



NEWSLETTER

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Autumn/Winter 2013

SOCIETY FOR CLAY PIPE RESEARCH

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Front cover: President Obama pipe by Dawnmist (see page 25).

Editorial

by Susie White

Since our last newsletter we have sadly lost two more of the long standing members of the Society. On July 14 Philip Brown, passed away, aged 89. There are tributes on the following pages to Philip. On 20 September, Richard Le Cheminant also passed away. Our condolences go to the families of both members at this sad time.

It is always hard to move on after such sad news, but move on we must. There are lots of great papers for this final newsletter for 2013, in fact so much material has been flooding in that I've not been able to get it all into this one edition! So, many thanks to all our contributors and, if your note has not made it into this issue, don't worry, it should be in the next one.

In this issue we have a summary of our very successful conference in Dorchester back in September - a big thank you to conference organisers Robert Lancaster and Heather Scharnhorst - as well as some of papers from that conference. As if that is not enough we also have contributions that give this issue a distinctly international flavour.

Following on from the success of Dorchester we have a SCPR first in that we have already managed to fix a date and a place for our next conference! We will be going to Warwick on the weekend of Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st September 2014. More details will be posted on the Society's website shortly and a booking form will be sent out with the next issue of the newsletter in the Spring.

Thank you for your bibliographic information. You've sent in so many details that we cannot include it all in this issue. We've therefore decide to upload the information on to the website where it can be kept updated and provide a handy reference source.

Finally, after many MANY years, the next issue of our occasional monograph series is very nearly ready to go to press. This volume will mark the Society's 30th year and will be an A4 publication of approximately 150 pages. It will contain at least five longer papers including;

- *The Clay Tobacco Pipe Industry in the Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster* by Kieron Heard
- *The Armstrong Family of Clay Tobacco Pipemakers: A Short Illustrated History* by Phil Armstrong

So there is a lot happening at the moment and we hope that you will continue to support us by keeping your notes and news coming in. We hope you enjoy this latest issue of the Newsletter and look forward to hearing from you in 2014.

Philip Brown, 1923-2013

by Marek Lewcun

When they dredged the River Avon in Bath as part of a flood prevention scheme in 1970, I became a regular evening and weekend visitor to the immense spread of muddy spoil heaps which were dumped on land near my childhood home. Amongst the many items both ancient and modern, it was clay pipes which took my interest, and as the years rolled by I found new sites to search. Completely unaware of each other's existence, Philip and I had both been searching the same sites for many years. Philip and fellow pipe collector John Sneddon published their findings of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Bath pipes in 1973, followed in 1974 by those of the nineteenth century with references to the local directories and census returns, and in 1976 by a report on pipes by other makers which had found their way to the city with the many visitors that it attracted. It was when I began researching the Bath and Somerset pipemakers in more detail in 1982 that I became aware of Philip's works and not until just after the formation of the SCPR in 1984 that we first met. Philip was always a pleasure to talk to, when we would discuss not just pipes but some of the many other aspects of history, both regional and national, which he would be working on tirelessly at any one time. Christmas cards were always exchanged, a time when I would update him on my latest documentary findings, work which he always encouraged and inspired me to continue. Philip was a dear friend, an avuncular figure to whom I looked up with the greatest of respect, and he will be greatly missed.

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Articles written by Philip and his wife Dorothy

1985 'Broseley – 1851 and After', *Society for Clay pipe Research Newsletter*, **8**, 29-33.

1988 'Pipemakers and Bristol-Glazed Stoneware: George Priest of Cardiff' *Society for Clay pipe Research Newsletter*, **17**, 6-8.

Philip Brown

by Roger Price

I first met Philip in the late 1960s, when he was senior lecturer of pharmacology at the University of Bristol Medical School, and we often travelled into Bristol on the same bus. When I found my first pipes, it was Philip who kindly identified them for me. He was always very kind, egalitarian and cheerful. In 1969 I rejoined the department of pharmacology as a post graduate student, and got to know Philip very well, and we often talked about pipes. He was always very helpful with the research that Reg Jackson and I were doing and became most interested. It was because of our research in Bristol that Philip opted to take up collecting and research in Bath, and was joined in that venture by another lecturer in the pharmacology department, John Sneddon. Philip was very kind to me in providing a reference for my job application for the post of assistant keeper of collections at the Wellcome Museum in London. I last saw him at the SCPR conference at Norton St Philip in 2005, and I was very saddened at his death; he will be much missed.



Keep A Lid On It

by Victor M. Buckley

Having been a pipe smoker all my adult life, I know from experience that the wind is our enemy. Outdoor smoking or even a draft in a relatively sheltered spot can cause the tobacco to burn quickly and reduce the pleasure of a smoke.

Lids to cover the bowls, often very ornate, are a well known accessory, if not a necessity. Whilst on a trip to my native Fife in Scotland in the 1980s I acquired a ‘cuttie’ or foreshortened clay pipe. This had a tin lid which was quite ornately engraved. The pipe, though interesting, was put aside by me as a curiosity until this year.

The Pipe

The bowl and stem of this pipe are typical of the late nineteenth-century “penny pipes”. The stem is deliberately foreshortened to allow the pipe-smokers’ clench whilst work could be carried out with both hands. The bowl is plain except for acanthus leaf decoration at front and rear. The stem bears the maker’s name I & C BURTON stamped in a cartouche on one side and CUPAR FIFE on the other (Fig. 1). Cupar was the genteel county town of Edwardian Fife and is roughly fifteen miles from the pits, mines and docks of the coastal town of Methil.

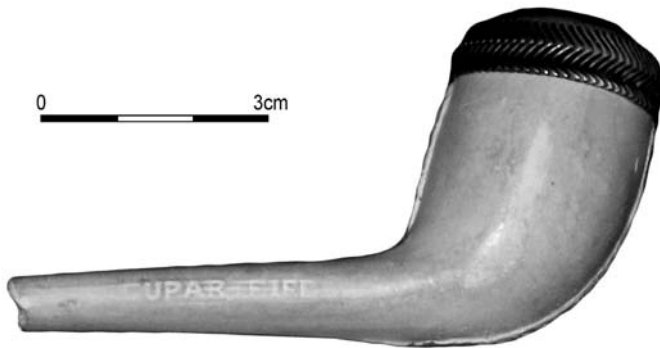


Figure 1: The Fife pipe (photograph by the author).

Information on the Burtons' is scarce, although Martin (1987, 174) states that James Burton established the family business in about 1835 and was listed in the trade directories at Back Lebanon, Cupar, Fife until 1878. Martin (1987, 175) also lists Mrs Janet Burton (1882-1907), J & C Burton (1893) and John Burton (1906-c1945), all at Back Lebanon. Given the date on the lid, it seems most likely that this particular pipe was produced by John Burton but possibly using an older mould that still had the mark I & C BURTON on the stem.

The Lid (Fig. 2)

The lid consists of a simple tin cap with a milled edge, which fits snugly over the top of the bowl. Stamped into the metal in a simple rustic style are the words Wm DUTHIE and MINER METHIL 1913 as well as depictions of a miner's pick and lamp.

Contents of the Bowl

Here's the rub, inside the lid, the pipe still contained an untouched fill of 'baccy'. As an archaeologist and pipe smoker I've thought of many scenarios here - loss, cold turkey, death of owner, theft or even, 'ritual deposition'- all alternative theories will be welcomed.



The Owner

Subsequent research has shown that William Duthie, who worked for the Wemyss Private Coal

Figure 2: Lid detail (photograph by the author).

Company, died at the age of 67 on 28 June 1944. He and his wife Isabella (died 1946 aged 68) had four sons all born in the first few years of the twentieth century, though only two survived to adult life. One of these, another William, was a fireman on the SS Orsa when it hit a mine off Scarborough in 1939 and the other son John died aged 59 in 1961.

Pipe Dreams

Dating to the eve of the Great War and at a critical time in the uneasy birth of unionisation this little artefact is more than the sum of its physical evidence. However as to the story behind its survival in this form – perhaps we shall never know.

Reference

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SCPR Conference 2014 - Warwick

Following a very successful conference in Dorchester this September, we are pleased to be able to inform you that the conference for 2014 will be held in Warwick. The date you all need for your diary is Saturday 20th September 2014.

There will be papers and notes presented on the Saturday, and hopefully some displays, followed by the conference meal in the evening. On Sunday morning we have arranged a walking tour with a local guide.

If you would like to give a paper, or say a few words about a pipe related subject then please contact the conference organiser, Susie White, on SCPR@talktalk.net.

More details to follow in the next newsletter and on our website - so watch this space.

Did you know you can now also follow what we are up to on Facebook too, by clicking on the following link: -

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/Claypipes/>

Report on the 2013 Conference - Dorchester, Dorset

by Susie White

The morning of Saturday 21st September dawned a beautiful sunny day and a great way to start our conference weekend. The conference, which had been organised by Robert Lancaster and Heather Scharnhorst, was held at the United Church in Dorchester. Everyone arrived bright and early to lend a hand setting up display tables and chairs. We had a good turn out with 33 delegates made up of members of SCPR and also people from the local history and archaeology community.

The programme started with tea and coffee at 09:30. An SCPR conference would not be an SCPR conference without a bit of a hiccup with technology and true to form it took a few minutes to get the laptop talking to the powerpoint projector (Fig. 1) - but we got there! The first paper of the day given by **Robert Lancaster** on recent research into Dorset clay tobacco pipes which really set the scene by introducing everyone to the pipes and makers from various centres in the county. This was followed by a fascinating paper from **Clare Randall**, the curator of Purbeck Mineral and Mining museum on the Purbeck ball clay industry. We are hoping to persuade Clare to write up a summary of her fascinating paper for a future issue of the newsletter.



Figure 1: Conference organiser Robert Lancaster and Chris Jarrett, doing battle with modern technology!

Next to speak was **Heather Scharnhorst** who bought us up to date on the Wareham pipemaker Augustus Moore who she first introduced to us at the York conference in 2011. Heather's fascinating paper took us through to coffee break and a short Annual General Meeting. We are hoping to publish Heather's paper next time too!

There was then a brief pause whilst we had the AGM. The Society's committee had met the evening before and was able to report that the Society continues to be in very good shape with the membership currently standing at 136. The committee was also

able to report that it was still their intention to try and pull together another of the Society's occasional monographs. This monograph will be the third to have been produced by the Society and is very near completion, so watch this space!

The indexing project which the author was pulling together on behalf of the Society, with the help of Paul Jung and Thelma Potts, is very near to being completed. A partial index has already been uploaded on to the website but it is hoped that with one last push, the index can be completed very soon. So something else to look out for!

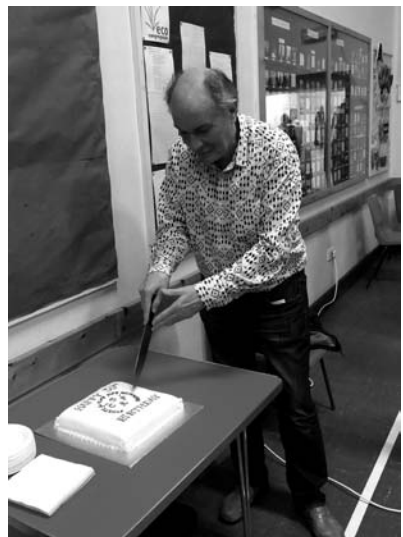
With the business part of the day completed we moved on to the final paper of the morning session. This was a second paper from **Robert Lancaster** on the clay pipes recovered from the excavations at the Priests' House Museum in Wimborne Minster.

After lunch, which was a superb buffet, we moved on to hear papers on pipes from outside of the county. The first paper of the afternoon was given by **Roger Price**, one of the founding members of the Society. Roger spoke about the Ring's, a Dorset family who moved to Bristol and became pipemakers. This was followed by a paper from **Chris Jarrett** on two pipe kilns that have been discovered during work on the Thameslink viaduct project and included a short note from **Peter Hammond** with information about one of the pipe maker's who's products had been found there.

Afternoon tea break at this particular conference was a bit different to previous conferences in that it included a birthday cake (Figs 2 & 3), since 2013 marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Society. Although the first meeting and the first newsletter didn't happen until 1984, SCPR was actually 'born' in 1983 in Roger



*Figure 2: (above)
Birthday cake made by the author.*



*Figure 3: (opposite)
Cake being cut by Roger Price.*

Price's kitchen! It therefore seemed appropriate for Roger to not only say a few words about the founding but also that he should be the one to cut the birthday cake, which was made by the author!

With everyone fully topped up with tea and cake we all settled down to the final session of the day. **Peter Taylor** presented two papers, the first of which was on Broseley exports before 1760. His second paper was a short presentation relating to duty on tobacco pipes at the very end of the seventeenth century.

The final paper of the day was from **Heather Coleman** who gave a fascinating account of the processes involved in the production of some of her incredible pipes - from the making of the mould right through to the finished pipe.

Everyone then lent a hand to help tidy away the chairs and tables so we could all reconvene in the Kings Arms Hotel for our conference dinner and a chance to talk about pipes a bit more!

The following day, we had a very interesting walking tour of Dorchester (Fig. 4) led by Robert which wound up in a very nice coffee shop with even more cake. The perfect way to finish off a very successful conference weekend! Many of the papers that were presented at the conference are going to be published in the newsletter for the benefit of those of you who were unable to join us in Dorchester. This issue includes the first 'batch'. On behalf of SCPR I'd like to say a big thank you to Robert and Heather for



Figure 4: Delegates visiting the Roman Villa in Dorchester - that is BC (Before Clay-pipes!)

organising such a brilliant conference with a great mix of papers – something to suit everyone. I'd also like to say thank you to Heather's husband, William, and Thelma Potts who did more than their fair share of washing up and making sure that all the delegates were supplied with tea and coffee throughout the day.

