NINETEENTH-CENTURY CLAY TOBACCO PIPES
IN CANADA

ABSTRACT

One of the most useful artefacts for dating excavated historical sites is the clay tobacco pipe. By the 19th century these pipes were being mass-produced by many manufacturers in England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Canada, but because by this time makers often placed their name and place of work on their products - generally on the stem - good dating evidence can be obtained when the manufacturing dates of the firms concerned can be found from documentary sources. This article describes, illustrates, and dates the most frequently-found 19th-century pipe material found in Canada.

RESUME

La pipe à tabac en terre s'est révélée l'un des artefacts les plus utiles pour dater un site historique a la suite de fouilles. A partir du XIXe siècle, les fabricants d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, de France, d'Allemagne, et du Canada les produisaient en série et estampait souvent leur nom et le lieu de fabrication, dans la majorité des cas sur le tuyau de la pipe. Il est donc possible d'obtenir un indice de datation précis lorsque les documents historiques fournissent les dates de manufacture pour les fabriques concernées. Le present article décrit, illustre, et date les pipes du XIXe siécle les plus répandues au Canada.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY CLAY PIPES

The clay tobacco pipe is one of the most commonly-found artefacts on colonial and post-colonial settlements in Canada, for it was both fragile and cheap. It is sometimes forgotten that the briar pipe and cigarette did not appear until the 1850s and 1860s — indeed, the latter did not become the most popular means of taking tobacco in Great Britain and the United States until the end of the First World War.

The manufacture of conventional clay pipes which are made from ball clay, and not, as is commonly asserted in North American archaeological publications, of kaolin — probably commenced in England two or three years before 1590. The earliest examples appear to have been imitated, at a much smaller scale, Amerindian pipes seen by colonists in the short-lived Virginia settlements in the mid-1580s.

On 17th and 18th century sites clay pipes generally offer the most accurate means of dating of any artefacts, especially in the 17th century when most of the typological development occurs. Statistical means of dating pipes by their stem bore diameters have also been proved generally effective for material covering the period from the early 17th century, mass-manufacturing techniques and the widespread nature of the pipe industry make the identification of individual types very much more difficult, and statistical dating can no longer be applied, but clay pipes can still offer a good indication of the age of a settlement if they bear the maker's name and place of work or some other helpful mark. The marking of a pipe - generally along the stem - with the maker's name and place of work mould-imparted may have been started by Liverpool makers early in the second half of the 18th century. It became quite common by ca.1800 and remained into this century. In 1891 the United States made it mandatory for imported items to be marked with their country of origin: the addition of this information, or its replacing the town of manufacture, is therefore a useful dating horizon, though a few makers probably included the country of origin prior to that date. Almost all the pipe seen by this writer, however, do not have this marked, which suggests, as does other evidence, that the clay pipe trade to the New World was largely over by 1891.
PLATE 1

**Fig. 1:** Stem fragment marked OHIO (RING BRISTOL on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac, P.Q. **Figs. 2 and 3:** Stem fragments marked "RIng" and "Bristol" (reverse and obverse of same mark) both from Fort Coteau du Lac.

**Fig. 4:** Bowl fragment marked FORD/STEPNEY from Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba.

**Figs. 5 and 6:** Stem fragments marked BURNS•CU- and -UTTY•PIP- (whole inscription BURNS•CUTTY•PIPE) both from Lower Fort Garry.

**Figs. 7 and 8:** Stem fragments showing the opposite side to fragments in Figures 5 and 6, marked FORD • - and - RD • STEPNEY (whole inscription FORD • STEPNEY). These stems appear to have been generally otherwise plain, but leaf decoration running along the stem is known. Both from Lower Fort Garry.

