

The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe

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EXETER: ITS CLAY TOBACCO-PIPE INDUSTRY AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

by C. J. Arnold and J. P. Allan

Exeter was in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth perhaps the third or fourth provincial city of England (Stevens 1958, 8; Hoskins 1935, 18). After the Civil War it grew rapidly, developing important trades with America and the Low Countries (Stevens 1958, *passim*). Its peak of prosperity was in the years c. 1675-1720. It was at this time the largest port on the south coast of England with important distributive and industrial functions (Hoskins 1935; Clark 1960, *passim*). The production of tobacco-pipes formed a small but not insignificant section of this trade and industry. While Exeter never rose to become a major manufacturer and exporter of pipes like Bristol, London and Southampton, the industry there is an interesting one, particularly when compared with its major competitors. A detailed study of the clay pipe industry at Southampton has been published (Arnold 1977) and allows a comparison to be made of the fortunes of the industries of these two south-coast ports, the one a modest industry, the other a major producer exporting internationally on a large scale.

Information regarding the industry in Exeter has been obtained from the following sources: the City Freedom Rolls, Exeter Port Books, property leases (Exeter City Record Office), seventeenth-century tax assessments (Hoskins 1957) and the large number of nineteenth-century directories. More work could be done on Parish Registers and property records. The Freedom Rolls provide most names. These are well preserved and a definitive publication of them is now available (Rowe and Jackson 1973). Since the use of an occupation was restricted to Freemen and the list has only a few gaps in the 1620s, the late 1670s and 1680s, most manufactures should be recorded. This however is clearly not the case before the 1690s. It will be shown below that the export of pipes was already well under way in the 1660s, and several of those employing new apprentices in the 1690s are not listed in the admissions of Freemen. Periodic attempts were made to enforce the Freedom (*ibid.*, xx-xxiii), and the sudden listing of many makers in 1691 perhaps represents one such enforcement. The Exeter Port Books (Public Record Office E.190.) provide information about the levels of imports and exports. Unfortunately few survive before the mid 1670s. There are Foreign Books of only eleven years in the period 1600-1675, with only two between the books of 1638 and 1676. The beginnings of the export trade are therefore somewhat obscure. After 1676 the majority of books survive and the evidence is fuller. Even so, it is difficult to judge how complete is the picture they present. Clay pipes were a taxable commodity. They paid export subsidy at 5%. Clandestine exports were liable to seizure if detected, and there are examples of this in the Exeter Books. By the early eighteenth century exports were generally so under-valued in the

Books of Rates that they were often paying only c. 2½% of their value. Merchants thus had much to lose and little to gain from concealment (Clark 1938, 75). On the other hand there is occasionally evidence of such incompetence and corruption of the Exeter customs officials (Stevens 1958, xxiii) that the records must be defective. Further, export of very small cargoes of pipes may have been allowed to pass without record. There are not many cargoes of less than 5 gross, although some are very small (e.g. 6 dozen pipes to Virginia in 1697). Whilst the quantities recorded may be considerably lower than the real levels of exportation, they do allow comparison between ports administered under the same system, and, with reservations (Clark 1938, 53-56) show fluctuations in trade.

The archaeological evidence of the industry is becoming extensive. collection in Rougemont Museum, Exeter (Oswald pp. 325-336 below) has now been complemented by a large stratified collection excavated by Exeter Archaeological Unit. Mr. Oswald has shown that deposits of the early seventeenth century contain imported pipes from London and Holland. From about 1640 distinctive local forms become prominent and dominate the market until c. 1730. The excavations have been particularly rich in groups of the period c. 1670-1720 containing hundreds of local pipes and very few imports. These included a large collection of kiln debris from Bartholemew Street, and small quantities of similar waste from other parts of town. Later groups include a high proportion of Bristol-style pipes. It will be seen that Mr. Oswald's conclusions correspond well with the picture of the industry derived from documents. Very few local pipes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bear initials and most are completely plain. Those from Bartholemew Street are identical to a small quantity of kiln waste from the Shilhay, possibly derived from nearby Rack Street, so it is not possible to assign many pipes to their makers. In the nineteenth century they are commonly marked, (Oswald in Allan forthcoming).

The earliest recorded pipemaker in Exeter is Edward Tribble (? Gribble). In 1654 he claimed at the City Sessions that a suspected witch called for fire at his house, which he gave her, and for one month afterwards he could not make his pipes to his satisfaction (Exeter City Record Office). There is evidence of continuous manufacture of pipes from that time until the mid-eighteenth century. Admissions of Freeman are particularly numerous in the period 1690-1712 (Fig. 1), suggesting the industry was then at its height. Admission of a Freeman was presumably followed by an active working life, so the decline in admissions immediately after 1710 need not be a sign of rapid decline. However the subsequent steady fall in admissions until the last entry in 1741 indicates the gradual decay of the industry. There is no evidence of pipemaking in the period 1753-1800 suggesting that it had either ceased or was continued on a small scale. Absence of pipemakers from the Freeman Rolls is not conclusive evidence that production had ceased, since none of the nineteenth century producers is listed there, nor is Joseph Thomas, the only known mid-eighteenth century maker. The fact that the nineteenth century producers were working in two areas known to have been centres of production in the period 1690-1720 suggest that there may well have been continuous production. Only one pipemaker is recorded in the Exeter Militia List of 1803 (Hoskins 1972). There were about four in the period 1820-1850. Decline followed, and production ceased in the 1890s when the Reynolds' kiln finally closed.

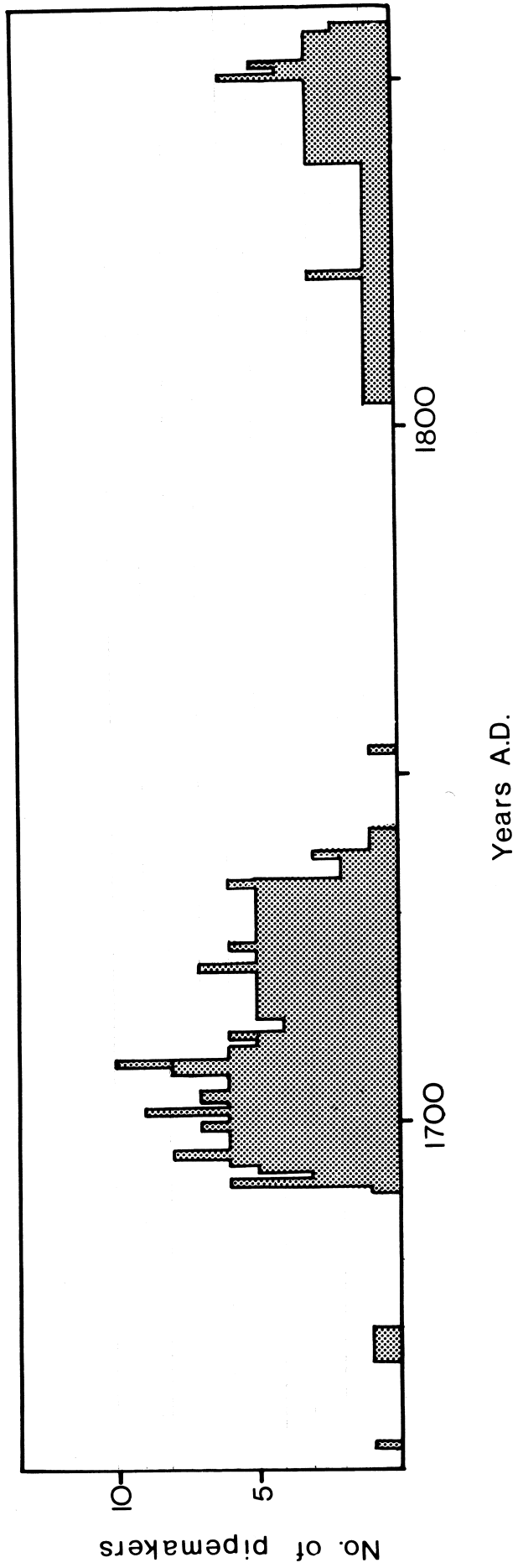


Fig. 1 Graph showing numbers of known pipemakers in Exeter.

