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## LONDON CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

By DAVID ATKINSON and ADRIAN OSWALD

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### INTRODUCTION

THE study of clay tobacco pipes has resulted, over the last twenty years, in close dating of this humble product. As a result it has become a valuable aid in the dating of post-medieval archaeological sites and has been widely used for this purpose on American Colonial sites. London was the earliest manufacturing centre and, with Bristol, the largest. This paper is an attempt to link the historical background with a detailed archaeological study of the product and to illustrate characteristic styles of London pipes. It should be used in conjunction with the articles previously published in the Association's *Journal* and the *Archaeological Newsletter*, referred to in this text as Oswald and Atkinson.<sup>1</sup>

The History of the Company throws light on the social background and organization of the pipe makers. These were, for the most part, poor, largely illiterate, and confined by the process of manufacture to the poorer quarters on the perimeter of the City. Even so some left wills and many were well enough established to have an export trade.

The lists of makers, apart from their obvious use as a means of identifying marks, provide material for a study of numbers, the persistence of family businesses, and the geographical distribution.

For our sources we have, apart from the Atkinson Collection, drawn on the collections of most of the Museums in London and in particular on the Guildhall Museum. To the officials of all these bodies we are greatly indebted. For much information on American pipes we are most grateful to Dr. I. Noel Hume, F.S.A., on Colonial Williamsburg, R. F. Marx on Port Royal, Iain C. Walker on Louisbourg. We count ourselves most

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Oswald, 'The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXIII (1960), reprinted as offprint 1967. D. R. Atkinson, 'Maker's Marks on Clay Tobacco Pipes found in London', *Archaeological Newsletter*, VII, Pts. 8 and 11 (1962).

fortunate in obtaining the collaboration of J. F. V. Woodman in preparing this first account of the company and of B. J. Bloice and the members of the Lambeth Archaeological Society in compiling the nineteenth-century list. Finally we must thank I. Mortimer for the drawings of the decorated pipes and Mrs. M. Pursall for many of the other figures.

### THE LONDON COMPANY OF TOBACCO PIPE MAKERS

The organization of the pipe-making industry in and around the City of London was for a long period of years in the hands of an incorporated company of tobacco pipe makers, but comparatively little is known about the company, or the extent of its control over the industry, because its records are for the most part lost. However, in the year 1663 it became a City company under the jurisdiction of the City authorities and thereafter presented its freemen to the City Chamberlain for admission to the freedom of the City. The records of these admissions, largely in the form of expired indentures of apprenticeship, are in the custody of the Chamberlain, and a detailed examination of a section of them, carried out by the present writer whilst Clerk of the Chamberlain's Court, threw interesting light on the state of the company in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The material derived from this examination and from an examination of printed and other manuscript sources forms the basis of the following notes on the company's history.

There were in point of fact two distinct companies of tobacco pipe makers separated in time by a period of years, and it was the second of the two that became the City company. The first company came into existence on 5 October 1619, when James I granted a charter of incorporation to the tobacco pipe makers of Westminster.<sup>1</sup> The fortunes of the company were bound up with the monopoly of pipeclay, which had been granted in the previous year for a term of twenty-one years to Philip Foote<sup>2</sup> and passed to others by death<sup>3</sup> or assignment<sup>4</sup> before its withdrawal in 1639. The company owed its very existence to the monopolists who, the better to exploit their concession, procured for the tobacco pipe makers a charter of incorporation; they also contrived its surrender in exchange for a new charter from Charles I on 10 December 1634.<sup>5</sup> The circumstances of this latter grant reveal the extent of the company's subjection to the monopolists.<sup>6</sup> In consideration of receiving a new charter, the company covenanted with the king to pay him a yearly rent of £100 and to burn only coals for firing clay pipes. The monopolists for their part defrayed the cost of obtaining the charter and by-laws and undertook to pay not only £300 a year to the company to cover the king's rent and other expenses but also £40 a year to a person to teach the members of the company how to make their fires of coal. In return the company contracted to buy all its clay from the monopolists and, when in 1638 it complained

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1619-23, vol. CIX, p. 67; and Guildhall (Library MS. 2821 cited Ghall MS.).

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, vol. XCVIII, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1611-18, vol. CIV, p. 606.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1638-9, vol. CCCCVII, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1634-5, vol. CCLXXIX, p. 395; and Ghall MS. 2821.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1639, vol. CCCCXXV, p. 384.

to the Privy Council that its members could buy clay only from persons claiming a monopoly and at prices fixed by them, the answer returned by the monopolists to the Privy Council was that the members of the company bought their clay from them under contract, no question of a monopoly arising. The charter of 1634 was forfeited for non-payment of the annual rent to the king, the forfeiture being referred to in 1663 as having occurred 'long since',<sup>1</sup> which in the known circumstances cannot have been much more than twenty years. The financial straits to which the company had clearly been reduced may well have been occasioned by the withdrawal of the monopoly and the consequent termination of the annual payment of £300 from the monopolists.

The second company came into existence on 29 April 1663, when Charles II granted a charter of incorporation to the tobacco pipe makers in the Cities of London and Westminster and the kingdom of England and the dominion of Wales<sup>2</sup> on payment of a yearly rent of £1. 6s. 8d. into the Exchequer at Christmas.<sup>3</sup> (The company was still paying this rent in 1830 to the secondaries of London,<sup>4</sup> acting for the Sheriffs who accounted for it in the Exchequer.) Thomas Lyddall and Mathew Warner, tobacco pipe makers to the king, were instrumental in obtaining the charter,<sup>5</sup> which imposed conditions prohibiting the export of tobacco pipe clay and requiring only coals to be burnt for firing pipes.<sup>6</sup> On 2 July 1663, two months after being incorporated, the company was recognized by the Court of Aldermen of the City of London as a City company without a livery.<sup>7</sup> The effect of civic recognition was to render the company's charter and by-laws enforceable in the City and, by enabling it to bind apprentices who would in due course be admissible to the freedom of the City, 'to reduce all of the Trade in time and succession to the said Company of Tobacco pipe makers for the better regulation of their Trade and Society'.<sup>8</sup> Until civic recognition was accorded a tobacco pipe maker could not legally work in the City as a master man unless he took up the freedom through some other company; if he did so, he placed himself under the control of that company and paid quarterage to it; moreover his apprentices were bound, and eventually became free of the City, through it.

The Court of Aldermen, when granting civic recognition, expressly ordered that the members of the company who were free of other companies should not withdraw themselves from the control of those companies except by informal consent or by formal translation according to the custom of London.<sup>9</sup> There was no rush to be translated; only a few freemen appear to have taken the step, and it was to them, as citizens and tobacco pipe makers, that for the next few years the company's apprentices were bound. The purpose here was to ensure that these apprentices would become free of the City as tobacco pipe makers and so, having been bound apprentice, they were immediately turned over (i.e. assigned) to tobacco pipe makers free of the City in other companies

<sup>1</sup> Ghall MS. 2821.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1663-4, vol. LXXII, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1661-2, vol. LX, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> *Court of Aldermen, Repertory*, 69, ff. 164-5, cited *Co. Ald. Rep.*

<sup>5</sup> *Co. Ald. Rep.* 69, ff. 164-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>2</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1663-4, vol. LXXII, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1661-2, vol. LX, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> *Court of Aldermen, Repertory*, 69, ff. 164-5, cited *Co. Ald. Rep.*

<sup>5</sup> *Co. Ald. Rep.* 69, ff. 164-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

to be taught the trade. Even forty years later there were still tobacco pipe makers who were free of the City in the companies of Grocers, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters, Bakers, Blacksmiths, and Patten-makers, and who took their apprentices by turn-over from a citizen and tobacco pipe maker.

Petitions to the Privy Council or Parliament from tobacco pipe makers, whether incorporated or not, give the impression that the members of the trade were poor and lived precariously.<sup>1</sup> As far as the City company is concerned, some support for the suggestion of poverty is to be found in the indentures of the company's apprentices who were admitted to the freedom of the City between 1689 and 1708. In this period, 55 per cent of them were unable to write their names, as compared (on the basis of random checks in the same period) with only 15 per cent admitted through other companies. If illiteracy is any guide, therefore, the company's apprentices came in the main of poorer families than the majority. There is perhaps another guide provided by the indentures, 40 per cent of which for the period 1689-1734 disclose the general location of the premises occupied by master-freemen of the company: half of them were situated in the City, and the other half outside it. Those in the City were on its boundaries, with the largest concentration in Cripplegate; those beyond the boundaries were for the most part in the county of Middlesex, extending from St. Margaret's, Westminster, to St. Giles in the Fields and the non-city portions of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and from there to the non-city portion of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and to Whitechapel. In these districts of Middlesex, both before and after the Great Fire, were to be found the slums of London,<sup>2</sup> and it was there that many of the company's freemen carried on their trade. The absence of tobacco pipe makers from the interior of the City may, of course, have been due to the manufacturing processes of their trade; for a lease of premises in Cheapside granted by the City Corporation as late as 1806 contained a covenant that the premises should not be used for the business of a tallow-chandler, soapmaker, tobacco pipe maker, brewer, distiller, butcher, slaughterman, founder, or any other offensive trade;<sup>3</sup> but that does not explain why the largest concentration of tobacco pipe makers was in Cripplegate.

Lack of data makes it impossible to form an estimate of the company's income, which depended on its numbers and on the various dues, including quarterage, collected from its freemen and also from non-freemen exercising the trade outside, but within striking distance of, the City. An indication of numbers is provided by the fact that from March 1689 to January 1734—a period of forty-five years—only 137 freemen of the company were admitted to the freedom of the City—an average of three a year. Time-expired apprentices formed the vast majority—122 out of 137—and nine-tenths of them were in their twenties when admitted. If the average life of a freeman of the company after admission was forty years (making the average age at death, say, sixty-five years), there were

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.Dom.* 1637-8, vol. CCCLXXXIX, p. 393; 1641-3, vol. CCCCXCVIII, pp. 511-12; 1661-2, vol. LX, p. 493; and 1664-5 (Pt. 1), vol. CVI, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (Penguin Edition), p. 48, n. 1, and p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Plea & Memoranda Rolls*, A.D. 1458-82, Introduction, p. xviii.

on average 120 citizens and tobacco pipe makers alive at any given time during the period. To this number should be added those freemen of the company who were free of the City in other companies or who for one reason or another did not take up the freedom of the City, but there is no way of estimating what those numbers were; nor can any estimate be formed of the number of tobacco pipe makers not free of the company but liable to pay dues to it, and so the early state of the company's finances remains obscure.

As already mentioned, between 1689 and 1734 there were 122 admissions to the freedom of the City by apprenticeship through the company. About one-sixth of these time-expired apprentices were the sons of freemen of the City; the other five-sixths were sons of non-freemen, about two-thirds of whom lived in the City itself or in Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, or Essex. The non-freemen fathers of the company's apprentices were principally handicraftsmen or tradesmen, about one-sixth being tobacco pipe makers by trade; only two of the latter, however, lived outside the City or the home counties—one in St. Martin's, Worcestershire, and the other in Bolsover (noted in the indenture as being in Yorkshire). The surnames of freemen of the company were entirely English, with the possible exception of Malletrat. Although the company presented no woman for admission to the freedom of the City between 1689 and 1734, women were certainly engaged in the trade. By the custom of London, widows of freemen were free by courtesy, no formal admission to the freedom being necessary; and during the period mentioned five widows of citizens and tobacco pipe makers taught the trade to apprentices who were bound to them, or who continued with them when they became widows, or who were turned over to them from another freeman.

The company, under the authority of its charter, made by-laws from time to time, the last in 1821, and these are its only by-laws of which a copy still exists.<sup>1</sup> Amongst other things, they empowered the master and wardens to prosecute persons acting contrary to the charter or transgressing the by-laws. This power was quickly invoked, the first of many actions at law being brought in the following year, and the litigation thus embarked upon soon plunged the company into debt and was one of the principal causes of its dissolution. The recourse to litigation, unwise though it proved to be, nevertheless appeared justified at the time. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, trading and working in the City was still in some respects hampered by medieval rules. No one but a freeman of the City could keep a shop or exercise a trade or craft in the City, and no one could become a freeman of the City without first joining a company. A freeman could employ a non-freeman by licence of the Court of Aldermen, but, if a non-freeman traded or worked in the City on his own account, he ran the risk of being summoned to appear in the Chamberlain's Court to show cause why he should not be sued in the Mayor's Court for the prescribed penalty. The City authorities were intent upon preserving the exclusive privileges of the freedom, and non-freemen were being prosecuted for trading or working in the City contrary to law and custom. The company's attempt to enforce its chartered rights was therefore in line with the policy of the City authorities.

<sup>1</sup> Ghall MS. 2821.



The first action brought by the company was against Robert Gardner, a tobacco pipe maker in Great Windmill Street, who for many years had declined to take up the freedom of the company or to pay quarterage as a non-freeman. The action was tried in the Court of King's Bench at Guildhall in December 1823 and succeeded to the extent that judgement was given for the company in the sum of 40s.,<sup>1</sup> though what that represented cannot be said in the absence of a report on the case. In the same year the company instituted proceedings against one of the members of its own court—John Woodroffe—who after nine years as an assistant was elected renter warden but declined to serve; he had moreover neglected to attend court-meetings and since midsummer 1820 had paid no quarterage. The action against Woodroffe was tried in the Court of King's Bench at Guildhall in 1825, judgement being delivered the following year.<sup>2</sup> Again the company succeeded to the extent that it was awarded the sum of £9. 1s. 4d., made up of a fine of £6. 13s. 4d. for refusing to serve as warden and a sum of £2. 8s. by way of penalty for not attending court-meetings. Other actions were brought in courts around the City, and comparatively small sums, paid off by instalments, were recovered.<sup>3</sup>

By 1828 the company had incurred legal expenses amounting to £900, of which £400 was provided partly out of surplus income and partly from private subscription, leaving £500 to be borrowed from a past master of the company at interest of 5 per cent per annum.<sup>4</sup> Nothing daunted, the company in 1829 sought counsel's opinion whether it could recover penalties under its by-laws in Rochester, Kent,<sup>5</sup> and this is the only hint that the company's charter-jurisdiction over tobacco pipe makers throughout England and Wales was anything but an empty form of words. In 1835, the City authorities took a step that seriously weakened every company's control over its trade in the City. The freedom of the City was made obtainable without prior admission to the freedom of a company, and the effect was to enable anyone to exercise a trade or craft in the City merely by taking up the freedom of the City. As a result, no company could any longer rely on the recruitment of members who, for trade purposes, desired to become freemen of the City, and this of course entailed a loss of income from freedom fees.

In 1851 the company made a last effort to enforce its chartered rights and improve its finances by bringing an action in the Court of Queen's Bench against one of its freemen for non-payment of quarterage of 8s. a year, plus a penalty of 8s. a year, both dating back to 1828, the year of the freeman's admission. Judgement was given in favour of the company, but the statute of limitations was held to apply, and so the company recovered only a small part of what it had claimed.<sup>6</sup> The final blow was delivered by the City authorities in 1856, when all laws and customs prohibiting non-freemen from trading or exercising a handicraft in the City were abolished. Thereafter the company had no further trade functions to perform in the City and no further hope of enforcing its chartered rights.

<sup>1</sup> Ghall MS. 3601.

<sup>2</sup> London Tobacco Pipe Makers Co. v. Woodroffe (1828), 7 Barnewall & Cresswell (King's Bench), 838. (There was a two-year delay in publishing the report.)

<sup>3</sup> Ghall MS. 3601.

<sup>4</sup> Ghall MS. 3601.

<sup>5</sup> Ghall MS. 3601.

<sup>6</sup> Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co. v. Loder (1851), 16 Queen's Bench, 765.

It is sometimes suggested that the habit of snuff-taking, which supplanted pipe-smoking towards the end of the eighteenth century, led to the dissolution of the company, but the suggestion does not stand up to examination. The company survived that particular change in social habits for close on a century, just as the great majority of the livery companies have survived the loss of every connection with the trades or crafts they once controlled. The two main causes of the company's dissolution were the debt it incurred in attempting to enforce its chartered rights and the lack of a livery. Until 1832 the parliamentary vote in the City was restricted to the liverymen of the companies, who also formed, and still do form, the elective assembly known as 'Common Hall' for choosing the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, and certain other officers of the Corporation. If the company had been granted a livery and so had been able to offer the attraction of the livery franchise, it would probably have survived, for the nine companies that have become extinct in the last 150 years or so have all been companies without a livery.

Little remains to be told. In March 1852 the last enrolment in the Chamberlain's books of an apprentice bound to a citizen and tobacco pipe maker was registered. In January 1868 the last admission of a freeman of the company to the freedom of the City took place. In 1869 the company was omitted from the list of City companies printed in the City Corporation's official pocket-book. Finally in June 1903 one of the company's apprentices who had been enrolled in the Chamberlain's books in 1848 made application for admission to the freedom of the City, but, as the company had been extinct for at least thirty years, his application could not be entertained. He is the last known freeman of the company and therefore has some claim to be rescued from oblivion: his name was Charles Tovey, and he was a tobacco pipe maker of 11 Matlock Street, Stepney, in the county of Middlesex.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF BOWL TYPES (figs. 1 and 2)

This typology of London pipes has been evolved, in the main, from the myriad specimens in the Guildhall Museum and Atkinson Collection. The dating is based on association with dated archaeological groups and with identified makers (Figs. 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10). It should be used in context with those figures which show in some cases additional varieties of shape.

##### Fig. 1

1. Handmade, c. 1580-1610, occasionally marked as Fig. 3, no. 3.
2. c. 1580-1610. Occurs in elongated form as Fig. 4, nos. 1, 2.
3. c. 1580-1610. Heart-shaped base.

Milling on the rim of these early types is rare.

- 4-8. c. 1610-40. In this period the two main types of the seventeenth century develop; flat bases and spurs. Milling usual.
- 9, 10. c. 1640-60. Increase in size.
- 11, 12. c. 1640-70. Heart-shaped bases.
- 13-15. c. 1660-80. No. 14 with degenerate spur occurs in large and small bowl sizes.

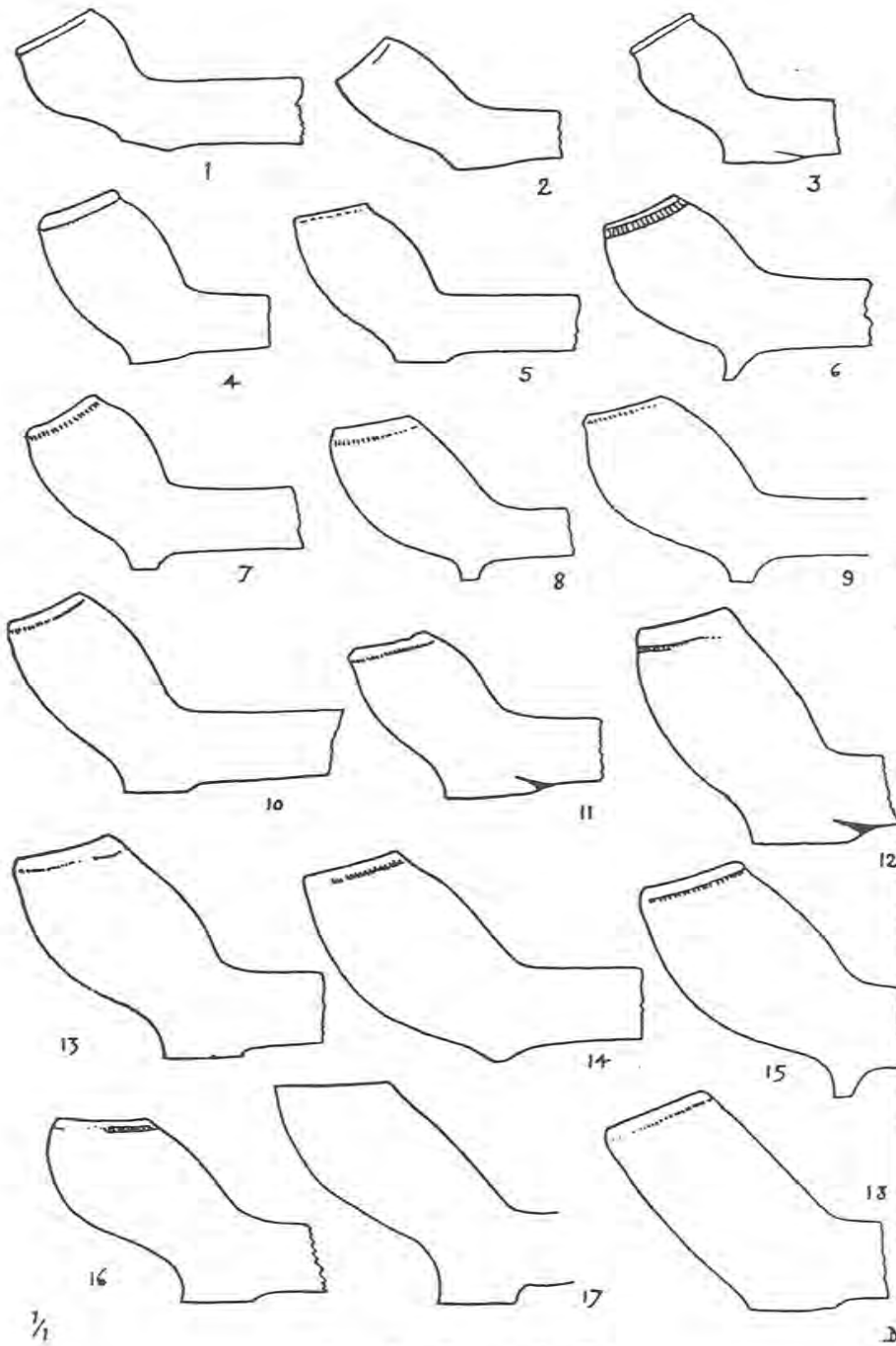


FIG. 1. Bowl Types, c. 1580-1680.

- 16, 17, West Country style with overhanging bowl and the line of the mouth parallel or nearly so with the line of the stem. Copied by some London makers, Fig. 5, no. 26.  
18. c. 1660-80. A new type with straight sides, developing into types 20 and 22.

