

THE CLAY PIPE-MAKING INDUSTRY IN NORFOLK

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SUMMARY

The introduction of tobacco into England led to new trades becoming established – those of pipemaker and tobacconist – and, based around these occupations, new commodities were added to the late 16th/17th century export/import trade of Britain, and to the retail trade. This paper examines those trades and commodities as they affected Norfolk. The catalogue of clay pipes is neither exhaustive nor definitive, but is selective in order to illustrate how Norfolk fits into the general pattern of pipe studies, and how local production became established from the 17th century to its demise in the early 20th century. Some non-local and Dutch pipes are also included.

INTRODUCTION

The material for this article has been drawn from several sources: the Norfolk Museums Service collections; private collections (found while fieldwalking, metal-detecting or garden digging); building sites in Yarmouth and King's Lynn; and from excavations by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit and others. The clay pipes from Norwich excavations and building sites will be published separately in a volume of *East Anglian Archaeology*, and the King's Lynn Archaeological Survey material will also be discussed in greater detail in a future publication.

Tobacco: its trade and use

Tobacco was introduced into England during the second half of the 16th century. The initial spread of smoking was probably due to sailors returning from voyages to the American colonies where they had seen the Indians smoking the herb in clay bowls. The English court and gentry, who could afford the high prices of Spanish tobacco, made the habit fashionable (James I, an ardent anti-smoker, complained that the English gentry spent three or four hundred pounds a year on tobacco alone: MacInnes 1926,46, quoting 'A Counterblaste to Tabacco' written by the King in 1604).

By the beginning of the 17th century the use of tobacco was causing problems among the younger members of at least two wealthy Norfolk families, the Knyvetts and the Pastons. In 1604, Edmund Knyvett, after undergoing a religious conversion, wrote a letter to his mother full of regret 'for my profane, idle, and most wicked life . . . : for Tabacco I have asuredly left it, being without hope of ever having your favours or blessings else'.¹ The son of Lady Katherine Paston indulged in smoking at college in Cambridge, much to his mother's disgust expressed in a letter written in 1640 (Willan 1976, 82).

At first, Spain dominated the tobacco trade, but the war in the early 17th century encouraged tobacco imports from the American colonies and the West Indies. The relative cheapness of Virginian tobacco meant that other sections of society could now afford to buy it, thereby boosting the spread of smoking. In 1614, for example, Parliament noted that 'poor men spend 4d of their days wages at night in smoke' (Willan 1976, 82).

Records of tobacco imports are generally sparse until the last quarter of the 17th

century. The earliest reference to tobacco coming into Norfolk is in 1612 when twenty pounds of pudding tobacco was brought into Lynn from Dordrecht by Simon Johnson, a Dutch shipmaster-cum-merchant, on which he paid duty of £1 10s.² It is difficult to determine the level of tobacco imports into Norfolk ports due to the frequency of re-export. The Mun family imported 15lb into Yarmouth from Rotterdam in 1636, for re-export to Iceland. In 1662 and 1663, out of a total of 400,857lb imported into Yarmouth, all but 12,607lb was re-exported to Holland.

Imported tobacco was shipped coastwise, not only through the main Norfolk ports such as Lynn and Yarmouth, but also via the smaller ports. In 1617-18, 3lb of (?) cutting tobacco was brought into Blakeney by Christopher Newgate, master and merchant, on the Lyon of London.³ Due to strong opposition from other English ports, the monopoly imposed on tobacco imports in 1624 (so that it could only come through the port of London) was withdrawn in 1638. By the 1670s and 1680s, not only was there an increase in the amounts shipped into Norfolk, but the shipments became more regular: in 1680, for instance, there were between one and five shipments of tobacco from London per month.⁴

There is very little information as to how the tobacco was distributed from the ports of entry of Lynn and Yarmouth, as the names of the receiving merchants and the destinations of the goods are not recorded (pers. comm. Alan Metters). The riverways, though, played an important part in the distribution of all types of goods (Fig. 1). The Great Ouse from Lynn served a large part of the western side of Norfolk down as far as Thetford (by the Little Ouse). The Yare from Yarmouth carried goods to Norwich and the hinterland, and its tributaries and the Broads reached most of the eastern side of the county. The Waveney, on the border between Norfolk and Suffolk, was navigable as far as Beccles (Suffolk), though light craft may have been able to reach further up river, at least as far as Harleston.

Tobacco could also have been smuggled into Norfolk, and then distributed by pedlars (Davis 1966, 239-40). Smuggling was probably already well organised along the Norfolk coast for a range of goods, though the earliest references to tobacco as a cargo are in the early 19th century when a capture was made at Breydon (near Yarmouth), and in 1850 contraband tobacco had been transferred from a Cromer fishing boat to a wherry (Malster 1971, 89).

The plant was actually grown in England from the end of the 16th century, though the earliest Norfolk reference is not until 1886 when Lord Walsingham obtained a licence to experiment with different varieties of tobacco (for cigarettes) on his Merton estate near Thetford.⁵

In the 16th and early 17th centuries, tobacco was stocked by apothecaries because it was used in medicine (as an enematic and as a fumigant). Sir Thomas Knyvett, for example, was advised in 1601 to smoke for health reasons.⁶ This may explain why a 17th century token picturing three pipes should be issued by a physician - Thomas Moore of East Dereham - who in 1688 left a shop and cellar containing two hogsheads of tobacco and a tobacco press.⁷

During the 17th century, grocers took over the retailing of tobacco from the apothecaries, absorbing the product amongst a wide variety of stock held. The inventories of two North Walsham grocers indicate the different varieties of tobacco sold in a small market town (Barringer (ed.) 1983).

Henry Francis (dec. 1729):

Leaf Tobacco at 9d 328	£12 6s 0d
Cutt ditto leaf 73 1(b) at 12d	£3 13s 0d
Stalks ?neat 28 1	3s 6d
8 gross pipes at 18d (Geneva 5s)	17s
A Tobacco engine Press and knife	£1 10s

Roger Primrose (dec. 1729):

Shop	
7 1 3/4 Pigg Tail Tobacco	9s 1/2d

Cellar

	Ct	qr	l	
Leaf Tobacco	0	0	17	12s 9d
large cutt tobacco	141	0	0	£6 9s 3d
Do Shagg	0	0	6	6s
Fine Cutt do	240	0	0	£12 0s

The non-specialization of the retail trade in the 17th century meant that tobacco also appears in the inventories of tallow chandlers, ironmongers and drapers. William Batchelor of Loddon, licensed in 1637 to sell tobacco in that town (see below), was described in his inventory of 1662 as a draper – his stock in the shop included cottons, buttons, ribbons, and tobacco valued at £5.⁸ Tradesmen described in documents specifically as tobacconists appear during the second half of the 17th century: Richard (?)Canning, a tobacco seller in Yarmouth in 1663;⁹ and James Wilson of Yarmouth, a tobacconist free in 1695. One of the very few surviving Norfolk tobacconists' inventories is that of Nathaniel Uring of Walsingham (dated 1708), which lists the goods in the 'tobacco shop', and also lists a whole range of cloths and goods in 'the shop'.¹⁰

By 1637, ninety-seven tradesmen (Beresford 1955, 138) had obtained licences to sell tobacco in approximately seventy-nine Norfolk towns and villages, only four years after the introduction of the licensing law by Charles I. This was one of the highest figures in the country, and occurred during a time when, ironically, there are very few records of tobacco being imported into Norfolk. Some of the retailers obtained licences to supply tobacco to several villages – for example, Simon Reynolds, Thomas Nutt and Mauris (?)Waller were licensed for four villages each, while George (?)James supplied eight villages in the east of the county.¹⁰

The Pipemakers

Sources

An alphabetical list of Norfolk pipemakers is in Appendix I (Norwich makers were published by Karshner in 1979).

The earliest references to pipemakers are to men wanting to emigrate to Holland during the religious persecutions of the early 17th century (Appendix I), and the names are given in the forms as they appear in the Dutch records (Duco 1981, 311, 330). They settled in Amsterdam and Leiden, the two towns where English pipemakers had been responsible for the start of the earliest pipemaking industries in Holland in the first decade of the 17th century (Duco 1981, 372). No Dutch pipemakers' names appear in Norfolk records, though one of the earliest recorded pipemakers in mid 17th-century Norwich, Giles Canby, was a member of the Walloon church.

By the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, there are more regular references to pipemakers in apprenticeship rolls, freemen's registers, wills and/or inventories, and property leases, reflecting not only a general improvement in sources, but also, perhaps, a gradual and steady development in pipemaking as a trade in Norfolk. To some extent, pre-19th century documents show an imbalance when compared to the main 19th century sources (directories, census and rate returns). The latter sources often record the more menial workshop occupations such as trimmer (usually women), and in some cases, particularly in Norwich, the workers in each pipeshop can be deduced from the addresses similar to those of a known owner. Prior to this, documents record freemen and masters of apprentices (who therefore probably owned their own tools and workshops), while other references to pipemakers have to come from the survival of such documents as property transactions and inventories (see p.122-3, and Appendix I).

Distribution within the county

From the 17th to the 19th centuries, the majority of Norfolk makers are recorded, as would be expected, in the large centres of population – Norwich and the ports of Lynn and Yarmouth. However, no charter was granted to a guild of pipemakers in Norfolk, unlike London (1619), Bristol (1652), and Gateshead (1675), and the makers of no one town became dominant and inhibited development in the rest of the county. Ports would have attracted pipemakers, presumably to supply the sailors who were amongst the first

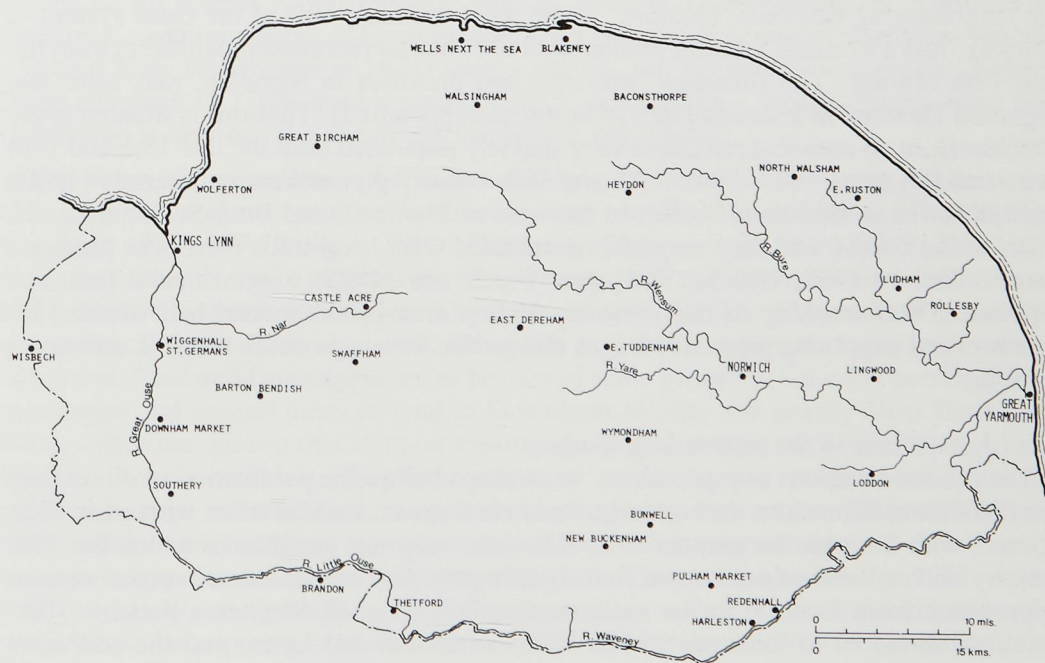


Fig. 1

Norfolk: location of places referred to in text

to spread the smoking habit, and, indeed, Yarmouth had more licensed retailers of tobacco by 1637 than either Norwich or Lynn.¹¹

Although the hinterlands of Norwich and Lynn were large, the county's prosperity had encouraged the growth of several smaller market towns, and many of these had pipemakers from the second quarter of the 17th century. Pipemakers worked in the market towns of New Buckenham, North Walsham and Redenhall-cum-Harleston, on the east and south sides of Norfolk serving one of the most densely populated areas in England (Corfield 1972). Wymondham, a prosperous market town only six miles to the west of Norwich, had makers in the early 18th and mid 19th centuries, but the paucity of pipes attributable to them suggests that such makers served only the immediate community: just one bowl marked IE (?John Edgar) has been found in Wymondham (no.77), but nowhere else. Wells had four makers during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a port on the north coast involved in the coasting trade, lying on the edges of the market areas of Norwich and Lynn, and was the 'entrance' to the large landed estates of Holkham owned by the Coke family. Matthew Emms supplied pipes to the town, some with a local connection (the Ostrich, no.92, is part of the arms of Thomas Coke), but only one ME bowl has been found at a distance from the town (no.92 at Castle Acre Castle).

