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Clay tobacco pipes made by the Manby family of London

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Clay pipes marked with the moulded initials WM are frequent finds in London excavations, in contexts dating to the end of the seventeenth and early to mid-eighteenth century. This paper will review the evidence for clay pipe manufacture by the Manby family, considering the output of successive generations bearing the names William and Richard. After summarising the documentary evidence, the appearance and marks of Manby pipes will be examined, particularly those of the William Manbys, including makers' initials formed in the mould and stamped marks on the back of the bowl. A consideration of the distribution of WM and RM pipes of Atkinson and Oswald's London types 20, 21, 22 and 25 is based on finds excavated by the Museum of London, using a sample recorded on the archaeological database since 1995. A relatively high proportion of crowned initials have been identified in this limited sample, but no stamped bowl marks. The paper will also include a brief outline of overseas trade connections.

Introduction

Clay pipes made by the Manby family have been archaeologically excavated on numerous sites across London over the past 35 years or more. These include bowls datable to the last decades of the seventeenth and the early to mid-eighteenth century, marked with the moulded maker's initials WM and RM in relief on the sides of the heel. Pipes with the WM heel mark are also known with stamped marks on the back of the bowl, including examples bearing different sets of initials. Discussion of the significance of these marks is beyond the scope of this paper, which aims to present the background to the Manbys from a London perspective, touching only briefly on the occurrence of WM pipes outside the UK. After reviewing the historical evidence, the pipes held in the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) will be discussed, based on finds made by the Museum of London since 1974. Material recovered by other archaeological contractors is, for the most part, not included in this survey and the finds covered represent a relatively small, but significant, sample only.

Historical background

The seminal study of clay pipes made by the Manby family was published by Adrian Oswald in 1978, as a contribution to Ralph Merrifield's festschrift, *Collectanea Londiniensia*. In this paper, Oswald isolated a number of clay pipe makers whose names appeared in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company as exporters to the New World, as well as holding insurance policies with the Sun Company. He was able to identify some of these makers with marked pipes from dated deposits excavated in London, thereby fleshing out the picture outlined in his

William (1)	St Botolph's, Aldgate
	1681: exporting to Hudson's Bay Co.
	1687: married at St Botolph's, Aldgate (age 48)
	1696: signed Oath of Allegiance as Senr. and member, Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co.
William (2)	Father of Richard (1)
	1680: apprenticed to Thomas Trigg
	1690: free in the Merchant Taylors' Co.
	1693: member of Tobacco Pipe Makers' Co. on apprenticeship of son Richard (1), at St Botolph's, Aldgate
	1696: signed Oath of Allegiance
William (3)	1719: free by apprenticeship
	1739: children baptised at St Anne's, Limehouse
	1746: address Green Dragon Alley
William (4)	Possible pipe maker c. 1740-70
Richard (1)	St Mary's, Whitechapel
	1693: apprenticed to father, William (2) at St Botolph's, Aldgate
	1701: free; took apprentices 1718, 1719, 1723
Richard (2)	Montague Court, Old Montague Street, St Mary's, Whitechapel
	1729: free by patrimony, son of Richard (1)
	1746: insurance policy

Figure 1: Summary of the known documentary details relating to members of the Manby family (after Grew & Orton 1984, 82 and Oswald 1978).

1975 work, *Clay pipes for the archaeologist*. A summary of the known details is given in Figure 1.

The first reference to a William Manby (or Manbey, with an 'e') of St Botolph's, Aldgate, occurs in the Hudson's Bay Company records for 1681, where he is recorded as exporting 42 gross pipes. His marriage at St Botolph's, at the age of 48, is recorded six years later in 1687. He signed the Oath of Allegiance in 1696 as *Senr* and member of the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Company, then aged 57 (Oswald 1978, 348).

A second William Manby is first documented when he was apprenticed to Thomas Trigg in 1680, when William (1) would have been 41 years old. Ten years later he was made a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and in 1693 is recorded as a tobacco pipe maker by trade (that is, a member of the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Company) at St Botolph's, Aldgate, on the apprenticeship of his son, Richard (1). He too signed the Oath of Allegiance in 1696 (Oswald 1978, 348). The location of St Botolph's is shown on Rocque's map of London of 1738, although this does not of course locate the Manbys' workshops (Fig. 2).

The third pipe maker with the name William Manby is

recorded as free by apprenticeship in 1719, and clearly set up business away from the Aldgate area, nearer the river, since five children were baptised at St Anne's, Limehouse between 1739 and 1746, including an Edward in 1740/1. William's address is given as Green Dragon Alley, and Sun insurance policies for 10 May 1755 and 21 February 1758 locate him 'near Kidney Stairs' in Limehouse (Fig. 3). These also record a 'workhouse' opposite his dwelling house, and a workshop and 'warehouses' in Sarsnet Alley, close to but separate from Manby's house, carrying an overall valuation of £600 in both years. A breakdown of the policy of 10 May is given by Oswald, showing that the value of household goods in the brick dwelling house

and 'wearing apparel' together amounted to £300, with stock in the timber workhouse opposite valued at £50. A workshop in Sarsnet Alley is valued at £80, with the utensils and stock at £80, with a further £40 for warehouses in the alley and £50 for the stock held therein (Oswald 1978, 348). The overall valuation is considerably higher than the average, with the house and workshop recorded separately, in addition to warehouses. The policy of February 1758 is for the same amount. As Oswald points out, Green Dragon Alley is shown on Horwood's 1799 map next to a Pipemaker's yard, with Kidney Stairs nearby. This appears to have been quite a colony of pipe makers, with five others named in Green Dragon Alley