**Fig. 9:** Stem fragment marked R•MORGAN LIVERPOOL from Sillery, Quebec City.

**Fig. 10:** Stem fragment marked W • M O R G - (full inscription W•MORGAN•LIVERPOOL) from Fort Meductic, New Brunswick.

**Fig. 11:** Stem fragment marked W•MORGAN•LIVERPOOL from Sillery, Quebec City.

**Fig. 12:** Stem fragment marked -RGAN•LIVERPOOL- (full inscription probably W • M O R G A N • -LIVER POOL) from Signal Hill, Newfoundland.

**Fig. 13:** Stem fragment marked BRAITHWAITE LIVERPOOL from Fort Coteau du Lac.

**Fig. 14:** Stem fragment marked J. JONES (LIVERPOOL on reverse) from the de Roma site, P.E.I.
The excavation of historical sites in North America has increased rapidly in recent years, and this has been reflected in recent issues of *Ontario Archaeology* (Gall 1967; Dawson 1969). Unfortunately excavation in this new field has tended to outstrip detailed artefact research, with the result that some artefact classes are still largely unstudied, forcing the excavator to rely for dating evidence on a limited range of material. Nineteenth-century clay pipes is one category of artefact which can yield useful information, and as Gall’s Fort Pic report noted above contained erroneous information on some pipes found there and on their dating (her reference was in fact non-existent) this short article is designed to give a resume of what information is at present available on the most commonly-found 19th century pipes bearing maker’s names.

The illustrations give some indication of the wide range of sources for which pipes found in Canada came (all pipes illustrated in this paper came from sites excavated by the National Historic Sites Service).

Plate 1, figures 1-3 illustrates pipes made by the Bristol firm of Ring. During most of the 18th century and the later 17th century Bristol was possibly the major British centre for pipes exported to the New World, but during the American Revolution this trade fell off drastically, to be taken over before the middle of the 19th century by Glasgow makers. Ring was a well-known pottery and pipe-making family (later they combined pipemaking with the less glamorous trade of coalmerchant) which began making pipes in 1802 or 1803 and continued to do so until 1884 when the firm was bought out, becoming Hawley and Company. Under this name (it is also recorded as Hawley and Son and Hawley Brothers) it continued to manufacture pipes until 1901. Between 1816 and 1849 Ring advertises as an “Ohio tobacco-pipe manufacturer”: what precisely this type of pipe was is not yet known, for whole examples, so far as is known, have not been found, but as the illustration shows, RING BRISTOL appears on one side of the stem, which has spiral ridging, and OHIO on the opposite side. Other stems from pipes of the same firm have “Ring” on one side of the stem and “Bristol” on the other, with longitudinal ridging, as illustrated. (Almost invariably on all pipes, the maker’s name appears on the left side of the stem as the pipe is held by the smoker.) The occurrence of these stems in eastern Canada, in New York, and as far away as Wyoming indicates that in the first half of the 19th century at least one Bristol firm still sold to the New World market, but at present this is the only one known to have done so. However, at two sites in the St Lawrence valley, one in Quebec, the other in New York (the latter site dating to the American Revolution, 1775-83) pipes with VINER surrounded by a rouletted circle on the bowl facing the smoker and a heart or the letters A and V on either side of the heel, have been found, and these were presumably made by Ann Viner of Bristol. A George Viner of Bristol is recorded in the middle of the 18th Century, and Ann Viner, who is first noted in Bristol in 1775 and continued to work there until 1805, may have been his widow.

