

NEWSLETTER

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Spring/Summer 2018

SOCIETY FOR CLAY PIPE RESEARCH

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Cover image: Probable pipemaker's stamp from Burrington Bridge, Herefordshire (see pages 35-39). Drawn by D. A. Higgins.

Editorial

by Susie White

Sadly, this issue begins with news of the passing of two of our long-standing members. The first, Roger Price, was one of the SCPJR's founding members, whom some of you will recall spoke of the society's founding at our 30th birthday celebration back in 2013. The second is John Andrews, who had been an active member of the society for many years and whose help I was eternally grateful for during the data collection stage of my PhD research into the Yorkshire pipemaking industry during the late 1990s. Both will be sorely missed but I know they would want us all to continue the work of SCPJR by spreading the knowledge, enthusiasm and passion for pipes that they both shared.

This issue takes forward the subject that they both loved by bringing together another great mix of articles on pipes from no less than three continents. There are notes on pipes and pipemakers from Dorset, Herefordshire, London, Norfolk and Somerset in the UK, as well as two fascinating papers from overseas. The first is by Denis Gojak on the last pipemaker in Australia and the second is from Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann on Dutch pipes from Christiansborg Castle in Ghana, West Africa. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of the contributors to this issue of the newsletter - we couldn't have done it without you!

Also included with this issue are details of our conference for 2018 (see page 14). This year we will be heading to Wales - a first for SCPJR - so we hope that as many of you as possible will join us to learn about pipes from that part of the United Kingdom. We have arranged to have a day of lectures and viewing of pipes at the university in Cardiff. This will be followed by our traditional evening meal at a local hostelry, where you can continue the pipe discussion over a nice meal and a drink. On the Sunday we have made arrangements to visit Nantgarw Chinaworks Museum, where you will have an opportunity to see a reconstructed pipe kiln - and there will be pipes to look at too! A booking form has been included with this mailing, so please do not delay in getting that sent back to us - all details are on the form and on our website.

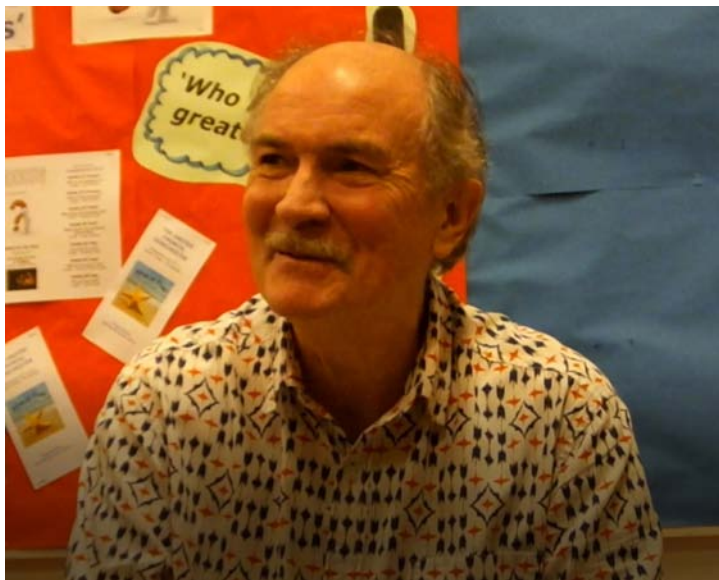
If you would like to give a paper at the conference please do send us an email on SCPJR@talktalk.net as soon as you can. It doesn't need to be anything too lengthy - perhaps you have a nice group of pipes that you are working on, or that you have in your collection, that you'd like to tell us about. If so, then get in touch.

Finally, we'd love to hear from you if you have any pipe notes or news that you would like us to share with the rest of the membership in the Newsletter. On that note, I'd like to wish you all a great summer and hope to see you at the Cardiff conference in September.

Roger Price – 1944-2018

by David Higgins

The passing of a friend and colleague is always a personal sadness, but the loss of Roger Price has a broader significance for the Society for Clay Pipe Research, since he was one of the founding members and instrumental in bringing it into being. Members who attended the 30th anniversary conference in Dorchester will remember Roger reminiscing about the idea of forming a society being mooted over a drink in the Hawthorn Hotel at the University of Bristol, followed by a meeting around his kitchen table where the society came into being in 1983 – a video clip of this from the 2103 conference is available on YouTube - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d2cAWwmu_HI&feature=youtu.be. The founding principle was that the society should be as informal as possible, with a newsletter to publish articles and allow for the exchange of notes and queries. Roger used some 'Letraset' to create the cover design that we still use and, for a number of years, he was the first editor. He also used his position as a curator at the Science Museum in London to arrange the first meeting of the society, which was held at the museum in 1985, and which has become an annual event that has taken place in different parts of the country ever since.



*Roger Price at SCPR's 30th birthday celebration in Dorchester, 2013
(photograph by the author).*

Roger was born on the 20th August 1944 and had a long-standing interest in history and archaeology, which drew him into the world of pipes. His principal interest was in the Bristol pipemaking industry and, for some years, he worked as an archaeologist at the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. This led to an interest in documenting the local industry and many members will be aware of the monumental study of Bristol pipemakers that he has been compiling over the years. This now runs to several thousand pages and must be the most extensive study of its kind ever undertaken. The author had been in discussion with Roger over making this available via the National Pipe Archive website shortly before his death and it is hoped that this can now be done as a tribute to his lifetime's work. Roger passed away on the 10th April 2018, aged 73, with his funeral taking place on 11th May.

A number of members have prepared tributes that provide more detail of Roger's life and work. Rather than repeat this information here, these tributes are given below. Likewise, several of them refer to publications that Roger prepared or was involved in. To avoid relisting these, a single bibliography has been provided at the end of the tributes.



Some Memories of Roger Price

by Reg Jackson

I was shocked to learn of the death of Roger Price, a fellow researcher of the Bristol clay pipe industry and, more importantly, a good friend.

I first met Roger in the summer of 1968 when we were both working as volunteers on an archaeological excavation at Westbury College in Bristol. I had been taught the basics of archaeological surveying and planning on a couple of Roman sites I had worked on over the previous two years and so Roger and myself were entrusted with the site surveying at Westbury College.

Over this period we became firm friends as we both had similar interests: archaeology, history, motorcycles and beer! The following year we volunteered to take part in excavations on the island of Lundy in the Bristol Channel, but it is not so much the archaeology I remember as evenings spent in the Marisco Tavern, the island's only pub, and a sleepless night while we tried to hold up our tent against a force nine gale!

In the years before archaeology was included as part of the planning system we were involved in many rescue excavations in Bristol, notably on the site of Bristol castle. We spent evenings and weekends (usually after a visit to the pub) investigating development sites in the centre of Bristol and it was during one of these forays in

1971 that we recovered a substantial amount of waste from a pipe factory in Lower Castle Street. Initially we were unable to identify the manufacturer of the pipes and this led us to carrying out research in the Bristol Archives office. Little did we know where this would lead; in Roger's case to a lifetime's research of the Bristol clay pipe industry. The wealth of documentary material available for study in the archives amazed us and we soon realised that we had gathered sufficient information for a book on the industry.

The Carey pipe find was followed in 1972 by the discovery of kiln waste from the factory of James Jenkins which was located in Lewin's Mead. We spent the next year drawing a type series of Bristol pipes from excavations and chance finds, as well as examples of all the different pipe designs from the kilns of Israel Carey and James Jenkins. We submitted a manuscript to Bristol City Museum in 1973 and our book *Bristol Clay Pipes: A Study of Makers and their Marks* was published by the museum the following year as the first volume in their research monograph series (Jackson and Price 1974).

Over the Christmas of 1972 Roger undertook the task of recovering a very large quantity of post-medieval pottery waste from a redevelopment site in Temple Back, Bristol. He asked for my help and a very happy Christmas was spent filling sack after sack with pottery dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries which had been made in the Bristol Pottery in nearby Water Lane. Roger published this important kiln group in 2005 in volume 20 of *Bristol and Avon Archaeology*.

It was around this time that Roger was appointed as a Field Officer in the Department of Archaeology in the Bristol City Museum. He carried out many rescue excavations over the following years including those on the medieval city wall in 1975, the medieval foundations of Bristol Bridge in 1975 and a survey and excavation on a 15th-century building believed to be St Peter's Hospital. Thanks to Roger's intervention, part of the wall of that building was conserved and can still be seen today. His reports on these excavations were published in 1979 in the second volume of the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery's monograph series entitled *Rescue Archaeology in the Bristol Area: 1*.

Roger directed a major excavation in Bristol between 1976 and 1978 on the site of St Bartholomew's Hospital which showed the extraordinary survival of deeply stratified archaeological deposits in the centre of a city where redevelopment had taken place over many centuries. Roger was determined to see the results of this excavation published, even after he had left the employment of the field archaeology section of the museum. He gave up his spare time to bring this to fruition and the report was published by the Council for British Archaeology in 1998. It remains one of the most important excavation reports published in Bristol.

Roger, myself and my then wife Philomena kept on researching pipe makers until we had amassed sufficient information to warrant the publication of another book. We published this privately with Roger's wife Jean-Anne typing the draft and finally the 345 pages of stencils needed for printing the book (this was well before the age of computers!); *Bristol clay pipe makers a revised and enlarged edition* was published in 1979.

We continued to research pipe production in Bristol and to rescue kiln material in advance of building works. *Ireland and the Bristol Clay Pipe Trade*, which showed the results of some of our work on the Bristol port books, was privately published in 1982 for the Ulster conference of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology. A large group of kiln waste from the factory of the Ring family of pipe makers was published in 1984 as *The Ring family of Bristol, Clay Tobacco Pipe Manufacturers* in volume 18 of the journal of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology.

While researching the Bristol pipe makers we were also collecting information on the Bristol pottery industry which in the past had been largely overlooked in favour of the better known production centres in Stoke-on-Trent and London. It soon became clear that Bristol had a major pottery industry, particularly in the manufacture of tin-glazed earthenware during the 17th century, with an extensive transatlantic trade. This research led to the publication in 1982 of *Bristol Potters and Potteries 1600-1800* as volume 12 of the *Journal of Ceramic History*.

We came to realise that there were many people carrying out pipe research both in the United Kingdom and abroad, but they had no means of finding out about each other or communicating. After discussions with Peter Davey during 1983, The Society for Clay Pipe Research was founded by Peter, Roger, myself and my wife Philomena. The first newsletter was produced in January 1984 with Roger writing the editorial and, as they say, the rest is history! The first annual conference took place in the Science Museum, London, in September the following year, when, much to our surprise and relief, over 40 members attended.

In the 1970s Roger had obtained a doctorate in, as far as I can recall, biochemistry at the University of Bristol. With his experience in the fields of science and archaeology he was appointed as a curator at the Science Museum (which accounts for the location of SCPR's first meeting). As he continued to live in Bristol and commuted to London daily his time for pipe research was then very limited. It was also around that time that I left my job in the insurance industry and became a professional archaeologist. Consequently we rather drifted apart, especially when I moved to the far west of Cornwall, although we continued to exchange information from our pipe research.

Roger took early retirement and continued his pipe research culminating in the

production of a CD of *Bristol Pipe Makers and their Families, of the 17th to 20th Centuries*. This must surely be the most detailed study of a pipe making centre anywhere and is a testament to Roger's long term dedication to the subject.



Roger Price – A Tribute

by Marek Lewcun

It was with great sadness that I learned of the passing of Roger Price. I first met Roger when I was a 10 year old schoolboy back in 1974, when he was digging at the Greyfriars excavation in central Bristol. I remember him emerging from a trench, hands muddied, and a shark's tooth on a leather strand around his neck, to meet me at a viewing platform. That moment has always been clearly etched in my mind, and from that day I knew that I wanted to be an archaeologist. In collaboration with Reg Jackson, Roger had published the excellent *Bristol Clay Pipes: A study of Makers and Their Marks* that year and, over 40 years later, the copy he gave me remains an invaluable identification guide. In the preface to that book were written the words 'archival research is an open-ended subject', and that would ring true for many years to come.

Five years later, with Reg and Philomena Jackson as co-authors, *Bristol Clay Pipe Makers: A Revised and Enlarged Edition* was published. This contained an immense amount of documentary evidence on not just the master pipemakers but also the numerous men and women who worked for them, those who would have otherwise gone without recognition. As well as watching Bristol's rugby team, Roger also had a keen interest in local ceramics, and in another collaboration with the Jacksons, 'Bristol Potters and Potteries, 1600-1800' was published in the *Journal of Ceramic History* in 1982. Roger's move to London to become a curator at The Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine at the Science Museum in London did not bring a halt to his work on pipes, however. Following Roger's discussions with others in 1983, the Society for Clay Pipe Research was born, and he published no less than three pieces in the first newsletter of January 1984.

