (and indeed present day) 'branding'. Branding can be interpreted as a process that constitutes at least two fluid categories: proprietary and official. The marks found upon clay pipes highlight this fluidity exceptionally well: makers incorporated and appropriated symbols of authority for their proprietary marks. This has implications for the study of branding on other everyday commodities, something that I hope to demonstrate further in my doctoral work. Ultimately, however, I hope I have illustrated the extent to which historians can successfully incorporate the most humble material culture into their work. It is clear that the modest pipe can speak volumes about wider issues in society.

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## ‘Crumm Horn’ Pipes

by Jan van Oostveen
Sometimes we come across interesting forms of clay tobacco pipes that are either unique or forms where only a few copies are known, such as the so called "crumm horn" pipe.

For a long time only one example of this type was known, although it was suspected that other examples of this type would have been produced. The known example, which is part of the Pijpenkabinet collection in Amsterdam, was found in Leiden and was produced by an unknown Gouda clay tobacco pipe maker. On stylistic grounds this pipe can be dated to $c 1645$. The other pipes found with it in a closed group (the contents of a cesspit) can be dated overall to the period 1655-1670 (Duco 1995).

The production technique of this pipe shows that it was prepared in a special way. First the pipe was produced in a conventional double-cone shaped mould. The stem was rolled and bent in to an S-shape.

It was surprising that a similar type of crumm horn pipe was discovered during excavations in the United States of America. The find spot was at a place now known as Mill Creek at the mouth of the Severn River in Chesapeake Bay. Historical research had shown that from about 1650 until his death in 1669 the Englishman Emanuel Drue lived at this place. He was a "planter", which is interpreted as a tobacco planter. When he died he left two metal moulds to produce clay tobacco pipes (Luckenbach 2001).

Meanwhile three new finds of crumm horn pipes have been made in the Netherlands. The most complete example is from the city of The Hague (Fig. 1). This pipe is the look-alike of the Leiden pipe from the Pijpenkabinet collection and is stamped with a lily (fleur-de-lys) mark. The Leiden pipe has several rows of stamped lilies. These lilies are on both sides divided by a trimmed stem. The pipe from The Hague has two rows of lilies, after which the stem tapers towards the mouthpiece.

Fragments from two separate crumm horn pipes have been excavated in Amsterdam. These fragments also have decorated stems (Fig. 2).

Unfortunately we know nothing about the function of this particular type of pipe. It is possible that these pipes were used as promotional items in a shop and after a time they were used for smoking, as has been suggested for the Leiden pipe, which has been smoked (Duco1995). A more likely suggestion, however, is that these pipes were used on special occasions, such as at a wedding or an inauguration within an association.

The recent Dutch discoveries show that this type of pipe was produced on a limited scale. In all known instances the stem is decorated. Unfortunately no pipe makers


Figure 1: Crumm horn pipe found in The Hague (after van Oostveen and Stam 2011, 20; photograph Jan van Oostveen).


Figure 2: Two recent finds of crumm horn pipes from Amsterdam (photographs Pieter de Breuk (1) and Jan van Oostveen (2)).
marks are known from the Dutch specimens. A Gouda provenance is a possibility but this has still not been proved. Only the American Crumm horn can be assigned to a particular pipe maker: Emanuel Drue.

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## Two Important London Collections for the National Pipe Archive

by David Higgins

The National Pipe Archive (NPA) has recently received two important new donations, primarily consisting of material from London, to add to its collections. This note provides some background information on the two new collections, as well as a brief overview of what they contain, so that SCPR members are aware of what is available for study. It will probably be some time before all this material can be catalogued in detail but, in the meantime, anyone wishing to consult this material can make arrangements to see it at the National Pipe Archive, which is currently housed at the University of Liverpool. The archive is a registered charity (No. 1043065) and appointments to visit need to be made in advance with the curator, Dr Susie White (contact details inside the front cover of this Newsletter).