To the west and south-west of Norfolk, 17th-century pipemakers are recorded in the small village of Wiggenhall St Germans (Thomas Coates, 1667), and the town of Downham Market (William Case, dead 1690). Both places are on the Great Ouse which served as the most important transport system for the western side of Norfolk and into the neighbouring counties. Thetford, at the most southerly end of the Ouse system in Norfolk, had a licensed tobacco retailer by 1637, but no recorded pipemakers until the mid 19th century. The Brownes, who also had premises in Norwich, may have just regarded Thetford as a second place of business (Appendix I). Thetford is situated in the Breckland, in an area that remained very sparsely populated until the late 18th and 19th centuries (Dymond 1985, 224). 17th and 18th-century pipemakers are recorded in the Suffolk towns of Brandon (6 miles to the west of Thetford) and Bury St Edmunds (12 miles to the south), and they may have dominated what local trade there was (maker's names: Oswald 1975, 194-5). The pipes (Fig.2, nos 14-22) suggest that at least one pipemaker was working in the Waveney Valley area in the second half of the 17th century, and supplying pipes to villages and public houses in south Norfolk and north Suffolk.¹²

The organization of the pipemaking trade

The precise locations of pipemakers' workshops before the publication of directories are difficult to determine. In both urban and rural areas, makers often worked in their homes, with no separate premises. In Norwich, only the parishes in which the 17th century makers worked are known, but significantly they are all located on the western approaches from London to the main market area (e.g. St Stephen's parish). 18th-century references to locations in Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn, and the addresses given in the 19th century directories, show a further development of zoning of pipemakers within the three main towns.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries the Yarmouth makers were located in a small quarter of the old town, roughly between North Quay and the Market Place, within easy reach of the quay, and therefore in one of the busiest and most crowded areas of the

town. They worked mainly in four alleys (known as Rows): Row 45, St John's Head (South) Row; Row 47, North Quay; Row 51, Black Swan Row; and Broad Row. (King Street, White Horse Plain and North Quay, also listed in directories, are in the same area: Appendix I). Old Broad Row was mentioned in an advert in 1757 (Howell 1980, 314) for the sale of William Absolon's pipe shop (shop meant workshop or manufactory); and James Taylor jnr had a business there in 1836-53. St John's Head Row, Row 45, was the scene of pipemaking businesses from c.1801 (and probably before) to 1868 (Appendix I).

The earliest reference to a location in Lynn is in the will of Robert Dunn (freeman 1708), who owned a messuage or tenement on Purfleet Street. This, and the other streets where the Lynn makers worked, are north of the Purfleet, leading to the Tuesday Market: Norfolk Street, King Street, St Ann Street and Sedgeford Lane (the latter just on the south side of the Purfleet). Parker (1971, 47) describes the streets around the Tuesday Market as being predominantly occupied by shopkeepers and innkeepers in the 17th century, because the merchants, and therefore industry, had shifted northwards to take advantage of the better navigation on the Ouse.

Pipemaking was often a family business, which, together with the apprenticeship system, allowed a continuity in the trade sometimes for a century or more. Robert Williams of Yarmouth, for example, was master of James Harpley c.1758, and James's son and apprentice, Alfred, was working till at least 1847. In this way, workshop premises and tools, or styles of marking, might be expected to pass from a master to his apprentice, or from father to son. Perhaps this was the way in which the marking style of nos 42-48 spread round the east side of Norfolk (? originating in Yarmouth). Similarly, two pipemakers in Lynn marked their pipes with a symbol over their initials - Robert King (a freeman in 1674) used a crown, and his former apprentice, Robert Dunn (freeman in 1708) used a rosette (Fig.5, nos 66-68) - though exactly what the connection is between the use of the symbols is not known.

The status of pipemakers is difficult to assess solely from the surviving documents - only two pipemakers' probate inventories are recorded from Norwich¹³ (Mosely: Karshner 1979, 307; Pollard: NRO, Dean and Chapter Wills 1697-1702, IV, 130). Only four other Norfolk pipemakers from before 1800 are known to have left wills or had inventories exhibited: Tyler, Case, Dunn and Harpley (Appendix I), and the documents suggest differing levels of wealth and status rather than any generalised statement. Case and Dunn appeared to be men of some property. Case left two copyhold messuages and several acres of land in Downham Market and nearby Stow Bardolph. Dunn willed the interest of £15 upon a mortgage from a property in High Street, Lynn. Neither Tyler's will nor Harpley's inventory mentions any property or items of particular value, and neither are recorded as having taken apprentices. Thomas Parsley, on the other hand, had three apprentices by 1736, but left no surviving will or inventory because he appears to have been bankrupt by 1743. The parish accounts for 1743 record that Thomas Wiatt 'in kindness' lent Parsley and his wife a few household goods and some kitchen equipment, and from then until 1750 Parsley had his rent paid from the Poor Rates.¹⁴

Pipemakers' Equipment and Kilns

The best pipemaking clay came from Poole and the Isle of Wight and was shipped to Lynn and Yarmouth (and via the latter to Norwich). In 1638 Poole shipped 30 tons to

Yarmouth, and in 1667, according to the London Gazette, three west countrymen laden with tobacco pipeclay were anchored at Great Yarmouth bound for Lynn awaiting convoy as protection from the Dutch ships. The biggest tonnage reached Norfolk between the 1680s and the third decade of the 18th century, though the Lynn Port Books record occasional rather than regular shipments. For example, between January and November 1680, there were only two loads of pipeclay brought into Lynn (70 tons and 36 tons) as against twenty-nine shipments of tobacco.⁴ However, at Yarmouth during at least part of the 18th century, tobacco-pipe clay meters or measurers were appointed by the borough to measure pipeclay passing through the port.¹⁵

Inventories of two Lincolnshire pipemakers make it clear that large amounts of clay (e.g. 20 tons) were stored by pipemakers,¹⁶ and access to waterways would have made the delivery of bulk loads easier. The inventories of Harpley of Yarmouth (1674) and Case of Downham Market (1691) refer to £2 worth of clay and 4 skinnes clay at £3 4s 6d respectively, although the actual tonnage is not known. It is not clear whether pipeclay was ordered directly by the Norfolk makers, but two particular references suggest there was a chain of middlemen. In 1669, Thomas Cornell, merchant of Poole, arranged with Alexander Fellowes of Wareham, to ship clay to the 'merchants of . . . Lynn, Yarmouth . . .' and other ports (Oswald 1975, 12). A Stamford grocer and tallow chandler advertised stocks of clay for the use of pipemakers in Lincolnshire in 1716.¹⁷ R.W. Taylor of Yarmouth (making pipes until 1916) described boatloads of clay being chartered from Newton Abbott and Tynemouth, North Devon, in 2-stone blocks weighing 150 tons. They were unloaded at Stone Cutters Quay, some going into Taylor's warehouse across the road from the quay, while the rest were shipped by wherry to other pipemakers in Norfolk (Yarmouth Mercury 1927).

17th-century clay sources may also have been the same as those used by local potters. The pipes from Ludham with their cracked exteriors (Fig.2, nos 10-13), and one of those from Pulham Market with a large stone inclusion in the stem (no.14), suggest the use of a clay that was perhaps not as easy to prepare as the pipeclay from the south of England, and these particular examples came from areas where there are known post-medieval pottery kilns.¹⁸

Kilns are specifically mentioned in documents in Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn (see Appendix I), but little physical evidence has survived. Fragments of kiln wall lining (or muffle), consisting of lumps of clay with pipe stems embedded in them in a parallel arrangement, have been found in Lynn, Yarmouth and Norwich, and have also been found used as hardcore (Pottergate site 149N, Norwich: Atkin 1985). No kilns have been archaeologically recorded in Norfolk, although as late as 1927 a journalist was able to visit Richard Taylor's two kilns in Row 47, Yarmouth. Specialized kilns, though, were not always necessary, as the pipes could be fired in ovens¹⁹ or in a local potter's kiln (some bowls found in Norwich and Lynn are covered with green flash glaze).

The tools used in the trade are illustrated, and the manufacturing process described, in Oswald 1975 and Walker 1977. The only tools used by a Norfolk pipemaker to have survived to the knowledge of the writer are three 19th century pipemoulds. One of the two in the Elizabethan House Museum, Yarmouth, produced a plain long-stemmed pipe with four dots in a square on the spur; the other produced a turbanned head (Atkin forthcoming). The mould in the Newarkes House, Leicester, was reputed to have been used in the business of R.W. Taylor, 60 North Quay, Yarmouth (Daniell 1964, 60), but

there seems to be no evidence to corroborate this. The mould produced a 15in-long pipe, with a rosette on the spur (not plain as stated by Daniell), and is of (?early) 19th century date. The name JONES LONDON is inscribed on the exterior of one of the mould halves. According to John Harris jnr of Yarmouth in 1927, 'moulds . . . of iron . . . [were] made 60 years ago by Jones and Bagshaw of London'. (A pipemaker named Henry Bradshaw (*sic*) is recorded in Earls Court in 1861-66: Oswald in litt.). Other than this reference, the mouldmakers' names are not known, although iron pipe moulds in other parts of the country are known to have been made by local blacksmiths or by the pipemakers themselves, from the 17th to the 19th centuries (Oswald 1984, 17-18; Dagnall 1984, 24-5). The distinctive shapes of the Pulham Market/Harleston bowls (Fig.2, nos 14-22) or the late 19th century bowls from Wells (nos 24-25) could have been made in locally produced moulds. If the mould maker was unused to such work, the pipes might exhibit a misalignment of the two halves of the mould (Fig.2, nos 10-13).

The Pipes

The general lack of stratified finds causes difficulties in compiling an accurate Norfolk typology. Date ranges have been given for the illustrated pipes principally based on the London series of bowl forms (Atkinson and Oswald 1969), and the Norwich stratified sequence (Atkin forthcoming). Stem bore analysis developed by Binford and Harrington (Oswald 1975, chapter 6 for a summary) has not been used due to its inaccuracy on independently-dated pipe-groups in Norwich.

The sequence of figures is roughly chronological: Fig.2 illustrates unmarked 17th-century bowls, most of them probably locally-made and distributed within a limited area; the other figures show a selection of local and non-local decorated pipes. The illustrations are not intended to represent an exhaustive survey of Norfolk pipes, nor are they representative of the range of designs in any one particular town; they have been chosen to illustrate trends in shape and design in the county. Work on a full index of pipe-types in Norfolk is in progress.²⁰

Abbreviations

AHM	Ancient House Museum, Thetford
AO	Atkinson and Oswald 1969, figs.1 and 2
GYM	Great Yarmouth Museums
KLM	King's Lynn Museums
m.	milling ²¹
NAU	Norfolk Archaeological Unit
NCM	Norwich Castle Museum
SHM	Strangers Hall Museum
unprov.	unprovenanced

Early-mid 17th century

The earliest pipes found in Norfolk (Fig.2, nos 1-3) closely resemble London pipes dating to between c.1600 and 1640 (AO 1969, fig.1, nos 4-8). A monopoly (in existence in 1601) was imposed by the London pipemakers making it illegal to produce pipes outside the capital, though the presence of Norfolk men described as pipemakers before the withdrawal of the monopoly in 1640, suggest that some pipes, at least, are likely to be of local manufacture. The absence of clear diagnostic features make it difficult to ascribe any early 17th-century bowls to Norfolk makers with any certainty.

