

**The Origins and Maritime Expansion of the  
Tobacco Pipe Trade of Southern England: An  
Archaeological and Historical Study, 1585-1640**



Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Peter John Taylor

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Front cover: Detail from Knijff, J. (1639-81) *English and dutch ships taking stores at a port*, Royal Museums, Greenwich, BHC0845.

# **The Origins and Maritime Expansion of the Tobacco Pipe Trade of Southern England: An Archaeological and Historical Study, 1585-1640**

Peter John Taylor

## **Abstract**

This thesis is the first critical assessment of the origins and maritime expansion of the trade in a single, disposable, appropriated commodity, the clay tobacco pipe. Archaeological finds are used as a counterpoint to the fragmentary documentary evidence in order to maximise interpretation and to attempt a synthesised narrative.

The research approach was inductive. The main documentary source utilised, the English customs records, was interrogated using Grounded Theory and the emerging patterns of trade define the thesis structure as each export market had its own distinctive characteristics. A variety of related approaches are used to enable the actors in this new trade and the controls and factors which influenced their actions to be investigated.

The requirements of the increasingly dynamic domestic market in Ireland were fulfilled almost entirely by imported goods and several competing production centres in southern England vied for a share of the trade in tobacco pipes to Ireland. A close reading of the documentary evidence highlights some issues over their accuracy while the archaeological finds suggest that neither source should have primacy.

A prosopographical study of the emigration of Englishmen who worked as pipemakers in the Dutch Republic provides new evidence of a shift from textile working towards the unregulated trades rather than being an influx of pipemakers from England. The adoption of the clay pipe as the medium for consuming tobacco was far from universal and the pipe trade to the Baltic and other European ports is examined in this context. The production of tobacco pipes in Scotland followed the granting of a royal licence. The archaeological evidence is materially investigated to assess the success of that venture alongside a biographical study of the English pipemaker who operated the monopoly. A long overdue study of the pipeclay trade considers the wider impact of illicit activity on the documentary record.

This thesis provides a revised chronology for the first English artisans who turned their hands to making clay tobacco pipes and refutes the conflation of tobacco consumption and tobacco pipe production prior to the mid-1580s. It contributes to research on English colonial enterprise, wider ceramic studies and to the historiography of the globalisation of intoxicants in the early seventeenth century. The interdisciplinary and transnational approach used significantly advances our knowledge of the English tobacco pipe industry in this neglected period.

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Despite major condition issues with the E190 series of documents at The National Archives in Kew, few records were ultimately unavailable to me. Their system of prioritising documents for mould treatment was essential to the timely completion of the research part of this thesis and my thanks go to all the staff involved in conservancy there.

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## List of Abbreviations

ACA	Amsterdam City Archives – Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
Book of Rates	<i>The rates of marchandizes as they are set downe in the book of rates, for the custome and subsidie of poundage, and for the custome and subsidie of clothes,</i> various editions, Commissioners of Customs.
CSP	Calendar of State Papers, various printed editions.
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh, Scotland.
HCA	The High Court of Admiralty papers held at The National Archives, Kew, England.
JHC	Journals of the House of Commons, HMSO, London.
JHL	Journals of the House of Lords, HMSO, London.
LRA	Leiden Regional Archives – Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Leiden, Netherlands.
NRS	National Records Scotland, Edinburgh.
PC	Records of the Privy Council, held at The National Archives, Kew, England.
Port Books	E 190 Series of Records of the Queen's (King's) Remembrancer in the Exchequer, held at The National Archives, Kew, England.
STAC	Court of Star Chamber records, held at The National Archives, Kew, England.
STR(O)	The Sound Toll Registers held at Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Denmark. Sound Toll Registers Online at <a href="http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/str-online">www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/str-online</a>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, England.
WYL	West Yorkshire Archive Services, Leeds, England.

## Chapter One

### Introduction

This thesis is the first comprehensive study of the origins and initial expansion of the English tobacco pipe trade. It utilises as its primary documentary source, the customs records returned to the Exchequer in London. The use of these 'Port Books', as they are commonly known, is a recognised tool of the economic historian, but no systematic use of this source has been applied to the tobacco pipe industry in this period.

Parallel to the rise in the consumption of tobacco, the use of the clay pipe spread out from the Elizabethan court and very rapidly, novelty became ubiquity. The nature of this expansion will be examined, occurring at a time when large houses were being converted into taverns and the theatre developed in London. Smoking became an increasingly integral part of social discourse (Fisher, 1990 p.186).

From the mid-1590s, the growth in tobacco consumption in England was extraordinary, facilitated by a similar expansion in the mass production of tobacco pipes. Pivotal to the process of linking production with widespread consumption were the merchants who often carried tobacco pipes as part of a package of exotic goods. By reconstructing the maritime trade in tobacco pipes following the arrival in London of pipes brought back from Virginia, we can assess both their agency and the universality of this trade. The customs records permit an analysis of both the merchants' role and the distribution networks they employed.

While tobacco pipes are recognised as being sensitive dating tools, early pipes were often plain and undecorated and this is sometimes equated with being of less intrinsic value. Archaeological finds of this period are also comparatively rare. Although a considerable amount of knowledge was garnered in the pioneering studies of Oswald and Walker in the 1960s and 1970s, little relates to the first fifty years of the tobacco pipe industry. This thesis aims to expand that knowledge base and provide a secure foundation for future studies of the early industry, rooted in the documentary evidence. While it is easy to dismiss the beginnings of the trade as being lost in the

mists of time, after all the labouring poor left little for the historian, this study aims to provide a nuanced view of the early trade. The research sample will be placed in a wider context both in relation to English commerce and with previous work using similar material.

In Higgins' review of clay pipe studies at the end of the twentieth century, he concluded with a discussion on future research on both sides of the Atlantic. The most important areas were identified as the sourcing of pipeclays, using clay tobacco pipes to understand trade patterns and socio-economic variables and the need for a tightly dated North American typology to enhance archaeological interpretation (Higgins, 1999 p.316). While this thesis does not attempted the latter, it is agreed that any assessment of the tobacco pipe trade would be incomplete without referencing the raw material from which pipes were made. Chapter Eight will provide the long overdue insight into the trade in tobacco pipeclay. Could the customs records identify the beginning of pipe production in various centres from the movement of this commodity? It was known that English clay was used by the earliest pipemakers in the Netherlands but how was this export trade organised? Although the Dutch pipemaking industry is known to have been instigated by Englishmen, the current theories as to their motivations in emigrating will be examined in the light of various English documentary sources. When combined with Dutch records, these can provide the socio-economic view into the working lives of those pioneering pipemakers that Higgins wanted.

This study seeks to enlarge our understanding not only by building on and extending previous methodologies but by applying Grounded Theory to the extracted data. The origins of any trade cannot be ascertained reliably from a single source so other material will be employed to complement, or counterpoint, the story told by the customs records. An extensive and systematic use of this data is combined with an analysis of the archaeological artefacts and other sources. When archaeological excavation reports are assessed in the round rather than as discrete pieces of work, they may add to our understanding of maritime trading patterns. The movement of both pipemakers and tobacco pipes are central to this study

while acknowledging the integral link with consumers provided by the merchants in the coastal and overseas trades.

### **The Research Questions and Boundaries**

The basis of historical archaeological theory is that historical sources, in the widest sense, can be combined with archaeological material to produce a multidisciplinary narrative (Henson, 2010 p.69). By examining the artefactual evidence in the context of the documentary record, theories and hypotheses can emerge. When combining the study of material objects with documentary sources, a deeper understanding of society as a whole can be developed (Andr n, 1998 pp.120-121). In turn, objects may reveal bias or subjectivity in the written record. While artefacts are increasingly considered as indicators of cultural and ideological interaction, issues of attribution are particularly problematic in this period and these must be addressed if their significance is not to be misplaced (Mehler, 2009b p.92). Previous to this study, no individual Elizabethan pipemaker had been identified.

While many early modern studies are regional or national in focus, this thesis is transnational albeit it is only concerned with the development of the western European tradition of clay pipemaking. While tobacco use by the maritime community would have spread through informal exchange across the sixteenth century, it was English artisans who first mass-produced clay pipes in two-piece moulds. Tobacco pipes can therefore act as markers of early modern engagement throughout the Atlantic region.

While there are several theories as to origins of pipe production in England, little of the sixteenth century industry is known with any certainty. In reconstructing maritime trade it was argued that the initial expansion of pipemaking might be observed. What was the nature of this trade and was it London-centric? Was growth at first overland across south-east England before becoming a product that was traded coastally and subsequently exported abroad? Given the illicit availability of tobacco in south-west England, did pipemaking develop there differently from the capital? It was known that tobacco pipes were being carried from Bristol to Cork by January

1597 but when did other production centres start to export tobacco pipes and what markets did they cater for?

The performance of maritime trade on an individual level still constitutes trade although not in the modern, more global, sense. Two definitions in *The Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary* can be conflated to define maritime trade as

the activity of buying and selling goods between people or countries, being connected with ships or the sea (Cambridge University Press, 2009 p.582, p.1013).

This definition does not require trade to be highly organised but merely the act of 'buying and selling'. The connection 'with ships' also includes river and coastal transport and therefore maritime activities are not tied exclusively to the sea. There is also no need for there to be regular traffic in order to develop a trade between 'people or countries', even established trade routes may have only included tobacco pipes irregularly. Although Davey suggests that the concept of trade implies both quantity and repetition, he recognises the tension between the documentary evidence of consignments to regional centres and the evidence of finds within other towns or cities (2013b p.98). It is often not possible to differentiate between pipes that were carried personally from those that were part of organised commerce, making a narrow definition of trade problematic. Archaeological evidence may be a product of both direct and indirect trade.

While little record of English overland trade is extant, the carriage of most goods by sea attracted import or export duty and it is these financial records which have been utilised. While most, but not all, tobacco pipes were made of clay, similarly most, but not all, clay pipes were used for consuming tobacco. To the customs official, these distinctions were immaterial, all were recorded as tobacco pipes.

Limits, both temporal and geographical, have been applied allowing the scope of this research to be focused where the extant records might shed the most light. Whoever first introduced tobacco into England has been the subject of much debate and the original conceptual design for this study

encompassed the rival claims that it was John Hawkins of Plymouth in 1565 or his protégé, Sir Francis Drake in 1573. According to John Stow, Sir Walter Raleigh first brought tobacco into England about 1578 (Howes, 1615 p.948) although Latimer states that this was in 1585 (1900 p.6). The unknown seventeenth century author of the *Bristol Annal* gives a precise date of 9 September 1586 as the first introduction of tobacco by ‘the mariners of Sir Francis Drake’ (Jones, 2019 p.47). It has been assumed that pipemaking would have commenced shortly after tobacco’s first introduction. In 1615, the king’s physician, Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, records that it was Thomas Hariot who introduced the habit of smoking tobacco in pipes from Virginia and although this is not first-hand knowledge, Mayerne did treat Hariot, an inveterate smoker, for a malignant tumour in his nostril (British Library, MS.2086 f.57r; Arianrhod, 2019 p.241).

The terminal temporal limit of this study was informed by the severe disruption caused by the various civil wars in England, Scotland and Ireland and the consequential loss of documentary records during the Interregnum. Not only was the functioning of the Exchequer hampered by the hostilities but some Port Books were to be completed on paper rather than parchment, thereby impacting their long-term survival. The geographic limit on trade from within England was informed by two factors, namely that the earliest production centres were all believed to be in the south and that the main sources of raw material could also be found there. Southern England is broadly defined as being south of a line drawn between, but including, the cities of London and Bristol.

The main chapters in this study are focussed on the receiving ports in Europe, as defined by the internal evidence contained within the main documentary source. Included within this definition are exports to Ireland and Scotland, both regarded as overseas countries during this period despite the English crown’s attempts at promulgating its customs procedures more widely. Comparisons with the archaeological evidence are mainly focused on those two export markets as research is reasonably advanced and finds were historically recognised and appreciated. The regions discussed in each

chapter form distinct commercial markets and are examined from differing but related perspectives.

### **The Pipemaking Trade in Context**

This chapter provides an evaluation of the relevant literature, covering three main areas. An assessment of documentary sources provides an overview of trade in the period under consideration and places the pipemaking trade into a national context. A summary of previous research relating to the artefacts critiques some shortcomings, especially with the established typologies and mathematical dating theories. Lastly, the few published works specifically relating to the early history of the pipemaking industry are reviewed, evidencing the considerable gaps in knowledge and the requirement for a re-evaluation of the sources they used.

One of the more significant changes in maritime enterprise occurred in 1604 when King James I formally ended England's war with Spain. The previously illicit trade in goods to and from the Spanish colonies continued but was now focussed on circumventing the payment of duty on highly taxed goods such as tobacco. Many of those previously licensed to take prizes found their activities outside of the law. Those who were poor and lived hand to mouth may have turned to piracy, thus bringing them into conflict with those who now engaged in more lawful trade. The Treaty of Tordesillas which had divided the Atlantic World between the two Iberian nations was now ineffective and the legal concept that the sea could be 'territory' was starting to emerge and King James I made several proclamations regarding maritime sovereignty.

On a global scale, the new adventurers, exemplified by the East India Company and the Virginia Company, developed into powerful political and economic forces (Shmygol, 2014). A large proportion of English overseas trade was in the hands of regulated companies. The members of The Merchant Adventurers of England who monopolised the trade in cloth were specialist wholesale merchants. They differed fundamentally from the joint stock companies whose income came from a wide range of sectors (Leng,



2015 p.824). The line between adventurer and interloper was often blurred, with some company members operating outside of the mart towns.

Despite some short times of crisis in particular trades, the period between 1600 and 1640 is characterised by increased consumption. With that growth came a period of inflation, especially of grain prices, so that despite increases in daily labour rates, it is likely that wages fell in real terms (Fisher, 1990 pp.164-165). The increase in rents, particularly during the 1610s and the 1630s, suggests that the upper and middle classes did not share in this fall in the standard of living (Millard, 1956 vol.2 Table 2). While there is consensus that England's overseas trade was expanding, there is disagreement as to the extent of the increase.

The evidence contained within the Port Books has been interpreted by historians in different ways. An increase in customs revenue was primarily obtained, not by amending the notional values in the 'Book of Rates', but by expanding the scope of taxation, especially with the introduction of 'New Impositions' from 1610 onwards. These duties were unpopular as they were introduced by royal prerogative rather than being assigned by Parliament. Revenue going to the Crown was also increased by the 'farming' of the customs on various goods to private consortiums (Newton, 1918 p.129).

Although most goods paid a poundage duty of one shilling in the pound, effectively a five percent tax on their value, some, such as woollen goods, paid a specific duty. Both were calculated from notional rates, textiles on an equivalence to a broadcloth and petty goods from a wholesale valuation listed in a Book of Rates. While total volumes can be used to illustrate a gradual decline in cloth exports, especially in the period following the fall of Antwerp, the increase in London's exports of other goods over the same period needs qualification. Although any figures 'would obviously be affected by any changes in the official values assigned to those exports', Fisher goes on to state that there was 'no general or substantial revision of export valuations during this period', ignoring the 1604 Book of Rates (1990 p.120). It has been calculated that this revision alone represented a twenty percent uplift in values overall although some commodities were unchanged (Stone, 2012 p.19).

Fisher's figures exclude the exports of wool, woolfells and leather which were recorded in a separate Port Book but which he felt were 'sufficiently small for them to be safely ignored'. Similarly uncounted are the broadcloths used as wrappers as these were shipped duty free. Fisher gives values for exports from London 'by natives' and 'by aliens' (1990 p.121). However, a third category of merchant trade was recorded at the port of London, namely that carried out by denizens, and it is unclear whether their exports are included or omitted by Fisher.

According to Millard, this period saw a doubling of imports into the capital and she states that they increased 'more rapidly than London's exports' (1956 p.316). She notes the occurrences of plague and poor harvests as well as the cloth crisis of 1615-17. Fisher also records the large drop in the number of broadcloths exported from 127,215 in 1614 to 88,172 in 1615. Both realised that the distribution pattern of exports was changing with an increasing percentage of trade going to southern Europe, an area where the heavier broadcloths were less in demand (Fisher, 1990 p.121). This change also impacted the outports, especially the city of Bristol which effectively ceased being a cloth exporting centre although it still maintained its strong wine trade links with France and the Iberian Peninsula. Sacks found that Bristol's trade had grown considerably by the mid-1620s, yet erroneously cited the 'illusory' effect of the changes in the Book of Rates as the cause (1991 p.39, p.43).

Contrary to these wider economic trends, the increased availability of tobacco meant that its wholesale price rapidly declined. The impact of illicitly imported or illegally grown tobacco was such that retail prices fell below the levels of duty imposed on legitimate imports, although probably only in relation to lower quality product. Millard has shown that the value of legal imports of tobacco into London doubled between 1621/22 and 1633/34 and more than doubled again by 1639/40, almost eclipsing the recorded wine trade (1956 vol.2 Table 3). As the recorded values are based on the notional customs rates, they equate to an increase in volume and tax revenue, rather than absolute value. London's balance of trade shifted towards being import-led in the 1610s. This was contingent on the enterprise of the merchant

community rather than any lack of competitiveness of the capital's manufacturers (Fisher, 1990 p.190).

The Coastal Port Books have been used previously to shed light on London's trade in grain (Gras, 1915) and in coal (Nef, 1932) but both of these commodities were imports and less work has been done on goods leaving the capital coastally in this period. Although the sites of England's first colonies in the New World are archaeologically active and an already large corpus of work continues to be enlarged, few American scholars have used the Port Books as evidence of importation from England.

The new export markets opening up across the Atlantic do not appear to be a significant driver in the tobacco pipe trade before the 1640s but they were a market exploited by Bristol's pipemakers in particular in the second half of the seventeenth century. Plymouth's Overseas Port Books have also been used as background material to research into the Portuguese trade in ceramics although most studies of the Atlantic trades have either used the artefacts themselves or the limited documentary resources that are available online (Newstead, 2014).

## **Origins**

According to one admittedly biased source, it is implicit in King James I's writing that he attributes the 'first introduction' of smoking by pipe to late 1584 when the expedition of Barlowe and Amandas returned from the Outer Banks of the Carolinas. Barlowe records, almost as an afterthought, that 'two of the Savages' were brought back to England (1906 p.240). Twenty years later, King James I recounted that

With the report of a great discovery for a Conquest, some two or three Savage men, were brought in, together with this Savage custome (A *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, 1604).

This voyage was at 'the charge and direction' of Sir Walter Raleigh who was, by 1604, languishing in the Tower of London and clearly the 'father so generally hated' referred to in the King's work (Barlowe, 1906 p.227). Camden, writing in 1615, states that it was Ralph Lane who was 'the first that

brought in that Indian plant which they call tabacca and nicotia' (Dickson, 1954 p.134). This refers to Raleigh's first attempt at establishing a colony at Roanoke in 1584. Thomas Hariot wrote that he and the colonists copied and brought the habit back to England, stating that by

the vse of it by so manie of late, men & women of great calling as else, and some learned Phistions also, is sufficient witness (Hariot, 1588 p.22).

This suggests that the take up of tobacco by pipe smoking gained immediate popularity in 1586 following the return of some of the Roanoke colonists to England, at least in court circles. While there were many Flemish immigrants in London, the method by which this habit transferred to Amsterdam in particular, is unknown but it must have happened rapidly if pipes found in the Netherlands are to be dated to before 1590. As discussed in Chapter Five, the use of tobacco pipes among the English had reached the city of Flushing by 1591.

The engraver Theodore de Bry resided in London from early 1585 before departing for Frankfurt in September 1587. He had been commissioned by the Privy Council to illustrate *The Mariners Mirrour*, a re-working of an earlier navigational work. Richard Hakluyt planned to publish Hariot's account of his time in Virginia, accompanied by the drawings of John White, and de Bry was engaged to provide the engravings (Van Groesen, 2008 p.112). A comparison between White's drawings and de Bry's engravings show many changes, exemplified by plate 16 entitled 'Their sitting at meate' (fig. 1.1). De Bry has depicted the male as more muscular and the female is portrayed in a more European manner. Their meal has also become fuller and now includes a tobacco pipe and a bag containing the tobacco. The additional fish and corn seem at odds with the rather barren landscape de Bry has also included (fig. 1.2). The elbow pipe is a good representation of the tobacco pipe that could have been used and the question arises as to how de Bry would have known what the pipe would have looked like. It is possible that someone described one to him but it is more likely that Hariot or White showed him the pipe during his time in London. Although Hariot describes the smoking of

tobacco at social and diplomatic occasions, White does not illustrate this in his drawings, an omission perhaps de Bry was attempting to address.



Figure 1.1. 'Their sitting at meate', drawing, John White, 1585  
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, 1906, 0509.1.20).



Figure 1.2. De Bry's engraving based on White's drawing in Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, Frankfurt, 1590.

De Bry also depicts a different type of pipe when he illustrates the healing practises found in the northern part of Florida (fig.1.3). This was used to illustrate an account of the French colony there, based on a sketch by Le Moine whom he had met in London. De Bry's work was published in the early

1590s and produced in four languages and sold at book fairs throughout Europe to great acclaim.



Figure 1.3. Detail from de Bry's engraving after Le Moine, *America* part 2, German edition, Frankfurt, 1591.

A similar cup and cane arrangement is also shown in Tiel's version of Bruegel's depiction of a large fish eating lots of smaller fish. Although Tiel's publication can be found in a museum collection in Rotterdam and dated by them to 1575-1600, it cannot be safely attributed a sixteenth century provenance (fig. 1.4).



Figure. 1.4. Detail from Jan Tiel's *Siet Vrinden Dit Heeft Men Veel Jaren Geweten Dat De Groote Vissen De Cleynen Eeten*, (© The Trustees of the British Museum, 1882, 0811.366).

Another image by Tiel in a similar style and originally dated to 1600 has been re-assessed by the British Museum as belonging to the 1630s or 1640s on account of the soldier's uniform. Tiel, sometimes spelt Thiel, appears to be

the publisher rather than the engraver and other works by him have been dated to between 1590 and 1640.

A more accurately datable depiction of smoking can be found in an English source. Anthony Chute, who had died by early 1595, wrote of the preservative nature of smoking tobacco in a pipe against the 'late dangerous infection', referring to the outbreak of plague in London during 1592. Chute was born c.1535 in Bethersden, Kent and little is known of his early life except that in February 1568 he inherited various lands and that he came to writing poetry and pamphlets late in life. Kane has conjectured convincingly that the entry in Maunsell's *Catalogue* 'Tabacco, a treatise describing the nature of it / Print. for William Barley, 1597. 7./' is Chute's *Commedie*, called *The transformation of the King of Trinidadoes two Daughters Madame Panachaea and the Nymphe Tobacco* which has on its title page the legend 'London, Printed for William Barlow, and are to be sold at his shop in Gracious-street. 1595.' A William Barley had a shop in Gracechurch Street in 1596 (Kane, 1931 pp.151-152; Maunsell, 1595).

In 1593, Gabriel Harvey dedicated one of his works to 'Anthony Chewt' and praised his 'Shores Wife' describing the author as an 'orator, herald and a veteran of Norris and Drake's expedition to Portugal in 1589' (Kane, 1931 p.154). The description of Chute as a herald may have been exaggerated as he wrote to Lord Burghley for the position of Pursuivant at Arms in May 1594 but was apparently unsuccessful (Noble, 1804 p.189). In his letter he describes himself as 'a poore Gent. and a Scollar without frends' but that he was competent in several languages. In 1593 he had translated a pamphlet published by Wolfe from French (Sullivan and Stewart, 2012 p.191) although we learn more about Chute from his enemies. Nashe calls him a 'paltre Scriuano' despite him being 'dead and rotten' by the time of the publication of his *Tabacco* in 1595. He recalls how Chute was but a lowly attorney's clerk who could not understand Latin and that his involvement in the expedition to Portugal was as 'Captaines Boye' in charge of writing up accounts. He was, however, entitled to the Coat of Arms given to his father Philip by Henry VIII for his role as standard bearer at the Siege of Boulogne in 1544. The mock arms depicted in *Tabacco* is a version of his own with the central sword

replaced by a tobacco pipe. The chief contains two chaplets of, presumably, tobacco leaves depicted like laurel wreaths either side of a figure of a king (fig. 1.5). Chute's work is dedicated to Humphrey King, 'the souereigne of Tobacco, whose 'experience ... in this diuine hearbe, all men do know'. Even Nashe dedicates his *Lenten Stuffe* to him as the 'King of Tobacconists', that is, the king of smokers.



Figure 1.5. Mock Coat of Arms featuring a tobacco pipe (Chute, 1595 p.Ai).

Chute's *Tabacco* is more than a compilation of European medical knowledge as he writes from his own personal experience. He is surprised given the volume of advice concerning the use of tobacco leaves to treat wounds and burns that others have nothing to say about 'receuing it in pipes, as we now us ... in earthen and siluer pipes' (1595 p.3, pp.15-16). Chute goes on to ascribe to tobacco, the power of preventing plague

I thinke man hath not known an excellenter preseruatuie against the late dangerous infection, than this, and if any one who made use of it in good order, hath died of the infection, I am truly resolued, that for that one which died, it hath saued threescore (Chute, 1595 pp.20-21).

The Bills of Mortality suggest otherwise. Although only one is extant from between 1592 and 1595 when the plague raged across London, some extracts were published covering the period from March to December 1592 when 25,886 people died in those parts of London covered by the Bills of which 11,503 were 'of the Plague' (Graunt, 1662 p.33). In 1593, 17,844 died



of which 10,662 were recorded as being 'of the Plague'. This compares to just 4,021 christenings in the same area in that year. London's population at the time was around 150,000 which would make Chute's figures of those saved by smoking tobacco impossible, even if every man, woman and child had partaken.

Chute goes further by stating that 'there is nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle upward, but may be taken away with a moderate use of Tabacco' (1595 pp.18-19). A traveller might even take more than a moderate amount to ensure a good night's sleep – Chute recommends 'sixe or seauen pipes full' in the way that 'a Spaniard writes of the Indians' (1595 p.11). According to Nashe, Chute 'died of the dropsie, as diuers Printers that were at his buriall certefide mee' (quoted by Kane, 1931 p.155) and he would have remained obscure if his treatise on tobacco had not been the first English work on the subject. Not only did it include an image of a tobacco pipe on his mock coat of arms, but it also included one on both the title page and on page fifteen, the earliest extant image of an Englishman smoking a pipe (fig. 1.6). Both woodcuts show pipes of similar length and bowl form although the pipe on the shield is slightly more bulbous and less upright. The similarity to the pipe in figure 1.11, dated to 1592, confirms the accuracy of the illustration.



Figure 1.6. The earliest known depiction of an Englishman smoking a tobacco pipe (Chute, 1595 p.15).

De L'Ecuse notes that the earliest English pipes were similar to those used by the Algonquin tribes encountered by the Elizabethan explorers (Clusii, 1605 p.310). Hariot records that by 1588 the use of pipes made of clay were 'after the maner' he had experienced at the first Roanoke colony (Dickson, 1954 p.135). The English comic actor and one of the queen's grooms, Richard Tarlton, is said to have smoked a pipe 'more for fashions sake than otherwise' (Halliwell, 1844 p.26). His will was proved in September 1588, suggesting that the early uptake of smoking at court was as Hariot described. Evidence that tobacco pipe smoking had spread down the social scale and was undertaken in alehouses by 1595 is provided in an imaginary conversation between Bankes and his horse. He suggests that 'to a weake braine' three pipefuls of tobacco taken 'in an odde alehouse' could make you 'dronke' (Dando, 1595 p.B4). In 1599, tobacco consumption in alehouses was also noted by Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor to London.

In the ale-houses tobacco or a species of wound-wort are also obtainable for one's money, and the powder is lit in a small pipe, the smoke sucked into the mouth, and the saliva is allowed to run freely, after which a good draught of Spanish wine follows. This they regard as a curious medicine for defluitions, and as a pleasure, and the habit is so common with them, that they always carry the instrument on them, and light up on all occasions, at the play, in the taverns or elsewhere, drinking as well as smoking together, as we sit over wine, and it makes them riotous and merry, and rather drowsy, just as if they were drunk, though the effect soon passes - and they use it so abundantly because of the pleasure it gives, that their preachers cry out on them for their self-destruction, and I am told the inside of one man's veins after death was found to be covered in soot just like a chimney. The herb is imported from the Indies in great quantities, and some types are much stronger than others, which difference one can immediately taste; they perform queer antics when they take it. (Williams, 1937 p.79).

It is notable that the pipes Platter found in London's alehouses were described as small. Tobacco was retailed both by the pipeful and the

'pennyworth'. Ben Jonson's Ursula in *Bartholomew Fair*, first performed in 1614, sells tobacco adulterated with coltsfoot at three pence a pipeful (Rowley, 2003 p.175). Although the mantra that 'the smaller the pipe the older the pipe' is often repeated, it may be the case that the smallest pipes were specifically made for drinking establishments who sold tobacco by the pipeful. Certainly, some of the oldest securely datable finds and those illustrated in contemporary works cannot be classified as being small.

By January 1592, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, was receiving tobacco sourced by Hariot, both being habitual smokers. It is not known where the tobacco came from but a list of 'remembrances' amongst Hariot's papers suggests that by the 1610s, tobacco and pipes were available close to his residence in Syon Park (fig. 1.7).

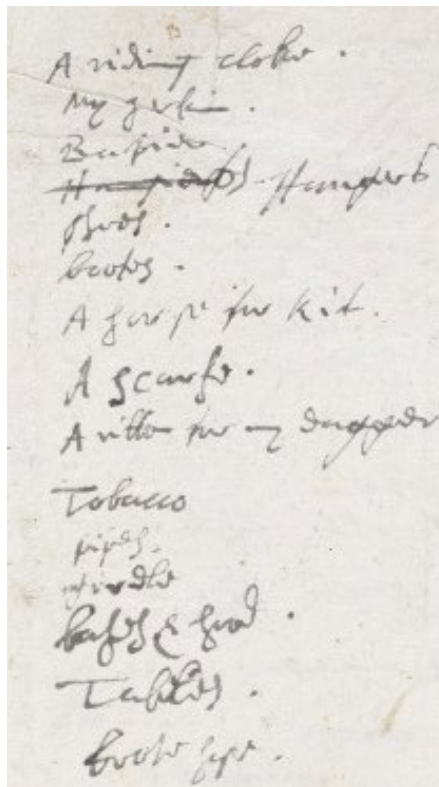


Figure 1.7. Thomas Hariot's list, datable to 1615-21  
(By permission of the British Library, MSS 6789 f.514r).

Percy's steward, Edward Fraunceys, records in the accounts of 1598 that on one occasion he paid out 30 shillings for tobacco and 6 shillings for tobacco pipes (Batho, 1962 p.33). The General Account for the period between 12 February 1597 and May 1598 gives the total spent on tobacco and pipes as

£52 14/6d (Batho, 1962 p.87). Percy lived at Syon House, close to Hariot, although he was imprisoned in the Tower of London in November 1605 following the Gunpowder Plot. One of his servants, Henri Lucas, continued to bring him tobacco and pipes from Essex House, a property which the earl rented (Batho, 1962 p.xix, p.7). Percy's General Account for 1606/07 shows that he was paying 12/- per gross for his pipes and still living in some style, despite his imprisonment (Batho, 1962 p.90). The 1617/18 account records £34 16/6d spent on 'tobacco, pipes and necessaries incident thereunto', a figure he exceeded in 1627/8 at £39 15/10d having been released from the Tower in 1621 (Batho, 1962 p.94, p.98).

Not only was the expansion in tobacco consumption extraordinary, it quickly moved from the elite circles at court to the common alehouses and theatres. John Chamberlain notes that in 1598 'certain mad knaves... took tobacco all the way to Tiborn as they went to hanging' (TNA:SP 12/268 f.141).

### **The artefacts**

The value of the ubiquitous clay tobacco pipe to the archaeologist lies predominantly in its ability to survive well in most soil conditions and to be a sensitive dating and cultural indicator although the earliest period of the industry presents some significant problems in this respect. While researchers in the United States were producing statistical methods for dating pipe stem fragments, Adrian Oswald in England was developing a methodology for dating pipe bowls. Although antiquarians in the nineteenth century had considered form, they had concluded that age was related to bowl size with those of the greatest antiquity being the smallest and even attributing some to the Danes or to fairies.

Adrian Oswald was the first to publish an attempt to classify pipes by bowl form criteria in 1955. In the early 1960s he developed a national typology and a modified version produced in 1969 in collaboration with David Atkinson remains the reference work on the subject amongst English scholars. In both of these typologies three bowl forms are assigned to the earliest period of pipe production. These bowl forms, designated Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3, are inconsistently labelled over the various typologies as Oswald himself

postulated that his original Type 2 pipe may be the oldest form as 'almost half are hand-made' and the amended typology published in conjunction with Atkinson has this forward-leaning bulbous bowl shape re-designated as Type 1 (Oswald, 1961 p.56; fig.1.8).

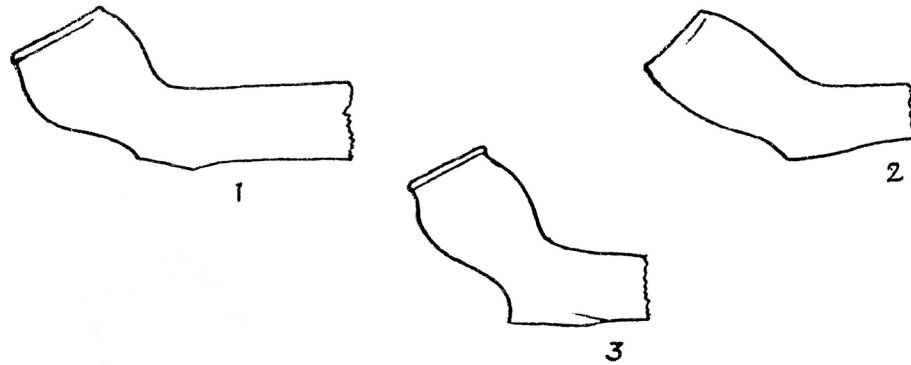


Figure. 1.8. Bowl forms types AO1 – AO3, ascribed to 1580-1610 (Atkinson and Oswald, 1969 p.8).

The typologies produced by Oswald have some issues but it is not the intention of this study to propose an alternative given their universal adoption. It will be sufficient to note some deficiencies in the evidence on which they were based. The earliest bowl forms were produced at a time when there were similarities of form but some degree of variation. In his 1975 typology, Oswald's Type 1 bowl form was narrowed in time to the period 1580–1600. Oswald had previously published his evidence as to why this particular bowl form, then called Type 2, was dated to the period between c.1580 and 1620 (1961 p.56). He cites one example of a pipe found at All Hallows, Lombard Street said to date between c.1600 but before the Great Fire of London although he gives no specific example of a pipe recovered from a pre-1600 context. He also cites a reference to a woodcut of 1616 showing a pipe of this form. This was included in a book written in German and illustrates, in exaggerated form, the habit of pipe smoking by the 'English and other nations'. This reference confirms that the habit was becoming widespread across Europe. The text states that pipes were also made of silver and gold and significantly the illustration shows the smoker to be wearing the ubiquitous clothing of the middle-class rather than the finery of a

courtier (Ziegler, 1616 p.8). To the intended audience in Switzerland, the clay tobacco pipe would have probably been regarded as a curio.

It is notable that the earliest known tobacco pipe mould, or rather one half of a wooden mould found at Southwark in 2011, would have produced a very similar pipe. It displays many of the features found in much later metal moulds. It has been noted that the pipe that would have been produced by using this mould would have also been very similar to the pipe marked 'RC' on a heart-shaped base in the Elkins Collection. Other finds from the immediate area suggest a deposition date in the second quarter of the seventeenth century which fits with the notion that this mould would have gone out of fashion rather than having been disposed of due to wear (Higgins, 2012a pp.361-366; 2012b p.213).

Oswald equates this bowl shape to William Harrison's 'little ladell' although this association is denied. The reference to a ladle derives from an entry in Harrison's *Chronologie* which was in manuscript at his death in 1593.

Oswald quotes the entry, allocated to 1573, but stops in mid-sentence, significantly affecting its meaning (Taylor, 2017b pp.29-32).

In these daies the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called Tobacco by an instrument formed like a little ladell, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is gretlie taken-up and used in England

The text goes on to qualify the use of tobacco as

against the rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts, and not without effect. This herbe is as yet not so common (Harrison, 2014 p.266).

The impression given by Oswald that pipe smoking was widespread throughout England in the early 1570s is at odds with Harrison's observation of tobacco's medicinal use against colds and flu, undoubtedly a treatment that was only affordable to those that could frequent apothecaries. At the time of Harrison's death, John Steynes, an apothecary in Derby, was selling tobacco for the equivalent of 96 shillings per pound (TNA:SP 46/48 f.171). In comparison, a skilled carpenter could earn 7/- per week and a labourer about

4/8d a week (Van Zanden, 2001). 'Rheums' could also be a euphemism for the effects of syphilis, Philaretus suggested that tobacco's popularity was mainly as a cure for venereal disease (1602 pp.A3r-B1r). Notably, Harrison does not describe this 'instrument' as a pipe, nor mention what it is made from. It is possible that he is describing the cane and shell arrangement used for smoking tobacco found in the southern parts of North America, perhaps being imitated in figure 1.9.



Figure 1.9. Bubble pipe with shell, *Quis Evadet*, print by Hendrik Goltzhus, c.1590 (© The Trustees of the British Museum 1852,1211.78).

Thomas Dekker's description of taking snuff in a tobacco ordinary in 1609 includes a reference to 'a ladell for the cold snuffe into the nostrill' (Saintsbury, 1892 p.192). Many of Harrison's entries were hearsay and there is no evidence that he himself smoked and it could be the case that he has conflated two methods of consumption.

Harrison retrospectively ascribed this entry to the year that Drake returned from Panama (Parry, 1984 p.791). Despite alluding to this reference, Oswald does not push the date of any bowl form back to the early 1570s but consistently uses c.1580 as a start date, without archaeological justification. Presumably he did not wish to give the appearance of precision when none was possible. Noel Hume states that 'no archaeologist has found such a pipe

in a context that can be dated with any certainty prior to about 1600' (2005 p.145).

Oswald's evidence for the AO Type 2 form has similar issues. A terminal date of 1610 is given for this shape of pipe bowl although he had previously dated it to c.1580-1630 (1961 p.56). Atkinson and Oswald note that in elongated form, it occurs after 1600 with examples being marked 'WB' which they suggest are likely to be the products of William Bachelor (1969 pp.15-16). Although he was one of the original four wardens of the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers, there are also other pipemakers with the same initials mentioned in the 1619 Patent Roll (TNA:C 66/2206). In Bachelor's petition of c.1635 he is described as having been in the trade for forty years, that is, since 1595. If pipes marked 'WB' were made by Bachelor then a date of 1615 ± 20 years can be given, pending further details becoming known of his working life (TNA:SP 16/307 f.159).

Oswald also refers to pipes marked 'IR' found in London, Ipswich and Worcester which he suggests may be the products of John Rogers living in Ratcliffe Highway in 1620 (1961 p.56). At that time, he did not seem to consider that John Rosse was also a suitable candidate and of similar stature within the early industry as Bachelor. Subsequently, when discussing an incuse 'IR' mark found in Plymouth on an AO Type 2 pipe, Oswald does suggest that Rosse 'is the most likely' maker (1969 p.134). He also describes an illustration of this bowl form in Brathwait's *The Smoking Age* without noting that both Type 1 and Type 2 pipes are seen hanging side by side in the tobacconist's window. The 1617 date of this publication would suggest that the restricting of either bowl form to the period 1580-1610 is too early and narrow a timeframe (Oswald, 1961 p.56).

Oswald further states that this bowl form was found on pipes recovered from the bottom of the City Ditch at Cripplegate Buildings in deposits of the latter half of the sixteenth century (1961 p.56). Subsequent excavations suggest that the ditch was in-filled in the early seventeenth century and that the material came from adjacent properties. While some of the pottery was of late sixteenth century date it is more likely that the pipe fragments are closer in date to the in-filling of the ditch (Bayley, 2003 p.1).



The Type 3 bowl form is described as being transitional and having a 'markedly drooping base, which is clearly the forerunner of the stepped base' and is dated from c.1600–1640 (Oswald, 1961 p.57) whereas later AO Type 3 pipes have a heart-shaped base and are dated from c.1580-1610 (Oswald, 1969 p.7). The only marked pipe of Oswald's Type 3 was said to be 'perhaps ... one of Benjamin Berriman's, the first Bristol maker, who took ... an apprentice in 1619' (Oswald, 1961 p.57). This pipe is incorrectly attributed as the pipemaker Oswald was referring to was Richard, not Benjamin, Berriman.

Oswald advocated dating pipes through the study of maker's marks and his lists of makers from a variety of documentary sources continues to be consulted (1960 pp.55-102). While his lists contain some errors, they are a useful starting point for further research. The recording of the then earliest known maker, John Stuckey in 1603, is a misreading of the Parish Register entry from 1693, an error Oswald himself later acknowledged (Oswald and Le Cheminant, 1985 p.6). This error has been perpetuated by repetition (e.g. Higgins, 2012b p.210) and also by attributing an early 'IS' marked pipe to John Stuckey (Pearce, 2011).

Oswald's methodology is sound in that evidence of a completed apprenticeship or of a marriage or death can inform the likely working period of a maker and therefore date a particular marked pipe to within a reasonable degree of accuracy, provided the attribution is correct and with the caveat that moulds could be handed down to widows or sons. It is here that distribution patterns and a knowledge of local or regional trade networks can assist in defining a likely period of production. Although the majority of early pipes are unmarked, it remains a worthwhile exercise in documenting the likely production periods and locations of individuals.

In the United States of America, it was observed that the bores made by the wire inserted into pipe stems during the production process decreased in diameter over time and might be used to date stem fragments. This was first noticed in the 1950s and seventeenth century evidence is based mainly on material found at Jamestown (Harrington, 1954 pp.63-65). Harrington began by taking measurements from 'a series of dateable pipes' which had

'sufficient stems remaining'. His starting point was therefore the sorting of pipes according to their bowl form. If Harrington's observation is valid then Oswald's typology on which it is predicated should also be accepted although, as Oswald contended, broad dates are of little value. It should be remembered that Harrington is unlikely to have seen any material dating to before 1606.

While Harrington does not record his sample size for the period between 1620 and 1650, he does state that he measured 330 stems dating to before 1800. He also says that he only used English-made pipes in his sample and observed that Dutch pipe stems had narrower stem holes than English pipes of the same date. He admitted that if only stem fragments were available it would not be possible to distinguish between the two countries of origin. His mathematical progression of ever narrowing stem holes does not consider that some production centres restricted the length of pipes, such as the Bristol guild's agreement of 1710 (Price, 2011 p.1496). At other centres, for example at Norwich, stem bores increased towards the end of the seventeenth century. This may mean that his, and later formulae, may not be accurate for samples containing a significant number of stems from pipes made outside the capital. The city of Bristol was a major exporter of pipes to the New World and the West Indies from 1650 onwards and it would be difficult to differentiate between individual stem fragments made in London or Bristol. Shott's opinion that the method 'applies best or only to English pipes more precisely specified southern England, presumably in or near Bristol' would be more accurate if he had named London as the most relevant production centre (2012 p.18).

For the period between 1620 and 1650, Harrington found that 20 percent of stems had a bore hole of  $9/64$ " diameter, 59 percent were measured at  $8/64$ " and 21 percent at  $7/64$ ". While his sample size was small, his findings can only be reliable for very large collections of stem fragments. A single pipe stem fragment with a bore of  $7/64$ " might be found in any period between 1620 and 1710, a period of some ninety years. A fragment with a bore measuring  $6/64$ ", could belong to any period between 1650 and 1800, a time frame of no practical benefit to the archaeologist or historian. Nine stems and

bowls found in Plymouth, Massachusetts, allocated by stem bore diameter to the period 1580-1620, are among 385 fragments said to 'correspond well with the estimated occupation range of 1633-1676' (Chartier, 2015 p.50). Even within a reasonably large sample size, these outliers show that Harrison's theory can produce inaccurate results.

The wire used by pipemakers to produce the bore in the stem would have worn down in use and the end had to be regularly re-hammered. The dies used when the wire was first made, a large metal plate with holes through which the wire was forced, periodically required the holes to be re-sized as they enlarged during use. The thinner wire may have been more expensive to produce as it involved more passes through the holes of decreasing size. The earliest wireworks at Tintern produced brass wire from 1567 but switched to making iron wire around 1592. Although they held a monopoly, a rival wireworks was set up in Surrey in 1603 to supply the London market although judgement went against this new company in the Exchequer Court (Price, 1906 pp.55-58). Complaints about the quality of wire were common and evidence from 1685 shows that at least one pipemaker from Ludlow, Shropshire used wire imported from Germany (Berlyn, 2008 p.31).

Another variable was the amount of shrinkage that the clay underwent as part of the firing process. It was said by one writer in the early eighteenth century that the finest pipeclay in the land was called Hayter's clay from the Isle of Wight but that it 'was apt to shrink in baking' so much so that it had to be mixed with Purbeck clay to prevent this (Woodman, 1728 p.63). The stem bore measurements of the contents of a single box of 223 pipes, carried as cargo on the Dutch vessel *Vergulde Draeck* in 1656, show that wires of two different thicknesses were used in the workshop that made them (Higgins, 1997 p.34).

Le Cheminant attempted to establish a closer chronology for early pipes and observed that of 61 bowls of AO Types 1,2,3 and 5, AO Type 1 pipes had smaller bores than the other early types, although the sample size was only six. He also noted that some pipes of smaller size were later in date than should have been the case if the assumption that bowl size grew over time due to the increased availability of tobacco was uniformly true (1984 pp.28-

34). That pipes with bowls of different sizes co-existed has been noted in products made in Bavaria in the second-half of the seventeenth century (Mehler, 2009a p.264).

The mathematical dating formula developed by Seth Mallios is a hybrid theory predicated on Atkinson and Oswald's typology (2005 pp.89-104). Each English pipe bowl is first sorted by type and the number in each category is multiplied by the midpoint year of each typology range. The midpoints are summated and then divided by the total number of bowls in the sample. This produces a mean date that a site was occupied (Mallios, 2005 p.93). That production is evenly spread throughout the period of production or that symmetry is present around the midpoint year are both unlikely assumptions. As part of his calculations, Mallios uses the midpoint year of 1595 for AO Type 1-3 pipes despite the fact that material found in the United States of America is unlikely to pre-date 1606. This will produce inherently inaccurate results for artefacts of these three types found in the Americas.

Suggestions by David Givens regarding a pipe attributed to Robert Cotton found at James Fort and a similarly stamped pipe found in 2007 at Southwark by the River Thames confirm the regard in which Oswald's typologies are still held. Givens states that the fleur-de-lis stamps on the two pipes display a matching defect and he further goes on to say that as the London pipe is dated to 1580-1610 that 'this [is] evidence that Cotton was operating in England prior to his short tenure at James Fort (2015 p.47). It is worth noting that the Southwark pipe is mould-made although Givens states that 'the wide range of bowl volumes reflects the hand-carved nature of his [Cotton's] pipes (2015 p.49). He further suggests that the Robert Cotton listed as an apprentice in 1602 in the Stationers Company's records may be the same man as the one who arrived at James Fort in January 1608 (2015 p.16). A wider search of these records shows that this Robert Cotton was made free on 10 July 1609 when the pipemaker is likely to have been at James Fort for eighteen months (Arber, 1876 p.319). He is probably the person that signed a petition of freemen and journeyman printers in London in May 1613 (Jackson, 1957 p.437; Arber, 1877 p.525). Givens erroneously states that Cotton received £2 from the Stationers Company, recorded under

the heading of 'Good Speed to Virginia'. However, a 'Mr. Cotton' had that amount levied on him as a member of the company in 1609. *A Good Speed to Virginia* was not a sentiment of best wishes but the title of a book by William Welby written in the same year and unrelated to this payment (Brown, 1891 pp.292-293). Neither piece of information supports the assertion that this apprentice was the pipemaker who left London in October 1607. Givens does not make any reference to the 'RC' marked pipe of AO Type 3, found on the River Thames foreshore, and how that might fit within his proposed chronology of events (fig. 1.10; Higgins, 2012a p.364).

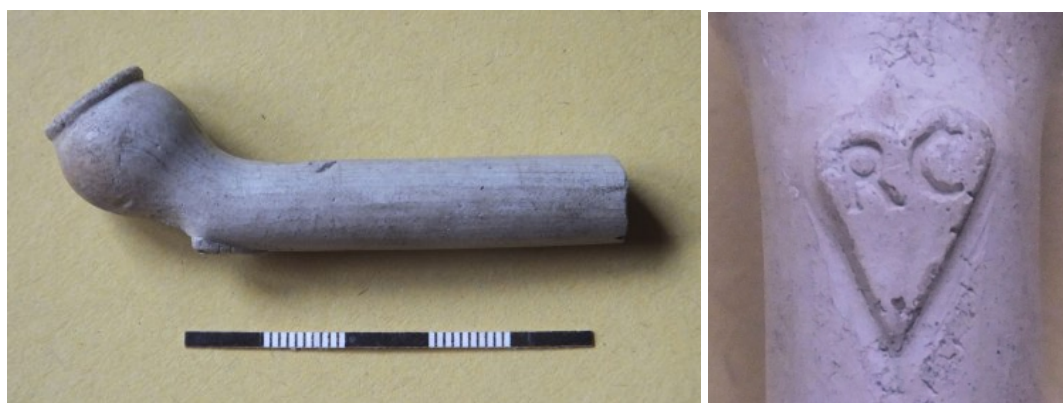


Figure 1.10. Pipe with 'RC' in a heart-shaped heel mark (LIVNP 2012.04.30, Elkins Collection. Photographs courtesy of the National Pipe Archive, Liverpool).

Givens follows up earlier work by Kelso and Straube by considering the hybrid nature of the pipes attributed to the colony's first pipemaker. He argues that the form of Cotton's pipes take cues from indigenous pipes while using tools that 'produced consistent and measurable results' (2015 p.52). His argument that Cotton might abandon all previous English pipe forms as a way 'to get away from the constraints the fledgling pipe makers were experiencing in London' is unconvincing. With no guild in existence after James I's accession until 1619, it is difficult to understand any constraints on a pipemakers' trade, other than purely financial ones. His view that the monopolies on Dorset pipeclay 'held the London pipe producers in check' is stated without any evidence. Although the clay monopoly held by Philip Foote in 1618 was not the first, it is the earliest one whose details are known. Givens' opinion that Virginia clay would have been 'a way to subvert the

monopoly of the clay merchants' is echoed by Kelso and Straube's view that one of the commodities being sought in Virginia was pipeclay to export to the Netherlands (2004 p.166). As the price of pipeclay in London was less than 40 shillings per ton, a full hold, apart from being prone to take on water, would have been uneconomic to carry across the Atlantic. The notion that the colonists hoped to export tobacco pipes to London where pipes were inexpensive is similarly flawed save that some of the pipes attributed to Cotton may have been specially made and intended for the backers of the colony (Neeley, 2010). They were made using a significant amount of labour and were not capable of being competitively mass produced.

While tobacco pipes form part of the dating matrix that is used to provide evidence of occupation of a particular site, wreck sites can provide a unique snapshot of pipe and bowl forms. Compared with archaeological sites on land, wreck sites have relatively little disturbance and a smaller chance of intrusive material confusing the picture. Only a small number of wreck sites have been extensively researched although there is considerable potential to refine existing pipe typologies for the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods by reviewing the evidence as a whole (Higgins, 1997 p.130).

The discovery of a wreck off the coast of Alderney in the late 1970s and its subsequent exploration in the 1990s is a case in point. From the first finds it was believed that the vessel had sunk between 1585 and 1620 (Davenport and Burns, 1995 p.33). Further dives produced some recovered objects, among them two tobacco pipes. The preliminary report on these pipes describes one as being made of clay, of 6/64" bore and of a high quality and possibly handmade (fig. 1.11). The bowl form of the pipe is again said to equate to Harrison's 'little ladell' (David, 1995 p.40). This pipe assisted with the initial dating of the ship by suggesting that it was earlier than 1610, based on the AO typology. The wreck is currently dated to November 1592 on the basis of a documentary record of a ship reported as being lost off Alderney by John Norris, the commander of an expeditionary force to Brittany (Bound, 1997 p.80). The terminus post quem date is provided by two lead pan weights bearing the cypher of the Worshipful Company of Plumbers. The cypher was granted in December 1588 but not enacted until the following

year (MAST, 2010). The clay pipe from the wreck site is the earliest securely datable clay tobacco pipe yet found.



Figure 1.11. Clay pipe from the Alderney shipwreck site (photograph courtesy of Irini Malliaros and the Alderney Maritime Sea Trust).

Of equal interest is the second tobacco pipe, made from pewter (fig. 1.12). Although broken in two, the pipe is complete and is said to be a close parallel to one found on the wreck of the *San Pedro* which sank off Bermuda in November 1596.



Figure 1.12. Pewter pipe from the Alderney Wreck site (photograph courtesy of Irini Malliaros and the Alderney Maritime Sea Trust).

Attempts to locate this latter pipe have been unsuccessful and Noel Hume who noted it did not publish any details, despite his paper on the excavations being 'forthcoming' in 1993 (David, 1993 p.24). Other artefacts from the *San Pedro* are held by the Museum of Bermuda who stated that they do not hold any tobacco pipes from this wreck site. This pewter pipe could be illustrative of the exchange of goods that was taking place within the wider maritime community. The high cost of recovering artefacts from wreck sites means that a series of pipe data, based solely on wreck evidence, is unlikely to contain more than a few examples for any given time period.

### **The Historiography of Early Pipemaking**

Oswald's review of Iain Walker's four volume publication which followed on from his thesis concluded that it had become 'the foundation for all subsequent research no matter how time and endeavour may change the superstructure' (1979 p.176). While paying 'special attention' to the Bristol tobacco pipe industry, its scope nevertheless covered both Western Europe and North America. It is a vast eclectic cornucopia of sources although those referenced as personal communications are often difficult to substantiate.

At the same time as Atkinson and Oswald were publishing a history of the 'The London Company of Tobacco-Pipe Makers' written by J.F.V. Woodman, Walker also published some notes 'as each produced findings largely un-noted by the other' (1971a p.78). Both refer to the entries in the 1619 and 1634 Patent Rolls as if they were the charters and Walker does not correct the errors in the list of members' names previously published by Atkinson and Oswald, suggesting that he had not viewed the primary source material (1969 p.66).

Walker is 'quite clear that by 1601 there was a pipe monopoly' (1971a pp.78-79). The speech by Robert Cecil he offers as evidence suggests that the example of a monopoly on tobacco pipes he refers to is something that is trivial but that does not mean it existed. When, in the same debate in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Wroth read out the considerable list of patents granted since the last Parliament in 1597, William Hakewell queried why bread was not on the list. When he was questioned as to whether there



was indeed a monopoly on bread, Hakewell admitted that there was not but said that there surely would be by the next Parliament. There are several contemporary records which describe the monopolies of Elizabeth's reign and in addition to those listed in the calendars of the Patent Rolls, several members of the House of Commons recorded the monopoly debates in their private papers. The notes of the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, contain many references to grants, licences, privileges and warrants between 1565 and 1596 as do those in the Talbot papers dating from 1603. Townshend records the details of monopolies in three lists including Robert Cecil's list of 1601, another list of the same year and a list of patents granted between 1597 and 1601. Simonds D'Ewes' list in his journal also dates from 1601 (Price, 1906 p.142). None of these records include a reference to a monopoly on tobacco pipes.

The monopoly alluded to would have presumably been ended by Queen Elizabeth with the 'reforming of sundry grieuances, by abuse of many grants, commonly called monopolies' in 1601 in any case (Jackson, 2009 p.28). No record of any grant has been found in the Patent Rolls nor any evidence as to whom it may have been granted although a catalogue of the holdings of the Corporation of London from 1840 includes a reference to a document by the 'tobacco-pipe makers Company of London ... stating particulars of their incorporation by Queen Elizabeth (Anon., 1840 p.60). This may be 1663 company claiming a longer pedigree than was the case although the document referred to has not been located.

Walker also states that by 1618 'almost certainly ... any Tom, Dick, or Harry could now get a document allowing him to make tobacco pipes to the exclusion of others in the same trade' (1971a pp.78-79). This is based on a letter from John Chamberlain to his friend Dudley Carleton. The patentee referred to was Archibald Armstrong, the court jester, whose rise, and fall from grace was extraordinary. Whether the story of his origins being that of a condemned sheep-stealer pleading for his life before James VI in Jedburgh is true matters not. He appears to have been a groom to the king when made a free burgess of Aberdeen and, in 1611, was first granted a pension of 2/- per day at the king's pleasure which was soon extended to 2/- per day for

life. In 1618, Secretary Lake was admonished by the king for sending a petition in favour of a recusant, through 'Archy the fool.' In 1623 he was one of the household officers who accompanied Prince Charles to Spain in an attempt to woo the infanta Maria Anna. He seems to have been allowed to have his own servant despite the objections of some of the Privy Council. It should be noted that although Chamberlain had friends in high places, he was not part of the royal circle, rather his intelligence often came from his daily strolls around St. Pauls churchyard where he would pick up information from the grapevine. While he was often objective in his reports, the news of Armstrong's monopoly was gossip, at best. When Carleton does reply to his letter, this information is not remarked upon.

Walker also takes at face value Oswald's quote that in 1643 'near 1000 poor people in London and Westminster lived in tobacco pipe making' and goes on to conclude that the Westminster company had successfully appealed against a tax on pipes yet stating in the same article that 'the guild was ended by a proclamation of 31 March 1639' (1971a p.81, p.85). While the erroneous dating of their petition does not assist him, it can be dated to late 1696 and is a mistake of some antiquity by the Public Record Office, a cursory reading of the document should have raised questions as to why Parliament was apparently attempting to raise funds from this tax for the benefit of the king during a time of civil war.

The strength of Walker's work lies in his collection of a wide variety of secondary sources. As Oswald eulogised, it remains a sound foundation, although not without error. Although Le Cheminant tried 'to establish a closer chronology' for the clay pipe's 'initial period of manufacture, ie mid-to-late Elizabethan times', he nevertheless accepted Oswald's dating of the first pipes to c.1580-c1610 and thought 'anything more precise is unlikely to be of much archaeological value' (1984 p.28). This writer disagrees.

### **Gaps in Research**

Just as important as filling a gap in knowledge is analysing academic assumptions. While Walker points out some valid discrepancies in some of the previously published works, his own eclectic work is often narrative rather

than analytical. For example, he concludes his summary of a Bristol Deposition from 1651 by stating that 'the issue must have been over some duty not paid, perhaps on exported pipes' (Walker, 1977 p.477). He did not understand the difference between customs and excise duty, nor appreciate that the excise duty on pipes was 'farmed' at that time. The background of the deposition is not explained nor are the motives of the main protagonists. Shortcomings like this do not detract from his overall approach to pipe studies, based on integrating as many sources as possible although a closer reading of the documentary evidence is sometimes required. The same criticism can be levelled at Woodman's contribution to Oswald and Atkinson's publication as errors in transcribing names have made tracing those pipemakers he noted unnecessarily difficult. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to evaluate all of Walker's considerable output but Chapter Eight is a direct response to his bemoaning the lack of research on the trade in tobacco pipeclay, a concern he left for others and which has remained unaddressed.

The use of the Port Books in previous pipe studies has been limited to data from a single year or small sample of years (Oswald, 1960 p.48; Higgins, 1987 p.314; Wakelin, 1991 p.162) although Grant and Jemmet have used some Barnstaple Port Books to illustrate the pipeclay trade from that town (1985 pp.455-463). Davey has looked at 'a few years' from the seventeenth century Chester Port Books but none of these works have interrogated this source comprehensively (Rutter and Davey, 1980 p.47). The largest study is Jackson, Jackson and Price's work on the Bristol Overseas Port Books where they have published a list of customs entries up to 1685 involving tobacco pipes. These were extracted from microfilm copies of the original documents then held by the Public Record Office in London. Although not all of the Port Books they used have been checked, the original documents for the majority of them have been viewed and some have now been the subject of full transcriptions (Flavin and Jones, 2009a; Stone, 2015a). Overall, a significant under-recording of entries has been observed. Whether this was partly due to poor legibility of the microfilm copies, the deadline of presenting the material to a conference or unfamiliarity with the source is uncertain.

Despite the wide scope of their work, no Coastal Port Books were consulted and no analysis was performed on the extracted information.

The focus of many economic historians has been on England's overseas trade as the customs records contain the amounts of duty paid. Coastal trade did not pay these duties although Stone has shown that it is possible to reconstruct values with reference to the various Book of Rates. Few studies have used these coastal records in relation to a petty trade and they could provide evidence of regional trade that will be valuable in dating tobacco pipes found outside London. Further local studies to demonstrate which production centres also acted as distribution centres and the maritime connections between disparate regions is needed.

The first use of the Port Books to elucidate trade patterns was over a century ago (Gras, 1915) but the computer age has meant that the vast amount of information these volumes contain is now manageable. The customs system was set up in 1565 to prevent fraud and involved every 'head' port sending details to the Exchequer of the trade passing through their port and the other 'member' ports and creeks under its jurisdiction. In the case of overseas trade, this was to ensure that every merchant paid the correct amount of duty and for coastal trade, a bond was entered into which was returned once the shipment had been unloaded and accounted for at another coastal port. These Port Books survive in decent numbers for large periods of time and are a unique resource, despite the Public Record Office deliberately destroying London's eighteenth century books as they were regarded as 'very incomplete' and that 'indexes and abstracts or statements of totals which could be extracted from the Port Books only with the greatest difficulty if at all' (Williams, 1956 p.13). Despite Williams' work on the London books and the East Anglian ports and Nef's fairly comprehensive use of entries relating to coal imports into London, the first transcription of a complete book wasn't published until the 1970s but this too dealt with native and Hanse imports into the capital (Nef, 1932; Dietz, 1972).

With the advancement of computer science came the ability to store a vast amount of information in a simple database, once the lengthy process of transcription had been completed. The earliest major undertaking of this

nature was the 'Gloucester Port Books' project whose data was published on CD by the University of Wolverhampton (Wanklyn et al., 1988). One of the main outputs from this work was Wakelin's thesis which included some work on the tobacco pipe trade (1991 p.162). He used nine sample years between 1674 and 1752 to illustrate the rise and decline of the pipe trade on the River Severn. The project report summary noted a decline in the recorded information after 1727 but not the reason for it (Wanklyn, 1992 p.7). Oddly, Wakelin selected the first year that pipes were recorded as passing downstream through Gloucester so that his first sample year contained only a single entry. He did not appreciate the impact of the change in recording practice that occurred in 1729 when the definition of 'open sea' was altered. This led to a considerable under-recording of trade to and from the ports above the Holms, that is, Bristol, Chepstow, Newport and Cardiff. It is only because the trade in pipeclay was still subject to a prohibition on export and that all consignments were required to be recorded in the Port Books that the occasional accompanying consignment of pipes appears in the later records. His figures for all four of the sample years later than this date are therefore unreliable. The only comprehensive reconstruction of the River Severn trade in tobacco pipes and pipeclay is this author's work (Taylor, 2014 pp.2-16).

Following on from the Gloucester Port Books project, it was intended to extend the research to cover all of the Bristol Channel ports and a 'Portbooks Programme' was commenced covering the fifty-year period from 1680. This time-frame was informed by the amount of extant material, coupled with a disposition towards researching the emerging industrial age. Although the project was abandoned after major data loss, there was at least one output although the period analysed by Hussey (2000) was later than this thesis. His study of inter-regional exchange covering a range of agricultural produce, bulk goods and manufactures indicates what remains to be achieved with a wider project. The Portbooks Programme's aim of producing a national standard for computerising the Port Books never materialised and the speed of technological advance means there may never be one.

Early results from the study of the customs records relating to the coastal trade in tobacco pipes found no recorded local trade from the two major

production centres, London and Bristol. To these were added other early production centres, namely Plymouth and Barnstaple. The latter town not only produced and exported tobacco pipes but also shipped the clay suitable for making them. Similarly, a sample of the Port Books from the outports of Poole, Southampton and Rochester were also examined for evidence of the pipeclay trade. The scope was extended to include the overseas trade from these centres as exports to the Dutch Republic and to Ireland were evidenced by archaeological artefacts and by previous research (Jackson and Price, 1974). There have been few attempts to integrate the records of different countries. Although the Dutch pipemaking industry has been the subject of considerable research by those working in the Netherlands, the use of English records has been limited considering the acknowledged origins of the first pipemakers working there.

It is now an established practise for economic historians to use the Port Books as a source and Bristol University has published online several transcriptions of select sixteenth century Bristol Particular Accounts and Port Books as they are the main source of information relating to Ireland's imports in this period (Flavin and Jones, 2009b). Stone (2011; 2012) has used this approach to encompass the period up to the Glorious Revolution during which time Bristol's overseas trade changed from being mainly with the Iberian Peninsula to being with the colonies of the New World. The recording of the export of tobacco pipes from Bristol, first to Ireland and then to the Americas around 1650, is reasonably well recorded in the Bristol Overseas Port Books although few records survive from the Interregnum.

Although smuggling represents a major concern when trying to quantify the early tobacco trade, there was little incentive to smuggle tobacco pipes (Jones, 2012). It is significant that the early sources of tobacco came from territories held by the Spanish despite England being at war with Spain from 1585 until 1604. While this may have added risk to the tobacco trade it did not prevent it and the capture of Spanish and Portuguese prizes was actively encouraged. The northern Spanish ports remained hospitable and trade was often conducted through foreign factors, or on the pretence of being so (Croft, 1989 p.286). The publication of the *Marchants Avizo* in 1589, a guide

for merchant's sons and servants looking to start a career as a factor in the Iberian trade, proved very popular with several editions being printed in successive years. The author, a Bristol merchant, does not make any mention of tobacco as a directly traded commodity during this time of unrest. There is only one suggestion in the book that trade was not as it once had been (McGrath, 1957 p.60). The final edition of this book was printed in 1640, long after the author's death, and is a testament to the efficacy of Browne's advice.

### **Summary**

The earliest accurate method of dating tobacco pipes was Oswald's work on a typology for London-made pipes which evolved throughout the 1960s and 70s. His published collaboration with David Atkinson is still the reference work used today by most researchers despite the archaeological evidence that the earliest bowl forms they illustrate date back to c.1580 being absent. Oswald had a particularly good grasp of other classes of artefact which he used to support the dates of his typology and the earlier introduction of tobacco into England would have necessitated the use of some form of 'instrument' and this, combined with some early texts, undoubtedly suggested this date to Atkinson and Oswald. The accumulation of archaeological data has not led to a refinement in the bowl form typologies they produced. While the 'AO' typology is in danger of being fossilised, there is no intention here to redefine it. It will be sufficient to note the greater variety of early forms that existed, to remind that forms temporally overlap and to provide new evidence for the origins of production.

Oswald's approach was the main method of dating unmarked pipes but those that had marks could be studied by identifying the individual pipemaker by locating them in the documentary record. Full name marks were not used in the earliest period of the industry and pipes marked with initials must be attributed with caution. This approach has been refined over time and since the age of the personal computer and the popularity of genealogy, many later pipemakers have had their working lives chronicled and defined in some detail, showing the value of this approach (Pearce, 2013 pp.71-82; Taylor, 2010 pp.23-25).

An extensive search of early documentary sources means that it is possible to provide the clearest picture yet of the early tobacco pipe industry. When criticising the Binford and Hanson methods of stem bore dating, Oswald stated in 1975 that any statistical method with a standard deviation of  $\pm 10$ -15 years is unacceptable and Audrey Noel Hume concurred saying that a formula date inaccurate by more than 15 years is less than adequate (cited in McMillan, 2010 p.21). Oswald's own bowl form typologies, which date the three earliest forms to 1580-1610, effectively produce a median date of  $\pm 15$  years, barely meeting his own criteria for usefulness although it should be noted that Harrington and Binford were mainly concerned with pipes dating from 1620 onwards.

A review of the early bowl forms is overdue, but the spread of tobacco usage from the maritime communities to the rest of England and from the courtiers to the working man is important if we are to understand the contextual importance of finds. Rowley states that in 1590, the average person had never seen tobacco and if we are to date any tobacco pipes to this first period with any degree of authority, then the context of the finds will need to be explored (2003 p.403).

While customs statistics can show the rapid rise in the consumption of tobacco, despite King James I's best efforts, they can never be relied upon as a measure of the whole trade as the incentive for smuggling was high. There was little incentive for an illicit trade in tobacco pipes and as far as the domestic customer was concerned, they were not subject to any excise duty until 1644. Retail prices remained stable throughout the seventeenth century suggesting that they became increasingly affordable.

The findings from previous research indicates that the gap in our knowledge of the sixteenth century tobacco pipe industry identified by Oswald (1960 p.41) has not been filled by subsequent research to any significant extent. By adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to a wide range of sources, a theoretical framework can be proposed which will allow the geographical and social contexts of tobacco pipe usage to be understood. However, this thesis is primarily concerned with the production and maritime expansion of the pipemaking trade, rather than being a study of the consumption of tobacco.



## ----- Chapter Two -----

### **Sources, Theories and Methods**

The strength of historical archaeology is that it combines the artefacts with the written sources. This is particularly necessary for the period considered by this thesis as artefacts are scarce and the pipemakers themselves left little for the historian. Other sources take on heightened significance although their intended audience and internal shortcomings must be assessed if they are to be relied on.

This chapter will provide the rationale and describe the general research strategy used in this study. It will describe the type of information that was required and how the study was designed. The limitations that were identified and how these were addressed will be discussed as part of a section reviewing the main documentary sources used. This chapter will also cover the purpose and scope of the various data elements, the method of data collection and review the character of the extant documents.

#### **A Survey of the Documentary Sources**

The main documents utilised in this reconstruction of maritime trade are those which are held at The National Archives in Kew in the series E 190, compiled by the customs officials at the port of London and the outports of southern England. A comparative approach has been adopted wherever possible although the corresponding customs records relating to Scotland, Ireland and Denmark are scant in comparison to the volume of extant English records.

An initial study of the customs records relating to the coastal trade in tobacco pipes found no apparent local trade from the two major production centres, London and Bristol, before 1610. The scope was therefore extended to include the Overseas trade from these centres as exports to the Dutch Republic and to Ireland, respectively, were evidenced by archaeological artefacts and by previous research (Jackson and Price, 1974). To these centres were added other early production centres, namely Plymouth and Barnstaple. The latter town not only produced and exported tobacco pipes

but shipped the clay suitable for making them. An overdue review of the trade in the raw material might inform when and where early production began. On this basis, a sample of the Port Books from the outports of Poole, Southampton and Rochester were also examined.

The focus of many economic historians has been on England's overseas trade as the 'Port Books' enumerate the amounts of duty paid. These, however, are based on notional commodity values. Coastal trade did not pay these duties although it is possible to reconstruct values by reference to the various 'Book of Rates' (Stone, 2012 p.238).

Few studies have used these records in relation to any petty trade and the extracted data will inform trends in regional trade that will be valuable in dating tobacco pipes found outside London. It will also demonstrate which production centres acted as distribution centres and the maritime connections between often disparate regions. This approach will also reveal the value of the source material and any caveats with its use.

Statistics for exports from London and the outports were compiled until 1604 and can be found in the Enrolled Customs Accounts. Once the customs revenues were 'farmed' to a consortium of private individuals, approximate values can only be surmised from the amount paid to the Crown for this arrangement although some values can be collated from individual Port Books. While these figures concern the amount of revenue collected, their chief limitation is, by definition, that they do not record illicit trade and so only provide a qualified overview of the volume of England's import and export trades. The Port Books' purpose was primarily fiscal as they were compiled as part of an attempt to implement a more robust revenue system following the introduction of increased duties in 1557. Almost all goods traded into or out of England were subject to some form of duty and it is these records which will be used to reconstruct the maritime trade in tobacco pipes.

The sporadic survival of the Port Books is partly compensated by the inherent duplication of entries by different officials although the totality of the data represents only a small proportion of what was once extant. That is not to say that some data cannot be combined to provide a more complete view.

The sheer size of this resource, some 23,000 volumes, has been a barrier to its comprehensive use. Slovenly recording practises developed over time, encouraged by a lack of Exchequer censure. Clerical shortcuts affect the listing of destinations, 'of whence' the vessel was and, more significantly for this study, the goods that were carried. It is not unusual for a clerk to customarily summarise cargoes and this lack of detail evidently went unchallenged. With the emphasis being on the collection and accounting of the duties, the recording of coastal trade was of lesser importance than foreign trade, the port of Bristol barely recording any inwards coastal traffic. Although bonds were used as security against illicit export, coastal trade was relatively free of customs scrutiny, especially when the cargoes were of low value and the vessels were small in size and therefore unsuited to overseas voyages.

By 1713, the Port Books were being overseen by a paid official, the Clerk of the Port Bonds, although by 1786 they were regarded as being of no value. There was a considerable annual expenditure in sending out some 395 books but with few ports now returning them to the Exchequer, they finally ceased being issued in 1799, by order of the Treasury. In 1822 the returned Port Books were being kept in the vault beneath the Stone Tower at Westminster. During their removal to the Royal Mews, some of the Exchequer's parchment records were said to have been sold by the labourers to glue manufacturers or 'acquired' by builders working on the palace. This move fortuitously prevented them from being casualties of the fire which swept through Westminster Palace in 1834 (TNA catalogue description - <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C565>).

In 1836 they were transferred to the soon to be created Public Record Office, now part of the National Archives at Kew, where E 163/24/31, described in their catalogue as 'decayed documents', includes a token mummified rat as a testament to the ravages which afflicted these records. The men who moved the records were supplied with strong drink to overcome the stench from the decaying vellum. While the preservation of the Port Books had been adversely affected by the conditions they were stored in, the almost complete

lack of extant London Port Books from the eighteenth century is the result of deliberate destruction (Williams, 1956 p.24).

There is evidence that not all of the Port Books were returned to the Exchequer as a few survive in other archives. Parts of four sixteenth century London Port Books are held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford having been bought at auction in 1935 (MS. Lat. hist. b.4). Another London Port Book, a Searcher's book covering April to October 1606, can be found in the West Yorkshire Archives Service's archives at Leeds (WYL100/PO/6/1/2). The book records vessels both inwards and outwards, including those carrying the goods of strangers, engaged in the trade of sugar, spices, soap and currants. Towards the end of September, the entries become very brief and incomplete before stopping abruptly. The remainder of the book is taken up with the household accounts of Sir Arthur Ingram who had been a Waiter at the port of London until he became the Controller there in 1603. In 1613 he became one of the Farmers of the Irish Customs and it is during this time that copies of several Irish Port Books became part of his personal papers.

The London Port Book for Alien Imports covering 1613-14, some of whose pages have been used for basic geometry, can be found in the unlikely hands of the University of Aberdeen (MS 2184). The accounts for the customs on Strangers' goods for the city of Norwich between 1582 and 1610 can be found within the local corporation archives. They seem to have been recorded there in response to letters patent granted for the 'hostage' of merchant strangers. The regulations requiring foreign merchants in England to have their trade overseen by an English host were being revived and although the records do not specify how the goods arrived in the city or where they came from, it is clear from the references to Dutch, French or Scots names where most goods originated (Rickwood, 1970 pp.81-82).

### **The Port Books in Detail**

From the beginning of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, ports had been organised into a hierarchy with 'member ports' being under the jurisdiction of 'head ports'. In turn, various creeks and havens came under the control of member ports although the places where goods could be landed was defined by

statute. A creek could be supervised by a deputy overseeing the coastal traffic but ships in the foreign trade were normally prohibited from landing there. In this way, the whole coast of England and Wales came under the control of a defined port. Head ports had at least three customs officers and these were usually the Controller, the Customer and the Searcher, appointed by letters patent.

Following a national survey of ports in 1564, the Marquis of Winchester, then Lord Treasurer, issued a 'Book of Orders' and their requirements became the foundation for the new customs controls introduced in the following year. The new system encompassed three categories of shipments, namely, goods that were imported or exported on which some type of duty was paid, coastal movements which did not pay duty but nevertheless required a bond as security that the goods would not then be exported, and goods which were exempt from duty such as ship stores and provisions. The specific requirement, as it applied to the port of London, was that:

The Courte of Eschequor shall sende every Hillary and Trynytie Term into the Porte of London, to the Customer, his Comptroller, and Surveyor outewarde two Blanke Books apiece in a Tynne Boxe, with the leaves thereof numbred of Record, for the Entries of the Marchaunte Stranger and the Marchaunt Englishe owtewarde, and one like thyerde Booke to the said Customer for all Store and Provision owtewarde (Cooper, 1833 p.400).

The Collector also had a third book, for certificates outwards. This system of outward books was mirrored by those dealing with inwards traffic except that this Collector's third book was for recording store and provisions. Those dealing with the custom on 'Woole, Fell and Lether' also had individual books as did the 'common Packer', Searcher and tide 'waitors'.

For a port as large as London, the officials there were required to compile a significant number of Port Books annually. Furthermore, there was to be found in the Customs House, two books called the 'Shipper's Booke Outwarde' and 'Shipper's Booke Inwarde' in which every shipper 'shall enter openly', that is, in view of everyone there, 'the Name of his Shippe, the

Master, the Burden, of whence and to what Place it is freighted'. This was to be entered 'before it taken in any Ladyng' and the books were not to be removed from the premises. No such 'Shipper's Book' survives from any port and it is likely that this particularly onerous duplication was dropped in favour of writing up the Bills of Lading at periodic intervals into the 'Original Bookes'. This level of bureaucracy was intentionally designed so that any fraudulent information would necessitate collusion amongst several customs officials.

The number of Port Books issued to the outports was on a much smaller scale in that the 'Customer, Collector, Comptroller and Sercher' in every port had only 'one Booke in Parchment' each although an exception to this was that the 'Waitors of Bristowe' had their own book. Like London, ships entering the port of Bristol had to wait for a suitable depth of water before navigating their way upriver to the Customs House. Bristol had natural deep-water anchorages in King Road on the River Severn and at Hung Road on the River Avon with vessels being allowed to unload there after dark because of the river's large tidal range which prevented almost all ships from entering Bristol at certain states of the tide.

Each merchant, whether transporting goods or provisions, was ordered to present a

Bill at large of all his Entrie ... under his Hande or his Assignes, with the Name of the Shippe, the Master, of whence and to what Place it is freighted, with the Marks and Number of his Bulks and Fardells in the Margent, And what manner of wares, sorts of Clothe and Countrey Clothe they doe conteyne (Cooper, 1833 p.401).

These bills were to be kept together but few are now extant having been regarded, by the early nineteenth century, as being of no value. Thomas Mott, a forty-six-year-old gentleman of Allhallows Stayninge and a clerk in the Searchers office, describes the procedure involved in making an entry on outwards goods at the London Custom House.

Uppon the sixteenth day of November last past [1631] John Bredcake master of the *Endeavour* of London did make entrance in his Majestyes Custome house London of all and singular the goods

mentione in the sayd schedule as the true content of all the goods wares and merchandizes laden aboard the sayd shipp in her then intended voyage for Hamborowe [Hamburg], and did then make oath before Sir John Wolstenholme knighte Collector of his Majestyes Imposts and John Jacobs Esquire Customer, and other officers of his Majestyes Custome house, that the schedule then given in and exhibited by him into the Searchers office was the true content of all the goods laden aboard the sayd shipp the *Endeavour* in the sayd voyage (as farr as he knewe) (TNA:HCA 13150 f.129v).

The Port Books were initially written in Latin but as trade became more global with the importing of a myriad of new commodities from the East and the New World, entries were often penned using a more hybrid vocabulary and phonetic spelling was common when no Latin word existed. Ship names could sometimes be recorded in either Latin or English, the vessel *Dono Dei* could also be entered as the *Gift of God* and corroborating information must be used in order to determine whether they were the same vessel.

The recording 'of whence' the vessel was can provide useful information but this requirement could be interpreted differently. In most cases this was the home port of the named vessel but sometimes this was the previous port and not the start of what may have been a tramping voyage, a journey going from port to port without a fixed itinerary and contingent on the goods collected en route.

The order to record the 'marks and nomber' of the cargo soon evolved into recording the quantity and unit of measurement only. It is unusual to see the merchant's mark drawn in a Port Book although some do exist (e.g. TNA:E 190/433/12). The recording of pipe cargoes is usually in the form of 'x gross tobacco pipes' with a gross defined as a dozen dozens. Entries in the Coastal Port Books often deviated from the need to use a defined measure as there were not any fiscal implications for this lack of precision. Often the container was described rather than the contents, for example, 'a box of tobacco pipes' or 'a small cask of tobacco pipes' although occasionally a hybrid entry can be found, such as 'a small barrel containing iijj groce'.

In order to be correctly taxed, commodities were to be precisely described in the customs entries, as laid out in the 'Book of Rates'. It is very rare for tobacco pipes to be described ambiguously as 'pipes'. The raw material that they were made from is assumed to be clay. While there are early documentary references to pipes being made from silver, or pewter in imitation of silver, these would have had a higher recorded valuation and subsequently paid more duty. The archaeological record suggests that metal tobacco pipes were rare.

### **Cozenage**

The Port Books do not record illicit trade and this has been a major concern to historians although Jones has shown that the level of fraud varied between trades where the risks and rewards were often viewed differently (Aström, 1968; Jones, 2012). Smaller ports far away from London were probably more lax in their administration of the customs system although petitions allege that collusion among officials was widespread even at a large port as Bristol in the 1590s. The petitions of the clerk to the Customer Inwards there highlight some of the ways that fraud could be undertaken. Not only was there collusion between the various customs officials but a sharing of the rewards with Bristol's merchants when imports by strangers were overcharged.

During the period when trading with Spain was punishable by death, officials could facilitate avoiding the prohibition in several ways. The entry of the *Goulden Lion* on 30 July 1597 not only shows that the entry of 'ix butte secke' was changed to 'ix butte' but that the vessel was entered as coming from Toulon although it had come from Spain. The clerk, Thomas Watkyns, goes on to allege that even the original 19 tuns of wine was reduced from 24 tuns and divided among five merchant's names so that the payment of prisage was reduced. Then ten tuns were entered in the name of a non-denizen who was not liable for this imposition. While it is unsurprising that illicit trade was 'kept out of the booke' even legitimate trade could be withheld from being recorded for a period of six months so that interest could be gained on the money paid by the alien merchant. It should be noted that the frauds alleged by Watkins were perpetrated mainly on imports of exotic



goods by strangers and are not necessarily representative of wider abuses at the port (Dunn, 2006).

Another method used to avoid paying alien duty was by finding an English merchant to consign the goods. In 1635, Francis Tyron deposed that it was common practice for others to use 'his name onely ... for the entry ... as is usuall amongst merchants' (TNA:HCA 13/56 f.126r). He added that he 'had noe interest in the said packs of leather or molasses' which had been sent to Amsterdam but 'verily beleeveth that [they] belonge to ... an Englishman borne, a citizen of London, and a dweller there and a subiect to the Kinge of England'. In other words, only the normal rate of dues were payable, about half the rate a Dutch merchant would pay on the same goods.

Thomas Milles rued that

Customers at this day, can no more distinguish a Native Home-borne Subiect, from an English Free-borne Stranger, by Indigena and Aliengena in the Entries of their Bookes, nor a Merchant from an Usurer by their Billes of Exchange; then our Cleargie can discover an English-Catholique-Christian, from a Romane-Iewish-Iesuite, by their habits and behauour (Milles, 1613 para.6).

The role of illicit trade, particularly involving the importation of wine and tobacco, is becoming understood although there was scope for fraud at all levels throughout the customs system. On one hand Milles was extolling 'Free trafficke and orderly Commerce', comparing it to the 'daily use of goodnes' between 'the Throne of God in Heauen & his Chvrch vpon Earth' while his opinion of customs officials was very low. As the Customer of the port of Sandwich, it was Milles' colleagues he was describing when he writes that 'the breaths of Out-port Customers did infect the very ayre, and that their Places were accurst'. He goes on to say that they worked with 'too much lenity, terming all their fauour to bee fraud or concealment' (1613 para.1).

Despite these limitations, the extant Port Books provide an unrivalled collection of information concerning the commerce of England between 1565 and 1799. Almost twice as many Overseas than Coastal Port Books are extant for the period of this study although this ratio varies between ports.

Despite this vast corpus of information, survival is sporadic and a continuous run is rare. Given the disruptions of civil war to the machinery of government, it is unsurprising that the number of extant volumes drops dramatically during the Interregnum. Nevertheless, the Port Books remain the main data source in the period 1603-80. The level of detail they contain would permit a partial reconstruction of most trades. Wherever possible, sources at the receiving ports have been consulted. These include the Port Books of Scotland and Ireland and the Sound Toll Registers of Denmark. The limitations of these sources are discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters.

### **Previous Approaches**

While Oswald's earliest London bowl forms may be brought forward in time, his general approach to dating is sound and the AO typology has stood the test of time. With the benefit of several decades of research and more finds, his work can be built on and refined. Oswald produced a Simplified General Typology in 1975 but maintained that 'in general it seems valid to assume that most pipes before 1640 are of London origin and that a national typology can be used without safeguards before then' (Oswald, 1975 p.42). It is now recognised that there were several centres of production operating prior to 1640 and that both Bristol and Chester were exporting pipes some forty years earlier (Price, 2013 p.50).

In 1962, Lewis Binford advanced a mathematical straight-line regression formula which he applied to Harrington's data. Although the method has been criticised by several writers for producing inaccurate dates, its fundamental drawback is that it only produces a mean date of occupation. For sites that have been occupied over a long period of time, a mean date is of little value and tells us nothing of the use of the site at any particular period. This method also takes no account of residual material. Audrey Noel Hume estimated that a sample size of at least 1,000 stems was required to give an accurate reading, a quantity almost never achieved in practise. The use of Binford's formula for the dating of stem fragments from a pit at Martin's Hundred in Virginia gave dates down to 1616 but at a lower level a slipware plate dated 1631 was found. Both Noel Hume and Oswald regarded this degree of accuracy as unacceptable (McMillan, 2010). Despite

occasionally producing erroneous dates, Binford's formula is still widely used in the United States. Similar methods have been used to date ceramic assemblages. Stanley South's weighted mean dates were proposed in 1977 and based in part on Noel Hume's work (Arnold, 2015 p.5). His theory makes assumptions regarding production and how inception, peak production, decline and eventual end date, applied similarly to all ceramic types. South also used sherd count as opposed to vessel count. As with any mean date of occupation, this is only of value where the period of occupation is short.

Harrington's histograms are useful in that they may show several peaks in deposition reflecting periods of greater use which would otherwise be obscured by the averaging of data using Binford's formula. Walker's main criticism of Binford's method is that it gives 'an appearance of exactness from figures that could not be exact' (1967 p.98). In turn, Binford's formula has been modified by Hanson who produced a different regression formula for each time period and by Heighon and Deagan who used a curvilinear formula but neither of these methods are in common usage due to their complexity.

### **The rationale for a qualitative approach – Grounded Theory**

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on questions emerging from the data analysis, growing from particulars into general themes. From this, the researcher can interpret the data (Creswell, 2014). It is not based on a single methodology and does not belong to a single discipline (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This approach produces theories based on interconnected thoughts or sources. Therefore, the term is used as 'an overarching category, covering a wide range of approaches and methods found within different research disciplines' (Snape & Spencer, 2003 p.3).

To truly define the pipe trade we need to know the pipe maker and the end user, however remote they may be from each other. In simple terms, any study of trade needs to define the start and end points of any transaction. While the documentary source might record the port of departure and the intended destination, this only covers the maritime element. Where the documentary source is silent, archaeological evidence can provide further

information. The main link between maker and user is provided by the merchant who has agreed the carriage of the goods. Not only has he accepted the risk of damage during the voyage but also whether he can make a profit on the sale of the goods once they have been unladen. Allied to this might be a calculation on whether to avoid paying the customs duty, weighing up the likelihood of getting caught against the potential profits. Not only do we require the details and, to a lesser extent the value, of the goods carried but the merchant needs to be identified. Were they closely involved at one end of the supply chain or the other? Were they linked to one of the monopoly companies or trading contrary their privileges? Did they operate locally, regionally or internationally? Were they part of the civic elite which controlled the majority of trade in most towns and cities? How goods were packed for carriage is sometimes recorded and this can inform whether other middlemen were involved. Goods intended for coastal trade might be conveyed in a more ad hoc fashion than those packed for an overseas voyage.

This thesis is not fundamentally a quantitative survey although it does include some elements that are. The Port Books utilised are a sub-set of an incomplete set of records and while a sampling approach can still provide sufficient information to permit quantification, any totals produced will always be caveated. Before suggesting, for example, that there was a more important trade in tobacco pipes between England and the Dutch Republic than across the Atlantic, it is first necessary to understand the factors which influenced the recording of the underlying data. Furthermore, the reasons why different ports might have had different approaches to customs administration and differing attitudes to illicit trade must be considered in any comparative study. The use of archaeological finds as a way of illuminating the documentary sources, or in providing an alternative narrative, does not lend itself to a quantitative approach.