The Freeman Rolls also include a most interesting entry of October 21, 1707. William Harry was admitted with Anthony Heard, pipemaker,

'There not being a Sufficient number of freemen of that Corporation for the offices of Master and Warden.' (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 214).

It would appear from this reference that the Exeter pipemakers, like those of London, Gateshead, Bristol and Broseley had formed themselves into a Corporation, a move strongly resisted in other towns (Arnold 1977, 314-315). No other information regarding this organisation has been found and the pipemakers' arms do not hang beside those of the other Corporations in Exeter Guildhall. The Corporation must have been shortlived and it is likely that it was formed shortly before 1707. It is significant that at this time there was a shortage of people suitable for office in the Corporation as the number of pipemakers was declining from about that time (Fig. 1).

At the height of the industry in c. 1700 there seem to have been at least four or five manufactories employing several individuals: those of Gribble, Mugford, Symons, Burges, and perhaps White (see below). The position of the pipemakers' workshops can be suggested in at least six cases, and they presumably were often handed down from one maker to another. In the nineteenth century it is possible that Ann Gill, William White and Robert Reynolds were using the same kiln(s) in Cheeks Lane (now Cheekes Street). This arrangement was in operation in Lewes, Sussex, where several pipemakers used the same kiln either jointly or successively (Norris 1970). Elisha Channon had a pipemaker's shop in Rack Lane, and Robert Mugford (2) may also have leased premises in this street (Fig. 2). A number of other pipemakers lived and worked in the same parishes, St. Sidwells in the north and St. Mary Major in the south, although their exact addresses are not known. These include Robert Mugford (1) and Ezekiel Gribble. The poverty of many pipemakers has received comment elsewhere (Oswald 1970, 230; Arnold 1977, 315-6) and in Exeter John Slow was receiving poor relief in the parish of Mary Major in 1699. Indeed the distribution of pipemakers shows a striking grouping in the poorest parts of town. The extramural area of St. Sidwells was the area of greatest poverty. All Hallows-on-the-Walls, where the Burges family was working, was a very poor area, and so was the lower part of St. Mary Major Parish which included Rack St. (Stevens 1958, 155; Hoskins 1935, 115ff.). The contributions of pipemakers to the Poor Rate of 1699 were generally low. William Burges paid 1d., Ezekiel Gribble 2½d., and Richard Symons 1d. (Hoskins 1957, 97, 105, 112.).

In the early seventeenth century the Port Books provide no evidence of pipe exports but include a few references to their importation. In 1636 two batches of tobacco pipes, totalling 80 gross, were imported from Rotterdam (P.R.O. E.190. 949/9), and in 1627 the import of two boxes of pipes from London is recorded (P.R.O. E. 190. 946/9). Exports from Exeter are first recorded in 1666 when a total of 270 gross was shipped abroad. These shipments were to European markets (Morlaix, Galloway and Bilbao). The earliest recorded shipment to America is of 1678. The preservation of more Port Books in the third quarter of the seventeenth century would probably have provided earlier references. Thereafter tobacco pipes were exported in bulk

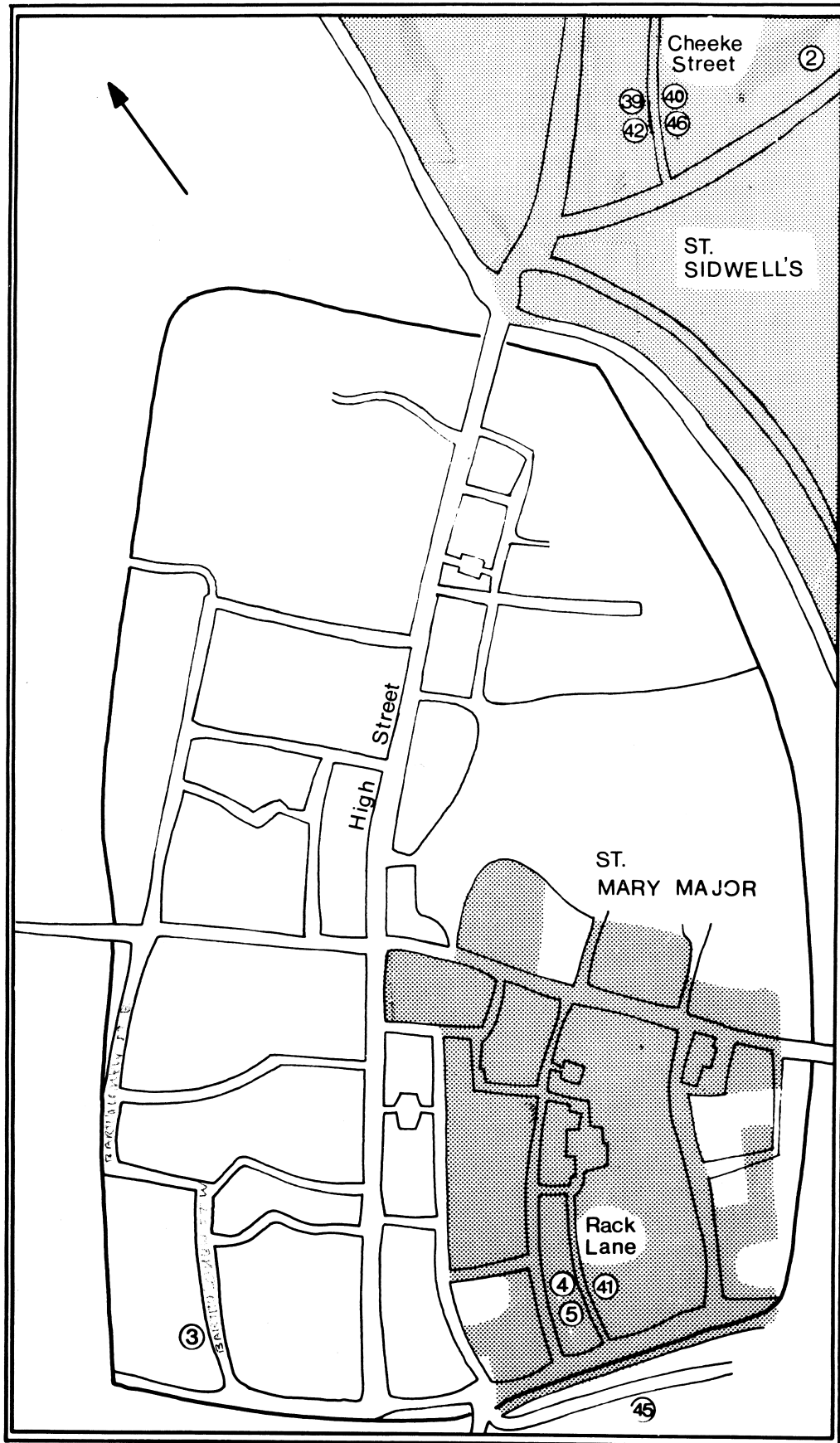


Fig. 2 The location of tobacco-pipe makers in Exeter. Numbers refer to list of pipemakers.