So, where are we meeting next year? The answer is Warwick on Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st September 2014. More details will be posted on the website (<http://scpr.co/Conferences.html>) in the new year. If you'd like to present a paper or talk about a pipe you have in your collection then please get in touch on SCPR@talktalk.co.uk.



A Sort of Farewell!

from John and Sonja Rogers

Sadly, the conference at Dorchester this year, marking the Society's 30th anniversary, will be the last that Sonja and I will attend. Age and health concerns have caught up with us.

The first conference I attended was in Bristol in 1986, not quite at the Society's birth, but soon after. By coincidence, I was then returning home from an archaeological dig at Maiden Castle on the outskirts of Dorchester, so the wheel had turned full circle! Since then, often with Sonja, I must have been to at least twenty conferences, met many interesting people from several nationalities, and made some very good friends, not to mention visiting many locations, some of which we would otherwise never have seen, while those familiar to us revealed hidden secrets on our Sunday morning walkabouts.

The Society has grown in confidence and scope from a few enthusiast to national and even international importance in its field, and continues to provide a valuable forum for all matters relating to clay pipes (and beyond), through the annual conference and the excellent newsletter. Apart from the latter, the Society has published weightier volumes treating subjects in greater depth, and more are promised.

I have happy memories of field walking in Rainford, sieving soil in Pipe Aston, visiting Eric Ayto at home, the splendour of Stirling Castle and many other localities from Norwich to Bath, from Southampton to Edinburgh, not to mention some excellent Saturday evening dinners. But it is the people who have 'made' the Society, and who we will miss most.

Over the years, I have acquired a large number of pipes, tobacco jars, pipe tampers, engravings and postcards relating to smoking, and have given numerous talks to audiences who are invariably astounded at the variety of pipes that exist. It is the 'romance' of clay pipes and their history that has drawn me to the subject.

SCPR provided us with a link to the Germany pipe society, *Knasterkopf*, which sadly folded earlier this year. Our first visit to one of their conferences was by car to Schwedt on the Oder (on the Polish border) in 1992, not long after the reunification, which was quite an adventure. I still recollect the state of the roads in the DDR at that time. On several visits we were able to see tobacco being grown and processed – a quite substantial crop and industry in parts of Germany. Apart from this, we saw many fascinating towns and cities, as Sonja says, far more of the country than she ever saw when living there. Here too, we made lasting friendships and my German improved!

So, our personal involvement with SCPR comes to an end, though we will still maintain our keen interest in its activities. I shall miss the tenacious research and erudition of contributors to the conferences; Sonja will miss retail therapy with Janet and Joan. But the memories and friendships remain.

The Society is in good shape, good hands and good heart, and we wish you all well. Thank you SCPR.



2013 Conference Paper - The Rings: A Successful Dorset Family In Bristol

by Roger Price

The following is an outline summary of more than 100 members of the Ring Family that are to be found in my study: *Bristol pipemakers, and their families, of the 16th to 20th centuries*, a copy of which is held at the National Pipe Archive in Liverpool.

The Rings have been traced back to the late seventeenth century, when they lived in Bradford Abbas – a small village in north Dorset, near the Somerset border between Yeovil and Sherborne. There, Robert Ring worked as a clothier: he was also a member of the local Quaker community. He and his wife Mary had at least six children, of whom the youngest (Joseph) was born in May 1712. In October 1728, when he was 16, Joseph was sent to Bristol to be apprenticed for seven years as a cooper, and he became a burghess in that trade in October 1735. In Bristol, Joseph Ring would have mixed with his fellow members of the close-knit Quaker community and it was probably at one of their meetings that he met Sarah Kingsbury – a daughter of a tailor

named Dennis Kingsbury. The two young people announced their intention to marry, which was approved by the Society of Friends and took place in the local Meeting House in June 1737.

Not long after their marriage Joseph Ring established his own barrel-making business in St. Thomas Street, a short distance south of Bristol Bridge. It was to turn out that nearly all of the Ring family's subsequent business activities took place in or around that southern part of the city. The business seems to have been a success and ran for a number of years until Joseph died early (of unknown causes) in June 1747. He was only 35 years old. His widow Sarah continued to carry on with the assistance of her son Robert – who was the second of the six children that she had borne to Joseph. She had gone to the trouble of taking on Robert formally as her apprentice in May 1753. Sarah Ring lived for nearly 30 years after her husband's death and died in June 1776.

For some reason, Joseph and Sarah's son Joseph Ring jr (born March 1741) did not go into the family business (although he had probably helped out as a child) and instead took up an apprenticeship as a joiner. Despite not being made free for another year, Joseph Ring jr established his own cabinet-making business in January 1765. That workshop was also in St. Thomas Street; a few doors along from his mother's cooperage. A couple of months later he married Elizabeth Frank, who was the daughter of another of the Bristol Quakers. That marriage was to prove central to the Rings' later involvement in pipemaking: Elizabeth's father Richard Frank ran a pottery not far away from St. Thomas Street in Redcliffe and it was almost certainly through that introduction to pot-making that led some of the family to take up the more specialized manufacturing of pipes. Several years later, in August 1771, Joseph jr's elder brother Robert married Elizabeth's sister Polly, thus strengthening even further the family ties. Joseph and Elizabeth had ten children but, as was usual at that time, a number of them died in infancy.

There is no reason to suppose that Joseph Ring's cabinet-making business was not doing well but after only a couple of years he sold up and took up manufacturing raisin wine and vinegar. His new premises were over the road, yet again in St. Thomas Street. The circumstances for the change remain unknown, but it may be that it was something to do with Joseph's business temperament, because in 1784-5 he purchased, from his father-in-law Richard Frank, the Bristol Pottery near Temple Church that Frank had acquired after he sold his former pottery in Redcliffe. Joseph Ring then went wholly into the pottery industry (presumably relying on the expertise of his employees in managing the technical aspects) and turned out Queen's Ware and utilitarian stonewares. Ring also opened a shop in nearby Bath Street, where he sold a variety of pottery and glassware. Unfortunately, he was killed in an accident at the pottery in April 1788, when a beam carrying a heavy load collapsed on top of him and crushed him to death. His widow Elizabeth took on some experienced partners

and continued to run the business for several more years but that arrangement was wound up in 1792, after which her brother-in-law Robert Ring assumed control of the partnership until 1797.

Meanwhile, in August 1789 Joseph and Elizabeth's eldest daughter Sarah Ring had married Frederick Cookworthy. Cookworthy was the nephew of the famous William Cookworthy of Plymouth – a Quaker who had devised and developed English porcelain and set up a partnership in Bristol for its manufacture. Frederick Cookworthy was a haberdasher by trade, running his shop in Union Street (just over the Bridge from St. Thomas Street). In 1802 Cookworthy provided financial backing for Sarah's younger brother John Ring (born September 1776) to establish a pipemaking business not far from the Bristol Pottery - on a street named Temple Back, adjacent to the River Avon. This was the first occasion on which any member of the family is known to have been engaged in making pipes. It is supposed that John Ring had been influenced in this by his family's involvement in pot-making, which he would have witnessed from childhood. The new factory seems to have done well, and there are records of a number of exports across the Atlantic – especially to Jamaica.

In January 1806 John Ring married Ann Morley Provis at Temple Church. This was to cause him a potential problem, because marriage by a priest in a church was forbidden by the Quakers, and they eventually disowned him. He was 'disunited', i.e. expelled, from the Society of Friends. He does not seem to have been unduly worried by this indeed, he had been threatened with expulsion some five years previously because he had joined the local militia, but on that occasion he had backed off. John was one of several members of the Ring family who chose to follow their own inclinations in marriage and accept expulsion from Quaker society.

Unfortunately, Ring's choice of a site for his pipe kiln on Temple Backs was not a particularly wise one, because it was only yards away from the Magazine where the city stored its huge supplies of gunpowder. Almost inevitably, a fire broke out at the kiln, which terrorized the local inhabitants but by the efforts of a number of citizens it was prevented from spreading to the powder kegs. Ring and Cookworthy expressed their gratitude in the press and stated that they would carry on (perhaps using facilities in the family's Bristol Pottery) but in 1815 they announced that they had opened new premises on Redcliffe Back. There the pipemaking business carried on for several years but in May 1817 Cookworthy decided to pull out of the partnership and devoted his efforts to his haberdashery shop. John Ring carried on by himself, but he died the following year, in August 1818. His widow Ann sold the pipe factory and concentrated on her shop in Bath Street, where she sold china and glass and later tea and similar provisions. She died in March 1840.

Richard Frank Ring (born July 1774) was John Ring's elder brother. In June 1802

he was made free as a potter, but chose to go into pipemaking and established his own business in Avon Street (again, quite close to Temple Church and his brother John's former pipe factory). At some time he had also gone into partnership with his sister-in-law Sarah Ring (the widow of his brother Joseph, who had died in 1813) in a firm making laths, presumably for plaster ceilings, and special boxes for transporting pipes, but that concern was wound up in 1814.

In October 1816 Richard Frank Ring married Ann Hulbert at Temple Church and for this, he too was disunited by the Quakers. From there on, none of the Rings is known to have had any association with the Society of Friends.

Richard obtained financial backing from other partners, but all those arrangements were eventually wound up. For all that, his pipemaking business did very well, and there are many notices of his pipes being exported especially to New York and Quebec. Entries in the trades' directories and a newspaper advert placed in 1821 name his business as the 'Ohio Tobacco Pipe Manufactory'. A number of pipes bearing variations on the mark 'RING BRISTOL OHIO' have been found on excavations. The significance of Ohio in this context has not been satisfactorily explained. In addition, many waster pipes bearing marks such as 'RING & Co BRISTOL', 'Ring Bristol', 'RR', or 'FR' have been found by Ian Beckey and others on various sites in Bristol.

Yet Richard must have realized that he could not rely on pipemaking alone to make a decent living, and he elected to diversify into the coal trade importing coal from South Wales and selling it on from his Coal Wharf on Temple Backs. This part of his business assumed more and more importance and may even have eclipsed pipemaking as his main source of income. Some time around the late 1830s he took his family to live out of town in the village of Brislington, a couple of miles east of the Temple district. There he occupied a fine house which still survives. He even went into life as a farmer of sorts, and employed several men to work his land. Richard Frank Ring probably saw himself as a country gentleman with some of the usual pretensions. When his daughter Elizabeth wanted to marry, he refused permission because he did not think the young man good enough for her. The couple eloped to Cornwall, where they were wed in August 1845. Elizabeth's husband was a paper manufacturer named Elisha Smith Robinson, who established ES & A Robinson, one of the most important Bristol firms into the modern era!

Richard Frank and Ann Ring had a son named Richard Charles Ring (baptized, against Quaker principles, in August 1819 at Temple Church) who joined the family business and became a partner. As Richard Frank got older, it is probable that Richard Charles came to assume greater day-to-day management of the factory and coal wharf. The father eventually gave up the business to the son when their partnership was formally dissolved in May 1861.

Richard Charles had been married in January 1848 to the daughter of a Naval Officer. Shortly after the marriage they moved into a new house on Whiteladies' Road, a fashionable street on the north side of Bristol. In the 1851 census return he described himself as a coal merchant. However, after the partnership with his father was dissolved in 1861 he continued to run both the pipemaking and coal-selling businesses. Around that time, his father Richard Frank Ring moved into town to be closer to his son and purchased a new villa in nearby Redland where he died in 1867.

Soon afterwards, Richard Charles and his family went to live in a county village named Whitchurch (south of Bristol, on the road to Wells) but his wife died there at the end of 1884. After a series of other moves, as well as some financial setbacks, he retired from business life, married a much younger woman and went to live at the seaside in Weston-super-Mare. He died at Williton (near Watchet in Somerset) in 1911. His son Richard Frank Ring jnr had already moved to live in Hampstead, so there were no further links between the Ring Family and Bristol.



2013 Conference Paper - Two Clay Tobacco Pipe Kilns Recently Discovered on the Thameslink Project, London

by Chris Jarrett and Peter Hammond

The Thameslink Project, undertaken by Network Rail, is a programme of works improving railway transport in London, which includes the refurbishment of London Bridge Station and the widening of the viaducts to the west of the station. As part of this work a number of archaeological excavations were undertaken by Oxford Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology. On two different excavations were recovered the remains of two clay tobacco pipe kilns: valuable additions to the small corpus of only seven kilns excavated so far in the Greater London area. These kilns are Bull Wharf: pre-Great Fire, Aldgate: c1660-80, while located in Southwark is the kilns at Arcadia Buildings: dated to the end of the seventeenth century, Tabard Square: c1680-1710, Southwark Street: c1700-70, besides Brentford, operating c1730-60/80 (Schofield and Malt 1996; Peacey 1996; Killock 2009) (see Fig. 1).