Retirement brought Roger back to Bristol, and with it a renewed interest in the Bristol pipemakers. It would have been easy to view the 1974 and 1979 books on Bristol pipemakers as having exhausted the documentary sources of the city, but this could not have been further from the truth. In the SCPR Newsletter 71 of 2007, Roger announced that over the last few years he had taken up his research again, 'The Bristol Project' as he referred to it. In 2009 he presented me with the latest issue of his *Bristol Pipe Makers and their Families of the 16th to 20th Centuries*, all 3,160 pages

of remarkable records, representing a most remarkable and thorough research of the industry which would be made available the following year.

From time to time Roger and I would meet at one of his favourite haunts for a beer or two in Bristol, where we talked about our latest findings and exchanged information on pipemakers who crossed the Bristol and Somerset border. It was an honour when he attended the society's conference in my village of Norton St Philip, where he presented a paper on Miles Casey, the earliest known Bristol pipemaker. Three years later, in SCPR newsletter 73, Roger and I co-authored 'Celia George: a Woman of Character', which dealt with the hard life endured by Celia during her times as a pipemaker in Bath and Bristol. Like so many of her contemporary employees in the pipe trade, Celia's life was amongst the slums, a life which saw her give birth to a daughter in Liverpool Parochial Cemetery and a life which would finish after eight years in the Gloucester Lunatic Asylum. Roger was interested not just in the pipemakers, but also the social conditions in which they lived, and his summing up of Celia George's life epitomised the compassion he held for those whose lives he studied:

What to make of her? Taking into account of all the circumstances, we should probably not judge her too harshly – in fact, the more one looks at the facts of her life, the more one begins to feel sorry for her. Of course, she was not fully typical of the majority of the poor, given her medical condition; but she undoubtedly had a tough life – and if her mental state and financial conditions made it impossible for her to settle in any one place for long, at least she kept working and did try to take reasonable care of herself as far as she was able.

Roger was a scholar and a gentleman, a remarkable researcher, and a prolific author, someone for whom I held the highest regard, and he will be greatly missed. Roger inspired me to take up archaeology, and forasmuch as I might not have made vast amounts of money, I have not regretted a single moment of it, and for that I will be eternally grateful to him. The society has also lost one of its founding fathers. In Bristol, his legacy is *Bristol Clay Pipe Makers and their Families*, a tour de force, and an achievement which will not only be beneficial to those interested in pipes but also to the descendants of the many thousands of individuals contained in it for many years to come.



Roger Price – Shorter Tributes

A diligent and well-respected researcher of clay pipes and pipe makers, particularly in Bristol, of many years standing. I knew him prior to the formation of SCPR, and

as one of its founder members he has left a huge legacy in research. *Peter Hammond*

Roger was always very helpful and encouraging to a beginner, lending me his notes on the Bristol Port Books. While Roger always said that his work on Bristol pipemakers would never be finished, he was happy to share his research with anyone who was interested. *Peter Taylor*

I'm greatly saddened by the news. We met in the mid-70s and as a Zoologist with an interest in archaeology I found Roger and the Jacksons to be very generous in their willingness to share information. Their work on the Bristol pipemakers was wonderfully inspirational. It was good to meet up with him at the conference a couple of years ago and still hear his enthusiasm. *Mick Fordy*

Shocked and saddened by this news. I met Roger at a conference years ago and we swapped details. He wrote me a lovely long and detailed letter including notes and sketches about the Bristol pipes I'd found in Gloucester which to me as a relative beginner (not as a collector but in my attempts at research) were gold dust. That inspired me greatly at the time. RIP. *Andy Frape*

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John Andrews – 1938-2017

by David Higgins

It is unfortunate that I also have to note the passing of another friend and long-standing member of the Society, John Andrews. John was a 'Shropshire lad', having been born in Shrewsbury, where he lived for almost his whole life, on 2nd March 1938. As a young man he earned a Cold War medal during his National Service when he served as ground crew with Bomber Command in Lincolnshire. He then worked briefly as a warehouseman before joining Royal Mail, with whom he was employed until 1994. For the last few years of his time with them he worked on the TPO (Travelling Post Office), which involved lodging overnight in York. This enabled him to use his spare time to undertake research into Yorkshire pipes and pipemakers. He retired on the final run of the Cardiff-York TPO on May 26/27 1994. John passed away at home in Shrewsbury on 19th December 2017, aged 79.

John had a long-standing interest in history, archaeology and genealogy, and joined the Society for Clay Pipe Research during the 1980s, which is when we first met.



John Andrews and the Travelling Post Office (photograph from Rob Andrews).

John had already done some research into the local Shrewsbury pipemakers and assembled an interesting collection of pipes from the area, while I was working as archaeologist to the Ironbridge Gorge Museum at that time and undertaking my doctoral research into the Shropshire pipemaking industry. John generously shared his information with me and allowed me to illustrate a number of the pieces from his collection for my thesis (Higgins 1987; available online at <https://liverpool.academia.edu/DavidHiggins>). John published a note on the Taylor family of Shrewsbury in 1986 (SCPR 10), and was then a regular contributor to the Newsletter for the next 20 years, with many of his articles relating to Shropshire pipes and pipemakers (see bibliography below).

Some of John's most substantial pipe research, however, was undertaken during his spare time in Yorkshire. He published lists of York pipemakers in the Society's *Clay Pipe Research* volumes 1 and 2, as well as preparing an unpublished list of Doncaster pipemakers. He also worked his way through the extensive museum collections at York Castle Museum and Doncaster Museum and compiled detailed illustrated catalogues of their holdings, which also remain unpublished. Once again, John generously shared his findings with other researchers and his lists of York and Doncaster pipemakers provided the core of the information for these two places in Susie White's list of Yorkshire pipemakers (2004).

In recent years pipes had taken something of a back seat with John focussing on his interest in Welsh genealogy and, in particular, researching the Welsh Andrews family history, including the related families of Bennet, Braddick and Bishop. He gave talks on the subject and published articles in the *Cronicl Powys* (the journal of the Powys Family History Society) and, for several years up until 2017, he served as secretary to the Montgomeryshire Group. As ever, John was generous in sharing his time and expertise to help others with their Welsh family history researches. John also worked as a volunteer at the Shropshire Archives office in Shrewsbury, where he helped others pursue their own research interests in a variety of different fields. It is hoped that, at some point in the future, the National Pipe Archive will be able to digitise John's catalogues of the York and Doncaster Museum pipe collections so as to provide a lasting legacy from his pipe research and to continue sharing knowledge about the past, a trait that characterised his life.

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SCPR Conference 2018 - Cardiff 29th-30th September

by Susie White

We are very pleased to announce that our 2018 conference takes us, for the first time, to Wales. We will be based in the John Percival Building at the University of Cardiff. The theme of the morning conference talks will be pipes from Wales and in the afternoon we will move on to consider pipes and pipemaking from elsewhere.

We hope to have some groups of Welsh pipes for delegates to look at, including some from excavations at Cardiff Castle and Cosmeston. Delegates are encouraged to bring along items either to put on display, or, that you'd like help in identifying - they don't have to be Welsh! The conference fee is just £18 per head, which includes tea and coffee during the day, and a buffet lunch.

Following the lectures we are booked into a local pub, *The Pen and Wig*, for our conference dinner, which is a 3 course meal, with tea/coffee for just £20 per head. Booking is essential for this, so make sure to include your meal choice and payment when returning your conference booking form.

On the Sunday we have organised a trip to the nearby Nantgarw Chinaworks Museum where the Pardoe family also made pipes. We'll be treated to tea/coffee and Welsh Cakes on arrival before being given a guided tour of the china works as well as a viewing of the restored pipe kiln. We'll have an opportunity to look at some of the pipes from the museum's collections before a buffet lunch.

If you would like to give a short paper at the conference - or if you have a group of pipes or collection you would like to tell us about - please let us know on SCPR@talktalk.net. Papers should be up to 30 minutes in length. Alternatively, if you would like to bring along anything pipe related to show us then please do, but please email us to book some display space.

We very much look forward to seeing as many of you as possible in Cardiff in September. A booking form is included with this newsletter but can also be found on our website at <http://scpr.co/Conferences.html>.

Don't forget to put the date in your diary - Sat 29th and Sun 30th September 2018. We look forward to seeing you in sunny Cardiff!

Smoking in London in 1846

by Susie White

How many times, as pipe researchers, do we wonder how many pipes might have been produced and consumed in any given year in the past? What the average stem length might have been at any particular time? Or even how much tobacco might have actually been consumed in the pipes produced in one year? These questions, along with a number of others that would be perfectly at home in a game of *Trivial Pursuit*, were addressed in an article published in the *Kerry Examiner* on Friday 17 April 1846 (Fig. 1).

SMOKING IN LONDON.

The number of tobacco pipes used in London last year was 364,000 gross, 52,416,000 pipes; it requires 300 men each man making 20 gross four dozen per week, for one year to make them; the cost of which is 40,950l. The average length of these pipes is twelve and a half inches, and if laid down in a horizontal position, end to end together, they would reach to the extent of 10,340 miles, 1600 yards; if they were piled; one above another perpendicularly, they would reach 135,138 times as high as St. Paul's they would weigh 1137 tons 10 cwt, and it would require 104 tons 9 cwt 32 lbs of tobacco to fill them.

Figure 1: Extract from the *Kerry Examiner* on Friday 17 April 1846.

The article itself has not reproduced very well and is therefore transcribed below: -

The number of tobacco pipes used in London last year was 364,000 gross, 52,416,000 pipes; it requires 300 men each man making 20 gross four dozen per week, for one year to make them; the cost of which is 4,950l. The average length of these pipes is twelve and a half inches, and if laid down in a horizontal position, end to end together, they would reach to the extent of 10, 340 miles, 1600 yards; if they were piled; one above another perpendicularly, they would reach 135,138 times as high as St. Paul's they would weigh 1137 tons 10 cwts, and it would require 104 tons 9 cwt 32 lbs of tobacco to fill them.

Although on the face of it this article appears to be a bit of fun, from an archaeological and historical point of view it helps us to understand the extent of pipe production in London in the mid-1800s. It also shows how hard these pipemakers would have been working in order to produce their “20 gross four dozen per week”, which equates to 2,928 pipes per man per week. The figures given, however, don't entirely seem to add up, since the article states that it requires 300 men working at this rate (i.e., producing 2,928 pipes per week) to make all these pipes. This gives a total production of 878,400 per week and in a 52 week year that only comes to 45,676,800 pipes - some 6,739,200 pipes short of their grand total! If original figure of 364,000 gross is to be believed, then the 300 men would have to be work for the full 52 weeks a year, and in each week, they would each have to be making 3,360 pipes.

If you take the working week as being 6 days, this would mean that each man was making 560 pipes per day – and these were relatively long stemmed pipes with an average length of around 12½”, not the short-stemmed cutties of later years.

The cost of this quantity of pipes is given as £40,950 for the 364,00 gross, which works out at 2/3d per gross. This is in keeping with what we know of contemporary prices and suggests that the figures are at least in the right order of magnitude.

The article goes on to give a quantity of tobacco that would have been required to fill all of these pipes – more than 104 tons - but presumably that was the quantity required to fill the pipes just once and although pipes are generally considered to be the first disposable commodity, it would be hoped that most pipes would be used at least twice. Therefore, the quantity of tobacco being consumed can be at least doubled, pleasing the tobacco traders of the day.

This seemingly trivial newspaper article, which may simply have been a “filler” for that day's edition, underlines, once again what an important source the newspaper archives are for putting the humble clay pipe into a much wider socio-historic and economic perspective.

A Dutch Pipe from Diss

by Peter Davey

Among the large collection of clay tobacco pipes and other items recovered by Mr Geoff Woollard and his associates in the 1990s from Roydon Fen near Diss in Norfolk is a pipe bowl in the form of a human head, often referred to as a 'Walter Raleigh' or 'Jonah' pipe. In this type the head is in the process of being swallowed by a snake-like monster.

The pipe

The bowl from Roydon, now in Diss Museum, is c35mm high and has a small area of rim and wall missing on the left-hand side (as viewed by the smoker). A short length of stem survives; the stem bore is 2.4mm in diameter (Fig. 1). The main features are three-dimensionally well-defined: especially the eyes, eyebrows, moustache, beard and ears. There are traces of rouletting around the rim. But finer detail is almost completely absent. Behind both ears, especially the right-hand one as seen by the smoker, part of the hair towards the back of the head can be discerned. The triangular beard occupies almost all of the available space on top of the stem but with very little detail (Fig. 2). The mould seams are very pronounced - this is especially visible on the front of the face through the nose, chin and beard. There is no room on the surviving stem for any of the jaws of the 'monster' to be visible.



Figure 1: The 'Jonah' pipe from Royden Fen in Diss Museum.



Figure 2 : detail showing the mould seam and beard.