Although the main chapters in this thesis are delineated geographically, they attempt to answer different, but related, questions. While Chapter Four explores tobacco pipe exports to Ireland and considers the exporters and their customers, Chapter Seven looks at how a monopoly position could be

maintained in Scotland by a single pipemaker. Chapter Five reviews the motivation behind the establishment of an industry in the Dutch Republic by English pipemakers. It is this variety of approach that seeks to make trade, both regional and transnational, more comprehensible (Boyden, 2015 p.66). Bernstein demands that researchers 'must exploit multiple strands and diverse types of evidence' (1983 p.69). The focus of Chapter Nine is on the illicit trade in pipeclay and how that impacts the perceived accuracy of the recorded customs entries. Despite the mantra that 'data doesn't lie', it will be seen that the information used as the basis for this study cannot always be taken at face value (Crossman, 2019).

There are a wide variety of methodologies and research strategies in qualitative research including descriptive study, case study, field research, biographical method, life history and narrative inquiry. Among these is Grounded Theory, a methodology that helps explain patterns and trends in data sets. This inductive approach is contrary to traditional scientific practise where data is used to prove, or disprove, an existing theory. The use of a conceptual framework in Grounded Theory is considered as deductive reasoning, however, no study is without the initial stages of subject selection and the formulation of research questions (Mitchell, 2014 p.6). An attitude of scepticism is a vital part of the questioning process whether applied to theoretical explanations or the data itself.

Grounded Theory encourages an interpretive rendering of the worlds studied rather than merely being an external reporter (Charmaz, 2006). However, this cannot be achieved without context. While an investigative process must include classification and cataloguing, it equally must contrast and compare where possible. In this study, archaeological evidence is used to supply a suitable counterpoint. All variants of Grounded Theory share an open approach to new findings. Its very name suggests that the result of using Grounded Theory is the generation of a theory although the goal of conceptual clarity or of a framework for ideas is a more realistic outcome. The limitations of time and resource may impact progress towards the development of a theory however connections can only develop from a close reading of the data (Timonen et al., 2018 p.7).

## **The research sample**

This comparative study utilises two main sources. Both are documentary in nature. The use of the Port Books is necessarily selective in that such a large corpus prohibits a comprehensive approach. Although this study was originally designed to commence prior to Harrison's 1573 reference to a 'little ladle', it soon became clear that there was not any information to be found relating to the tobacco pipe trade from the 1570s or 1580s in this data source. With twenty-two 'head ports' and numerous 'creeks' covering the whole coastline of England and Wales, a geographical limit was introduced. This was not arbitrarily placed as all of the earliest known, or suspected, production centres were in southern England, principally London, Bristol, Barnstaple and Plymouth. The most highly regarded sources of clay, the raw material from which tobacco pipes were made, were also found in southern England and most likely to have been shipped from the ports of Barnstaple, Poole and, to a lesser extent, Exeter. These were often mixed with clay sourced from the Isle of Wight which came under the customs control of the port of Southampton (Higgins, 2017 p.168).

The research was initially designed to ensure a good temporal spread of Port Books and geographical spread of the ports that compiled them. As the research became more focussed, the relative merits of the evidence found was used to target those ports or individual officials that did not summarise cargo. In the case of the port of London, the separate Port Books recording the trade of English merchants was prioritised over those listing the duty paid by alien merchants given the lack of entries in the latter's books.

The second strand to this research involved the collation and analysis of published and unpublished material relating to the artefacts from the period. This was irrespective of their lack of provenance in the case of some museum collections, or whether the recorded data was partial. Although standards have been published relating to the recording of excavated pipes, these are not consistently used in finds reports. The degree to which the archaeological value of tobacco pipes is recognised varies between different countries with the United Kingdom, the United States and the Netherlands being at the forefront of research. The situation in Ireland and in Scandinavia

is improving although in France, the specialist study of pipes found on archaeological sites appears to be rare.

After several stages of data collection, the aim was to attempt a synthesis of the two strands of this research. If that was not possible, then conflicting analyses could still prove to be a valuable basis on which future research could be based. The type of information needed for this study was not limited, every element that was recorded was utilised although some elements were not present in all cases. This was due to the differing responsibilities of the person recording the information as well as the completeness of the entries. Although the required elements in the Port Books were specified by the Exchequer, these were eroded over time. The combination of a bureaucratic system and duplicated functions led to complacency at some ports. When poor standards of recording were encountered, a different strategy was needed for those occasions. When the cargo lists became abbreviated or incomplete because the official was only interested in recording the amount of money paid, the use of the Searcher's Port Books was prioritised as their cargo records tend to be more complete as the compilers were, in theory, only paid on the seizures of uncustomed goods they uncovered. While sometimes overworked and not always checking every ship at the busier ports, they nevertheless physically worked outside of the custom house. Although they did not handle payments, so that their accounts rarely include any financial information, this does not detract from the value of the information their records contain.

### **Data collection**

The main source used in the initial data collection stage of research was the E 190 series of documents held at the National Archives in Kew, England. Those volumes selected for study were photographed in their entirety, excepting blank folios. A major issue concerning the development of mould in storage meant that the whole series was withdrawn from public access while they were treated, a process which will take many years to complete. A system of priority conservancy was introduced which meant that any particular Port Book needed to be requested up to six months in advance before they became accessible. Access had to be planned carefully as leads

could not be spontaneously followed up. While not injurious to the general method of data collection, this did remove some flexibility by being unable to replace unproductive Port Books with alternatives on the day.

At the end of each visit and subsequent extraction of information, a spreadsheet was compiled identifying which Port Books had been consulted, even if they had contained no useful information. This was used to ensure that the temporal coverage of each port was reasonable, given the extant books that were available. The number of entries mentioning pipes was also recorded along with the official who had compiled the record so that any patterns in recording practises could be identified. This is called 'open coding' in Grounded Theory where trends and relationships in the data might be seen. This spreadsheet forms the basis of the appendices at the end of this thesis.

If, for example, it was identified that at a particular port, the Searcher recorded more entries featuring tobacco pipes than other officials, then a greater emphasis was placed on photographing their Port Books at the next visit. It became clear that at the port of Bristol, Port Books from the 1620s were heavily summarised and contained little useful cargo data so those from an earlier decade were then prioritised. Similarly, the London Port Books covering alien merchants contained only four entries for tobacco pipes in nine volumes so research was focussed on the more plentiful entries in the volumes covering English merchants and in covering the London Coastal Port Books. In order to investigate the geographical expansion of the industry, it was also necessary to balance coverage between Coastal and Overseas Port Books from the outports.

The resulting images were stored in folio order in a folder by E 190 reference number, a yellow marker being used to signify each cover and the start of a new Port Book to facilitate this. Every customs entry was read and any that recorded tobacco pipes were copied into two files. One was an image file where the entry was highlighted and linked to the photograph filename and saved on computer hard drive. The other file was a database where all the data elements in the entry were translated or transcribed and then coded and hyperlinked to the original image. In this way, information could be easily



retrieved and double-checked at a later date. This was necessary where legibility was an issue with the original document. When reading the entries, time spent deciphering every single item of cargo was not necessary, it was sufficient to know only what they did not say. A similar procedure was employed when recording entries relating to pipeclay and these were saved in two additional files.

The information garnered from each visit informed the material ordered for the next. Based on what was discovered, more research to gather data for the 'selected codes' was undertaken. The selection criteria was adjusted several times during the course of this study. A review of how complete the sample was for each port informed whether gaps could be easily closed, subject to treatment and accessibility restrictions. This process is called theoretical sampling where initially a better understanding is gained but this evolves into a more focused study of specific data. The goal in Grounded Theory is to reach a point of 'saturation' where no new insights would emerge from a larger sample (Timonen et al., 2018 p.8). In Constructivist Grounded Theory the researcher is encouraged to form an interpretive rendering of the data rather than being an external reporter.

The data was analysed and synthesised in several ways. This was partly contingent on the extant sources. The customs system deliberately contained an element of duplication as an attempt to negate fraud and collusion between officers. This meant that not all Port Books from the same year contain the same information as the duties of those compiling them were different. Occasionally the records of two officials survive for the same year and this helps confirm the internal details, especially when one volume is in a poor condition. Unusually, Bristol's customs records from 1612 survive in three versions and this provided an opportunity to assess whether there was evidence of copying by the clerks across the three accounts. They also allowed a comparison between the entries to check for completeness. This type of analysis was rarely possible but was driven by the survival of the data itself. The outcome in this particular case was that no single Port Book contained all the available information but that it was possible to produce a

composite version containing good descriptions and largely consistent values (see Appendix P).

In 1635, the customs valuation of tobacco pipes was fixed. A greater emphasis was therefore placed on Port Books written by the Collector or Controller prior to this date because any valuation recorded would be based on the merchant's oath. These values could then be compared between ports as well as over time. Although it was not always possible, if, for example, a London Port Book showed pipes consigned to Plymouth, the corresponding Plymouth book might be consulted to evidence that the pipes arrived at the consigned destination. This was more easily achieved at some of the smaller outports where coastal traffic both inwards and outwards was recorded in the same Port Book.

The main emergent theme resulting from the extraction of entries was that distinct trade patterns could be discerned by geographically separating the results. The reasons for this were varied and each region required individual analysis. This has informed the structure of the chapters in this thesis.

The destination port was required to be recorded but even in full transcriptions of individual port books, some uncertainty often remains. A review of Flavin and Jones' work on the sixteenth century Bristol accounts revealed several entries where the name of the port recorded can be identified with less than complete certainty (Coates, 2012 p.199). The nationality of the merchant or master may have influenced how the customs entry was recorded. Two separate consignments of pipes, from Bristol and London, were consigned to the port recorded as 'Tredathern' or 'Tredathn'. In seventeenth century Ireland, this port's name was 'pronounced in common use, Tredagh' (Boate, 1652 p.26). These are clearly the same place although the English wine accounts from 1614/15 use the town's usual name, Drogheda (TNA:E122/196/14 2v). As all of the customs entries referred to in this thesis post-date the charter of 1613 granted to the 'City of Londonderry', that name is used throughout. The term 'Holland' is used precisely in this thesis to refer to the provinces of North and South Holland and is not a synonym for the Netherlands. The term 'Dutch Republic' is used when referring to the federal republic which existed from 1581 to 1795. References

to 'Dort' are modernised using the current name of Dordrecht although the short form was in common usage in England in the seventeenth century. The equivalence of Flushing and Vlissingen is less obvious so the anglicised version of the name is used, as written in the Port Books.

The main issue with this data element is the use of a common clerical shortcut, recording the destination or home port by using a contraction of 'versus praedict', meaning that the port was as mentioned in a previous entry. Occasionally that first entry may be illegible but equally that previous entry may not exist or a ship of the same name may also have been recorded but the clerk was referring to the previous but one entry. Usually the initial entry was written out in full but with any subsequent entries, the destination was omitted implying that the vessel and the destination were as before.

While the name of the vessel is an important data element, most were not unique or original. When combined with the master's name and where the vessel was 'of', they can be used to reconstruct voyages with a high degree of confidence. The names of ships in this study are italicised in line with modern maritime convention. They are usually recorded along with the port that they are 'of' to differentiate them from other ships with the same name. The names of their master or of merchants are variously spelt but are modernised only where there is certainty or consensus of the name meant. It should be noted that the date of a customs entry is not necessarily the date that a ship sailed although there was often a commercial pressure not to remain in port any longer than necessary. Additionally, dates can be used to add further detail to a voyage and suggest whether additional ports may have been visited.

The Port Books have no original pagination and subsequent numbering is not always consistent. Some volumes have conflicting sets of page numbers, some have only the entries numbered and others remain blank. For consistency, the date of the customs entry is used throughout as Port Books are almost always compiled chronologically and entries are straightforward to locate.

## ----- Chapter Three -----

### English Coastal Trade

#### Introduction

In order to gauge whether the use of coastal shipping was the first significant step in the expansion of the tobacco pipe trade, it is necessary to locate evidence both from London and other early centres of production. It was expected that coastal trade from London commenced first although no research had been previously undertaken to see whether Bristol's overseas trade with Ireland in the 1590s was accompanied by a similar trade to other ports in the Bristol Channel. An alternative supposition held that Bristol was transshipping London-made pipes which had been traded along the south coast of England (Davey, 2013a p.31). Neither conjecture was supported by evidence and will be examined against the entries in the Coastal Port Books.

The study of coastal trade has often been the poor relation to the work on expanding overseas networks. England's trade was more than just its imports and exports and while some commodities were periodically required to enter the country through London, their wider consumption can be followed by subsequent movements around the coast. For the civic leaders and merchants from the larger cities, coastal trade was often vicarious. The master of a coasting vessel could trade in petty goods on his own account to supplement his income as overseas trade was often beyond his financial reach (Taylor, 2014a p.3).

The coastal customs records have been regarded as inferior because their function was to prevent goods going overseas without paying duty and therefore did not record values. Different units of measurement were also customarily recorded, contrary to the Exchequer's instructions and without any apparent censure. While some previous studies have looked at coastal trade at a specific port, for example, the Gloucester Port Books project, few have attempted a regional study of more than one port. A work centered on the Bristol Channel ports for the period commencing in 1680 has been published (Hussey, 2000) and Duncan Taylor utilised both the Port Books

and the Water Bailiffs accounts from the smaller Bristol Channel ports in his thesis of 2009, focused on the sixteenth century. His reconstruction of the voyages of the *George* between Bristol and Gloucester in 1592/3 show a poor correlation between the two sources (Taylor, 2009 Appendix B).

The overstated 'The Port Books of Boston, 1601-40' did not use any coastal data despite the survival of a dozen Port Books from that period (Hinton, 1956). Studies based on a single commodity have been undertaken previously, work on the coal trade being particularly notable (Nef, 1932). A more comprehensive approach is required if we are to discern small patterns of trade and pinpoint the start of the pipemaking industry in various locations outside of London. The results from initial samples, when combined with the archaeological evidence, can be used to focus research on those areas of most promise.

It has been recognised that the maritime community took up the use of tobacco through personal exchange with mariners from other nations. Can we observe in the Coastal Port Books the linear expansion that might be expected, that is, a geographic spread of consignments of pipes from the capital outwards around the coast? Some ports in the west of England also shipped pipes from the late sixteenth century onwards but to what extent did the pipemakers there also serve the needs of their respective hinterlands?

One premise of this study was that the pipemakers of the cities of London and Westminster would first serve their locality before some would have expanded production by supplying neighbouring towns using the road network and, later, via coastal shipping. Once established, a few would have ventured further by exporting their products overseas. However, this assumes an active role in merchanting their products for which little evidence has been found. This pattern of expansion has proved to not be the case. Only five shipments of tobacco pipes are recorded as being traded coastally throughout southern England prior to 1620. All were consigned to ports on the southern coast, namely Weymouth and Lyme Regis in Dorset and Dartmouth and Plymouth in Devon (fig. 3.1).

Of these, four shipments left the port of London and one box was sent from Barnstaple to Plymouth in 1615, a distance of 170 nautical miles whereas the overland distance was only 56 miles (TNA:E 190/942/10). There was no usable road route between these two towns as all the main routes west of Exeter ran east to west and not north to south.

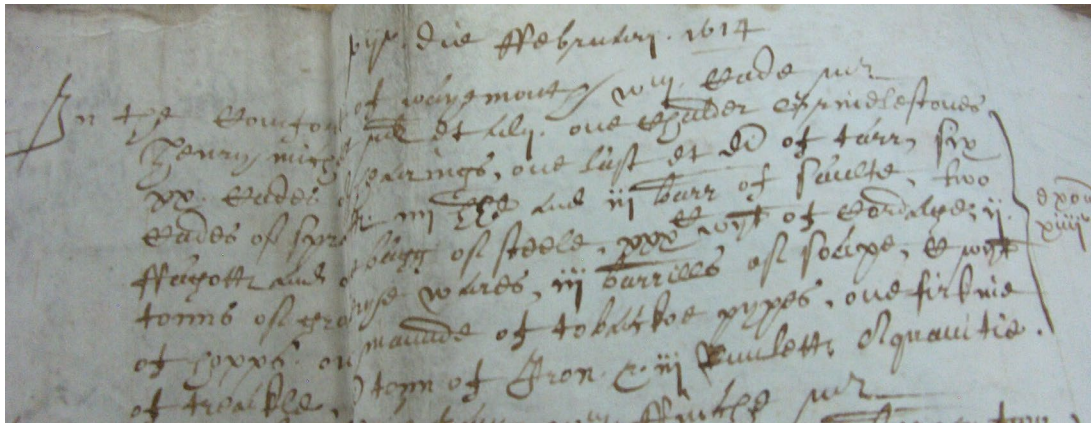


Figure 3.1. An unspecified amount of tobacco pipes carried to Weymouth in a maunde, a long wicker basket with handles (TNA:E 190/18/1).

A similar bias towards the south coast is found in the entries from the 1620s. Of the twelve shipments that have been identified in this study, eleven were from the port of London with the twelfth entry having an illegible port of departure. This too, is likely to record pipes as coming from London. For the first time, we also have three consignments of pipes destined for Guernsey and a single entry for the port of Meeching, soon to be overshadowed by Newhaven. While Dartmouth, Weymouth and Plymouth still feature among the receiving ports, to these are added Falmouth and Topsham.

The sampling approach taken and the sporadic survival of the records have contributed to these low figures and it is possible that further entries may be found in the records from smaller ports, such as Dartmouth, which has nine extant Coastal Port Books between 1600 and 1620 and Lyme Regis which has eight between 1600 and 1621. Weymouth has no surviving Coastal Port Books between 1609 and 1625.

## Devon

Although the River Exe was navigable into the city of Exeter, Topsham some three miles downstream, had been used to load and discharge goods since

Roman times and had a thriving ship building industry in the sixteenth century. Although the port was under the control of Exeter's mayor from 1609, it was always under the authority of the city's customs officials and its trade is subsumed into that of Exeter in the Port Books.

Although shipments of pipes from London to Exeter were infrequent, a consignment of around 300 gross in 1638 was not insignificant (table 3.1). The merchant of around 200 gross in 1628 may be Sir Nicholas Crispe of Hammersmith who 'settled the trade in gold in Africa' according to the inscription he wanted on his tomb. In 1631 he headed a syndicate which had the patent for trade with Guinea, the main source of slaves for English traders. In his will he left interests in the Farm of the Customs on alum and copperas as well as the office of Collector of customs outwards (Greenstreet, 2012). He also consigned goods, including tobacco pipes, from London to both Weymouth and Truro. Although Arnold and Allan record the import of pipes from London in 1627, the Port Book they quote is catalogued as a record from Barnstaple rather than Exeter as they state (1980 p.308).

Table 3.1. Vessels carrying tobacco pipes from London destined for Topsham or Exeter (TNA:E 190/32/5; 41/6).

<b>Date</b>	<b>Ship</b>	<b>Merchant</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
14 February 1628	<i>Angle</i> of Poole	Thomas Winsper	4 boxes
8 November 1628	<i>Jeenie Anne</i> of Poole	Nicholas Crispe	20 boxes
19 November 1638	<i>Francis</i> of Weymouth	Peter Parkman	30 boxes

Exeter developed as a small pipemaking centre, catering mainly for a local market. A reference to pipes being sent to Fowey in May 1630 is the only example of pipes leaving Exeter that has been located prior to the 1640s (TNA:E 190/1032/7). However, Thomas Baskerville's well-stocked apothecary in Exeter contained both tobacco and tobacco pipes when he died in 1596 (Rowe and Trease, 1970 p.10). An unmarked spurred pipe, dated to 1600-20, has been found at a site to the north of the city which, along with other locally made pipes, suggests that a local source of good clay made the production of pipes viable (fig. 3.2).

The low demand was such that Dutch imports, or pipes made in London or Bristol, were not apparently required on any significant scale. Two

consignments from Rotterdam in 1636 have been noted (Arnold and Allan, 1980 p.308).



Figure 3.2. Spur pipe from Goffin’s Farm, Exeter (Coleman, 2014 plate 1).

Research into pipemaking in this locality has been limited for this period although a distinct regional style of tall bowl forms which emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century has been noted. Artefacts found in Maryland suggest that Exeter’s pipe trade to the Americas commenced in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Table 3.2. Vessels carrying tobacco pipes from London destined for Dartmouth (TNA:E 190/18/1; 32/5; 41/4).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity
25 November 1615	<i>William</i> of Dartmouth	James Martin	2 fatts
24 December 1628	<i>Marchant Adventure</i> of London	Darnell Travell	5 boxes
9 February 1635	<i>Andrew</i> of Salcombe	William Geere	3 boxes
28 November 1635	<i>William and Raphe</i> of London	Rowland Wilson	2 boxes

As was the case with pipes destined for Exeter, those consigned to Dartmouth are only recorded over the winter months (table 3.2). Perhaps those pipemakers based in more rural locations stopped pipemaking just before harvest was due or before threshing had begun. It is likely that the pipemakers in London were in full-time and all-year production.

Clay for local pottery or pipe production also came from the Isle of Wight as a shipment of three tonnes was entered in Southampton’s Coastal Port Book destined for Dartmouth in September 1633 (TNA:E 190/823/5). If this was



not already weathered over the previous winter it would not have been suitable for pipemaking until the following Spring.

Oswald erroneously states that 'vii boxes' of tobacco pipes were carried on a Plymouth ship in 1617 whereas the quantity recorded was only 'iiii<sup>er</sup> [four] boxes' (1969, p.125). He tentatively suggests that these could have been Dutch pipes without providing any reason why a London origin was unlikely. Plymouth's strong maritime links mean that a significant proportion of pipe finds can be attributed to other centres of production rather than being of local manufacture. Oswald, when describing excavations undertaken in the Barbican area between 1959 and 1969, states that the 'deposits are rich in pipes of Dutch manufacture, particularly in the early 17th century' and that the 'influence of London and southern England is strong both in the styles of Plymouth-made pipes and in the imports to Plymouth' (1969, p.122). The sparse evidence of trade found in the Coastal Port Books does not, by their very nature, include imports from the Dutch Republic but does support Oswald's generalisation regarding the London origins of early pipes found in the city (table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Imports of pipes into the port of Plymouth from London (TNA:E 190/942/10; 1028/1; 1031/10; 1032/4; 41/4).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity
2 October 1617	<i>R?</i> of Plymouth	Abraham Jeannes	4 boxes
? January 1627	?	?	9 boxes
25 January 1627	<i>Catt</i> of Plymouth	Abraham Jenings	15 boxes
20 August 1627	<i>Charles</i> of Dover	Thomas Winspeare	21 boxes
1 September 1630	<i>Hopewell</i> of London	Robert Hussey	20 boxes
31 August 1635	<i>Hopewell</i> of London	Robert Hussey	1 box

Oswald notes that ninety per cent of the pipes found in Plymouth are unmarked and that three groups of pipes of local manufacture have been recovered with a terminal date of c.1630. He records fifty-eight marked Dutch pipes as opposed to eighty-four probably made locally which date to before 1650. Many of the pipes are crudely incised and made of poor-quality clay suggesting a more local source than the ball clay from the Bovey Tracey basin some thirty-three miles away which he suggests was the source (Oswald 1969 pp.126-127).

The extant Plymouth Port Books between 1597 and 1632 have been comprehensively searched although the information in table 3.3 also includes some entries found in other Port Books (see Appendix I). Overall, the volume of the recorded coastal pipe trade to and from Plymouth is low although there must have been a significant use of tobacco by the maritime population there from an early date. Small quantities of pipes could have changed hands without troubling the written record and the city had an important role in victualling ships before they ventured out into the Atlantic. The most notable of the merchants recorded in table 3.3 is Abraham Jennens or Jennings who was a significant exporter of goods from London to both Plymouth in Devon and Plymouth in New England. In 1620 he held a commission from the agent of the king of Bohemia to collect all the monies raised in his support across Devon and Cornwall.

Table 3.4. Imports of Pipeclay into the Port of Plymouth, 1604-1672  
(TNA:E 190/823/8; 825/3; 826/9; 880/5; 826/10; 827/9; 881/5).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity	Port of Origin
18 September 1635	<i>David</i> of Yarmouth	David Dove	10 tons	Southampton
14 July 1646	<i>David</i> of Saltash	David Dove	12 tons	Southampton
3 April 1665	<i>Anne</i> of Brighton	Thomas Adams / ? Giles	15 tons	Cowes
6 June 1665	<i>Hope</i> of Portsmouth	Daniel Wheeler	14 tons	Cowes
20 September 1666	<i>Ann</i> of Poole	John Bennett / Roger Baker	12 tons	Poole
11 October 1666	<i>Hopewell</i> of Youghall	John Pelly / Edward Taylor	26 tons	Poole
13 October 1666	<i>Golden Sun</i> of London	David Drew / Leonard Guy	30 tons	Cowes
17 August 1672	<i>Good Intent</i> of Redbridge	Abraham Moore	5 tons	Southampton
24 September 1672	<i>Edward and Francis</i> of Weymouth	Edward Lake / Miles Bounds?	9 tons	Southampton

The Coastal Port Books of Southampton suggest that the importation of pipeclay from the Isle of Wight commenced in the 1630s but that shipments were rare until after the Restoration. A similar picture is shown for cargoes of pipeclay from Poole (table 3.4).

The Barnstaple Port Books provide excellent temporal coverage for the period 1600-40 and the records of the collection of the New Impositions amount to another forty books. Overall this is a large number of Port Books, although some Searcher's accounts merely list ships and their masters without any enumeration of cargo. When the sample used in this study is compared with a smaller, published sample of Port Books, only one entry for two chests of pipes from 1639 had not been seen (Grant and Jemmett, 1985

p.455). Barnstaple's customs accounts have generally been compiled with great care and neatness although only ten complete and two imperfect volumes relate to the town's coastal trade.

A combination of approaches has been adopted by researchers in North Devon in that documentary studies of the relatively few pipemakers in the area has been undertaken alongside the production of a local typology. Research in Barnstaple has mirrored that of the pipe industry itself, often being secondary to the significant pottery industry. A considerable volume of material from some major excavations remains to be published.

The merchants found in the Barnstaple Port Books remind us that several other towns and villages were subsumed in these records. When Etheldred Darracott was laid to rest in 1657, aged 78, his stone was installed in the north aisle of Northam Church. He had consigned tobacco pipes to Youghall in 1627. Unlike Bristol, the majority of merchants in Barnstaple's Irish trade appear to be English.

The working life of the earliest known pipemaker in the town, Peter Takell, provides evidence that pipemaking was initially a side-line for a potter. On 20 January 1607 the great floods which affected so much of the Bristol Channel area hit the lower end of Crock Street and 'came up so far as Mr Takels hall-doore' (Gray, 1998 p.94). Living on a street of potters, it is not known when Takell commenced pipemaking although it was certainly by 1627. The various Port Books suggest that it was before 1614. The attribution of the 'TG' mark to his daughter, Thamsyn Garland, raises some dating issues given that she died in 1634 yet the mark also appears on pipes of a later form. She is apparently an example of a daughter, as opposed to a widow, taking over a pipemaking concern although she pre-deceased her father.

## **Cornwall**

The whole of Cornwall came under the customs control of the Port of Plymouth and Fowey although in 1610 the latter harbour was reduced to the status of a member port and separate Port Books were completed there. The volume of recorded trade at Fowey never amounted to more than two folios of entries each year in the period up to the Restoration and was broadly

similar in size to the other member ports of Looe, Truro, Penryn, Padstow, Helston, Mounts Bay and St. Ives who also kept separate records. The survival rate of the Cornish Port Books between 1600 and 1640 is generally high (table 3.5). With many hundreds of miles of coastline under its control and a long history of smuggling, it is unsurprising that the customs officials at Plymouth found it difficult to control illicit activity in the county.

Table 3.5. Imports of Tobacco Pipes into Cornish ports (TNA:E 190/1032/7; 32/5; 37/5; 41/4; 1136/11; 880/5).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity	From / To
6 October 1628	<i>Larke</i> of London	Michael Herring	6 boxes	London to Falmouth
29 May 1630	<i>Mary</i> of Fowey	George Blackall	2 barrels	Exeter to Fowey
1 June 1633	<i>Barnard</i> of Fowey	Jeremy Sprey	7 boxes	London to Fowey
20 August 1635	<i>Samuell</i> of London	Nicholas Grifys	9 boxes	London to Truro
2 May 1650	<i>Blessing</i> of Padstow	William Payne	1 kilderkin	Bristol to Padstow
15 June 1650	<i>Fortune</i> of Clovelly	Thomas Prigg	8 gross	Bristol to St. Ives
9 August 1666	<i>Providence</i> of Lyme Regis	Thomas Cornell	60 gross	Poole to St. Ives

In 1597, a customs official at Penryn complained that William Killigrew, the head of the most powerful gentry family in the area, would not make an entry for seized goods as 'his office was above ours' when the ship's cargo was confiscated on the grounds that 'Lattyn bookes' had been found on board (British Library, Lansdowne vol. 84 f.45). Killigrew(e) faced several complaints of piracy and corruption during his life and he is likely to have been the same person who held the post of Commissioner for Spanish prize goods in 1592 and 1596 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010). The complainant further states that a French ship laden with tobacco worth five thousand pounds would not pay any custom. The problem was that the 'harbour is so lardge and the shippes lie so farre of that' so that 'countrie men comes in euerie way both day and night and byes great store'. The argument was that there 'is no custome for tobaco nether for pilladge' as the Book of Rates in force at that time did not specifically list tobacco. This overlooked the instruction that goods not listed were to be valued by the merchant under oath and Killigrew would have been well aware that prize goods were required to be entered into the Port Books and, more importantly, that the Queen's share should be sent to London. The motive of the complainant should also be considered as

this matter may have only come to light as a result of not getting his share rather than any innate honesty.

According to Killigrew family legend, Walter Raleigh put into Smithick on the way back from Guiana but found no inn or other facilities for his crew. It is said that at his, or John Killigrew's instigation, a small base for victualling ships grew up. By 1613, Truro, Helston and Penryn had all petitioned against their activities but subsequently four houses were permitted to be licensed for victualling 'for the comfort of all seafaring men' (TNA:PC 2/27 f.96). In 1620, the Killigrews requested permission for a further six inns but this was rejected although by 1627 the population of the village was said to number around three hundred (Kirkham, 2005, pp.18-19). It was not until 1661 that a royal charter was granted and the nearby port and the village became the town of Falmouth although the name had been in use throughout the previous century. The Customs House at Penryn survived Culliford's recommendation that it be scrapped and that all goods should only be entered at Falmouth.

Despite Falmouth's trade being based on provisions, only one consignment of tobacco pipes was sent directly there from London (TNA:E 190/32/5). It would seem unlikely that this is the only shipment of pipes destined for the town and the apparent lack of recorded trade is possibly a consequence of the small size of the coastal vessels which carried this type of petty goods, the vessels preferring compact harbours like Penryn rather than the large expanse of water at Falmouth. None of the customs entries in table 3.5 list the burthen of the respective vessels. It should be appreciated that any pipes consigned from Plymouth would not be recorded as they would be regarded as a movement entirely within the bounds of the same head port.

The amounts of pipeclay entering Cornish ports suggests that most vessels in the coastal clay trade from the Isle of Wight were of limited burthen. The most common destination was Falmouth. The Port Books consulted evidence a regular, all year-round trade, especially in vessels from Ryde which routinely carried clay into Cornwall (table 3.6). Douch suggests that both Penryn and Falmouth 'were natural sites for pipemakers' while bemoaning the loss of early wills proved in Exeter (1970 p.147).

The shipment of pipeclay to Truro in the 1640s concurs with the documentary evidence of an Everard Thurlby working there by 1643 (Douch, 1970 p.149). The shipment of pipeclay to Penzance in 1672 may also support the suggestion that this also represents the start of pipemaking in the west of Cornwall. Documentary evidence shows that George Honeychurch owed money for excise duty on the pipes he made at Gulval between May 1696 and July 1698 (TNA:E 351/1460). As duty was paid at one shilling per gross on plain pipes and eighteen pence per gross on burnished pipes it is not possible to calculate the quantity of pipes that the outstanding debt of 32/6d relates to (Taylor, 2014b p.9).

Table 3.6. Consignments of Tobacco Pipeclay destined for Cornish Ports (TNA:E 190/825/3; 826/10; 880/5; 827/9; 881/5).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity	From / To
2 July 1646	<i>Returne of Ryde</i>	Thomas Taylor	8 tons	Southampton to Truro
27 August 1646	<i>Returne of Ryde</i>	Thomas Taylor	5 tons	Southampton to Truro
28 November 1646	<i>Returne of Ryde</i>	Thomas Taylor	5 tons	Southampton to Truro
12 March 1666	<i>Welcome of Ryde</i>	William Morrice / Thomas Howard	1 ton	Cowes to Falmouth
26 March 1666	<i>Three Brothers of Ryde</i>	John Taylor / Thomas Moody	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
20 April 1666	<i>Speedwell of Lymington</i>	Samual Churchman / John Pratt	1 ton	Cowes to Falmouth
23 May 1666	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	Thomas Newman / Robert Abbot	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
7 June 1666	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	Thomas Newman / Robert Barbie	1 ton	Cowes to Falmouth
9 August 1666	<i>Providence of Lyme Regis</i>	Stephen Limbrey / Thomas Cornell	16 tons	Poole to St. Ives
24 October 1666	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	Thomas Newman / William Whitbread	6 tons	Cowes to Falmouth
13 December 1666	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel / Thomas Waterman	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
24 December 1666	<i>Susan of Ryde</i>	William Wilkins / Thomas Waterman	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
29 December 1666	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	John Taylor / William Whitbread	3 tons	Cowes to Falmouth
24 January 1672	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel / ?	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
13 March 1672	<i>Blessing of Newport</i>	Robert Tanner	2 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
13 May 1672	<i>Blessing of Newport</i>	Robert Tanner	3 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
23 May 1672	<i>Willingmind of Hamble</i>	William Wilkins / ?	2 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
4 June 1672	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel	3 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
18 June 1672	<i>Hannah of Hamble</i>	Thomas Nicholas	1 ton	Southampton to Falmouth
13 July 1672	<i>Eagle of Ryde</i>	Thomas Newman	12 tons	Cowes to Falmouth
19 July 1672	<i>Little Ivan of Lyme Regis</i>	John Alford / James Neaden	20 tons	Poole to Fowey
6 August 1672	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel	2 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
8 August 1672	<i>Blessing of Newport</i>	Robert Tanner	3 ½ tons	Southampton to Falmouth
13 August 1672	<i>Mayflower of Redbridge</i>	Richard Barkham	2 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
13 August 1672	<i>Truelove of Ryde</i>	Robert Barkham	3 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
14 September 1672	<i>Eagle of Ryde</i>	Thomas Newman	8 tons	Cowes to Falmouth
14 September 1672	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel	3 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
27 October 1672	<i>Mary of Ryde</i>	William Mitchel	2 tons	Southampton to Falmouth
28 November 1672	<i>Virgin of Cowes</i>	Robert Tanner	2 tons	Southampton to Penzance

## The South Coast Ports

A rare example of where the end user is recorded can be found in the Coastal Port Book of Poole for 1665/6. The entry is for sixty gross of pipes sent to Portsmouth 'for the garrisons use there'. Following the declaration of war in the Spring of 1665, an imminent invasion by Dutch troops was expected and defences along the south coast were being strengthened. This type of detail is unusual in the customs record and probably reflects the need to explain to the Exchequer clerks why a bond had not been taken out for the cargo (Taylor, 2020 p.14; fig. 3.3).

As was the case with Barnstaple, it would be expected that pipemaking grew up around the ample clay deposits in the Poole area, however, there is no archaeological evidence from the early seventeenth century for this. Clark suggests that the 'stone potts' sent to London from Poole in 1594 and 1595 are evidence that finished products were being made using the local clay at this date despite these items being recorded as coming from London, not going to the capital (2006 p.159). They can similarly be found coming from London in 1604 and 1606 (TNA:E 190/869/4 f.12r; E 122/123/26 f.16v).

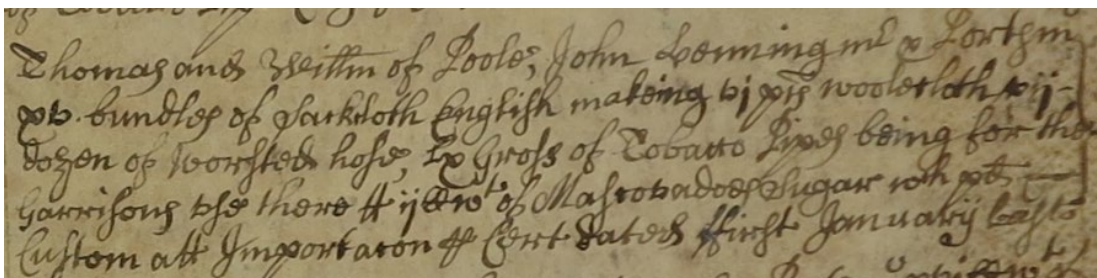


Figure 3.3. Tobacco pipes sent to Portsmouth for Charles II's garrison (TNA:E 190/880/5 f.1r).

The movement of an unspecified quantity of pipes to Weymouth in 1627 on a vessel that had come from Poole had been noted but this has not been verified (Cooksey, 1980 p.342). All the extant Poole Coastal Port Books between 1599/1600 and 1665/6 have been used in this study and only the latter record has provided any evidence for coastal shipments (table 3.7). It may be that the entry refers to a vessel 'of' Poole but the cargo had come from elsewhere (TNA:E 190/874/4). Cooksey also queries whether Bonham and Cooper's licences to obtain pipeclay, in 1618 and 1625 respectively,

suggests that they were pipemakers. This is unlikely although whether the William Cooper from Poole is the same man as the William Cooper, later a pipemaker in Bristol, cannot be ascertained as little is known of his life.

Table 3.7. Consignments of Tobacco Pipes to or from South Coast Ports  
(TNA:E 190/18/1; 28/6; 31/1; 32/5; 37/5; 41/4; 41/6; 44/1; 825/3;  
880/5; 826/10; 1031/10).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity	From / To
7 February 1615	<i>Comfort</i> of Weymouth	Henry Michael?	1 maunde	London to Weymouth
15 August 1615	<i>Robert</i> of Lyme Regis	Henry Dymme	1 box	London to Lyme Regis
27 March 1624	<i>Swallow</i> of the Isle of Wight	Stephen Gilmot	2 small gross	London to Guernsey
25 January 1627	<i>Mary</i> of Guernsey	Steven Gilbert	1 small gross	London to Guernsey
13 April 1627	<i>Gift of God</i> of Guernsey	Elizabeth Gillmutt	8 gross	London to Guernsey
12 July 1627	<i>Mary</i> of Southampton	Samuell Passell	15 small gross	London to ? via Southampton
30 January 1628	<i>Elsebeth</i> of Weymouth	Thomas Geering	2 boxes	London to Weymouth
21 May 1628	<i>Guift</i> of God of Newhaven	Thomas Hussey	4 boxes	London to Meeching
28 July 1628	<i>Amitie</i> of Lyme Regis	Nicholas Crispe	1 box	London to Weymouth
4 June 1633	<i>Sharke</i> of London	John Cross	5 chests	London to Southampton
2 November 1633	<i>Mary</i> of Arundel	John Aldebrough	2 baskets	London to Arundel
3 January 1635	<i>Susan</i> of Boston	Edmond Wright	1 chest	London to Lyme Regis
13 December 1635	<i>Thomas</i> of Dover	Thomas Culline	6 boxes	London to Dover
15 August 1638	<i>James</i> of Dover	Peter Nene	5 boxes	London to Dover
4 September 1640	<i>Hope</i> of Guernsey	Henry de la March	7 gross	London to Guernsey
17 January 1646	<i>Prosperous</i> of Southampton	John Harris & others	100 gross	Southampton to London
6 April 1646	<i>Prosperous</i> of Southampton	William Atkins & others	1 box	Southampton to Lyme Regis
3 June 1646	<i>Prosperous</i> of Southampton	John Harris & others	160 gross	Southampton to Lyme Regis
27 March 1665	<i>Joseph</i> of Jersey	John Legett	2 barrels	Southampton to ?
30 June 1665	<i>Francis</i> of Jersey	Elias Degruchy	1 hogshead	Southampton to ?
30 June 1665	<i>Elm?</i> of Southampton	Philip Desland	1 hogshead	Southampton to [Jer]sey
1 January 1666	<i>Thomas &amp; William</i> of Poole	?	60 gross	Poole to Portsmouth
7 April 1666	<i>John</i> of Poole	William White	100 gross	Poole to Dartmouth
2 May 1666	Stephen Leashey's hoy	William Balen	80 gross	Cowes to Chichester
10 May 1666	<i>Mary</i> of Poole	Francis Giloffe	309 gross in 23 casks and 14 baskets	Poole to Sussex
24 May 1666	<i>John</i> of Hastings	Thomas Hide	2 barrels of pipes	Poole to London
6 June 1666	<i>Adventure</i> of Weymouth	Roger Blewit	36 gross	Poole to Weymouth
12 June 1666	a small hoy of Cowes	William Bollen	70 gross in 5 casks	Cowes to Chichester
15 June 1666	?	?	?	Southampton to Jersey
26 June 1666	<i>Merryboy</i> of London	?	80 gross in 10 barrels	Poole to London
3 August 1666	<i>Lucky Bill</i> of Brighton	Charles Humby	14 gross in 2 barrels	Cowes to Brighton
9 August 1666	<i>Providence</i> of Lyme Regis	Stephen Limbrey	60 gross	Poole to London
15 August 1666	a small hoy of Cowes	Matthew Phillips	60 gross	Cowes to Chichester
16 August 1666	<i>Batchelor</i> of Poole	Stephen King	6 gross	Poole to Cowes
21 August 1666	<i>Thomas &amp; William</i> of Poole	John Henning	20 gross	Poole to Chichester
27 August 1666	<i>Batchelor</i> of Poole	Stephen King	6 gross in 1 barrel	Poole to Cowes
30 August 1666	<i>Batchelor</i> of Poole	John Cross	6 gross in 1 barrel	Poole to Southampton
8 September 1666	Richard Stephen's boate	Richard Stephens	120 gross in 3 barrels	Poole to Portsmouth
8 September 1666	<i>Jane</i> hoy of Hamsworth	Thomas Shoppman	50 gross in 5 barrels and 1 basket	Poole to Hamsworth
19 September 1666	<i>Diamond</i> of Poole	James Bazell	60 gross in 5 barrels	Poole to London
1 October 1666	<i>Thomas &amp; William</i> of Poole	John Henninge	60 gross in 4 casks & 60 gross in 5 casks & 4 baskets	Poole to Weymouth
4 October 1666	Richard Steven's boate	Richard Stevens	11 gross in 1 barrel	Poole to Southampton
23 October 1666	<i>Arundell</i> Merchant of Arundel	John Albery	15 gross in 1 barrel	Cowes to Arundel
3 November 1666	James Thompson's boate of Poole	James Thompson	200 gross in 3 hogsheads and six barrels	Poole to Portsmouth
7 November 1666	<i>Francis</i> of Cowes	William Bollen	80? gross	Cowes to Arundel
22 December 1666	<i>John</i> of Brighton	Richard Grace	20 gross in 2 barrels	Poole to London



Cooksey lists the Poole pipemakers in chronological order with the earliest certain pipemaker being found in John Guy's deed of 1674. This date can be pushed back to 1660 when John Howse of Poole took on Richard Burt as an apprentice. Unfortunately, Burt became crippled in 1663 and was then chargeable to the Overseers of the Poor (Dorset History Centre, DC-PL/B/14/23).

By 1666 a considerable number of pipes were being shipped coastally as far as London with 309 gross in one shipment being destined for Sussex although the precise port is not specified. The majority of the receiving ports for Poole pipes were eastwards with Weymouth and Dartmouth being the only westwards destinations.

In October 1663, a 'boat of Poole' carried twenty-two gross of pipes eastwards to Southampton although the entry in the Port Book shows that they were to be transhipped to the *Allen* of Poole and destined for the new crown possession of Barbados (fig. 3.4). The owners of the *Allen* were paid £3,753 15/- for the 'hire and loss' of the vessel on the King's service in Barbados in 1672 (Shaw, 1908 p.89). This entry evidences a previously unknown involvement of Poole's pipemakers in overseas trade.

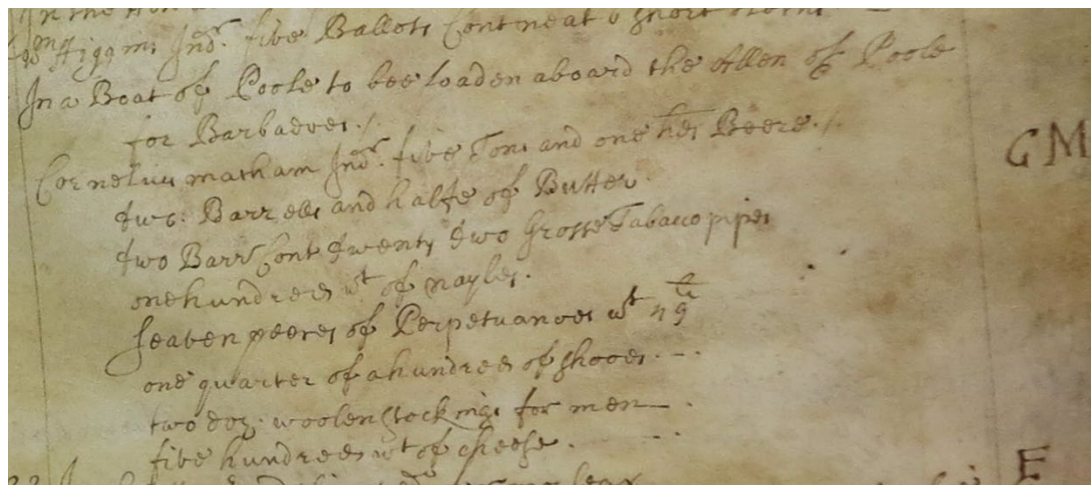


Fig. 3.4. Two barrels of tobacco pipes from Poole, transhipped onto a larger ship at Southampton destined for Barbados (TNA:E 190/826/5 f.14r).

The merchant was Cornelius Macham who is recorded as a chandler in Southampton although tokens with his name contain the arms of the Grocers Company (fig. 3.5).



Figure 3.5. A farthing token issued in 1664 by Cornelius Macham (photographs courtesy of Sovereign Rarities Ltd. [www.sovr.co.uk](http://www.sovr.co.uk)).

Macham progressed to being firstly Sheriff and then Mayor of Southampton. In his will he states he had 'one hundred pounds in the Exchequer upon a tally or order upon Wines Vinegar and Tobaccoe' (TNA: PROB/11/447/506). Also in the mid-1660s, pipes made on the Isle of Wight start to feature in the customs records. These depart from Cowes and are recorded in the Southampton Port Books. The entries for 1665/6 show that the market for these pipes extended to London but the pipes are competing with the Poole pipes sent to the Sussex ports. In some cases, those pipes leaving Cowes may have been product made in Poole as on the 16 and 27 August, 6 gross of pipes were entered at Poole and consigned to the port of Cowes. These two entries may be a duplication as the corresponding Southampton Port Book only records the arrival of one consignment of 6 gross on 30 August. This may suggest that Cowes was acting as a transshipment point rather than as the ultimate destination. The earliest documented pipemaker on the Isle of Wight was Thomas Strange of Newport who married there in 1654 (Higgins, 2017 p.168). Further details of his working life are required before we can ascertain whether these pipes from Poole were filling a lacuna or were for onward shipment.

Tobacco pipes from Cowes in 1665/66 are only destined for Arundel or Chichester and are sometimes carried on a vessel described as a small hoy. These pipes travelled with few, if any, other commodities suggesting that the burthen of these vessels was small (table 3.7). A Cowes hoy was limited in the length of voyage it could economically undertake with Poole and the Sussex ports being the outer limits. In August 1666, 60 gross of pipes were carried to Chichester on behalf of Matthew Phripp. In 1671, Phripp was charged with assaulting an Excise gauger from Newport and an Excise

Surveyor from Southampton. In the previous two years he had failed to pay the Hearth Tax on a house in West Cowes and being an innkeeper, had failed to pay duty to the wine licensing authorities. Also in 1671 he had used his position as an ensign to steal prize goods and on several occasions was accused of taking anchors. His reluctance to pay a variety of taxes was accompanied by an antipathy towards customs officials, especially those based in Southampton (Coleby, 1987 p.122). As part of the merchant community on the island, it appears that Phripp was acting as a middleman in the trade in petty goods, using contacts he made in his occupation as an innkeeper.

The supply of small quantities of pipes from London to Guernsey prior to the civil wars strongly suggests that there were no pipemakers on the south coast or Isle of Wight able to trade coastally at this time, especially as the *Swallow*, which carried a small consignment of tobacco pipes in 1624, was based on the island.

### **The East Coast Ports**

Was the tobacco pipe trade on the east coast of a different nature to that on the south coast, given that the coastal trade to London was dominated by shipments of coal from the Newcastle area? As has been shown for the late seventeenth century tobacco pipe trade on the River Severn, colliers and other coal-carrying vessels were regarded as unsuitable to carry more breakable goods (Taylor, 2014a pp.2-16). Apart from the fragile nature of tobacco pipes, coal was often purchased on credit and a quick turnaround was needed to reduce in-port costs. The coal trade was largely carried out by dedicated vessels whereas the customs entries record that pipes were carried as part of mixed cargoes, often including grocery, mercery and ironmongers' wares.

On three of the four occasions listed in table 3.7 when London-made pipes were sent to Newcastle, the cargo also included tobacco. One consignment originated in Virginia and two were from the island of St. Christophers. The most notable feature of the custom entries for those shipments of tobacco pipes to the east coast ports is that they commence in the 1630s, some

eighteen years later than is recorded in relation to the south coast ports. One of the reasons for this lack of trade in pipes with London is that they could be easily obtained from Dutch ships. The ports of Boston and Kings Lynn were closer to Amsterdam by sea than to London. While officially importing pipes would have made them more expensive because of the additional customs duties levied, casual importation in small quantities could have been easily achieved.

The nature of the trade of Kings Lynn, for example, changed following the 1609 truce between Spain and the Dutch rebels as Amsterdam became the entrepot for Iberian salt, Icelandic fish and Baltic rye and timber amongst many other commodities. Rather than Kings Lynn trading with a multitude of ports, Amsterdam began to dominate. This trend can also be seen in John Camock's dealings from the port of Boston (Metters, 2009 pp.36-38). Hinton notes that Dutch ships disappear from the Boston Port Books after 1628 (1956 p.xli). The trade with the Dutch Republic is still there, only now it is carried on by English merchants in English ships, partly due to the resumption of hostilities between the Dutch and the Spanish.

Several names reoccur in the records, both of merchants and of vessels, suggesting that the pipe trade was not merely ad hoc. Edmond Wright's name appears as a merchant on four occasions in table 3.7. In one case the cargo is said to be destined for 'Lyme', but this is probably an error for 'Lynn' given that the ship is said to be of Boston. This entry is dated 3 January, but the clerk erroneously records the year as 1635. The next entry is recorded, correctly, as 7 January 1634, equivalent to 1635 as a New Style date. That Wright ships cargoes, including pipes, to Hull, Boston and Kings Lynn from London suggests that he is a London merchant and he may be the member of the Grocers Company who became an alderman of the City of London in 1627. He would eventually become Lord Mayor, elected as a compromise candidate acceptable to both King and Parliament. In his will of 1640, he leaves money for the relief of the poor in various towns including Lincoln, Boston, Beverley and Kings Lynn (TNA:PROB 11/191/407).

Table 3.7. Consignments of tobacco pipes from London destined for East Coast Ports (TNA:E 190/37/5; 41/4; 41/6).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity	Destination
12 January 1633	<i>Phenix</i> of Colchester	Richard Shelito	4 boxes	Colchester
25 January 1633	<i>Patients</i> of Hull	Edward Whitwall	1 chest	Hull
1 March 1633	<i>Catherine</i> of Colchester	Richard Shelito	3 boxes	Colchester
8 March 1633	<i>Elizabeth</i> of Hull	Humphrey Smith	1 chest	Hull
7 May 1633	<i>Blossome</i> of Newcastle	Beniamine Clarke	6 boxes and 2 chests	Newcastle
13 May 1633	<i>Margarett and John</i> of London	Thomas Onerman	1 chest	Kings Lynn
25 June 1633	<i>Amyite</i> of Boston	Edmond Wright	3 chests	Boston
23 August 1633	<i>Patience</i> of Hull	Edmond Wright	1 chest	Hull
29 August 1633	<i>William</i> of Wivenhoe	John Cox	3 boxes	Colchester
3 September 1633	<i>Pelican</i> of Woodbridge	Robert Gouldstone	3 boxes	Woodbridge
25 October 1633	<i>Violet</i> of Ipswich	Henry Chaplyne	20 boxes*	Ipswich
20 November 1633	<i>Violet</i> of Newcastle	Alexander Danison	20 boxes	Newcastle
19 December 1633	<i>Primrosa</i> of Hull	Edmond Wright	4 chests	Hull
13 August 1635	<i>Hopewell</i> of London	Nicholas Bacon	7 boxes	Colchester
21 October 1635	<i>Isabella</i> of Hull	John Sleigh	6 boxes	Berwick
5 January 1638	<i>Unity</i> of Kings Lynn	Edmond Wright	3 chests	Kings Lynn
29 January 1638	<i>Mary</i> of Kidby	Thomas Foote	1 chest	Hull
20 February 1638	<i>Pig?</i> of Walberswick	Edward Dienkine	7 boxes	Ipswich
9 April 1638	<i>Amity</i> of Kings Lynn	John Camock	2 chests	Kings Lynn
30 April 1638	<i>Richard</i> of Newcastle	Samuel Warner	1 chest and 7 boxes	Newcastle
5 May 1638	<i>Christopher</i> of Kings Lynn	Thomas Foote	1 chest	Kings Lynn
5 May 1638	<i>Richard</i> of Hull	John Marshall	? chests	Boston
7 July 1638	<i>Marigold</i> of Boston	Thomas Foote	4 chests	Boston
4 August 1638	<i>What You Will</i> of Kings Lynn	Thomas Miller	1 chest	Kings Lynn
25 August 1638	<i>Pelican</i> of Walberswick	Robert Mounter	6 boxes	Dunwich
8 September 1638	<i>Marigold</i> of York	Stephen Watson	6 chests	Hull
28 September 1638	<i>James</i> of Wisbech	Richard Musford	1 chest	Kings Lynn
14 November 1638	<i>Ellen</i> of Newcastle	Christopher Follinsby	10 boxes	Newcastle
12 December 1638	<i>Violet</i> of Boston	John Camocke	3 chests	Boston
	* plus 10 barrels of clay to make to tobacco pipes			

Thomas Foote, listed three times in table 3.7, is also described as an alderman of the City of London in 1644. He regularly lent money to support the Parliamentary war effort. Along with the other commissioners, they lent £1,000 for the service of the garrison on the Isle of Ely, under the command of Oliver Cromwell, in 1645 (Parliament, JHL, vol.7 p.406). Like Wright, he

also held the office of Sheriff, before becoming Lord Mayor in 1647. Foote's reward for financing Cromwell's activities in Ireland was to be granted the Commission for the Excise in partnership with Maurice Thomson. Both Wright and Foote went from being grocers to being ennobled, the latter in 1656.

Another merchant recorded more than once is John Camock. His will of 1645 shows that he was resident in Boston. The parish registers for that town variously describe him as merchant, alderman, gentleman or, in 1623, as mayor. He features regularly in Boston's Overseas Port Books between 1610 and 1630 exporting lead and hempseed to Amsterdam as well as importing rye, pitch and clapboards from there. In 1638 Camock is the merchant for tobacco pipes brought from London into Boston in the *Violet*. This is probably the vessel of 70 tons burthen that he used in 1629 and 1630 and may be the vessel of that name of 50 tons burthen used in 1614 to import wine from Bordeaux. It is less certain that this is the same vessel as the *Violett* of Ipswich or the *Violett* of Newcastle which both carried pipes from London in 1633. Still further down the civic ranks, the merchant Richard Shellito was from a middling family who rose to be a common councilor on Colchester Corporation in 1635 (D'Cruze, 2008 p.68). He was described as a gentleman when his son attended Colchester School in 1646.

The appearance of local pipemakers in the records of various East Anglian towns occurs around 1650. That is not to say that this is when pipemaking commenced in the area, in the case of Robert Hargrave from Blythburgh in Suffolk, we only know he was a pipemaker in 1656 from his will. Excavations from a dozen sites in the city of Lincoln in the early 1970s only produced two bowls dated 1620-40 and two from 1630-50. All were probably made in London suggesting the lack of a local maker at this time (Mann, 1977 p.8).

Although there was an equal amount of shipments made coastally to the ports on the south and east coasts of England, the pattern of trade was very different (chart 3.1). Only ten vessels were said to be 'of London' with the majority returning to their home port from the capital. A significant number were recorded as heading for a port close to that of their home port, for example, to Meeching for a Newhaven vessel or to Wivenhoe for a vessel of

Colchester. A single shipment of pipes to Chester in 1633 has not been included in these figures and no other ports on the west coast of England are recorded as destinations during this period. Given the necessity of rounding Lands End, this is unsurprising.

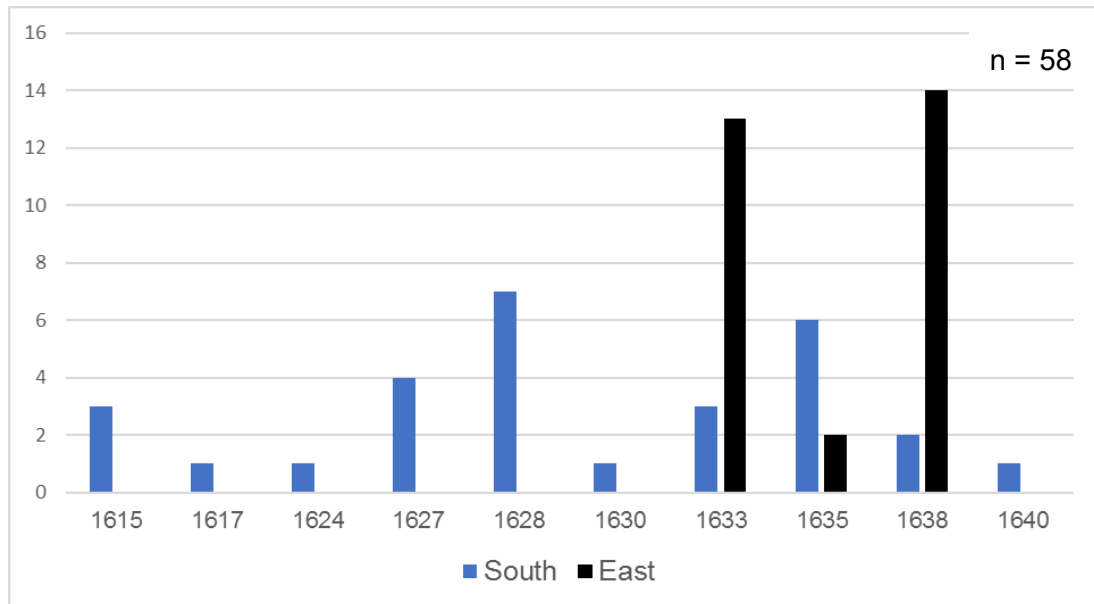


Chart 3.1. Number of shipments of tobacco pipes from London to ports on the south and east coasts of England, 1600-40 (TNA:E 190 various).

## Conclusions

The coastal pipe trade along the south coast can be viewed as a linear expansion outwards from London although many east coast ports looked as much towards the Dutch Republic as they did to the capital for their goods. This coastal trade in pipes is only recorded after 1614 along the south coast and from 1633 up the east coast, much later than expected. A study of the inwards trade of the east coasts ports may confirm the importation of Dutch pipes although the published Boston Port Books contain no entries for pipes and only three for tobacco, two on ships from Amsterdam and one from Bremen (Hinton, 1956).

Merchants from the North Devon ports competed with Bristol in the wider trade to Ireland with little engagement in true coastal trade with the other Bristol Channel ports. As any movement of goods between Plymouth and the Cornish ports did not require a customs entry as the whole of Cornwall was under the control of the head port, its coastal trade is largely obscured. The

city provided increasingly important services to those vessels engaged in the Atlantic trades and many tobacco pipes may also have escaped recording being part of their victuals.

England's commercial regime excluded many merchants who were not members of the great mercantile companies. However, the civic elite from the larger towns and cities found ways to engage in coastal and overseas trade, embracing the new opportunities that trading with the colonies brought. Bristol's coastal trade was vicarious and its overseas trade with Ireland was of a similar nature. The city's later coastal trade with North Wales can be viewed as part of the same commercial network.

If the initial expansion of the tobacco pipe trade was not due to the coastal shipment of pipes, were those merchants engaged in commerce overseas the agents for this rapid growth? Were the various plantation schemes in Munster, and later in Ulster, a catalyst for the increasing exportation of tobacco pipes from England in general and from London in particular?



## **Ireland - an Archaeological and Documentary Comparison**

The earliest known export market for English tobacco pipes was Ireland, the trade having commenced by January 1597 when a consignment was sent from Bristol to Cork (Price, 2013 p.50). This chapter will attempt to answer two main questions. What archaeological evidence is there for the development of the English pipe trade with Ireland and what was the role played by London's merchants, given their involvement in the various Plantation schemes?

When Walter Raleigh visited Edmund Spenser at Kilcommon in 1589, tobacco is said to have already been planted at Youghall (Hennessy, 1883 p.117) although Ralph Lane is suggested as being responsible for spreading the habit of pipe smoking amongst the English soldiers in Ireland when he resumed his military career there in 1592 (Rowley, 2003 p.51). While documentary evidence of both tobacco and tobacco pipe exports from Bristol can be found in the Port Books, a survey of published and unpublished archaeological reports will be used to produce a more considered view of this trade with Ireland. Bristol's trade will be put into a wider context and although it was found during this research that tobacco pipes exported from Chester were reaching Dublin from at least 1600, that particular centre of production is outside the scope of this study. Any reference to the provinces of Ireland are to those as fixed by King James I in 1610.

Over two hundred tobacco pipes that were found in Ireland have been dated to before 1650, or at least include a date range which encompasses the 1640s or earlier. The research into Irish tobacco pipes has always been secondary to the state of knowledge of the English pipe industry and identification was often based on London bowl forms. Oswald's collaboration with Atkinson was commonly used as the basis for the classification of finds in the absence of any study of Ireland's domestic pipe industry. As regional bowl forms were developing in England, not all of the pipes found in Ireland can be dated with reference to these London typologies.

One of the main sources of English pipes are those that were made in Bristol. The approach adopted by researchers there was significantly different in that the primary means of identification was made with reference to the makers' marks commonly employed on pipes made in the city. Where a mark could relate to several pipemakers with the same initials, only then should you 'narrow down the field by taking into account the form' (Jackson and Price, 1974 p.86). This methodology focused research on the life and work of individual makers and a considerable amount of information has been compiled with Walker and Price contributing over 6,000 pages between them. This approach could produce valid *terminus post quem* dates as a pipemaker was unlikely to have been in business prior to completing their own apprenticeship although the founding members of the Bristol Pipemakers' Guild in 1652 were all supposed to be freemen yet many had not gone through this formality. Similarly, even death does not necessarily provide a satisfactory *terminus ante quem* date. Although the working life of a pipemaker may have been up to forty years or more, this time period could effectively be lengthened by the use of their moulds by a widow or a son continuing the business.

While often producing a valid and useful date range, this approach does not assist when dealing with early pipes which were unmarked or where documentary sources are lacking. It is also likely that some pipemakers had other occupations and often the earliest records make no mention of an individual's trade. Only recently has a comprehensive Bristol typology been proposed (Jarrett, 2013 pp.215-220).

The lack of extant Bristol Port Books from the Civil War period also applies to some of the city's civic records. Bristol's fairly comprehensive tax returns have not survived for the period prior to the Restoration and some of the records that did, like those of the parish church of Temple or the parish records of St. Peter, were badly damaged during the 1940s. The main sources from the first half of the seventeenth century which were consulted by Price include the Burgess Books and the Apprentice Enrolment Books. This emphasis on documentary research favours the less itinerant pipemaker and it is also likely that a minor pipemaker with an unusual name features

more prominently than someone with a common surname as they are more easily distinguished. The relative importance of an individual pipemaker can be surmised from the artefacts themselves and their distribution patterns.

### **Archaeological Sources**

The eighty-three excavations which inform this chapter provide information from notes and drawings as well as from completed, but not necessarily published, specialist finds reports. There is no structured approach to publication in Ireland and the time taken, post-excavation, to compile these reports appears to be a barrier to the prompt dissemination of information. It has been noted that in the case of Dublin, there is a greater volume of excavations than its publishing outlets could accommodate (Doyle, Jennings and MacDermott, 2002 p.74). It can be observed that prior to his death in 2001, excavators tasked with writing the pipe report frequently corresponded with Oswald, soliciting his opinion. It can be shown that the initial dating of finds was occasionally amended following his input. Where several date ranges have been noted in relation to an individual pipe, those advised by Oswald have been given pre-eminence in this study.

Poor recording techniques and a lack of expertise in the field combine to present a scant picture of pipe finds from the various archaeological excavations of the mid to late twentieth century. The quality of the empiric data recorded in reports improves over time although early narratives barely acknowledge the presence of clay pipes and thereby dismiss their importance. The report of the excavations at Lough Gur merely notes in passing that 'about a dozen' pipes were found. Plain pipes were often not illustrated or photographed although some marked examples fared better.

Norton and Lane note that it is 'only in the last 30 years or so that pipes have even been considered worthy of retention on most Irish excavations' (2007 p.436). However, even recent reports do not always fully record the type of information that is required for more detailed study, despite guidelines having been developed for this purpose (Higgins and Davey, 2004 pp.487-490). The report of the 2013 excavations at Bishop Street Within, Londonderry, includes a list of find numbers relating to clay pipes and gives tantalising

details that two of the bowls are said to date from 1580-1610. However, the report does contain a photograph of two pipe bowls but it is not of these particular finds, perhaps the two oldest pipes yet found in the city. The two pipes illustrated were not even found during the course of the excavations but were brought in by the owner of the site. Both are common Victorian examples and of no special interest. There is, as yet, no specialist report on the pipes found although this initial report, despite its flaws, is available online and this can only be a positive step towards a wider promulgation of information (Murray, 2013 p.128).

### **Documentary Evidence**

By adopting a comparative approach, an assessment of the accuracy of the extant documentary records can be made. In the case of Port Book data, this is possible because some of the records of the Farmers of the Irish Customs are extant. These date from between 1606 and 1636 and were compiled in the same format as the English Port Books although the majority only list the trade in specific commodities such as coal, currants or wine imports. Fuller coverage can be found in those that relate to the general trades of Carrickfergus, Londonderry and Coleraine between 1612 and 1615 and it is this period that has been selected for closer study.

The loss of the Irish Port Books is often blamed on the fire at the Dublin Public Record Office in 1922 (Davey and Norton, 2013 p.141) but a contemporary catalogue of their holdings does not list any early seventeenth-century Port Books as being held there (Wood, 1919 p.123). Perhaps the deliberate destruction of the eighteenth-century London Port Books in the 1890s due to their perceived worthlessness was a view shared by the authorities in Dublin, certainly Irish census records were destroyed in this decade (Williams, 1956; Norton and Lane, 2007 p.439).

### **Bristol's Tobacco Pipe Trade with Ireland**

Previous research into the tobacco pipe trade to Ireland commenced with Jackson, Jackson and Price's extraction of data from Bristol's Overseas Port Books which was presented as a paper at the Annual Conference of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology in 1983. This information was

privately published and was partly based on the evidence for the period up to 1685 but did not contain any data analysis (Jackson, Jackson and Price, 1983). This publication was reviewed thirty years later by Davey who used the data to highlight an apparent disparity between the documentary and archaeological evidence (2013a pp.26-32). This same data was also used in another work which expanded the scope to include references to ‘Dutch-style material’ (Davey and Norton, 2013 pp.141-153).

In the intervening years, two wider studies of Bristol’s overseas trade have included its relationship with Ireland, one covering the sixteenth century (Flavin and Jones, 2009b) and one the seventeenth century (Stone, 2012). Both use a sampling approach based on full transcriptions of selected Port Books. Although Latimer states that tobacco first appeared in Bristol in 1593 (1900 p.6), the Overseas Port Book of 1594/5 makes no mention of either tobacco or tobacco pipes although a later Port Book shows that tobacco was being re-exported to Ireland by 1601.

### North Devon’s Tobacco Pipe Trade with Ireland

Table 4.1. Overseas destinations and values of pipes from Barnstaple, 1610-50 (TNA:E 190 various; WYL: Irish Customs Accounts).

Date	Destination	Merchant	Quantity	Valuation
23 November 1614	Coleraine	John Sparrow	6 1/2 gross	£1
12 June 1615	Carrickfergus	Michael Louerance	4 gross	£4 16/-
12 September 1615	Cork	Thomas Whitehead	3 1/2 gross	11/-
10 January 1618	Galway	Thomas Wadland & Co.	20 gross	20/-
23 March 1618	Galway	Andreas Marten / Martyn	40 gross	40/-
23 April 1618	Youghall	John Erborie/ Autrie	15 gross	15/-
17 August 1618	Galway	John Goldringe / Gouldinge	9 gross	9/-
18 September 1620	Ireland	Nicholas Sloye	7 gross	7/-
15 October 1624	Carrickfergus	William Bromacombe	6 gross	6/-
12 April 1628	Youghall	Etheldred Darracott	20 gross	20/-
28 August 1628	Dublin	Thomas Hamlyn	20 gross	20/-
6 May 1631	Dublin	Edward Burgys	20 gross	20/-
9 May 1631	Dublin	John Murfye	40 gross	40/-
3 June 1631	Carrickfergus	William Cathcart	15 gross	15/-
9 September 1631	Dublin	Edward Bourgys	20 gross	20/-
19 January 1633	Londonderry	John Jeffrey	60 gross	£3
3 October 1636	Cork	Christopher Saunders	40 gross	40/-
3 November 1636	Madeira	Abraham Johns	15 gross	15/-
30 August 1647	Kinsale	John Gribble	200 gross	
1 September 1647	[Cork]	Edward Delbridge	40 gross	

As with Bristol, the overseas shipment of tobacco pipes from Barnstaple and Bideford, recorded in the same Port Book, overshadows its coastal trade. The valuations which relate to pipe exports show that they were consistently valued at one shilling per gross after 1617 (table 4.1). Before that date, the pipes sent to Cork were three times that value, perhaps indicative of a higher quality product. Those sent to Coleraine were of a similar value although it should be noted that the values for Coleraine and Carrickfergus in 1615 are recorded by the customs officials in Ireland.

A comparison between the English and Irish customs entries show several inconsistencies. For example, none of the cargo carried on the account of Michael Louerance entered at Carrickfergus is recorded as leaving Barnstaple. When entered at Barnstaple, the cargo on the *William* of Northam included sixty dozen earthenware, valued at £3 and merchanted by William Priddis (fig. 4.1).

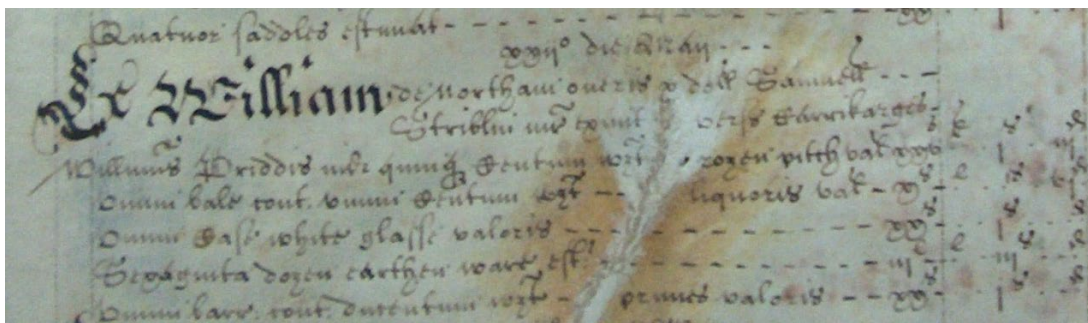


Figure 4.1. The *William*, a vessel of 10 tons, with goods entered for Carrickfergus, 22 May 1615 (TNA:E 190/942/13).

If tobacco pipes from Barnstaple are being subsumed under the general description of earthenware, they will remain undetected. Most of the goods entered by Priddis are matched in the Carrickfergus entry (table 4.2). According to the customs records, the vessel entered goods in Barnstaple on 22 May but arrived in Carrickfergus on 12 June. This would normally be a four-day voyage. The Port Book covering wine imports into Carrickfergus confirms the arrival of the *William* on 12 June from Barnstaple. One pipe of canary wine valued at 15/- and one ton of sacke worth £1 10/- were imported on behalf of Nicholas Loverin and Richard Brasor respectively (Kearney, 1955 p.414). It is feasible that Louerance's goods, including the tobacco

pipes, were loaded at another port. The *William* loaded tallow and hides on 4 July arriving back in Barnstaple on 22 July.

Table 4.2. Comparison of the goods carried on the *William* in May 1615 as entered at Carrickfergus (highlighted) with those recorded at Barnstaple (TNA:E 190/942/13; WYL100/PO/7/1/3).

Merchant	Commodity	Quantity	Valuation
Michael Louerance	Wet Succade	59 lbs.	£1 10/-
	Green Ginger	63 lbs.	£1 11/6d
	Loaf Sugar	67 lbs.	£2
	Treacle	47 lbs.	£1 3/6d
	Dry Succade	12 lbs.	12/-
	Nutmeg	25 lbs.	£1 17/6d
	Tobacco Pipes	4 gross	£4 16/-
William Priddis	Earthen ware	60 dozen	£3
	Rosin	5 cwt.	£1 5/-
	Rosin Pitch	5 cwt.	£1 5/-
	Liquorice	1 cwt.	10/-
	Liquorice	1 cwt. in 1 bale	10/-
	Powder Sugar	1 cwt.	£3 6/8d
	Prunes	2 cwt.	£1
	Prunes	2 cwt. in 1 barrel	£1
	White Glass	1 case	20/-

The coverage provided by the Barnstaple Overseas Port Books does not include the volume for 1613/14 which would have permitted a similar comparison with the earlier Coleraine Port Book entry (table 4.1).

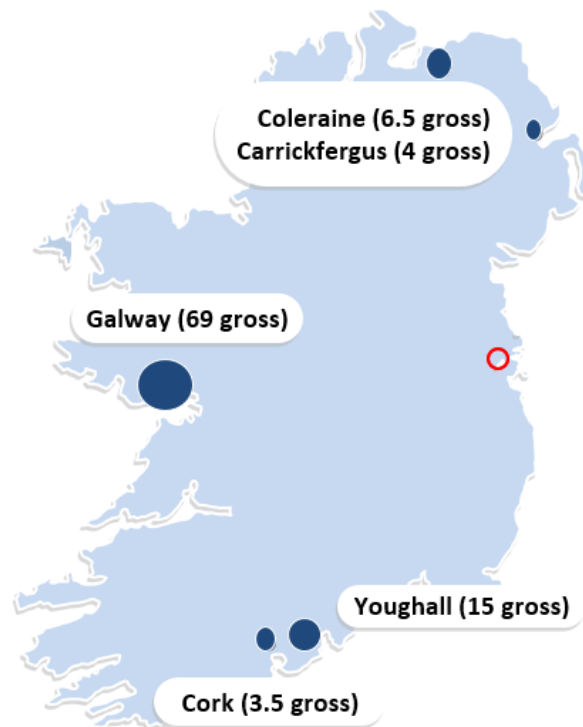


Figure 4.2. North Devon's export trade in tobacco pipes, 1610-19.

Vessels from Bideford, Barnstaple and Appledore particularly supplied Galway with tobacco pipes following the granting of a charter to the city in 1610 (fig. 4.2).

### London's Tobacco Pipe Trade with Ireland

London's merchants are first recorded consigning pipes to Ireland in 1609, some dozen years after Bristol (fig. 4.3). Of the 35 merchants recorded before 1622, thirteen are specifically described as being Irishmen. Four more share the same names without their nationality being recorded. One merchant, Arthur Blinkinsop, is described as a grocer in 1609. By the end of 1612, five consignments of tobacco pipes had left London for Ireland. This compares with Bristol's 64 consignments in the same period, with 51 merchants being recorded as Irish.

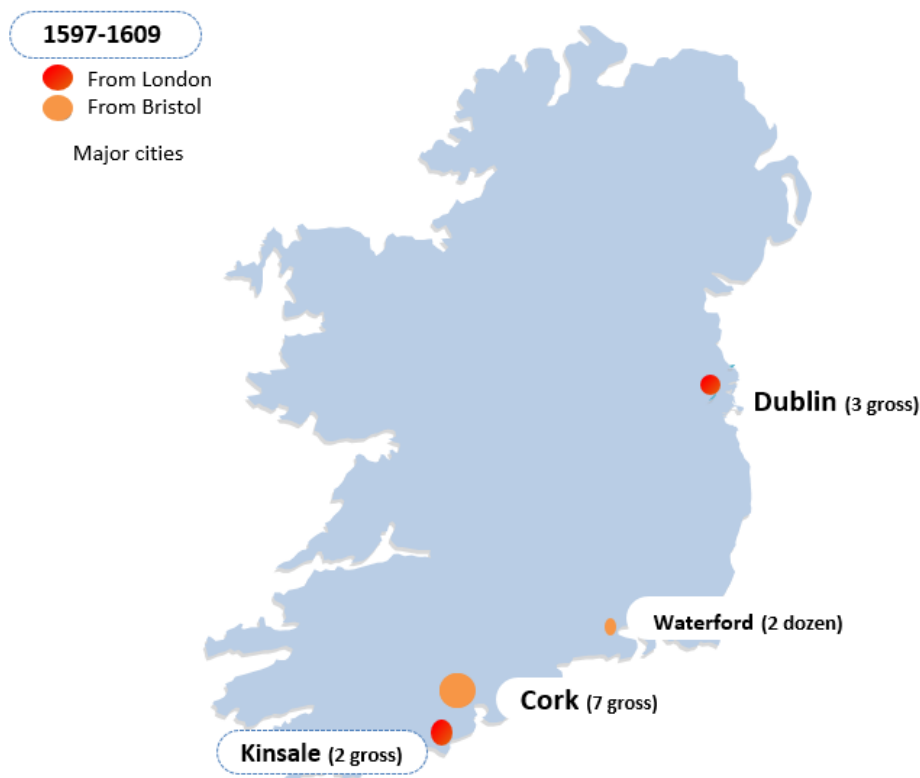


Figure 4.3. Destinations in Ireland for tobacco pipes consigned from southern England, 1597-1609 (TNA:E 190 various).

Although Davey suggests that the earliest pipes sent from Bristol may be London-made pipes that were transhipped, there is little evidence for any overland or coastal trade between the two cities, wine excepted. The road



network in the 1630s is described as 'all those towns between London and Bristol; the Bristow Carriers do carry letters unto them'. The carriage of goods between the two cities is not mentioned suggesting that this service was more likely to be by pack horse than wagon (Taylor, 1637 para.3).

### **A disparity in trade?**

Davey noted an apparent disparity between the recorded exports of tobacco pipes from Bristol, mainly to the ports in the south of Ireland, and the archaeological finds of Bristol-made pipes in Ireland which seemed to be more prevalent in the north (2013a p.28). A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the data is partial however, the temporal coverage provided by the city's Overseas Port Books for the period 1597-1650, at 57 percent, is greater than for most other outports in this period. Davey divides the century into two periods, 1597-1649 and 1662-1685, acknowledging the lacuna for the Interregnum. Excepting the few extant Ulster Port Books, the documentary record is admittedly lop-sided in that it mainly records the cargoes that departed from Bristol rather than those that arrived in Ireland.

One issue with the documentary part of Davey's equation is the acceptance of the Port Book quantities as published by Price. Only one of the four entries in the 1628/9 Overseas Port Book is recorded by Price resulting in only four gross of pipes being noted rather than fifty gross that were entered (Taylor, 2013 p.46). One of the entries that was missed, the twenty gross of pipes carried on the *Christopher* of Northam, raises two further issues. The amount of customs duty paid exceeds the dues liable on the commodities recorded. The customs entry is therefore an incomplete listing. Furthermore, the harvest failure that year resulted in the prohibition of the export of corn although Bristol was granted the sole right to trade this commodity with Ireland. Corn was widely defined and included hops, malt and other grains so that the only legitimate way the *Christopher* could carry malt to Dublin, as it intended, was to export it via Bristol (Beveridge, 2011 pp.20-21). The origin of the pipes she was carrying on board cannot be ascertained with certainty as the Barnstaple Coastal Port Book for this year is not extant and the port of Bristol rarely recorded inward coastal traffic.

Davey also points out that excavated sites are not spread evenly across Ireland. His summary of 'some thirty' archaeological investigations produced only 81 'identifiable Bristol pipes' from the period before 1650. These were bowls marked 'RB', 'NC', 'WC', 'TG', 'AN', 'EL', 'PE' and 'RT' (2013a p.28). In response, Price drastically reduced that total on two grounds. Firstly, he states that those marked 'NC' and 'AN' cannot be attributed to any known Bristol pipemaker and 'are likely to have been made elsewhere' (2013a p.51) overlooking the fact that he published images of two 'AN' marked pipes from the collections in Bristol City Museum along with one further bowl marked 'NC' (figs. 4.5 and 4.9). All of these pipes noted by Davey were found in Ulster (fig. 4.4).

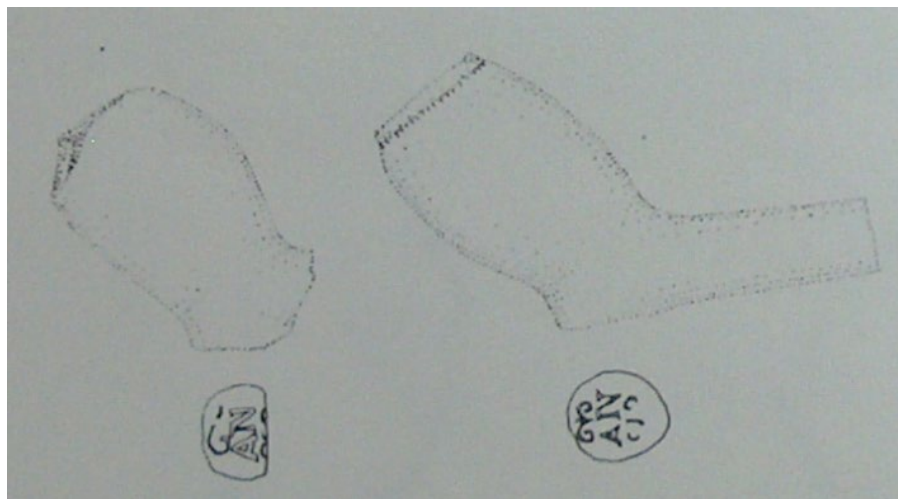


Figure 4.4. Two 'AN' marked bowls found in Londonderry (Lacy, c.1978 unpub. drawing no.12, National Pipe Archive, Liverpool).

Although this does not prove that either maker was from the city, one possibility is that 'AN' refers to Arthur Nunney who was married at St. James' Church in Bristol in June 1631. Although his occupation is not known, his eldest son Richard became a pipemaker using the same style of mark. Arthur is said to have lost an apprentice to the plague in 1645 but no record has been found either of an apprenticeship or of the death (Price, 2011 p.2704). The recovery of a marked pipe fragment from a context in Virginia is not incompatible with Arthur Nunney working in the 1630s (fig. 4.6). It is likely to represent a personal possession rather than evidence of any sort of formal export of tobacco pipes between Bristol and the Americas.

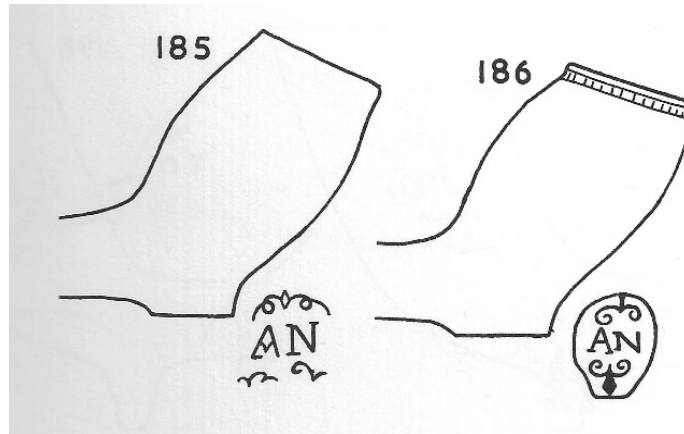


Figure 4.5. Two 'AN' marked bowls from the City Museum, Bristol (Jackson and Price, 1974 p.103).

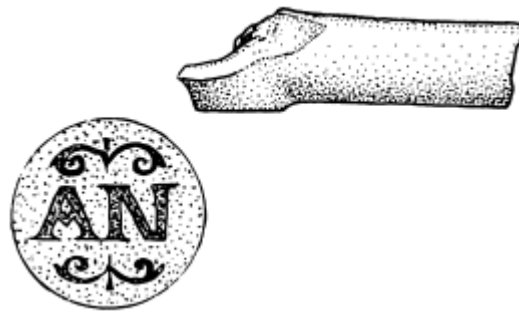


Figure 4.6. Pipe fragment with incuse 'AN' mark from Martin's Hundred, Virginia, Site A, Pit 1 c.1623-40 (Noel Hume and Noel Hume, 2001 fig.103 no.7).

According to Price, those bowls included by Davey and marked 'PE', 'TG' and 'RT' are attributed to pipemakers who took their freedoms after 1650 (2013a p.51). The only 'TG' pipemaker recorded by Price was apprenticed in 1631 but there is no evidence that Thomas Grigg ever gained his freedom or completed his apprenticeship (2011 p.1800). It is notable that no 'TG' marked pipes have been found in Bristol.

Of the other pipes, the 'EL' incuse mark found on a single pipe at Roscrea Castle is attributed to Edward Lewis who was made free as a smith in 1631 although his wife Elizabeth may also have carried on using his mark after his death (fig. 4.7). She is likely to have been the widow of that name who was a founder member of the Bristol Pipemakers Guild in 1652 (Price, 2011 p.2357). She may be the 'widdow Lewis pipemaker' who died in 1676 (Price, 2011 p.2359).

The pipe could fall into the post-1650 period as it is similar in form to the type 3 bowl in the Bristol City Museum (Jackson and Price, 1974 p.101) and dated by Jarrett to the period between 1640 and 1670 although Norton dates the Roscrea Castle pipe to 1630-40. Both date ranges are not incompatible with the working life of Edward Lewis and his widow. It should be noted that the single marked bowl was excavated along with fifteen unmarked seventeenth century bowls and one other bowl which has a damaged base with the remnant of a mark. Two decorated stems were also found and all date to between 1620 and 1700 on form alone. The 'two initials between scrolls' design is similar in form to the 'AN' mark and other pipes known to have been made in Bristol.

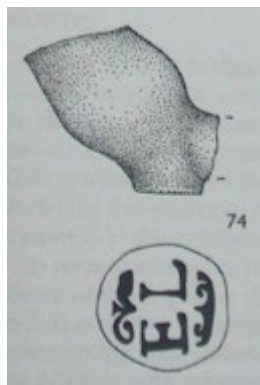


Figure 4.7. 'EL' marked bowl from Roscrea Castle, (Norton, 2003a p.86).

Although Price had not seen the material that Davey had used in attributing these pipes to Bristol's pipemakers, some illustrations were published in a fuller article (Davey and Norton, 2013 pp.141-153). This considered imports into Ireland from several different manufacturing centres yet overlooked pipes made in North Devon. His illustration of a 'TG' pipe found in Carrickfergus is comparable with others known to have been made in Barnstaple and attributed to Thamsyn Garland so we might discount these 'TG' pipes from our consideration of Bristol exports, but not for the reason given by Price. The single 'RB' pipe illustrated from the finds from excavations at Carrickfergus is similar to those in the collection housed at Bristol City Museum and can be attributed to Richard Berriman. As he worked for at least thirty years in the trade, his pipes can be reasonable allocated to the first half of the seventeenth century although the possibility

that his widow continued to use his workshop up to her death in 1660 is suggested by the ‘several brasse moulds’ listed in the inventory of her goods (Price, 2011 p.380). Richard had possessed sixteen moulds at the time of his death eleven years earlier (Price, 2011 p.369).

Price records three potential candidates for the Bristol pipes marked ‘WC’. The references to William Carter as a pipemaker commence in 1641 but he died only two years later (2011 p.723). William Cissell became free in 1661, one year after William Cherrington (2011 p.891, p.940) and Price attributes the ‘WC’ marked pipes found in Bristol to the latter maker. If this is correct then those pipes found in Dublin, Londonderry, Ross Castle and Trim Castle are also likely to post-date 1660. The pipes marked ‘PE’ and ‘RT’ are presumably attributed to Philip Edwards, who was made free in March 1650, and Robert Tippet, made free two months later. Tippet could have been in business as a pipemaker for several years prior to gaining his freedom (Price, 2011 p.379). This may equally be the case with Edwards as both were appraisers of Anne Berriman’s goods. In 1650, his presence and inaction when James Foxe violently resisted the attempts by the Farmers of the Excise to distraint his goods, suggests that the duty he felt to a fellow pipemaker overruled his civic duty as a constable. Both Edwards and Tippet had sons of the same name who followed in their father’s trade.