The earliest of the two new kilns (site code: BVE11) was located very near to Borough High Street and in a cellar, to the rear of the Wheatsheaf public house, Stoney Street (TQ 3256 8020), first recorded in the early eighteenth century, although it probably pre-dates this reference. The kiln was built within the buttresses of a pre-existing brick built fireplace and survives as a sub-circular stokehole, measuring 0.82m WNW/ESE by 0.68m NNE/SSW and 0.14m in depth: it was built outside of the fireplace area. The stoke hole was connected to a masonry flue, which continued as a vent measuring in

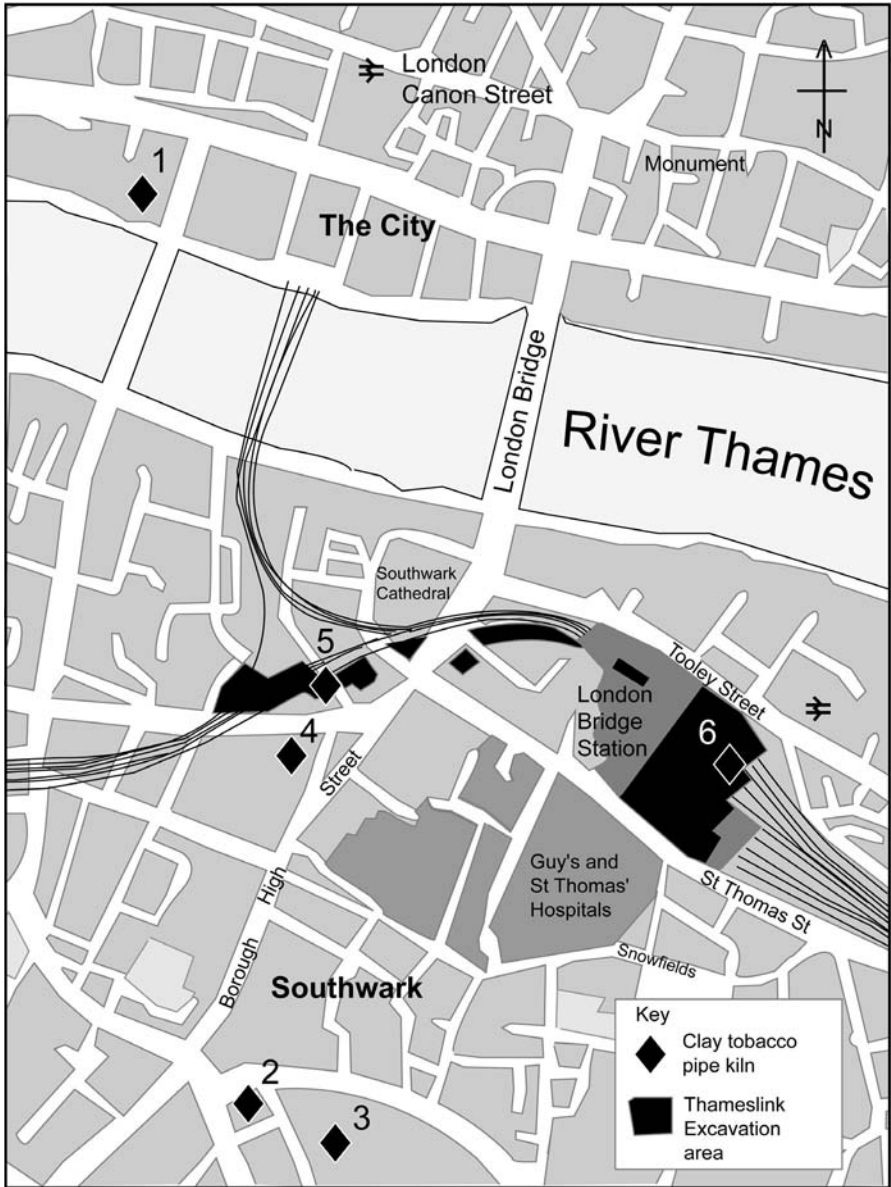


Figure 1: Location plan of excavated clay tobacco pipe kilns in Southwark and nearby in the City of London. 1. Bull Wharf, 2. Arcadia Buildings, 3. Tabard Square, 4. Southwark Street (Calvert's Buildings), 5. The Wheatsheaf, Stony Street, 6. London Bridge Station.

total 0.80m in length and 0.40m in width, opening out to 0.85m in width at its northern extent and it was 0.18m deep (Fig. 2a). Tudor and early post-Great Fire bricks were used in the kiln construction. On top of the flue/vent was built the remains of the rectangular superstructure. This measured 1.50m WNW/ESE by 0.90m NEE/SWW, while the area above the vent had two bricks placed to form a 'grate' like structure, which allowed the heat to circulate up and into the missing kiln and circulate around the muffle chamber. Two parallel, 0.12m wide 'slots' were located on either side of the 'grate' and are thought to have once supported an additional element of the kiln superstructure. To the west of the kiln and within the rest of the area of the fireplace, was built a brick floor/platform (Fig. 2b). Once the kiln had ceased to function, the superstructure was demolished down to the level of the fireplace floor and nearly all evidence of clay tobacco pipe production, including the muffle chamber, was systematically removed from the cellar. Subsequently the kiln was capped with a raised brick floor (Taylor 2013). The plan of the kiln's flue and vent is favourably comparable to that of the kilns at Arcadia Buildings, Southwark and Oyster Street, Portsmouth, dated c1680-1710 and more so the late seventeenth-century example at Rosemary Alley, Guildford and the eighteenth-century square kiln at Holywell Hill, St Albans (Pacey 1996, 95-8, figs.50-53).

The surviving clay tobacco pipes and other evidence of production is a rather meagre group of material, recovered from the fill of the stokehole and the infilling of the 'grate' (Jarrett 2013). Clay tobacco pipes consisted of Atkinson and Oswald's (1969) 1660-80 dated types, found as a single heeled AO13 bowl and six examples of the spurred AO15 type. The only obvious waster was an AO15 bowl with a notably down turned/bent stem. One fragment of muffle kiln wall containing horizontally laid stems, was also recovered. Amongst the 42 stem fragments recorded, 28 are covered in muffle, while in the same state are noted three of the fourteen nibs or mouth parts. The clay tobacco pipe bowls date the operation of the kiln to 1660-80, while the associated pottery groups are dated 1612-1650 and 1630-1680.

The second clay tobacco pipe kiln was excavated below London Bridge Station (site code: BVM12; TQ 3310 8015) and excavation work on the site is continuing at the time of writing, while analysis of the kiln structure and associated finds is ongoing. London Bridge Station, built upon arches, opened on 14th December, 1836 and it linked up with the London and Greenwich railway, which opened on the 8th February earlier that year. The railway line, stretching eastwards towards Kent, was built upon a viaduct consisting of 851 arches and 27 bridges, an engineering feat which impacted upon the dense urban area of Bermondsey. This building work resulted in the demolition of buildings to the level of that construction project. Eventually whole streets and alley ways housing a low socio-economic community and their professions were removed with later widening of the station and viaduct. The archaeological work on this excavation consisted of a number of small trenches and the remains of the kiln

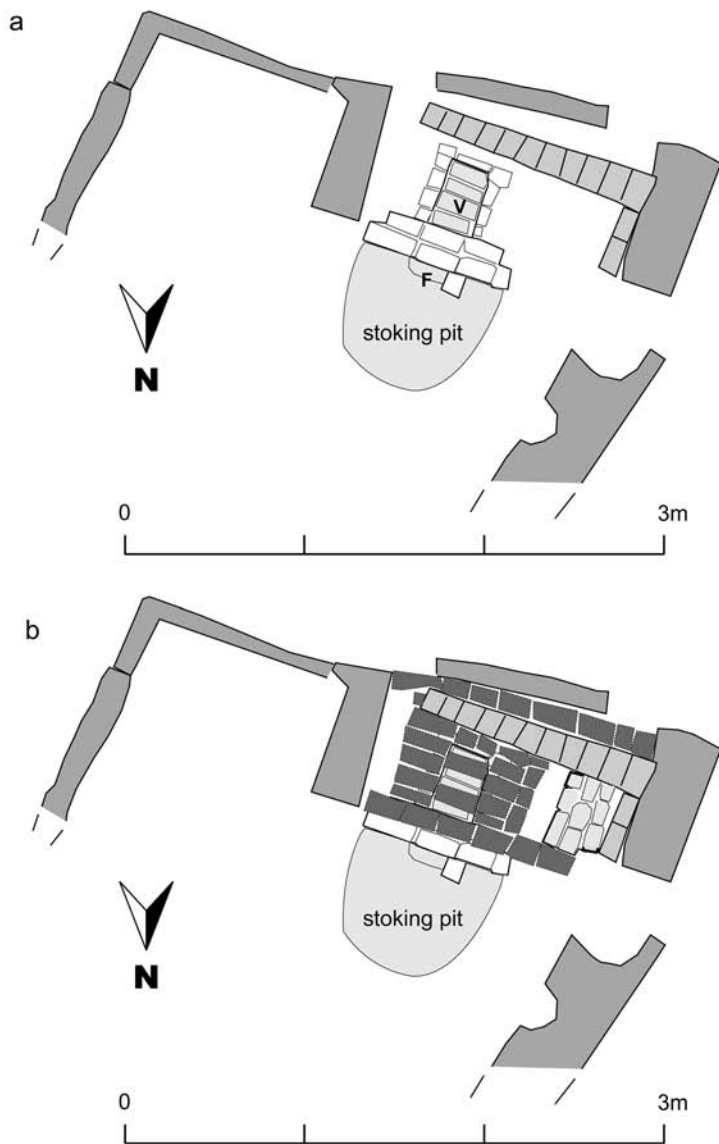


Figure 2: Plan of Stoney Street clay tobacco pipe kiln, a. showing the flue (F), vent (V) and stoke hole. b. showing the remains of the super structure superimposed on the flue and vent.

survived in the angle of one trench (E2), with only two corner walls revealed. These walls represented the exterior wall (1.10m N-W, by 1.88m E-W, x 0.52m deep) and internal kiln wall (0.6m N-S x 1.46m (E-W) x 0.47m high), the latter supporting the missing muffle chamber.

Two main deposits of production waste are associated with the kiln and these produced fragments of the muffle kiln wall, one large piece having external bar type buttresses and an internal surface with a pipe clay wash (Fig. 3), while another fragment has an internal cornice-type peripheral shelf, used to support the pipe bowls within the kiln. Fragments of the temporary kiln roof were recovered and this consisted of a slag-like deposit with horizontally laid clay tobacco pipe stems on the top surface. Kiln furniture is restricted to rolls and thin sheets or trimmings from the pipe moulds (Peacey 1996).

One of the deposits which contained production waste (context [130]) only produced I M (James Minto) marked clay tobacco pipes and these consisted of Atkinson and Oswald's (1969) type AO27 bowls, dated c1770-1845, as five examples, decorated with either fluting or leaf and grass borders. An example of the AO27 bowl with fluting and the moulded name of 'MINTO. JOINERS STREE[T]/[T]OOLEY BORO' was recovered from the adjacent Thameslink Western Approach (to London Bridge Station) (site code: BVC12) (Fig. 4). Leaf and grass borders are found on four of the nine AO28 type bowls found in this deposit, the rest of this bowl type having a Masonic design (four examples), or are plain (as five examples), while the final design occurs as a ?griffin and Prince of Wales's feather design. This latter design was also made in Greenwich by the Burstow family, as were the rose and thistle design (Bowsher and Woollard 2001) and two bowls of the latter design are also present, although the makers marks are unclear, but a family initial M is distinct. The griffin and Prince of Wales's feather design are, as far as the author (CJ) is aware, only made in these two London locations, so a possible avenue of research for the products of the kiln may be to see if there was a connection between James Minto and the Burstow family. The other deposit which produced pipe wasters (context [785]) contained five AO27 griffin/Prince of Wales's feathers bowls and the heel marks appear to resemble Chinoiserie 'flaming pearls': two examples have encrusting deposits from the kiln and one additionally has a blow out (spalled surface). In the same context were found two AO27 rose and thistle design bowls, one of which may be initialled W M, the other being encrusted and its heel initials illegible. A single plain AO28 bowl also occurs in this deposit with star/flower marks on the spur and it has a kiln encrusted deposit. The evidence from the clay tobacco pipes suggest that this kiln was operating during the 1820s and 1830s. Map regression work on the location of the kiln and its street location, prior to the building of London Bridge Station, besides the complementary documentary research, will hopefully better date the operation period of the kiln. The results of the analysis on all of the clay tobacco pipes recovered from the Thameslink

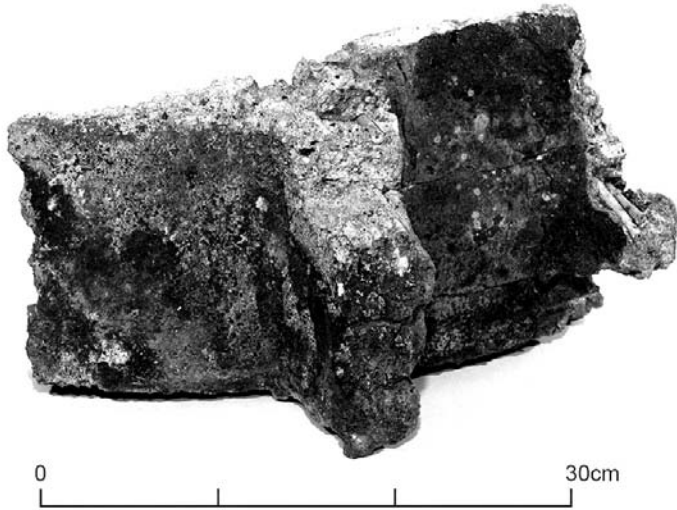


Figure 2: London Bridge station clay tobacco pipe kiln: muffle kiln wall with external bar type buttresses (photograph: Strephon Duckering).



Figure 4: AO27 bowl made by James Minto c1773-1834 (photograph: Strephon Duckering).

excavations will be published in the fullness of time and reported in a monograph on the post-Roman archaeology uncovered by the project.

James Minto, tobacco pipe maker (c1773 – 1834)

James Minto was born around 1773 (location not yet known) and married Elizabeth Simmer at Shoreditch St Leonard in 1790. The couple are known to have had at least four children born between 1798 and 1805, the baptism registers confirming that James Minto was certainly pipe making by 1800. The same records also confirm that the family moved from Stepney to Southwark c1804.

