Worcester and Clay Tobacco Pipes

Summary

Worcester is well known as a centre for delicate china and porcelain ware and it also has a documented and important activity in clay tobacco pipe ware. The china / porcelain works used access from the river Severn and the Birmingham canal for movement of materials and finished goods and activity centred on the area to the south of the cathedral. The peak activity of tobacco pipe making took place at Cripplegate and Blockhouse and raw materials could have been transported by the same river or canal.

Worcester was a late developer in terms of having a significant pipe-making activity with neighbouring Broseley as a regional competitor and output from London and Bristol being heavily trafficked nationally. There was documented pipe-making in Worcester from the mid 17th C. per the preserved apprenticeship records at a time when the skills and knowledge of manufacturing was vital. This is demonstrated by the number of Freemen appointed in London and Bristol and the formation of guilds and associated apprenticeships.

Heightened activity took place in the 19th C. and forceful characters such as John Russell, James Wall, Henry Shuter, Charles Hardwick and John Langford are well documented. There was also a backbone of skilled pipe-makers, either employed or as journeymen or as family members. The latter could be wives or children and the income provided an important financial supplement.

Worcester attracted pipe-makers from across the country and in a similar way they dispersed as the industry was dominated by mass producers. Evidence of these men, women and children can be traced through baptismal and census records as well as newspapers of the time. The more sought-over Worcester China output outlasted the clay tobacco pipe industry though evidence of the output of the latter is found at archaeological sites across the city.

Ultimately, the demand subsided as more efficient manufacturing and then a trend to other forms of smoking overtook economic supply. Newspaper outputs provide evidence as to the spread of production, the people involved and the rise and fall of the industry. Archives and archaeology add to the creation of a more complete picture of pipe making in the city.

This working document combines aspects of each of the main areas outlined above. The personal interest of the author was initiated through the family ancestors and the interest in genealogy. The principle geographic areas reviewed were Bristol, Worcester, Bath, Tredegar and Cardiff though the migratory nature of the pipe makers and national events led to other locations being covered. Copyright restrictions are recognised and it is hoped that the paper provides a useful summary with pointers to spur on further research into selected areas such as production, commerce and the people. Archive materials continue to become available through electronic means, widening the scope for research while reducing the demands for travel. There is nothing better than to see original documents and feel the artefacts and it is important to have a solid platform of research to contemporise the evidence.

Background

When Sir Francis Drake brought a cargo of tobacco to England from "The New World" in 1573, it triggered a demand for the clay tobacco pipes that he had seen used by the Native Americans.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, James I realised that smoking was an opportunity to raise taxes. In 1604, King James published a paper entitled "Counterblaste to Tobacco". This was followed firstly by a tax on tobacco that at the time was all imported.

As entrepreneurs began to respond to the demand, King James then extended the state influence over tobacco in 1619. The controls included a ban on tobacco growing in England, an order that all tobacco must enter via London and an order that pipes were to be made by a group of Westminster based pipe makers through a Royal Charter.

The period of the English Civil War disrupted the formalised pipe manufacture and as a result the charter in London was forfeited. The restoration of Charles II in 1660 triggered a return to normal business for London pipemakers and a revised charter in 1663.

Bristol meanwhile had established itself as a competing hub of pipe production. Records show apprentices being trained by Richard Berriman and his wife in 1619 and one of these, John Wall, was a master employing apprentices by 1630. By 1652 Richard Berriman and twenty-four other pipe makers established a Pipe Makers Guild that required any boy who worked for the master be apprenticed. Guild membership was a public indicator of skill and quality. Pipemakers used impressed or embossed markings on the pipes as a means of demonstrating both.

The early days of pipe making were dominated by the use of apprentices serving master pipe makers before moving on themselves as independents or as masters. As a forerunner of the trade unions, the guilds organised key labour industries and tobacco pipe makers were no exception. The importance of the status of pipe makers was emphasised by the ability to become Freeman of the city – with the ensuing benefits. Apprenticeship records provide an insight into the "Who's Who" of the time while available Inventories illustrate the wealth of early pipe makers.

While it was the major ports of Bristol and London that first saw the expansion of pipe making, other cities soon realised the financial opportunity. The main limitations were firstly the availability of suitable clay – something addressed by the maritime port-to-port business and secondly the availability of skilled people – something addressed by the highly mobile labourers who sought out employment. By the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries Bristol was the second largest pipe-making centre after London. During this time, Bristol became the largest exporter of clay pipes to North America, while London and the other production centres supplied to the rest of the UK and Europe.

Worcester became one of the smaller pipe making cities at the end of the 17^{th} C. and gradually increased through the 17^{th} , 18^{th} and 19^{th} C. before dying out as industry and society trends changed.

Worcester small-scale specialists & apprentices - 17th & 18th C.

The early extant records in Worcester show Francis Brian as a master pipe-maker. He was born in 1633 and was christened at St Helen's Worcester and died in 1700. Amongst his children was Alice who was christened at St Helen's on 26 Nov 1655. Two years later, Francis took on John Morley of St Martin's, Worcester for an 8-year apprenticeship. (1657-1665). This must have been successful because in 1667 Francis took on Thomas Boardman of St Swithin's Worcester for an apprenticeship of 7 years. An upturn in demand is the likely reason for Francis taking on another apprentice in 1670, Thomas Hopkins of St Swithin's for 8 years.

Two other master pipemakers who took on apprentices were Thomas Beardmore of St Nicholas, Worcester who took on Thomas Laiton (Layton/ Leighton?) of St Martin's, Worcester for a period of 7 years in 1691 and Joseph Baylis of Claines who took on Richard Smith of Claines in 1710 until Richard attained 24 years of age.

Surviving Worcester records of the time are few and far between but using parish registers it appears that Joseph Baylis was christened in St John's, Worcester on 28 November 1677, son of Thomas, making him about 35 when he took on Richard Smith.

The indications are that the pipe making industry was based in and around St. Clement's and Blockhouse, Worcester as two manufacturing hubs through the 19th C.

