

# NEWSLETTER

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Spring/Summer 2018

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*Cover image: Probable pipemaker's stamp from Burrington Bridge, Herefordshire (see pages 35-39). Drawn by D. A. Higgins.*

# Dutch Clay Smoking Pipes from Christiansborg Castle, Ghana, West Africa

by Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann

## Introduction

Christiansborg Castle was strategically situated on the West African coast, formerly and notoriously known as the ‘Coast of Guinea’ and ‘White Man’s Grave’ (Fig. 1). A seventeenth century former trading post, Danish and British colonial seat of government and, until recently, Office of the President of the Republic of Ghana, Christiansborg Castle is a national monument and UNESCO World Heritage Site. Today, it is known in local parlance as simply ‘Osu Castle’ or ‘The Castle’.



*Figure 1: Location of Christiansborg Castle, Accra, Ghana.*

Archaeological fieldwork was undertaken at the castle in 2014, 2016 and 2017 under the auspices of the Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project (CAHP). Fieldwork involved over fifty participants including the principal investigator, direct descendants, local community, University of Ghana students and faculty, as well as castle employees. Fieldwork was under the direction of the author, Professor Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann. A Ghanaian descendant of Carl Gustav Engmann, a Danish Governor at Christiansborg Castle (1752-7) and Director of the Guinea Company (1766-9), and the Chief Ahinaekwa of Osu's daughter, Ashiokai Ahinaekwa, her current research is entitled, 'Slavers in the Family: The Archaeology of the Slaver in the Eighteenth Century Gold Coast'.

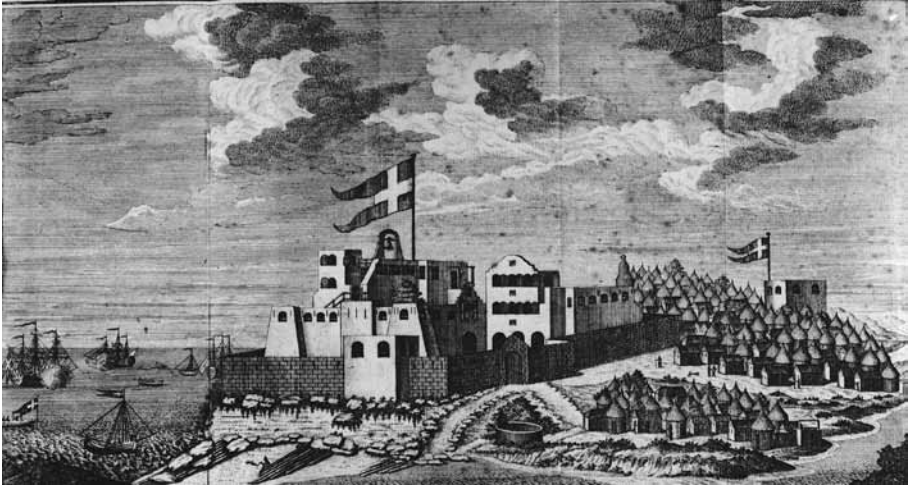
This preliminary report directs close attention to European clay smoking pipes retrieved from archaeological excavations at Christiansborg Castle, more specifically, Dutch clay smoking pipes. In Europe, European clay smoking pipes were the most frequently used medium for smoking tobacco until the end of the nineteenth century (with the advent of briar pipes). Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, European clay smoking pipes were ubiquitously employed, oftentimes escaping comment from contemporary writers. Requiring minimal time to manufacture, pipes were economical to produce, which consequently resulted in their production in large numbers. Most pipes break after having been used only a few times. Consequently, European clay smoking pipes can be considered the first truly disposable commodity (Higgins 1995).