Dating

Jonah pipes were made in a number of centres in Holland from around 1630 until as late as 1720. Duco distinguished between an ‘early’ and a ‘late’ Jonah pipe. The early forms, dating from around 1630 to 1650 are rather short and squat with flat horizontal heels, well-moulded with good detail, normally milled and often stamped. The largest group of later forms dating from 1650 to 1680, has taller, bulkier bowls, with much less well executed detail and lacking in milling. The hair for example is usually very straight, compared with the curves and wrinkles of the early types. The eyes tend to be smaller and higher up the head, the ears, moustache and beard more nominal and schematic. The flat heels are often set at an angle. The pipes from the end of the series after 1680 are much rarer and adopt newer basic forms, so are fairly easy to identify (Duco 1987, 91-94).

The Roydon Fen pipe, at first glance appears a little anomalous. In form it seems to belong to Duco’s early type dating from 1630-1650, but its lack of any stamp or visible detail is not easy to parallel. There are a number of possibilities. A combination of use and conditions of burial may have removed most of the detail. It is also possible that the mould used to make the pipe was an old one in which the fine detail had become flattened. This idea is supported by the pronounced mould seams which are probably the result of loose, and possibly worn, hinges. But it may also represent a poorer quality product than those normally illustrated in discussions of Dutch pipes of this period. That such pipes do exist is clear from photographs published by Krommenhoek and Vrij (1986, Nos. 783-787). In particular their Nos. 790 and 793 have the earlier form but with no heel mark and poorly defined detail. Finally, the pipe may be the product of one of the smaller centres and lack the detail of the major centres such as Amsterdam.

Provenance

Jonah pipes were produced in a number of Dutch centres which can be identified using the evidence of makers’ stamps, detailed typology and the geography of finds within the Netherlands. The oldest known example, dated on the pipe to 1633, was made in Hoorn (Duco 1987, 91). Amsterdam was a major producer in the early period from c1635 to 1650 (Duco 1981, 254, 287, Nos. 164-167) followed by Gouda later in the century (Duco 1987, 94). But Jonah pipes were also made in Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Groningen, Haarlem, Maastricht and Rotterdam (Oostveen and Stam 2011, 40-41, 72, 92, 96, 114 and 135 respectively).

When compared with published examples from these centres the Roydon Fen bowl seems close to a number from north Holland. In particular a sparsely decorated find from Groningen dated 1650-1670 (Oostveen and Stam 2011, 92, Fig. 159) has the same large ears and vestigial hair. A more crudely made pipe from Haarlem, dated

1645-1665 (Oostveen and Stam 2011, 96, Fig. 168), is taller and has more pronounced features, but is otherwise quite similar. There are insufficient numbers of examples known from many of these smaller centres so it is not possible to identify the production centre of the Diss pipe with certainty. Most probably it was made in the north of Holland between 1640 and 1660.

Iconography

In English-speaking circles the design was once thought to represent Sir Walter Raleigh who, according to legend not only introduced tobacco to England but was swallowed by a crocodile and then ejected because of his smoke impregnated body (Oswald 1975, 116). But more than one example is known with the moulded letters IONAS on the side of the stem (Walker 1977, 1558-1559, Fig. 11; Duco 1987, 91). This is the Dutch version, derived from the vulgate, of the Hebrew which is rendered as Jonah in English biblical translations. The modern English form is much closer to the Hebrew in that it ends with an open vowel rather than a consonant. In the original story in the Old Testament Book of Jonah, it is a דָּג גֹּדָל (dag godal) or 'large fish' that swallows Jonah for three days and three nights. In the Septuagint the Hebrew is translated *ασκητος μέγα*, (*asketos mega*) also meaning 'large fish'. But in the Greek New Testament in the passage in Matthew (12:40) which directly quotes from the Book of Jonah the word *κητος* is used on its own and was translated as 'whale' in the 1611 Authorized Version. Cetology is now the name given to the study of whales. In this way the association between Jonah and the whale was made in English minds. The same sequence occurred in other Germanic languages such as Dutch (*walvis*) and German (*Walfisch*) where the Old Testament entry is not specific but in the New Testament appears to be so. All three languages derive the word from Old High German *wal* and ultimately from an Indo-European root '(s) kwal' which came into Latin as *squalus*, meaning a 'large marine fish'. As the 'animal' consistently depicted on the pipe stems swallowing Jonah is, in modern zoological terms, neither a crocodile, nor a whale, it seems possible that in the early seventeenth century the identification of the word 'whale' uniquely to mean a marine mammal had yet to be made. The creature devouring Jonah on the Dutch pipes is, therefore, a product of contemporary imagination based probably on some kind of sea-snake; it has pronounced scales and a curved mouth with pointed teeth. This ambiguity of meaning does not occur in the Romance languages. For example, in the French bible the same passage in Matthew reads: '*... dans le ventre d'un grand poisson...*' ('...in the stomach of a great fish...').

Alternatively, it is worth noting that a number of highly decorated Dutch 'Baroque' pipes dating from the 1630s also have the same snake-like creature swallowing them (eg. Duco 1987, 88-91, Nos. 470, 471). In these two examples the bowls are decorated with floral designs, including a crowned rose. Is the snake linking the smoker in some way to events in the Garden of Eden? Does it denote temptation or the route to hidden, secret knowledge?

Significance of the Roydon Fen find

Jonah pipes are rare finds in the British Isles. Oswald (1975, 116-117, Fig. 22, No. 7) illustrates an example in the Atkinson Collection from the Thames at Queenhithe and indicated a total of nine examples known from Britain, almost all from ports (Oswald 1975, 121, Fig. 23). Whilst occasional examples still occur, for example the stem fragment from Hemel Hempstead (Higgins 1985, 348-350, Fig. 8, No. 77) exhaustive studies of quite large geographic entities have produced no new records. For example, an account of seventeenth-century pipes from Scotland identified over 300 Dutch pipes but no Jonah examples (Davey 1992, 287, Table 1) and a comprehensive study of over 8,000 seventeenth and eighteenth-century pipes from Yorkshire found 102 Dutch products but only one Jonah pipe (White 2004, 152-157; and Fig. 45.6). In respect of the rarity of such pipes the Roydon Fen find is significant in a national context; it is also unusual in being recovered so far inland.

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Editor's note: With the exception of a small number of pipes, including the subject of this paper, which have been retained by Diss Museum, Mr Woollard's collection has now been deposited with the National Pipe Archive; Accession Number: LIVNP 2016.05.



Australia's Last Pipe-Maker: Frederick Shaw and the Caledonian Pipe Company, Sydney

by Denis Gojak

Australia's clay pipe making industry was believed to be restricted to the early nineteenth century, with a small number of Sydney-based manufacturers, largely with convict backgrounds, producing a modest volume of pipes for the local market. As British exports expanded and grew cheaper, local manufacture was unable to compete and local pipe production was effectively dead by mid-century (Gojak and Stuart 1999, Ford and Ford 2016). However, recently Susie White identified Scottish pipe-maker George McPhee, who worked in New Zealand in the later nineteenth century, followed by his son who operated until at least 1908 (White 2015). Her discovery prompted a reappraisal of evidence for later pipe-making in Australia, from which several short-lived pipe manufactories emerged in New South Wales and Victoria. The most significant find, however, relates to Frederick Shaw and the Caledonian Pipe Company, the last commercial pipe-maker in Australasia ('Australasia' has been a generic term used since the nineteenth century to include New Zealand and the six Australian colonies (New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Queensland) which, after federation in 1901 became the Commonwealth of Australia, it has inconsistently included the eastern half of New Guinea and the southwestern Pacific island groups.

The Caledonian Pipe Company operated under Shaw's direction from 1906 to sometime in the 1930s from two Sydney suburbs, firstly Newtown and then Lidcombe. At its peak it employed five hands or more and its product was distributed Australia-wide and into the Pacific. This article collates what is known about the company and Shaw from historical sources. Unfortunately, no examples of the company's pipes have been identified, but his history provides useful knowledge about the final decades of clay pipe consumption.

Frederick Shaw, pipe-maker

Frederick ('Fred') Shaw, who set up and managed the Caledonian Pipe Company was a Scottish migrant to Australia. He was born on 15 January 1858 at Montrose, Forfarshire, the fourth son of Don, a general labourer and Barbara (née Urquhart) Shaw. Frederick appears with his parents and seven siblings at the 1861 and 1871 Scottish censuses but, while they remain in Montrose in 1881 with one son and two daughters, Frederick is absent and cannot be securely identified elsewhere. The later history of the family is unclear, but his will named as beneficiaries a niece, Agnes Brown living in Blairhall, Fife, and his two younger sisters, Catherine and Ann Shaw, still in Montrose (SANSW Series 13660, Item 4/293189). No other members of the family appear to have been involved in pipe-making.

The date of Shaw's migration to Australia is unknown, as his name is too common to track in immigration records with any certainty, but he stated that before setting up in Sydney he made pipes in Victoria for 11 years, i.e., from about 1895. The gap between the 1871 census, when he is 13 years old to his appearance in Victoria leaves 24 years of his life unaccounted for. As Shaw was a pipe-maker, if he served a traditional apprenticeship before emigrating then an earliest date for leaving Scotland would have been around 1880.

While the export pipe-making industry flourished from the 1840s onwards as the main source of Australian pipes, it came under increasing pressure by mid-century. France and Germany dumped cheap English-style clay pipes, as well as offering competing forms of pipe with greater social cachet, such as briars, meerschaums and their imitations. Cigarettes came into fashion after the Crimean war, joining snuff and cigars as challengers to the dominance of pipes. Manufacturers responded by increasing the diversity of clay pipe designs and styles from the mid-1850s. This may have arrested the decline in the market but also added its own complexity and cost, such as the need to continually generate new designs, which meant new moulds, old stock becoming outdated and so on. If Shaw was part of the Scottish industry at this time, dominated by a few large producers in Glasgow and Edinburgh, he would have experienced the gradual tightening of the market, and perhaps considered that continuing in it may not have been a viable option, compared to travelling to a golden land of opportunity as Australia was seen.

During the second half of the nineteenth century many British clay pipe-makers emigrated to the Australian colonies, some attempting to set up business. Success was difficult, and most did not. The known pipe-makers are given in Table 1.

Fred Shaw stated that he made pipes in Victoria for 11 years, i.e., between c1895 and early 1906 (*Express and Telegraph*, 12 April 1906, 3). From his comments to newspapers it seems that he was a manager rather than an employee, but whether he

Pipemaker	Origin	Colonial situation	In business	Note
Joseph Mumby - Victorian Pipe Manufactory	St Ives Huntingdonshire	Maribyrnong River, Melbourne, Victoria	1850-1851	Became a baker
John Redwin	Possibly Somers Town, London	Newtown, Sydney, NSW	?-1870-?	Pipemaker at industrial exhibition
George Feakins	Ramsgate, Kent	Maldon, Victoria	1862-?	Advertised for investment partner. Died c1863-4
J. Yeman	Dundee	Ballarat, Victoria	1884-?	No evidence of business starting
H.A. Bradley and Son	Not applicable	Collingwood, Melbourne, Victoria	By c1888-1893	Firm employed pipemakers
'Mr Hill'	?	Clifton Hill, Melbourne, Victoria	1894-?	Made pipes from local clays
Frederick Shaw	Montrose, Forfarshire	Exact location unknown, Melbourne, Victoria	1895-1906	Worked in Victoria for 11 years
Unidentified	?	Collingwood, Melbourne, Victoria	?-1896-?	Pipemaker at industrial exhibition. Possibly F. Shaw

Table 1: Known late nineteenth-century pipe-makers in the Australian colonies (various sources).

did this under his own name or through a company is unknown. The tobacconists and general merchants H. A. Bradley and Son previously had a pipe manufactory at 3 Bedford Street Collingwood, a Melbourne inner suburb (Vines and Churchward 1992; Collingwood Historical Society). In 1888, about when the Bedford Street building was first erected they advertised for a clay pipe-maker (*Age*, 23 April 1888, 7). By 1893 they were bankrupt, and all of their general stock was placed on sale, although there is no mention of any pipe-making equipment being sold (*Argus*, 7 Oct 1893, 3; 14 Oct 1893, 6). This predates Shaw, unless he demarcated his time working for others as distinct from work on his own account.

In 1896, also in Collingwood, an unidentified pipe-maker was noted demonstrating the then old-fashioned craft of producing clay pipes at an industrial and craft exhibition. The timing makes Shaw a feasible candidate (*Australasian*, 9 May 1896, 39)

While some production and market for colonial clay pipes still existed towards the end of the nineteenth century, Shaw's own testimony was that this remained a precarious undertaking. Colonial Victoria imposed a tariff on imported pipes of 1/- per gross which in 1894 had raised £3,690 in duties (*Age*, 29 Aug 1895, 6). After the separate colonies federated in 1901, there was a period of uncertainty regarding what tariffs would apply, as each colony's had been different and the battle between free-trade and protectionist policies was the key political divide in the new parliament. Victoria consequently dropped its duty to 3d per gross for common pipes. This did nothing to encourage sale of locally made pipes over imports, and as result Shaw said he left Victoria intending to set up business in Sydney, in anticipation of better tariff protection, and prospects of a national market (*Evening News*, 11 April 1906, 4).