James Minto is first listed in Directories between 1809 and 1811 when he was pipe making at 40 Joiner Street, Tooley Street, Borough, though subsequent evidence suggests he later moved to Webb Street in Bermondsey. So the pipe referred to above that is marked 'MINTO JOINERS STREET TOOLEY BOROUGH' is likely to have been made around this period. Meanwhile the pipe maker Joseph Wild was listed at 'Pipe All' in the Maze in 1811, and baptisms of his children prove he continued to live at The Maze until at least 1816 (pipes are known marked on the bowls 'WILD MAZE TOOLEY ST') (Le Cheminant 1981,145). Joseph Wild later moved to Featherstone Street in St Luke's where he is no longer listed as a master pipe maker and must have been working for James Jones.

In 1826/27 the pipe maker George Webb is listed at 28 The Maze, Tooley Street (pipes are known marked in relief on their stems 'G WEBB 13 MAZE TOOLY ST BOROUGH') (see Le Cheminant, 1981, page 143), followed by James Minto by 1833, for he gives this as his address when he made his will that year, and this is where he died at the age of 61 in March 1834. A Directory listing of 1835 also confirms this address for James Minto, when presumably his widow was continuing the business (his only son, James John Minto was pipe making in Marylebone by that time and never worked as a master pipe maker). By 1836 William Heardson was pipe making at 28 The Maze, followed in 1838 by James Critchfield – who had been listed at 13 The Maze in 1832. He continues to be listed there, along with 30 Snowsfields in Bermondsey, until 1847. From 1848 James Critchfield is listed at Toppings Wharf in Tooley Street as well as the Snowsfields address (Toppings Wharf had previously been used by James and Hannah Jones whose main address throughout was 56 Featherstone Street in St Luke's).

Documentary evidence proves that James Minto is certainly known to have been associated with the pipe maker Joseph Pratt of Shadwell as he witnessed Joseph's will in 1816, and in 1818 James's eldest daughter Maria married another pipe maker named John Downs.

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2013 Conference Paper - The “Dawnmystery” of Pipe Making

by Heather Coleman

The following is an expanded summary of the talk I gave at the SCPR conference at Dorchester on 21 September 2013 in which I enlightened members as to the processes involved in production of my clay pipes. I hope this written version will serve as a valuable record for the future. As some members will be aware, I have been making clay pipes in Exeter, England since 1998 under the name Dawnmist Studio. The studio is home-based and is run by myself, my partner Natalie and our six cats — we like to joke that the cats run the studio since much of life revolves around them and they are

always to be found warming themselves around the kiln when it is being fired. Natalie is an engineer/scientist originally specialising in medical engineering but has turned her skills to Green Energy technology as well as blending and testing clays used in the pipes and formulating pottery glazes and specialist chemicals which we market globally. My own previous experience has been in Art & Technology as well as a variety of self-taught skills and great enthusiasm for all things creative.

Dawnmist — How it began

The name Dawnmist was my idea, based on the morning mists that form around the Exe Valley. These are reputed to be very thick, and recalling a saying ‘who can see anything in an Exmoor fog?’ I decided that Dawnmist would create all manner of products and one would never know what was going to emerge “out of the mist”. Terms sometimes seen on early apprentice indentures refer to the “occupation” or “mystery” of clay pipe making, hence the title of my talk being “Dawnmystery”.

My interest in clay pipes was born in the 1970s, a hobby shared with relatives. We would often have large family gatherings which included long walks in the countryside and we were encouraged to take an interest in keeping a keen eye on the soil for any archaeological relics, which of course included fragments of clay pipes. During this time, and having a grandmother born in Manchester, we managed a visit to the famous Pollock factory there — a rather hurried event since there were two addresses for the factory on opposite sides of the city and the newer purpose-made building was not the address we initially headed for! As a spin-off from the pipe interest and inspired in part by Pollocks, relatives who were casting lead fishing weights in home-made plaster moulds suggested we try pressing clay pipes using plaster, and what resulted from those experiments were a few basic designs that were fired by a local pottery and nevertheless sold to Devon tourists, earning us a little pocket money — which was usually spent on clay pipes from bric-a-brac shops!

When Dawnmist Studio began in 1998, around 30 years later, small electric hobby kilns had become reasonably affordable, and with those early childhood memories and inherited family pipes, my interest was rekindled. As I realised that the pipes I began making were selling well, I soon needed to upgrade to a much larger kiln, the present one standing about 100cm tall and 80cm diameter (Fig. 1). The system we use for firing the kiln uses a special high-reliability computer originally designed and programmed by Natalie for medical research but now adapted for very precise control of firing clay pipes as well as the specialised crystalline glaze ceramics that we produce.

Customers, Pipe Styles and Distribution

Dawnmist pipes have been produced for a wide range of people, including smokers,



Figure 1: Heather with her kiln.

collectors, re-enactors, museums, movie studios and TV companies. I have provided pipes for films such as *Les Miserables*, *A Little Chaos*, *Far from the Madding Crowd* — to name a few — as well as for Plimoth Plantation in Massachusetts for the filming of the series *The Colony*. Also requested were pipes for David Dimbleby's series *Seven Ages of Britain*, although the scene featuring my pipes was not ultimately aired due to time constraints. Another recent series *Addicted to Pleasure* by the BBC did feature one of my Tudor-style pipes.

Over the years I have concentrated on production of styles of pipe which focus mainly on traditional pre-1800 English and Dutch shapes not often provided by other clay pipe makers in recent years, since many of the designs produced by other clay pipe makers have more often been from decorated metal Victorian moulds. I therefore wanted to complement the available products on the market with other niche time-period pipes. I also provided some regional English styles of pipe that were inspired by pieces in my personal collection.

I have created another range of pipes by taking traditional ideas, such as the well known seventeenth-century Dutch Jonas pipe depicting an alligator swallowing a mariner's head, and putting a modern twist on it — thus I created a stylised face of Jack Sparrow from *Pirates of the Caribbean* with a Kraken on the stem coming

towards him (Fig. 2). On another pipe I chose the shape of an eighteenth-century Scottish pipe from Oswald's BAR 14 and used an image of the Loch Ness Monster on the side. I was not aware of any pipes with *Nessie* depicted on them previously! In the far future, archaeologists might ponder on what inspired the topics of my pipes if they are ever found — and perhaps some will always remain a “dawnmystery”.



Figure 2: 'Jack Sparrow' pipes.

Among the special portrait pipes I made, some pieces were one-off creations such as the bust of Prince Charles, Merlin the magician or the comedian Phill Jupitus (as requested by a personal friend and sent to his stage dressing room); I have also, from time to time, produced moulded limited-edition pipes which have included: Queen Nefertiti (originally produced for Susie White of SCPR); Sir Terry Pratchett, the author of best-selling *Discworld* novels (a piece being sent to him); Count Dracula; Michael Jackson (for pop-music fans); and President Obama (Fig. 3). The first Obama limited edition was posted to the President at The White House and, although I never discovered whether he personally received the pipe, I do know it got there. Presidents are not officially allowed to keep gifts that they receive but as Mr Obama was until recently a smoker I thought perhaps a clay pipe might appeal! In the tradition of nineteenth-century pipe makers such as the firms of Gambier and Fiolet my portrait pipes sometimes have decorated bases and on the Obama pipe the base depicts The White House with the Obama family standing on the lawn on the day they took up residence there and even includes the pet dog!

Over the centuries archaeologists have traced the export of clay pipes from Europe to other countries and so I thought it would be fascinating to list some of the countries that my pipes have been sent to in the last 15 years. These have mainly been: England,



Figure 3: Obama Pipe.

USA and Canada with lesser numbers to Scotland, Wales, Australia, Italy, France, Sweden, Norway and Spain. A few have also gone to Brazil, Singapore, China and Israel.

Inspiration

One of the driving aims in my own production of clay pipes has always been to provide small batches of some 400–800 pieces per annum of high quality rather than giving in to demand for mass-produced lower-quality pieces. It would be all too easy to satisfy customers who want to purchase large numbers of pipes for resale but I have never seen the satisfaction of spending all my time sitting in a room turning them out day after day and not feeling I have achieved what I have set out to do as an artist specialising in this craft. As a result of this approach, I have sought to hone my skills, take inspiration from original pieces in my collection and also learn from the past — in a sense, to get into the mind of cutting-edge clay pipe designers and makers of bygone eras. With traditional clay pipe making now almost an extinct craft, I have sought to keep the interest alive and bring it into the twenty-first century, even though my methods of production have been in the most part re-inventing the past using modern materials for moulding; however, the hand finishing of my pipes remains much as it has always been. As another point of interest, a recent list I compiled revealed that

since 1998 I have created around 80 designs of pipe, many of the moulds eventually wearing out or being superseded, with gradual refinement of shapes where a certain form has not proved easy to mould — again learning from the past in some cases.

Production

There are four methods that I use in production:

1. Slip-casting: This is the main method I use for most of my finely-decorated designs as well as longer pipes. Casting pipes using specially-formulated liquid clay is a modern method taken up mainly since the early twentieth century, although I have refined this method in such a way as to give more precise control over the internal profile of the pipe and accuracy in the bore in the stem. In usual slip-cast pottery production, the clay is poured into a porous plaster mould and left to form a skin before surplus clay is poured out. In the case of clay pipes where the internal profile should not follow the external shape (portrait pipes for example) then it was necessary to develop methods that give a “double surface” result, providing a solid pipe with a proper chamber profile rather than a hollow shell shaped like a pipe, but with an irregular chamber that would neither burn correctly nor satisfy a seasoned smoker. Pipes produced by my specialised casting method (which is unique to Dawnmist) are indistinguishable from pressed pipes, with the added advantage that casting permits very fine details to be reproduced.

2. Press-moulding: Although I have often desired to own a gin-press and metal moulds, the rarity of such tools and the expense when they have become available has been prohibitive for me. For shorter pipe production, I have adopted the pressing method using extra-hard plaster moulds (Fig. 4). Plaster is a very versatile, affordable material which is easy to work with and therefore not a problem if mistakes are made. Also, moulds can be adjusted or adapted fairly easily. The clays I use for pressing pipes vary from home-made blends to commercial blends from ceramic suppliers. At Dawnmist over the years we have adapted recipes to make the clay smell and taste (something that can be detected from fired clay by the observer) more pleasant for smokers, as well as firing to varying shades of white through to cream in colour. Strength of the clay is also optimised by scientific analysis of the particles it contains and the geology from which it was derived.

3. Hand-modelling: This is the method I use for creating special one-off pipes such as portraits, but is also the way that I create a basic clay “master” from which a mould is then made. It involves shaping pieces of clay and then joining them together and adding infill, or sculpting away clay. On pipes with a stem, clay is rolled on a wire and then merged with a solid bowl which is then allowed to firm up before the chamber is carved out. Hand modelling requires great patience as well as a high degree of skill, especially when working on complicated designs. It also demands considerable

familiarity with the material being used, because the clay is constantly drying out while being worked on, and great care must be taken to carve and model the various parts only when they are at an appropriate dryness, neither too soft nor too dry to work. To create a portrait pipe from pictures, I usually only need a front and side view of the subject together with an angled view to enable me to visualise the 3D features of portrait I am making.

3. Extruding: This method employs a pug-mill, a machine comprising a chamber that holds clay, a motorised screw-auger and a tube through which clay is extruded with great force, exiting through a shaped nozzle. I use this method to create certain novelty pipes, with a nozzle that extrudes a thin hollow tube of clay to form the stems of exceedingly long coiled or twisted shapes to which a pre-moulded bowl is then fitted. Care is needed to ensure the stem does not become blocked, but with care it is quite possible to create smokable pipes with five metres or more of stem, and even tie knots in the stem!

When finishing-off the pipes, several methods are used for fettling the mould seams, smoothing the surfaces to remove any blemishes and then burnishing (polishing) the clay as it dries. I use a whole variety of tools for this process, some being bought as ceramic artist's tools but others being made from metal or fired clay to my own design. Each clay has its own properties and so moulding and finishing a clay pipe



Figure 4: A plaster mould for press-moulding.

made from, for example, terracotta (red) or black clay or pure porcelain or combined marbled clays is a whole different experience to using the many white earthenware clays available. During the finishing process I usually mark my pipes using small letter stamps which read *Heather* or *Dawnmist* and I also often stamp the image of a cat. I make my own stamping tools, as pipe makers once did, from metal or from carved clay — and just like the original pipe makers, I do at times get them back to front by mistake! I use a large fossilised prehistoric shark tooth to add milling to the rim as it creates a neat and unusual look.

Pipes usually require burnishing with a polished tool when they are in a wax-hard state of drying — too soft and the clay will smudge, too dry and the clay will not take a polish. Bending the stems of drying pipes is a careful process which involves adding water back to a stem which is already in a wax-hard and burnished state. If it has become too dry, the stem will snap while bending it and the pipe will become a reject, or else be turned into a short “nose-warmer”. When making many long stem curved “Wizard” pipes after the *Lord of the Rings* films, I lost numerous pieces during the bending of the stem, as well as suffering breakages in the post.

Mould Making

The mould-making process is as much a part of the clay pipe making craft as making the pipes. As mentioned previously, I have settled with using plaster as the main material from which I make moulds, although I have experimented with certain metals in the past. For a simple pipe design, I form a two-part mould by first embedding the master into a firmed-up slab of clay. I then cut the slab around the pipe to the desired shape of the mould, allowing for “natches” (pins set into the mould that keep the mould halves properly aligned) and the position of the stem wire. Usually, I have to make the mould longer than the pipe by up to one-third of the length of the pipe, so as to provide a sufficiently long “guide” to ensure the correct alignment of the stem wire. I then form a “cottle” (a boxed-in frame around the project for pouring in liquid plaster) into which I then cast the first half of the mould. When set, the cottle and clay slab are removed, and when fully cured, the second half of the mould is cast directly against the first. It is always important to apply a release agent to surfaces of the master and the first half of the mould, otherwise all will become permanently entombed within a solid block of plaster and the project ruined! More complicated portrait pipes might need up to five-part moulds depending upon their shape and detail.