Archaeological approaches to understanding European clay smoking pipes are significant. Their immense potential for analysis is clear (Deetz 1988; Gojak and Stuart 1999; Schrire *et al* 1990). In materially distinct deposits, European clay smoking pipes are often the most abundant data set found at historical archaeological sites, with the exception of pottery. Although pipes are fragile and break into fragments, they are composed of durable material, and consequently retain their material form, rendering them suitable for study. What is more, since pipes afford detailed information in terms of design and manufacture, they can also accurately be dated. In turn, European clay smoking pipe chronologies can be effectively applied to other archaeological observations, such as dating an archaeological site and other artefact assemblages. Therefore, clay pipes found in the archaeological record are vital for providing information on the African trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial contexts, since European colonial written accounts and African oral histories used to reconstruct the past rarely provide detailed information on smoking practices. At Christiansborg Castle, archaeological analysis is currently ongoing, yet some preliminary observations can still be made.

### **Christiansborg Castle - Historical Context and Background**

Christiansborg Castle began as a lodge built by the Swedes in 1652. The Danes appropriated the site in 1658, in turn losing it to the Dutch in 1660. In 1661,

Denmark repossessed the lodge and constructed a stone fort, naming it Christiansborg (Christian's Fortress), after the King of Denmark, Christian V. Denmark occupied the site apart from a few brief periods. Between 1679 and 1683, it was sold to and occupied by the Portuguese (renamed Fort Sao Francis Xavier) and in 1685 and 1689, it was remortgaged to the British. In 1693, Asameni, an Akwamu trader and chief, gained possession of the site through subterfuge, but sold it back to the Danes in 1694. Over time, Christiansborg was enlarged and converted from a fort into a castle. In 1685, the castle became the regional Danish headquarters, enabling Denmark to acquire a near trade monopoly on the coast (along with nine other forts and lodges) (Fig. 2).



*Figure 2: Christiansborg Castle c1740 (photo courtesy of the Danish Maritime Museum).*

Between 1694 and 1803, Afro-Danish commercial activities at the castle included the exchange of gold, flintlock guns, liquor, cloth, iron knives and tools, brass bracelets and bowls, glass beads and captive Africans. Enslaved Africans were sent to the Danish Virgin Islands (St. Croix, St. Johns and St. Thomas). In fact, Christiansborg Castle was so vital to Denmark's economy that its coinage depicted an image of the castle with the word 'Christiansborg' between 1688 and 1747. After the abolition of the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade (the Danish edict of 16<sup>th</sup> March 1792 officially marked the end of the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade, though not enforced until 1803), Christiansborg Castle was sold to Britain for £10,000 in 1849, together with forts at Augustaborg, Fredensborg, Kongensten, Prinsensten and Prøvesten, and the plantations in the Akuapem Mountains (Lawrence 1963; Van Dantzig and Priddy 1971).

In 1873, Christiansborg Castle became the British seat of colonial government administration on the Gold Coast, following structural reconstructions due to damage caused by the 1862 earthquake. From 1876 onwards, British colonial governors resided in the castle, temporarily abandoning it between 1890 and 1901, during which time it functioned as a constabulary mess and, later, as a lunatic asylum. In 1902, it reverted to the British colonial seat of government.

With Ghana's 1957 independence, Christiansborg Castle was renamed Government House. From 1960 onwards, under President Kwame Nkrumah, the castle continued as seat of government and the president's official residence. President Ft. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings continued this arrangement. In 2008, President John Agyekum Kufour moved the seat of government from the castle to Flagstaff House (today known as Jubilee House) but, in 2009, President John Atta Mills subsequently reversed this decision, moving back to the castle. In 2013, President John Dramani Mahama returned to Flagstaff House and, in 2017, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo announced plans to convert the castle into a Heads of State Museum.

### **Archaeological Survey, Excavations, Salvage and Materials**

Christiansborg Castle is situated in Osu, Accra, the capital of Ghana. Hitherto, no archaeology had been conducted, owing to the site's continued occupation, and particularly given its significant role as seat of government for Denmark, Britain and Ghana. Prior to archaeological excavations, Osu traditional authorities performed the necessary customary rituals. Documentary filming, photographs, notes and illustrations recorded the archaeological fieldwork process.