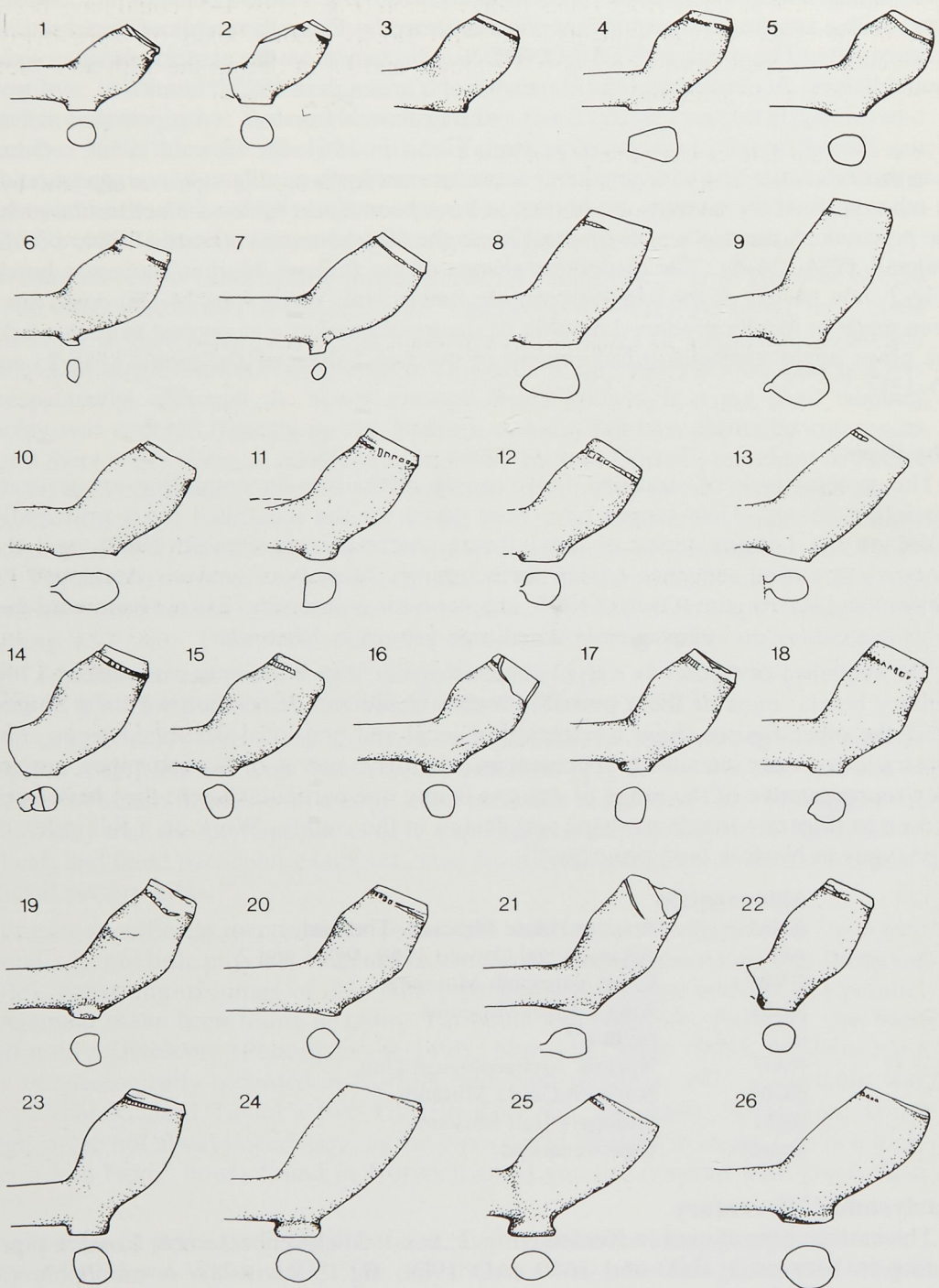


Fig. 2

Unmarked bowls: nos 1-7, early-mid 17th century; nos 8-23, 17th century, local; nos 24-26, late 17th century, local. Scale 1:2.

Thus, bowls such as those from Hales Hall, Loddon (Fig.2, nos 4–5) could have been made in either London or Norfolk. The Port Books record boxes of pipes being occasionally shipped from London to Yarmouth and Lynn during the 17th and 18th centuries (Atkin forthcoming).

Fig.2 Early–mid 17th century unmarked bowls

1. 1600–30. Wells estuary. Similar to AO 1969, no.5. Dottle (excess clay pushed into bowl by stem wire and usually hooked out) was not removed, so cannot have been smoked. Unless exported from ?London as a second, is more likely to have been locally made. (Paquay coll.)
2. 1600–30. AO 1969, no.5. Ludham (Stevens coll.).
3. 1610–40. Similar to AO 1969, no.4. m.4, white inclusion, base merging into stem. Baconsthorpe Castle bank (NAU excavation).
- 4–5. 1620–50. Amongst forty bowls of first half 17th century. Hales Hall excavations.
- 6–7. Spurred bowls, 1650–70. No.6, Highgate, King's Lynn (KLM). No.7, unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM). Similar to AO no.15. 17th-century spurred pipes are common in London and pipemaking centres in the north (ie Chester: Rutter and Davey 1980, figs 9–10, 12–15), but not in Norfolk (one example each at Bunwell and Hales Hall). A few occur in Norwich pipe groups c.1620–70, none occur after c.1670.

After c.1640 bowl-shapes varying from the contemporary London products began to appear in increasing numbers, as seen in the excavated groups in Norwich (Atkin 1985). Outside Norwich, the 'South Norfolk' group of bowls (Fig.2, 14–22) are clear evidence of a localised style – the shape of them characterised by the distinctive middle bulge. In general, local pipe production of this date can be characterised by the presence of inclusions, perhaps indicating a local clay source (no.14), or by a crudity of manufacture (nos 11, 12), or crudely applied milling under the rim (nos 10–13).

On the basis of size, shape and general finishing (the way in which the rim is neatened, or the milling applied), Fig.2, nos 8–22 probably date after 1640, and before 1675.

Fig.2 17th century unmarked bowls – local

- 8–9. 1640–70. Amongst over 30 bowls from 12 Castle St, Thetford, next door to former Three Hoops Inn. All are similar in shape and finish (AHM, T976.296).
- 10–13. ?1650s–70s, Ludham (group of 18 from fieldwalking in one area: Stevens coll.). Crudely made; visible misalignment of two halves of mould (no.11), badly trimmed bases and seams. Cracks in clay, and rough or abraded exteriors. Milling large and carelessly applied to front of bowls.
- 14–22. South Norfolk type. Many with smooth 'shiny' exteriors. Found in significant numbers in Pulham Market and Harleston. Others all from south Norfolk/north Suffolk border (e.g. no.15), and Brandon and Ipswich in Suffolk. Available evidence suggests a distribution in the border area of Norfolk and Suffolk in the Waveney valley.
- 14, 21–22. Pulham Market (Chambers coll.)
15. M.2, thick stem. Little Ouse at Blaydon Bridge, Thetford (AHM, T975.114)
16. One of three identical bowls from The Crown PH, Pulham Market (Chambers coll.)
17. Light greyish exterior. Pulham Market (Chambers coll.)
18. Found in garden on Wilderness Lane, Harleston (Nelson coll.)
- 19, 20. The Hope PH, Harleston (Chambers coll.)
23. ?1670s/80s, Yarmouth (GYM). Large bulbous/waisted bowl, round base, thick walls, and usually m.2. Most examples from Yarmouth (GYM); one from Hales Hall excavations. Larger than contemporary Norwich types, c.1660–80 – a Yarmouth variation?

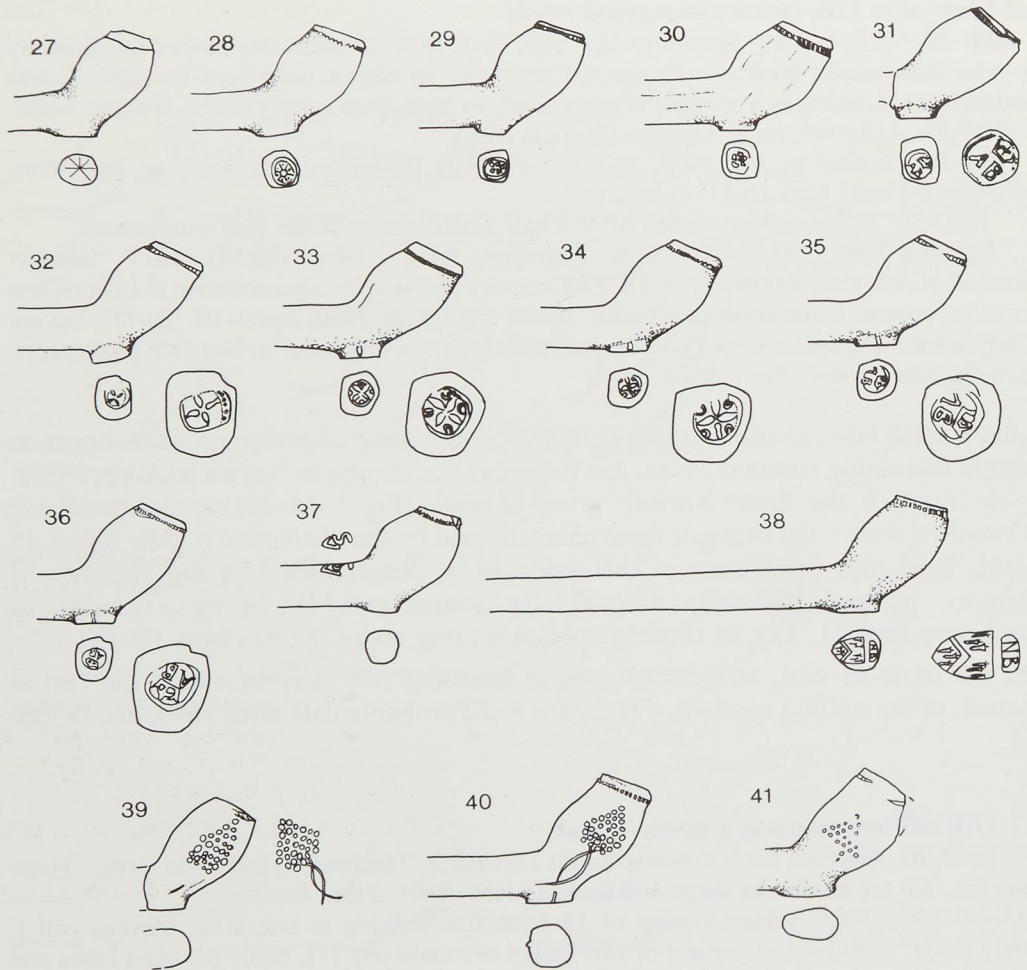


Fig. 3
 Nos 27-36, early 17th century marked bowls - ?non-local; nos 37-41, early-mid 17th century
 marks. Scale 1:2, stamps at 1:1.

The origins and meaning of some early 17th-century marks are uncertain. Some, such as the wheel and pellet (Fig. 3, nos 27–28), may have originated in the early pipemaking centre of London and been exported around the country. However, finds of wheel marks in Plymouth on bowls that were possibly locally-made (Oswald 1969, 130) and in an early 17th-century kiln group in Boston, Lincs. (White 1979, figs 1 and 2), suggest that the mark was also used by makers outside the capital between c. 1625 and 1650.

The use of initials stamped in relief on the base (Fig. 3, nos 31, 35–6) or the Tudor rose and its variants (Fig. 3, nos 29–30), began in London c. 1610, but also became a feature of the early 17th century Dutch industry (see above, p. 120). The five bowls from Greyfriars in Yarmouth (Fig. 3, nos 32–36) have the same mould flaw on the right hand side of the base,²² but the stamps are of two kinds – AB crowned and the four-leaved rose – and therefore must have been used by the same maker. The connections between London, Norfolk and the Low Countries blur attribution more, perhaps, than in other areas of the country. At Plymouth and Aberdeen, for instance, the presence of large numbers of early 17th-century Dutch pipes and pottery is due to trade with the Low Countries (Oswald 1969; Davey 1982). In Norwich, there is evidence of extensive trade in Low Countries 17th-century pottery (Jennings 1981, 134, 136, 187) though not of pipes. However, large numbers of Dutch and Flemish refugees did settle in the City and form large communities. Some of them were, or became, pipemakers, such as the Walloon family of Canby in Norwich in the second half of the 17th century.

Fig. 3 Early 17th-century marked bowls – ?non-local

27. Spoked wheel in relief, 1600–30. Rollesby (Carter coll.). Parallels in London and Boston.
 28. Six-spoked wheel with pellets in relief, 1600–40. Hales Hall moat excavations. Parallels in London. Wheels or rosettes are found in London and the Home Counties c. 1590–1630: Oswald 1975, 63; 8-spoked examples in Plymouth and Boston c. 1625–50.
 29. 5-heart-shaped leaved rose. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM P58).
 30. As no. 29, 1640–60. Burnished. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM). Cf. Duco 1981, no. 16 for similar bowl made in Amsterdam 1640s, and stamp no. 66, Amsterdam. Mark probably originates from Tudor rose. Found in Norwich c. 1620–60; Coventry (Muldoon 1979, fig. 1, nos 4–5); and Plymouth (Oswald 1969, fig. 58: no. 71n ?Dutch bowl; no. 72r Dutch bowl).
 31. AB crowned. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM, P32). Pinkish exterior. Relief initials in circular stamps occur in London c. 1610; in Norwich excavated groups of c. 1620–50.
 32–36. Greyfriars, Yarmouth (NCM). All have a 'mould flaw' on right side of base; all m. 4.
 32. 4-leaved rose, no pellets.
 33–34. 4-leaved rose and pellets. No. 33 burnished
 Cf. Duco 1981, no. 36, for stylised rose and pellets in relief on both sides of Amsterdam bowl, 1630–55.
 35–36. AB crowned, 1640–60.