Table 4.3. Marked Bristol pipes of c.1600-50 recovered in Ireland (based on Davey, 2013a p.28).

<b>Site</b>	<b>RB</b>	<b>NC</b>	<b>EL</b>	<b>AN</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Carrickfergus	17	1			18
Kells Priory, Kilkenny	3				3
Limerick	4				4
Londonderry	1			2	3
Roscrea Castle, Tipperary			1		1
Waterford	3				3
<b>Totals</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>32</b>

Having taken these factors into account, Davey’s summary of the marked Bristol pipes found in Ireland would be modified by Price’s reasoning to that shown in table 4.3, although this includes the NC and AN marked pipes that Price discounts. Apart from the scarcity of marked examples from this period,

the most striking feature is the absence of finds from the southern coast of Ireland. The small but regular trade in pipes from Bristol as evidenced by the Port Books is not reflected here and a possible explanation is that these products may have been unmarked. The earliest known pipemaker in Bristol is Miles Casse who died in 1617, a surname common in the County Cork area although Price suggests he may be the Miles Case who was granted a marriage licence in 1574 in London (2011 p.806).

Just three 'RB' examples were found in Waterford despite a considerable attendance at St. James' Fair in Bristol each year. In 1635, the fifty vessels leaving Waterford required a naval escort due to piracy in the Bristol Channel (Brereton, 2010 p.399). In terms of customs revenue, Waterford was second only to Dublin although two thirds of its trade was exports (see Appendix A). According to Latimer, there is no evidence of any migration from Bristol to Waterford prior to the granting of a Corporation to the latter city in 1619 although the pipemaker Edward Abbott may have done so around this time (Walker, 1977 p.1046). As the Privy Council requested that any new settlers 'be worth £1,000 each, or £500 at the least ... so that they might taken turns in the magistracy', it is unlikely that any pipemaker would have met this requirement (Latimer, 1900 p.110). Conversely, his trade was, allegedly, in such demand that he was allowed to remain in Waterford when the English were being expelled en masse. In 1653 Abbott made a deposition in Bristol stating

that on or about the xvijth day of March in the yeare 1641 hee this deponent was then liueinge in the Citty of waterford in Ireland att which tyme the Irish Rebbelles did banish and turne out of the said Citty of Waterford the most parte of the English Inhabitants there saueinge some few englishe tradesmen which the Irish constraned to liue there with them in respect they had hardly any of their owne Nation there which could vse or exercise these trades and occupacions which the English then did and amongst the rest this deponent was one which was to abide and liue there and exercise his trade and calling (Nott and Ralph, 1948 p.117).

In February 1643, John Smith, a hatter in Waterford, stated that Abbott was 'formerly protestant but since the rebellion, turned papist' so the notion that he was constrained to live and make pipes there is probably an attempt to justify his relocation to Bristol (Trinity College Dublin, MS820 f.187). Although Coburn records that Abbott 'indicated the use of pottery for the production of clay pipes', no such statement is given in the deposition of Christmas Spurgent that she references (2016 p.200).

A well burnished but unmarked example of a Bristol Type 1 pipe found in Waterford is made from an orange clay suggesting that the raw material may be local rather than being made of the white-firing clays favoured by Bristol's pipemakers. Figure 4.8 illustrates the difference in both the fabric and size with the marked bowl on the right attributed to Richard Berriman. Norton dates this orange pipe to the period 1610-30 which is not inconsistent with the time Abbott is potentially working in Waterford. Fifteen out of thirty-four wig hair curlers found in Hanover Street, Waterford were also made from an orange-brown fabric. This type of product would have been made after the Restoration but does support the suggestion that this clay was accessible to Waterford's pipemakers (Norton, 2003b p.25).



Figure 4.8. Unmarked bowl (left) from the 6, Barronstrand Street site, Waterford (Norton, 2009).

With the prohibition of the export of Fullers Earth in 1614 soon interpreted as including tobacco pipeclay, the illicit use of English clay in Waterford would have been a simple matter to uncover although perhaps not a great concern. Given that Irish products start to appear in numbers in the second half of the

seventeenth century, the early pipe industry in Ireland was not hampered by a lack of suitable local clay.

Abbott was certainly in Bristol by 1650 although he was never made a freeman nor took an apprentice there. His origins are unknown other than he deposed that he was born around 1597. His sister-in-law, Elizabeth Gayney, fled to Bristol in 1642 leaving Abbott to look after her property in Waterford (Fleming, 2016 p.39). Furthermore, no marked pipes can be attributed to him. Price concludes that he may not have been a prolific manufacturer although he may have also been the only pipemaker in Waterford in the 1620s and 1630s so would have had little need to imbue his pipes with a proprietary identity as per the latest Bristol and London fashions (Price, 2011 p.2). Norton and Lane state that

it follows that the pipes produced by these early makers [in Ireland] are indistinguishable from the contemporary English styles; further, it follows that they are reflective of their makers origin, for example London or Bristol (Norton & Lane, 2007 p.436).

There is a further possible link between Waterford and Bristol in that a Thomas Dier, tobacco pipemaker, is recorded in the latter city in 1654 having lost his lands in Ireland 'for their arrears' (Price, 2011 p.1256). Whether he is the same man as the Thomas Dyer, tobacco pipemaker, who took an apprentice in Waterford in 1659 is not certain (Norton and Lane, 2007 p.442).

There is also some degree of confluence in form between the 'NC' marked pipe from Bristol and a 'IC' mark found on bowls in Cork (fig. 4.9).

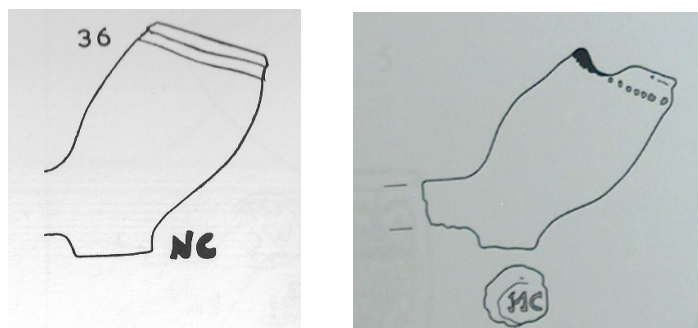


Figure 4.9. 'NC' marked bowl from the City Museum, Bristol, (Jackson and Price, 1974 p.91) and Irish 'IC' marked bowl from Cork (Norton and Lane, 2007 p.444 no.5).



The latter are deemed to be an Irish product due to the large number of pipes found in the south of Ireland, often with a fleur de lys between the two letters. The maker, or makers, of these products has not been identified. That a local style evolved in Ireland in this period mirrors the process of developing regional styles in parts of the west of England. Examples of 'NC' marked pipes can also be found in the collections of Gloucester Museum and the British Museum, the latter's pipes having all been found in Bristol (Oswald, n.d. C2, pp.19-20).

This does not negate Davey's observation of the apparent mismatch between finds and the documentary evidence but rather than bemoan the lack of records, it is equally important to consider the lack of archaeological evidence for the trade in pipes to the southern Irish ports. An assessment of the finds raises some questions in relation to the early exporting centres in the south of England, namely London, Bristol and Barnstaple. All three were in competition to supply pipes to Dublin in the 1620s but for the London pipemakers, Dublin was the most important market in Ireland (fig. 4.10).

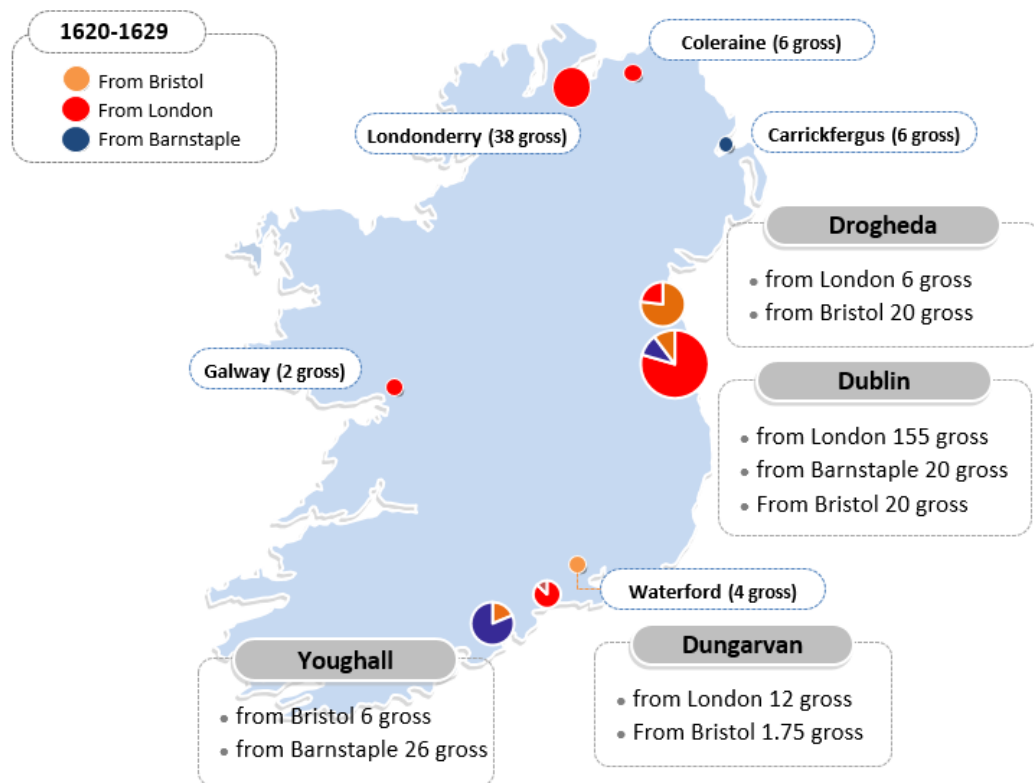


Figure 4.10. Documented destinations of tobacco pipes, 1620-29 (TNA:E 190 series).

## The archaeological evidence from Leinster

It may be expected that the earliest artefacts would come from castle sites given the likely movement of their owners between Dublin and London and that pipes would be found in the harbour district of port cities. Is London's domination of supply mirrored by the artefacts found in the excavations carried out in Dublin? Fifteen sites produced early pipe finds and these are discussed alongside Oswald's notes on the pipes held by the National Museum of Ireland and those he recorded from an unknown private collection. An early pipe dating to 1610-40 was found in excavations in Ship Street, Dublin although a maritime association is not present here as the street name derives from the medieval sheep market once held there.

Dublin Castle produced several pipes dating to around 1640 with perhaps the marked example in figure 4.11 being the earliest. Dated by Norton to 1640-60, the heel mark was said to be possibly an 'S'. Oswald dates this pipe to 1620-50 and suggests that it may have originated in Devon. He comments that the mark is 'a puzzle' although it is reminiscent of other symbol or single letter marks found on pipes made in Barnstaple which are interpreted as being from the 1610-30 period, for example, as a barred letter I (fig. 4.11, right).

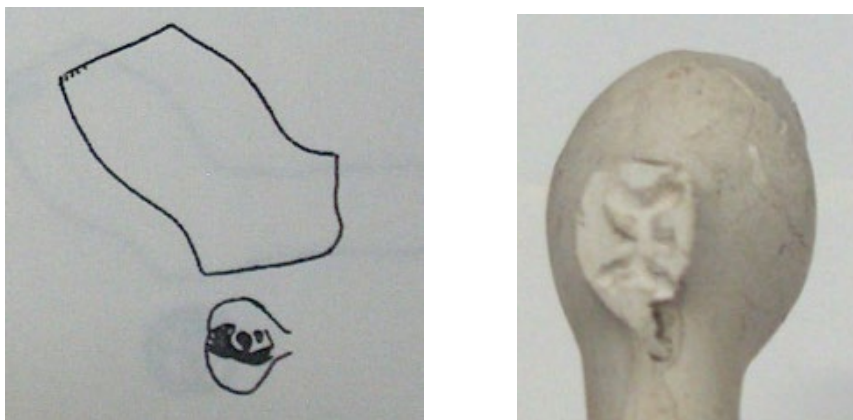


Figure 4.11. Marked bowls found at Dublin Castle, E296:I5395 (Norton, 1987, p.42, left) and Barnstaple (right) photograph by author.

Another bowl they both agree came from London, although again Oswald brings Norton's date back to 1630-50, has a heel mark which is a wheel with pellets between the eight spokes (fig. 4.12). This type of mark was common

throughout England in the seventeenth century but it is unlikely that an individual die could be attributed to a particular maker.



Figure 4.12. Marked bowls found at Dublin Castle, E296:2334 (Norton, 1989 p.17, left and centre) and similar mark found at Chaucer House, Tabard Street, London (Museum of London, right).

Excavations in 2014 at Rathfarnham Castle produced a wealth of seventeenth century finds including over 4,000 ceramic objects, among them 1,630 pipe fragments. Of the 209 bowl fragments, 128 could be classified by type and of these, 55 were spurred pipes, all unmarked. The four earliest were Oswald type 17 bowls dating to 1640-70. The remaining 73 bowls were all from heeled pipes with only a single example dated as early as 1640-60. These pipes came from the base of a washhouse and given that the bulk of the pipes date to 1680-1710, they can be regarded as residual and originate from the fill material (Hayden, 2016 p.55). Excavations at the Royal Hospital produced 25 bowls but the earliest example again cannot be dated to before 1640 (Sweetnam, 1982 p.72). A similar picture is found at St. Audoen's Church where the two earliest bowls excavated were also from 1640-70 (Norton, 1992). Despite the numerous excavations in and around Dublin, the number of tobacco pipes found dating to before the Irish rebellion of 1641 is notably small.

The report into the works undertaken at Isolde's Tower is typical of many sites:

All of the pipes, flat heeled or spurred, are of similar type and date range [1680-1730]. The bowl forms match closely with those from

Shop Street and the Four Courts and like most of the pipes from the latter site, are probably local products (Norton, 1994 p.82).

Those pipes that were not local were said to originate from Chester. The reference to Shop Street appears to be an error and presumably relates to the excavations in Ship Street previously mentioned. It was possibly confused with the 1981 excavations in Shop Street, Drogheda. Here an area on the north bank of the River Boyne revealed the remains of a thirteenth century wooden quayside, a cobbled lane, stone quayside and steps. These latter stone features are said to have been built around 1600 and a harbourside area is where early pipes might be expected to be found. The left-hand pipe in figure 4.13 is said to be an Irish form despite the early date and lack of any documented pipemaker of this period in the town (Davey, 2009 p.188).



Figure 4.13. Flat heeled bowl dated to 1620-50 and spurred pipe of 1610-40 from Drogheda (Norton,1984 p.200, p.202).

Only two consignments of pipes are recorded in the Port Books utilised in this study as being consigned to Drogheda, from London in 1621 and from Bristol in 1627. Both vessels were said to be 'of Milford' but this probably reflects their last port of call prior to reaching Drogheda. The town of Milford exported virtually all of its coal and culm to Ireland in the sixteenth century and imported boards and planks by return (Taylor, 2009 p.217).

Almost two hundred pipe bowls found in Shop Street were complete enough to be dated and 46 out of 1,669 pipe stem fragments were decorated. The majority of bowls were Irish or south Lancashire types. The evidence from the Shop Street excavations supports the documentary picture that the number of pipes consigned from Bristol or London was small although

evidence from more excavations in the town might produce a different picture. Both of the early pipes shown in figure 4.14 were found during roadworks.



Figure 4.14. Unprovenanced plain heeled and spur types  
(Drogheda Museum, photograph by the author).

### **The archaeological evidence from Ulster**

Although Davey states that ‘a majority of all the Bristol pipes recovered are from the north’ [of Ireland], we can qualify this further and say that the majority of all the Bristol pipes dated to before 1650 were recovered from excavations in Carrickfergus and are attributed to Richard Berriman. He notes that ‘a high proportion of pipes have been found in ports for which there are no recorded shipments from Bristol’, however, the city did engage in trade with the Ulster ports prior to the civil wars (Davey, 2013a p.28).

Although Price notes that there was no trade between Bristol and Belfast, Carrickfergus or Londonderry recorded in the eleven sixteenth century Port Books studied by Flavin and Jones, these records do provide evidence of Bristol merchants sailing as far north as Sligo and Dundalk (Price 2013 p.52; Flavin and Jones, 2009 p.786, p.805). The presence of Ham Green ware in excavations at Loughan Road, Londonderry shows that medieval connections existed between Bristol and this part of Ireland.

The single extant Carrickfergus Port Book, which contains only 44 inwards and 46 outwards entries for the year commencing Michaelmas 1614, contains no evidence of trade with Bristol although two consignment of pipes were entered inwards from Barnstaple and Beaumaris (Hunter, 2012 pp.90-

99). The *Plough* of Bristol is also recorded as returning from Carrickfergus in 1625 (TNA:E 190/1135/6, entry no.56). By value, 30 percent of Bristol's export trade with Ireland in 1636/7 was with the three main Ulster ports (table 4.4). These references indicate that Bristol's trade was not entirely confined to the ports on Ireland's southern coast.

Table 4.4. Value of goods exported from Bristol to Ireland, 1636/7 (TNA:E 190/1136/8, transcription by Stone, 2015a).

<b>South Coast Ports</b>		
Waterford		£890.01
Rosse		£407.00
Cork		£254.67
Dungarvan		£36.50
Youghall		£13.67
		<b>£1,601.85</b>
<b>East Coast Ports</b>		
Wexford		£275.33
Dublin		£173.09
Drogheda		£71.17
		<b>£519.59</b>
<b>Ulster Ports</b>		
Londonderry		£432.67
Carrickfergus		£251.00
Coleraine		£221.33
		<b>£905.00</b>
Unspecified ports		£29.67

Any potential consignments of pipes from Bristol in the 1620s and 1630s are hidden due to deficiencies in Bristol's Overseas Port Books. A significant number of entries merely list the commodities carried as 'parcels of wares' so that many petty goods have been subsumed under this heading. It is unlikely that this slackness in recording deliberately obscured the export of pipes following the monopolies granted to the Society of Pipemakers of Westminster either in 1619 or in 1634 although no pipe cargoes are recorded as being exported from Bristol in the periods when the company was active until the entries for shipments to Scotland and Dublin in 1636.

Tobacco pipes sent to Londonderry formed only a small part of the consumer goods linked to the development of the plantations in Ulster. Apart from the two pipes marked 'AN' discussed earlier, only one other early Bristol pipe

has been found in Londonderry according to Davey, a bowl marked 'RB' attributed to Richard Berriman. Oswald records a grey/white pipe with gritty adhesions and marked 'IR' which is said to be a duplicate of the mark on an example in the Museum of London. The simplicity of this incuse mark implies an early date and Davey suggests that additional decorative features developed over time (2013a p.143). This mark is attributed to John Rosse, a warden of the Westminster pipemakers' company in 1619 and master of the second company in 1634. The documentary evidence would suggest that London pipemakers fulfilled the needs of the London companies in the earliest days of the plantations.

### **The archaeological evidence from Connacht**

Although the city of Galway can be viewed as being remote and at the periphery of the Hanseatic trade network, it grew in importance as a provisioning centre as the Atlantic trade opened up at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Hartnett, 2004a p.292). Its inhabitants had always exchanged goods, mainly hides and linen, in the 'havens' of its large Gaelic hinterland, but the establishment of a garrison in the city during the Nine Years War, heavily reliant on English imported manufactures, meant that trade was also being conducted within the town walls (Hartnett, 2004a p.293). By 1609, several Gaelic artisans were part of the local community although the nature of this port town could not be described as cosmopolitan. The documentary record contains little information regarding the importation of tobacco suggesting that the majority of the trade in this commodity was illicit. In 1627, a Dutch ship carrying tobacco and sugar had its cargo seized under the city's ancient rights of admiralty, the first such mention of the commodity in the State Papers relating to Ireland (Hartnett, 2004b p.142). The English customs records show that the early tobacco pipe trade to Galway was split between London and north Devon (table 4.5; fig 4.16). Fanning, Dolley and Roche date the four illustrated pipes in figure 4.15 to 1610-40 based on similarities with London types 5, 7 and 8 (1976 p.154) although the last of these pipes has a heel mark of FLO | WER.H | VNT.

Table 4.5. Tobacco Pipes destined for Galway, 1610-1630  
(TNA:E 190/19/5; 21/2; 944/3; 944/1; 29/4).

Date	Vessel	From	Merchant	Quantity	Valuation
14 October 1615	<i>Margaret</i> of Kirkcaldy	London	Andrewe Brown, Irishman	6 gross	
24 October 1617	<i>Frauncis</i> of Galway	London	? Butcher	16 gross in 5 boxes	
25 October 1617	<i>Frauncis</i> of Galway	London	Samuel Dickers	10? gross	
10 January 1618	<i>Vantage</i> of Bideford	Barnstaple	Thomas Wadland & Co.	20 gross est.	1/- per gross
23 March 1618	<i>James</i> of Bideford	Barnstaple	Andreas Marten	40 gross est.	1/- per gross
17 August 1618	<i>Endeavour</i> of Colchester	Barnstaple	John Gouldinge	9 gross est.	1/- per gross
28 September 1626	<i>Anne</i> of London	London	Walter French, Irishman	2 gross in 2 boxes	

Hunt was baptised in Norton St. Philip, Somerset in February 1626 and was made free as a pipemaker in 1651 becoming a founder member of Bristol's Guild of Pipemakers in the following year (Price, 2011 p.2125). As he died in the Spring of 1672, this pipe can probably be dated to 1662 ±10 years, much later than the published date range.

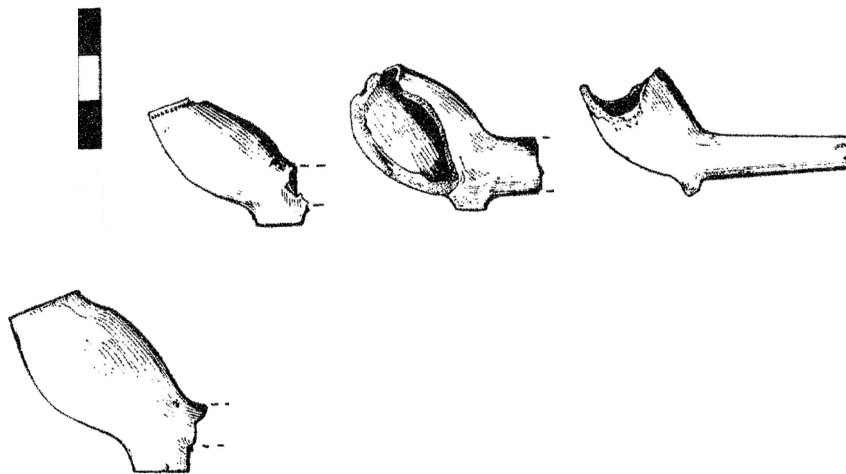


Figure 4.15. Four bowls from excavations at Clontuskert Priory  
(Fanning, Dolley and Roche, 1976 p.153).

There is no documentary evidence of pipe manufacture in Galway before 1700 although a small bowl of Irish manufacture found during the construction of Shannon Airport is said to suggest a 1620-50 date based on a similarity to London Type 4a pipes (Rynne, 1964, p.253).

Norton summarised the finds from twenty-one sites in and around Galway which produced a minimum bowl count of 1,136 (2004 p.427). Artefacts found include pipes of English, Dutch and Irish manufacture although none were dated by him to before 1630. Of the English pipes, none were made in



Rainford pre-1640 and no finds from Bristol were dated to before the Restoration although a single pipe made in Broseley, Shropshire may have arrived in Galway via that city. A Dutch pipe dated to 1630-50 found at Abbeygate Street Upper is perhaps the earliest find from the city centre.

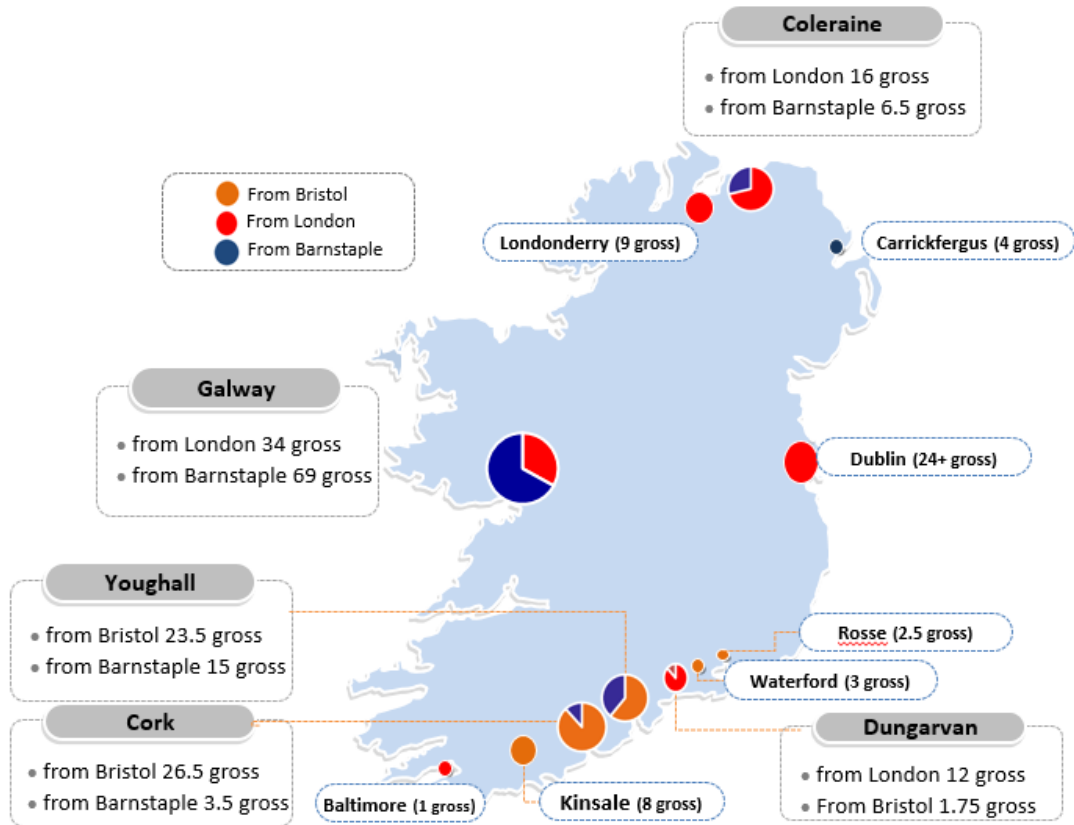


Figure 4.16. Documented destinations of Tobacco Pipes, 1610-19  
(Source: Various Port Books, TNA:E 190 series).

One notable absence from the Bristol Port Book records of this period is the recording of the city of Limerick as a destination for pipes in the first half of the seventeenth century. Only two examples of trade between the two cities can be found in the Overseas Port Book of 1608/07. The *Tiger* of Bristol carried cloths, stockings, hops, prunes, alum and soap while the *Jonas* of Awre is listed as carrying 'small wares' (TNA:E 190/1133/8). In 1619, the *Flaxflower* of Limerick returned from Bristol with iron, coal and hops, the only relevant customs entry in the records of that year (TNA:E 190/1136/3).

The archaeological evidence does provide some examples of pre-1650 pipes from Bristol. The right-hand bowl in figure 4.17 is attributed to Richard Berriman and Norton dates this bowl to after 1630. It was found in Irishtown,

the walled area south of the Abbey River. The other two bowls are said to be AO type 5 and dated by Norton to 1640-60.

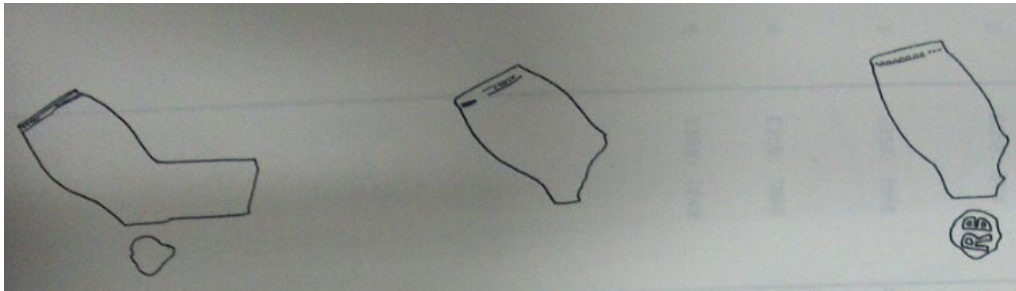


Figure 4.17. Three early pipe bowls from Site 4, Broad Street, Limerick, E358:1768 (Norton, 1988b).

Two pipes from King John's Castle were found in the fill of the gate passage pit from the siege of 1642 (fig. 4.18). Similarities with bowls from the Dominican Priory in Cork and Shop Street in Drogheda, dated to c.1650 and 1620-1650 respectively, were noted (Wiggins, 2015 p.452). The latter dates were probably reflecting the known working life of Richard Berriman.



Figure 4.18. Two plain bowls from King John's Castle, Limerick (photograph courtesy of Ken Wiggins).

A further bowl with 'blurry' 'RB' mark was excavated at Charlotte's Quay in 1981. The fabric is recorded as grey-white but was burnished (Lynch, 1984 p.299). There are two illustrations of this pipe which, although very similar,

are not identical (fig. 4.19). The heel mark was also changed from being recorded as a relief mark to being incuse in the published version.

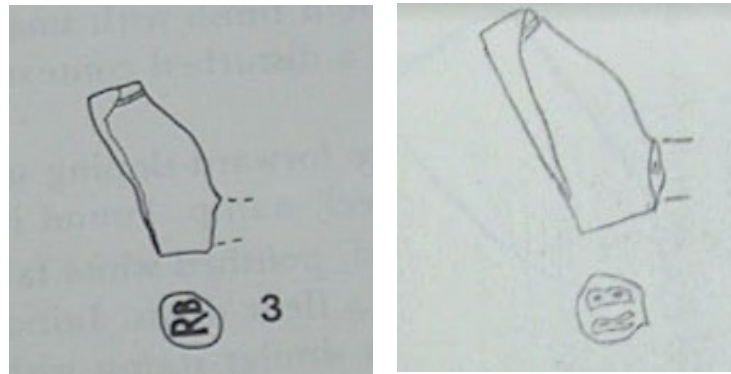


Figure 4.19. Published (left) and unpublished drawings of 'RB' pipe from Charlotte's Quay, Limerick, E216 (Lynch, 1981 p.315).

Although four heeled pipes dating from 1640-70 from excavations at Site 11, John Street, were said to similar to Bristol or West Country pipes, the earliest pipe found there was probably made in London, c.1610-30 (fig. 4.20).



Figure 4.20. Heeled pipe from Site 11, King Street, Limerick. E365:550 (Norton, 1988a).

The marked pipe was originally dated to 1600-20 by Norton in his notes, but Oswald advised in correspondence that it was 'rather similar [to one] in [the] British Museum, c.1610-30'. Norton, in his final report, amends the date to that suggested by Oswald and describes the heel as being marked with a 'Fleur de Lis stamp'.

In addition to pipes from Bristol and London, a seventeenth century bowl from Barnstaple has also been recorded in Limerick. Although Grant has illustrated a similar bowl found at Barnstaple Castle which she dates to 1620-40, Oswald states that he thinks that '1660 ± about right' for the Limerick

bowl (Grant and Jemmett, 1985 p.490 no.4, p.552 no.20; Oswald, n.d; fig. 4.21).

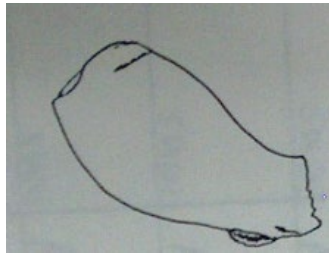


Figure 4.21. Barnstaple bowl found in 'Limerick City – Urban'  
Oswald, unpub. drawing, National Pipe Archive, Liverpool.

The *Joseph*, destined for the staple town of Youghall in March 1612, carried tobacco pipes on the account of five different Limerick merchants although they also used the ports of Kinsale and Dungarvan on different occasions in that year. This seems to have been a regular, albeit small-scale, trade in pipes which could have been carried overland to Limerick by pack horse. This was a journey of around 73 miles as opposed to the coastal route of 250 nautical miles.

### **The archaeological evidence from Munster**

There was a significant risk of piracy off the west coast of Ireland and the harbour of Youghall was occasionally regarded as unsafe. Part of the medieval road from Cork to Limerick was protected by a castle at Mallow and by Kilcolman Castle, at one time the home of Edmund Spenser, a poet who had written about tobacco in 1590. The relatively empty countryside north to Limerick was still a place of danger and the castles and tower houses provided refuge from ambush to travellers like Spenser who regularly rode this route on horseback (Berleth, 2002 p.302). The earliest pipe found at Kilcolman Castle is the marked pipe illustrated in fig. 4.22. The mark on the large flat heel is indistinct but is said by Lane to be a wheel or star mark, typical of the 1640-60 period although she also states that it was 'found in the debris of the final destruction of the Spenser parlour ... c.1620' (2013 p.147). A comparison with a photograph published by Klingelhofer shows that the bowl in the illustration is more upright and that the angle of the bowl lip is steeper (fig. 4.23).

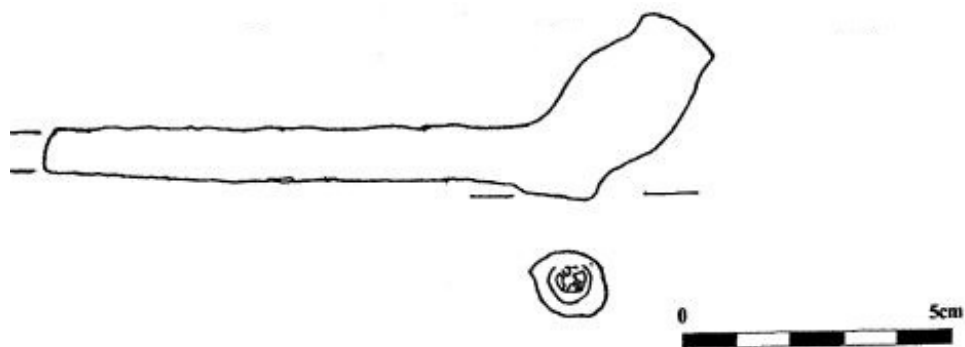


Figure 4.22. Large heeled pipe from excavations at Kilcolman Castle (Lane, 2005 in Klingelhofer et al. p.146).

This raises the question as to the accuracy of illustrated artefacts, especially as bowl characteristics are important to the correct dating of a pipe. While illustrations can provide an impression of features and marks which are difficult for a camera to pick up, poor quality drawings may mislead.



Figure 4.23. Photograph of the same pipe from Kilcolman Castle as in figure 4.22 (Klingelhofer, 2010 fig. 4.11).

It was an often-overlooked requirement that officials were to record the place of residence of the merchant in the customs entry, if it was not the 'home' port. This information is largely present in the Bristol Overseas Port Books of 1612 and it is notable that the trade in tobacco pipes was almost exclusively in the hands of Irish merchants (chart 4.1).

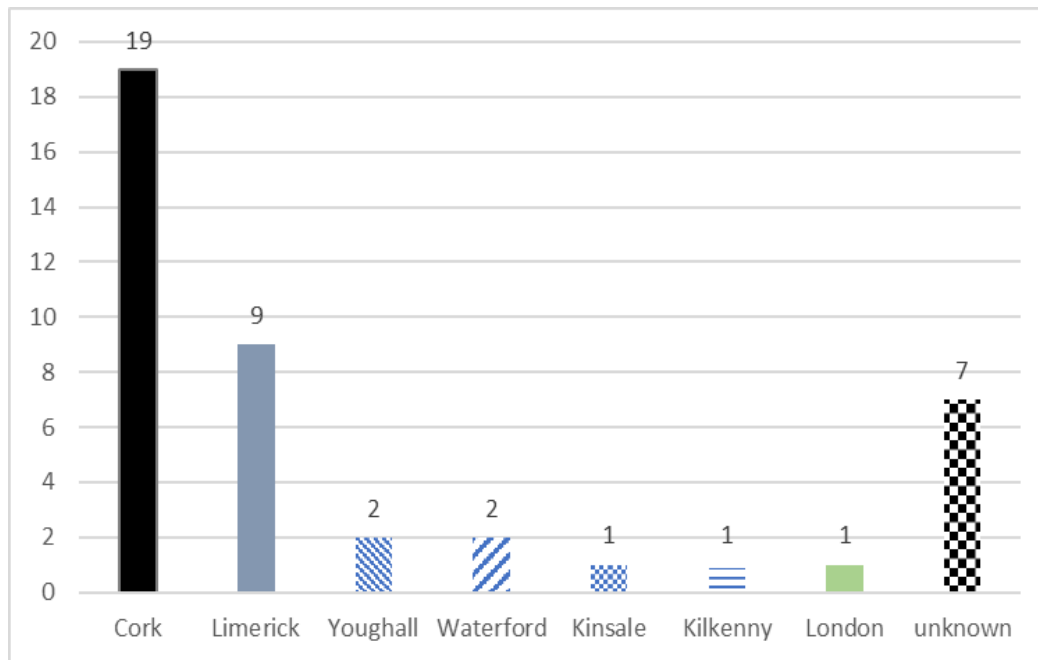


Chart 4.1. Residence of merchants consigning tobacco pipes from Bristol in 1612 (TNA:E 190/1133/9; 1133/11; 1133/12).

That is not to say that the seven entries where the place of residence is not recorded can be assumed to be in Bristol. It is likely that at all of these entries refer to merchants from Cork, their names being found in other records. Cork's prosperity was mainly due to its right to trade in wool with Bristol. The 'Old English' civic elite of Cork were particularly prominent.

In January 1590, the order was given by Queen Elizabeth I to construct star-shaped forts outside the walls of each important coastal town in Ireland both as a defence against the threat of Spanish invasion and for the protection of the planters in Munster. In particular, these forts were to be constructed at Waterford, Limerick, Galway and Cork. It was not until after the Spanish attack on Kinsale in 1601 that it was decided to build Elisabeth Fort to protect the south side of Cork and another fort on an island in the harbour. Elisabeth Fort remains unexcavated and this site has the greatest potential for early finds.

The merchant families which ran the city refused to proclaim the accession of James I in 1603 and for a short time, the catholic mass and liturgy were restored. Their rebellion included attacking the fort but this was soon suppressed by the English garrison and the troops that were quartered in the

town. The fort does not seem to have been rebuilt by the unwilling local population until around 1624. When a charter was granted to create the County of the City of Cork in 1608, it confirmed that the revenue from the customs collected in the port belonged to the crown. The power and influence of the old catholic merchant families was reduced and the resistance to the English rule eventually led to the expulsion of all the Irish and catholic population from the city (McCarthy, 2018). The merchants involved in importing tobacco pipes into Cork in this period came from the same families that supplied the mayors – surnames like Roche, Tirrie, Gould and Skiddy dominate both lists. The Mawriza Roche who brought three dozen pipes from Bristol in January 1597 is almost certainly from the same family which had provided Cork with mayors as far back as 1488 (Fitzgerald, 1783 p.143). He was probably the Maurice Roche, 6th Lord, Viscount of Fermoy who died in 1600 (Gibbs and Doubleday, 1926 p.299).

Cork's trade was traditionally with Bristol, France and Spain so it is unsurprising that there is an absence of early excavated tobacco pipes from London. What is unusual is that there are also none from Bristol dating to before 1640. While it might be argued that the mass expulsion of the Irish population in 1644 is a factor, it is problematic that the recorded trade in pipes, however small, has apparently not left any archaeological trace.

A collection of the results of thirteen excavations in Cork, undertaken between 1984 and 2000, includes a short specialist pipe report. Only those excavations at Hanover Street, Tobin Street and Grattan Street produced pipe finds with the latter producing the largest amount of bowls and stems. The earliest bowls are un-illustrated and said to be 'two thick walled bulbous bowls, with flat base and rouletted rims [and] date to 1640-60' (Cleary and Hurley, 2003 p.250). The excavation of 17 Grattan Street which produced these finds show that the land was probably gardens or yards on the inner side of the city wall and the finds may relate to its rebuilding. Exactly when it was rebuilt is not known although a tax was imposed in 1613 partially to fund the 'walls of the City, now ruinous and ready to fall' (Caulfield, 1876 p.44).

Finds from two castle sites in County Cork also produced no finds dateable to before 1630 although both are some distance from the city (fig. 4.25). The

eight spoked wheel mark found on one bowl is typical of several production centres in England, including Barnstaple (fig. 4.26). It is notable that the thirteen excavations summarised by Cleary and Hurley and a further thirty unpublished reports, were all, with one exception, within the area enclosed by the medieval town walls, precisely the area where early pipes might be expected to be found. Cartographic evidence suggests that by 1610, Cork had yet to expand beyond its medieval footprint although it had a new dock.

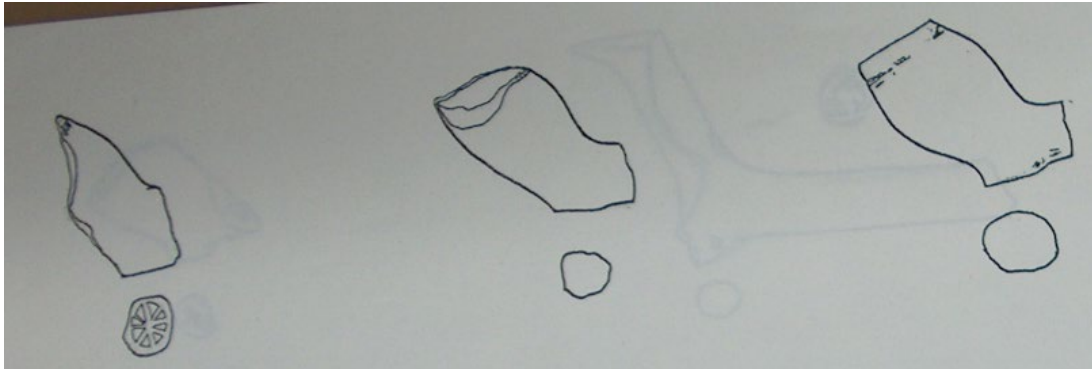


Figure 4.25. Three bowls from excavations at Glanworth Castle, County Cork, dated 1630-60 (E236:605, 571 and 370, Oswald, n.d., unpub. notes, National Pipe Archive, Liverpool).



Figure 4.26. Eight spoke design on bowl heel, Barnstaple Museum (photograph by author).

There is no archaeological evidence for pipemaking in Youghall, despite the presence of

much superior ... whitish clays... These are light coloured, strongly absorbent, and have been used by the peasantry as fullers earth; when calcined they become a light yellowish red, and are very



suitable to the manufacture, not merely of tiles and common pottery, but also of an excellent description of coloured earthenware (Kane, 1844 p.224).

It is tempting to suggest that the importation of tobacco pipes into Youghall was as a result of the promulgation of the smoking habit by Sir Walter Raleigh who lived in the town over a period of seventeen years. However, Raleigh had sold his 40,000 acres in 1602 and all the recorded pipe shipments prior to this date were destined for the growing port of Cork, not Youghall.

### **Tobacco in Ireland**

A possible Waiters Port Book for the port of London covers the 'general wares' imported between Michaelmas 1599 and Michaelmas 1600 (Millard, 1956 vol.2, table 8). This valued tobacco imports at £1,147. One of the earliest pieces of correspondence discussing this is a letter from Lord Cecil to George Bowes dating from August 1604 (TNA:SP 14/9A f.3). He records that 16,128 lbs. of tobacco entered the port of London between Michaelmas 1602 and Michaelmas 1603 of which 11,487 lbs. was brought in by English merchants and 4,641 lbs. by strangers. This was said to total £5,376 although this valuation is based on the nominal custom rate of 6/8d per pound weight, rather than the 2d per pound that was in force at the time of importation.

The immediate effect of the large increase in taxation brought in by the Book of Rates in 1604 can be seen in the Account of Tunnage and Poundage which covers the period between 1 October and Christmas, 1604 (TNA:E 315/467). This recorded the value of tobacco imports into the port of London at only £113 (Williams, 1957 p.404). Six vessels are accused of importing tobacco in 1605 without paying the custom and subsidy although as these were all from London or the east of England, it is likely that many more landed cargo in the west of England and Ireland undetected. The tobacco involved amounted to 1,955 lbs in weight (TNA:E 122/235/4). It is unclear when the legitimate import trade recovered, certainly it had done so by 1614/15 when tobacco arriving in London was valued at £12,926 (Millard,

1956 quoting TNA:E 190/18/6). Retail prices suggest that any shortfall in legal importation was made up by the illicit market as they continued to fall. The Port Books can provide some data on the scale of tobacco imports during the intervening years as in 1608/09, alien merchants carried goods worth £971 but it is unlikely that this represented an increased presence in what was always a market dominated by English merchants. While there are no records of imports of tobacco into Ireland prior to 1612, the Bristol Port Books show a small number of re-exports to Cork in 1600/01.

A complaint of 1598 alleged that captains in the English army stationed in Ireland had taken the 'imprest and diet money' of the common soldiers in order to

save and spare it in their own purses, to buy them rich apparel, to maintain their pride and lasciviousness, their drunkenness and quaffing carouses, their tobacco and tobacco pipes (Atkinson, 1895 p.108).

In October 1601, the Privy Council reminded Sir Richard Leveson that 'the capitaines of the companies [in Ireland] be not suffred to carry away the said remaynes [of victuals] for any pretended use of their souldiers'. Furthermore, that they should 'have speciall care to restrayne the use of taking tabacco in any of the shippes wherein the powder and munytion is loden' (TNA:PC 2/26 f.422).

Josiah Bodley, also a captain in the English army, recounted the generous hospitality he had received on a visit to Lecale in 1602 and which he contrasts with that experienced at Newry and at Kinsale in the previous year.

The supper (which, as I have said, was most elegant) being ended, we again enter our bedroom, in which was a large fire (for at the time it was exceedingly cold out of doors) and benches for sitting on, and plenty of tobacco, with nice pipes, was set before us.

[The next morning] the domestics, knowing that it was time for us to rise, came in to light the fire, we all suddenly awoke, and saluted each other as is the custom with the well-educated. Before we get out of bed they bring to us a certain aromatic of strong ale compounded with

sugar and eggs (in English, 'caudle'), to comfort and strengthen the stomach; they also bring beer (if any prefer it), with toasted bread and nutmeg to allay thirst, steady the head, and cool the liver; they also bring pipes of the best tobacco to drive away rheums and catarrhs (Reeves, 1854 p.336, p.339).

Clearly quality pipes and tobacco were available in some parts of Ireland to those that could afford them by 1602. The differentiation between medicinal use and smoking for pleasure appears to be only the time of day.

An anonymous poet, writing in the period after 1610, derides a group of native Irish who used their broken English to purchase tobacco from a hawker and then produced clay pipes from their hats to smoke it (Williams, 1981). Even in rural south-west Ireland, tobacco was available although smoking was characterised as being an English habit.

### **Voyage Reconstruction**

Using the few extant Ulster Port Books, it is possible to partially reconstruct the voyages of an individual ship. The issues which arise in relation to the *Seaflower* of London are typical of those faced by users of Port Book data. Despite the exotic reference to the sea anemone, this ship's name was not unusual. Not only were there vessels of this name based in different ports but there was a succession of London-based ships of this name throughout the seventeenth century. There were also two vessels of this name operating out of the port of London during the period 1613 to 1615. The confusion arising from this is not just an issue for the modern reader of the customs records as it also presented problems for the contemporary officials.

One method of differentiating between ships of the same name is by referring to the vessel's recorded burthen, an estimation of how many tuns of wine the ship could carry. This is a relatively crude data element as there was no official way of calculating burthen from the ship's dimensions. The *Seaflower* of London is variously recorded as being of fifty, sixty or one hundred tons burthen and the true figure probably lies within this range. From this we can make some general assumptions about the ship's size but also rule out some other references to vessels of the same name but with

vastly different tonnages. The *Seaflower*, mastered by Thomas Best, which was lost in 1617 'cast away with all her goods and crew of 16 in foul weather in the Bay of Lisbon' is likely to have been a much larger ship (Harris, 1983 p.41). It was also not the vessel of the same name which was important in bringing supplies to the Jamestown colony in the early 1620s.

It would be expected that the *Seaflower* in the Irish trade had a crew of four or five. The vessel was normally mastered by John Zachary and his uncommon surname allows us to differentiate between vessels with some certainty. Although a ship might have a regular master, the owners may have used other captains from time to time, especially on specific routes. Equally, Zachary may also have occasionally commanded other vessels, or even had another occupation during the winter months. In 1587, Zachary was importing onions into London from Calais on his own account in a vessel of only fourteen tons burthen (fig. 4.27).

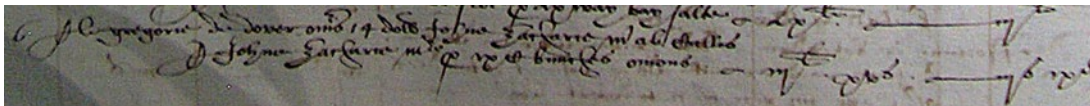


Figure 4.27. Customs entry for the *Gregorie* of Dover, master and merchant John Zacharie, 2 November 1587 (TNA:E 190/7/8).

There is nothing unusual about the *Seaflower*, it was larger than the typical coastal vessel of the period but smaller than most ships that undertook overseas voyages, especially those in the Iberian trade. The merchants who used it did not specialise in a particular commodity nor did the owners operate the vessel on a dedicated route. In many respects, it was a typical general cargo ship of the 1610s.

The Exchequer order of 1564 required the customs officer to record 'of whence' the vessel came. The Coleraine Port Book for the period between September 1612 and March 1614 contains three entries for the *Seaflower* relating to two distinct voyages from London (WYL100/PO/7/II/1a). These describe the vessel as being 'of Dover' suggesting that this was the last port of call before Coleraine. A payment to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports there was due from all passing ships over twenty tons burthen and this might explain the reference in these entries.

Zachary is recorded as unloading soap and foreign goods such as prunes and currants from the *Seaflower* at Coleraine in both May and July 1613, arriving from London on both occasions. In the following May, the *Seaflower* is listed as being of 100 tons burthen in four entries in the Coleraine Port Book and at 100 tons and 'of London' in one entry in the Londonderry Port Book. Three separate entries for goods imported from London were recorded at Coleraine on the 7th, 13th and 14th May while on the 16th she was berthed at Londonderry, less than a day's sailing away, and was unloading un-named goods on behalf of both George Hamond and the City of London. There is no record of the vessel leaving the port although it may have sailed in ballast. Back in Coleraine on 28 May, pipe staves were laden for Spain although under the Articles of Agreement of 1610, the commercial exploitation of timber from Ireland by the London companies was prohibited (Miller, 1991 p.40). The cargo was valued at only £5 4/- so that voyage must have been reliant on the goods carried on the return leg to be profitable.

On 14 January 1615, a consignment of grey cony skins and other goods valued at £40 13/4d was entered at the London Custom House destined for Malaga. The ship was on berth for several weeks as it was not until 28 January that a consignment of cloth was entered. On 20 February, more cloth and sheep skins were loaded but on this occasion the master is recorded as John Holman and not Zachary. It is unlikely that the *Seaflower* could have sailed to Malaga and back in the interim. Taken at face value, it would appear that Zachary had been replaced as the ship's master for this voyage.

On 13 April, the *Seaflower* was again in London, loading a large cargo of mixed goods, mainly for the account of Richard Pitt and general merchant George Sweetnam. The ship was destined for Coleraine with Zachary back listed as its master. The goods were mostly clothing and building materials but also included some luxuries such as tobacco and two gross of tobacco pipes. More goods were entered at the customs house over the next four days with another eight gross of tobacco pipes being entered 'as aforesaid' and presumably also intended for Coleraine. However, another entry on 17 April gives the destination as Dublin. A further customs entry three days

later, again 'as aforesaid', should mean these goods were also for Dublin and the lack of a corresponding inwards entry in the Coleraine Port Book would seem to confirm this. The same would appear to apply to the mixed cargo, including four gross of tobacco pipes, entered on the 21 April for, rather vaguely, Ireland. A further consignment of goods was laded the next day and two more on the 26 April.

There are not any incoming vessels recorded in the Coleraine Port Book between 8 April and 8 May 1615. No pages are missing and the total of the valuations for this quarter match the total amounts of all the recorded cargoes so that this absence of entries is not illusory. On 20 April, the Lord Deputy informed the Irish parliament and the Privy Council in London that a plot had been uncovered to overthrow several garrison towns, starting with Coleraine (Gillespie, 1987 p.4). It would appear that these events prompted a change in destination and that those goods originally consigned to Coleraine were probably unladen in Dublin. While the plot may have been overstated for political reasons, it prompted the Irish Society in London to send goods for the defence of Londonderry and Coleraine, especially given the latter's perceived vulnerability to attack.

Over several days in the first two weeks of May, various entries were made for the *Seaflower* destined for Lisbon with John Bundock as the master. The entry dated 15 May and consigned 'as aforesaid' on behalf of Simon Kingsland is clearly stated as being 'for ye Irish plantacion' (fig. 4.28). As he was the bookkeeper, agent and mapmaker for the Ironmongers Company this entry evidently relates to Zachary's *Seaflower* and not to Bundock's vessel. The goods, including weapons, were valued at £387 9/4d but not entered inwards at either Coleraine or Londonderry. It is conceivable that these were also unloaded at Dublin. One month later, on 15 June, goods were entered at Coleraine with Zachary recorded as the ship's master. These goods were carried on behalf of Henry Jackson of the Vintners Company and George Canning of the Ironmakers Company as well as for the Coleraine merchant John Hatton. On 23 June, a single entry for the *Seaflower* in the London Overseas Port Book appears amongst others related to the vessel *Gilliflower*. In his account, the Surveyor records the

master as John Bundock. It would be understandable if the customs clerk was confused by two vessels with a similar name.

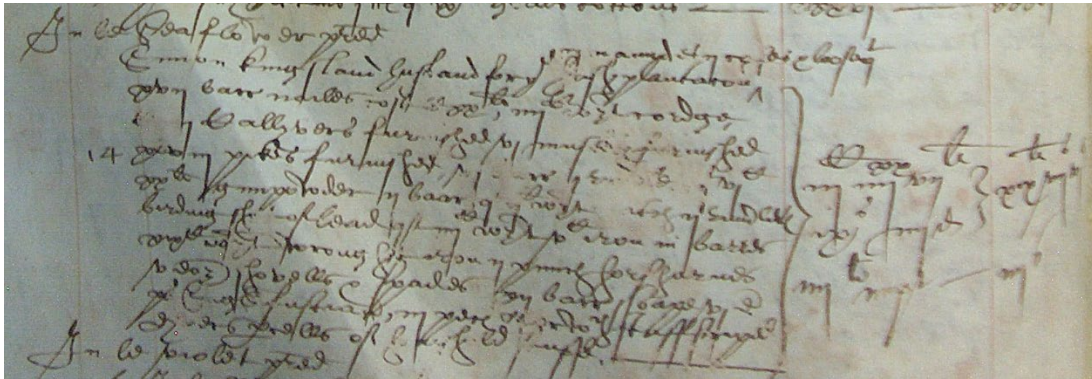


Figure 4.28. Customs entry for Simon Kingsland as the agent of the Ironmongers Company plantation, 15 May 1615 (TNA:E 190/19/5).

By 6 July 1615, Zachary's *Seaflower* was back in Coleraine unloading goods on behalf of William Barrow, William Bowlton of London and Davie Townsend of Coleraine. Four days later the vessel was in Londonderry unloading more goods including weapons provided by the City of London, presumably returning to London in ballast. The *Seaflower* both unloaded goods from London on 29 July and reloaded for the return trip. It is unknown when the vessel left other than to note that goods destined for Chester were laded on 10 August. More goods were later laded from Londonderry for Chester and London but on 17 August, the *Seaflower* was back in Coleraine again lading goods for London. Neither the *Seaflower* that was lading goods in London for Hamburg on 4 August 1615 nor the voyage to Malaga in July 1616 involved Zachary. The Ulster Port Books after 1615 have been lost making a bilateral view after this date impossible.

Coleraine was a new town, established by a charter of 1613 and for the first ten years, under the control of the Irish Society of London. Unlike Londonderry some thirty miles along the coast, Coleraine's harbour was described as 'a hard haven, dangerous at all times and hardly passable in winter' (McGrath, 2019 p.38). Consequently, its trade was always overshadowed by that of Londonderry. The export of tobacco and pipes to Coleraine can be regarded as a small part of the home comforts necessary for life in a new town. Despite the control by London, tobacco pipes also

came from Barnstaple to Coleraine in 1614 and sent from Chester to Londonderry in 1615 although the latter is not entered inwards in the extant record for that city. In a wider context, the importation of tobacco pipes from England goes hand in hand with that of tobacco and the recording of each commodity informs the availability of the other.

## **Conclusions**

A full picture of the maritime Anglo-Irish pipe trade cannot be found in the Port Books of southern England alone. Evidence from Chester and, to a lesser extent, from the Scottish ports is needed to compliment that from Barnstaple, Bristol and London. Allied to this, a study of the ports of north Wales should confirm whether pipes arriving there were for onward shipment to Ireland, as Bristol's Coastal Port Books suggest. Documentary evidence of pipe smoking in south-west Ireland can be substantiated by the Port Book evidence of imports into Kinsale and Cork but the use of tobacco pipes in Lecale probably reflects trade from Barnstaple or Chester. The pipe trade from Barnstaple and Bideford to Ireland has been under-appreciated and further study of the activities of the merchants involved is required.

Now recognised as an important indicator of consumption in early modern Ireland, it is hoped that the excavation of urban vernacular buildings and their environs will increase the very low number of early pipe finds, especially in Dublin and southern Ireland. It is estimated that half of all houses in Dublin were destroyed in 1645. With most of those built after 1700 receiving little legal protection, earlier buildings converted in the Georgian period went unrecognised and were redeveloped without consideration of the archaeology (Simpson, 2007 p.75).

The lack of archaeological evidence for the Munster plantation and other late sixteenth century settlements suggests that subsequent development removed most traces of previous occupation. However, even the 'obliteration' of Salterstown in 1641 has not prevented the finding of several pipes dating to before the rebellion. London's involvement in the pipe trade with Ireland seems to have waned in the 1630s. The loss by the City of London of a case brought in the Star Chamber in 1635 alleging neglect of the plantations



explains a hiatus in development in Ulster although in 1640, some 387 gross of pipes were consigned from London to Dublin by denizens alone, indicating a shift in mercantile focus away from the plantation towns. The sample used in this study could be extended as more Port Books are extant and these might provide confirmation of this change.

The rebellion of 1641 would also have been a major disruption to the trade in tobacco pipes although Abbott's deposition suggests that some English pipemakers working in Ireland were allowed to remain and continue working there. A proclamation in Cavan offering liberty to all 'who would resort to keep the market there' shows the importance of trade given that instructions from Dublin required that 'all merchandise [was] to be sold only in set markets' (Gillespie, 2019 p.135, p.138).

The excavations aimed at locating these first Plantation settlements have focussed on finding structures or, in the case of Londonderry, its medieval past. The lack of archaeological finds, from the county of Cork in particular, remains at odds with the documentary evidence of tobacco pipes leaving England. Although the disparity between the north and south of Ireland may not be as great as Davey suggests, the sample size remains too small to posit any firm conclusions.

This chapter has demonstrated that neither the limited documentary evidence nor the sparse archaeological artefacts should have primacy and that by using an interdisciplinary approach, a fuller understanding can be achieved. It also provides a reminder, if one were needed, that the destinations recorded in the Port Books could be subject to clerical error or changed by external factors. As the previously documented earliest market for English tobacco pipes, Ireland's position is unchallenged by this study although there is a theoretical rival as some tobacco pipes found in Amsterdam have been dated as early as 1585 by Dutch researchers (Van der Lingen, 2014 p.111). It is commonly acknowledged that the earliest production there was instigated by Englishmen but when and why did overseas expansion of pipemaking to the Dutch Republic occur and can evidence for this been seen in the English customs records?

## ----- Chapter Five -----

### **Trade and Emigration: English Pipemakers in the Dutch Republic**

English artisans instigated the making of clay tobacco pipes as a viable occupation not only in England but in several other countries. While there is consensus that the earliest pipemakers working in the Dutch Republic came from England, the motivation for their emigration has been the subject of debate for several decades. The main reasons given have variously been suggested as either being as a consequence of religious persecution; as part of the process of settlement following the truce of 1609 when soldiers returned to their former occupations; as an example of economic migration or as a way of escaping the 'control over production' exerted by the Westminster pipemakers' guild (Duco, 1981 p.371; Rowley, 2003 p.57; Van Oostveen, 2015 p.4; Stam, 2019 p.422). The first pipemakers were, according to Walker, 'religious refugees and soldiers-of-fortune' (1971b p.5). On an individual level, more than one factor may be involved and only a detailed study of the pipemakers concerned might evince their motivations.

The main issue in researching any early production centre derives from the paucity of occupational evidence. To partly address this, a comparative approach has been taken, using documentary evidence from both countries although reconciling the names as written by Dutch clerks with those in the English sources can be problematic, especially when the surnames are recorded patronymically. The authentication of an individual's identity can be made by using the signatures or marks recorded on official documents.

While the movement of people between England and the Dutch Republic was only partially controlled in practice, employment restrictions and language differences were significant barriers. In most cases, a licence was required in order to emigrate from England and various reasons are provided for a request to go abroad although the ease with which casual emigration could be achieved should not be under-estimated, especially from those English counties facing eastwards. Following an Act of 1603, it became an offence for anyone to take any woman, or child under the age of twenty-one,

out of the realm without a licence. This restriction was primarily aimed at preventing children from gaining a Jesuit or Catholic education abroad. There were some exemptions from licensing, for sailors or ‘ship-boys’ as well as for merchant’s factors or apprentices ‘of some merchant in trade of merchandize’ (H.M. Commissioners, 1841 p.108). Some of these licences ‘to pass beyond the seas’ give provincial or more general destinations and only those specifying certain cities have been used in compiling Chart 5.1. As only five Dutch ports are recorded in the customs records as the intended destination for tobacco pipes exported from London in the period under consideration, the number of surviving licences for each of these ports are enumerated, alongside those which specified the city of Leiden.

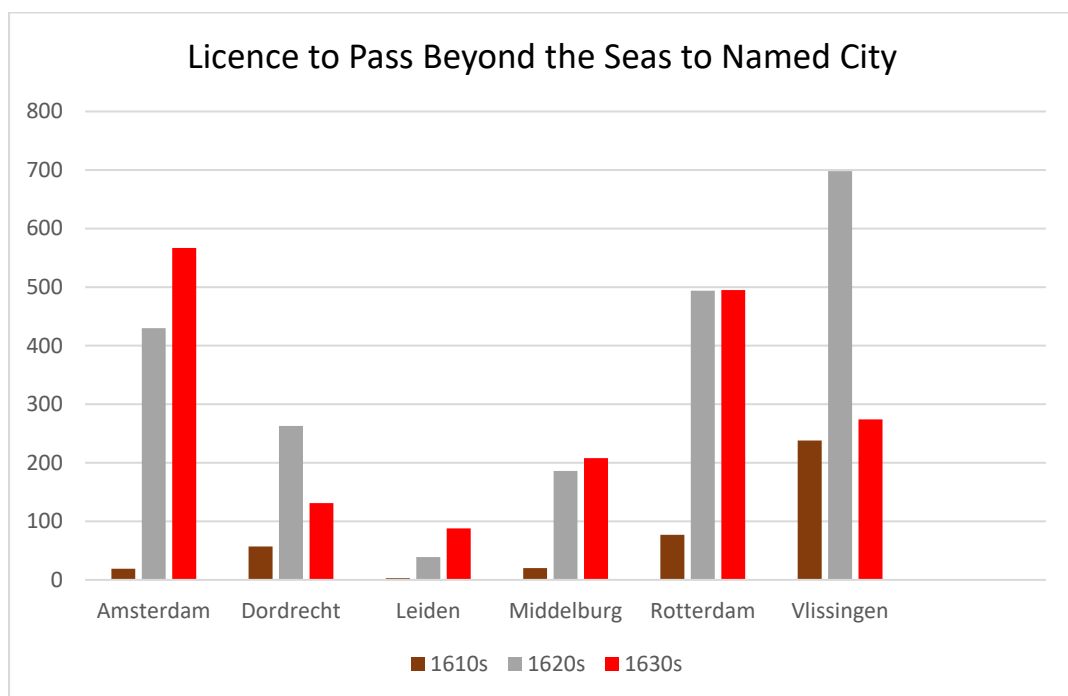


Chart 5.1. Number of extant licences with stated destinations, irrespective of occupation, 1610-1639 (TNA:E 157 series).

By using Leiden as a comparator, the development of pipemaking can be viewed without the influence of the direct importation of tobacco pipes from England as the city was not a major port. Leiden is also the earliest known Dutch centre of tobacco pipe production outside Amsterdam. The number of recorded pipemakers in Leiden in the 1610s is small yet the expansion of house-building in the city indicates that there was a considerable demand following an influx of people. The small number of licences which specify

Leiden as the intended destination may reflect the fact that the city was not always the first port of call on Dutch soil and that for some, settlement in Leiden was a secondary movement. It appears that some licences retrospectively formalised emigration.

### The five Dutch receiving ports

The ports used in this study are not necessarily representative of all early Dutch pipe production sites however the recorded exportation of tobacco pipes from England in this period is only to the major Dutch cities. Early English pipes have been recognised in finds from the ports of Enkhuizen and Hoorn although details have yet to be published. Although the Dutch Republic consisted of seven separate provinces, pipes are only recorded as going to Zeeland (Flushing and Middelburg) and to Holland (Dort and Rotterdam in the south and Amsterdam in the north) despite access by water to large parts of the country. Both of the Zeeland ports were on the then island of Walcheren (fig. 5.1).



Figure 5.1. The islands of Zeeland, with Walcheren centre left (Porcacchi, 1620 p.32).

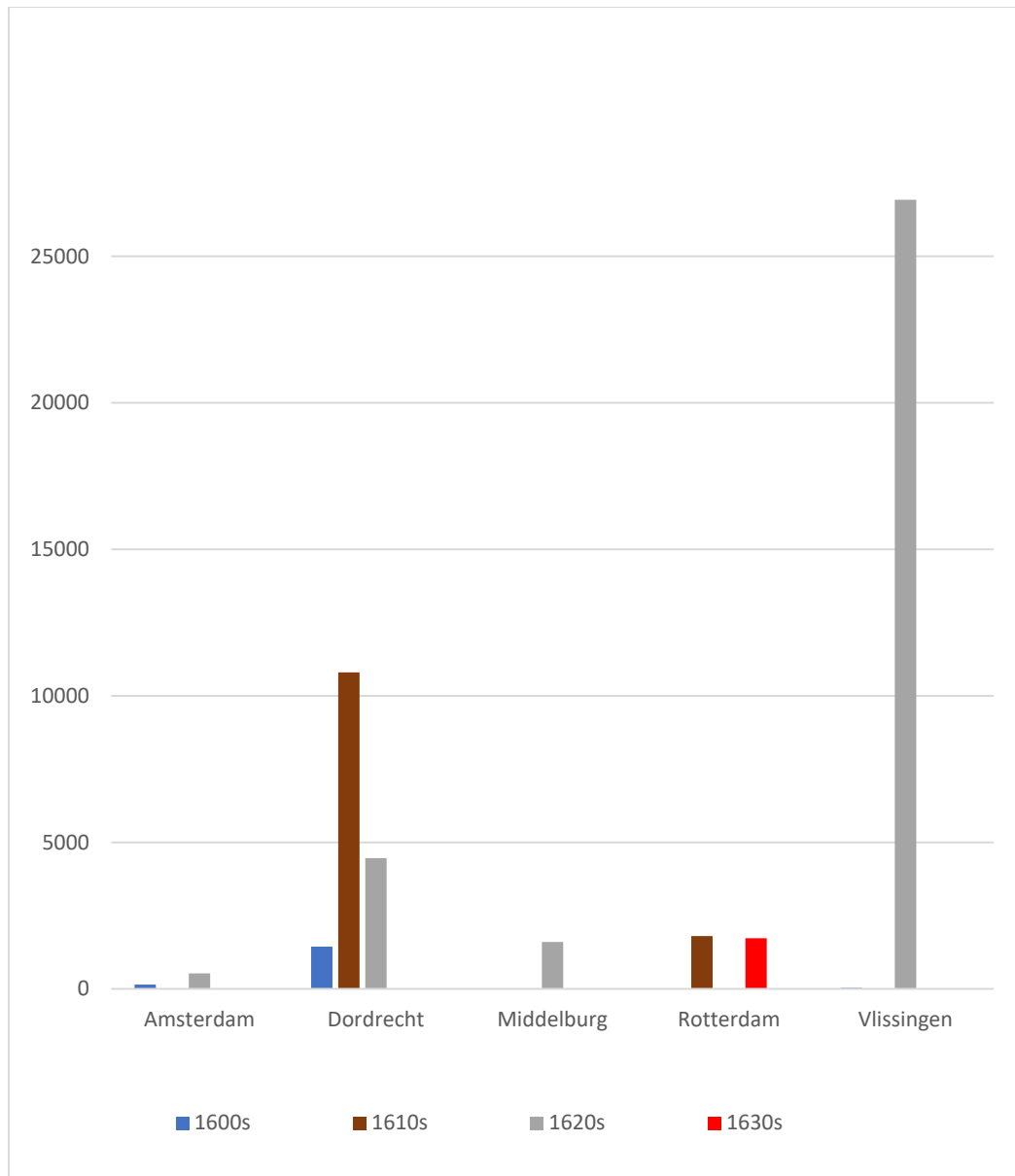


Chart 5.2. Number of pipes exported from London to the Dutch Republic, 1600-40 (TNA:E 190 various).

Furthermore, the export of tobacco pipes from London to these five receiving ports is only recorded from 1604 however, this requires qualification.

Archaeological evidence suggests that English tobacco pipes were being used in Amsterdam by 1595 (Van Oostveen and Stam, 2011 p.47) although securely dating these 'first generation' pipes is problematic, whether they are imported or locally produced. Some were made using English clay so that differentiating Dutch pipes from those made in London relies on differences in form. The first appearance of tobacco pipes in London's records of exports coincides with the farming of the customs. This suggests that more rigorous

recording practises were put in place or at least that the extra layer of oversight provided by the farmers encouraged fuller reporting.

With one notable exception, the quantities recorded as being sent to the five Dutch ports are relatively modest, typically between ten and twenty gross per consignment although the earliest shipment contained only three dozen pipes when it was consigned to Flushing in 1604. Although the merchant, Roger Jackson, is recorded as being English, the vessel itself is said to have been ‘of Flushing’ and the name of its master, John de Waal, substantiates that this is a Dutch vessel (TNA:E 190/12/3). The archaeological evidence would suggest a considerable informal importation of tobacco pipes given the small volumes recorded in the customs records.

### **Dordrecht (Dort)**

In all, sixteen distinct voyages to the Dutch Republic have been identified in the Port Books used in this study (chart 5.2). Of these, seven were destined for ‘Dort’, as Dordrecht was known (table 5.1). One consignment of pipes was on the account of an alien merchant, William Ratford or Ratchford. Another two consignments were in the name of Giles Langley who, despite being recorded as an English merchant, was a resident of Dordrecht. He married there in 1606 and lived in the city until at least 1643. In 1623 he became a deacon at the newly instituted ‘Kerke van de Engelsche en Schotsche natie’, often shortened to ‘the English church’ (Balen, 1677 p.174; Sprunger, 1982 p.183).

Table 5.1. Dordrecht vessels collecting tobacco pipes in London  
(TNA:E 190/14/7; 19/5; 19/1; 19/4; 21/2; 22/11; 21/5; 31/1).

<b>Date</b>	<b>Ship</b>	<b>Merchant</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
7 September 1609	<i>Neptine</i>	William Potter	10 gross
22 September 1615	<i>Pigion</i>	Giles Langley	20 gross
28 May 1616	<i>Falcon</i>	Giles Langley	10 small gross
8 October 1617	<i>Fortune</i>	James Hobson	10 gross in 1 box
13 March 1618	<i>Seahorse</i>	William Ratchford	10 small gross
9 March 1627	<i>Falcon</i>	Richard Lyall	16 gross in 1 trunk
7 April 1627	<i>Maide</i>	George Mitchellbourne	15 gross in 1 trunk

The earliest English tobacco pipe maker known to have worked in Dordrecht is Thomas Harwod or Hert (Van Oostveen, 2010 p.12). He was a soldier

under Colonel Vere and married a local widow in 1618 (fig. 5.2). It is known that this couple had at least two children and so were reasonably settled in the city (figs. 5.3 and 5.4). He has not been located in the records of those soldiers taking the Oath of Allegiance unless he is the Thomas Hearworth who did so in 1617.

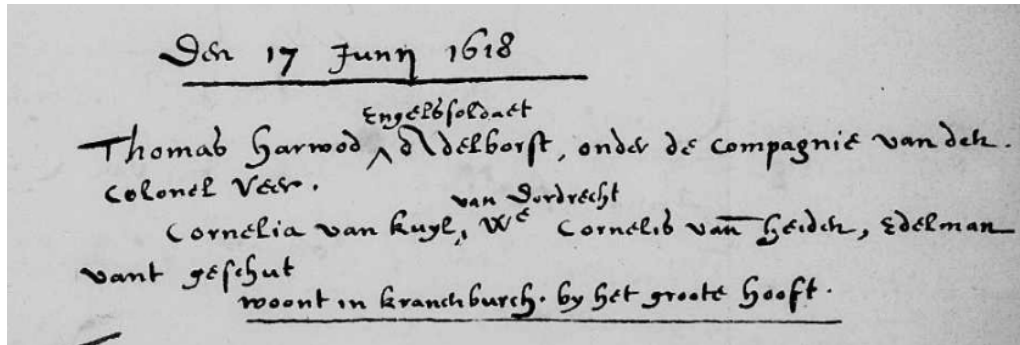


Figure 5.2. Marriage entry for Thomas Harwod (Regional Archives Dordrecht, *Trouwboek*, archive 11, inv. no.18 f.4r).

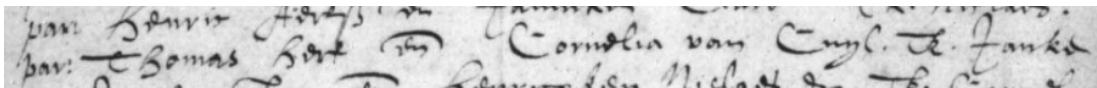


Figure 5.3. Baptism of Janke to Thomas Hert and Cornelia van Cuyl, October 1619 (Regional Archives Dordrecht, *Doopboek, nadere toegang*, archive 11, inv. no.4 f.1v).

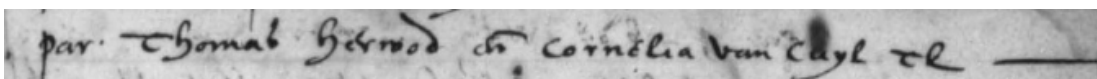


Figure 5.4. Baptism of an unnamed child to Thomas Herwod and Cornelia van Cuyl, October 1621 (Regional Archives Dordrecht, *Doopboek, nadere toegang*, archive 11, inv. no.4 f.24r).

In 1621, he is recorded as a tobacco pipemaker living on Heer Heymansuysstraat although no subsequent reference has been found for him or his family after this date (Van Oostveen, 2020 p.12). Tobacco pipes are known from Dordrecht which can be dated to c.1620 and which carry a heel stamp of a crowned lion between the initials 'TH' within a circle of dots. It seems likely that these tobacco pipes were produced by Hert (fig. 5.5).

The consignments of pipes sent to Dordrecht from London suggests that perhaps Hert's working life there aligns with the lacuna in the imports

between 1618 and 1627 (table 5.1). While the trade maintained a few pipemakers, most of whom appear to be Dutch, the pipemaking industry in Dordrecht lasted only sixty years and was restricted by the small number of potters working there (Van Oostveen, 2006 p.7).



Figure 5.5. Heeled pipe marked 'TH' (Van Oostveen, 2020 p.36).

### **Vlissingen (Flushing)**

Following the Treaty of Nonsuch in 1585, English soldiers were stationed in Flushing in order to support the Dutch war effort against Spain. Queen Elizabeth also provided financial assistance and the troops remained garrisoned there until 1616 when the money that had been borrowed from the English crown was repaid. During this period, the town was under the control of an English governor.

A single example is sufficient to show the popularity of taking tobacco in Flushing. During 1591 and 1592, Richard Baines had shared a room in the town with the playwright Christopher Marlowe, engaging in an enterprise counterfeiting coins. Baines turned informer, alleging that Marlowe had said that 'all that love not Tobacco & Boies [boys] were fooles'. He also stated that Marlowe had said that the sacrament 'would have bin had in more admiration, that it would have bin much better being administred in a Tobacco pipe' (fig. 5.6). While the latter accusation paints Marlowe as sacrilegious, the former conflates the illegal acts of homosexuality with the use of tobacco and its implied origin in the Spanish colonies at a time when



England was at war with Spain. The intended impression is that Marlowe cares little for church or state.

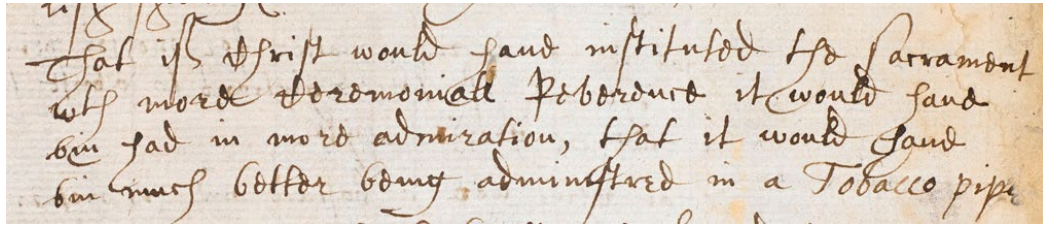


Figure 5.6. Richard Baines' accusation against Christopher Marlowe, 27 May 1593 (The British Library, Harley MS 6848 f.186).

In 1619, some 20,000 lbs. of tobacco was exported from Virginia and this figure doubled in the following year (Rive, 1929 p.5). Under the terms of the 1606 and 1609 charters, the Virginia Company was exempt from paying customs duties on its imports into England until 1619 and afterwards, up until 1630, duty was to be capped at five per cent of the value of its goods. The Somers Island Company had negotiated a similar exemption from customs duty up to 1621 but a conflict with the Farmers of the Customs following the expiration of the Virginia Company's exemption, necessitated a compromise. As the duty was always paid on a notional value, the Farmers valued tobacco at ten shillings per pound. This was double the retail price for Virginia tobacco but only half the price realised by good quality Spanish tobacco. The Virginia Company eventually agreed to pay duty at one shilling per pound in exchange for a royal prohibition on the planting of tobacco in England.

In 1621, King James I restricted the export of tobacco from Bermuda and Virginia to England to 55,000 lbs. following the granting of a patent to Sir Thomas Rowe although the Virginia Company of London were permitted to consign any excess crop to Flushing or to Middelburg. In June of that year, the *Bona Nova* carried tobacco directly from Virginia to Flushing and 50,000 lbs. was also delivered to a warehouse in Middelburg where the Company paid duty at the rate of a halfpenny per pound (Rive, 1929 p.7).

The Virginian tobacco arriving in Flushing was competing against a consignment of tobacco grown in England and exported under licence (fig. 5.7).



Figure 5.7. Detail from map of the crowded and heavily fortified town of Flushing (Anon, c.1593).

Perhaps aware of the large tobacco shipments on their way from the colonies, Phillip Foote consigned eight chests containing 185 gross of tobacco pipes to Flushing to meet the presumed increase in demand (fig. 5.8).

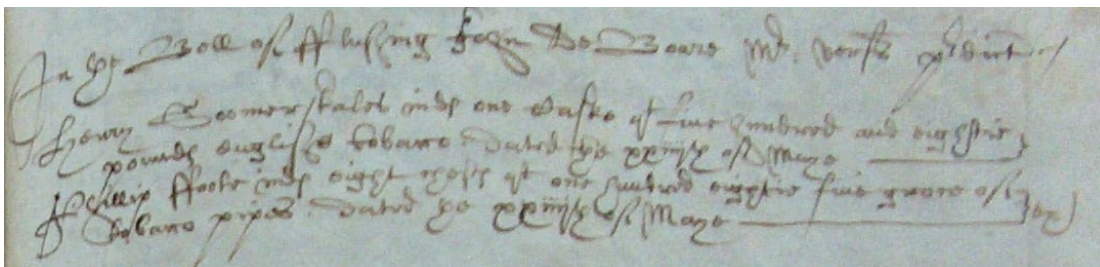


Figure 5.8. English-grown tobacco and English tobacco pipes onboard the *Bell* of Flushing from London, 24 May 1621 (TNA:E 190/24/1).

The shipping of plantation tobacco directly to Amsterdam, without paying duty, forced the Privy Council to order that all tobacco had to be first brought into London before it could be re-exported. By the end of 1622, an agreement had been reached with the Lord Treasurer which meant that the Virginia Company was not constrained in the amount that it had to import into England or Ireland leaving it free to export to foreign ports. Before the contract had been brought into effect, it was renegotiated and in return for

better terms, the Company conceded that all tobacco had to be first brought into England. This arrangement was similarly short-lived as the company lost its royal charter in 1624. The English colony on St. Christopher also sent tobacco to the Dutch ports in the 1620s with Barbados cultivating the crop from the seeds obtained from Dutch settlers in Guiana from 1628 onwards (Klooster, 2010 p.18).

Only three consignments of tobacco pipes were entered as being sent from London and destined for Flushing but these include both the largest single shipment to the Dutch Republic and the earliest export of pipes from London anywhere (table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Consignments of tobacco pipes carried in vessels of Flushing leaving London (TNA:E 190/12/3; 24/1; 28/6).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity
15 December 1604	<i>Captaine de Waal</i>	Roger Jackson	3 dozen
24 May 1621	<i>Bell</i>	Phillip Foote	185 gross in 3 chests
15 July 1624	<i>Flushing</i>	Walter Eller	2 gross

Two early English-made pipes have been found in the city and are dated to c.1600 (Van Oostveen, 2018 p.44). The thirty tons of ‘clay for tobacco pipes’ exported from London to Flushing in 1626 also suggests an early maker working there (TNA:E 190/29/4). The lack of known pipemakers working in the city is due to the paucity of surviving documents from this period.

Although the garrison church in Flushing dated back to 1586, the Brownist and Merchant Adventurer churches in Middelburg had been established some four or five years earlier (Sprunger, 1982 p.187). The ‘promised English church’ at Flushing was eventually completed in 1592 and was also an active garrison church but because of overcrowding in the main Dutch church in the town, it had to be shared. Most of the garrisons had disbanded by 1616 and the churches subsequently fell out of use, albeit that some were later revived as English Reformed churches (Sprunger, 2016 p.38).

### **Middelburg (Middleborough)**

The Spanish occupation of Antwerp necessitated the removal of the powerful Merchant Adventurers to Hamburg and in 1598, they relocated to

Middelburg. This in turn stimulated English trade with the textile finishing towns and, in particular, with Leiden where imported wool and cloth was finished or dyed (Klooster, 2010 p.18). With their goods exempt from import duty, Anglo-Zeeland trade boomed. In 1621, the Virginia Company appointed a factor in Middelburg to handle all Dutch tobacco imports (McMillan, 2015 p.122).

Middelburg was an inland city, connected to the sea by a canal (fig. 5.9). Despite a reasonable level of official immigration to the city from England, the population neither supported a significant clay pipe industry of its own nor imported pipes from London in any number (charts 5.1 and 5.2). It appears that the geographically closer port of Flushing was more attractive to English visitors and emigrants. A single shipment of tobacco pipes is recorded in the London Port Books as being destined for Middelburg when, in September 1621, the master of the *Fortune* traded Spanish wine and tobacco pipes on his own account. Durick Corneliuson is listed as both the master and an alien merchant and consigned sixteen small gross of tobacco pipes contained within one barrel (TNA:E 190/24/1).



Figure 5.9. Map showing Middelburg's access to the sea  
(J. Blaeu, 1649, Bibliotec Nacional de Espana).

It was not only the ship's master or first officer who could trade on their own account. A case heard in the English Court of Admiralty shows that a steersman had a substantial adventure in exporting Dutch produce.

Jan Dankers was on the *Hare in the Field* of Middelburg when the ship was seized by the English in 1654.

hee saith hee had for his owne accompt in the said shipp at the time of her seizure six tunnes of tobaccoe pipes, and a hogshhead of tobaccoe pipes, and a tonne of flax, nine rolls of tobaccoe, whereof three are sold, 164 cheeses (which are alsoe sold by this deponent together with the said three rolls of tobaccoe) 25 pounds of cloves, one box of lace containing 724 dutch ells, at 8 stivers the ell, two packs of haberdasherie, 28 belts, at 10 gilders and a halfe apeece one with another: 5 dozen of hatbands, 2 peeces of linnen, containing 63 ells at 3s the ell Hollands: twelve feathers for hatts at 10 stivers apeece, and 5 dozen of points at 5 stivers the dozen: the restitution whereof hee saith he cannot call an advantage, because hee is a freeman in respect of this commonwealth, and that they ought to be restored unto him (TNA:HCA 13/70 f.647v).

In 1635, the Merchant Adventurers relocated again, this time to Rotterdam, a city which already had links with the English colonies in the Americas and a vibrant trade in imported tobacco.

## Rotterdam

Only two consignments of tobacco pipes are listed as being destined for the port of Rotterdam. The entry from 1635 is unusual in that it lists 'xij groce pipes' without specifying their type but as the entry follows 'ijj groce tobacco boxes' it seems certain that tobacco pipes was meant. The clerk records the master's name but slovenly omits the name of the ship (table 5.3).

Table 5.3. Tobacco pipes consigned to Rotterdam (TNA:E 190/21/2; 39/1).

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity
2 September 1615	<i>Griffin</i>	William Chadbourne	18 small gross in 1 hamper
2 July 1635	[missing]	Colyn Eleas	12 gross

The pipemaking industry in Rotterdam has been studied in depth and it has been shown that it commenced in the early 1620s (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.18). The English pipemaker Robert Bon's earliest appearance in the records is in August 1621 when he marries in Hillegersberg although he signs a document dated January 1622 as Robert Bunn (fig. 5.10).

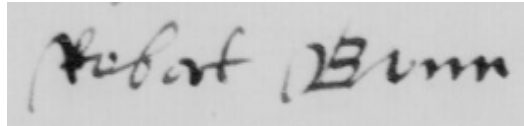
A photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script, which reads "Robert Bunn". The ink is dark and the background is light-colored paper.

Fig. 5.10. The signature of Robert Bunn (Rotterdam City Archives, NA, Jan van Aller Az. Inv. no.84. f.369).

Van Oostveen suggests that he may have come from Norwich as the house where he resides in 1627 is named 'Norwits', however, Bon does not own this property (2015 p.24). Norwich had a significant Stranger community which had grown from just thirty Dutch and Walloon families in 1565, all of whom worked in the 'New Drapery' trades (Rickwood, 1970 p.82). The notarised document states that Bon is a musketeer in Sir John Ogle's company but is clearly a pipemaker by trade. He is in debt to Abraham de Mijtter, a cadet in the company of Captain Canneloen, over the purchase of a quantity of tobacco which he intends to pay off in five instalments over fifteen months and is offering all his possessions in his house on Wijnstraet as collateral. Amongst these goods are three crates containing tobacco pipes as well as a further 40 gross of pipes and three screws. There are also eight tuns or barrels that would have contained pipeclay although the *tabacqaerde* [literally, tobacco earth] worth 350 guilders already belonged to de Mijtter. Bon was permitted to use this clay to make pipes for him.

He may be the Robert Bunn who is recorded working as a pipemaker while living in Cow Cross, London in September 1616 and therefore represents a rare example of an established pipemaker emigrating to the Dutch Republic, albeit primarily as a soldier (Le Hardy, 1937 p.288). This single reference to him in London does not make the distinction between him being a master pipemaker and a journeyman although Bunn would be less likely to have afforded the surety he paid if working as the latter. No evidence has been found of a licence confirming that he has taken the Oath of Allegiance, as

required of all soldiers fighting abroad by an Act of 1609. Later documents are signed as Robert Bonn and some products of his are marked as Bon. By January 1622 he was prepared to venture everything he had built up in pursuit of the profits that could be gained from dealing in tobacco. Over the next few years, Bon took on a succession of apprentices in Rotterdam suggesting that his venture was at least partly successful but seemingly it was not one that he repeated.

Another of the earliest pipemakers in the city is the Englishman Roger Lincoln. Both he and his son of the same name appear throughout the city's documentary records although the earliest reference, the marriage of Lincoln junior to Susana Cubite in 1625 has gone unnoticed (City Archives Rotterdam, *Trouw Engels-presbyteriaans*, archive 993, inv. no.15, f.5). In May 1626, Lincoln is recorded as living in Wijnstraat, the same street as Robert Bon.

In August 1624 Philip Foote's assistant, John Leigh, consigned pipeclay from London to Rotterdam as the successor to Foote's patent. This was probably sourced from Kent and for Bon or Lincoln's use (fig. 5.11).