Archaeological survey focused on the castle building itself (inside the castle walls) and on the exterior area below, comprising the bank down to the beach. An abundance of materials were retrieved. These largely include objects associated with the site's post-independence period, such as glassware and other small finds associated with the Ghana government's office administration. Site analysis detailed the main archaeological features, castle, official residence and gardens, including the car park area, bird sanctuary, public toilet facilities and shrines. Surface finds include faunal remains of large domestic animals, namely, goat and cow, alongside an abundance of high quality glazed European ceramics and glass.

Archaeological excavations in the castle garden unearthed what is tentatively identified as a pre-colonial settlement dating to the Danish trans-Atlantic slave trade period. In terms of the archaeological record, beads and locally manufactured pottery, European smoking pipes, glassware and glazed ceramics and other small finds such as faunal remains, seeds, cowry and other shells, slate, stone, daub, charcoal, plastic, plaster and metal fragments were found. Interestingly, very few beads were retrieved. The large number of European clay smoking-pipes were primarily Dutch (Fig. 3) with smaller numbers of British, German and Danish finds. It is the Dutch material that will be



*Figure 3: A selection of Dutch smoking pipe bowls from the excavations.*

discussed in further detail below.

Inside the castle archaeological salvage work was conducted in the former dining hall, balcony, kitchen and pantry. A large collection of ‘Western style’ objects, namely, tea and coffee cups, saucers, plates, soup tureen and cake serving dish were salvaged from the kitchen, pantry and chef’s living areas dating back to the Nkrumah and Rawlings eras. British firms, namely, Wedgwood and Royal Doulton, manufactured many of these items. European ceramics dating to the post-independence period illustrate the Ghana Coat of Arms, depicting Christiansborg Castle (renamed ‘Osu Castle’), and the national emblem ‘freedom and justice’. Cutlery, mostly silver, reflect the same dates and designs. Objects associated with Ghana’s presidency in a room formerly used to receive official guests were left in situ.

### **European Clay Smoking Pipes**

Archaeological fieldwork at Christiansborg Castle in 2014 and 2016 recovered 1,576 European clay smoking pipe fragments, comprising excavated and surface finds retrieved from the castle garden. It is important to note that, to date, no locally manufactured ceramic smoking pipes have been discovered. Most pieces derive from a single concentration, which marks the location of the pre-colonial settlement. Other fragments, in lesser quantities, come from two other units nearby. Of the pipes recovered, none remain intact; 31 are bowls and 1,545 are stems, which is an unusually high proportion of stems to bowls. Evidence of use is found on many pipe fragments. In particular, a black and/or brown residue within the bowl’s interior provides evidence of tobacco. In addition, some stems depict evidence of abrasion caused by teeth gripping the stem near the mouthpiece. Of all the pipe fragments recovered a large amount are reliably identified. Most of the clay pipe fragments

are Dutch, alongside British, German and Danish pipes in smaller quantities. A few fragments still require identification.

Most Dutch clay smoking pipes recovered from the castle date from between c1730 and c1840. Makers' marks vary in design; some are quite simple whilst others are more elaborate. Many, such as the Gouda makers' marks employed letters or numbers, often placed under a crown, or symbols on the bowl (Fig. 4) or heel (Fig. 5). These are similar in shape, size and design. Selected pipes are briefly described below.