Liverpool, another English port with major New World trade, had a pipe industry which suddenly expanded in the 1760s, and this is reflected in the appearance of Liverpool-marked stems on a number of sites datable to ca.1800 and the later 18th century in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Massachusetts, and Virginia. Stems marked with the names of makers datable to the first half of the 19th century appear to be rarer, and the industry appears to have declined in the 1830s, but these stems do occur on sites as far apart as Prince Edward Island and California as well as in Ontario and Quebec. A characteristic marking which seems to be confined to Liverpool makers is the association of the place of manufacture and the maker’s name in one inscription on the same side of the stem, as in the example marked R•MORGAN LIVERPOOL illustrated in Plate 1, Fig. 9. There were a number of Morgans making pipes in Liverpool in the later 18th and early 19th centuries, and they were probably all related. A Ralph Morgan is noted working in 1788 and a Richard in 1790; presumably one of them made the fragment illustrated. The products of at least one other Liverpool Morgan - William - have been found in Canada and the United States. These examples, marked W.MORGAN•LIVERPOOL (Fig. 1, 10-11 and probably 12) can be attributed to one or both William Morgans, father and son: the former is recorded in 1767 and the latter in 1803. The context of a find at Williamsburg, Virginia, indicates that there at least it was
a product of the elder William. Another Liverpool-marked stem illustrated in Plate 1, Figure 13 and marked BRAITHWAITE LIVERPOOL must be the product of John Braithwaite, who is known to have been working there in 1824. The stem illustrated marked J. JONES with LIVERPOOL on the opposite side (Fig. 1, 14) dates to the mid-19th century. A John Jones first appears as a pipemaker in Liverpool ca.1835; by 1855 he has been succeeded by a John George Jones, probably a son, and by 1857 the name is Jane Jones, probably John George’s widow. At the same time a firm of Jones and Harris appears, perhaps an offshoot; this firm continued until 1897. A stem marked JONES (no initial) on one side and LIVERPOOL on the other came from a California site well dated to 1846-52 (Humphrey 1969: 17, 16 Fig. 8 - this paper is well worth consulting for its excellent illustrations of 19th-century pipes and their marks). The occurrence of maker’s name and place of work on opposite side of the stem by the mid-19th century suggests that by that time Liverpool makers had abandoned their earlier distinctive method of marking.

Plate 1, Figures 4-8 illustrates pipes particularly - perhaps exclusively - associated in North America with Hudson’s Bay Company trade. A number of Fords made pipes in various locations in London, most of them in East London, last century and at least three of them are known, on the evidence of marked pipes found on Hudson’s Bay Company sites, to have exported to North America. The longest-lived and most important of these firms was that successively known as John, Jesse and Thomas, and Thomas Ford of Stepney, recorded in business between 1823 and 1909. Jesse and Thomas took over in 1836; from 1876 to 1879 the firm appears as Ford and Company, and from 1880 until its closing it is listed as Thomas Ford, probably representing a third generation. Various stem and bowl markings are shown in the illustration; the initials I and F also occur sideways on either side of the spur on some bowls. The firm is listed as pipe exporters from 1856 to 1877 and 1880 to 1909, but they were selling pipes to the Hudson’s Bay Company before that, for the latter’s records indicate they were buying from this firm in 1846 (quoted in Caywood 1955: 60). Probable examples have also been found on a site in Australia datable to 1838-49. (In his excavations at Fort Vancouver, Washington, Caywood also found pipes with the same bowl mark but with PENTONVILLE instead of STEPNEY (Plate 2) - this was a product of another John Ford (there are several recorded as pipemakers last century in London) who is recorded working in Pentonville between 1826 and 1865. He too is listed, between 1857 and 1865, as a pipe exporter. Another example found by Caywood (Plate 2) had a plain FORD/[RAT]CLIFF inside an oval on the bowl facing the smoker: this was probably a product of Thomas William Ford who worked in the Ratcliff area of Stepney from 1836 to 1852 or his successor S.W. Ford who is recorded only for the year 1853.)

Early in the second half of the 19th century the English clay pipe industry collapsed in the face of more fashionable smoking habits. The clay pipe tradition persisted longest in poorer and industrial areas, and today the only surviving British pipemaking firm, John Pollock and Company, works in Manchester. This firm produces yearly ca. 350,000 clay pipes of various types, modern designs as well as traditional. Most of these, however, are exported to countries all over the world, particularly to the United States where freemasonry groups and certain student circles use them; ironically demand is so high that the present Mr Pollock could use more staff than he has at present.