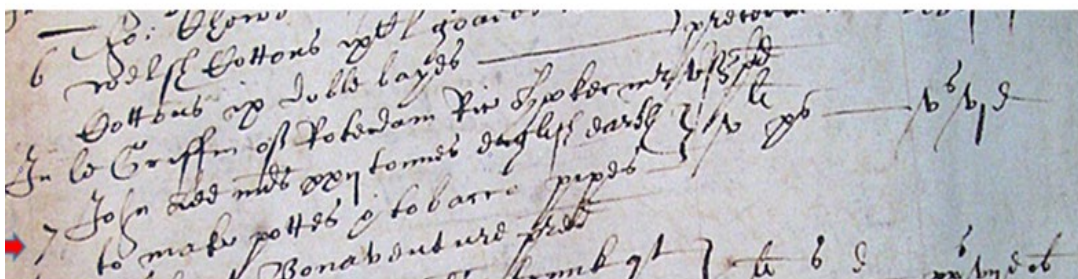


Figure 5.11. Customs entry for John Lee for 'xxij tonnes english earth to make pottes & tobacco pipes' consigned to Rotterdam (TNA:E 190/28/6).

In 1633 Adriaan Kieboom, a notary in Rotterdam, records two sales of a house in Oost Bolwerk. On the first occasion the property is sold to the pipemaker Joris Sebrant before being sold on to a baker four months later. It is suggested that this pipemaker is George Saburn (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.55). The examination of the pipemaker George Seaburn of Great Yarmouth four years later can speculatively be linked as he desired to 'pass into Holland' (fig. 5.12).

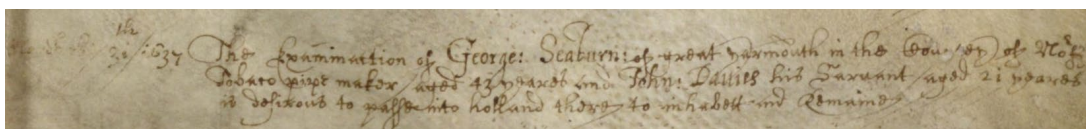


Figure 5.12. The Licence to Pass Beyond the Seas of George Seaburn and his servant, 31 March 1637 (TNA:E 157/21 f.1v).

The pipemaker Robert Parish of New Buckenham in Norfolk specifies that he and his wife would like to reside in Rotterdam (fig. 5.13). He has not been located in the Dutch records. No products have been attributed to either Seaburn or Parish and they may have been itinerant journeymen, probably working in both countries at various times.

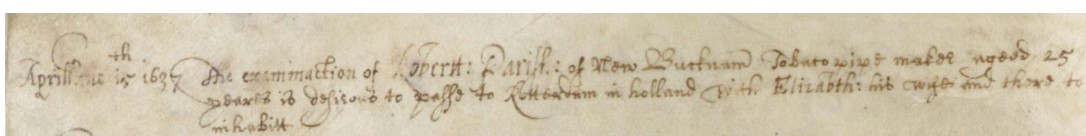


Figure 5.13. The Licence to Pass Beyond the Seas of Robert Parishe, a 25-year-old pipemaker, 15 April 1637 (TNA:E 157/21 f.4r).

### Amsterdam

Tobacco pipes made in England are not commonly found in Amsterdam and a feature of the Port Books is that only a relatively small quantity are recorded as having been shipped there (table 5.4). A significant quantity of pipes dated to before 1625 have been found in excavations on the corner of Marnixstraat and Nieuwe Passeerderstraat of which a small proportion may be imports however, the attribution of IR marked pipes to John Rosse of London is uncertain (Van der Lingen, 2014 p.112). Excavations for a north – south underground line in Amsterdam have produced over 17,000 pipe fragments including some early English bowls (Gawronski and Kranendonk, 2018).

Table 5.4. Tobacco pipes consigned from London to Amsterdam

Date	Ship	Merchant	Quantity
26 October 1609	<i>Plowe</i>	Henry Kynn	?
2 May 1621	<i>Content</i>	John Lent	2 small gross
23 August 1621	<i>Starr</i>	Edward Burley	2 gross

The record of the earliest shipment is in poor condition and although the last two words of the customs entry can be read as ‘tobacco pipes’, the quantity



is illegible (fig. 5.14). The lack of recorded exports to Amsterdam suggests that the trade in pipes between London and Amsterdam was largely informal and that the city was self-sufficient in producing enough product to meet local demand.

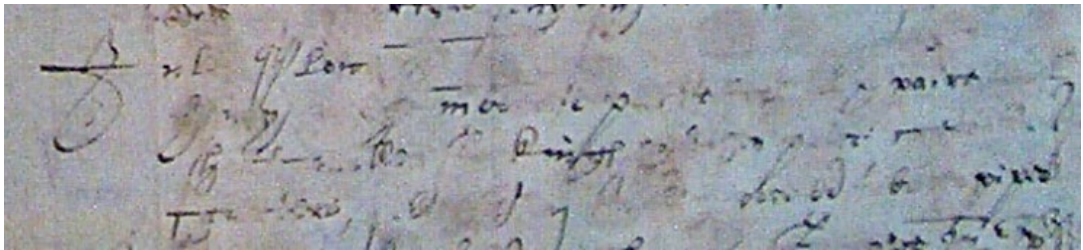


Figure 5.14. The customs entry of the merchant Henry Kynn, October 1609 (TNA:E 190/14/7).

A single master pipemaker has been identified as having potentially returned to England from the Dutch Republic. He is William Boseman who, by June 1607, was making tobacco pipes in Amsterdam (Duco, 1981 p.391). It is likely that he is the William Bozeman who was one of the Assistants of the Westminster Society of Tobacco Pipemakers listed in the Patent Roll of 1619 (Taylor, 2019 p.38). Dutch records list him as a pipemaker both in 1607 and 1611 and also record his wife as being named Annin Micholson. The couple were married in Hertfordshire in, presumably, the bride's parish (fig. 5.15).

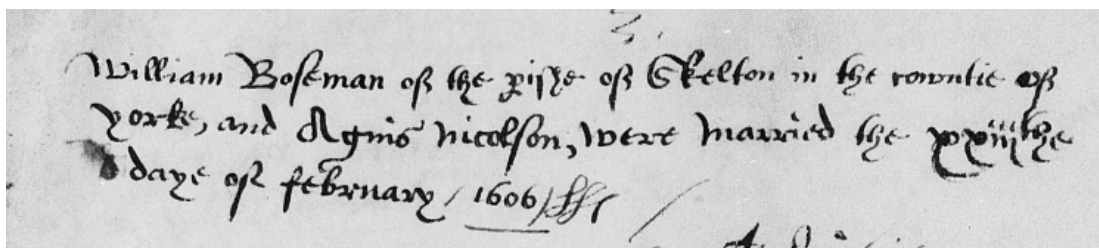


Figure 5.15. Marriage of William Boseman to Agnis Nicolson (Widford Parish Register, 23 February 1606/7).

William Boseman's parish is given as Skelton in Yorkshire. Although there is a village of Skelton just outside the city of York, there is another village in the same county named Skelton-in-Cleveland. This is located about seven miles from Liverton where a George Boseman lived in 1604. His son, William, was apprenticed to Valentine Syms, a stationer and citizen of London for a period of seven years in December of that year.

The roles of printing, publishing and selling books were not clearly defined in the seventeenth century and it is likely that references in Dutch sources to the pipemaker Willem Jorisz [William, the son of George] Boseman as previously being a printer are compatible with him learning that trade as an apprentice stationer (Duco, 1981 p.391). William's father had died by 18 October 1606 as he was buried in the nearby village of Easington-in-Cleveland (Yorkshire Bishops Transcripts, Borthwick Institute for Archives). Boseman did not complete his apprenticeship in England and took up pipemaking shortly after his arrival in Amsterdam. A baptism entry from 1608 at the Presbyteraanse Kerk supports Duco's assertion that the couple became members there in June 1607 (ACA, Engels Presbyteraanse Kerk, DTB 137 p.2).

Thomas Laurence, or Lourens, had come to Amsterdam in 1600 when aged nineteen and by 1607 was recorded by the English Church there as a pipemaker. This suggests that he also did not complete an apprenticeship in England as freedom would have usually been at the age of twenty-one. In April 1608 he was summoned to appear before the consistory court for 'keeping company with a suspicious woman; his having her to keep his house &c'. At first, he denied that he was guilty of any offence but when pressed admitted that he had 'committed uncleanes with her' and was initially ordered to refrain from taking communion. Because 'he seemed penitent', his offence was to be signified at the communion table but he was not to be publicly named (Ha, 2010 p.172).

Laurence and Boseman lived only a short distance apart and were part of the same congregation. At his marriage in 1609, Laurence is called a *tabax pypenbakker* and confidently signs his name while his English wife, Mercy Fuller from Kent, makes her mark (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, Archive 5001, DTB 414, p.77). When he remarries in 1617, to Giertje van Niehoff, he is described as a tobacco pipemaker from Bedfordshire, probably one of two people of that name baptised in Shillington in 1581 or 1582 (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, Archive 5001, DTB 421 p.210). A few months later they buy a house and yard on the corner of Korsjespoortsteeg (ACA, *Kwijtscheldingen* Waivers part 25 Archive 5062, inv. no.25).

In 1611, Boseman supported a fellow printer, Broer Jansz, in a legal action against Laurence. Boseman's name at the foot of the document is a mixture of English and Dutch, reading William Joreson Boyeseman (fig. 5.16). Jansz is one of the earliest known publishers in Amsterdam having printed news sheets by 1603 and was *currantier* to the Prince of Orange (Lesger, 2008 p.8). Jansz started printing English translations of his Dutch *corantos* and although none survive that are dated to before 1620, it is possible that Boseman assisted him in this venture (Dahl, 1949 p.170).

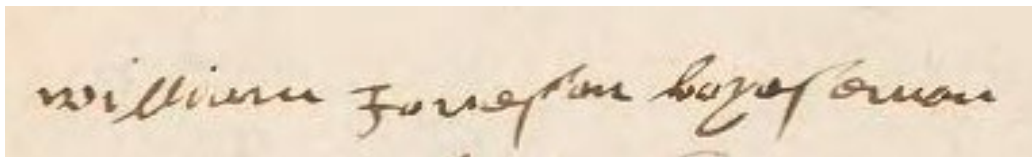


Figure. 5.16 Signature of William Joreson Boyeseman, 1611  
(ACA, Notaris W. Cluijt, no.357B, f.358).

#### Artefacts attributed to William Boseman

Relief basal marks are not unusual in early seventeenth century London and a bowl found there (fig.5.17, centre) has a similar, albeit more refined, design than two examples from Amsterdam (fig. 5.17, left and right). The London pipe also has a fundamentally different treatment of the initials. Despite this, there are similarities of design that might suggest that the London pipe was a later, more developed variant of the Amsterdam heelmarks.

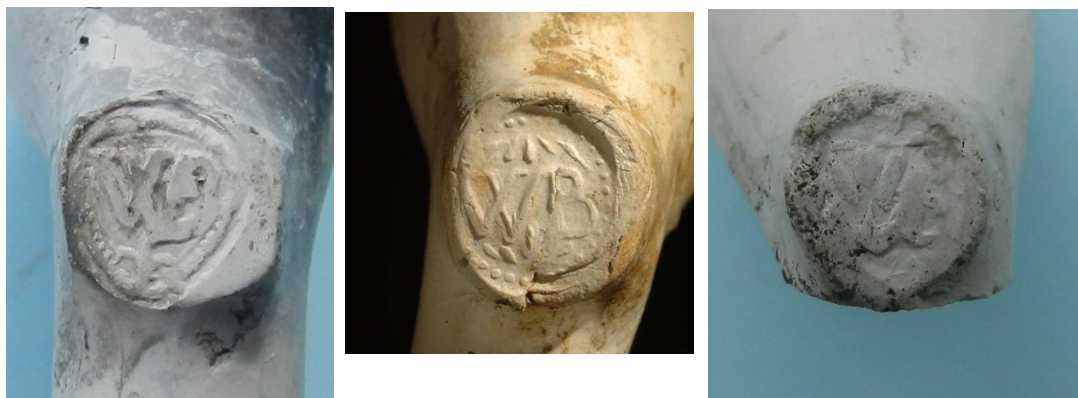


Figure 5.17. Relief heel mark of bowls found in Old Broad Street, London, (Museum of London, BRO90 <171> AO5), centre and in Amsterdam (photographs courtesy of Bert van der Lingen), left and right.



Figure 5.18. Two bowls with heel stamps marked 'WB' found in Amsterdam (photographs courtesy of Bert van der Lingen).

The two Amsterdam bowls have been dated by typology to 1600-20 and 1610-25 and the London pipe to the period 1610-40 (Van der Lingen, 2014 p.125). This dating is not incompatible with the events previously described although attribution of the London pipe is tentative.

The Belleville Cemetery in Maryland contains a monument which reads 'Col. Thomas Bozman of Talbot County, son of John Bozman and Grandson of William Bozman the last named among the early Protestant settlers to the Chesapeake in 1627. He marked out this place for his family' (Weeks, 1984 pp.233-234). The William in this lineage appears to be one generation later than the pipemaker. The year quoted does not fit with him being the father of John Bozman and may refer to an earlier William. It is possible that the lineage may be correct but that the date might be in error as it does not fit with the supposed emigration of a William from England sometime around 1648. The movement of William Boseman between London and Maryland, or indeed Amsterdam and anywhere else, is inconclusive. He has yet to be located in the extant records after 1619 but given the variations in the spelling of his surname, further details may emerge. No motivation for Boseman's relocations can be discerned although following the death of his father, he had married and emigrated by the age of seventeen. Laurence had probably also left his apprenticeship when he arrived in Amsterdam aged eighteen or nineteen, seven years earlier.

Rather than 'pioneering pipemaking', it is plausible that Boseman was learning the pipemaking trade from Laurence between 1607 and 1611 by which time Boseman might have gone his own way (Klooster, 2010 p.28).

Without a guild to oversee pipemaking, apprenticeship arrangements could be private or informal. It has been estimated that only sixty percent of apprentices in urban crafts served four years (Schalk, 2016 p.7). It would appear that Boseman's sojourn in the Dutch Republic can be dated to 1607-19 assuming that his admission into the Westminster Society of Tobacco Pipemakers meant that he had returned to practise that trade in England. His time as a master pipemaker in Amsterdam may have been no longer than eight years.

Two other early pipemakers working in the Dutch Republic also originated from Yorkshire although there is no known connection between Christopher Peters and Thomas Hardcastle who both came from Rippon. The latter may be the person who was 'conducted over to Heusden' to serve as a soldier (fig. 5.19).

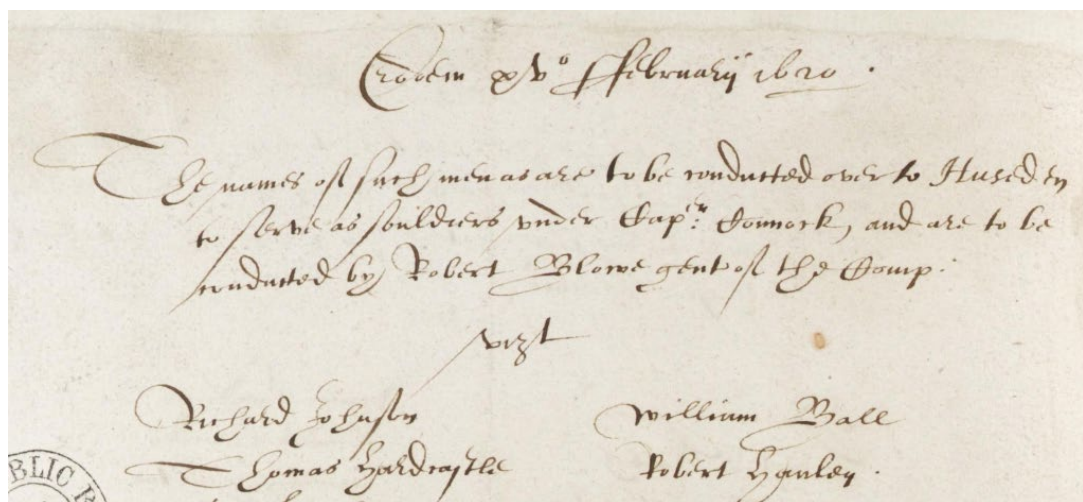


Fig. 5.19. Thomas Hardcastle sent to Heusden as a soldier in 1620 (TNA:E 157/6).

If this is the same person then Hardcastle would have been aged thirty-eight at the time and this may represent a strengthening of the garrison there with experienced soldiers, prior to the ending of the twelve-year truce with Spain.

A comparison between the English marriage and baptismal records and Dutch sources make it possible to identify the origins of some English pipemakers although a degree of uncertainty remains where the surname is common (fig. 5.20).





Similarly, a Benjamin Cattman can be located working as a pipemaker in Amsterdam in 1647 and is said to be aged twenty-two and from London. He is probably the person of the same name baptised in Great Yarmouth in September 1624 and who wed there in January 1646 (Norfolk Record Office, PD 28/1 5). Whether he and his wife lived in London for a short time or merely sailed from there is not known.

## **Leiden**

Some 123 people specified that they wished to pass overseas to Leiden in the period between 1609 and 1638. While not all gave their reason for wanting to emigrate, 41 are recorded as already being a resident of the city. A further 33 stated that they wished to live with a family member already living there. Another seven were also visiting family or friends but did not intend to stay. Only three stated that they were going there to work or seek work. Two of these were weavers from Norwich while the other took the Oath of Allegiance, implying he was intending to serve as a soldier. It is likely that many other English soldiers are recorded with more general destinations and therefore not enumerated here. Three people are recorded as wanting to see the country while nine want to go to Leiden on business. Two of these were from Londonderry and one was a gardener from Norwich, there 'to furnish himself with seeds' (TNA:E 157 series).

Although Leiden was said to have only one trade, the production of textiles, it was also often the first choice amongst English speaking students wishing to study in the Dutch Republic. Only Daniel Bowland specifically gives this as his reason to emigrate although other sources reveal that Nathaniel Eaton's request to go to Leiden in 1632 coincides with his entry to the university there. Eaton is best known for his short tyrannical reign in charge of Harvard College between 1638 and 1639 (Ramsay, 2014). By enrolling as a student, certain legal protections became available as the university was beyond the jurisdiction of the local magistrates. Leiden soon gained a reputation for intellectual and cultural freedom and attracted people such as René Descartes and, later, Christiaan Huygens. Rembrandt, who was born and grew up in the city, practised his art there before leaving for Amsterdam in 1632.



The university, established in 1575, saw almost a thousand Scots and Englishmen matriculate from there by the end of the seventeenth century (Sprunger, 1982 p.8). In 1582, Rembert Dodens became Professor of Medicine and he continued the botanical research which had seen him describe and illustrate the use of tobacco in his herbal published in 1554 (Bangs, 2013 p.423). Willem van der Meer recalls that English and French students smoked tobacco in the university around 1591 when he was a medical student there. Although this is a recollection of events from thirty years previously, he clearly states that he had not seen anyone smoke tobacco until 1590. Van der Meer admits to having been made ill and dizzy by his experience of taking the drug (Dickson, 1954 p.131). William Brereton records that the students 'here more follow their pleasures than their books' when he visited in June 1634 (Hawkins, 1844 p.40). The proximity of the students to the tobacco plants growing in the university gardens should not be taken to mean that the general populace of Leiden were early adopters of the habit.

In order to surmise the reasons for pipemakers emigrating as an occupational group, an individual's status within that group must be ascertained. What were their particular circumstances both before and after emigrating from England? Those first English pipemakers working in the city of Leiden formed a group of sufficient size to encompass a variety of reasons yet small enough that they would have interacted with each other, either as masters and employees or as competitors.

By the early 1610s, Leiden was suffering a severe housing shortage due to the influx of refugees. Convents, empty since the Reformation, were being redeveloped by building rows of small houses for immigrant weavers in their spacious quadrangles. These houses consisted of two very small rooms, one with a bed opposite the fireplace in the kitchen, the other unheated which would have contained the loom. Wood was taxed and out of the reach of the poor so that peat was the most commonly used fuel. Even smaller houses, consisting only of a single room, were built in alleys and back streets. Often these small dwellings were built in the garden areas of existing buildings and rented out by their owners (Bangs, 2013 pp.303-308). It is likely that the

earliest workers arriving from England would have initially occupied this basic type of property.

The presence of the tobacco pipemaker Nicholas Cleverley by 1615, confirms that there was an early centre of pipe production in Leiden (Duco, 1981 p.433). Duco repeats the error of Van der Meulen and Tupan by dating Cleverley's arrival in the city to four years prior to an attestation of April 1616 whereas the document he refers to is dated 1619 (Duco, 1981 p.212; fig. 5.24). The evidence for Cleverley being the first pipemaker in Leiden is also not as clear-cut as Duco implies.

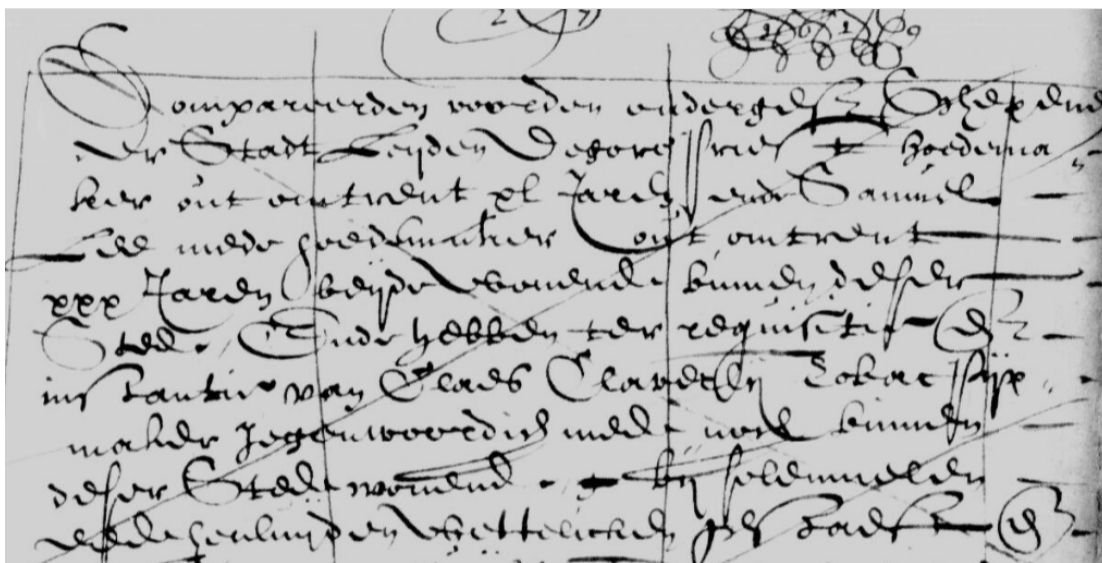


Figure 5.24. Attestation of Claes Claverlij from 1619, incomplete and crossed through (Leiden Regional Archives, *Getuygenisboek* RA 79, M, f.287v).

It is probable that Cleverley originally came from Romsey in Hampshire before being apprenticed in London as a haberdasher at the usual age of fourteen (fig. 5.25).

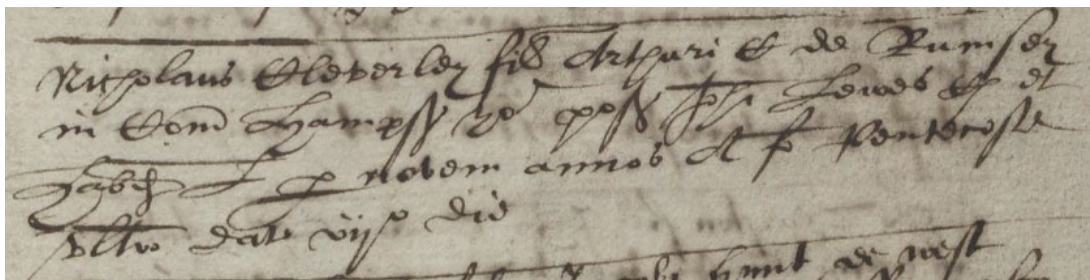


Figure 5.25. Apprenticeship record of Nicholas Cleverley, 1604 (London Metropolitan Archives CLC/L/HA/C/011/MS15860/003).

A baptismal record of 1590 substantiates this and other records provide the names of his siblings, including a younger brother, William, baptised in 1594. Another brother, Rafe, was baptised four days after the burial in 1610 of their mother, Christian, who possibly died in childbirth. Their father, Arthur, soon remarried and when writing his will in 1620, wanted his goods to be divided amongst ten surviving children (fig. 5.26). Although Nicholas is described as the eldest son, he was bequeathed only forty shillings to be paid within a year. Rafe was left £26 13/4d plus £10 to his Overseers although he was to be given 'ye benefit of any his brothers portions if they ffortune to die or never come to fetch them'. However, if any 'should not take quietly' their portion, they were to only get 3/4d. The will also contained the proviso that if any of the money 'which I have abroad at use' is not repaid then an equal amount should be rebated out of every portion. Arthur's goods were inventoried at £390 4/4d in February 1621.

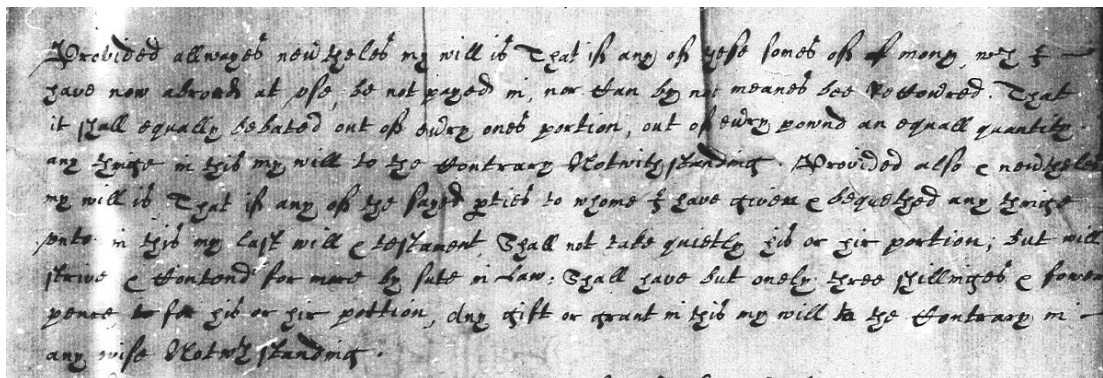


Figure 5.26. Extract from the will of Arthur Cleverley of Romsey, 1620 (Hampshire Archives, 1620A/017).

The earliest reference to Cleverley in Leiden is from 1615 when Pieter Craek pursues him for unpaid wages. It is presumed that this involved pipemaking although this is not specified. Craek appears to have been employed on a three-month contract which he failed to complete. Cleverley only agrees to pay Craek the withheld money, he says, for his own peace of mind (fig. 5.27). Craek's wages for the three-month period appear to total only seven guilders and seventeen stuivers and at twelve stuivers a week, are in line with the amount paid to orphan boys or first-year apprentices (Schalk, 2017 p.735). His name may be a Dutch rendering of that of the Scotsman Peter

Craig who was owed money by the pipemaker William Bretsman in 1620, following a purchase of tobacco.

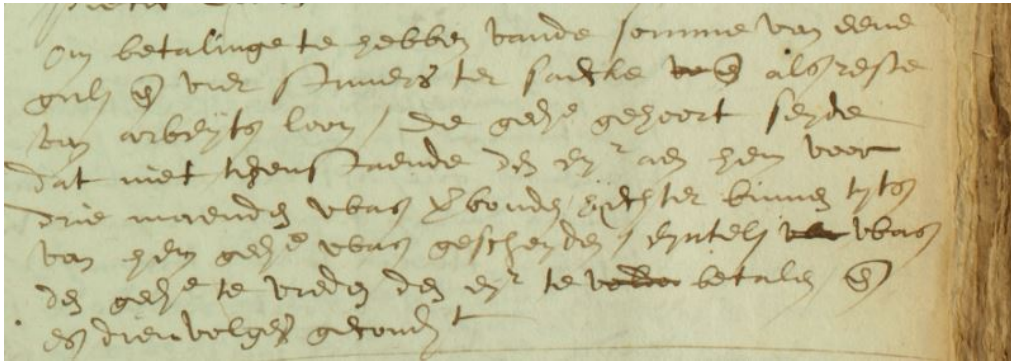


Figure 5.27. Pieter Craek pursues Niclaus Claverling for withheld wages (LRA, RA 47, J, f.71).

A witness statement dated 30 June 1617 confirms Nicholas' age as 'about 27 years old' which suggests that he is unlikely to have made tobacco pipes on his own account prior to 1611. This statement is said to be '*Gescreven bij de hant van Niclaes Claverly*', that is, it was written by him (LRA, notary E.H. Craen Record Group 506, no.129, p.160). A later testimony places Cleverley in England in June 1614 although by this time he already associates with Robert Crouch and Bartholomew Smith, both later recorded as English pipemakers resident in Leiden. This suggests that he took up pipemaking shortly after his arrival in the city but there is no indication whether he learnt the trade in London prior to his emigration or whether he was taught by someone already practising the trade in Leiden.

Both Cleverley and the 28-year-old mason, Claes Omaer de Wymile, were asked by Degory Priest to give evidence in relation to an alleged admission of adultery by John Crips, a wool card maker from Chichester. Priest was a hatmaker who had originally come from London and this conversation had been overheard in Omaer de Wymile's house. The previous day Cleverley had also given a statement in relation to an alleged assault in the Breestraat by Priest on Crips. Cleverley was also being sued by Crips over a loan of 9 guilders and 12 stuivers and the latter was desperate to pay off his creditors. He was also owed 35 guilders by Bartholomew Smith who had to take out a bond for payment. Another pipemaker was called as a witness by Priest, namely Arthur Stanton, aged 'about 42 years old' (LRA, NA, E.H. Craen

Record Group 506, no.129, p.158). By September 1617, Crips had left the city leaving his goods behind and his rent unpaid (Bangs, 2013 p.427).

Stanton's entry in the marriage register of Leiden describes him as an English soldier under Captain Meetkerken (fig. 5.28). He is likely to have served with Myles Standish, later to become the Plymouth colony's military leader. In 1605, Stanton acts as a witness for another English soldier from his company when 'Henrick Fijdtje' marries. Stanton is still serving as a soldier in 1606 when he is admitted to St. Catherine's Hospital where he stays for a fortnight. Whether this injury affected or curtailed his military service is unknown although those former soldiers who were no longer able to serve might have taken up pipemaking or other occupations that were not physically taxing. Although many guilds provided insurance schemes for sickness or burial from an early date; there were at least thirty-three insurers in the Dutch Republic by 1600, pipemaking was an occupation outside of any type of guild control until the second half of the seventeenth century (Van Leeuwen, 2016 p.35).

Stanton is recorded as holding the rank of *adelborst* a term used for a low-ranking officer in the army (LRA, *Getuigenisboeken*, RA, I, f.176v). His house was said to be 'on the north end [of the Uiterstegracht], the third house from the mill near the Ouden Rijn' (Bangs, 2013 p.426).

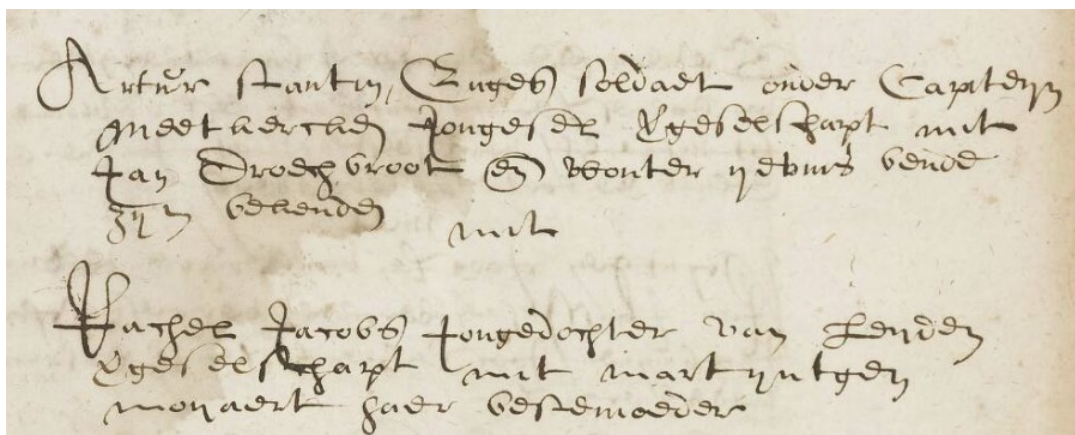


Figure 5.28. Marriage of Artur Stantin to Rachel Jacobs, June 1603 (LRA, *Hervormd Ondertrouw*, archive 1004, inv. no.5, f.67).

Although it has been suggested that the scrawl at the foot of John Wallis' statement of 29 November 1614 might belong to Cleverley, this is

unconvincing (Bangs, 2013 p.429; LRA, NA 176, inv. no.351, f.176). A copy of a rent agreement from 1618 records that on the original document, Cleverley had made his mark (LRA, NA 506, call no. 134 inv. no.122). This is unusual as in notarised documents from 1617, Cleverley has no trouble in executing a competent signature (fig. 5.29). Also in that year, Cleverley writes a witness statement and signs another document with his initials although this may align with his use of a NC heelmark on pipes. Alternatively, it may be simply be the case that the clerk had not left him enough space to do otherwise (fig. 5.30).

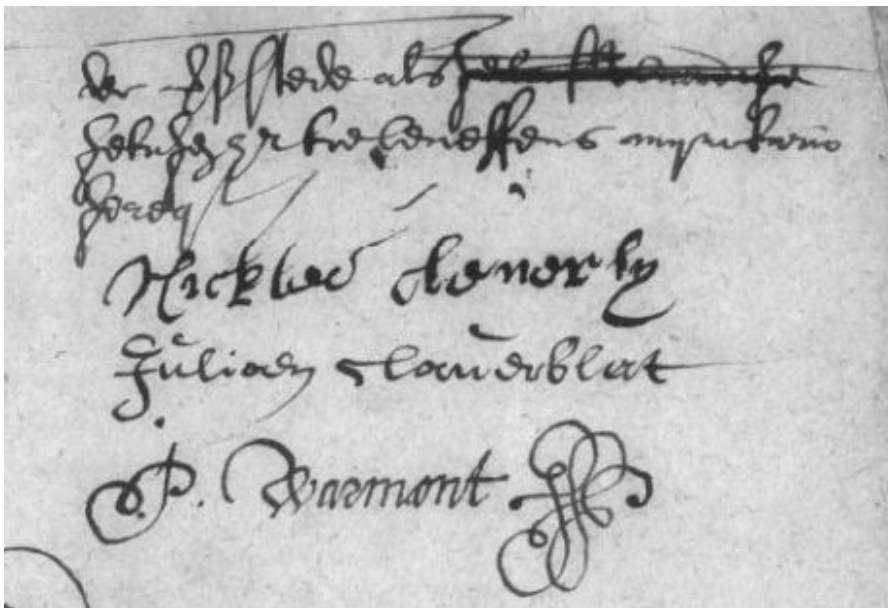


Figure 5.29. One of six signatures of Nicklas Cleverly, tobacco pipemaker, 1617 (LRA, NA Ewout Hendricxz. Craen, archive 0506, inv. no.129, I, ff.1,2).

In June 1618, it was Cleverley's turn to seek assistance. Isaac Allerton's signed statement that he made a grey and crimson cloak for Cleverley around a year and half earlier attests to the high cost of this garment (LRA, NA, E.H. Craen Record Group 506, no.131, p.185). The large amount of gold cord involved suggests that Cleverley was dressing in the fashion of the opulent middle class. He was presumably using Allerton's valuation in order to raise money against the value of the cloak, his goods having been inventoried three months earlier.

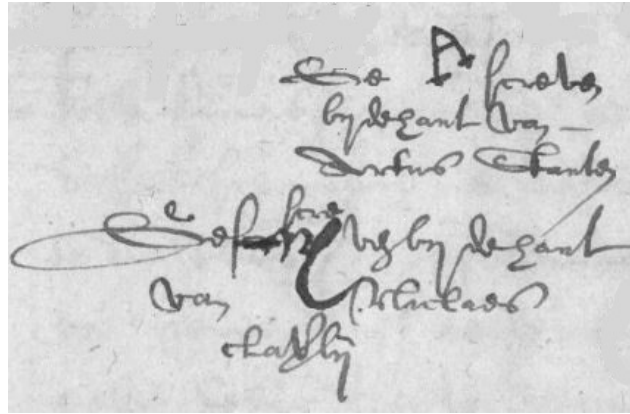


Figure 5.30. The initial 'A' mark of Stanton and 'nC' of Cleverley, 1617 (LRA, Record group 0506, call no.129 p.159).

Although Cleverley was connected to several Puritans in Leiden, such as Priest and Allerton, he also knew members of the English Reformed Church. Thomas Bentley, a deacon there, stated that a Flushing merchant named Daniel had told him that Cleverley had assisted in recovering some of his property which had been stolen during a trip to England on board the vessel of Captain John Smith. Cleverley did not recall meeting Daniel previously until he was reminded of the occasion when they had shared a meal of sugared mackerel. Cleverley had offered to act as a pilot when Smith's ship went into Portsmouth harbour as it had some of his wine and sugar onboard (Bangs, 2013 p.428). Cleverley's business interests clearly extended beyond pipemaking although these do not feature in Leiden's notarial records. Daniel is convinced that Cleverley did not commit the robbery but that the latter might get into trouble about this matter later due to the actions of a certain, un-named, Amsterdam merchant. Cleverley and the Flushing merchant had met each other about nine months previously at Bentley's home and this statement was drawn up there with Priest as one of the witnesses (LRA, NA, Pieter Claasz. van Rijn Record Group 506, no. 204, p.60).

By 9 April 1619, Cleverley needed further assistance and Priest provided a certificate of good behaviour based on having lived with Cleverley for 'about four years' although the statement has been crossed through in the records (LRA, Judicial Archive, *Getuignisboek*, register of witness statements, Record Group 508, no.79, M, p.287). On 3 May of that same year, Cleverley sought to record the evidence of Richard Tyrrel, a merchant living in

Southampton, England, in relation to the murder of the latter's brother, John, in June 1613. Tyrrel states that extensive investigations revealed that Cleverley did not have anything to do with the murder (LRA, NA, E.H. Craen Record Group 506, no.133, p.131).



Figure 5.31. Approximate location of Cleverley's workshop on the west side of Uiterstegracht (detail from Pieter Bast's map of 1600).

A further statement made by Robert Crouch, 'aged about 40 years old, tobacco pipemaker' shows that he and Bartholomew Smith had visited Richard Tyrrel in Haarlem about four and a half years previously. Tyrrel had told them about the murder in England of his brother and said that he wanted to question Cleverley about this matter.



Crouch states that Tyrrel was convinced that Cleverley had nothing to do with the incident (LRA, NA, E.H. Craen Record Group 506, no.133, p.139). However, according to George Fergus, a shoemaker, he had heard about five months previously at 'De cleyne trou in de werelt', a tavern in the Raamsteeg, Smith openly accuse Cleverley of having robbed and killed a man in England. Smith had added that he would do anything to have Cleverley thrown out of town, perhaps even have the sheriff arrest him at home (LRA, NA, E.H. Craen Record Group 506, no.133, p.155).

Smith appears to have been one of only a few pipemakers who took up citizenship of Leiden (Dexter and Dexter, 2002 p.534; fig. 5.32). He owned his own property in the city although between 1609 and 1611 he is described as a fustian worker (LRA, JA, *Getuignisboek*, Register of witness statements, Record Group 508, no.79K, f.93r). In April 1611 he was also being described as a merchant from London (LRA, *Register van poorterinschrijvingen*, inv. no.1267, F, f.54). An un-named child of his was buried on 18 November 1613 and the record shows that he was then living on the Breestraat (LRA, *Begraven*, archive 0501A, inv. no.1315).

In December 1615 Smith accompanied James Kingsland, a tailor, when he married Nelken Kaerlil [Ellen Carlisle] from Hull, his future sister-in-law (LRA, archive no.1004, *Schepenhuwelijken* inv. no.198, B, f.46v). The bride was accompanied by her sister, Jane Ross, and by Smith's wife, Dorcas. In May 1618, another child of his died but by then he is described as living on Ketelboetersteeg and was intending to re-marry. Smith married at the English Reformed Church and his bride is recorded as Lijsbeth Kaerlil [Elisabeth Carlisle] from Hull. She was accompanied by Anne Ross and Smith by the cloth merchant Bernard Ross, his brother-in-law. Even if they were members of the puritan community, this church ceremony was permitted although a civil ceremony in front of the magistrate was more usual (Plooy, Harris and Plooy, 1920 p.vii). The betrothal records describe Smith as a tobacco pipemaker from London (fig. 5.32). When further un-named children were buried in July 1618 and in February 1625, his address is recorded as the Sliksteeg (LRA, *Begraven*, archive 501A, inv. no.1316; inv. no.1317).

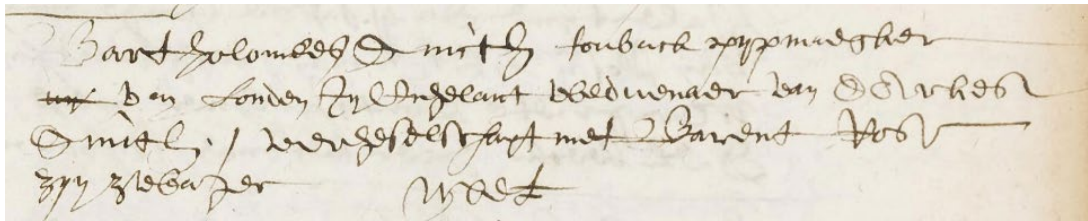


Figure 5.32. Notice of Marriage listing Smith as a tobacco pipemaker in 1618 (LRA, NH *Ondertrouw*, Archive 1004, inv. no.8, f.236).

There are no extant records which list him as a pipemaker subsequent to 1619 but little is known of his life following the puritan exodus from Leiden in the 1620s. The burial of a Bartholomeus Smith in Utrecht may be the same person (fig. 5.33).

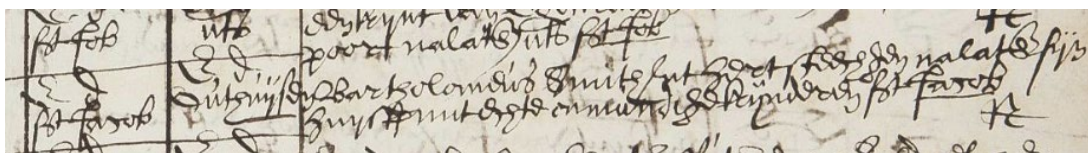


Figure 5.33. Burial record of Bartholomeus Smith, 12 August 1650 (Utrecht Archives, archive 711, inv. no.123, f.339).

Robert Crouch is recorded as a tobacco pipemaker when, as a deacon of the English Church, he is accused of stealing from the poor (fig. 5.34).

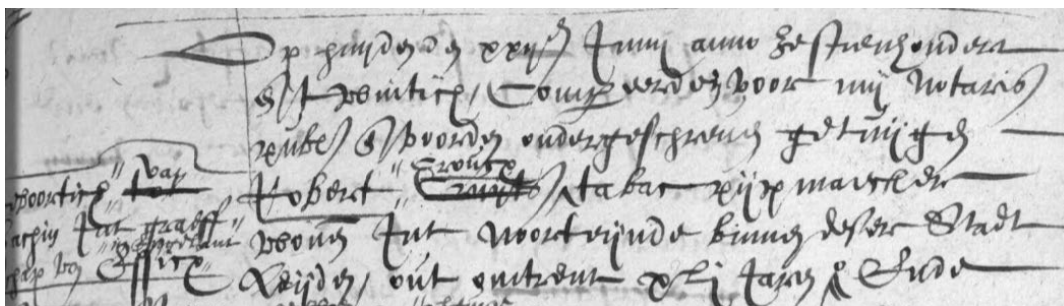


Figure 5.34. Robert Crouch, accused of theft in 1620 (LRA, NA 159, f.65).

In the same year and at Cleverley's behest, Thomas Bentley and his wife gave statements that Claes Pietersz had said that he had caught gonorrhoea from Crouch's step-daughter (LRA, archive 0506, inv. no.135, p.71). Crouch regularly features in the records as a dealer in tobacco and has his goods seized when his rent is owing. He is probably the Robert Creutz from

Buckingham recorded as a say draper in 1609 (LRA, inv. no.1267 *Register van poorterinschrijvingen*, F, f.44).

By 1624 Crouch had settled in Hoorn, a town with a large English community and a significant military presence and is still working in the tobacco trade. His stay there is short as he is residing in Utrecht by 1632, again described as a tobacco dealer. Crouch sought to purchase 185 'ponds' of tobacco from an Amsterdam merchant and had the agreement notarised (Utrecht Archives, NA, G. van Waey. Archive 34-4, inv. no. U019a004, 26 November 1632, record no.184). In February 1633 in Amsterdam, an Utrecht solicitor is authorised to sue Robert Crouch for a debt of four hundred guilders and fifteen stuivers in relation to this transaction (ACA, NA, archive 5074, inv. no.628). The accomplished signature of Robert Crouch in Utrecht, is similar to the one at the foot of a document from Leiden, making allowance that they were written twelve years apart (fig. 5.35).

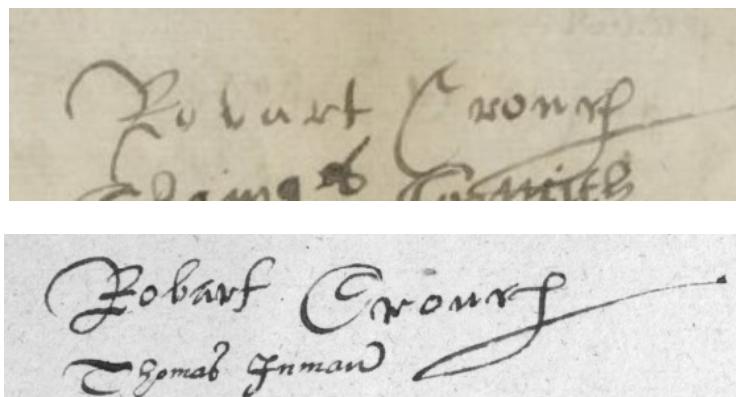


Figure 5.35. Signature of Robert Crouch (top) from 1632 (Utrecht Archives, Notarial records, G. van Waey. Archive 34-4, inv. no.U019b001, record no.163) and from 1620 (bottom) (LRA, NA inv. no.159, archive 506, p.123).

In Leiden, an inventory was undertaken in February 1618 of the goods that Cleverley left in the house of Claes Omaer, prior to their sale in order to satisfy his debts (LRA, NA 204, inv. no.95). He appears to owe money to Bartholomew Smith and to the potter Cornelis Reyersz. The latter was presumably firing the pipes for Cleverley or providing him with the raw material to make them. Unusually only a few items are valued. It is one of the earliest extant pipemakers' inventories and is especially important as it provides a picture of his work while he was active in the trade. Many

inventories are weakened as a source because goods were disposed of or distributed amongst family members prior to the owner's demise. In this case, it may be that Cleverley's business was being adversely impacted by the allegations of his involvement in a murder. The inventory suggests that Cleverley is living and working from a single-roomed workshop. This contains his bed with a pillow, two blankets – one green and one white – and a pair of sheets. Apart from two candlesticks and a beer tankard, all the other contents relate to his trade.



Figure 5.36. Detail from 'Soldaten voor een herberg', Jan Martszen de Jonge, 1633 (Rijksmuseum, RP-T-1901-A-4494).

The three workbenches and five chairs listed suggests that he has several employees. In September 1616, after an altercation at the horse market at Valkenburg, it is recorded that Arthur Stanton and William Basel are working for Cleverley (Bangs, 2013 p.425). It is not known whether all three were there for pleasure or if they were attending in order to sell their wares. Like Stanton, it appears that Basel spent some time in the army as he is recorded as a 'hellebaardier ende officier' by profession in 1624, that is, a soldier who

carries a halberd and an officer (LRA, *Ondertrouw*, archive 1004, inv. no.9, I, f.225). Soldiers smoking, drinking and gambling outside or inside an inn was a frequent artistic theme in the 1620s and 1630s and must have been a common pastime (fig. 5.36).

Stanton and Basel both used initial marks on documents (figs. 5.37; 5.38 and 5.39). These all show an uncertain hand with marks that are blotchy, suggesting a lack of pen control. Although Basel's employment with Cleverley was short, he was still working as a pipemaker in 1637 when he provided surety for a Scottish tailor (LRA, *Poorterboeken* register, inv. no.1267, F, f.275v).

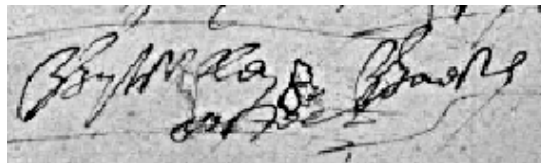


Figure 5.37. The initial marks of Arthur Stanton (top) and William Basel (bottom), 1618 (LRA, NA 204, inv. no.95 f.156).

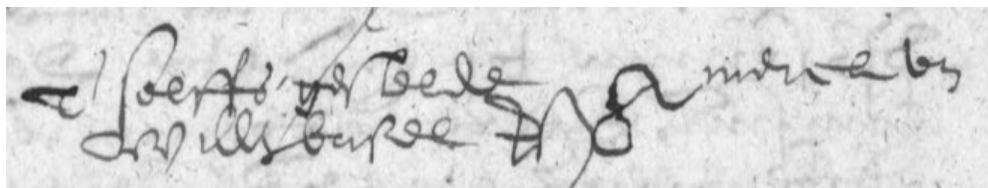


Figure 5.38. The mark of William Basel, 1637 (LRA, NA Jan van Heussen, archive 0506, inv. no.225 f.52).

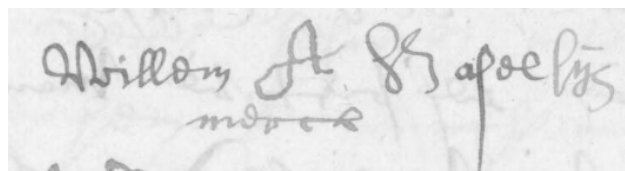


Figure 5.39. The initial mark of Willem Basel, 1643 (LRA, NA Jacob Jansz. de Haes, archive 0506, inv. no.476, p.173).

Basel's mark, when he was elderly, is still not confident and has the appearance of the number '8' rather than a letter 'B' (fig. 5.40). The execution of his mark remains unchanged throughout his working life.

There is no evidence that either Stanton or Basel became master pipemakers so both were probably journeymen. In such a role, numeracy was more important than literacy. Basel's cousin, Robert Edwards, also worked in Leiden as a pipemaker and he is recorded as being from Norwich in the record of his marriage in 1629 (LRA, *Ondertrouw*, archive 1004, inv. no.10, K, f.142v).

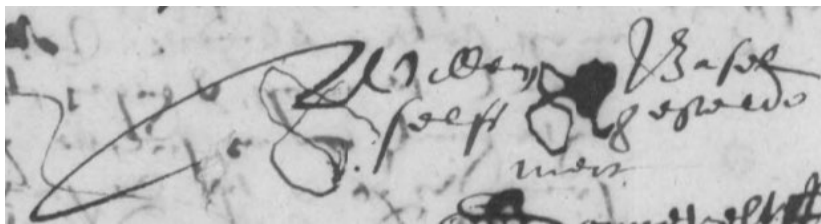


Figure 5.40. The mark of Willem Basel, 1650, aged around 63 years (LRA, NA Henrick Melchiorisz. Brassier, archive 0506, inv. no.404, record no.220).

The raw materials listed in Cleverley's inventory include twenty tuns of 'turfe', probably bought at the Peat Market by the town wall just north of the Blauwe Poort. Also recorded are ten pieces of clay, perhaps still on the workbenches, and two barrels of clay 'from the smithy'. The room also contained a tub for preparing the pipeclay and thirty pots in which the pipes were baked. The workshop also contains boards and shelves for drying the pipes. Alongside various boxes needed for packing are Cleverley's stock of pipes. These are listed as seven gross of *fijn* or fine pipes, eight gross of *slechte* pipes, two more gross of *slechte* pipes and another thirteen dozen fine pipes. In addition, another large batch of pipes worth 42 stuivers is recorded as having been already sold to a widow. Those pipes listed as *slechte*, were plain, unburnished and unmarked. That these were a cheaper product can be shown by the sale of pipes from Stanton's house on the Uiterstegracht in September 1615. Here Jacob Liefoghe bought five dozen *fijn* pipes at five groats per dozen and two dozen *slechte* pipes at two oortgens per dozen. Although the buyer wished to purchase more pipes, this was all the stock Cleverley had at that time. His fine pipes cost the equivalent of

three shillings per gross retail, around treble the wholesale cost of the commonest pipes in England. The option to purchase *slechte* pipes at a fifth of this cost means that they would have been an affordable option to all but the very poorest in the city. It is notable that only one brass mould is listed in the inventory amongst the contents of the workshop.

A document dated 14 November 1618 confirms not only that Cleverley rented a room for the sum of eight guilders from Claes Omaer but that he had agreed to teach him how to make pipes. It was also agreed that 'because of the men that had commission to sell everything' the bed and the blankets were to remain in the property (LRA, Record group 0506 Call no. 134 p.122). In an attempt to repair his reputation, Cleverley would appear to have sued for defamation of character for in September 1619, John Wallace gave a statement which confirms that Cleverley had rented a room in the house of Claes Omaer on the Uiterstegracht. He is probably the John Walis who signed the notarised inventory of Cleverley's goods. He states that on returning from a trip to Germany, Claes Omaer and his father would not let Cleverley in nor let him collect his tools or personal possessions. An argument ensued and Omaer's father called Cleverley a thief and a murderer and threatened him with a knife.

In 1620, the nephew of the Scotsman, George Ballantine, was trying to negotiate a release from his employment contract with Cleverley. The latter is said to want to settle in Delft and the judges adjudicate that compensation would be required for any early release (Van der Meulen, 1999 p.71).

A later notarised document records a Niclaes Claveren throughout yet at the foot is written 'dits Niclaes Claverle's merc' – this is Nicholas Claverle's mark (fig. 5.41). It is feasible that this tobacco seller and Cleverley the tobacco pipemaker and are two different people, however, if the same person, it suggests a physical or mental regression. We appear to have someone who can write and sign in full, when aged 27 years old, yet later is using a simple cross as a mark.

Cleverley was still in Leiden in 1623 as it was deposed that a glove maker named Christoffel had gone with three men armed with sticks and were

looking for him at the inn called 'De Vrouwenkerck te Antwerpen'. Not finding him there they went in turn to the homes of Jacobus Quarles and Thomas Inman. Cleverley is described as a tobacco seller suggesting that he may no longer be pipemaking.

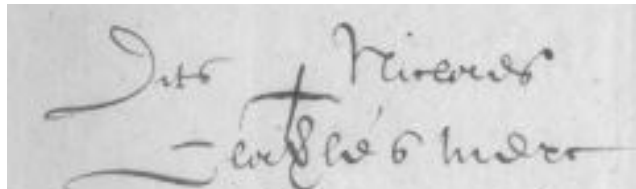


Figure 5.41. The mark of Nicolaes Claverle, tobacco seller, 1622 (LRA, NA Record group 0506, call no.291 p.140).

His eventual move away from Leiden was not to Delft as he married in the English church in Dordrecht in 1626 (fig.5.42) and they baptised their first daughter in Amsterdam two years later (fig. 5.43).

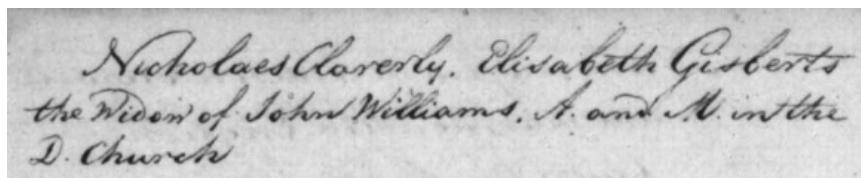
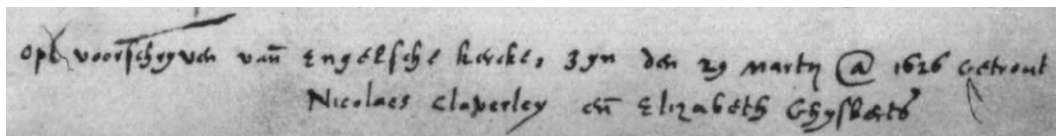


Figure. 5.42. The marriage of Nicholaes Claverley to Elisabeth Gysberts in the English church (Dordrecht Regional Archives, *Trouwboeken*, nos.11-18 p.166; Register *houdende aantekening van de dopen* 11-75 p.25).

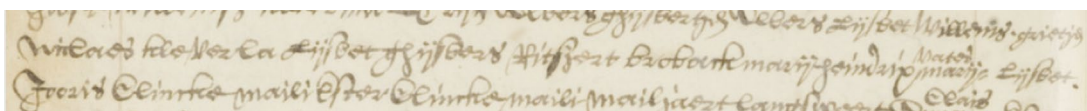


Figure 5.43. The baptism of Lijsbeth, daughter of Nicolaes Kleverla and Lijsbet Gysberts (ACA, 5001, DTB 6, p.202).

A record of his wife's confession in 1629 shows that Cleverley continued in or returned to the pipemaking trade despite the competition from many other pipemakers in Amsterdam. She admitted sleeping with an English soldier as she had been told by her brother-in-law that her husband was dead (fig.



5.44). Perhaps this was the Willem Claverly who sold pipemaking equipment, including three moulds, clay and pipes to William Reynolds in Gouda in 1632 (Duco, 1981 p.185). Was Nicholas away from the family home because he was fighting as a soldier?

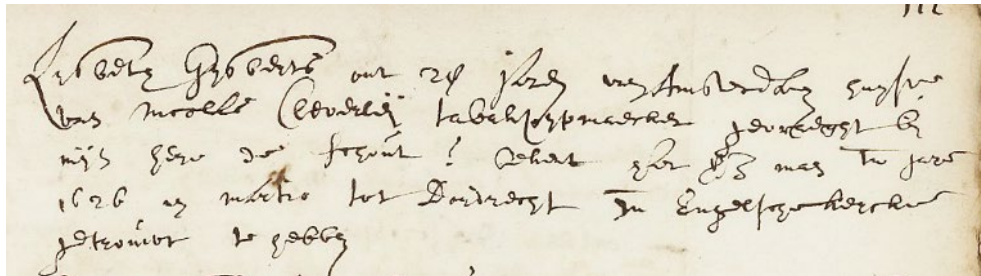


Figure 5.44. Examination of Lisbeth Gisberts (ACA, Confession books, 18 October 1629, archive 5061, inv. no.298, p.111).

A licence to serve as a soldier was granted in February 1629 to a Nicholas Cleverley, aged 40 years, ‘intending to pass over to Rotterdam’ after taking the Oath of Allegiance (fig.5.45). His age is consistent with that of the pipemaker recorded in the Leiden notarial records although Cleverley is also mentioned by the Rotterdam merchant, Giles Carpenter.

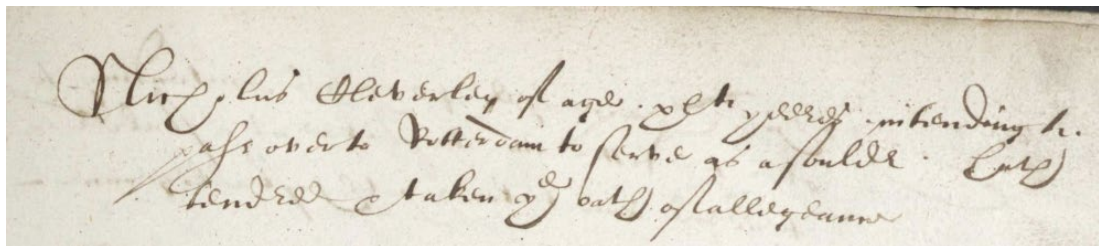


Figure 5.45. Licence to Pass Beyond the Seas of Nicholas Cleverley, 3 February 1629 (TNA:E 157/14 f.88).

He states that he had arranged for the delivery of 110 tuns of pipeclay to Cleverley in June 1629 although it was delivered to Jan Claesz who lived on Nieuwendijk in Amsterdam rather than to Cleverley, who lived on the Mandenmakerssteeg in a house called the ‘Drie Tabacqpijpen’ (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.90). It is plausible that Cleverley had already decided to leave Amsterdam and that Carpenter had needed to find another customer for his pipeclay at short notice. This other pipemaker may be the Jan Claesz from Middelburg who, in 1627, ‘undertakes to learn the trade with Robert Bon, English tobacco pipemaker’ in Rotterdam (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.25).

Carpenter, according to the Rotterdam marriage register of 1630, was born in Rouen and a document from 1633 shows that he arranged for the carriage of Brazilian tobacco to Rotterdam via that city (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.90). He was therefore involved in supplying both tobacco and tobacco pipeclay, using an international network of contacts.

The reason why Cleverley had travelled to Germany in 1619 is unknown, perhaps it was in search of a source of suitable pipeclay, but he is recorded as living at Emmerich in Germany in 1651 when 'Claas Cleverley' was pursued for a debt as a buyer of pipes and other goods from William Teech, an English pipemaker from Gorinchem (Van der Meulen, Brinkerink and von Hout, 1992 p.43). He has not been located in the Dutch records after 1629, which suggests that he may have moved to Germany after selling his pipemaking tools in 1632.

It is not known for certain how Cleverley marked his pipes. Gaulton suggests a provenance for a bowl with an incuse 'NC' heel mark found in Newfoundland, partly on the basis that no known makers using this mark are known from Bristol or the West Country (2006 p.342). As has been shown in Chapter Four, pipes bearing these initials have been recorded in Bristol and Gloucester and it is therefore unlikely that this pipe was made by Cleverley. Van Oostveen suggests that a heeled pipe found in Rotterdam with a crowned NC mark may be attributed to Cleverley (fig. 5.46).



Figure 5.46 Crowned NC mark from Rotterdam (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.64).

Several other examples have been found in Amsterdam bearing the same heel mark (fig. 5.47).



Figure 5.47 Crowned NC mark from Amsterdam  
(Van der Lingen, 2015 p.28).

Dutch records show that he was linked to at least four other English pipemakers working in Leiden prior to 1620. Of these, Stanton, Crouch and Smith were all older than Cleverley. Although others were working in the city prior to Cleverley's arrival, the point at which they switched from other trades to pipemaking cannot be ascertained with precision. However, the first pipemaker in Leiden may not have been English but a Walloon.

### **The Walloon Community in Leiden**

Philip Bassé is also recorded as being a pipemaker in Leiden in 1616 and was considerably older than Cleverley. Duco states that his name suggests an English origin despite a testament describing him as being a native of Nivelles in the province of Brabant, in modern-day Belgium (Duco, 1981 p.433; fig. 5.48). His origin is also confirmed by his marriage banns in Leiden in 1615. His intended bride, however, did come from London (fig. 5.49).

This was not Bassé's first marriage as he had wed in Amsterdam in 1591 when aged twenty-eight. Then his occupation is given as a borat maker (fig. 5.52). Borat or borattos were a light textile of silk and wool, similar to bombazine. His bride was Helene Prevost from Amiens, a city eighty miles south-west of Nivelles.

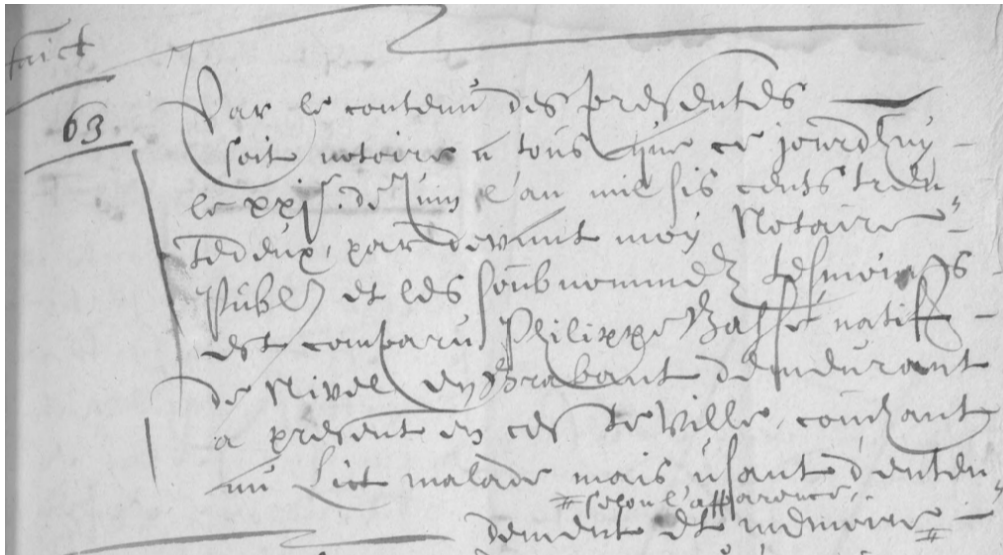


Figure 5.48. Testament Deed confirming Bassé's origins in Brabant, 1632  
(LRA, NA, Jan Angillis, archive 0506, inv. no.301, f.63).

After 1578, the Protestants in Amsterdam adopted the rules of the Council of Trent. One of these was that marriage bans should include the ages of the bride and groom but only if this was their first marriage. This distinction can be seen by comparing figures 5.49 and 5.52.

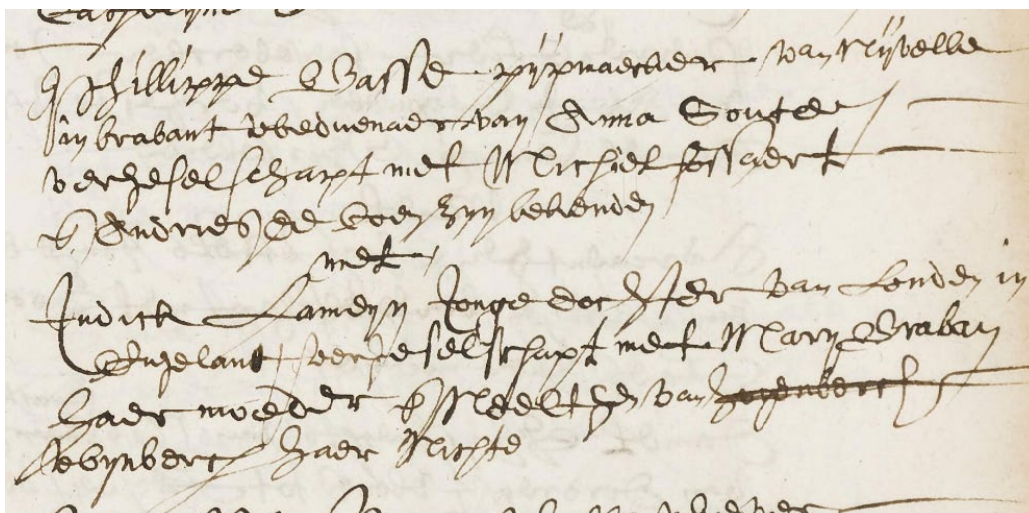


Figure 5.49. Marriage bans of the pipemaker Phillippe Basse, 4 March 1616  
(LRA, *Ondertrouw*, archive no.1004, inv. no.8, f.97).

Bassé's marriage in 1616 in Leiden was his third as he had previously married Anne Souté who had joined the Walloon Church in Leiden by confession of faith in 1605 (fig. 5.50).

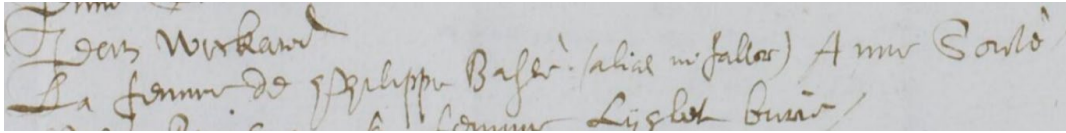


Figure 5.50. Anna Souté, listed as a member of the Walloon Church, 9 April 1605 (LRA, *Catalogue des membres de l'Eglise Wallonne Crecueillie a Leyde*, inv. no.535 no.16 p.10).

At that point she is listed as the wife of 'Phillipe Baser alias Misaller' implying that he was already a member of the congregation. Bassé is recorded as acting as a marriage witness for the groom in the same church in August 1603 when Anna Souté accompanied the bride (fig. 5.51).

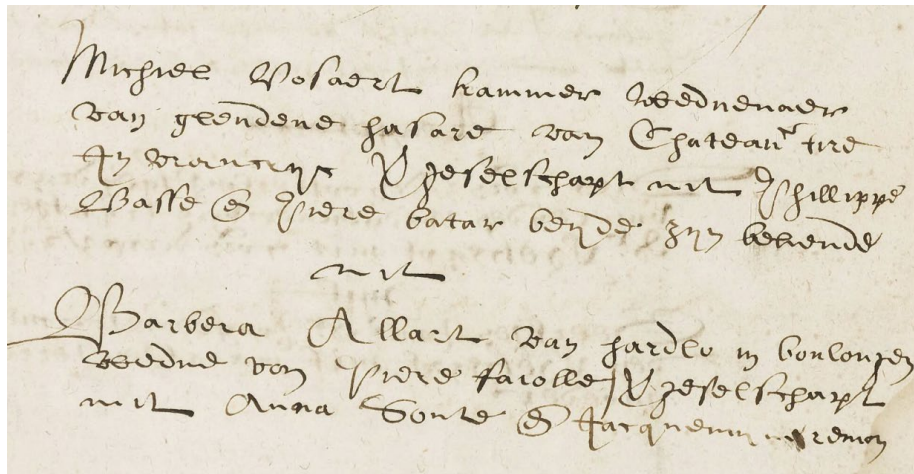


Figure 5.51. The marriage of Michiel Vosaert and Barbera Allart, 27 August 1603 (LRA, *Ondertrouw* archive no.1004, inv. no.5, E, f.76v).

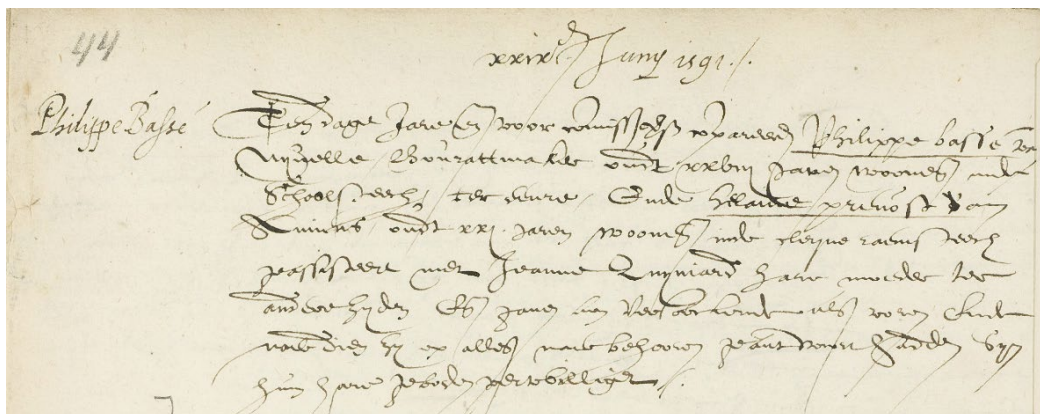


Figure 5.52. Marriage banns of Philippe Bassé in 1591 (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 406, p.44).

The membership records of the Walloon church commence in 1600 so that it is likely that Bassé's arrival in Leiden preceded that date. Other members of the Bassé family can be found in Amsterdam including Mari who married there in 1593. Her parents are recorded as being William and Marie. A later William Bassé is also stated as being from Nivelles suggesting that Phillipe may be the only member of the family that moved to Leiden. The Walloon marriage register commences in 1604 without listing Bassé's second marriage to Souté so her joining the church in the following year is unrelated to this event. Several entries in the records of the Walloon Church between 1603 and 1611 list Bassé as a witness, without recording his occupation.

In 1606 he was a tenant of where 19-21 Jan Vossensteeg now stands as he paid one guilder for the so-called 'chimney money' (fig. 5.53). An earlier tax book of 1601 only records the owner of the property without listing the names of any tenants.



Figure 5.53. Location of the property that was rented to Bassé in 1606 by Francina Burchgraaf (LRA, *Schoorsteengeld*, <https://historischleideninkkaart.nl/perceelformulier/?Id=2687>).

Bassé is recorded as a pipemaker living on the nearby Voldersgracht in 1629 in a dispute with a neighbour over a back window (LRA, NA, inv. no.48, E, *Buurquestieboeken*, record no.1807, f.60). The *Bonboek* not only records that he had only just moved into that property but also that his widow

continued to live there up until 1651, seventeen years after his death (fig. 5.54).

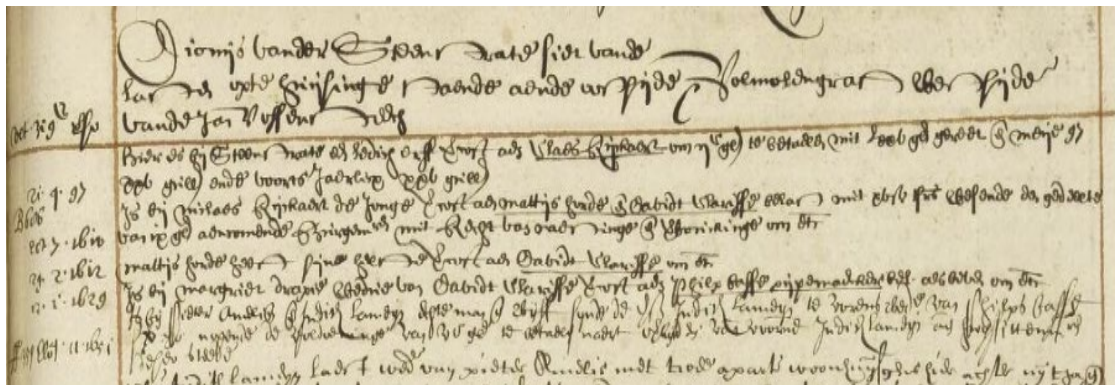


Figure 5.54. List of owners and tenants of a plot on the Voldersgracht, 1597-1651 (LRA, archive no.501A, inv. no.6624, f.569).

Bassé records his mark on three separate documents spanning a period of forty-two years. He first makes his mark on the occasion of his betrothal in 1591. This appears to be 'fil', presumably to represent his forename (fig. 5.55).

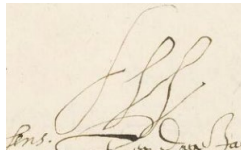


Figure 5.55. 'fil' mark on the marriage banns of Philippe Bassé, aged 28 years (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, Archive 5001, DTB 406, p.44).

As a much older man, he makes his mark on two testament deeds. The first, in 1632, appears to be 'lij' while in 1633, just a year before his death, he writes a single 'l' on top of where the clerk has written his name (figs. 5.56 and 5.57).

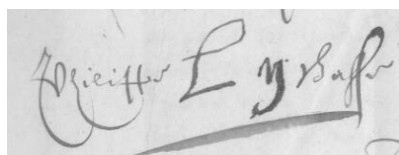


Figure 5.56. 'Lij' mark on Testament Deed of Phillippe Bassé, aged 69 years (LRA, NA Jan Angillis, archive 0506, inv. no.301, f.63).

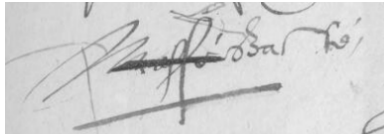


Figure 5.57. 'L' mark on Testament Deed of Phillipe Bassé, aged 70 years (LRA, NA Jan Angillis, archive 0506, inv. no.302, f.36).

The retrograde changes in his mark suggest frailty or a deterioration in health in his old age. Bassé was buried in the Hooglandse Kerk, a Protestant church dedicated to St. Pancras (fig. 5.58).

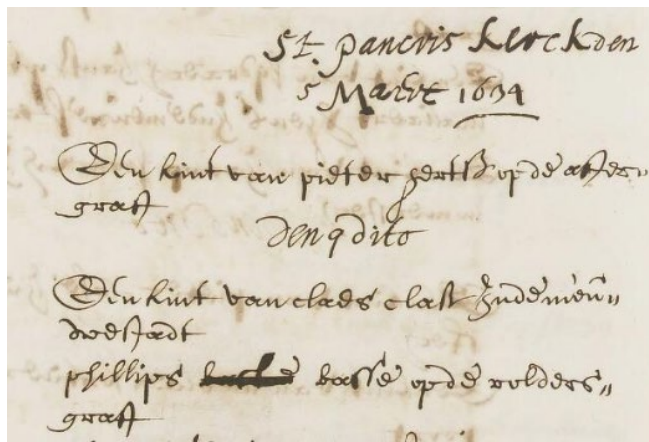


Figure. 5.58. Burial record of 'Phillips Basse', 9 March 1634 (LRA, *Begraven*, archive 0501A, inv. no.1318).

Another member of the Walloon community in Leiden was John Carpent(i)er. He was sufficiently wealthy to be a guarantor for Bartholomew Smith's request for citizenship (fig. 5.59).

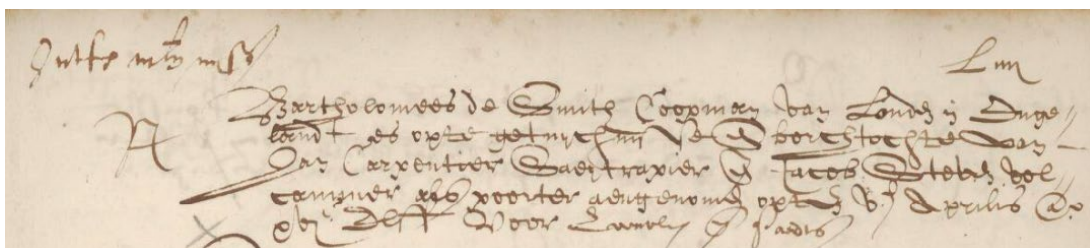


Figure 5.59. Jan Carpentier stands surety for Bartholomew Smith, 5 April 1611 (LRA, inv. no.1267, *Register van poorterinschrijvingen*, F, f.54).

Carpentier is then listed as a say draper and Smith as a merchant from London. Smith sold his house on the north side of St. Cathrijnensteeg to Carpenter on 10 October 1612 following a previous down payment in 1610



(Bangs, 2013 p.318). This protracted arrangement suggests a significant element of trust. Jan Carpentier became a member of Leiden's Walloon congregation after transferring from Amsterdam in January 1602 (LRA, *Catalogue des membres de l'Eglise Wallonne Crecueillie a Leyde*, inv. no.535, no.16 p.5). He is recorded as a dyer in 1608 and a draper in 1611 (Bangs, 2013 p.414, p.713). In both 1616 and 1617 Carpentier is recorded as a victualler.

It is known that Carpentier remained in Leiden after the emigration to Plymouth of some of the congregation and he may have been the person who joined Denis Derasse in Tournai in a pipemaking venture by 1637. He was granted a three-year monopoly on making pipes in 1642 although the partnership appears to have been short-lived (Fraikin, 1981 pp.20-21). As Jan Carpentier did not have a rare combination of names, caution must be exercised that there are not more than one person with this name in the city.

Pieter Terrij, a pipemaker said to be from Leiden, gave notice of his intention to marry in the Walloon Church in Amsterdam in May 1643 (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 459, p.191). His wife, Genet Robot, is pregnant and their son, Peter, is baptised in December of the same year. A succession of children were also baptised in Amsterdam from Mary in 1646 to Janet in 1664. Clearly there was no impediment to anyone from the French-speaking community from entering and establishing themselves in the pipemaking trade. Although not as large as Amsterdam's community, Leiden's Walloon Church had 2,700 members by 1618 (Kooi, 2000 p.163). While Bartholomew Smith is linked with other English pipemakers, he also has a close link with Carpentier and it is perhaps through this connection that he would have known Bassé.

### **Forced Relocation**

Various testimonies suggest that the English pipemakers in Leiden were not a group without internal rivalry and tensions. It may be the case that Cleverley had learnt his trade with one of the elder pipemakers before going into business for himself around 1614. The notarial records show that Cleverley maintained links with and travelled to England but also visited

Germany and other parts of the Dutch Republic. There is no evidence that Cleverley was already resident in Leiden when the murder of Tyrrel occurred. Nevertheless, it provides another possible motive for an individual to relocate. It may prove difficult to show that any particular person left England, or the Dutch Republic, for nefarious motives, but it should be considered. The following examples serve to illustrate how relocation may have not been through choice.

William Morgan, an English pipemaker, was charged in Leiden in 1627 with aiding and abetting a theft involving William Smith of Colchester. The punishment on conviction was required to be flagellation, branding and 25 years banishment. He was found guilty, but his sentence was reduced to twelve years of exile from Holland and West Friesland. Given his relatively common name, it is uncertain where he relocated. Another pipemaker, George Coningsvelt of Devon, received three years banishment from Leiden in 1629 when he was convicted of theft (LRA, Crimineel Klachtboek, reg.11. f.40v).

In 1655, it is recorded that Christopher Lasen, who originated from Yorkshire, was charged with the offence of theft and found guilty with the punishment being flagellation and banishment. The latter was for a period of two years both from Leiden and the Rijnland (fig. 5.60). He is said to have moved with his wife to Utrecht (Van der Meulen, 1999, p.98).

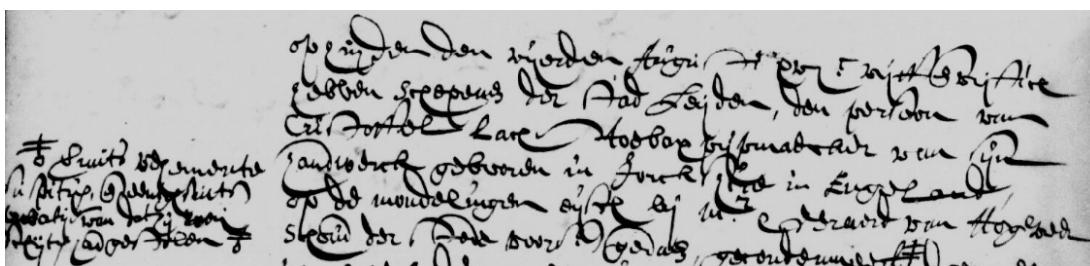


Figure 5.60. The pipemaker Christopher Lase or Lasen, charged with theft (LRA, Criminal judgment book, inv. no.3+15, f.187v).

Lasen used his initials as his mark although in 1638, this is in the form of 'K I' rather than 'C I', in keeping with 'Kristopf', the Dutch equivalent of his forename (fig. 5.61). Tobacco pipes attributed to him are marked 'CL'.

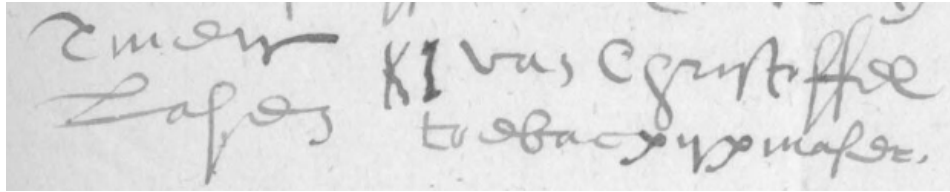


Figure 5.61. Initial mark of Christoffel Lasen (LRA, NA Kaerl Outerman, archive no.506, inv. no.431, p.218).

### **The Anti-tobacco policy of King James I**

Another reason given for the supposed exodus of pipemakers to the Dutch Republic is the hostile trading environment created by the anti-tobacco policies of the king. While the monarch's views on the subject were clearly iterated in his *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* published in 1604, the only action which followed was a large increase in import duties. Lord Cecil had enquired how much tobacco had been imported through the port of London and how much revenue it might generate as part of a proposed new Book of Rates. It was reported by George Bowes that for the year commencing Michaelmas 1602, the duty on tobacco at 6/8d per pound would have amounted to £5,376 (TNA:SP 14/9A f.3). This is not the rate that was in force at the time. It is notable that tobacco was being brought openly into London despite England being still technically at war with Spain. In September 1604, Cecil was given the commission 'for the appointing of the Booke of Rates' and it is not coincidental that the increase in the duty on tobacco was 6/8d per pound (TNA:SP 14/141 f.39). *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* is the written justification for this large increase in taxation.

Subsequent rate changes, notably only downwards, were financially driven given the increase in smuggling and the cultivation of the crop on a large scale across the southern Midlands of England. The retail price of tobacco continued to fall despite the high level of taxation and King James' efforts to ensure that tobacco use remained solely for the benefit of the wealthy and not the idle poor, failed. Even in the early 1610s, the retail price could be below that of the level of duty carried by legally imported tobacco. This can only be achieved if it was either home-grown or illicitly brought in from abroad. It is possible that it was adulterated or otherwise of poor quality although King James I states that some tobacco was deliberately blended

with other substances to improve its taste and could then command a higher price (Rymer, 1615 p.601). Clearly quality affected the retail price and a wide range of values can be found within the same year. When Mary Maddoxe was convicted in 1614 of stealing four pounds of tobacco from Walter Nunne of Whitechapel, its value was stated to be only six shillings. She was sentenced to be whipped for the offence (Le Hardy, 1936). In 1612, a single roll of pudding tobacco weighing forty-four pounds was exported to Amsterdam and the merchant paid duty based on its sterling value of twenty-two pounds. This implies that it was worth more in the Dutch Republic than its value of ten shillings per pound in London. The retail prices of tobacco in Rotterdam follow a similar trend to that experienced in England although lagged in time. It should also be noted that Amsterdam was the main market for tobacco imports into the Dutch Republic rather than Rotterdam.

King James' principled stand against tobacco use soon gave way to a pragmatic approach to the revenue it might generate, especially when cargoes from Virginia began to arrive in London. By the time that Charles I introduced tobacco licensing in the early 1630s, those that were prosecuted for being unlicensed retailers were selling tobacco at very low rates. The market was effectively flooded and the king was losing a considerable amount of revenue. In 1637, forty pounds of locally grown tobacco was being sold for as little as eight pence per pound in Tewkesbury (TNA:E 178/5315).

While James I increased the amount tobacco was taxed in 1604, there was no such increase in the duty payable on tobacco pipes. At no point in his reign are tobacco pipes that are consigned for export taxed at any other rate than five percent of their wholesale value as declared by the merchant on oath. In 1619 the pipe trade was described as being unregulated and the incorporation of the Society of Tobacco Pipemakers of Westminster was designed 'to establish and settle good order and government' (TNA:C 66 2206 no.6).

The English retail prices used in this study are derived from numerous sources across the country and no allowance has been made for any impact on the price caused by internal transportation (chart 5.5). For example, the earliest and highest price relates to the sale of a small quantity of tobacco in

an apothecary in Derby in 1593 (TNA:SP 46/48 f.171). Larger quantities are likely to have been proportionately less expensive especially when purchased at the dockside in various western coastal ports.

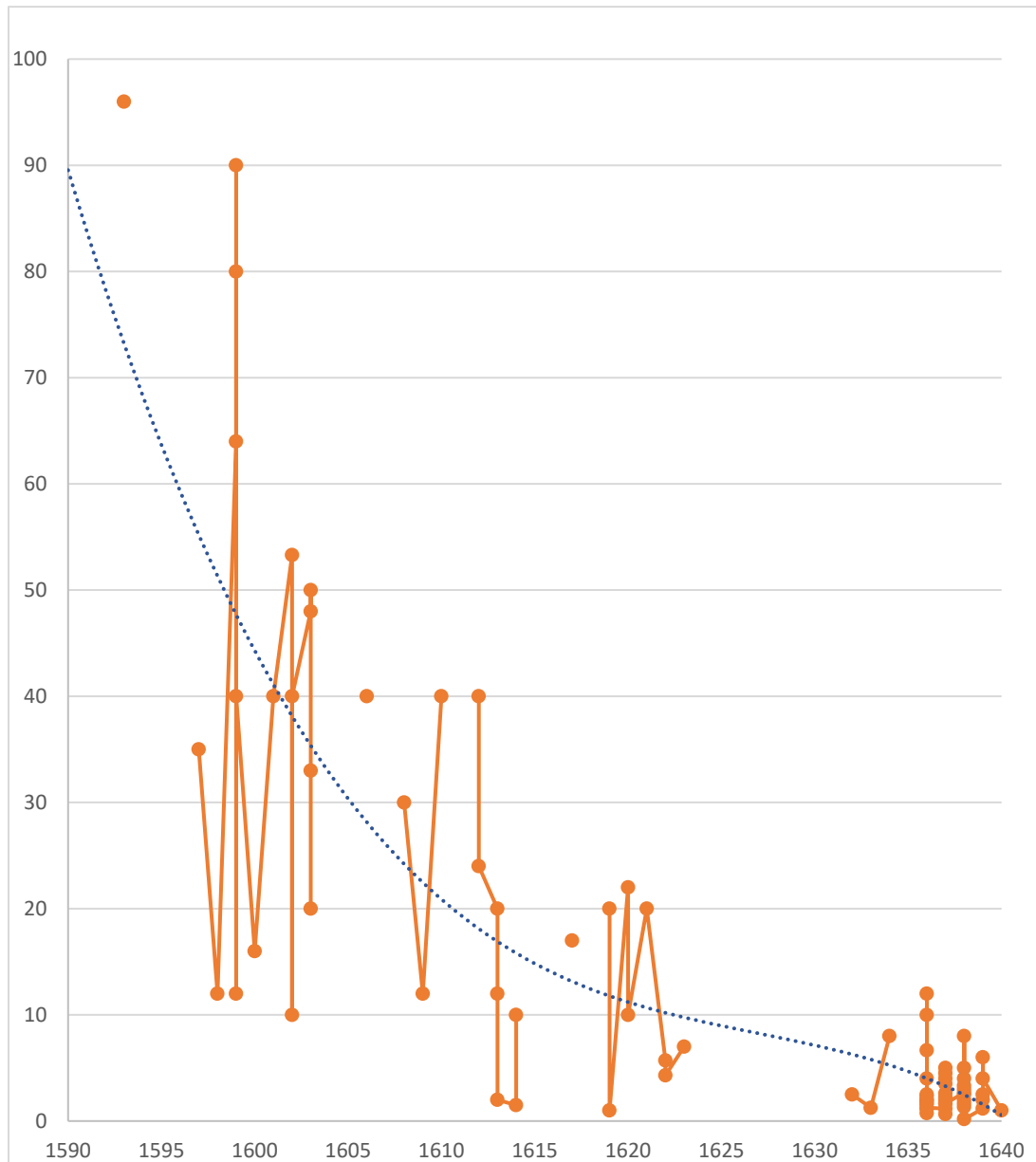


Chart 5.5. The retail price of tobacco in England, (shillings per English pound weight) 1590-1640.

The values indicate a range of prices not only contingent on quality but also on the origin of the tobacco. While Spanish product was prized, a smoker in the 1620s might choose between tobacco grown in Maryland and the sweeter-scented variety from Virginia although freight costs would have been broadly similar.

While wholesale values are recorded in the Port Books, retail values must be sourced from inventories, petitions or cases brought before the courts. These documents have their own particular biases with inventories likely to be nearer wholesale values and prosecutions possibly containing exaggerated prices. Despite this, the trend of falling retail prices is unmistakable despite it being a period of inflation. The anti-smoking rhetoric of the king appears to have had no effect on the consumption of tobacco in England. Furthermore, high taxes only increased the incentive to smuggle and the scale of illegal activity renders futile any attempt to accurately quantify tobacco consumption.

It is evident that throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the regular admonishments and repeated threats that attempted to halt tobacco growing in England were ineffective. Indeed the number of counties to which the king's instructions were given increased with each subsequent command. The warnings in James I's *A Counterblaste* were not publicly repeated, the king perhaps recognising that this particular battle had already been lost. The increasing revenue from tobacco imports provided a much-needed consolation.

The 1619 and 1634 charters granted to the pipemakers of Westminster are often conflated to give the impression that there was a monopoly on pipemaking in place throughout most of the seventeenth century. While it is accepted that the patentees would have had some influence over other pipemakers in the capital, the degree to which they controlled the trade outside London was limited. Certainly the pipemakers in Bristol seem to have operated quite independently. Whatever their geographic sphere of influence, the 1619 incarnation of the Society of Tobacco pipemakers was rife with in-fighting and litigation and the patentees had sought compensation for their losses after only 22 months.

The 1634 company fared only slightly better but was unable to pay the annual rent in the lead up to the civil wars. Despite the appointment of Richard Wheeler as a deputy based in Reading, it would appear that their monopoly went unenforced there as the main officials of the company had to come to the town in 1638 to show their charter and a warrant concerning clay

(Guilding, 1896 p.423). While the monopoly on pipeclay would have had some economic impact, a pipemakers' circumstances would not necessarily have been improved by relocating to a Dutch Republic dependant on imported clay.

### **Religious Persecution**

There is little evidence to show that pipemakers went to Holland or Zeeland to escape persecution (Duco, 1981 p.371). Of the four pipemakers who applied for licences to leave Great Yarmouth in 1637, one wanted to go to 'Holland there to work of his trade', two went merely to 'inhabet and remaine' and the fourth's reason is not given. Unlike the American colonies, emigration to the Dutch Republic was transient. Of the four pipemakers, only one specifies an intended destination. There are further examples where a licence was obtained merely to visit family or where short durations of stay are specified. It is likely that the true reasons for emigration were often obscured although in the majority of cases, this does not equate to an escape from harassment.

Many of Leiden's Walloon refugees had earlier fled to England. Between 1600 and 1630, 316 people joined the congregation with letters of testimony from Norwich, 195 from Canterbury and 80 from London. In all, 594 people applied to join having emigrated from England. The Canterbury baptism and marriage records show that several brides, grooms and witnesses came from Leiden. To put this in context, 731 people came from French towns and 302 people had applied to transfer to Leiden's Walloon church from Amsterdam over the same period (Bangs, 2013 p.168).

Persecution, or more likely the perceived threat of persecution, changed over time and applied differently to the various religious groups. It should be remembered that the so called 'Pilgrim Fathers' left for Virginia partly because of persecution from the Dutch Reformed Church and that they were only a minority of the English congregation at Leiden (Bangs, 2013 p.595). There is a distinction to be made between the various English non-conformist groups and the separatist movement. The latter were often considered a schismatic sect and increasingly faced harsh sanctions. In 1604, Archbishop

Bancroft began a policy of excluding liberalism from the Church of England. Many puritan ministers were to be deprived of their living if they refused to conform. While puritan pamphlets talk of several hundred ministers being removed or suspended, Bancroft said that the number deprived was not above sixty out of ten thousand ministers (Usher, 1909 p.233). As there was a range of ecclesiastical censure with deprivation as the last resort, there is not necessarily a conflict between the two figures. Several of those deprived in 1605 later resumed their position and many of the changes in incumbent were down to filling a vacancy or following the death of the previous minister. Whatever the true figure, undoubtedly all of the puritan ministers would have felt themselves to be at risk. It is known that all but eleven of the puritans identified in Essex had conformed by the end of 1604 (Usher, 1909 p.237).

The puritan literature often speaks of the love their congregations had for their minister yet there are various examples of churchwardens reporting their 'still unconverted' minister to their bishop. In Watford in 1597, the congregation informed the archdeacon that their minister was an ardent non-conformist and that his views were supported by the churchwardens. In this case, the minister was not deprived and was still being reported by them in 1605. Goodall has found, contrary to the claims in William Bradford's journal, that there is little evidence for physical persecution of the Scrooby puritans (2015 p.i). She also rejects the idea that socio-economic factors were involved but rather that their emigration was due to a belief that their souls were in danger of being corrupted by the established Church if they remained in England.

By the end of the sixteenth century there were six English churches in the Dutch Republic. As allies in the struggle against Spain, both countries shared a common spirit and traded with each other as 'ancient and familiar neighbours' (Sprunger, 1982 p.3). The Dutch had significant communities in many eastern English towns, geographically between the cities of Southampton on the south coast and Norwich in the east. There were more English in the Dutch Republic than in the whole of the rest of Europe. Once there, it was a place of refuge and despite occasional attempts, fugitives were almost never forcibly returned to England.



Without corroborating evidence, it would be an error to assume that attendance by an individual pipemaker at a particular church correlates with holding similar beliefs to the minister there. It may simply be a case of taking comfort from a service in the mother tongue. Overall, documentary evidence of church membership by pipemakers is scarce. One exception is William Boseman who joined the newly opened English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in 1607 shortly after arriving in the city. This was an officially sanctioned church aimed at undermining the monopoly the Separatist church had on English religion in the city. The chief promoter stated that there

are a considerable number of English people, who do not understand the Dutch language, and therefore they earnestly request help in establishing an English Reformed Church conformable in doctrine and church government with other Reformed churches in the Netherlands (Sprunger, 1982 p.92).

### **English military presence**

The largest proportion of the Anglo-Scottish community were soldiers. Commencing in 1565, five or six thousand troops had been provided to support the Dutch in their fight against Spain. Following the end of the Franco-Spanish war in 1598 and the Anglo-Spanish War in 1604, Spain could concentrate its war effort on a single front. However, it effectively conceded defeat with the signing of a twelve-year truce in 1609. It is during this period that many soldiers are said to have returned to their former occupations (Duco, 1981 p.372). The characterisation of soldiers in foreign pay as being drawn from unemployed misfits and malcontents is disputed (Trim, 2002 p.3). With the cautionary towns being returned to Dutch control in 1616, the English garrisons there became an English regiment in the States General army. During the truce a political and religious split occurred which included Remonstrant regents using their influence to recruit mercenary armies. Therefore around 1617, there was still some employment for those with military experience in certain parts of the Dutch republic. The war to defend Bohemia against the Hapsburgs saw thousands of English and Scottish soldiers arrive in Dordrecht in 1617. By 1621, six regiments were officially stationed in the Dutch Republic.

The Anglo-Dutch treaties of London and Southampton in 1624 and 1625 respectively saw England formally at war with Spain once again and this lasted until 1630 (Dunthorne, 2013 p.63). The stationing of troops in the Dutch Republic continued into the 1640s, by then amounting to some thirteen thousand men. In Leiden, soldiers were quartered in private residencies as there were no barracks in the town.

The motives for enlisting were not always ideological or mercenary. The letters of a common soldier, James Spens, suggests that to him, this was merely an available occupation. Although he returned to Scotland after fighting in the Dutch Republic and in Sweden, he later signed up to serve the Dutch East India Company and wrote to his parents while off the coast of Guinea in 1632

*I wad not wis for gold bot yat I had comit yis Jurnayfor I can not wrycht to ye gudnes yat I find be traviling and seing of faring cuntries;*

I would not wish for gold but that I had committed [to] this journey for I cannot write to the goodness that I find in travelling and seeing far countries (Grosjean, Murdoch and Talbot, 2015 p.100).

Evidently his spirit of adventure was so strong that even his marriage in Scotland could not quell his desire to travel abroad. In England it is known that some criminals and vagrants were conscripted, often to fight in Ireland, although volunteers were always preferred (Trim, 2002 p.69). Of the soldiers raised by the Stranger churches in England, several sources show that many were native Englishmen rather than returning emigres (Trim, 2002 p.111).

Between 1588 and 1593, almost all English soldiers in the Dutch Republic were in national service in the pay of Queen Elizabeth. Even up to 1598, mercenaries were rare although from 1599, English soldiers in the pay of the States General started to comprise a significant proportion of the manpower due to the ending of the French wars of religion (Trim, 2002. p.161). There were three routes to enlistment: by impressment, by public appeal or through personal connections. The voice of the humble soldier is hard to discern in the records. Sergeant-Major Beere's report of 1644 lists the ordinary military casualties after the horses. While voluntary service was, in theory, for life,

most ordinary men could expect to be disbanded after each campaign (McShane, 2011 p.107, p.136). Most military actions of this period involved siege warfare where little, if any, action occurred over the winter period. If quartered within a town or city, a period of normality could exist for a few months and soldiers might indeed return to their former trades.

Medical provision was rudimentary although many developments in treatment occurred during the first half of the seventeenth century. Several physicians in the British Civil Wars had been trained in Leiden. As part of the Earl of Essex's army, John King had obtained his medical degree there in 1629 along with Samuel Read in 1632 and John Pordage in 1637. Edward Emily of the Eastern Association qualified in Leiden in 1640 while the New Model Army employed John Short and John Baber who had qualified in 1639 and 1648 respectively (Pells, 2018 pp.11-12). The English army followed Dutch practise in 1621 by paying for 'a chest for medicalments' for treatment in the field. Although injured soldiers could still work at various trades, those that could not find work had to rely on charity or begging. Several English soldiers are recorded amongst the prisoners and vagabonds in Leiden jail (Bangs, 2013 p.195).

Volunteers could arrive in the Low Countries after making their own travel arrangements, if they had the necessary funds. Sydnam Poyntz describes his reason for leaving London in 1624 as a desire to avoid the drudgery of apprenticeship.

It is well knowne to most, how mere youth and rashness are of affinitie, which I may instance in my self, for having no sooner attained to 16 yeares of age, but I began to harbour these coniectures in my self. To bee bound an Apprentice that life I deemed little better then a dogs life and base. At last I resolved with my self thus : to live and dy a souldier would bee as noble in death as Life (Goodrick, 1908 p.45).

The names of over eighteen thousand soldiers are recorded in the extant 'Licences to Pass Beyond the Seas' for the period between 1613 and 1643. These confirmed that the person concerned had signed the Oath of Allegiance as required by an Act of 1609. The licence was a type of passport

and gave permission to travel abroad although sometimes only for a limited period. The licence could be obtained in eleven main ports and also in 'other ports towards Ireland, and other isles pertaining to the realm' (Car, 1739 p.xxvi) although the majority of extant licences relate to London.

### Pipemakers with military connections

The earliest known pipemaker in the town of Gouda is William Barents or Baernelts. He was an Englishman and is credited with introducing the crowned Tudor rose mark in 1617 (Rafferty and Mann, 2004 p.212). When Willem Hoppe used this mark in 1625, Barents filed a complaint against him in the civil court. Whether the soldier William Hopper is the same person as the pipemaker is uncertain (fig. 5.62).

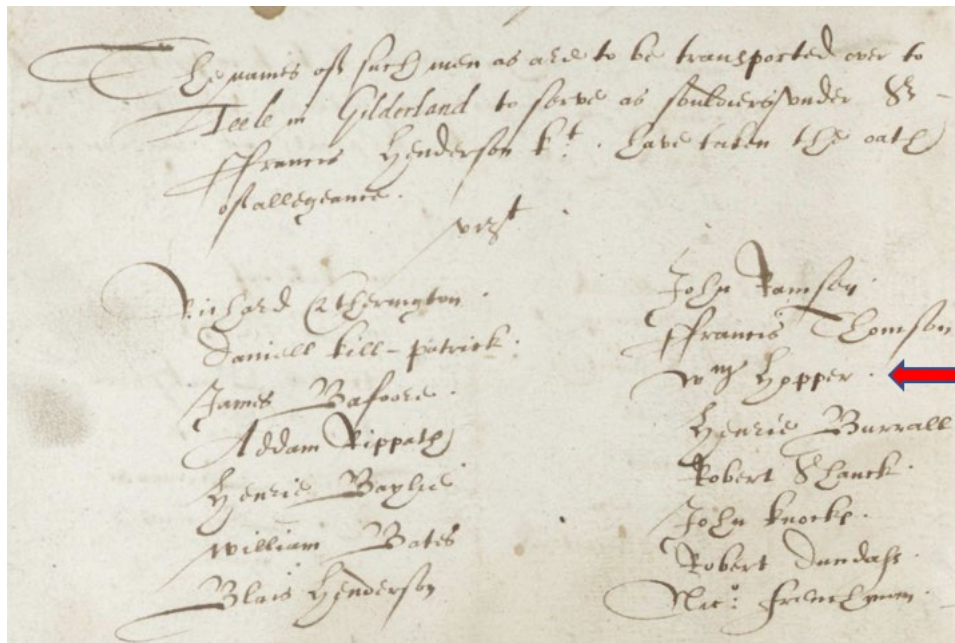


Figure 5.62. William Hopper, a soldier in Sir Francis Henderson's Scots-Dutch company, destined for Tiel, 30 April 1621 (TNA:E 157/6 f.46r).

Hoppe is known to have returned to military service leaving his wife, Magdaleentje, in charge of the business. She carried on using the crowned rose mark that her husband had been prohibited from using. She was subsequently ordered to remove either the crown or the rose as these formed a design owned by William Barents (Rafferty and Mann, 2004 p.212). This use of a pipe mark as something that could be protected, passed on or sold, was not a concept known in England.

Barents' partner, William Fludd, brought a similar case in 1627. This was against another English pipemaker, Robert Jackson. The latter's pipes were confiscated and he was ordered to use the uncrowned rose. This implies that Hoppe's widow had not chosen to take this option when complying with the court's earlier instruction, if indeed she did accede. It is possible that Fludd also served as a soldier under the Earl of Oxford (fig. 5.63).

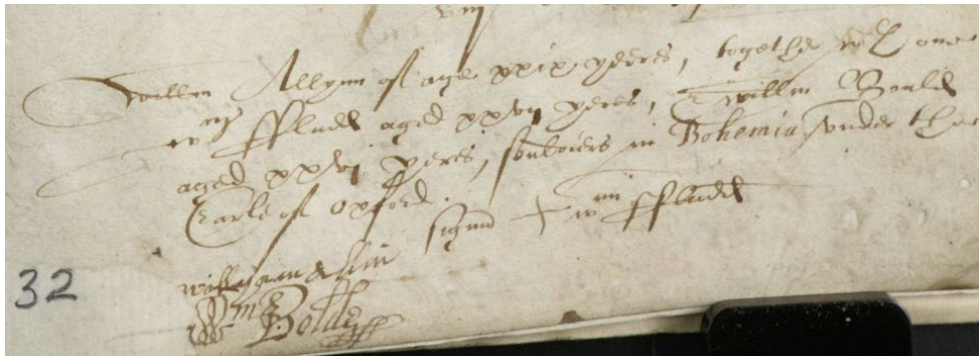


Figure 5.63. Licence to Pass beyond the Seas of William Fludd, a soldier in Bohemia, 8 August 1620 (TNA:E 157/5 f.32).

Attempts, in 1641, to establish a pipe guild at Gouda met with opposition from the wives of many English pipemakers who were soldiers garrisoned outside of the town. They successfully argued that excluding soldiers from the guild would deprive the women of their living, indicating the integral part they played in running the pipe workshops in the town (Dallal, 2004 p.213).

In the case of Edward Franck, he is recorded as a pipemaker in Amsterdam in January 1627, when aged twenty-two. In March 1628, a soldier of the same name and aged twenty-three is recorded as taking the Oath of Allegiance in order to serve at Grave – now The Hague (fig. 5.64).

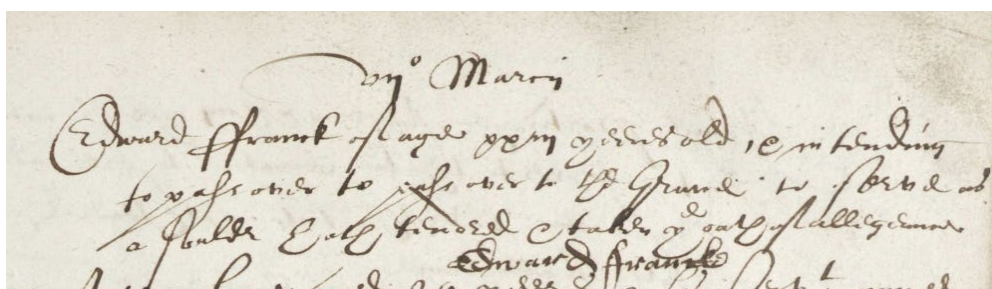


Figure 5.64. Edward Frank's Licence 'to pass over ... to serve as a soulder' (TNA:E 157/14 7 March 1628).

As these licences do not list occupations, there must be a degree of uncertainty whether this is the same person although the ages recorded are consistent and both signatures are similar, but not identical. When Evert Franck gives notice of marriage to a woman from Aachen, he signs 'Edward Franck' with a degree of confidence although not without a few splodges of ink (fig. 5.65). A finely decorated pipe is extant marked with the name 'Evert Franc' and bearing the date of 1633. His workshop on the Reestraat was clearly making quality products (Duco, 1981 p.394).

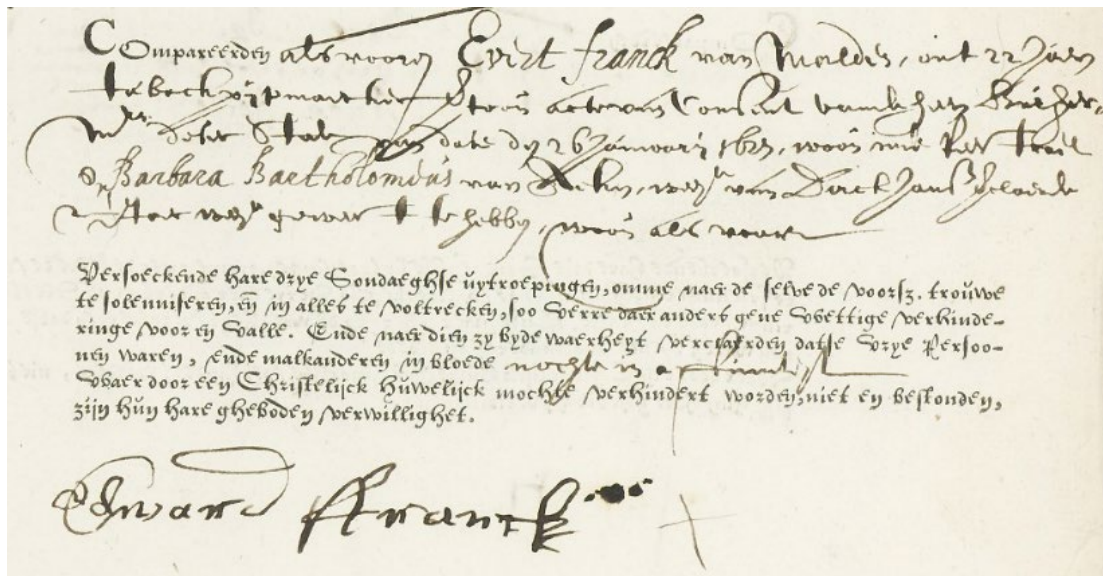


Figure. 5.65. Notice of Marriage of Edward Franck (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 432, p.33).

Catering for a different market and perhaps the most studied of the English pipemakers in the Netherlands is Edward Bird. This is because he owned and ran the earliest of the large workshops that grew up in Amsterdam. His products are not only found throughout the city but were also exported outside Europe. Duco describes his products as pipes for the common man and that his prosperity was based on quantity rather than producing high quality pipes (1981 p.399).

Duco also gives Bird's year of birth as 1612, based on the marriage entry of 1630 which Bird signs confidently while his fiancée makes her mark with a cross (Duco, 2002; fig. 5.66).

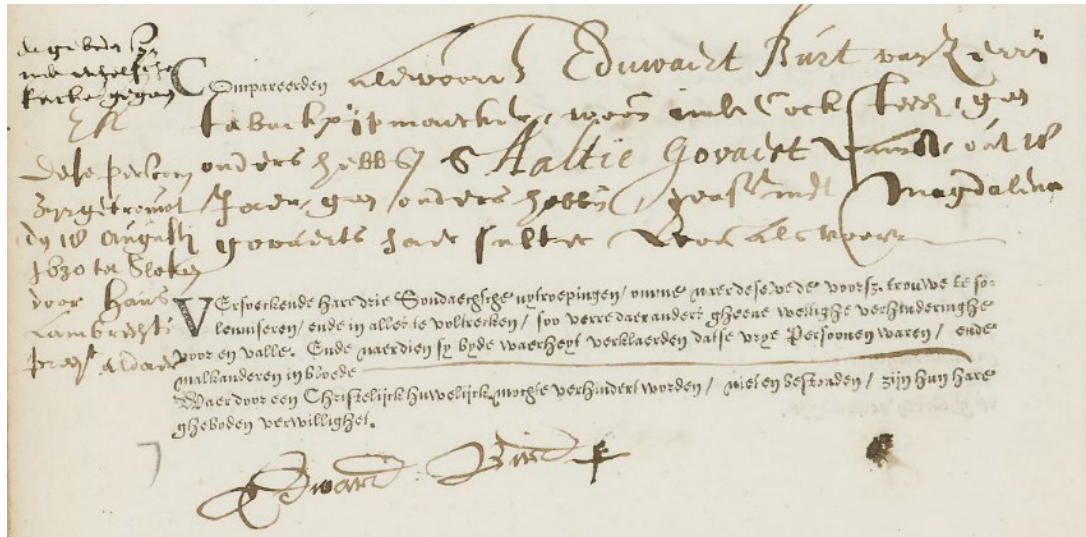


Figure 5.66. Entry in the Marriage Register of 'Eduwart Burt', tobacco pipemaker, 1630 (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, Archive 5001, DTB 436, p.18).

The accuracy of this assertion is doubtful as his Licence to Pass Beyond the Seas states that he was aged twenty in 1624 (fig. 5.67).

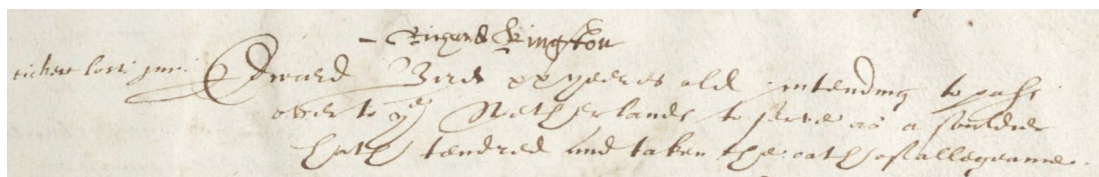


Figure 5.67. Edward Bird's licence to 'pass over to ye Netherlands' (TNA:E 157/12, 4 June 1624).

A notarial record from 1638 gives his origin as 'Stock' in Surrey which has been taken to mean Stoke near Guildford (de Roever, 1987 p.54; fig. 5.68). However, Stoke d'Abernon near Leatherhead seems more likely given the succession of Edward and Edmund Bird's that were buried there in the early seventeenth century.

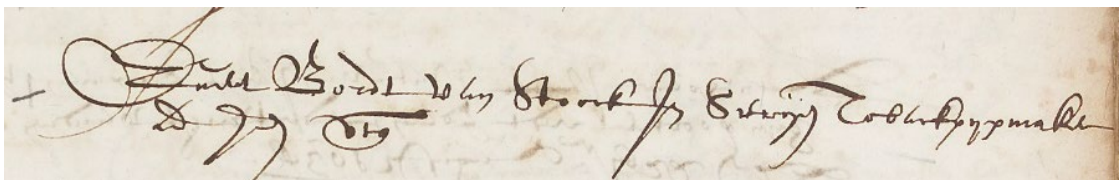


Figure 5.68. Evert Bordt, tobacco pipemaker, from Stock, 14 August 1638 (ACA, *Poorter books*, archive 5033, inv. no.2, p.73).

Bird was fortunate that his son carried on the family business after his death. Those English pipemakers that were successfully established in the Dutch Republic did not return to England and only a single contrary example has been found although it would be unwise to assume that the migration of pipemakers between England and the Dutch Republic was always in the same direction.

Some of the tobacco pipemakers who were given licences would have been itinerant journeymen who never operated their own business. In 1636, an Edward Shelly 'borne in London' was in Great Yarmouth seeking to work as a pipemaker in Holland (fig. 5.69).

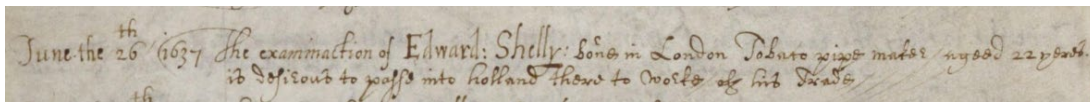


Figure 5.69. The examination of pipemaker Edward Shelly who 'is desirous to passe into Holland there to worke of his Trade' (TNA:E 157/21 f.9r).

No products of his are known and he was probably a journeyman. His emigration would appear to be on economic grounds and given the transient nature of movement between the east of England and the Dutch Republic, could have probably been reversed without too much difficulty. He may be the same person who enlisted as a soldier before being sent to Flanders in 1634.

### **Economic Migration**

Migration falls into four main categories. Two have an economic benefit and two have a negative impact. In the latter category are those who emigrated to the colonies as indentured servants and some of those that relocated for primarily religious reasons. Positive economic outcomes could be achieved by moving to where wages were higher or when the cost of that move was subsidised by civic authorities. Although there is evidence that some German towns contributed to those wishing to relocate to Amsterdam, this does not appear to be the case for emigration from England (Lottum, 2007 p.187).

Undoubtedly there was an economic element in most emigrations. Even the erratic wages of a soldier might seem attractive compared with the drudgery



of apprenticeship in England. It should be noted that the first pipemakers would have arrived in the Dutch Republic at a very uncertain time for the Calvinist northern provinces although a cease-fire with Spain was agreed in 1607. The signing of a truce in 1609 would have made emigration on solely economic terms a more viable proposition.

### **Assimilation**

Friederich lists fifty-five Englishmen in the pipemaking trade who are recorded as marrying Dutch women prior to 1647. In that total there are a few who appear to be Scottish but nevertheless, this is a considerable corpus of workers given that these names all come from the records of just one city, Amsterdam (1972 pp.62-63). There is a peak in numbers during the 1630s when twenty-five names are recorded as opposed to fourteen in the 1620s and eleven in the 1610s. Only five are recorded in the 1640s and it is unclear whether this is indicative of a reduction in English emigration or symptomatic of the next generation of workers being born in the Dutch Republic. Few, if any, were employed in the trade prior to their emigration. Those stated as coming from Dundee or Aberdeen will not have taken up pipemaking in Scotland prior to their arrival in Amsterdam. At the time of marriage, most pipemakers were in their early twenties with their ages ranging from twenty-one to forty-six.

A typical example of integration is from another city. The pipemaker William Bretsman's wives were successively Dutch and German. He appears to have prospered in Leiden in the 1620s, probably through the purchase and resale of tobacco rather than from pipemaking. It is not known when Bretsman first arrived in Leiden but he is recorded in the city in April 1609, then aged about twenty-six years old. He had agreed to purchase cloth from an Amsterdam merchant, part of a consignment which had been damaged by seawater, and which was on display at the home of William Brewster. As an elder of the puritan congregation, Brewster had just moved from Amsterdam as permission to settle in Leiden had been granted by the magistrates on 12 February. The congregation's passage by water to Leiden has been dated to late April so it is possible that this was cloth that was damaged during the relocation (Bangs, 2013 p.87).

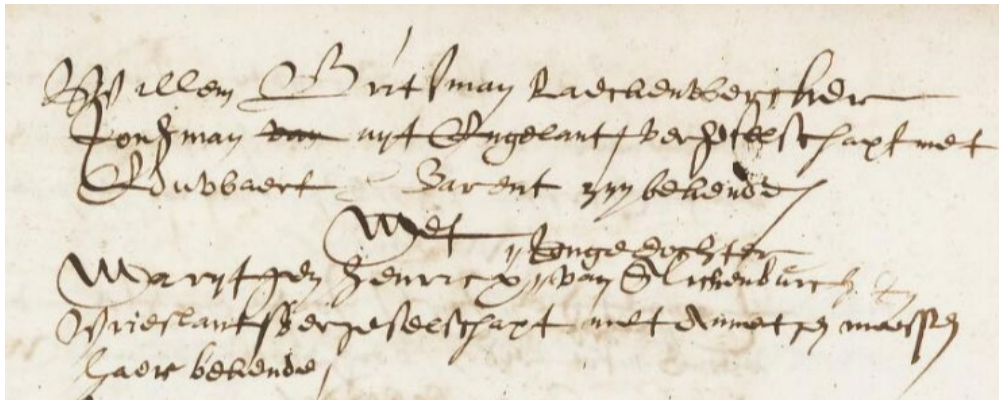


Figure 5.70. Marriage of Willem Britsman, 10 April 1610, to Marytgen Henricxdaughter of Slickenburg (LRA, *Kerktrouwboek*, G, f.88v).

The merchant selling the cloth was Bernard Ross, the brother-in-law of Bartholomew Smith. Bretsman is likely to have already been a resident in the city as he was married in Leiden in 1610 (fig. 5.70). This marriage was very short-lived as he remarried the following year and on both occasions he is described as an English cloth worker (fig. 5.71).

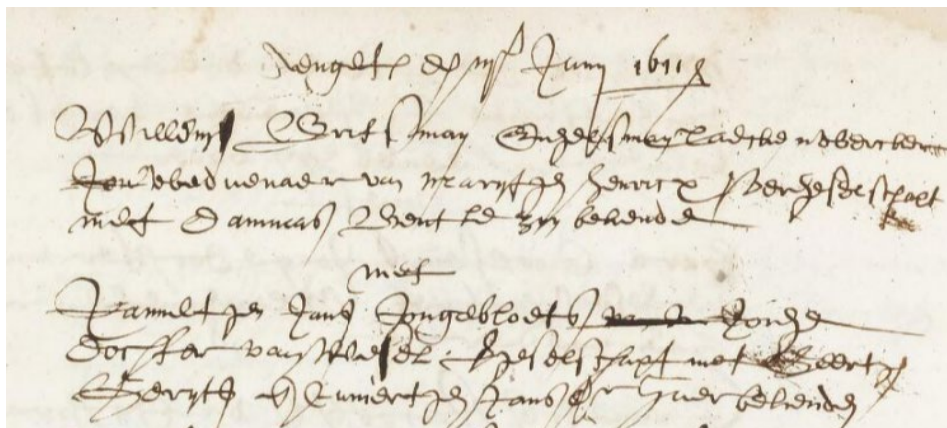


Figure 5.71. Marriage of widowed Willem Britsman, 3 June 1611, to Jannetgen Jans Jongbloeds of Wesel (LRA, *Kerktrouwboek*, G, f.149v).

A memorial on the outside wall of the Pieterskerk lists an un-named child of his as being buried there in 1611 and it is possible that his first wife died in childbirth. Bretsman became a resident in Leiden's newest neighbourhood. He appears to have taken over a mortgage on a house on the north side of the Langegracht as no down payment is recorded. Although this transaction is dated 1 September 1617, with Bretsman being recorded as a fustian weaver, this two-roomed house was inventoried shortly afterwards and at that point, in May 1619, he is described as a tobacco pipemaker. Listed

among his goods are four brass pipe moulds. Also included are seven planks for drying pipes, six smaller planks for working on and a stamp, presumably for marking his pipes. The front room contained three boxes for packing tobacco pipes although no stock is listed (LRA, RA, G, f.64). The absence of a loom or other weaving equipment suggests that pipemaking was now his main occupation. Other domestic items recorded suggest that this was primarily the residence of a family with young children and not a workshop.

We can be fairly certain that the commencement of Bretsman's involvement in the tobacco pipe trade dates to 1618. On 1 January 1620, Robert Crouch declares that Bretsman will pay an outstanding debt of just over 472 guilders owed to Scotsman Peter Craig as soon as he can, following the purchase of tobacco. Craig was the middleman as by August the debt had still not been cleared and the tobacco is said to have come from Samuel and Daniel Berton of Amsterdam. On 10 August Crouch acknowledges his debt to Bretsman for his part in the transaction (LRA, 0506, 135 f.8; 136 f.84b. f.100).

In 1622, Bretsman bought tobacco directly from Amsterdam although his purchase was subsequently confiscated by one of his creditors (Bangs, 2013 p.433). At the time he was living with his wife and two children on the east side of Weder Coepoortsgracht (LRA, *Hoofdgeld* 1622, 0501A, 4022 West Nieuwland f.24v). In November 1625, Bretsman acted as a witness to the baptism of the first son of William Basel, Cleverley's former employee and it is plausible that Basel now worked for Bretsman (LRA, *Dopen Hooglandsche Kerk*, archive 1004, inv. no.232). Bretsman originally signed documents with a mark but later adopted a full signature. He writes his forename as 'Willim', between the English 'William' and the Dutch 'Willem' (figs. 5.72 and 5.73).

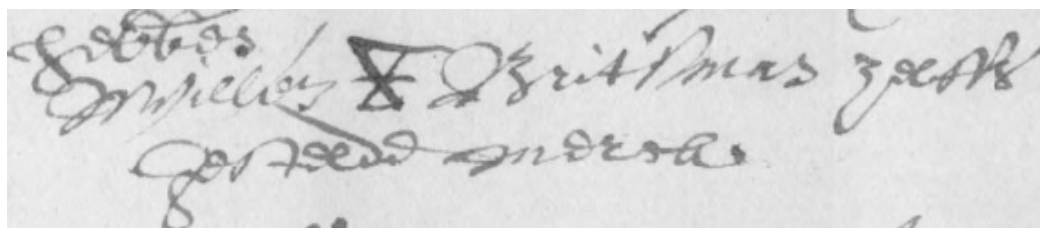


Figure 5.72. The initial mark of Willem Britsman in 1621, an English tobacco seller (LRA, NA Jan Mote, archive 0506, inv. no.283, f.61).

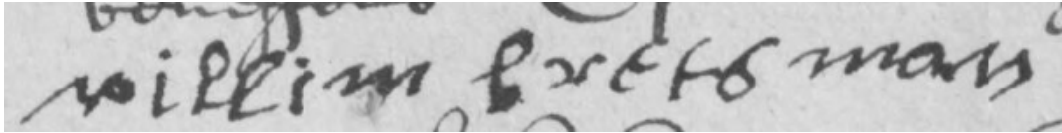


Figure 5.73. The signature of Willim Bretsman in 1627, tobacco seller (LRA, NA Cornelis Dirckx. van Grotelande, archive 0506, inv. no.313, f.179).

By 1628, Bretsman ran a tavern called 'de Soldaat' and was of sufficient standing to stand guarantor for the tobacco merchant Jan Laes [John Lace] from Norwich in the following year (LRA, *Poorterboeken* register, inv. no.1267, F, f.193). This is despite being in debt for outstanding rent amounting to 98 guilders and 10 stuivers (LRA, archive 0506, no.297 f.72). In 1632 he is again listed as an innkeeper when he bought a property in the district of Liederdorp (LRA, archive 0508, no.79S, f.45v-46). He was living on St. Boissteeg at the time of his death in 1635 (LRA, Church records burials, *Begraven*, archive 0501A, inv. no.1319).

Acculturation is exemplified by a pipe, dated to around 1650, found outside Waddinxveen near Gouda referencing either the English heritage of the maker or the origins of the Dutch pipemaking industry in general. The use of the Tudor rose was a common motif and this is an early example of a clay tobacco pipe serving both practical and symbolic functions (fig. 5.74).



Figure 5.74. Decorated pipe featuring the Tudor Rose on one side of the bowl and the arms of William of Orange on the other (PKN, <https://www.tabakspijp.nl/publicaties/archief-pijp-van-de-maand/pvdm-2020/>).

## Segregation

The issue of assimilation was a genuine concern for the puritan community. Not only was there an unfamiliar language but their separatist ideology meant that the godly should not associate with those they considered to be less godly. Employment in those trades regulated by guilds required a residence status of a year and a day so that new arrivals were initially only able to find employment within the established English community (Bangs, 2013 p.72).

Another Englishman combining dealing in tobacco with being a pipemaker was the puritan Edmund Chandler. He stood as a guarantor for Roger Wilson, a baker from Sandwich, in 1609 and Henry Wood, a draper, in 1610 when they requested citizenship of Leiden and both returned the favour in 1613 when Chandler applied (Bangs, 2013 pp.711-712). He is then recorded as a say worker (LRA, *Poorterboeken* register, inv. no.1267). Chandler also provided a guarantee for John Keble, a draper and tobacco merchant from Canterbury in 1615 and Roger White, a grocer, in 1623 at which time Chandler is also said to be a draper (Tammel, 1989 p.291). When he stood as a guarantor for Edward Collis in 1626, Chandler is recorded as a tobacco pipemaker.

An un-named child of Edmund's was buried in the Pieterskerk on 26 March 1619 when he is said to be living, like Bretsman, in the new town. This was the area to the north-west of Leiden which began to be developed in 1612 (Bangs, 2013 p.723). A testamentary deposition by Catherine Edmonds, the wife of tobacco seller William Cubitt, was witnessed by Chandler who is again recorded as working as a tobacco pipemaker in July 1628 (LRA, NA Jacob Jansz. Verwey, Record Group 506, call no.107, p.82). Chandler died in the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts in 1662. He is known to have been a resident and freeman there by 1633, shortly after his emigration. His working life as a pipemaker was probably restricted to the second half of the 1620s and may have been quite short as it was not a trade that he returned to following his arrival in Plymouth.

A Roger Chandler was betrothed in Leiden in 1615 and recorded as a serge weaver from Colchester, perhaps a relation of Edmund's (Bangs, 2013 p.285). Chandler acted as a witness to Wilson's notice of marriage in 1615 as Wilson did to Chandler's marriage to Isabel Chilton of Canterbury in the same year. In 1622 Chandler was living in the Groene Port, an area next to the English church occupied by members of the puritan congregation. He also appears in the list of freemen of the Plymouth colony in 1633. His emigration from Leiden is said to have been around 1629 and he died in Duxbury, Massachusetts in 1665 (Whittemore, 2001 p.82).

Another Chandler, a Richard Denham Chandler, had dealings with another early Leiden pipemaker, Henry Beere. He was free of the Salters Company in London and was involved in a dispute involving local earthenware makers. That there is only a single reference to Beere, containing his signature, written with a flourish and slanting confidently upwards, suggests that his stay in Leiden was not lengthy (fig. 5.75).

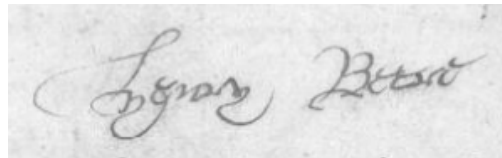
A close-up photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Henry Beere" and is written in dark ink on a light-colored, slightly textured paper. The letters are slanted upwards and connected in a fluid, confident manner.

Figure 5.75. The signature of Henry Beere, 1623 (LRA, NA Jan Angillis, archive 0506, inv. no.292, f.78).

He may be the Englishman recorded as Hendrick Bier in Amsterdam in 1633. There he was ordered not to molest his former wife Jannitgen Willems. Should he not obey the aldermen's order, he was to be detained in the House of Correction (ACA, SAA *Index op confessieboeken*, archive 5061, inv. no.299, p.193).

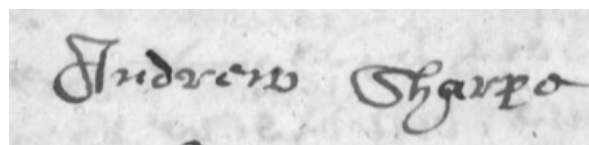
A close-up photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Andrew Sharpe" and is written in dark ink on a light-colored, slightly textured paper. The letters are slanted upwards and connected in a fluid, confident manner.

Figure 5.76. The signature of pipemaker Andrew Sharpe, 1620 (LRA, NA A.C. Paedts, no.181, f.10).

The marriage of a Lysbet Bier in Leiden in 1623 reveals that her mother was called Jenneke Scharp [Janet Sharpe] (Tammel, 1989 p.46). This suggests a

familial link between Henry Beere and the pipemaker Andrew Sharpe. His signature is also confident although he corrects a slight downward slant as he writes (fig. 5.76). Although Sharpe was a pipemaker, he sold tobacco and lived in a house with a sign called 'The Three Gilt Tobacco Pipes' (Bangs, 2013 p.431; fig. 5.77).

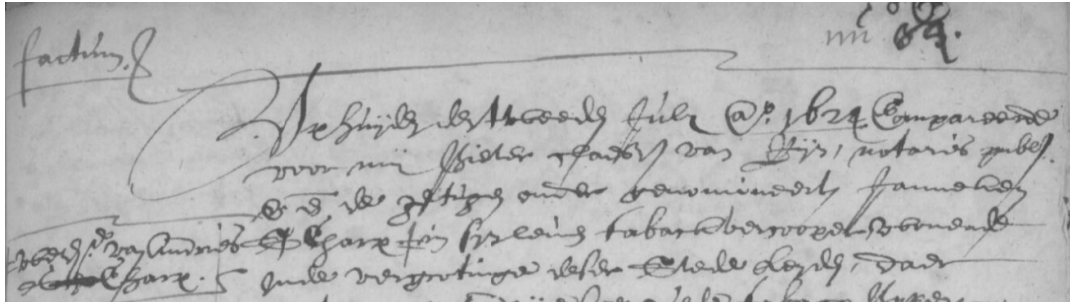


Fig. 5.77. Andries Scharpe, recorded as a tobacco dealer in 1624 (LRA, NA 210, P. van Rijn, inv. no.304).

It is possible that Sharpe came from Sandwich in Kent as the mother of puritan Mary Chilton had excommunication proceedings started against her there in 1609 for attending the secret burial of a child of an Andrew Sharp (Johnson, 2017). The registration of a property on the south side of the Rapenburg in 1617 lists Andries Scharp as a wool comber when he agrees to purchase three houses with payments in four decreasing instalments, the last being due in May 1623. By then, his wife had died leaving him with three children to support (LRA, archive no.501A, inv. no.6615, f.346v). The property is described as being on the north side of the New Boysenstraet and that it appears to have been one property now divided into three as the seller, a cloth worker, was 'taxed as previously'. That Sharpe could afford a 1,000 guilder down-payment shows that he was not an impoverished wool comber but upwardly mobile. He became a citizen of Leiden in the following year and Bangs records him as a draper, without giving a reference. In April 1622, he is described as being about forty years old and had recently been appointed as the collector of the impost on tobacco (Bangs, 2013 p.414).

After his death in 1624, his widow Janet continued to sell tobacco although no record has been found for her in the pipemaking trade. In the same year, she acknowledged a debt of 267 guilders incurred by her late husband and had to mortgage all her inheritance (Bangs, 2013 p.433).

There are two generations represented in the Leiden records by references to the pipemaker Henry Bayford. Henry's son is normally recorded patronymically, as Hendrick Hendricksz. Beyfort. Bayford senior is unusual in that he appears to have been pipemaking for at least forty years. He also combined this occupation with that of being a seller of tobacco. When Moses Fletcher and Sara Dinbay, married in Leiden in 1613, a Willem Bredfort was a witness as an acquaintance of the groom. Accompanying the bride was Sara Prist, the wife of Cleverley's landlord Degory Priest (LCA *Schepenhuwelijken*, archive 1004, inv. no.198, *Trouwen Gerecht* f.B – 025).

In 1620, Bayford had been attacked by the weaver, Pieter Marraes, after Bayford accused him of stealing wool from his house. Bayford asked the pipemaker Andrew Sharpe to testify to the events at an inn on the Achtergraft where Marraes had agreed to pay for the medical treatment of Bayford's wound (LRA, Archief van notaris Adriaen Claesz. Paedts, part 181, archive 0506, inv. no.181, f.9v). Both Bayfords were living on the Rapenburg when the younger was betrothed to Annetgen Centendaughter van Borssen in October 1631 (fig. 5.78). He is also listed as a pipemaker at this marriage and as he is stated to have been born in England, it implies that he emigrated after the truce of 1609.

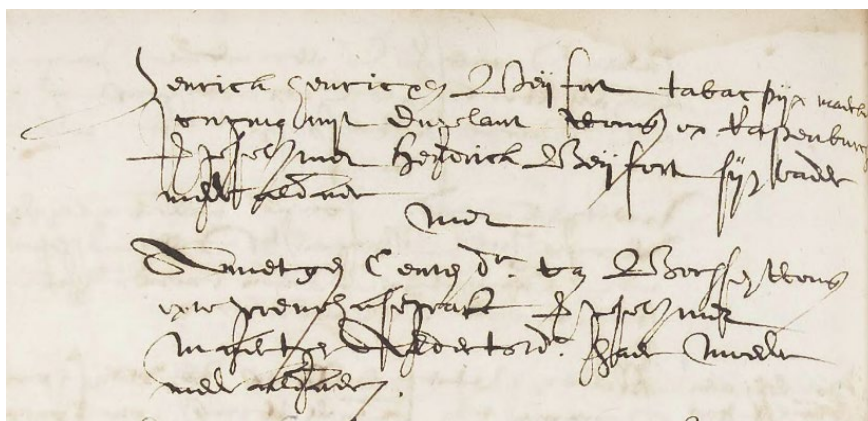


Figure 5.78. Betrothal record of pipemaker Henrick Henrickx Beijfort (LRA, *Ondertrouw*, inv. no.10, K, f.249v).

The younger Bayford was involved in a violent quarrel in 1637. He appears to have taken exception to the pipemaker Christopher Lasen's suggestion that the young lady from Rotterdam that was accompanying Bayford, sleep the night at his house. The quarrel ended with Lasen beaten and wounded.



Bayford junior is recorded as a pipemaker in 1645 but by the time he was betrothed to Lourentia Matteeus in 1657, he had been widowed and was living on an alley called the Boysenstraet off the Rapenburg. A barely legible entry in the *Bonboek* records a Henrick Beffert residing in a house there between 1630 and 1649, presumably a different property (fig. 5.79). The next occupant of the property was Dirck Salomonsz, a pipemaker from Gorinchem.

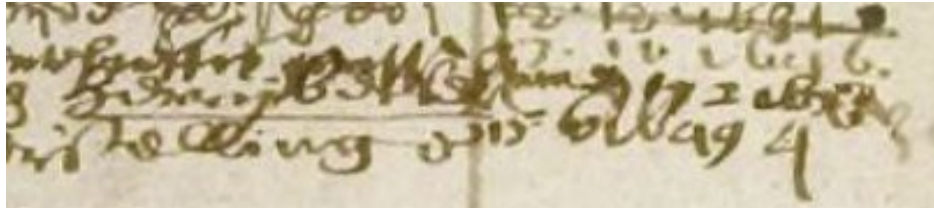


Figure 5.79. Detail from the list of owners or tenants of a house on Boysenstraat (LRA, *Bonboek, Registratie van onroerendgoed*, archive 0501A, inv. no.6615, f.341v).

In 1646 Bayford was supplying pipeclay to other pipemakers as Arijen Gijsbertz Coorenaert complained about the poor quality of the product he had received. He seems to be obtaining his pipeclay from the potter Andries Jansz. as he in turn complains that the Maastricht clay he purchased is not only mixed with cheaper English clay but that each tun of around 35 pounds in weight contains too little clay. Bayford's complaint is not upheld (LRA, NA 556, f.32 and f.35). It is notable that Bayford junior's mark is an 'HB' monogram which he also used as a heel mark on his products (fig. 5.80).

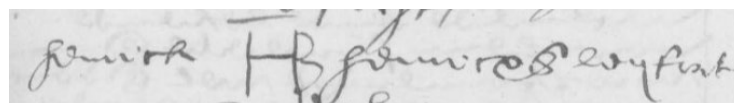


Figure 5.80. The 'HB' monogram of Henry Bayford junior (LRA, Minute Deeds, NA 566 inv. no.35).

Bayford senior signed with a full signature (fig. 5.81). It is not known whether they shared the 'HB' heelmark but unusually, the father appears to be more literate than his son. The Bayford's pipemaking enterprise employed various people at different times. Mauris Maes, aged sixteen, and Maertje Maes, aged ten, were sent to work there to pay off a debt. Haen and Thomas Jansz also worked there as did Frans Philip and a person named Springe. More

formal apprentices included Matthijs Cornelisz. den Decker in 1642 and Mathias Sijle who was apprenticed for the unusually long period of six years in the following year.

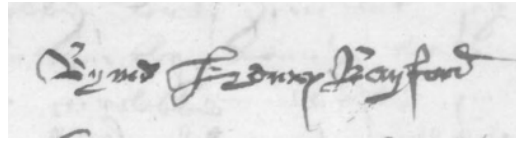


Figure 5.81. Signature of Henry Bayford senior, 1659 (LRA, NA Frans Doude, archive 0506, inv. no.636, f.68)

Bayford senior's daughter is recorded as Grietgen Bleyfort of Norwich and living on the Coepoortsgraft when she was betrothed to the pipemaker Christoffel Pettert in July 1642. He is said to be living on the Heerensteech. In April 1643, Christoffel de Potter baptised a son, at which ceremony Anna Senten was a witness. By 1651 Grietgen was a widow as she married George Wright, also a widower (fig. 5.82). Products attributed to him are marked 'IW' for Joris Wright, the Dutch version of his name, rather than 'GW', although he signs documents with his given name (fig. 5.83).

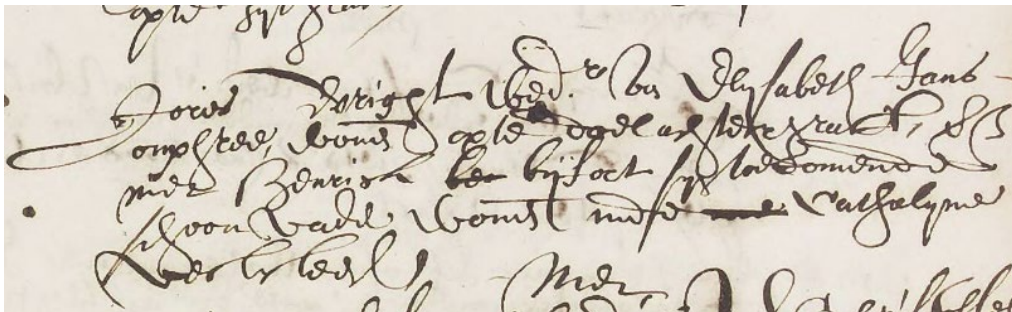


Figure 5.82. The marriage of Joris Wright, to Grietgen Bijfort, 16 September 1651 (LRA, archive 1004, inv. no.14, *Ondertrouw*, O, f.245).

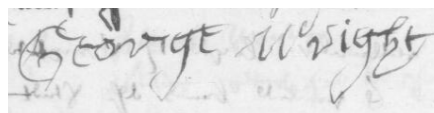


Figure 5.83. The proficient signature of George Wright (LRA, archive no. 506, NA Frans Doude, inv. no.637, no.026).

Bayford senior was still working as a pipemaker in 1659 although he died in the following year (Van der Meulen, 1999 p.84). It is not known where the Bayfords were working at this time as by 1650, their workshop in the attic of

the house on Koepoortsgracht was said to be 'solid and closed' (Van der Meulen, 1999 p.45). In 1651 the workshop and everything that belongs to the pipe factory were shared between Grietgen and her brother. George Wright gained the right to sell any goods or tools in 1659 although it is evident that both he and Henry Bayford junior continued to work as pipemakers, possibly in partnership together. By the 1640s, connections between pipemaking families are being created and reinforced through marriage.

### **Signatures and Marks**

The involvement of pipemakers in the tobacco trade is a notable feature of those based in the Dutch Republic and not usually seen in England. Any transaction included a high degree of financial risk and required a familiarity with contracts and an ability to access credit. A certain level of commercial understanding and a basic level of numeracy and literacy were prerequisites.

The betrothal notices and various notarised documents permit an analysis of the level of literacy among these early pipemakers, especially in Amsterdam and Leiden. Although the ability to form a name does not equate to whether that person could read, it is nevertheless a data element that is measurable. Conversely, poorly executed signatures may be a sign of lower literacy but may also be symptomatic of illness or advanced age.

Those pipemakers making their mark can be compared over time and between countries. In England, the Protestation Returns have been used to show that the illiteracy rate among adult males in the early 1640s was seventy percent in rural areas and slightly less in the towns and in south-east England. The ecclesiastical court records show that illiteracy rates among women were much higher, around ninety percent in London and around ninety-five percent in the diocese of Norwich (Cressy, 1977 pp.144-145).

While petitions emphasise the poor and miserable nature of those in the pipe trade in London, there appears to be a higher level of literacy amongst those that have relocated to Leiden or Amsterdam. Although it might be expected that those who have emigrated would have been those that could afford to, there are several cases of apprentices that have 'run away' to the Dutch Republic.

## The •RW mark

Two of the children of William Wilkine became pipemakers based in Amsterdam. Henry, who was baptised in Thirsk, Yorkshire on 28 February 1615, firstly married the widow of a pipemaker originally from Kent. His elder brother, Roger, had been baptised in the same church (fig. 5.84).

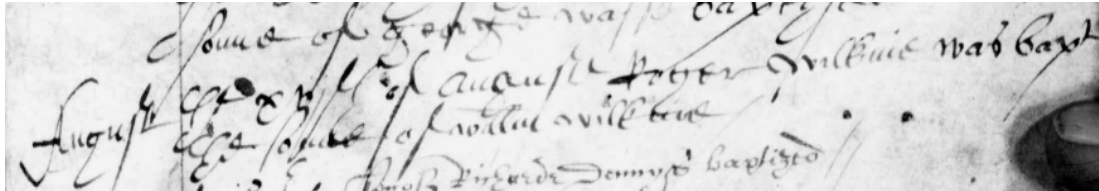


Figure 5.84. Baptism entry of Roger Wilkine, 16 August 1605, Thirsk Parish Register.

A betrothal record dated 19 March 1633 records that Roger Wilkine's expectant wife, Dorothy, originally came from the cautionary town of Den Briel. His mark is the letter 'W' and hers is the letter 'B', despite being recorded as Dorethea Willims (fig. 5.85). The subsequent baptism of their daughter Elisabet on 18 September at the Nieuwe Kerk records her surname as Bat so that the two initial marks relate to the couples' surnames (ACA, DTB 41, p.271, archive NL-SAA-908121). That her mark reflects her maiden name is confirmed by the record of an earlier betrothal on 9 August 1625 when she is recorded as Dorithea Bort from Briel (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 430, p.203).

Another betrothal on 9 February 1630 records her name as Dorethea Bort from Briele and on both occasions she signs with an initial 'B' (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 435, p.90). This suggests that her use of Willims as a surname in 1633 follows the English tradition of the bride taking her husband's surname on marriage, or at least a Dutch version of the name. On her previous betrothals she retained her maiden name which was the common practice in Holland.

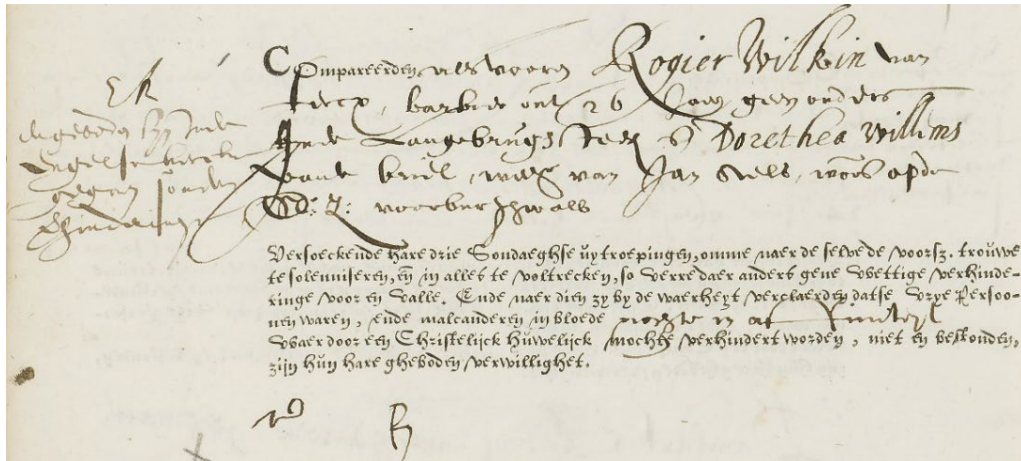


Figure 5.85. Betrothal record of Rogier Wilkin, barber, ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 440, p.204.

When Wilkin remarries in 1649, his previous wife is listed as Dorothe Borth but his mark has evolved from a simple initial into a monogram with the letter 'R' surmounting a larger 'W'. The entry also confirms that he originally came from Thirsk and is a pipemaker (fig. 5.86). He also used this form of initial mark to stamp his products.

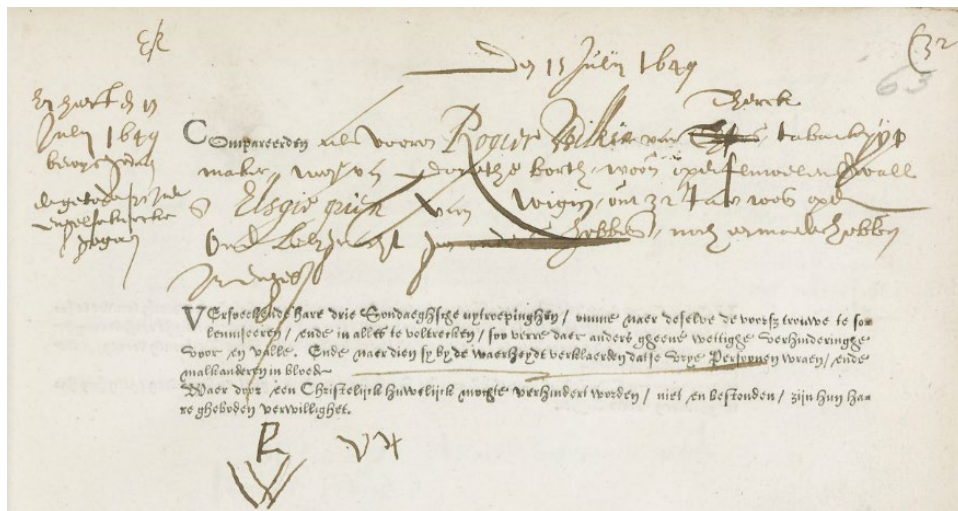


Figure 5.86. Betrothal record of Rogier Wilkin showing his RW monogram, (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, archive 5001, DTB 467, p.63, 11 July 1649).

While it is unsurprising that his pipes have been found in Amsterdam, his distinctive mark allows us to also attribute products found at Sandal Castle near Wakefield in his home county of Yorkshire (fig. 5.87). Five examples were excavated, all made from the same flawed mould and stamped with the same die (White, 2002 p.289).

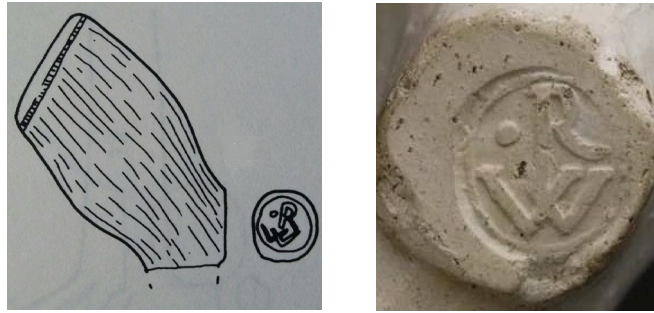


Figure 5.87. '•RW' heel marks from Sandal Castle, near Wakefield (left; White, 2002 p.282, no.13) and Amsterdam (right; Amsterdam Pipe Museum).

As the castle was made untenable in 1646 following its surrender to Parliamentary forces, it is plausible that these pipes were used by those defending it. Whether they had arrived in England through a family connection is unknown. The spread of the ages of Wilkine's children that were baptised in Amsterdam suggest that he did not return to England for any length of time.

The •RW mark was also used by Henry Wilkine's son Roger when he was betrothed in 1667. His mark includes the prefix dot found on the pipes made by his uncle (fig. 5.88). Having developed from an initial mark used as a signature, it has now become the equivalent of a merchant's mark, used on both products and documents alike.

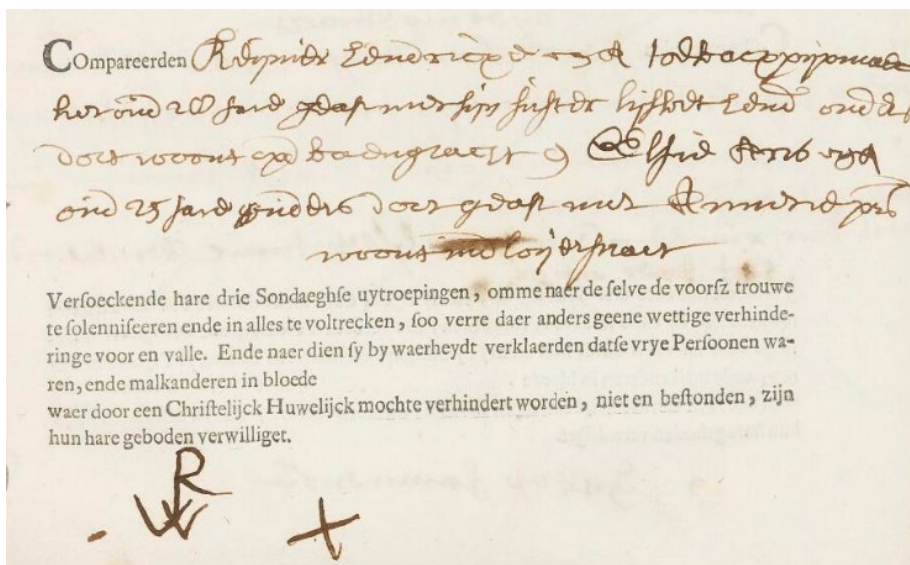


Figure 5.88. The '•RW' monogram of pipemaker Reijnier Hendricxe (ACA, *Ondertrouwregister*, 25 May 1669, archive 5001, DTB 493, p.366).

## Merchant Pipemakers

The combination of being a pipemaker and being involved in the tobacco trade was rare in London but more commonplace in the Dutch Republic in this period. Access to credit was a major factor and the Dutch notarial records include numerous examples of debts which follow on from the purchase of tobacco and which had not been repaid by the agreed date. In 1622 William Bretsman bought tobacco in Amsterdam on credit at a cost of 630 guilders and in 1627 he acknowledged a debt of 64 guilders to a London merchant for tobacco he had already received. When William White and Robert Peck bought tobacco from Thomas Payne in Flushing in 1625, they agreed to pay half of the amount due after three months and the other half after six months although it was noted only a year after the sale that the contract had been completed. The price paid, at 930 guilders, was approximately the cost of a small house (Bangs, 2013 p.433, p.435). It might therefore be expected that those merchant pipemakers would be more numerate and literate than those merely supplying a local market. Spufford suggests that 'the written instruments of credit and debt' provided a powerful incentive to read (1995 p.230). The first public bank opened in Amsterdam in 1609 some eighty-five years before the Bank of England was founded (Braudel, 1985 p.390).

Another merchant pipemaker was Walter Smith who became free from the Haberdashers Company in London in April 1606 (London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/L/HA/C/007/MS15857/007 f.153). Within four years he was working as a tobacco pipemaker in Amsterdam, having married Anne Colman. He signs the betrothal record with a confident flourish while hers is a competent signature (figure. 5.89). He is said to have come originally from 'Berrey' and may be the person baptised in Bury St. Edmonds, Suffolk, in January 1581. His wife may be related to the pipemaker William Coolman, working in Rotterdam from at least 1618.

Smith was still working as a pipemaker at the close of 1616 and on New Year's Eve, he bought a house near the Lily sluice by the wooden bridge over the Prinsengracht (fig. 5.90). In May 1618 he sold a house and yard there, presumably the same place.





## Transnational connections

Migration for purely economic reasons is difficult to ascertain from the documentary sources. At the lower end of society, large parts of cities like London and Amsterdam were densely packed with a lack of sanitation and poor water quality along with the diseases that often accompany this. Both had a crude death rate higher than the crude birth rate (Lottum, 2007 p.99). That the population of both cities was growing by around 2 percent per year around 1600 is explained by migration. The extent that there was movement between the two cities is unknown although migration to London was chiefly from other parts of England as Van Bochove notes that wage levels in Oxford and Newcastle were considerably lower than in London (cited in Lottum, 2007 p.114). It is notable that those that worked as pipemakers frequently came from outside of the capital. The only economic advantage for a London-based pipemaker moving to the Dutch Republic would be in setting up a workshop where none had existed before. The necessary supporting industries were often already in place, particularly the availability of suitable clay and access to kilns to fire the pipes.

Allen's database of consumer price indices shows that wages in London were very similar to those in Amsterdam (fig. 5.91).

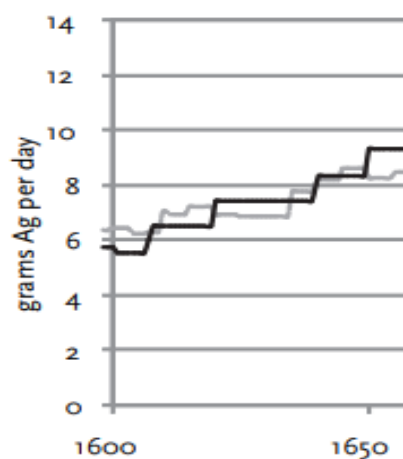


Figure 5.91. Nominal wages measured in grams of silver, 1600-50, for London (black line) and Amsterdam (grey line) (Allen, cited by Lottum, 2007 p.106).

The Englishmen identified by Tammel as being a part of Leiden's puritan community were largely involved in the cloth trade although a significant

proportion were also connected to the tobacco trade. Of the eighty-eight people he recorded as cloth workers, twenty-eight were say drapers or say weavers, thirteen were wool combers or carders and six worked as tailors. In addition, eleven are recorded as merchants with four of these being specifically described as tobacco merchants. A further seven people were tobacco pipemakers and one is recorded as a tobacco worker (1989 p.310).

## **Conclusions**

The London Port Books provide evidence for very limited formal exports of tobacco pipes to the Dutch Republic. The very large consignment of pipes sent to Flushing by a member of the Westminster pipemakers' company suggests that there was a market for English pipes although casual importation must have been common from London and all the ports on the east coast of England. With the sequence of Port Books being incomplete and the ability to carry pipes as personal possessions or victuals without paying customs duty, the volume of pipes recorded is likely to be considerably understated.

The records of those who obtained licences to emigrate from England only survive in any number from 1610 and only for those that left from the port of London, with the exception of three registers from Great Yarmouth (Jewson, 1954). These also contain the names, and some signatures, of soldiers who took the Oath of Allegiance prior to assisting the Dutch in their armed struggle with Spain.

Occupational data can be found in the Dutch notarial, judicial and betrothal records whereas the names of pipemakers in England are only occasionally found in petitions and court records. Comparing the English baptism, marriage and apprenticeship records with those persons recorded by the Dutch clerks is a process with a degree of uncertainty, proportional to the ubiquity of their names. The requirement in the Dutch Republic that betrothal records include the place of origin of both parties and, if it was their first marriage, their ages, is beneficial in making those connections. Signatures can provide some surety that individuals' movements can be traced and that the Dutch and English versions of their names relate to the same person. As

was the case in England, pipemaking was not always a sole occupation although there is a clear distinction between the two groups as to the associated trades which they undertook. The involvement of pipemakers in the Dutch Republic in the importation or wholesale purchasing of tobacco sets the two groups apart. This is due to the pipemakers in England not having access to the credit necessary for these high risk, speculative ventures.

It was relatively common for pipemakers in England to run inns or similar establishments. In Leiden we find that Carpentier was recorded as a victualler and that Bretsman ran an inn but these are the exceptions. The pipemakers there used the facilities of already established potters to fire their pipes. The sharing of kiln space is also found in England, for example at Barnstaple, but here pipemaking could be a side-line for potters whereas the two occupations are more distinct in Leiden (Grant and Jemmett, 1985 p.447).

There is insufficient documentary evidence to determine how the pipemaking industry in Leiden started. That Stanton and Basel were employees of Cleverley in 1616 suggests that he was one of the earliest to be established in the city. He is not likely to have arrived earlier than 1611 when he was twenty-one years of age and perhaps did so after the death of his mother. Cleverley is stated as living in Degory Priest's house between 1615 and 1619 yet his goods were inventoried at Claes Omaer's house on the Uiterstegracht in 1618 and he was also refused access to his pipemaking tools there. He is similarly recorded as a lodger there at the end of 1616 and in 1617. As he does not appear in the records of those who rented or had mortgaged property, it is probable that he informally rented no more than a room from Priest and a single room or workshop from Omaer. It is mooted that Cleverley may have had a breakdown or trauma following the sale of all his goods and the persistent accusations regarding the murder of John Tyrrel. On at least two occasions there were threats of physical violence against Cleverley.

Phillipe Bassé is also listed as a pipemaker in 1616 so the earliest exponent of pipemaking in Leiden may not have been English. Neither Cleverley nor

Bassé are recorded as being pipemakers before coming to Leiden so they may have learnt the trade upon arrival from another pipemaker. It is just possible that Cleverley left his apprenticeship in London to learn the pipemaking trade although equally Bassé could have acquired the skills during his time in Amsterdam although he is likely to have relocated to Leiden prior to 1600. It is unfortunate that the Walloon baptismal records in which he often appears as a witness do not record occupations. He does not appear to have had commercial connections to the English pipemakers as his circle of friends and acquaintances were fellow Walloons. No products can be attributed to Bassé although it is suggested that Cleverley made plain and decorated pipes and that the crowned NC mark belonged to him.

Although we can identify the earliest pipemakers recorded working in this occupation in Leiden, it is clear that others who are later recorded as pipemakers were already living in the city before Cleverley could have arrived. Of the other individuals discussed in this chapter, Smith, Sharpe, Bretsman and Stanton worked at other trades in Leiden before taking up pipemaking. Cleverley, due to his young age and apprenticeship as a haberdasher, is also unlikely to have worked as a pipemaker outside of Leiden, although it is just feasible. Crouch is old enough to have worked as a pipemaker prior to the earliest mention of him doing so in 1619 and he was connected to others some five years earlier who were subsequently recorded as pipemakers. The probable record of him being a say draper in 1609 gives a terminus post quem date for his involvement in the pipemaking trade.

The two documents that numerate the stock of pipes held by Cleverley suggest that his was a small-scale operation. In 1616 he had only seven dozen pipes available for sale and in 1618, eighteen gross and one dozen. He did own thirty pots that would have been used for containing the pipes in the kiln. His production may have been sporadic as his tools were in the room he rented while he went to Germany in 1617. Pipes appear to have been bought directly from the pipemaker rather than being sold to middlemen to retail them. Bretsman's inventory does not record any stock of pipes although the four moulds listed suggests that he too was making a small range of pipes. Henry Bayford was the most successful of the early

pipemakers in that he continued pipemaking for forty years and that a second generation continued his business. However, even in the 1640s he appears to have been operating from an attic room.

Walker only dedicates a small paragraph to the first English pipemakers in the Netherlands in his article on the manufacture of Dutch clay pipes and states that Englishmen dominated the trade until 1637 (1971b p.5). This study broadly supports that assertion, without being that specific as to the year. Although this research has not pinpointed the precise birth of the pipemaking industry in Leiden, it has recorded its first, uncertain steps. It developed from a single room operation into larger workshops employing men, boys and girls. The inventories from the 1610s show that pipemakers were using moulds made from brass but not firing their own pipes. This may have been a skill that the earliest pipemakers had not learnt or that as occupiers of rented property, building their own kiln was not an option. The use of English or more local clays required dealings with potters and earthenware makers although quality was often a source of complaint.

Most of the pipemakers recorded in this chapter turned to pipemaking after their arrival in the Dutch Republic. For some, this was a transient occupation. The greater rewards that were possible from buying and selling tobacco were attractive, despite the higher risk. In Rotterdam, Bunn continued pipemaking, a trade he had practised in London, but his venture into the wholesale tobacco trade necessitated risking his business and all his possessions in order to invest in a single transaction. Repayments were spread over fifteen months but his business seems to have flourished once these debts had presumably been met.

There would appear to be a degree of fluidity between various occupations in Leiden but largely to unregulated forms of work from the controlled trades. Strikes by cloth workers in 1617 and 1637 and the wider strike of 1644 evidence dissatisfaction at the working conditions within an industry geared towards producing high volume, low cost products (Braudel, 1985 p.500). Not only was there movement between trades but also between towns. Pipemaking flourished in Leiden before being surpassed by Gouda, a city with a considerable pottery industry (Walker, 1977 p.265). Robert Crouch left

Leiden for Hoorn before settling in Utrecht where Bartholomew Smith also lived after relocating. Both had travelled to Haarlem together in 1614 and clearly their paths would have crossed, if indeed there were not closer commercial ties between them.

The extant Dutch documentary evidence containing occupational data for those English pipemakers working in the Dutch Republic is more plentiful than those in the trade in London for the same period. Caution must be used when records refer to a 'pipemaker' as there is no differentiation in either sets of records between masters and journeymen. Unless there is evidence for employing workers, we must rely on archaeological substantiation and this is only possible when makers started to mark their products. As was the case in England, pipemakers transitioned from unmarked products, to symbol marks, to initials. In the Dutch Republic these marks could be protected, passed on or sold while in England these remained largely individual to the pipemaker and his widow.

The documentary evidence suggests a flourishing pipemaking industry in the Dutch Republic instigated and initially dominated by Englishmen and therefore relatively little need for imported tobacco pipes. Rather than exporting tobacco pipes, England 'exported' pipemakers. While they were fewer in number than previously realised, it was a trade that could be taken up without restriction, easily learnt without significant financial investment and for which there was an eager market. It was one of only a few trades that were immediately accessible to new arrivals in Leiden.

The proposition that it was English soldiers who first introduced tobacco smoking in clay pipes into the Dutch Republic from England has some merit. There is no documentary evidence to confirm this suggestion although the interaction with the maritime community when thousands of men were being transported in ships is plausible. It is known that Spanish soldiers also smoked so that the English only introduced the new method of consumption and not the habit itself. The cost of tobacco would have represented a significant proportion of a soldier's erratic wages. It has been suggested that following his return from the Roanoke colony, Ralph Lane may have spread the use of tobacco amongst the soldiers in Ireland when he resumed his

military career there (Rowley, 2003 p.50). Foreign soldiers were said to have spread the habit throughout Bavaria during the Thirty Years War (Mehler, 2009a p.267). A similar dissemination of smoking amongst English soldiers in the Dutch Republic seems likely, although they were not mercenaries as Walker states.

It is difficult to ascertain the religious views of those pipemakers studied. There is no church membership list of 'pilgrims'. Around one hundred adults petitioned to come to Leiden in 1609 from the Gainsborough and Scrooby areas of England but none of these were, or became, pipemakers. Smith is said to be a puritan because his guarantors were part of that community (Bangs, 2013 p.296). Cleverley is similarly believed to be part of the congregation by association with Degory Priest, his landlord. However, Priest deposed that he had only known Cleverley since 1615, the first year that the latter appears in the Leiden records.

Bangs also considers Stanton, but not fellow employee Basel, as being a member 'of the Leiden church', presumably by association with Cleverley (2013 p.705). Bretsman is also included in Bangs' list by reason of his presence in William Brewster's house in 1609 and by the assumption that the Willem Bruseman that buried a child in the Pieterskerk churchyard is the same man. Both Smith and his future brother-in-law, Ross, are connected to several other puritans although Smith also associates with Walloons and with Crouch who was a deacon in the English Reformed Church. The record of Smith's marriage in 1618 mentions no subsequent blessing in a Dutch church as was customary amongst puritans, suggesting that the English Reformed Church was the probable venue (Nockels, 2020 p.28). Ross also appears as a witness in the records of the same church. Described as a merchant from Amsterdam in 1609, it is possible that Ross relocated to Leiden alongside other members of the puritan congregation.

Although Sharpe and Beere's involvement in pipemaking was brief, a link with other puritans can be suggested in their cases. While puritans tended to associate within their own community, it is unwise to suggest membership based on a few commercial transactions and Smith's connections show he was involved across the Stranger communities. Nockels (2020) has

convincingly shown that the puritans in Leiden were not as insular as is often portrayed. Despite these connections, no pipemaker left for the Americas when the core of the puritan congregation departed Leiden. Even Cleverley remained, despite his apparently precarious personal situation, when his landlord sailed on the *Mayflower*. If those departing were the core of the city's puritan community in 1620, then those working as pipemakers must be regarded as being on the periphery.

The majority of those working in the pipemaking trade in the Dutch Republic previously worked in the textile and cloth trades but residence restrictions prevented them from joining a guild on arrival from England although day work and piece work were available (Bangs, 2013 p.72). Of the earliest pipemakers, Bassé formerly worked in the textile trade in Amsterdam and Cleverley was apprenticed as a haberdasher. Textile workers were in demand in Leiden where regulation by the *neringen* was tight although there was no guild control (Dekker, 1990 p.383). Bayford provides evidence that in pipemaking and other labour-intensive trades, there was a ready child labour market (Van Nederveen Meerkerk and Schmidt, 2008 p.718).

Most of those that were working as master pipemakers were fully part of the English expatriate community with Bassé similarly connected within the Walloon coterie. The common theme found in those working in this trade was that very few were pipemakers prior to emigration, rather that it was a trade which they could easily undertake and for which there was a ready market for the product. While there is probably an economic element in most relocations, this was not always the driving motivation. There may have been more opportunities for journeymen to work in the Netherlands compared with the east of England but this was an itinerant occupation and informal movement between the two countries could be achieved without too much difficulty. Both Boseman and Laurens appear to have left for Amsterdam before completing their apprenticeships in England and prior to the Twelve Years' Truce. Like Poyntz, their motivation may have been to escape the drudgery of working for others. The evidence presented here shows that the majority of the earliest documented pipemakers in the Dutch Republic were not mercenaries nor were they soldiers returning to a former trade in a time



of peace. Most had taken up a trade that was available to them without restriction and in which several members of the family could fulfil a role.

Although the production of tobacco pipes was probably brought from London to Amsterdam by 1590, the first pipemaker, or another artisan, has yet to be identified. No documentary evidence has been found that shows production in Amsterdam before 1606 nor in London before 1595. By using evidence encompassing both countries, this study shows that dating can be refined with a greater precision than by using bowl form typology alone. By identifying the movements of individual pipemakers, the growth, and sometimes decline, in the pipemaking trade in particular production centres can be revealed. This approach could be extended to other Dutch centres of production as more documents become widely accessible although survival rates vary considerably between cities.

The influence of English-born pipemakers waned as the seventeenth century progressed. The Dutch domestic industry began to expand and dominate the European trade in tobacco pipes using the developing trade routes to Iberia and beyond and by using long-standing commercial contacts in the Hanse towns and cities and across the wider Baltic region.

## ----- Chapter Six -----

# Trade with the Baltic Ports, Continental Europe and the Americas

### Introduction

English merchants were trading with the Russian port of Narva in the eastern Baltic by the mid-1560s (Willan, 1953 p.405 ). Although Dutch merchants dominated trade in the region during the terminal decline of the Hanseatic League, English traders had set up a 'Company of Merchants of the East' in 1579 to trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea ports although they struggled in the face of Dutch commercial supremacy. While trade with the English staple at Elbing, now Elbląg in modern-day Poland, was initially binary mainly involving cloth exports and imports of rye, the chartered Eastland Company, as they became known, increasingly brought in timber and naval stores vital for the expanding English fleet. Corroboration of this trade, as recorded in the English Overseas Port Books, can be sought with a comparison of the records of the receiving ports, where they are extant.

Of considerable extent are the records of the toll on all ships entering or leaving the Baltic Sea, introduced in 1429 by the Danish crown and payable at Elsinore. The records of these payments, the Sound Toll Registers (STR), provide a basis on which to assess how those goods which were consigned to the Baltic ports were recorded when they passed through the Øresund, or Sound, between Elsinore and the Scanian provinces (fig. 6.1). Although passing through the Sound was not the only way to access the Baltic Sea, it was by far the safest route to navigate. The alternatives, via either the Great Belt, which was also subject to a toll and which was patrolled by the Danish navy, or via the barely navigable Little Belt, were relatively little used. The records of passages through the Sound form a virtually uninterrupted series between 1574 and 1857 and represent the 'only [source] with rich and detailed information on European shipping' during this period (Veluwenkamp, 2011 p.3). Like the much larger series of Port Books, the Sound Toll

Registers are fiscal in nature. The typical data elements contained in both sources for the period under consideration, are compared in Table 6.1.



Figure 6.1. Map showing the strategic position of Elsinore as the gateway to the Baltic Sea.

Table 6.1. A comparison of the data elements of typical entries in the Sound Toll Registers and the London Overseas Port Books, 1610-1633.

	<b>Sound Toll Registers</b>	<b>Overseas Port Books</b>
Name of Ship	NO	YES
Home Port of Ship	NO	YES
Name of Master	YES	YES
Where Master is from	YES	SOMETIMES
Port of Departure	YES	YES
Destination Port	NO	YES
Name of Merchant	NO	YES
Merchant's Status	NO	YES
List of Cargo	YES	YES
Value of Cargo items	YES	MAINLY TOTALS
Other taxes paid	YES	IMPOST

The most useful data element that the Sound Toll Registers contain is the name of the ship's master. In combination with the port of departure, it is unlikely that even a master with a common name could not be distinguished from the recorded details for at least some of their voyages. The Danish customs clerk based at Elsinore had to deal with many foreign shipmasters and their currencies so that the recording of personal names in these records contain a degree of variance, commensurate with a period when there was no standardisation of spelling.

Gøbel's assertion that 'it is widely accepted that all ships that passed the Sound in the years that are covered by the STR, are recorded in the STR' will be assessed in relation to those vessels leaving London carrying tobacco pipes (cited by Veluwenkamp, 2011 p.3). Veluwenkamp goes further by stating that in 'comparison with other sources ... the information on cargoes in the STR is correct but not complete'. This statement comes almost verbatim from work on comparisons between eighteenth century Portuguese and Swedish records (Ojala and Karvonen, 2012 p.2). A comparison with French records is less favourable although this source uses figures compiled for balance of trade purposes. When comparing a source which uses values with one recording volumes, it is always possible that conversion factors could produce a significant degree of variance (Charles and Daudin, 2016).

Work on the early seventeenth century Swedish and Scottish records concluded that before 1618, over fifty percent of some cargoes escaped registration. A comparison between exports from Stockholm with imports into Dundee is particularly useful as any ship sailing westwards with goods for Scotland is not likely to have stopped at an intermediate port before passing through the Sound. Vessels from Scotland were never exempt from any of the Sound tolls and so had the greatest incentive for evasion (Dow, 1964 p.79). English ships were in a similar position although when carrying goods for the Eastland Company, ship's masters had to provide surety against the member's cargo being confiscated if the master was apprehended evading payment of the toll (Sellers, 1906 p.xxv).

Rather than Gøbel's bold statement, it is Dow's work which is the most relevant to this study as it encompasses both the period before and after the

tightening of Danish customs procedures in 1617. The records used in this chapter, relating to five voyages which commenced in London, cannot provide a high degree of certainty that cargo was not laden or unladen in the Dutch Republic prior to passing through the Sound. The voyages consist of two consignments before this date and three afterwards. This small number of consignments should be put into the context of the number of ships carrying tobacco into the Baltic (chart 6.1). Many ports on the eastern coast of England were also in a favourable geographic position to trade with the Baltic and English tobacco pipes found in Scandinavia may not necessarily have been made in London.

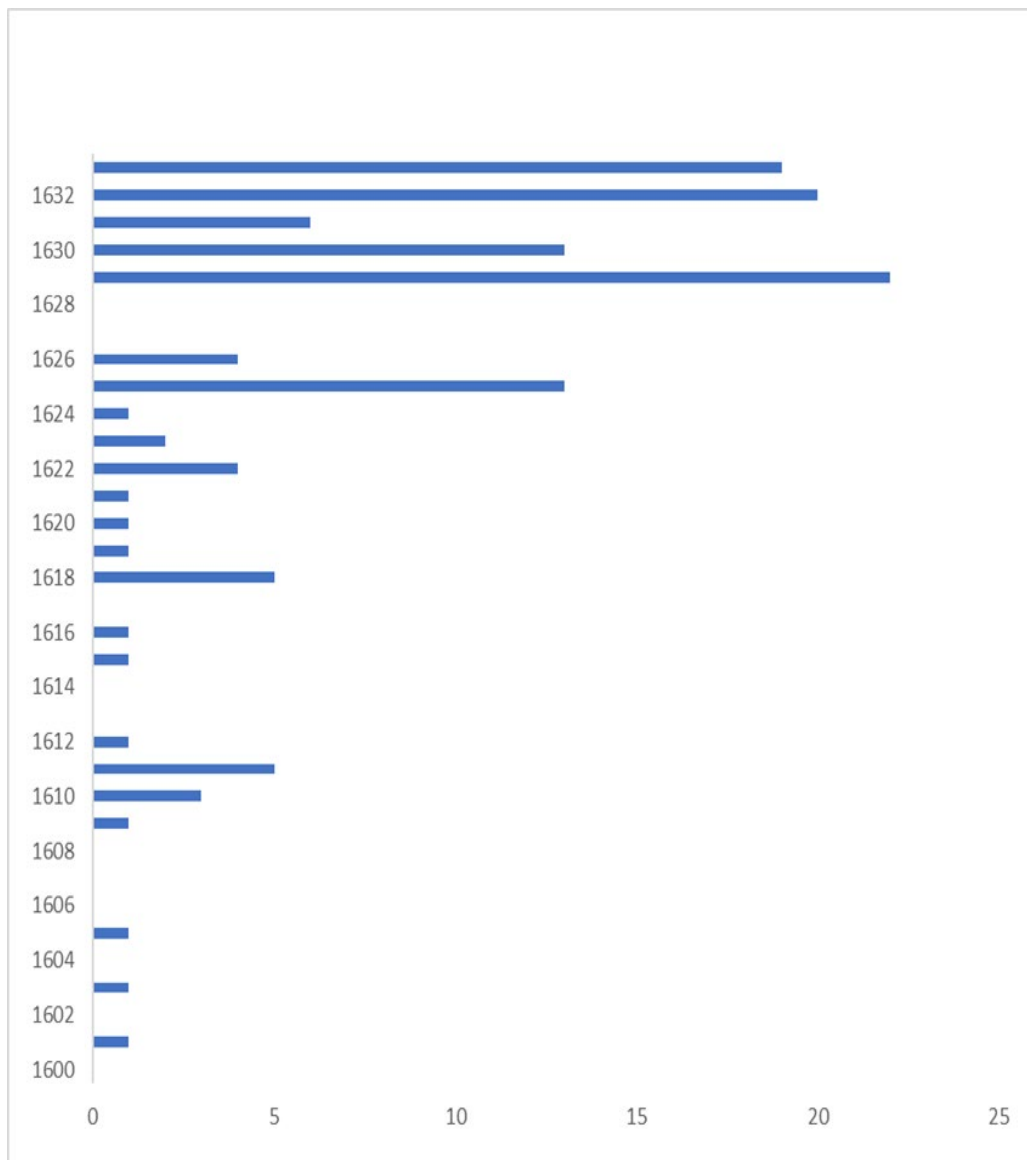


Chart 6.1. Number of passages of vessels of all nationalities passing Elsinore and carrying tobacco, 1600-1633 (STR).

Although there is no record of a formal trade in tobacco pipes before 1616, when the widow Anne Didrichs died in Elsinore in 1606 the stock of her general store on the Stengade included a dozen pipes, valued at half a Danish mark. It is possible that she obtained these from English ships stopping to pay the toll at the custom house at Stengade 66 (Olrik, 1903 p.107; Hvass, 2008; Madsen, 2017 p.103).

Figure 6.2 shows one pipe from a wreck site in Stockholm harbour following the sinking of the *Vasa* in 1627. The pipes found on the ship include three in a package on deck, one from the galley and one below deck. These are likely to have been the personal possessions of the crew and evidence an availability of tobacco and pipes to the Baltic maritime community by the mid-1620s.



Figure 6.2. Tobacco pipe from the deck of the *Vasa*, Vasamuseet, Stockholm (photograph by the author).

The difficulty in distinguishing between early English and Dutch-made pipes is an issue for many tobacco pipes found in the eastern Baltic (fig. 6.3).



Figure 6.3. Unmarked heeled pipes of probable English origin, 1610-40, found in Riga, Latvia (photographs courtesy of Ilze Reinfeldē).

The personal possessions of an English visitor can occasionally be found amongst the evidence for the considerable Dutch pipe trade with the Baltic ports. Tobacco consumption amongst the maritime community appears to pre-date its widespread importation into Riga in the late 1630s.

From 1585, English merchants had been able to trade freely to Elbing without paying harbour fees although they paid both import and export duties. By 1628, most of these merchants had relocated to Danske, modern-day Gdańsk. The records of the customs at the port of Elbing are extant for a number of years but there is no mention of tobacco or tobacco pipes in the published summary of the port's trade in 1616 (Groth, 2007).

### **The *Welcomb* of London**

On 4 June in that year, the merchant James Wright entered a wide range of goods, including six gross of tobacco pipes, at the port of London. They were to be carried on the *Welcomb* with Rogier Holborne listed as the master (TNA:E 190/19/4). While the Sound Toll Registers do not record either the names of the merchants nor the name of the ship, they do state that on 13 June 1616, Ridzer Hogborn arrived at Elsinore from London. His destination is not stated (STRO Record ID 4082942, film 59, image 15). This entry suggests that the 700 nautical mile voyage to Elsinore was undertaken at an average speed of just under four knots. This is plausible and helps corroborate that the two entries relate to the same ship although it also implies that the *Welcomb* did not stop en route.

Despite the requirement that English goods were to be shipped to the staple town of Elbing, most destinations recorded in the STR for Holborne are given as the port of Königsberg where, especially for English merchants, further goods were often laden while masters waited for further instructions from the ship owners. Other passages recorded in the Sound Toll Registers from 1619 onwards describe Holborne's vessel as being from Newcastle, rather than London. A succession of different members of the Holborne family were masters of Trinity House in Newcastle from 1618 and a Roger was the Churchwarden at All Saints Church in 1630 where Trinity House had erected a 'sailors gallery' for their members' use twelve years earlier (Welford, 1887

pp.223-224). Roger witnessed his father's will in Denmark in 1619 in which he is left 'a sixth part of 'the Rowbe' so he could 'goe M[aste]r of her'. The rest of his father's share was 'sold to my good friendes in the east countrees merchants' (Hodgson, 1929 pp.135-136).

The amount of customs duty paid in London prior to lading the *Welcome* amounted to £210 2/8d for the goods merchanted by James Wright and a further £8 paid by John Chapman for 'iiij tonns bearegar' on 5 June. The amount of duty paid at Elsinore in 1616 is more complicated. Although the original toll had begun as a simple one noble duty, levied each time a ship passed through the Sound in either direction, variations had begun to appear in the sixteenth century when larger ships paid more. The duty paid by Holbourne consisted of half a daler for *tøndepenge leftside*, sixty-six and a half daler and three skillings for the *100 penge*, three marks and three skillings for *fyrpenge* and forty-four daler for *lastpenge*. The *Welcomb* also paid the *skibstold* or ship tax with one English rose noble, a coin containing 8g of gold, and half a daler. The rigsdaler was a silver coin containing around 27g of silver, approximately a quarter of the value of a rose noble. It can be implied that the *Welcomb* was not regarded as a large vessel. However, the *tøndepenge* was a charge for the maintenance of the buoys in the Sound and the half a daler duty paid was the normal rate for larger ships (Degn, 2017 p.143). Similarly, *fyrpenge* was a specific duty, raised to pay for the upkeep of the lighthouse at the entrance to the Sound.

The main cargo duty that was imposed was *lastpenge*. As a non-privileged nation, all English vessels would have paid this duty, originally based on one Rhine guilder per ten lasts of goods, a last being calculated at 1.8 tons of carrying capacity. The *100 penge* or 'hundredth penny' was an *ad valorem* duty introduced in 1548 only on English, Scottish or French vessels and, as the name suggests, represented a one percent duty on the value of all commodities carried.

The total value of the cargo of the *Welcomb* can be calculated at 6,656 daler (table 6.2). This is confirmed by the amount of *100 penge* duty charged although the clerk has totalled the goods incorrectly, recording the total as 6,156 daler. In 1630, one rigsdaler was worth four shillings which equates to



the cargo being valued at £1,330 16/- (Turner, 2018). Not all of the export duty which was paid in London was *ad valorem* so a direct comparison is not possible, especially as there is almost no correlation between the listed goods which paid duties on export from London and those said to be carried when passing through the Sound. The London Overseas Port Book records that the *Welcomb* carried 4 tons of beeregar, a sour beer, which paid five percent duty at the rate of 40/- per ton. This may correspond with the 26 Ø// *Edicke huerd oxsehoffuid Beerigar* in the STR, the 26 large barrels being valued at a total of 76 daler, approximately £15 4/- at 1630 prices. The 60 barrels of pewter weighing 20 cwt that left London along with various petty goods, including playing cards, dice, hunter's horns and the tobacco pipes, are not listed at Elsinore. Conversely, the 28,000 skins of various kinds, 6,400 *punds* of Brazilwood and 700 *punds* of wire found in the STR entry do not appear in the London Port Book. It is possible that the skins were recorded in a separate Port Book dedicated to the export of wool and leather (e.g. TNA:E 190/18/10).

Although the various cloths and stockings may be those items merely listed as textiles, none of the quantities correspond (table 6.2). This large variance between the two sources suggests that the goods which left London could have been unladen en route, perhaps in Amsterdam or Stade, where other goods were laden although this would have had to have been achieved very quickly given the short period of time between the respective entries. This casts a doubt as to whether the tobacco pipes consigned to Elbing were delivered there although it is most likely that they were simply ignored by the customs official at Elsinore due to their low value.

Table 6.3 suggests that the destination of the *Welcome* in June 1616 was correctly stated in London as Holbourn is recorded as making the westward journey through the Sound and declaring that his port of departure was Elbing (STRO Record ID 4097846). However, the *Welcome* of Newcastle, burthen 80 tons, master Roger Hoborne, is recorded as arriving in Boston, Lincolnshire on 2 August from Königsberg, now Kaliningrad in modern-day Russia, having left Elsinore on 18 July (Hinton, 1956 p.122).

Table 6.2. List of commodities carried on the *Welcome*,  
as recorded at London and Elsinore.

	<b>4 June 1616</b>	<b>London to Elbing</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Total Cost</b>
		<b>James Wright - merchant</b>			
	1 Trunke, 1 fatt, 1 Barrel	short worsted stockings	320 pairs		
25	? peces	english fustians			
10	peces	narrow perpetranoes			
30	dozen	lether stockings			
1	pece	broad Russell			
1	pece	ordinary english say			
?	gross	playing cards			
9	gross	dyce			
10	dozen	playne gloves			
6		playne lether hangers			
5	dozen	playne lether girdles			
2	dozen	fring girdles for children			
4	dozen	lether purses		8d per dozen	
6	gross	tobacco pipes			
1	dozen	hunters hornes			
?	?	?			
60	barrells	pewter	20 cwt		£210 2/8d
	<b>5 June 1616</b>	<b>John Chapman - merchant</b>			
4	tonns	beareger		£2	£8
	<b>13 June 1616</b>	<b>at Elsinore from London</b>	<b>Unit Cost</b>		<b>Total (daler)</b>
26	Støcker	Engelst huert støcke (textiles)	32		832
15	Støcker	Engelst huert støcke (textiles)	40		600
15	Støcker	Engelst huert støcke (textiles)	45		675
19	Støcker	Engelst (textiles)	50		950
13	Støcker	Engelst huert støcke (textiles)	55		715
70	Støcker	Kirsej huert støcke (kerseys)	12		840
6000	-	Caninschind (coneyskin)	0.03		180
7000	-	Caninschind (coneyskin)	0.012		84
2800	-	Hued huert hundred (skins)	0.03		84
1000	-	Hued (skins)	0.06		60
7400	-	Hued (skins)	0.07		518
3000	-	Lamschind (sheepskin)	0.04		120
2800	-	Lamschind (sheepskin)	0.05		140
6400	Pund	Brisillenhöld (Brazilwood)	0.1		640
26	Oxsehoffuid (Large Barrels)	Øll Edicke huerd oxsehoffuid (Beerigar)	3		78
700	Pund	Thraad (Wire)	0.2		140
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6,656</b>

Although Hinton asserts that the entry in the Boston Port Book corresponds with that in the STR, this is not the case. Despite possible differences in the measures used to record the number of lasts of rye, the eighteen lasts recorded at Elsinore do not match the forty-three lasts recorded at Boston and the clapboard carried is not mentioned as being unladen there (Hinton, 1956 p.xliv). As the port of Boston is not mentioned in the STR in relation to Holbourn, some voyages from England to and from the Baltic region were not the binary trade that some customs entries imply.

Table 6.3. Voyages mastered by Roger Holbourn, as recorded in the Sound Toll Registers, 1616-33.

	<b>Date passing Elsinore eastwards</b>	<b>Date passing Elsinore westwards</b>
London - Elbing	13/06/1616	18/07/1616
London -	28/09/1616	?
London - Königsburg	02/04/1617	?
London - Königsburg	30/06/1617	01/09/1617
London - Elbing	16/10/1617 in ballast	05/12/1617
London - Königsburg	23/03/1618 in ballast	30/04/1618
London - Königsburg	05/06/1618 in ballast	30/06/1618
London - Königsburg	17/08/1618 in ballast	21/09/1618
Newcastle - Elbing	31/03/1619 in ballast	04/05/1619
Hamburg - Königsburg	31/07/1619 in ballast	28/08/1619
Newcastle - Königsburg	08/04/1620	26/05/1620
Newcastle - Königsburg	19/08/1620	30/10/1620
Newcastle -	21/04/1621 in ballast	?
Newcastle - Danske	29/08/1621 in ballast	02/10/1621
Newcastle - Elbing	28/03/1622	06/05/1622
Newcastle - Königsburg	28/07/1622 in ballast	09/09/1622
Newcastle -	25/03/1623	?
London - Königsburg	27/06/1623 in ballast	04/08/1623
Newcastle - Elbing	26/04/1624	12/06/1624
Newcastle? - Königsburg	30/08/1624 in ballast	05/11/1624
Newcastle? - Danske	02/05/1625	15/11/1625
Newcastle - Elbing	29/04/1626	30/06/1626
Newcastle - Königsburg	13/09/1626	23/11/1626
Newcastle - Königsburg	11/04/1629	18/07/1629
Newcastle - Copenhagen	12/07/1630 in ballast	01/08/1630
Newcastle - ?	12/04/1631 in ballast	29/06/1631
Newcastle - Königsburg	26/09/1631	05/12/1631
Newcastle - Königsburg	17/05/1632	06/08/1632
Newcastle - Danske	11/04/1633	16/06/1633
Newcastle - ?	17/10/1633	?

Holbourn also mastered another vessel as London custom entries dated between 11 and 27 August 1631 list him in command of the *Richard* of Newcastle with cloth for Elbing (TNA:E 190/35/5). On arriving in Elsinore on 26 September Holbourn gives his port of departure as Newcastle. It would appear that the vessel remained in the Baltic until 5 December when the ship reached Elsinore from Königsburg. Only the Newcastle Port Books relating to the collection of the New Imposition are extant for the period between 1615 and 1635 and these have not been examined to verify whether the voyage ended in Newcastle.

The pattern of Holbourn's trade appears speculative in nature given the number of times he sails empty to the Baltic although an entry in March 1619 states '*haffde intedt andet endt stenkull thill ballast*' - that he had nothing but coal for ballast as he departs the Sound for Elbing (STRO, Record ID 4050823). The Danish interpretation of what constituted ballast included the carriage of some cargoes of value such as coal or lead as a ship in ballast was still liable to pay tolls for passing Elsinore and should therefore appear in the STR. Flint, for example, carried as ballast would not have attracted duty on departure from England so there would not be a corresponding entry in the Overseas Port Books. Overall, there would appear to be more westward voyages un-recorded in the STR perhaps suggesting that some return voyages were via the Great Belt (Table. 6.3).

### **The *Francis* of London**

The *Welcome* was not the only vessel entering goods at the port of London destined for Elbing in June 1616. Thomas Baddlyo was the master of the *Francis* carrying a variety of skins including coney, fox and rabbit for the merchant Thomas Snelling. The ship also carried a mixed cargo of stockings, gloves, knives, girdles and one gross of tobacco pipes on behalf of Francis Badlo. This mixed cargo was similar in nature to that carried by the *Welcome*. Although Snelling is described as a merchant 'of Norwich', he had been elected to the common council of Kings Lynn in the previous year and later became a freeman of London. He was a major exporter of fox, rabbit and cat skins to the Baltic (Metters, 2009 p.228). A Thomas Badle is recorded at Elsinore on 1 July having arrived from London (Table 6.4). The

commodities listed comprise of various textiles and assorted skins, namely coney, fox, lamb and marten but no petty goods. The London Port Book entry lists a greater number of commodities than the STR and no specific item corresponds precisely in both sources.

Table 6.4. The voyages of Thomas Badle, 1613-1625 (STR).

	Date passing Elsinore eastwards	Date passing Elsinore westwards	No. of days in Baltic
London - Danske	13/10/1613	10/11/1613	28
London - Königsburg	26/05/1614	27/06/1614	32
London - Königsburg	26/09/1614	23/11/1614	58
London - Königsburg*	22/04/1615	12/06/1615	51
London - Königsburg*	19/08/1615	10/09/1615	21
London - Königsburg	30/10/1615	10/12/1615	41
London - Königsburg	08/04/1616	11/05/1616	37
London - Königsburg*	01/07/1616	25/07/1616	24
London - Königsburg*	28/09/1616	13/11/1616 **	46
London - Königsburg	28/03/1617	09/05/1617	42
London - Königsburg	23/03/1618	01/05/1618	39
London - Königsburg	?	24/08/1618	
London - Danske	19/10/1618	06/12/1618	48
London - Königsburg	?	04/05/1619	
London - Elbing	20/03/1620	13/05/1620	54
London - Königsburg	02/04/1621 ***	01/06/1621	60
London - Königsburg	?	30/08/1625	
* London Overseas Port Book states London - Elbing			
** Entry on 22/11/1616 probably relates to this voyage			
*** Entry on 29/03/1621 for Brødepenge probably relates to this voyage			

Not all of the voyages of Thomas Badle recorded in the STR can be located in the London Overseas Port Books, partly due to the sporadic survival of the records and partly because on at least one occasion, the *Francis* left London in ballast. While the *Welcome* was involved in the export of various skins, the *Francis* was more concerned with the importation of rye. Of those voyages that could be traced in the London Port Books, all record the destination as the port of Elbing even though the previous port prior to passing Elsinore westwards is often given as Königsburg in the STR. All members of the Eastland Company were required to trade only with Elbing, as they declared at London, but at Elsinore, there was no issue with declaring other departure ports (Sellers, 1906 p.xxv).

Friis suggests that Bangs' printed Sound Toll tables contain various errors and gives the 1615 voyages of Thomas and Rydtzer Badle as an example (1926 p.179). The latter is involved in carrying goods to the Baltic and his use of the ports of Ipswich and Harwich may help explain some of Thomas Badle's apparently lengthier passages between London and Elsinore, assuming a familial connection between them.

### **The *St. Peter* of London**

In 1626, the *St. Peter* left London for Danske, modern-day Gdańsk in Poland. Undoubtedly the Melchoir Sibranson recorded as the master in the customs entry dated 22 July is the same person as the Melchioer Sibrandt recorded at Elsinore on 8 August having arrived from London. A long list of commodities is recorded in the London Overseas Port Book entry, carried on behalf of five merchants. These include Robert Minnies and Andrew Clark who are identified as being Scottish and Lucas Jacobs, recorded as being an alien merchant. It was Clark who is recorded as merchanting 'xiiij single groce tobacco pipes in a chest' amongst the cargo of skins and gloves. The STR entry merely records 63,000 coney skins, 20 pieces of cloth and a quantity of figs. In the London Port Book we also find Cornelius van Hell with a separate entry for 'forty eight Bar[rels] figs xvij C et d wei[gh]t late in this port unladen' as well as an entry showing that Melchier Sirandsome carried 'vj tons beriager' on his own account (TNA:E 190/29/4).

Although Sibranson may, or may not, have been the same ship's master that operated out of Enkhuizen from 1613, he was certainly based in London by 1623, usually sailing to the Baltic two or three times a year (table 6.5). In March 1622 he was made a denizen and described as a sailor (Shaw, 1911 p.30). In 1623 Cornelius Henrickson was described as the master of the *St. Peter* as was Ickle Ebbes in 1624, so most of the voyages listed in Table 6.5 relate to him being the master of a different vessel.

There would appear to be no evidence here for a disruption in trade due to the war between Sweden and Poland when the eastern Baltic was said to be unsafe (Dufour-Briët and Lindblad, 1989 p.403). In 1624, the STR records that he collected a cargo of '*dantsicher guodts*' while paying the toll in

Elsinore. Unusually, the tolls recorded in June 1626 list two different ports of departure and also record that the ship was carrying the residue of a Copenhagen citizen's estate. This is noted so that the goods were not taxed as if they were foreign. Again, this suggests that more ports may have been visited than are specifically named. Sibranson may have relocated to Rotterdam by 1631 as a Melchert Sibrandt baptised a son there (City Archives Rotterdam, *Doop gereformeerd*, archive 1-02, inv. no.3).

Table 6.5. The voyages of Melchior Sibranson, 1623-27 (STR).

	Date passing Elsinore eastwards	Date passing Elsinore westwards	No. of days in Baltic
London - Danske	24/03/1623	10/05/1623	47
London - Danske	30/06/1623	11/08/1623	42
London - Danske	13/10/1623	30/11/1623	48
London / Elsinore - Danske	07/06/1624	02/08/1624	66
London -	24/09/1624	?	
London - Danske	06/04/1625	10/05/1625	34
London - Danske / Konigsburg	21/06/1625	18/07/1625	28
London - Danske	30/10/1625	14/12/1625	46
London - Danske	18/04/1626	27/05/1626	40
London - Konigsburg	08/08/1626	13/11/1626	98
London -	15/06/1627 in ballast		

### The *Forelorne Sonn* of Elsinore

The vessel named *Forelorne Sonn*, perhaps referencing Hamlet, entered goods at London's Custom House on 30 August 1627 when bound for Stockholm. The ship was carrying two casks containing seventeen small gross of tobacco pipes and one chest containing 24 pounds of Virginia tobacco amongst its cargo of mixed goods. The ship is recorded at Elsinore on 16 November but is listed as only carrying '*ijj støcken døsins*', '*6 packer kierseij*' and '*Stockholmb's borger guodz*'. The implication is that it is a merchant of Stockholm that is importing the tobacco and pipes, if this is the same voyage. According to the customs official in London, the merchant that consigned the tobacco pipes was Patrick Cockram and several other merchants were involved in this voyage, two of them Scottish. The master, Peter Peterson, also carried pewter on his own account as an alien merchant. The STR records a Pietter Piетterson as being from Elsinore

which corresponds with the London Port Book entry listing that city as the vessel's home port. While there are numerous entries in the STR for a ship master of this name, only those noted as referring to someone from Elsinore are given in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6. The voyages of Pietter Pietterson of Elsinore, 1624-1629 (STR).

	Date passing Elsinore eastwards	Date passing Elsinore westwards
Danske - Elsinore		16/08/1624
Spain - Elsinore	27/09/1625	
Gelugckstadt* - Danske	13/04/1626	19/05/1626
Browock** - Stockholm	21/08/1626	12/10/1626
Suøding*** - Stockholm	02/05/1627	20/07/1627
London - Stockholm	16/11/1627	12/12/1627
Newcastle - ?	16/07/1628	?
Westerwich**** - Elsinore	14/11/1628	?
Stockholm - Elsinore	08/09/1629	?
* Glückstadt, Germany		
**Brouage, France		
***Seudre, France		
**** Västervik, Sweden		

Peterson traded more widely than the other ship masters considered in this chapter although Sweden was a regular destination. As his home port was Elsinore, these voyages might have included extended stays in that city en route. In 1628, the coals carried from Newcastle were recorded as 'swensk guots' suggesting that they were also intended for the Swedish market. While figure 6.4 may, or may not, refer to the same person, this customs entry shows that some ships did 'come from the Belt' rather than passing through the Sound.

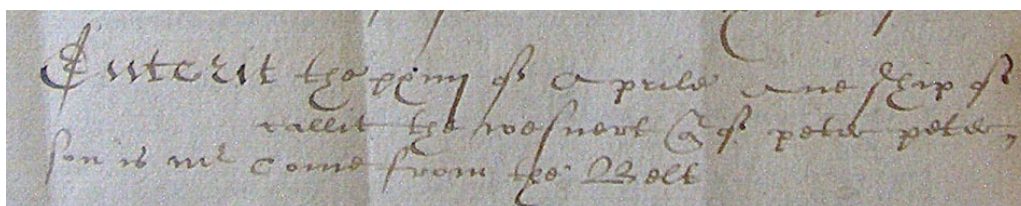


Figure 6.4. Peter Peterson recorded at the port of Leith, Scotland, April 1623 (NRS: E71/29/8).



## The *John* of Ipswich

An entry in the London Overseas Port Book dated 18 July 1640 only gives the ship's destination as 'the Sound'. Whether this means that the *John* of Ipswich, mastered by Benjamin Harrison, went no further than Elsinore is unclear although this is likely as no corresponding payment of duty for passing through the Sound, either eastwards or westwards, has been found (TNA:E 190/44/1, Table 6.7).

Table 6.7. The voyages of Benjamin Harrison, 1638-46 (STR).

	Date passing Elsinore eastwards	Date passing Elsinore westwards	No. of days in Baltic
? - Königsburg	?	09/04/1638	
Ipswich - Danske	18/06/1638	12/08/1638	55
Ipswich - Königsburg	03/04/1639	14/06/1639	72
London - Königsburg	27/03/1640	30/05/1640	64
Ipswich? - Königsburg	16/03/1641	07/06/1641	84
Ipswich - ?	09/08/1641		
Ipswich - ?	17/03/1642		
London - Danske	14/06/1643	21/08/1643	68
Ipswich - ?	15/07/1644		
? - Königsburg		25/04/1645	
London - Königsburg	08/08/1645	03/10/1645	56
England - Königsburg	15/06/1646	14/09/1646	91

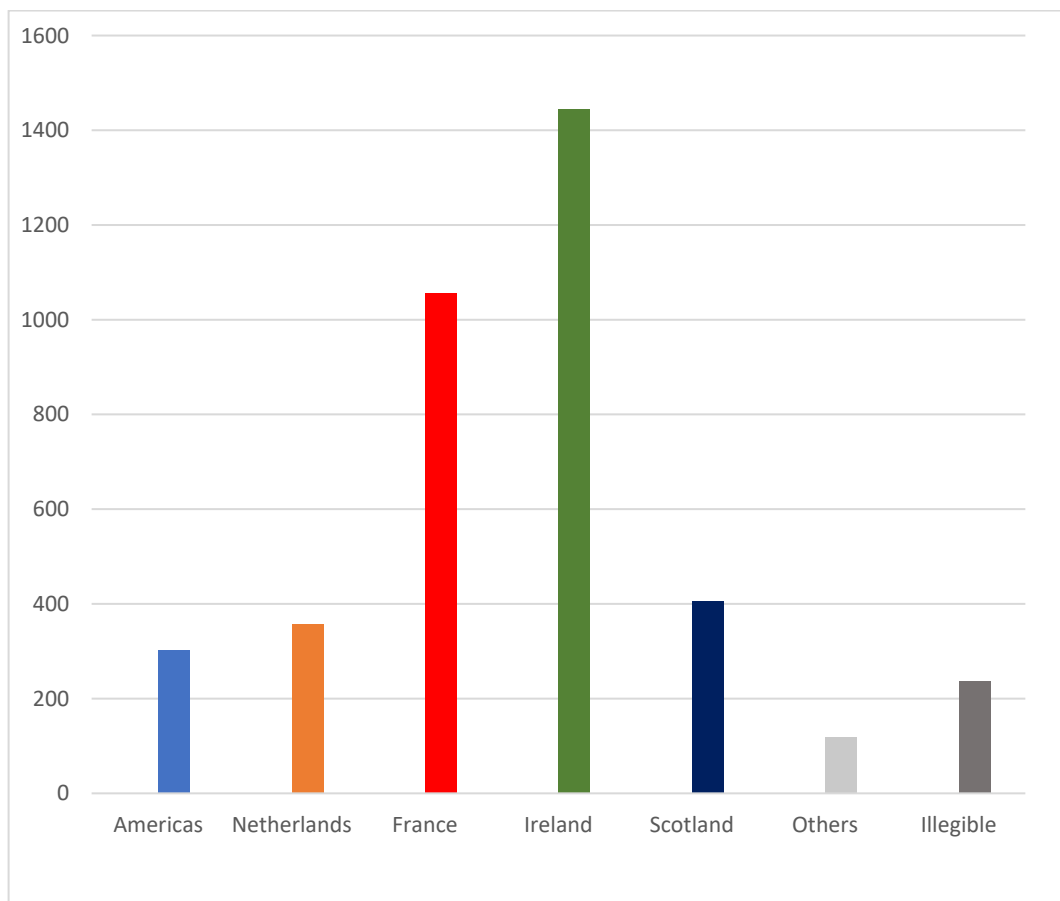
Harrison was a member of the Eastland Company in 1640 and as such, all his goods should have been consigned, in theory, to Elbing, a destination not recorded in the STR against his name (Hinton, 1975 p.219). While the amount of tobacco pipes Harrison carried was not insignificant, 50 gross in two casks, the destination may be assumed to be Elsinore. He may be the mariner of that name born in 1609 at Sproughton, Suffolk given his use of the port of Ipswich.

The *Peter* of London did not need to pass through the Sound when carrying 30 gross of tobacco pipes in three boxes from London to Gothenburg amongst its cargo of says and welsh cottons in March 1640 (TNA:E 190/44/1). Overall, England's tobacco pipe trade with the Baltic ports was insignificant in the period under review to the extent that it went unrecorded in the cargo listed in the Sound Toll Registers.

## Mainland Europe

While this thesis is not a quantitative study, it is suggested that the relative volumes of tobacco pipes would not be significantly altered by further research (chart 6.1). This is called 'saturation' in Grounded Theory where a larger sample would not produce further significant results. This is caveated in that a similar spread of ports would need to be consulted. If, for example, more Bristol Port Books were consulted then the dominance of Ireland as an export market may become more pronounced. If the scope of this study was extended northwards to include the port of Chester, that would similarly assure Ireland's place as the most important export market.

Chart 6.1. Gross of pipes destined for specific geographic areas, 1590-1640.



Most areas of western Europe are likely to have been using tobacco pipes during the period under study although they may not have been supplied by pipemakers based in southern England. The rapidly developing Dutch industry supplied tobacco pipes widely. We must also consider that some minor destinations may have been lost due to the gaps in the customs

records. Only a single shipment of tobacco pipes is recorded as going to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg, consigned by the citizen and grocer, Francis Blizard of London (fig. 6.5). By a process of deduction, these pipes were valued at 20d per gross and were probably the means by which the accompanying sassafras root was consumed.

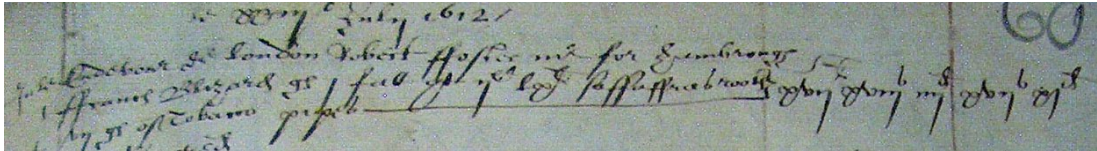


Figure 6.5. A consignment of 260 lbs. of sassafras roots and seven gross of tobacco pipes destined for Hamburg, 28 July 1612 (TNA:E 190/16/2).

### Norway

Although no documentary evidence has been found for a pipe trade with Norway in this period, artefacts found in Oslo suggest that tobacco pipes were arriving there from London (fig. 6.6).



Figure 6.6. Heeled pipe marked with the three cloves of the Grocers Company (Barcode project, photographs courtesy of Jørgen Johannessen).

Dendrochronology dating of nearby timber gave a date of 1616 and evidence of burning suggest that these pipes were affected by the large fire that swept Oslo in 1624. Some pipes are marked with star or sun symbols but several are marked with the three cloves of the London Grocers Company in a heart-shaped heel mark. It may be the case that the disintegration of the Society of Tobacco Pipemakers of Westminster in the early 1620s emboldened the Grocers Company, certainly there was a rivalry and many later attempts to keep grocers out of the tobacco pipe trade. It may be that grocers were the 'daily growinge multitude of idle and extravagant persons whoe beinge

ignorant and unexpert in that faculty doe nevertheless intrude themselves', given as one justification for the granting of the 1619 charter (TNA:C 66/2206).

Excavations at the *Folkebibliotekstoma* in Trondheim produced pipes from an insecure context due to rebuilding after the fire of 1681. Furthermore, the excavation reports state that only representative samples of artefacts were collected. It is not known whether the five marked bowls and a few other fragments were the totality of the finds or, more likely, simply the most diagnostic. The most frequent heel mark found was the incuse 'IR' mark of John Rosse. He was the Warden of the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers of Westminster in 1619 and the Master of the re-formed company in 1634. His confident signature attests to his literacy and the wide geographic spread of his pipes suggests that he became a significant exporter (fig. 6.7).



Figure 6.7 'IR' marked pipes from Trondheim, Norway (Loktu, 2012 p.164).

The lack of legal protection for Norwegian archaeological sites post-dating the Protestant Reformation of 1537 has meant that few have been properly recorded and even where protection is in place, both private actors and local authorities have been found to have damaged important sites (Grove and Thomas, 2014, p.167).

## **Iberia**

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was little official English trade with Spain. Even before the end of the Anglo-Spanish War, Bristol had continued to trade in Spanish goods either by falsely declaring French ports

as their destination or by using ports such as Bayonne which acted as an entrepots for goods such as hat wool, being close to the Spanish border. Import and export figures for 1600/01 show that Bristol openly imported goods from Spain but that exports were hidden from official view (Stone, 2015b; figs.6.8 and 6.9).

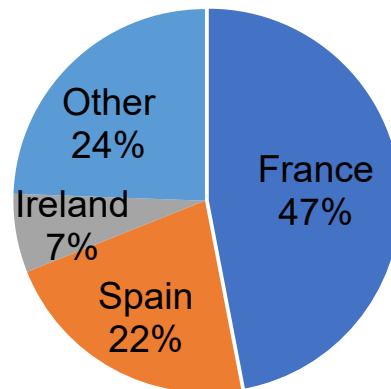


Figure 6.8. Pie chart of Bristol's Import Trade, 1600/01 (Stone, 2015b).

John Browne's guide to Bristol's trade with Iberia does not mention tobacco amongst the list of goods that were likely to be encountered by a young man just starting their commercial career (McGrath, 1957 pp.22-25). His *Marchants Avizo* was written over a period of time although its immediate popularity following publication in 1589 suggests it was valued as a guide. The book does not provide any indication that England was at war with Spain and gives the impression that trade, at least from Bristol, was still flourishing.

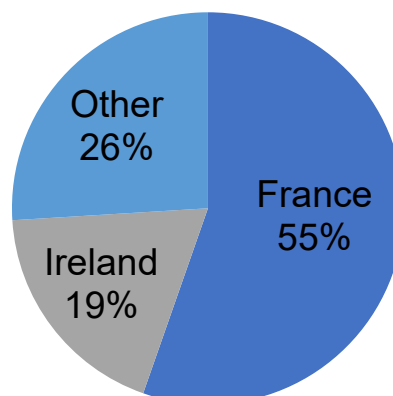


Figure 6.9. Pie chart of Bristol's Export Trade, 1600/01 (Stone, 2015b).

The work was dedicated to Thomas Aldworth of Bristol, one of three Assistants of the Spanish Company at the time of its charter in 1576 and a privateer during the Anglo-Spanish War. That the Spanish Company's charter specifically excluded mariners from trading with Spain suggests that ship's captains were dealing in various commodities on their own account and Brenner states that this included tobacco (2003 p.85). Latimer records that the first tobacco arrived in Bristol in 1593 in a ship part-owned by Aldworth although without an extant Port Book for that year, its port of lading is unknown (1900 p.6).

G.D. Ramsay describes the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I as 'the lowest ebb for the trade of Bristol' and blames the 'devastating blow' of the war with Spain (1957 pp.136-140). However, he uses the qualitative evidence from petitions to the Crown for this view rather than statistical evidence. W.B. Stephens also supports this view using the New Imposition returns as proof of the decline in trade during the 1620s and 1630s despite these only recording a narrow range of goods (1974 pp.156-158). He too uses the biased evidence of merchant's complaints to corroborate this position. D.H. Sacks goes one step further and analyses the evidence of two Overseas Port Books although fifty years apart. While acknowledging that by the mid-1620s Bristol's trade had advanced considerably since the 1570s, he describes this increase as illusory (1991 p.376 fn.67). Stone has shown that the effect of the 1604 Book of Rates on recorded values can explain only a small part of the increase that Sacks had noted. The Enrolled Accounts show that the total value of Bristol's trade increased over the 1590s and the 1600s, negating any impact of the hostilities with Spain and the actions of Barbary pirates (Stone, 2012 p.45).

Stone also notes that 37 percent of all imports into Bristol recorded in the 1594/5 Port Book were recorded as coming from 'The Sea', an indication of the level of privateering activities. This figure had dropped to under 6 percent by 1600/01 which suggests that trade had normalised in the absence of major hostilities (Stone, 2012 p.46). It is likely that destinations recorded on France's Atlantic coast may have been used to disguise exports to Spanish ports, perhaps with the final leg under the guise of being Scottish or Irish

rather than being by English ships. Whatever the level of subterfuge, the evidence of the Port Books shows that Bristol's early tobacco pipe exports were directed entirely towards Ireland and that London's merchants were similarly not supplying a market in Iberia for pipes, even after the official cessation of war in 1604. In 1616, the *Barbara* of London carried 13 small gross of pipes in one barrel and one box on the account of the Scottish merchant, John Bally. They were intended for Sanlucar near Cadiz which had grown up as a re-fitting port for vessels intending to cross the Atlantic (TNA:E 190/21/2). This is the only entry for tobacco pipes being consigned to a Spanish port.

This dearth of pipe cargoes was not because of a lack of tobacco consumption, indeed the Spanish and Portuguese had a long-standing interest in the plant both for medicinal and other uses. The port of Lisbon was re-exporting Brazilian tobacco, mainly to France, and by the end of the seventeenth century, half of the population of Portugal were said to be smokers (O'Flanagan, 2008 p.142). With little centralisation or organisation, England's trade with Iberia is said to have been 'imperceptible' (O'Flanagan, 2008 p.28). It might be expected that there would be a small supply of tobacco pipes to the English community in Lisbon, but there is no documentary evidence for this in the Port Books. Either the quantities were too small to be worth recording or the English there adopted the local habit of smoking cigars or taking snuff.

The Spanish method of consuming tobacco mimics the practises of those indigenous cultures it's mariners came into contact with in the New World during the sixteenth century. That the maritime community enjoyed the benefits of the tobacco leaf long before its consumption became widespread is now accepted. Its use on board ship, with the inherent risk of fire, was often prohibited although there is later evidence that this restriction was simply ignored.

No pipes from the early seventeenth century are known from excavations in Portugal although it is noted that pipes have been found in relation to the forts of São João Baptista and São Jose on Madeira (Teixeira, Torres and Bettencourt, 2015 p.26). There was a small English merchant community at

Funchal from around 1590 and at least three Englishmen feature in their customs accounts of 1620 (Duncan, 1972 p.57).

## France

It was not previously appreciated that a considerable volume of tobacco pipes were sent to France in this period. Given the lack of archaeological research into the early tobacco pipe industry, further investigation in the coastal area of Normandy in particular could be rewarding. Although the famous eighteenth-century tobacco pipe manufactory of Gambier at Givet and the later works of Lionel Fiolet at St. Omer are well documented, these were by no means the earliest attempts to tempt the French populace away from their ingrained habit of snuff taking. While little research has been undertaken on the seventeenth century French pipemaking industry, even less attention has been paid to the importation of English pipes into several French ports in this period (fig. 6.10). Despite Walker dedicating a chapter to French pipemaking, the seventeenth century industry commands only a single paragraph. This is confined to some literary references and a note stating that the French taste was for Dutch clay pipes, especially those produced in Gouda (Walker, 1977 p.285).

It has been noted that an early production centre developed at Saint-Sever although Rouen was one of the 'cradles' of the French industry (Leclair, 2011 p.40). The earliest pipemakers recorded there include Jacques Véron, who was described as an English merchant in 1633, despite his name. As a 'maker of pipes for taking petun' he apprenticed two men, a fifteen-year-old orphan and a 23-year-old man, in that year. The use of the word *petun* for tobacco reflects the early French involvement in the Americas as opposed to the adoption of English terminology. In 1639 he was living on the Rue Saint-Eloi when Véron sold his pipemaking equipment to Esaye Levesque (Seine-Maritime, 1905 p.429). This suggests that any early English involvement in the French pipemaking trade may have been short lived. The transportation of clay to Rouen in 1621 may not relate to pipemaking there but be a way of circumventing the prohibition on the export of fullers earth (fig. 6.11).



FRANCE

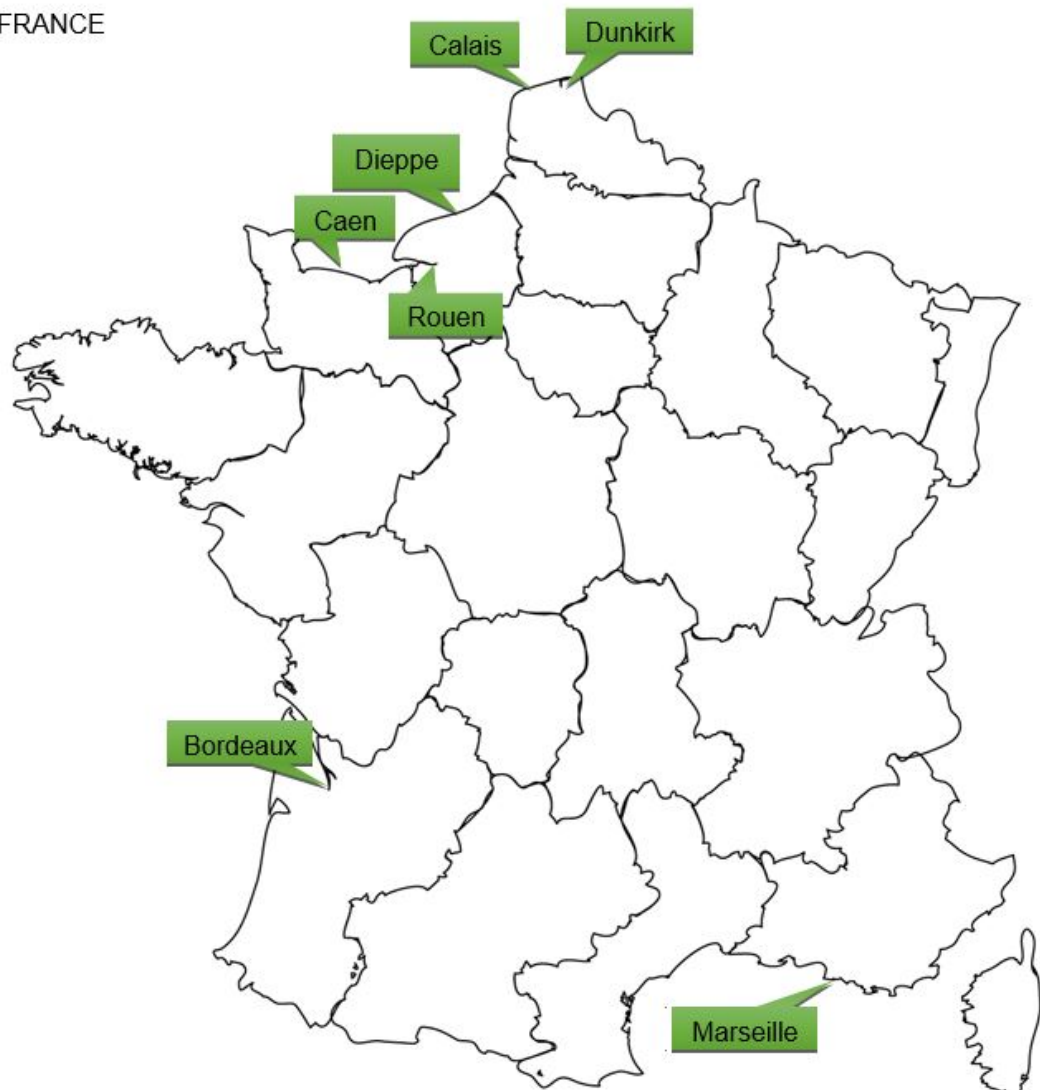


Figure 6.10. Map of the French Ports receiving tobacco pipes from London (1600-40).

By 1659, the pipemakers of Rouen were sufficiently organised to object to the granting of a monopoly on selling pipes granted by Louis XIV (Leclaire, 2011 p.41). The importation of tobacco pipes from London into the port of Rouen is not recorded after 1625 although in the latter part of 1624, 475 gross of pipes are entered in the customs records. These were carried in six separate consignments. Of these, five were for the account of the Huguenot 'citizen and merchant tailor' Pearce Salisbury and the other was on behalf of 'Gabriell Atkins and others' (Shaw, 1911 p.28). The only vessel involved not said to be 'of London' was the *John* of Caen who carried three of these

consignments. Only Jacques de Cawse or Cauce, is recorded as an alien merchant in the pipe trade to Rouen (TNA:E 190/20/4 14 June 1617).

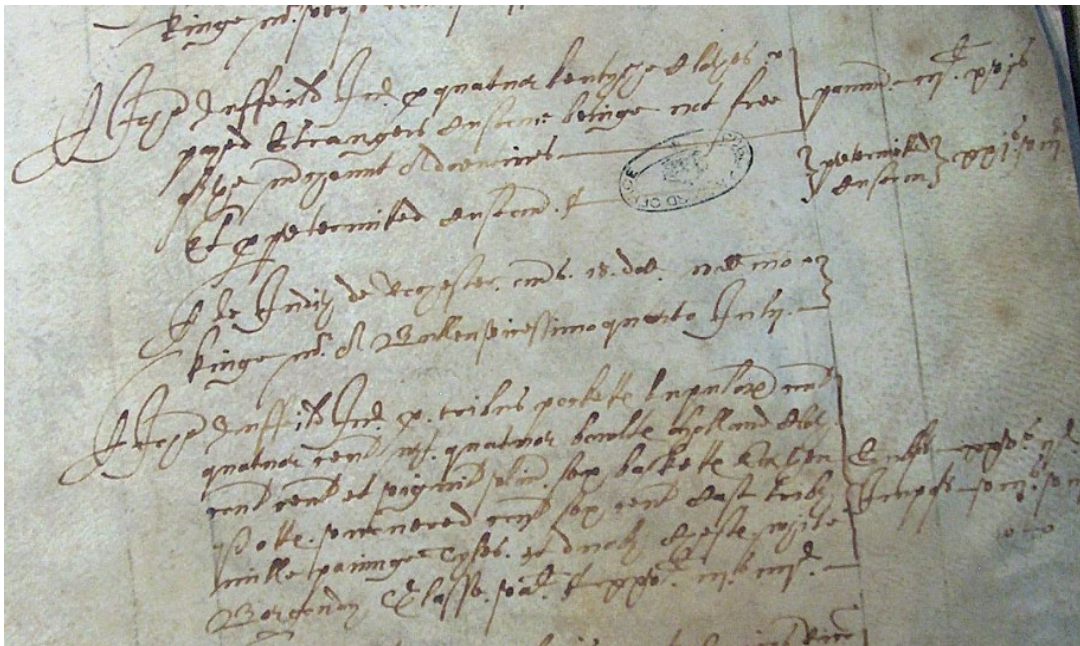


Figure 6.11. The customs entry for the export of 'kentysch clayes' from Rochester to Rouen in 1621 (TNA:E 190/652/13).

A similar singular example is an entry made of a consignment of 10 gross of tobacco pipes in a single box, carried on the return voyage of the *Bonaventer* to Dieppe (TNA:E 190/21/5 18 September 1618). Here the Controller of the port of London records the value of the pipes as two shillings per gross in the Port Book dedicated to the exports of aliens, having presumably taken the value on oath from the merchant, Robert Howell, personally. This suggests that there was a market for a quality London product, these pipes being around double the usual valuation.

The only other example of a consignment to France being specifically valued was the shipment of 92 small gross of tobacco pipes in two chests sent to Marseille. These were said to be worth £4 12/- in total (TNA:E 190/28/6 3 October 1624). Although a typical rate was one shilling per gross, this consignment does not use the requisite large gross of a dozen dozens but rather the small gross of ten dozen. One possible reason is that the pipes were packed in boxes of ten within the chests, thereby producing a total which could not be expressed as a whole number of large gross. Nine of the

recorded shipments to France are enumerated as small gross and regular shipments of 100 small gross of pipes to Rouen and Caen suggest that this might have been a regional preference and something that the London pipemakers appear to have catered for.

Also receiving a small amount of tobacco pipes in a solitary consignment was the port of Bordeaux (TNA:E 190/29/4 26 September 1626). These were carried on the *Grace of God* of Leith as part of a large cargo of mixed goods. The ship's previous master had died at Cadiz in 1621 with 178 lbs. of tobacco on board and the vessel was one of several Scottish ships willing to brave the Barbary coast in search of this profitable commodity (Mowat, 2001 p.163).

The majority of the tobacco pipes sent from London were destined for the northern ports of France, namely Dieppe, Caen, Dunkirk and Rouen although Calais, surprisingly, is recorded as only receiving one shipment. Oswald records a considerable volume of pipes being exported to France from England in 1698, some 40,970 gross over a six-month period. His source is not given and it is outside the scope of this study to verify this amount (Oswald, 1960 p.48). It has been suggested that pipe smoking was unknown in France before 1620 although the Port Books provide evidence of imports from 1617 (Walker, 1977 p.285). It should not be a surprise to find a considerable trade with the French ports as the tonnage of all goods imported into London in 1601/2 from France was greater than that from any other country, outstripping the Dutch trade (Miller, 1927 p.752).

When Duhamel du Monceau recounts the techniques used in pipemaking, they were based on his experiences in Rouen and Chichester (1771 p.1). The earliest pipemakers in France are said to have been hampered by poor quality clay. Pomet describes Rouen products as being made of a grayish clay and poorly made (Gaulton, 2018 p.439). It is these attributes that are being used to distinguish pipes found in New France amongst the large number of imports from England and the Netherlands.

## The Americas

Excavations at a French trading post in Nova Scotia have produced seventeenth century bowls from both Barnstaple and Bristol (Cottreau-Robins, 2018 p.14). The single letter Barnstaple mark is usually dated to 1610-30, however, Fort St. Louis was built by the French in 1623 in order to trade in furs (fig. 6.12). An Anglo-Scottish expedition in 1630 tried unsuccessfully to capture the fort and there is evidence of an earlier Basque presence so the chronology of this site is not yet settled. Port Royal, on the north-western coast of Nova Scotia, had been attacked and burnt by an expedition from Jamestown in 1613 in an attempt to discourage French settlement.



Figure 6.12. Barred I mark from Fort St. Louis, Nova Scotia (photographs courtesy of The Nova Scotia Museum).

A pipe with a similar heel mark has been found on Smuttynose Island, Maine and is said to be evidence of migratory fishing (Clausnitzer, 2013 p.146). Other early seventeenth century pipes found at Ferryland, Newfoundland evidence personal possessions rather than any organised trade (Gaulton, 1999 p.27). This is unsurprising given that English vessels had been fishing off the coast since the early sixteenth century. Unlike the French and Spanish, the English also fished inshore in smaller boats when the fish migrated. Spain's interest in the area effectively ended following the loss of the Armada in 1588.

It is worth noting the customs entries relating to the export of tobacco pipes to the wider Atlantic region. Despite widespread and active research in the United States, little use has been made of these records to inform our understanding of the earliest pipe exports from England into the settlements on mainland America. This is despite the recognition of the source as an important record of the tobacco shipments to London given the prominent role the commodity played in the survival of the early colonies.

By 1605, tobacco pipes were already considered as trade goods. Rosier, when describing the voyage of Waymouth to northern Virginia, records how they gave the people they encountered 'bracelets, rings, peacocke-feathers ... and tabacco pipes', in addition to combs, looking glasses and knives. On one occasion, the ship's captain left a pipe, a brooch and a knife on a path 'to know if the Saluages had recourse that way' (Quinn and Quinn, 1983 p.268, p.272).

It is recognised that the earliest successful attempts to grow tobacco in the English New World were not in Virginia but on the islands of Bermuda. In 1609, the ill-fated *Sea Venture* left Plymouth for Jamestown as part of the Third Supply and was grounded on reefs off the coast of then uninhabited islands following a storm (Tucker, 2017 p.113). Several stem fragments and an almost intact bowl were recovered from the wreck site showing that London-made pipes were being carried to Jamestown (fig. 6.13).



Figure 6.13. AO type 3 pipe with tailed heel, *Sea Venture* wreck site, (National Museum of Bermuda, Accession no: 84:094.001; Finds no: 83 A080).

A similar pipe of the same age was found in Pit 1 at Jamestown with a rouletted mark on the tailed heel (Jamestown Rediscovery Archaearium, object 00528-JR). The relevant Port Books are not extant for exports from Plymouth or London for 1609 and therefore it is unknown whether pipes were carried as cargo but given that this is a single artefact, it is more likely that this was a personal possession.

On 3 May 1609, the Earl of Salisbury wrote to 'my loveinge ffrinds the officers & ffarmers of his Ma[jes]ties Customs in the Porte of London' with a warrant to the effect that 'all such comodities as are shipped from hence to Virginia for the use and service of his [King James'] Subiects, that doe remaine there should bee free of Custome and other Duties' (TNA:SP 14/45 f.13). With no duty to account for, this instruction provides an explanation for the absence of customs entries for tobacco pipes exported in this period. However, some English pipe finds pre-date this instruction. A pipe from the site of the Popham colony in Maine is dated to c.1607 on the basis that the colony, set up by the Virginia Company of Plymouth, lasted only twelve months (fig. 6.14).



Figure 6.14. Pipe from the Popham Colony, Phippsburg, Maine (Maine State Museum, [www.mainememory.net/item/61116](http://www.mainememory.net/item/61116)).

It is valuable to signpost the arrival in 1608 of the first named pipemaker to land in Virginia, Robert Cotton, and his non-appearance in later musters. Given the high mortality rate due to famine, disease and hostilities with the indigenous population, it is likely that his time in Jamestown was short. The lack of any deposition suggests that he had not survived the winter of 1609/10, known as 'The Starving Time', along with the decline in the number

of pipes attributed to him in post-1610 contexts (Givens, 2015 p.18). It is not known when the second, third, or any subsequent pipemaker arrived in the colony other than that by 1622, Captain John Smith was complaining that there were 'so many' and that they were unnecessary.

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities, they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure, with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities, making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Jewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkemen, with all their appurtenances, but materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke: and so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, (Kupperman, 1988 p.281).

The tobacco pipes carried on the *Warwick* in 1621 were on the account of the deputy Governor of the Virginia Company of London, John Ferrar. He was the eldest surviving son of Nicholas Ferrar who had made his fortune from privateering. John had joined the Merchant Adventurers by 1613 and was also a member of the Somers Islands Company. He was returned to the third Stuart Parliament as MP for Tamworth in 1621. The tobacco pipes were among a long list of goods sent to the colony for the comfort and relief of the planters although they were still expected to be sold or exchanged there at a profit so as to encourage future private ventures. It was envisaged that the majority of the goods the ship carried would be exchanged for tobacco although it was appreciated that this alone would not make the venture profitable. As most of the tobacco had already been sold before the *Warwick* arrived, the ship having only left London on 10 September, bonds were taken against the following year's crop (Bruce, 1895 pp.290-291). This entry is the

only recorded export of tobacco pipes prior to the disbanding of the Virginia Company in 1624. Although contained within a single chest, the 53 gross would have been enough to supply the entire colony until the following year. The failure of the Virginia Company meant that Ferrar's investments were ultimately unprofitable.

In 1626 the *Plantacion*, mastered by Peter Andrews, carried 80 gross of pipes on the account of Abraham Jennens, a Plymouth merchant who regularly sent London goods to Plymouth, New England. Jennens, sometimes spelt Jennings or Jenkins, had purchased his Freedom in 1605 (fig. 6.15). He had considerable fishing interests in Maine and was made a member of the Council of New England in 1622.

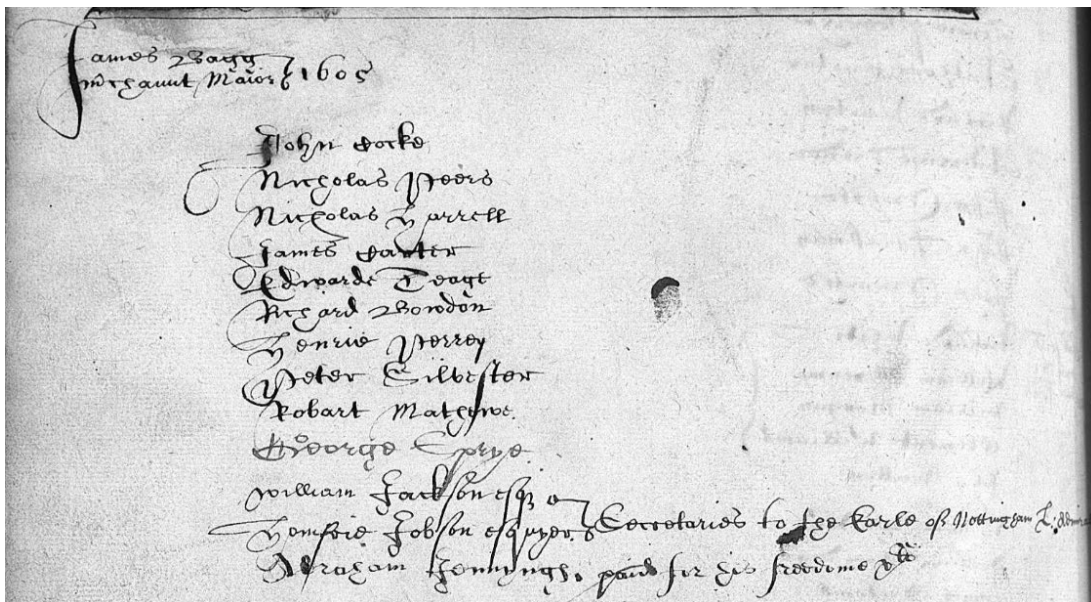


Figure 6.15. The purchase of the Freedom of Plymouth by Abraham Jennyns in 1605 (Plymouth Black Book, Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, W1/46 f.306r).

His interests in North America started as early as 1610 when he was granted a patent to establish a colony in Newfoundland. He was then living in Plymouth in a property owned by Sir Richard Hawkins (fig. 6.16).

That such a major merchant is only twice recorded as consigning tobacco pipes coastally suggests that London-made pipes were not being transhipped in Plymouth for onward consignment to the Americas, unless they were always carried as victuals. In 1622, Smith records that both



Abraham and his brother Ambrose Jennens of London were involved in fishing off the New England coast and that they had sent the *Abraham* of 220 tons and the *Nightingale* of Portsmouth of 100 tons (Jenney, 1929 p.311).

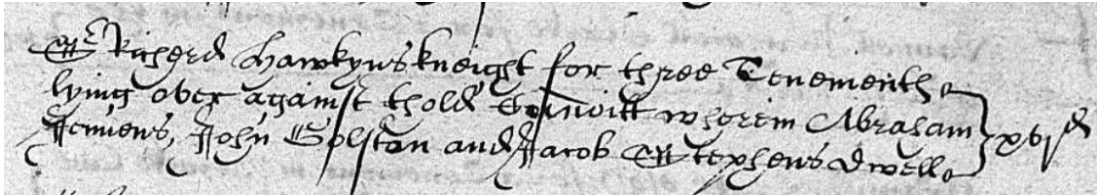


Figure 6.16. Jennens residence in 1610, in one of Hawkins' 'three tenements lying over against th[e] old conduit', (Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Rental Book, f.3v).

Jennens' letters show that he had a factor and attorney in 'James city' in Virginia (Tepper, 1979 p.81). This was necessary due to his interests in the tobacco trade as can be seen in 1622 when Jennens was one of eighteen traders summoned to appear before the Star Chamber accused of 'cunninglye' transporting tobacco into the London area by 'landing it in obscure creekes & unusuall places for lading and unladinge of commoditye' (Taylor, 2019 p.146). His interests extended beyond tobacco as his factor was asked to procure 'two or three singing birds' and 'a flying squirrel' for him (Tepper, 1979 p.81).

Jennens' business interests including owning Monhegan Island off the coast of Maine up to 1626 when he sold it to two Bristol merchants. A customs entry dated September 1626 shows that he sent eighty gross of tobacco pipes directly to Virginia from London (TNA:E 190/29/4). Although regularly consigning goods to Virginia, Jennens also obtained Letters of Marque in the same year, permitting him to engage in privateering activities (Whiddon, 2016 p.122). In 1628 he obtained further Letters as owner of the *Thomas Discovery* and as part-owner of the *Little Ambrose* (Tepper, 1979 p.311). In June of that year, 5,000 lbs. of tobacco were landed in Plymouth on his account valued at £124. Further shipments include another 13,850 lbs. in July worth £346 5/-, also landed in Plymouth (Williams, 1957 pp.448-449).

In 1629, he imported eighty-four hogsheads, twenty-one butts and one puncheon of tobacco. When questioned by commissioners over his role in the tobacco trade, Jennens admitted that 'he hath received divers p[ar]cells of tobacco upon his owne adventures brought home [to Plymouth] in his owne shippe or ships', despite the requirement to only import tobacco through the port of London (Taylor, 2019 p.53, p.45).

Jennens joined the Levant Company in the 1630s and this would have required a large working capital as there was a need to set up several factors (Brenner, 2003 p.71n). His ship, the *Elizabeth*, was carrying tobacco and livestock from Virginia in 1640 when it was attacked by three pirate ships off the coast of Cornwall, showing that he had not eschewed the American trades (Whiddon, 2016 p.128).

In July 1627, the *Thomas and John* of London carried 30½ gross of pipes and the *Robert and John* of Southampton a further 12 gross in one box, both to Virginia. The latter was on the account of Peter Andrews who had mastered the aforementioned *Plantacion*. Andrews was in partnership with his brother-in-law Samuel Vassal, a founder of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the merchant-planter George Menefie of Virginia (Brenner, 2003 p.135).

No less than four merchants consigned tobacco pipes to Bermuda in August 1627 on board the *Peter and John*. They were Nicholas Butres (24 gross), Perrigon Britten (8 gross), William Wilkenson (12 gross) and George Smith (60 gross in two chests). A month later, George Ehridge consigned a solitary gross of pipes there (TNA:E 190/31/1). In the previous year, the captain, John Preen, had petitioned for a warrant for himself and his people stating that the only intention of the voyage was to carry passengers and goods to Virginia (Stevens, 2019).

In total, 22 gross of pipes were laden for 'New England' in April 1640 and the customs entry for the *Susan and Ellen* of London lists the account as being on behalf of the 'Planters and Passengers'. This relatively large ship of 240 tons regularly carried passengers, usually to Boston. There were ninety-one people listed on its voyage in July 1634 and the geographic origins of thirty-

eight of those passengers are known, the majority coming from Yorkshire (Games, 1999 pp.56-57). The same ship also left London in April 1638, arriving in New England thirteen weeks later.

In addition to the entries clearly intended for the Americas, those ships destined for the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Canaries might be considered as part of this trade. These were primarily places where victuals could be taken on board before crossing the Atlantic but equally, they were also destinations close to the coast of Africa. In 1636, the *Margarett* of Bideford carried 15 gross of tobacco pipes in a single barrel, destined for Madeira (TNA:E 190/949/10). This was on the account of Abraham Johns, a merchant resident in Bideford. In 1642, he is recorded as covenanting the *Conduct* of Bideford, sailing from Appledore to St. Ives to load 26 tons of pilchards for delivery to Madeira and once there, to collect other goods before returning (TNA:KB27/1672, m.253). These fish were for local consumption and not salted there as victuals.

The same merchant shipped goods on the *Greyhound* of Bideford when she left for New England in 1637. The master was John Boole, bound from Exeter (TNA:E 190/950/7). The ship was said to be of eighty tons when it returned from St. Christopher carrying 20,000 lbs. of tobacco in November 1640 (Grant, 1992 p.136). In 1642, Johns did 'subscribe and adventure for lands in Ireland the som of ten pounds'. He appears to have paid this money to the mayor of Exeter (TNA:SP 63/297 f.301). He was also a regular exporter of goods to Londonderry from Bideford, importing Irish wool, beef, hides and tallow by return. Johns had died by 1653 without leaving his share in his will and Boole, now an alderman of Bideford, gave oath that Samuel Johns was Abraham's eldest son (TNA:SP 63/297 f.303). This individual merchant did not specialise, being willing to operate both coastally and on the Irish and American trade routes.

In 1640, the *Speedwell* of London carried 30 small gross of pipes to the Canaries on behalf of Robert Gollinge. By April 1643, martial law had been declared and a list of the ships 'now set forth for the Guard of the Narrow Seas and for the Coast of Ireland' included this vessel, under the command of Benjamin Peters. It is listed as being of 383 tons with 115 men and 26

ordnance (Penn, 1833 p.67). This was a large vessel, more than capable of crossing the Atlantic and its recorded destination may be the first port of call for victualling prior to a longer voyage. In 1639 it was described as having 25 pieces of ordnance and was in the Thames 'bound for Plimouth to load pilchers' which suggests that the coastal leg of this voyage would be followed by one to the Atlantic islands where Cornish pilchards were particularly prized (Burrell, 1649 p.27).

## **Conclusions**

The proportion of voyages apparently un-recorded in the STR is contrary to Dow's findings, namely that around 13% of voyages are missing in the 1610s, 18% in the 1620s and 1630s but almost one third of Harrison's voyages are apparently absent in the 1640s. It may be the case that Harrison and others routinely used the Belt to transit between the Baltic and North Seas. Despite the small sample size, there are major discrepancies between the cargoes listed in the STR when compared with the London Port Books, the latter listing a larger variety of commodities.

The STR periodically records lists of commodities to aid the clerk in compiling the registers. This is a less formal version of the Book of Rates issued to all customs officials at English ports but with one major difference. Whereas the Danish approach appears to be that if a commodity is not listed, it is not recorded, the English Exchequer required all unlisted goods to be valued according to the oath of the merchant. For that reason, it is not a surprise that tobacco pipes were not recorded in the STR in the period under consideration, given that it was only in 1635 that tobacco pipes first appear in the English Book of Rates. Given its geographical advantage and large overseas trade, it is also unsurprising that the majority of archaeological pipe finds in the Baltic area originated in the Netherlands rather than England.

Three of the five voyages identified as carrying tobacco pipes from London can be found in the STR with a high degree of certainty. Although it is likely that the English and Scottish merchants settled at Elbing would have continued the practice of tobacco consumption using English or Dutch pipes, the city's Pound Toll registers do not record any trade in '*toback*' until 1653

and in '*tobackspfeifen*' until 1654 (Dufour-Briët and Lindblad, 1989). The absence of tobacco pipes is at odds with the recording of tobacco passing through the Øresund in the STR, noted as early as 1601. Tobacco pipes were of little interest to the officials at Elsinore due to their low value. This seems to be the case for a range of petty goods and as such, the STR is of limited value when reconstructing the tobacco pipe trade to the Baltic region. Due to the sporadic nature of the London Port Books, archaeological finds represent the best opportunity to advance our knowledge of the spread of English tobacco pipes in the region and across Scandinavia, despite the difficulties in differentiating them from those made in the Netherlands.

Tobacco pipes recorded as destined for Bermuda, Virginia, New England and those islands off the coast of Africa may be considered as being part of the same trade. Without any records of arrivals in the colonies, only the artefacts and the activities and connections of the merchants involved can be used to suggest the trade routes involved. However, even those smaller islands such as Madeira had their own internal markets where English goods could be traded.

While there is still much to be learnt from excavations in the Americas, and early tobacco pipes are valuable and sensitive artefacts, the region with the biggest potential lies closer to England's shores. The state of knowledge of the early French pipemaking industry is poor. The Overseas Port Books suggest that the Normandy ports in particular imported a considerable volume of pipes from London yet the lack of archaeological excavations there means that the artefactual evidence remains to be found. No early kiln site has yet been unearthed in France and there is considerable scope for understanding the development of pipe smoking in a country so fond of taking snuff.

The ingrained habit of taking tobacco in rolled up leaves suggests that the habit of pipe smoking also did not penetrate the Iberian peninsula. No English-made tobacco pipes dating to the period of this study have yet been found in Spain. Despite various period of hostility, trade with Spain did not cease but recorded trade may have been undertaken under the pretence of being with those ports on France's Atlantic coast.

The unorganised expansion of tobacco pipe usage across western Europe was in sharp contrast to the situation in Scotland where production was deliberately instigated as a means of generating employment. King James VI and I's attempts to halt the tide of consumption had long been futile and the best result that could be achieved was to generate revenue and to protect the fledgling industry by restricting the movement of tobacco pipes between England and Scotland.

## Anglo-Scottish Trade and the Tobacco Pipe Monopoly

### Introduction

The expansion of tobacco pipe usage in Scotland in the early seventeenth century occurred under the auspices of a private monopoly, granted in 1619 for a term of twenty-one years. During this period, there was little importation of English pipes into Scotland nor exportation of Scottish pipes to England. Prior to this, the consignments of tobacco pipes carried from London by returning Scottish vessels were not part of any extension to England's coastal trade but were part of a distinct trading route between London and the ports on the Firth of Forth. Tobacco would have arrived in Scotland by the same east coast route from London and in September 1601, just over 4,000 lbs. was re-exported to the Baltic from St Andrews (STRO, Record ID 856104).

When King James VI and I prohibited the importation of tobacco into Scotland in 1616, the 'young and ydill' were already meeting in taverns and alehouses 'bewitched' by the 'weade' and using clay tobacco pipes imported from the Dutch Republic or from London (Masson, 1891 p.516). However, this prohibition, rehearsing the arguments presented in *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, was merely a precursor to the licensing of the sole right to import tobacco to a Captain William Murray, also for a period of twenty-one years. Although the crown had the right to half of any confiscated tobacco, the customs officials could, in practise, keep all the tobacco as long as they sent half its value to the Exchequer each year. Seized tobacco imported contrary to the monopoly is likely to have reached consumers in the vicinity of the east coast ports but the prohibition curtailed its spread inland and westwards across Scotland (Rowley, 2003 p.209).

The activities of merchants operating in Scotland were regulated by three main bodies including, as in England, the Parliament and the Privy Council. Uniquely, overseas trade was monopolised by the Convention of Royal Burghs, a representative assembly comprising of members from the parliamentary burghs (McLoughlin, 2013 pp.46-48). In addition, 'unfree'

merchants operated from various ports and carried non-staple goods such as coal to London and Rotterdam. Although Scottish staple goods intended for the Low Countries were only supposed to be landed at the port of Veere, one way of avoiding paying duty there was to ship goods via London, strengthening the existing trade route with the English capital.

Although there was a series of royal proclamations stating that there was to be an equality of trade between England and Scotland in terms of taxation, in practise this was not always the case (Brown, 1902 p.458). In 1597, King James VI had set the custom duties in Scotland broadly in line with English rates and, as was the case in England, those commodities not itemised within the Book of Rates were to be valued 'by the eathes [oaths] of the merchants awners [owners]' (Scotland, 1611 p.A2). Landowners were given the concession that they could import goods for personal use free from customs duty (McLoughlin, 2013 p.54).

High rates of taxation in both England and Scotland were an attempt to restrict the use of tobacco 'for their necessarie use who are of better sort', curtailing the excessive use by a 'number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition' (Rymer, 1615 p.601). In 1607, before the large increase in duty was enacted in Scotland, the Earl of Crawford records that he bought 'Four wnce [ounces] tobackka pryce of the vnce tuelff schyillingis', equivalent to 16/- per pound sterling (Matheson and Taylor, 1976 p.227). In 1619, Walter Yule's testament in Edinburgh valued tobacco at 'Threttie unces ... at iij lib. the pund weycht' or 6/8d per pound sterling, less than half the cost of twelve years earlier (ECA: CC8/50/459).

Previous treatment of Anglo-Scottish trade has been on a nationalistic basis so both English and Scottish customs records have been consulted in order to attempt a more holistic approach (Greenhall, 2011 p.43). This chapter assesses the Anglo-Scottish tobacco pipe trade both before, during and immediately after the granting of the monopoly on tobacco pipes. How did this exclusive licence operate and was it successful, especially as a similar one granted to a 'society' in England in the same year, was short-lived?



## The Tobacco Pipe Monopoly

The granting of the monopoly right to find, remove and sell certain clay suitable for making 'pottis for glasswarkis, tabacco pypis, and sindrie uther vessellis' which were 'hitherto imported' was granted to William Crawford of Camlarg with William Hay having the sole right to export clay to England. It is not specified where these clay deposits were to be found but the grant contained the proviso that this export of clay could be stopped if there was 'any warkis erectit in any pairt of the said realme of Scotland for making any pypes, pottis, or vessellis of clay' and that the clay was needed to sustain those manufactures (Masson, 1894 p.585). It is implicit that by the commencement of this grant of monopoly, namely 1 June 1619, there was yet to be anyone making tobacco pipes in Scotland.

King James VI and I wrote to the Privy Council in Scotland on 28 February 1619 advising them that John Stewart had

found out diuerse treadesmen here who do undertake to mak within that our kingdom diuers vessellis not heretofore used there of the sayd clay, the making wherof we could wish to be practised within that our kingdome, that our subjectis may be thereby employed and that moneyis be not transported thence ... that the sayd John, Lord Kinclevin, if you find no inconvenient to arryse therby haue a grant made to him, his heiris, and assignes, thereof, that they may haue the sole licence for making and selling of the sayd vessellis during such tyme and with such provisions as you shall think most expedient (Masson, 1894 p.633).

The licence subsequently granted under the Great Seal specified 'all sorte of earthin vessellis and wark of clay ...not heirtofoir practisiit within this kingdome' but that any opposition was to be punished by confiscation of 'hail veschellis, tobacco pypis and utheris' (Masson, 1894 p.604). King James describes John Stewart, Lord Kinclevin, as his 'traist cousigne', or trusted cousin, as he was a grandson of King James V of Scotland by his mistress, Euphemia Elphinstone.

It was envisaged that foreign workmen would be required to set up these manufactures and King James VI and I's letter, written in Newmarket, makes it clear that Lord Kinclavin had found 'treadesman here', that is, in England, willing to move to Scotland, 'our kingdom ... there'. Walker erroneously suggests that this might refer to Dutch pipemakers (1977 p.347).

It is evident that tobacco pipes were intended to be made in Scotland immediately following the grants of monopoly as the charter granted to the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers of Westminster later in 1619 states that they should

not cause to be imported conveyed or brought into this our Realme of England ... from our Realme of Scotland any kinde or sorts of Tobacco pipes whatsoever to be here uttered sold or putt to Sale (TNA:C 66/2206 lines 491-496).

Furthermore, the company had the right to

goe aboard any ship or vshell there to search for seeke and finde out all such tobacco pipes as shalbe ... imported ... from our Realme of Scotland (TNA:C 66/2206 lines 519-525).

This implies that there was a potential for pipes made in Scotland to compete with English pipes made by members. One of the twelve Assistants of the Westminster company was William Banks. This individual can be shown to be the same pipemaker who was working in Canongate, just outside Edinburgh, by 1622 (Masson, 1898 p.589). The precise business arrangements between John Stewart and William Banks are unclear but the latter plainly operated the licence granted to Stewart.

King James I appears to have had some reservations as Thomas, Earl of Kellie wrote to John, Earl of Mar on 20 January 1622 that he did 'perceave bye his Majestie that he blames James Dowglass for the making of Kinclavens patent' although the reason for his regret is unclear (Paton, 1930 p.118). It appears there was investment in the enterprise as Banks, from early 1621, was in possession of a desirable tenement consisting of several rooms on the upper floors, facing the street on the south side of Canongate (fig. 7.1). Normally these superior residencies would be home to guildsmen

or other prominent merchants. Banks and his wife were served with an eviction notice in May 1622 despite there not being any rent owing although it was not unusual for urban tenancies to be only twelve months in length (ECA: SL150/1/12).

In the same month, Thomas Deyne deposed that he had purchased tobacco at sindrie tymes ... fra William Bankis, tobacco-pype maker in the Canogate, ten pund weight or thairby, quhair of the said Bankis payit the custome (Masson, 1898 p.589).

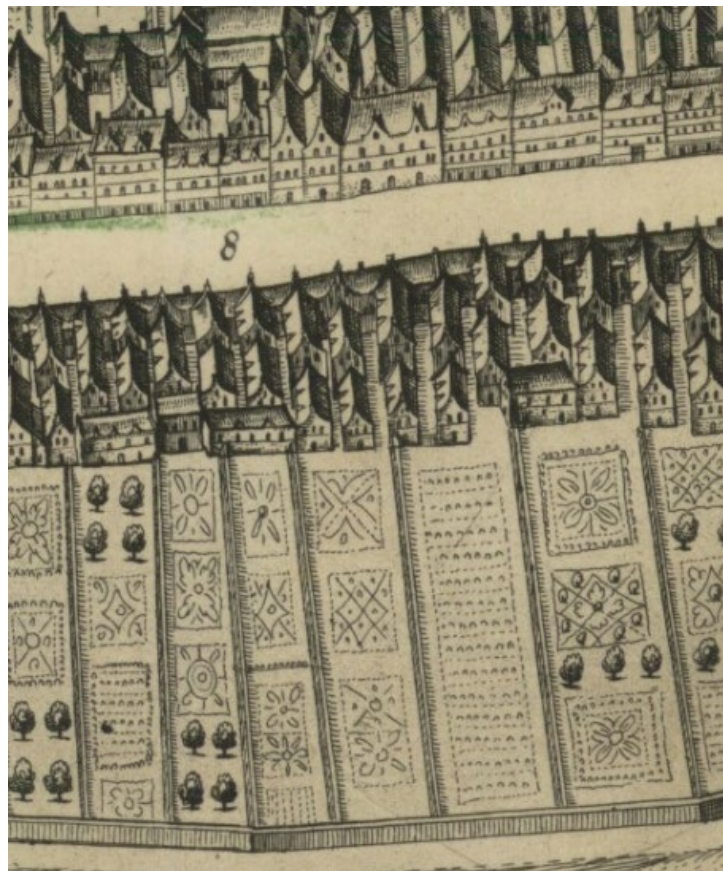


Figure 7.1. Detail from *Edindunensis Tabulam* by Iacobus Gordinius, map of c.1647 showing the houses and gardens on the south side of Canongate (reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland).

This deposition is perhaps in response to an allegation that Murray's monopoly had been broken and that the tobacco had been illicitly obtained. Although no record of Banks importing tobacco has been found in the Leith Port Book of 1622, it is probable that tobacco imports were recorded separately and that this record does not survive.

In addition to trading in tobacco, Banks may have also imported beer from London. The merchant recorded in the customs entry is noted as being an Englishman (fig. 7.2).

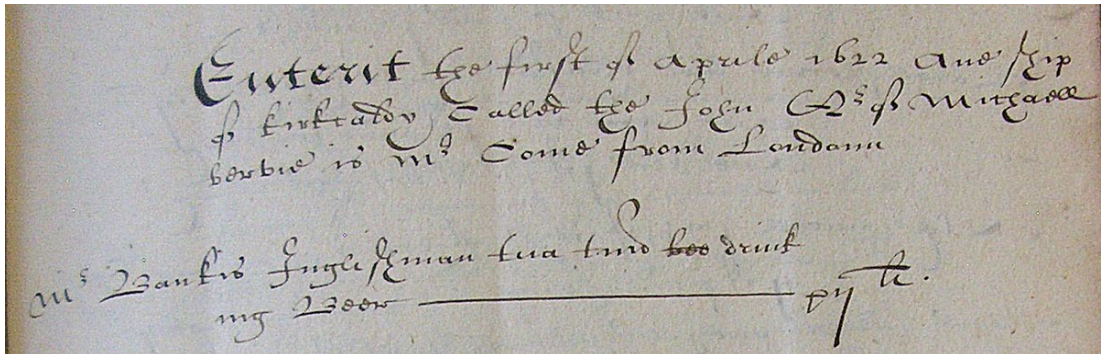


Figure 7.2. The importation of ‘tua tuns drinking beer’ into Leith from London on the *John* of Kirkcaldy, 1 April 1622 (NRS E71/29/7).

The Parish Register for Canongate lists the baptism of a William Banks in 1622 by a father of the same name and provides evidence of a previously unknown marriage (fig. 7.3). It is notable that the mother, Eame, has taken her husband’s surname, something only an English woman would do at this date in Scotland.

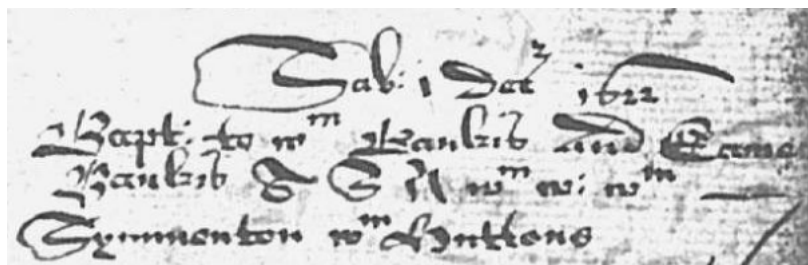


Figure 7.3. Baptism record for William Bankis, Canongate Parish Register (NRS 685/3 20 p.354).

‘Sab[bath] 1 Dec[ember] 1622  
 Bapt[ised]: to W[ilia]m Bankis and Eame  
 Bankis A S[on] N[amed] W[ilia]m w[it]nesses: W[ilia]m  
 Symmenton W[ilia]m Huttone’

A William Bynkes and Emme Orne were married by licence in September 1608 at St. Bride’s Church in Fleet Street, London. This entry suggests that this was not the bride or groom’s parish. Four children and a stillborn daughter appear in the records of St. Botolph without Aldgate between 1615

and 1620 to a William and Emme Banks although there may be further children baptised earlier in another parish. The family are recorded as living in Rosemary Lane, now New Mint Street, near the Tower of London and William's occupation is twice recorded as being a tobacco pipemaker (fig. 7.4).

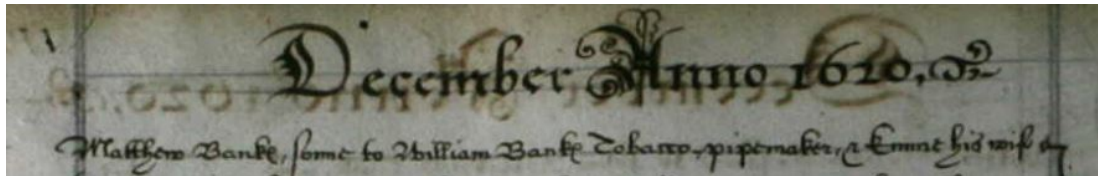


Figure 7.4. Baptism of a son 'to William Banks Tobacco pipemaker & Emme his wife' on Christmas Eve, 1620 (St. Botolph without Aldgate Parish Register, f.122r).

As an Assistant in the Westminster pipemakers' company it would be expected that he would have served an apprenticeship in the trade, either formally or informally, thereby pushing his involvement in pipemaking back to at least 1612. William's first wife died in June 1626 and the entry in the parish register confirms William's occupation as a pipemaker and his continued residence in the Canongate (fig. 7.5).

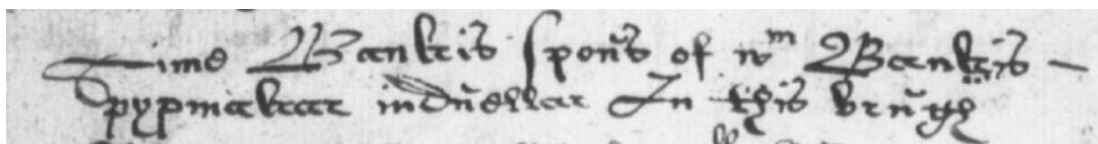


Figure. 7.5. Burial record for 'Aime Bankis spous[e] of W[ilia]m Bankis pyp[e]makar induellar In this brugh', Canongate Parish Records (NRS 685/3 20 p.31).

### **John Stewart, Lord Kinclevin, Earl of Carrick**

As a younger son of Robert, Earl of Orkney, John Stewart accompanied King James VI to London following the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603. He was naturalised in 1607, the year he was ennobled (Parliament, JHL vol.2 p.530). He was granted the title of Lord Kinclevin and performed a variety of tasks for the king, including making a valuation of the forfeited lands of Sir Robert Dudley in 1610 (TNA:SP 14/58 f.123).

In 1611, the grant of the office of the Keeper of Whitehall Palace to Viscount Rochester included the use of 'a messuage ... now or late in possession of John, Lord Stewart, Baron of Kenclevin'. A nearby property, Hances House, belonged to Elizabeth, the Lady Southwell, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, in 1600. She married Stewart in 1604, his name appearing in the account books from 1606 as Master of Orkney and at intervals until 1619 (Cox and Norman, 1930 pp.228-235).

The Privy Council wrote to the king in December 1621 objecting to the gift of a pension to Stewart of £3,600 Scots payable from the rents of Orkney and Shetland (Maidment, 1837 p.441). Despite having been granted a pension of £500 sterling by the king, he had to petition for its payment as by July 1622, he could 'hardly live without it' (Paton, 1904 p.113). Despite his precarious financial position, John Stewart fared better than his elder brother Patrick, who had been beheaded in 1615 for treason. Patrick had also violently taken his brother prisoner in 1595 although John had himself been on trial in 1596 accused of consulting with Margaret Balfour in an attempt to kill Patrick by poisoning three years earlier (NRS PA2/17, f.21v-23r). Balfour had been burnt as a witch in December 1594, despite recanting her confession obtained through torture, and the case against John Stewart subsequently collapsed (McDonald, 1997 p.222).

Despite this early setback, Stewart appears to have been a favourite at the courts of both James I and Charles I. Even the Chancellor, Sir George Hay, was unsure whether his scheme to sell the land tenure of Orkney had been blocked by Stewart's influence at court (Goodare, 2004 p.286). In this regard, John appears to be the exception in the family. One of his younger siblings features in the kirk-session records of Perth for 1632 receiving the equivalent of seven pence sterling for alms as a pauper (Carrick, 1857 p.15). In contrast, John Stewart had begun a building programme which included a grand house at Leith and another on the island of Eday in Orkney following his elevation to the earldom of Carrick and appointment as a Commissioner of Fisheries in 1630 (Bell, 1908 p.234).

## **William Banks' Kilns**

By 1622, Banks evidently had an operational kiln although its precise location south of Canongate is unknown. As a burgh of regality, Canongate was granted the privilege of the right to use Edinburgh's markets and residence there came without certain taxation and regulations of trade (Allen, 2011 p.428, p.430). In 1634, the preparations for a rent-based tax in each quarter of Edinburgh also included this area but these lists do not record William Banks as owning or renting property there. The Housemails Taxation Book records nineteen kilns although most are associated with malt making. One piece of land south of the Canongate was rented at no charge to John Stalker and was described as 'another waiste & a kill [kiln] all rouynous' (Allen and Spence, 2014 p.276). If this entry does relate to Banks' former property, then this kiln had a short working life. This land and kiln cannot have been of value to the business otherwise William would have left it to either of his sons, Thomas or John, both of whom followed him in the pipemaking trade.

After William Banks re-married in 1627, he became a burghess of Canongate by right of this marriage to Jeanne Patersonne (Armet, 1951 p.9). When she died in 1635, Banks was described as an indweller of Leith. By 1636, Banks held a position of authority within South Leith as he is described as an elder of the kirk and, in the following year, as someone who 'keipes ye keyes the wholl number of Bonds yt ar yrinto for securities of or churches moneyes' (Robertson, 1911 pp.26-27). This was a role Banks still held in 1647 when he and the other elders were asked to accompany the ministers to a meeting with Lord Balmerino to discuss whether he ought to have his own seat in the church (Robertson, 1911 p.79).

In 1639, an Alexander Eliot petitioned the Privy Council 'craving libertie to mak tobacco pipes' (RPS C1639/8/23). It is unclear where he intended to set up in business and no further mention of him has been found unless he is the Edinburgh tobacco seller, Alexander Eleis. Around 1641, an Act of Convention in Edinburgh 'ordaines that endeavours be used for the recalling of Mr. Banks his patent for the makeing of tobacco pypes and that the samen should be free' (Marwick, 1880 p.548). In January 1642, a Mr. Banks

petitioned the Privy Council 'anent [about] tobacco pypes' which probably relates to William's complaints against a Richard Calder who had setup as a pipemaker in Canongate (Brown, 1906 p.600). Calder was described by two Edinburgh merchants as 'thair countrieman' contrasting him with Banks, 'a stranger' despite Banks having lived in the city for over twenty years. Banks was claiming that a monopoly, presumably the one granted in 1619, was still in effect. The bailies stated that they could not 'warrantably obey' Banks' charge to assist him in 'searching for tobacco pipes made by any other than himself and to seize the tools wherewith the same are made'. This was because 'he assumes to himself the sole making and selling of tobacco pypes for his own benefit to the prejudice of others who are able to service the countrie' and because his Majesty's subjects 'ar tyed to him and to his prices quhilks [which] he imposes at pleasure' (Brown, 1906 pp.324-325).

Calder is said to have 'made great quantitie of tobacco pypes' and clearly had the support of the bailies, however, conscious of any repercussions, they referred the matter to 'his Majesty and the Estates in the next Parliament'. In the meantime, Banks' patent was 'to be conformed with while the letters granted thereupon' were to be examined (Brown, 1906 p.325). No pipes attributable to Richard Calder have been found in Edinburgh although a pipemaker of that name is recorded on the occasion of his marriage in 1643 and at his burial in March 1644, both in the parish of All Saints, Newcastle (Edwards, 1986 p.41).

It appears that Banks' direct action in destroying Calder's pipes was sufficient for the latter to move out of Scotland. It is plausible that some of Calder's pipes may have been in circulation in Edinburgh although they are unlikely to have been marked. An off-white, used bowl with three rings of milling around the bowl and stem junction is unusual and is a feature not known to have been used by Banks although the form is not inconsistent with being an Edinburgh product of the 1640s, perhaps in imitation of a Dutch style of stem marking (fig. 7.6).

Banks acquired 'ane tenement of land and yaird' on the east side of the Kirkgate, Leith in April 1641 (Gallagher, 2019 p.13, quoting NAS RS/25/29 f.217). He can also be tied to another specific property, again on the south



side of Canongate, which he acquired in April 1643, shortly after purchasing further land in Leith. Gallagher suggests that this land may have included a malt kiln and it may be the case that Banks had bought Calder's former premises in an attempt to strengthen his control of the pipe trade. This may have been fortuitous as John Stewart sold his property in Leith to Lord Balmerino in September 1643 (Grant, 1882 p.222). Given that the distance between any Banks' kiln in Leith and the property in Canongate is less than two miles, the distribution of pipe finds is not able to assist in identifying the precise source of Banks' later products.

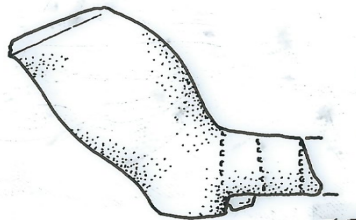


Figure 7.6. Roughly burnished pipe with 6/64" bore, Tower Street, Leith (Franklin, 2005, unpub; illustration courtesy of EASE Archaeology, Westray, Orkney).