In Sydney Shaw registered the Caledonian Pipe Company on 3 October 1906, its business described as 'Manufacture of pipes & hairdresser & tobacconist' (SANSW Series 15665, Item 2/8539, 33). Shaw selected premises at 288 King Street, the main thoroughfare in the inner-western suburb of Newtown, one of the major retail precincts in Sydney (Fig. 1). The business first appeared in the Newtown Council Rate books for 1907, the premises occupied by 'F. Short', a likely error for Shaw (CoS 604-

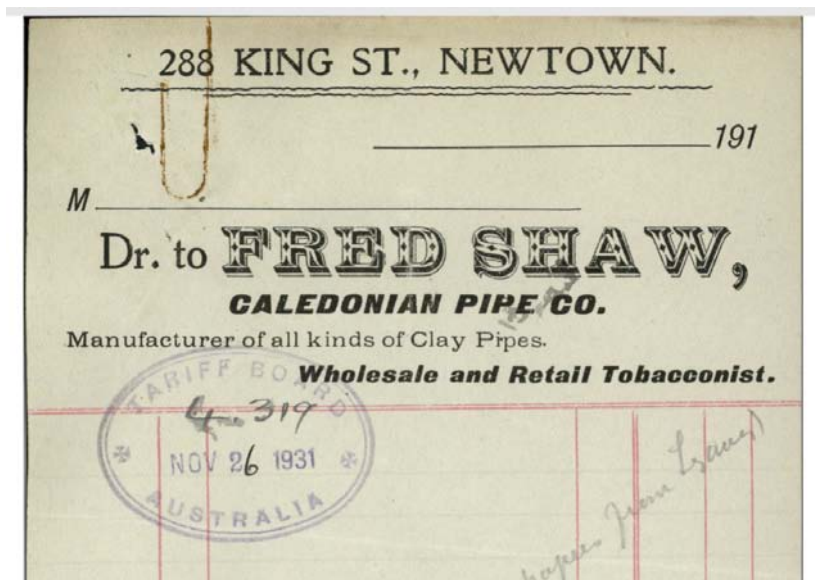


Figure 1: Caledonian Pipe Co invoice letterhead (NAA Series B1, Item 457).

019 – 1907, 158). The 1908 Sydney *Sands Directory* was the first to record ‘Shaw, Frederick, tobacconist’. While this was happening, Shaw returned to Melbourne to marry Agnes Ure of North Coburg in March 1907, giving his address as Newtown (*Argus*, 4 May 1907, 13).

Having established the business, Shaw next recruited pipe-makers and possibly other workers, and set up the pipe manufactory. In August 1907 he showed ‘W.H.D.’, a correspondent of the *Molong Argus* newspaper, from Molong, a small town near Orange in central western NSW, around his factory. This is the only description of an Australian pipe-making operation, and it is worth quoting at length (W.H.D.’s rambling opening paragraph about the Australian poet Adam Lindsay Gordon has been omitted. The full text can be accessed at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article144350626>. W.H.D. was a Sydney-based correspondent for the *Molong Argus*. Molong Historical Society was unable to establish (probably his) identity.).

In a Clay-pipe Factory, by W.H.D.

... There is in King-street, Newtown, a clay pipe factory - the only one in Australia. The proprietor (Mr. Shaw) recently invited the writer to visit the scene of manufacture of the only Australian ‘clays,’ and I did so one day last week. An interesting time was spent, and Mr. Shaw’s explanation of the work proved instructive in the extreme.

There are five hands employed, and they are capable of putting through 5000 pipes per day. The pipe goes through seven processes before it is ready to smoke from. The clay from which these pipes are manufactured is secured at La Perouse, Kurnell, and other places. At the factory it is first put on a beating block, and hammered till fine; then rolled into shape, and dried at a different temperature for trimmers. After being trimmed, the pipes are laid on boards and again dried for kiln; then they are put in saggars, some being placed in a kiln capable of holding 20,000 pipes. They are then burnt for 15 hours at a strong heat. When they have gone through this operation, they are taken out of the saggars, and packed in boxes ready to be sent all over Australia.

*Mr. Shaw has a tobacconist shop in front of the factory, and to every customer purchasing a plug of tobacco a clay pipe is given away, and also a box of matches. These ‘clays’ are decidedly good smoking. Anyway, this scribe is patriotic, and likes to see local industry supported. In conclusion, I may add that should you peep into my little back room on any Saturday morning, you will quite likely find me reading the MOLONG ARGUS and smoking locally manufactured tobacco in one of Shaw’s ‘clays.’ (*Molong Argus*, 30 August 1907, 3)*

Apart from some glib inaccuracies, the description of the manufacturing process is essentially no different from a century earlier. The clays used by Shaw, sourced from Kurnell and La Perouse on either side of Botany Bay are likely to be from some of the weathered igneous dykes that criss-cross Sydney's sandstone outcrops. These clays were prized by the indigenous Gweagal people for decoration, and were later quarried for domestic use as pipe-clay (Rickwood 1985; Steele 2015). It could have been brought in a more or less natural state to Newtown, or been processed in one of numerous potteries in the area making architectural, sanitary wares and domestic wares. Assuming the daily figures and the kiln capacity are correctly given, Shaw would have generated a full kiln load once a week.

The premises at 288 King Street were part of a larger group of properties owned by baking powder magnate James Channon. In 1916-18 Channon sold these to the Methodist Church, which became Shaw's landlord for the remainder of his occupancy. No. 288 is the central section of a three-storey late Victorian shop and residential block, originally spread across three titles (Fig. 2). Upper floors have been used for an undertaker, jeweller, boot-makers, garment manufacturing and business space, and so would presumably have been readily adaptable for a clay pipe manufactory, provided that a kiln could be situated in the rear yard. The land titles of Nos 288 and 290 were merged in 1929, coinciding with Shaw's departure, and the separate occupancies were connected internally, probably around this time as well. This new fitout is likely to

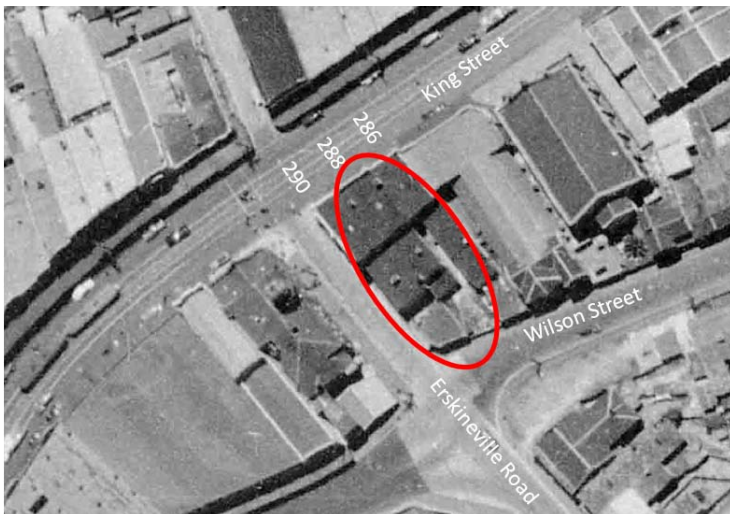


Figure 2: No. 288 King Street is the central section of the three storey shop and residential building at Nos 286-290, taken in 1949. By the time of this photo Nos 288 and 290 formed a single merged title (Source: City of Sydney Archives).



Figure 3: Nos 286-290 King Street Newtown. The Caledonian Pipe Company occupied the central bay of the building.

have removed any internal evidence of Shaw's factory's use of the building. The rear yard was more extensive than at present, and held the kiln mentioned in the 1907 account. Changes in the past 50 years are likely to have removed any archaeological evidence of its use during Shaw's time. Nos 288-290 are currently used for a discount variety store with residences above (Fig. 3).

It is not clear whether the 'five hands' represent pipe-makers only or also other workers responsible for trimming, packing and firing. Shaw noted later that the industry could also employ women and children as well as men, presumably maintaining the gender-segregated tasks. From five hands in 1906, 25 years later Shaw would write that 'I can only employ myself now. I could employ 10 hands, 5 years ago. I would be glad to answer any inquiry you would make as many of my old hands are out of work.' (NAA B1 Item 457 - Shaw to Tariff Board, 24 Nov 1931).

The only name of a possible pipe-maker working for Shaw that has survived is Harold George Uebel, a pipe-maker who attempted to enlist in the Australian Imperial Force

in August 1918, when he was 20 years old, but was rejected as physically below standard. Uebel was born locally at St Peters, and lived at 70 Newman Street, Newtown, only a few hundred metres from Shaw's manufactory. His association with Shaw is presumed rather than certain (NAA MT1486/1 – Uebel, Harold George). Given that it was wartime, it is unclear whether the young Uebel was following a more or less traditional apprenticeship path or was taken on because of the shortage of more experienced male labour.

Sands Directory lists No. 288 as housing 'Shaw, Frederick, Tobacconist' until 1918, then just his name in 1919-1923, and after that 'Shaw, Frederick, Hairdresser' in 1924 and 1925. There is a two-year gap in documentation in 1926-27, during which Shaw moved the factory from Newtown to a property he owned at 148 Frances St Lidcombe, then a middle-ring suburb of Sydney. A 1943 aerial photo shows a small suburban cottage with no conspicuous outbuildings or anything resembling a kiln. From information he gave to the Tariff Board, by 1931 he was working at Lidcombe alone and may have done so since the move from Newtown (NAA B1 Item 457 - Shaw to Tariff Board, 24 Nov 1931).

There is no evidence as to how long Shaw was able to keep making pipes on his own after the 1931 enquiry. Shaw's only certain residential address was his last, at 27A Nowranie Street, Summer Hill, a comfortable middle-class inner-western suburb, only four train stops from Newtown but a considerable distance from Lidcombe. According to *Sands Directory* entries he lived there from 1927. He died on 8 June 1944 following a period in a nursing home, the commercial production of clay pipes in Australia and New Zealand ending with his passing. Agnes pre-deceased him in 1933, with no children listed in the will, and only two sisters in Scotland and a former Victorian friend listed as beneficiaries. The probate inventory of his house contents was thorough but did not indicate a single item related to his former trade (SANSW 13660, Item 4/293189).

Tariffs

Shaw cited tariff protection as being key to his business's survival. Before 1901 the different Australian colonies were either protectionist (pro-tariff) or free-trade oriented, and reconciling these opposing stances was the key issue in the 1901 general election. A Commonwealth Tariff Commission (later Board) was established to hold public hearings on different industries, to determine what tariff protection was needed. Shaw contributed to these hearings, providing valuable incidental evidence of the final days of clay pipe manufacture in Australia.

The first national tariff was developed in 1906, just as Shaw was setting up his business, and he made a submission to the hearings. Shaw said that the main exporters to Australia were Glasgow, Manchester and Germany but, if protective

duties were increased, an Australian industry could develop. Members of the Tariff Commission were surprised to learn that annually as many as 40,000 gross were still being consumed in Australia, of which 4,000 gross were locally made. By Shaw's calculations that volume of pipes represented jobs for a hundred people, inclusive of women and children (*Evening News*, 11 April 1906, 4; *Daily Telegraph*, 13 April 1906, 10). In deliberation, one NSW member of parliament, J. Catts, noted that there were still two pipe-makers in the state, although a second cannot be identified, while Labour parliamentarian E. C. Riley noted that most of the remaining clay pipe smokers were workers, and considered that a tariff would hurt them most (*Evening News*, 13 Dec 1907, 2; *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 13 Dec 1907, 5).

The figures Shaw gave are questionable. The import figures for 1908, when clays are separated out from other pipe imports are 1,693 gross from the UK, 110 gross from France and 428 from Germany, for a total of 2,231 gross, valued at £402 (*Commonwealth Statistician*, 1908, 157, Table II). Other year productions are in the same order of magnitude. If the figure given for local production is correct, and it must represent the Caledonian Pipe Company's own output, it represents about 2,000 pipes per day, considerably less than the 5,000 per day stated in the 1907 article.

The eventual tariff adopted in 1907 imposed a duty of 1/6 per gross, with a preferential 1/- duty for British product (*Age*, 13 Dec 1907, 6).

In 1914, when the tariffs set in 1907 were reviewed, Shaw sought an increase in tariff protection for clay pipes and also for tailor's chalk, the other product made from imported pipe-clay. His arguments failed to convince, the Commission noting that only £395 worth of pipes had been imported that year (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Aug 1914, 9).