The Scottish industry, by contrast, is almost entirely a 19th-century phenomenon, with Glasgow and Edinburgh being the chief production centres. The earlier history of tobacco consumption in Scotland is at present obscure, but evidence indicates that snuff was popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. Glasgow was by far the most important British, and perhaps world, centre for exporting pipes last century. Glasgow pipes have been found as far away as Jamaica, Easter Is-land, and Australia. In 1810 only three makes are listed, a number which reaches double figures only in the later 1850s. The heyday of the industry in Glasgow was ca.1875-85, well after the industry had largely died in England, but after that it declined, there being only ten makers by 1910. However, the industry survived until 1967 when the last firm, McDougall’s, closed, having outlived its great rival, White’s, by a dozen years (Walker and Walker 1969). Plate 3, Figures 1-11 illustrates marked stems from the firms which virtually monopolized the Glasgow export trade. The earliest of these
PLATE 2

Pipes produced by the various Fords, pipemakers in London

top line, left to right:
  Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955)
  Grand Rapids, Manitoba (Ll. de S. Walker 1967)
  Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955) River
  Thames (Atkinson 1962) Fort
  Vancouver (Caywood 1955)

centre:
  Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955)

bottom line, left to right:
  River Thames (Atkinson 1962)
  Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955) and River Thames (Atkinson 1962)
  Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955) River
  Thames (Atkinson 1962)
firms was that of William White (Pl. 3, Figs. 1-3), which was found in 1805 and continued until 1955 (it should not be confused with the Edinburgh firm of Thomas White noted below). The firm of A. Coghill (Pl. 3, Figs. 4-5), one of three Coghills making pipe in Glasgow last century, is recorded from 1826 to 1899 and also for the single year 1904. The firm of William Murray (Pl. 3, Fig. 6) was making pipes from 1833 (possibly as early as 1826) to 1861 (though the associated pottery firm, under a number of names, goes back apparently to 1790); the Murray pipe business was bought out by a member of the firm, Thomas Davidson jr (Pl. 3, Fig. 7) - possibly its manager - and continued to run under his name until 1910. The firm of McDougall (Pl. 3, Figs. 8-11) was founded in 1846 by an ex-manager of Murray’s, Duncan McDougall, and continued to manufacture and export pipes until it closed in 1967. Plate 3, Figure 11 shows a McDougall pipe with WOODSTOCK PIPE on the opposite side from the maker’s name - this presumably refers to a style of pipe, though as with Ring’s Ohio pipes, no complete specimen appears to have been recorded. Stem fragments with McDOUGALL GLASGOW on one side and VOLUNTEER on the opposite side have also been found on Canadian sites - again the meaning of “Volunteer” is at present unknown.

The Edinburgh pipe industry, like that of Glasgow, commenced in the early 19th century and also reached its zenith ca.1875-85, but unlike the latter declined rapidly, there being only one maker after 1919. (This last firm, William Christie, closed in 1962, though it had ceased to make pipes after ca.1942 and in its last years made blocks of clay for whitening doorsteps; the firm, founded in 1894, was a branch of the Glasgow Christie’s which made pipes from 1857 to 1950. As late as 1904, when the English industry was largely dead, the Edinburgh Christie’s was described as the largest firm of its kind in Britain, producing 100,000 pipes a week.) Edinburgh pipemakers appear to have had very little participation in the export trade, but the products of one Edinburgh maker, T. White (Pl. 3, Figs. 12-17), recorded in business from 1823 to 1876, have been found in small quantities on several Canadian sites.

In the second half of last century, clay pipes were made in Canada and particularly in Montreal where for a short time there were a large number of makers. Research on Montreal pipemakers is not yet complete, but the earliest maker, a William Henderson, is first recorded in 1847. The industry then expands very rapidly, apparently associated with the influx of Irish following the Great Famine in Ireland in the later 1840s, until the 1870s when it begins to contract as rapidly as it grew, the last maker appearing for the last time in 1907. As the Montreal industry began to contract, several of the makers migrated to Detroit, where they worked until the beginning of this century (the Detroit pipe industry is at present being investigated by E.M. Green of the Michigan Archaeological Society, to whom I am grateful for this as yet unpublished information).