## Fig. 2

19. c. 1690-1710. Late spur type.  
20-22. c. 1680-1710. Long bowls some moulded initials on sides of base. For variants see Figs. 5, 9, and 10.  
23. c. 1690-1720. West Country style, thin brittle bowls. See Fig. 5, no. 27.  
24. c. 1700-40. American export style occasionally found in London.  
25. c. 1700-70. Common standard south eastern type for the eighteenth century. The lip of the bowl parallel to the stem, a change that occurred about 1700. Bowl sizes vary, the earlier are longer and narrower, the thickness of stem and bowl decreases as the century wears on. For variants see Figs. 5 and 10. No milling.  
26. c. 1740-1800. New type with forward spur, thin bowls, sometimes decorated.  
27. c. 1780-1820. Thin brittle bowl, flat based spur. Figs. 6 and 10.  
28. c. 1820-40. Pointed spur, small initials. Figs. 6 and 10.  
29. c. 1840-80. Forward drooping bowl, small spur. Fig. 6, nos. 33, 37.  
30. c. 1850-1910. Copy of the briar. Fig. 6, no. 35.  
31. c. 1850-1910. Copy of Dutch type. Fig. 6, no. 36.  
32. c. 1840. Occasionally found in London. Miniature.  
33. Post 1840. Irish type. Although often stamped Dublin these were made at several centres in Britain from a type mould supplied to several makers.

## MAKERS' MARKS

Although the majority of London pipes are plain and unmarked, some makers stamped their names or a form of trade-mark from the very earliest times, before 1600, and the style and type of mark is a useful guide to dating.

## MARKS ON THE BASE OF THE BOWL

## 1. Incuse

The marks of John Stuckey of Wapping who married Mary Fletcher in 1603, and who is the earliest recorded pipe maker, illustrate admirably the progress of initial marking (Fig. 4, nos. 6-11) proceeding from the incised mark on a heart-shaped base to similar marks on round pedestal bases and finally to relief marks embellished with decoration. Apart from letter marks, other early incised marks take the form of a leaf, animal, star, sun wheel, and Tudor rose, and occasionally fleur-de-lis (Fig. 3, nos. 1 and 2).

Incised basal marks are extremely rare in London, after c. 1630 until some revival in the eighteenth century. An exception is the mark of S. Whitaker, in full, on West Country type bowls (Fig. 5, no. 26). He died in 1697.

## 2. In relief

Basal marking in relief was the normal method in the seventeenth century until the introduction of the larger bowls after 1670. These are generally circular stamps with incorporated stars, representations of

tobacco plants, etc. Such marking continued with rarity after 1670 and even after the radically new shape introduced c. 1700 (Fig. 3, nos. 4, 6-10).

With the advent of moulded marks it became unnecessary to continue stamping pipes and, in London, until about the reign of George III stamped marks are accordingly rare.

On a few pipes of this new 'Georgian' type a small mark, incuse or in relief, is found on the base. One maker included the City of London shield with his initials, M.G. (Fig. 8, no. 61), probably Moses Gee, Free 1681, the first use of the City Arms.

#### MARKS ON THE BACK OF THE BOWL

##### 1. Incuse

These are a rarity until the late eighteenth century but they do occur occasionally, for example, E.C. on type 8, perhaps Edward Carrington who died in 1664. (Fig. 4, no. 12), and ER (Fig. 3, no. 27; Fig. 5, nos. 24-5).

About 1780 the first full name marks appear (Fig. 3, nos. 30-6; Fig. 6, nos. 29-32, 34, 36; Fig. 8, nos. 62, 63; Fig. 10, H). These were incuse with the name in one or two lines of serif letters, often surrounded by a circular dotted frame. Above and below the maker's name there is usually some ornamental scroll-work. This type of mark is also known with initials only, C.D.—possibly Charles Dickens, 1817 (Fig. 10). Many makers adopted this practice in the early years of the nineteenth century and gradually the style of the marks changed. In the 1820s and 1830s badges and City shields appear in the centre of the mark, with the name at the top and 'London' below. This was followed by the inclusion in many marks of the maker's address.

##### 2. In relief

Marking in the back of the bowl in London would seem to start about the middle of the seventeenth century with small marks, including the only known date on a London pipe, s.a. 1683 (Fig. 8, nos. 53, 58).

Soon more elaborate types appear, sometimes the letters are surmounted with a crown (Fig. 3, no. 16), and it was at this time, c. 1680, that letters began to be moulded at the sides of the base, often surmounted by crowns. A few very large marks appeared at this time, on the stem or back of the bowl, showing the initials on either side of a tree or plant (Fig. 3, no. 29). Stamps on the back of the bowl continued with rarity in the eighteenth century.

#### Fig. 3. Makers' marks

In relief, except for nos. 3, 5, 17, 19, 21, 26-7, and 30-6.  
Nos. 1-5. Heel marks on small early pipes, c. 1600-30, bowl types 1-5. No. 3 is on the base of a bowl of type 1 which is handmade and probably pre-1600.  
Nos. 6-10. Heel marks on pipes of type 10 and 13, c. 1640-70.  
Nos. 11 and 15. On the heels of large bulbous bowls, probably of northern origin, c. 1680.  
No. 12. Heel mark on pipes similar to type 13. Three varieties of this mark are found. Probably originate outside London, c. 1670-80.

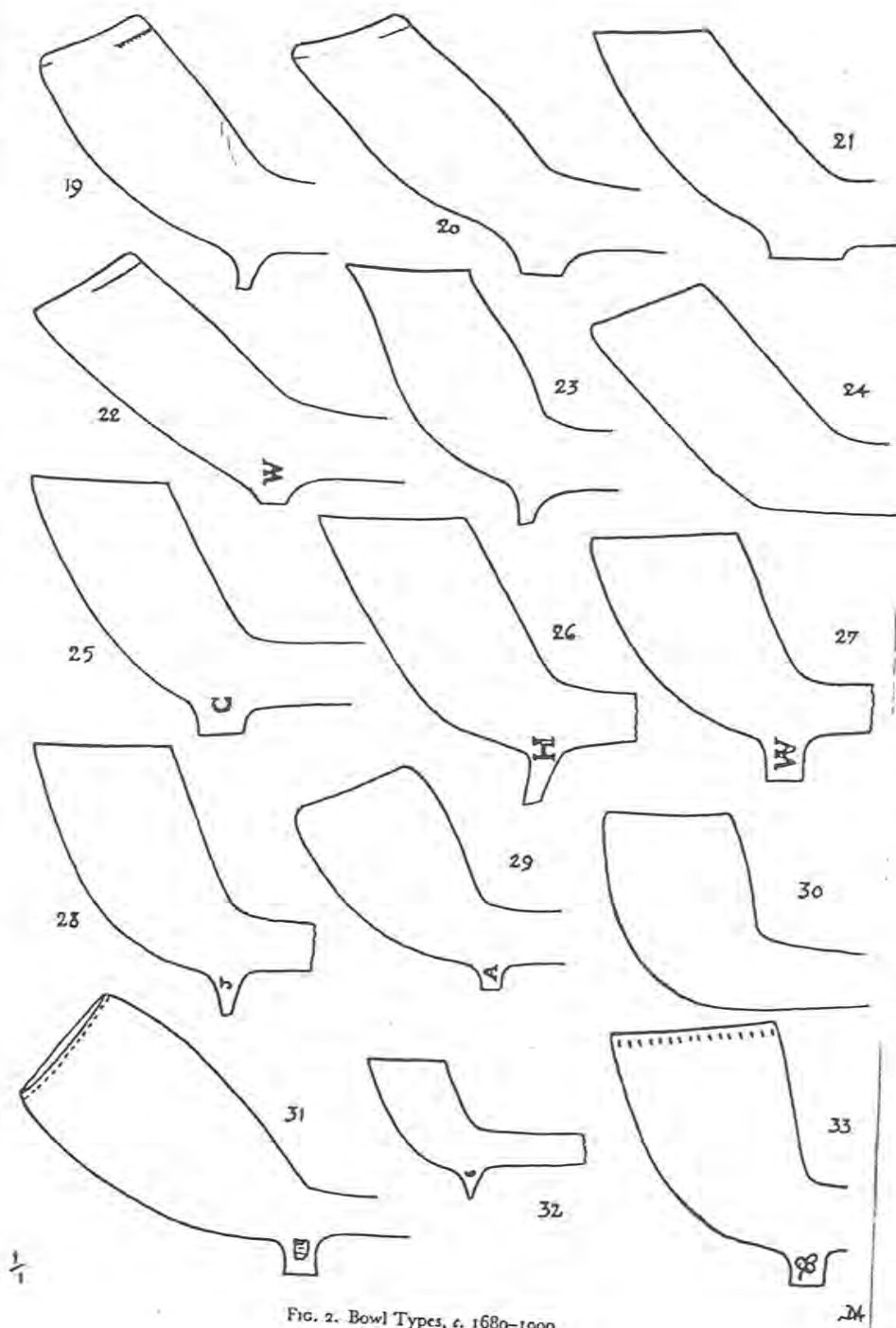


FIG. 2. Bowl Types, c. 1680-1900.

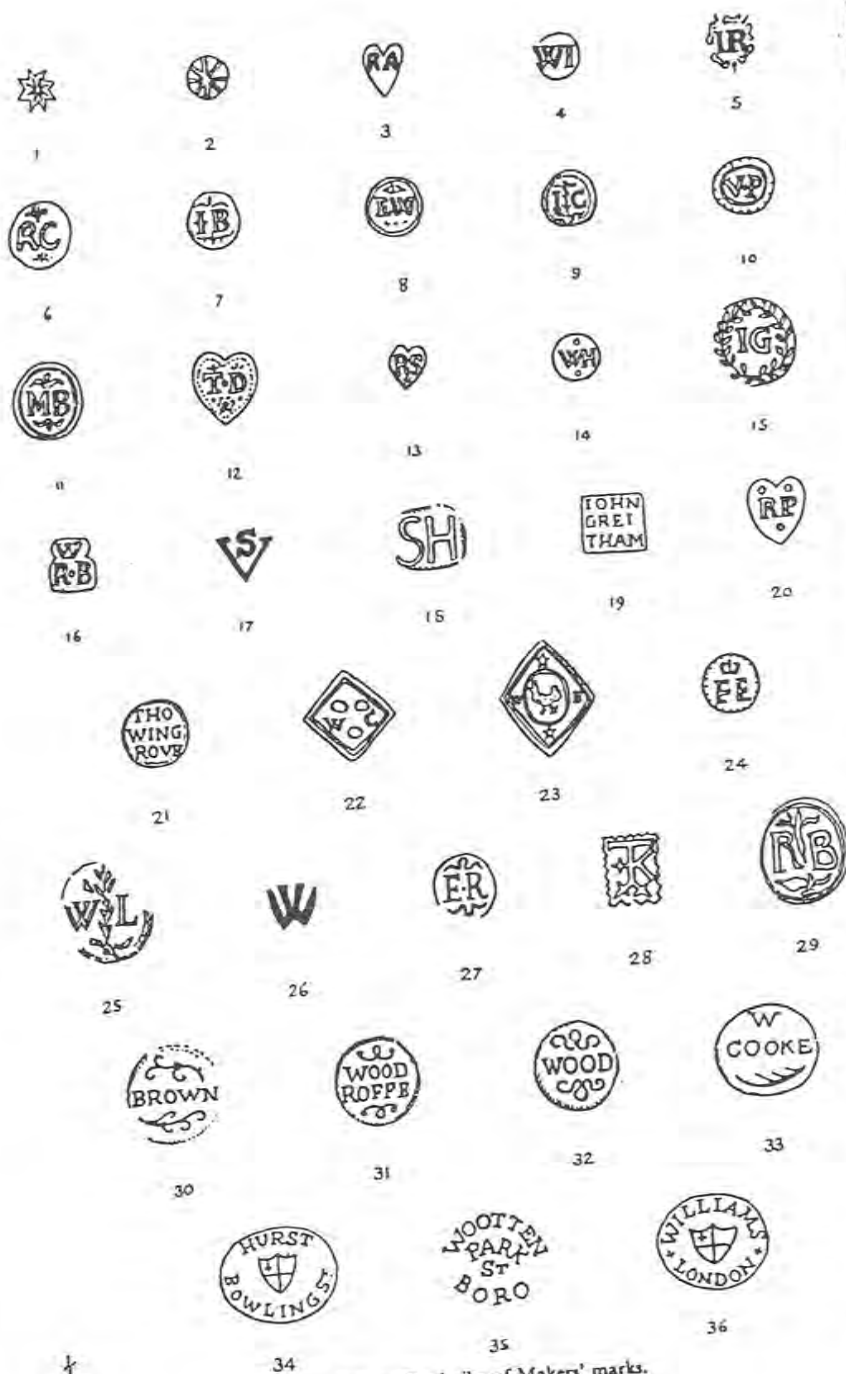


FIG. 3. Facsimiles of Makers' marks.

# LONDON CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

Nos. 13-14 are found on the small base of pipes of type 20, c. 1680-1700. w.h. perhaps Wm. Hanson 1688, Free.  
 No. 16. A crowned mark, stamped on the back of bowls of types 19, 21, and 25, c. 1700-40.  
 No. 17. Stamped on stems of various types of heel pipes just by the bowl, c. 1640-1700.  
 Nos. 18-25, 28, 29. Stem marks, c. 1700-40. No. 19 is the Wiltshire form found on pipes of type 23, c. 1700. No. 23. may be a public house mark, the Cock Tavern, c. 1730. No. 28 perhaps Thomas Kenton, 1692, Free.  
 No. 26. Single letter incuse on base of type 25. 'H' also occurs single, c. 1720-40.  
 No. 27. On the back of bowl type 25, probably Edward Randall (see Figs. nos. 24-5).  
 Nos. 30-6. On the back of bowls of types 27 and 28, c. 1800-60. 30: George Brown of Gray's Inn, 1799. 31: John Woodroffe, 1799-1832. 33: William Cooke of Bermondsey, 1847-78. 34: William Williams, Borough, 1823-64. 35: Thomas Wootton of Southwark, 1823-46. 36: John Hurst of Smithfield, 1817-49 (Fig. 8, no. 62).

Fig. 4. Identified marks of makers

1-5 wb. The most probable maker is William Bachelor, 1619-35 (Appendix IV). Wm. Brooker of Ratcliffe who was married in 1635 is a possibility but the earliest wb marks are c. 1600 and if Wm. Brooker was working at this date he must have been married very late in life. Bachelor in 1635 was sufficiently important to head a petition and was therefore presumably well established in his trade as would be expected if he had been making pipes for a generation.

The wb mark is highly characteristic in the formation of the letter b, and with the exception of 5c is always incuse. 5c may represent either the change in fashion for relief marks c. 1630 or be one of Wm. Brooker's pipes.

1. British Museum, c. 1600.
- 2a. Gateway House, London. Guildhall Museum ER 177. c. 1600. A group with Siegburg ware and early Delft with dating limits 1580-1620. Mark 4d also occurs in this group on a smaller polished bowl.
- 2b. Moorfields. British Museum.
3. Guildhall Museum, c. 1600.
- 4a and b. Smithfield. British Museum } c. 1600-20.
- c. Coventry Museum
- d. Fleet Ditch. British Museum.
- 5a and b. British Museum, c. 1620-40.
- c. In relief. Guildhall Museum.
- 6-11. is. John Stuckey married in 1603 at St. Giles in the East and is the earliest known maker to date. The formation of the s on the incuse mark (6-9) is characteristic. The relief marks on 10 and 11 may well not be his. Their typological date is c. 1640 and they could refer to many makers (Appendix IV).
6. Guildhall Museum, c. 1600-20.
7. Moorfields, British Museum also Guildhall Museum, c. 1610-40.
8. British Museum, c. 1610-40.
9. Guildhall Museum. Three examples, c. 1620-40.
- 10a and b. Guildhall Museum, b from Bankside, c. 1620-40.
11. Smithfield, British Museum. Polished. c. 1620-40.
12. ec. Edward Carrington, 1634-64, Cripplegate. An early example of the spurred bowl very rarely carrying a mark, c. 1630-40. Cf. dated group from Haberdashers (Fig. 9, B).



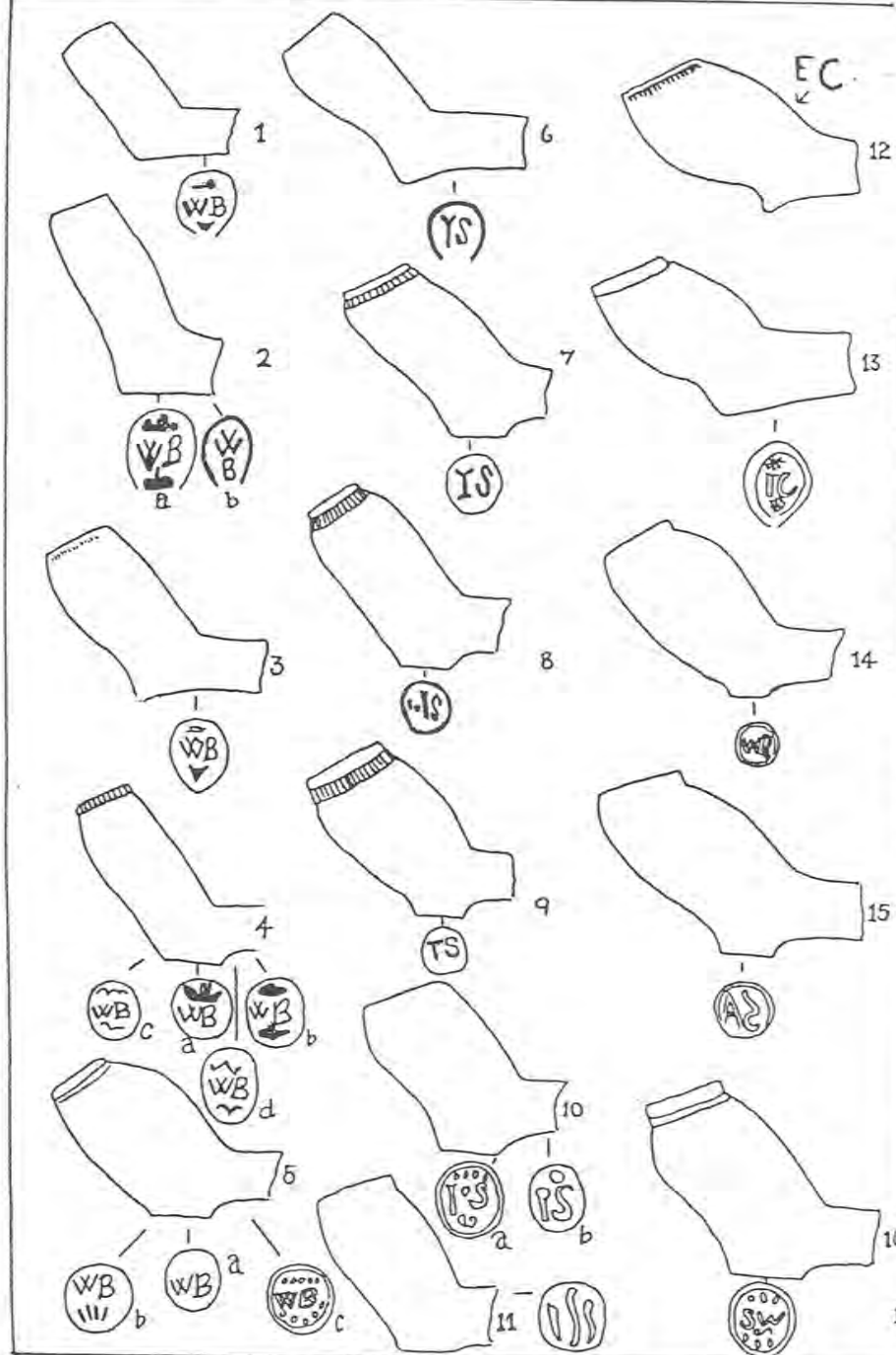


FIG. 4. Marks identified with Makers, c. 1600-60.

13. 10. Seven-pointed star above and below. From a pit at Windsor Court filled after the fire. Probably John Guy, died 1665, Cripplegate, c. 1630-40. See dated group from St. Mary Axe (Fig. 9 c).  
 14. WR. Probably William Richards of Rosemary Lane 1617. Guildhall Museum, c. 1630-40. Also from St. Mary le Bow, c. 1640-50.  
 15. AS. Abraham Shutton, d. 1659, Cripplegate. 1640-50. British Museum. Two others without the reversed S. British Museum, one from Coleman St., c. 1640-60.  
 16. SW. Samuel Willis, d. 1661, Cripplegate. 1650-60. Guildhall Museum. Three examples, varying dies.

## MARKS ON STEMS

## 1. Incuse

Stem marking in London is a rarity until the nineteenth century. On a few small forward-pointing spur types (6 and 8) an incised wheel occurs c. 1600-20. On early c. 1600 flat heel types 2 and 3 diamond patterns occur.

One example of a circular grill of lines, perhaps a wool sack, is known on the side of a stem, near the bowl. The initials sv in monogram, and incuse, are found in a variety of 'heel' pipes, from c. 1620.

A few large bowls with pointed spur, sometimes of the West Country 'Thomas Hunt' type (23) are found in London with a mark on the stem, usually initials only in a heart-shaped frame but occasionally the full name, incuse, in three lines, occurs, e.g. John Greitham (three times) and Thomas Wingrove (twice). Incuse stem marks are lacking in the eighteenth century but reappear as full names and addresses in the nineteenth.

## 2. In relief

Stem stamping in relief does not seem to occur in the first half of the seventeenth century. Infrequent stem marks occur in the latter part of the century on types 20-2. Occasionally marks in diamond-shaped or rectangular frames, with birds and animals, as well as initials appear. Some marks have a scalloped frame or escutcheon with the initials in monogram (Fig. 3, nos. 22, 23, 24, 28, 29).

In the eighteenth century Stephen Hebblewhite who took an apprentice in 1720 put his initials on the stem (Fig. 3, no. 18), but such marks are exceptional until the nineteenth century when with the improvement of mould-making, it became common for full names and addresses to appear on the stems (Fig. 6, nos. 33, 35, 37, 38).

