

The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe

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MORE WILTSHIRE CLAY TOBACCO PIPE VARIETIES

by D. R. Atkinson F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

Four clay pipe papers have been published in the Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine since 1964, describing the pipes and pipemakers of Marlborough, of Salisbury and of the maker Jeffry Hunt, whose pipes occur frequently in the county. Since the last of these papers I have collected more information on pipes from the area, which is detailed in this paper.

The paper was originally intended to appear in the Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, but this became impossible. However, it is unavoidable that references to previous numbers of that journal appear in the text as they are necessary to aid identification of the pipes and makers being discussed. Readers should have no difficulty in gaining access to original copies if they wish but it is regretted that offprints of the articles on Wiltshire pipes are all sold out and no longer available.

Of the pipes described those to which I have actually had access have been drawn. Any which are not illustrated have not been examined by the writer, though I have seen drawings, or rubbings of the marks.

Sources of pipes found in the county have been fields and private gardens, river and lake beds, the post-medieval layers of excavations and contemporary rubbish pits and deposits. Documentary sources include parish registers, apprentice rolls and indentures, tax returns and rating assessments as well as voters' lists, trade directories and the county archives. The last in particular have produced several pipemakers' wills.

Notes on previously recorded makers and marks

1. Fox, Salisbury. A maker of this name clearly worked at Salisbury during the seventeenth century and the pipes found may well represent at least two makers from the same family. The earliest seen is that shown in WAM 67, p.140, nos. 16/17, a very tiny pipe no later than c. 1600. Commoner are those shown in WAM 65 (1970), p.178 nos. 2 and 3. The fox on no. 2, which is a fairly common find in Salisbury, is always standing on its tail in an upright oval frame, pointed at the base, and these are small, early pipes of c.1630. This same mark, i.e. the same die, has now been found, stamped sideways so that the fox is the right way up, on the heel of a much larger pipe dating to c. 1670. The mark on no. 3, upright in a heart-shaped frame, which is that most frequently encountered, occurs on medium-sized bowls of c. 1650, but one specimen is now known on the small, earlier type of no. 2. All this shows that this family of makers not only kept their old moulds and reverted to them on occasions but also kept the dies for stamping their trade marks. From present evidence it may be said with certainty that pipes marked with

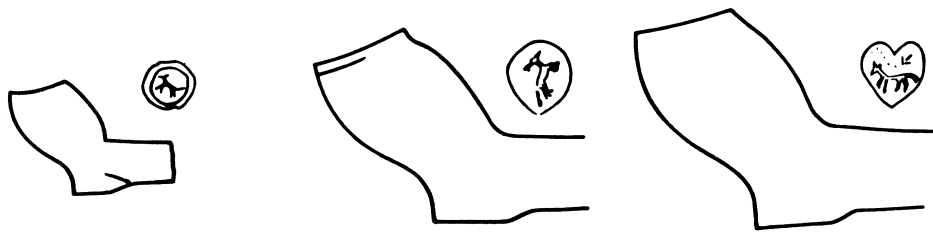


Fig. 1 Fox pipes mentioned in the text.

the fox were being produced at Salisbury for the first 70 years of the 17th century, during which time at least four moulds (probably more) and three stamping dies were in use.

The dies for the trade marks were undoubtedly affixed to the end of a short stick and were probably cut from a soft metal such as pewter, brass or lead, or perhaps bone or even ivory, substances which lend themselves to engraving with a sharp steel tool, as seen by the many letter seals which still exist in excellent condition. However, as the die-head had to be oiled regularly before the soft (partially dried) clay was impressed, one has to bear in mind the possible corrosive effects of this procedure. Unfortunately, to the knowledge of the writer no pipemaker's stamping die has ever been found, except those used in the Southorn factory at Broseley until the middle of the present century. A small wooden die, in one piece with a handle, was recently dug up in the Thames in London but the die-head, though the correct size for a pipemaker's mark, did not correspond with any known London mark of the 17th or 18th centuries. Its preservation was due to its having been trapped in a layer of thick plastic clay some distance below the surface of the river bed.