An inventory of Richard Berriman of Bristol, who died around 1650, listed '2 working benches, one beating stock, 1 Tub, 5c. of clay...16 moulds, some small Tooles and some odd boards to the Value of £1,8s', and it is likely that a similar set-up would have been used by Messrs. Brian, Beardmore and Baylis. The inventories of other prominent pipe makers in Bristol at the end of the 17th C. describe similar items such as moulds, stoppers and clay, valuing their pipe making assets at around £12 to £15 (approx. £1500 in 2015) This would buy 2 horses and was the equivalent of about 6 months wages of a skilled person. The 1668 inventory of Llewellyn Evans of Bristol included finished goods of 100 gross pipes at a value of 10d per gross, which indicates the scale of output and demand.



In 1710 pipe makers made a mould size agreement. The length of long pipes was set at 16 inches, Dutch pipes 14 inches, Jamaica pipes 13 inches, Penned Heeles and Gauntlets 11 and a half inches, and Virginia pipes 8 and a half inches. Use of a number of moulds allowed multiple pipes to be fired at a time. Early pipes had simple plain bowls and in later years, the number of moulds used by the maker increased as pipe bowls became more ornate.

Worcester large sale entrepreneurs - 19th C.

Sections of the 19th C. population had a disposable income and an upturn in trade of tobacco and pipes along with drink was tempered by the impact of the Temperance movement. The Industrial Revolution was beginning to produce entrepreneurs who could optimise mass production with available labour. Many entrepreneurs had several areas of business, generally complementing each other. For instance, where materials had to be brought in for use, a manufacturer would also engage in shipping, roads and railways while others would utilise equipment for several varied products, using a matched technology.

In Worcester, there are several characters who rose to prominence with tobacco pipe manufacturing being one of their activities. The outline lives of six people are addressed here -: John Russell, James Wall and Henry Shuter – all of Cripplegate works – and Charles Hardwick, John Langford, James Sheppard - of Blockhouse works. Unusually, there appears to be little of the small scale "at home" activity seen in many cities. Within Worcester there appears to have only been three 'manufactories" for tobacco pipes. Using a combination of trade directory inserts, census returns and newspaper articles, it is possible to delineate these with a high degree of accuracy. Indeed, using the census records more fully, it is also possible to define the employees at each. One other well-documented tobacco pipe makers of status was Isaac Pemberton, who also held a royal warrant for making and supplying brushes to the Duchess of Kent. Pipe making was his side-line activity. An outline is provided in this and the following section to illustrate the shifting movement within opportunities and society and the impact on pipe making in Worcester.

John Russell (1788-1873)

John Russell was born in Broseley, a Shropshire pipe-making centre, in 1788. He married a Mary Downes in Claines, Worcestershire in 1817 and appears in records in 1820 as a tobacco pipe maker. He was the "master" of two local apprentices, on retainer until they reached 21 years of age. He took on a further apprentice in 1826 as business increased and in 1830 Russell was described as owning the Worcester Pipe Works, Russell's brickworks and several properties in Worcester. The location of Worcester on the river Severn allowed the importing of the necessary coal and the export of the resultant bricks. John Russell was an entrepreneur and branched out into the coal and iron trade and by 1840 was a colliery and iron works owner in the Welsh Valleys. He had ceded interest in the low profit pipes for the large scale opportunities associated with coal and iron. By the mid 1840's his colliery workers amounted to over 300 and he held contracts to supply coal to the East India Company, P&O and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. Some of the risks associated with the coal industry materialised in major accidents in 1846, 1849 and 1853. John's status remained untarnished and he was appointed High Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1856 – his pipe making days long past. He continued an oversight of his prior investment in the form of George Barrow, a long-standing parish clerk of St Clement and formally named as "agent for J Russell Esq."

His social status was secured when he acquired Piercefield House (the estate now part of Chepstow Racecourse) where the wife of his Worcester pipe competitor Ann Hardwick worked as a housekeeper. The house was sold after a major disaster in 1860 when 146 mineworkers were killed in an explosion. The money raised went towards the families of those affected. The company went bankrupt and John died in 1873 and Ann Hardwick was still his housekeeper. John is remembered mostly as a coal and iron man but with roots in Worcester pipe making. Russell House and Russell Terrace remained as landmarks in Cripplegate into the 20th C. The latter, and the associated pipe kiln are below the play area of Cripplegate Park.

James Wall (1794-1875)

James Wall was born in Cleobury Mortimer, Shropshire and he saw the attraction of a booming Worcester, as had John Russell. His story was similar to that of John Russell. He married a Worcestershire lady in 1822 – Francis Cresswell of Tenbury and settled in Worcester. By 1840, James had succeeded John Russell as the pipe works owner and his business and status grew. By 1840, James had been appointed auditor for the borough and a trustee. Newspaper articles record James being a victim of crime by local men. James acted on the opportunities spotted by John Russell. After he sold the pipe works to Henry Shuter, James became a coal and coke merchant. His wife died in 1872 and he died three years later. His reputation was not as significant as John Russell but their lives both saw the link with pipe making superseded by financial gains of trading in coal.

Henry Shuter (1812-1886)

Henry was born in St Martin's, Worcester around 1811 – 1812. He married Amelia Adams at St Clement's on 12 July 1834 and appeared in the census of 1841 in Church Walk, St Clement along with his wife and first daughter Amelia, then aged 2. Henry was already involved with pipe manufacturing and had a young apprentice pipe maker and his father lodging with him. By 1847, Henry had taken over the Cripplegate works and five years later was employing 6 men. Amongst his household in 1851 was his mother—in-law, Ann Maggs (née Adams) who was a Bristolian pipe maker, born around 1795. The business continued to flourish under Henry and ten years later he was running a manufactory with 6 men, 4 boys, 6 women and 3 girls. This is covered in more detail within the section on the manufactory itself. The competition amongst all pipe makers which included the City Works in St Martin's, led to a rapid decline in the Cripplegate works and Henry sold up during the 1860s before settling down as a shop keeper in Claines until he died.

Charles Hardwick (1807-1867)

Charles appears in the 1841 census in St Helen / Blockhouse as a 34 year old pipe maker living with his 30 year old wife Ann who was also a pipe maker. Ann (née Langford) had married Charles in 1833, and had a daughter Susannah in 1835. Living with them were John Langford, a pattern moulder) and Samuel Longford a 16 year old pipe maker. It is likely that the Langford men were either siblings or nephews. Charles and John had formed a partnership in 1840 but this was dissolved in 1841 to be run by John alone. Charles did remain a pipe maker through until the end of the decade. In 1843 he successfully sued a customer for unpaid bills of over £10. The defendant, Mr Bailey of Dudley, had disputed the quality and quantity but the jury found in favour of Charles Hardwick after a trial of five hours, listening to evidence from 15 witnesses and 4 hours of debate. Ann was housekeeper to John Russell from 1856 to 1873, a strange juxtaposition of pipe making competition families. Susannah married Henry Winter in 1854 and he and she were pipe-makers in Henley-on-Thames in 1881 and through until 1891 when they were both over 60 years old. John Winter, father of Henry had also been a pipe maker, reinforcing the matter of tight family ties and continued occupations of many pipe makers.

John Langford (1816-1881)

John married Mary Caroline Spooner (1823-1875) in 1845 and by 1851 he was recorded as being of Madeley Salop, a tobacco pipe maker, living at Spa Field. Three houses away, Richard Moon, a pipe maker from Bristol was living with his 9 year old daughter Caroline. His independent pipe making days ended around 1855 when he transferred the business to Shepherd & Morgan "after seven years". John was in the wine merchant trade until he died in Leominster. He would have probably recommended pipe manufacturers to his customers.

James Shepherd (1809-??)

James Shepherd appears to have been a financier rather than specialist pipe maker. In the various records he is shown as a "grocer" and "provision merchant" yet his address, name and age tallies fully with the record of his sale of the pipe manufactory. He filed for bankruptcy in 1861 and he advertised the manufactory as good for someone "with small capital". Joseph Andrews ran the manufactory until he sold up in 1880.

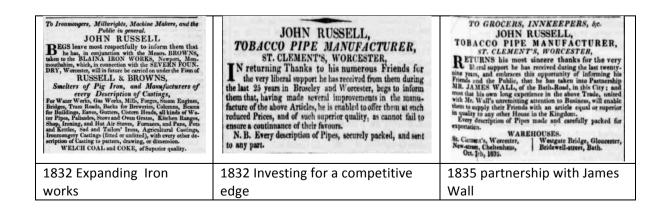
Joseph Andrews (1816-1884)

Joseph was a local man, born in St Peter's, Worcester. He was a bricklayer as a trade, living in Blockhouse from 1841 to 1881. His large family was a mix of male and female but none were involved in pipe making. The background to Joseph moving into pipe making is not clear. It allowed him to work with materials and stay local and it is possible that the works were small and worked by journeymen.

The Tobacco Pipe Manufactory – Cripplegate, Worcester

A manufactory would have to include kilns, storage areas for raw materials (clay and coal) and finished goods as well as the production elements of benches, moulds, tools and the like. Combining the recorded entries in Trade Directories and local newspaper announcements, the tobacco pipe manufactory and the residence of the principles can be traced. A newspaper advertisement in 1845 for Mrs. Pugh of 4 Clement St. places the manufactory quite accurately as "nearly opposite".

1820 "Lewis"	J Russell, Cripplegate	Tobacco pipe maker
1835 "Pigot's"	Russell & Wall, Hylton St.	
1840 "Bentley's"	James Wall, Cripplegate	Pipe maker
1842 "Pigot's"	Russell & Wall, Clement St.	
1847 "Hunt's"	Henry Shuter & Co., Clement St.	
1850 "Slater's"	Henry Shuter & Co., St John's Green	
1851 "Lascelles"	Henry Shuter, Clement St.	
1855 "Billing's"	George Barrow, Clement St.	Agent of J Russell Esq.
1855 "Billing's"	Henry Shuter, Tybridge Hse., Clement St.	
1860 "Cassey's"	George Barrow, Clement St.	Tobacco pipe maker
1860 "Cassey's"	Henry Shuter, Clement St.	Tobacco pipe maker
1862 "Slater's"	Henry Shuter, St John's Green	





Between 1851 and 1861 St Clements saw almost a small increase in available housing but a large population increase, mostly males. (2174 to 2426). Worcester as a whole saw the same reversal of a female dominated population to a more even balance. The shift from 64% female to 52% female arose mainly from the marked decrease in females in the population.

The Tobacco Pipe Manufactory – Blockhouse, Worcester

1842 "Pigot's"	Hardwick & Co., South St.
1847 "Hunt's"	Charles Hardwick, Spa Rd.
1850 "Slater's"	Charles Hardwick, South St.
1851 "Lascelles"	Joseph (?John) Langford, Blockhouse
1855 "Billing's"	John Langford, Spa Fields
1862 "Slater's"	Shepherd & Morgan, South St.
1869 "Littlebury's"	Joseph Andrews, South St.
1869 "Littlebury's"	William Shepherd, John St.
1873 "Littlebury's"	Joseph Andrews
1873 "Littlebury's"	Samuel Wyatt, City Pipe Works, John St.
1879 "Littlebury's"	Joseph Andrews advert
1885 "Littlebury's"	John (?Joseph) Andrews, South St. (old entry)

Another tobacco pipe maker named in directories was John Thomas of Fish St. He was named in 1847, 1850 and 1851 directories and in newspapers as a pipe burner and public house operator. It is unclear whether he made / burnt pipes at his pub, the Druid's Tavern, or whether this was his day-job.



In 1840, Charles Hardwick and John Langford made an announcement of the establishment of a pipe manufactory. They claimed high quality of a range of tipped and untipped pipes of varied lengths, as well as an ability to re-burn pipes (recycling). The couple appeared to work well together, sharing a house in Spa Field in April 1841. This did not last as shown in the partnership dissolution of Sept. 1841. The links of Charles with pipe making are described earlier.

HARDWICK AND LANGFORD, TOBACCO PIPE MANUFACTURERS, SPA FIELD, BLOCKHOUSE, WORCESTER,

BEG most respectfully to announce that they have established a PIPE MANUFACTORY in the above Neighbourhood, and having engaged competent Workmen, are enabled to supply PIPES of ALL DESCRIPTIONS on the most reasonable terms.

H. and L. from the peculiar construction of their Kflus, are favoured with an advantage above any other manufacturer in the kingdom, of producing articles superior in quality and lexture.

BEST LONG and SHORT PIPES, either Plain or Tipped, packed securely, and sent to any part of the Kingdom. Orders will be executed with the greatest care and promp-

Foul Pipes re-burnt and made equal to new, on the shortest notice, which will be Collected and Returned with the greatest attention and regularity, all breakages being compensated for by new pipes.

CITY POLICE, - WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 27.

UNDUTIFUL APPENTICE.—Mr. John Langford, pipe-manufacturer, St. Clement, complained against an apprentice of his, named Henry Hopkins, for having absented himself from his service on six different occasions since his apprenticeship, viz., 23rd March last. Punishment—fourteen days' imprisonment.

1848 John Langford problems with apprentice

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership subsisting between us the undersigned, Charles Hardwick and John Langford, of the Blockhouse, in the city of Worcester, Tobacco Pipe Manufacturers, is this day dissolved by mutual consent: As witness our hands this 1st day of September 1841.

Charles Hardwick John Langford.

John Langford took on the manufactory but as shown below things did not go smoothly. His one apprentice was absent 6 times in six months, for which the runaway was sentenced to 14 days imprisonment. In 1855 John moved to Leominster and the manufactory was taken over by Shepherd & Morgan.

BLOCKHOUSE TOBACCO PIPE WORKS, WORCESTER.

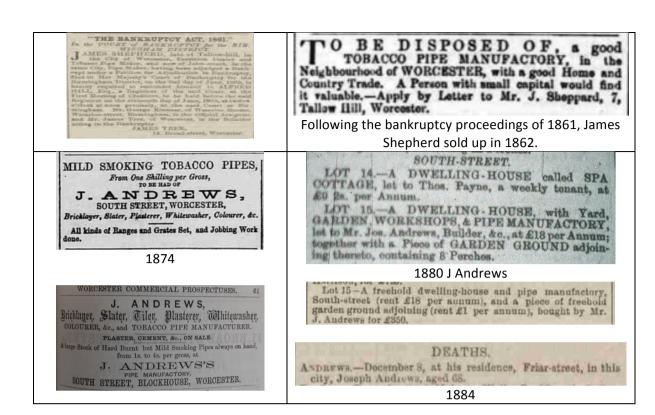
J. LANGFORD

BEGS to return his best thanks to his Friends and the Public for the very liberal support he has received at their hands for the last seem years, and to inform them that, in consequence of his having taken to a wine and Spirit Vulis, at Leeminster, he has disposed of the Pipe Trade to Messar Shepherd and Morgan, to whom he are confidently recommand his Friends.

1855

MESSRS.SHEPHERD & MORGAN,
IN taking to the above Business, so successfully
IN taking to the above Business, so successfully
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Exery description of Pipes Manufactured, Tipped or
Sale Mesopheticaries of the cithetical Vaccinity Pine.

1855 contemporary ad



Between 1851 and 1861 Blockhouse recorded an increase in available housing and significantly it mirrored St Clement's in terms of population mix. From a 65 female count in 1851, the balance was back to 50% by 1861. Blockhouse remained an industrial area for many years longer before the area was subject to demolition in 1960.

Artisan Pipemakers 19th C.

The artisan pipemakers were skilled but at the low end of the social spectrum. They suffered from poor sanitation and poor quality housing. Infant mortality was high and the location of the pipe works, close to water, resulted in cholera being an existing threat for many. Cholera reports of 1832 and 1849 in Worcester, where flood risk at Cripplegate was high, showed the outcome of the crowding. The 1849 outbreak necessitated the closure of the Cripplegate brewery, while the creation of two soup kitchens in Cripplegate in 1861 further illustrates the dire conditions in this part of Worcester.

A surprising amount of public record of pipemakers across the UK in newspapers provides an insight into their lives and living conditions. More general articles provide background into the pay and conditions and social organisation as illustrated later.

Families

The concentration of families of pipe makers led to a number of inter-family relationships that resulted in marriage. Some examples are found within the Pavey/Jenkns/Macey families of Bristol and similarly Moon/Appleford.

Crime

Newspaper reports rarely covered the "normal" lives of "normal" people and articles that named pipe makers were often in a criminal context. Lengthy reports can give an insight into the lives of pipe makers and their families.

Thomas Appleford, pipe maker of Bristol, charged as a pickpocket while visiting Worcester (home of his married daughter who was also a pipe maker in Blockhouse). Acquitted as unproven. (1831)

Keziah Phillips, apprenticed girl pipe maker of James Wall, charged with deserting her employ. When caught, she was in very poor health but was still committed to prison "as well for the health of her body as the amendment of her morals" for 21 days. (1839) John Monkton, pipe maker of Worcester, guilty of stealing four live fowls from James Wall. Guilty and subject to 3 months imprisonment, one week of each month in solitary and to be once privately whipped. (1840)

James Pavey, pipe maker of Bath charged with feloniously killing but acquitted (1866) Robert Garbett, pipe maker of Liverpool, found guilty of wilful murder of his estranged and pregnant wife – sentence penal servitude for life. (1869)

Death

The low social class of most artisan pipemakers limited the number of announcements of births, marriages and deaths made in newspapers. Sudden death and fires linked with inquests are some examples where the lower class did appear in the press. A case in point was Ellen Arnold, a pipe maker's wife in Cardiff who died a sudden sad death. The report of the inquest exposes details of the working life of her husband.

The artisan workers were vulnerable to exploitation prior to trade unions but they did unite under guilds or less formal community organisation to fight for better pay. This is covered in more detail in App. 2.

The Cripplegate Pipe Works and the artisan workforce

There are numerous named pipe-makers in Worcester, with most living in St Clement's on the west of the Severn (Hylton Rd., Tybridge St., Cripplegate) or in the Blockhouse area (ex parochial and adjacent to St Martin, and All Saints).

The lives of some of these have been traced through baptismal, marriage, burial, birth, marriage and death records and newspaper articles. The clarity of common links of age, location, relationship and the like helps to assure the correct assignation of the person of where similar names exist.

The tight geographic location of the Cripplegate works, distinct from the competing Blockhouse works, makes identification of the workers relatively assured for 1851 and 1861. It should be noted that the area was home of pipe makers and pipe trimmers before then.

It is worthy of mention that Cripplegate on the west side of the River Severn was and still is prone to flooding. It was the location of the "dirty" industries such as leather tanning, china and pipe making, glove making and brewing. The residents suffered from a major outbreak of cholera in 1832 and several times later – 1849, 1855 and 1866. It was the damp conditions and the type of industry along with crowded and tightly packed housing that led to the spread and the number of deaths. Given the decline of the pipe making industry and the downward pressure on prices of pipes, it is no surprise to see the pipe makers of the 19th century amongst the lower class of the population, living in the less salubrious areas of the cities.

An published paper in 1831reported a "Case of Spectral Illusions". An 11-year-old girl in Cripplegate was temporarily blinded and said that she saw ghosts including that of her father – who was in US at the time. It was speculated that this delusion was based on fever and associated brain disruption, brought on by living conditions. She recovered and was perhaps fortunate considering the area, Union Court, where she lived.

A newspaper article in 1833 reports one case linking "Mr Russell, pipe maker of Cripplegate" to one of his employees. It reports that Mr Elliott, an Irishman had been "in a very low and desponding way for some time". He was identified as a poor man in the employ of J Russell who made a desperate attempt to "shuffle off this mortal coil". He had used a sharp piece of tin ... "one of the implements of his trade" to inflict several gashes in his throat.

In 1841, the pipe manufactory in Cripplegate had passed into the ownership of James Wall with involvement from his former partner John Russell. James was becoming a prominent member of Worcester society with posts of auditor and trustee amongst his credits. Henry Shuter worked as a pipe maker there but within five years was the owner / operator.

James was running the factory using day-workers – journeyman pipe-makers. This may have been due to fluctuating demand or simply a chosen way of employment. A consequence is shown in the 1847 newspaper article below.

DISTRESS.—A poor man named Sam. Preece, a pipe maker, appeared before the bench to make a complaint against the relieving officer of the parish of St. Clement, for refusing to give him relief. He had been out of employ some time, had three small children to support, and his wife had just been confined. He had tried to get work on the railway, but was too weak for the employment, and yet the relieving officer would not assist him. He had had three loaves from the parish one week, but they would not continue that pittance. The mayor wrote a note for the man, and the magistrates and other gentlemen present gave him a triffe each.

The names recorded on the 1841 census directly relating to pipe making are as follows: (NB Ages were rounded for the 1841 census, birth in-county Yes or No)

Men					
William Hopkins	In county	Church Walk (7)	PM	20	
Henry Shuter	In county	Church Walk (8)	PM	30	
Lewis Thomas	Out of county	Church Walk (8)	PM	50	
Richard Lee	In county	School Lane (8)	jРМ	20	
John Maggs	Bristol	School Lane (8)	jРМ	55	
Richard Hutchinson	Out of county	Bridge place (9)	jРМ	35	
Michael Bassoggeme	Ireland	Tybridge Place (9)	jРМ	26	
Robert Howlett	Out of county	Union Court (9)	jРМ	30	
Edward Okely	Bristol	Union Court (9)	PM	25	
Isaac ????	In county	Clement St. (9)	jРМ	70	
Boys					
Charles Watkins	In county	Church Walk (8)	jРМ	15	
John Torl (???)	Out of county	Union Court (9)	Арр РМ	15	
Women					
Ann Maggs	Bristol	School Lane (8)	jРМ	40	
Charlotte Hawkins	In county	Tybridge Place (9)	jРМ	35	
Elizabeth Howlett	Out of county	Union Court (9)	TPT	30	
Catherine Dovey	In county	Union Court (9)	PM	28	

Charles Watkins stayed active in pipe making but moved to Croydon by 1851 where he lodged with another pipe maker, Worcester born Thomas Ricketts. Thomas was a brother of Elizabeth who herself appears as a pipe trimmer at the St Clement 'manufactory in 1851.

Ann Maggs was the mother-in-law of Henry Shuter by virtue of her daughter Amelia. Ann, maiden name Adams, married John Maggs of Bristol 19 Apr. 1824. She was still pipe making in 1851. Her husband John had also been a pipe-maker.

In 1851, Henry Shuter of Henry Shuter & Co. described himself to the census enumerator as Master employing 6 men. Reviewing the census returns for St Clements 2e and 2b, it is possible to identify them. There were a number of women and girl pipemakers but, per the social norm, they had not been included in Henry Shuter comments to the enumerator.

Men				
Samuel Priest / Preece	Worcs. St Clement	School Lane (2b)	PM	30
James Drinkall	Loughboro, Leics.	Woods Yard (2a)	PM	32
Thomas Brown	Worcester	Woods Yard (2a)	PM	19
William Weybourne	Bristol, St. P&J	Clement St. (2a)	PM	66
Ebenezer Steele	Broseley, Staffs	Clement St. (2a)	PM	28
John Sharpe	Norwich	Church Walk, (2b)	PM	35

Women & girls				
Clementine Taylor	Lustow, Herefs.	Clement St. (2a)	PM	29
Mary Weybourne	Plymouth, Devon	Clement St. (2a)	TPT	58
Elizabeth Ricketts	Worcs. St Clement	Wood Yard (2a)	TPT	18
Matilda Moon	Worcs. All Saints	Wood Yard (2a)	PM	18
Sarah Sharpe (dau of JS)	Cambridgeshire	Church Walk (2b)	PM	12
Rebekah Priest / Preece	Birmingham	School Lane (2b)	PM	31
Phoebe Heath	Worcs. St John	Clement St. (2b)	PM	26
Sarah Price	Swansea, Wales	Goodman Yard (2b)	PM	32

By 1861 Samuel Preece and his wife Rebekah had moved to Aston, Birmingham where they continued to work in the pipe making industry. Samuel continued to work there until after 1891 as a pipe-maker. He died in 1898.

In 1861 Henry Shuter of Henry Shuter & Co., described himself as Master employing 6 men, 4 boys, 6 women and 3 girls. Reviewing the census returns for St Clements 5e, 6e and 7, the employees are identified as follows. The missing names would have been described as labourer, warehouse, packer or similar and so not easily assigned specifically to the pipe manufactory.

Men				
Isaac Bond	Worcs. All Saints	Cold Comfort Gardens (7)	TPM	26
William Allen	Bristol, Temple	Cold Comfort Gardens (7)	TPM	35
Elias W Witts	Birmingham	Union Court (5e)	TPM	24
William Waterson	Leicestershire	Clement St. (5e)	TPM	24
Thomas Allen	Bristol, Redcliffe	St Clement Sq. (6e)	PM	43
ANO				
		Boys		
Thomas Hughes	Powick, Worcs.	Cold Comfort Gardens (6e)	App.	14
Thomas Allen	Newport, Mon.	St Clement Sq. (6e)	PM	15
Henry Jones	Powick, Worcs.	Hylton St (6e)	PM	15
ANO				
		Women		
Sarah Ann Bond	Worcs. St Peter's	Cold Comfort Gardens (7)	TPT	25
Ann Allen	Mathon, Worcs.	Cold Comfort Gardens (7)	TPT	36
Hannah Smith	Hereford	Clement St. (5e)	TPT	25
Mary Ann Yapp	Alfrick, Worcs.	Union Ct. (5e)	PM	26
Maria Allen	Bristol, Temple	St Clement Sq. (6e)	PM	42
Sylvia Waterson	Staffs.	Clement St. (5e)	PM	19

Girls				
Sarah Hall	Worcs. St Clement	St Clement Sq. (6e)	TPT	14
Elizabeth Jones	Powick, Worcs.	Hylton St., (6e)	TPT	11
ANO				

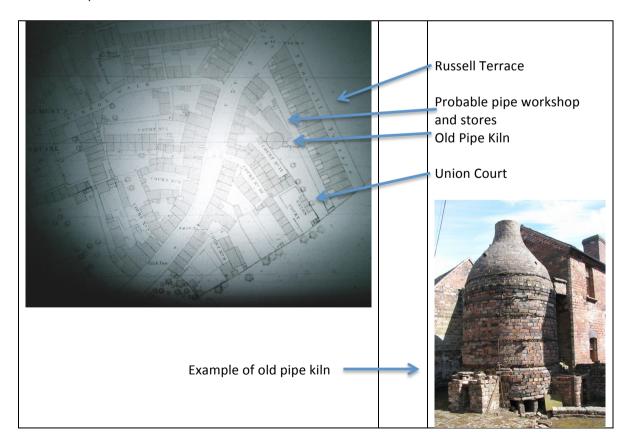
Isaac Bond and wife Sarah, living with Sarah's father Benjamin Potter at King St., were both TPT in 1871 but had cut ties with pipe making by 1881. In 1851, Isaac had been boarding at Rack Alley, All Saints, working as a pipe maker.

Thomas Allen was in Bath in 1851 and Bristol in 1871, both times as TPM. His children followed him into the industry by 1871.

Mary Ann Yapp was illegitimate and, as cited in the press in 1860, "worked at a pipe manufactory"..... "from nine o'clock in the morning till nine at night". The inquest was in relation to her 88 year old grandmother who died in a fire having rejected being taken into care at the union workhouse. In 1851 Mary-Ann had been living in St Clement's Sq. and working as a gloveress. The leather tanning and glove making industry was important in St Clement, Worcester.

The census returns indicate that only one person who was a pipe maker was resident in St Clement in April 1871. He, Charles Watkins, was at Tybridge St., gave "pipe maker" as his occupation but he was only visiting. This is the same Charles who appeared in the 1841 census as a journeyman pipe maker and who worked in Croydon as a pipe maker in 1851. The absence of all other pipe makers in the parish confirms the demise of the works before 1871 when Henry Shuter moved to Claines to open a shop. The other workers who had travelled from afar to work in Worcester moved on to pastures new.

Where the artisan workers lived in relation to their work is shown below. The landscape has since been transformed and is now a large open park amenity for the St Clement's/ St John's community on the west of the river.



The Blockhouse Pipe Works a.k.a. City Pipe Works

The pipemakers and pipe trimmers of the Blockhouse works are dispersed. The extra-parochial nature of the area and the possible daily commute of the workers it is more difficult to define the employees than in the case of Cripplegate / St Clement.

One worker who lived right in the centre of Blockhouse, at Spa Row illustrates the mobility of pipe makers. Sarah Appleford, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Appleford was christened in Bristol in 1827. She married Charles Stephens in Worcester in 1849 and settled in the Blockhouse area of Worcester. Sarah is recorded as a pipe maker from 1851 to 1871 before being a pipe trimmer by 1881. Her life warrants mention in that her father Thomas, Thomas, was recorded several times in the Worcester newspapers of 1831 as being a pipe maker from Bristol and a possible pickpocket. He was found not guilty through lack of evidence. It is likely that he was seeking work out of Bristol following the birth of his daughters in 1827 and 1828.

On the theme of migrating pipe makers, it is noted that a Scotsman Thomas Flanaghan (25), a Brummie John Shaddock (20) and a Devonian from Plymouth Joseph Davis (33) were all engaged as pipe makers in Blockhouse area in 1851 but of these only Sarah was still there in 1861. Thomas Flanaghan had returned to Scotland – by now well trained - and later moved to work at Manchester still pursuing a livelihood of pipe making.

John Monkland, born in Worcester, was a long-term pipe maker who had several run-ins with the law over larceny crimes. After a period of illness, John died suddenly in July 1881 while near to his home. The death was ruled to be "death from natural causes". Another local pipe maker in Blockhouse in 1851 was Thomas Keepax / Kipax of Claines, who lived in South Street.

By 1861, there were a few additional newcomers including William Perry from Broseley, Thomas Player from Bristol. Ebenezer Steele also from Broseley had moved from the Cripplegate works after 1851. He then moved to Stoke-on-Trent before 1871, which maintained his links with china clay. Broseley was a well-recognised clay pipe making area and remained so for many years after the industry died in Worcester. The Southorn clay pipes made in Broseley were well stamped as indicators of quality but few Worcester stamps have been recognised by collectors.

The 1871 pipemakers in Worcester were more than at Cripplegate but indicative of a declining industry. Amongst those working as described in the census were Mary Ann Griffiths, a 42 year old pipe trimmer from Worcester and her lodger Sarah Champion (20) a pipe maker from Chichester, whose father had been likewise engaged. John Monkland and his wife were both pipe makers and John was to continue for a further ten years as mentioned earlier.

Death throes of the clay pipe making industry

The 19th century was the boom and beginning of the decline of the clay tobacco pipe making industry. The rise at the start of the 19th century was due to increased wealth for some. In the middle of the century, a few statistics illustrate the scale and importance of clay tobacco pipe making in the UK.

In 1848 report on annual production referred to over 52 Million pipes made in London alone. Such a contemporary report indicates the importance of the statistic as well as the scale of output. By this time London would represent less than 50% of the UK production. Pipes were semi-disposable. They would be used until either too short or otherwise damaged and in some cases could be "re-burnt". This drove off the nicotine remnants and re-opened the stem.

The pipes were viewed as good for morale and one shipment to British troops in the Crimea in 1855 included 80 thousand pipes. Demand continued as exemplified by a 1906 appeal on behalf of the 2nd Battalion of the Worcester Regiment in South Africa during the Boer War.

The decline was mainly due to alternative technologies – briar pipes and cigarettes. As a result of the mechanization of cigarette production in the 1880's there was a daily increase in output from 40 thousand to about 4 Million. Such changes seriously damaged the economics of clay pipe making. The artisan workers were vulnerable to exploitation prior to trade unions but they did unite under guilds or less formal community organisation to fight for better pay.

Prices had varied from 2 shillings per gross at the start of the 18th century to 3 shillings per gross by 1825 and down to 1 shilling per gross by 1876. The piece work pay for the workers during the 19h century led to unrest with a number of strikes reported in Leeds (1831, 1850 and 1866) where the core of 26 to 30 workers wanted raises from 13 shillings per week up to £1 per week over the period. Their strikes seemed to have minimal impact as seen by the rates. In fact in 1850, wages were lower than in 1844. In Scotland increases were granted in 1847 but with Leith receiving 3 shillings per week extra while Edinburgh received only 1shilling and 6d. The reduction in disposable income resulted in a major strike in Scotland in 1882 wanting a 15 – 30 % increase. The pipe makers of Liverpool went on strike in 1872 and won an increase of 10% to their wages but this further increased the rate of decline of the industry – as elsewhere. Worcester has no obvious records of major labour unrest, perhaps reflecting on its scale and the other work opportunities in glove making, china and pottery making and transport of goods.

Nonetheless, the clay pipe making industry of Worcester died out by the end of the 19th century and the remnants are mostly in records and buried below the various parts of Worcester.

The two main limitations for clay pipe making were the availability of suitable clay; addressed by the maritime port-to-port business and the canals and railways and the availability of skilled people; addressed by the highly mobile labourers who sought out employment.

Ultimately, the demand subsided as more efficient manufacturing and then a trend to other forms of smoking overtook economic supply. Newspaper outputs provide evidence as to the spread of production, the people involved and the rise and fall of the industry. Archives and archaeology have added further to building a more complete picture of pipe making.

In terms of manufacturing, there are various papers already written which describe the process and a few modern day pipe makers can still demonstrate the technique. The process is essentially to mill the clay, pug it with water, extrude into pipe moulds, trim, dry and fire. Some special pipes were tipped on the stem for cooler smoking but the mass-market versions were plain. During the 18th century it became increasingly common for pipe bowls to be stamped with a maker's mark. This created a quality norm and also helped settle day-rate payments.

An inventory taken shortly after Richard Berriman's death shows that he worked from home in the parish of St James. The inventory listed '2 working benches, one beating stock, 1 Tub, 5c. of clay...16 moulds, some small Tooles and some odd boards to the Value of £1,8s', which suggests that his working conditions were sparse and far from opulent. This set-up was typical of pipe-making at the time and often consisting of husband and wife working together. It was not a particularly lucrative business and nor did it command high social status. In a list of Bristol companies, listed in order of precedence for a procession before the mayor, pipe makers were placed twelfth out of seventeen.

VALUABLE FREEHOLD HOUSE PROPERTY ROMFORD, ESSEX.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION. By S. Collier.

At the White Hart Inn, Romford, on Wednesday, March 26, 1845, at Three o'Clock, by order of the Proprietor, in Three Lots :

Lot 1. A LL that substantial Brick-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE, in the occupation of Mrs. Strutt, Tobacco Pipe-maker, situate in the town of Romford, having a private entrance, neat hall, two good parlours, kitchen, and washhouse; two principal bed rooms, two attics, and good cellar; attached is a timber-built house, the lower room of which is occupied as a pipe warehouse, with three rooms over, inhabited by the workpeople; adjoining is a substantially-built Tobacco Pipe Manufactory, having three furnaces therein, with pipe-clay room, and cellar under the floor of burning room for the deposit of a large quantity of coal; above is a large room, occupied as a workshop, a yard, with pump of excellent water, a 3-stall stable, with loft over, and pipe shop adjoining, let at the low rent of £40 per annum. Land-tax redeemed.

A newspaper article of 1845 provides a clear summary of the layout of a larger scale manufactory. The need for coal to fire the furnaces made waterfront manufactories gain prominence.

An interesting legal case in 1866 in Darlington rejected a case against a pipe maker for breach of the Factory Act on the basis that the manufactory was not considered to be under the Act if there was "no machinery driven by water, steam or other motive power". This emphasises the manual nature of production.

BROSELEY, SHROPSHIRE.

BENTHALL PIPE WORKS.

TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE TREATY,

ALL the MACHINERY, PLANT, STOCK-IN-TRADE,
belonging to the "Raliegh Pipe Works," at Benthall,
near Broseley, Shropshire, formerly known as "Southorn's
Broseley Tobacco Pipe Manufactory."

There has been carried on for upwards of half-a-century
at the above works an extensive and lucrative Pipe Business,
for many years under the management of the late Mr. Edwin
Southorn. The Pipes manufactured on these premises
have long since obtained a world-wide fame.

The Machinery and Plant consist of steam boiler, 12-horse

have long since obtained a world-wide fame.

The Machinery and Plant consist of steam boiler, 12-horse power; vertical engine, 8-horse power; two clay mills, presses, moulds, saggers, trays, planing machine, lathe, drilling machine, vice and bench, stamps, dies, various tools; fixtures in moulding shop, trimming shop, saggering room, burnishing room, chemical room, show room, fitting shop, carpenter's shop, stamp room, warehouse, pipe kiln, and dipping furnaces, &c., &c.

The Stock-in-Trade consists of about 18 tons of raw pipe clay, prepared pipe clay in squares, upwards of 2000 gross.

clay, prepared pipe clay in squares, upwards of 2,000 gross of pipes, various patterns; quantity of boxes and packing cases, red lead, paints, drugs, petroleum oil, machine oil, &c., &c.

The Good-will and Tenant Right of the business is for Disposal, and also Book Debts, amounting to about £400.

For further particulars, apply to Mr. Owen Habriss, Solicitor, Dawley; or Messrs. Phillips, Osborne, and Phillips, Solicitors, Shifnal.

The 1879 sale of one of the famous clay pipe works provides a full inventory of the necessary equipment for large scale pipe making. The quantity of stock materials illustrates the investment in the business and why management skills became as important as the manufacturing itself.