## The Peter Elkins Collection

Peter Elkins will be well known to anyone who has collected material on the Thames foreshore over the last forty years or so. Peter started collecting material from the surface of the foreshore in about 1967 but soon discovered that the best material lay buried beneath the surface. At that time it was still possible to dig on the foreshore at Queenhithe in the City of London and most of his pipes were collected from in and around that area, including nearby Bull Wharf, where a barge bed had been laid down during the later eighteenth century, effectively sealing the earlier foreshore deposits underneath it. The pipes recovered from the Queenhithe area mainly date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and they include a large number of examples with stamped or moulded marks on them. Although most of the collection comprises material that he found himself between about 1967 and 2000, Peter also acquired some pipes from other mudlarks or exchanged duplicates with other collectors, most notably David Atkinson, with whom there is also supporting correspondence. As a result, Peter built up one of the largest and most important collections of early stamped pipes from London that has ever been assembled. When his collection was
recorded by the author in 1989 for the national catalogue of stamped pipe marks that he has been working on, it contained nearly 1,000 stamped pieces. Queenhithe was one of the most important moorings in the city and these pipes not only reflect pipe production in the capital itself, but also from the many other areas that shipping was coming from. This includes inland trade along the Thames from places like Reading and Oxford, coastal trade from other British ports and overseas trade, especially with the near continent.

As well as recovering earlier pipes from the Queenhithe area, Peter also collected a number of other important groups, such as an extremely interesting group from a mideighteenth century rubbish layer that was exposed in a car park access ramp when a site was being re-developed at Crabtree Wharf, at the end of Crabtree Lane, Fulham, in about 1974. This group includes an unusually wide range of British pipes, with examples from Chester, Broseley and central southern England, as well as a spurless export style bowl and imports from the Netherlands, including an unusual design where the bowl is being held by a small boy. This site also produced eighteenth century pipes with ink writing on them, a lot of pipes with a WT heel stamp, which are usually attributed to William Tappin, who is recorded working at Blackfriars in the 1760s, and a large quantity of Chinese looking pottery (which was not collected). Examples of some of the pipes from this site were published in 1981 as part of an illustrated catalogue of 52 pieces from the Elkins Collection (Cheminant 1981, 160 172). Other finds from London include a large group of late eighteenth century pipes with 'BENSON' bowl stamps from a site in Lambeth, material recovered from nineteenth century rubbish pits in Finlay Street, Fulham, in 1979 and a collection of London pipes obtained from Martin Brendell.

As well as the earlier bowl forms, Peter also built up a large collection of later decorated pipes, including examples with armorial decoration and a large number of decorative nineteenth century pieces. He also collected some churchwarden pipes, including examples with arms or Masonic decoration on the bowls. Most of the nineteenth century pieces were recovered from different places along the Thames foreshore or were acquired from other collectors or at fairs and so the majority cannot be given a specific provenance. Nevertheless, they are principally from the London area and provide a good overview of the decorative styles that were being used in and around the capital, including some of the elaborately modelled or decorated pipes from mainland Europe that were being imported from manufacturers such as Fiolet and Gambier. A lot of these later pipes also have stamped or moulded maker's marks on them and so can be used to study the later London industry, as well as the pipes from elsewhere with which they competed.

Material from outside of London includes finds from Bristol, Broseley, Salisbury (from the river bed, when the river was drained) and a group of pipes from the garden
of the former Romford Arms pub at East Knoyle in Wiltshire. There are also more than 200 pipes obtained from David Atkinson, most of which are marked. These include a good number of West Country groups, including a lot of marks of Thomas Hunt and W. Sayer, as well as some Dutch bowls (almost certainly collected in the Netherlands) and a group of nineteenth century pipes collected from a Victorian rubbish dump at Iver in Buckinghamshire. From further afield, there is a group of pipes, mainly Dutch, collected in Copenhagen by Tony Essary and further groups of unprovenanced Dutch finds.