The more time and accuracy that goes into making the master and the mould, the better the result will be in the final forming of the pipe and the less finishing will be needed. This applies to slip-casting moulds as well as press-moulds. Any defects in this process will be reflected in the quality of the end product — something often seen on past clay pipes, where mould defects are reproduced in the end product, often leading to useful forensic identification features in archaeology.

When I make decorated pipe designs I will usually incorporate as much detail as possible in the master and then engrave the very finest details into the mould. With plaster moulds, it is essential that the surface to be engraved does not have any air-bubbles in the casting. Engraving hard plaster is a skill in itself, requiring a lot of patience; one can learn a great deal from past clay pipe makers by looking at the styles of engravings found on pipes of previous centuries. The variations within this skill are remarkable, ranging from the exceedingly fine detailing of, for example, high quality Dutch pipes and armorials through to simple and often very crude efforts by less-skilled mould engravers. It is necessary to take into account the convex and concave curves of the mould surface, ensure that words and letters are not mirrored, and also make sure the design is thought through and set out exactly correctly before engraving begins.

Firing

In the past, pipe makers mass-produced their wares many hundreds at a time and stacked them on top of each other in the kiln in saggars or between layers of rolled-out clay. Because times have changed and my products are time consuming to make with all the finishing that goes into them, I am much more careful in placing them into the kiln. I usually place them in neat rows tucked into each other onto circular kiln shelves. Props are then put into position and another shelf placed on top (Fig. 5). In this way I build up a multi-tiered stack rather like a wedding cake arrangement which is the full height of the kiln. I usually fire my kiln between 5 and 10 times a year.

The actual firing takes around 8 hours, but the necessary cooling extends the whole cycle to around 24 hours. For thicker items, however, and in particular for glazed pipes, I leave the kiln longer, to completely cool down to room temperature before even lifting the lid. Opening the kiln is always an exciting occasion, and also a relief to know that what was once just dry mud in all its fine detail is now much safer to handle and not at so much risk! Like pipe makers of past times, I sometimes need to invent customised kiln furniture, especially when firing pipes that have glazing on a large percentage of the surface.

The initial hours of firing the kiln require care because of water in the clay. Usually we use various kiln-computer programs to provide a drying action, initially gentle but progressing to higher temperatures. For the actual firing, the first 500°C is critical in that the temperature has to be ramped up slowly over several hours. This is because, in addition to the water that has been driven off in the initial drying process, there is also water chemically bonded to the clay at a molecular level which must be driven off slowly. If this water is evaporated too rapidly, items will split or even explode! The computer system that we use allows us to fire items to a precisely-controlled temperature/time profile, and can be configured for all possible requirements with an unlimited number of firing steps. We can program the kiln to perform a controlled cooling

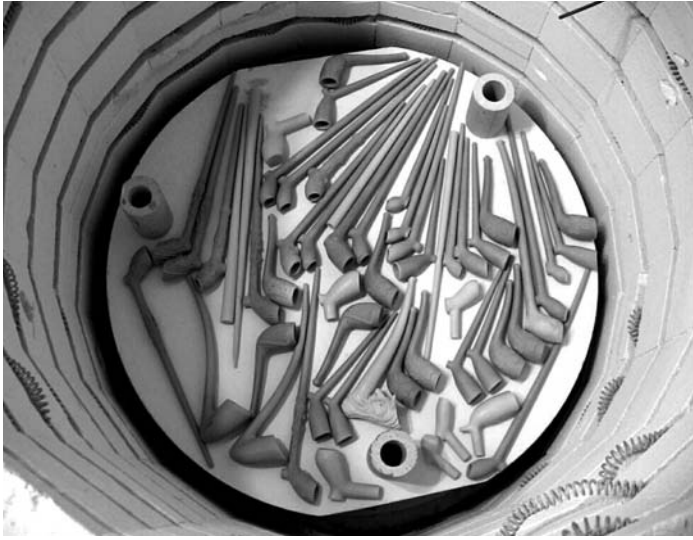


Figure 5: Kiln shelf ready for firing with three circular props ready for the next shelf.

cycle if desired, a process used for creating natural crystals in some of the crystal glazes on vases that we make, and adding brief intervals of reheating into the cooling process can even produce halos in those crystal glazes. For regular earthenware pipes, which need to be porous after firing to smoke well, a temperature of between 1030°C and 1070°C is usual but for other types of clay such as pure porcelain or gritty-textured stoneware clays, much higher temperatures are used; our kiln system can operate at up to 1300°C for these.

Readers are reminded of the scene during the firing of the kiln of a host of cats encircling it and making the most of the warmth, especially in winter months!

Glazes

Some of the pipes I produce benefit from the application of a glazed mouth tip or coloured features on the bowls. In particular the figural “show-pipes” such as Queen Nefertiti or the very large version of the Jacob pipe have a lot of glazed features. I usually use glazes that are developed in-house for this purpose as we have better control over colour, texture and firing properties with these than with shop-bought products. The glazing process often requires much patience and a steady hand when applying colours and avoiding smearing glaze onto clean white clay. Another difficulty is that glazes in their pre-fired form are seldom the same colour as they would be when fired, so it is necessary to allow for that when a combination of colours is being applied in patterns. Glazed pipes require a second firing in order to fire the glaze.

As a special feature, on some of my designs I use metallic lustres, which require a third firing to complete the pipe. These are available in genuine gold, platinum, bronze, copper and titanium. In this procedure, a soluble salt of the metal is used, mixed with a sticky resin which is hand-painted over the already-fired glaze; again, great care is needed in painting the pipe so as not to smear it onto the white clay, as well as to obtain a uniform film of the correct thickness. The lustre requires a separate firing, at a lower temperature than glazing (typically 700°C); during this firing, the resin burns incompletely, forming carbon monoxide, which reduces the metal salts to yield a thin film of metal adhering to the underlying glaze, which softens just sufficiently for good adhesion. Extensive use of lustres can yield a most spectacular result.

Packing and Posting Pipes

The orders for pipes that I receive vary as to the customer's particular needs and location and are packed accordingly. Sometimes a pipe will be bought as a single gift for a loved one or a returning smoker or collector will buy several pieces at a time. Sometimes a pipe smoker may be familiar only with briar pipes but has always wanted to try a clay. Larger orders for Dawnmist are usually between 10 and 50 pipes at a time, often for movies, museums or special event banquets (such as an HMS Victory "pickle night"). Much care and thought goes into packing the pipes in order to ensure they do not break in the post. As can be imagined, sending a single long churchwarden to America has required a whole series of experiments to determine which packing materials best suit to get the pipe there safely, without costing more than the pipe itself! Sometimes, fully packing a single delicate pipe can take almost as long as it did to initially make it. It is always heart-breaking when items arrive broken, as well as a financial loss. The challenge has been to find methods to cushion the pipes in such a way as to absorb shock, but also to be strong enough to resist denting of the package by the postal system. Modern materials such as tissue paper, foam wrap, bubble-wrap and corrugated cardboard have now replaced the past methods of straw, wood shavings and heavy wooden crates!

The Far Future Collectibles

I have always been a great believer in creating archaeology for the future. My home and garden contain voids and buried assemblages full of reject pipes and other time-capsules. At other times I will take something into the countryside and hide it or pass it to someone with an old house to put under the floorboards — the idea being that they are safely hidden and not likely to be found for at least (I hope) 50 years or more. Who knows, perhaps in centuries to come, people living on the moon or Mars will be collecting my pipes as relics from the Olde Worlde!

To see more of my work and learn more, please visit the Dawnmist Studio website: <http://www.dawnmist.org>

Pollocks Mould No. 36 for a Burns Cutty Pipe

by Marek Lewcun

In his excellent publication on the history of Pollocks of Manchester, Paul Jung gives a concise history of a family trade which was at work between 1874 and 1990, with many illustrations and an immense amount of information. Included are details of the manufacturing process, photographs of the factory at work, members of the Pollock family at the premises, including Gordon, and a large amount of information regarding the sale of pipes both at home and abroad. Particularly useful is the full reproduction of the c1906 catalogue of products of Edward Pollock, which illustrates all 232 styles of pipe available for purchase at the time, each numbered and named. Amongst these is No.36, Burns Cutty. In appendix 13 of Jung's book is a list of moulds, by now numbering 322 styles, which appear in a notebook compiled by John Pollock in around 1951 and subsequently given to his son Gordon. The list includes No. 36 Burns Cutty, for which there were two moulds.

Exactly how many Burns Cutty pipes were produced is impossible to say. Appendix 8 of Paul Jung's study, however, includes a useful section entitled 'Correspondence, orders and receipts from other pipemakers, manufacturers and suppliers'. The orders from A. Roberts, clay tobacco pipe manufacturer of the Midland Pipe Works, Northampton give some idea of the popularity of this particular pipe. On March 24 1928, for example, Roberts ordered two gross of the No. 36 style, with two gross each of seven other styles, while on December 1 the same year he ordered three gross, two gross being ordered of three other designs and five gross of No. 61 ('large Dublin'). Two more gross of the 36 Burns Cutty pipe were ordered on April 19 the following year. These are the orders from just one manufacturer over a period of 14 months, and the full scale of orders from tobacconists can only be imagined, but there must be many thousands of these pipes buried in the ground across the British Isles and beyond. There is a gap in the Roberts correspondence between 1929 and 1939, but even at the latter time Burns Cutty pipes were still being ordered two gross at a time, and so the design remained popular for a considerable period.

Exactly when the mould was produced is not known, but cutty pipes, pipes for the worker, became most common from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards. Many different designs, some quite plain such as the Burns Cutty, the 'miner's pipe' and pipes with a variety of Irish-themed designs, and others far more elaborate, were included in the 1906 catalogue. The Burns Cutty pipes were perhaps not just aimed at a Scottish market, however. Robert Burns, to whom they refer, was not just a famous poet and lyricist but he was also a hero to the common worker. Born near Ayr in 1759 and the eldest of seven children, he was a self-educated farmer who grew up in a family which endured poverty and hardship. His 'Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect' popularly known as 'the Kilmarnock volume' were published

in 1786, while his songs were just as popular, his 'Scots Wha Hae' for some time serving as the unofficial national anthem of Scotland. He died in 1796 aged just 37, and was buried in the Burns family mausoleum in St Michael's churchyard, Dumfries. His work influenced the likes of poets William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Percy Bysshe Shelley to name but a few, while in more recent times Bob Dylan chose Robert's 'A Red Red Rose' as having had the greatest effect on his life. Burns was sentimentalised across the world for many years after his death, and his work was an inspiration to the common worker. Even in Russia he was a hero to the suppressed people, and the 1924 translation of his work there sold over 600,000 copies, while in 1956 they even produced a commemorative stamp in his honour. In 2009 Scottish Television viewers voted Robert Burns the greatest Scot of all time.

After the Pollocks factory closed in 1990 the moulds were dispersed, some to Wilson & Co. of Sheffield and some to the Tabaks Museum in Sweden, while others went to David Cooper at the Amberley Working Museum, Bewdley Museum, Rex Key at the Pipeworks Museum in Broseley, The National Pipe Archive in Liverpool, and Paul Jung himself. The journey taken by the 36 Burns Cutty mould, or at least this one of the pair documented in 1951, is uncertain, but it eventually came into the possession of Roger Westall, a boatbuilder and collector of countryside tools and artefacts which illustrate the self-sufficient nature of rural life in times gone by. His collection was kept in an outbuilding at his home in Stour Provost, near Gillingham in Dorset, where the mould shared a space with such items as a lark oven (for roasting larks to perfection) and a pig killing hammer. After his death, the collection was sold at a specialist auction conducted by Thimbleby & Shorland of Reading, Berkshire, on 2 November 2005. Present at the auction was Martin Horler of Kilmersdon, Somerset, who only a few days previously had picked up a card with the author's contact details at a talk on the Somerset pipe making industry given to the local history society. Martin, who maintains the West Country tradition of wassailing (toasting apple trees and wishing for a good harvest), very kindly purchased the mould and its associated plunger (or stopper) on my behalf, and the mould found a new home in Norton St Philip, a village at the forefront of Somerset pipe making in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Externally the mould is 225mm long, and the bowl ends is 78mm high, with an 8mm wide gap through which a knife would slice the top off the bowl. Internally the stem portion is 95mm long, beyond the nipple-style tip of which is a 78mm 'direction', or wire guide to thread the wire through the centre of the stem. On the left side of the stem the mould has 36 Burns Cutty immediately before the bowl, while on the right side is Burns Cutty. The bowl itself is of the spur-less variety and is 38mm high, tilting slightly away from the smoker. The mould has the standard two pins on the right hand side and two 'legs' or sockets on the left side with which they engaged, while at the smoker's end of the left side is a grip pin with a corresponding socket hole with which it engaged on the right side. The wire pin at the tip of the left side of the mould has

been sheared off in antiquity, but the wire pin hole or socket for it on the right side can be seen in the photographs. The plunger, which the gin handle forced down into the bowl end to force out the clay from the centre, is 187mm long, and includes the standard handle pin hole and collar to stop the plunger at the correct depth within the bowl.

These days the mould is used for educational purposes, and is passed around the audience at talks to local history societies and other groups, allowing the opportunity to get hands-on with the one of the primary tools of the pipe making trade.

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Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Paul Jung for his correspondence regarding the Pollock moulds, and wish to extend my thanks to Martin Horler, who at great expense purchased the mould on my behalf.



Montrose Clay Pipes

by David Higgins

Paul Jung kindly sent a link to an auction website where two clay pipes were sold recently. The pipes were auctioned on 16 November by Taylors Auctions (Montrose) Ltd in Scotland (Lot 1068). Both pipes were identical, being plain cutty pipes with an incuse bowl stamp reading MILO PIPE facing the smoker (Fig 1). This is most likely to simply be a pattern name, rather than indicating that the pipes were produced for the famous London tobacconists called Milo (and the same is true of the ‘Swinyard’ pipes (see below) which were simply named after a famous pipemaking family). The two pipes were contained within an old Dunhill pipe box. What was of particular interest was the accompanying typed note, which read as follows: -

“Montrose Clay Pipes. These two clay pipes are from the last kiln of ‘clays’ to be fired in Montrose. They were made by the late brothers James A Jolly and William Jolly at the pipe works in Lower Hall Street, opposite St. John’s Place. The Jolly brothers made a wide variety with such names as Workman, Swinyard, Dog’s Head, etc. The

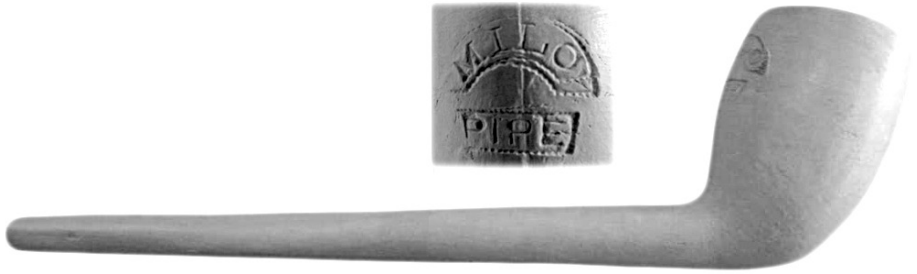


Figure 1: Jolly pipe from Montrose stamped MILO STRAND (photo courtesy of Taylors Auctions (Montrose) Ltd).

pipe works also provided red, blue, and white calm (*sic*) for pipe claying hearths and the steps at the front doors of houses.”

Unfortunately the note is not dated, but it at least provides a few snippets of information about the last pipeworks in Montrose. Previous research into the Montrose pipemakers has documented a James Jolly at 15 Lower Mill Street in 1873 and in North Street from 1882-1886, and a William Jolly at North Street in 1889 and at 24 Lower Hall Street from 1895-1928 (Martin 1987, 179). A quick search of the census returns has located the family in 1881 and 1901, showing that there were at least two generations of pipemakers in this family (Ancestry.com, accessed 8-11-13). James senior was married to Catherine and both were born in Montrose (in about 1848 and 1854 respectively). In 1881 James is listed at 41a King Street as a tobacco pipe manufacturer and clay merchant, employing 4 men, 2 girls and 1 boy. His son James was just 4 months old at this date. By 1901 the family was living at 20 Lower Hall Street and James senior was still listed as a tobacco pipe manufacturer. Living with him were his two sons, James A. and William (aged 20 and 15 respectively), who were both given as tobacco pipe makers. It is these two brothers who went on to fire the last pipe kiln in Montrose at some point in or after about 1928. There is still a building in Lower Hall Street, opposite St. John’s Place, with an archway giving access to a yard at the rear, which may well be surviving pipeworks buildings itself (Google Streetview, accessed 8-11-13).

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Martin, Paula F de C, 1987, ‘Pipemakers in the Rest of Scotland’, in P Davey (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, X, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 178, Oxford, 167-182 (358pp).

Clay Pipe Finds in Stockholm's Parks

by Arne Åkerhagen

One need not be an archaeologist and make great excavations of cultural sites to find clay pipes. It is very good to walk in our beautiful parks in Stockholm and, with no other means than his own vision, come home with some clay pipes finds of various kinds.

These pipes were collected by a private individual who, for approximately 15 years, has visited four parks, Vitabergsparken, Fatbursparken, Vasa Park and Observatory Hill. He did not dig a single shovelful, but by simply using his eyes has found large amounts of clay pipe fragments. The best time for making these discoveries was after the rains and snowmelt. To date a total of approximately 930 fragments have been collected (Figs. 1 to 3).



Figure 1: 835 undatable stem fragments.



Figure 2: Some 80 datable fragments of bowls and stems.

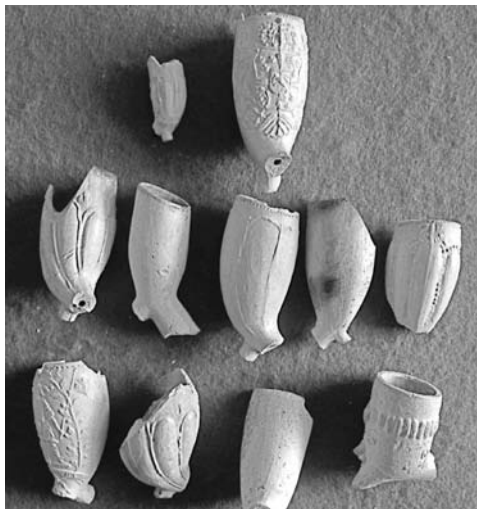


Figure 3: 11 datable whole and fragmentary bowls.

Detailed descriptions

The finds include stems with decoration of varying types dating from the c1770 to the 1800s (Fig. 4). Also, some Dutch stems with *fleur de lys* stamps and stem twists (Fig. 5)

Figure 4: Selection of decorated stems dating 1770-1800s.



Figure 5: Dutch stems. No. 1. c1630-1650, Nos. 2-3 c1700-1750.



It is not surprising to find a number of pipe fragments produced by Swedish makers. Figure 6 illustrates a number of Swedish products. Nos. 1 to 3 were produced by T. Liungren who was working from c1785-1786. No. 4 was produced by Mathias Nyberg who was working from c1755-1797. The next two fragments, Nos. 5 and 6, were produced by Olof Forsbert, who was working from c1739-1750. Stem fragments No. 7 and 8. Were produced by nineteenth-century makers, Elias Gullbrandsson in Torp Fors c1864-1920 (No. 7) and Emanuel Post in Skillingmark c1864-1920 (No. 8).



Figure 6: Stems of Swedish manufacture.

The finds also include bowl fragments bearing the Swedish Arms from the 1700s (Fig. 7). One of these fragments (Fig. 7 no. 7) was produced by Carl Wettervik, who was working in Stockholm c1755-1798. Two of the fragments (Fig. 7 Nos. 8 and 9) show the crowns in a slightly different configuration to the other fragments, in that they are arranged with a single crown above two crowns side by side. The normal configuration, seen in the other fragments (see Fig. 7 No. 5), has the crowns arranged so that there are two crowns side by side above a single crown.

The following is an illustrated catalogue of some of the fragments and bowls that have been identified in more detail.



Figure 7: Fragments decorated with the Swedish National Arms. (Scale: 5cm)

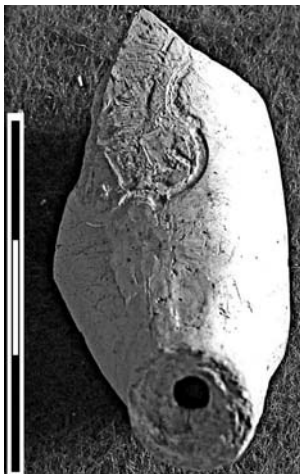


Figure 8: Pipe made for the Swedish King Adolf Frederick, who ruled from 1751 to 1771. (Scale: 3cm)



Figure 9: Dutch pipe produced by Andries Michiels Brem who was working in Gouda 1705-1739.



Figure 10: Dutch pipe with a crowned DS heel mark produced by Leendert de Bruijn who was working in Gouda 1726-1733.

Figure 11: Fragments of a Swedish pipe made by Anders Örnbeck who was working in Stockholm 1751-1760. (Scale: 2cm)



Figure 12: Fragments of a Swedish pipe manufactured by Jonas Alströmer who was working in Alingsås 1729-1761.



Figure 13: Dutch pipe with Lion heel mark. Moulded on to the sides of the spur is the Gouda shield. Probable produced by Frans Verzijl who was working in Gouda 1724-1786. The firm Frans Verzijl & Son continued production up to 1820.



Figure 14: Pipe produced by Olof Forsberg in Stockholm 1729-1759. (Scale: 3cm)

Figure 15: Dutch pipe with heel mark depicting a seated man smoking a pipe. Moulded on the sides of the spur is the Gouda shield. Probably made by Willem Hendricksz. Houbracken, who was working in Gouda 1709-1721.



Figure 16: Dutch pipe with heel mark WVM by an unknown maker who was active in Gouda 1695-1710.

Figure 17: Miniature pipe with flutes. First find of a Swedish-made miniature pipe. Similar pipes made by Carl Wettervik in Stockholm 1755-1798. (Scale: 3cm)



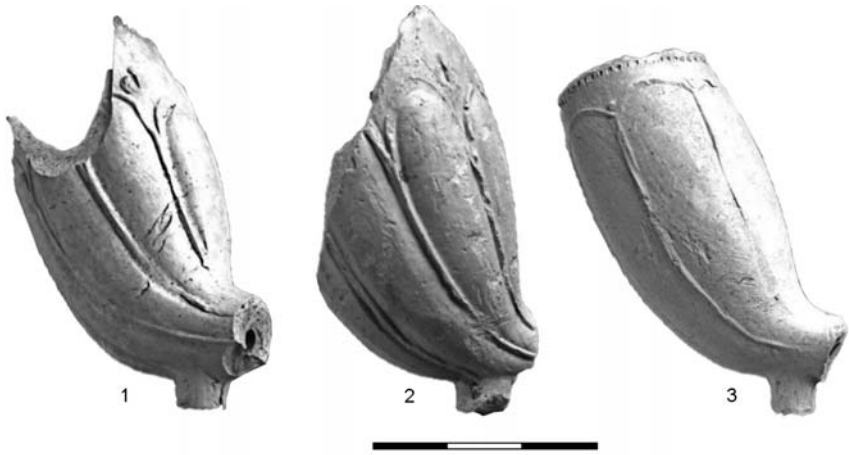


Figure 18: Three fluted Swedish pipe manufactured by Carl Wettervik in Stockholm 1755-1790. (Scale: 3cm)

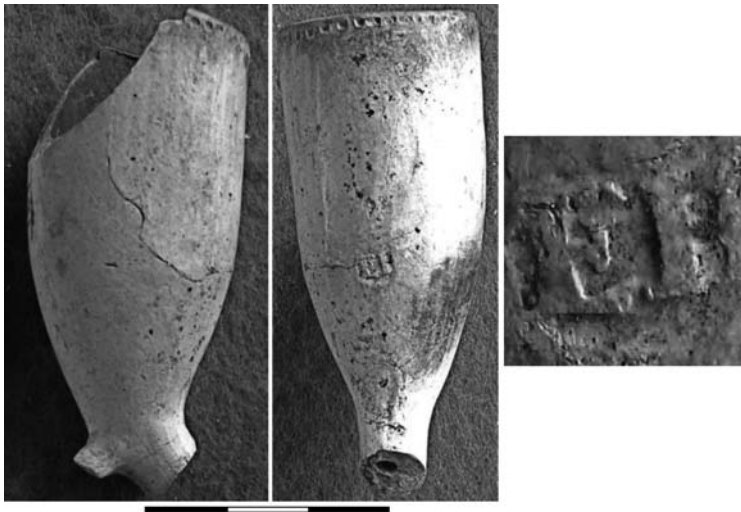


Figure 19: Dutch pipe of export type of decoration "EB" on the bowl facing the smoker Probably manufactured by Andrien van der Cruis de Jonge who was working in Gouda 1719-1724. (Scale: 3cm)

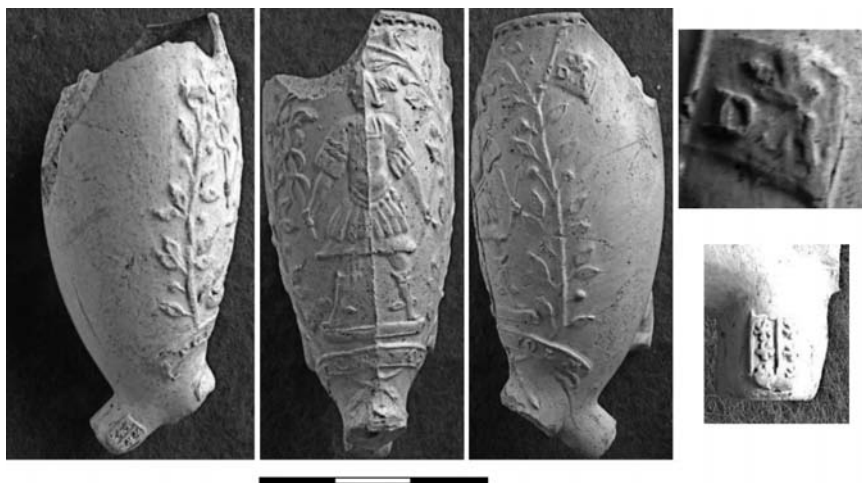


Figure 20: Swedish pipe decorated with the god Mercury, who was the patron of commerce and merchants. Top right is the manufacturer's signature D:A and on the left side the Gouda Masters counterfeit guild tag. Made by Daniel Karlsson who was working in Stockholm 1752-1761. (Scale: 3cm)



Figure 21: Pipe decorated with the Swedish coat of arms. On the heel is a Spoked Wheel design. On the left side of the spur are four stars and on the right a lion. This is the first pipe of this kind to be found in Sweden. (Scale: 3cm)

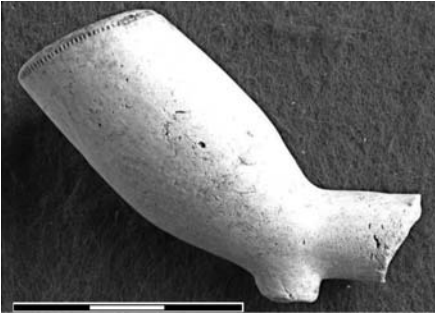


Figure 22: Dutch pipe from 1680-1700.
(Scale: 3cm)

Figure 23: Swedish pipe manufactured
by Olaf Forsberg in Stockholm 1739-
1759. (Scale 3cm)



Figure 24: Figural pipe from the beginning of the 1700s. (Scale: 3cm)

The Bristol – Ireland Export Trade

by Peter Taylor

Peter Davey's article about the early Bristol-Ireland trade in pipes (SCPR Newsletter 83, 26-32) invites further discussion and the comments that follow are in response to his informative and welcome paper. He correctly points out that the trade figures do not speak for themselves without any qualification and this article seeks to add some context by providing a more in-depth analysis of the documented sources, something Jackson, Jackson and Price didn't attempt in their 1983 publication "*Ireland & the Bristol Clay Pipe Trade*".