2. John Greenland. This maker was working at Marlborough, where he lived in Blowhorn Street in 1705 (not Barn Street as reported previously) until at least 1736. All pipes found there stamped on the stem (or occasionally on late heel pipes) have IOHN/GREEN/LAND in various frames. However, earlier heel pipes of c. 1660 are known from Wiltshire stamped IOHN/GREN/LAND on the heel (Devizes and Salisbury museums). Now two stems of 'spur' pipes have turned up at Satisbury, clearly from a different mould to any of those used by the Marlborough maker, also stamped IOHN/GREN/LAND.(i). This seems to indicate a contemporary maker of the same name as the Marlborough John but working elsewhere in Wiltshire, and either the same man as he who produced the earlier heel pipes with the different spelling, or a successor. It will be noted that the (common) early Richard Greenland pipes with the name on the heel have GRENLAND while the Devizes maker of the same name working between at least 1688 and 1736 spells his name GREENLAND on all his pipes, both heel and spur varieties.

3. W. Higgens. Pipes stamped W/HIGGENS/SARUM (p) are occasionally found at Salisbury with the stamp incised on the stem (WAM65, p.186). The date for these should be amended from c.1720-40 to c. 1700. Ed. Higgens pipes are very numerous at Salisbury and he and W. Higgens must have been related. However it seems that this person was only in business for a very short time and his mark was taken over by another, also for only a short time, for a cut-down version of it occurs on thick stems so that it reads HIGGENS/SARUM only (q). The reason for this is unknown at present.

4. Ed. Higgens. One of the few Salisbury makers for whom records survive, his marriage being in 1698 and another mention in 1710. For many years the only known pipes of this man from Salisbury were of the type shown in WAM65, p.182, no. 18. Subsequently several similar but differing spur-type pipes have occurred and there are at least three separate dies of the mark, each varying slightly in detail though with the same arrangement of letters. Another mark occurs with EDW/HIGG/ENS(1), but so far few examples are known.

It would appear from recent discoveries at **Salisbury**, however, that Edward Higgens was working in the city for some years before the date of his marriage as at least four different varieties of heel pipe have now been found bearing his stamp (g, h, j & k). The most unusual is the normal heel bowl of the second half of the 17th century with stamp on the stem (g).² Part of a similar bowl has the mark on the heel (h) while two others, of the type shown in WAM65, p.182, nos. 15 and 16, have the mark on the heel (j) and stem (k) respectively.³ Thus it would appear that before settling down to the production of the typical Wiltshire 'spur' pipe Ed. Higgens obtained and used (though in apparently very small quantity) several different moulds of the 'heel' variety at about the time these were dying out, between c. 1680 and 1700. It has now (1978) become possible to establish whether the Gloucestershire Ed. Higgens pipes have any connection with the Salisbury ones. Numerous as they are at Salisbury they appear to be equally plentiful at Cirencester and its immediate locality. Examples of the mark which I have examined show that they are undoubtedly from the same dies as the Salisbury examples, including both the ED/HIGG/ENS stamps (2 or 3 dies) and the rarer EDW/HIGG/ENS variety. Clearly this maker worked at both places. He was married at Salisbury in 1698 and the Salisbury 'heel' marks apparently pre-date this, while all the stem marks show characteristics (i.e. a wide stem bore) of the late seventeenth century, as do the bowls. Most of the Gloucestershire specimens are on stems but one or two heel marks are also known. On present evidence it seems likely that Ed. Higgens worked at Cirencester in the late 17th century and moved to Salisbury when he was married, carrying on his business there until at least 1710. The only other possible explanation is that he had a pipeworks in both towns and moved about from one to the other.

5. Thomas Hill. This maker died illiterate in 1710 and was probably producing pipes at Fisherton Anger for 20 years as he used several moulds and his marked stems are very numerous. Most of the marks (often poorly impressed), though clearly from several different dies, are very similar, the letters being small and only the frame varying in shape (see WAM65, p. 182). Not known until recently was the fact that he used briefly a mark of quite different type, the letters of THO/HILL being much larger and in a heart-shaped frame (r). The only examples seen so far have been on stems.

6. Thomas Smith. His period of working must have started about the same time as Thomas Hill but he probably outlived him by some years as some Smith pipes occur in much later deposits than those of Hill. Smith's marks are also very similar, with small letters and THO/SMI/TH in frames of varying shapes, mostly oval in form. Two stems have now been found which have very large, incuse THO/SMI/TH, unframed, not previously recorded (s). It looks as if this mark was far too large for the purpose and was discarded after a short time only. An early Thomas Smith pipe is shown in WAM65, p. 182.