Although this collection contains some interesting groups from elsewhere, its main strength lies in the London material. There are around 1,000 pipes with stamped marks on them as well as several thousand more seventeenth and eighteenth century pipes, principally collected from the Queenhithe area. Many of the eighteenth century pipes have moulded initials on them and there are good collections of eighteenth century Armorial pipes as well as nineteenth century marked and decorated pieces. The collection as a whole probably comprises in excess of 5,000 items and has been accessioned under the number LIVNP 2012.04.

## The Richard Thompson Collection

Dr Richard Thompson, a senior entomologist from the Natural History Museum, London, has also kindly donated his collection of pipes to the NPA. Richard's father was gardener at the Bishop's Palace in Salisbury during the 1940s (now a school) and the collection started with pieces collected from the palace grounds while he was growing up. The collection includes small groups of pipes from a wide range of places in England, ranging from Oxfordshire, Leicestershire and Yorkshire in the midlands and north to Hereford, Bristol and Devon in the west and Wiltshire, Hampshire and Surrey in the south. The largest groups of provenanced pipes, however, come from London and include material from the Thames as well as finds collected by Martin Brendall, some of whose pipes also ended up in the Elkins Collection (see above). The collection contains a number of marked and decorated pieces as well as about 20 complete Victorian pipes and a similar number of twentieth century examples made by Pollock's of Manchester. There are just over 360 pipes in the collection as a whole, including around 150 marked examples, which are split about equally between stamped and moulded marks. The accession number for this collection is LIVNP 2012.03.

The NPA already holds a very substantial quantity of material from London, particularly the Ed Jarzembowski and Colin Tatman Collections, each of which includes many thousands of examples. The generous gift of these two new collections builds on these holdings and provides an important resource for the benefit of future generations. There are also notes and correspondence that links these various
collections, which were being built up at the same time and from similar sources (for example, the Jarzembowski Collection also includes finds collected from the River Avon in Salisbury when it was drained). Taken together, the London collections now provide an outstanding archive charting the evolution of the pipes that were being produced and used in the capital over a period of some four centuries.

## Reference

Cheminant, Richard le 1981, 'Clay Tobacco Pipes from London and the South East', in P. Davey (ed.), The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe, VI, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 97, Oxford, 127-172.


## 'MOON SHINE' Pipe

by Andy Kincaid

At a recent estate sale in Richmond, Virginia this unsmoked example of a "MOON SHINE" socketed pipe was purchased (Fig.1). The pipe has a crude appearance due to handling while the clay was wet and the only finishing is the light trimming of the mould seams on the stem socket. Both sides of the bowl have the same moulded wording and design, which is in relief. There are no internal bowl marks or exterior surface marking that could relate this pipe to a specific maker or region. The mould seams on the bowl are present and indicate a two piece mould was used. These seams are uneven due to the improper alignment of the mould halves, possibly the result of a worn or poorly made mould. The stem socket opening and bowl chamber are cylindrical and off centre. On the base of the bowl are two scratches that have occurred over time and exposed the fabric, which is a very fine pale yellow, mottled with fine sand. There are several large dark brown inclusions that are visible on the surface and edges of the pipe. Discolouration of the surface, two very small pieces of slag, and an extremely hard surface indicate over firing in the kiln.

In Virginia, as in many parts of America, when moonshine is mentioned the first thing that comes to mind is illicit, untaxed liquor. It is possible this pipe was made for the tourist trade in the mountain regions up and down the eastern seaboard. Steeped in American culture, moonshine and the folklore of the Appalachian Mountains, go hand in hand. The logo on this pipe "MOON", a figure of a moon below, and "SHINE" at the bottom suggests that this is a fanciful reference to moonshine.

There were pipes being produced in the United States c1890s with tobacco company names or brands embellished on them for advertising purposes (Sudbury 1979).


Figure 1: ‘Moon Shine pipe’ with cross-section of the pipe showing a 7/64" bore connecting the bowl with the socketed stem.