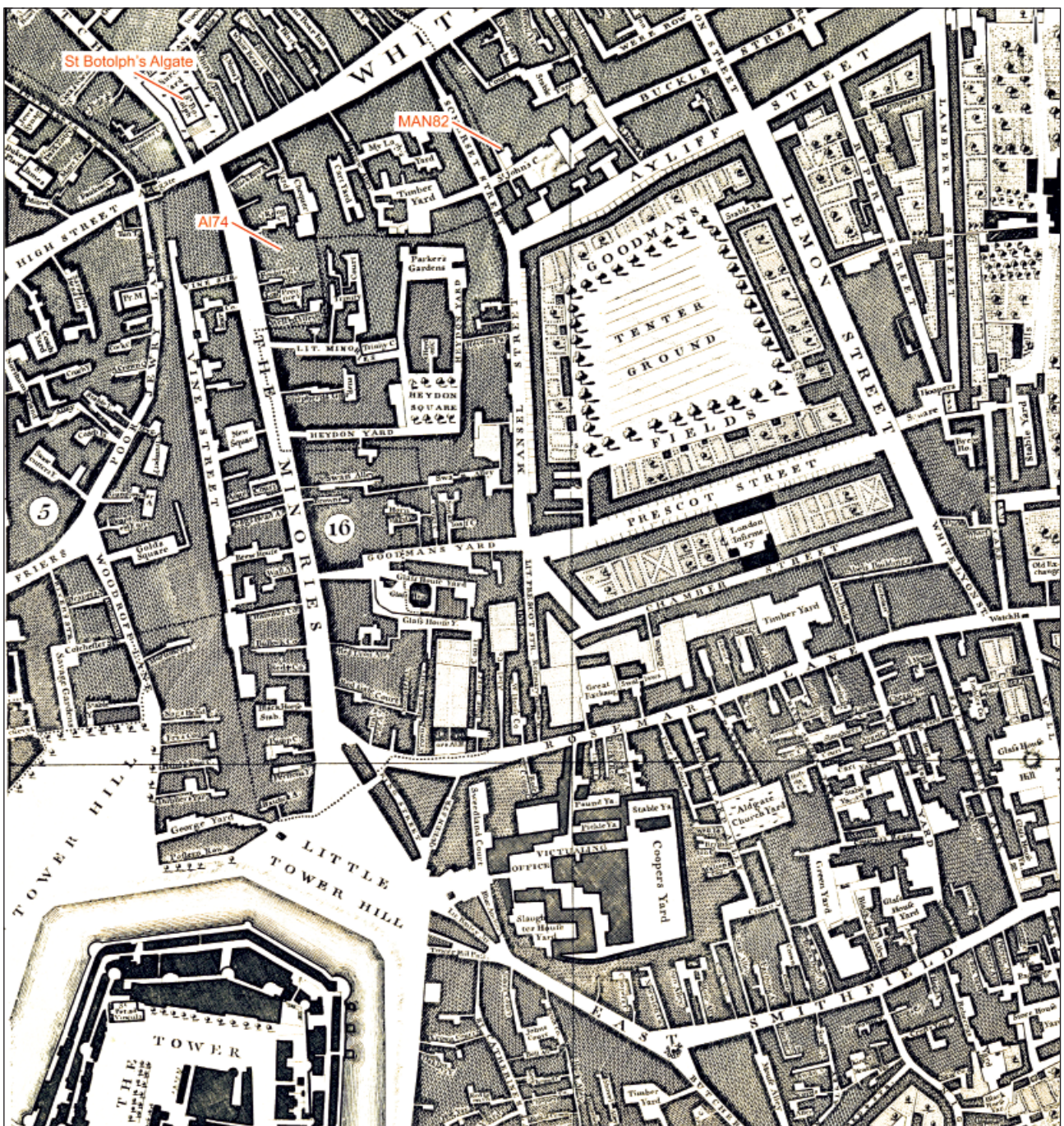


Figure 2: Detail from John Rocques' map of London of 1738, showing the Aldgate area, with the location of DUA excavations on sites AL74 and MAN82 indicated (reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, London).



Figure 3: Detail of John Rocques' map of London of 1738 showing the Limehouse area, with the location of Green Dragon Alley and Kidney Stairs indicated (reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, London).

in the parish registers for St Anne's, Limehouse between 1740 and 1748, and two more makers in Sarsnet Alley (Oswald 1978, 349).

The first Richard Manby to use the RM mark on clay pipes was the son of William (2) and is recorded in 1693, when he was apprenticed to his father at St Botolph's, Aldgate. He is recorded as free in 1701, taking two apprentices in 1718 (J. Bear or Beast and W. Burgess), one in 1719 (W. Bray) and one in 1723 (J. Everitt). His own son, Richard (2) of Montague Court, Old Montague Street, St Mary's, Whitechapel, is recorded as Free by patrimony in 1729

(Fig. 4). A Sun insurance policy of 20 November 1746 gives a valuation of £200 for household goods, utensils and stock in trade in his brick dwelling house and adjoining timber shop and sheds (Oswald 1978, 349–50).