to Spain, Portugal and the Channel Isles, and there are occasional shipments to Scandinavia, northern France and even Africa. America provided the major market throughout the period 1670-1730, with 39% of known foreign exports between 1666 and 1700, and 58% of foreign exports between 1702 and 1730. The importance of the American market may indeed be under-represented in the Port Books. Ships going to Spain or Portugal, then on to America, would be registered under their first destination, although some cargoes would be unloaded in America. Similarly the importance of the Newfoundland trade may be exaggerated. One Port Book entry states a ship is bound for 'Newfoundland and New England'. The entry of a subsequent cargo of the same ship gives its destination as Newfoundland; the cargoes may have travelled to New England.

Exports rose very rapidly in the late 1690s to reach the high levels of 1454 gross in 1697, 3387 gross in 1698 and 1350 gross in 1699 (Fig. 3). The Foreign Port Books of both the Customer and Controller of Customs at Exeter survive for 1698. Both give destinations only sporadically, but used together they enable most to be identified (Table 1). In this year, if it may be assumed that a gross was always 144 pipes, rather less than half a million pipes were exported from Exeter. Valued for tax purposes at 10d. per gross, their value was £141. This valuation is probably too low, and those of imported cargoes of Dutch pipes at 16d. and 18d. per gross are probably more accurate, giving values of £225-£254, (but for problems of such valuations see Clark 1938 *passim*). This is clearly a sizeable sum, similar for example to the total value of Exeter's import of Dutch earthenwares at its height in about 1700, and rather more than the total annual value of its stoneware imported at that time (Allan forthcoming). It is therefore not surprising that imported pipes are such rarities in excavations in the City. Imports are not, however, completely unknown. In 1690, 480 gross were imported from Rotterdam; in 1707 a box of tobacco pipes was imported from London. The early years of the eighteenth century show exports at a lower level, comparable to that in the 1670s and 1680s, followed by a marked decline after *c.* 1720 (Fig. 4). In the eight available years in the period 1720-30 only 165 gross were exported. No exports have been found in the Books of 7 years between 1731 and the last Foreign Port Book of 1753, so it seems that exportation had by then ceased.

A small coastal export had begun at least by the 1670s. In 1673 a barrel of tobacco pipes was sent to Plymouth and two hogsheads to London. When the industry was at its height in the 1690s the Coastal Books contained very little detail, so pipes are not mentioned. The Port Books for the adjacent port of Dartmouth do, however, refer to the export of large quantities of English clay pipes. For example, in 1699 (P.R.O. E.190. 975/3) 340 gross were sent to Morlaix and 170 gross to Guernsey. Since there is no evidence of an industry at Dartmouth, these may be re-exports of Exeter pipes. Exeter's early eighteenth century Books are much fuller, and record exports of pipes to Plymouth, Dartmouth and Salcombe (Table 1; Fig. 6). This trade survived after the collapse of the foreign export trade; in 1736 a total of 36 gross were sent to Falmouth followed by 40 gross in 1737 and more in 1739. In 1741 a box of tobacco pipes was sent to Dartmouth (P.R.O. E.190.1000/9-1003/5). No pipe exports were noted in three years of Coastal Books of the 1750s, so coastal exports may also have ceased by then.

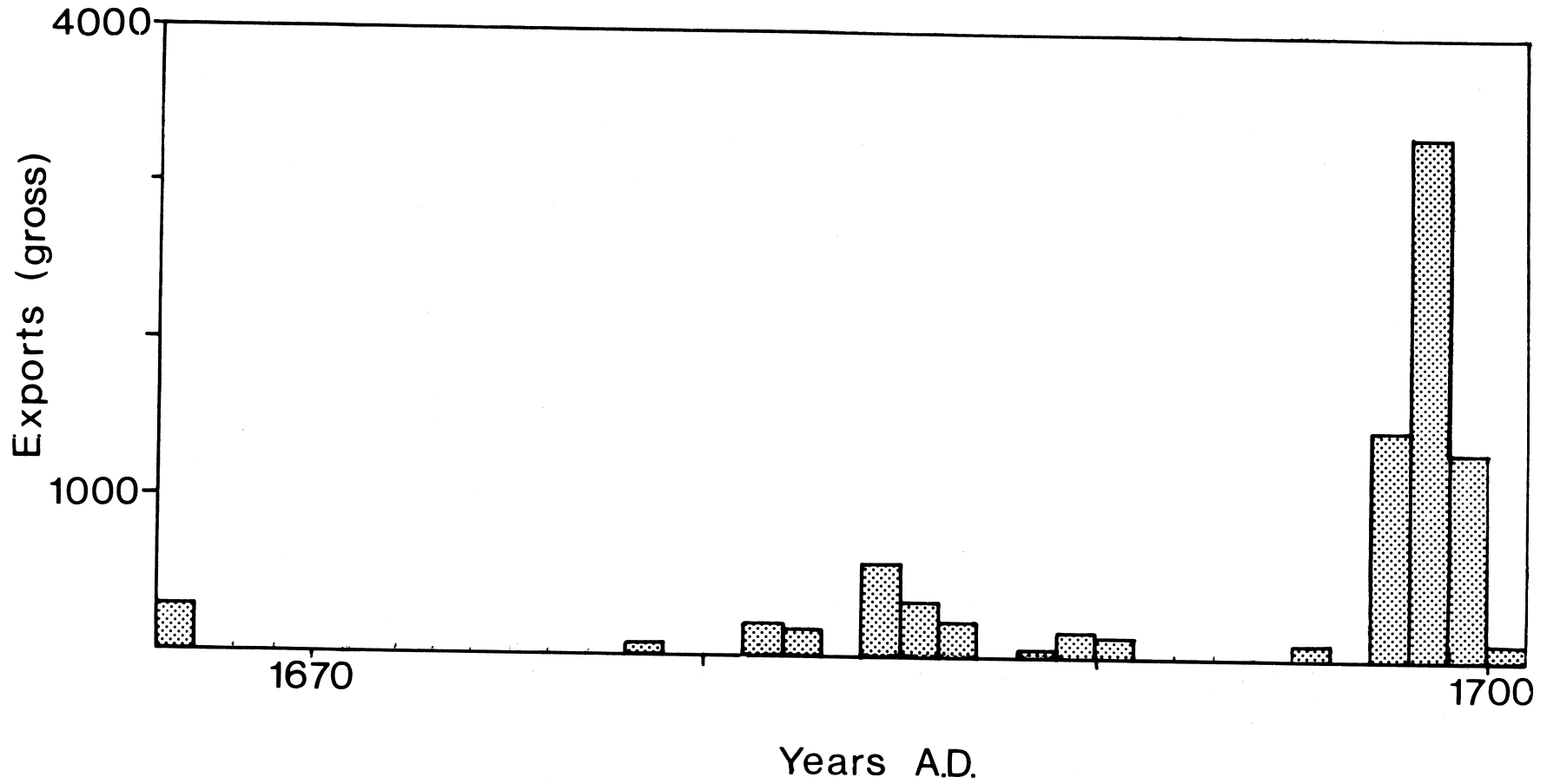


Fig. 3 Graph showing annual export of tobacco pipes from Exeter 1666-1700.