It may be noted that many of these pipes were beautifully polished on the bowl, but that except in a few instances the stems were left untreated. The polishing was done by scraping the partly dried surface of the pipe before firing with a piece of semi-precious stone or perhaps smooth bone (sometimes called stroke-burnishing). Clearly, to have treated the whole pipe in this manner would have been a time-consuming occupation for the already (probably)

poor pipemaker, particularly when stems **had** reached a length of up to 10 or 12 inches, hence the many examples from Salisbury which have only the bowl polished. One maker who did, apparently, polish the whole of every pipe he made was Richard Sayer (of East Woodhay) but his pipes must have been renowned for their high quality (as were those of the 17th century Gauntlets) because he achieved a much wider market than any Salisbury maker and his products are even known from American sites, something the humble Salisbury men failed to achieve! The smaller 17th century pipes, like those of Jeffrey Hunt are more often found with overall polishing.

7. R.M. Reference to WAM67, p.150 will show mark no. 22, RM in a heart with a dec. in relief, and the note on p.152 suggested a date of c. 1690 for these marks on stems, with the observation that it was in the style of the earlier (Sarum) heel marks. That this (unknown) maker was indeed working before the spur pipes were introduced (around 1690) is shown by the finding of two heel pipes at Salisbury with the same mark stamped on the base (d).⁴ R.M. was one of several makers whose working period covered the change from one style of pipe to another in Wiltshire, a change necessitated by the reduction in the cost of tobacco towards the end of the 17th century, resulting in a demand for longer smokes which only a new and larger type of bowl could provide. It is interesting to observe here that in more western counties like Somerset, Dorset and Devon at the same time makers continued with the old 'heel' pipes when this demand began, with the result that some very crude and incongruous varieties appeared, particularly in the more rural areas,⁵ until the new fashions filtered through from Bristol and London.

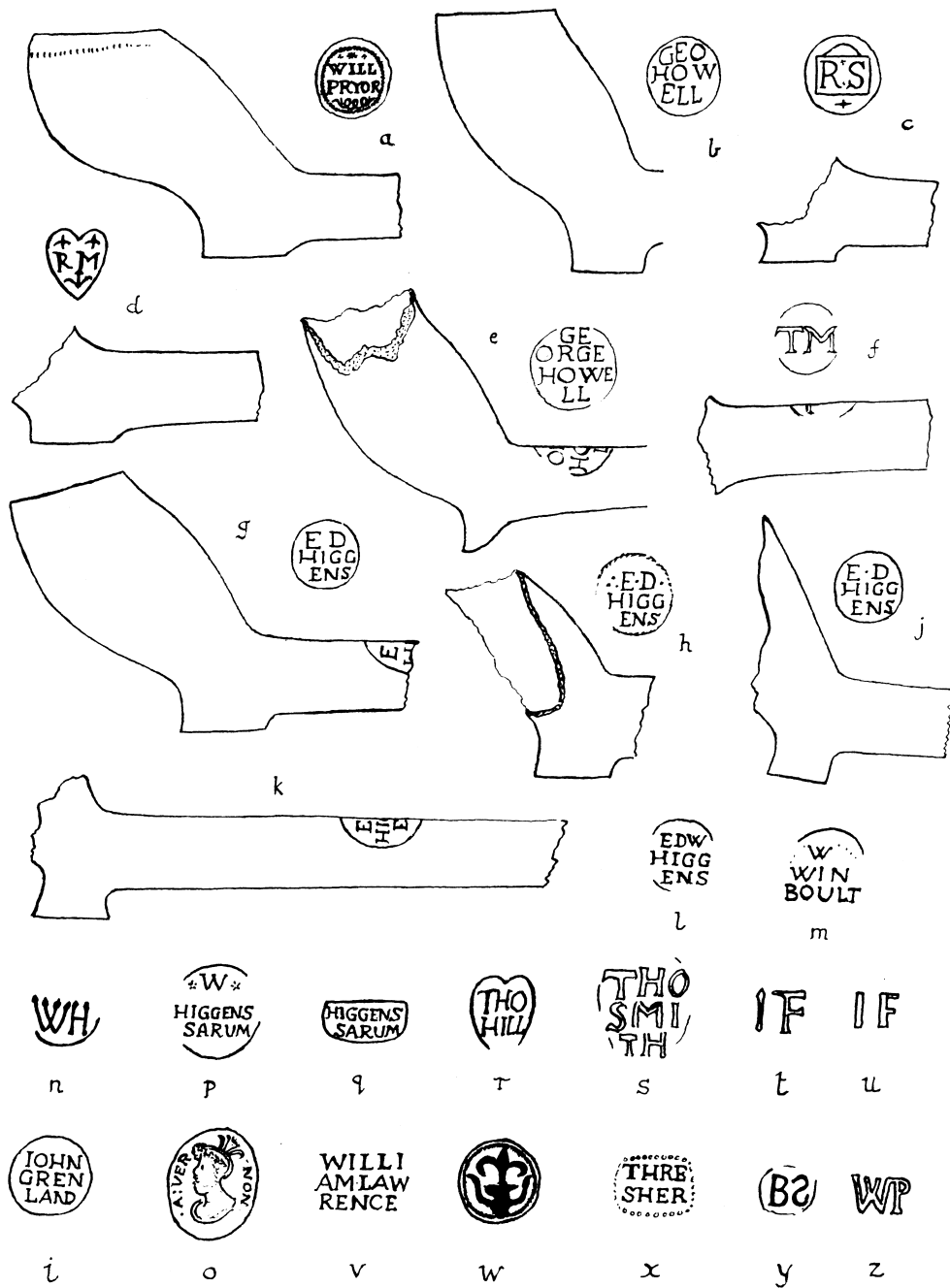
8. William Lawrence. The incomplete mark figured in WAM67, p.150, no. 40, can now be confirmed as being of this maker. The full mark reads WILLI/AM.LAW/RENCE in three lines (v) and several examples have now appeared at Salisbury. In view of the number found it would appear that although William Lawrence worked at Winchester (1715 to c. 1730) he sold his pipes as far away as Salisbury. The reason why many of these marks are incomplete is that the lines of lettering are far too long for a satisfactory impression to result on the not very broad stems of most of Lawrence's pipes.