## MARKS ON SPURS (Figs. 5, 6, 9, 10)

The introduction of radically different bowl shapes at the end of the seventeenth century led to the gradual disappearance of the flat base and its replacement by a spur of varying shapes. On this spur the maker's initials were cast in the mould and hence appear in relief.

This type of marking begins about 1680 but is almost general by 1710. Initials are, in London, often surmounted with crowns and occasionally by other symbols such as a cross or rosette. Between 1800 and 1830, the eighteenth-century style broad spur with large serif initials began to be



replaced by smaller, more pointed spurs with smaller serif initials. By the 1840s and 1850s marks were appearing with sans-serif lettering and sometimes the initials in the spur are upright instead of sideways.

Fig. 5. *Identified marks of makers*

17. Thomas Lydell, 1662. A petitioner in Domestic State Papers, c. 1660-80.  
 18. G.D. George Duckett, Freeman 1689. c. 1690-1700.  
 19. M.S. Michael Simpson, an apprentice of the Company, 1694. 1700-20.  
 20, 21, 22. Probably William Manby, Sr. and Jr.; Wm. Sr. was married (et. 48) in 1687 and was still working in St. Botolph's Aldgate, in 1693. No. 20 is probably by him, 21 and 22 by his son, Free 1719.

These pipes occur in the three types figured with plain spur marks, crowned marks, and marks with crown and sunburst. In America, at Colonial Williamsburg, no. 22 is found without the spur with a stamp across the rounded heel. American dates for these pipes run from 1730 to 1765.  
 20. Cuming Museum, Red Cross St., Atkinson Collection uncrowned and crowned (mark a). Kew Gardens, mark (a) surmounted by a cross (Gilbert Collection).  
 21. Guildhall Museum (mark b) Green Coll., uncrowned, Bankside, Atkinson Coll., British Museum, L.C.C. Poplar, Gunnersbury Park Museum. Port Royal (c) Colonial Williamsburg, Louisbourg.  
 22. Gunnersbury Park Museum (c) with the arms of Hanover (see 'Decorated Pipes'). Port Royal with lion passant left and incised letters CR. Louisbourg the same letters read as GR. Omwake<sup>1</sup> considered CR as the mark of Charles Ryley, Free of Chester, 1711, working in London, 1732 (Polls).<sup>1</sup> Walker considers the letters as CR marking George III's coronation. It seems most likely that this is the mark of a maker using the WM mould (see no. 28). Apart from Ryley the other possibility is Gawen Richardson, Free of Chester, 1721, and still working 1747. The lion mark has a resemblance to Chester decorated stems particularly to one from Claverton (per R. C. Wilson). Ryley as a London worker would seem to be the likelier but either way the American dates mean a long working life for all concerned.

CR occurs on pipes of type 25 from New Fresh Wharf (to 1750), Bankside (to 1770), and the Thames, CR plain, with crowns and with crosses (see 'Trade' below).  
 23-5 ER. Edward Randall took an apprentice Robert Bowes, 1719 £5. The Randalls were a family of Bristol makers. E. Randall Sr. Free of Bristol 1668, married 1681, and E. Randall Jr., Free 1699. If the London maker originated from Bristol he must be Randall Jr. who must have moved very soon after 1699 since no. 23 cannot be much later in date than 1700.

23. British Museum, probably London. Similar bowl-shaped Atkinson Coll. marked ER on spur. Guildhall Museum, Bankside, 1690-1720.  
 24. Atkinson Coll., Thames, Battersea. Incuse mark. ER on spur. Guildhall Museum. 4-9 Wood St., 1720-50.  
 25. Guildhall Museum. Two examples. Incuse mark, relief on spur. Another without incuse mark on bowl, Bankside, 1720-50.

These marks on spur and bowl and others like them confirm the practice, which seems invariable, of putting the Christian initial on the left-hand side of the spur when the bowl of the pipe is pointing away from the body. The bowl stamp added after removal from the mould may indicate a son's mark on his father's moulds.

26. S. Wheticker. Samuel Whitaker of St. James, Westminster, died 1697 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills), Guildhall Museum, Cuming Museum (Regents Park), Atkinson Coll., Queenhithe, Brendall Coll., Hyde

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence H. G. Omwake and Adrian Oswald.

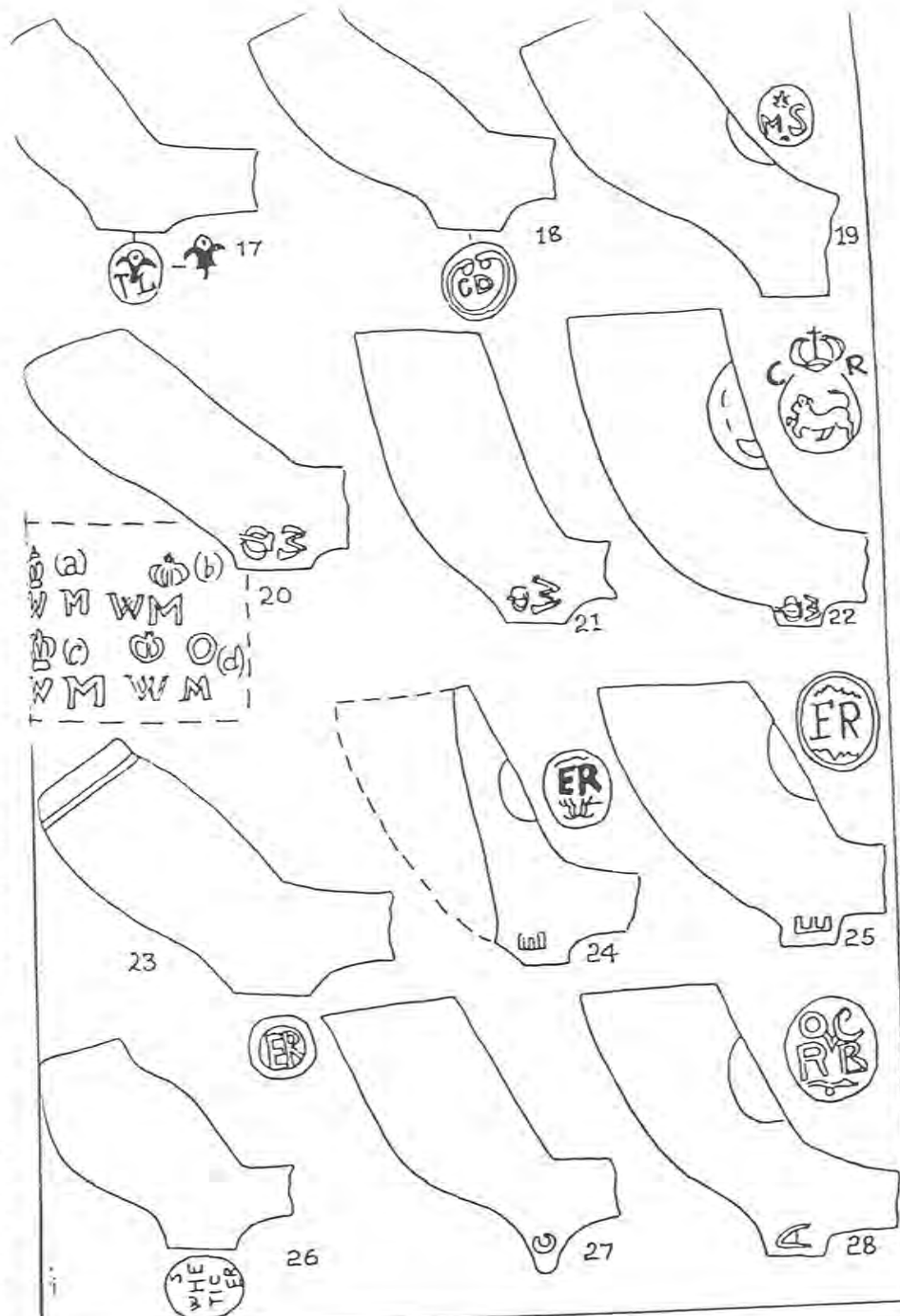


FIG. 5. Marks identified with Makers, c. 1660-1760.

Park. These are pipes of purely West Country types (16 and 17) and show a maker working in London adhering to his West Country fashions.

27. GS on spur. George Stray (Shaw, Stace) Free, London, 1699. Cuming Museum, Bermondsey. Again basically a West Country type (23) which evolves into the London type with large forward-pointing spur (type 26).
28. AH on spur. RB in relief on bowl. Either Abel Horton of Southwark who took John Thorpe apprentice in 1717 or Anthony Haynes, 1722, Cit and Haberdasher whose apprentice was Wm. Delap by turnover. RB, perhaps Richard Bryant, Free 1733, or Robert Baldwin working 1749. An example of a mould with spur marks taken over by another maker. British Museum. A similar re-use occurs on a pipe from Battersea (Atkinson Coll.) stamped SWIN/YARD with the initials J/E on the spur, c. 1840/50 (see *Sussex Notes and Queries*, XVI, 3, 76).

#### UNUSUAL MARKS

Three-letter marks occur in the seventeenth century on the base and back of bowls. While some of these are probably Dutch others would seem to be of London origin and represent husband and wife (see list).

Late in the nineteenth century marks were sometimes stamped on the back of the bowls in indelible ink, particularly for hotels, but few are known from London. A pipe recently found at Brosley from a mould of the Southorn family, c. 1850-1900, bears a rubber stamp on the front in the form of a garter enclosing the word 'OPPOSITE ST. PANCRAS STATION' and, in the centre, 'THE WHITE HART'.

#### THREE-LETTER MARKS

Mark	Type	Date	Place
$\frac{D}{AS}$	Dutch	c. 1630	British Mus., Bragge Coll., London.
$\frac{H}{TA}$	20	c. 1680-1700	Queenhithe (Atkinson Coll.). Back of bowl.
$\frac{I}{CD}$	Dutch	c. 1620	British Mus., Bragge Coll., London.
$\frac{I}{TP}$	Dutch	c. 1650.	British Mus., Bragge Coll., London. Two examples. Fleur-de-lis on stem (not recognized by Friederich).
$\frac{M}{SK}$	12	c. 1660-80	Guildhall Mus., New Fresh Wharf.
$\frac{O}{AS}$	10	c. 1640-60	British Mus., Bragge Coll., London.
$\frac{S}{BC}$	4 and 5	c. 1600-40.	British Mus., London (2); Guildhall Mus. (2); Oakham Castle.
$\frac{T}{RS}$	18	c. 1660-80	British Mus., London (2); Guildhall Mus., Faringdon St.; Queenhithe (Atkinson Coll.); also Battersea Park.
$\frac{W}{IB}$	Dutch	c. 1650.	L.C.C. Coll., London.
$\frac{W}{CE}$	18	c. 1660-80	Gunnery Park Mus., London.

c. 1650-70. British Mus. (Pritchard Coll., Bristol); Guildhall Mus., London; Atkinson Coll.; Harris Coll. (Wills Mus.), London Bridge.

We are indebted to F. W. H. Friederich for information on Dutch pipes.

#### Fig. 6. Identified makers' marks

29. George Benson. N. St. Pentonville, 1802-20. Two types of marks, also made masonic emblems, Prince of Wales feathers, and decorated pipes (no. 47 probably his). A large number of these pipes and kiln material in Guildhall Museum in the Garner Coll. from Southwark.
30. John Smith. Makers of this name were working at various addresses 1809-77. High Holborn, 1817-19. L.C.C. Solander St. 246, High Holborn to 1820. Also Queen's Court.
31. George Clark 1789-1828. 246, High Holborn, 1817-19. L.C.C. Solander St.
32. John Jarman working 1805 (company records). Perhaps the son of Samuel who was apprenticed in 1732. There was a John German working 1749 (Westminster Polls). Guildhall Museum, Plantation House, with other makers first half of the nineteenth century. Atkinson Coll., Queenhithe.
33. John Bishop, Gravesend, working 1817-39. At Old St. in 1832. Cuming Museum, Atkinson Coll., c. 1830-50.
34. 35. James Webb, 1805-56, working Soho, 12 Long Acre, 9 Portland St. 1832-75. Worden St. also Westminster. 34. Atkinson Coll. Similar with stem mark, Long Acre L.C.C. 35. From Lesnes Abbey, Kent, also with the Crystal Palace 1856. Gunnery Park Museum and plain (Soho) Gunnery Park Museum.
36. James Silk, 1 Digby St., Globe Rd., 1862. In shape and angle of bowl essentially a Dutch type. Cuming Museum and one other smaller.
37. John Cornwell, 10 New Rd., St. Georges in the East 1854-68, 104 Cable St., 1869-79, 49 Broad St., Ratcliff, 1880-92. Decoration, a medieval ship and anchor. Possibly a public house pipe, Guildhall Museum from a foundation wall of Billingsgate Market erected 1856. Also Atkinson Coll., Battersea and another with thistles and roses.
38. T. Coomer, North End Rd., Finchley (?). Pipe dated 1851. Guildhall Museum.

#### Fig. 7. Possible public house pipes

39. Lamb and Flag. Blossom's Inn, 1600-20. Mercer's Hall, 1630-50. Guildhall Museum. London Bridge, 1630-50, Will's Museum, Bristol. The Minories, 1620-40, British Museum, London, 1640-60, British Museum.
40. The Running Horse. Guildhall Museum, 1600-20. Mark of horse stamped in relief, rest incised.
41. ?King's Head. British Museum, 1620-40. Head in relief.
42. The Woolpack. Guildhall Museum. Complete pipe. Highly polished, 1620-40. British Museum, 1620-40. Atkinson Coll., relief mark on side of the stem. Also Guildhall Museum, 1630-50.
43. As 42 but a mid-nineteenth-century example. Whitechapel Rd., L.C.C.
44. Fox and Grapes. Gunnery Park Museum, marked P/B. Paul Balme, Mile End Rd., 1832, Gillingham, marked T/C.
45. The Grapes. Gunnery Park Museum, marked T/C. Unmarked, Emerson Race, Southwark, c. 1820-50. Guildhall Museum, marked J/B. Cuming Museum, marked I/C.
46. The Fox and Hounds. Gunnery Park Museum, marked T/H, c. 1820-50.
47. ?The Eagle. Guildhall Museum, marked G/B, 1800-40 (see Fig. 6, no. 29).
48. The Cross Key's. British Museum, c. 1600-40.
49. The Lion. British Museum, c. 1630-50.

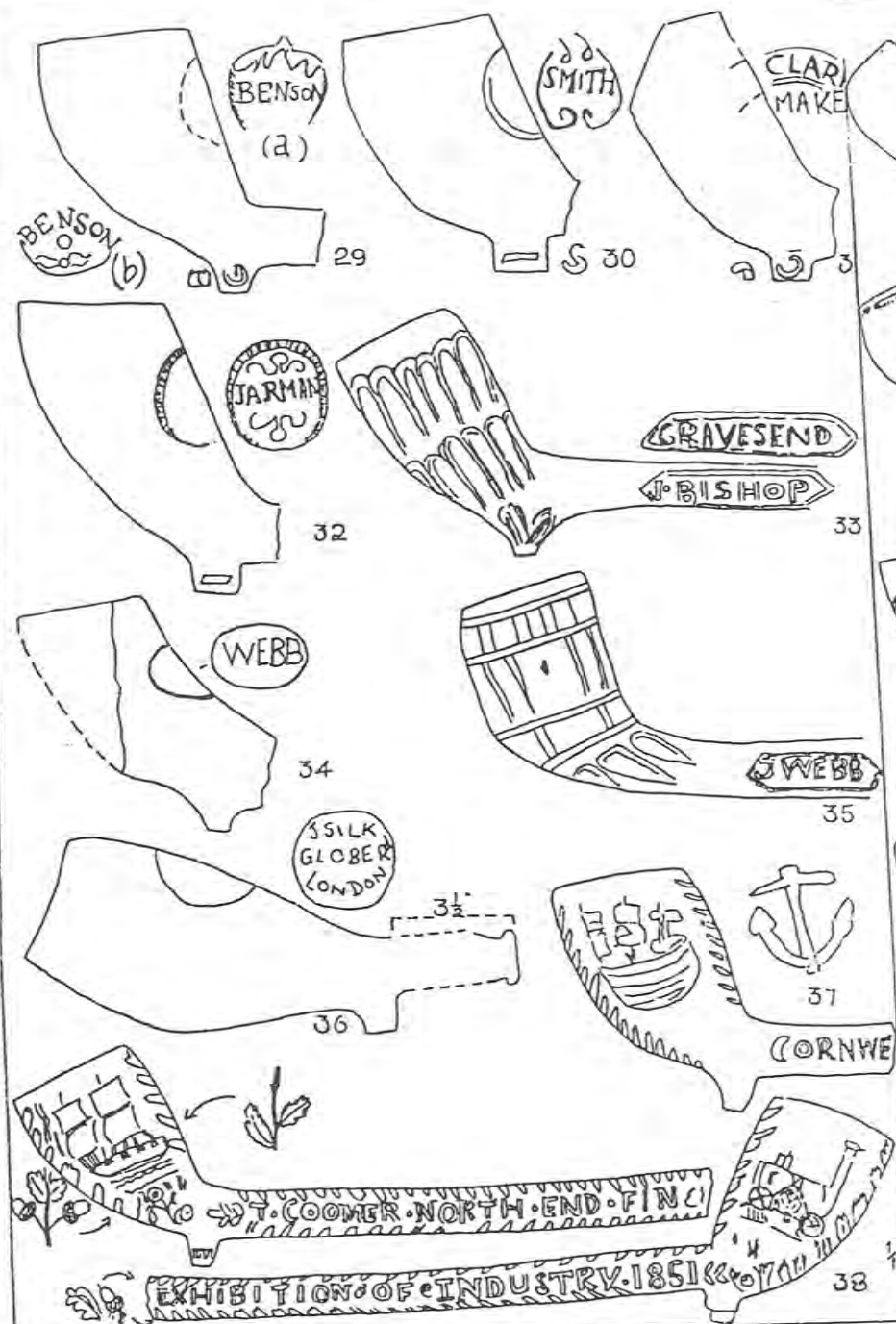


FIG. 6. Marks identified with Makers, c. 1760-1900.

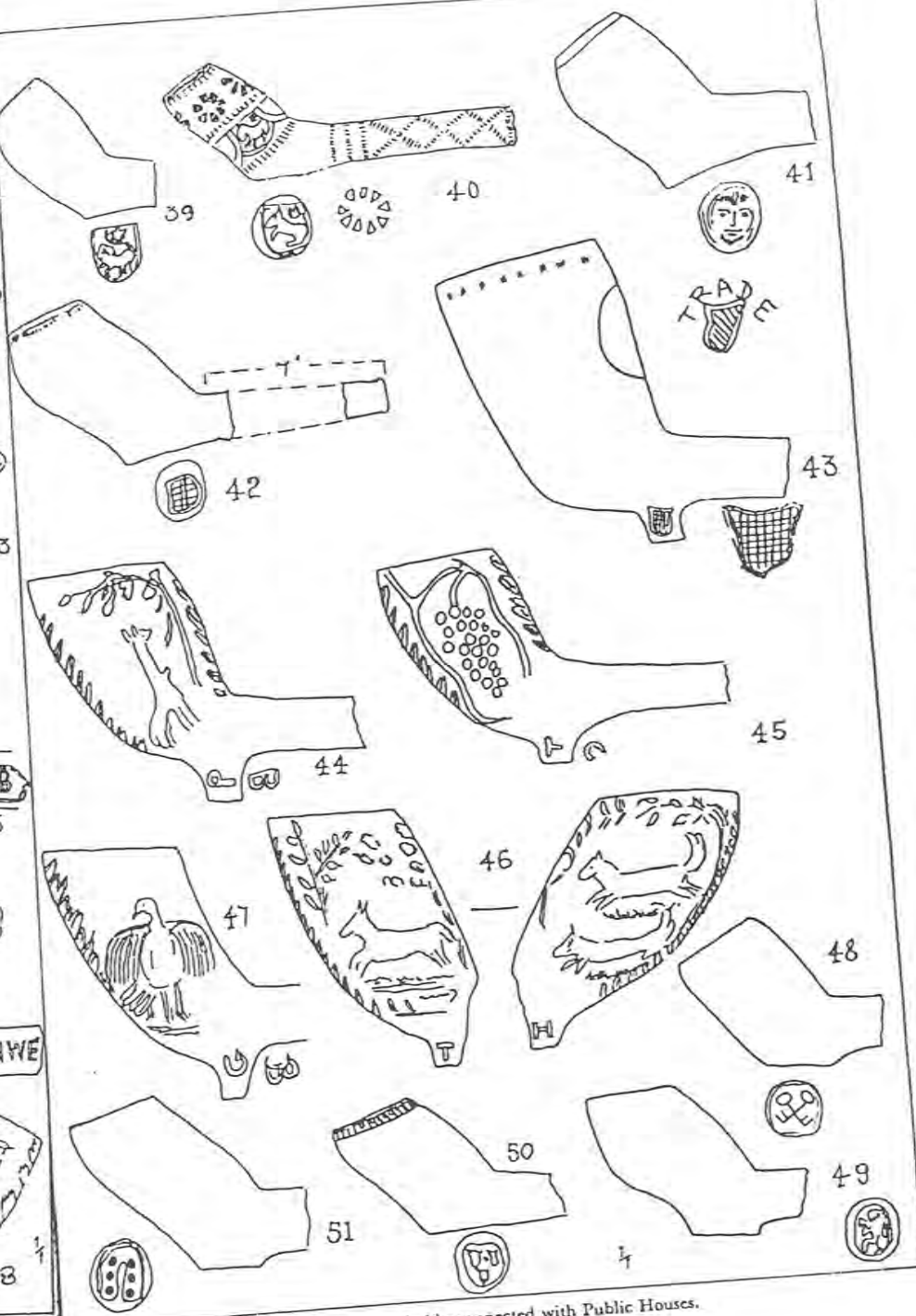


FIG. 7. Pipes probably connected with Public Houses.



50. Three Tuns. Guildhall Museum, 1600-40.  
 51. The Horseshoe. Guildhall Museum, Thames, type 1630-50. Also Rochester and Taunton Museum.