A document dated 1732 lists the former occupiers of Alexander Crichton's coachworks in Canongate as James Ronald, merchant, Archibald Campbell, John Murray, William Banks, tobacco pipe maker, his eldest son, Alexander, minister and Patrick Jackson, merchant (Watson, 1923 p.119; fig. 7.7). The property is described as 'All and whole the back Westerlands with the Yeads kiln and colie and sichlike' (Gallagher, 2019 p.13, quoting ECA Canongate Cartulary N54). Banks had married for a third time and a son, Alexander, was baptised in July 1644. Walker adds a further name to the list of former occupiers stating that after Alexander Banks' death the property went to his heir, also named William Banks (1977 p.7). The pipemaker William Young acquired land 'sometyme pertaining to John Murray and then to William Banks tobacco pyp maker' in 1656, this probably being part of this or an adjacent property (Gallagher, 1987 p.9).



Figure 7.7. Extract from William Edgar's 'Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh' showing Alexander Crichton's Coach Works in 1765 (reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland).

In 1645, the majority of the population of Leith had succumbed to the plague and following the declaration in 1649 that Charles II had become king of Scotland, Cromwell attempted to seize Leith. As part of the defences, a boom was installed across the harbour to prevent shipping from entering. The inhabitants of Restalrig sought refuge within the city walls. Charles II rode from Stirling Castle in late July 1650, spending several days at Balmerino House, the former residence of John Stewart. Although the fighting went on for several months, Cromwell was initially unsuccessful although following the Battle of Dunbar later that year, he returned to Edinburgh and occupied Leith. It was said that 'ye honest people fled out of the town for fear of ye enemie' and that the charter chest of South Leith Church was buried under the floor where it remained for two years. As an elder and keeper of the keys to the church chests, it is likely that William Banks was involved in this action. As an Englishman, perhaps Banks was

regarded more favourably by the English army occupying the building. Several churches in Leith remained shut for over seven years (Russell, 1922 Chapter XXV).

Thomas Banks seems to have taken over William's business in Leith but whether this was prior to the latter being laid to rest in Greyfriars Kirkyard in Edinburgh in January 1659 is uncertain. Two baptisms, in 1641 and 1643, suggest that Thomas was working in Glasgow although his occupation there is not recorded. Thomas had returned to Leith by 1647 and a pipe found at Glenochar Bastle from this period uses a three letter basal stamp, a form used extensively by Glasgow pipemakers in the 1670s (Gallagher, 2011 p.6). The occupation of Leith by Cromwellian troops in 1650 must have disrupted the distribution of pipes although William Banks is known to have bought more property in that year (SRO 25/37/f.443 RS 26/1/351). A daughter of Thomas Banks was baptised in 1651 in Edinburgh suggesting that his family had fled Leith although a further daughter was baptised in South Leith in 1653, indicating that they had returned by that date. There may have been a hiatus in pipe production in the Banks workshop between 1650 and 1652 as other pipemakers start to appear in Edinburgh's documentary record.

### **The Scottish Pipe Trade**

That a single workshop could supply the whole of Scotland's tobacco pipe requirements seems an ambitious undertaking although it should be noted that the recorded export of pipes from London to Scotland almost completely ceases after 1621. This suggests that Stewart's licence was respected by the merchants as soon as Banks' manufactory was in production. That the holders of the English and Scottish tobacco pipe monopolies had mutual respect for each other's position is unsurprising given that both were sitting in the Scottish Parliament in 1621 although Lord Kinclevin sat there by proxy (Goodare, 1995 p.49). Any shortage of supply by Banks could have been taken up by Dutch merchants who were geographically well placed to fill any deficit and who were unencumbered by the terms of the monopoly.

## Distribution

It is notable that of the 43 custom entries recorded in the London Overseas Port Books before 1628, some 37 of the merchants sending pipes to Scotland are recorded as being Scottish. Of the remaining six, some of these can also be shown to have been Scottish from other sources. The importation of tobacco pipes into Scotland from London was firmly in Scottish hands. In 1615, the Scottish merchant Alexander Watson entered a cargo at London which included both pipes and ‘casses for tobacco pyps’, the earliest reference found to this accessory (TNA:E 190/19/1).

The respective volumes of pipes sent to the various receiving ports are summarised in Table 7.1. Those cargoes recorded in small gross have been converted to large gross. In September 1626, the Privy Council prohibited any Scottish master or vessel from going on a voyage without a licence (Masson, 1899 p.430).

Table 7.1. Gross of pipes exported from London to Scottish Ports, 1612-27 (TNA:E 190/16/2; 19/1; 19/5; 19/4; 21/2; 24/1; 28/6; 31/1).

	Leith	Kirkcaldy	Bo'ness	Limekilns	St Andrews	Dysart	Kinghorne	Prestonpans
1612	3	11	3	1				
1613								
1614								
1615	17	73	10					
1616		43	14					3
1617								
1618								
1619								
1620								
1621	10	20			26	5	18	
1622								
1623								
1624		9						
1625								
1626								
1627								20

Although the monopoly operated by William Banks covered, in theory, the whole of Scotland, in practise his pipes are to be found mainly around the Firth of Forth and throughout the southern lowlands (fig. 7.8). There are

some notable outliers, for example, a single pipe found at Scalloway Castle on the Shetland Isles. Two pipes of around 1660 were also found at Kebister on the island, one being the product of Thomas Banks made using a mould with a recut 'T' (Gallagher, 1999 p.206).

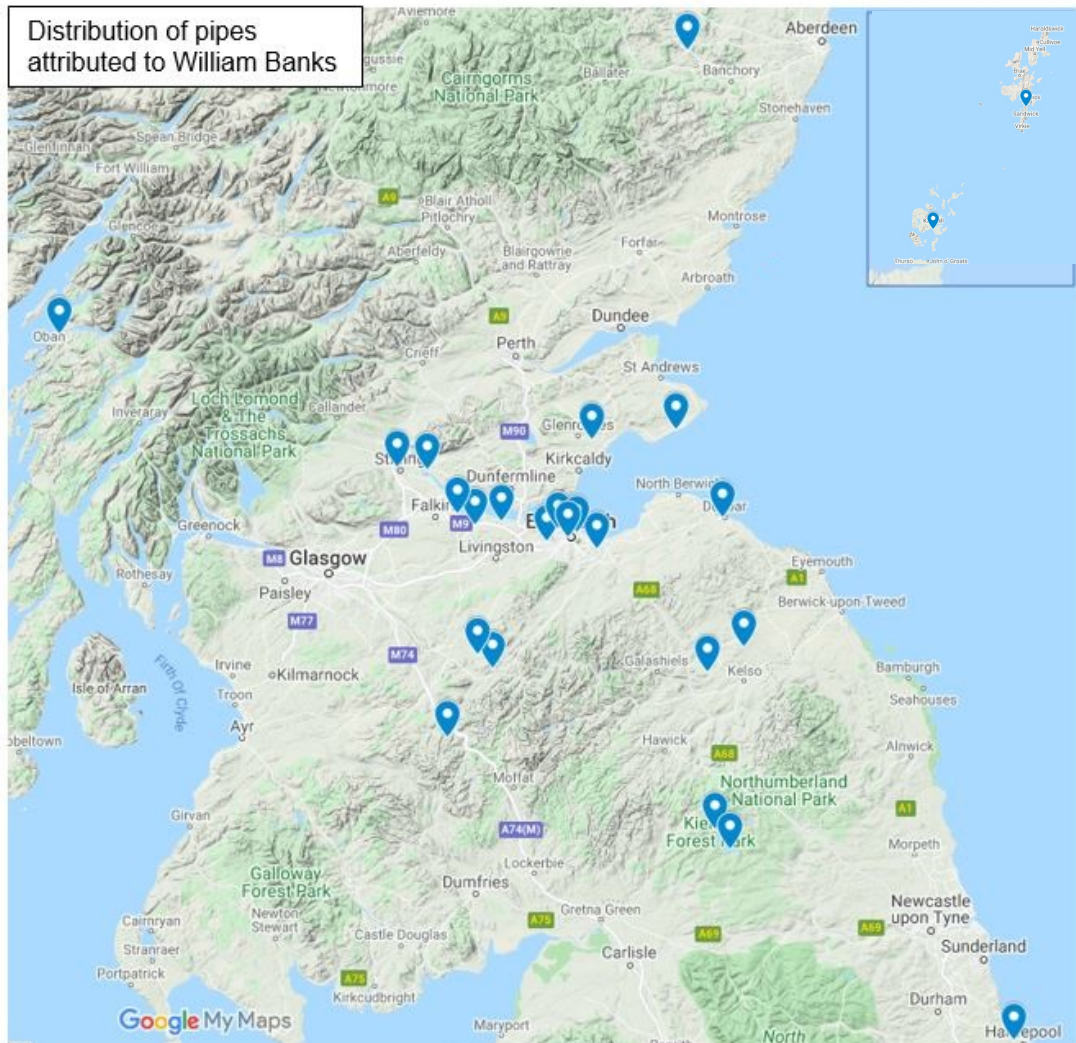


Figure 7.8. Distribution map of William Banks' pipes with the Orkney and the Shetlands Islands inset.

The Shetland Islands regularly exported fish to Leith and annually welcomed Dutch visitors fishing for herring and the majority of pipes found there are Dutch (Gallagher, 1999 p.208). The low quality of the finds indicate casual imports by workers rather than any organised supply to the lords of Orkney and Shetland. Attributing unmarked pipes to Banks is more problematic when they are found outside of Edinburgh, especially in northern Scotland where Dutch pipes are more numerous (fig. 7.9).

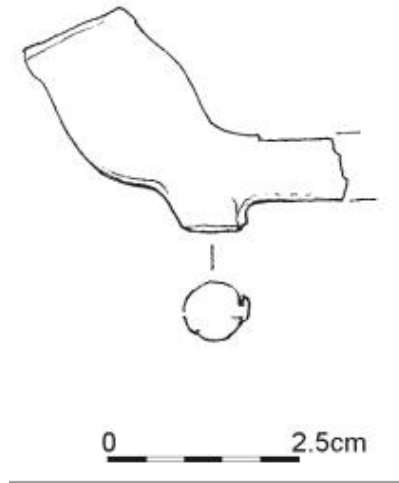


Figure 7.9. Unmarked bowl of 1640-60 from the Carmelite Friary, Aberdeen (ID 56, Atkin, 2019).

Unprovenanced bowls marked W/B can be found in several collections alongside other unmarked Edinburgh products of this period (fig. 7.10).



Figure 7.10. Unprovenanced bowl marked W/B low on the side of the heel (National Pipe Archive, LIVNP 2017.01.018).

Bowls attributable to William Banks are rarely found in England. Without giving further detail, Oswald records an example from Hartlepool which he dates to c.1650 (fig. 7.11). When a similar example was found at a remote abandoned site now lost to the Kielder Reservoir, the WB maker was then unknown (Parsons, 1977 p.146). Two further bowls, also marked W/B, were found in the Kielder Valley, south of Hawick. These would have been carried there overland.

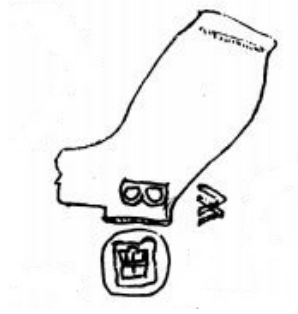


Figure 7.11. Bowl made from yellowish clay marked W/B with castle basal stamp from Hartlepool (Oswald, 1975 p.43).

One measure that was introduced to combat customs fraud was the formal approval of certain land routes between England and Scotland. Goods were liable to confiscation if they were not carried via Berwick or Carlisle in England or by way of Ayton, Jedburgh, Kelso, Dumfries or Annan in Scotland. That tobacco pipes were distributed overland can be shown by a court case in 1654 between Olifer, a traveller, and Scott, a merchant. Tobacco pipes to the value of £6 10/- had been 'broken by him [Olifer] in carrying of th[e s]ame out of Edinburgh' although they had been 'promieist be him to bring haill, saif and sound to Hawick'. Olifer, in his defence, argued disingenuously that 'he had only the carrying of th[e s]ame' and did not promise safe delivery (Wilson, 1851 p.70).

A pipe with a castle basal mark has been found at Oudeschans Fort, Groningen, Netherlands (fig. 7.12). The pipe was found on the corner of Voorstraat, a street where barracks were located which might suggest that it may have once belonged to a Scottish soldier. Alternatively, it could have come from a mariner as the town was still accessible to ships in this period.



Figure 7.12. Edinburgh pipe with crude Castle basal stamp, 1625-40. (Van der Lingen, in preparation, Oudeschans, Cat. nr. 236. Inv.nr. P1861).

A similar heeled pipe and another fragment have been found on the site of one of the plantation settlements of the Salters Company in County Londonderry (fig. 7.13).



Figure 7.13. Heeled pipe found in Salterstown, 1629-40  
(Miller, 1991 fig.165A).

In 1628 there was said to be 76 British settlers on the Salters Company's plantations along with 181 Irish tenants. Kennedy argues that various seventeenth century surveys, especially those from 1619 and 1622, show the occupants to be entirely English and therefore Scottish pipes cannot be casual imports (2015 pp.96-97). However, the increase in Scottish emigration to Ulster during the 1630s and the lack of any formal export of Banks' pipes does indicate informal trade or exchange with the settlement. Kennedy also erroneously suggests that Edinburgh products marked with a castle basal stamp date from the period between the 1580s and the 1640s whereas this study has shown that they cannot date to before 1621. The obliteration of the Salterstown settlement in the wake of the 1641 rebellion provides the terminus ante quem date for this artefact (Margey, 2019 p.81). Two early William Banks products have also been recorded by Davey and Norton from Carrickfergus (2013 p.142).

### **Artefact Analysis**

Although many of William Banks' products have been collected from important historical sites such as Edinburgh Castle, St. Giles Cathedral, Stirling Castle and Holyrood House, the overall quality of his products is poor. This was not just the complacency of working under monopolistic conditions as he was partly in competition with Dutch pipe imports which were unhindered by Stewart's licence. It seems more likely that supply was unable to keep up with demand. No evidence has been found that he



employed anyone from outside the family and his eldest known son would only have been aged five in 1622. There also was no skilled local workforce he could draw upon.

Two unusual features are evident from Banks' output. Not only are all of his pipes of the heeled type but his marked pipes utilise his initials low on each side of the heel, a method not used on Dutch or London-made pipes of this period (fig. 7.10). Although finds were initially categorised with reference to English typologies, an Edinburgh typology was first proposed in the 1980s (Sharp, 1987 pp.15-19). Around 70 percent of the finds which have a date range ascribed to them are said to be from the second-half of Banks' working life with 1640-60 being the most commonly used date range (Chart 7.1).

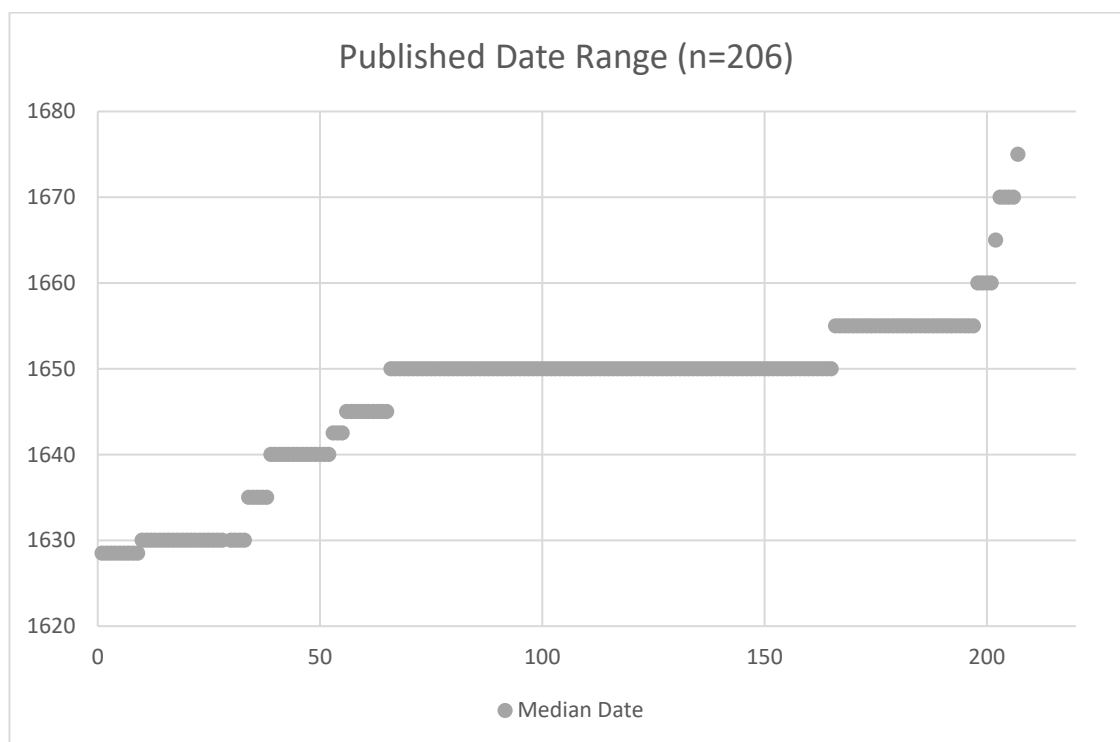


Chart 7.1. Median date of pipes attributed to William Banks which have a published date range ascribed (author's database).

It is clear from the outliers that some dating errors have occurred. The pipe bowl marked W/B in the Selkirk Museum and three in the National Museum of Scotland, similarly marked, are all dated to 1660-80 and need to be reviewed in light of William Banks' death in 1659. Although it is not uncommon for moulds to be used posthumously by the successors in a pipe business, some recut bowls suggest that Thomas Banks may have taken

over the effective running of the business prior to or shortly after his father's death. Published date ranges suggest that the peak production for William Banks' workshop was during the last half of his working life, a period in time when his monopoly had expired. The common use of two date ranges, namely 1620-40 and 1640-60, is evident suggesting that products are merely being dated to the first or second half of his known working life. This is particularly the case for excavation reports from the end of the twentieth century although dating is becoming more refined as more examples are found. Sharp's typology has now largely fallen out of use.

### **Stem Bore Analysis**

Of the three hundred pipes attributed to the workshop of William Banks identified by this study, the details of the majority have been extracted from published site reports from various excavations undertaken since the 1980s. These have been supplemented by artefacts held by the National Museum of Scotland although not all of those are provenanced.

In total, only ten site reports document the stem bore diameters of their pipe assemblages, perhaps reflecting the inappropriateness of Binford's method to Scottish artefacts. This represents too small a sample size to be usable in terms of dating. Chart 7.2 suggests that a wire of 6/64" or 7/64" was commonly used by Banks' workshop throughout the period in question. The range of diameters is so small that shrinkage in firing could encompass the variation found. This data is of little practical use as an aide to dating, although published pipe reports should include this measurement as it is conceivable that at some point a suitably large sample size could provide some granularity.

It is worth noting that Harrington's study, based on 330 stem fragments from English pipes from Jamestown and Williamsburg, found that 59 percent of bore diameters were measured at 8/64" and a further 20 percent at 9/64" for the period 1620-50 (McMillan, 2010 p.15). This is not the pattern found in pipes made in Edinburgh. It should be feasible to compare William Banks' output with that of his sons to ascertain whether the pattern of a reduction in

bore size occurred later in the seventeenth century although William Banks' products already possessed a relatively narrow bore.

### W/B Marks on the side of the heel

Initials found on the sides of a pipe bowl heel should be read from the smokers' point of view, with the left-hand initial being the first name and the right-hand initial being the surname. Banks' use of initials low on the bowl on each side of the heel is an unusual feature at this date.

A large number of variations of the W/B mark exist and chart 7.3 shows whether the presence of this type of mark is consistent across William Banks' known working life in Canongate and Leith. These figures include those pipes where the heel is clearly marked 'W' on the left-hand side but the right-hand mark is indistinct. Although there is the possibility that later pipes of William or Walter Young might be erroneously included, bowl form has been used to exclude them.

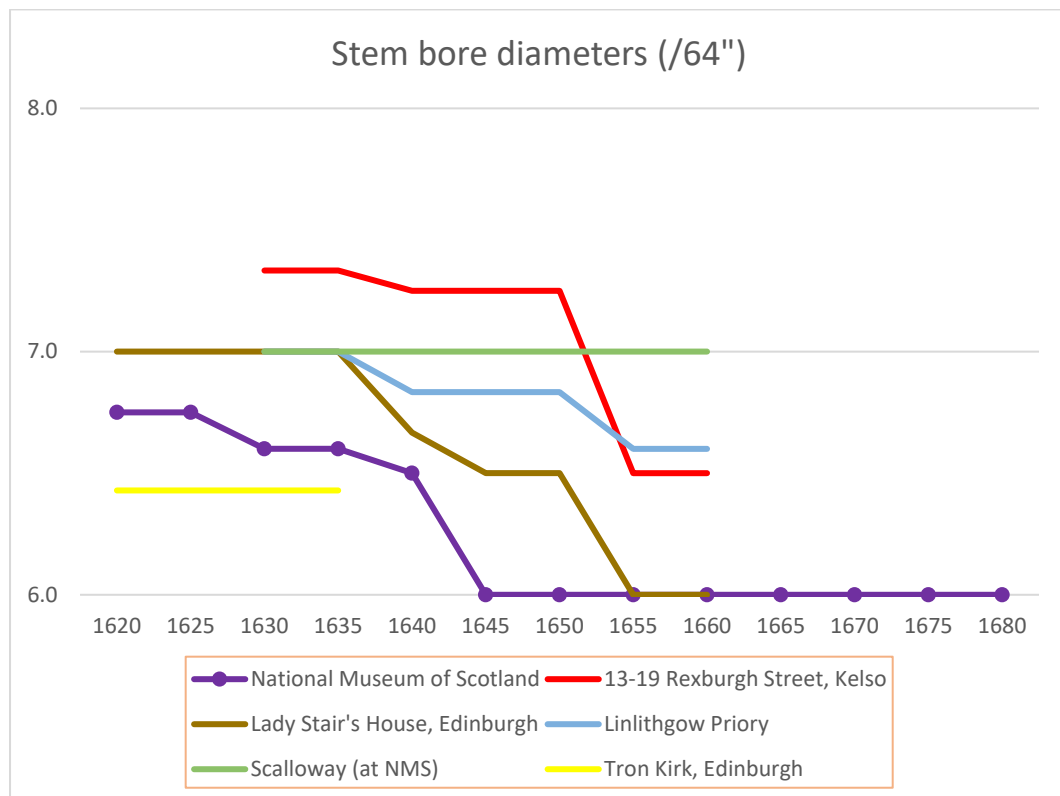


Chart 7.2. Average stem bore diameters for pipes attributed to William Banks, by published data range (Gallagher, 1987 pp.15-19, p.270, p.280, pp.300-302).

The data does not include the reverse scenario where only the 'B' is clear as these bowls could be the product of either William or one of his sons. It does include several bowls where the letters have been reversed in the mould so that the mark reads B/W rather than W/B (fig. 7.14). This is evidently an error made by the mould maker rather than representing an unidentified maker. These pipes are from different moulds although date from the same period suggesting that perhaps the same mould maker was responsible.

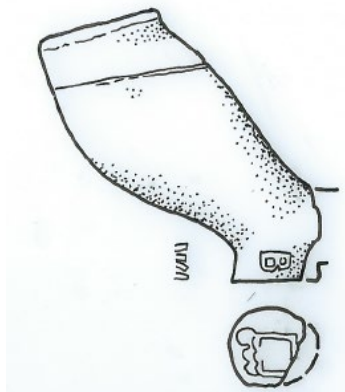


Figure 7.14. Bowl from Tower Street, Leith with incised mark on the bowl and reversed initials on the heel (Franklin, 2005 p.1).

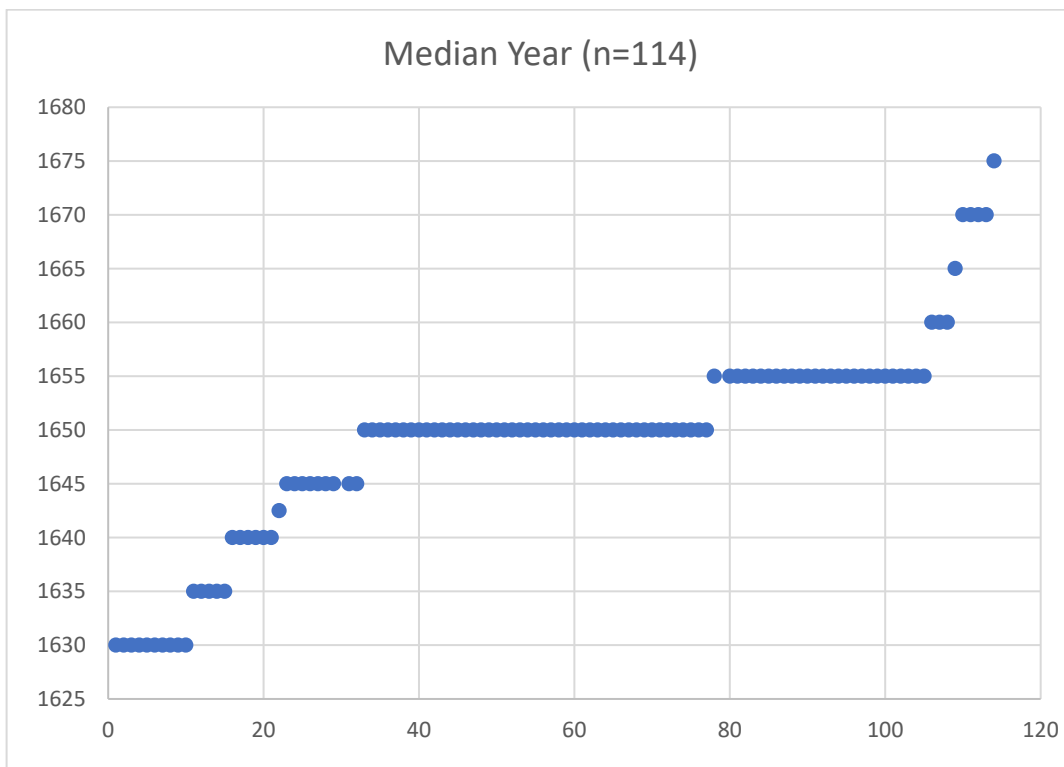


Chart 7.3. Median date of bowls with heels marked W/B (author's database).

The pipes sealed by the construction of the Tron Kirk in 1637 were unmarked and chart 7.3 would suggest that the use of the W/B mark is more common on later bowl forms than on those dated to before 1640.

Some of the pipes attributed to Banks bore a castle stamp on the base. This represents the Netherbow Gate, as viewed from the Canongate, and was to act as geographic provenance in the same way that later products made in Stirling commonly feature a star basal mark. This stamp mimics the assay mark and the style of plate marks in use in Edinburgh (fig. 7.15).



Figure 7.15. The plate mark of George Kirkland, 1618  
(Cripps, 1882 p.6).

Of the 75 bowls, marked W/B and variants, found in the excavations at Stirling Castle between 2004 and 2008, only four were marked with a castle basal stamp (Gallagher, 2008). These were generally of low quality and reflect the military nature of the building. Although it has been suggested that the combination of the Castle basal stamp and the W/B mark on the sides of the heel mimic the requirement for a touch mark in addition to the hallmark as commonly found on pewter, the number of bowls featuring this combination of marks is low, at only sixteen percent (chart 7.4). There is no evidence from the bowl forms to suggest that this combination only occurs after a particular date.

The Castle basal stamp was most widely used around 1650 although this matches the apparent period of peak production, based on dated finds. As it occurs on both early and late bowl forms, it is impossible to say whether its introduction coincides with Banks' move to Leith around 1631 or with his becoming a burgess in 1627. Although the excavations at Holyrood Road and Calton Road in Canongate produced many pipes produced by the Banks family, an unusually elegant example was found, marked W/B and with a castle heel stamp, echoing a London bowl form (Gallagher, 2010; 2013 p.24; fig. 7.16).



Figure 7.16. W/B marked bowl similar to AO type 10, found in Canongate.

While this may have been an attempt to garner loyalty amongst buyers to an Edinburgh-made product, it can be shown that this mark was not the guarantee of quality suggested by Davey (1987 p.194).

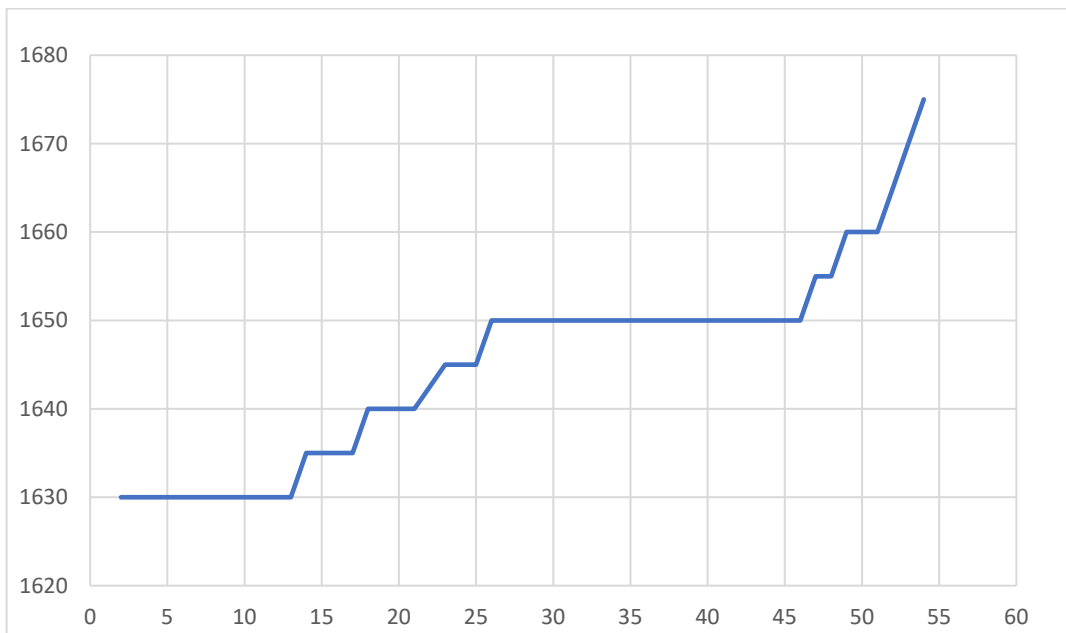


Chart 7.4. Median date of bowls marked W/B with basal Castle stamp, author's database (n=54).

Half of all the bowls attributed to Banks and ascribed a date range are marked W/B on the heel although it should be noted that a third of all W/B marked pipes are undated in the archaeological reports. The proportion of marked heels to unmarked heels remains fairly consistent throughout Banks' working life although the majority of W/B marked pipes have a median date in the 1650s (chart 7.3).

Only fifty-four bowls with an ascribed date range feature both the castle basal stamp and the initials W/B on the sides of the heel (chart 7.4). The temporal spread is across the whole of Banks' working life with no statistically significant period being apparent. A further ten bowls featured a Portcullis design on the base and this should be regarded as a progression of the castle design as this mark does not seem to be found on early Banks' products (chart 7.5). It is said to represent Edinburgh Castle and requires a more refined stamp to produce a clear image.

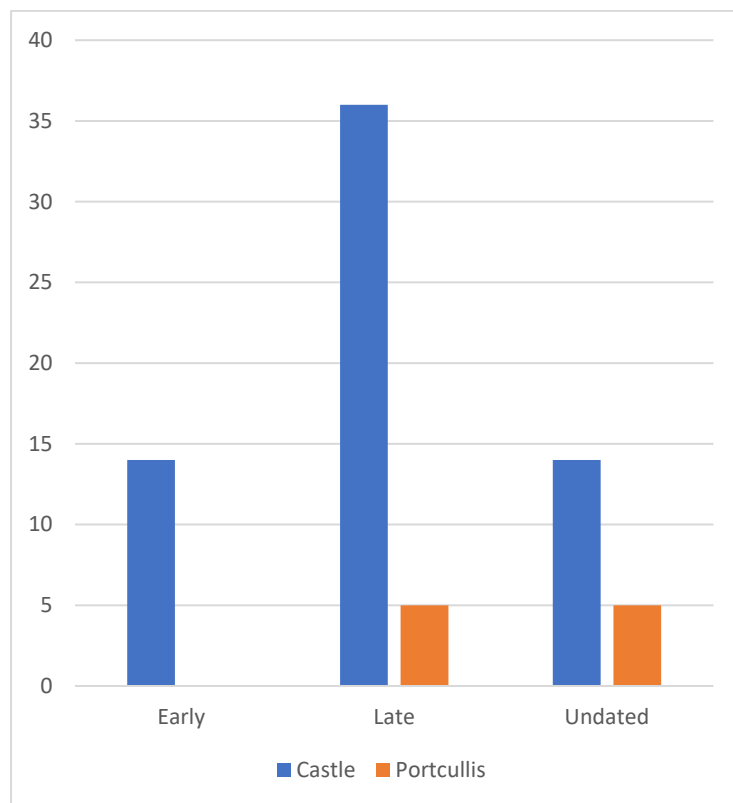


Chart 7.5. Number of bowls with basal Castle or Portcullis marks for early (1620-39) and late (1640-1660) periods (n=75).

Of these pipes, most that were dated by bowl form typology were said to be from after 1640 although an undated bowl from Pittenween is said to be of an earlier form. Five of these bowls were fully milled with a further two being almost fully milled. Eight of these bowls were marked W/B in addition to the Portcullis stamp and one has an indistinct right-hand initial which might also be read as a D or a P. In qualitative terms, only three of the bowls were recorded as being burnished although the suggestion that the Portcullis stamp might signify a higher quality product is undermined by one bowl

featuring coarse uneven milling and a second crudely milled bowl having been made in a re-cut mould. In this latter case, the B had been poorly cut.

### **Burnishing**

Burnishing was a finishing process designed to give the pipes a polished appearance. The clay was compressed and smoothed by the use of a tool, often made of polished metal or stone. This was mainly applied to the bowl although the stems could also be burnished although often less carefully. As this was a relatively time-consuming process, burnished pipes could be sold at a higher price and therefore the presence and execution of the process can be an indicator of the overall quality of the product. Only twelve of the pipes with castle stamps were burnished (fig. 7.17).

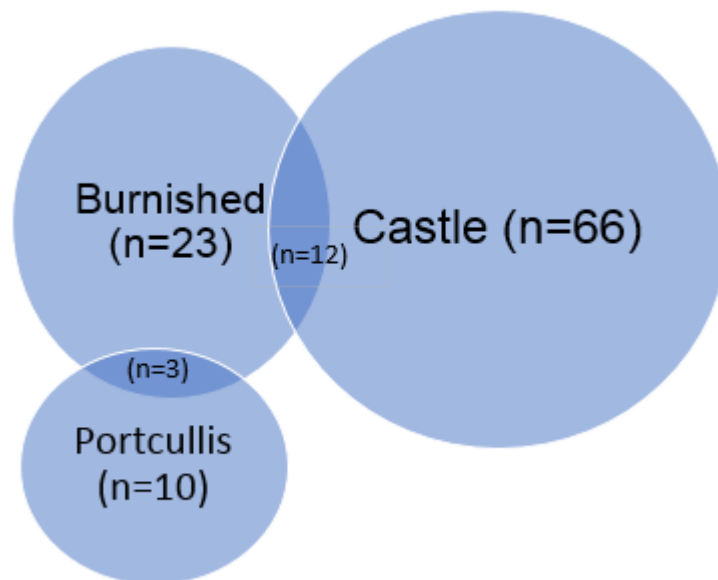


Figure 7.17. Number of bowls with Castle and Portcullis basal stamps which are burnished.

### **Milling**

Rim milling was another finishing process where a decorative band was added to the bowl, just under the rim, by a serrated tool. This was a common process so that the presence or absence of milling does not necessarily equate to quality although its application can be used as a guide. A lack of care may mean that the milling may not be complete or may not join up and could be applied at an angle to the bowl rim.



Of the fourteen bowls that can be described as poorly milled or carelessly finished, only one, found in Kelso, had also been burnished (Gallagher, 1987 p.279 no.6). The majority of these pipes have incomplete milling and a crude bowl from the Spur Battery at Stirling Castle has milling marks which do not join up (Gallagher, 1987 p.334 no.86). Bowl forms suggests that this lack of care during manufacture occurred throughout William Banks' working life as both early and later forms are equally represented. Even a finely milled and burnished bowl from Stirling Castle shows signs of a scar from a carelessly used finishing tool (Gallagher, 2008 p.8 no.94 F14013).

### **Piercing**

The creation of the bore down the centre of a pipe stem is achieved by inserting a length of wire into the clay until it makes an opening into the bowl. As such, it is one of the basic skills of pipemaking but was made more difficult as stems became longer and narrower. A bulbous bowl from Stirling Castle provides evidence that the maker took two attempts before they were successful in this task (F14078). Another, from Linlithgow Priory, is not only poorly finished but the wire has gone out through the other side of the bowl. This pipe also displayed a castle basal mark, albeit a worn one (Gallagher, 1987 p.300 no.9).

### **Bottering**

This was a finish almost universally applied during the seventeenth century where the rim of a bowl was shaped or smoothed by a turned tool using a twisting action. Although most pipe reports do not record whether this was present on William Banks' pipes, those that do suggest that this was commonly applied to all his products. Typically this produces a smooth profile on the rim.

### **Moulding**

A Canongate eviction notice of 1625 describes John Thomson as a mouldmaker. He is, in 1632, recorded as a temporary servant to a lorimer before becoming a member of the Blacksmiths company so was possibly familiar enough with the processes of working brass or iron to make pipemaking moulds. On his marriage in 1642, Duncan Grahame is also

recorded as a mouldmaker while another Thomson, this time Margaret, married John Bell, mouldmaker, in Edinburgh in 1664. A significant number of the incorporated trades of Edinburgh involved metal working so there should have not, in theory, been an issue in providing sufficient moulds for William Banks' business. However, there are numerous examples of his pipes having being made in worn or re-cut moulds (fig. 7.18).

Apart from a late pipe from Newcraighall South, most of the others were found at Stirling Castle and typologically date from the 1650s. This suggests that one effect of the civil war in Scotland was that it necessitated the re-cutting of moulds, sometimes more than once, due to an inability to obtain replacements.



Figure 7.18. William Banks pipe from the 1650s displaying a worn mould, Glenochar Bastle, (Gallagher, 2011 p.5).

### **Trimming**

This is an operation consisting of removing excess clay with a knife or special curved tool from around the pipe, particularly from the seam created when the two halves of the mould were pressed together. Often this was undertaken by family members or apprentices and was the first, most basic, step in making a presentable pipe. A single bowl found in Kelso is completely untrimmed and one from Glenochar Bastle has marks from the finisher's fingernails. Two bowls from Linlithgow Priory display poor joins and although this may be a product of a worn mould, trimming could have hidden any seam defect. A pipe from the Holyrood Parliament site also displays an untrimmed base seam.

## **Bowl form**

Although William Banks' working life in Scotland was around thirty-seven years, a large variety of bowl forms can be identified as his products along with some un-marked examples presumed to be his. Sharp's Edinburgh typology consists of ten bowl forms dated to before 1640 but all are marked pipes with types 1-5 carrying the castle basal mark, types 6-9 carrying W/B heel marks and type 10 carrying both (Davey, 1987 pp.15-17). Sharp characterises the progression of bowl forms as first getting taller (up to 1650), then wider (up to 1660) before finally becoming more upright (up to 1680). This typology highlights the large number of bowl forms used by William Banks but is unconvincing both in the sequencing and the dating. This proliferation of 'type' does not aid comprehension.

## **Typology**

By the 1610s, London's pipemakers were beginning to use initial marks on their products. Although Noel Hume states that this might have been a requirement of the Society of Pipemakers of Westminster, this is unlikely to have been formalised as several different makers had the same pair of initials (Noel Hume, 2003 para.14). It might be expected that William Banks, as a member of this company, would have also followed London marking practise. It could be expected that a distinctive Scottish style might have developed over time but that a London influence might be found in his earlier products. In order to improve our understanding of which forms are contemporary and which do form a progression, we must first consider those bowls that are securely datable. The most important examples in this regard are the artefacts found during the excavations of the Tron Kirk in Edinburgh (fig. 7.19).

The construction of the church began in 1637 over the remains of tenement buildings that had been recently demolished (Cook, Cross and Lawson, 2013 p.1). Although only one bowl was considered worthy of publication following the 2007 excavations, it is consistent in form with the five complete and two fragmentary bowls found during 1974 and previously published (Lawson, 1975 p.150). The bowls from the earlier excavation all had the same 3mm

bore stem diameter (between 7/64" and 8/64") and were all made from a similar fabric. Most had low heel heights although two had been asymmetrically cut but in different directions. Three of the bowls feature milling and one has been scored below the rim. One bowl fragment has the remains of part of a heel stamp although too little remained to identify it. The bowl found in 2007 can be identified as a Banks product and confirms that the use of the castle basal stamp pre-dates 1637. The majority of the bowls found are unmarked and typologically dated by Lawson as from the period 1620-50.

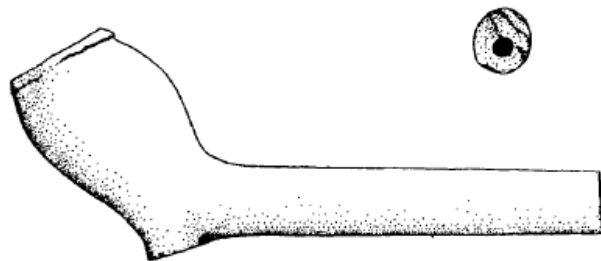


Figure. 7.19. Un-marked bowl from the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh similar to London type AO4 (Lawson, 1975 p.150 fig.1).

Other unmarked bowls have been found in Kelso, at Balgonie Castle, Linlithgow Priory and at Stirling Castle although these are small in number. The only significant quantity of pipes recovered from excavations were at the site of the new Holyrood Parliament building in Edinburgh. All twenty-six of the plain pipes have been dated by Gallagher to 1640-60 so represent the second half of Banks' working life. A couple of these were poorly made. While most had milled rims, on one example this band of decoration did not join up. While the majority of Banks' early pipes may have been unmarked, these finds suggest that plain pipes continued to be available throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

It is not possible to identify with certainty, any of William Banks' products, or their marks, which pre-date his relocation to Leith. Given the port's location only two miles from Canongate, it is unlikely that a distribution map will assist in determining this. The one exception is where wasters, or rejected pipes, are uncovered as these are normally deposited close to the kiln site.

## **The Evidence from Balmerino House, Leith**

In 2009, excavations at the site of St. Mary's Star of the Sea Roman Catholic Church in Leith uncovered the remains of the front of Balmerino House and a small burial ground which pre-dated it (White and O'Connell, 2009 p.1). Of particular interest are the fourteen pipe bowls, dated typologically by Gallagher to 1630-40 on the basis of their similarity to the Tron Kirk pipes. They were made using a variety of fabrics including red and grey as well as the usual white clay. A context containing eleven bowls included several wasters, unsmoked pipes and other fragments. Several stems were defective due to off-centre bores. Some of the pipes have splashes of a dark glaze on them suggesting that they were co-fired in a kiln with pottery. No documentary reference to a pottery kiln in Leith is known with Potterow in Edinburgh being the closest geographically. One bowl of c.1650 is marked with a W on one side of the heel and an illegible mark on the other side. This assemblage suggests that these are William Banks' products.

At the time of the writing of the specialist reports from this excavation, it was not known whether Banks made pipes in Leith although he was known to have lived there. It was evident that this site was previously occupied by Balmerino House but its original owner and his connection with William Banks was not realised. The main house on the site was built by John Stewart in 1631 and sold to Lord Balmerino in 1643 and it is likely that these bowls date from the period of Stewart's ownership. They therefore represent a corpus of material that could be dated to within a relatively short period of time and which can provide a comparator with the pipes from the Tron Kirk excavations. The one later pipe may suggest that Banks continued to work at this location after the sale of the house although the dating of a single pipe cannot provide any certainty.

The importance of the finds from excavations at nearby Tower Street, Leith stems from the quality and quantity of artefacts. The majority were from a single deposit, a midden dated to 1620-65, located south of a large stone fortification wall (Franklin, 2005 p.1). The 2,433 pieces of pipe included 442 bowls and fourteen decorated stem sherds. At least 53 imported pipes were present, mainly from the north-east of England and the Netherlands as well

as 52 pipes marked with the castle stamp. Of the latter, forty can be attributed to the Banks family with thirteen marked W/B or with just a W. A further eighteen pipes were marked with just a B low down on the right-hand side of the bowl. Their early bowl form suggests that these too are likely to be the products of William Banks. The W/B marked pipes were scattered throughout the layers. Three stamps were identified as being used more than once and some of these pipes were also from the same mould. In all, nine moulds were found to have been used between two and four times. A good proportion of these identical pipes were smoked implying they were used in a location that bought in bulk, such as an alehouse or ships' stores (Franklin, 2005 p.11). This duplication may be a factor of such a large assemblage although it does appear to be unique.

No less than 295 bowls were unmarked but identified as Scottish based on their form. All had a bore of 6/64" or 7/64", in keeping with the evidence presented in chart 7.2. Although Franklin raises the suggestion that they could equally be the products of a rival to Banks, their early forms suggest that this is unlikely as it is only after the ending of his monopoly that rivals are documented as appearing.

### **The Scottish Port Books**

The National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh hold the customs books which record the duties levied on imports and exports. Those dating to before the Acts of Union can be found in series E71 and E72. Although certain local authority archives hold some customs records, none of these are relevant to this study. The records that are extant are those that have been audited by the Scottish Exchequer and those in E71 date from between 1498 and 1640. There are 55 books in this first series which date to 1600 or later and these cover seventeen ports. The second series, those in E72, contain records dated between 1668 and 1696 and are more numerous. The records utilised in this chapter are listed in Appendix O.

A published act of the 'secreet councill apud Edinburgh' dated October 1611 describes in detail the recording practices designed to prevent the smuggling of high value goods 'within packs and trees of gros wares and marchandize'.

Firstly, that the 'Farmers and Tacks-men of the customes of Scotland doe keepe books of all gudes' that are shipped for England or brought from England to Scotland including 'the ships name, place and Maisters name, and to and from what Port the ship is bound'. They are also required to 'keepe the entresse of every Port severallie'. This mirrors English practice but the requirement goes further; 'Also that they keepe books of all gudes carried by land'.

The Farmers of both the English and Scottish customs were to lend copies of their Port books, 'the ane to the other' at Christmas and at Midsummer (Scotland, 1611 p.11). Both could seize undeclared goods in their ports, including those for land carriage. These orders were to be published and letters were to be displayed at 'the market crosses of the head burrowes and Sea-ports' so 'that nane pretend ignorance of the same' (Scotland, 1611 p.13).

However, the extant Scottish customs records do not always contain the prescribed information. While some are equivalent to the English Port Books, others are compiled on a different basis. It appears that their recording period usually commenced on 1 November each year which is inconsistent with English practise although one Customs Book for Leith commences on 1 July (NRS: E71/29/6). There are no entries for tobacco in the records consulted with the exception of the Burntisland Port Book of 1627/28 where 53 lbs. of imports are listed in the back of the book (NRS: E71/5/2). It is probable that this commodity was always recorded separately as a single volume solely recording tobacco imports is extant for Edinburgh for 1626/27 (NRS: E71/29/10) along with five certificates dating from 1623 (NRS: E75/27). William Banks is not amongst those merchants whose certificates survive.

Leith, as a head port, was responsible for the entire coast between Berwick and Stirling although many ships, especially the shallower Dutch vessels, preferred landing places further up the Firth of Forth. At Leith there was a Collector with a staff of searchers. The unloading of vessels was supervised by waiters who were paid only by the seizures they made. These waiters were itinerant and could be allocated to other ports if needed and were under

the control of the Head Searcher. Leith's Collector had an Assistant and a Checker as well as the port being the base for an itinerant Surveyor.

A customs post was established at Bo'ness and ships were boarded at Inchgarvie where soldiers were stationed. Another customs post was established at Burntisland. Waiters were also stationed at Eyemouth, Dunbar, Prestonpans and Musselburgh. Until an official weigh-house was built in Leith in 1649, goods were only supposed to be weighed at the Tron in Edinburgh. This new facility was welcomed but was still under the control of Edinburgh Council, much to the distaste of the merchants residing in Leith (Mowat, 2001 pp.203-207).

The custom records for the port of Leith are extant for three distinct periods after 1600, namely 1611-28, 1663-91 and a continuous series after 1742. Six other customs books relating to ports around the Firth of Forth have also been consulted as the Overseas Port Books indicate that these ports received tobacco pipes from London. Only two of the Leith books coincide temporally with the London Port Books (table 7.2). The first half of 1612 is covered by both the London and Leith records and while the former records a shipment of 36 dozen tobacco pipes destined for Leith, the latter lists neither the shipment nor the ship arriving there (fig. 7.20).

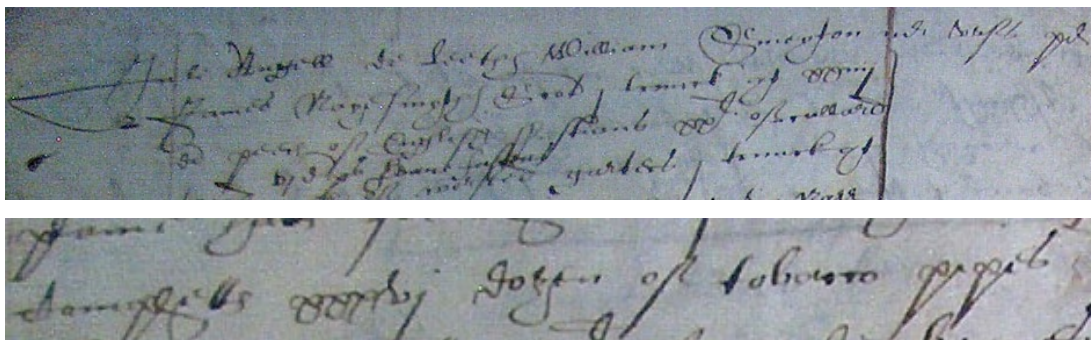


Figure 7.20. The Scottish merchant, James Naysmyth, entering a mixed cargo of goods at the port of London bound for Leith, 4 May 1612 (TNA:E 190/16/2).

Most of 1627 is similarly covered by the customs records of both ports yet the only entry located is a consignment of tobacco pipes from London to Prestonpans. By this date, the Westminster monopoly had been revoked but no shipment of pipes, either imported or exported, has been found in the



Scottish customs records consulted. It is suggested that William Banks struggled to meet the demand from his domestic customers and therefore exports were unlikely.

Table 7.2 Temporal comparison of extant London and Leith Port Books.

LONDON EXPORTS		LEITH EXPORTS		LEITH IMPORTS	
		01/01/1611	01/11/1611	01/01/1611	01/11/1611
25/12/1611	24/12/1612	01/07/1611	20/06/1612	01/07/1611	20/06/1612
25/12/1613	24/12/1614				
25/12/1614	24/12/1615				
25/12/1615	24/12/1616				
25/12/1616	24/12/1617				
25/12/1617	24/12/1618				
25/12/1620	24/12/1621				
				02/11/1621	30/10/1622
				01/11/1622	30/10/1623
		01/11/1624	01/11/1625	01/11/1624	01/11/1625
25/12/1625	24/12/1626				
25/12/1626	24/12/1627			01/11/1626	01/11/1627
				31/10/1627	01/11/1628

## Conclusions

The pipemaking industry in Scotland was deliberately created by granting a twenty-one-year monopoly to a royal favourite who then persuaded a London pipemaker to relocate and operate it for him. Although the level of patentee John Stewart's involvement is uncertain, it is likely that he set up William Banks and his family in the best rooms in a tenement in the heart of Canongate, at least for the first twelve months. There may have been similar support when Stewart moved to Leith in 1631. The business flourished with little competition as Dutch pipe imports were mainly confined to those ports away from Edinburgh. As demand grew, so did the involvement of Banks' family in the business and it thrived, apparently unhampered by either the expiry of the monopoly nor anti-English sentiment. The purchase of several parcels of land suggests that Banks was making a good living although the general quality of his products was not high.

The disruptions caused by the outbreak of plague and the civil wars undoubtedly presented some hurdles and this is evidenced by the increased use of re-cut moulds. Without any serious competition, carelessly produced pipes were seemingly acceptable and it may be the case that the Scottish market demanded a volume of pipes that a single workshop was struggling to provide. The use of a high number of moulds may equate to a large volume of pipes being produced although it may also be the case that the moulds wore quickly. As several had Banks' initials reversed, he evidently had issues with at least one mould-maker.

With a multitude of bowl shapes, a detailed 'William Banks' typology is not possible although the general trend of bowls becoming taller has been noted. The development of the portcullis mark from the castle basal stamp is clear. The use of these heel marks to denote an Edinburgh provenance seems to have been used whether Banks was operating from Canongate or from Leith. Although it was known that Banks moved to live in South Leith, his association with the then owner of Balmerino House was not previously appreciated. Kiln waste found on Stewart's former property suggests that Banks was working nearby.

There is a strong correlation between the archaeological and documentary evidence despite gaps in the written records. It had been conjectured that Banks was the pipemaker listed in the 1619 Patent Roll and this can now be confirmed following the uncovering of Stewart's links to Westminster and the evidence of Banks previously working as a pipemaker in London.

Death does not always provide a reliable terminus ante quem date for pipemakers as moulds often continued in use by widows or surviving sons but given the high turnover of Banks' workshop, we can be confident that pipes marked W/B are unlikely to date from after 1660. Some bowls marked T/B may pre-date William's death in 1659. Thomas' presence in Glasgow in the early 1640s suggests that he did not necessarily follow in his father's business although he returned to South Leith around 1645 and again after the Cromwellian occupation around 1653 after a short time in Edinburgh. Those pipes attributed to William Banks and dated as late as 1680 need to be re-assessed although it is notable that most of the date ranges that are

too late come from curated pipes in museum collections. Although the date that William handed over the business to his sons is uncertain, it is evident that his arrival in the Canongate can be shown to have been in 1621.

Both the Port Book and the archaeological evidence suggests that London's merchants largely respected Stewart's monopoly and that the Scottish pipe industry was left to develop organically both around the ports where tobacco was available and across the Lowlands where pipes were carried overland. With Banks operating on behalf of the king's 'trusted cousin' and being in the privileged position of being the first pipemaker in Scotland, his business was unlikely to fail. With his sons continuing the business, the established workshop continued to dominate production in Edinburgh after William's death and throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century.

Despite the Reformation, the country's cultural links with France remained strong and drinking wine and taking snuff were almost as popular with the Scottish elite as they were at the French court. The taking of tobacco in a pipe became less fashionable although more widespread as pipemakers began to appear in other Scottish cities such as Stirling and Glasgow.

## The Trade in Tobacco Pipeclay

### Introduction

Any comprehensive discourse on the early trade in clay tobacco pipes cannot be divorced from a similar deliberation regarding the raw material from which these pipes were made. When Walker bemoaned the fact that 'virtually no study has been made of the clays used in pipemaking' he recognised the importance of 'a study of the port-books' which would help in confirming or denying particular trade routes (1977 p.218, p.240). This chapter aims to fulfil Walker's wish but it is necessarily a documentary study due to the lack of archaeological and geological evidence.

Walker admitted that a discussion of the geochemistry of clay would be complex (1977 p.211) and attempts to interpret the results from chemical analysis since then have produced less than definitive results. Although Oswald suggested in 1975 that this would be a profitable area of research, no large-scale database of chemical properties has been developed. In the 1970s, several groups of pipes from Nottingham were analysed using x-ray fluorescence spectrometry, dating from the 1650s and later. While the clays used to make the earlier groups of pipes could be chemically differentiated from Victorian examples, the researchers admitted that 'at the present time we have no definite idea as to the location of the clay sources' (Alvey and Laxton, 1978 p.193).

Davidson and Davey used thin section analysis on clays used by pipemakers in five areas ranging from Broseley in Shropshire, Rainford in Lancashire and to the city of Hull. They tried to classify clays according to the size, density and type of inclusions within the matrix. While they concluded that pipes made from the clay from these different localities could be distinguished from each other, the method was 'of little value' for pipes made from 'inclusion free, quartz dominated clays' such as the ball clays from Devon and Dorset (Davidson and Davey, 1982 p.335).

Vince and Peacey's work on the pipeclay used at Pipe Aston, Herefordshire, concluded that it had not been obtained from the Severn Gorge nor from North Devon. Their initial study using microscopic observation, thin section analysis and Inductively-Coupled Plasma Spectroscopy (ICP-AES) also concluded that the pipemakers there did not use the local clay which was deemed to be unsuitable for pipe production. When chemically compared with pipes from a mid-seventeenth century kiln in Gloucester, it was thought that the latter may have been made from a clay 'which may or may not include Devon ball clay' (Vince and Peacey, 2002 p.21).

While archaeometry can highlight differences and similarities, tobacco pipes may have been made from clay seams that have long been worked-out or from a variety of geographically disparate or sources not yet discovered. This mixing of clays creates substantial problems when trying to identify any particular origin. While ICP-AES is well established in relation to ceramic artefacts, its use is still in its infancy in relation to clay pipe studies. Attempts to identify the origins of pipes found in Iceland using this method only produced generalised conclusions, such as the supposed English fragments used a different clay from Dutch products (Wacke, 2014 p.61). While the analysis of pipeclays using a Wavelength Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometer (XRF) has been successfully applied to tobacco pipes from Bavaria, the mixing of clays from disparate sources, as practised in parts of southern England, would prohibit useful results being obtained using this method (Mehler, 2009a p.266).

Although previous chapters have sought to combine historical and archaeological evidence, this chapter will focus on the documentary evidence for the transportation of clay. How the trade in pipeclay was organised will be explained in the context of wider commercial trends and especially in relation to those merchants who held, or claimed to hold, Letters Patent at various times. To accomplish this without the aid of a continuous run of statistics or other commercial data places a greater importance on those records that do survive (Fisher, 1990 p.119).

The most substantive issue encountered when using the customs records is that of nomenclature. Clay is a general term for a range of naturally occurring

minerals which are plastic when they contain water but become hard when dried by firing in a kiln. The clay used to make tobacco pipes is not visually distinguishable and its use was not restricted to the manufacture of tobacco pipes. As some of the first pipemakers shared kilns with potters or could have been potters themselves, the raw material they used could be simply described in the records as clay. To the merchant, it did not matter to what use the clay was being put. The export of this raw material from Barnstaple, for example, did not involve different types of clay and therefore it did not require distinct names. From the viewpoint of the customs officers, there was no requirement to distinguish one type of clay from another prior to the royal proclamation of 16 September 1614 prohibiting the export of fullers earth (TNA:PC 2/28 f.411). Whether clay was tobacco pipeclay or fullers earth, used primarily to scour or whiten cloth, was problematic for customs officers.

The Port Books of Yarmouth, now Great Yarmouth in Norfolk to distinguish it from Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight, provide evidence of the export trade in clay from England for use by the Delftware potters in Holland. From the 1570s, Great Yarmouth had a regular trade with Rotterdam, initially conducted by alien merchants. The entries in the customs records confirm its intended use. In 1594, 12 lasts of 'Potters Earth' were exported, valued at 20/-, a 'last' being approximately 1.8 tons. In 1601, a cargo was described as 'vj barr & a half Slippe' and in 1602, 40 lasts of 'Potters Earth' were valued at 46/8d (table 8.1). This was carried on a Rotterdam vessel of 60 tons burthen, twice the capacity of the usual ships in the clay trade at this time. 4 lasts of 'Potters Earth' were also sent to London from Great Yarmouth in October 1624 in the *Gift of God*, a vessel of only 20 tons burthen (TNA:E 190/28/5).

Although Van Lookeren Campagne states that Edmund Warner, from 1639, shipped clay from his Norfolk estate from Aldeburgh to London so it could be transhipped onto larger ships bound for the Netherlands (2017 p.11), the Great Yarmouth Port Books suggest that clay was usually shipped directly to Rotterdam. In 1622, Robert Norgate consigned seven loads of clay to Rotterdam, totalling 146 lasts. Six of these consignments were carried, between March and October, by the *Delight* of Yarmouth, mastered by Edward Blogge. On September's voyage, the vessel carried 18 lasts of 'clay'

and was accompanied by the *John* of Yarmouth of 100 tons burthen, carrying 58 lasts of 'Potters Earth' (TNA:E 190/487/4). Norgate was part of the civic elite having been elected as the bailiff or mayor of Great Yarmouth three times between 1625 and 1637.

Table 8.1. Clay, Potters Earth and Slip consigned from Great Yarmouth, 1590-1640 (Various Port Books, based on sample from Intoxicants Project).

Year	To Rotterdam	To Other Destinations
1594	12 lasts Potters Earth	6 lasts Clay (unknown)
1601	30 lasts Potters Earth, 6 1/2 barrels Slip	6 lasts Potters Earth (Westmare), 7 barrels slip (unknown)
1602	43 lasts Potters Earth	
1604	4 lasts Potters Earth	
1605		2 ? (Herdun)
1612	38 lasts Clay	20 lasts Clay (Melvinge [Elbing])
1614		5 lasts Potters Earth, 21 lasts Clay (London)
1622	167 lasts Potters Earth. 18 lasts Clay	
1623		8 lasts Clay (Newcastle)
1638	239 lasts Potters Earth	

The Dutch called this clay *Engelse Aerde* or English Earth and it is listed as such in two Delft potter's inventories from 1621 and 1623 (Van Lookeren Campagne, 2017 pp.11-12). The entries for two consignments of clay from London in 1616 and 1617 provide more detail. Both were destined for Flushing and the earliest was described as 18 barrels weighing 53 C weight, valued at £7. The second contained 60 C weight but was carried in only 15 barrels (TNA:E 190/19/4; E 190/20/1). A potters book from Harlingen includes a recipe dated 1674 requiring that 1/5 English earth is needed in the production of tin glaze wares (Van Lookeren Campagne, 2017 p.13). The intended use of this clay may not have always been for ceramic production. The consignment carried in 1616 was on behalf of the merchant Christopher Eland. He may be the person who obtained a fourteen-year patent in 1622 for 'the making of white and redd lead for paynters' (Ruellet, 2014 p.4). While his patent did not relate to the use of clay in paint-making, it should be considered that this consignment may have been intended for this trade.

A notarial record from Rotterdam dated 16 April 1627 details the contract between Androes Smyth, an Edinburgh merchant, and Robert Bon, an English tobacco pipemaker in Rotterdam. The latter specified that the product to be supplied was to be of the quality of the clay from the Isle of

Wight but the sale was later cancelled (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.13). This may have been because three months earlier, the Estates General had given a monopoly on the sale of pipeclay in the Dutch Republic to Francis Dawes, an English surgeon in Rotterdam (Brongers, 1964 p.32). Dawes died in Great Yarmouth in 1643 (Klooster, 2010 p.28).

A similar connection between these two places can be seen in relation to the merchant, Thomas Goose. In 1632 he was involved in an attempt to arrest the *Katherine* of Aldeburgh and bring the vessel into Great Yarmouth where it sank and the cargo of Spanish salt was lost (Bruce, 1862 p.261). In 1636 he was living in Great Yarmouth and appears to have the entire export trade in clay from the town to himself. No fewer than 25 shipments of 'Potters Earth' were sent to Rotterdam in 1638 (TNA:E 190/490/1). He also had a son baptised in Rotterdam in August of the same year. In 1641, he appointed an attorney in Rotterdam in a case against Thomas Moyses (Rotterdam City Archives, Johan van Weel de Oude te Rotterdam, archive 18, inv. no.480, record no.15, f.17). In the mid-1640s he was living south of Haringvliet and was associated with both the trade in tobacco and tobacco pipes.

Goose is mentioned in a deed as a witness when a ship laden with clay lost her mast between Poole and Great Yarmouth in 1648 and was forced by bad weather into Rotterdam (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.97). This 'unintentional' export of goods was easily contrived given that Great Yarmouth and Rotterdam were only 100 nautical miles apart. Another example of illicit activity had occurred in Great Yarmouth in 1644 when a sailor and a common councillor were fined for landing potters clay on a jetty on the west side of the harbour when the only legal landing place was on the east side (Buck, 2019 p.9). Neither the Great Yarmouth Coastal Port Book of 1647/8 nor the Overseas Port Book of 1648/9 list any cargoes of clay. This suggests that the local source of clay was exhausted and might explain why clay was being brought in from Poole.

### **Clay for Pipemaking**

Neither Vince and Peacey's claim that 'from the beginning, the London pipe making industry was supplied exclusively with clay from Poole and the Isle of



Wight' (2006 p.16) nor Oswald and James' statement that pipeclay from the 'Isle of Wight, Purbeck, Poole and other places' was first imported into London in 1611 (1955 p.187) is substantiated by the Port Book evidence. Poole's Overseas Port Book is extant for 1610/11 but contains no record of any trade in clay or earthenware, suggesting that this was not the source of the clay being used in the Dutch Republic at this date, unless, as is stated some fifty years later, that clay was first carried to London as ballast (Fuller, 1662 p.277).

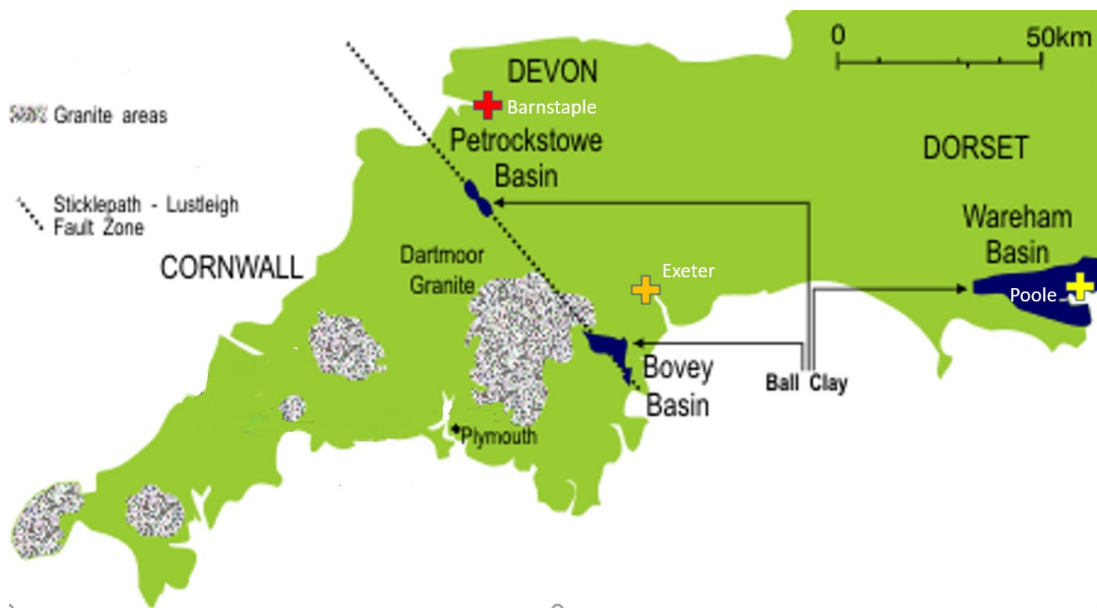


Figure 8.1. Ball clay deposits in south-west England (Modified image, with permission of The Ball Clay Heritage Society).

There are many different types of clay found throughout southern England although the dual properties that pipemakers were looking for was the ability to fire white and not to shrink excessively during firing. Some black or grey clays could also fire white so colour alone could not be used to identify pipeclay although the majority were whitish in colour when dug (Hale, 1758 p.59). Clays from the Isle of Wight only met the first criteria, 'indeed the finest in England, but apt to shrink in baking: So that they do not work it alone, like that of Pool' (Woodman, 1728 p.63). He goes on to state that the

pipe clay of the isle of Wight, is a clean white, and very tender :  
 that of Pool is of less pure, and of a tougher consistence.  
 Neither of these do so well alone as a mixture of both. The

pipe-makers temper one with the other till they bring the mixture to a due consistence (Hale, 1758 p.60).

The notion that pipeclay had to be mixed or tempered is implicit in the questions asked by the Middlesex Commissioners of Enquiry in 1623 when they wanted to know whether the patent holder, Philip Foote, 'did use any mixture or arte att all in the mingling or preparing of the clay or earth which he doth sell' (TNA:E 178/4242).

Edwards suggests that pipeclay was used by the London potters to correct excessive shrinkage and states that 'loads of clay were being sent to London from Great Yarmouth in Norfolk as early as 1624, some consignments being for known tin-glaze potters' (1974 p.19). In that year, the customs officials at Great Yarmouth were warned that the 'new earth discovered there' was to be regarded as fullers earth and its exportation prohibited (TNA:PC 2/32 f.389). That clay was being shipped coastally to the London potters suggests a period of experimentation although any pipeclay from the Isle of Wight is likely to have been unsuccessful in countering shrinkage problems.

The Tertiary ball-clays of Devon and Dorset are very plastic and fine grained yet produce very little shrinkage and these became the most highly regarded of all pipeclays (Hansen, 2015). These are found in three large deposits, north and south of Dartmoor around Peters Marland and Bovey Tracey respectively, and over a large area around Poole harbour (fig.8.1). Pipeclay was shipped through two main 'head' ports, Exeter and Poole, or other harbours under their customs control.

### **The Clay Monopolies**

The properties of the clay from the Poole basin have been known about since the Iron Age. Black burnished ware was produced in the area from the first century BCE although the earliest documented clay extraction relates to pipemaking (Jones, 2017 p.iii).

It has been noted that at least two of the founding members of the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers of Westminster, incorporated in 1619, were involved in the clay trade (Walker, 1971 p.84). Swithin Bonham was an Assistant of the company and Philip Foote, one of the four Wardens. Bonham was born in

Great Wishford, Wiltshire in 1580, a manor held by his father until 1597 (Wiltshire Family History Society, 2016). The family continued to hold the manor near Stourton, Wiltshire from which they took their name until that too was sold (Wiltshire County Council, 2011). In April 1618, Bonham was described as a gentleman of Poole in an arrangement with Sir John Webbe

to take any earth of claye for the makinge of tobacco pipes in any the waste groundes of Canford and Poole belonginge to Thomas Brud[e]nell knight and Barronett, late of St. Leonard, Shoreditch (Dorset History Centre, D/WIM/JO/45/3289).

It was an agreement in the sum of ten shillings to be paid in two equal instalments each year for four years. Nothing further is known of Bonham's business activities nor is there any other mention of him in connection with the Society's dealings. When, in November 1625, a further lease was granted by Brudenell to William Cooper for 21 years for the same land and purpose and at the same rent, the indenture included the right to 'use within the Realme of England' or to 'sell or transport beyond the seas' (Dorset History Centre, D/WIM/JO/10/3287). There is no similar indenture in the Canford Estate Archives covering the three-year gap between these two grants. Only one entry in the Poole Coastal Port Books lists Cooper as the merchant of a consignment of pipeclay, namely the twenty tons carried on the *Delight* of Poole to London on 6 May 1625, perhaps a trial load prior to signing the lease.

The amount due under Cooper's agreement contrasts sharply with the rent of £6 13/4d per annum payable by Philip Foote, a cooper from London, for his licence to 'sell clay for the makeinge of tobacco pipes for the terme of 21 yeares' which was granted to him in July 1618 (TNA:SP 14/141 f.125). That Bonham had the right to dig clay around Poole and Foote had the sole right to sell it has led writers to note the apparent conflict between the fellow company members (Walker, 1977 p.255). However, according to the case in Chancery of Foote v Overey, the plaintiff states that he obtained his pipeclay solely from Kemsing and Otford in Kent (TNA:C 2/Jasl/F6/23). Rather than being potential rivals, the grants to Bonham and Foote in the same year could be viewed as an attempt to monopolise the trade in clay from the two

main sources that supplied London. Foote's Letters Patent may also have given him the appearance of legitimacy when exporting clay to Holland.

Little is known of Foote's background although in 1614 he may have been in Newgate Prison awaiting trial following the death of Thomas Cowlson. The latter was said to be a yeoman, late of Westminster, who had received a mortal wound on his left flank with a rapier as the result of a duel. Foote was subsequently found guilty of killing in self-defence but appears to have received a royal pardon (Jeaffreson, Watson and Smith, 1886 p.87) although this has also been interpreted as Foote claiming benefit of clergy (King, 1972 p.91). Foote rarely appears as a merchant in the London Port Books although in August 1621 he is recorded as consigning sixteen loads of clay to Rotterdam in the *Thomas*, a vessel which also carried 800 pounds of John Stratford's English tobacco (TNA:E 190/24/1).

Although a salter, Stratford's failed attempts to trade in flax resulted in him speculatively planting over 100 acres of land in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire with tobacco. Following the royal proclamation of December 1619 restraining domestic planting, Stratford sought protection under the Great Seal against those to whom he had granted leases as security. He had rented some of this land at above the usual rents and the landowners wanted these rents to continue, despite Stratford's financial plight.

In May 1622, some of Stratford's tobacco had been shipped to Edinburgh and in the following year, he sought permission to export his tobacco, valued at a thousand pounds, as he claimed that he did not have time to export it before the prohibition (Stratford, 1988). In 1627, Stratford testified that six years earlier, he had planted 100 acres of tobacco but at the time of prohibition, he had over 40,000 hundredweight which he could not sell in England.

In 1619, the parish of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire wanted their tithe on Stratford's business partner, Henry Somerscales' supposed £1,000 profit from just two acres of tobacco. The same document states that Stratford had achieved a turnover of £500 per acre (Taylor, 2019 p.167). While it may be the case that before the prohibition, tobacco growing was extremely

profitable, Stratford's cargo of tobacco on the *Thomas* in 1621 was valued at only 12d per pound. Only two years previously, his tobacco crop of 819 lbs. grown on two acres of land at Cleve, Gloucestershire, was said to be worth 'as it was delivered by the carrier, at two shillings per pound'. Although other men had 'planted freely' it was said that many had lost money as they had not the skills that Somerscales had in tending the crop (Stratford, 1988 ch.4).

In October 1623 Stratford deposed that he had laid out £5,000 in stock and disbursed £1,400 in planting tobacco but had now £6,000 'in that commodity of tobacco, now lying in his hands'. In 1624 he further stated that he was paying out seven or eight pounds an acre in rent. By 1627, Stratford had paid off eight thousand pounds of the debt incurred in his tobacco growing enterprise. This included payment in kind, mainly of flax but, on one occasion, three hundred sheep (Stratford, 1988 deposition of 1634). The paths of Foote and 'Summerscales' cross again when the *Bell* carried 580 lbs. of English tobacco from London to Flushing accompanied by 185 gross of tobacco pipes consigned by Foote.

In 1624, Foote states, in answer to a petition of numerous pipemakers, that these very men were the 'humble suitors' in the petitioning of the pipeclay monopoly for him. He recites the terms of his Letters Patent, stating that he

did gett and prepare the said claie good and sufficient for the making of the said Tobacco Pipes and should utter and sell the same as good cheape or rather better cheape then the like claie or earth have bene usuallie sold within this your highnes Realme of England within the space of one yeare then last past (TNA:STAC 8/29/9).

Despite a price control being in place, Foote should have had a captive and willing market, at least in London, and the pipemakers there now had a reliable source of raw material. However, it was not long before the relationship soured. Samuel Twyford's undated petition to the House of Commons, stating that the pipemakers were being compelled to purchase clay at '3s for that *which* before they did buye for xij d' resulted in the

commission being set up to look into Foote's monopoly (Parliamentary Archives: HL/PO/JO/10/13/9).

The four main questions that the commissioners asked were, firstly, whether Foote had used any skill or industry and whether he had found out the 'virtues to pipe clay or earth'. This was an important point as patents were ostensibly granted for new inventions or to protect new industries. Secondly, whether Foote uses or had used any mixture or art in mingling or preparing the clay or whether he sold it as it came from the ground as his Letters Patent stated that he prepared the clay prior to sale. Thirdly, whether others used the same clay and if so, whether this pre-dated Foote's patent. It was common for patents to contain a proviso which protected the rights of those already working in a particular trade. Lastly, whether Foote had paid the annual rent due as a patent would naturally become void if the annual payment was not made to the Exchequer within a set time period. This was a natural way of ending unsuccessful ventures (Price, 1906 p.24).

In answer to the third question, it was found that on 1 May 1612 and prior to that date, a Lambeth potter with the surname Peter and a Smithfield distiller named Walters had used and sold the same type of clay as Foote (TNA:E 178/4242). This potter may be the same person as recorded in the Lay Subsidy List of Aliens living in Duke's Place, Aldgate in 1621 (Edwards, 1974 p.94). It was adjudged that Foote had shown no 'arte or industry' in preparing the clay for sale and furthermore, that the annual rent due had not been paid. Although Walker is surprised that the monopoly was allowed to continue despite the unfavourable findings of the commissioners (1971a p.85), Foote did not wait for the outcome of the enquiry as the evidence of Richard Miners and Philip Hull in another case states that Foote's assistant had obtained

by other letters patents of the Kings Majestie [a monopoly] of the same nature haveinge date the Tenth day of October Twentieth yeare of the Kinge Majesties Raigne that now ys made to the said John Leigh (TNA:STAC 8/29/9 f.1).

Foote's patent does not appear to have been entered into the Patent Roll, for which there would have been a charge, although Leigh's was, dated 2

October (TNA:C 66/2307). Indeed, it was a condition that his Letters Patent were enrolled within six months to enable the Exchequer to ensure that payment of the rent was being made. This implies that Foote made no such payments and that this had gone un-noticed.

In the pre-amble to Leigh's patent, it repeats the precedent for a monopoly and again asserts that a previous holder was 'latelie deceased' although without naming him. It then refers to the inquisition into Foote's grant and while it states that it 'were and are utterlie voyde in lawe', it gives only two grounds for this. These were that Foote had supplied the clay 'as found' and, seemingly more importantly, that he had not paid the annual rent due. There is no mention of the connection between the two men and it would appear that the new monopoly was granted partly because Leigh had given an indemnity for the rental which had been increased to £10 per annum. The requirement to sell the clay at or below the normal rate of the previous year undoubtedly mirrored a clause in Foote's patent and this may have been intended to assuage the concerns of the pipemakers.

Just a few months after the passing of the Statute of Monopolies in May 1624, the Attorney General prosecuted a case in the Star Chamber for a contravention of this statute (Bottomley, 2017 p.14). Philip Foote instigated action against John Rosse for infringing his patent (TNA:STAC 8/29/9). A large number of individuals, 'most of them pipemakers', openly challenged his patent, stating that 'they cared not a turd for the same'. Leigh is recorded as Foote's agent and it is significant that Foote still insisted that his patent was in force despite it being void. It was noted that the findings of the Inquisition were 'remaining in our said Exchequor [so that it] maye more playnelie and at large appeare' (TNA:C 66/2307). The Bill also recounts an incident where 'above one hundred and fifty men' prevented Foote and an Admiralty marshal from seizing a consignment of pipeclay at Tower Bridge. Both Leigh, Foote and others were allegedly threatened that they would 'die every man of them' if the clay was seized. As fellow members of the Society of Tobacco Pipe Makers, both Rosse and Foote would have been aware of the status of the latter's patent. It is likely that Rosse was the de facto leading

pipemaker in London at this time and this prosecution signals that animosity had replaced fellowship between them.

In turn, Leigh's patent 'was called in by the 'howse Comisssoners' in 1625, although the details are unknown (TNA:SP 16/407 f.205). William Batchelor, by 1635 the most senior pipemaker alive and then aged 78 with forty years in the trade, twenty children and failing eyesight, said that it was

ye company of Tobaccoe pipe makers, suffring greate wrong and oppression thereby petitioned the Parliament, Upon which petition the Patent was sent for, & voyded as your petitioner supposeth (TNA:SP 16/307 f.159).

Although Batchelor's petition is undated and doesn't specifically refer to the patentee by name, he does mention that he is the 'second mans name in the charter', clearly referring to the 1634 document incorporating the pipemakers. Batchelor was named as a Warden of the company in both 1619 and 1634, a rank just below the Master, and as his petition refers to the 'late souereign King James', it must refer to the later charter. This is consistent with Leigh's patent being 'dormant, about the Space of Tenn yeares' rather than referring to Foote's earlier patent (TNA:SP 16/307 f.159). Rosse's formal surrender of the first charter did not take place until several months after the second charter had been granted (TNA:E 214/515).

The company's earlier 1619 charter was itself said to have

been of euill consequence ...and the same being made appeare to the parties interested in those grants, they have voluntarily submitted; which his Majestie accepting, hath taken order for the present surrender of the same Patents (Price, 1906 p.166).

Despite the offer to voluntarily give up their first charter, the courtiers in whose hands it was, tried to recoup as much of their outlay as they could, the amount said to have been 'disbursed & lost by the falsehood of ye Company above 3000 li' (TNA:SP16/89 f.16). In July 1621 they had unsuccessfully petitioned the Duke of Buckingham in an attempt to recover '4 000 li layde out and loste' (Gardiner, 1871 p.157).



Two of the three petitioners to the 1619 charter, Thomas Warwicke and Robert Maxwell, also petitioned Charles I for the 1634 charter, the exception being Charles Maxwell who had been killed in an ill-advised duel in 1620 (TNA:SP 14/112 f.130). They were joined by William Matthews and Richard Cox, the latter a clay merchant from London from at least 1629 (TNA:E 190/822/11). The new company's rent to the king was more than covered by the three hundred pounds per year paid by the monopolists to the company in addition to the forty pounds a year they paid for a person to teach the pipemakers how to use coal in their kilns instead of wood. This was, nominally, a new invention which could be protected by Letters Patent (TNA:C 66/2645 no.5). It appears that James Maxwell took the place of Charles Maxwell in the Society, either officially or unofficially. He also claimed an interest in Leigh's pipeclay patent, along with George Kirke, a groom to King Charles I, Francis Brudenell, Richard Coxe and a gentleman named Price (TNA:SP 16/472 f.95). According to a note by Sir William Becher, Kirke and Maxwell took an assignment of Leigh's patent which was then farmed to Brudenell and Thomas Price (TNA:SP 16/407 f.205).

The pipemakers were said to have contracted to buy all their clay from the monopolists at prices fixed by them. As such, the Privy Council decided that this was a legal contract and not a breach of the conditions of their Letters Patent. Besides the monetary support, Kirke and Maxwell said that

by their ministers vizt Brudenell and Cox have beene att greate Chardges ... in providing a Store of Clay in the City of London to the vallew of 1000 † for the supply of the Company (TNA:SP 16/425 f.103).

Kirke and Maxwell's authority was also questioned by Alexander Fellows who had unsuccessfully presented four petitions against them for seizing clay in 1630. They responded by saying that Fellows had hired land in Purbeck, Dorset and was 'a chief exporter of tobacco pipeclay, or an assistant thereunto' and that one Cornehill [Thomas Cornell] was a partner of Fellows. A counterpart licence dated 26 November 1635 between Sir John Bankes and Thomas Cornills allowed the latter to get 'towffe clay' at Newton Heath, Purbeck for a term of five years (Dorset Record Office, D-

BKL/A/A/45). The document is signed as 'Thomas Cornwell' who is described as a yeoman of Aveley, Essex. Furthermore, 'information was given to the Attorney-General about Michaelmas last of 200 tons transported to Rotterdam last summer by one Cornehill' (TNA:SP 16/414 f.275). Fellows' name only appears in the Poole Coastal Port Books during 1641 and on each occasion, it relates to shipments of pipeclay to London (TNA:E 190/877/9).

The mayor of Poole reported Cornell to the Privy Council for his 'contemptuous' thoughts on the prohibition on exporting pipeclay.

Thomas Cornell of this towne & County of Poole ~~merchant~~ ^husbandman^ examined sayeth, that he sayd, that the King did not know how his subiecte was abused concerning his Majesties proclamation, and that one Mr Cox of London did say, that the concerning the clay did cost the Hamborough merchants and the patentees vizt Mr Kerke, Mr Maxwill & others 48 ~~li~~ and denyeth that he did say, that he cared a fart for this proclamation, but that he did not care a fart, what Mr Kerke & Mr Maxill could doe unto him (TNA:SP 16/429/f.3).

Cornell is suggesting that the Merchant Adventurers had a financial interest in procuring the ban on clay exports. Four years after the pipemakers' second incorporation, a petition against Richard Cox by 'William Anthony and John Foord in the name and with the Consent of the whole Company of Tobacco pipe makers' shows that relations had broken down and prices were again at the centre of their complaints. Their case was that Cox had been 'complotting with two or three of the Richer sort of the Company' to fix prices at the expense of the 'very poore' pipemakers. They state that Cox relied on the authority of Foote's patent and, in passing, that he exported fullers earth contrary to law (TNA:SP 16/389 f.3).

The pipemakers' company were also in dispute with the newly formed Corporation of Westminster who had granted freedom to three pipemakers but whose rights the company refused to recognise. The Privy Council

decided that these pipemakers should be allowed into the company but that the Corporation should refrain from making any more pipemakers free. This decision was ignored by the company whose own incorporation was revoked in 1639 by royal proclamation (TNA:SP 16/538 ff.54-56). As before, the company lingered on and did not voluntarily submit to the monarch's wishes. A pamphlet, dated 1641 but printed in the following year, describes the 'chiefe' of the monopolists as including the tobacconists and pipemakers (Anon, 1642 f.2).

The monopoly on pipeclay was objected to not only by the pipemakers but by other trades who used the clay. William Pearne, a merchant tailor, stated in 1640 that

for almost 20 yeares [he] used to buy great quantities of Tobacco pipe clay... and had Clay at Cheape rates. And it being free and lawfull for everie man to buy Clay at the cheapest rate they could, your petitioner did divers tymes within vii yeares last past travile to the Isle of Wight and to other remote places of this Kingdome to buy Clay att the best and lowest rates and prizes and caused the same to be brought in Shipps and Barkes by water to London (TNA:SP 16/472 f.95).

Pearne, by his own admission, circumvented both Foote's and Leigh's patents over a considerable period of time. The latter's attempts to monopolise the supply of clay to the capital were not entirely successful as they lacked control of all the possible sources.

### **The Primary Sources of Pipeclay**

#### **Exeter**

The ball clay dug in South Devon was at a geographic disadvantage compared to that found in the Wareham Basin near Poole where both the distance to the quay and any subsequent journey to the capital was shorter. A sample of Exeter's Port Books between 1619 and 1646 revealed no instances of a trade in clay (see Appendices M and N). It is plausible that the smaller port of Teignmouth was used rather than Exeter although any trade

should still have been recorded in Exeter's Port Books. Teignmouth's transformation from a fishing village into a port exporting clay is said to have occurred around 1700 but previously that clay was taken on horseback to Exeter or Topsham (Goucher, 1997 p.1). This ball-clay field developed later than the others and the clay was probably only used locally during the period of this study. The largest of Exeter's four member ports was Barnstaple which came under the city's control until 1671 when it became a head port in its own right.

### **Barnstaple**

North Devon clay has been used to produce pottery from at least the fourteenth century and Barnstaple exported its distinctive sgraffito wares to the Americas in the early seventeenth century, extending its established trade route to the Newfoundland fisheries to coastal settlements. The bulk of the town's trade was with the Atlantic ports of Rochelle, San Sebastian and Lisbon although vessels also traded with the ports of southern and western Ireland and coastally with the city of Bristol. It was barely economic to supply London's pipemakers with this raw material either by land carriage or coastally around Lands End yet the earliest evidence of clay being shipped is the two tons sent to London in 1621 by George Shurt of Bideford (TNA:E 190/945/1). This is simply described as 'claye' and its intended use is not known.

The Gloucester Coastal Port Books show North Devon clay passing through that city from the 1650s suggesting that the trade in pipeclay expanded to cater for the developing pottery and pipemaking trades in Shropshire and Staffordshire. It is not a coincidence that this trade in clay expands when the Bristol pipe industry is sufficiently large as to require some form of self-government, a guild of pipemakers being established in 1652. It is likely that the supply of local clay was inadequate in supporting Bristol's expanding pipe trade. Walker suggests that 'with the Bristol tin-glazed earthenware industry commencing before 1650 there should be plenty of references to imported ball clay in the port-books' (1977 p.239). While an exhaustive search has not been carried out, those Port Books which have been consulted contain no entries relating to the trade in ball clay to Bristol.

Furthermore, it has been noted that 'there is no evidence of pottery being manufactured in Bristol or the surrounding area during the 16th century or the early 17th century' despite the city's medieval tradition of earthenware manufacture (Jackson, 2012). Late 16th-century redwares from Narrow Quay, Bristol, have been identified as the products of the Nether Stowey, Wanstrow and Donyatt potteries in Somerset (Mason, 2017 pp.108-131). The excavation of St. Clement's Dock, which was probably in-filled in the 1580s, produced a good collection of late sixteenth century wares but none that could be definitively linked to the city as the place of manufacture (Good, 1987 p.39). In the 1590s, the city's pipemakers began exporting their wares to southern Ireland and with the absence of any documentary evidence for the shipment of clay, it is likely that their raw material was obtained locally. There is a suggestion that the presence of a pre-existing centre for the making of earthenware at Barnstaple provided the necessary expertise for early pipe production there. On the evidence of Jackson and Mason, this would appear to not be the case at Bristol.