Bailey Bros. Inc. of Winston-Salem, North Carolina produced a pipe and cigarette tobacco under the name "Moon Shine". They were in business from 1880 to 1924 (NCSHPO, 2009) and at one time produced a tobacco tin with the exact logo as this pipe. At the present time it is not known if the tin and the pipe are related or when either was produced.

At the present time, the suggested manufacturing date " is most likely turn of century", c1900 (Byron Sudbury, pers. comm. 2012). The purpose of this note is to present this pipe and offer possible avenues for future research.

## References

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/ FY3151.PDF [accessed 2 Jul 2012]

Sudbury, B., 1979, The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe II, British Archaeological Reports (International Series 60), Oxford, p.191.

## NEW Publication about 52 pipe production centres in The Netherlands

Productiecentra van Nederlandse kleipijpen. Een overzicht van de stand van zaken
by Jan van Oostveen and Ruud Stam
Publisher: Pijpelogische Kring Nederland
ISBN number: 978-90-801138-4-8
Price: $€ 32,50$ plus postage
Postage in Europe: € 8,00
Postage outside Europe: $€ 12,00$


In June 2011 a new book about all the production centres existing in The Netherlands between 1600 and the present day was published. In this new book, of 170 pages (full colour), all 52 centres are treated in a systematic way. There are chapters about historiography, the introduction of smoking, clay pipe production and a general survey of the clay pipe industry in the Netherlands. The book deals with the production of pipes produced in a metal mould as well as slip cast pipes.

For each production centre there is a short history of the centre, with a map giving its location; details about its products and typology; the marks, the dispersion of the pipes in the Netherlands; a list of pipe makes at that centre and finally an English summary. There are hundreds of pictures in full colour illustrating the development of the pipes in the production centres. Only the list of Gouda pipe makers is not included, as this long list was recently published elsewhere.

This book can be regarded as a new starting point for anyone who wants to know more about Dutch clay pipes.

## How to order this book?

You can order this book from:
Aad Kleijweg, Fransen van Puttenstraat 17, 2613 CG Delft, The Netherlands.
Or via the Internet: www.productiecentra.tabakspijp.nl

## Payment by BACS:

Account number 3067958 Name: A. J. Kleijweg. Location: Delft IBAN: NL85INGB0003067958 BIC: INGBNL2A

Pipe Collection For Sale - Bill Moore


Gin Press with short trough in use.
It is with some regret that SCPR member, Bill Moore, has decided to part with his pipe making equipment and pipe collection and he has asked that a short summary of the items for sale be presented in this issue of the Newsletter. The equipment and pipe collection is being offered as a single collection and will not be split.

The collection comprises the following elements:-

- Approx. 370 clay tobacco pipes from various sites including Shaftesbury, Gillingham, London, Donyatt, Ilchester, Broseley and Plymouth collected over a 40 year period.
- Eight Pollock pipe moulds (DUBLIN, MINERS, Straw, SCOA, Golf, large plain bowl, RAOB $101 / 4$ ", 16 " plain).
- Gin press for short pipes and bench.
- Gin press for longer pipes.
- Bags of clay.
- Nine BAR volumes.
- Various other publications, catalogues and other articles.

The price being sought for all of the above is $£ 7,750$ or near offer. If this is of any interest to you or if would like further details, please contact Bill Moore direct by email on: bill@3895.freeserve.co.uk


## HELP!

## Identification of a Stone Pipe

Pete Rayner spotted this pipe wondered if anyone can help with its identification (Fig. 1). It appears to be made from stone and has been hard carved. It is very heavy, weighing some 5.4 oz . The bowl is roughly oval in plan with a stylised plant or flower motif carved in relief on the sides. The design is slightly different on each side. The pipe appears to have been quite heavily smoked and may originally have had a cherrywood stem.

If anyone has any idea as to date or where this pipe may have been made Pete would love to hear from you. Replies can be sent to Peter c/o SCPR@talktalk.net.