Fig. 8. Unusual marks

52. R. Moore Maker, in relief on sides of bowl. Guildhall Museum, St. Nicholas Acorn, c. 1800-40. The full name on the side of the bowl is very rare except at Bristol, post 1690. Similar marks non-London are Samuel Benbow, Stoncy Stratford, 1684-1709, John Pratt, Taunton, 1791-8.  
 53. SA. 1683. These are the only known dated pipes from London. Maker not known. Atkinson Coll. Queenhithe and also on base of spur. Two more from the Thames, Noel Hume Coll.  
 54. ww. London, British Museum, 1600-40. Long Alley, Moorfields.  
 55. British Museum, 1600-40. Maker uncertain.  
 56. Guildhall Museum. Marks incised by hand. wo on sides of bowl, D or CO on base, c. 1620-40. Maker unknown.  
 57. Gauntlet mark. Guildhall Museum. Complete. 9/64th bore. Scratched on back and sides of bowl before firing ER s or D Regi—. Possibly with reference to Elizabeth I. West Country type c. 1600 or earlier.  
 58. RH on back of bowl. British Museum, c. 1680-1700. Decoration incised by hand before firing, an early example of the later leaf patterns on the mould marks.

## City of London Arms

The use of these arms seem to range in date from c. 1680 onwards.

59. rw. Guildhall Museum, c. 1750. The chequer pattern on the central register is duplicated on type 26 from Nottingham and on stems from Stoncy Stratford and Boston. The maker may be Thomas Wright, apprenticed 1732. The Wright family of Nottingham were making decorated stems in the first half of the eighteenth century.  
 60. TR. Brook House, L.C.C., Gunnersbury Park Museum. Shaped shield, c. 1790-1830. Perhaps Thomas Roscoe working 1799.  
 61. MG. Atkinson Coll., Queenhithe, c. 1680. Probably Moses Gee, Free 1681. Also on base of type 25.  
 62. John Hurst working at Cow Cross St., Bowling St., and St. John's St., Smithfield, 1808-49. Guildhall Museum, Noble St.  
 63. Critchfield family, 30-50 Snowsfield, Bermondsey, working 1828-90.

Fig. 9. Dated groups

- A. Guildhall Museum. ER. 177. From Gateway House with Siegburg ware and early delft. Date range 1580-1620 (wb, see Fig. 4, nos. 1-5).  
 B. Guildhall Museum, Haberdashers site, ER. 59. A pit with pottery containing Wanfried ware and early delft. Date range 1600-30. Stem bore date 1616 (Appendix I). Mark ED unidentified.  
 C. Guildhall Museum, St. Mary Axe, ER. 166. A. From a cess-pit with material, 1620-60. Pre Fire, but probably filled soon after. Stem bore date (Appendix I), 1646.  
 D. Guildhall Museum. Lloyds, Lime St., ER. 87 with pottery and porcelain including delft, a Wan Li plate and porcelain in Late Ming style. Date range c. 1650-80.  
 E. Guildhall Museum. Shoe Lane, ER. 140, with Kang'Si porcelain, Delft and Nevers ware. Date range, 1680-1720. Similar group found at Queenhithe by Atkinson with coins of James II and George I.

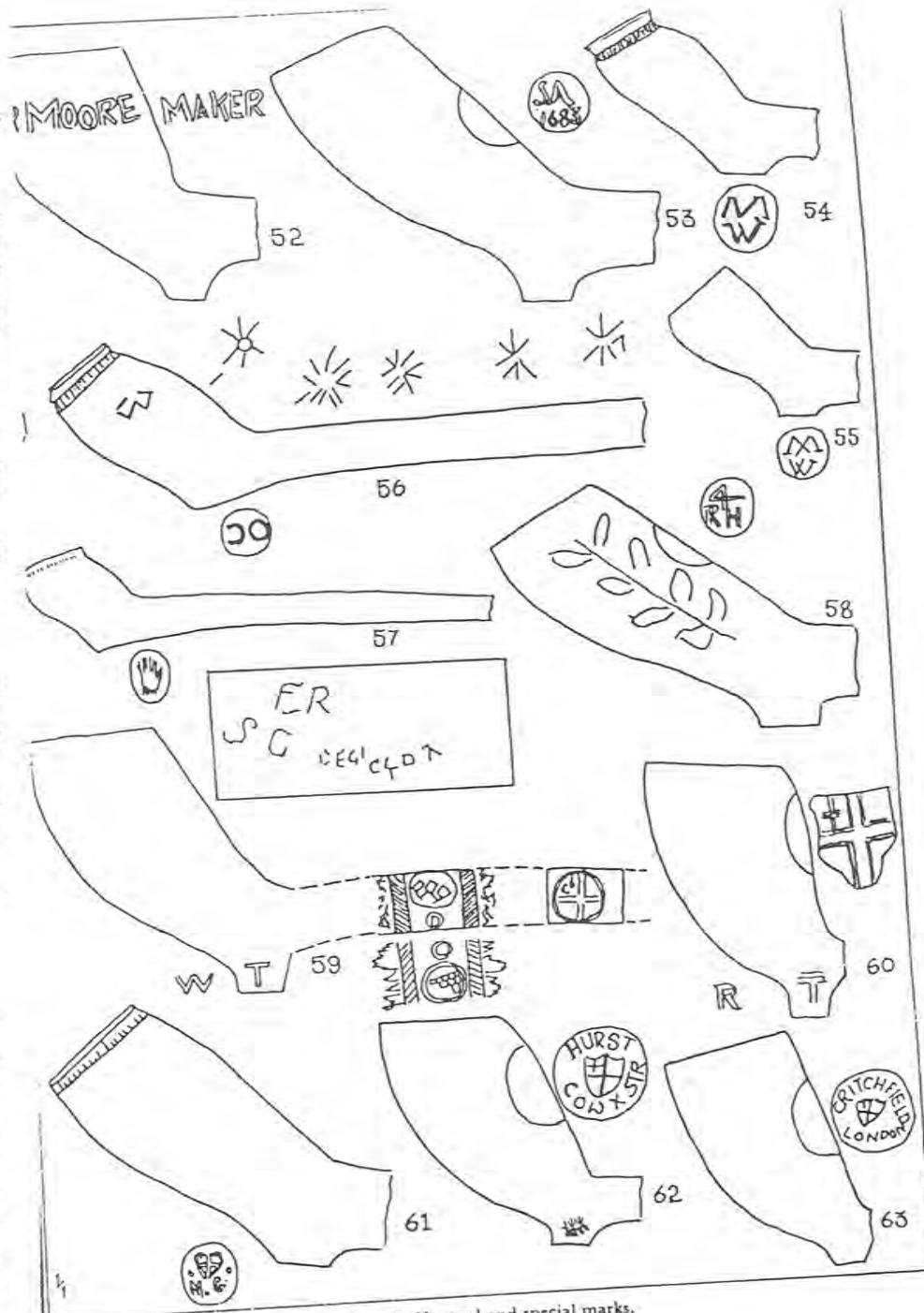


FIG. 8. Unusual and special marks.

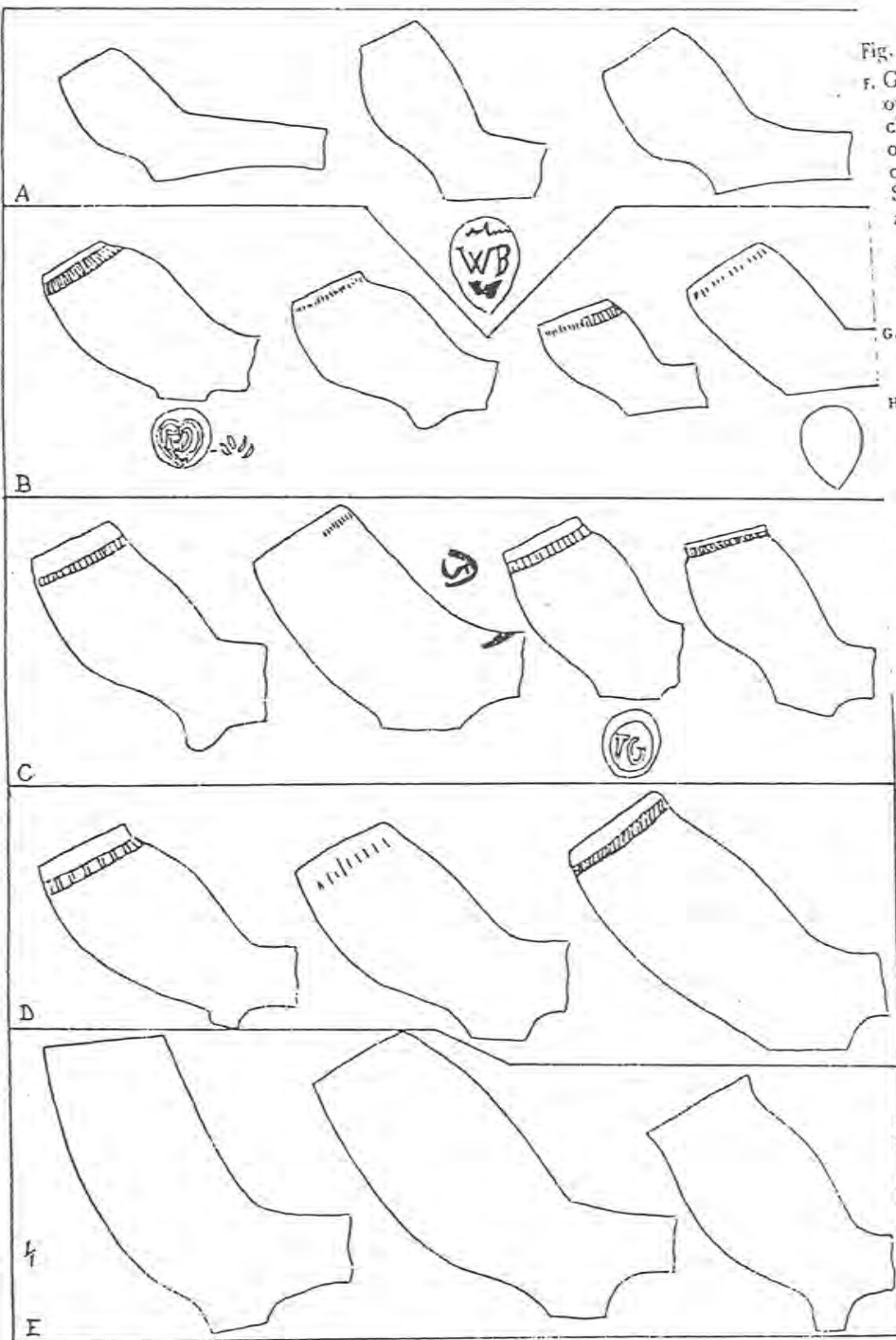


FIG. 9. Pipes from dated groups, 1580-1720.

Fig. 10

f. Guildhall Museum. 4-9 Wood St., ER. 74. The site of Tom's Coffee House, out of business by 1740.<sup>1</sup> The material from filled in pits on the site was clearly the stock of the house, it included quantities of salt glaze and a bottle of Piermont water, a German spa of the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Date range, 1720-50. Identified marks include ms—Michael Simpson, apprentice of the Company 1694, wt perhaps William Jackson apprenticed in 1720, 16 perhaps John German working in 1749.

Details. RB (two examples see decorated pipes), ws with pointed spur maker uncertain. WT (base mark, two examples) maker uncertain. RM Richard Manby Jr., Free 1729. HS probably Henry Skinner, Free in 1703. Complete pipes. HS 13½ and 15½ in. WT 13½ in. MS 13½ in. Two unmarked 14½ and 15½ in. G. Cripplegate Buildings (London Excavation Council) From a well with Chinese porcelain, delft, Nottingham ware, glass, and a worn coin of George II. Date range, 1740-80. GI, George Joscelyn who took an apprentice in 1752. H. Guildhall Museum. Rear of Guildhall, ER. 199. Cess-pit with glass transfer printed ware, black basaltes, and material to c. 1840 including a bottle of Grant's Patent Soda, working 1817-30, 12 Pickett St.

Marked pipes of James Jones, working 1802-40, at 56 Featherstone St., City Rd. His widow working 1841-68 is described in 1858 as an export pipe maker. CD. Charles Dickens working in 1817. The stamp on the rear of the bowl shows an alteration from D to P.

#### DECORATED PIPES

These are rare in the seventeenth century and are mainly confined to London. Patterns were incised by hand, stamped on and created in the mould. Examples of incised patterns are given in Fig. 8, nos. 56 and 58 and of stamped pattern in Fig. 7, no. 40. Stamped patterns of crosses occur on stems of type 2 pipes at Guildhall Museum and there are stamped stems of fleur-de-lis which are probably Dutch. Moulded designs are even rarer although common in Holland. Some found in London are certainly Dutch, such as the pipes with the head of Raleigh facing back along the stem which is shaped as a crocodile with open jaws, and also those with highly baroque decoration.<sup>2</sup> The pipes with the possible faces of Charles I and Henrietta Maria of which three are recorded from London may on the other hand be English and presumably London.<sup>3</sup>

Moulded decoration on bowls and stems began about 1700. In Holland in 1698 makers by decree of the Gouda Company were allowed to decorate bowls and stems with approved designs<sup>4</sup> and about the same date Chester makers started production of elaborate stem decoration incorporating public house signs,<sup>5</sup> with Nottingham following similar courses incorporating the maker's names among the decoration.<sup>6</sup> London, in this development, pursued elaborate decoration of the bowl in preference to the stem, with pipes bearing the Royal arms, City arms, Company arms, Prince of Wales's feathers, masonic emblems, and public house signs.

<sup>1</sup> B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* (1963), p. 586, no. 1363.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum* (Haarlem, 1964), pp. 34 and 45.

<sup>3</sup> Oswald, fig. 21, 19.

<sup>4</sup> G. C. Helbers and D. A. Goedwaagen, *Goudsche Pijpen* (Gouda, 1942), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> G. W. Webster, 'An eighteenth century rubbish pit in Trinity Street, Chester', *Ches. Arch. Soc.*, XLIV (1957).

<sup>6</sup> R. C. Alvey, personal communication.

Fig. 11. *Decorated Pipes. Eighteenth Century*

1. Early type 25. Square spur, initials H/B. Arms corrupt William III. A shield surmounted by a crown. 1q. Cross fleury, 2q. saltire, 3q. harp, 4q. three lions passant guardant. Inescutcheon over-all. Rear of bowl unidentified arms. Woolsacks? Supporters, lion and dragon. Guildhall Museum.
2. Type 25. Square spur, initials H/B (several specimens). Arms of Watermen. Barry wavy argent and azure. On the middle bar a boat and a chief azure charged with two crossed oars between two cushions tasselled. Two dolphin supporters. Crest a dexter arm proper holding an oar erect. 'At a Command of our Superiors.'
3. Pointed spur, Type 26. Initials T/W. Hanoverian arms. Southwark, Garner Coll., Guildhall Museum.

## ROYAL ARMS

These pipes show a very high degree of skill in the mould makers. Their types are 25 (and its variants) and 26 which is the most characteristic. The arms range from an incorrect William III (Fig. 11, no. 1), Anne (scarce), to the Hanoverian and later. The date of origin is, on archaeological grounds, later than the non-Hanoverian arms which must be considered as an anachronism. The examples from 4-9 Wood St. (Fig. 10, F) have a terminal date of c. 1750 but they are typologically later than those with the earlier arms (Fig. 11, 1, 2, etc.). The American evidence is heavily in favour of a post-1750 date, despite the arms of Anne from Revolutionary sites in New York.

They are not common but we have recorded 17 from London, 5 from Sussex, 2 from Notts., and 1 each from Kent, Wilts., Dorset, Devon, Suffolk, and Yorks. There are doubtless others unrecognized in collections. They were clearly a favoured export to America.

The signed bowls yield the initials IA, HB, RB, WB, FC, TC, TH, WM crowned, RN, PR, TS, HT, MT, IW, TW. The multiplicity of these initials among makers makes identification uncertain but the following are possibilities, allowing thirty years working life, Jonathan Adams, Free 1725; Humphrey Bennet, Free 1706; Richard Bryant, Free 1733; William Barns, Free 1729; William Manby Jr., Free 1729 and perhaps the following Sussex makers, Thomas Clarke of Horsham who took an apprentice in 1754; Richard Neeve, Lewes 1777-1818. Finds in Sussex suggest a copying of the London style.

Fig. 12. *Decorated pipes. Eighteenth and early nineteenth century*

1. Type 26, pointed spur. Prince of Wales's feathers. Surmounted by letters F.P. Guildhall Museum. (Many varieties of this type exist.)
2. Type 25, square spur. Initials H/P. Perhaps Humphrey Parbat, working St. George in the East, 1729. Unknown arms with lion left holding a slip over a shield with lion rampant. Guildhall Museum.
3. Type 25, square spur. Initials W/B. Leaves on front, Prince of Wales's feathers. Perhaps William Barns, Free 1729. Guildhall Museum.
4. Type 27, square spur (chipped). Initials I/P (?). Dated 1810. An early commemorative pipe recording Admiral Cochrane's contemporary campaign against naval abuses. Atkinson Coll., Battersea Park.

On the whole the evidence for the beginning of these armorial pipes is about 1730, certainly those with Prince of Wales's feathers and F.P.

FIG. 10. Pipes from dated groups, 1720-1850.



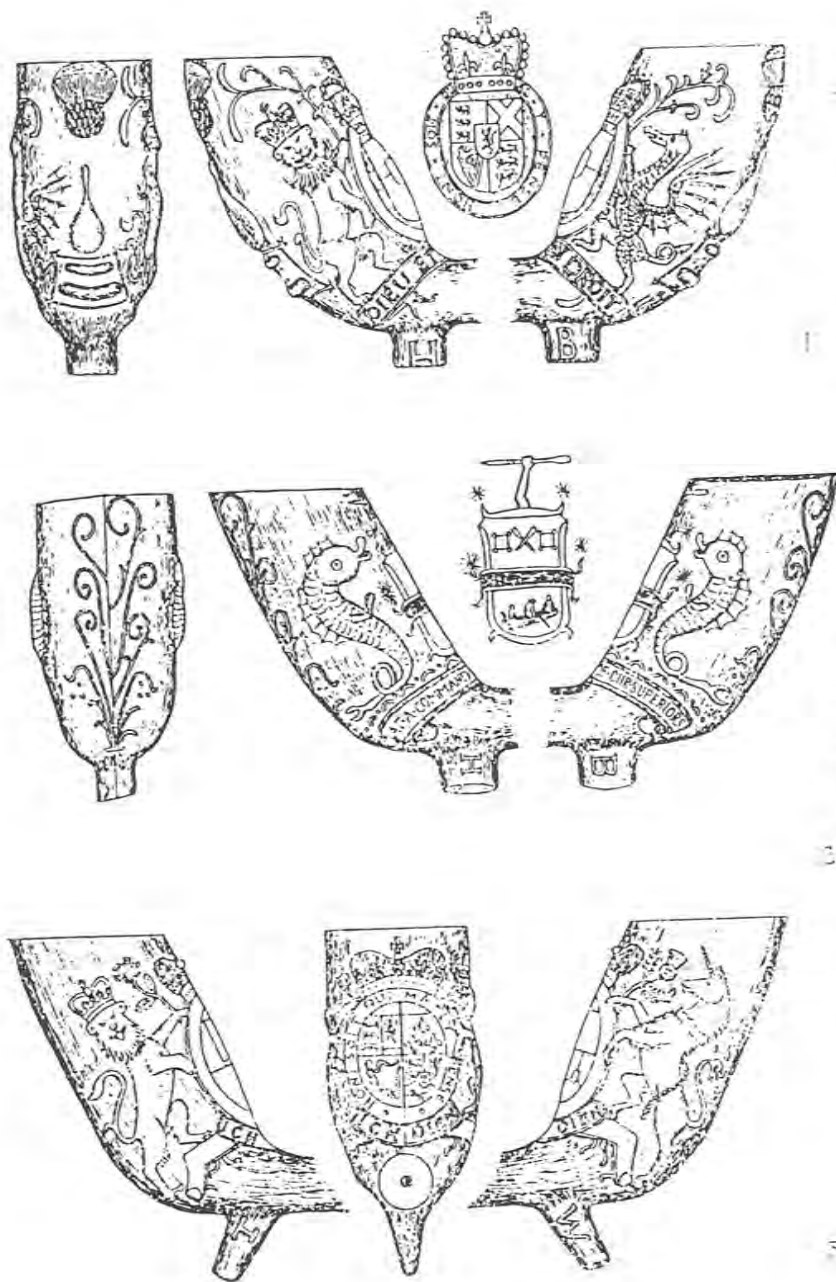


FIG. 11. Decorated pipes.