The earliest datable SV marks incised into the stem (Fig. 3, no. 37) are from London, c. 1620–40, and the latest are from Lincolnshire, dated 1680–1720 (maker unknown). The mulberry design (Fig. 3, nos 39–41) has been found mainly in the Midlands, the eastern side of England and the West Country, from c. 1650 (Oswald 1975, 96, fig. 20, map 5). Both the SV and mulberry bowls show slight variations on the general themes, and perhaps local makers copied the idea then created their own version of it – hence the appearance in Norfolk of three variant mulberry designs. They clearly represent a bunch of grapes with a stem more nearly than the contemporary designs found elsewhere (Coventry: Muldoon 1979, fig. 1, nos 1a–d). Oswald has suggested that it may be an inn sign.

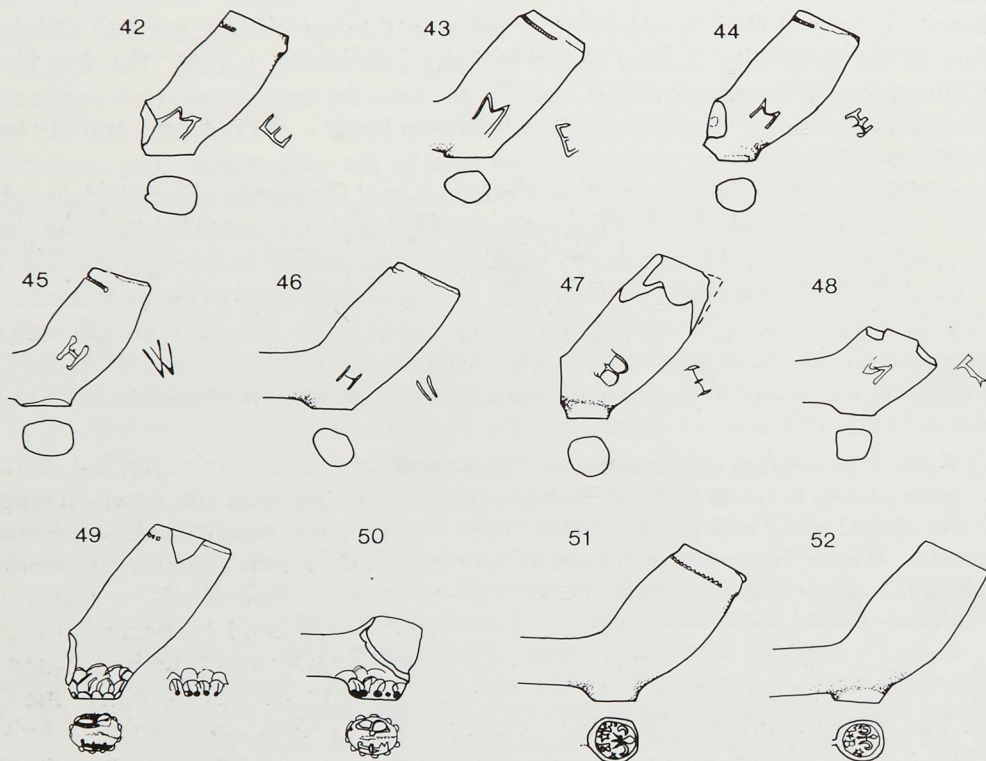


Fig. 4
 Nos 42-48, mid 17th century local marked bowls; nos 49-52, ?local marks, c. 1680-1700.
 Scale 1:2.

The Grocers' Arms (Fig.3, no.38) are rarely found on pipes. These arms are more commonly found on 17th-century Norwich traders' tokens issued between 1650 and 1671 (Williamson 1967, 840). The initials NB, in relief over the arms, may be the name of a grocer (eg Nicholas Bilham: Williamson 1967,853), or a pipemaker (Nicholas Baxter) – both of them working in Norwich *c.* 1660. Because Norfolk pipemakers of the middle of the 17th century rarely stamped their pipes on the base, and as the exact provenance of no.38 is not known, the contemporary Norfolk parallels for the initials might be just coincidences. The design may, however, suggest a link between the engravers of the tokens and the pipe-stamp makers about whom nothing is known.²³

Fig.3 Early-mid 17th century marks

37. SV incuse on stem, bowl dated 1620–40. Heydon (NCM). Burnishing strokes visible on dull grey/buff exterior; m.4.
 38. Grocers' Arms, NB above, in relief. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM). Burnished, buff/grey clay. Cf. Oswald 1975, fig.16, no.6 from Odiham, Hants for Grocers' Arms with MB, *c.* 1650. Grocers' Arms without chevron from Three Cranes Wharf, London (pers. comm. A. Oswald).
 39. Mulberry/grapes. Wolferton (KLM, A1356).
 40. Mulberry/grapes. Sainsbury site, Vancouver Centre, Lynn (KLM, A1149).
 41. Mulberry, crudely made, heavily blackened. Norwich Rd allotments, Thetford (AHM, T976.175). Dated by Oswald 1650–60 (AHM notes).
 Note differences in stem of grapes from Coventry, Muldoon 1979, fig.1, nos 1a–d.

After *c.* 1650, the localised distribution of distinctive marking styles suggests definite local manufacture. Large relief initials stamped on the sides of bowls dating to 1650/60–80 (Fig.4, nos 42–48) have been found in the eastern side of Norfolk, principally in the Broads area between Yarmouth and Norwich, and as far south as Harleston, and at Metfield just across the Waveney in Suffolk. River traffic was probably responsible for bowls similarly-marked (with MC and EM) being found in or near Norwich (Atkin forthcoming). The only makers' names to fit the initials and the date of the bowls are two Yarmouth men, Harpley and Mitchell. The origin of the style is unclear. Contemporary relief initials on the bowl-body sides were combined with the mulberry mark in the Midlands (*c.* 1650–70: Oswald 1975, 90). Similar uses of the style occur *c.* 1660–90 at Coventry and Lincoln, and *c.* 1670–1720 in Lynn (Fig.5, no.64) and Ipswich, Suffolk.²⁴

Fig.4 17th century marked bowls – local

- 42–48. Initials in relief. Short line of milling on bowl facing the smoker. *c.* 1650–80.
 42. EM. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM, P47; and P6 unillustrated).
 43. EM. Beeches Farm, Ludham. (Stevens coll.). (?)Edward Mitchell working in Yarmouth in 1663 (see Appendix I).
 44. E/J M. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM, P45).
 45. WH. East Ruston (Withers coll.).
 46. WH. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM, P26). ?William Harpley of Yarmouth, a freeman in 1673.
 47. E/J B. Unprov. ?Yarmouth (GYM, P10).
 48. ?T N. Two examples from Harleston (Dinn coll.).

Two variations in marking styles occur *c.* 1670/80. Both are uncharacteristic of Norfolk makers, particularly in the use of a base stamp at this date (nos 51–52), but both styles have a limited distribution and may be of local manufacture. Nos 49–50 are from east Norfolk, in the same area as nos 42–48. Further find-spots may provide the clue to the origin of the decoration.

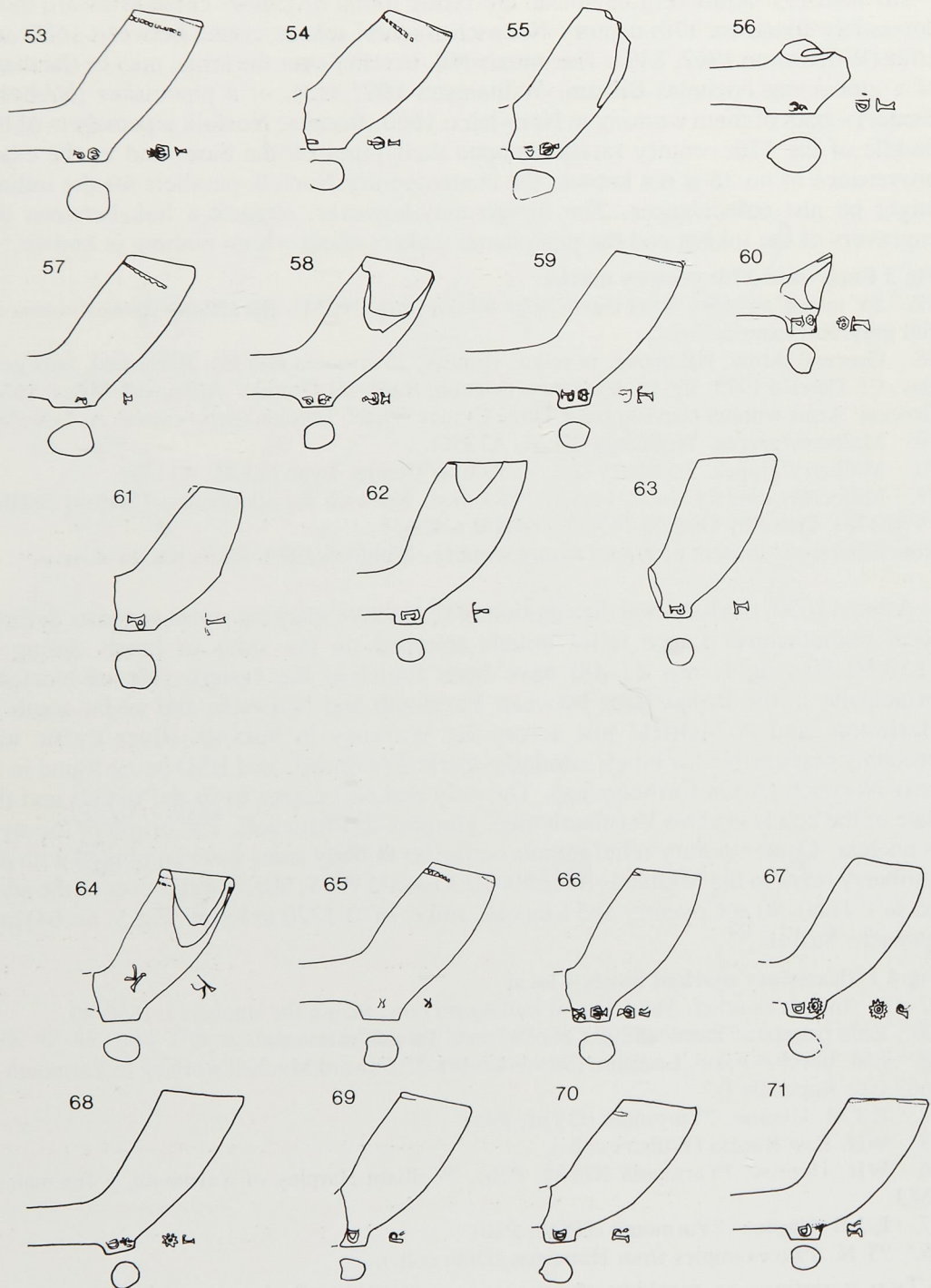


Fig. 5
Late 17th/early 18th century - Parsley, King and Dunn. Scale 1:2.

Several bowls marked MB separated by stars with a fleur-de-lys over (nos 51–52) have been found on sites in Lynn and one in Wells estuary. The style of the mark is reminiscent of types used by makers in the north of England; certainly no late 17th/early 18th century base stamps occur in Norwich, where the emphasis is on initials on the base sides. (A more detailed study of the excavated Lynn pipes may shed more light on the origin of the MB mark. If not imports, they represent influences on the Lynn pipemakers different from those on the Norwich makers.)

Fig.4 ?Local Marks 1680–1700

49. Unprov. ? Yarmouth (GYM).

50. Ludham (Stevens coll.) 1680–1700. Relief decoration of dots and arches; unclear whether marks on base are continuation of design, or initials E/I B (perhaps a connection with no.47?). No other examples known.

51. Milled (KLM, DLS 72).

52. Unmilled. Wells estuary (Paquay coll.). MB, fleur-de-lys, three stars. Several examples from Lynn sites. Similar marks on York bulbous types from London, Hull and Virginia (pers. comm. A. Oswald).

Late 17th and 18th centuries

A peak in the industry in Norfolk occurred during the late 17th/early 18th century, as evidenced by the increase in the number of recorded makers, and the increase in tobacco imports and tonnage of pipeclay shipments.

In Norwich, large numbers of pipes of this date have been found, characterised by an increased capacity for tobacco, and a reduction in the bulbousness of the preceding period in favour of straighter sides (Botolph Street, site 281N: Atkin 1985). Similar shapes are found throughout Norfolk (Fig.4, no.49). Fig.2, nos 24–26 show two variations found in the north of the county at Great Bircham and Wells, which, because they are isolated examples, may be very localised products.

Examples of a much thinner type of bowl, both flat-based and spurred (Fig.9, nos 123–126), have been found in coastal areas (Lynn, Wells and Yarmouth), and correspond to contemporary shapes produced in other east coast centres, particularly London and Hull (AO 1969, fig.2, nos 20–22; Watkins 1979, fig.2, type IV). None have been found in Norwich or inland areas of Norfolk and are more likely to have been rubbish thrown from visiting trading vessels than deliberately imported, as Norfolk's pipemaking industry appears to have been self-sufficient from the second half of the 17th century.

Fig.2 Late 17th/early 18th century unmarked bowls

24–25. 1680–1700. Odd shape of the bowls suggests a local maker, perhaps in Wells.(Paquay coll.)