In the 1931 round of tariff hearings Shaw once again came forward, this time as the Caledonian Pipe Company. Unfortunately, there was confusion regarding his business address and so he missed the notice inviting him to make his case at the Sydney hearing where he could have described his business operations and the broader industry, as George McPhee had in New Zealand (White 2015). Instead we have a brief letter of apology read out at the later Melbourne hearing, giving only a few sparse details. Shaw's absence contributed to a prevailing apathy on the topic, *The Age's* report stating "'Churchwarden' memories mellowed the characteristic austerity of the Tariff Board's proceedings' (27 November 1931, 36).

Shaw's submission was that even a rise of 1/- on the present tariff 'would keep down the dumping of clay pipes' (NAA B1 Item 457 - Shaw to Tariff Board, 24 Nov 1931). The Tariff Board considered his request but noted that imports to Australia in the previous four years had only generated an average duty of £321 annually (NAA

A4108 Item 457A – Minute, 30 Aug 1932). Figures provided for the hearing (Table 2) show uneven but declining imports.

Financial year	British imports	Other imports	Total imports	Total imports (gross)
1927-28	1,198,330	866,089	2,064,419	14,336
1928-29	954,200	656,134	1,610,334	11,182
1929-30	954,176	887,139	1,841,315	12,787
1930-31	796,186	368,031	1,164,217	8,085

Table 2: Numbers of pipes imported to Australia 1927-1931 (Age, 27 Nov 1931, 5).

It is difficult to reconcile why the import figures are higher than from before the Great War in a declining market. Around 1927 we have Shaw relocating from Newtown to Lidcombe and dropping his workforce just down to himself, and directing his production into the Pacific. It is clear that competition had driven Shaw’s business down to a point where it was no longer viable in its present form. It seems apparent in hindsight that sacking his staff and reducing output to his own labour in new premises would not work. Also, he was turning 70.

The final recommendation of the Tariff Board was that the clay pipe industry ‘was not of sufficient importance to justify any further action.’ The Minister agreed, and no change was made to the tariff (NAA B1 Item 457 – Chair Tariff Board to Minister, 27 April 1932).

Export trade

If the 1907 article is correct, a 5,000 pipes per day production volume would result in excess of 1 million pipes (~7,500 gross+) per annum. Imports to Australia in 1907 totalled only 2,231 gross, and 6,183 gross in 1909, giving a pre-Great War Australian annual consumption of about 10-14,000 gross, for which the Caledonian Pipe Company accounted for about half. Within a few years, the experience of the war would become a watershed for pipe-smokers, with many serving men becoming habituated to either cigarettes or to less breakable briar pipes in the trenches. As the clay pipe smoking cohort reduced and aged, alternative markets became more important, and Shaw seems to have sought alternative markets in the Pacific and New Guinea.

In the Pacific and New Guinea tobacco was introduced with white settlement in the nineteenth century. Pipes and tobacco were extensively distributed as high value and much desired trade goods. They were less problematic for missionary ventures than the distribution of alcohol or fire-arms, and became part of the social payment

system to entice people on some islands into indentured labour on Australian sugar plantations. Small numbers of pipes were also occasionally exported to New Zealand, supplementing its direct shipments. Where figures are available, all Pacific island exports originate in Sydney, and most of these are likely to have been the products of the Caledonian Pipe Company. However, as the major Pacific port Sydney received the majority of imported pipes from Europe some of these may also have been re-exported.

As pipe markets continued to diminish in the inter-war period the Pacific and New Guinea also attracted cheap European pipes as well, which affected Shaw's business. In 1925 E. C. Riley, Federal Member of Parliament for Cook, an electorate that covered parts of inner Sydney, contacted the authorities administering New Guinea, formerly German and then an Australian protectorate following the Great War. Riley made representations on behalf of an unnamed clay pipe-maker in his electorate, undoubtedly Shaw, who could only land pipes for the New Guinea market at 7/- per gross, while cheaper dumped pipes came in at 4/3d. It is not clear where the cheaper pipes came from, but continued German trade connections with their former protectorate is most likely. As was pointed out to Riley, for the Australian pipes to look good would require additional tax on the cheaper imports in the order of 100%, and this added burden would fall entirely on native buyers. The administration noted that in the 1924-25 year only £155 worth of pipes were imported into New Guinea, equivalent to 730 gross on the figures cited by Riley. No pipes were imported into Papua over the same period (NAA Series A518, Item B836/3).

Trade figures in the 1920s show a steady annual stream of exports to a wide range of Pacific islands, with the New Hebrides, now Vanuatu, usually topping the list, followed by Fiji. Quantities are highly variable and some islands are mentioned only intermittently.

Legacy

If the Caledonian Pipe Company letterhead (Fig. 1) is accepted as true, the company made 'all kinds of pipes'. Unfortunately, no examples of Caledonian Pipe Company pipes recovered from archaeological excavations or otherwise surviving are known to the author. Australia is poorly served with archaeological investigations of 20th century sites, and it is unlikely that these will recover any significant examples. We cannot even say with any certainty that Shaw's pipes were even marked on their stems or elsewhere in a way that would allow them to be identified or distinguished from imported pipes.

Our best prospect for possible archaeological recovery is in the Pacific rather than Australia. Archaeological work exploring relatively modern sites from the colonial and mission era continues on Vanuatu, New Caledonia and other Pacific island

destinations to which the Caledonian Pipe Company would have exported (e.g., Flexner 2016).

The other possible source about some of the company's products is on celluloid - the classic silent Australian movie *For the Term of his Natural Life*, directed by Norman Dawn and released in 1927. Based on Marcus Clarke's best-seller (1874), it dramatised Australian convict life in Tasmania. The production demanded a large number of otherwise unavailable props, and *Smith's Weekly* recorded that 'Australian-made ... clay pipes were provided to some of the members of the company' (19 February 1927, 11). Unfortunately, the film was lost and the surviving print is a reconstruction of fragmentary sections (Shirley, no date). The rebuilt footage only shows a few scenes featuring any clay pipes at all, being military officers smoking what look like 12-15 inch-long churchwardens at 11, 20, 23 and 69 minutes into the restored print. Whether these particular pipes were part of the Caledonian Pipe Company's repertoire is unlikely to be something that will ever be known for sure, but if Shaw was capable of producing churchwardens then there would be no dispute about his technical virtuosity in pipe-making.

Conclusion

Frederick Shaw, like George and John McPhee in Dunedin, represents the final generation of working clay pipe-makers, serving a rapidly dwindling market comprised mainly of old men. Their businesses were successful in the initial global decline of clay pipe smoking, but they were not sustainable as they needed tariff protection to remain competitive against cheaper imports. Both were also direct transplants of Scottish pipe-making skills and traditions to the other side of the planet and developed businesses that managed to survive, albeit with assistance and unevenly, for decades. In both cases there was no significant locally-based industry before they arrived on which they could rely, and they had to import technology, develop production, recruit and train workers and identify customers to build a market from scratch.

As well as the McPhees, Shaw and known pipe-makers who emigrated from across Britain, it is very likely that many others who remained outside the newspaper net did so as well. The supply of skilled pipe-makers was not a factor in the failure of pipe-making to get off the ground. The McPhees and Shaw were still constantly under pressure from international competition. As the number of clay pipe smokers contracted across Europe, the dumping of cheap product accelerated. In both Australia and New Zealand tariff protection was sought to end dumping, but the counter-argument that it raised prices for smokers who were already at the poorer end of the class spectrum also resonated. When only a single business stood to benefit by raised tariffs it was a difficult argument to sustain, and the reluctance of government to further barricade what they also saw as a dying industry is understandable.

There is a lot that remains unknown about the Caledonian Pipe Company and Frederick Shaw himself. The documentary record provides the outlines, but gaps remain about his previous work in Victoria, and all details about what sorts of pipes he produced are unknown. His workforce is almost a blank. The production processes he used are described as being almost unchanged from those of a century earlier, but whether this is in fact true is an open question. We can speculate on what changes he needed to make in order to remain viable in the 20th century, becoming one of the last handful of clay pipe-makers working in the British tradition.

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Clay Tobacco Pipes and a Probable Pipe Stamp from Burrington Bridge, Herefordshire

by David Higgins

In 2017 a group of clay tobacco pipes and a pipe clay object were loaned to the Portable Antiquities Scheme for recording by Mark Davies. These had been collected from fields at Burrington Bridge in north west Herefordshire (about 6 miles WSW of Ludlow). This is a sparsely settled rural area but one where a significant pipe making industry flourished during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly in the hamlet of Pipe Aston, about one mile to the east. This local pipe industry has

been the subject of an important research project since the mid-1990s, which has included the excavation of a number of early kiln sites (<http://www.pipeastonproject.co.uk/>). Many of the finds from this project have already been deposited with the National Pipe Archive at the University of Liverpool (<http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/index.html>), which also holds a copy of the National Clay Tobacco Pipe Stamp Catalogue. The recent finds from Burrington Bridge have been added to this stamp catalogue since they form a very useful addition to the corpus of material collected from this former pipe making area. The cast reference numbers for the impressions in the stamp catalogue are given at the end of the following entries (e.g., Cast 744.1). The bowl forms given refer to the Broseley typology in Higgins (1987), with a 'v' for 'variant' added when the shape is close to, but not identical with, the type form.

The fieldwalking finds comprise 51 objects made up of 49 fragments of clay tobacco pipe, one pipe clay object and one piece of natural stone. Most of the pipe fragments (including the stems) date from the seventeenth to early eighteenth century with only a few pieces of later date – none are decorated, other than with rim milling. The majority of the finds date from the period when there was a vibrant pipemaking industry in the surrounding parishes. A total of 16 bowl fragments and 33 stem fragments were collected, most of which are in a fairly fragmentary state as a result of plough damage. Eleven of the fragments had been separated out in numbered bags and these include all six of the pipe fragments that have makers' stamps on them. The objects in these numbered bags are as follows: -

1. A substantially complete Type 12 heel bowl of a local form dating from c1670-90. This is stamped twice, once on the base of the heel and once on the back of the bowl facing the smoker. The mark comprises a heart flanked by the initials II, with stars above and below. In both instances the mark has been applied with the heart upside down from the usual orientation. This is a locally produced mark that has previously been recorded from the Pipe Aston area, an example (up the other way) having been illustrated by Peacey (2003, Fig. 3.33). Stem bore 7/64" (Cast 744.2-3).
2. A largely complete Type 3v heel bowl dating from c1670-90. This is stamped with a simple wheel mark on the heel, numerous versions of which have been found in the Pipe Aston area. This mark was probably used by a number of local makers. Stem bore 7/64" (Cast 743.20).
3. Part of the heel from a Type 5 bowl of c1680-1730 with part of a circular IB stamp on the heel. This has a dot between the initials, a horizontal line below them and a toothed border to the die. Other IB marks have been recorded from the area, and these probably represent a local maker. Stem bore 7/64" (Cast 743.19).
4. The heel from a Type 5 bowl of c1680-1730 with a rectangular GB stamp on

the heel. This has a plain border around the initials and a toothed border to the die. It can be attributed to one of the George Browns who were working at Pipe Aston. Stem bore 7/64" (Cast 744.4).

5. The heel from a Type 5 bowl of *c*1680-1730 with a rectangular stamp on the heel. Most of the mark has flaked away, rendering it illegible, but it has a toothed border to the die, which is a local characteristic. Stem bore 8/64" (Cast 743.22).
6. A small rim fragment from a local style bowl of *c*1650-90.
7. Part of a heel bowl dating from *c*1640-70. This has a small round heel (unmarked) and a stem bore of 8/64".
8. A round heel fragment from a bowl dating from somewhere between about 1640 and 1690. This is stamped with a heart shaped mark containing the initials WV with two dots above and one below. This is a common mark in the Ludlow area and can be attributed to one of the William Underwoods' who worked in the town. Stem bore 7/64" (Cast 743.21).
9. A small piece of natural stone.
10. A small fragment from a pipe bowl dating from *c*1640-70 – none of the heel survives. Stem bore 7/64".
11. Part of a pipeclay object weighing 17g (Fig. 1; stamp detail at twice life size). This comprises a roughly rounded rod of clay with a diameter of about 14mm where it is broken. The surviving section is 46mm in length and the complete end thickens and has been slightly squashed to give a sub-rectangular cross section of about 22mm by 15mm, which has been pierced with a 6mm diameter hole. The hole appears to have been formed using some sort of a tool mounted with a handle, since there is a slight dishd indentation on one side where this has pressed against the clay.

The whole surface of the object is slightly uneven with finger marks, showing that it has been quickly fashioned by hand, but despite its crude finish it has been decorated on each of its sides with a series of identical RH stamps. There are ten of these surviving in total, two on each side adjacent to the pieced hole and three on each of the other two sides (Cast 744.1). The mark does not have any border and is distinctive in that there are two or three small dots above and below the letters while the 'leg' of the 'R' is formed by a strong diagonal that just crosses the base of the first upright of the 'H'.

Although this object is broken, there seems little doubt that it would originally have

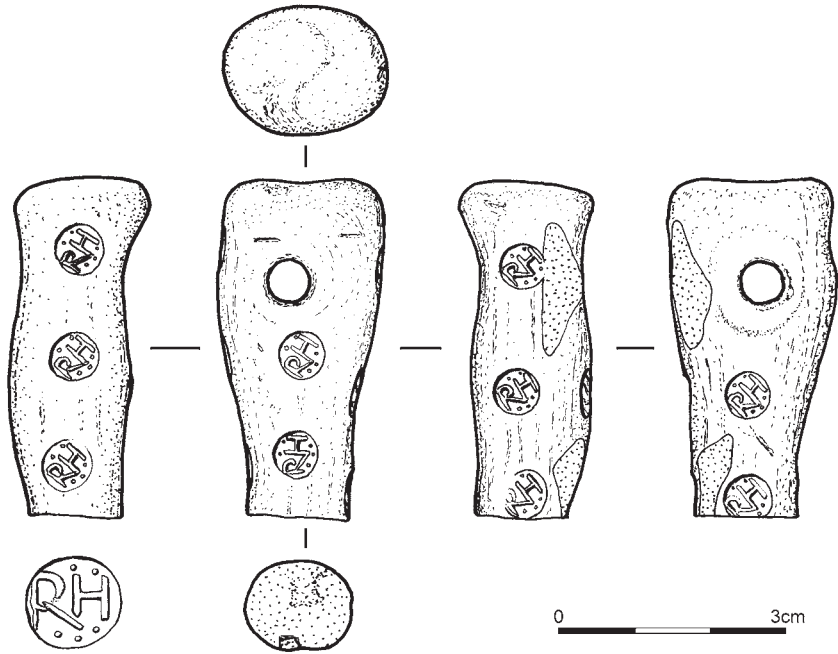


Figure 1: Probable pipe stamp from Burrington Bridge, Herefordshire, with multiple RH stamps. Stamp detail at twice life size (drawn by the author).

been a stamp for marking pipes, with the design to be imparted being at the tip of the missing section. An example of a similar pipe clay stamp has been recovered nearby as part of the Pipe Aston project (PA 95/2) and shows what a complete example would have looked like (Fig. 2; stamp detail at twice life size). The hole in this new example would have allowed it to be threaded onto a cord so that it could be attached to clothing or hung up when not in use.

While marks on pipes themselves are very common, and often known from multiple examples, the stamps that actually created them are much rarer. A number of late nineteenth or twentieth century examples survive and these are made of metal, typically iron or copper alloy. Some of the earlier examples may well have been of metal too, but the early examples that have been recovered as stray finds or from excavations are mainly made of pipe clay, which would have been readily available to the pipemakers and was easy for them to use and fire. Seventeenth century stamps made of pipe clay are known to the author from pipemaking sites at Chard in Somerset, from Staines in Surrey and from various locations around Pipe Aston. There is also a crudely formed example made of lead from Pipe Aston.

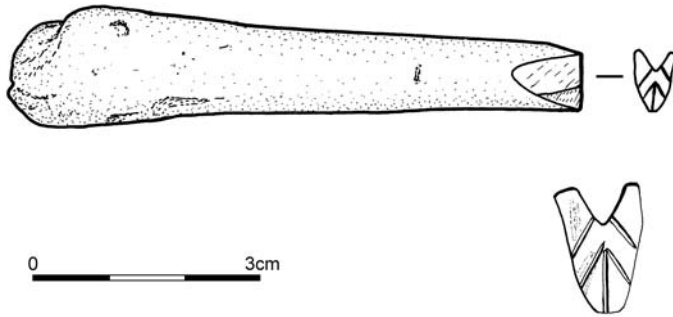


Figure 2: Pipe stamp from Pipe Aston, Herefordshire with stamp detail at twice life size (drawn by the author).

The original mark that this stamp would have created is unknown, but it must have been made by the ‘RH’ maker, whose initials appear all over it. At least two different types of RH mark (including this version) have been found as the result of the Pipe Aston project, as well as full name marks reading RICH/ARD H/AMAN for one of the Richard Hammonds, one of whom married in 1676 while another (presumably) took an apprentice in 1716 (Peacey 2003, 84; Berlyn 2008, 22). The stamp fragment therefore seems likely to date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, which was the heyday of the Pipe Aston area pipemaking industry. Although incomplete, this is an important piece that not only adds to the small number of pipe stamps that are known nationally but also contributes to the research project that is currently being carried out on the local pipemaking industry.

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Dutch Clay Smoking Pipes from Christiansborg Castle, Ghana, West Africa

by Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann

Introduction

Christiansborg Castle was strategically situated on the West African coast, formerly and notoriously known as the 'Coast of Guinea' and 'White Man's Grave' (Fig. 1). A seventeenth century former trading post, Danish and British colonial seat of government and, until recently, Office of the President of the Republic of Ghana, Christiansborg Castle is a national monument and UNESCO World Heritage Site. Today, it is known in local parlance as simply 'Osu Castle' or 'The Castle'.



Figure 1: Location of Christiansborg Castle, Accra, Ghana.

Archaeological fieldwork was undertaken at the castle in 2014, 2016 and 2017 under the auspices of the Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project (CAHP). Fieldwork involved over fifty participants including the principal investigator, direct descendants, local community, University of Ghana students and faculty, as well as castle employees. Fieldwork was under the direction of the author, Professor Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann. A Ghanaian descendant of Carl Gustav Engmann, a Danish Governor at Christiansborg Castle (1752-7) and Director of the Guinea Company (1766-9), and the Chief Ahinaekwa of Osu's daughter, Ashiokai Ahinaekwa, her current research is entitled, 'Slavers in the Family: The Archaeology of the Slaver in the Eighteenth Century Gold Coast'.

This preliminary report directs close attention to European clay smoking pipes retrieved from archaeological excavations at Christiansborg Castle, more specifically, Dutch clay smoking pipes. In Europe, European clay smoking pipes were the most frequently used medium for smoking tobacco until the end of the nineteenth century (with the advent of briar pipes). Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, European clay smoking pipes were ubiquitously employed, oftentimes escaping comment from contemporary writers. Requiring minimal time to manufacture, pipes were economical to produce, which consequently resulted in their production in large numbers. Most pipes break after having been used only a few times. Consequently, European clay smoking pipes can be considered the first truly disposable commodity (Higgins 1995).

Archaeological approaches to understanding European clay smoking pipes are significant. Their immense potential for analysis is clear (Deetz 1988; Gojak and Stuart 1999; Schrire *et al* 1990). In materially distinct deposits, European clay smoking pipes are often the most abundant data set found at historical archaeological sites, with the exception of pottery. Although pipes are fragile and break into fragments, they are composed of durable material, and consequently retain their material form, rendering them suitable for study. What is more, since pipes afford detailed information in terms of design and manufacture, they can also accurately be dated. In turn, European clay smoking pipe chronologies can be effectively applied to other archaeological observations, such as dating an archaeological site and other artefact assemblages. Therefore, clay pipes found in the archaeological record are vital for providing information on the African trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial contexts, since European colonial written accounts and African oral histories used to reconstruct the past rarely provide detailed information on smoking practices. At Christiansborg Castle, archaeological analysis is currently ongoing, yet some preliminary observations can still be made.

Christiansborg Castle - Historical Context and Background

Christiansborg Castle began as a lodge built by the Swedes in 1652. The Danes appropriated the site in 1658, in turn losing it to the Dutch in 1660. In 1661,

Denmark repossessed the lodge and constructed a stone fort, naming it Christiansborg (Christian's Fortress), after the King of Denmark, Christian V. Denmark occupied the site apart from a few brief periods. Between 1679 and 1683, it was sold to and occupied by the Portuguese (renamed Fort Sao Francis Xavier) and in 1685 and 1689, it was remortgaged to the British. In 1693, Asameni, an Akwamu trader and chief, gained possession of the site through subterfuge, but sold it back to the Danes in 1694. Over time, Christiansborg was enlarged and converted from a fort into a castle. In 1685, the castle became the regional Danish headquarters, enabling Denmark to acquire a near trade monopoly on the coast (along with nine other forts and lodges) (Fig. 2).

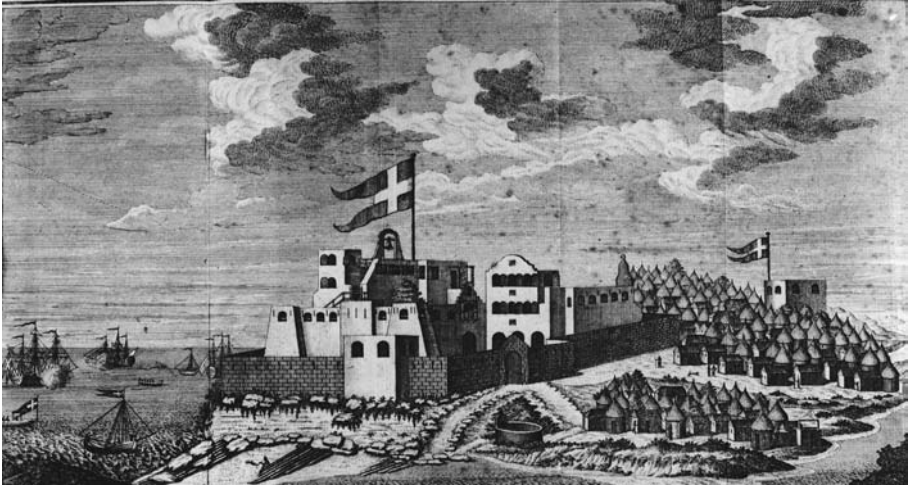


Figure 2: Christiansborg Castle c1740 (photo courtesy of the Danish Maritime Museum).

Between 1694 and 1803, Afro-Danish commercial activities at the castle included the exchange of gold, flintlock guns, liquor, cloth, iron knives and tools, brass bracelets and bowls, glass beads and captive Africans. Enslaved Africans were sent to the Danish Virgin Islands (St. Croix, St. Johns and St. Thomas). In fact, Christiansborg Castle was so vital to Denmark's economy that its coinage depicted an image of the castle with the word 'Christiansborg' between 1688 and 1747. After the abolition of the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade (the Danish edict of 16th March 1792 officially marked the end of the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade, though not enforced until 1803), Christiansborg Castle was sold to Britain for £10,000 in 1849, together with forts at Augustaborg, Fredensborg, Kongensten, Prinsensten and Prøvesten, and the plantations in the Akuapem Mountains (Lawrence 1963; Van Dantzig and Priddy 1971).

In 1873, Christiansborg Castle became the British seat of colonial government administration on the Gold Coast, following structural reconstructions due to damage caused by the 1862 earthquake. From 1876 onwards, British colonial governors resided in the castle, temporarily abandoning it between 1890 and 1901, during which time it functioned as a constabulary mess and, later, as a lunatic asylum. In 1902, it reverted to the British colonial seat of government.

With Ghana's 1957 independence, Christiansborg Castle was renamed Government House. From 1960 onwards, under President Kwame Nkrumah, the castle continued as seat of government and the president's official residence. President Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings continued this arrangement. In 2008, President John Agyekum Kufour moved the seat of government from the castle to Flagstaff House (today known as Jubilee House) but, in 2009, President John Atta Mills subsequently reversed this decision, moving back to the castle. In 2013, President John Dramani Mahama returned to Flagstaff House and, in 2017, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo announced plans to convert the castle into a Heads of State Museum.

Archaeological Survey, Excavations, Salvage and Materials

Christiansborg Castle is situated in Osu, Accra, the capital of Ghana. Hitherto, no archaeology had been conducted, owing to the site's continued occupation, and particularly given its significant role as seat of government for Denmark, Britain and Ghana. Prior to archaeological excavations, Osu traditional authorities performed the necessary customary rituals. Documentary filming, photographs, notes and illustrations recorded the archaeological fieldwork process.

Archaeological survey focused on the castle building itself (inside the castle walls) and on the exterior area below, comprising the bank down to the beach. An abundance of materials were retrieved. These largely include objects associated with the site's post-independence period, such as glassware and other small finds associated with the Ghana government's office administration. Site analysis detailed the main archaeological features, castle, official residence and gardens, including the car park area, bird sanctuary, public toilet facilities and shrines. Surface finds include faunal remains of large domestic animals, namely, goat and cow, alongside an abundance of high quality glazed European ceramics and glass.

Archaeological excavations in the castle garden unearthed what is tentatively identified as a pre-colonial settlement dating to the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade period. In terms of the archaeological record, beads and locally manufactured pottery, European smoking pipes, glassware and glazed ceramics and other small finds such as faunal remains, seeds, cowry and other shells, slate, stone, daub, charcoal, plastic, plaster and metal fragments were found. Interestingly, very few beads were retrieved. The large number of European clay smoking-pipes were primarily Dutch (Fig. 3) with smaller numbers of British, German and Danish finds. It is the Dutch material that will be



Figure 3: A selection of Dutch smoking pipe bowls from the excavations.

discussed in further detail below.