Although Davey remarks on the lack of extant data available, it should be noted that the summaries of the cargoes extracted from the Bristol Overseas Port Books and the Presentments by Jackson, Jackson and Price are not a fully comprehensive summary of the recorded pipe trade. The Port Books themselves are far from a continuous series with only two Searchers accounts, one Coastal book and some fragmentary wine accounts surviving from the period between 1638 and 1670. The Overseas Outwards Port Books cover only 17 years between 1649 and 1699 and although Bristol's Wharfage Books do survive continuously for forty years from 1654, these deal mainly with imports.

The question Davey raises as to whether any of the earliest pipes clearing Bristol were made in London is an interesting one although virtually all of Bristol's trade with Ireland at this time was conducted by Irish merchants (Sacks 1991, 40). He also states that "in 1600/01 a number of the ships leaving Bristol with a range of cargoes were London owned" (Davey 2013, 31), however vessel ownership is not recorded in the Port Books. Only two separate ships "of London" were recorded as arriving or leaving Bristol in 1601 with the "of London" merely referring to their last port of call. These ships were the *Beniamine*, normally mastered by William Ricks of London and the *Elizabeth*, normally mastered by William Hill of Bristol (Flavin and Jones, 2009). Unfortunately, neither of the Coastal Port Books from London or Bristol survives for this year which would have allowed the one cargo of pipes that did leave Bristol for Ireland on a ship "of London" to be traced back.

The largest pipe cargo recorded in the 1600/01 Bristol Overseas Port Book, the twenty dozen pipes carried on the *Trynitie* of Kinsale destined for Cork, has not been recorded by Jackson, Jackson and Price in their publication. This entry appears in the account of both the Controller and the Surveyor which suggests that not all of the available Overseas Port Books were consulted in the preparation of their publication. Roger Price had kindly allowed me to copy his typed transcript notes previously and these also show several more entries than appear in the publication. These include the four dozen pipes carried on 25th September 1601 by the *James* to Cork, merchanted

by Edward Rooche of Waterford. Also in the typed notes, but not the publication, is the entry for 3rd August 1612. This lists the vessel *Francis*, clearing for Waterford carrying two gross of pipes merchanted by John Everard and one gross merchanted by Thomas Routh of Kilkenny.

There is also one entry which is recorded in the publication which does not appear in the Flavin & Jones transcription. This relates to the twelve dozen pipes carried on 1st September 1601 by the vessel *Rowbucke* to Cork. This consignment of pipes was merchanted by Patrick Gould who was from one of the main Catholic families which controlled Cork's civic government. The entry can be found in the Controllers account for 1601. In theory, if not always in practice, each official kept an independent record to prevent fraud.

The 1628/9 Port Book entry for the *Grayhound*, the only pipe cargo listed by Jackson, Jackson and Price for that year, shows that she was "of Amsterdam". This Port Book, however, also contains three other pipe entries, namely the twenty gross carried on the *Peter* of Milford to Tredathn, the six gross carried on the *White Hart* of Bristol to Youghall and the twenty gross carried on the *Christopher* of Northam to Dublin. In attempting to disaggregate the customs duty paid by the merchant in the cases relating to the *Grayhound* and the *Christopher*, it was found that the amount enumerated far exceeds the amount that should have been due based on the individual commodities listed, when compared with the Book of Rates. This suggests that the listing of goods was far from complete. Not only is the total of four gross of pipes for this year, as published by Jackson, Jackson and Price, less than the fifty gross actually recorded but there may well have been a number of occasions when pipes were carried but not recorded at all, thereby increasing the total still further. The prohibiting of the export of corn in 1629 following a widespread harvest failure led to Bristol being granted the sole right to trade with Ireland with corn being widely defined, it included hops, malt and other grains. In the case of the *Christopher* of Northam, she could only legally carry malt to Ireland via Bristol which does call into question the origin of the pipes she was carrying.

It should be noted that several voyages to Wexford, Cork, Youghall and Dublin are recorded in the Bristol Coastal Port Book for 1649, one of which, the *Unicorne* of Westbury for Dublin, carried one box of pipes. Some entries summarise goods as "diverse other wares and marchantdizes" or a similar phrase, with one entry unhelpfully stating that the vessel was going "to Irelande". Why these entries are not recorded in the Overseas Port Book and poundage paid, is not clear.

A different issue arises with the entries relating to the second half of the century. It would have been useful if Jackson, Jackson and Price had included a column for the port which each vessel was "of" in their publication. For instance, the entry of 21st

March 1672 in the Overseas Port Book listing the *Adventure* carrying 600 gross of pipes shows that she was “of Boston” and presumably heading back there. Although it is not impossible that she had come from Boston, Lincolnshire, a vessel of the same name paid Wharfage in January and this was a duty only paid on goods brought from outside England and Wales. This example would appear to reflect the practice where ships increasingly took on provisions in southern Ireland before making the trans-oceanic voyage and it is possible that none of these pipes were landed at Waterford. Stone states that at least 19% of all Bristol ships were provisioned in Ireland in the period 1665-1695 (Stone, 2012 179). This would suggest that pipe cargoes recorded as clearing for Ireland were not necessarily off-loaded there. This may equally apply to those voyages listed with compound destinations, with the Caribbean plantations and the American colonies being the more likely place of unloading. For tax purposes, the Exchequer clerks were rarely interested in the actual destination so the lack of precision in recording these was not a concern to them.

Stone also suggests that Bristol’s expanding trade with northern Ireland was as a result of the increasing colonisation of Ulster after the Restoration and the subsequent development of an independent trade with the Americas (Stone, 2012 238). Davey’s summary of the finds would suggest that the pipes shipped to the northern ports from Bristol were mainly for export rather than for local consumption.

Conclusion

The fragmentary nature of the surviving record means that we can only see a partial picture of the export trade in the first half of the seventeenth century. The summary entries found in some of the earlier Port Books undoubtedly conceal part of what was a relatively modest trade. In the second half of the century, the expansion of trans-Atlantic trade saw significant numbers of pipes being exported from Bristol although the sometimes imprecise recording of destinations in the Overseas Port Books make it difficult to quantify the size of the domestic Irish market for pipes.

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The National Archives: Public Record Office E190/1136/1 Bristol Customer Overseas Outwards Port Book 1628/9.

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Documents and Digs

by Roger Price

In SCPR Newsletter 83 Peter Davey published a review of a paper that I wrote with the Jacksons some 30 years ago – so long ago that I had almost forgotten it. After some head scratching I found a copy, blew off the worst of the dust and read it to refresh my memory. Then I went through Davey's article more carefully (Davey, 2013; Jackson, Jackson & Price, 1983).

When the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology held its annual conference in Northern Ireland in 1983, the Jacksons and I had already made some progress on a project to study the records of the export trade in pipes that are found in the surviving Bristol Port Books (National Archives Reference: E.190 series). Our research had commenced with the Port Book for 1590 and had then advanced as far as the end of 1685. In addition, we had completed our examination of the Bristol Presentment Books, which are held at the Bristol Reference Library. These are printed versions of the lists of exports and imports and were intended for the use of the local mercantile community. They survive (with some gaps) from 1773-1917. As a small contribution to the conference proceedings we extracted the records of the exports of pipes from Bristol to Ireland and typed them up as a paper in order to make that part of our

unfinished study available to all. We had no observations to make about pipes that may have been exported to Ireland from other ports.

We had already established from our study of the Presentment Books, advertisements in contemporary newspapers, handbills, etc, that from about the mid-eighteenth century onwards the more prominent Bristol pipemakers often exported pipes under their own names without recourse to any middle man. Obviously, we did not know whether the same would apply for the seventeenth century records until the research of the Port Books got under way. As it turned out, up to the end of 1685 no known pipemakers were named as having traded their own wares; rather, the pipes were purchased by merchants from unspecified sources in order to sell them on. However, we felt that what we had found was still worthwhile and might be able to be developed by others later on (Jackson & Price, 1974).

For two main reasons we deliberately made no attempt at any detailed analysis of the Bristol-Ireland trade. First, the project was not complete; second, and to me more importantly, the raw data could be interpreted by anyone in their own way to suit their own particular purposes – which might differ from ours. Moreover, when we compared the entries in some selected Port Books of the late eighteenth century with the Presentment Books of the same years, we found that the details of the cargoes were not always identical; and we had not had the opportunity to investigate further. For those reasons we begged the reader to take the figures: ‘... *in the spirit in which they are intended*’: that is, as a preliminary statement of what we had found, and no more than that (Jackson *et al*, 1983, 1).

In his review Davey referred to a recently published study of the sixteenth-century Bristol-Ireland trade (Flavin & Jones, 2009). Those authors adopted a position similar to that which the Jacksons and I had taken years before – although they were concerned with the trade of all goods rather than just tobacco pipes. They presented the raw data with only a few general comments. As they noted in their brief introduction, there are factors other than cargoes and ports that should be taken into account; not least the political situation in Ireland during and after the Nine Years War (otherwise known as Tyrone’s Rebellion) of 1594-1603: to which I would add the various later uprisings. Also, for the purposes of Bristol studies the early years of the pipemaking trade in the city could be considered. There are so many possible ‘takes’, depending on what the analyst is trying to do – which is why we left the figures to ‘... *speak for themselves*’.

Davey chided us for not having taken sufficient account in our paper of the excavated material in order to arrive at what he called a ‘balanced assessment’ of the trade between Bristol and Ireland. Perhaps so: but the difficulty was that many of the excavations that he referred to had yet to take place – and we are not blessed with praeternatural clairvoyant powers! He also suggested that we presented the documents

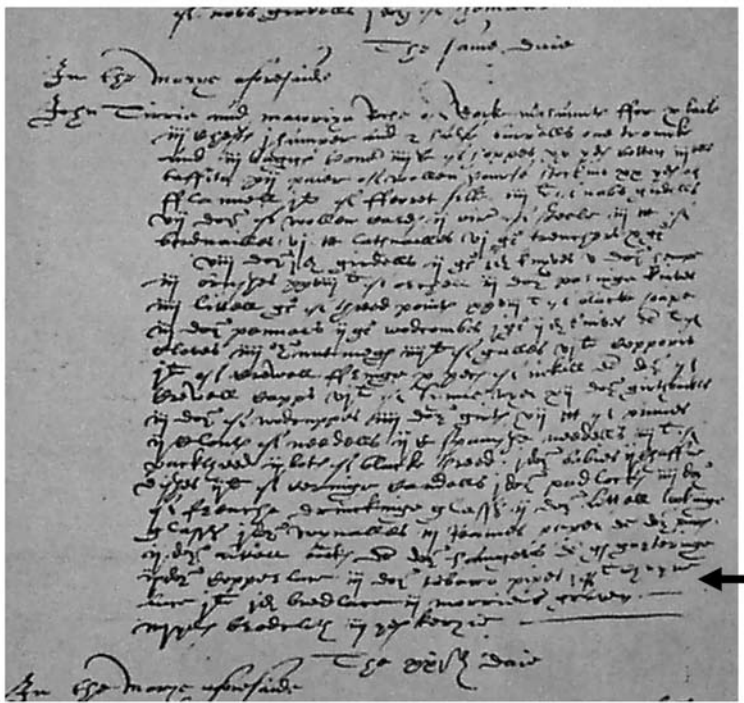


Figure 1: First known export of pipes from Bristol to Ireland:
15 January 1596/7 (Courtesy: National Archives (Ref: E.190/1132/2))

as showing a ‘true’ picture that the excavated material would have to be made to fit into; but for some reason he chose not to quote our suggestion that ‘... a study of excavated material combined with the trade figures should be a fruitful area for research’ (Davey, 2013, 31-2; Jackson *et al*, 1983, 2).

Our figures from the Port Books showed that during the period 1597-1649 at least 110 gross (more than 15,500) pipes were sent from Bristol to Ireland. As one would probably expect, the earliest shipments (up to about 1603) were comparatively small – mostly just a few dozen at a time, with occasional larger loads. The first really substantial cargo was the 15 gross pipes sent to Youghal on 28 Mar 1612. I would reiterate here that we can only speak of the surviving data: there could have been larger shipments even earlier than that listed in records which have been lost. We are never likely to know.

Davey identified 81 Bristol-made pipes from the period c1600-1650 which have been found on excavations at 11 locations in Ireland. He tabulated them according

to the initials of their makers' marks, but provided no illustrations or other details. He made the interesting observation that the majority of those pipes were found on excavations in the northern part of Ireland (which I take to mean roughly from Dublin up to Derry/ Londonderry), whereas most of the shipments found in the Port Books went to the south and east. Admittedly, I have not had the opportunity to examine any of Davey's material myself but, as far as I can judge, there are certain discrepancies in his identifications. **No** Bristol pipemakers bearing the initials 'NC' or 'AN' are known from that early period, and those pipes are likely to have been made elsewhere. Also, the pipes marked 'PE', 'TG' and 'RT' were almost certainly made **after** their makers took their freedoms – which would put them to later than 1650. My 'corrected' figures for that period (under the circumstances not necessarily fully accurate themselves) show that the number of Bristol-made pipes was probably closer to 33. Of those, 21 (about 64%) were from excavations in northern areas; 12 (about 36%) were from the south. That is not as dramatic a difference as claimed by Davey; but his assertion seems to be broadly correct (Davey, 2013, 28 & fig 2; Price, 2013).

The Port Books for the period 1651-1661 have not survived; but those that we have from 1662-1685 list the export of some 5500 gross (about 800,000) pipes from Bristol to Ireland. During that period the sizes of most shipments increased markedly. For example, 600 gross pipes were taken to Waterford on 21 Mar 1671/2; and there were at least ten other shipments of 100 gross or more up to the end of 1685. In his period c1650-1690 Davey identified 64 Bristol-made pipes that were recovered on excavations at nine locations. Using reasoning similar to that set out above, my figures would 'correct' that number to 39; to which should be added those 'misdated' 45 from the earlier period: giving a total of 84 pipes. Of that total, 45 (about 54%) were found in the south; 39 (about 46%) were found in the north and west: which is not far off equal quantities. That does not really fit Davey's argument that during that period most Bristol-made pipes were found in south-east Ireland, whereas most recorded shipments went to the north and west of the country (Davey, 2013, 28; Price, 2013).

Compared with the trade figures from the Port Books, the numbers that Davey reported as having been found on excavations are vanishingly small, but certainly not insignificant. His observations are not in themselves necessarily incorrect, but other factors need to be taken into account (Davey, 2013, fig 3).

First: were the pipes that he reported actually 'exported' at all? By that I mean: were they originally among consignments that were purchased by a merchant from a pipe manufacturer or dealer (in Bristol or elsewhere) and sent to Ireland for the purpose of trading? As is well known, pipes that were obviously intended for trade occasionally turn up on excavated shipwrecks; but of the 145 pipes reported by Davey only three groups of more than nine pipes were found in any one place. He does not make it

clear whether the 17 ‘RT’ pipes and 18 ‘TG’ pipes excavated at Carrickfergus, and the 26 ‘WT’ pipes from Waterford, were recovered as discrete groups or scattered about. Even if one puts those 61 pipes to one side, it seems to me that another explanation for the presence of the remaining 84 pipes is equally plausible. Sailors from Ireland who were visiting Bristol on a trading voyage could well have gone into the local taverns (not unknown among the seafaring community), purchased tobacco and pipes for their own use and taken them home with them. ‘Home’ could have meant the port from which they had sailed or somewhere else – perhaps in the interior on a visit to family or friends. Once in Ireland, the pipes could have been either given away or mislaid before being discarded, until they were eventually recovered on excavations. If that is so, should we consider them as part of the export trade *per se* and compare their numbers with the figures given in the Port Books? My own feeling is that we should not – other than as a peripheral consequence of that trade.

Second: what does Davey’s observation that the pipes were found in places other than the specified receiving ports really mean? Any port could ‘absorb’ only a limited proportion of imported goods, and some of it (who knows how much?) must have been traded in the hinterland. How else would a merchant make a reasonable profit? Indeed, I would be amazed if pipes **were** largely restricted to those ports. In Flavin & Jones’s indexes, no mention is made of any cargoes (pipes or any other goods) being sent from Bristol to Belfast, Carrickfergus or Derry/Londonderry during the sixteenth century; nor were any of the trading ships based in those ports. Furthermore, only a very few shipments of goods were made to other northern Irish ports, or on vessels based in those other ports. This suggests that other factors, such as competition from other English, Welsh or Scottish ports, or some political or economic constraint, may have been involved. As far as I can judge from the incomplete records, that seems to have been the situation until around the mid-seventeenth century. So, up to that time relatively few Bristol pipes are likely to have gone straight to the northern half of Ireland because there were hardly any opportunities for direct trade. I can make no further comment about that because it is outside my field of knowledge (Flavin & Jones, 2009).

One must agree with Davey that there is no proof that the pipes listed in the Port Books were made in Bristol: which was why we were careful not to state that they were. However, they were almost certainly taken from Bristol as the last place of export, so I still feel that it was reasonable to refer to them as Bristol pipes (**not** necessarily Bristol-made pipes). Davey noted from data provided by Flavin & Jones that a number of the ships leaving Bristol in 1600/1 were London-owned. For that reason, he suggested, the pipes may have come from there before being shipped on to Ireland. That could be true, if those pipes were exported on London-based ships; and there is no known direct evidence for pipemaking in Bristol in the late sixteenth century or the very earliest years of the seventeenth century. Therefore, a London

origin for the approximately 7 gross of pipes that were sent to Ireland up to the end of 1603 would be a reasonable suggestion, given the primacy of the capital in the industry at that time. Nevertheless, the situation changed rapidly as the number of pipemakers in Bristol grew during the seventeenth century.

The Port Books were compiled by inspectors for the administration of the collection of taxes – not for the delectation of future historians. Bristol was the port where the customs officials made their valuations of the pipes for their tax rates to be assessed. It seems reasonable to suppose that in order to avoid the possibility of missing the collection of revenue, any goods that were taken by ship from another port for eventual export would probably have been taxed at that home port before coming to Bristol. If they were brought to Bristol by land, the home-base of the ship carrying them to Ireland would not really matter – unless some form of deception to avoid paying taxes was being plotted (Davey, 2013, 31).

During the period January 1596/7 to September 1649 the Port Books listed the shipment of 47 separate loads of tobacco pipes to Ireland (we inadvertently overlooked one on our old list). The home ports of those ships were: 38 from Bristol (*ie* about 80% of the total); two from Waterford; and one each from Berkeley, Dungarvan, Milford, Westbury (Westbury on Severn?) and, intriguingly, Amsterdam. There were only two vessels based in London - which carried loads of 4 dozen & 1½ gross of pipes respectively. Both those cargoes were owned by Irish-based merchants (**not** Londoners). In addition, the Port Books up to the end of 1612 state the home ports of the merchants who had purchased the goods for export to Ireland. Of the 44 shipments of pipes made from 1597–1612: 27 were by merchants based in Cork (*ie* about 60% of the total); seven in Limerick; four in Waterford, and one each in Kinsale and Youghal. Three were not specified; and only one merchant was based in London - who exported pipes to Youghal on a **Bristol** ship.

There seems to have been a change in the range of home ports of the ships which came to Bristol after c1662–85: at least, as far as the trade in pipes was concerned. Admittedly, we do not have figures for vessels carrying other commodities; and records in earlier Port Books that have not survived might have shown that the supposed shift was illusory. Of the 162 shipments listed in the records, some 20% of the home ports were not identified; but only about 33% were Bristol-based. There was an upsurge in vessels visiting Bristol from northern Irish ports, especially Londonderry. Those northern vessels made up a further 20% or so of the total. The remaining 27% of visiting vessels were from miscellaneous ports in England, Wales, and other parts of Ireland; but only one of them was London-based: the *Hopewell*, on which the merchant William Lovall exported 20 gross pipes to Cork and/or Jamaica on 31 Aug 1683. It is not proven, but Lovall may have been the mariner who was made free in Bristol on 22 October 1680. I have no knowledge of the reasons for the apparent shift

in the trade pattern. Perhaps it was related to some change in the political situation after the Restoration of Charles II; or there may have been a greater level of overall commercial activity in Ireland. These are no more than suggestions; but the change may have some bearing on Davey's observation that the ports that appeared in the trade figures were not necessarily the same as the locations of the excavated material.

The records for the pipe trade also show that the shipmaster was usually **not** the person who purchased the cargoes for export. He may have done so on occasion, taking the opportunity to make a little extra profit on the side; but as far as pipes were concerned the broad evidence found in the records for the seventeenth century that we examined suggests that his role would usually have been to act only as a carrier for other merchants. Therefore, the home port of his vessel would have been immaterial. The possibility of a London (or other) origin for the exported pipes cannot be denied; but to my mind Davey's argument is largely a red herring.

As to his assertion that one cannot be certain that the pipes that were sent to Ireland were offloaded at the port of destination – what can one say? He cited as evidence in support of his argument the cargoes that were carried on ships which were listed as sailing to more than one destination. However, it is difficult to accept Davey's reasoning that '*... This makes it very likely that a high proportion of the shipments to other ports such as Londonderry and Killibegs, where local finds are absent or very rare, were intended for the trans-Atlantic trade*'. Just because two ports were named as a vessel's destination does not necessarily mean that the goods were taken to the most distant one. Goods were sent by a merchant to places where he thought they were most likely to be sold. Turning to the evidence, the surviving records for 1597-1685 list only nine such cases - those vessels usually going on from Ireland to the West Indies or America. That was less than 5% of the total number of shipments sent from Bristol during that time; which leaves more than 95% of the recorded vessels sailing to only one port as their stated destination (Davey, 2013, 31; Jackson *et al*, 1983, 1).

Is there any evidence that the very earliest pipes that were exported to Ireland (*ie* up to say 1612) actually **could** have been made in Bristol? For many years it was generally agreed that the first record of pipemaking in Bristol was when Richard Berryman took on John Wall as an apprentice in 1619. Berryman was presumably Davey's pipemaker with the initials 'RB' listed in his figure 2. However, in the late 1970s a probate inventory was found that referred to Miles Casse (or Casey), a tobaccopipe maker and distiller who had worked in Bristol and died here in 1617. His origins are unknown; although, interestingly, his surname has a certain Irish ring. It has not been established how long he had worked in this city. It is just about possible that he was the manufacturer of the early exported pipes; but that is only an outside chance. It would be nice to be able to identify his pipes in Ireland, but none have been reported even in Bristol (Jackson *et al*, 1983, 2; Price, 2013).

There is yet another issue. In the end, pipes were meant to be used for smoking tobacco; and no study of pipes and smoking in Ireland would be complete without looking at the import of tobacco itself. I do not know when tobacco was first introduced to that country, nor where it came from. According to Latimer, the first reference to tobacco in Bristol was in a document dated 9 October 1593; but his argument is a little confused. However, if his assertion is true, no tobacco is likely to have been sent from Bristol to Ireland before that date; but obviously, it could have been imported from elsewhere. Flavin & Jones refer to Edward Pontche of Cork exporting from Bristol to Cork 4 dozen tobacco pipes and 1 pound of tobacco on 2 July 1601. Later that year, on 25 September, William Halie of Waterford exported the same quantities of both goods to Cork. In both cases the cargo of pipes was valued at 20 pence and the tobacco was said to be worth 3 shillings and 4 pence (*ie* 40 pence). By computation, that means that one ounce of tobacco was given the same value for taxation purposes as 6 pipes. There were considerable differences in the stated values of pipes given in other cargo records; but whether that related to the nature of the pipes themselves, or variations in the views of the customs valuing officers, could be another area for useful research (Latimer, 1900, 6; Flavin & Jones, 2009, 903 & 941-2; Jackson *et al*, 1983, 3).

Actually, a Bristol pipemaker had lived and worked in Waterford prior to 1650; but as far as I am aware none of his pipes have been identified anywhere. According to a statement of his age made in a deposition in 1654, Edward Abbott was born c1599; but the direct evidence for his origins is slight. Nevertheless, because he had kinsmen living in Bristol and he eventually settled in the city himself, it seems quite possible that he had come from here or nearby. A formal deposition made on oath in Bristol on 18 May 1653, and referring to events that had taken place some years earlier, related:

‘... Edward Abbott of the City of Bristoll Tobacco pipe maker ... sware ... that on or about the xxiiijth day of March in the year 1641 hee was then liveinge in the City of waterford in Ireland att w^{ch} tyme the Irish Rebbeles did banish & turne out of the s^d Cittye of waterford the most p^{ie} of the English Inhabitants there saveinge some few englishe trades men w^{ch} the Irishe constraned to live there with them in respect they had hardly any of their owne Nation there w^{ch} could use or exercise these trades & occupacions w^{ch} the English then did, and amongst the rest this depon^t was one w^{ch} was to abide & live there & exercise his trade & callinge ...’ (Price, 2013).

Iain Walker suggested that Abbott was a Bristolian who went to work in Ireland following King James I’s advertisement of 1619 for persons to settle in Waterford. Abbott would then have been about 20-21 years old. Nott & Ralph referred to the migration of Bristolians to Waterford in 1620, when a Corporation was granted to that city with royal assent on the understanding that a number of English craftsmen would

be allowed to settle there; Bristol being one of the cities to which the king appealed to provide volunteers. Whatever Abbott's background, there seems to have been a dearth of pipemakers in south-east Ireland in the first half of the seventeenth century, as witnessed by Abbott's value to the local community. For reasons that are not provided, Abbott eventually opted to settle in Bristol and was a founder member of the Bristol Pipemakers' Guild in September 1652 (Price, 2013; Walker, 1977, 1046; Nott & Ralph, 1948, 4).

So, all these various themes are in the mix to be taken account of, according to what one sets out to do. I still believe that our paper provided a good foundation for assessing the Bristol-Ireland pipe export trade as it was understood in 1983. Given the complex nature of the subject, it remains to be seen whether anyone can improve on it to achieve the 'balanced assessment' that Davey demands.

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Contributions to the Newsletter

Articles and other items for inclusion can be accepted either

- on an IBM compatible floppy disk or CD - preferably in Word.
- as handwritten text, which must be clearly written - please print names.
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- illustrations must be in ink, not pencil, or provided as digital scans of at least 600dpi resolution.
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Enquiries

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

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Email: rondag@blueyonder.co.uk (pipes and pipe makers in the north of England).

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

Susie White, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH.

Email: susie_white@talktalk.net (pipes and pipe makers 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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