26. c.1680–1700. Great Bircham (Fontaine coll.). Distinct forward lean of bowl very different from usual Norfolk shape.

Fig.9 Late 17th/early 18th century non-local English

123–126. 1680–1710. London types, AO fig.2, nos 20–22; Hull, Watkins 1979, fig.2, type IV.

123, 125. ?Yarmouth (GYM).

124, 126. Wells estuary (Paquay coll.)

By c. 1670/90, initials were being incorporated into the mould, a practice adopted by Robert King of Lynn (a master in 1674), and his apprentice Robert Dunn; Thomas Parsley in Redenhall; and (?)Jane Morgan, a master in Norwich in 1693. The bowl-types they produced are datable to c.1680–1735/40 (Fig.5, nos 53–71). King, and

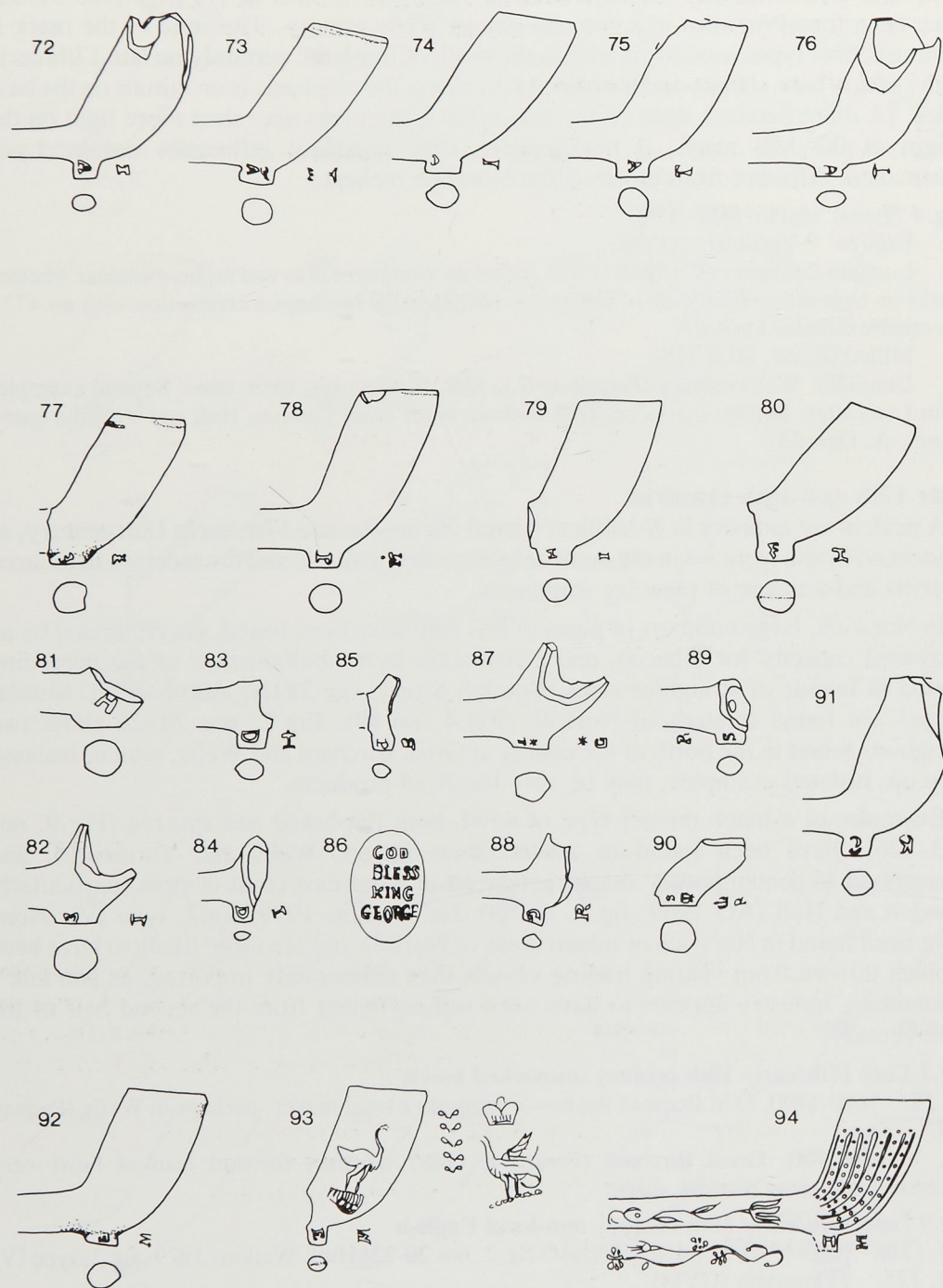


Fig. 6

Nos 72-91, late 17th and 18th century initialled pipes found in Norfolk; nos 92-94, Emms, 19th century. Scale 1:2, except no. 86 at 1:1.

particularly Parsley, used a crown over the initials (a motif which occurred in London c.1680: AO 1969, 181), though its significance is not understood.

Figs 5 and 6 Late 17th/early 18th century

Fig.5

Thomas Parsley, Redenhall-with-Harleston, 1722-36 (recorded 1692-1750)

53-56. Bowl shapes c.1680/90-1710

53. Crowned. Harleston (Nelson coll.)

54. Bunwell (Day coll.)

55-56. Harleston (Nelson coll.)

57. Bunwell (Day coll.) Similar mark, Harleston (Nelson coll.)

58. Unmilled. Bunwell (Day coll.)

59. Harleston (Chambers coll.)

60-62. Harleston (Nelson coll.) Nos 61 and 62 have knife-cut rims, and therefore post-date 1700.

63. Unmilled, knife-cut rim; bowl-shape c.1720-40. Harleston (Nelson coll.)

See also Atkin 1985, Alms Lane (site 302N), fig.42, no.12, for TP crowned, c.1690-1730.

Robert King, Lynn, 1674-1710

64. RK, relief retrograde initials, m.2, c.1670-90. Gaywood smithy, nr Lynn (KLM).

65. RK, smaller relief initials than no.64, m.2, c.1670-90. (KLM). Another example from Pilot Street, Lynn (Christmas coll.)

66. RK crowned, m.2, c.1680-1710. Queen St, Lynn (KLM).

Robert Dunn, Lynn, 1708-1737

67-68. RD rosette. Lynn (KLM, DLS 43).

69-71. RD, Lynn. No.71 from 43 High St, Lynn (KLM, DLS 183).

Fig.6

?Joseph and Thomas Alderson, Lynn

72. IA. ?Joseph Alderson, 1708-32. Found with nos 74 and 76.

73. TA. Thomas Alderson, 1731/2. Found at Southery, on the Gt Ouse (KLM, DLS 87).

74. TA. Pilot Street, Lynn (Christmas coll.).

75. TA. (KLM, DLS 57).

76. TA (as no.74).

Fig.6, nos 77-92, illustrate a selection of the initialled bowls found in various parts of Norfolk. Some can be tentatively ascribed to documented makers, taking into account the date of the bowl, the find-spot and the working life of the maker. Others cannot be ascribed to any maker and may prove to be products of makers who supplied a very limited area (e.g. no.77).

Fig.6 Late 17th and 18th century marks found in localised areas of Norfolk.

77. IE. (?)John Edgar, master of apprentice 1731. Wymondham (Coppard coll.).

78. MP, with dot above M. c.1700-40. Found Lynn (KLM, DLS 68).

79. IH. Wells estuary (Paquay coll.).

80. HW. Baconsthorpe castle (HBMC excavation).

81. [?] H. 1680-1700. Ludham (Stevens coll.).

82. I [?]. Harleston (Nelson coll.).

83. || D. Crossmark on inner base, common on mid-18th century bowls. Dredged from Little Ouse at Thetford. 1740-60 (Oswald, AHM notes). (AHM, 1976.173q).

84. ID. Bunwell (Day coll.).

85. BP. Swaffham (Christmas coll.). ?Reversed for Priscilla Browne, working in Norwich and Thetford, 1865-69.

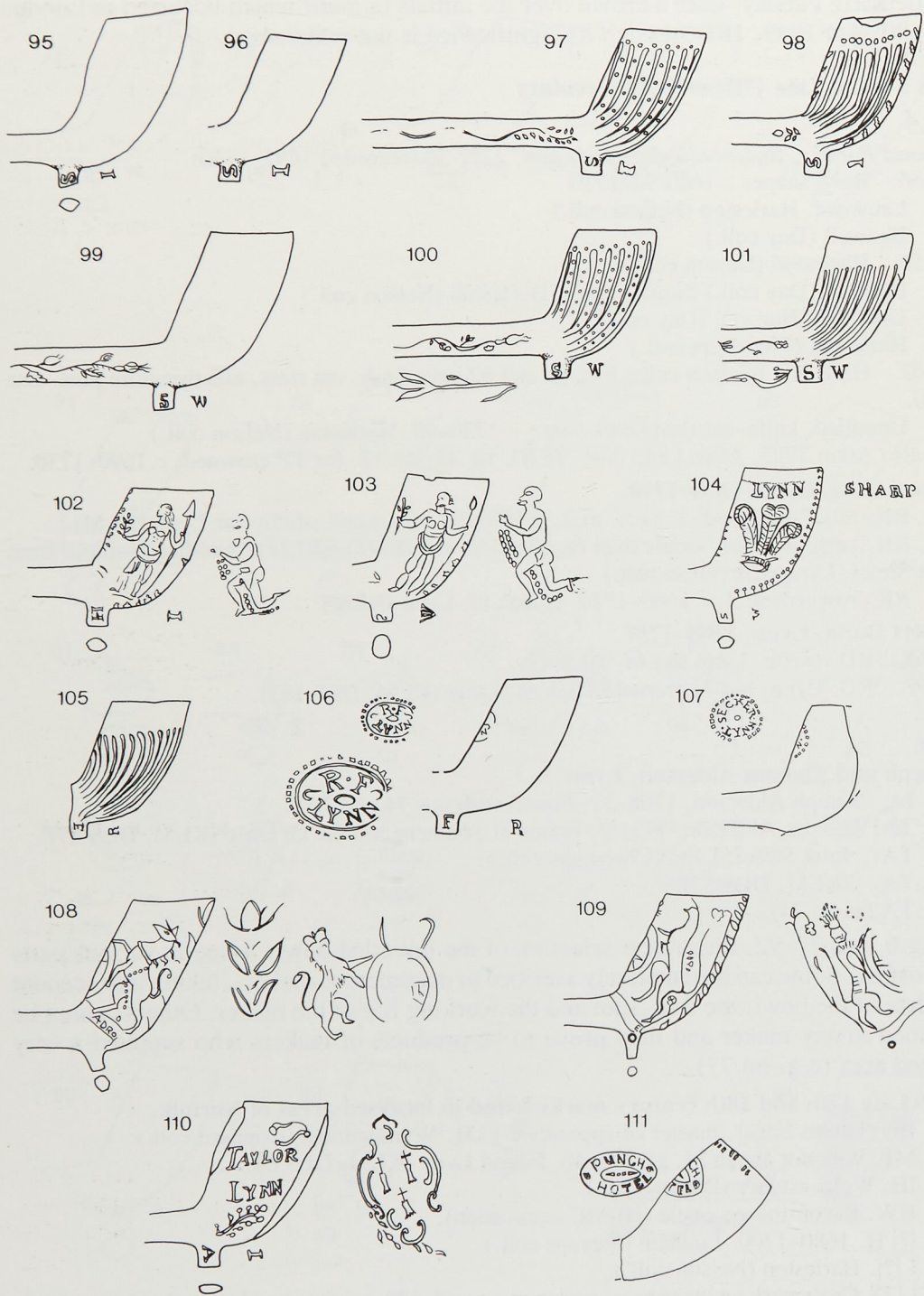


Fig. 7
King's Lynn makers - late 18th/19th centuries. Scale 1:2.

86. GOD BLESS KING GEORGE. Incuse in roundel on stem fragment. Ludham (Stevens coll.). Six similar examples among thirty-two bowls and stems excavated at Market Gates site, Yarmouth. Other marks in group include: GOD BLESS KING GEORGE QUEEN CAROLINE; GOD BLESS KING GEORGE II. Dated to between 1727 and 1760. (Summary of site by J. Sewter, *Norfolk Research Committee Bulletin*, May 1973).
Cf. Le Cheminant 1981, fig.23, no.38, who illustrates a similar stem mark with crown, c.1720-40, and he notes that similar slogans appear on glass and pottery at beginning of George's reign.
87. GI (possibly T?) with star above each letter. Harleston (Nelson coll.). Only example. Early 18th century.
88. RG. Harleston (Nelson coll.). Only example. 18th century.
- 89-90. RS uncrowned and crowned. Bunwell (Day coll.). RS uncrowned occurs in Norwich where Richard Skipper (apprenticed in 1699) is usually suggested as the maker. No other examples of RS crowned (no.90) are known from the city or surrounding areas.
91. RS reversed. Barton Bendish (NAU excavation). Unusual bowl shape for Norfolk, of mid-18th century date, and probably not by the RS who produced nos.89 and 90.
92. ME. Found at Castle Acre Castle excavation (NCM loan from Lord Coke). Three examples from Wells estuary (Paquay coll.), so probably Matthew Emms of Wells, 1839-56.