### **Poole**

There is no evidence in the Port Books to support the suggestion that London pipemakers exclusively used clay from Poole or the Isle of Wight in the sixteenth century. The four extant Poole Coastal Port Books from the reign of James I also contain no entries relating to pipeclay. The earliest entry recorded is from January 1626 when the *Alice* of Poole carried 'ten tonns of English clay for tobacco pipes' to London (TNA:E 190/873/8). However, Foote alludes, in 1624, that pipeclay may have come from this area prior to the granting of his 'speciall licence to sell clay for the makeing of tobacco pipes' in July 1618 (TNA:SP 14/141 f.125).

the Claey and earth wherwith they then wrought and gott their livinge had bene accustomed sould by one man only, who was then latelie deceased, and that sithence his decease they had bene greatlie dampnissed by buying of divers quantities of Clay for the same purpose of divers other p[er]sons of fouraine Counties and although inh[ab]itante of this realme yett not inhabitante in or neare London (TNA:STAC 8/29/9).

While the majority of pipeclay from Poole was consigned to London, various outports did receive occasional shipments. In 1625/6, six of the seven cargoes of clay were carried by vessels of Poole but the exception was the *Lion* of Newcastle which carried twenty tons back to its home port for the merchant George Lambe (chart 8.1).

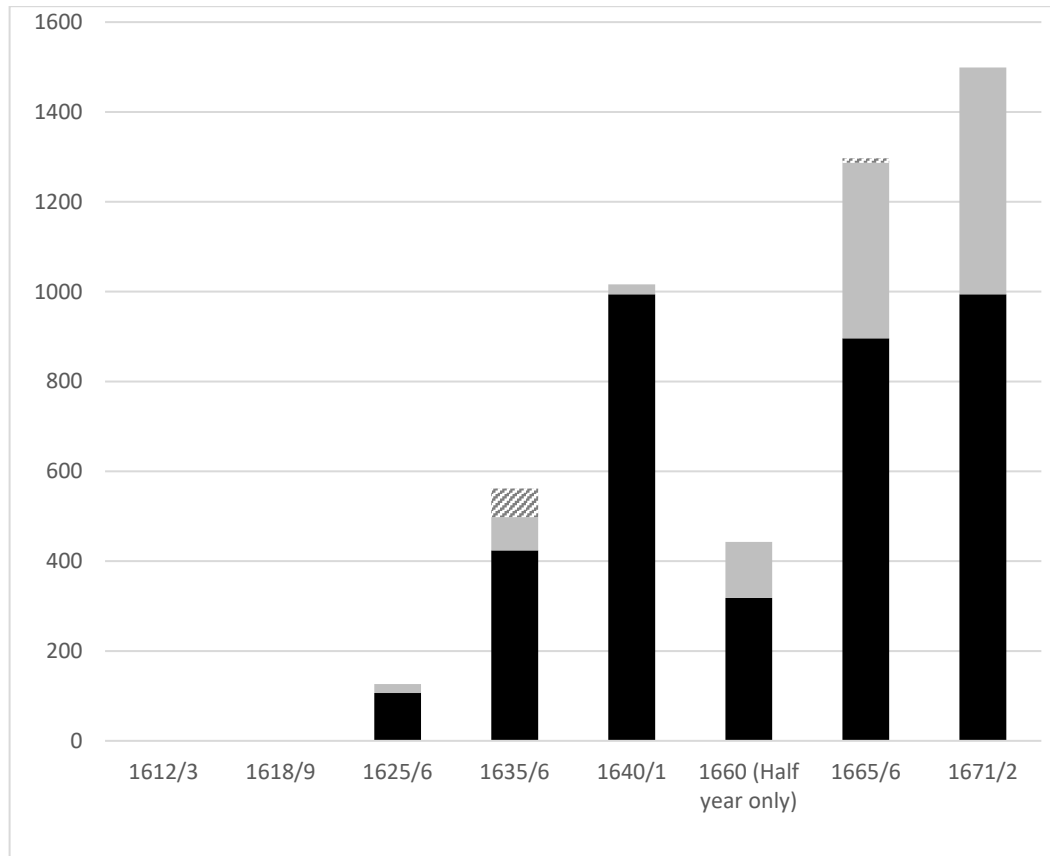


Chart 8.1. Tons of Pipeclay consigned from Poole to London (black), the outports (grey) and missing or illegible destinations (hatched) (TNA:E 190/871/2; 871/4; 873/8; 876/5; 877/9; 879/4; 880/5; 881/5).

By 1635/6, a large percentage of all pipeclay consignments were destined for London although several entries have destinations that are illegible in the record. Over 340 tons of pipeclay had been consigned from Poole by Richard Cox and a further 196 tons was carried on the account of Thomas Cornell and between them they were responsible for almost all the pipeclay traded from Poole. The small consignment of pipeclay carried on the *Anne* of Poole to Bristol would have necessitated a lengthy coastal voyage (TNA:E 190/876/5).

The pattern of trade in 1640/1 mirrors that of 1625/6 and shows that the proclamation of 1639 banning all shipments of clay and fullers earth was short-lived. Twenty-nine of thirty voyages were from Poole to London with the exception being the twenty-two tons carried to Newcastle. The archaeological evidence for pipemaking in Tyneside indicates a start date of c.1630 although the pre-existing glass-making industry also used pipeclay (Edwards, 1986 p.28). In 1641, another vessel laden for Newcastle, the *Restitution*, was said to be 'of Brighton' and a feature of the trade in this year is how few of the vessels were recorded as being from Poole. Most of the minor harbours between Dartmouth and Hastings were now sending vessels to collect pipeclay, including one from Guernsey and, for the first time, a vessel 'of London'.

The data from the Port Book from 1645/6 has not been used in chart 8.1 as only two folios survive although the imperfect book from 1660 is included despite the entries only being between Midsummers Day and Christmas Day. There is sufficient information contained within the record to suggest a picture for the whole year and to identify the diversification of destinations. Pipeclay was now being consigned to the outports of Kings Lynn (68 tons), Ipswich (67 tons), Hull (39 tons), Sandwich (26 tons), Lyme Regis (12 tons) and Brighton (6 tons).

Parsons states that Kings Lynn was an important 'redistribution centre for both pipes and pipe clay' but does not indicate the sources he consulted in forming this opinion (1964 p.233). While the 1660 and 1671/2 Port Books do provide some support for Parsons, the 1665/6 records do not. Some 67 vessels left Poole with pipeclay in that year although only a few were said to be of that port. The number of outports being served now range from St. Ives in Cornwall to Hull with the latter receiving the largest single shipment of 38 tons but there were no shipments to Kings Lynn. Unusually, this Port Book records goods which had arrived in the port of Poole and which had left by land carriage although clay was apparently not shipped this way. As well as recording the master and the merchant's names, the person paying the coastal bond is also recorded along with the amount paid. This was consistently set at ten pounds per ton and was designed to act as a

disincentive to export illicitly although in an undated petition of c.1640, John Damen states that he only paid a bond of twenty pounds on clay worth upwards of one hundred pounds (TNA:SP 16/519 f.8). The majority of the clay consignments recorded had the bond paid on behalf of Thomas Cornell.

There was, occasionally, a legitimate reason why a certificate showing the delivery of the goods at another coastal port could not be shown. In September 1666, a 'hoy of Arundel' carrying French salt is recorded in the Southampton Port Books as not having a certificate 'by reason of the contagion' (TNA:E 190/826/10 f.12v). In October 1672, the *Elizabeth* of Hull carrying 34 tons of tobacco pipeclay was 'cast away off Shoo sands near Colchester', presumably referring to the vessel being wrecked off the coast near to Shoeburyness, Essex (TNA:E 190/881/5 f. 6v).

### **Southampton and the Isle of Wight**

While the Coastal Port Books of Poole cover a fairly wide spread of years, those from Southampton survive in greater numbers, particularly for the early part of the reign of Charles I (chart 8.2). The pipeclay found on the Isle of Wight should have been recorded in the Southampton Port Books, unless destined for the city, as all of the ports and harbours on the island were under its control for customs purposes. The first mention of the trade in pipeclay in the Southampton Coastal Port Books is in 1627/8 (TNA:E 190/822/7) although in a 1624 case in the Star Chamber, Philip Foote states that various named people 'for the most parte pipemakers' had bought clay at London Bridge from a vessel laded on the Isle of Wight (TNA:STAC 8/29/9). The figure of 80 tons for the year 1627/8 represents a single shipment to London on the *Fortune* of Amsterdam, an amount only surpassed once in the records under review. The majority of the pipeclay leaving Southampton in the 1630s and 1640s went to those ports facing the Dutch Republic (Table 8.3).

The 1664/5 Port Book has a separate section for entries to and from Cowes on the Isle of Wight as the Custom House there was now permanently manned. The way that these entries are listed shows that the book is a fair copy compiled from the working copies in use at Southampton and Cowes.



One shipment of six tons of pipeclay is listed in the Southampton section with the remainder in the outwards entries from Cowes with only a small quantity of pipeclay being sent to London (table 8.4). The 1665/6 Southampton Coastal Port Book has an unusually large section of *transires* from Cowes. These were permits to trade coastally where a security or bond had not been given. In theory, these were meant for low value or low volume cargoes or where there was no market for the products abroad.

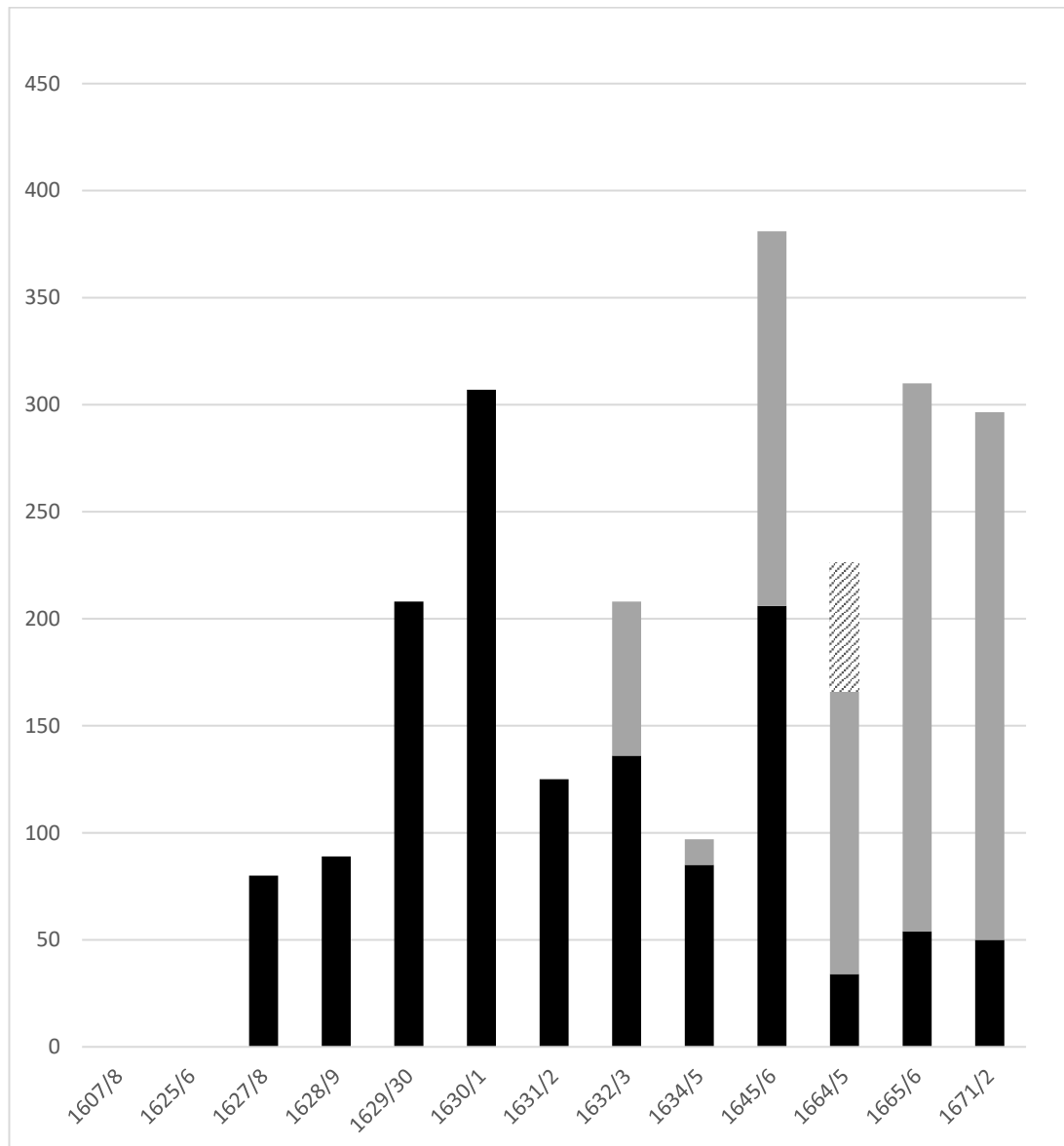


Chart 8.2. Tons of pipeclay consigned from Southampton to London (black), other coastal ports (grey) and missing or illegible destinations (hatched) (TNA:E 190/819/7; 822/1; 822/7; 822/11; 822/13; 822/15; 823/1; 823/5; 823/8; 825/3; 826/9; 826/10; 827/9).

Table 8.3. Tons of pipeclay consigned from Southampton to the outports, 1632-1646 (TNA:E 190/823/5; 823/8; 825/3).

<b>Port</b>	<b>1632/33</b>	<b>1634/5</b>	<b>1645/6</b>
Truro			18
Plymouth		12	12
Dartmouth	3		
Lewes			22
Sandwich			30
Dover			50
Colchester	24		
Ipswich			25
Great Yarmouth	45		85

Table 8.4. Tons of pipeclay consigned from Southampton and Cowes to the outports, 1664-66 (Sources TNA:E 190/826/9; 826/10).

<b>Port</b>	<b>Tons of Pipeclay</b>	<b>No. of shipments</b>
Newcastle	87	5
Bristol	60	1
Plymouth	59	3
Ipswich	40	2
Falmouth	22	10
Dover	20	1
Weymouth	18	1
Hull	17	1
Faversham	16	1
Wivenhoe	15	1
Sandwich	15	1
Rye	12	1
Canterbury	4	1
Brighton	3	1
Missing or Illegible	60	3

The new custom officials based at Cowes were apparently keen to abide by the rules, even if most ports were largely ignoring the requirement to record this type of transaction in their Port Books. Among these supposedly trivial amounts were 20 tons of potter's clay for Falmouth and 80 gross of tobacco pipes destined for Chichester (TNA:E 190/826/10).

There are no outward coastal entries in the 1666/7 Port Book. It was compiled by William Andrews, the Customer inwards, and it would appear

that separate inwards and outwards books were compiled in this year and the latter is not extant (TNA:E 190/826/12). The post-Restoration trend of only a small amount of trade with London continues in 1671/2 when only a single vessel sailed to the capital with 50 tons of pipeclay on board. An equal amount was sent to Newcastle and only one ton less to Falmouth although the latter was carried across no less than fifteen shipments. Also recorded for the first time, a vessel carried pipeclay to Chester, ten tons being carried on the *Brethrens Love* of Brighton.

The Portsmouth Coastal Port Book of 1674/5 also shows that a small amount of pipeclay was sent to London from that port, 12 tons in April and 22 tons in June. The latter month saw four small consignments of tobacco pipeclay enter from Poole, totalling 46 tons, suggesting that Portsmouth was acting as a transshipment point for some of this pipeclay (TNA:E 190/828/18).

In 1675, the Customer of Cowes, David Horton, had a staff which included a Surveyor, three Waiters and several Searchers based at Cowes, Newport and Yarmouth plus three 'tydesmen and boatmen'. Treasury Papers from 1676 allege that 'the officers themselves, who should detect the frauds, are the greatest criminals' (Blackburne Daniell, 1909; TNA:SP 29/381 f.258).

### **Other clay sources**

Other types of clay were suitable for making tobacco pipes and these outcropped in many other parts of England. The Isle of Wight was one location where the local clay's properties were recognised at an early date. All the harbours on the island came under the customs control of the port of Southampton. The ports of Lyme Regis, Weymouth and Wareham were under the authority of officials at Poole. The records of customable trade from these two head ports have been used to identify and analyse any relationship with the capital and how this changed over time.

The figures used in this chapter only include those entries specifically stating that the clay was for making tobacco pipes or was described as tobacco pipeclay. Entries merely referring to 'clay' or those specifying their use by other trades, such as 'potter's clay', have been excluded although the London potters also used pipeclay in the production of tin-glazed

earthenware (Edwards, 1974 p.19). Tobacco pipeclay was also used in other occupations, in 'claying' sugar loaves for instance, so that later consignments destined for places like Bristol need to be treated with caution (Otremba, 2012 p.123). This methodology is likely to produce conservative totals. The shipment of 'sixteene loads of clay' from London to Rotterdam in August 1621 has been duly excluded although the merchant was Philip Foote, then holder of the tobacco pipeclay monopoly. His clay was valued for customs purposes at five shillings per load, presumably an amount declared on oath to the customs officials as required by the regulations (TNA:E 190/24/1).

### **Rochester**

Pipeclay, sourced in Kent, is infrequently recorded as being carried to London coastally via the River Medway from Rochester (TNA:C 2/Jasl/F6/23; table 8.2) although Morant states that lighters and hoys were used to carry earth to Rochester where it was transhipped (2017 p.74). A single inwards Coastal Port Book is extant for the Port of London in this period but does not record any trade in pipeclay in 1623/4 (TNA:E 190/28/5).

In 1629, it was claimed that Richard Allen had entered a bond at Rochester's custom house for twelve loads of fulling earth to be unloaded at Colchester but that the bond had been lost by one of his servants. The entry had been made in August 1615 but it appears to have taken the Exchequer fourteen years to query the lack of evidence for the unloading of the cargo at the stated destination (TNA:SP 46/82 f.30).

Two government ships were stationed in the Medway in 1639 to deter smugglers although the Merchant Adventurers continued to complain of the great quantities of fullers earth that went to the Dutch Republic through the 'negligence of the officers of the ports' (Morant, 2017 p.76). It is possible that Foote's clay was carried overland to the River Thames at Gravesend or Dartford as the main recorded destinations of vessels from Rochester are the ports of eastern England rather than London. The Medway was described as 'the most convenient river in England to land goods privately', suggesting widespread illicit activity (Trevers, 1675 p.74).

The 'fulling earth' shipped coastally from the port of Rochester was almost always measured in loads although twice between 1620 and 1640 it was recorded in chalders or chaldrons and once in short loads. A list of thirty vessels that carried fullers earth between April and November 1621 is extant and all sailed under a coastal bond (TNA:SP 14/123 f.131). A comparison with E 190/652/13 shows that all sailed from the port of Rochester and the list provides some data that is now missing due to the poor condition of the Port Book. The purpose of the list is unclear although it may be a precursor to the commission given to Sir George Fane by the Privy Council in 1622 to examine the quantity of fullers earth being transported from the pits in the Maidstone area of Kent (TNA:SP 14/133 f.31).

Table 8.2. Number of loads of Fullers Earth traded coastally from Rochester, 1620-1650 (TNA:E 190/652/13; 657/13; 658/6; 659/3; 660/4; SP 14/123 f.131).

	1621		1633		1634		1636		1641	
		Entries		Entries		Entries		Entries		Entries
Hartlepool	50	1								
Hull	68	2	194	4	283	5	182	3	100**	2
Grimsby	44	1								
Boston	20	1			50	1			38	1
Kings Lynn	49	2			68	2				
Tunbridge (Lincs)							30	1		
Great Yarmouth	61	3					76	2		
Ipswich	106	5	100	4	215	7	112	5	102	5
Manningtree	30	1	136	4	175	5	164	4		
Colchester	134	4	212	6	457	16	210	6	196	5
Maldon	170	6	130	7	128	4	90	3	52	1
London	15 chalders*	1	61	1	14	2			36	2
Weymouth					56	1				
Barnstaple									24	1
Liverpool					92	2				
(illegible)	55	2								
* 1624										
** + 40 chaldrons and 5 short loads										

The actions of Richard Fyles, in selling fullers earth to a Dutchman in 1622 contrary to the export ban, were said to be justified on the grounds that the buyer was using it to make earthen pots and that the customs officials at Sandwich, who oversaw the trade at the port of Rochester, had given permission for its export (TNA:SP 14/130 f.71).

The Overseas Port Book for Rochester covering 1620/21 also includes two inwards shipments in November described as 'holland clay', both on a ship coming from Emden in northern Germany (fig. 8.2). The *Judith* of Rochester also carried clay to Rouen. The merchant was John Duffield who had become an alderman of Rochester in 1613. However, he 'payed Strangers custome being not free of the merchant Adventures'. Both types of clay are measured in 'pieces' suggesting that they were carried in cubes similar to the method of extracting ball clay, rather than being carried as a homogenous bulk 'load'.

Rouen was close to the source of clay used by the Normandy glass makers and exported as far as Newcastle. 'French clay' was imported into Arundel from Rouen in 1605 and again in 1611 while 'redd earth' went from Arundel to Dieppe in 1605 (Clark, 2006 pp.160-161). Various industries had specific requirements for the type of clay they needed and it is perhaps the case that this was a period of experimentation.

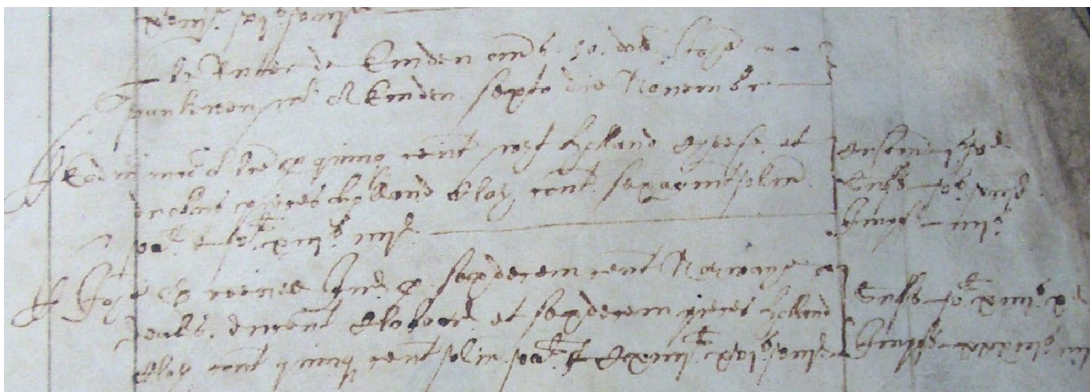


Figure 8.2. 'Holland clay' and 'holand cheese' from Emden imported into Rochester (TNA:E 190/652/13).

### The Prohibition on Clay Exports

In 1627, Sir John Wolstenholme, one of the Farmers of the Customs, was consulted on a petition to export tobacco pipeclay from Poole. He deemed that it could not be transported abroad for two reasons. Firstly, that 'ye makinge of tobacco pipes was a meanes for ye employment and maintanance of a greate number of poore people'. Secondly, that while it did not have the same 'denominations of fullers earth' it may be employed for

the same use and was therefore 'within ye compass of ye Proclamation of forbidding ye transportation of all fullers earth' (TNA:SP 16/85 f.65).

Richard Coxe and Henry Fisher also petitioned for a licence to transport 200 tons of clay to Rotterdam 'for ye making of tobacco pipes' in 1629. The petitioners stated that the clay was dug 'in the Counties of South[amp]ton, Dorset and Kent' and was to be 'embarqued parte at South[amp]ton and parte at Poole'. The goods came with a certificate from the Company of Clothworkers who stated that 'the greater parte thereof is absolute clay, no way fit or usefull for dressing woollen cloth' (TNA:PC 2/39 f.153). The licence was granted and the customs officers at Southampton and Poole were ordered to take note. That Coxe and Fisher had gone to these lengths suggests that there was a high risk that consignments of pipeclay were liable to seizure by customs officials. The mention of clay dug in Kent but exported from Poole or Southampton and consigned to Rotterdam suggests this is fullers earth commingled with ball clay. This implies that the Foote / Leigh patent in which Coxe claimed an interest and Cooper's licence to export Poole clay were working in collaboration.

In the following April, 'fiftie tunns of English claye for tobacco pipes by lycence' was duly exported from Poole to Rotterdam, the only entry recorded in either the 1627/28 or 1629/30 Overseas Port Books (TNA:E 190/874/8). It would appear that a sample was retained as subsequently, a 'horse-load' was sent to the Worcester clothiers who reported back that it was 'as good as any earth used by them for scouring or thicking of cloth'. Notice was given to the Farmers of the Customs at the port of London that 'no manner of earth be suffered hereafter to be transported into foreign parts' (TNA:SP 16/98 f.256).

The export of fullers earth to Holland in 1630 by John Ray, a merchant of Amsterdam, was stated to have been done in ignorance of this proclamation and prohibition and at the 'instigation of English merchants residing in Holland'. The case of 'Wray and Coxe' was heard *ore tenus* in the Star Chamber and notes taken of the proceedings provide more details of the offence and also a list of the punishments recommended by those who sat in judgement. Richard Cox admitted shipping 40 tons of fullers earth from

Rochester to Amsterdam which cost him seven shillings per load. He sold six barrels for three guilders per barrel and the rest for four guilders and confessed that he took 'a port cocket but p[ai]d no custom'. He also stated that this was the first time he had shipped from Rochester but had 'sundry times from London to make tobacco [pipes] ; [with clay] from Poole & the Ile of Wight' (TNA:SP 16/248 f.19).

According to a letter from 'Mr. E.R' to Sir Thomas Puckering, Ray is said to have confessed to transporting 64 loads of fullers earth to Rotterdam and to selling there at ten shillings per barrel. His excuse for not paying custom was that none was due 'because it was prohibited' (Birch, 1849 p.270). Ray's evidence differs from Cox's account (Rushworth, 1686). Described as a London merchant, Ray was brought to the Bar on 25 January 1637 and examined about the contents of a letter dated 1630 to Henry Baldroe, a 'Norfolk-man', and 'merchant at Mr. James Deckvers house in Rotterdam'. Ray said that he had sent 76 loads of fullers earth from Rochester into Holland for Mr. Baldroe and that he had also sold some to a 'man of Leyden in Holland' who had paid him 'after the rate for four Gilders'. This is probably the Henry Baldero who is described in 1631 as a Rotterdam merchant dealing in tobacco and textiles (Van Oostveen, 2015 p.84). In 1659 he is living there as a merchant stranger and 'one of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers of England' (TNA:HCA 13/73 f.141v).

Ray had purchased this fullers earth from Richard Rodes of Maidstone and paid him six shillings per load, plus twelve pence for the cart, and had shipped it in the *Hope for Grace* from Rochester. The goods were entered in the Custom House as destined for Kings Lynn. When asked who had paid the bond for discharge there, Ray stated that the master, John Coldee, and himself were bound but that he did not know what certificate had been procured and was sure that the goods were landed in Holland. Ray said that he had not shipped any fullers earth since the prohibition although 'Robert Cosens of Horseley-down' had sent 'four or five barques loading of Fullers-Earth to Skeedam in Holland' which he sold for four guilders as had others with the connivance of the Custom House.



Ray's original sentence was that he should be

committed to the Prison of the Fleet, there to remain during His Majesties pleasure; and if His Majesty shall at any time hereafter be graciously pleased to enlarge the said Defendant, it is then Ordered and Decreed, that before such his enlargement, he shall become bound with good Sureties... pay a Fine of 2000 l. to his Majesty's use, and shall also be set in the Pillory, with a Paper on his Head, declaring the nature of his Offences (Rushworth, 1686 p.349).

However, Ray's punishment was 'respited until it were seen what service he could render', as he had offered to explain how the abuses could be prevented, at no cost to the king (TNA:SP 16/344 f.212). As he was still in prison some four months later and now 'sick and destitute', presumably his information was not deemed to be of any value. Ray had initially been spared imprisonment due to his 'lying dangerously sick' but he said that he had, by 1637, served three years in Fleet Prison for this offence and was petitioning for his release. This he contrasted with the punishment of Richard Cocks [Cox] for the same offence which was censure and a fine after serving only 'ten or twelve weeks' in prison (TNA:SP 16/335 f.2).

Other records are extant relating to the export of pipeclay during this period. In 1634, a consignment of '15 loads tobacco pipe earth' was carried from Boston and destined for Danzig [Gdańsk] (Hinton, 1956 p.247). It would be unwise to conclude from this single shipment that there was pipe production in this part of Europe at this date and it may be that this was also fullers earth being exported under the pretence of being tobacco pipe clay although there was evidently an appetite for clay pipes as 'xij single groce tobacco pipes in a chest' were shipped there from London in July 1626 (TNA:E 190/29/4).

It was not until 5 May 1639 that the carriage by water of 'any sort whatsoever of Tobacco-pipe Clay' was explicitly banned. A petition from the Merchant Adventurers had a stipulation inserted into their proclamation not only prohibiting the 'transport ... [of pipeclay] into any parts beyond the Seas' but be[ing] laden, shipped, waterborn, or transported from Port to Port, under any pretence or colour whatsoever' (Larkin, 1983 pp.678-679). It is unlikely

that a bulk cargo such as clay would have been carried profitably overland to London and the clothiers from Ipswich soon complained that the carriage of fullers earth from Rochester cost two shillings per ton by ship but at least six pounds per ton by road (TNA:SP 16/425/40).

Fullers Earth could still be illicitly exported with the connivance of customs officials. In October 1642, the case of the *Black Dogg* of Weymouth was referred to the Committee for the Customs. Under the pretence of being tobacco pipeclay, twenty tons of fullers Earth left Poole without a bond being taken against its export to Rotterdam. For that, the Controller and Officers of the port of Poole were sent for, along with the master of the barque. The vessel was duly impounded by the officers of the port of London (HMSO, 1802 vol.2 p.826).

Many coastal consignments are described as 'potters clay' and it is clear from several entries that this was often differentiated in the customs record from 'tobacco pipe clay'. The *Mary* of Ryde carried 'sixteene tuns of potters clay, sixe tuns of tobaccoe pipe clay' (TNA:E 190/826/10 f.18v), the *Blessing* of Newport '7 tonnes potters clay, 3 tonnes tobacco pipe clay (TNA:E 190/827/9 f.8v) and the *Eagle* of Ryde '12 tonnes tobacco pipeclay, 20 tonnes potters clay' (TNA:E 190/827/9 f.31v), all destined for Falmouth.

## **Summary**

Although there has been a quantitative study of the ball clay extraction industry around Poole Harbour (Cousins, 2016), only a sample of Coastal Port Books were consulted. The unpublished MA thesis on which it was based was not written from the viewpoint of the pipemaker but does usefully extend temporal coverage of the trade to the mid-eighteenth century. This chapter has not only met Walker's wish for a study of the tobacco pipeclay trade but has outlined the interests not only of the pipemakers but of those involved in the cloth trade. Also noted is the involvement of the Merchant Adventurers in procuring a prohibition firstly on the export of pipeclay and then on all coastal trade. Both proved problematic.

Tobacco pipeclay was not visually distinguishable. It was simply a term applied to clay that could be primarily used to make tobacco pipes, amongst

other products. Before it became a discrete commodity, customs officials only recorded either fullers earth or red earth although both paid the same amount of duty. This was doubled by the introduction of a New Imposition in 1611 before the export of fullers earth was prohibited in 1614. The market for a clay suitable for use by the textile trades was considerable both in eastern England and in the Dutch Republic. Despite the protectionist measures introduced to bolster the English cloth industry, illicit export was apparently profitable enough to risk incarceration. The intended use of cargoes described as tobacco pipe clay must be carefully considered if the customs records are not to deceive. The illicit carriage of pipeclay was not about evading duty but was a way of circumventing the prohibition. This deception mainly applied to those ports in southern England that could readily supply the textile finishing towns abroad. However, other industries, such as glassmaking, may have used this clay especially during a time of experimentation.

The Port Books can provide approximate start dates for the pipeclay trade from the three major clay deposits in south-west England and it is notable that there is no evidence of coastal or overseas trade before 1620. This implies that prior to that date, tobacco pipes would have been made within a reasonably short distance of suitable clay outcrops, often where pottery production already existed. Shipments of pipeclay can evidence the beginnings of pipe production around the receiving ports if the documentary evidence is treated with caution. A pattern of expansion can be seen in the Gloucester Coastal Port Books as North Devon clay began to be shipped up the River Severn for the pipemaking and pottery industries of Shropshire and Staffordshire in the 1650s (Taylor, 2014 p.12). Similarly, the shipment of clay from the Isle of Wight can be shown to have expanded coastally over time.

The mixing or tempering of clay from different sources is recorded from an early date. This was an attempt to combine different properties in order to produce a pipe that fired white and strong but was not susceptible to excessive shrinkage. The storage of a large supply of clay in a warehouse in London maintained by the Society of Tobacco Pipemakers of Westminster resulted in a mixed clay, almost ready to use, given that it came from a

variety of sources as members of the Society had some rights over clay extraction from both Dorset and Kent. However, availability came at a higher price. Despite their exclusive licences, no effective monopoly was in place as there were too many alternative sources of clay throughout southern England although all were found outside of London.

Documentary sources can provide a picture of clay movements although loads carried as ballast do not feature in the customs records. The evidence for the trade in pipeclay is coloured by illicit activity although the Devon ports were unlikely to participate in the supply of clay, legitimate or otherwise, to the Low Countries. They are also not areas where fullers earth is found. The large-scale illicit trade in supplying fullers earth under the pretence of it being tobacco pipeclay is a major hinderance to quantifying the genuine supply of clay to pipemakers both in England and the Dutch Republic. Unfortunately only a single record, covering 1623/24, survives for the inwards coastal trade to London in this period and it does not contain any entry for the shipment of pipeclay (TNA:E 190/28/5). Cousins notes that a comparative approach using the Coastal Port Books of Poole and London is only possible for two years in the seventeenth century, namely 1676 and 1683 (2016 p.40).

The earliest documentary evidence for clay extraction in the Poole area dates from 1618 and Foote's monopoly on the sale of pipeclay in the same year was said to not be the first. His deposition that his clay only came from Kent supports the suggestion that this area probably supplied clay to the earliest London pipemakers. While the licences in relation to Poole pipeclay only covered a small geographical area and were easily circumvented, Foote's and Leigh's monopolies, although both soon voided, do seem to have impacted the prices paid by London's pipemakers in the short term. There was no monopoly on clay extraction and without that, they were always likely to be undermined. The price of clay appears to be the main point of dissention leading to the breakup of successive tobacco pipe monopolies although neither company had any significant control over trade outside the capital. The discovery of the identity of the first holder of a pipeclay licence would greatly assist an assessment of the earlier trade.

## ----- Chapter Nine -----

### Conclusions

#### Introduction

This chapter will outline the defining characteristics of the fledgling tobacco pipe trade of southern England and the subsequent maritime dissemination of this appropriated means of consuming tobacco. It will locate the thesis within the existing corpus of material and critique the theoretical stance.

This topic was chosen as there had been no previous attempt to examine the lacuna between the first European contact with tobacco in the 1490s and the then earliest documented pipemaker working in London in the early 1600s.

Tobacco was one of the earliest 'new intoxicants' although largely unfamiliar in England before the 1590s but soon joined by sugar from the 1620s, tea in the 1640s and coffee shortly after that. Ports played a pivotal role in the receiving and onward distribution of these commodities as nodes on an increasingly wide network of trade routes.

However, the trade in tobacco pipes from England cannot be viewed as a global enterprise. The Anglo-Dutch tradition of pipemaking was centred on western Europe and despite the two countries' respective empires, other consumption traditions flourished in the East and in the Americas. This research is written from the viewpoint of the instigators of the western tradition. While the Dutch came to dominate the European pipe trade, English merchants concentrated on developing trading relationships with the American and Caribbean markets, especially after the Restoration.

#### Research Aims and Design

This research sought to elucidate the origins of pipemaking in light of the rival claims as to the initial availability of tobacco in England and to show how the rapid expansion of the consumption of tobacco was enabled. The aim was to maximise the interpretation of the scant documentary and archaeological evidence by using a comparative and transnational approach.

Rather than decry what is no longer extant in the documentary record, the details of almost four million voyages that do survive in the Port Books are a

unique maritime resource. The first question that was addressed is how much information should be extracted and this was contingent on the amount of resource available. In order to produce a comprehensive view, only two approaches are possible given this scale of data, namely, a full transcription of a limited set of data or the extraction of information from a larger and wider sample. Previous use of Port Book data had précised a small sample of entries to illustrate a point or trend. With the advent of computer technology, comprehensive recording and analysis of data became possible. The first such project aimed to identify pre-industrial trade on the River Severn using the Gloucester Coastal Port Books. The records were not faithfully transcribed but information was entered into fields of a database to aid subsequent sorting and analysis. This is similar to the initial coding process in Grounded Theory adopted in this thesis. To cover a similar amount of ground, some 170 volumes, a sampling process was necessary. Where relevant full transcriptions had been made by others, these were used to supplement the extracted data. The number of customs entries involving tobacco pipes was relatively small in any individual Port Book during this period, effectively ruling out the first option.

The method employed was that every customs entry was read and recorded, where relevant, although it is possible that due to human error some entries were missed, especially where legibility was very poor. When working from digital images of the original documents, it was noticeable that previous researchers had missed various entries, for example, when Price was working from microfilm copies of the Bristol Port Books. Equally, clerical errors in the original source material can be highlighted by placing entries into context as shown by the reconstruction of the voyages of the *Seaflower* in Chapter Four. These also show how political events impacted a voyage and are a reminder that the stated destination was not necessarily where the cargo arrived.

### **The Research Boundaries**

Limits, both temporal and geographical, were applied allowing the scope of this research to be focused where the extant records might shed the most light. Whoever first introduced tobacco into England has been the subject of

much debate and the original conceptual design for this study encompassed all the rival claims, ranging in date from 1565 to 1586. In order to trace the early development of the industry it is helpful, but not essential, to define the starting point. It had been assumed that pipemaking would have commenced shortly after tobacco's first introduction. No record of any trade in tobacco pipes has been found from these decades and it is argued that no clay tobacco pipes were being produced in England in the 1570s nor traded in the 1580s. The beginnings of any trade are often obscured by initially being a side-line before becoming a distinct occupation. Whether the first pipemakers were originally potters or other craftsmen, they left little written record of their activities. This thesis argues that the first one-piece clay tobacco pipes made in England date from no earlier than 1585 following the return of the expeditions of Barlowe and Amandas, and Thomas Hariot and his fellow colonists from Roanoke. Contemporary records describe how the first pipes were copied from those encountered in Virginia which predicates that they do not pre-date the first prolonged contact English explorers had with the native inhabitants. Earlier references to tobacco consumption in England notably do not refer to a pipe made of clay.

The terminal temporal limit of this study was informed by the severe disruption caused by the various civil wars in England, Scotland and Ireland and the consequential loss of documentary records during the Interregnum. Not only was the functioning of the Exchequer hampered by the hostilities but some Port Books were to be completed on paper rather than parchment, impacting their long-term survival.

The geographic limit on trade from within England was informed by two factors, namely that previous research indicated that the earliest production centres were all in the south and that the main sources of raw material could also be found there. Southern England was broadly defined as being south of a line drawn between, but including, the cities of London and Bristol.

### **The Research Questions**

By reconstructing maritime trade it was argued that the initial expansion of pipemaking might be observed. This research asked what was the nature of

this trade and was it London-centric? In terms of size, London was the most important early production centre and although the Westminster 'society' of pipemakers obtained two monopolies, their authority was ineffective outside the capital and its environs. Attempts to control production were through several monopolies on the sale of the raw material from which pipes were made. While London's pipemakers were reliant on clay coming from outside the capital, these short-lived monopolies were easily, and openly, circumvented. Unlike the situation in Scotland, there were already well-established production centres in England in existence prior to the granting of the Westminster pipemakers' charter in 1619.

The pipe trade cannot be described as London-centric if that is taken to mean that what happens in the capital is a true reflection of elsewhere although a degree of conformity would have been provided by itinerant journeymen and the movement of master pipemakers. Oswald's view that all bowls forms before 1640 were essentially London forms is an oversimplification and the true picture is more nuanced. The supposed dominance of London at the centre of the early tobacco pipe industry is diminished by an appreciation of the scale of regional production centres' involvement in the export trade to Ireland and by the lack of recorded exports from London to the Dutch Republic. Although William Batchelor in London stated that he started making tobacco pipes around 1595, they were also being exported from Bristol by 1597 and from Chester by 1600.

This research asked whether the expansion in the pipemaking trade was exponential, that is, were pipes carried at first overland, then coastally to other parts of England before finally being a product that was exported. While evidence of the carriage of pipes by road transport is absent, the earliest coastal shipment of pipes from London is recorded in 1615, the same year that pipes were sent from Plymouth to Barnstaple. This is over a decade later than London's first export of pipes. This suggests that the spread of smoking was initially between large urban centres rather than organically from town to town. London's pipemakers were initially catering for their large local market as no exports are recorded before 1604. Whether this date accurately reflects the commencement of overseas trade or whether this is



illusory due to the increased oversight of customs procedures by the private consortium of Farmers in that year is uncertain. Only two of London's outwards Overseas Port Books are extant from the last decade of Queen Elizabeth's reign, one covering exports by aliens and the other, by denizens. No Port Book covering exports by citizens is extant between 1588 and 1604 although the small quantity of pipes consigned in the latter year suggests that this probably does represent the commencement of formal exports.

Although archaeological evidence has pointed in this direction, it can be shown that the documentary evidence also supports a theory of distinct regional development rather than purely London-centric expansion. The earliest evidence of the export of tobacco pipes from England occurs in the Bristol Port Books, however, the city's vicarious coastal trade was solely with Wales. The recorded entries commence in 1625 and are initially to Pwllheli and Beaumaris. It is suggested that these were ports en route to Dublin and should be considered as part of the city's considerable overseas trade with Ireland. Genuine coastal trade in pipes to south and west Wales is not recorded in Bristol's Port Books until 1649/50. With almost no coastal fleet, Bristol's shipping was focused on overseas trade, particularly with France and Iberia. While Davey postulated that the early recorded trade from Bristol may reflect the transshipment of pipes made in London, there is no evidence in the Port Books to support this suggestion. There was little coastal trade between London and Bristol as this necessitated rounding Lands End and evidence of the carriage of pipes by road is regrettably absent. It is the case that Bristol's coastal pipe trade developed long after the city's overseas trade.

The high percentage of ship masters who also acted as merchants indicates that involvement in trading petty goods was within the financial reach of the owners and masters of coastal vessels. This trade along the southern coast of England can be shown to have expanded linearly during the 1620s but was different in nature to the later trade in pipes from London up the east coast. Tobacco pipes were an inexpensive return cargo to add to other goods sourced in the major ports across southern England. While the custom entries from a particular port may evidence the quantity and nature of local

production and trade, only on a much wider scale can inference be drawn as to national and international factors and traits.

This thesis asked whether, given the illicit availability of tobacco in south-west England, pipemaking developed there differently from the capital? The ports of Barnstaple and Bideford shipped tobacco pipes both coastally and overseas from 1614 although the majority were destined for Ireland. There is a degree of concordance between the archaeological evidence from the town's kiln sites and the documentary evidence with Peter Takell recorded working as both a potter and a pipemaker there in the 1620s. Although early Barnstaple-made pipes have been found in the Americas, no formal export there has been located in the records.

That pipemaking in North Devon should be undertaken close to a source of ball clay is unsurprising although this does not appear to be the case around Poole until the 1660s. The involvement of the town's pipemakers in overseas trade is noted for the first time. Although Exeter is a little further from the ball clay source in the Bovey Basin, the pipemakers there seem to have only catered for the local market with little coastal and no overseas shipments in the period under review. Artefacts found in Maryland suggest that Exeter's pipe trade to the Americas commenced in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Of the three main pipemaking centres in Devon, only Barnstaple was producing pipes for use outside the immediate locality. In their case, they had a share of the Irish market alongside London and Bristol. While the products of Plymouth's pipemakers do appear in Barnstaple, they are small in number and the city's production can be summarised as small-scale although this is caveated that any coastal trade with the Cornish harbours would not appear in the customs records as they would be regarded as a movement within the same port. It is also likely that Plymouth's pipemakers served the large maritime community in the town. There are no extant customs entries listing tobacco pipes prior to 1614 for any of Devon's early production centres.

The degree to which the two types of sources used in this study were symbiotic varied between countries. In the Netherlands, where research is advanced, especially in relation to production in the main urban areas, dating by bowl form has proven to be reliable although there is no documentary evidence for pipemaking there before 1606. The dating of clay tobacco pipes from Amsterdam to as early as 1580 is disputed as is Oswald's use of that year in relation to the earliest English pipes. The adoption there of the English method of consuming tobacco in a pipe was achieved not through the export of pipes from London but by the emigration of a small number of pipemakers and the subsequent uptake of that occupation by others in the expatriate community in the Dutch Republic. The suggestion that English soldiers first introduced the habit is without documentary substantiation although it is plausible as a method of dissemination which may have been mirrored elsewhere.

Rowley suggests that smoking tobacco in a clay pipe was introduced into Ireland in 1592 by Ralph Lane when he resumed his military career. This fits within the revised chronology proposed by this thesis and is not at variance with the recorded use of tobacco by junior officers in the English army serving there around 1598. Reconciling archaeological and documentary evidence from Ireland has proven difficult for the period of this study. Finds datable to before the civil wars are extremely rare or indeed non-existent for some parts of Ireland for which the documentary evidence suggests that there was a regular, albeit small-scale, trade. With a vanishingly small number of very early pipes, the suggested disparity between those found in the north and the south of the island is perhaps illusory. Simply put, a much larger sample size is required before firm conclusions can be reached. An all-Ireland approach is possible using data from other production centres.

In the case of Scotland, the two types of record are more in concordance. Both the finds and the documentary record suggest that the monopoly on pipemaking there was observed and successful in contrast to the position at different times in England. However, there was no effective overlap between the first Scottish and Westminster pipe monopolies. This research has shown that detailed biographical study can help tighten the dating of the

archaeological evidence and provides previously unrecognised connections between the Scottish holder and English operator of the tobacco pipe monopoly in Scotland.

Although the English tobacco pipe trade to the Baltic ports had only just begun in the period before 1640, the English and Danish records are not reconcilable for those few vessels that did carry tobacco pipes as the quantities were small and went unrecorded in the Sound Toll Registers. The bold statement by Gøbel that all ships using the Sound had their voyages and cargoes recorded cannot be substantiated when the records of those vessels using the alternative routes are not extant. The London Port Books suggest that the goods recorded in the STR are far from complete listings. Chapter Six has also shown that while the requirement to trade only with the staple town of Elbing was apparently being complied with according to the English customs entries, the Danish records compiled at Elsinore show that various ports were used by vessels once in the Baltic Sea. Trade here was rarely as binary as the customs records imply.

### **Critique of research approach and methodology**

The use of the records from the High Court of the Admiralty was considered as a basis for this study but they mainly deal with prize or piracy and are therefore not comprehensive and would have only provided a view of exceptional trade. This study used Grounded Theory to suggest hypotheses based on data extracted from the Port Books. The main source utilised was primarily a fiscal record, detailing the amount of monies collected in taxes. The payment of import or export duties has probably been avoided or evaded from the time of their first introduction although it is argued, in relation to tobacco pipes and other petty goods, the risk of seizure and punishment outweighed any potential rewards from smuggling low-value tobacco pipes which were commensurately small.

The opposite is true for the illicit tobacco trade, established during the Anglo-Spanish War and emboldened both by the high level of duty imposed by the 1604 Book of Rates and by the licensing regime of the 1630s. While the retail price slumped, partly due to this increased illicit trade and illegal

cultivation, the value of tobacco pipes remained remarkably constant throughout the last three quarters of the seventeenth century, at around one shilling per gross wholesale. Their popularity, low cost and inherent fragility, meant that they were disposable commodities. The development of distinct export styles shows how pipemakers were able to cater for different preferences.

As Chapter Eight has shown, the perception of risk was also fundamentally different with regards to the trade in tobacco pipeclay and the export of fullers earth under the pretence of being pipeclay. Even the sanction of indefinite imprisonment, as experienced by John Ray, did not deter some merchants although collusion with customs officials may have been more prevalent than outright deception.

When using archaeological reports and the grey material from excavations, it is unlikely that every possible piece of information has been consulted as there are no means to ascertain which excavations may have found tobacco pipes dating to the period of this study. Some archaeologists were unwilling to share information prior to publication, even when the material had been excavated many years earlier and no report was likely to be forthcoming in the near future. It was also not possible to view some archaeological material held by certain city archives despite many attempts to arrange access, leading to the suspicion that they had lost track of where the excavated material was being stored. Searching published reports for information on relevant pipe finds was a manual task. The method of locating unpublished material consisted of word-of-mouth recommendations and by consulting correspondence held by the National Pipe Archive in Liverpool.

### **Secondary findings**

Precisely when the first tobacco arrived is a moot point as the catalyst for the explosion in pipe smoking was when various expeditions returned from Virginia in the mid-1580s. As a very visible symbol of the resources that could be found by exploring and exploiting the New World, tobacco's virtues were promoted to potential investors although the plant was not unknown to medical science. The proliferation of the habit was remarkably rapid although

the maritime community had appropriated tobacco for its own use several decades previously. This personal exchange leaves no trace in the official records of trade. In several ways, the expansion of the tobacco trade is not typical of general trends in consumption and the collapse of its price is particularly notable.

The tobacco pipes found on a wreck site off the coast of Alderney provide archaeological evidence of the forms in use by 1592 and fit within the established typologies although they are contrary to the common conflation of smaller bowl size with greater age. It is suggested that some pipes with smaller bowls may be due to the practise of selling tobacco by the 'pipeful' in drinking establishments. That pipemakers made the same style of pipe in different sizes has been noted in later seventeenth century products from Bavaria.

The use of the clay pipe has been conflated in previous works with the consumption of tobacco in England. While there is some early evidence, in particular Harrison's reference ascribed to 1573, the use of a clay tobacco pipe is notably not specified. Despite Noel Hume publishing a photograph of an early seventeenth century clay pipe alongside a caption linking it to Harrison's 'little ladell' of the 1570s, this association is refuted. His hunt for the elusive clay pipe of this form and age inevitably failed as no such product had yet been conceived of in England. References to smoking prior to 1585 are likely to refer to either a cane and cup arrangement as encountered by the French explorers of Florida or the use of rolled up leaves as used by the Spanish. Hand-made pipes fashioned from wood may also have been used but would not have generally survived in the archaeological record.

The habit of 'drinking' tobacco soon spread to the Dutch Republic and was part of university life in Leiden by 1591 for some of the English community although there may have been a distinction between the scholars and other residents in the city. Tracing the movement of pipemakers is important as it shows the means that the trade was initially disseminated. The relocation from London of William Banks to Edinburgh and Robert Bunn to Rotterdam are good examples although both were probably the first makers in their respective new cities. However, the 'exodus' of English pipemakers to

Amsterdam, Leiden and other Dutch cities was nothing of the kind, rather that it was a trade that could be readily taken up by textile workers or former soldiers as it was outside of any guild or civic control. A few early proponents rapidly grew into a considerable corpus of English workers engaged in a trade which involved little financial outlay. Local child labour was also available to expanding businesses. For most, it was a transient occupation and speculation in the riskier tobacco trade was more possible and profitable than it would have been in England. The involvement of pipemakers in the tobacco trade was on a significant scale in the Dutch Republic and this differentiates them from those working in England where access to the credit necessary to finance these risky ventures was not available. Not only was there mobility into and out of the pipemaking trade but also between various towns and cities in the Dutch Republic, especially to areas with an English military presence. In the case of the pipemaker Phillippe Bassé, records suggest that the French-speaking community were also catered for in Leiden from an early date.

The various reasons suggested for English emigration were examined in light of the available evidence. While some pipemakers were former soldiers, the extant licences can only help confirm the details of those that left England after the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609. If we accept the likelihood of soldiers consuming tobacco in pipes in the early 1590s in Ireland then it is equally likely that English soldiers did so in the Dutch Republic although there is no documentary or archaeological confirmation of this. The majority of the Leiden pipemakers discussed in Chapter Five eventually moved away from the city to other parts of the Low Countries rather than returning to England or following the Puritan migration to the Americas. The close study of individual pipemakers, especially that of William Banks in Chapter Seven and Nicholas Cleverley in Chapter Five, has shown that the circumstances, motivations and commercial interests of an individual's working life can be usefully assessed. This study combined both English and Dutch records to extend existing Dutch research into those individual pipemakers who worked in the Netherlands.

Similarly, customs records can be used to inform who the agents were in the developing pipe trade. Rather than consisting of enterprising pipemakers looking to expand their markets beyond their locality, in the vast majority of cases it was regional merchants looking to 'import' the latest London fashions into their respective areas that drove the expansion of the pipe smoking habit. The decline of the Merchant Adventurers and the new trades opening up with the Levant and the East Indies in particular, provided many opportunities for merchants to supply a range of exotic goods to their customers. Tobacco and tobacco pipes were an increasingly important part of this consumption package.

Chapter Eight provides the long-overdue assessment of the trade in pipeclay demanded by Walker in 1977, creating a new understanding of the clay exports from England. His specific request to use the Port Books to illuminate trade routes has also been met. The chapter brings into focus the relevance of illicit trade and how the customs records must be treated with caution when the profit from the evasion of duty might outweigh the risk of confiscation and punishment. The illegal export of clay or fullers earth is identified as the supply of a product suitable for the cloth finishing industries in the Dutch Republic. While this was a major issue for some outports close to London, few illicit exports of clay left Poole. The suggestion that there was an effective monopoly on Poole pipeclay which led to the Jamestown colonists seeking out potential sources of clay to export is without evidence and is commercially flawed.

Similarly, some consignments of clay from the north Devon ports may have gone to Ireland, technically breaching the prohibition, however, there was no cloth industry there seeking to subvert English trade. The Barnstaple Port Books do not use the term 'tobacco pipeclay' as there was only one type of clay in the area, used by potters and pipemakers alike. The pipes themselves might have been subsumed under the description of earthenware although the customs entries were copied into their Port Books with apparent care. Although sometimes compromised by the alternative uses that the clay could be put, the records do provide a useful chronology when different outports are considered as a whole.



The limited records from other customs jurisdictions have been used where they are extant. A comparison with the Danish records has been made in Chapter Six and with the few surviving Irish Port Books in Chapter Four. This latter chapter also seeks a reconciliation with the archaeological evidence although some disparities remain between these and the various documentary sources. While artefacts can be open to a variety of interpretations, documents also require a close reading if they are not to mislead.

The use of Port Book data in relation to trade is not new although this work utilises a large sample set of export Port Books. What is unique is that this study has used Grounded Theory to develop hypotheses from the systematically obtained data rather than applying pre-conceived ideas from the outset. Data was collected and analysed so it can inform and modify the subsequent samples. This allowed resources to be focussed where the most useful data may be obtained. The standard version of Grounded Theory, as advocated by Glaser and Straus, recommends that the review of literature commences after the research process to ensure that the theories develop from the data and not from the existing academic opinion. Given the previous lack of use of Port Book data in clay pipe research, a failure to follow this approach is not a significant concern.

### **A research agenda**

A wider study of English-born pipemakers who were working in the Dutch Republic could help to illuminate the connections and social networks within the communities in which they worked. This thesis found that few learnt their trade prior to emigration, contrary to existing assumptions. The archaeological evidence suggests that, as in England, the earliest pipemakers remain stubbornly undocumented.

Although this study utilises a large number of Port Books, the sample could be expanded both temporally and geographically. Appendices B to O record those volumes consulted but also make it clear which documents have not been viewed. Major production centres like London and Bristol have a lacuna when it comes to the customs records due to the Civil War and this makes

extending temporal coverage problematic. However, this would not prohibit a comparison with trade in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Port Books become voluminous in this period although a study which also includes imports both before and after the Glorious Revolution may be an area worthy of investigation in relation to Dutch tobacco pipes. The archaeological evidence suggests that the Dutch were adept at keeping out of the customs accounts.

Geographic expansion would also be viable. Tobacco pipe exports to Ireland from the north-west of England and the south of Scotland are yet to be studied for this period and could be a fruitful area for research. Some 119 Overseas Port Books, along with 81 Coastal Port Books, are extant for the port of Chester and its associated creeks between 1585 and 1640 although there is also a significant gap in their records between 1641 and 1660. However, only 18 Overseas and 17 Coastal Port Books relate to the head port itself. The archaeological evidence for early Chester products confirms the single entry found and this warrants further study. This could dovetail with this thesis and provide a more complete view of tobacco usage in Ireland. It could also play an important part in a wider study of consumption in this early modern period. Any study should also include those ports in north Wales which may have acted as stopping off points for the Bristol Channel trade with Dublin.

While late sixteenth century English makers remain to be teased out of hiding, the position in France is quite different. Not only is very little known of the emergence of pipemaking there, but seemingly less importance is placed on the artefacts. Until kiln sites are excavated and reports accurately describe the pipe finds, the state of knowledge of the fledging French industry will remain poor. The ports on the Normandy coast were the gateway for English goods although the French ledgers of imports and exports are not extant for the seventeenth century. Here we must rely on the archaeological evidence.

Clay pipe research in Europe is not uniform. The current situation in Scandinavia is encouraging with the establishment of the *Kritpipor i Norden* Facebook group, promoting the sharing of information. Work on the customs

records of Stockholm also has potential, especially for the period after they were farmed out to a private interest in the 1630s. The renewed interest in early pipes in Scandinavia is providing archaeological evidence where the Port Book data is lacking and a similar resurgence in interest in early modern contact with the forts and settlements in the Americas is providing evidence of trade on an individual level. Tobacco pipes will be a useful tool in settling a chronology for some of these transient populations and in turn, the artefacts may become more tightly datable when referenced to the extant documentary evidence.

On a macro scale, the ultimate aim of digitising the whole of the E 190 series of Port Books might be getting closer. It is hoped that AI technology will enable automated handwriting recognition software to learn how to transcribe these documents, no small task considering the legibility of some of the clerks' handwriting. Ongoing issues with mould may hamper progress although the prospect of machine transcription is an exciting one. At best, it would take several years to obtain images of all the extant Port Books, once they had been treated. There would also need to be a considerable amount of time invested in correcting the early transcriptions while the software was learning the many different hands. With similar aims to the Gloucester Port Books project, it is proposed that an initial sample will cover over 250 volumes from three selected years, 1580, 1630 and 1680, with a view to quantifying proto-industrialisation prior to the Glorious Revolution. Similar transcription projects are currently underway, one working with Dutch archives while another will look at the underused records of seventeenth century Hanseatic trade from the port of Lubeck. Machine transcriptions of 59 volumes of the records of the High Court of Admiralty are planned to be published by the end of 2022. All these sources have the potential to add to our knowledge of the pipemaking trade in the seventeenth century.

## **Summary**

The study of material culture in British archaeology has developed through 'history from below' while economic and social historians were focussing on the consumer revolution. This emphasis on consumption has developed into two strands of research, the origins of consumerism and the globalisation of

commodities, with intoxicants at the forefront of this research. This study has shown that the increase in the consumption of tobacco was partly enabled by a similar expansion in the production and trade of one of the earliest disposable items, the humble clay tobacco pipe. As such, it informs both debates while inviting further study of the relationship between consumption and status. While this study did not focus on material culture, it has noted the geographical provenance shown by some of the products of William Banks and the production of both plain and decorated pipes made in the Dutch Republic. While many early modern studies are regional or national in scope, this study is valuable in that it is transnational and European in its focus.

As no comprehensive assessment of the early English tobacco pipe industry had been attempted previously, this study considerably advances our knowledge of this neglected period, building on the foundations laid by Oswald and Walker, in particular, undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s. By using the largest documentary source for trade that survives for the seventeenth century, it was possible to partially reconstruct maritime trade. It was foreseen that the extant sources would be limited, whether it was due to the sporadic survival of the Exchequer records, the venality of the customs officials or the scarcity of the artefacts from this period. Although this thesis used flawed sources, they are not without value if their limitations are understood. By adopting various comparative approaches, deficiencies can be identified and addressed. While the extent that any inductive study goes from the particular to the general is limited, this thesis contributes considerably to the knowledge of the early tobacco pipe trade while more modestly contributing to wider ceramic studies and to the historiography of the globalisation of intoxicants in the early seventeenth century.

This study has shown that it is possible to use the Port Books to obtain a nuanced view of a petty trade, as long as the limitations of the source are understood. Where personal exchange and other small quantities are absent from the documentary evidence, artefacts can provide evidence of trade, however informal. While the hope is that in the future, AI software will replace the manual task of transcribing large amounts of data, that prospect remains on the horizon.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A - Customs Revenue from Imports, from the papers of Sir Nathaniel Rich (based on Woodward, 1999 pp.58-59).

<b>1615-16</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>1616-17</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>
Dublin	1514	54.3	822	Dublin	1900	33.6	638
Wexford	945	9.4	89	Wexford	696	11.3	79
New Ross	143	25.4	36	New Ross	213	42.6	91
Waterford	1294	33.9	439	Waterford	1765	32.7	577
Dungarvan	55	25.9	14	Dungarvan	72	25.6	18
Youghall	517	36	186	Youghall	492	39.5	194
Cork	819	25.9	212	Cork	999	26.6	266
Kinsale	559	9.8	55	Kinsale	649	17.1	111
Limerick	793	20.9	166	Limerick	936	19.7	184
Galway	1186	17.5	208	Galway	1194	20.8	248
Carrickfergus	0	0	0	Carrickfergus	118	58.8	69
Carlingford	0	0	0	Carlingford	0	0	0
Dundalk	0	0	0	Dundalk	0	0	0
Drogheda	840	21.2	178	Drogheda	996	18.4	183
<b>1617-18</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>1618-19</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>
Dublin	2159	40.7	879	Dublin	2206	38.1	840
Wexford	835	9.7 **	81	Wexford	887	10	89
New Ross	198	30.8	61	New Ross	209	33.1 **	69
Waterford	1881	36.4	685	Waterford	1743	36.2	631
Dungarvan	68	26.5	18	Dungarvan	60	25.2	15
Youghall	730	36.2	264	Youghall	733	24.3	178
Cork	824	29.3	241	Cork	897	32.7	293
Kinsale	816	26.3 **	215	Kinsale	379	35.8	136
Limerick	1161	15.7	182	Limerick	946	17.9	169
Galway	1023	14.9	152	Galway	1183	17.2	203
Carrickfergus	126	23.4	29	Carrickfergus	136	31.4	43
Carlingford	0	0	0	Carlingford	60	35.9 **	22
Dundalk	0	0	0	Dundalk	150	17.4	26
Drogheda	1340	16.1	216	Drogheda	1351	17.2	232
<b>1619-20</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>1621-22</b>	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>% Imports</b>	<b>Value</b>
Dublin	2419	46.4	1,122	Dublin	2772	40.9	1,134
Wexford	770	5.6	43	Wexford	543	12.4	67
New Ross	183	33.1 **	61	New Ross	227	33.8	77
Waterford	1600	31.4	502	Waterford	1198	39.6	474
Dungarvan	65	24.4 **	16	Dungarvan	88	8.9	8
Youghall	654	26.8	175	Youghall	616	37.3	230
Cork	882	35.4	312	Cork	822	39.5	325
Kinsale	510	31.7	162	Kinsale	1285	37.2	478
Limerick	852	20.7	176	Limerick	641	21.3	137
Galway	1433	16	229	Galway	1161	17.7	205
Carrickfergus	0	0	0	Carrickfergus	320	25	80
Carlingford	120	35.9 **	21	Carlingford	57	35.9	20
Dundalk	174	17.4 **	30	Dundalk	103	17.4 **	18
Drogheda	1287	15.2	196	Drogheda	1017	18.8	191

\*\* estimated split made from adjacent years

**Appendix B – London Overseas Port Books – exports by Alien merchants,  
1579 - 1641 (TNA:E 190 series – Books consulted outlined in bold).**

LONDON OVERSEAS PORT BOOKS - EXPORTS BY ALIENS										
	Controller		Collector		Surveyor		Surveyor General		Packer	
	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)
1579/80										
1580/81										
1581/82										
1582/83										
1583/84										
1584/85										
1585/86										
1586/87										
1587/88	<b>7/7</b>	<b>6 (0)</b>								
1588/89										
1589/90										
1590/91										
1591/92										
1592/93										
1593/94										
1594/95										
1595/96										
1596/97			10/3	9						
1597/98										
1598/99										
1599/1600										
1600/01										
1601/02										
1602/03										
1603/04										
1604/05										
1605/06	<b>14/2</b>	<b>19 (0)</b>	<b>12/7</b>	<b>38 (0)</b>						
1606/07										
1607/08										
1608/09										
1609/10										
1610/11										
1611/12	<b>16/8</b>	<b>51 (0)</b>								
1612/13										
1613/14										
1614/15										
1615/16						<b>19/8</b>	<b>44 (0)</b>			
1616/17						<b>20/1</b>	<b>48 (1)</b>		<b>20/4</b>	<b>44 (1)</b>
1617/18	<b>21/5</b>	<b>51 (2)</b>								
1618/19	23/1	40								
1619/20										
1620/21			25/7	41	25/2	39				
1621/22			46/6	46						
1622/23										
1623/24										
1624/25										
1625/26			29/5	41			29/1	43	31/2	69
1626/27					30/1	29				
1627/28										
1628/29										
1629/30										
1630/31										
1631/32	37/12	42								
1632/33					37/10	91	37/9	45		
1633/34										
1634/35	39/2	19								
1635/36									40/7	62
1636/37			40/3	54			41/3	37		
1637/38										
1638/39										
1639/40			43/3	48						
1640/41					44/2	22				

**Appendix C – London Overseas Port Books – exports by English merchants,  
1579 - 1641 (TNA:E 190 series).**

LONDON OVERSEAS PORT BOOKS - EXPORTS									
Controller		Collector		Customer		Surveyor		Searcher	
E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)	
1579/80									
1580/81									
1581/82									
1582/83									
1583/84									
1584/85									
1585/86									
1586/87									
1587/88		7/8	78 (0)						
1588/89									
1589/90									
1590/91									
1591/92									
1592/93									
1593/94									
1594/95									
1595/96									
1596/97									
1597/98									
1598/99									
1599/1600									
1600/01									
1601/02									
1602/03									
1603/04									
1604/05							12/3	38 (1)	
1605/06				13/5	119 (0)				
1606/07									
1607/08		14/4	35 (0)						
1608/09									
1609/10									
1610/11									
1611/12		16/2	100 (10)						
1612/13									
1613/14						18/4	70 (0)		
1614/15	19/5	97 (21)				19/1	110 (18)		
1615/16		19/4	90 (13)						
1616/17		21/2	44 (7)						
1617/18		22/11	59 (2)						
1618/19									
1619/20									
1620/21							24/1	96 (19)	
1621/22									
1622/23									
1623/24									
1624/25									
1625/26							29/4	164 (8)	
1626/27							31/1	172 (19)	
1627/28									
1628/29									
1629/30									
1630/31									
1631/32									
1632/33									
1633/34									
1634/35				39/1	86 (3)				
1635/36									
1636/37									
1637/38									
1638/39									
1639/40									
1640/41									



**Appendix D – London Overseas Port Books - exports by Denizens,  
1579 - 1641 (TNA:E 190 series).**

LONDON OVERSEAS PORT BOOKS - EXPORTS BY DENIZENS										
	Controller		Collector		Surveyor		Surveyor General		Searcher	
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
	(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)		(No. Entries)	
1579/80										
1580/81										
1581/82										
1582/83										
1583/84										
1584/85										
1585/86										
1586/87										
1587/88										
1588/89										
1589/90										
1590/91										
1591/92										
1592/93										
1593/94										
1594/95										
1595/96										
1596/97										
1597/98										
1598/99	10/11	40								
1599/1600										
1600/01										
1601/02										
1602/03										
1603/04										
1604/05										
1605/06										
1606/07										
1607/08										
1608/09					14/7	98 (4)				
1609/10										
1610/11										
1611/12										
1612/13										
1613/14										
1614/15										
1615/16			19/7	79 (0)						
1616/17										
1617/18										
1618/19			22/9	106						
1619/20							23/3	69		
1620/21										
1621/22			25/9	45						
1622/23			26/7	[blank]						
1623/24			28/6	138 (25)						
1624/25										
1625/26										
1626/27	32/2	75								
1627/28										
1628/29					34/4	124				
1629/30										
1630/31					35/5	75 (0)				
1631/32			36/7	134						
1632/33										
1633/34	38/7	167								
1634/35										
1635/36			40/4	31						
1636/37										
1637/38										
1638/39			43/6	133						
1639/40			43/4	79	43/1	173			44/1	212 (28)
1640/41										

**Appendix E – London Coastal Port Books, 1579 - 1640 (TNA:E 190 series).**

LONDON COASTAL PORT BOOKS - OUTWARDS										
	Collector & Controller		Customer & Collector		Surveyor		Collector		Searcher	
	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios
1579/80			6/8	74 (0)						
1580/81										
1581/82										
1582/83										
1583/84					7/5	63 (0)				
1584/85										
1585/86	7/6	95 (0)								
1586/87										
1587/88										
1588/89										
1589/90									8/3	59 (0)
1590/91										
1591/92							9/3	67 (0)		
1592/93										
1593/94										
1594/95										
1595/96										
1596/97										
1597/98										
1598/99										
1599/1600										
1600/01										
1601/02										
1602/03										
1603/04										
1604/05										
1605/06	13/4	120 (0)								
1606/07										
1607/08										
1608/09										
1609/10										
1610/11										
1611/12										
1612/13										
1613/14										
1614/15							18/1	101 (3)		
1615/16										
1616/17										
1617/18										
1618/19										
1619/20										
1620/21										
1621/22										
1622/23										
1623/24										
1624/25										
1625/26										
1626/27										
1627/28									32/5	39 (7)
1628/29										
1629/30										
1630/31										
1631/32										
1632/33									37/5	57 (17)
1633/34										
1634/35									41/4	59 (8)
1635/36										
1636/37										
1637/38									41/6	131 (17)
1638/39										
1639/40										
	NB 28/5 inwards book has outwards entries for December 1624									
	24/1 overseas book has some coastal entries									

**Appendix F – Rochester Coastal and Overseas Port Books,  
1618-41 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	<b>Customer &amp; Controller Coastal</b>		<b>Customer Overseas</b>		<b>Searcher Overseas</b>		<b>Controller Overseas</b>		
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	
1618/19									
1619/20					<b>652/11</b>	<b>3</b>			
1620/21	<b>652/13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>652/12</b>	<b>2</b>					
1621/22			653/4	4					
1622/23									
1623/24									
1624/25									
1625/26									
1626/27							655/10	5	
1627/28			655/13	7					
1628/29							656/10	5	
1629/30									
1630/31									
1631/32						657/1	5		
1632/33	<b>657/13</b>	<b>11</b>	657/5	4			657/8	3	
1633/34	<b>658/6</b>	<b>12</b>							
1634/35									
1635/36	<b>659/3</b>	<b>5</b>							
1636/37									
1637/38						659/13	5	660/3	2
1638/39						660/1	2		
1639/40									
1640/41	<b>660/4</b>	<b>12</b>							

**Appendix G – Southampton Coastal Port Books,  
1600-46 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	<b>Customer &amp; Controller</b>		
	E190 ref.	No. folios	No. of Entries
1600/01			
1601/02			
1602/03			
1603/04			
1604/05			
1605/06	<b>819/6</b>	<b>20</b>	
1606/07			
1607/08	<b>819/7</b>	<b>20</b>	
1608/09			
1609/10			
1610/11			
1611/12			
1612/13			
1613/14			
1614/15			
1615/16			
1616/17			
1617/18			
1618/19			
1619/20			
1620/21			
1621/22			
1622/23			
1623/24			
1624/25			
1625/26	<b>822/1</b>	<b>31</b>	
1626/27			
1627/28	<b>822/7</b>	<b>21</b>	
1628/29	<b>822/11</b>	<b>22</b>	
1629/30	<b>822/13</b>	<b>22</b>	
1630/31	<b>822/15</b>	<b>25</b>	
1631/32	<b>823/1</b>	<b>24</b>	
1632/33	<b>823/5</b>	<b>31</b>	
1633/34	<b>823/8</b>	<b>25</b>	
1634/35			
1635/36			
1636/37			
1637/38			
1638/39			
1639/40			
1640/41			
1641/42			
1642/43			
1643/44			
1644/45			
1645/46	<b>825/3</b>	<b>19</b>	

**Appendix H – Poole Coastal & Overseas Port Books,  
1599-1666 (TNA:E 190 series).**

<b>POOLE COASTAL &amp; OVERSEAS PORT BOOKS</b>			
	E190 ref.	No. folios	
1599/1600	<b>867/14</b>	<b>3</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1600/01	<b>867/17</b>	<b>5</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
	<b>867/16</b>	<b>5</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1601/02	<b>868/2</b>	<b>2</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
	<b>867/11</b>	<b>7</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
	<b>868/1</b>	<b>9</b>	Surveyor Coastal
1602/03	<b>868/6</b>	<b>7</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1603/04	<b>868/10</b>	<b>7</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1604/05			
1605/06	<b>869/4</b>	<b>13</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1606/07			
1607/08	<b>869/7</b>	<b>16</b>	Customer Overseas
1608/09			
1609/10			
1610/11	<b>870/8</b>	<b>13</b>	Controller Overseas
1611/12			
1612/13	<b>871/2</b>	<b>13</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1613/14			
1614/15			
1615/16	<b>871/10</b>	<b>16</b>	Controller Overseas
1616/17			
1617/18			
1618/19	<b>872/4</b>	<b>6</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
	872/3	17	Customer Overseas
1619/20	872/9	15	Customer Overseas
1620/21			
1621/22	873/2	19	Customer Overseas
1622/23			
1623/24			
1624/25	873/7	13	Searcher Overseas
1625/26	<b>873/8</b>	<b>5</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1626/27			
1627/28	<b>874/6</b>	<b>3</b>	Controller Overseas
1628/29			
1629/30	<b>874/8</b>	<b>6</b>	Controller Overseas
1630/31			
1631/32			
1632/33	<b>875/5</b>	<b>5</b>	Controller Coastal
1633/34			
1634/35			
1635/36	<b>876/5</b>	<b>10</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1636/37	876/9	9	Customer Overseas
1637/38	877/3	8	Customer Overseas
1638/39	877/7	5	Customer Overseas
1639/40			
1640/41	<b>877/9</b>	<b>13</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1641/42	878/2	4*	Controller Overseas
1642/43			
1643/44			
1644/45			
1645/46	<b>878/4</b>	<b>2</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1659/60	<b>879/4</b>	<b>13</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal
1665/66	<b>880/5</b>	<b>13 (18)</b>	Customer & Controller Coastal

\*All entries cancelled

TNA E122/123/26 covering 1604-05 (16 folios) has also been consulted.

**Appendix I – Plymouth and Fowey Coastal Port Books,  
1594-1640 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	PLYMOUTH				FOWEY	
	Customer & Controller Coastal		Surveyor Coastal		Customer & Controller Coastal	
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
1594/95	1019/3 & 1019/19	9 & 7				
1595/96	1016/17	5				
1596/97	<b>1020/8 &amp; 1020/17</b>	<b>0 &amp; 5</b>	1020/14	13		
1597/98	<b>1020/26</b>	<b>5</b>				
1598/99						
1599/1600						
1600/01						
1601/02	1022/5	8			1022/4	3
1602/03	<b>1022/19</b>	<b>10</b>			<b>1022/17</b>	<b>4</b>
1603/04						
1604/05						
1605/06						
1606/07						
1607/08						
1608/09						
1609/10						
1610/11	<b>1024/15</b>	<b>10</b>			1024/23	3
1611/12						
1612/13						
1613/14						
1614/15						
1615/16						
1616/17	<b>1028/1</b>	<b>10 (1)</b>				
1617/18						
1618/19						
1619/20						
1620/21						
1621/22						
1622/23						
1623/24						
1624/25						
1625/26						
1626/27	<b>1031/10</b>	<b>12 (3)</b>			1031/7	2
1627/28						
1628/29					1031/15	2
1629/30	<b>1032/4</b>	<b>9 (1)</b>			1032/7	2
1630/31	<b>1032/10</b>	<b>14</b>				
1631/32						
1632/33						
1633/34						
1634/35						
1635/36						
1636/37						
1637/38					1080/17	2
1638/39						
1639/40						

### Appendix J – Barnstaple Port Books, 1595-1647 (TNA:E 190 series).

	Customer & Controller Coastal		Customer Overseas		Searcher Overseas		Controller Overseas		Surveyor Overseas	
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
1595/96							936/13	7	936/14	7
1596/97										
1597/98										
1598/99	937/9	2			931/11	5				
1599/1600									937/7	7
1600/01	1009/3	2								
1601/02	<b>938/7</b>	<b>0</b>								
1602/03			938/12	4						
1603/04			939/4	5						
1604/05	<b>939/5 &amp; 939/8</b>	<b>2 &amp; 8</b>								
1605/06			<b>939/14</b>	<b>8</b>			939/13	10		
1606/07										
1607/08										
1608/09										
1609/10										
1610/11	<b>940/7</b>	<b>5</b>					<b>1329/17</b>	<b>8</b>		
1611/12			941/3	0	941/2	9	<b>941/5</b>	<b>18</b>		
1612/13										
1613/14										
1614/15	<b>942/10</b>	<b>6 (1)</b>	<b>942/13</b>	<b>24 (1)</b>						
1615/16										
1616/17	<b>943/16</b>	<b>10</b>	943/9	16						
1617/18			<b>944/1</b>	<b>21 (4)</b>			<b>944/3</b>	<b>16 (4)</b>		
1618/19										
1619/20							<b>944/8</b>	<b>16 (1)</b>		
1620/21										
1621/22	<b>945/1</b>	<b>6</b>								
1622/23										
1623/24			<b>945/7</b>	<b>16 (3)</b>						
1624/25										
1625/26										
1626/27	946/9	8								
1627/28							<b>947/5</b>	<b>9 (2)</b>		
1628/29										
1629/30										
1630/31							<b>947/8</b>	<b>20 (4)</b>		
1631/32	<b>948/12</b>	<b>4</b>	948/3 & 948/9*	3 & 9	<b>948/1</b>	<b>6</b>				
1632/33			<b>948/10</b>	<b>20 (1)</b>	<b>948/11</b>	<b>6</b>				
1633/34	<b>949/5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>949/2</b>	<b>0</b>						
1634/35										
1635/36			<b>949/10</b>	<b>15 (2)</b>			<b>949/11</b>	<b>13 (2)</b>		
1636/37	950/3	5								
1637/38					947/4	12				
1638/39										
1639/40			951/5	18						
1640/41					<b>951/7</b>	<b>6</b>				
1646/47					<b>952/4</b>	<b>10 (2)</b>				

\*948/3 and 948/9 apparently overlapping books

**Appendix K – Bristol Coastal Port Books, 1594-1650 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	<b>Customer &amp; Controller Coastal</b>		<b>Waiters Overseas &amp; Coastal</b>	
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
1594/95				
1595/96				
1596/97			1132/1	22
1597/98	1132/3 & 1132/6	7 & 7		
1598/99			1132/9	21
1599/1600			1132/10	25
1600/01				
1601/02				
1602/03	<b>1240/4*</b>	<b>9 (0)</b>		
1603/04				
1604/05	<b>1133/6</b>	<b>18 (0)</b>		
1605/06				
1606/07				
1607/08				
1608/09				
1609/10				
1610/11				
1611/12				
1612/13	<b>1134/4</b>	<b>14 (0)</b>		
1613/14	<b>1134/5</b>	<b>17 (0)</b>		
1614/15	<b>1134/6</b>	<b>18 (0)</b>		
1615/16				
1616/17	<b>1134/9</b>	<b>18 (0)</b>		
1617/18				
1618/19				
1619/20				
1620/21				
1621/22				
1622/23	1135/1	17		
1623/24	1135/4	17		
1624/25	<b>1135/7</b>	<b>20 (1)</b>		
1625/26				
1626/27	<b>1135/9</b>	<b>22 (1)</b>		
1627/28				
1628/29	<b>1136/2</b>	<b>18 (1)</b>		
1629/30	1136/4	20		
1630/31				
1631/32				
1632/33				
1633/34				
1634/35				
1635/36				
1636/37				
1637/38				
1638/39	1136/9	0		
1639/40				
1640/41				
1641/42				
1642/43				
1643/44				
1644/45				
1645/46				
1646/47				
1647/48				
1648/49				
1649/50	<b>1136/11</b>	<b>32 (12)</b>		

\*Year not known but Elizabethan



**Appendix L – Bristol Overseas Port Books, 1594-1650 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	Customer Overseas		Controller Overseas		Searcher Overseas		Surveyor Overseas	
	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)	E190 ref.	No. folios (No. Entries)
1594/95	1131/11 & 1131/13	13 & 16					1131/10	52 (0)
1595/96					1131/12	35		
1596/97					1132/2	33 (1)		
1597/98								
1598/99	1132/5	6			1132/7	18	1132/8	25
1599/1600								
1600/01	1132/13 & 1084/3	9 & 17	1132/12	34			1132/11	36
1601/02			1133/1	30 (1)			1133/3	32 (1)
1602/03	1133/5	16 (2)						
1603/04								
1604/05								
1605/06								
1606/07								
1607/08	1133/8	40						
1608/09								
1609/10								
1610/11								
1611/12	1133/11	39 (41)	1133/9	30 (0)	1133/12	40 (39)		
1612/13								
1613/14								
1614/15								
1615/16					1134/7	32		
1616/17								
1617/18								
1618/19	1136/3	34						
1619/20								
1620/21	1134/11	28 (0)	1134/10	23				
1621/22								
1622/23			1135/3	37				
1623/24								
1624/25	1135/5	23	1135/6	27				
1625/26	1135/8	29						
1626/27								
1627/28								
1628/29	1136/1	37 (4)						
1629/30								
1630/31								
1631/32								
1632/33								
1633/34								
1634/35								
1635/36								
1636/37	1136/8	29 (3)						
1637/38								
1638/39								
1639/40								
1640/41								
1641/42								
1642/43								
1643/44								
1644/45								
1645/46								
1646/47								
1647/48								
1648/49								
1649/50								



**Appendix N – Exeter Overseas Port Books, 1600-47 (TNA:E 190 series).**

	Customer Overseas		Controller Overseas		Searcher Overseas	
	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios	E190 ref.	No. folios
1600/01						
1601/02						
1602/03						
1603/04						
1604/05						
1605/06						
1606/07						
1607/08						
1608/09						
1609/10						
1610/11						
1611/12			941/4	56		
1612/13						
1613/14						
1614/15	942/11	57				
1615/16						
1616/17			943/10	60		
1617/18						
1618/19						
1619/20					944/7	32
1620/21						
1621/22						
1622/23						
1623/24	945/8	55				
1624/25					946/5	49
1625/26						
1626/27						
1627/28			947/3	22		
1628/29						
1629/30						
1630/31						
1631/32						
1632/33						
1633/34	949/3	51	950/5	0		
1634/35						
1635/36						
1636/37						
1637/38	950/7	64				
1638/39						
1639/40						
1640/41					951/6	35
1641/42						
1642/43						
1643/44						
1644/45						
1645/46						
1646/47					952/1	47

**Appendix O – Scottish Port Books, 1610-30 (NRS:E71 series).**

E71/5/2 Burntisland	27 Nov 1627 - 31 October 1628	Imports & Exports
E71/6/11 Crail Anstruther and Pittenweem	April 1620 - October 1620	Imports & Exports
E71/15/1 Forth	1 Nov. 1617 - 1 Nov. 1618	Imports & Exports
E71/15/2 Forth	1 Nov. 1619 - 1 Nov. 1620	Imports & Exports
E71/15/3 Forth	1 Nov. 1621 - 1 Nov. 1622	Imports & Exports
E71/24/2 Preston and Aberlady	10 Nov. 1619 - 1 Nov. 1620	Imports & Exports
E71/29/5 Edinburgh	1 Jan. 1611 - 1 Nov. 1611	Imports & Exports
E71/29/6 Edinburgh	1 Jul. 1611 - 20 June 1612	Imports & Exports
E71/29/7 Edinburgh	2 Nov. 1621 - 30 Oct. 1622	Imports
E71/29/8 Edinburgh	1 Nov. 1622 - 28 Oct. 1623	Imports
E71/29/9 Edinburgh	1 Nov. 1626 - 1 Nov. 1627	Imports by Land
E71/30/30 Edinburgh and Leith	1 Nov. 1624 - 1 Nov. 1625	Imports of English goods & Exports
E71/29/11 Edinburgh	31 Oct. 1627 - 1 Nov. 1628	Imports by Land

**Appendix P – Bristol Tobacco Pipe exports to Ireland, 1612 - Composite of TNA:E  
190/1133/11, 1133/12 and 1133/9 (Taylor, 2017 pp.47-49).**

	Vessel name	Date	Merchant	Destination	Quantity	Value per Gross
1	Mary Fortune	6 February 1612	Luke White of Waterford	Youghall	1 gross	4/2d
2	Daniell	12 February 1612	Christopher Walter of Cork	Youghall	2 gross	2/6d
3	Daniell	13 February 1612	Michael Gould of Cork	Youghall	2 gross	5/-
4	Daniell	13 February 1612	Garrett Gould	Youghall	1 gross	2/6d
5	Anthony	6 March 1612	Patrick Comyne of Cork	Youghall	1 gross	3/4d
6	Anthony	22 February 1612	John Averie of Yougall	Youghall	4 gross	2/6d
7	Mayflower	27 March 1612	Patrick Gould of Cork	Cork	3 gross	2/3d
8	Joseph	27 March 1612	Miles Arthur of Limbrick	Youghall	1 gross	1/8d
9	Joseph	28 March 1612	James Cromwell of Limbrick	Youghall	1 gross	3/4d
10	Joseph	28 March 1612	James Michael of Limbrick	Youghall	18 dozen	2/3d
11	Joseph	28 March 1612	John Lost of Limbrick	Youghall	1 gross	1/8d
12	Joseph	28 March 1612	William Roch of Limbrick	Youghall	1/2 gross	3/4d
13	Grace Bonadventure	3 April 1612	David Martell	Cork	4 gross	2/6d
14	Grace Bonadventure	6 April 1612	James Moorfield of Cork	Cork	3 gross	2/9d
15	Unitie	22 April 1612	John Porter of Waterford	Waterford	1 gross	3/4d
16	Martha	27 April 1612	James Meagh of Kinsale	Youghall	1 1/2 gross	1/2d
17	Joseph	4 May 1612	William Goud of Cork	Youghall	18 dozen	1/6d
18	Mary Fortune	7 May 1612	Morgan Wheeler of London	Youghall	1 gross	5/-
19	Michael	22 May 1612	Patrick Gough of Limbrick	Dungarvan	1 1/2 gross / 2 gross	2/4d / 1/8d
20	Primrose	2 June 1612	George Burke of Limbrick	Youghall	2 gross	2/6d
21	Gabriell	8 July 1612	Patrick Arthur of Cork	Cork	2 gross	
22	Gabriell	7 July 1612	William Water of Cork	Cork	1 1/2 gross	
23	Gabriell	7 July 1612	David Llewelyn of Cork	Cork	1 gross	
24	Gabriell	9 July 1612	Nicholas Kerney of Cork	Cork	3 gross / 2 gross	2/3d / 3/4d
25	Martha	31 July 1612	Walter Arthur of Limbrick	Kinsale	2 gross	
26	Martha	1 August 1612	Garrett Gould of Cork	Kinsale	2 gross	
27	Martha	1 August 1612	William Crough	Kinsale	4 gross	2/6d
28	Margarett	2 August 1612	John Arthur?	Waterford	2 gross	
29	Francis	1 August 1612	John Everard	Rosse	2 gross	2/6d
30	Francis	3 August 1612	Thomas Routh of Kilkenny	Rosse	1/2 gross	3/4d
31	Nitingale	30 August 1612	Nicholas Meage of Youghall		1 gross / 2 gross	3/4d / 1/8d
32	Anthonie	3 September 1612	Walter Morredg of Cork		2 gross	
33	Anthonie	31 August 1612	Edmond Gould		3 gross	
34	Anthonie	3 September 1612	Richard Mead of Cork		5 dozen	
35	Daniell	30 September 1612	Walter Galaway of Cork	Cork	2 gross	
36	Dove	1 October 1612	John Kearney of Cork	Cork	1/2 gross	
37	Dove	8 October 1612	James Meage of Cork	Youghall / Cork	2 gross	
38	Bennett	7 October 1612	John Odge of Cork	Cork	4 gross	3/4d
39	Bennett	9 October 1612	Dominick Meaghe of Cork	Cork	2 gross	3/4d
40	Nightingale	24 November 1612	John Stackpole of Limbrick	Youghall	6 dozen	1/6d
41	Elizabeth	1 December 1612	Patrick Romyne		2 gross	2/6d
42	Elizabeth	1 December 1612	Patrick Cromine of Cork		3 gross	2/9d

**Appendix Q** – Map of Scottish ports where tobacco pipes were consigned to from London, 1610-34.