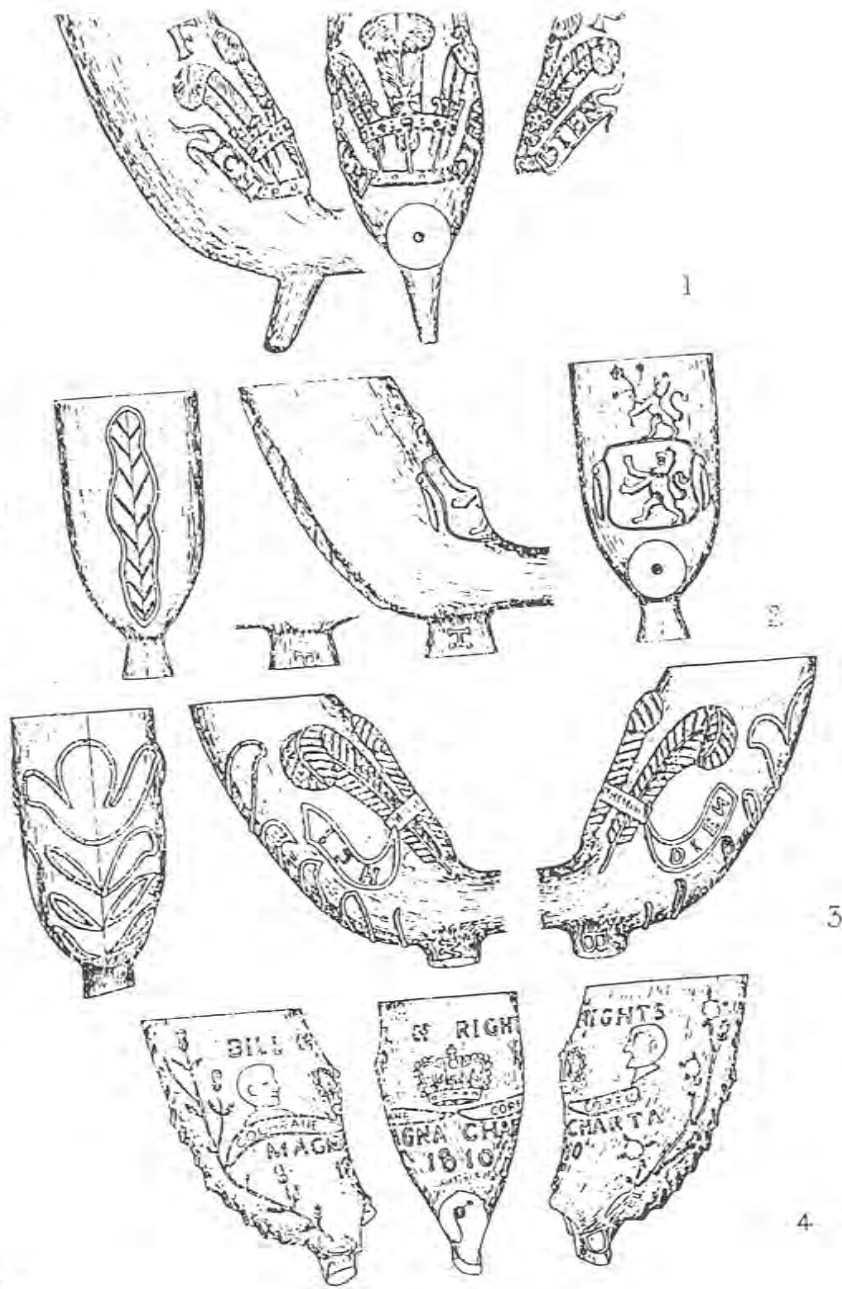


FIG. 12. Decorated pipes.

on the bowl are post 1729. By the end of the century the fashion for them seems to have gone except in a degenerate form.

#### COMPANY ARMS AND OTHERS

These are very rare; they include the Waterman's Company (Fig. 11, no. 2) and the Tobacco Pipe Makers. They presumably represent a special order. Initials are HB, HP (? Humphrey Parbatt working at St. George in the East 1729), ws. types 25 and 26, date as for Royal arms.

There are a few other pipes of figures in eighteenth-century costume supporting arms, carrying banners, and standing and kneeling with a ship between, one has 'Pitt forever' on the bowl. Initials are BA, type 25-TP, type 25, 'Pitt forever'. w? type 25 (two examples) figures with ship, deposit c. 1750.

Lastly there are pipes bearing the Rose and Thistle, sometimes with a crown. These perhaps start about 1780 and continue in degenerate form well into the nineteenth century.

City arms (Fig. 8, nos. 59-63) are not incorporated in the mould. They are not common until the early nineteenth century when they appear to have been adopted by makers outside London, e.g. Richard Willshaw of Bedford working in 1869. They have been found in America at Louisbourg.

There was no Prince of Wales between 1688 and 1714. Frederick Louis was Prince of Wales from 1729 to 1751 and it is likely that the pipes with FP on the bowl refer to him (Fig. 12, no. 1). This would imply that these pipes were not made before 1729. They were made until well into the nineteenth century and are fairly widespread. Types 25, 26, 27, and 28. In America on types 28 and 30 from New York, Fort Stevenson, and Geneser Bay. Initials NA, GB (George Benson, 1809-11, Fig. 6, no. 29), BC, HH, IP, WP, RR (? Robert Robinson, Free 1722) BT (perhaps Ben. Turner, 1749 Polls), HT, IW.

#### MASONIC EMBLEMS (Fig. 13)

The inauguration of the Mother Grand Lodge of Freemasonry of England in 1717 marked the beginning of the vast spread of the Order in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was reflected on pipe bowls with the incorporation of Masonic emblems in the mould. These seem to start in London after 1750 and become widespread and imitated in the nineteenth. Makers noted GB (George Benson, Fig. 6, no. 29) type 27, J. Harr(is), Newington Green, 1832, ws type 26, M. Martin, Woolwich, 1847, type 28, JW type 25.

In the nineteenth century decoration on bowl and stem becomes common. Political motifs occur early, a pipe with a representation of Wilkes is perhaps the earliest (type 26); that figured on Fig. 12, no. 4 is a forerunner of the types which commemorated many causes over the next fifty years.

#### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The designs of the previous century continue although the Royal arms disappear except in a degenerate symbolic form. Some political motifs occur early, e.g. 'Pitt forever'. At least one firm of tobacco pipe mould

makers is recorded for London in the mid-nineteenth century, by which time moulds were made of iron. It is likely that the mould makers could apply pipe makers with a variety of designs which could probably be ordered 'from the catalogue' as it were. During the nineteenth century pipes with almost identical decoration on the stems, including the name, etc., appear from many different towns in the south-east, and districts in London, evidence that the different makers obtained their moulds from the same manufacturer, e.g. Fig. 13.

There is a group of pipes dating to c. 1800-50 which have highly decorated bowls clearly representing public house signs of which the Grapes, the Fox and Grapes, and the Hare and Hounds are the commonest.

By the 1840s every conceivable design was being produced. These included sailing ships, balloons, bicycles, uniforms and regimental badges, heads of famous people, animals, flowers, railway engines, footballers, cricket bats and wickets, etc. There were also what might be termed 'grade 2' designs which doubtless required less skill and were cheaper to produce.

Fig. 13. *Decorated pipes—nineteenth century*

1. Rose and thistle (various forms).
2. Tile decoration (common in the southern counties).
3. Royal and Ancient Order of Buffaloes (many forms).
4. Crowned shield. Fox and Grapes on reverse.
5. A shield with supporters (crude).
6. Masonic emblems (many forms).
7. Irish emblems. Harp, with shamrock on reverse. No spur.
8. The Heart in Hand. Anchor on reverse.
9. Remarkable bowl in the form of a visor from a suit of armour.
10. The Spread Eagle (many forms, especially in Sussex).

Most common are those with simple leaf decoration down the front and back of the bowl. However these leaves are different from those often seen on the earlier eighteenth-century bowls, being finer and more detailed than their earlier, more bold and crude counterparts (Fig. 6, nos. 38, 37).

Later in the nineteenth century pipes were produced with the names of events commemorated, or of people connected with them, moulded on the stem.

#### TRADE AND EXPORT

##### TRADE

##### A. GREAT BRITAIN: DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON PIPES

##### 1. *Seventeenth century*

The early formation of the London company suggests that London had the priority in production of the pipe but there is early indication of local manufacture and it would be unwise to claim a purely London origin for pipes before 1620. Types 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 may perhaps have such a claim but local industries, documented by pipe makers' names existed at Bristol, Canterbury, and Portsmouth by 1620 and by 1640 at Gateshead,

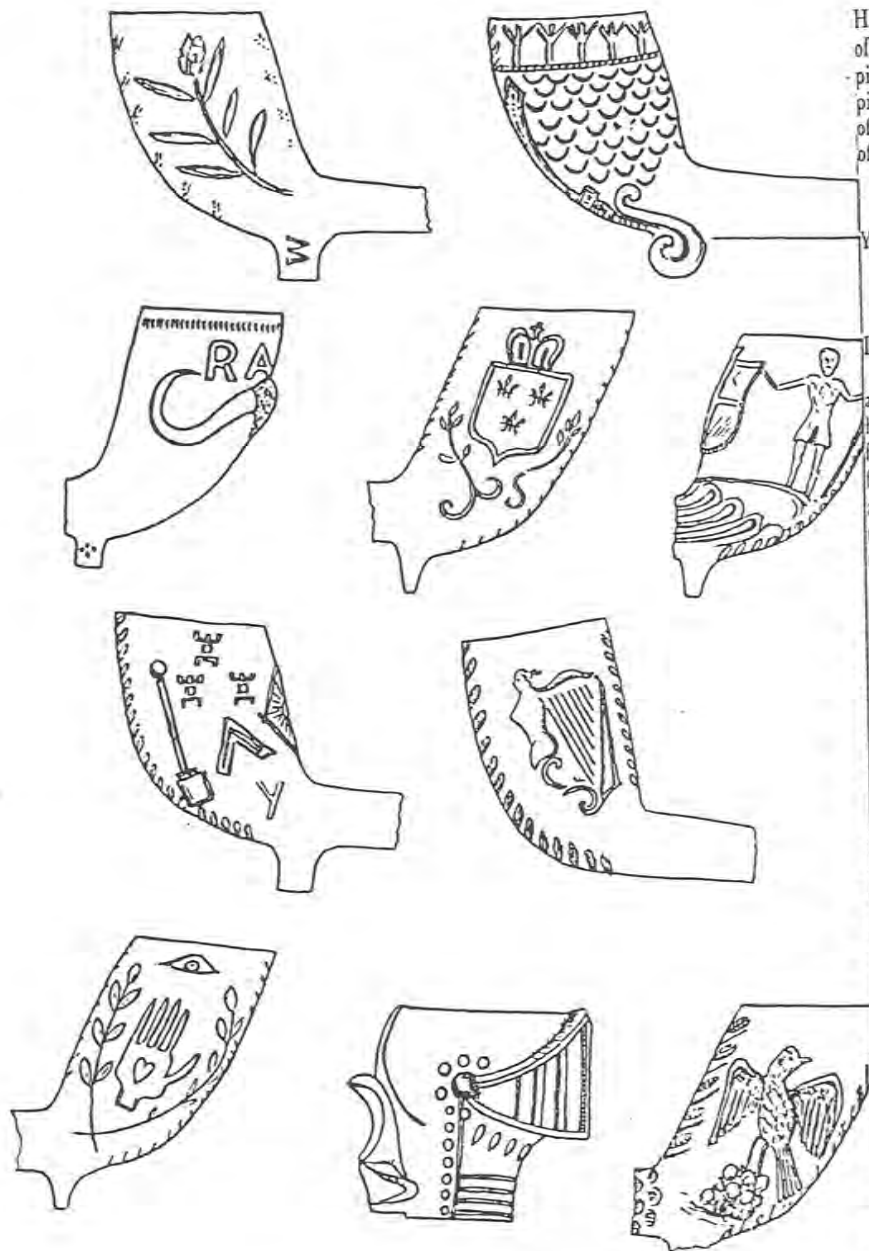


FIG. 13. Decorated pipes—Nineteenth century.

Hull, York, Newcastle under Lyme, Chester, and Broseley. The monopoly of the Company was never fully effective and a wide spread of London pipes is not to be expected after 1640. Parsons has shown that London pipes reached the north-east early in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The paucity of early marks makes the tracing of trade difficult but the following makers of lettered marks have been noted.

wb (Fig. 4, nos. 1-5). Coventry, 1600-40.

bc (Relief mark in types 2, 4, 5). Belfast, Chester, Oakham, Sussex, York, 1600-40.

wl (Fig. 3, no. 4, types 2, 4, 5, 7). Lamport, N. Hants.

wk (relief mark on types 2, 5, 7). Cambridge.

ir (Fig. 3, no. 5, types 2, 3, 4, 5, 7). Bristol, Cambridge, Doncaster, Ledbury, Oakham, Plymouth, Worcester.

sv (Fig. 3, no. 7, 6, c). This unidentified maker stamped on the stem and in some cases the v is over stamped by the s, showing the surname to have started with v. Types 2, 5, 10, and 12 are recorded in some quantity from London, 10 Kenwood, 5 and 10 Nottingham, 10 Fishtoft, 12 Wainfleet and Evesby, Lincs. Then there are many of Parsons types 7, 9, 10, 35, and 38 from a number of Lincolnshire sites.<sup>2</sup> The inference would seem to be a maker with Lincolnshire connections, who moved from London to Lincolnshire, post c. 1665 (see table below).

Types 18, 20, and 22 represent a London development post 1665. With this development came the practice of moulding initials in the side of the base although this is not common until the eighteenth century. The style was rapidly copied locally and it is difficult to distinguish between local makes and London products.

These types are found right up the east coast as far as Northumberland, are quite common in the south-east and along the south coast to Portsmouth, Southampton, and Plymouth and also westward along the Thames Basin. Related types also occur in the Midland counties.

John Holcom of Lewes (died 1699) and Lawrence Geale of Guildford (1689-1730) certainly produced these types; the former's products bearing his initials moulded and the latter's having his name stamped on the stem, but many examples occur outside London with no marking. A pipe stamped i.d. at Clifford's Tower, York, is of this style. The coal trade undoubtedly accounts for the presence of this type in the north-east.

The London influence is also shown in the south-west at this time. Some West Country style pipes from the Taunton area show moulded initials (which did not become standard practice in the west until the nineteenth century) in addition to the traditionally stamped maker's mark or name in full on the base. Some Bristol style pipes of the William III period also have moulded initials on the spur besides the name moulded on the side of the bowl or stamped on the back (Taunton Museum). In Hampshire and west Sussex pipes of the Wiltshire 'Thomas Hunt' type of the early eighteenth century sometimes have initials moulded on the spur in the London fashion, though pipes of this type usually have a name or mark stamped on the stem.

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Parsons, 'The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe in North-East England', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., XLIII (1964).

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. E. Russell and P. Wells, personal communication.



## 2. Eighteenth century

The London practice of moulding initials on both sides of the base or spur of types 23, 25, 26, and 27 was copied over the whole country but the only heavy infiltration from London was in the Home Counties. Apart from moulded initials there is the question of symbols in the same position either on their own or combined with initials. These are illustrated by Atkinson and their concentration is certainly London. It is probable the crowned initials represent London makers for, in any excavation group of this century in London, there is a proportion of these crowned marks. This does not apply elsewhere. What they mean is quite obscure, they perhaps have something to do with the London Company but where makers can be identified they are not all Freemen. If these crowned marks are taken as typical of London makers their distribution in Britain seems to be mainly to the south and east, up the Thames Valley, and up the north-east coast with the coal trade, but as with all the London trade they are comparatively rare outside the capital.

## 3. Nineteenth century

In spite of improved transport local pipes dominate the provincial market but London examples are widespread. Identification is by makers and place names since styles lost their local character, probably due to the introduction of moulds from a few middle makers. The 1850 Post Office Directory for London gives 200 makers. Richard James and Co., 101 Kent St., Borough.

A group of pipes from a site at Wolverton, near Stoney Stratford, well illustrates the wide spread from different manufacturing areas.

These were found in the rubbish of three streets of houses erected in 1838 by the old Midland Railway.<sup>1</sup> Places of origin of the named pipes:

Ireland: Dublin, Cork, Waterford.	3
Bedford	3
London	3
Northampton, Bristol, Birmingham, Walsall, Gloucester	1 each

In brief the London makers never succeeded in penetrating the whole country except perhaps in the half century 1580-1630. Trade outside the city lay with the southern counties, the Thames Valley, and up the east coast.

The reverse picture seems to be the same; there is little infiltration into London from the provinces. Northern types and stamps occur (Figs nos. 11 and 15), some West Country and Bristol stamps are found and a few Broseleys. Dutch pipes are present in the seventeenth century and thereafter. In all cases the proportions of the intruders are minimal.

## B. OVERSEAS (see table below)

The main markets for English pipe makers were the American Colonies. In America excavation of Colonial sites, in particular Jamestown, Colonial Williamsburg, and Louisbourg, has been proceeding on an increasing scale since the war. In the West Indies, what might be termed

suction excavation, has been carried out on the sunken city of Port Royal yielding a mass of artefacts dating in the main to the time of the earthquake of 1692. Detailed studies of the trade patterns of the thousands of pipes from these sites are lacking. At Jamestown where the finds are basically seventeenth century English pipes seem to outnumber the Dutch. In the first half of this century the few pipes which are capable of reasonable identification would seem to originate from London, in the latter half the market seems to have been captured by Bristol makers. At Port Royal about 10 per cent of the initialled bowls are probably of London origin, about 5 per cent Dutch but the vast bulk at the end of the seventeenth century were certainly imported from Bristol. At Louisbourg and Williamsburg in the eighteenth century, the pattern appears to be a little different. At Louisbourg imports of English and Dutch pipes in the earlier part of the century were about equal in proportion. A number of London makers occur. At Williamsburg the Londoners seem to have had a large proportion of the trade. From the 800-odd bowls from the Orr walkway at Captain Orr's dwelling c. 1740 the bulk were of London origin. The spread of the London pipes shows the range of the London trade in the second half of the eighteenth century as does the incidence of crowned initials on the spur.

In the nineteenth century, although London makers, as shown below, are found widely spread in the New World, the impression is that much of the trade had swung to Glasgow. Nineteenth-century London makers have been found in Australia and New Zealand.

TABLE OF LONDON MAKERS IN THE NEW WORLD

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY					
Mark	Type	Place in America	London Collection	Date	Ref.
Spoked wheel	4	Portland Point, New Brunswick	Guildhall Museum British Museum	1631-45	1, 2
Spoked wheel	4	Jame River (Knowles Coll.)	Guildhall Museum (3 examples)	1620-40	1
Spoked wheel	5	"	Atkinson Coll. British Museum Guildhall Museum	1620-40	1
Spoked wheel	7	"	" "		

<sup>1</sup> H. Oak-Rhind, personal communication. Adrian Oswald.

Mark	Type	Place in America	London Collection	Date
HI	20	Claybank, Virginia	Atkinson Coll. (probably Hen. Jacob m. Wapping 1672)	1680-1700
WP	22	"	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum	1680-1700
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY				
<i>Crowned spur marks</i>				
IA	21	Port Royal, West Indies		1680-92
NB	20	" "	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum Nicholas Batchlor, Free	1680-92
TC	21	" "	Atkinson Coll. (uncrowned) Cuming Museum Guildhall Museum	1679
IC		" "		1710-40
TD	25	Williamsburg, Virginia Louisbourg, Canada		c. 1750 Also incised back of bowl
TH	21	Port Royal, West Indies	Atkinson Coll. Prob. Thomas Harris	1681 Warden Tpm. Co. c. 1690-1720
TI	21	" "		c. 1690-1720
WM	21	" "	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum Gunnersbury Park Mus. L.C.C.	
	25	Williamsburg	Wm. Manby Sr., Free Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum ? Wm. Manby Jr., Free	1690 1740-65 1719
	"	Port Royal, West Indies		5
	"	Louisbourg, Canada	These have WM incised back of bowl	c. 1750
	"	Port Royal, West Indies	These have a lion to left and CR on the back of the bowl	post 1750
	"	Louisbourg, Canada	See Figs. 5, 22	7
RP	25	Port Royal	RP on back of bowl	1720-40
AS	"	Williamsburg, Virginia	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum L.C.C.	c. 1700
FS	"	"	Atkinson Coll. British Museum Guildhall Museum	post 1750
	"	Louisbourg, Canada	FS on back of bowl	post 1750
IS	26	Portland Point, New Brunswick	British Museum Guildhall Museum	1 post 1750
Rosette	21/5	Port Royal, West Indies	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum	c. 1690-1720
Rose	25	" "	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum	c. 1720-40
Harp	2	Williamsburg, Virginia	Atkinson Coll. Guildhall Museum	post 1750

Ref.	Armorial pipes	Arms	Place in America	Comment	Ref.
4	Mark TD on top bowl	Hanoverian	Yorktown	2 examples and 2 without TD	10
4	TD on top bowl	Hanoverian	Louisbourg	Large leaves front of bowl. Fragments of others. Considered post 1755	7
	26	(Probably) Anne	Manhattan	Flowers and leaves on front of bowl. Another from New York	9
	26	Ferrylands, Newfoundland			
	26	Hanoverian	Ferrylands, Newfoundland		
	Prob. 25 Spur missing	Uncertain	Portland Point, New Brunswick	Large leaves on front	1 & 2
	24	Hanoverian	Williamsburg, Ravenscroft site		1
	25 or 26 Spur missing	Hanoverian	Port Royal		5

## Colonial Williamsburg (per Dr. I. Noel Hume)

'We have a large number of Royal Arms bowls from Williamsburg, most of them coming from tavern rather than domestic sites. All the arms are Hanoverian and all those found in tightly datable contexts were deposited after c. 1740.'

*Wetherburn's Tavern.* Thirty-four examples. Those from good groups are as follows:

ER. 1001E-9N	Binford dating 1749-97
ER. 1032J-9N	Associated finds post 1750
ER. 1119X-9N	Associated finds post 1740

*Coke-Garrett Site* (John Coke, tavernkeeper). Six examples

All from the same deposit	
ER. 140-27B	Binford dating 1759, other associations c. 1750-70

In addition there are three examples from the recent digging at the James Geddy site (brass-founder, gunsmith, and silversmith, but not tavernkeeper) all from post-1750 contexts. Our collections also include specimens from the Public Gaol, Marot's Ordinary, and the Raleigh Tavern, all of them unfortunately excavated before stratigraphic evidence was used here.

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9. W. L. Calver, 'Historical Clay Pipes', *New York Historical Society Bulletin*, XV, no. 3.
10. A. F. Hopkins, 'A Theory regarding TD Pipes', *Antiques* (Nov. 1937), pp. 234-5.
11. M. Cohn, 'Stuart and Hanover—Heraldic pipes from Revolutionary War sites in New York City', *Pennsylvania Arch.* XXXII (1962), pp. 97-8.

## APPENDIX I

## STEMS

Statistical methods of dating by the diameter of the bores of stems have been advanced in America. They seem valid for large numbers until the end of the eighteenth century. They are based on the assumption that as pipes got larger the bores became narrower. The whole subject has been recently reviewed by Walker<sup>1</sup> and it is clear that the method loses its validity, after c. 1780 with a tendency towards shortening of length, and with test numbers below 900-1000. It has been possible to carry out tests on samples from groups in Guildhall Museum and also to compile a table of lengths (below).