Decorated bowls c.1740-1840

In general, London makers set the style for pipe decoration during the mid-18th century, though the distribution of some late 18th/early 19th century designs (e.g. Fig.7, nos. 102-103; Fig.8, no.114) suggests an interplay of influences throughout the Midlands and the east coast counties that do not emanate from London.

Bowls with the Royal or Hanoverian Arms are probably the first in the series, in use from c.1740. Locally-made examples have been found in Lynn (Fig.7, nos.108-109), Yarmouth (Fig.8, no.113) and Norwich (Atkin forthcoming).

The City or Town Arms of Lynn (Fig.7, no.110), Yarmouth (Fig.8, nos.115-117) and Norwich (Atkin forthcoming) date from c. 1770 to the mid-19th century.

The political and social climate of the late 18th and early 19th centuries was reflected in pipe designs, particularly the anti-slavery campaign. The theme is found on pipes mainly distributed on the eastern side of England, from East Anglia through the fens to Lincolnshire. The Lynn pipes, though, differ from contemporary Norwich examples (the slave faces a different direction) and may reflect a more direct influence from the west and north than from the same county. There are no apparent links between the pipemakers in Lynn and Lincolnshire, but there were well-used droving routes through the counties, bringing cattle from the north of England and Scotland, through Wisbech, to be fattened on the grazing lands of Norfolk (Dymond 1985, 232-3).

Masonic symbols were used as pipe-decoration during a time when freemasons' societies were forming during the 18th and 19th centuries. The type illustrated was made by Harvey of Yarmouth (Fig.8, no.112), and a similar design with the initials TF was found at Lynn (unillustrated; there are also several examples from Norwich made by George Browne, deceased in 1830).

Commissions for pipes were common during the 19th and 20th centuries. Publicans and hotel owners ordered pipes with the name of their establishment (Fig.7, no.111, and Fig.8, no.120). The Colchester regiment specially ordered 50 gross of pipes from John Harris of Yarmouth (Yarmouth Mercury 1927).

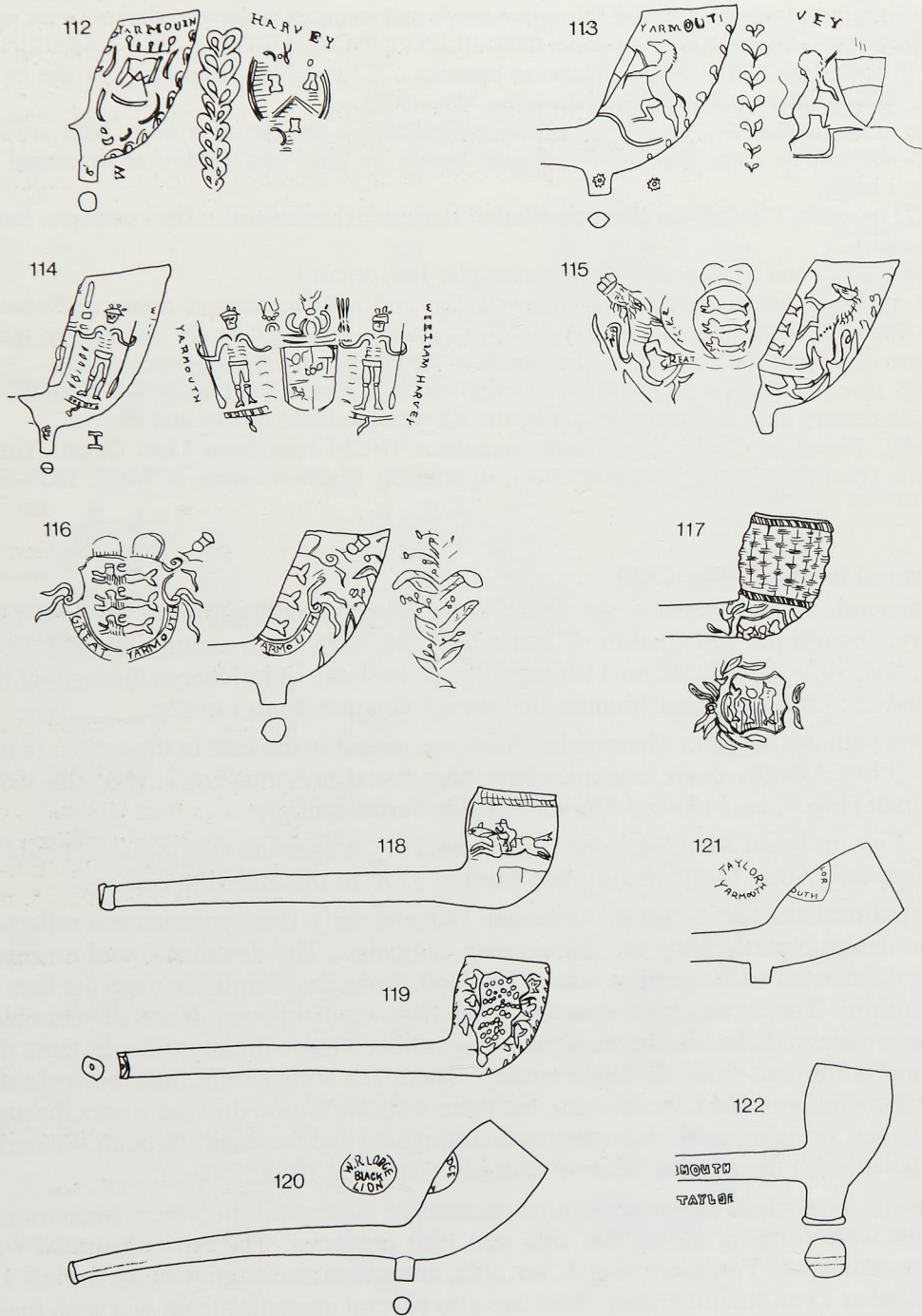


Fig. 8
Great Yarmouth makers - late 18th/19th and 20th centuries. Scale 1:2.

A local 'contract' to produce pipes may be suggested by the Ostrich design on bowls found only at Wells (Fig.6, no.93), probably made by Matthew Emms (*fl.* 1839–56). The design is taken from the Arms of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, who owned the nearby Holkham estate.²⁵ No pub by the name of Ostrich occurs in the 1799 recognizance rolls, but it does appear in the 1830 directory, implying that a pub was re-named in honour of Coke, or an event between those two dates. For instance, in 1819 Coke (a Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk) was appointed as Grand Superintendent, and installed at a Special Chapter at Holkham Hall (Le Strange 1896, 323).

18th and 19th century decorated

Fig.6

93. ME, wyvern on left, ostrich on right. Both are part of the Arms of Thomas Coke of Holkham. Several found Wells estuary (Paquay coll.)
 94. ME, ribs, tulip stem. Wells estuary (Paquay coll.)

Fig.7 King's Lynn makers

- 95–98. IS, John Stockdale, Lynn, 1820–21.
 95. Pilot Street, Lynn (Christmas coll.).
 96. Crossmark on inner base (KLM, DLS 55).
 97. Lynn (Wright coll.)
 98. From fireplace of farmhouse in East Tuddenham, found with bowls made by George Browne of Norwich (1801–30) (Wallis coll.).
 99–101. WS, William Sharp, Lynn, 1821–46. Apprentice of John Stockdale. (Wright coll.) Tulip on stem (no.100) also appears on bowls made by Emms (no.94), and Joseph Browne of Norwich (1818–42 or 1841–94). Used on stems of plain and ribbed bowls.
 102–103. Slave and liberty.
 102. IH. Probably John Hitchcock, Lynn, 1836–50. Poorly moulded. Acorn leaves on seam. (KLM, A1148)
 103. WS, William Sharp, Lynn. (KLM, DLS 23). Cf. Mann 1977, fig.24, nos 201–202 made by Smith (1810–60) and Lilburn (1800–72), both of Lincoln. Similar design from Gainsborough (1834–69) and Wisbech (1850–65) (Walker and Wells 1979, fig.5, no.7). One Norwich maker, William Hensell (1819–51), produced a variation of the anti-slavery design. George Watkinson of Market Rasen, Lincs, produced a slightly different, later, version (Mann 1977, fig.25, nos 203 and 204).
 104. SHARP LYNN. (?)William Sharp(e), 1821–46. Prince of Wales' Feathers both sides of bowl. St John's Walk, Lynn (KLM, DLS 112).
 105. RF, 13 ribs each side. Robert Flanders, Lynn, 1822–45 (KLM, DLS 154; Wright coll.).
 106. RF LYNN, incuse. Thin walls (KLM, DLS 180).
 107. SECKER LYNN, incuse. Thomas Secker, Lynn, 1821–22. Found Castle Acre Castle excavation (NCM loan from Lord Coke) – no other examples.
 108. Hanoverian Arms, mid 18th century (KLM, DLS 22). Four other examples from Lynn with left side of shield missing, all from same mould. Cf. Atkinson and Oswald 1980, fig.2, nos 1, 4 and 5 for seam detail; and fig.4, no.46 for motto similar to types dated to c.1735–70.
 109. Hanoverian Arms, held by elongated supporters. Early 19th century. Found on Norfolk Street, Lynn (KLM). Two examples. Cf. *ibid.*, fig.3, no.26 for seam detail similar to types dated to c.1820–65.
 110. TAYLOR LYNN, Lynn crest. IA on spur ?Joseph Alderson, though shape of bowl suggests a later maker. Several examples found in Lynn (KLM). No Taylor recorded as making pipes in Lynn – perhaps made to commemorate a person or event?
 111. PUNCH HOTEL, found at Gt Bircham (Fountaine coll.). There was a Punch Bowl Hotel in Lynn in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but no hotel of that precise name is listed in Norfolk directories.

Fig.8

112. Masonic bowl, made by William Harvey, Yarmouth, *fl.* 1801. (SHM, 59.934)

113. Royal arms, lion and unicorn supporters. Harvey, Yarmouth. (SHM, 135.22)

114. Supporters and shield; WILLIAM HARVEY parallel to seam (SHM, 59.934, one of four examples). Possibly arms of Prussia (connection with Battle of Waterloo), post-1815 (Watkins 1979, fig.6, no.46).

Position of name parallel to seam similar to bowls produced between *c.* 1760 and mid 19th century in: Leeds (Muldoon 1979, fig.14, no.60); Norwich (Atkin forthcoming); and Hull (see fig.9, no.128, and Walker and Wells 1979, 23). Oswald (in Walker and Wells 1979, 25) dated Harvey's bowls to *c.* 1780-1800 on the basis of shape; only known date is 1801 (and pre-1840s, see Appendix I).

115-117. Arms of Yarmouth: three demi-lions conjoined to three herrings.

115. (GYM).

116. *c.* 1770 (GYM).

117. Mid 19th century (Carter coll.).

Late 19th-20th centuries

This period saw the apparent decline of the industry in Norwich and Lynn. The designs of Victorian pipes were many and varied, produced from moulds ordered from certain specialized mouldmakers, as the Jones London name on the Taylor mould confirms (see above, p.125). Locally made pipes cannot be distinguished unless the moulds were modified. The familiar basket weave design was modified by adding the Arms of Yarmouth (Fig.8, no.117); or by impressing SHERWOOD THETFORD incuse on the stem (AHM, unillustrated); and numerous examples have been found with R.W. TAYLOR MAKER NORTH QUAY YARMOUTH incuse on the stem. (A late incuse mark by Richard Taylor is Fig.8, no.122). The names of the pipemakers were also stamped on the bowl facing the smoker, such as Fig.7, nos 106 and 107; Fig.8, no.121 (a late example); and BROWNE THETFORD (unillustrated).²⁶

The long survival of the Yarmouth industry, without any real local competition, meant that vast numbers of pipes were produced for sale in the area, and were exported through local ports, including Lowestoft in Suffolk. Pipes marked with R.W. Taylor of 60 North Quay, Yarmouth have been found as far away as Oxfordshire (pers. comm. Malcolm Green) and Oakham Castle, Rutland (Oswald 1958). Taylor exhibited the largest clay pipe in the world at the Paris exhibition of 1878 - reputed to hold a stone of tobacco (Yarmouth Mercury 1927).

Fig.8 19th and 20th centuries

118-119. Group of bowls made by ?Taylor of Yarmouth. All unsmoked (GYM).