Pipe making was essentially an acquired skill, judging the balance of clay and water, extruding, trimming and drying. Such skilled workers were sought after and regional papers advertised outside of their borders in an attempt to find good staff. Newspaper advertisements offered "full employment, accommodation" and often suggested married men. These aspects of employment provided stability at a time when large families required financial support. Some examples are shown below.

O Journeymen Tobacco-pipe Makers .- Wanted a few good llands—married men, who are good work-men, and bear good characters, will meet with liberal encou-ragement. Apply to I. Newson, at the Friendly Tobacco-pipe Mannfactory, Davis's-place, Chelsea.

1810 London newspaper

ANTGARW POTTERY & TOBACCO PIPE WORKS, Near CARDIFF. WANTED, a few good HANDS; also, One or Two LABOUR-ERS, for Clay-grinding, Packing, Glazing, &c.
Apply to Mr. W.M. H. PARDOE, as above.

1848 Bristol newspaper



1899 Bristol newspaper

Some of the demand arose when established china works decided to expand their range, using similar stock and facilities such as china clay, kilns and the like. Swansea and Nantgarw in Wales are examples. In other cases such as the Havard Works in Tredegar, entering this market met the increasing needs of the colliery employees of the Welsh Valleys.

Ultimately, mechanisation for cigarette production and different skills for briar pipes resulted in the end for almost all clay tobacco pipe works.

App. 2 Guilds of Tobacco Pipe Manufacturers

The Crown established the earliest pipe-making guild rather than the employers or workers. In 1619 King James I banned tobacco growing in England and legislated that all tobacco should come through London and only made by Westminster based pipe makers operating under a Royal Charter. This enabled revenue control at the port and in the market place. This guild was superseded by King Charles I when, in 1643, he determined a City of London Company to be named the *Tobacco-pipe Makers of London and Westminster and England and Wales*. The outcome of the English Civil War was a breakdown in controls and, when the Company defaulted on its annual payment, a forfeit of the Charter of Incorporation.

The expansion of manufacturing cities resulted in Bristol forming a Pipe Makers Guild in 1652. It was founded by Richard Berriman and 24 others, including four women. The regulations of the guild stated that only members could sell clay pipes in the city, that members must swear an oath to observe the guild's rules and that no member could employ a boy to make pipes without making him an apprentice.

"Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, &c. minding the good of such his Subjects, Tobacco-Pipe-makers, as they had been trained up, and long exercised in that Art, and attending to restrain and suppress the growing number of loose and idle persons, intruders into that I rade, and to appropriate the same to such only as theretofore had been, and then after should be orderly and honestly educated, and brought up its apprentices according to the law; and the better to avoid and prevent, in the time to come, the falsities then practised in that Manufacture, and to establish good order and government amongst them, did, for the effecting thereof, in his Princely wisdom, think fit to create and constitute sundry persons in the said Letters Patent, named into a Corporation, a Body politique, by the name of the Master, Wan ens, and Society of Tobacco-Pipe-makers of the City of London and Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, who might have and take upon them the rule and well ordering of all the members thereof, and might take care to suppress such other idle and unskilful persons as should indulge, attempt, or undertake to set up and practise the said Trade in any part of the realms of England, and dominion of Wales."

Signed by Order of the Court,

William LLOYD.

In London, in 1663 at the end of the Civil war, King Charles II reestablished the City of London companies and granted a new Royal Charter to the former Tobacco Pipe Makers of London and Westminster. Demand for pipes led to a surge in manufacturing across England. Historically pipe makers were able to associate as "freemen" of the city but their payments were insufficient to sustain the Company.

THE Worshipful Company of TOBACCO PIPE-MAKERS of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.—At a Monthly Court of Assistants of the said Company, held at Guildhall, in the City of London, on Tuesday, the 1st day of Sept. 1807. It appearing to this Court, that the Establishment calling themselves "The Friendly Pipe-Manufactory." have s t at defiance, by public Advertisements, Competition took advantage of the demand for pipes and newspaper advertisements were taken out to protect the interests of members as well as those of the public. (1807)

Free trade eventually resulted in multiple trade bodies being established and the market decided the supply preference based on quality – through company names and maker marks – and price. The 1809 article in response to the 1807 litigious message from "The Worshipful Company of Tobacco Pipe Makers" above dated 1807 set the battle lines clearly. The subsequent extract of 1823 shows how "The Worshipful Company" was reacting to the pressures of workers and competitors.

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neral.—Whereas a second Advertisement having made its appearance from some of the Master Tobacco Pipe-Makers, who held a partial meeting, threatening to bring the Journeymen of the same Company to justice, and a sense of their duty. I think a decerning Public will easily discover that these words originated in tyranny and malice. I conceive the whole of my duty is contained in doing justice to the person in whose employ I may be in. I hope that those Masters will be mindful and do justice in future; I expect likewise, that they will do their duty to their men, and pay good money for good work. I and my family are now threatened with distruction, through their taking one of the persons contrary to their Charter, their Bye-Laws, and their solemn oath; should my rights be thus invaded, as they have began to invade them, I trust in a people whose hearts must bleed at suffering humanity, that I shall have justice done me, and meet with the support the nature of the case may require. I really assure you the advance is altogether necessary, that even then, most of the men's wages, if they work 14 hours each day, will be much less than what the generality of mechanics get in London.

AN ADVOCATE FOR THE OPPRESSED.

1809 Competitor

Licensed Victuallers and Others.—To the Licensed Victuallers and Others, Consumers of Tobacco Pipes.—At a Court held this day, the 3d of June, at the Guildhalt of London, of the Master Wardens and Assistants of the COMPANY of TOBACCO PIPE MAKERS of the CITY of LONDON. it was considered necessary, in consequence of an Advance having taken place in the Wages of Journeymen of the said Manufacture, to advance the price of Common Pipes to 3s. per Gross, and all other sorts in proportion.

RICHARD KEY, Clerk.

1823 Consequence of pay rises

The previous elements of this paper show how pipe makers, industry methods and the spread of opportunities created through the Industrial Revolution gave rise to competition at all levels.

By 1856, the City of London ordained that pipe makers from outside London could trade in the City and by 1863 the "Worshipful Company" was disbanded.

This was to be one of many changes in organisation of pipe makers through the 19th century and the eventual end of manufacturing.

App. 3 Major References

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App. 4 Acknowledgements

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