## STEM BORE TESTS

ER. 59. Haberdashers Site. Fig. 9. Pit with pottery including Wanfried ware and early delft to c. 1630.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
10	6	2, 5, 6, 7	1616	1600-40
9	19			
8	38			
7	11			
6	1			
Total	75			

ER. 166a. St. Mary Axe. Fig. 9. Cess-pit with pottery c. 1620-40. Probably a pit sealed after the Fire.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
9	4	3, 4, 5, 8,	1646	1600-60.
8	90	11, 15, 18		
7	133			
Total	227			

ER. 191. Gateway House. With material deposited c. 1665-70. 1640-80

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
8	32	9, 15	1659	
7	170			
6	4			
Total	206			

ER. 288. Farringdon St. With delft, porcelain, and stoneware to c. 1740.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
7	2	17, 21, 22,	1726	1680-1740
6	97	25, 26		
5	131			
Total	230			

ER. 289b. Farringdon St. With pottery including stoneware to c. 1720.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
7	37	18-22	1691	1670-1710
6	94			
5	3			
Total	134			

<sup>1</sup> I. C. Walker, 'Statistical Methods for dating Clay Pipe Fragments', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 1 (1968), 90-101.

ER. 122. Church Alley. Cess-pit with pottery and porcelain to c. 1730.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
8	7	9, 10, 11,	1695	1650-1730
7	62	15, 18, 20,		
6	63	21, 22, 21, 25		
5	19			
4	9			
Total	160			

ER. 122. Church Alley. Cess-pit with pottery and porcelain to c. 1730.

<i>G4ths</i> inch	No.	Types	Binford formula date	Typology date
9	2	21, 22, 25,	1720	1690-1800
8	13	26		
7	17			
6	74			
5	87			
Total	193			

## APPENDIX II

## LENGTHS OF PIPES

Type	Place	Length (inches)	Date
1	British Mus.	1½	pre 1600
2	Guildhall Mus.	3	1580-1600
4	" "	8½	1600-20
5	" "	8½	1610-40
6	" " (2)	7½, 9½	1610-40
8	" "	7½	1610-40
9	" "	10½	1640-60
15	" "	11½	1660-80
15	London Mus.	11½	1660-80
18	Guildhall Mus.	11	1660-80
20	" "	12	1680-1710
22	Thames (Catford)	13½	1680-1710
21	Guildhall Mus. (2)	13½, 14½	1720-50
21½	" " (3)	13½, 14	1700-50
25	" " (2)	13½, 15½	1720-50
25	London Mus.	15	1750-80
26	Guildhall Mus.	13½	1730-50
28	Cuming Mus.	4	post 1850
29	Guildhall Mus.	14	1830-50
29	Cuming Mus., Gunners- bury Park Mus.	4½	1820-50
30	London Mus.	14	post 1850
30	Gunnersbury Park Mus.	4½, 5	1860-90

## APPENDIX III

LIST OF MAKERS ADDITIONAL TO THOSE  
PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED<sup>1</sup>

## Abbreviations to list of makers

Freedom Recs. These consist of the Chamberlain's records of admissions to the Freedom of the City from April 1681 to March 1734. In addition there are some leaves of the Register from January 1668 to January 1669. These records have been searched by J. F. V. Woodman, and he has compiled the

<sup>1</sup> See *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, XXIII (1960), 55-102.



names whose source is given as Freedom Recs. This list supplements the names given by Woodman in the lists published in vol. XXIII (1960), of this *Journal*.

J.F.C. Information from J. F. Chalkley who also compiled the names whose source is given as Stepney P. Regs. and Finsbury Plague Lists (Fins. Pl. L.). Mp. Mainpernor. A surety for the translation of a Freedom from one Company to another.

App. Freedom granted by apprenticeship.

Pat. Freedom granted by patrimony.

m. Date of marriage.

d. Date of death.

bp. Baptism of child.

# LIST OF MAKERS 1600-1800

Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
IA	Austen	Joseph	1675	Cit. and Tpm. Jas. Chapman his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Aldridge	John	1687	Cit. and Clothworker, Wm. Lambe his app.	" "
	Allen	James	1716	App.	" "
SA	Adams	Jonathan	1725	App.	" "
TA	Applebie	Samuel	1724	App.	" "
	Austen	Thomas	1673	Cit. and Haberdasher, I. Usher his app.	" "
WA	Allen	William	1663	Warden. T. P. Co.	Dom. S.P.
AB	Barton	Andrew	1708	App.	Freedom Recs.
BB	Butcher	Benjamin	1726	App.	" "
HB	Blagrove	Henry	c. 1665	Dickens Pl. Aldgate	Token
IB	Browne	John	1681	Father of John (Free, 1689) Tpm. by trade, St. Giles in Fields	Freedom Recs.
	Batchelor	John	1712	Pat.	" "
	Botham	John	1715	App.	" "
	Butler	John	1721	App.	" "
	Baldwin	John	1722	App.	" "
	Bryant	John	1723	App.	" "
MB	Brittaine	Michael	1725	Pat. (s. of Wm.)	" "
NB	Batchlor	Nicholas	1679	Free (f. of John)	" "
RB	Bryant	Richard	1733	App. 1740. Wm. Goulding his app.	" "
WB	Browne	William	1666-77(d.)	Cit. and Tpm. Southwark (m., et. 60, 1676)	App. Rolls Freedom Recs. P. C. C. Wills Vicar Gen. Cant.
	Bate	William	1671	Cit. and Tpm. Ant. Andrews, his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Bates	William	1681	Cit. Jn. Browne his app.	" "
	Baldwin	William	1693	Cit. and Tpm. Jn. Malletat his app.	" "
HC	Barns	William	1729	App.	" "
	Clarke	Humphrey	1657	Cripplelegate	Fins. Pl. L.
	Cornish	Henry	1662	"	"
	Crispe	Henry	c. 1665	Rosemary Lane	Token
	Corderoy	Henry	1713	App.	Freedom Recs.
IC	Cornish	James	1658	Cripplelegate	Fins. Pl. L.
	Court	James	1668	Cit. and Joiner. Pat. Voucher N. Moore. Mp.	Freedom Recs.
	Corderoy	Thomas (2)	1706	App.	" "
	Corderoy	Thomas (3)	1731	App.	" "
	Clealand	Thomas	1711	Cit. T. Simpkins his app.	" "
	Carr	Thomas	1719	App.	" "
	Crawley (or Crossley)	Thomas	1729(d.)	St. George in East	P. Reg.
	Cooper	Thomas	1732	Cit. and Tpm. Pat. voucher for Jn. Pinkard	Freedom Recs.
WG	Collins	William	1686(d.)	Tpm. by trade, Southwark f. of Thomas	Freedom Recs.
	Chesterman	William	1710	Cit. and Tpm. T. Selby his app.	" "
HD	Doubtfire	Henry	1668	Cit. and Tpm. translation from Weaver's Co.	" "
ID	Downton	John	1641(m.)		Stepney P. Recs.
	Dimmocks	James	1698(d.)	Tpm. by trade Bishops-gate f. of John	Freedom Recs.
	Dixon	James	1710	App.	" "
	Davies	John	1717	App.	" "
	Davis	James	1718	App.	" "
ND	Davies	Nicholas	1683	Tpm. by trade, St. Brides f. of John (Free 1690)	" "
RD	Dunston	Robert	1729	App.	" "
UD	Debney	Uriah (1)	1667	Cit. and Blacksmith M. Barber his app. (m. 1675, et. 44)	Vicar Gen. Cant.
	Debney	Uriah (2)	1682	App.	Freedom Recs.
WD	Doubtfire	William (1)	1671	Free f. of Hen. (2) and Wm.	" "
	Doubtfire	William (2)	1720	Pat.	" "
	Delap	William	1730	App.	" "
HE	English	Henry	c. 1665	Southwark Gravel Lane	Token
	Evans	Henry	1716	App.	Freedom Recs.
IE	Ewing	John	c. 1665	Southwark	Token
	Evans	John	1695(m.)	Stepney, widower	P. Regs. St. K. by Tower
	Exall	John	1703	Cit. T. Sands, his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Eldridge (see Aldridge)	John	1719	App.	" "
	Elkington	John	1721	Poplar. date of appship	App. Rolls
	Everitt	James	1731	App. Whitechapel	Freedom Recs.
RE	Evans	Richard	1664	Cripplelegate	Fins. Pl. L.
IF	Foster	John	1640(m.)	Stepney	Stepney P. Regs.

Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
NF	Furgason	Nicholas	1718	App.	Freedom Recs.
SF	Farr	Samuel	1725	Cit. and Whitawer date of appshp.	App. Rolls
TF	Forster	Thomas	1682	Cit. and Tpm. G. Duckett his app.	Freedom Recs.
IG	Greitham	John	c. 1700	Pipe, Queenhithe	Atkinson Coll.
	Giles	John	1711	App.	Freedom Recs.
MG	Gee	Moses	1681	Cit. and Tpm. Wm. Kendall his app.	" "
TG	Goode	Thomas	1641(m.)	Ratcliffe	Stepney P. Regs.
	Greenwood	Thomas	1709	App.	Freedom Recs.
AH	Haynes	Anthony	1722	Cit. and Haberdasher Wm. Delap his app.	" "
HH	Hawkins	Henry	1682	Cit. and Cordwainer, H. Browne his app.	" "
IH	Herford	James	1640(m.)	Stepney	Stepney P. Regs.
	Higgs	John	1687(d.)	St. Giles without Cripplegate. f. of Rich.	Freedom Recs.
	Houldip	John	1687	Cit. S. Price his app.	" "
	Hayes	James	1699	App. s. of Jas. Tpm. by trade. Colchester 1685	" "
	Higgins	James	1704	Warden Tpm. Presents Ric. Steele for Freedom	" "
NH	Hand (previously given as Lande)	Nicholas	1616	Charterhouse Lane	Middx. Sess. Recs.
RH	Humphries	Richard	1662 1684	Warden Tpm. Co. Cit. and Merchant Taylor. J. Humphreys his app.	Dom. S.P. Freedom Recs.
	Hill	Richard	1681	Cit. H. Icum his app.	" "
	Huisman	Richard (Sr.)	1696(d.)	Wapping	P.C.C. Wills
TH	Higgs	Richard	1699	App. (Correction)	Freedom Recs.
	Hutchinson	Thomas	c. 1665	Southwark	Token
	Helme	Thomas	1669(m.)	Shadwell	Stepney P. Regs.
	Harris	Thomas	1681	Warden Tpm. Co. presents Isaac Usher for Freedom	Freedom Recs.
WH	Hanson	Winifred	1686	Widow, T. Collins her app.	" "
	Hanson	William	1688	Cit. and Tpm. J. Holford his widows app.	" "
HI	Icum	Henry	1689	App. f. of Thomas	" "
	Icum	Thomas	1720	Pat.	" "
EJ	Jeffereys	Edward	1699	Cit. and Weaver. T. Wood his app.	" "
GJ	Jones	George	1704	App.	" "
MJ	Jeffereys	Mary	1706	Widow of Edward	" "
RJ	Johnson	Richard	1672	Cit. and Weaver. T. Wild his app.	" "
WJ	Jeffry	Walter	1682	Warden Tpm. Co. presents R. Fellows for freedom	" "
IK	King	John	1689	Cit. S. Slade his app.	" "

Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
IK	Kingsley	James	1708	App.	Freedom Recs.
	King	John	1733	App.	" "
RK	King	Richard	1642(m.)	Stepney	Stepney P. Regs.
			1663	Stoke Newington	Surrey Qu. Sess.
TK	Kenton	Thomas	1692	Cit. and Tpm. T. Wordin his app.	Freedom Recs.
WK	Kendall William	Aron	1688	App.	" "
AL	Lamb	Aron	1670	Free f. of Aron	" "
	Lamb	Aron	1710	Pat.	" "
CL	Long	Christopher	1710	App.	" "
EL	Lawrence	Elizabeth	1704	Widow. Wm. Slade her app.	" "
IL	Lockwood	John	1694	Cit. and Tpm. H. Turner his app.	" "
ML	Langworth	Moses	1712	App.	" "
RL	Lambert	Ralph	1642(m.)	Spitalfields	Stepney P. Regs.
WL	Long	William	1689-1720	Cit. and Tpm. A. Barton his app. Wm. Jackson his app. in 1720	Freedom Recs. App. Rolls
EM	Morrell	Edward	1688	Cit. and Cooper, Jas. Hayes his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Manbey	Edward	1725	App.	" "
HM	Maple	Henry	1639(m.)	Aldgate (correction)	Stepney P. Regs.
	Machell	Henry	1668	Free in Blacksmith's Co. J. Humphreys his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Michill	Henry	1687	Cit. R. Gladham his app.	" "
	Moore	Henry	1689	Cit. J. Horne his app.	" "
NM	Moore	Nathaniel	1668	Cit. and Tpm. by translation from Cooper's Co.	" "
RM	Miles	Richard	1695(d.)	St. Giles Cripplegate	P.C.C. Wills
	Manbey	Richard	1729	Pat. s. of Ric. Free 1701	Freedom Recs.
	Moore	R.	c. 1790	Pipe St. Nicholas Acorn	Guildhall Mus.
TM	Mortimer	Thomas	1689	Redemp. (formerly cited as Mortimer Thomas)	Freedom Recs.
	Mortimer	Thomas	1720	App.	" "
WM	Manby	William (1)	1687 (m. et. 48)	St. Botolph, Aldgate	Vicar. Gen. Cant.
			1690	Free in Merchant Taylor's Co.	Freedom Recs.
	Manby	William (2)	1693	Tpm. by trade f. of Ric.	" "
	Mitchell	William	1719	App.	" "
			1700(m.)	Bermondsey (correction)	St. M. Magd. P. Reg.
IN	Nodwell	John	1668	Cit. and Baker. P. Obbins his app.	Freedom Recs.
	Nodwell	Samuel	1701	Cit. J. Kingsley his app.	" "
WN	Newell	William	1721	App.	" "
HP	Parbatt	Humphrey	1729	St. George in East	J.F.C.
IP	Parsons	John	1644(m.)	Stepney	Stepney P. Reg.
	Pinkard	John	1703	Free f. of John	Freedom Recs.
	Pinkard	John	1732	Pat.	" "
PP	Phelps	Phanuel	1667	St. Margarets,	Vicar Gen. Cant.
			(m. et. 25)	Westminster	" "
	Pinkard	Phillip	1703	App.	Freedom Recs.





Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
IW (cont.)	Wright	John	1675	Cit. and Tpm.	Freedom Recs.
	Webb	James	1721	U. Debney his app. Warden Tpm. Co. presents J. Butler for Freedom	" "
	Ward	John	1718	Redemp.	" "
RW	Walker	Robert	1665	Cripplegate (formerly given as Waite)	Fins. Pl. L.
	Wheeler	Richard	1689	Cit. and Tpm. R. Gladham his app.	Freedom Recs.
SW	Wheticker	Samuel	1697(d.)	St. James Westminster	P.C.C. Wills
TW	Woorden	Thomas	1694	App.	Freedom Recs.
	Wordin	Thomas (1)	1692	Cit. and Tpm. F. of Thomas	" "
	Wordin	Thomas (2)	1700	App.	" "
	Ward	Thomas	1699	Cit. and Blacksmith. J. Mallettrai his app.	" "
	Warner	Thomas	1715	App.	" "
	Wingrove	Thomas	c. 1700	Pipe Queenhithe	Atkinson Coll.
WW	Walton	William	1664	Cripplegate (formerly given as Waller)	Fins. Pl. L.
			1682	Warden Tpm. Co. presents J. Chapman for Freedom	Freedom Recs.
	Whitaker	William	1682	St. Martins in the Fields	Vicar Gen.
	Webb	William	(m. et. 22) 1718	App.	Cant. Freedom Recs.

## LIST OF LONDON TOBACCO PIPE MAKERS 1800-99

This list, compiled by Brian J. Bloice with the assistance of members of the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society, is drawn from all the available directories of the period. In using the list for dating purposes the following point should be noted: the earlier (pre 1840) directories are not as comprehensive in their surveys as the later directories, and the date ranges before 1840 should, therefore, be regarded as median dates. The author accepts all responsibility for the accuracy of this list, and would be interested to hear of any additions from other sources.

\* indicates the maker was at other addresses subsequent to the earliest date shown.

† indicates the maker probably was producing pipes after this date.

N.B. A number of makers will have made pipes other than clays post 1850. There are in addition representatives of foreign manufacturers.

A	ALLEN, WRIGHT & Co.	Piccadilly	1884-92*
A	AMOR & Co.	Victoria Street	1890-2
E	ALEXANDER	Emile	Basinghall St., W.C.
F	ALBERT	F.	1891
G	ANDREWS	George	Devonshire Street
I	AUB	Ignaz T.	Highgate
J	AIRTH	John & Co.	1845*
J	ANDREWS	Joseph	Gt. St. Thomas Apostle
J	ANDREWS	James	1866
L	AHLBORN	Louis	Phoenix Works, Stratford
L	ASHENFORD	Leon	1864
M	ANDREWS	Mrs. Martha	Mill Lane, Deptford
S	APPLEBY	Sam.	1823-8
T	ANDREWS	Thos.	Limchouse
T	ASH	Thos.	1873-6
W	ANDREWS	Wm.	Houndsditch
B	BILTOR & Co.		1860
B	BITTER, STEEL & Co.		Aldersgate Street
			1899
			Nelson St., Deptford
			1857-66
			Old St., St. Luke's
			1809-17
			Golden Lane, Barbican
			1836-48
			Gravel Lane
			1839-45
			Highgate
			1823-8
			Holborn
			1893-9†*
			Saville Pl., Lambeth
			1853-6

A	B	BARKER	Misses A.	Worship Street	1856
A	B	BIRCH	& L.	Weymouth St., New Kent Rd.	1852
A	B	BISHOP	Mrs. A.	Bell Court., Grays Inn Rd.	1854-9*
A	B	BONDON	Alfred.	Devonshire Square	1875
A	B	BOURNE	Aran Jozef	Booth St., Spitalfields	1802-15*
A	B	BUTLER	Ann	Weston St., Bow Common	1892-4
B	B	BURRAGE	Arthur	Paradise St., Grays Inn	1856-62
C	B	BARKER	Benjamin	Whiston St., Haggerston E.	1895-9†*
C	B	BRAUN	Charles	Oxford St., W.1.	1894-9†*
E	B	BACK	Edward	Clark St., Commercial Rd.	1895-9†*
E	B	BELLIS	Edward	Elephant Lane, Rotherhithe	1820-8
E	B	BISHOP	E.	Gloucester St., Hackney Field	1844-69
F	B	BUTLER	Francis	Western St., Bow Common	1875-92
G	B	BALME	George	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1867-76
G	B	BENSON	George	North St., Pentonville	1802-20*
G	B	BLATTER	George & Co.	Green Ter., Clerkenwell	1894
H	B	BAKER	Henry	Little Clarendon St.	1854
H	B	BAKER	Henry Wm.	Ocean St., Stepney	1873-89*
H	B	BISHOP	Mrs. H.	Old St., St. Luke's	1840-8
H	B	BRADSHAW	Henry	Earls Court	1861-6
J	B	BALME	John	High St., Romford	1823-8
J	B	BENSON	John	Kings Head Yard, Lambeth	1854-62
J	B	BIRCH	John	Devonshire St., Mile End Rd.	1857-99†
J	B	BIRCH	John	Black Lion Yard, Whitechapel	1823
J	B	BISHOP	John	West Street, Smithfield	1817-39*
J	B	BOURNE	James	Gt. George St., Bethnal Green	1805-11
J	B	BRIN	Johann	Jewin Street, E.C.	1890-9†
J	B	BRIXEY	John	Horsleydown Rd.	1828-40
J	B	BROOKBANKS	John	Husbands St., Westminster	1832
J	B	BURGES	John	New Peter St., Westminster	1845-54
J	B	BURSTON	James	Limekilns, Greenwich	1805-11
J	B	BUTLER	Joseph	Cottage St., Poplar	1873-7
M	B	BELLAMY	Mary	East St., Lambeth	1839
M	B	BRADLEY	Michael	Tyer St., Lambeth	1877
P	B	BALME	Paul	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1832-54
P	B	BALME	Paul	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1862-6
S	B	BENSON	Susannah	Kings Head Yard, Lambeth	1832-3
S	B	BIRCH	Samuel	Black Lion Yard, Whitechapel	1828-36*
S	B	BLOCK	Solomon	Bridgewater St., Barbican	1886-8
S	B	BROOKBANKS	& Co.		
S	B	BROWN	Sarah	Husband St., Westminster	1836
S	B	BROWN	Sarah	Gt. Peter St., Westminster	1828
T	B	BALME	Thomas	Mile End Rd., Whitechapel	1805-40*
T	B	BALME	Thomas	Romford	1805-11
T	B	BROWN	Thomas	Peter Street, Westminster	1805-11
W	B	BAKER	Wm. Thos.	Pawnall Road, Dalston	1887-90
W	B	BALME	Wm.	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1856-61
W	B	BARKER	Wm.	Worship St., Finsbury	1823-54
W	B	BIRCH	Wm.	Weymouth St., New Kent Rd.	1836-50
W	B	BIRCHALL	Wm.	Elephant Lane, Rotherhithe	1836
W	B	BISHOP	Wm.	Old St., St. Luke's	1856-98
W	B	BISIKER	Wm.	Beale Road East	1882-99†*
W	B	BLAKE	Wm. Thos.	City Road	1873-98*
W	B	BOORMAN	Wm.	Black Lion Yard, Whitechapel	1869
W	B	BOUD	Wm.	Bronda St., Walworth Rd.	1882-99†*
W	B	BROCK	W.	Strouds Vale, King's Cross	1856-64
W	B	BROOKS	Wm.	Henry St., Portland Town	1857
W	B	BROWN	Wm.	St. James Place, Westminster	1805-44*
W	B	BROWN	W. J. & Sons	Bohn St., Stepney	1886-99†*
W	B	BURSTON	Wm.	Lewisham Rd., Greenwich	1828