Figure 1: Mystery stone pipe. Scale shown is a UK five pence coin.

## HELP!

## Identification of a Pipe Found in Norwich

Giles Emery has sent in the following pictures of a pipe found in Norwich. The moulded initials on the sides of the spur read IL.

If anyone has seen this type of pipe before, or can identify the maker, Giles would love to hear from you. Replies can be sent to Giles c/o SCPR@talktalk.net.


## Contributions to the Newsletter

Articles and other items for inclusion can be accepted either

- on an IBM compatible floppy disk or CD - preferably in Word.
- as handwritten text, which must be clearly written - please print names
- as an email/email attachment, but please either ensure that object drawings/ photographs are sent as separate files, i.e., not embedded in the text, and that they have a scale with them to ensure they are sized correctly for publication. If your drawings/photographs do not have a scale with them, please send originals or hard copies as well by post.
- with Harvard referencing, i.e., no footnotes or endnotes.


## Illustrations and tables

- illustrations must be in ink, not pencil, or provided as digital scans of at least 600dpi resolution.
- can be either portrait or landscape to fit within a frame size of $11 \times 18 \mathrm{~cm}$ but please allow room for a caption.
- tables should be compiled with an A5 format in mind.

Photographs - please include a scale with any objects photographed.

- should be good quality colour or black and white but bear in mind that they will be reproduced in black and white and so good contrast is essential.
- digital images can be sent by email or on a CD, as a .TIF or .JPEG images. Make sure that the files are at least 600dpi resolution so as to allow sharp reproduction.

Please state clearly if you require original artwork or photographs to be returned and provide a stamped addressed envelope.

## Enquiries

The following members are willing to help with general enquiries (including those from nonmembers) about pipes and pipemakers (please enclose an SAE for written correspondence):

Ron Dagnall, 14 Old Lane, Rainford, St Helens, Lancs, WA11 8JE.
Email: rondag@blueyonder.co.uk (pipes and pipemakers in the north of England).
Peter Hammond, 17 Lady Bay Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 5BJ.
Email: claypipepeter@aol.com (nineteenth-century pipes and pipemakers).
Susie White, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH.
Email: susie_white@talktalk.net (pipes and pipemakers from Yorkshire and enquires relating to The National Pipe Archive)

National Pipe Archive: The National Pipe Archive is currently housed at the University of Liverpool and is available to researchers by prior appointment with the Curator, Susie White (details above). Web Site: http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/

## SCPR 81: Contents


SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Pipemakers in York by Susie White

SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: Christopher Boyes, Tobacco Pipemaker and Trunk Maker of York (1671-1725) by Peter Hammond .. 13
"Put that in your pipe...." ........................................................................................... 17 17

SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: Clay Pipes in New France, 1620-1760: Can Archaeometry by Helpful in Detecting Imitations? by Françoise Duguay 18

Clay Pipes: A Social Perspective from the Last Century by David Higgins............... 29
Chemical Evidence of the Use of Nineteenth-Century Clay Pipes for Tobacco Smoking by Joshua Horrocks and Ben Stern ... 35

SCPR 2011 Conference Paper: A ‘Mason’ and His Mark: The Branding of Clay Tobacco Pipes, c1750-1850 by Jenny Basford. .36
‘Crumm Horn’ Pipes by Jan van Oostveen ..... 45
Two Important London Collections for the National Pipe Archive by David Higgins .....  .47
‘Moon Shine’ Pipe by Andy Kincaid. ..... 50New Publication: ‘Productiecentra van Nederlandse kleipijpen. Een overzichtvan de stand van zaken’ by Jan van Oostveen and Ruud Stam.................................. 52
Pipe Collection for Sale - Bill Moore .....  .53
HELP! Identification of a Stone Pipe from Pete Rayner .....  55
HELP! Identification of a Pipe Found in Norwich from Giles Emery .....  .56

## ISSN: 1359-7116

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