Pipes bearing several makers’ names and marked MONTREAL on the opposite side of the stem have been excavated on Canadian sites from the Maritimes to at least as far west as Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba, and in the United States in Michigan, Minnesota, and as far away as Wyoming. To judge by frequency of finds, stems marked HENDERSON or HENDERSON’S (Pl. 4, Figs. 1-4) represent by far the most important maker or makers. There were more than one maker of this name in Montreal, but as manufacturers of clay pipes they all appear to fall into the period 1847 to 1876. One of these firms was succeeded in the latter year by a W.H. Dixon, who marked his pipes DIXON or DIXON’S and one of whose products appear in Plate 4, Figure 7. This firm continued until 1894. The second-largest firm, in terms of marked products found, appears to have been that of Bannerman. Again, there appears to have been more than one maker of this name, but the first, Robert Bannerman, appears in 1858 and his family firm is last recorded in 1907. Stems are known with both BANNERMAN and R.BANNERMAN (Pl. 4, Figs. 5 and 6). Stems bearing the name of Doherty of Montreal have been recorded from the Ottawa valley, and one stem - of a red clay - was found at Lower Fort Garry which seems to bear the names MURPHY and MONTREAL. The firm of Neil Doherty was founded in 1850 and is last recorded in 1857; three Murphys are recorded, all for single years only - Richard in 1864, Thomas in 1871, and Mathew also in 1871. So far, these are the only Montreal pipemakers whose products have been identified by named products, though there were a good many other Montreal makers recorded during the
Fig. 1: Stem fragment and bowl with harp decoration marked 63 and W. WHITE (GLASGOW on reverse) - 63 is the type number of the pipe - from Signal Hill, Newfoundland.

Fig. 2: Stem fragment marked W. WHITE (GLASGOW on reverse) in a different style to Figure 1, from Fort Coteau du Lac, P.Q.

Fig. 3: Stem fragment with mouthpiece marked J73 and W. WHITE (GLASGOW on reverse) - J 73 is the type number of the pipe - from the de Roma site, P.E.I.

Figs. 4 and 5: Stem fragments both marked A. COGHILL (GLASGOW on reverse), the first from Signal Hill, the second from Fort Coteau du Lac.

Fig. 6: Stem fragment marked MURRAY (GLASGOW on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac. Fig. 7: Stem fragment marked DAVIDSON (GLASGOW on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac. Fig. 8: Stem fragment marked GLASGOW (M'DOUGALL on reverse) from Signal Hill. Fig. 9: Stem fragment marked M'DOUGALL (GLASGOW on reverse) from Signal Hill.

Fig. 10: Stem fragment marked M'DOUGA[LL] (GLASGOW on reverse) in a different style to Figure 9, from the de Roma site.

Fig. 11: Stem fragment marked WOODSTOCK PIPE (M'DOUGALL on reverse) from Signal Hill.

Fig. 12: Stem fragment marked EDINBURGH (THO.WHITE & CO on reverse) from Signal Hill. Fig. 13: Stem fragment marked T. WHITE & C° (EDINBURGH on reverse) in a different style to Figure 12, from Fort Coteau du Lac.

Fig. 14: Stem fragment marked EDINR (T.W. & C° on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.

Fig. 15: Stem fragment marked T.W. & C° (EDIN on reverse) in a different style to Figure 14, from Fort Coteau du Lac.

Fig. 16: Stem fragment marked EDINBURGH (Thos.WHITE&C° on reverse) in a different style to all the previous White marks, from Fort Wellington, Ontario.