An Edward Manby of the Hermitage is recorded as free by apprenticeship in 1725, with Sun insurance policies dating to 1738, 1746, 1760 and 1767 and a further reference to the Hermitage in *Mortimer's Directory* in 1763. The first of the policies is in the names of Edward and Christian Manby, pipe makers, of White Hart Yard in East Smithfield in the parish of St Botolph, Aldgate. Their

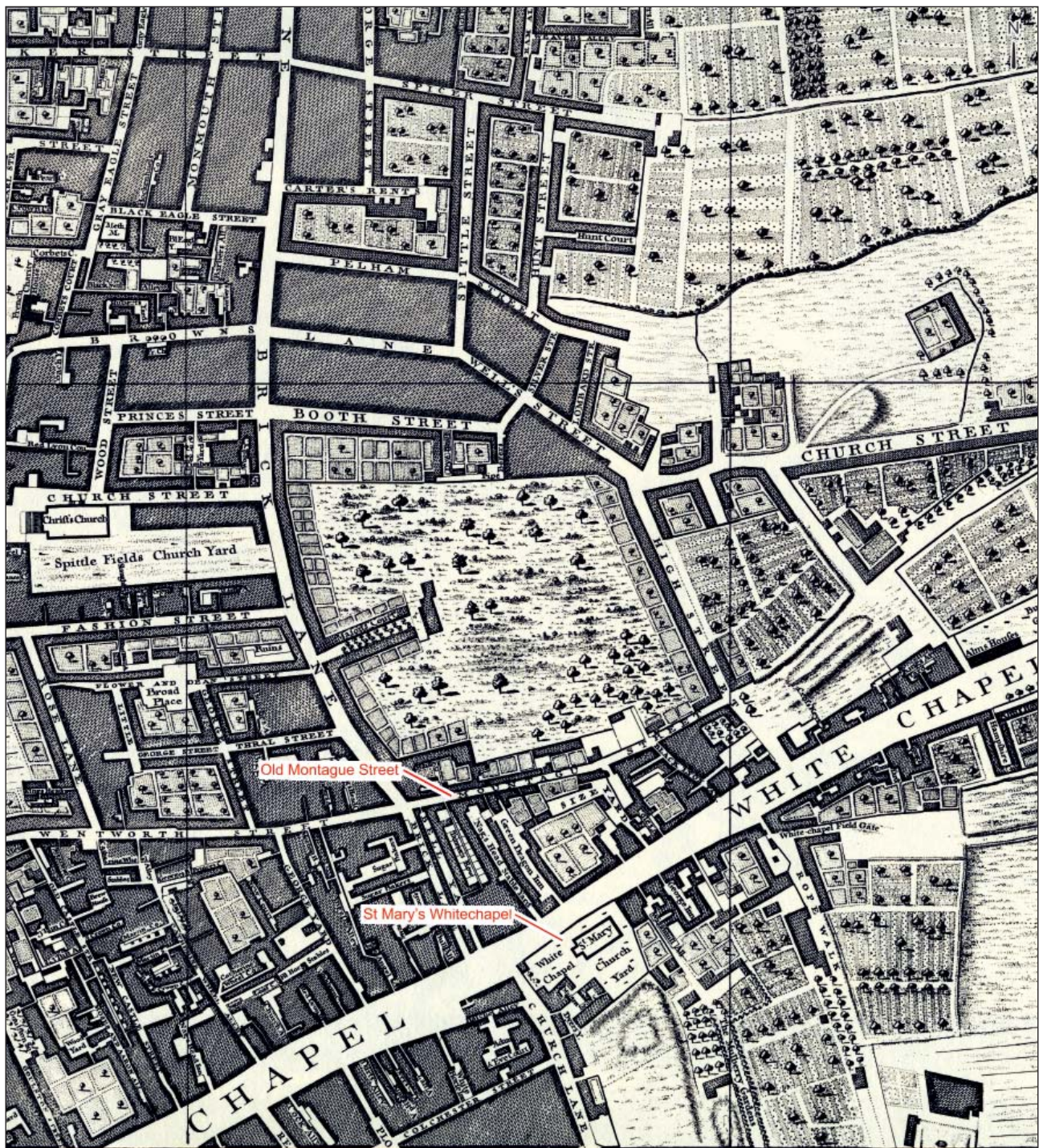


Figure 4: Detail of John Rocque's map of London of 1738 showing Old Montague Street and St Mary's, Whitechapel (reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, London).

household goods, wearing apparel and stock in three sheds and a warehouse were valued at £500. Christian Manby was the wife of William Manby (1) and Edward was their son, born in 1701 (Woollard 2002, 12). A policy of 11 July 1746, in the name of Edward Manby, relates to properties in Lower Smithfield, in the parish of St Botolph, Aldgate, with a valuation of £500 for dwelling house, contents and wearing apparel, and workhouse and warehouse adjoining, together with their utensils and stock (Oswald 1978, 350). This is the area in which Williams (1) and (2) are recorded, and where an Edward Manby, son of

William (2) was baptised in 1740–41 (Oswald 1978, 348). Clearly this Edward could not have been the same as the one recorded at the Hermitage. A policy in the name of Edward Manby of 4 July 1760, near Hermitage Bridge in Lower East Smithfield is for £600, covering dwelling house, workshop and a timber shed nearby, plus stock and utensils. The policy for 1767 (1 July), near the bridge at the Hermitage, records his houses in Butts Lane, Deptford, in the tenure of William Mitchell, shopkeeper 'brick part tiled and part covered with tarpaulin', valued at £200 (Oswald 1978, 351).

The parishes in which the workshops of the different members of the Manby family are recorded all lie to the east of the City boundaries, in Aldgate, Whitechapel, Wapping and Limehouse. To a large extent this is reflected in the distribution of the archaeologically excavated clay pipes marked with their respective initials.