9. R.S. The mark shown (c) has been found on two heels at Marlborough belonging to bowls which probably date to c. 1680, the bowl walls having been thin and the stem bore relatively narrow for pipes of this type. The only maker there to whom it may apply is Richard Smith, who took an apprentice in 1668. One stem mark is known for him, an early one of c. 1690-1700 but this is only surprising for being the only one known since Richard Smith was still at Marlborough in 1698 (WAM67, p. 150, no. 8). However, this RS mark has now occurred at Salisbury on a polished stem of medium thickness with a fairly narrow bore. This type cannot have been in use before about 1730 at the earliest, which poses an interesting problem. The die is the identical one to that found on the earlier heel pipes at Marlborough but was used, at a reasonable estimate, 40 years later, so it is quite clearly impossible that Richard Smith could have used it on the stem. It must be assumed (since no later Richard Smith pipemaker is recorded)^{5a} that another maker, whose location is unknown, with the same initials came into possession of the stamp and used it on the stems of spur pipes.

A parallel to this is the stamp of John Buckland, which occurs on heel pipes in the Marlborough-Devizes area dating to c. 1670 and has also been found on thin stems of the mid-18th century in the same two places. As these dies were hand-cut it is not difficult to tell when the same one has been used since each one has particular characteristics in the cutting of the individual letters.