Inside the castle archaeological salvage work was conducted in the former dining hall, balcony, kitchen and pantry. A large collection of ‘Western style’ objects, namely, tea and coffee cups, saucers, plates, soup tureen and cake serving dish were salvaged from the kitchen, pantry and chef’s living areas dating back to the Nkrumah and Rawlings eras. British firms, namely, Wedgwood and Royal Doulton, manufactured many of these items. European ceramics dating to the post-independence period illustrate the Ghana Coat of Arms, depicting Christiansborg Castle (renamed ‘Osu Castle’), and the national emblem ‘freedom and justice’. Cutlery, mostly silver, reflect the same dates and designs. Objects associated with Ghana’s presidency in a room formerly used to receive official guests were left in situ.

European Clay Smoking Pipes

Archaeological fieldwork at Christiansborg Castle in 2014 and 2016 recovered 1,576 European clay smoking pipe fragments, comprising excavated and surface finds retrieved from the castle garden. It is important to note that, to date, no locally manufactured ceramic smoking pipes have been discovered. Most pieces derive from a single concentration, which marks the location of the pre-colonial settlement. Other fragments, in lesser quantities, come from two other units nearby. Of the pipes recovered, none remain intact; 31 are bowls and 1,545 are stems, which is an unusually high proportion of stems to bowls. Evidence of use is found on many pipe fragments. In particular, a black and/or brown residue within the bowl’s interior provides evidence of tobacco. In addition, some stems depict evidence of abrasion caused by teeth gripping the stem near the mouthpiece. Of all the pipe fragments recovered a large amount are reliably identified. Most of the clay pipe fragments

are Dutch, alongside British, German and Danish pipes in smaller quantities. A few fragments still require identification.

Most Dutch clay smoking pipes recovered from the castle date from between c1730 and c1840. Makers' marks vary in design; some are quite simple whilst others are more elaborate. Many, such as the Gouda makers' marks employed letters or numbers, often placed under a crown, or symbols on the bowl (Fig. 4) or heel (Fig. 5). These are similar in shape, size and design. Selected pipes are briefly described below.

Most of the smoking pipe bowls from Christiansborg Castle have a shield with the Gouda city arms topped with the letter "S" moulded in relief on both sides of the heel. In 1739 the Gouda pipe makers were granted a patent to use the Gouda city arms



Figure 4: Fluted Dutch pipe with the maker's mark 65 crowned on the bowl facing the smoker, from first half of the nineteenth century. Probably made by Maarten Heerkens from Gouda between 1805-1841 or Adrianus van Duijn 1841-1882.

Figure 5: Plain Dutch pipe with the maker's mark 24 crowned on the heel. Made in Gouda c1800-1830.



on the side of the heel for their best pipes, the so-called “*porceleijne*” quality. In 1740 they were also granted a patent to use the letter “S” above the Gouda city arms. The “S” stands for “*slegte*” meaning “ordinary”, indicating a lesser quality of pipe. Although they were of poorer quality than the “*porceleijne*” pipes they still belonged to a group of better quality products. All of the Dutch pipes discussed here either have a pipe maker’s mark on the heel, on the bowl facing the smoker or on the bottom of the pipe bowl.

Except for one bowl, all of them have the Gouda city arms with the letter “S” on both sides of the heel which indicates that they date from 1740 onwards. Two bowl fragments dating from c1740-1820 have the heel mark “crowned 55”. Other bowls with a flower stamp on the heel and the mark “crowned B” can also be dated from 1740 onwards. A bowl with the maker’s mark “HHH” in a triangular arrangement (Fig. 6) can be dated to 1740-1816 since this mark was not used in Gouda after 1816. A bowl with the heel mark “crowned hat” can be dated more accurately to c1750-1800.

A round bottomed or heelless pipe dating from c1740-1800 is stamped with a crowned 16, which was a well-known export mark made in both Gouda and Alphen. Another complete pipe bowl dating from after 1740 depicts an “S” above a shield on both sides of the heel with “D” stamped on the base. Another pipe bowl depicts the “Lion in the Dutch Garden”. This type of pipe was manufactured in Gouda by Frans Verzijl between 1724 and 1786, and by the firm of Frans Verzijl & Sons between 1786 and 1806. Another pipe dating to 1730-1798 depicts a man holding the Arms of Zeeland. This mark is the *Zeeuwse Rijksdaalder* or the Zeeland “*Rixdollar*”, which was made by several pipe makers in Gouda. One pipe illustrates the three diamonds known as “*drie ruiten*”. While this mark was in use between 1686 and 1839, the arms of Gouda on the side of the heel dates it to between 1739 and 1839 (Fig. 7). The crowned tap or “*kraan gekroond*”, in use between 1683 and 1827, does not portray the arms of Gouda on the side of the heel, and so probably dates to between c1730 and 1740. A pipe marked with a lamb under a tree, dates to 1739-1925. One of the owners of this mark was Jan Versluijs, who used this mark in the period 1744-1800. A stem fragment (possibly two) also have his name inscribed and are thought to be from a similar pipe or pipes. European clay pipe stems from the site are likely to possess similar dates to the more closely datable bowls. Whilst many stem fragments are undecorated, several contain quite elaborate designs, largely geometric, floral or circular, as well as written inscriptions (Fig. 8) including a few marked with “GOUDA”, “IVERSLU... GOUDA” (made by Jan Versluijs) and “IN GOUDA” (Atkinson 1972; Duco 1982; Higgins 2017; Oswald 1975; van der Lingén 2018).

Clearly, the presence of Dutch clay smoking pipes is in keeping with the site’s early beginnings. The Dutch gained occupation of the castle in 1660, which could explain the use of Dutch pipes. However, Dutch occupation was short-lived since Denmark gained control of the castle in 1661. Furthermore, no early Dutch pipes have been

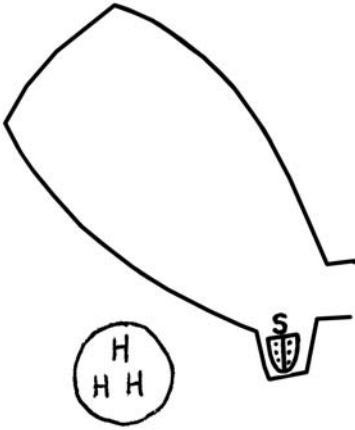


Figure 6: Dutch pipe bowl with the moulded Gouda shield, with the S above, on the sides of the heel and the base of the heel stamped with HHH. Made in Gouda, 1740-1816.

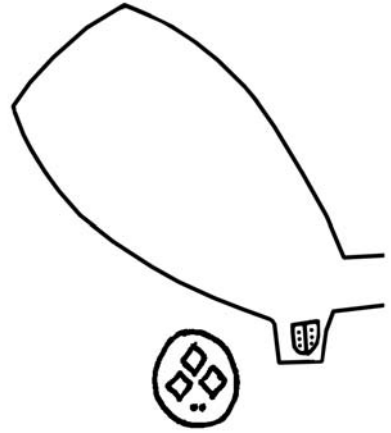


Figure 7: Dutch pipe bowl with the moulded Gouda shield on the sides of the heel and the base of the heel stamped with three diamonds. Made in Gouda, 1739-1839.

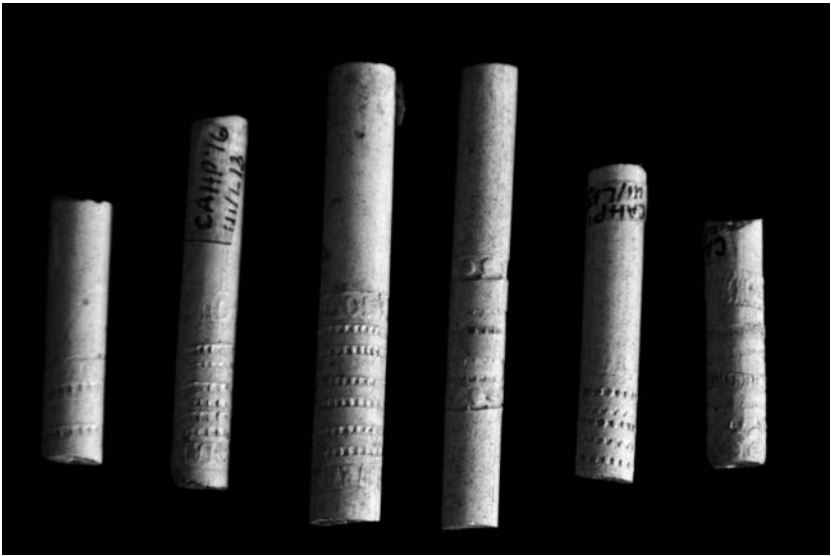


Figure 8: A selection of marked Dutch stems from the excavations.

found. The earliest Dutch pipes described here date from c1730 onwards, and most are likely to date between about 1790 and 1830. Accordingly, this fails to account for the preponderance of Dutch smoking pipes. It is also important to keep in mind that Denmark was not a significant producer of clay smoking pipes, whereas Dutch smoking pipes were highly popular. The Dutch clay pipe was seen to excel those of other nations due to their strength and elasticity; these two qualities permitted the production of stems sufficiently long and straight enough to permit the smoke to cool off before reaching the smoker's mouth without losing its narcotic quality (Papendrecht, 1892). In point of fact, from 1680 onwards, Gouda was the major global production centre for the highest quality (long) clay pipes, sometimes called "porcelain" pipes because of their shiny appearance.

Between 1730 and 1750, nearly five hundred and ten clay pipe manufacturing companies were listed in Gouda (Caselitz 1987). Yet, as Duco points out (1988, 24), it is important to consider a pipe's "relationship to the variety of pipes being produced (the production-assortment) and those in use during a certain period". Still, by the 1750s, Gouda's pipe-making industry was geared toward export. This export market extended to Denmark and West Africa, amongst several other regions. Yet, after the 1750s, Gouda's pipe-making industry began to decline due to trade restrictions, including attempts between 1749 and 1768 to prohibit or restrict importation by Denmark through duties and duty increases. Nevertheless, by 1760 the Dutch in Gouda alone were still exporting 20,000 gross pipes a year (Walker 1977).

Certainly, the presence of Dutch pipes at Christiansborg Castle can be seen as a result of Danish coastal trading activities. What is more, it is reasonable to suggest that as Danish involvement increased, and central to this, intensified participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, so would their need for a variety of trade commodities. Strikingly, Europeans employed European clay smoking pipes to purchase enslaved Africans. And, even though locally manufactured ceramic pipes were in use, there was a preference for English and, above all, Dutch pipes amongst coastal actors engaged in coastal commerce. Dutch pipes were favoured because they were cheaper than English pipes, making them a popular commodity (Courtney and McNiven 1998; Klooster 2010; Walker 1977). Whilst some European clay smoking pipes were destined for ships and their crews as trading commodities, others were assigned to sailors for personal use. Significant quantities of these pipes were also transported expressly for distribution to captive enslaved Africans transported on the Middle Passage as part of an attempt to placate them and avoid or minimize social unrest and revolts, whilst they waited on the coast and also during the Atlantic crossing (Handler 2009; Higgins 1995). In fact, the cargo of a Danish slaving vessel in the 1770s included thirty dozen "long tobacco pipes" and nineteen dozen "slave pipes" (Handler 2009, 8). The Danish ship, *Fredensborg* distributed one pipe per week to each enslaved African, and tobacco was distributed daily except on Saturdays. In some instances, there were more frequent allocations depending on the slave ship's

captain. Pipes associated with shipwrecks also contained these commodities, such as for instance, the 'Fredensborg' which held large amounts of clay smoking pipes (Higgins 1995; Webster 2008; Svalsen 2000).

Further Directions for Study

Christiansborg Castle archaeological survey and excavations have recovered a large amount of archaeological material dating to pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. Significant amounts of African and European material evidence have been excavated. The artefact collection illustrates a large degree of assemblage variability. In terms of European clay smoking pipes, initial preliminary observations conclude the majority of the European clay smoking pipe collection contains Dutch, predominantly Gouda, smoking pipes. Archaeological investigations will continue in the upcoming years, alongside the study of artefacts together with archival accounts of known pipe manufacturers. The Dutch pipe makers' guild exercised strict control over use of marks. However, caution must be taken attempting to date Dutch pipes by marks alone, since marks returned to the guild after a maker died (although a widow could continue). Thus marks were often used for lengthy periods (centuries) and on different types of pipes. Therefore it is most important to analyse the exact model of the pipe and the technical way it was produced. In this way the pipes can be dated more precisely.

It is vital to learn more concerning European smoking pipes in the region, in particular, more specific details on smoking pipe manufacturers; trade, exchange, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial markets; European, African and Afro-European consumption patterns; as well as the social and economic role of European clay pipe use. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the enslaved on plantations in Surinam did not smoke the cheapest available pipes, but were given better quality short Dutch pipes. This is contrary to the generally perceived ideas as to the type of pipes that were provided for the enslaved. At least one pipe factory (in Kampen, Netherlands) is known to have made these pipes especially for an Amsterdam based trading company who exported the pipes to plantation owners in Surinam (Lingen 2015).