118. Jockey (six examples). Left side, jockey with whip raised.

119. Grapes, dottle left in bowl; mouthpiece clumsily finished.

120. W.R. LODGE BLACK LION. (GYM, Y99.983-1). In 1874, William R. Lodge owned Black Lion on north side of New Broad Row (now Queen St, off South Quay) in Yarmouth.

121. TAYLOR YARMOUTH incuse in roundel.

122. As above, incuse on stem. Very thin walls. ?Early 20th century (SHM, 13.15.54).

R.W. Taylor probably produced many of the common designs of 19th century pipes, plus special commissions - one of his soldier/cannon designs has been illustrated in Oswald 1975, plate VI, no.13, found in Ipswich; variations on this theme have been found in Norfolk.)

Pipes from northern England

References and comparisons have been made throughout to the influence of the London pipemaking industry. However, bowls made by late 18th and early 19th century

pipemakers in the north of England are also found in the coastal areas of Norfolk (Fig. 9, nos 127–130). The Hull makers, Westerdale and Pacy, are represented in the Wells estuary, Yarmouth and Lynn, but not in Norwich. These bowls were probably not imported but thrown overboard from the coastal coal ships.

The design of the bowls marked Westerdale Hull (Fig. 9, no. 128, and another unillustrated example in Lynn museum) and Harvey Yarmouth (Fig. 8, no. 114) are very similar. The anti-slavery pipes from King's Lynn (Fig. 7, nos 102–103) are very similar to pipes made in Lincolnshire and the Fenland (Wisbech). However, the similarities do not involve merely a common source of supply for the moulds, but a rather more complex process of copying small elements of the design, such as the positioning of the name under the rim (Fig. 8, nos 112–113) or along the seam (no. 114). The thick-ribbed, early 19th century bowls commonly produced in Hull (Fig. 9, no. 127) and the Midlands, for example, were not produced by Norfolk makers. Some of the contemporary designs made by George Browne of Norwich (a man smoking or a soldier presenting arms) have not been found out of Norfolk, and yet the positions of the names of the maker and town are the same. No link has yet been found between the two areas through the apprenticeship system (suggested as a link by Walker and Wells 1979). Nor was there an actual trading of pipes because the Norfolk pipemaking industry (and that of Lincolnshire and the North) were self-sufficient. The links may yet prove to be as a result of non-local pipes being easily transported (unlike many other types of goods) by such people as seamen and drovers, travelling regular routes from one county to another.

The Chester stem (Fig. 9, no. 131) is the only known example from the west of England to be found in Norfolk, and dates to between 1700 and 1720.

Fig. 9 18th and 19th century northern pipes

127. Stag's head and thick ribs. Westerdale, Hull. Found Wells estuary (Paquay coll.). Four Westerdales recorded between 1721 and 1823. Similar types produced by early 19th-century makers in Nottingham (Hammond 1982, fig. 6, no. 1).

128. Shield held by two stick indians. Westerdale, Hull. Found Wells estuary (Paquay coll.). Similar examples found in Yarmouth (GYM) and Lynn (KLM), all by Westerdale.

129–130. Thin ribs and drapes, Pacy Hull. Found Wells estuary (Paquay coll.). Cf. Watkins 1979, fig. 5, no. 18; William Pacy working 1823–51.

131. Lion in oval, below border of heart, fleur-de-lys. Found Wells estuary (Paquay coll.). Cf. Chester designs in Rutter and Davey 1980, fig. 55, no. 27: lion in oval c. 1710–20; fig. 59, border decoration, 1700–20.

Continental imports and finds

French, Dutch and German pipes were imported into Norfolk (and other areas) through agents; Leonard Hicks in Norwich is listed specifically as a retailer of Dutch and German pipes in 1836 (Karshner 1979), and the Taylors of Yarmouth imported cargoes of pipes from Holland and Belgium (Yarmouth Mercury 1927). One Fiolet stem was found amongst over 2000 stems on the site of a former pub at Lingwood – all the other marked stems were made by 19th-century Norwich makers.

Dutch pipes found in Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn date from the early 17th century to the 19th century. Those found in Norwich and Lynn could either have been traded or brought in by immigrants (see above, p. 129). Several early 17th-century decorated bowls and stems have been found in Norwich (Alms Lane, site 302N: Atkin 1985; Atkin forthcoming), but the relatively small numbers found, compared to Plymouth (Oswald

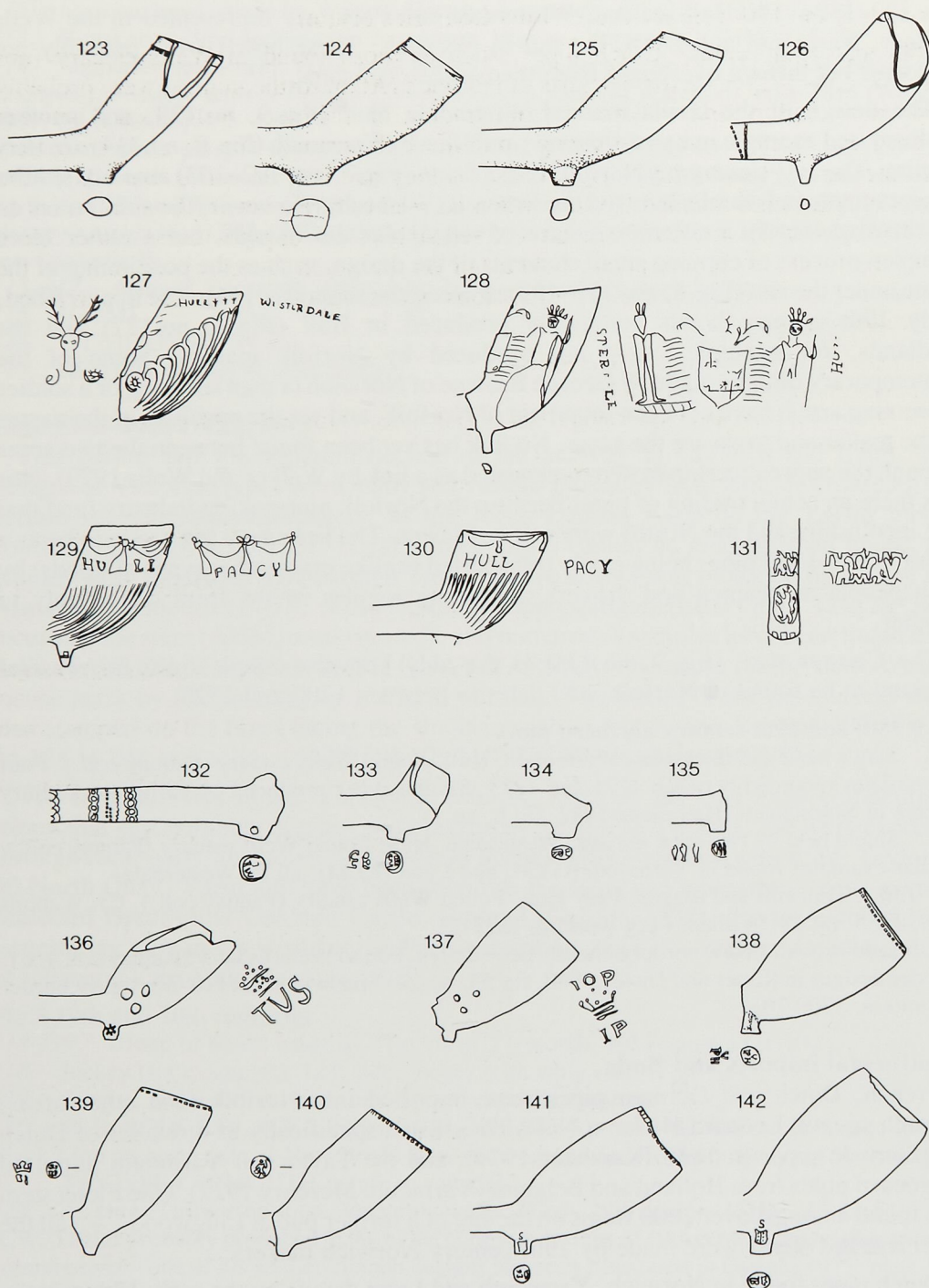


Fig. 9

Nos 123-126, late 17th/early 18th non-local English (?London); nos 127-131, 18th and 19th centuries northern pipes; nos 132-142, Dutch. Scale 1:2, marks on nos 131, 133, 135, 138, 139 at 1:1.

1969), suggest personal possession rather than trade (a third of the population of Norwich in the 17th century was of Low Countries origin).

18th and 19th century Dutch pipes, such as those found in Wells estuary (nos 132-137, 139-142) or on the outskirts of Norwich (Atkin forthcoming), were probably dropped by sailors and fisherman from trading or fishing vessels. Links between Holland and Norfolk remained strong up to the 19th century. The Dutch herring fleet were regular visitors to the Norfolk coast (as they had been in earlier periods). John Harris of Yarmouth recalled the time when he used to hire a rowing boat to go out to the Dutch fleet anchored off Yarmouth and sell all his stock of pipes to the sailors. Until 1830, the local Dutch community held a fair on the South Denes, Yarmouth, on the Sunday before Michaelmas and sold various wares imported from their homeland, including 'strange pipes'.

Fig.9 Dutch pipes, 18th and 19th centuries

Identifications based on Duco 1982

- 132. Decorated stem and base stamp (Paquay coll.). Late 17th/early 18th century.
- 133. Base stamp (Paquay coll.).
- 134. R crowned. Gouda, 1690/1700-1774 (Paquay coll.).
- 135. 3 herrings. Gouda, 1710/15-1761. (Paquay coll.).
- 136. IVS crowned, relief mark. Three relief dots on right side of bowl. Star on spur. ?1690/1719-58 (Paquay coll.)
- 137. IOP, relief mark. Three relief dots on right side of bowl. 1700/25-1725/30 (Paquay coll.)
- 138. PVH. Gouda, 1719-1837. Found Lynn (Wright coll.)
- 139. FI crowned. (Paquay coll.)
- 140. Man with shield (Paquay coll.). Bowl shape, early 18th century (Atkinson and Oswald 1972, fig.79).
- 141. 93 crowned, S over shield. Gouda, 1727-1875/6 (Paquay coll.). Bowl shape, third quarter 18th century (ibid, fig.79, no.28 or 29).
- 142. B crowned, S over arms of Gouda, 1661-1871/75 (Paquay coll.). Bowl shape date, as no.141.

S over a shield stands for *slegte*, meaning ordinary quality, a term introduced into the Gouda industry c.1740 (Atkinson and Oswald 1972, 177).

- 1 Knyvett-Wilson coll., Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO) KNY 633-636, 372 X 5
- 2 Dr Alan Metters kindly supplied this reference: PRO E190/433/12: 1611-12 Overseas (Customers Book). Only ten years earlier, in 1602, is the earliest record of tobacco coming into the port of London (MacInnes 1926, 34-5).
- 3 Allen Papers: Transcripts of the Blakeney Port books by Kenneth Allen, NRO MC 106/17, 560 x 7.
- 4 PRO E190/438/7: information from Dr Metters.
- 5 Walsingham (Merton) family and estate papers: correspondence concerning the possibilities of successfully growing tobacco in England (for cigarettes); purchasing the seedlings (from Carter and Co., London); and the problems of cultivation and curing. The Walsingham brand was apparently very strong, though not of the quality of the Virginian varieties. NRO WLS LXVIII/24-29, 54.
- 6 Knyvett-Wilson coll., NRO KNY 676-749, 372 x 5
- 7 This token is listed in Berry 1982, 367, giving the original source as Macfadyen 1907, but the validity of this cannot as yet be traced. Berry makes a link between surgeons and tobacconists, quoting Moore's will and inventory of 1688. However, there are two inventories in the NRO, one dated 1668 of Thomas More, apothecary, the other dated 1688 of Thomas Moore, physician, and both lived in East Dereham. Perhaps father and son? NRO inv.53A/43; inv.65A/6.
- 8 NRO NCC wills 171 Tennant; inv. 54/114.
- 9 NRO Y/C22/40.
- 10 NRO inv. 87/293.
- 11 PRO E159/477. These Norfolk licences will be discussed in greater detail in Atkin forthcoming.