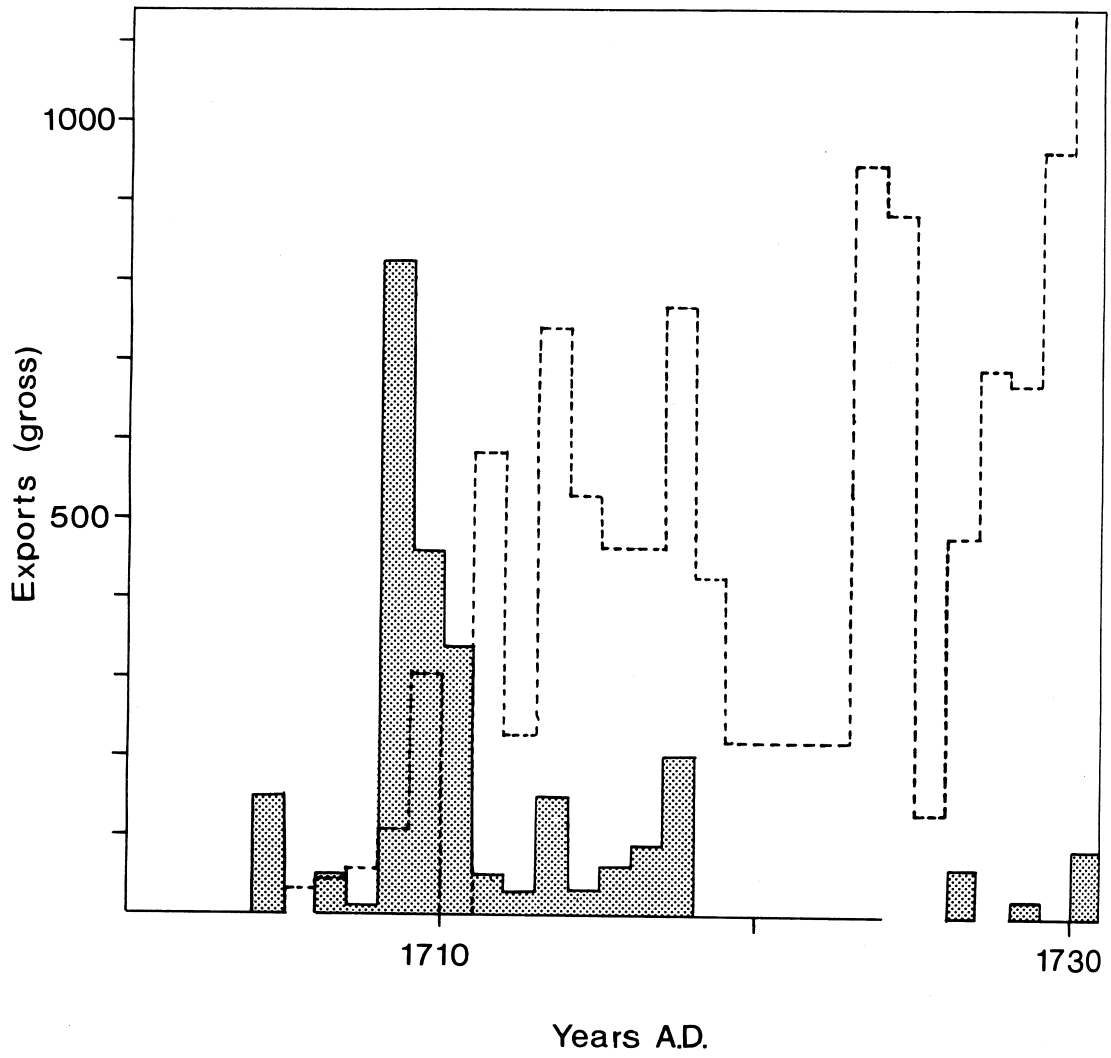


Fig. 4 Graph showing annual export of tobacco pipes from Exeter (shaded) and Southampton (dotted outline) 1700-30 (after Arnold 1977, Fig. 5).

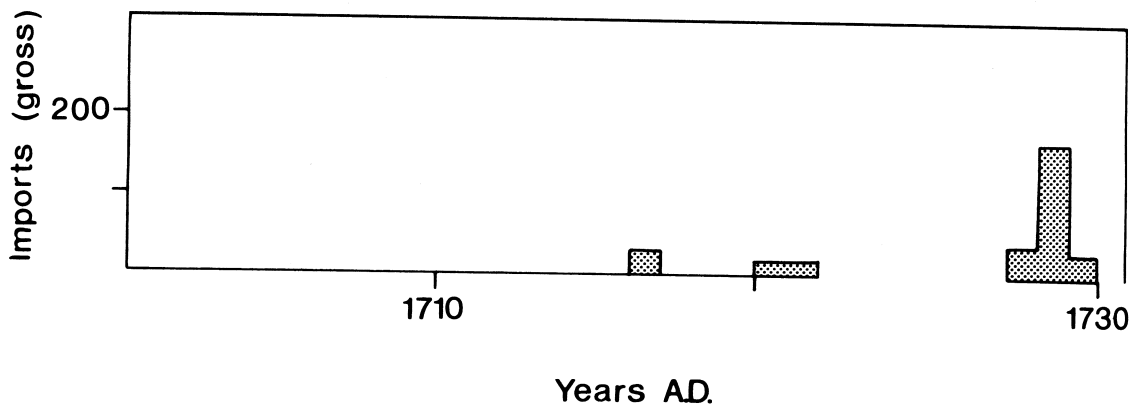


Fig. 5 Graph showing annual import of tobacco pipes to Exeter 1700-30.

This decline in exports corresponds well to the decline in the number of pipemakers known to be working in the City (Fig. 1). Whereas in 1701 there were at least nine makers; the figure had dropped by 1730 to only three, with perhaps only one in the 1750s. It also corresponds to the increase in the number of pipes being imported (Table 1; Fig. 5). Regular importation of pipes in the eighteenth century begins in 1716, when 30 gross were shipped from London in November. The number of imports steadily increased and in 1729 alone 170 gross were shipped from Dartmouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, Liverpool and especially London and Bristol whence came 75% of the total imports for the period 1716-1730. During this period a total of 46,080 pipes were imported into Exeter in the 12 years for which records are available.