Makers or marks previously unrecorded

1. George Howell. Pipes of this member of the well-known 17th century pipemaking family have been found in various places but where they were made is still unknown.⁶ He was another pipemaker who was working when the styles changed, rather suddenly, between c. 1680 and 1700, with the result that we find the same mark both on heel and spur pipes. The full-name stem mark (e) was found in a garden at Steeple Ashton and is also known on a heel pipe from Stoke-under-Ham (Taunton Museum collection), while the slightly abbreviated heel mark on a late example of the type (b) comes from Salisbury, the bowl being polished and unmilled.^{6a} Pipes of Richard Howell⁷ are also found with the same mark on either heel or spur pipes and he must have been a contemporary of George Howell.
2. Thresher. The incuse mark shown (x) is found on fairly thin stems which must date to the middle of the 18th century. Two are known so far, both from Salisbury gardens, which points to a local maker but by their scarcity perhaps one whose career was short-lived. At the time he may have been working there was a temporary decline in pipe-smoking owing to the popularity of snuff, an occurrence which even Dr. Johnson found worth noting. This did not, however, apply to all parts of the country, though in some places the lack of pipes of the second half of the 18th century is quite marked, for example at Marlborough, whereas in Sussex they are relatively common.)⁸ Pipemakers usually included an initial or Christian name in their marks, the lack of it being an odd feature of this one.
3. Will. Pryor. A large, late, polished 17th century heel pipe is stamped on the base with a circular relief WILL/PRYOR in beaded frame (a), from Salisbury. This pipe is unusual because although the bowl shape is very similar to no. 14, WAM65 p.178 which has the relief Tudor Rose mark (of which more than one has been found at Salisbury) relief name marks do not appear to have been used by local makers in the 17th century, those which occur being stamped on the heel incuse (John Merifild (sic), Tho. Smithfield, Jeffrey Hunt etc). Therefore we must look further afield for the origin of this pipe. Because of its shape it is clearly a southern type and the style of mark is that found in the Oxford area, where Robert Gadney, recorded from hearth tax assessments, was stamping very similar relief circular full-name marks on stems of his spur pipes (London style) as early as 1667-77. Other stem marks in relief from central southern England have distinct affinities with those used by the Broseley makers, often being square, and the type spreads across from Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, doubtless due originally to trade down the River Severn.⁹ It should be noted, however, that this maker was unknown before the finding of this example, which was probably made in c. 1670-80.



17

DA

Fig. 2 Previously unrecorded Wiltshire makers and marks

4. W. Winboul. A stem from Marlborough bears this incuse stamp of a previously unknown maker (m). The piece is of medium thickness/bore and must date from c. 1730-50. The only possible connection here is Edward Wimbol, whose stem marks have been found at Winchester¹⁰ (and Marlborough - see WAM60, p. 91, no. 86), for the name Edward Winbolt occurs in local records and this has been tentatively attributed to the producer of the stem mark with slightly different spelling, though the trade of the person recorded is not mentioned. The incidence of only one example of this mark in the area could mean a product of a maker from well outside the local pipe distribution range but alternatively it could indicate a maker whose period of working was but a brief one. Another possibility is that Winboul did not usually mark his pipes, since some 18th century makers, such as the Sidneys of Southampton did undoubtedly leave many of their pipes unmarked, perhaps putting only one stamped one in the top of each box.¹¹ Since the above was written two further examples of this mark have come to light, one from Stratton St. Margarets near Swindon, which has crossed pipes below the name, and the other from Newbury (without crossed pipes), the latter being an unpolished pipe of the typical Wiltshire spur type found well into the 18th century.

5. I.F. Incuse, unframed stem marks from Marlborough (u) Salisbury (t) and also Old Swindon, dating to c. 1740-50 by the medium thickness of the stems/bores. One type has sans-serif letters, the other serif and slightly larger. The maker was probably John Filder of Bradford-on-Avon who is recorded by I. C. Walker as working in 1737 (Bristol Apprentice Rolls). It may be noted that Bristol makers frequently stamped their pipes with incuse, unframed initials, both in the 17th and 18th centuries, which are not usual elsewhere, particularly on the stems of Wiltshire spur pipes.

6. B.S. Two examples from Salisbury on fairly thin stems with incuse BS unframed (y), the S being reversed. One other specimen is recorded, from Winchester. These probably date from just after the mid-18th century when stems were becoming much thinner. The maker and his location are at present unknown.

7. W.H. Two fairly thin stems dating to c. 1750-70 have large relief letters WH in circular frame (n). Both found at Salisbury but maker unknown.

8. T.M. Incuse mark on a stem from Bishop's Cannings (f). This appears to be the same as one on a heel pipe from Bridgewater, Somerset, and is also known from Marlborough (WAM60, p. 89, no. 30). Possibly Thomas Monks of Bristol who took an apprentice in 1669, this plain style of mark being used by some 17th century Bristol makers. This stem must date to at least 30 years after the date mentioned, however.

9. W.P. Incuse unframed marks with large, serif letters on polished stems from Marlborough. These were probably products of Will Pearce whose incuse full-name marks are more usually found (WAM60, p. 91, no. 85). c. 1700-20.