Fig. 17: Stem marked THO* WHITE&C° (EDINBURGH on reverse) from Fort Wellington.
PLATE 4

Fig. 1: Stem fragment marked HENDERSON (MONTREAL on reverse) from Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba.
Fig. 2: Stem fragment and bowl with harp and shamrock decoration marked HENDERSON in a different style to Figure 1, from Fort Coteau du Lac, P.Q.
Fig. 3: Stem fragment marked HENDERSON’S (MONTREAL on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.
Fig. 4: Stem fragment with bowl bearing the letters TD marked MONTREAL (HENDERSON’S on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.
Fig. 5: Stem fragment marked BANNERMAN (MONTREAL on reverse) from Lower Fort Garry. Fig. 6: Stem fragment marked R. BANNERMAN (MONTREAL on reverse) in a different style from Figure 5, from Fort Coteau du Lac.
Fig. 7: Stem fragment marked DIXON’S (MONTREAL on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.
Fig. 8: Stem fragment and ornamental bowl marked W&D.BEL[L] (QUEBEC on reverse) from Sillery, Quebec City.
Fig. 9: Stem fragment marked W&D BELL (QUEBEC on reverse) from Lower Fort Garry.
Fig. 10: Stem fragment marked W&D. BE[L] (Q)UEBEC on reverse) from Sillery, Quebec City. Fig. 11: Stem fragment marked QUEBEC (W&DBELL on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.
second half of the 19th century.

In Quebec City, the firm of William and David Bell (Pl. 4, Figs. 8-11), Scottish brothers from Kirkaldy, Fife, manufactured varieties of pottery as well as drainpipes and tobacco pipes, during the last half of last century. The firm appears to have been founded in the earlier 1840s - certainly by 1846 - and to have continued until after 1932, but it is unlikely that they manufactured tobacco pipes for more than part of that time. They appear to have started tobacco pipemaking only in late 1862 or early in 1863 and were still making them in 1877; the use of the word "pipe" in the company's new name in 1932 seems more likely to refer to drainpipes.

Pipe-manufacture in The Netherlands was introduced by immigrant Englishmen at the beginning of the 17th century. The industry immediately concentrated in Gouda, where two firms, Goedewaagen and the Zenith factory of van der Want, still produce pipes - their products can be bought in North America. Before the end of the 17th century Dutch pipes were being regarded as superior in manufacture to English pipes, a superiority which is still apparent today. Dutch pipes are found on contact sites in the NE United States, probably as a result of Dutch trade from Nieuw Amsterdam (New York), and excavations of 18th century French sites in Canada suggest the French - whose pipe industry at this time appears to have been a minor one - imported Dutch (as well as English) pipes.

The excellence of Dutch pipes was, ironically, one cause for eventual downfall of the industry, for first high tariffs and late prohibitions restricted their export to England and from the middle of the 18th century Sweden, Denmark (though only fitfully and in certain areas), Norway, and Prussia prohibited the import of foreign-made pipes, and Brabant taxed them out of the market. The Prussian prohibition appears to have struck the Gouda industry particularly hard, for it came at a time when the German Westerwald pipe industry (see below) was expanding, the inferior products of which not only undersold Dutch pipes but also plagiarized Dutch trade marks. The Napoleonic occupation of The Netherlands appears to have precipitated the final collapse of pipemaking as a major industry.

However, some 19th-century Dutch pipe material does occur on various North American sites, the most commonly-occurring makers being members of the Prince family, recorded in Gouda from 1773 to 1898. The particular stem fragment illustrated here (Pl. 5, Fig. 5 and Pl. 6 upper) has J&G•PRINCE on one side and IN GOUDA on the other, and is of interest because the ribbed decoration on it is exactly paralleled on a Westerwald-made pipe of comparable date noted below. From its beginning the Gouda industry used letters or numbers, often surmounted with a crown, or symbols, as makers' marks. These marks could be bought or sold, traded or willed, over hundreds of years (Walker 1966b), and one used by Prince and known from North American sites is the Milkmaid, a detailed depiction in a circle only 5mm. in diameter of a girl carrying a yolk and milk-pails. These marks were normally placed on the base of the heel (the protrusion below the bowl) or in the absence of a heel, on the base of the bowl. Occasionally they occur on the bowl facing the smoker. Sometimes also the coat-of-arms of the city of Gouda, a shield with two vertical rows of three stars separated by a vertical bar, occurs on Gouda pipes.