The Port Books also give evidence of the organisation of the export of pipes. Pipes were always a small adjunct to ships' cargoes. The European exports were largely of Devon cloth. American cargoes were much more varied; with the pipes went a wide range of domestic goods such as haberdashery, window glass, carpets, felt hats and pewter goods, together with cloth. Nearly all were shipped in Exeter or Topsham vessels. Sometimes known pipemakers acted as merchants of their own products. This system was in use as early as 1666 (see Ezekiel Gribble *infra*) and seems to have been particularly common in the period of greatest exportation in the late 1690s. These entries have the great interest of showing some of the scale of output of individual producers (*infra*). More commonly, established local merchants sent the pipes. Several merchants might on occasion each place a cargo of pipes with other goods on one vessel. Some, like Roger Prowse in the 1690s, seem to have specialised in the buying and assembling of cargoes for export to the New World. Prowse frequently occurs in the Exeter Port Books as an importer of Rhenish goods, which he subsequently re-exported to America with English household goods (Allan forthcoming). These included clay pipes, which were certainly English since they paid export subsidy. Re-exports were not subject to this subsidy. The exports discussed in this paper paid subsidy and are therefore English. The archaeological evidence that local pipes were the only ones commonly available in Exeter at this time indicates that these must largely be local products. Topsham is a second possible source (Rippon 1917, 113-4).

The industry in Exeter must have emerged in very favourable circumstances. The local market was large, and the established pattern of Exeter's exports provided a framework for overseas sales. Exeter was well positioned for trade with America. It also had the advantage of easy access to the major supply of pipe clay in the area of Bovey Tracey. This was exported from the Teign estuary, which lay within the Exeter Customs Port, so local consumption is not recorded, but the earliest reference of its export we have found is of 1680, when 8 tons of tobacco pipe clay were sent to London (P.R.O. E.190.958/1). By the 1690s it is a regular feature of coastal trade. The subsequent expansion of the trade is described by Bulley (1955). Reasons for the decline of the industry are much less certain. Hoskins has pointed out that after a period of increasing prosperity there was a prolonged slump in Exeter's trade after c. 1715. He attributes this to competition from other south-western ports and the growth of those more favourably endowed for overseas trade like Bristol, Liverpool and Southampton (Hoskins 1935). Whilst it is clearly

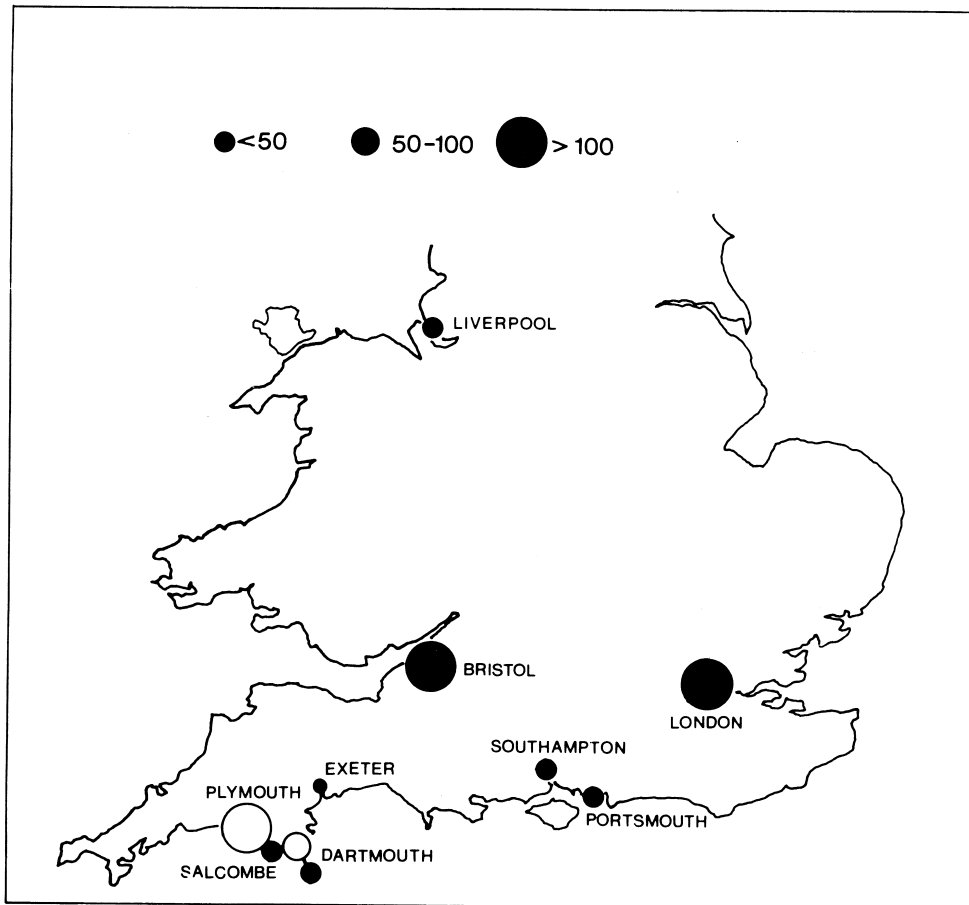


Fig. 6 Map showing English sources of tobacco pipes imported to Exeter (closed circles) and exports from Exeter (open circles), 1700-1730.

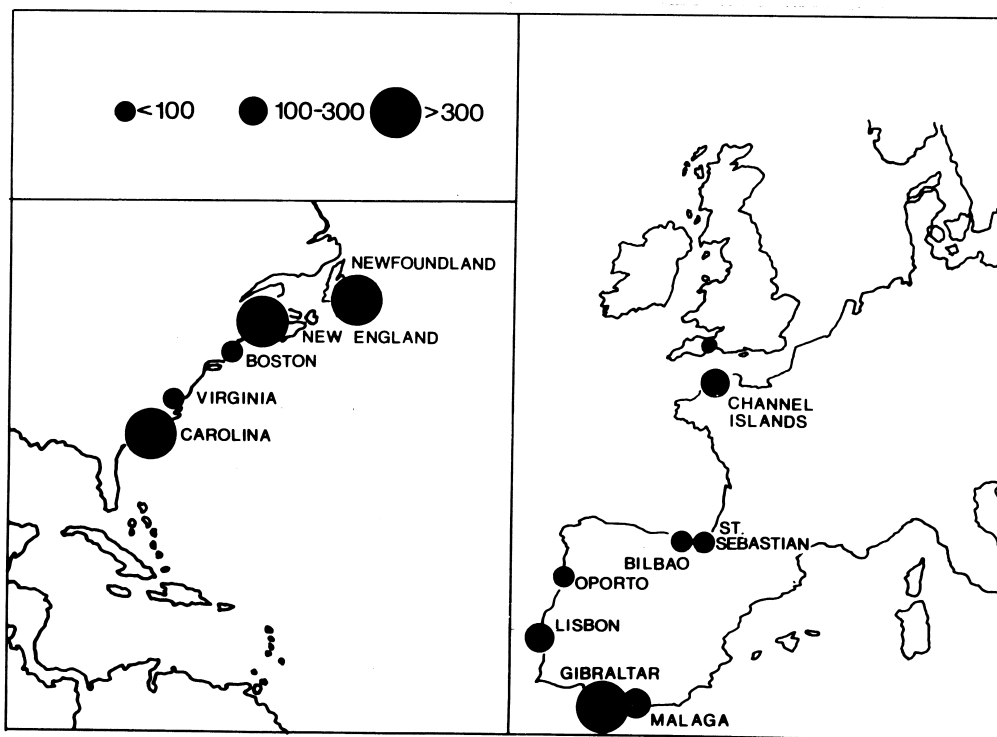


Fig. 7 Map showing overseas distribution of Exeter clay tobacco-pipes 1700-30.

related to Exeter's general prosperity, the trade does seem to have contracted around 1700 while the local economy was still strong. The correspondence between the loss of the pipe export market and the sharp decline of known producers suggests that this market was very important to them. A study of the pipe industry at Southampton (Arnold 1977) has shown that production and exportation there was increasing from c. 1700 and reached a peak after 1735 (Fig. 3). There was not a decline in Southampton's industry until the 1760s, when Southampton lost much of the Atlantic trade to Liverpool, although it retained its dominance of the supply trade to the Channel Isles. Whilst Exeter was shipping the greater proportion of its pipes to the American colonies, this comprised a small segment of Southampton's exports (Arnold 1977, Fig. 2). Otherwise the destinations of pipes from the two centres are similar. It is interesting that the last quarter of the eighteenth century saw an absence of pipemakers in Southampton and the industry only recovered at the end of the century. This appears to correspond with a depression in Exeter's industry. Perhaps both were hard hit by the growth of London and Bristol as manufacturing centres. Clay pipe manufacture may have been particularly sensitive to fluctuations in a town's fortunes.

Exeter clay pipes should therefore be found in excavations in the American colonies and much of Spain, Portugal and France. They should provide useful datable horizons in excavations there. In the period 1660-1720 the average yearly foreign exports in those years with surviving Port Books were 388 gross, i.e. 55,800 pipes, giving a total export of about 3,350,000. The survival of Books of three consecutive years when exports were at their height in the late 1690s may be an exaggerating factor, but unrecorded exports and exports via other local ports must be added to the total. We estimate that fragments of rather more than one million Exeter pipes must be scattered around eastern America (Table 1). In America the identification of Exeter pipes will be indicative of trade with Devon. Their distribution should be compared to that of North Devon pottery (Malcolm Watkins 1960) or other Devon cargoes, such as South Devon roofing slate. The distribution of these cargoes may also indicate some of the migrations and colonisations from South-West England, and may make it possible to monitor such movements in the Americas.

The Pipemakers of Exeter

1. TRIBBLE, Edward 1654

Exeter's earliest known pipemaker is recorded at the City Sessions on August 12th, 1654. He claimed that a suspected witch, Diana Cross, called for fire at his house, which he gave her, and for one month afterwards he could not make his pipes to his satisfaction. They were either over or under burnt. The witch also cast her evil eye on a boy in his employ and the boy grew distracted and 'pined away in body'.

2. WHITE, William 1690-1710 (Fig. 2)

In 1690 William White, pipemaker, became a Freeman of the City by apprenticeship, although his master is not recorded (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 181). In 1708 a William White took a lease for 7 years on property in the parish of St. Sidwells which included '3 fields or closes of land between the

Olde workhouse and the Garden Wall of the new Hospital adjoining the Highway leading from Paris Street to Heavitree and containing about 5 acres of land' for an annual rent of £10.5s.0d. (Exeter City Record Office). The identification of this man with the pipemaker is tentative, as White is such a common name in the City. In the 1699 Poor Rate twenty-one Whites are listed, none of them a William White. White worked in the City for at least twenty years. George Efford, his apprentice, became a Freeman in 1710. (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 221).

3. BURGES, William (1) 1691-1701

The admission of William Burges (1) is not recorded, and he is first mentioned when Anthony Tayler, an apprentice to Burges, became a Freeman on September 21st, 1691. He took his sons William and Peter as apprentices in 1695 and 1701 respectively. James Parker was also apprenticed to Burges and became a Freeman in 1695. All are listed as pipemakers (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 187, 194, 206). Two William Burges are recorded in the Poor Rate of 1699 (Hoskins 1957, 97 and 106). The first was in Mary Major parish, the second in the parish of All Hallows-on-the-Walls. The former took a new lease in October 1704 of premises described as a 'Dwelling house in Rack Lane' for a rent of 16d. (Exeter City Record Office). It does however seem to be the latter who was the pipemaker. The Parish Registers for All Hallows-on-the-Walls include the names of William Burges and his sons William and Peter, and give some details of their marriages. This identification now appears to be confirmed by the excavation of large quantities of pipemakers' waste at a site in Bartholemew Street lying within the parish of All Hallows-on-the-Walls. The pipes are unmarked, but Oswald dates their style to c. 1690-1720 and this date is supported by evidence from stratified local groups. The Burges manufactory was one of the most important exporters in the late 1690s. In 1698 the family merchanted a total of 592 gross of pipes to Newfoundland, Cadiz and Higerá. This comprises 17% of Exeter's total export for that year.

4. MUGFORD, Robert (1)

Mugford was a pipemaker before 1691, when his son Robert (2) and his apprentice Francis Hutchinson, pipemakers, became Freemen (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 185, 186). An R. Mugford lived in Mary Major parish in 1660 contributing 12d. to the Poll Tax and another in nearby Mary Steps parish in 1671 (Hoskins 1957, 50, 78).

5. MUGFORD, Robert (2). 1691-1734 (Fig. 2)

Robert (2) became a Freeman by succession in 1691 (above). In the late 1690s the family was exporting cargoes abroad. In 1697 Robert Mugford sent 30 gross on the Adventure, probably to America. In May and July of 1698 he sent a total of 80 gross in the America to Cadiz. In October 1704 a Robert Mugford took a lease on a property in Mary Major parish. Its annual rent was 5s. It is described as a 'house with a brewing mantle and well in Rack Lane'. (Exeter City Record Office). This may be the pipemaker or a cordwainer of the same name. His son, Robert Mugford (3), became a Freeman in 1734 by succession. Both are then listed as pipemakers. (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 255).

6. HUTCHINSON, Francis 1691

See Robert Mugford (1) above.

7. TAYLER, Anthony 1691

See William Burges (1) above.

8. SYMONS, Richard 1693-1708

Richard Symons tobacco-pipemaker became a Freeman in September 1693 for a fine of £5. He is recorded taking two apprentices, Robert Gubb in 1701 and John Salter in 1708, both pipemakers. (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 189, 205, 216). A Richard Symons lived in Mary Major parish in 1699 paying 1d. in the Poor Rate (Hoskins 1957, 105). Symons was evidently a major producer, sending large quantities of pipes abroad. In August 1697 he sent 200 gross on the Adventure, probably to America. In January 1698 he placed 107 gross on the Nicholas for Lisbon, in June 110 gross on the Adventure for Bilbao and in July 50 gross on the America for Cadiz. In March 1699 he sent 100 gross on the Adventure to New England. In 1698 a Thomas Symons, perhaps a relative, sent 33 gross to Great Marlyns.

9. GILL, Lionel 1693-1712

Gill became a Freeman in September 1693 for a fine of £5. In 1712 his apprentice John Tiggins also became a Freeman (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 189, 224).

10. WARREN, Richard 1693

Whether Warren was a pipemaker is uncertain. An entry in the Mayor's Port Book in September 1693 records that Warren, a 'tobacconist', became a Freeman being an apprentice to Joseph Hussey, also a tobacconist. Another entry describes Warren as a tobacco-pipemaker (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 190). Warren is such a common name that there are several possible identifications of him in the 1699 Poor Rate.

11. GRIBBLE, Ezekiel

Ezekiel Gribble is listed in the Port Book for 1666 which records his shipment of 120 small gross of tobacco pipes to Bilbao. He is presumably either the Ezekiel Gribble listed in Mary Major parish in the Poll Tax of 1660 or that in Trinity parish in the Hearth Tax of 1671 (Hoskins 1957, 51, 65). In the Poor Rate of 1699 an Ezekiel Gribble was listed in St. Sidwell's parish (Hoskins 1957, 112). The name is so unusual that these three entries may refer to the same person, or perhaps to father and son. Having served his apprenticeship, though not with a Freeman, an Ezekiel Gribble, pipemaker, was admitted by fine of 5s in August 1694. His first recorded apprentice was his son Ezekiel (2 or 3) in 1701, and there followed Thomas Burlace in 1708 and Richard Berry in 1722 (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 190, 201, 216, 233).

12. BURGES, William (2) 1695-1734

Burges became a Freeman as apprentice to his father, William Burges (1), in 1695 (above). Three apprentices, all pipemakers, became Freemen: Richard Stockman in 1715, Peter Gale in 1722 and Stephen Hooper in 1734 (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 194, 229, 232, 254).

13. PARKER, James 1695
See William Burges (1) above.
14. SLOW, John 1699
Slow is recorded as a pipemaker in St. Mary Major parish in the Poor Rates of 1699. He was paid 1s. poor relief. (Hoskins 1957, 108).
15. BURGESS, Peter 1701
See William Burges (1) above.
16. GRIBBLE, Ezekiel (2) 1701
Apprenticed to his father Ezekiel (1), he became a Freeman in 1701 (above). In August 1706 an Ezekiel Gribble took a lease on a property in the 'West Toune of Crediton' for a rent of £6. 10s. 0d. The premises were described as a 'Dwelling house consisting of 3 ground rooms with 4 chambers over the same, with the back entry, linney, curtilage etc.' (Exeter City Record Office). This perhaps indicates that he no longer worked in Exeter.
17. GUBB, Robert 1701
See Richard Symons above.
18. HARRY, William 1707
Harry was made a Freeman in October 1707 for a fine of £1 with Anthony Heard who paid £1. 1s. 6d. 'There not being a Sufficient number of freemen of the Corporation for the offices of Master and Warden' (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 213).
19. HEARD, Anthony 1707
See William Harry above.
20. BURLACE, Thomas 1708
See Ezekiel Gribble No. 11 above.
21. MARSHALL, James 1708
Marshall is mentioned in the Freedom Rolls when his apprentice, Thomas Woodward, pipemaker, became a Freeman in March 1708 (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 217).
22. WOODWARD, Thomas 1708
See James Marshall above.
23. SALTER, John 1708
Salter became a Freeman as apprentice of Richard Symons in 1708 (above). A pipe, possibly made by Salter, was excavated in Woolster Street, Plymouth, dated 1680-1720 and marked IS (incuse) on the back of the bowl (Oswald 1969, 132, Fig. 55, No. 33).
24. EFFORD, George 1710-34
Efford served his apprenticeship with William White (above). He was still working in 1734 when his son Thomas Efford, pipemaker, became a Freeman (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 247).

25. TIGGINS, John 1712
See Lionel Gill above.
26. STOCKMAN, Richard 1715
See William Burges (2) above.
27. KNIGHT, Peter (1) 1716-1741
Knight was admitted as a Freeman for a fine of 10s. in 1716. He was still a pipemaker in 1741 when his son Peter, pipemaker, became a Freeman by succession (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 229, 268).
28. BERRY, Richard 1722
See Ezekeiel Gribble No. 12.
29. GALE, Peter 1722-1738
An apprentice of William Burges (2), he was made a Freeman in 1722 (above). His apprentice Isaac Clay became a Freeman in 1738 when Gale was still described as a tobacco-pipemaker. (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 259).
30. LEY, Jonathen 1725
Ley was admitted a Freeman for a fine of £1. 10s. 0d. in 1725 (Rowe and Jackson 1973, 238). Pipes, possibly made by Ley, are known from Plymouth (Oswald 1969, 138, Fig. 57, No. 66a) and in the collection of C.J.A. (Fig. 8.7) with reeded bowl and initials IL (relief) on the spur.
31. EFFORD, Thomas 1734
See George Efford above.
32. HOOPER, Stephen 1734
See William Burges (2) above.
33. MUGFORD, Robert (3) 1734
See Robert Mugford (2) above.
34. CLAY, Isaac 1738
See Peter Gale above.
35. KNIGHT, Peter (2) 1741
See Peter Knight (1) above.
36. THOMAS, Joseph 1753
Joseph Thomas of St. Sidwell parish, pipemaker received a marriage license in 1753 (Mann 1947, 1, 78).
37. CHAPPELL, James 1803-1822
James Chappell, pipemaker, is listed as a volunteer of the Exeter Regiment in the Exeter Militia List of 1803. He lived in St. Sidwell's and was then unmarried and aged between 17 and 30 (Hoskins 1972, 106). He was still making pipes in St. Sidwell's in 1822 (Pigot 1822).

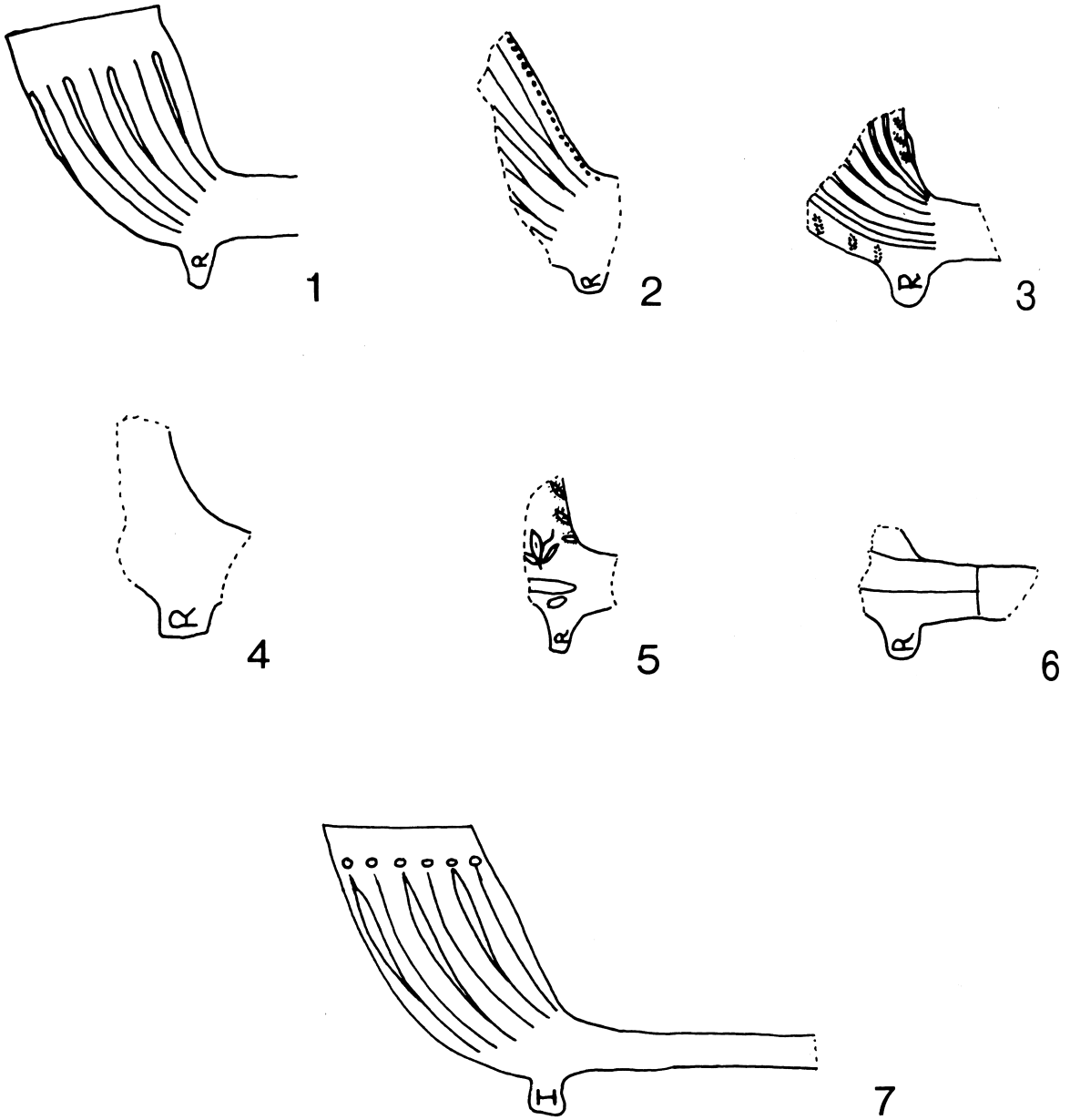


Fig. 8 Exeter clay tobacco-pipes nos. 1-7.

38. GRANGER, Thomas 1822

Granger is listed as a pipemaker in Pigot's Directory of 1822. He lived in Paris Street in St. Sidwell's parish.

39. REYNOLDS, James 1822

Pigot's Directory of 1822 list James and Robert Reynolds as pipemakers in 'Cheeks Lane - Paris Street'.

40. REYNOLDS, Robert 1822-1853 (Fig. 2)

Reynolds is listed as a pipemaker in Cheek Street in a series of Directories between 1822 and 1853 (Pigot 1822, Besley 1828, Trewman 1839, Slater 1852, Besley 1853). He is not listed in 1856 (Kelly 1636). In 1838 Reynolds rented premises from Margaret Youde described as a 'Front tenement and back house for making pipes' in Cheeks Lane. Its gross value was £13 and it was rated at £10 (Exeter City Record Office). Six examples of Reynold's pipes are illustrated (Fig. 8. 1-6), four with fluted bowls, two of them with plant decoration along the front and back moulding seams, one plain bowl and another with flat pannels. All bear the initials RR in relief.

41. CHANNON, Elisha 1838-18~~37~~⁶7 (Fig. 2)

In 1838 she and George Channing owned a 'Dwelling house in the corner, with pipemaker's shop etc.' in Rack Street, in the parish of St. Mary Major, which had a gross value of £30 and was rated at £24 (Exeter City Record Office). Billing's Directory indicates that Elisha Channon was still in business in Rack Street in 1857.

42. GILL, Ann 1838-1856 (Fig. 2)

Ann rented a house in Cheeks Lane in 1838 described as a 'dwelling house, y rd, pipe-kilns, lindhays etc.'. The premises had a gross value of £21 and a rateable value of £16.10s. (Exeter City Record Office). She is listed as a pipemaker there in 1839 and 1853 and still lived there in 1856 (Trewman 1839, Besley 1853, Kelly 1856).

43. HEATH, Ann

Ann Heath pipemaker lived in Hiram Place in 1850 (White 1850).

44. JORDAN, Robert 1850-1857

Between 1850 and 1857 Jordan, a pipemaker, lived in Blackboy Road (White 1850, Billings 1857). This is an outlying part of St. Sidwell's parish.

45. MIDDLETON, William 1850

In 1850 Middleton worked in Cricklepit Lane, but he is not listed in 1852 (White 1850, 1852). The site is close to the bottom of Rack Street.

46. REYNOLDS, George 1878-90

Reynolds succeeded to the family business before 1878 when he is listed in White's Directory. Besley lists him between 1881 and 1890 but not later. He gives his address as 17 Cheeke Street. (Besley 1881, 1885, 1890, 1893, 1895, 1901).

Table 1. Quantities of tobacco-pipes exported and imported through Exeter 1666-1730 (PRO E.190 954/7 - 997/20). Totals are for 15 years between 1666 and 1700 and 25 years between 1702 and 1730. (Note: Includes known destinations only. It is clear from adjacent entries in the Port Books that Newhaven is in Normandy).

	Foreign exports 1666-1700		All exports 1702-1730		Imports 1700-1730	
	Gross	%	Gross	%	Gross	%
Galloway	100	1.6				
Guernsey	710	11.5	120	4.3		
Jersey			100	3.6		
Morlaix	350	5.6				
Newhaven (le Havre)	50	0.8				
Bilbao	1150	18.7	20	0.7		
San Sebastian			40	1.4		
Cadiz	1017	16.5				
Lisbon	107	1.7	110	4.0		
Oporto	155	2.5	20	0.7		
Malaga			200	7.3		
Higera (Siguria)	40	0.6				
Gibraltar			315	11.4		
Africa	56	0.9				
Great Marlyns (? Malines)	33	0.5				
Rotterdam	60	0.9				
Norway	24	0.3				
Bergen	36	0.5				
Gothenburg	10	0.2				
Newfoundland	699	11.3	345	12.5		
New Land, Terra Nova (? Newfoundland)	71	1.1				
New England	1233	2.0	400	14.6		
Boston	275	4.4	30	1.0		
New York	90	1.4				
Virginia	151	2.4	90	3.2		
Carolina			415	14.7		
Destination not stated	2022					
Plymouth			420	15.3		
Salcombe			30	1.0		
Dartmouth			80	2.9	10	3.0
Portsmouth					10	3.0
London					130	39.7
Southampton					20	6.1
Bristol					130	39.7
Liverpool					20	6.1
Total	8439		2735		320	

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