- 12 Recent fieldwalking by Mike Hardy in the parish of Metfield, on the Suffolk side of the Waveney, has shown the existence of pottery kilns, and possibly of pipe kilns, though further investigation has to be done. Several marked bowl in the style of nos 42-48 are amongst the Metfield group.
- 13 Whether or not an inventory was filed seems to have been rather arbitrary and their presence or absence should not be taken as indicative of the status of the trade in general.
- 14 NRO PD 295/94 Overseers' Accounts and Poor Rate Assessments; PD 295/102 Order Book 1708-43; PD 295/116 goods lent by Wiatt to Parsley, 1743.
- 15 NRO Great Yarmouth Borough Archives, Y/C16.
- 16 John Fox of Spalding, 1671 (20 tons of black and white clay); James Harford, Boston, 1676 (5 tons at £5): published in P.K. Wells 'The pipemakers of Lincolnshire' in P.J. Davey (ed.) *The Archaeology of the clay tobacco pipe, I* (BAR 63, 1979).
- 17 Robert Collington, grocer and tallow chandler of Stamford, Lincs 1699-1731; took up pipemaking in 1731. Advert cited in *ibid.*, pp.160-1.
- 18 An iron-glazed ware kiln was found at Wroxham (Jennings 1981, 150). Two other post-medieval kilns at Woodbastwick and Potter Heigham were located in the same general area as the distribution of some of the initialled bowls of the third quarter of the 17th century (nos 42-47).
- 19 There are 17th century references to pipes being made by bakers, cooks or publicans – all trades with the need for large ovens (State Papers Domestic); I am grateful to Adrian Oswald for providing this reference.
- 20 The index will be deposited at Norwich Castle museum.
- 21 Milling is the term given to the line of rouletting below the rim. There are three main distinctions: a line only on the side of the bowl facing the smoker (m.2); the milling going three-quarters of the way round the rim (m.3); and milling all the way round (m.4). The economic 'significance', or otherwise, of the differences will be assessed in Atkin forthcoming.
- 22 A flaw in the mould could have caused the marks. However, Adrian Oswald (in litt.) notes that some makers/journeymen deliberately 'flawed' their products to distinguish one maker's batch from another – important if a maker was paid on piecework.
- 23 A link between a token and a pipe design is also suggested by Le Cheminant (1981), and in fig.130, no.22 he illustrates a pipe (c.1650-60) marked with three wheatsheaves (a pub sign?), and a 17th-century token with the same sign was found in close proximity. Oswald suggests (in litt.) that some pipemakers made their own stamps, e.g. a pipeclay stamper made by George Webb c.1680, in Taunton museum (unpublished).
- 24 See Oswald 1975, fig.4 lower, which includes the SB bowl in Ipswich Museum.
- 25 I am grateful to Nick Paquay for suggesting the connection between the pipe design and the Coke monument in Tittleshall church.
- 26 A bowl dredged from the Little Ouse (AHM, T976.173b) has BROWNE THETFORD impressed in a circle but the initials EC are on the spur – this may indicate that Browne took over the trade and workshop of Edward Craske, recorded in Thetford in 1850.

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Appendix I - Norfolk Pipemakers

Compiled from: Oswald 1975 based on Oak-Rhind's original lists; museum notes; lists by the late Fred Chambers; original documents in the NRO; notes compiled by Yarmouth & District Archaeological Society.

* denotes pipes found with initials or name of maker

Absolon, William snr	Yarmouth. 1757 advert: . . . stock . . . and kilns . . . Old Broad Row (Norwich Mercury: Howell 1980); died 1806
Alderson, Joseph*	Lynn. 1708 free; 1732
Alderson, Thomas*	Lynn. 1731/32 app & son of Joseph
Allen, Richard	Redenhall. 1736 app to T. Parsley (Oswald 1975)
Baker, Harry/Henry	Lynn, 5 Chapel St. 1892
Bargeley, G.	Lynn. 1853
Bargeley, Isaac	Lynn, Sedgford Lane. 1864-68
Bargeley, John/Jonathan*	Lynn, 9 Sedgford Lane. 1853-69
Barnewell, William	Lynn. 1695 app to J. King;-1699
Browne, Joseph	Thetford. 1853
Browne, Priscilla Mrs	Thetford, Croxton Rd. 1865-69; ?widow of William
Browne, William*	Thetford. 1853 Raymond St; 1858 Croxton Rd

- Bullimore, John Yarmouth. 1826 free by app. to Thomas Page; 1830/1 poll book; 1832 publican
- Bunting, L.B. Wymondham. 1731 app. to John Edgar
- Case, William Downham Market. ob.1690/91 (NRO inv.66/53; NCC Wills 1692, 90 Buckenham)
- Coates, Thomas (or Goates) Wiggshall St Germans. 1667 legal bond (PPL 37, KL 92.980)
- Cockerill, William Gorleston, High St. 1885
- Cooper, John Yarmouth. 1754 free; 1777 Polls
- Craske, Edward* Thetford. 1850
- Dunn, Robert* Lynn. 1708/9 app to R. King; Purfleet St d.1737 (NRO, NCC Wills 132 Claxton)
- Edgar, John* Wymondham. 1731 his app. L.B. Bunting
- Emms, Matthew* Wells. Workhouse St 1839-54; Fakenham Rd 1856
- Emms, William Thetford, Croxton Rd, 1869
- Emms, William Wells, Church St, 1858-79
- Esdaile, James jnr Lynn. 1820 free by app to J.B. Stockdale
- Fairest, Matthew Wells. 1715 E. Franklin his app.
- Flanders, George Lynn. 1839
- Flanders, Robert* Lynn, St Ann St, 1822-45
- Flanders, Joseph Lynn, 4 St Ann St, 1846-88
- Franklin, Edward Wells. 1715 app. to M. Fairest
- Fuller, Edward Yarmouth. 1812-20 London outvoter
- Gibbs, William Yarmouth. 1758 twinespinner; 1769 pipemaker, assigning lease of twine ground (NRO Y/C19/34/21)
- Goddard and Turner King's Lynn museum, on pipe stem (?W.N. Turner)
- Harpley, Alfred Yarmouth. 1806 free by app. to J. Harpley; -1847
- Harpley, Edward Yarmouth. 1694 free by purchase, £12 (NRO Y/C22/33); dead before 1718?; son is Thomas
- Harpley, E. Yarmouth Polls, 1812
- Harpley, James Yarmouth. 1765 free by app. to Robert Williams; -1807
- Harpley, William* Yarmouth. 1662 William Browne, son of Thomas, app. to Wm Harpley and Anna his wife until 24 years (NRO Register of Poor Apprentices Y/C22/40); 1673 (name of wife, Anna) (NRO Norw. Archdeaconry inv. parcel 3, no.147)
- Harris, Harriet Mrs Yarmouth, Row 51 1875-77, widow of John Harris snr
- Harris, John snr Yarmouth. 1849 family moved to Yarmouth; worked for James Taylor jnr. until 1852; shop and kiln Whitehorse Plain; 1856 free; 1859 Black Swan Row, took over J. Taylor snr business; 1871 died
- Harris, John jnr Yarmouth. Born 1846 in Norwich. App. to father 7 years; 1871-96 Row 51; 1876 fire at J.H.'s pipe manufactory adjoining Fishermen's Hospital, Priory Plain, £150 damage; factory Bowling Green Tavern until 1904; 1904-16 10a North Quay; 1932 died aged 85
- Harris and Thaxter Yarmouth. 1879 Row 51
- Harvey, William* Yarmouth. 1801 Sun Assurance policy £100: property on St Johns Head Row: pipe shop with chamber over but not communicating, a kiln therein £50, stock and utensils £50 (note by Rachel Young, GYM)
- Hitchcock, John* Lynn, Court 7, King St, 1836-50

- Hodge, John Yarmouth. 1663 app to Edward Mitchell (Mitchelss) at age 15, until 24 (NRO Register of Poor Apps. Y/C22/40)
- Holdgate, W. Lynn, Windsor Place South, 1846
- Holmes, Francis Lynn. 1709 app to R. King; 1712 app. to R. Whitehead (or Holmes 2?)
- Humphrey, James Lynn. 1765 free
- Jopling, Jonothan Lynn, 1/2 Norfolk St, 1853-54
- King, John Lynn. 1695 took apps J. Ransome & W. Barnewell
- King, Robert* Lynn. 1674 W. Mason his app.; 1708/9 R. Dunn his app.; 1709/10 F. Holmes his app.
- Kitchen, James Yarmouth. 1847
- Mason, William snr Lynn. 1654 free by purchase; 1672/3 R. Whitehead his app.; 1674/5 W. Mason jnr & R. King his apps
- Meestersum, Rogier Yarmouth. 1643 Amsterdam (Duco 1981, 311)
- Michiells, Thomas Yarmouth. 1631 (aged 23) Amsterdam (Duco 1981, 311)
- Mitchell, Edward Yarmouth. 1663 master of John Hodge
- Neach, John Redenhall. 1736 app. to T. Parsley (two Thomas Neachs recorded in Redenhall, contemporaries of Parsley, one described in 1736 as potter, formerly innkeeper, and John may be his son)
- Page, Thomas Downham Market. Will 1847 (NRO NCC Wills 578 Broom)
- Page, Thomas Goodwins Yarmouth 1812 free by app. to Robert, his father; 1826 John Bullimore his app.; 1818-1850 - Row 47, North Quay, and Row 46, George St, St Johns Head Row
- Parish, Robert New Buckenam. 1637: of New Bucknam aged 25 yeares to Rotterdam with Elizabeth his wife and there to inhabitt (Norf. Record Soc. 1951)
- Parsley, Thomas* Redenhall: 1692/3 Parish Register; 1697-1700/1 at Rainbow PH; 1722 W. Pink his app.; 1736 J. Neach his app.; 1743 document listing goods lent to him; 1750 last occurrence of name in house rents for poor
- Pidgeon, Joseph Yarmouth. 1831 free by app. to T. Page; 1835-47. (1818 Norwich?; 1826 Norwich outvoter, Poll GY freeman; 1831 Poll)
- Pink, William Redenhall. 1722 app. to T. Parsley
- Pope, Thomas Yarmouth. 1844 (Oak-Rhind list held by Norwich Survey)
- Ransome, John Lynn. 1695/6 John King his app.
- Riches, Richard Lynn. 1839
- Robinson, John Yarmouth. 1733 free; 1734 Poll outvoter GY
- Seaburn, George Yarmouth. 1637: aged 43 yeares and John Davies, his servant aged 21 yeares is desirous to passe into Holland there to inhabit and remaine (Norf. Record Soc. 1951)
- Secker, Thomas* Lynn. 1821 free, app. of J. Stockdale; 1822 Norfolk St
- Sexton, Thomas Yarmouth. 1798 petitioned for renewal of lease of ground (1799 granted); 1800 petitioned for leave to assign lease of pipe shop and warehouse (NRO Y/C19/40/99 and Y/C19/41/171) and Sun Assur. £200
- Sharpe, William* Lynn. 1821 free, app. of J. Stockdale; 1830-46 Court 6, Norfolk St
- Sherwood, W* Thetford. Name on pipe in AHM; mentioned in 1927 Harris article (Yarmouth Mercury)
- Smith, S.* Lynn, North Clough Lane. 1845-46

Stockdale, John*	Lynn. 1820/1 J. Esdaile his app.; ?1814-21 master of W. Sharpe
Stockdale and Son	Lynn. 1820/21 reference in Freedom Rolls; 1822 King St
Stuart, Simon	Yarmouth. 1640 Leiden (Duco 1981, 330)
Taylor, James snr	Yarmouth. 1830-35 Black Swan Row; 1836-53 Row 51 and Broad Row. Father of James jnr
Taylor, James jnr*	Yarmouth. 1849-83, 1900. May be identical with names James Orman and James Coman. 1880 J.C. purchased a pipemaker's shop and warehouse in Newarkes Passage (Broad Row) 1894 sold premises. Father of R.W.
Taylor, Henry	Yarmouth, 114 King St, 1864-68
Taylor, Richard William*	Yarmouth. Born 1856 in Pipemakers Row (47), grandson of James (snr). App. to his father (James jnr) in Broad Row alley; 1900-16 60 & 60-1 North Quay
Taylor, Arthur Charles	Yarmouth, Row 47, 1904-08
Tipper, Alan	Lynn, 42 Tower St, 1900
Tuff, Gregory	Yarmouth. 1663 Mary Tuff, daughter of Gregory Tuff tobacco pipemaker decd, aged 9 years . . . apprenticed to . . . naylemaker (NRO Y/C22/40)
Turner, W.N.	Lynn, Sedgford Lane, 1846
Tyler, Samuel	North Walsham. Ob.1736 (NRO NCC Wills 45 Page)
Wade, Benjamin	Wymondham, Town Green, 1853-90
Whitehead, Edward	Lynn. 1708 app. to R. Whitehead, father
Whitehead, Robert	Lynn. 1672 free by app. to W. Mason; 1708 E. Whitehead his app.; 1712 F. Holmes (2) his app.
Williams, Richard	Yarmouth. 1896-1914
Williams, Robert	Lynn. 1675 free
Williams, Robert	Yarmouth. Pre-1765 master of James Harpley; 1765 Sun Assurance Policy £200; 1766 policy increased to £600 with two workshops

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Addenda

The base stamp of the grocers' arms (Fig.3, no. 38) is in fact identical to that found at Odiham, Hants., and the initials on the latter also appear to be NB, not MB as stated (p.131). The bowl shapes, through, are very different. (Karen Parker, Winchester Museum, kindly lent this bowl for comparison.)