Manby pipes from London excavations

In preparation for this paper, a search was made of the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) Oracle database, on which all finds from London excavations, including clay pipes, have been recorded since 1995. An earlier form of computerised database exists but is not readily compatible with the current program. Before this, hand-written record cards were used. Neither of the earlier forms of record has been searched and only material from excavations carried out since 1995 are included in this survey, in addition to a small number of earlier sites entered retrospectively following recording and study by David Higgins at the National Pipe Archive in Liverpool University. The sample is therefore to some extent biased and relates only to finds made by the Museum of London, not including material uncovered by other archaeological contractors working in London and not including pipes from a large number of Museum of London excavations that predate the introduction of the Oracle database.

A total of 221 clay pipe bowls from 31 sites excavated in London between 1974 and 2011 are included in the sample (see Fig. 5). A considerable assemblage of clay pipes was recovered from excavations carried out by the Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) at 62–64 Aldgate High Street/Mansell Street, E1 in 1974 (site code AL74), which yielded by far the largest number of pipes attributable to the Manby family of any site investigated in London (144 marked bowls; Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984). Other examples have been included from excavations nearby at 21–29 Mansell Street, E1 in 1982 (site code MAN82; Schofield and Maloney 1998, 185), as well as from six other sites in the London E1 postal district. This covers the Aldgate, Bishopsgate and Whitechapel areas, from which 75% of all pipes included in the sample were recovered (166 bowls). Other probable Manby pipes were recorded on nine further sites excavated in the City of London, the Fenchurch Street postal district to the east and as far as Fleet Street to the west (27 marked bowls), with three sites in Stratford and one in Poplar in east London and one in Walthamstow. There are also four pipes from four sites in Southwark and Rotherhithe, south of the River Thames, and two from a single site in Greenwich, further to the east.

All the clay pipe bowls included in this survey have their maker's initials moulded in relief on the sides of the heel. Although stamped marks on the back of the bowl are known to have been made by the Manbys, only one is recorded on any of the sites examined. This is a partial WM incuse stamped mark, accompanied by the usual moulded heel initials on a bowl of type 12 in Oswald's simplified general typology (1975), and comes from a site

in Bunhill Row EC1 (BRV98). By far the greatest number of marked bowls have the initials RM, accounting for 111 examples, with a further 58 marks including a crown above each initial. Pipes made by one or more of the Richard Manbys therefore dominate the sample (76%). By way of contrast, there are 20 pipes marked solely with the initials WM on the heel, and 29 with WM crowned. Finally, only two pipes marked EM were included in the sample. Based on their shape in relation to the London typology of Atkinson and Oswald (1969), all these marked pipe bowls fall within the date range covered by the working lives of the various members of the Manby family.

Although WM pipes are among the more common marked London pipes, the database search produced only 36 examples that fall within the right date range for the three known William Manbys and are definitely marked with these initials. Oswald felt there was insufficient evidence that WM pipes of this period were made by other makers with the same initials and concluded that late seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century WM pipes from London were most likely made by one or other of the William Manbys (Oswald 1978, 349). Six WM pipes in the MOLA database were found on sites located to the south of the river, three with crowned marks and three with initials only, and including four from Southwark and Rotherhithe. Given that the distribution of London clay pipes tends to reflect local manufacture, it is possible that these examples were made by William Mitchell who was recorded in Bermondsey in 1700 (marriage; Oswald 1975, 142). All the examples included in the sample could have been in use at this date (London types 20, 22 and 25: Atkinson and Oswald 1969). However, since Mitchell is not recorded in the London Freedom records or Oath of Allegiance lists, it is unlikely that he ever had become a Master or even a journeyman and the finds could simply represent a scattered distribution of Manby pipes south of the Thames.

There are 23 records in the database of pipes marked WM from London sites with bowl shapes corresponding to Atkinson and Oswald's types 20, 21 and 22, typical of the period c1680–1710. Eleven of these are of type 22, 11 are type 20 and one is of type 21. All have the WM initials moulded in relief on the sides of the heel, and 13 examples have an additional crown above each letter (see Fig. 6). These forms are all characterised by an elongated, narrow, forward-sloping bowl (cf Oswald 1978, Fig. 1, nos 1–2). Pipes of these types can be associated with the workshops of Williams (1) and (2), records for both pipe makers spanning the period 1680 to 1696. Richard (1) would also have been making pipes in these shapes initially, at least during his apprenticeship to his father, William (2), although he most likely moved on to making the later more upright form, type 25, once free, at some time after 1701.

The remaining 26 WM pipes in the MOLA database fall broadly within Atkinson and Oswald's London type 25, dated to c1700–70. They can further be subdivided according to Oswald's simplified general typology into

Site	EM	RM	RM/Cr	WM	WM/Cr	WM/St	Total	Address
AL74		77	58	2	7		144	62-64 Aldgate High St/Mansell St E1
BGX05	2	1		1	7		11	Bethnal Green Rd/Shoreditch High St E1/ Dunloe St E2
BHO86		16					16	146 Queen Victoria Street EC4
BIG82		1					1	Billingsgate Market Lorry Park, Lower Thames St EC3
BOS87		1					1	282-292 Bishopsgate EC2
BRV98						1	1	HAC Bunhill Row, City Rd EC1
BTI02				1			1	43 Gillender St E14
CG87					1		1	Bermondsey Wall East SE16
CH75					1		1	Tabard St/Pilgrimage St SE1
CUT78				1			1	Cutler St/Harrow St/Middlesex St/New St E1/ EC2
FGI10		3					3	
GLS06				1	1		2	Great Suffolk St/Lavington St SE1
GSU99				1			1	29½ & 30A Great Sutton St EC1
GYH10		1					1	
HIT96					1		1	Hermitage Basin/Vaughan Way/Stockholm Way E1
HLW06		1		1	1		3	Holywell Priory/Holywell Lane, Shoreditch E1
HNB06				2	1		3	Bow Porcelain Factory, 14-26 High St, Stratford E15
JFN08				1			1	John Felton Rd SE16
LEA84		1					1	71-77Leadenhall St/32-40 Mitre St EC3
LSS85		1					1	Broadgate/Bishopsgate/Liverpool St etc, EC2
MAN82					5		5	21-29 Mansell Street E1
OWR01				1	1		2	Trinity Hospital, Highbridge Wharf, Old Woolwich Rd SE10
RLP05		3		1	1		5	Royal London Hospital, Whitechapel Rd E1
ROI07							1	12 Great George St SW1
SFY07				1			1	Stratford Langthorne Abbey (former), Bakers Row, West Ham E15
SQU94		4					4	Spital Square/Lamb St/Nantes Passage/ Folgate St E1
SSA01					1		1	35 Spital Square E1
STE95		1					1	250 Bishopsgate/Steward St/Bushfield St E1/240-127 Bishopsgate EC2
WAT78				4			4	11-14A Bow Lane/39-53 Cannon St/19-28 Watling St EC4
WHU08							1	150 High St Stratford E15
WSLH97				1			1	Walthamstow E17
Total	2	111	58	18	17	1	221	

Figure 5: Breakdown of Manby marked pipes by site (brief addresses given only; full details can be accessed at <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/laarc/catalogue/quickresults.asp>).

types 10 and 12 (c1700–40 and c1730–80 respectively), on the basis of the uprightness of the bowl, thickness of the walls and the appearance of the heel. All are marked with the initials WM moulded in relief on the sides of the heel, with four examples crowned and the rest with initials alone. Only one of the clay pipes in the admittedly small sample has a second stamped mark of any form on the back of the bowl (see above). This is unexpected, given that stamped WM pipes are known from London. Oswald

illustrates an example in the Le Cheminant Collection, found in Queenhithe (in the City of London) with crowned heel initials and an FR stamp with three crowns on the back of the bowl (Oswald 1978, Fig. 1, no. 9). He also shows a WM pipe from Chiswick decorated with moulded leaves along the front bowl seam (Oswald 1978, Fig. 1, no. 5), although no parallels for this were identified in the MOLA sample. All other stamped bowls illustrated by Oswald come from or can be paralleled by examples from

Form	EM	RM	RM/Cr	WM	WM/Cr	WM/St	Total
AO19		1					1
AO20		18	3	3	8		32
AO21					1		1
AO22		2	51	6	5		64
AO25		73		2	3		78
OS10		7		9	10		26
OS11		2					2
OS12	2	5			2	1	10
UNK		3	4				7
Total	2	111	58	20	29	1	221

Figure 6: The chronological distribution of pipes from London marked EM, RM, and WM, (WM/cr = WM crowned; RM/cr = RM crowned; WM/st = stamped and moulded marks; the prefix AO refers to Atkinson & Oswald's London typology of 1969; the prefix OS refers to Oswald's simplified general typology of 1975).

sites outside the UK, in colonial Williamsburg, Virginia; St Mary's City, Maryland; Port Royal, Jamaica; and Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Oswald 1978, Fig. 1, nos 3–5, 8, 10). On this basis it could be argued that such pipes were favoured for export over the plainer types marketed at home, although all the illustrated examples post-date the late seventeenth-century record of William Manby's Hudson Bay connections. Most of the WM pipes made in eighteenth-century forms current after c1700 could have come from the workshop of William (3), although the full extent of the working lives of Williams (1) and (2) is uncertain in the absence of records later than the 1696 Oath of Allegiance for either of them.

In his 1978 discussion of Manby pipes, Oswald noted that stamped marks C or GR with *lion passant*, FR with three crowns and WM wreathed were found on the back of bowls with the moulded WM initials, plain or crowned, in relief on the heel. On the basis of the suggestion made by Ian Walker that GR is associated with the coronation of George III in 1760, Oswald suggested that a possible fourth William Manby was working during the period c1740–70 (Oswald 1978, 349; Fig. 1, nos 8–10). If this interpretation of the GR stamp is correct and the pipes were in fact made by William Manby (3), he would have been working as a pipe maker for more than 40 years, hence Oswald's suggestion that a younger man was carrying on the family name. The alternative to these two options is that the WM moulds were taken over and used by a pipe maker with different initials, which were then stamped on the bowl to indicate manufacture. However, the occurrence of FR-stamped pipes, including those with three crowns must also be taken into consideration since these and other stamped WM pipes formed part of the exported output of the Manbys. Oswald suggested that the FR mark was associated with Frederick the Great of Prussia in the period of the Seven Years War (1756–63), following a pattern well known from English ceramics

and glass commemorating the Prussian monarch (Oswald 1978, 349). However, the mark can now be connected with King Frederick I of Sweden, where considerable numbers of English marked WM pipes of similar date and with a comparable stamp on the back of the bowl have been identified (Arne Åkerhagen pers. comm.).

The most prolific site in relation to pipes of the Manby family was that excavated by the Museum of London (DUA) in 1974 just to the south of Aldgate High Street, to the east of the Minories and west of Mansell Street. In one room of one of the buildings uncovered (Building II) lay part of a small kiln that appears to have been used for clay pipe manufacture, suggested by the presence of several over-fired pipes, fragments of muffle and a dump of pipe clay on the floor of the building (Thompson 1981; Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, 30–2). However, the overall quantity of waste discovered was far less than expected and the bulk of the pipe bowls dated to the period c1660–80. A large number of pipes marked WM and RM were found on the site, but on the basis of the dating evidence William Manby (1) is the only member of the family who might have made use of the kiln. He was exporting to North America in 1681, at which date he would have been 42 years old and had presumably been making pipes for some time. No pipes of the types made c1660–80 can be associated with WM, so this remains unproven. Although Richard Manby (1) was apprenticed to his father, William, in St Botolph's Aldgate, he lived and worked in Whitechapel and the pipes associated with the kiln predate his main period of activity. Based on the high proportion of unmarked pipes found in the kiln it was originally suggested that it may have been operated by a 'back-street' practitioner, working covertly to avoid paying dues to the Tobacco Pipe Makers' Company (Thompson 1981, 12; Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, 32). This is somewhat undermined by the general frequency with which pipes of this period were left unmarked. Only three of the seven marked pipes directly associated with the kiln bore the initials of the Manby family (both WM and RM), and all have been used, as indeed were the majority of the large number of pipes recovered on the site. Another possibility is that the pipes were brought to this small kiln in the back room of a tenement building to be reconditioned by refiring, which could account for the different pipe makers' marks recorded. In this case, the location of the kilns used by members of the Manby family at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must most likely be sought elsewhere.

A total of 144 clay pipe bowls recovered from the 1974 Aldgate excavations carry initials of the Manby family, by far the largest number from any one site investigated in London. As noted in the published report in *Post-Medieval Archaeology* for 1984, the site seems to have had a 'special but undefined' association with the Manby family. There are 77 pipes marked with the letters RM alone, amounting to 69% of all RM pipes in the sample (Grew and Orton 1984, Fig. 42, nos 12–13). One of these is of London type 19, two of type 20, and two of type 22

(all current c1680–1710). Apart from three unidentifiable fragments, the remaining 69 examples are of type 25 (c1700–70: Figs. 7-8). A further 58 pipe bowls have the initials RM with crowns (Figs. 9-10), representing the total number of examples with this mark in the sample (Grew and Orton 1984, Fig. 42, no. 14; Fig. 43, nos 15–17). Apart from three bowls of type 20, all are of type 22 and therefore of a shape that started life earlier than that shared by the majority of the plain RM marks, although they could have been used concurrently at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By contrast, there are only two pipes marked WM alone (Grew and Orton 1984, Fig. 43, no. 18) one of type 22 and one type 25 (11% of the full sample) and seven (41%) with WM crowned (Fig. 11; types 20, 21 and 22, with one type 25; Grew and Orton 1984, Fig. 43, nos 19–21). No pipes were recorded with the initials EM, for Edward Manby.



Figure 9: Pipe bowl of London type 22 marked with RM crowned, from AL74, unstratified, Accession 1214 (length 59mm; © Museum of London).



Figure 7: Pipe bowl of London type 25 marked RM, from AL74, unstratified, Accession 1089 (length 65mm; © Museum of London).



Figure 10: Pipe bowl of London type 22 marked with RM crowned, from AL74, context [1262], Accession 1201 (length 109mm; © Museum of London).



Figure 8: Pipe bowl of London type 25 marked RM from AL74, context [1296], Accession 1126 (length 60mm; © Museum of London).



Figure 11: Pipe bowl of London type 22, marked with WM crowned, from AL74, context [1241], Accession 1033 (length 82mm; © Museum of London).

Pipe bowls of London types 19, 20 and 22 (1680–1710) and the earlier examples of type 25, equating to Oswald's type 10 (c1700–30) would appear to have been made by Richard (1). He was made free in 1701 and is recorded as working thereafter in Whitechapel, further to the east, although not very far distant from Aldgate. It is not impossible that the earlier pipes could have been made when he was serving his apprenticeship to his father, William Manby (2), from 1693, while still in the parish of St Botolph's, Aldgate, although the excavated evidence associates the kiln with pipes made c1660–80. WM pipes of the earlier forms could have been made by William (1) or (2), but the type 25 examples could have been made by any of the three (possibly four) known Williams. However, since William (3) had his workshop in Limehouse, he may be a less likely candidate, as is the shadowy William (4). Whether or not Richard (1) used the kiln uncovered in Aldgate, and this may be questionable for the reasons given above, the sheer quantity of pipes marked with his initials remains unprecedented in excavated sites from London. The sample also shows that in his case at least the crowned initials seem to carry chronological implications, with all later examples of type 25 plain.

Apart from the examples found at site AL74, 27 of the 41 WM pipes recorded in the MOLA database were found on sites excavated largely in the City of London and in the East End. Marks with the WM initials alone include eight of types 20/22 and 10 in the earlier range for type 25. Three of these are from sites south of the Thames, one is from Walthamstow and two from Stratford. The 22 examples with a WM crowned mark include eight of types 20/22, with 10 of type 25 (mostly Oswald type 10) and two of Oswald's type 12. Three of these were also found south of the river, raising the question of whether William Mitchell of Bermondsey was making and marking pipes with his initials. The one pipe bowl with part of a stamped mark in addition to the moulded heel marks is of type 12 in Oswald's general simplified typology (c1730–80), so is

a possible candidate for William (4). Close to the Aldgate site, excavations at 21–29 Mansell Street, E1 (MAN82: Fig. 2), yielded five pipes with a WM crowned mark on the sides of the heel, all of London type 20 (c1680–1710; Figs. 12–14). Excluding the Aldgate High Street site (AL74), the largest number of examples recorded from a single site comes from recent excavations at Bishopsgate Goods Yard (BGX05), in the area of Shoreditch High Street, to the north of Aldgate: eight WM pipes of Oswald's types 10 and 12, all of which have crowned initials. The site also yielded one RM pipe and the only two EM pipes recorded in the database, all three of Oswald's type 12. Pipes marked WM and made in shapes introduced after c1700 could include examples made by Williams (1) and (2) in Aldgate for the earlier part of the century, with William (3) of Green Dragon Alley, Limehouse, more likely from 1719 onwards, when he was made free. Further east, three WM pipes of Oswald's type 10, one of them with crowned initials, were found on the site of the Bow porcelain factory, which started production in what is now Stratford High Street in c1748 (HNB06), although it is uncertain whether their use was directly associated with the operation of the porcelain works.

Of the 111 clay pipes marked with the initials RM alone, 77 were found on the Aldgate High Street site, and 34 come from other excavations. Four of these, all of Oswald's type 10, were found on a site in Spital Square (SQU94), and other examples were for the most part recovered nearby, in the same area covered by the distribution of WM pipes. The bowls are all of Atkinson and Oswald's type 25 (which can be subdivided into Oswald's types 10, 11 and 12), apart from 16 examples of London type 20 recovered from a site at 146 Queen Victoria Street, EC4, near St Paul's (BHO86). These include examples from Whitechapel Road, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch and the City, so all within a reasonably small radius of the two Richards' workshops in Whitechapel. Three pipes marked RM, two of them of Oswald's type 10 and one

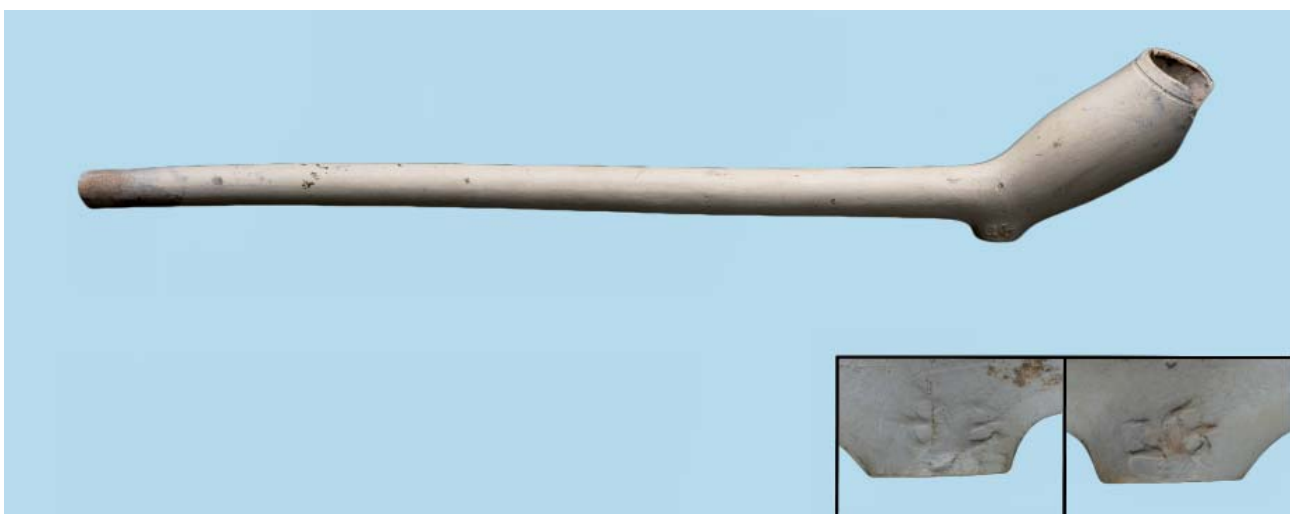


Figure 12: Pipe bowl of London type 20 marked with WM crowned, from MAN82, context [88], Accession 184 (length 200mm; © Museum of London).



Figure 13: Pipe bowl of London type 20 marked with WM crowned, from MAN82, context [88], Accession 223 (length 150mm; © Museum of London).

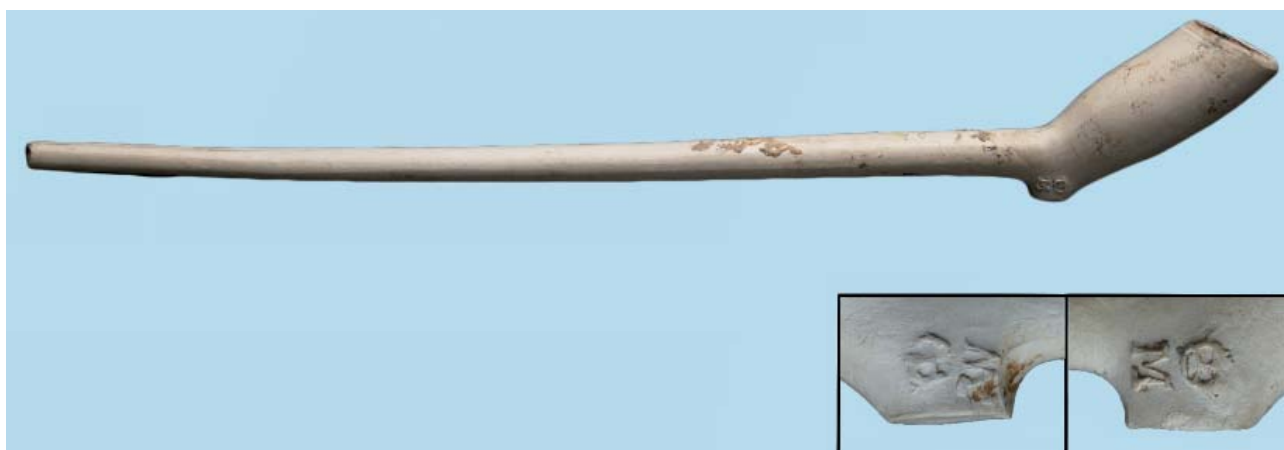


Figure 14: Pipe bowl of London type 20 marked with WM crowned, from MAN82, context [88], Accession 182 (length 250mm; © Museum of London).

type 12, were recently recovered from excavations on the site of the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel Road (RLP05), very much within the working radius of both father and son. A near-complete pipe of Oswald's type 12 found during the excavation of the Billingsgate Lorry Park in Upper Thames Street (BIG82) is illustrated here (Fig. 15). Pipes of Oswald's types 11 and 12, both post-dating c1730, were more likely to have been made by Richard (2), who was made free in 1729.

The examples of marked WM and RM pipes described here were all found in London. There are doubtless many more in the Museum of London's archive that have evaded the Oracle database, including large numbers of clay pipes uncovered on sites excavated by the Guildhall Museum in the years immediately following the Second World War. There are also very likely to be pipes with stamped bowl marks, although their absence from the sample is noteworthy. Examples with a WM stamp on the

bowl have been excavated by Pre-Construct Archaeology, and at least one pipe of London type 25 found by PCA in Narrow Street, Limehouse, has an FR stamp with three crowns (Chris Jarrett pers. comm.). These finds demonstrate the presence of the stamped marks on London sites. However, quite apart from the importance of the Manby family in the history of pipe-making in London, their export interests take them into a different league from many of their contemporaries.

The wider picture

The Sun insurance policies for William Manby (3) indicate a reasonable level of prosperity, as suggested by valuations of £600 in 1755 and 1758, three times that usual for pipe makers supplying only the local market (Oswald 1978, 349). William Manby (1) is known to have been exporting to the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1680s and the international trade connections clearly



Figure 15: Pipe bowl of London type 25 (Oswald type 12) marked with RM, from BIG82 context [310], Accession 944 (length 230mm; © Museum of London).

continued, as shown by finds of WM-marked pipes made by successive generations of the Manby family from sites in North America, the Caribbean and Europe. This article has focused on the Manby family's operations in London, using a limited sample of marked pipes from sites excavated by the Museum of London. No detailed examination of finds overseas is attempted, although finds with the WM mark have been recorded from Williamsburg in Virginia, Louisbourg in Nova Scotia and from Port Royal in Jamaica (e.g Oswald 1975, Pl. V, no. 1; Pl. VI, no. 2). These include at least one pipe with a stamped CR or GR mark with lion on the back of the bowl. If the letters read CR rather than GR (possibly George III), Oswald suggested that they may represent the takeover by another pipe maker of moulds belonging to William Manby (3) (Oswald 1975, 98). A large number are also now known from various locations in Sweden, and a catalogue of 99 examples was provided to the author by Arne Åkerhagen in September 2012. Almost all are of London type 25 (broadly, c1700–700), although most of these have the more developed heel typical of manufacture after c1730 (Oswald's types 11 and 12). This would most likely make them products of the workshop of William Manby (3) in Green Dragon Alley, Limehouse. All have the moulded WM initials on the sides of the heel, mostly with added crowns. Several pipes also have FR with three crowns stamped incuse on the back of the bowl. Oswald in 1978 speculated on a possible connection with Frederick the Great of Prussia (Oswald 1978, 349). However, the large numbers of pipes with this mark found in Sweden, together with the use of the three crowns that form part of the Swedish royal coat of arms indicate rather that they were made for export to that country during the reign of Frederick I (1720–51), whose cipher they bear. William Manby would be ideally placed, close to the river in Limehouse, to conduct just such an overseas trade, clearly continuing the Manby family's interest in the export market for London-made clay pipes.

As an intriguing postscript to the Manby family's pipe-making activities, pipes made in English forms appear to have been made in Venice from 1793. At this date, Severino Meidel was given a licence for 15 years to make pipes after the English and Dutch fashion. Many of these have been identified, with an incuse stamped WM mark on the bowl, and sometimes with moulded initials on the sides of the heel as well, leading to the suggestion that they were made in moulds that had been used by William Manby (3) at his workshop in Limehouse (Leclaire 2008, 15; Davey 2008, 95).

These discoveries serve to emphasise the importance of the Manby family as producers and exporters of clay pipes, and something of the scale of their operations over a lengthy period. Within London, WM and RM pipes of the various types described here tend to have a more-or-less local distribution within a relatively small radius of the workshops in which they were produced, to the east of the City. Their operations extended over several generations and encompassed developments in the form of the clay pipe bowl from the forward sloping types of the late seventeenth century to the more upright shapes of the eighteenth century. The range of makers' marks identified on sites excavated in London is limited mostly to simple initials moulded on the heel, more frequently crowned than otherwise. The more elaborately marked stamped bowls seem to have been reserved principally for the export market, providing ample reason for the relative prosperity of the Manby family when compared with many other London pipe makers.

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