Nineteenth-century French pipes occur widely, though never profusely, in North America. In the 19th century French and Belgian makers specialized in highly-ornate moulded pipes, some of them of superb craftsmanship, but the pipes found in North America appear to have been of plainer and no doubt much cheaper varieties. The most famous firms were those of Fiolet (Pl. 5, Fig. 6 and Pl. 6 centre), in business from 1765 to 1921, and Dumeril or Dumeril-Leurs, 1845-ca.1895, both of Saint-Omer; and Gambier, with branches in Givet and Paris. The dates for the Gambier firm are obscure; the family is recorded in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, but they also made pottery and it is not known when they began and ceased pipemaking. Other French products known to have been found in Canada include those of the firms of Noel and Gisclon. No dates are available for the former, but a pipe with "Noel/Lyon" inside a rectangle near the foot of the bowl was found in an unknown context at Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, occupied between 1853 and 1861 and between 1865 and 1867. This firm may be the same as that producing pipes marked on the stem "Noel/Paris" or
"Noel/ Paris/ FRANCE" in the same style of lettering as that used by Fiolet and Gisclon. The firm of Gisclon (Pl. 5, Fig. 7 and Pl. 6 lower) may also have manufactured in more than one centre last century. A pipemaking firm of this name worked at Montereau-fault-Yonne from before 1859 - by which date a son-in-law, one Dutel, had succeeded to the business - until 1895, but a firm of this name was also manufacturing pipes at Lille in Belgium last century, and the name is also associated with Paris (it is possible that Gisclon took over the firm or at least the moulds of the Paris firm of Auriol).

Clay pipes were also manufactured in large quantities in Germany, principally in the Westerwald area, last century. These makers appear to have specialized in cheap pipes often plagiarizing the names of makers in other countries (examples with DAVIDSON on them are known, for example). These should not be confused with the often extremely artistic porcelain pipe-bowls more generally associated with German smokers, though they often came with glazed or painted decoration. No German-made clay pipes are known to have been found in Canada so far, but a stem fragment was found in New York state with heavy ribbed decoration identical to the Prince of Gouda stem described above and the words MULLENBACH on one side and THEWALD.HOHR on the other - this stem, clearly a plagiarization of Prince's style, was a product of the firm of Mullenbach and Thewald of Hohr-Grenzhausen in the Westerwald which was founded in 1830 and still exists, though it has not made pipes since 1930. Clay pipes are still made in the Westerwald, and appear on scale in Canada and the United States with GERMANY moulded on the stem.

Plate 5 also illustrates some assorted typical 19th-century pipe fragments - four bowls and two mouthpieces. The coating of the mouthpiece with varnish, glaze, or wax to prevent the smoker's lips adhering to the porous clay appears to be rare before the 19th century: the examples here (Pl. 5, Figs. 4 and 8) show a common yellow or brown glaze finish. It should be noted that clay pipes, because they weigh so much less than do briar pipes, do not have the flattened bit of the latter (though some very late clay pipes do imitate briar styles - e.g. the White example in Pl. 3, Fig. 3).

By the 19th century, mass-production techniques were appearing, and so many nearly-identical designs were being made by so many makers that it becomes virtually impossible to identify a maker by the pipe style alone. Numbers sometimes occur on the stem near the bowl (Pl. 3, Figs. 1 and 3), or on the spur projection below the bowl - these are makers' typo numbers, but unfortunately virtually no makers' catalogues have survived so that these are rarely ever identifiable. Heavily-decorated bowls were common last century. Fluting or ribbing of the type illustrated in Plate 5, Figs. 1 and 3 were very popular. Many gimmics were used to attract buyers, and sometimes, if these depict some contemporary person or event, the pipe, or at least its initial appearance, can be closely dated. There is for example, an outsize pipe in the Simcoe County Museum, Ontario, depicting the Crystal Palace, which cannot date before the Great Exhibition held there in 1851 (several makers are known to have made pipes of this particular type).