Most of the smoking pipe bowls from Christiansborg Castle have a shield with the Gouda city arms topped with the letter "S" moulded in relief on both sides of the heel. In 1739 the Gouda pipe makers were granted a patent to use the Gouda city arms



*Figure 4: Fluted Dutch pipe with the maker's mark 65 crowned on the bowl facing the smoker, from first half of the nineteenth century. Probably made by Maarten Heerkens from Gouda between 1805-1841 or Adrianus van Duijn 1841-1882.*

*Figure 5: Plain Dutch pipe with the maker's mark 24 crowned on the heel. Made in Gouda c1800-1830.*



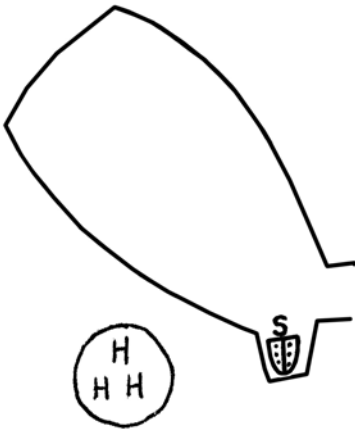


on the side of the heel for their best pipes, the so-called “*porceleijne*” quality. In 1740 they were also granted a patent to use the letter “S” above the Gouda city arms. The “S” stands for “*slegte*” meaning “ordinary”, indicating a lesser quality of pipe. Although they were of poorer quality than the “*porceleijne*” pipes they still belonged to a group of better quality products. All of the Dutch pipes discussed here either have a pipe maker’s mark on the heel, on the bowl facing the smoker or on the bottom of the pipe bowl.

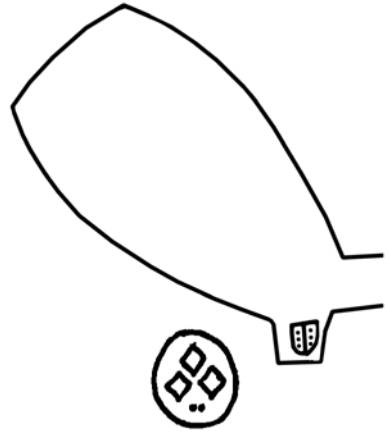
Except for one bowl, all of them have the Gouda city arms with the letter “S” on both sides of the heel which indicates that they date from 1740 onwards. Two bowl fragments dating from c1740-1820 have the heel mark “crowned 55”. Other bowls with a flower stamp on the heel and the mark “crowned B” can also be dated from 1740 onwards. A bowl with the maker’s mark “HHH” in a triangular arrangement (Fig. 6) can be dated to 1740-1816 since this mark was not used in Gouda after 1816. A bowl with the heel mark “crowned hat” can be dated more accurately to c1750-1800.

A round bottomed or heelless pipe dating from c1740-1800 is stamped with a crowned 16, which was a well-known export mark made in both Gouda and Alphen. Another complete pipe bowl dating from after 1740 depicts an “S” above a shield on both sides of the heel with “D” stamped on the base. Another pipe bowl depicts the “Lion in the Dutch Garden”. This type of pipe was manufactured in Gouda by Frans Verzijl between 1724 and 1786, and by the firm of Frans Verzijl & Sons between 1786 and 1806. Another pipe dating to 1730-1798 depicts a man holding the Arms of Zeeland. This mark is the *Zeeuwse Rijksdaalder* or the Zeeland “*Rixdollar*”, which was made by several pipe makers in Gouda. One pipe illustrates the three diamonds known as “*drie ruiten*”. While this mark was in use between 1686 and 1839, the arms of Gouda on the side of the heel dates it to between 1739 and 1839 (Fig. 7). The crowned tap or “*kraan gekroond*”, in use between 1683 and 1827, does not portray the arms of Gouda on the side of the heel, and so probably dates to between c1730 and 1740. A pipe marked with a lamb under a tree, dates to 1739-1925. One of the owners of this mark was Jan Versluijs, who used this mark in the period 1744-1800. A stem fragment (possibly two) also have his name inscribed and are thought to be from a similar pipe or pipes. European clay pipe stems from the site are likely to possess similar dates to the more closely datable bowls. Whilst many stem fragments are undecorated, several contain quite elaborate designs, largely geometric, floral or circular, as well as written inscriptions (Fig. 8) including a few marked with “GOUDA”, “IVERSLU... GOUDA” (made by Jan Versluijs) and “IN GOUDA” (Atkinson 1972; Duco 1982; Higgins 2017; Oswald 1975; van der Lingén 2018).

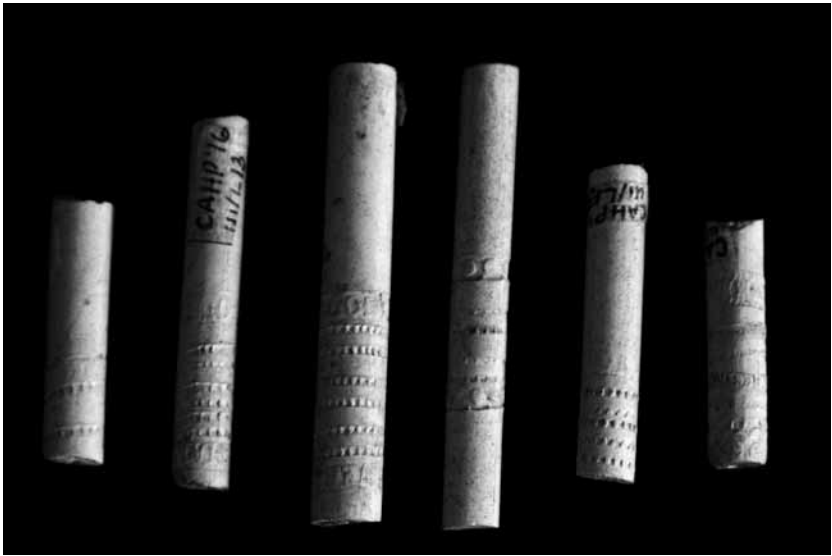
Clearly, the presence of Dutch clay smoking pipes is in keeping with the site’s early beginnings. The Dutch gained occupation of the castle in 1660, which could explain the use of Dutch pipes. However, Dutch occupation was short-lived since Denmark gained control of the castle in 1661. Furthermore, no early Dutch pipes have been



**Figure 6:** Dutch pipe bowl with the moulded Gouda shield, with the S above, on the sides of the heel and the base of the heel stamped with HHH. Made in Gouda, 1740-1816.



**Figure 7:** Dutch pipe bowl with the moulded Gouda shield on the sides of the heel and the base of the heel stamped with three diamonds. Made in Gouda, 1739-1839.



**Figure 8:** A selection of marked Dutch stems from the excavations.

found. The earliest Dutch pipes described here date from c1730 onwards, and most are likely to date between about 1790 and 1830. Accordingly, this fails to account for the preponderance of Dutch smoking pipes. It is also important to keep in mind that Denmark was not a significant producer of clay smoking pipes, whereas Dutch smoking pipes were highly popular. The Dutch clay pipe was seen to excel those of other nations due to their strength and elasticity; these two qualities permitted the production of stems sufficiently long and straight enough to permit the smoke to cool off before reaching the smoker's mouth without losing its narcotic quality (Papendrecht, 1892). In point of fact, from 1680 onwards, Gouda was the major global production centre for the highest quality (long) clay pipes, sometimes called "porcelain" pipes because of their shiny appearance.

Between 1730 and 1750, nearly five hundred and ten clay pipe manufacturing companies were listed in Gouda (Caselitz 1987). Yet, as Duco points out (1988, 24), it is important to consider a pipe's "relationship to the variety of pipes being produced (the production-assortment) and those in use during a certain period". Still, by the 1750s, Gouda's pipe-making industry was geared toward export. This export market extended to Denmark and West Africa, amongst several other regions. Yet, after the 1750s, Gouda's pipe-making industry began to decline due to trade restrictions, including attempts between 1749 and 1768 to prohibit or restrict importation by Denmark through duties and duty increases. Nevertheless, by 1760 the Dutch in Gouda alone were still exporting 20,000 gross pipes a year (Walker 1977).

Certainly, the presence of Dutch pipes at Christiansborg Castle can be seen as a result of Danish coastal trading activities. What is more, it is reasonable to suggest that as Danish involvement increased, and central to this, intensified participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, so would their need for a variety of trade commodities. Strikingly, Europeans employed European clay smoking pipes to purchase enslaved Africans. And, even though locally manufactured ceramic pipes were in use, there was a preference for English and, above all, Dutch pipes amongst coastal actors engaged in coastal commerce. Dutch pipes were favoured because they were cheaper than English pipes, making them a popular commodity (Courtney and McNiven 1998; Klooster 2010; Walker 1977). Whilst some European clay smoking pipes were destined for ships and their crews as trading commodities, others were assigned to sailors for personal use. Significant quantities of these pipes were also transported expressly for distribution to captive enslaved Africans transported on the Middle Passage as part of an attempt to placate them and avoid or minimize social unrest and revolts, whilst they waited on the coast and also during the Atlantic crossing (Handler 2009; Higgins 1995). In fact, the cargo of a Danish slaving vessel in the 1770s included thirty dozen "long tobacco pipes" and nineteen dozen "slave pipes" (Handler 2009, 8). The Danish ship, *Fredensborg* distributed one pipe per week to each enslaved African, and tobacco was distributed daily except on Saturdays. In some instances, there were more frequent allocations depending on the slave ship's

captain. Pipes associated with shipwrecks also contained these commodities, such as for instance, the 'Fredensborg' which held large amounts of clay smoking pipes (Higgins 1995; Webster 2008; Svalsen 2000).

### **Further Directions for Study**

Christiansborg Castle archaeological survey and excavations have recovered a large amount of archaeological material dating to pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. Significant amounts of African and European material evidence have been excavated. The artefact collection illustrates a large degree of assemblage variability. In terms of European clay smoking pipes, initial preliminary observations conclude the majority of the European clay smoking pipe collection contains Dutch, predominantly Gouda, smoking pipes. Archaeological investigations will continue in the upcoming years, alongside the study of artefacts together with archival accounts of known pipe manufacturers. The Dutch pipe makers' guild exercised strict control over use of marks. However, caution must be taken attempting to date Dutch pipes by marks alone, since marks returned to the guild after a maker died (although a widow could continue). Thus marks were often used for lengthy periods (centuries) and on different types of pipes. Therefore it is most important to analyse the exact model of the pipe and the technical way it was produced. In this way the pipes can be dated more precisely.

It is vital to learn more concerning European smoking pipes in the region, in particular, more specific details on smoking pipe manufacturers; trade, exchange, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonial markets; European, African and Afro-European consumption patterns; as well as the social and economic role of European clay pipe use. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the enslaved on plantations in Surinam did not smoke the cheapest available pipes, but were given better quality short Dutch pipes. This is contrary to the generally perceived ideas as to the type of pipes that were provided for the enslaved. At least one pipe factory (in Kampen, Netherlands) is known to have made these pipes especially for an Amsterdam based trading company who exported the pipes to plantation owners in Surinam (Lingen 2015).

In future, inter-site archaeological data comparisons exploring the affinities between European smoking pipes from nearby Fort Crevecoeur (Dutch) and Fort Jamestown (British), in addition to the Danish plantations in the Akwapim Mountains, will be critical for analysing the Christiansborg Castle finds. To be sure, Danish ship log books need to be closely examined and the extent to which these pipes were used by captives remains to be explored, but their significance is undoubted. Free African and Afro-European use of European smoking pipes must be studied. What is more, it will be necessary to further explore the relationship between European smoking pipes and locally manufactured smoking pipes, should the latter be retrieved. Analysis of the physical properties of residue will be important for divulging information regarding

the substances smoked, in other words, nicotine or other substances possessing medicinal, narcotic and/or hallucinogenic properties (such analysis will be conducted outside Ghana due to local resource constraints). It is the intention that future work will further analyse the Dutch smoking pipes presented here. Clearly, such analyses do not apply to Dutch clay smoking pipes alone. In summary, the archaeological findings described reveal Christiansborg Castle is an ideal site for further analysis into European clay smoking pipes. All excavated archaeological materials and knowledge acquired will contribute to the plans to convert Christiansborg Castle into a museum.

## **Acknowledgements**

Grateful acknowledgement is necessary to the many people without whom this project would not have been possible. A special thanks to Their Excellencies the Presidents of the Republic of Ghana: President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, President John Dramani Mahama, President John Atta Mills, President John Agyekum Kufour and President Ft. Lt. John Jerry Rawlings. I also thank Dr. Raymond Atuguba, Dr. Hon. Zanetor Agyeman-Rawlings, Hon. Min. Catherine Abelema Afeku, Dr. Joel Sonne, Dr. Donald Agmenu, Col. Mark Alo, Julius Debrah, Yaw Donkor, Prosper Dzakobo, Gen Larry Gbevlo-Lartey, Seth Klaye, Col. Mantey and Ayiku Wilson. A special thanks to the Osu Traditional Council including Nii Okwei Kinka Dowuona VI, Nii Bonne V, Nii Dzamlodza VI, Nii Kwashie Aniefi V, Nii Ako Nortei IV, Aawon Klotey, Aawon Opobi, Naa Ashorkor Obaniehi I, Theophilus Ollennu Chuasam, Nii Ako Nortei V, Nii Kwabena Bonnie IV, Saban Atsen, Nii Sorgla and Earl Teddy Nartey. Thanks are also due to Kofi Amekudi, William Barnor, Edward Nyarko, Daniel Kumah, Ernest Fiador, Raymond Agbo, Seth Thompson and all the team members. As always, I extend my deepest appreciation to the Osu people.

Fieldwork was supported by research grants from the Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation, Rappaport Foundation, Martha Joukowsky Foundation and Wenner-Gren Foundation. Thanks are also due to the Danish Maritime Museum, Danish National Archives and British National Archives for their support. My sincere thanks to David Higgins and Bert van der Lingen for their expertise, feedback and comments on this paper and to Susie White for her help with the illustrations. My thanks also to Lynn Meskell, Ian Hodder, Barbaro Martínéz-Ruiz, Martin Hall, Paulla Ebron, Beverly Stoeltjje and Akinwumi Ogundiran for their continuous encouragement.

Further information on the Christiansborg Archaeological Heritage Project is available (English, Ga and Twi) at: <http://christiansborgarchaeologicalheritageproject.org>.

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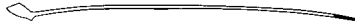
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## **A Group of Pipes from Carhampton, Somerset**

*by David Higgins*

A group of eight bowls belonging to Chris Lovell from Taunton have kindly been loaned for recording in the National Clay Tobacco Pipe Stamp Catalogue, which is being compiled by the author. The unique cast references for each of these pieces is given in the following text and a copy of the stamp catalogue is available in the National Pipe Archive (<http://www.pipearchive.co.uk/>).

The eight bowls were all been found during metal detecting in fields around Carhampton in Somerset, which is located on the Bristol Channel coast near the NE corner of Exmoor and about 20 miles NW of Taunton. Six of these pieces have previously been recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS; <https://finds.org.uk/>), the additional pieces being a heel bowl of c1640-60, which it is too battered and abraded to tell if it was marked originally, and a heel fragment that probably dates from around 1650-90 with an incuse stamp reading IOHN/POVND on it (Cast 740.16). The John Pound heel is quite large and slightly flared and there is a small decorative motif below the lettering that is very faintly impressed, but perhaps intended to represent a fleur-de-lys (Fig. 1). This piece has a stem bore of just over 8/64" and is particularly significant since the maker appears to be previously unrecorded.