W B BUSH	Wm. & Co.	High Holborn	1859-62	D DUMERIL & BOUMIER	Basinghall St.	1877
C CARTER & FISHER		Easton St., Spitalfields	1880-2	A D DELACOUR	Nicholl Square, E.C.	1894-97
C CLAMTREE & FITT		Brighton St., Brunswick Sq.	1854	A D DREYFUS	Markwell Lane	1880-92
C CLEMENT & COLLON		Wilson Street, E.C.	1895	A D DUNSTER	Watergate St., Deptford	1887-99†
C CRITCHFIELD & REID		Beale Road	1885	C D DICKENS	Rose Lane, Spitalfields	1817-28
A C CRIPPS	Alexander	Bere Street, Ratcliff	1864-7	E D DELVINGAND	Jewin St., E.C.	1894-9†
A C CRITCHFIELD	Alfred C.	Half Moon St., E.C.	1861-9*	H D DOUBTFIRE	Buttlers Buildings, E. Smithfield	1855
C C CROPP	Charles & Son	Brooksby Walk, Homerton	1856-99†*	J D DAVIS	Dutton St., Cromer St.	1828-32
D C CLUER	Dorothy	Narrow Street, Limehouse	1823-8	J D DEARDON	Bell St., Edgware Rd.	1823-40
E C CHURCH	Ebenezer	North St., Pentonville	1866-94	J D DOUBTFIRE	Little Cherry Garden St.	1839
E C CLEAVE	Elizabeth	Hornsey Lane, Highgate	1805-7	J D DOUBTFIRE	Weymouth St.	1853-8
E C CORNEY	Elizabeth	High Street, Croydon	1809-11	J D DOWNS	Queen St., Chelsea	1858-64
E C CRITCHFIELD	Ernest	Morville Street, Bow, E.	1893	J D DRIVIS	Southampton Buildings, Euston Sq.	1840
F C CANT	Francis	William Street, Westminster	1805-37	J D DUNSTER	King St., Deptford	1854-86
F C CHAPPLE	Frederick	Pall Mall, S.W.	1890-1	R D DODS	Old St., St. Luke's	1856
G C CARVER	George W.	South Place, Finsbury, E.C.	1893	S D DAVIS	Southampton Buildings, Euston Sq.	1844-9
G C CLARKE	George	Queen St., High Holborn	1805-28*	T D DAVIDSON	Queen St., E.C.	1869-82*
G C CLARK	George	New Peter St., Westminster	1870-83	T D DAVIDSON	King William St.	1883-90
G C CRITCHFIELD	George J.	Bethnal Green Road	1870-90*	T D DAVIS	Old Pie St., Westminster	1828
H C CARTER	Hy.	Cheyne Walk, Chelsea	1894-5	T D DUGGEN	Dark Entry Lane, E. Smithfield	1823-8
H C CHRISTOPHER	Hy.	Alama Place, Kilburn	1899	W D DEARDEN	Bell St., Edgware Road	1844-69
H C CLARK	Hannah	Queens Court, Holborn	1832	W D DINKER	Ann St., Mile End, Old Town	1859-62
H C CONROY	Henry	Charles St., Hatton Gardens	1890-9†*	W D DITCHBURN	Edward St., Stepney	1832-45
H C COX	Henry	High Holborn	1837-40	E ELLIOT & REED	Tyer Street, Lambeth	1875-6
H C COX	Mrs. H.	Queens Court, Holborn	1840-53	C E ELLIOTT	Tyer Street, Lambeth	1857-68
J C CARTER	John	Newton St., Holborn	1802-39	G E EDWARDS	Wood St., Bethnal Green	1809-11
J C CHIFFINGS	Joseph	Whitecross St., Cripplegate	1828	G E EVANS	Fish Hill, E.C.	1890
J C CHIFFINGS	Joseph	Blue Anchor Alley, Westminster	1830-59	F FIOLET & AUDEBERT	Wilson Street, E.C.	1885-99†
J C CLAMTREE	Joseph	Brick Street, Piccadilly	1809-11	F FITT & CLAMTREE	Brighton St., Brunswick Sq.	1854
J C CLAMTREE	Joseph	Lyon Street, Caledonian Rd.	1856-65	F FRAENKEL BROS.	Houndsditch	1889-99†
J C CLAMTREE	Joseph	Hereford Street	1837-40	A F FOHRWEISSER	Basinghall Street	1879
J C CLARK	Jas. Jackson	Queens Court, High Holborn	1854-65	A F FRANKAU	Clement's Lane	1864-99†*
J C CLARK	Mrs. J. E.	Queens Court, High Holborn	1866-79	G F FORD	Pickle Herring St.	1808
J C CLUER	John	Commercial Road	1832	H F FROST	Boars Head Yard, Middlesex St.	1836
J C COOK	John	Barnes	1832-52	J F FISCHER	Easton St., Spitalfields	1868-99
J C CORNWELL	John	Cable St., Stepney	1854-92	J F FISHER	Playhouse Yard, Whitecross St.	1832
J C CRITCHFIELD	James	Snows Fields, Bermondsey	1828-94*	J F FORD	Wentworth Place, Mile End	1836-77*
M C CHARLTON	Matthew	Cowcross Street	1800-7	J F FORD	White Horse St., Stepney	1823-65
P C CUNNINGHAM	Peter	Henry St., Portland Town	1832-56	J F FROST	Martin St., Borough Rd.	1836
R C CANT	Rebecca	William St., Whitechapel	1823-37	L F FIOLET	Fore St., Cripplegate	1853-84*
R C COLE	Richard	Golden Lane	1800	L F FRIEDLANDER	Houndsditch	1887-8
R C COOKE	Robert	York Street, Bethnal Green	1836-50	M F FRISCHER	Aldersgate Street, E.C.	1899†
R C CORNEY	Robert	High Street, Croydon	1836-50	N F FITT	Brighton St., Brunswick Sq.	1854*
R C CRITCHFIELD	Richard	Blue Anchor Yard, Westminster	1854	S F FITT	William St., Whitechapel	1839-59
S C CARTER	Samuel	West St., Smithfield	1823-56*	S F FITT	Old Ford Road, Bow, E.	1896-8
S C CHICK	Spencer	Seward St., Goswell Road	1856-76*	S F FORD	Elephant Lane, Rotherhithe	1832
S C CLARK	Samuel	Half Moon St., Bishopsgate	1848-58	T F FITT	Old Ford Road, Bow, E.	1896-8
S C CLARK	Sidney	Queen Street, High Holborn	1880	T F FORD	Cannon St., George St.	1836-53
T C CLARK	Thomas	Bell Street, Edgware	1805-8	W F FISHER	Easton St., Spitalfields	1858-67
T C CLEAVER	Thomas	Hamilton Road, Grove Rd. E.	1893-5	W F FULLER	Snows Fields, Bermondsey	1817
T C COOK	Thomas	Jacobs Street, Dockhead	1836-50	G GAMBIER & CO.	Carter Lane	1865-95
T C COX	Thomas	Queens Court, High Holborn	1836-42	G GORDON & FISHER	Easton St., Spitalfields	1859-66
W C CHURCH	Wm.	Blue Anchor Yard, Bunhill	1848-56	G GRAPPER-DALLOZ	Butler Street	1888-91
W C CLAMTREE	Wm.	Brick St., Piccadilly	1805-7	G GUNZEL & ROSENBERGER	Jewin Crescent	1886-99†
W C CLUER	Wm.	Narrow St., Limehouse	1832-54	A G GISCHON	Noble Street	1874-80*
W C COOK	Wm. G.	Marygold St., Bermondsey	1839-78	A G GORDON	Nags Head Court, Golden Lane	1823-57
W C COPE	Wm.	Woolwich, Kent	1817	A G GROUT	Love Lane, Shadwell	1850-69
W C COWLAND	Wm. Henry	Islington Green North	1893-4	B G GOODBODY	Satchwell Rents	1832-6
W C CRITCHFIELD	Wm. Thos.	Bethnal Green Road	1877-80	D G GISCHON	Carter Lane, Drs. Commons	1862-9
D DAVIS BROS.		Houndsditch	1877	E G GARDNER	Gt. Windmill Street	1823-36

G G	GREENLAND	George	Marygold St., Bermondsey	1832
H G	GOODHALL	H.	Rose Passage, Golden Lane	1846-50
J G	GROUT	Joseph	Love Lane, Shadwell	1849
L G	GREEN	Leander	Kings Head Yard, Lambeth	1864-6
S G	GREENSLAND	Sarah	Dark Entry, E. Smithfields	1805-20
T G	GERRARD	Thos.	Weymouth St., New Kent Rd.	1864-8
W G	GREENLAND	W.	Butchers Row, E. Smithfields	1800-17
H	HYAMS & Co.		Bath St., City Road	1873-80
A H	HENCHER	Mrs. Annie	Hamilton Road E.	1892-9†
A H	HIRD	Arthur & Co.	South St., Finsbury, E.C.	1892
C H	HENSHER	Chas.	Old Ford Road, Bow	1882-93
C H	HOW	Chas.	Union St., Kingsland Road	1890-9†
D H	HILLMAN	D. T.	Brittania St., Grays Inn Rd.	1848-61
E H	HEATH	Edwards	Parker Street, Drury Lane	1880-84
E H	HULETT	Edwin	High Holborn	1859
E H	HURST	Mrs. Eliz.	Bowling St., Clerkenwell	1847-50*
F H	HALL	Fred.	Gt. Windmill Street	1828-32
F H	HOCHAPPEL	Frères	Friday Street	1873
G H	HEDGES	George F.	Holloway Road	1832
G H	HEDGES	George Fred.	Church Row, Pancras Road	1853-65
G H	HOPKINS	George	Redmans Row, Stepney	1868-75
H H	HANDEL	Henry	Noble St., Cheapside, E.C.	1890-5
H H	HENSHER	Henry	Edward Street, Stepney	1848-62
H H	HODGES	Henry	Bow	1828
J H	HAILSTONE	John	Brewhouse St., Bedfordbury	1828-40
J H	HANBY	James	Lt. Gloucester Street	1832
J H	HARRIS	James	Carlisle Place, Lambeth	1832
J H	HARRIS	James	Hamilton St., Wandsworth Rd.	1856-60
J H	HARRIS	John	Wandsworth Road	1840
J H	HARRISON	Jas.	Hanging Sword Alley	1832-6
J H	HAYSLEM	Jas.	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1852-4
J H	HEDGES	John	Spanns Buildings, St. Pancras	1848-9
J H	HEDGES	John	Grays Inn Lane	1805-11
J H	HIGGINS	John	Aldersgate Street	1862-9†*
J H	HILLIARD	James	Cowcross St., W. Smithfield	1850-68
J H	HILLIARD	James	Cowcross St.	1875-83
J H	HOBBS	John	New St., St. Georges East	1828-58
J H	HOPKINS	J.	Redmans Row, Mile End	1839-69
J H	HUDSON	Joseph	Bell St., Edgware Road	1828
J H	HURST	John	Cowcross St., W. Smithfield	1808-49
M H	HAYSLEN	Mrs. M.	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1856
M H	HENSHER	Mrs. Mary	Box Street, Bromley E.	1894-9†
R H	HENSHER	Robert	Mount St., Bethnal Green E.	1897-9†
R H	HOLLAND	Robert	Clarendon St., Tabard St.	1888-99†
R H	HOVENDON	Robert and Sons	City Road	1884-99†*
S H	HECHT	S. & Co.	Hansel Street, E.C.	1890-2
S H	HENCHER	Samuel	Hamilton Road	1890-1
S H	HENSHAW	Samuel	Broad Street, Croydon	1805-11
S H	HILDER	Samuel	High Street, Mile End	1868-99†*
T H	HEDGES	Thos.	Well St., W. Smithfield	1800
T H	HILLIARD	Thos. Joseph	Crosby Row, Bow, S.E.	1899†
W H	HARRISON	Wm.	Bleeding Hart Yard	1848
W H	HARRISON	Wm.	East St., Mile End Road	1860
W H	HEARDSON	Wm. H.	Maze, Tolley Street	1836
W H	HENSHER	Wm.	Wheeler St., Spitalfields	1852-75*
W H	HENSHER	Wm.	Mount St., Bethnal Green	1890-6
W H	HIGGINS	W.	Old Brentford	1840
W H	HURST	Wm. D.	Bowling St., Clerkenwell	1828-46
Y H	HERONEMUS	Yousouf	Shoreditch High Street	1889
I	INDERWICK & Co.		Wardour St., Soho	1886-99†

J I	INDERWICK	John	Princes St., Leicester Sq.	1839
J I	IZOD	Joseph	High St., Hoxton	1862-92*
J	JACKSONS ASBESTOS PIPE CO.		High Holborn	1889-97
J	JACKSON BROS.		Portland St., Soho	1876-83
B J	JACOBS	Benjamin	Portman Place, Globe Rd.	1862-85*
D J	JACKSON	Diana	Ewer St., Borough	1836-46
E J	JACKSON	Edward	George's Row, Lockfields	1839
E J	JACKSON	Edward	New St., Lambeth	1857-99†*
H J	JAMES	Henry	Old Ford Rd., Bow	1886-99†
H J	JONES	H.	Adam St., Bishopsgate	1809-11
H J	JONES	Mrs. H.	Featherstone St., City Rd.	1840-68
H J	JOSEPH	Henry	Houndsditch	1862-73
I J	JACKSON	Isaac	Lilly St., Saffron Hill	1837-40
J J	JARMAN	John	New City Chambers, Bishops Gate St.	1805-47*
J J	JARVIS	James	London	1817
J J	JARVIS	John	London	1817
J J	JEWESTER	John	Kent St., Borough	1806-62
J J	JONES	James	Featherstone St., City Road	1802-40*
M J	JARMAN	Mary	Half Moon St., Bishops St.	1809-37
R J	JENNINGS	R.	Crucifix Lane, Bermondsey	1820
R J	JONES	Richard	Kent Street, Borough	1856
S J	JONES	Samuel	Higlers Lane, Blackfriars	1808
W J	JACOBS	William	Mary St., Stepney	1868
F K	KAPP	Frederick	Dean St., Soho	1873
G K	KEMPTON	George	Beale Rd., Bow	1880-7
G K	KENT	George	Broadwall, Blackfriars	1852-3
J K	KENNEDY	James	Payne St., Copenhagen St.	1880-2
J K	KENT	Joseph	Blue Anchor Alley, Bunhill Row	1845-58*
J K	KOPPENHAGEN	Jas. J. & Co.	Golden Lane, E.C.	1897
J K	KOPPENHAGEN	Joseph	Orford St.	1884-6*
M K	KEENS	Michael	York Place, Limehouse Fields	1836
S K	KNIGHT	Sarah	Snows Fields, Bermondsey	1820
T K	KIDBLE	Thomas	St. Martin le Grand, E.C.	1878
W K	KIDLER	William & Co.	Watling St.	1856-7*
L	LAWRENCE & THOMPSON		Artichoke Row	1852-4
A L	LICHTBLAU	Adolf	St. Mary's Chambers, St. Mary Ave.	1882-91*
H L	LEACH	Benjamin	Black Lion Yard, White-chapel Rd.	1844-7
C L	LANCASTER	Charles	Law St., Tabard St., S.E.	1898-9†
C L	LONGWORTH	Charles	Earls Court, Brompton	1854-60*
F L	LAMBERT	Mrs. E.	High St., Kingsland	1845-50
F L	LERRUN	Felix	Tooley St.	1856-7
H L	LEACH	Mrs. Harriet	Weymouth St., Whitechapel	1868-92*
H L	LEWIS	Mrs. H.	Southampton Buildings, Euston Sq.	1880
J L	LAWRENCE	James	West Smithfield	1805-11
J L	LEACH	John	New St., Horsley Down	1805-39*
J L	LEWIS	James	New St., Horsley Down	1823-32
J L	LEWIS	Julius & Co.	South St., Finsbury	1876
M L	LEACH	Mrs. M.	Black Lion Yard, Whitechapel	1848-68
M L	LODER	Mrs. Mary	Parker St., Drury Lane	1857-8
R L	LODER	Robert	Parker St., Drury Lane	1832-56*
R L	LUNNON	Richard	Collier St., Pentonville	1875-91
S L	LAMBERT	Samuel	Paradise St., Finsbury Sq.	1805-8
S L	LAMBERT	Samuel	Kingsland, Middlesex	1823-88
S L	LEWIS	Samuel	New St., Horsley Down	1800-5
T L	LEACH	Thomas	New St., Horsley Down	1828
T L	LEACH	Thomas	Wm. St., Whitechapel Rd.	1858-67
T L	LEWIS	Thomas	New St., Horsley Down	1823-32
T L	LEWIS	Thomas	Russell St., Bermondsey	1850-4*

W L LANSDOWN	William	Essex St., Kingsland Rd.	1832-48	J P PITT	James	George St., Richmond	1805-11
W L LEACH	William	Bethnal Green Rd.	1854-69	J P PRAC	Joseph	Fore St., E.C.	1894-9†*
W L LEWIS	William I.	Southampton Buildings, Euston Sq.	1881-94*	J P PRATT	Joseph	Love Lane, Shadwell	1828
W L LICKFOLD	William E.	Fox's Lane, Shadwell	1839-56*	J P PUDDIFOOT	Joseph	Old St., St. Lukes	1849-50
M MULLENBACK & THEWALD		Well St., Jewin St.	1887	M P PULLINGER	Mrs. M.	Bell St., Edgware Rd.	1857
C M MAOS	Charles & Co.	Jewin Crescent, E.C.	1885-98	N P POMILL	N. R.	Lower East Smithfield	1800-5
C M MUNDELLA	Carnera & Co.	Park St.	1886	S P PARR	Samuel	Rose Lane, Spitalfields	1832-40
D M McDUGALL	D. & Co.	Philpot Lane, E.C.	1878-92*	S P PARR	Samuell	King Edward St., Mile End, New Town	1856
D M MORTON	David	Kent St., Borough	1823-65*				
G M MORRIS	George	Kent St., Boro	1800	T P PARR	Thomas	Finch St., Mile End, New Town	1839-52*
J M McROY	John	Easton St., Spitalfields	1839-42	T P PEARCE	Thos. Samuel	Latimer St., Stepney	1883-5*
J M MARTIN	Jas.	Cannon St., St. Georges East	1856-89	W P PAYNE	William	John St., Regent St., Lambeth	1869-81
J M MAZET	Joseph Pierre	Monkwell St., E.C.	1875-9	W P PREBBLE	William	Beale Rd., Bow	1882-4
J M MELAN	John Alfred	Shoreditch High St.	1868-75	W P PRONG	William H.	Elephant Lane, Rotherhithe	1864-99†
J M MEYER	J. L. Sons & Co.	Lawrence Lane	1887-99†	R REED & ELLIOT		Tyers Street, Lambeth	1875-6
J M MILSON	John	Brook St., Beale Rd., Bow	1881-99†*	R REID & CRITCHFIELD		Beale Road	1885
J M MINTO	Jas.	Joiner St., Tooley St.	1809-11	R REYNOLDS & BLAKE		City Road	1867-9
J M MORGAN	John	Pump Alley, Bunhill Row	1832	A R REYNOLDS	Alfred	Cottage St., Poplar High St.	1878
J M MOULD	James	Newton St., Holborn	1802-4	C R RUSSELL	Charles	Hague St., Bethnal Green	1856-82
J M MOULD	John	Cross Lane, Drury Lane	1800	C R RUSSELL	Mrs. Caroline	Hague St., Bethnal Green	1883-4
P M MORRIS	Philip	Mile End Rd., E.	1892-3	E R ROPER	Elizabeth	Carlisle St., Lambeth	1839-45
R M MORGAN	Mrs. R.	Pickering St., Islington	1867-9	E R ROACH	Edmund	Featherstone Street	1859-99†*
WM MILLER	William	Seward St., Goswell St.	1848-9	F R ROTH	Fred. J.	South St., Finsbury	1879
WM MORGAN	W.	Rennington St., St. Georges	1867	F R ROTHALD	F.	Little Britain, E.C.	1890-1
N NALDER & BRADBURY		Earls Court, Old Brompton, S.W.	1860	H R REDDING	Henry	Pear Tree Street, Goswell	1883-9†
A N NATHAN	Alfred Jerrold & Co.	King William St., E.C.	1893	H R REID	Henry	Payne St., Copenhagen Street	1883-9
A N NOAR	A. & Co.	Aldgate Ave., Aldgate High St.	1892-3	H R REYNOLDS	H. E.	Old Ford Road, Bow	1883-99†
J N NEEDHAM	James	Martins St., Friar St.	1832	J R ROPER	Joseph	Anderson Buildings	1828-82
J N NEEDHAM	John	London	1808	J R ROSCOE	James	Carlisle Str., Lambeth	1836-7
S N NATTON	Sebastian	Fell St., Wood St.	1888-95	J R RUSSEL	James	Stratford, Essex	1809-11
A O OAKLEY	Alfred	Blue Anchor Alley, Bunhill Row, St. Lukes	1858	M R ROSE	Mrs. Mary	Green Bank, St. Georges East	1823-32
A O OAKLEY	Mrs. Amelia	Blue Anchor Alley	1850-7	R R REDWIN	Rodney	Brady Street	1885
A O OPPENHEIMER	A. & G.	Hamsell St., E.C.	1896-9†	R R RYDER	Richard	Little Clevedon St., Somers Town	1845-52
D O ORE	Mrs. Diana	Ewer St., Union St., Boro	1873-5	S R ROSE	Samuel	Upper Fore St., Lambeth	1844-56
J O ORE	John	Ewer St., Union St., Boro	1847-99†*	T R REEVE	Thomas	Brady Street, E.	1876-84
J O ORE	Joseph	Tabard St., Boro	1876-82	T R RODGERS	Thomas J.	Flask Walk, Hampstead	1828
J O OSBORNE	Mrs. Jane	Bethnal Green Rd.	1839-53*	T R RUSCOE	Thomas	City Road, E.C.	1899†
R O OSBORNE	Robert	Webb St., Shoreditch	1836-45*	T R RUSSEL	Thomas	Narrow Street, Limehouse	1800-7
W O OKELEY	William	Mount Square, Liverpool Rd.	1836	W R ROGERS	William H.	Green Bank, St. Georges	1808
P PAULTHORPE & WILMER		Little Windmill St.	1853-4	W R RUSCOE	William	Bentick St., Soho	1873-4
A P POSENER	Adolph & Co.	Mansell St.	1878-99†	S SCHROEDER, ADSHEAD & Co.		Bow, Middlesex	1805-11
A P PRATT	Ann	Love Lane, Stockwell	1832-6	S SNELLING BROS.		Fore Street, E.C.	1893
D P POSENER	David & Co.	Mansell St.	1866-94*	S SPILLER & BRUDER		Houndsditch	1873-4
D P PULLINGER	Daniel	Bell St., Edgware Rd.	1858-60	S STEEL, BRITTER & Co.		Fore Street, E.C.	1892-3
E P PIKE	Mrs. Eliz.	Lovegrove St., Old Kent Rd.	1880-98	S STEWARD		Saville Place, Lambeth	1853-7
E P POPE	Edward Peter	Globe Rd., E.	1894	S STONTREN & BECKER		Crucifix Lane, Peckham	1809-11
E P POTTS	E. D.	Albany Place, Queens Rd., Hornsey Rd.	1856-69	A S SILVEY	Mrs. Ann	Falcon Avenue, E.C.	1893-9†
G P PAYNE	George	Castle St., Saffron Hill	1852-87*	A S SLEEP	Alfred	Bell Street, Edgware	1875-81
G P PHILLIPS	George & Co.	Holborn Hill	1836-56*	C S SHIPWAY	Mrs. Cath.	Bermondsey Street, S.E.	1899†
G P PULLINGER	George	Bell St., Edgware Rd.	1828-77*	E S SPARKES	Eliz.	John Street, Dockhead	1844-58
H P PITTMAN	Henry	Stepney Green	1864-8	E S SPAULL	Mrs. Eliz.	Wellington Terrace, Waterloo	1836
H P POWELL	Henry	Gt. Peter St., Westminster	1820-8	F S SHUTZE	Fred.	Westcott St., Tabard Street	1880-99†
H P PUDDIFOOT	Mrs. H.	Old St., St. Lukes	1852-4	F S SNELLING	Francis & Son	Gt. Turnstile	1864-9
I P PODMORE	Isaac	Carlisle St., Lambeth	1846-62	F S STAFFORD	Frank	Farringdon St., E.C.1	1860-9*
J P PAYNE	John	Gt. Windmill St.	1800-11	F S STONE	Fraser	Holborn Circus, E.C.	1893
J P PERRY	James	Shaftesbury St., North Rd.	1861-2	G S SHIFFARD	George	Nowell's Buildings, Liverpool Rd.	1833-85
J P PEZET	Julius Louis	Jewin St., E.C.	1896-96	G S SIMON	Gebrueder	Old Rochester Row, S.W.	1892-9†
				G S SMITH	George	Lawrence Lane, E.	1889-92
				G S SWINYARD	George J.	Greek Street, Soho	1889-90
				H S SILK	Mrs. Harriet	Phillip St., Kingsland Rd.	1873-7
						Digby Street, Globe Road	1864-95*