Many national emblems such as the harp on the pipe illustrated in Plate 3 Fig. 1 and the harp and shamrocks on that illustrated in Plate 4 Fig. 2 should not be taken as necessarily indicating the pipe's place of origin which in this case was Glasgow and Montreal respectively: they were simply motifs designed to appeal particularly to people from the countries whose emblems were depicted. Henderson of Montreal made a pipe very similar to that illustrated in Plate 4 Fig. 2 with shamrocks and a harp on one side and a thistle on the other.

Plain bowls, however, were probably even more common, especially as the century progressed. Those with the terms "Dublin", "Cork", and "Limerick" on the bowl refer to bowl shapes - briars with Dublin bowls are not uncommon today - and not to the place of manufacture. Probably the most popular pipe of all last century, was that depicted in Plate 5, Fig. 2 with the letters TD on the bowl facing the smoker. This type appears to have been first manufactured ca.1755 by a maker with these letters as his initials (Walker 1966a): his pipes appear to have become so popular that they were widely plagiarized within a few years of their appearance. Sometime towards the end of the first half of the 19th century (there is at present a dearth of stratigraphically-excavated sites of this period which would lend precision to the dating) the form illustrated appeared, to be copied in scores, perhaps hundreds, of styles by makers in several countries. Glasgow makers appear to have
PLATE 5

**Figs. 1 and 3:** Two sides of a bowl decorated with masonic emblems, both from Fort Coteau du Lac, P.Q.

**Fig. 2:** Plain bowl with the letters TD facing the smoker from Signal Hill, Newfoundland.

**Figs. 4 and 8:** Two glazed mouthpieces, one from Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba, the other from Fort Wellington, Ontario.

**Fig. 5:** Decorated stem fragment marked J&G. PRINCE (IN GOUDA on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac.

**Fig. 6:** Stem fragment marked "Fiolet/St Omer/FRANCE" from Sillery, Quebec City.

**Fig. 7:** Stem fragment marked "Neo/ Culot/ Gisclon/ paris" from Lower Fort Garry.

**Fig. 9:** Ornamented bowl from Fort Coteau du Lac.
PLATE 6

top: decorated stem fragment marked J&G.PRINCE (IN GOUDA on reverse) from Fort Coteau du Lac, P.Q.
centre: two different marks of the firm of Fiolet, that on left from Sillery, Quebec City, and that on right from Fort Coteau du Lac
bottom: stem fragment marked "neo/ Culot/ Gisclon/paris" from Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba
particularly specialized in them - the makers listed above all made them - but they were also made by at least two Montreal makers and by English, French, and German manufacturers. TD pipes of the style illustrated can still be bought in North America, some, with SCOTLAND on one side of the stem but without the maker's name, which were made by McDougall until they closed, and some with GERMANY on the stem which came from the Westerwald. Very poor pipes of a different shape but with the letters TD on the bowl facing the smoker and JAPAN on the stem have been seen in recent years, especially before St. Patrick's Day, in Ottawa stores.

The writer would be grateful for any information on pipes found in Ontario or elsewhere in Canada, whether belonging to the types discussed here or to other types, and is prepared to give whatever dating evidence he can for these. He can be contacted at the following address: Head of Artefact Research, Research Division, National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 400 Laurier Avenue West, Ottawa 4.

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY


Other information in this article is based on research done by the writer in Britain and Europe while a research student at the University of Bath, England. It is hoped that this will eventually be published as a monograph in the new National Historic Sites Service publication series.

The nucleus of this article is included in a paper which recently appeared under the title "The Pipe Makers" in Clyde Kennedy's *The Upper Ottawa Valley* (1970). The latter was written in 1967 and any minor differences between that article and this - for example, the spelling of the Edinburgh pipemaker's name White instead of Whyte and the statement that kaolin is not used to make these pipes - should be taken as corrections in the light of knowledge obtained while doing research since 1967.