10. Device with fleur-de-lis. This relief mark, on an early 18th century thick stem, has been found at Hythe, Southampton. A further example is now known from Salisbury. (w). The mark looks more like a letter-seal than a pipemaker's mark. It appears to represent a bird or animal under a lily.

11. A. Vernon. Large spur pipes from Salisbury with medium stems/bores have appeared recently with an unusual stamp in relief on the stem. This consists of an oval cartouche enclosing a laurel-wreathed bust in the style of a Roman Emperor, round which are small relief letters A.VER/NON (o). This does not appear to be a maker's mark but more probably some form of commemorative stamp. It has been suggested that it refers to the victory over the Spanish by Admiral Vernon at Portobello in 1739 during the War of Jenkin's Ear. Since during the office of Robert Walpole England had not been involved in any wars for many years it may be that such a victory was celebrated at Salisbury by a civic banquet, and one of the local makers at the time produced these pipes as a special order. Certainly commemorative stamps were used by the 18th century on clay pipes as examples are already known for the accession of King George I in 1714¹² and the notorious John Wilkes (1763).¹² Similar are the spur pipes found in the city which are stamped on the stem with a double eagle in relief (WAM67, p. 150, No. 15) which were probably ordered specially for smoking during meetings of the City Council. They are polished overall, very much the exception rather than the rule with local makers in the mid-18th century, which indicates some special purpose in their production.¹³

12. Ed. Beasten. This name first appeared among the Marlborough makers in collections made by boys at the college both before and after the last war. Since then further examples of his stem marks have been reported from Salisbury, Old Swindon, Overton (Hants), Stroud (Glos), Newbury (Berks) and even Crabtree Wharf, Fulham. The only bowl, which has a stumpy, flat spur, was found at Newbury in 1973, and is polished. Several stems with the mark of this maker have also been found in the garden of an old cottage at Newbury which suggests the possibility of Beasten being a local maker.^{13a}

13. W. Taylor. Circular stem marks are reported from Cirencester and Dauntsy near Wootton Bassett, probably first half of the 18th century.¹⁴

14. Thomas Jones. His kiln site has been located in Malmesbury but no other details are available at present.¹⁵

15. Richard Darby. Born in 1671 and died 1742 this maker worked at Ashton Keynes but no pipes are known so stamped.¹⁶

16. John Foster. A pipe from Old Swindon with a flat spur, c. 1720-40 in style, has IOHN/FOSTER stamped incuse on the stem over crossed pipes.¹⁷

17. John Crockwell. Stems stamped with this name, incuse, have been found at Old Swindon and Highworth, probably early 18th century.¹⁸

18. Giles Chaperline. This maker is recorded at Ashton Keynes (will) where he was also a potter. His stem marks occur in the Cirencester, Swindon and Chippenham area and also at Highworth and Malmesbury. Early 18th century.¹⁹

19. Will Chaperline. He worked at Malmesbury and died in 1710 (will). Both heel and stem marks are known for him and like several others he made the change from heel to spur pipes around 1690.²⁰

Note on unmarked pipes

At the beginning of the 18th century probably every Salisbury maker was stamping his pipes with the name or trade mark on the stem. After c. 1720 the number appears gradually to have diminished, for more and more of the larger spur pipes from the middle decades of the century are found with no mark on the stem. The quality of the pipes diminished too, and less trouble was taken with the standard of finish, the trimming off of the mould marks becoming poor and the polishing of the bowls being discontinued. Of the local makers Thomas Mason (sometimes spelt Masen) was probably the last to stamp all his pipes on the stem, the later ones, dating to c. 1750 being very thin.

During the time he was working W. Sayer, who probably lived at West Wellow, began supplying high quality pipes to shops and taverns in the city always stamped on the stem W/SAYER over crossed pipes. Clear strikes show that on either side of the W is a small Tudor rose. Sayer's pipes are equally numerous at Southampton and judging by the quantity which occur his period of working must have been considerable and his products much in demand at a time when other maker's work had declined in standard. Certainly Sayer's pipes are beautifully made and finished off and occasional specimens received an overall burnish. When he and Thomas Mason stopped working, probably by the middle of the century, there was a period when no marks were used at all, before, with the advent of the Morgan family, London-style moulds were introduced on which the maker's initials were moulded in relief on the sides of the spur (WAM65, p. 182, no. 24).