In future, inter-site archaeological data comparisons exploring the affinities between European smoking pipes from nearby Fort Crevecoeur (Dutch) and Fort Jamestown (British), in addition to the Danish plantations in the Akwapim Mountains, will be critical for analysing the Christiansborg Castle finds. To be sure, Danish ship log books need to be closely examined and the extent to which these pipes were used by captives remains to be explored, but their significance is undoubted. Free African and Afro-European use of European smoking pipes must be studied. What is more, it will be necessary to further explore the relationship between European smoking pipes and locally manufactured smoking pipes, should the latter be retrieved. Analysis of the physical properties of residue will be important for divulging information regarding

the substances smoked, in other words, nicotine or other substances possessing medicinal, narcotic and/or hallucinogenic properties (such analysis will be conducted outside Ghana due to local resource constraints). It is the intention that future work will further analyse the Dutch smoking pipes presented here. Clearly, such analyses do not apply to Dutch clay smoking pipes alone. In summary, the archaeological findings described reveal Christiansborg Castle is an ideal site for further analysis into European clay smoking pipes. All excavated archaeological materials and knowledge acquired will contribute to the plans to convert Christiansborg Castle into a museum.

Acknowledgements

Grateful acknowledgement is necessary to the many people without whom this project would not have been possible. A special thanks to Their Excellencies the Presidents of the Republic of Ghana: President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President John Dramani Mahama, President John Atta Mills, President John Agyekum Kufour and President Ft. Lt. John Jerry Rawlings. I also thank Dr. Raymond Atuguba, Dr. Hon. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings, Hon. Min. Catherine Abelema Afeku, Dr. Joel Sonne, Dr. Donald Agmenu, Col. Mark Alo, Julius Debrah, Yaw Donkor, Prosper Dzakobo, Gen Larry Gbevlo-Lartey, Seth Klaye, Col. Mantey and Ayiku Wilson. A special thanks to the Osu Traditional Council including Nii Okwei Kinka Dowuona VI, Nii Bonne V, Nii Dzamlodza VI, Nii Kwashie Aniefi V, Nii Ako Nortei IV, Aawon Klotey, Aawon Opobi, Naa Ashorkor Obaniehi I, Theophilus Ollennu Chuasam, Nii Ako Nortei V, Nii Kwabena Bonnie IV, Saban Atsen, Nii Sorgla and Earl Teddy Nartey. Thanks are also due to Kofi Amekudi, William Barnor, Edward Nyarko, Daniel Kumah, Ernest Fiador, Raymond Agbo, Seth Thompson and all the team members. As always, I extend my deepest appreciation to the Osu people.

Fieldwork was supported by research grants from the Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation, Rappaport Foundation, Martha Joukowsky Foundation and Wenner-Gren Foundation. Thanks are also due to the Danish Maritime Museum, Danish National Archives and British National Archives for their support. My sincere thanks to David Higgins and Bert van der Lingen for their expertise, feedback and comments on this paper and to Susie White for her help with the illustrations. My thanks also to Lynn Meskell, Ian Hodder, Barbaro Martínéz-Ruiz, Martin Hall, Paulla Ebron, Beverly Stoeltjje and Akinwumi Ogundiran for their continuous encouragement.

Further information on the Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project is available (English, Ga and Twi) at: <http://christiansborgarchaeologicalheritageproject.org>.

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A Group of Pipes from Carhampton, Somerset

by David Higgins

A group of eight bowls belonging to Chris Lovell from Taunton have kindly been loaned for recording in the National Clay Tobacco Pipe Stamp Catalogue, which is being compiled by the author. The unique cast references for each of these pieces is given in the following text and a copy of the stamp catalogue is available in the National Pipe Archive (<http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/>).

The eight bowls were all been found during metal detecting in fields around Carhampton in Somerset, which is located on the Bristol Channel coast near the NE corner of Exmoor and about 20 miles NW of Taunton. Six of these pieces have previously been recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS; <https://finds.org.uk/>), the additional pieces being a heel bowl of c1640-60, which it is too battered and abraded to tell if it was marked originally, and a heel fragment that probably dates from around 1650-90 with an incuse stamp reading IOHN/POVND on it (Cast 740.16). The John Pound heel is quite large and slightly flared and there is a small decorative motif below the lettering that is very faintly impressed, but perhaps intended to represent a fleur-de-lys (Fig. 1). This piece has a stem bore of just over 8/64" and is particularly significant since the maker appears to be previously unrecorded.

Lewcun (1988) records a pipemaker called Roger Pound working in Taunton from 1685-94; possibly the same individual that was buried at Taunton St James on 2 March 1731/2. The Carhampton mark appears to be a little earlier in date and so it is possible that John was the father of Roger and that he also worked in Taunton. At least one John Pound certainly lived in the town at the right period, since individuals of that name (no occupation given) married at Taunton St James on 17 December 1671 (John Pound to Mary Walrige); buried a son called John at Taunton St James on 28 November 1672; baptised a daughter Mary at the same place on the 6 April 1675 and a John Pound (no occupation given) was buried at Taunton St James on 14 March 1688/9. While this identification remains somewhat speculative, a John Pound working in Taunton c1670-90 would certainly fit with this previously unrecorded Somerset mark.

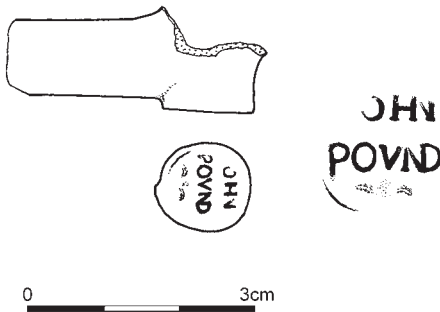


Figure 1: Heel fragment with an incuse mark on the heel reading IOHN POVND (stamp detail at twice life size). Drawing by the author.

The other six stamped pipes recorded for the catalogue are all illustrated on the PAS website and are as follows (with the cast number, Higgins die number and PAS reference number given in brackets at the end of each entry):

WE/IV – The lower half of a bowl dating from c1660-90 with an unusual incuse four letter mark within a dotted border (Fig. 2). Stem bore 8/64”. Another example of this mark on a bowl of c1680-1710 was recorded by Oswald (1991) in the Le Cheminant (Ex Gant) Collection. Probably a Bristol product. (Cast 740.15; SOM-17B4FA).

IEF/FRY.H/VNT – An abraded heel fragment of c1650-80 with a stem bore of 8/64” and an incuse Jeffry Hunt stamp on it. This was made by the Norton St Philip (Somerset) maker of this name, who died in 1690 (Lewcun 1988: Cast 742.12; Die 1016; SOM-E93F47).

RH – A largely complete heel bowl of c1650-80 with an incuse RH mark surrounded by a dotted border and traces of rim milling; stem bore 8/64”. The bowl form is typical of Bristol products and this piece was probably made there (Cast 740.14; SOM-37C6C6).

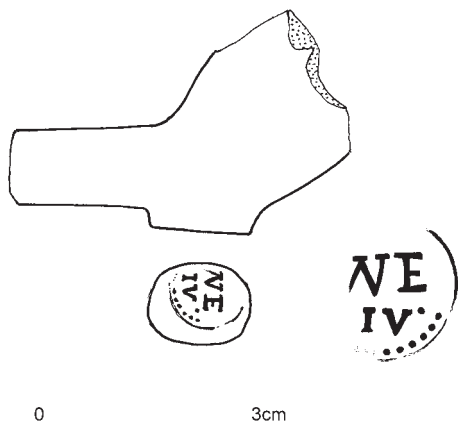


Figure 2: Heel bowl with an incuse mark on the heel reading WE / IV (stamp detail at twice life size). Drawing by the author.

I – A single incuse letter I on a fully milled bowl of c1620-50 with a stem bore of 8/64". This mark was almost certainly produced in the Barnstaple/Bideford area of Devon, where the author has recorded a number of examples in local collections (Cast 740.11; Die 1178; SOM-1721B1).

RW/TAVN/TON – The front half of a typical Taunton style bowl of c1690-1730 with an incuse RW/TAVN/TON mark within a dotted border. This mark occurs commonly in Taunton but the maker has not yet been identified (Cast 740.16; SOM-EA8BA7).

Lozenge – A heel fragment with a lozenge shaped mark containing a relief star with ‘spikes’ between the eight arms (one segment appears not to have a spike). The heel has been trimmed flush with the seam and the mark is of the same form as several examples of c1625-50 recorded by the author from Barnstaple, although the actual stamp used is different (Cast 740.13; Die 1490; SOM-8BA2D1).

The PAS database also includes another bowl from Carhampton (SOM-0E7F83) that has not been seen by the author. This is an early seventeenth century form with an incuse, unbordered WL stamp on the heel. Numerous examples of this mark dating from around 1610-40 have been found in both north and south Devon, but with the Barnstaple/Bideford area being the most likely source.

Taken together, the pipes collected from Carhampton show that the area was well connected to south-west trading networks during the seventeenth century, with coastal shipping bringing goods from Barnstaple/Bideford and Bristol. There were also overland connections to the country town of Taunton as well as to markets much further afield, such as Norton St Philip, some 60 miles to the east.

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Two Stamped Pipes from Sherborne, Dorset

by David Higgins

On 5 June 2016 Chris Lovell from Taunton found two stamped pipe bowls while he was metal detecting in fields near Sherborne. One is a very abraded round heel fragment of c1620-50 with a circular stamp containing the relief initials HC with a small device above. The lower part of the mark chipped away but would have had a similar device, which comprises a series of small marks, perhaps intended to represent foliage. The Sherborne example has been impressed for the National Clay Tobacco Pipe Stamp Catalogue that is being compiled by the author (Cast 740.9) and is identical to a stamp type that has been previously recorded (Die 2195; Fig. 1).



Figure 1: Higgins Die 2195 at 2:1. Drawn by the author

HC marks have been recorded as single examples from Bampton in Devon (McManamon Coll), Cerne Abbas in Dorset (Lancaster 2014, 6) and at Donyatt (Atkinson 1988, Fig. 43/4) and Glastonbury Abbey in Somerset (Higgins 2015), but it is only at Sherborne that they occur in any number and with various die types represented (Lancaster 2014, 5-6). The HC maker almost certainly worked in that town c1620-50, but has not yet been identified from documentary sources, even though he was clearly a prolific manufacturer with a considerable market area (Bampton is 50 miles west of Sherborne).

The other piece is from what looks to have been rather a crudely formed pipe with a small tailed heel trimmed flush with the stem. Only the lower part of the bowl and heel survives making dating difficult, but it probably belongs to the period c1660-

1700. The lozenge-shaped mark is unevenly struck and abraded so that only the relief Christian name initial ‘T’ is legible, with a small relief fleur-de-lys motif above the lettering. Robert Lancaster has kindly provided a parallel for this mark on a bowl of c1670-90, which shows that the initials would have been TM with another fleur-de-lys below and he has suggested that this was made by a member of the Mandifield family, since a John Mandifield took apprentices in Sherborne in 1737 and 1747. A quick search of the Sherborne parish registers available on the Ancestry site (accessed 9.9.16) only found one individual with this surname and the Christian name initial T at the right period, the details of whom are as follows: -

21 September 1679	Martha, daughter of Thomas and Jane Mandefield, baptised.
23 March 1682/3	Martha, daughter of Thomas and Jane Mandefield, baptised.
27 March 1683	Jane, wife of Thomas Mandefield, buried.
4 April 1683	Martha, daughter of Thomas and Jane Mandefield, buried.
2 February 1703/4	Thomas Manndefield (<i>sic</i>), widower, buried.

From these references it seems that Thomas and Jane’s first daughter Martha (born 1679) must have died as an infant and then both the second daughter of the same name and her mother died within a few days of each other in March/April 1683. Unfortunately, none of these references list occupation but, as pipemaking often ran in families, it is quite possible that Thomas was related to John and the individual responsible for the lozenge shaped TM marks. The parish register entries suggest that that he would have been active from around 1670-1700, which fits the date of the marked pipes perfectly.

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Articles and other items for inclusion can be accepted either

- on an IBM compatible floppy disk or CD - preferably in Word.
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- articles of up to 3000 words will be considered for the newsletter; longer papers can be considered for the occasional monograph.

Illustrations and tables

- illustrations must be in ink, not pencil, or provided as digital scans of at least 600dpi.
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Enquiries

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

Peter Hammond, 17 Lady Bay Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 5BJ.

Email: claypipepeter@aol.com (nineteenth-century pipes and pipemakers).

David Higgins, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH.

Email: david_higgins@talktalk.net (general clay pipe enquiries from Britain and beyond).

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/>

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Edited by S. D. White and D. A. Higgins.

ISSN: 1359-7116

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