H S	SILK	Henry	Usher Road, Bow	1884-5
H S	SKINNER	Henry	Samford St., Marylebone	1856-76
H S	STRUTT	Henry	Ocean St., Stepney	1854
I S	SEARLE	Isaac	Shepherds Bush	1828
I S	SMITH	Isaac	Granby Street, Waterloo Rd.	1868-95*
J S	SILK	James	Digby Street, Globe Road	1862
J S	SILVEY	Joseph	Bell Street, Edgware Road	1873-4
J S	SMITH	Jas.	Lt. Clarendon St., Somers Town	1832-54*
J S	SMITH	John	Meeting House Lane, Peckham	1809-11
J S	SMITH	John	Hillingdon End, Uxbridge	1828
J S	SMITH	John	Brewhouse Court, Bedfordbury	1828
J S	SMITH	John	Green Bank, Wapping	1844-62
J S	SMITH	John	Old Ford Road	1867-77
J S	STEEL	James	Bunton St., Mile End	1884-99†
J S	STOCKTON	Jas.	Seward St., Goswell Road	1850-9
J S	STONE	John	Liverpool Road	1886-99†
J S	STRUTT	Jas.	Ocean Street, Stepney	1856-76
J S	STRUTTON	Jas.	Church Row, Stepney	1873-8
J S	STYLES	Jas. Jn.	Burne Street, Edgware Rd.	1879-85
J S	SWINYARD	Jas.	Hooper St., Westminster Rd.	1828-54
M S	SMITH	Mrs. Mary	Law Street, Tabard St., S.E.	1896-7
P S	SWANN	Phillis	Chapel Street, Grub St.	1828
R S	SIX	Rondolph	King Street, Soho	1864-81
R S	SMITH	Richard Jun.	Gifford St., Caledonian Rd.	1898-9†
R S	SMITH	Richard	Upper Gifford St.	1868-99†
T S	SCOURFIELD	T. H.	Whitechapel Rd., Whitechapel	1805-39
T S	SHIPWAY	Thos.	John Street, Dockhead	1832-40
T S	SMITH	Thos.	Turk Street, Bethnal Green	1873-4
T S	SWINYARD	T. G.	Gardiners Lane, Westminster	1836-53
W S	SMITH	Wm.	Old Rochester Row	1865
W S	SMITH	Wm.	Greek Street, Soho	1892-9†
W S	SQUALFIELD	Wm.	Whitechapel Road	1800-5
W S	SUTTON	Wm.	Ratcliff Highway	1836
W S	SWINYARD	Wm.	Quarry, Guildford	1832
T	THOMPSON & LAWRENCE		Artichoke Row	1852-4
T	TRIPLEX PIPE MANF. CO.		Cecil Court, Charing Cross Rd.	1895
T	TROMBONE PIPE CO. LTD		Wool Exchange, E.C.	1895-7
A T	TREBITSCH	Arnold	Jewin Crescent	1888-95
E T	TINGLEY	Mrs. Eliz.	Lovegrove St., Old Kent Rd.	1889-9†
E T	TOPLIS	Edward	Shoreditch	1836
G T	TALBOT	George	Willow Walk	1864-9
G T	THORNTON	George	Tash St., Grays Inn Lane	1809-11
H T	THEIM	Hermann	Milton St., E.C.	1894-9†
H T	TINGLEY	Henry	Lovegrove St., Old Kent Rd.	1856-80
H T	TOWN	Henry Wm.	Union St., Borough	1854
H T	TURNER	Henry	East St., Globe Fields, N.E.	1861-74*
J T	TAYLOR	John	Wood Str., Cromer Street	1844-8
J T	TINGLEY	Joseph	Lovegrove Street, Old Kent Rd.	1887-8
L T	TESTER	Lydia	Little Grays Inn Lane	1832-40
R T	THOMAS	R. & Co.	Gracechurch Street	1890-2*
S T	TESTER	Sam.	Little Grays Inn Lane	1828
T T	TAYLER	Thomas	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1877-83
T T	TAYLOR	Thomas	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1836-75
W T	THOMPSON	William	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1845-50
W T	THORNTON	William	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1823-54
W T	TURNER	William	Fleet St., Bethnal Green	1856-78*
S U	UNGER	Solomon & Son	Mansell Street, E.	1859-60
J V	VINING	James	Stamford St., Portman Market	1836
T V	VISING	Thomas	Devonshire St., Up. Kennington Lane	1874

W	WARDLE & HANNAN	Euston Rd.	1862-9
W	WETZLER FRÈRES	Basinghall St.	1874-84*
W	WETZLER & HAAS	Castle St., Falcon Sq.	1883-9†
W	WILMER & PAILTHORPE	Little Windmill St.	1853-4
A W	WEBB Ann	Hungerford Market, Strand	1823-8
C W	WADDINGTON Charlotte	East St., Walworth	1836
C W	WOELLHAF Christian	Barnsbury Rd.	1888-99†
D W	WILSON Daniel	Little Arthur St., Golden Lane	1828
E W	WANNELL Edwin	Albert Place, Ferry Rd.	1854
E W	WOODROFFE Elizabeth	Old St., St. Lukes	1820-3
F W	WALKER Fred. F.	Upper Marylebone St.	1836
G W	WARD George	Cremone Rd., Chelsea	1864-93*
G W	WEBB George	Hungerford Stairs, Strand	1805-28*
G W	WELLSTEAD George	Grange Rd., Bermondsey	1864-7
G W	WHEELER George R. T.	Newton St., Holborn	1842-66
G W	WRIGHT George	Usher St., Bow	1882-3
H W	WHITE Henry	New Rd., St. Georges	1859-62
H W	WICKSTEAD Henry	Theobalds Rd.	1836
H W	WILLIAMS Harriet	Brighton Place, Waterloo Rd.	1836
J W	WARD Mrs. Jane	Davis Place, Chelsea	1847-62*
J W	WARING Joshua	Little Windmill St.	1866-8
J W	WATTS John	Parker St., Drury Lane	1828
J W	WEBB James	Portland St., Wardour St.	1832-75
J W	WEEKS James	Anchor Court, Old St.	1820
J W	WILLIAMS John	Kent St., Borough	1828-42
J W	WOLFE John	Canadine Buildings, Westminster	1836
J W	WOODROFFE James	Old St., St. Lukes	1800-17
J W	WOODROFFE Jane	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1856-7
J W	WOODROFFE John	Vinegar Yard, St. Giles	1832-7
L W	WEINTRAUB L.	Forc St., E.C.	1896
M W	WEEDS Mary A.	Portland Place, Borough Rd.	1832-6
P W	WEBB Paul	Peters St., Westminster	1805-11
S W	WALKER Samuel	Wheeler St., Spitalfields	1823-39
S W	WATSON Sarah	New Kent Rd.	1836
S W	WHEELER Mrs. S.	Newton St., Holborn	1867-9
S W	WILKINSON Samuel	Pickering St., Islington	1873-9†
S W	WOODROFFE Sarah	Vinegar Yard, Long Acre	1836
T W	WARD Thomas	Church St., Chelsea	1852-79
T W	WILLIAMS Thomas	Walker St., Poplar	1882-94*
T W	WOODWARD Thomas	Globe Rd., Bethnal Green	1848-73*
T W	WOOTEN Thomas	Park St., Southwark	1820-46
W W	WALKER William G.	Wheeler St., Spitalfields	1837-60*
W W	WARD William	Brewers Court, Bedfordbury	1832-50
W W	WATSON William	Silver St., Lemans Pond	1809-11
W W	WEEKS William C.	Cromer St., Brunswick Sq.	1852-4
W W	WHITE W. & Son	Gresham Buildings, Basinghall St.	1884-99†
	(Glasgow est. 1805)		
W W	WILLIAMS William	Kent St., Borough	1823-64
W Y	YOUNG William	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1856-69

## APPENDIX IV

## CHARTERS INCORPORATING PIPE MAKERS COMPANY

The following names are appended to the Charters of 1619 and 1634 and unless marked \* are not represented in the above lists or those previously published.

1619 Charter (P.R.O. C66/2206 17 Jas. I, 5 Oct., no. 6)

† Thomas Warricke Esq.	petitioners, probably not pipe makers.	§ James Coles
† Robert Maxwell Esq.		John Sharpe
† Charles Maxwell Esq.		Nicholas Rawlinson
‡ Thomas Suell* (previously published as Snell, Ratcliffe Highway, Middlesex Session Rolls 1614).		Nicholas Launde* (given as Hand, Middlesex Session Rolls 1616).
‡ Phillip Foote		Alexander Foote
‡ Wm. Bachellor*		Wm. Taylor
‡ John Rosse		Thos. Stacey
§ Wm. Harte		John Johnson
§ Wm. Boreman		Michael Maunsfield
§ Samuel Ridley		John Wall
§ Silvas Onlesse or Oulesse (Olliffe 1634) alias Lambert		Thos. Evans
§ Thos. Hearne		Simon Cole
§ Simon Cowse		Thos. Peerson
§ Wm. Banks		Philipp Browninge
§ James Hearne		Swithin Bonham
§ John Winstoc		James Sheppard
§ Anthony Chambers		Thos. Roper
§ John Stapleton		Thos. Davis
		Wm. Jeffes
		Thos. Graunt

† Masters annually in rotation.

‡ Wardens elected annually.

§ Assistants for life.

1634 Charter (P.R.O. C.66/2645 10 Chas. I, no. 5)

§ Thomas Warwicke Esq.	petitioners	§ Nicholas Laud
§ Robert Maxwell Esq.		John Price
Wm. Mathews*		Wm. Anthonie
Richard Cox		Belier or Belezer Zacheverell
§† John Rosse		Edward Carrington*
§† Wm. Bachelor		Thomas Cockson
§ Silvas Olliffe alias Lambert		John Fourd or Forde*
§ James Herne		Wm. Sterridge
‡ Peter Cornish		Isaac Herbert
John Bower		Wm. Cole
§ Thomas Davis		George Crosse*
John Robinson		John Culpepper alias Smith

† Master elected annually.

‡ Wardens elected annually.

Remainder Assistants for Life

§ Also appear in Charter of 1619

## APPENDIX III. ADDITIONS

Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
TB	Bloome	Thomas	1715	App.	Freedom Recs.
	Bolton	Thomas	1715	App.	" "
WB	Bayley	William	1686	Pat.	" "
HD	Davies	Henry	1668	Cit. and Baker. Pat. Voucher for N. Moore M.P.	" "
TD	Davis	Thomas	1689	Cit. and Stationer. J. Read, T. Mortimer his apps.	" "

Initial	Surname	Christian name	Date	Additional	Source
TE	Edwards	Thomas	1716	App.	Freedom Recs.
IH	Halford	John	1708	Cit. and Tpm. J. Reynolds his app.	" "
	Horne	John	1718	App.	" "
HM	Mattenley	Henry	1681	Cit. and Tpm. J. Perry his app.	" "
IM	Malletrat	John	1701	App. (correction for Mallekoak)	" "
GS	Simpson	George	1718	App.	" "
TS	Sands	Thomas	1711	App.	" "

## LIST OF LONDON TOBACCO PIPE MAKERS 1800-99

T F	FORD	Thomas	Whitehorse Street, Stepney	1850-99*
H G	GROUT	Harriet	Shadwell Mews	1860-70

The BAA gratefully acknowledge contributions towards the cost of printing this article from the Corporation of London, the Marc Finch Fund, the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Society, and to Mr. David Atkinson and Mr. Adrian Oswald.

H S SILK	Henry	Usher Road, Bow	1884-5
H S SKINNER	Henry	Samford St., Marylebone	1856-76
H S STRUTT	Henry	Ocean St., Stepney	1854
I S SEARLE	Isaac	Shepherds Bush	1828
I S SMITH	Isaac	Granby Street, Waterloo Rd.	1868-95*
J S SILK	James	Digby Street, Globe Road	1862
J S SILVEY	Joseph	Bell Street, Edgware Road	1873-4
J S SMITH	Jas.	Lt. Clarendon St., Somers Town	1832-54*
J S SMITH	John	Meeting House Lane, Peckham	1809-11
J S SMITH	John	Hillingdon End, Uxbridge	1828
J S SMITH	John	Brewhouse Court, Bedfordbury	1828
J S SMITH	John	Green Bank, Wapping	1844-62
J S SMITH	John	Old Ford Road	1867-77
J S STEEL	James	Bunton St., Mile End	1884-99†
J S STOCKTON	Jas.	Seward St., Goswell Road	1850-9
J S STONE	John	Liverpool Road	1886-99†
J S STRUTT	Jas.	Ocean Street, Stepney	1856-76
J S STRUTTON	Jas.	Church Row, Stepney	1873-8
J S STYLES	Jas. Jn.	Burne Street, Edgware Rd.	1879-85
J S SWINYARD	Jas.	Hooper St., Westminster Rd.	1828-54
M S SMITH	Mrs. Mary	Law Street, Tabard St., S.E.	1856-7
P S SWANN	Phillis	Chapel Street, Grub St.	1828
R S SIX	Rondolphe	King Street, Soho	1864-81
R S SMITH	Richard Jun.	Gifford St., Caledonian Rd.	1898-9†
R S SMITH	Richard	Upper Gifford St.	1868-99†
T S SCOURFIELD	T. H.	Whitechapel Rd., Whitechapel	1805-39
T S SHIPWAY	Thos.	John Street, Dockhead	1832-40
T S SMITH	Thos.	Turk Street, Bethnal Green	1873-4
T S SWINYARD	T. G.	Gardiners Lane, Westminster	1836-53
W S SMITH	Wm.	Old Rochester Row	1865
W S SMITH	Wm.	Greek Street, Soho	1892-9†
W S SQUALFIELD	Wm.	Whitechapel Road	1800-5
W S SUTTON	Wm.	Ratcliff Highway	1836
W S SWINYARD	Wm.	Quarry, Guildford	1832
T THOMPSON & LAWRENCE		Artichoke Row	1852-4
T TRIPLEX PIPE MANF. CO.		Cecil Court, Charing Cross Rd.	1895
T TROMBONE PIPE CO. LTD		Wool Exchange, E.C.	1895-7
A T TREBITSCH	Arnold	Jewin Crescent	1888-95
E T TINGLEY	Mrs. Eliz.	Lovegrove St., Old Kent Rd.	1889-9†
E T TOPPLIS	Edward	Shoreditch	1836
G T TALBOT	George	Willow Walk	1864-9
G T THORNTON	George	Tash St., Grays Inn Lane	1809-11
H T THEIM	Hermann	Milton St., E.C.	1894-9†
H T TINGLEY	Henry	Lovegrove St., Old Kent Rd.	1856-80
H T TOWN	Henry Wm.	Union St., Borough	1854
H T TURNER	Henry	East St., Globe Fields, N.E.	1861-74*
J T TAYLOR	John	Wood Str., Cromer Street	1844-8
J T TINGLEY	Joseph	Lovegrove Street, Old Kent Rd.	1887-8
L T TESTER	Lydia	Little Grays Inn Lane	1832-40†
R T THOMAS	R. & Co.	Gracechurch Street	1890-2*
S T TESTER	Sam.	Little Grays Inn Lane	1828
T T TAYLER	Thomas	Canal Wharf, Mile End Rd.	1877-80
T T TAYLOR	Thomas	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1836-75
T T THOMPSON	William	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1845-50
W T THORNTON	William	Holywell Lane, Shoreditch	1823-54
W T TURNER	William	Fleet St., Bethnal Green	1856-78*
S U UNGER	Solomon & Son	Mansell Street, E.	1859-60
J V VINING	James	Stamford St., Portman Market	1836
T V VINING	Thomas	Devonshire St., Up. Kennington Lane	1874

W WARDLE & HANNAN		Euston Rd.	1862-9
W WETZLER FRÈRES		Basinghall St.	1874-84*
W WETZLER & HAAS		Castle St., Falcon Sq.	1883-9†
W WILMER & PAULTHORPE		Little Windmill St.	1853-4
A W WEBB	Ann	Hungerford Market, Strand	1823-8
C W WADDINGTON	Charlotte	East St., Walworth	1836
C W WOELLHAP	Christian	Barnsbury Rd.	1888-99†
D W WILSON	Daniel	Little Arthur St., Golden Lane	1828
E W WANNELL	Edwin	Albert Place, Ferry Rd.	1854
E W WOODROFFE	Elizabeth	Old St., St. Lukes	1820-3
F W WALKER	Fred. F.	Upper Marylebone St.	1836
G W WARD	George	Cremone Rd., Chelsea	1864-93*
G W WEBB	George	Hungerford Stairs, Strand	1805-28*
G W WELLSTEAD	George	Grange Rd., Bermondsey	1864-7
G W WHEELER	George R. T.	Newton St., Holborn	1842-66
G W WRIGHT	George	Usher St., Bow	1882-3
H W WHITE	Henry	New Rd., St. Georges	1859-62
H W WICKSTEAD	Henry	Theobalds Rd.	1836
H W WILLIAMS	Harriet	Brighton Place, Waterloo Rd.	1836
J W WARD	Mrs. Jane	Davis Place, Chelsea	1847-62*
J W WARING	Joshua	Little Windmill St.	1866-8
J W WATTS	John	Parker St., Drury Lane	1828
J W WERN	James	Portland St., Wardour St.	1832-75
J W WEEKS	James	Anchor Court, Old St.	1820
J W WILLIAMS	John	Kent St., Borough	1828-42
J W WOLFE	John	Canadine Buildings, Westminster	1836
J W WOODROFFE	James	Old St., St. Lukes	1800-17
J W WOODROFFE	Jane	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1856-7
J W WOODROFFE	John	Vinegar Yard, St. Giles	1832-7
L W WEINTRAUB	L.	Fore St., E.C.	1896
M W WEEDS	Mary A.	Portland Place, Borough Rd.	1832-6
P W WEBB	Paul	Peters St., Westminster	1805-11
S W WALKER	Samuel	Wheeler St., Spitalfields	1823-39
S W WATSON	Sarah	New Kent Rd.	1836
S W WHEELER	Mrs. S.	Newton St., Holborn	1867-9
S W WILKINSON	Samuel	Pickering St., Islington	1873-9†
S W WOODROFFE	Sarah	Vinegar Yard, Long Acre	1836
T W WARD	Thomas	Church St., Chelsea	1852-79
T W WILLIAMS	Thomas	Walker St., Poplar	1882-94*
T W WOODWARD	Thomas	Globe Rd., Bethnal Green	1848-73*
T W WOOTTEN	Thomas	Park St., Southwark	1820-46
W W WALKER	William G.	Wheeler St., Spitalfields	1837-60*
W W WARD	William	Brewers Court, Bedfordbury	1832-50
W W WATSON	William	Silver St., Lemans Pond	1809-11
W W WEEKS	William C.	Cromer St., Brunswick Sq.	1852-4
W W WHITE	W. & Son (Glasgow est. 1805)	Gresham Buildings, Basinghall St.	1884-99†
W W WILLIAMS	William	Kent St., Borough	1823-64
W Y YOUNG	William	Artichoke Row, Mile End Rd.	1856-69

## APPENDIX IV

## CHARTERS INCORPORATING PIPE MAKERS COMPANY

The following names are appended to the Charters of 1619 and 1634 and unless marked \* are not represented in the above lists or those previously published.