For a short time, around 1780, however, one of the two contemporary Benjamin Morgans stamped some pipes on the stem or the back of the bowl with an attractive oval mark reading B/MOR/GAN (WAM67, p. 150, no. 24). Very few of these are known, so the introduction of the moulded initials, which the Morgan family favoured right up to the middle of the 19th century sounded the death-knell of the stamped maker's mark at Salisbury, a feature of the City's clay tobacco pipes for nearly 200 years.

Notes and References

1. It is now accepted that pipemakers' moulds, which were made of metal, deteriorated during use due to gradual corrosion.
2. Stem marks on 'heel' pipes of the 17th century are extremely rare.
3. Previously only Thomas Hill and Thomas Smith were known to have produced this last form of 'heel' pipe at Salisbury. Unmarked examples also exist but those which I have examined appear to come from Thomas Smith's mould.
4. The slight (apparent) difference in design is due to the fact that examples stamped on the stems were applied with less care than those on the heels (or by a worn or damaged die) resulting in part of the design sometimes being absent.
55. There is an extensive collection of these in Taunton Museum from various West Country sources and similar pipes are known from Chard,

Lyme Regis, Plymouth, Exeter etc. See Adrian Oswald "Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist", British Arch. Reports 14, 1975, Figure 10. In this excellent work Oswald illustrates and discusses all regional types.

- 5a. E. G. H. Kempson records Richard Smith, supervisor of St. Peter's, 1713, and Richard Smith junior, constable of Kingsbury Ward, 1734, both at Marlborough, but no trade is mentioned for either. As the Richard Smith, pipemaker, of Marlborough is mentioned in 1666, 1668 and 1698 in the Borough Archives it seems unlikely that the same person could still have been working in 1713, 45 years after he took an apprentice, though it is possible that a son of the same name could have been at work in 1734, particularly as this date matches the possible one for the stem mark. Assuming that all these people were making pipes at Marlborough, however, it does not explain the incidence of only 4 marked pipes for 66 years of working. The only solution would be that the Richard Smiths only marked their pipes occasionally.
6. It is an odd feature of the pipes of George, Richard, Nathaniel and John Howell that although between them these makers were at work for about 60 years nobody has discovered any record of where they worked. This may well be not because documentation does not exist but simply because no research into the subject happens to have been done in the town(s) where they lived. It may also be considered that the frequent disastrous fires in country towns in the 17th and 18th centuries may have destroyed all records in some places.
- 6a. A third George Howell mark found on heels dating to c. 1670-80 has GE OR/HOWELL/. In the middle of the first word is a large fleur-de-lis and there is another, with a small star each side below HOWELL. Two of these incuse marks are known, from Hindon and Heytesbury.
7. Large quantities of these marked on the stem have been found at East Knowle, Hindon and Shaftesbury, with two only from Salisbury.
8. See "Sussex Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers" by D. R. Atkinson, 1977, published by Crain Services, 16 Crown Street, Eastbourne, @ 90p plus postage.
9. For a discussion on this see Iain C. Walker, "Notes on Eight Gloucestershire Pipemakers", Trans. Bristol & Glouc. Archaeol. Soc. Vol. 92 (1973).
10. Edward Wimboll (sic) probably worked at East Woodhay, where a pipemaker of that name is recorded in 1707.
11. This is borne out by several excavated groups from Southampton in which of numerous identical spur pipes only odd ones bear the Sidney stamps, the rest being unmarked.
12. A pipe of c. 1710-20 from the River Thames (1977) has the stamp GOD/BLESS/KING/GEORGE on the stem, while another stem, from Fulham (1975) is stamped with the royal monogram "Crown over G. R." in script letters. Stems stamped "WILKES No. 45" in conjunction with

the maker's name stamp are found at Broseley (makers Richard Legg & George Bradley).

13. City Arms began to appear after c. 1750 moulded on the bowls of pipes, and continue for over 100 years in various forms.
- 13a. Information from S. D. Ford, Newbury.
14. Information from A. A. Peacey, Stroud.
15. Information from A. A. Peacey, Stroud.
16. Information from B. Phillips, Swindon.
17. Information from B. Phillips, Swindon.
18. Information from B. Phillips, Swindon.
19. Information from A. A. Peacey and B. Phillips.
20. Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge.