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public in the economic and social history of tobacco and pipe smoking worldwide. Its principal aims are to promote better
awareness of the pipe as a cultural, artistic and social phenomenon; to highlight the particular place the pipe holds in the
history of peoples and civilizations; to collect, preserve and disseminate evidence relating to its history and associations,
and to encourage research concerning the past, present or future of the subject.

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EDITORIAL

Following the launch of the new journal in 2008 with a single major study of the Saint-Quentin-la-Poterie pipe making industry, there has now been an opportunity to bring together a broader range of papers for this second volume, which includes the work of some 23 different international authors and runs to more than 50,000 words in length. This volume is more typical of the intended format for the journal, with the first part comprising a collection of themed papers and the second a series of individual studies on a more diverse range of topics.

The first part of this year’s volume presents the results of a project by the Academy’s clay pipe working group, which set out to examine the state of knowledge regarding the clay tobacco pipe industry in as many different countries as possible. The information relating to each country has been compiled in a systematic manner and provides a chronological narrative of clay pipe production and use in each area. These accounts have, of necessity, had to be kept brief but they are intended to provide a broad overview of each country as well as a means of accessing the key literature and collections relating to that area if more information is required. Each summary has been written by a specialist in the relevant field and, taken together, they cover a significant proportion of the areas over which clay pipes were in common use (cf Figure 1 on page 2). This is the most extensive survey of its type that has ever been undertaken and it should provide a key resource for anyone wishing to either study a particular country or region, or to place their pipes within a broader context. Further summaries for countries not yet covered are welcome and will be published in future volumes of this journal.

The second part of this volume comprises a series of papers on different topics of research. These range from studies of particular classes of artefact, such as cheroot holders and ember pots, to the broader social customs and paraphernalia associated with smoking, as seen in the Norwegian langpipe paper. The paper on advertising pipes shows how a single theme can be explored across pipes produced in a range of different materials while the paper on the Civic Company’s pattern book allows an in-depth examination of the patterns that they produced and the way in which the briar trade functioned.

The main theme for Volume 3 will be based on the proceedings of the Academy’s very successful 2009 conference in Budapest. The papers presented at that meeting will provide an excellent overview of the pipes found in Eastern Europe, where the Ottoman and European traditions met, overlapped and merged. Other papers will include the meerschaum working group’s iconography study. Contributions on other topics are, as ever, always welcome and guidelines for contributors can be found at the end of this volume.

Thanks are due to all the contributors to this volume for their hard work in generating the texts and illustrations and particularly to Peter Davey and Ruud Stam who organised the clay pipe summaries and helped with their preparation for publication. Finally, particular thanks are due to Susie White, who has not only manipulated many of the illustrations to improve them but also worked so hard in designing and setting this volume to achieve its high quality layout and finish.

David A. Higgins
Principal Editor
Introduction

As Norway was part of the kingdom of Denmark until 1814, legislation governing the production and sale of tobacco and pipes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was issued from Copenhagen. The bulk of the literature covering the introduction of tobacco and early growth of the clay pipe industry is also Danish.

According to Carl Nyrop, tobacco came to Denmark around 1620 and its use spread quickly (1881a). Bardenfleth refers to a 1606 inventory of a deceased individual’s estate at Helsingør where 12 tobacco pipes are listed (2002). Tobacco appears in Norway even earlier as it seems to have been known in Bergen sometime between 1612 and 1614. By 1619 King Christian IV prohibited its use aboard Norwegian naval vessels because of its damage to health and by 1632 the law was extended to the country as a whole because of ‘the great damage the drinking of tobacco imposes on our subjects in the kingdom of Norway’ (Christian IV may well have been influenced by his brother-in-law King James I’s abhorrence of the drug in Britain, but it is also argued that the initial ordinance may have had more to do with the danger of fire aboard ship). However, by 1640 the king capitulated to Norwegian sailors’ insatiable addiction. Writing to Korfits Ulfeldt, the Lord Treasurer, the king admonishes him to provide tobacco for the Norwegian sailors in the navy remarking that they ‘will hardly stay healthy for long without that stuff which they prefer in place of their breakfast’. His concern for the welfare of the rest of his Norwegian subjects lasted only until the greater advantage of taxation to the king’s purse became apparent, leading to the law’s repeal in 1643. Judging from archaeological evidence, including several harbour surveys, all pipes used in Norway until the middle of the eighteenth century were foreign imports.

Pipe production in Norway started in 1752 and in the following years was concentrated around the Oslo Fjord in the cities of Drammen, Moss and Christiania, now Oslo (Strøm 1788b) – the name of the capital was changed from Cristiania to Oslo by parliament in 1924 (Figure 1). Although the mayor of Bergen, D. P. Fasmer, was awarded a license to establish a faience and clay tobacco pipe factory in 1760, it would appear that no pipes were actually produced there as none have been identified in any surveys so far.

Figure 1: Map of Norway with Oslo (Christiania) Fjord inset. Akershus Stift covered roughly the shaded area on the map at the left (drawn by the author).
Eighteenth Century

The major Norwegian producers in the latter half of the 1700s were Jacob Boy of Drammen, Christopher Bocklum at Larkollen near Moss, Knut Rist at Drøbak and Lorentz Wahlstrøm in Christiania (Figure 1). While the two former locations have been amply surveyed, research into the industry came too late to uncover any evidence in Oslo as the probable sites of production there were destroyed by urban renewal during the course of the twentieth century.

Drammen

The waterways on both side of the Oslo Fjord were locations of early industry in Norway based on their use as means of transporting logs from the interior to cities near the coast. Here the timber would be processed as masts and lumber in water powered timber mills close to ports from which produce could be exported. Drammen, Moss, Sarpsborg and Halden were among these early industrial towns.

Jacob Boy

In 1752 the businessman Jacob Boy obtained the right to establish a clay tobacco pipe factory in Drammen on the west side of the Oslo Fjord (Figure 2). The factory at Bragernes became the largest in Norway and produced pipes under various owners until the end of the century (Pettersen 1944). Boy went into the business with great enthusiasm, bringing in skilled workers from the continent and submitting a number of applications for the enactment of ordinances that would protect his investment. His confidence in his own influence with the king’s representatives and in obtaining privileges seemed boundless as he successively applied for monopoly in Akershus Stift, the waiver of customs duties on clay, an increase in duties on imported pipes and, finally, a monopoly and prohibition of imports for the whole country.

The factory was inspected thoroughly in 1754 in order to ascertain that the conditions of his monopoly to supply the country with pipes of sufficient numbers and quality, was upheld. The results give a detailed insight into the workings of the industry at the time. In addition to the master pipe maker, Hendrich Meyer, there were five apprentices, four adult assistants and eight workers on the premises (Table 1). The inspection also showed that Boy had 4,369 gross pipes in storage. The authorities were duly impressed. The stipulation that the pipes be of equal quality to foreign imports was also met. On July 15, 1767 an ‘announcement’ appeared in the Christiania newspaper Norske Intelligenz-Sedler advertising the assortment of pipes from Drammen varying from expensive ‘long English and Dutch pipes’ to the cheapest ‘farmer’s pipes’ (Figure 3).

In spite of his insistence that the endeavour was for the good of the country, saving on foreign currencies, employing local labour, and that his pipes were of a quality at least as good as imports, neither protectionism nor hard work were enough to make it a profitable business. Supplying the entire country using the difficult sea-routes along the coast was unreliable, competition was mounting and monopolies were no longer the vogue. By the mid-1760s Boy’s attention was elsewhere. After moving to Christiania he sold the factory to Christian Fichenhoff, a vicar of Drammen in 1770. The factory declined under successive owners and, by 1788, it was run by ‘a man, woman and an apprentice producing 1,200 gross farmer’s pipes’ (Strøm 1788a).

Larkollen and Drøbak

In his mention of Moss as a place of pipe production, Hans Strom was referring to the nearby coastal villages of Larkollen and Drøbak.

Knut Rist

Jacob Boy’s first competitor was Knut Rist, who received permission to start a crucible and clay pipe factory at Husvik in Drøbak in 1767 and this right was renewed in 1784 (Grevenor 1933). The factory was bought by Christopher Bocklum in 1780 and taken over by Hans Jaspersen in 1781, when he married Bocklum’s widow. Other than a single pipe found at the excavation at Larkollen, none of Rist’s types are known (Figure 4).

Christopher Bocklum

There is some confusion about Christopher Bocklum’s history before he started the factory at Larkollen. Born around 1725, he received his training at Walbeck in Prussia. He may have been the Christopher Baculun employed as apprentice in Drammen in 1754. A. Collett writes that ‘Fabrikant’ Bocklund received permission to start a pipe factory in Christiania in 1766 (Collett 1910) and Carl Nyrop writes in 1881 that ‘Christopher Bocklund of Drøbak, formerly master apprentice at the factory of the herbalists of Copenhagen was given the right to start a pipe factory in Aggershus, at a distance not less than three miles from Drøbak, Bragernes (Drammen) or Christiania, where fuel is dear’ (Nyrop 1881b). While it is uncertain if he was employed by Knut Rist or actually produced his own pipes in Christiania, it is clear that by 1769 his small factory at Larkollen was in full production (Opstad 1957).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last name</th>
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Note: The six entries after Jacob Boy were apprentices and master apprentices at Boy’s factory at the time of the inspection of 1754. Christopher Baculun and Johan Wejchem of Drammen may be misspellings of Christopher Bocklum and Johan Wichardt respectively.

Table 1: List of known Norwegian producers.

Figure 3: Jacob Boy’s price list (Boy 1767).
Bocklum’s factory at Larkollen was the subject of an exploratory excavation in 1984 when seventeen different pipe types were uncovered and documented in an unpublished report (Hernæs and Ludvigsen 1984; Figures 5, 6 & 10-12). The history of the factory is further described by the author in Wiwar 2/1985. The factory was active from 1769 until Bocklum’s death at the age of 50 in 1781. The year before he had bought the factory at Drobak. Judging from the listing of his estate in 1781 it would seem that Bocklum’s venture was reasonably successful (Ludvigsen 1985).

**Christiania**

Although Christopher Bocklum was given the right to produce in Christiania, only one factory is actually known to have existed there in the eighteenth century.

**Lorentz Wahlstrom** The first known factory in Christiania is mentioned by A. Collett: ‘... and in 1781 another factory of the same kind, belonging to Lorentz Wahlstrom was established, which according to the magistrate produced just as good clay pipes as the Dutch. It was however, closed after a few years’. None of Wahlstrom’s types are documented in known sources.

**Nineteenth Century**

After Jacob Boy’s monopoly was broken in the middle 1760s followed by the lifting of the import restrictions on pipes in 1759, freer competition allowed for the establishment of several smaller factories in Christiania.

**Christiania**

The material evidence on production in Christiania in the 1800s is sketchy at best. The existence of producers is only proven by their addresses in lists of businesses. As mentioned above, none of the possible sites in Oslo were surveyed before their destruction by redevelopment.

**Iver Nielsen** Probably the best known of the Christiania producers. Pipes marked with his name were commonly available in antique shops in the 1980s. His factory is registered under several addresses from 1852 and must have been run for some time after his death by his widow, Iver Nielsen’s Enke, as advertisements from the latter half of the 1800s announce that ‘new forms for clay pipes have newly arrived from England at the pipe factory at Nybroen by the New Bridge’.

**Hans Jensen Berg** Listed as a clay pipe producer in 1865, 1879 and 1880 at Vogmangsgaten 2.

**Joh. Eriksen** Listed as a producer in 1879 and 1880 at Vogmangsgade 1, Kampen.

**Provincial production**

That pipes were sometimes produced in conjunction with other earthen-wares is documented in various awarded licences. Minor pipe factories would therefore have arisen as sidelines to local brick or pottery industries.

**Andreas Thorsen** Initially a small shop owner near the drawbridge, his father was a tobacco maker in Fredrikstad from 1837. He moved to Sarpsborg in 1841, opening a pottery where simple ‘farmer’s pipes’ of red earthenware were produced until the mid 1850s (Veel 1953).

**Twentieth Century**

In an advertisement for ‘H. O. Hvoslef’s Cork Factory’s Produce’ in Christiania in 1865, the list ends with ‘Pipe heads of cork etc. etc.’. As elsewhere, clay pipes were being supplanted by more durable materials. However, elder generations in the 1960s would often recall ‘old women’ from their childhood smoking clay pipes. While digging an allotment garden in a field near Fredrikstad in the 1980s the author uncovered several broken pipes. An explanation was given by an elderly gentleman at a local historical society lecture on clay pipes: as a child he had followed his father when planting potatoes using discarded clay pipe heads as measures for scattering burnt bone meal on each set potato (as a phosphate fertilizer).

During the marine archaeological survey by the author of clay pipes in the harbour in Loshavn near Farsund in 1980-85, there was mention of a local general store selling the occasional clay pipe from stock up until the 1940s.

Research into clay tobacco pipes has not had very high status among Norwegian archaeologists and historians. With the exception of Dagfinn Skre’s analysis of the pipes from Revierstredet in Oslo in 1981 (Skre 1981), and
the marine archaeological excavations and inspections of wrecks by the National Maritime Museum (NSM), most of the surveys have been carried out by amateurs. The NSM or amateur divers under the guidance of the NSM have carried out marine archaeological surveys at Loshavn (Ludvigsen 1982), Skarvøy near Lista, Bergen harbour, Møvik (Molaug 1972), and Bjørvika (Oslo).

Conclusion

The Norwegian pipe industry was small and is reasonably well documented both in the archives and archaeologically. Apart from the lost sites in Oslo and a future survey of possible material from Rist’s factory at Drøbak, there is an abundance of material available for compilation and analysis.

In the statistical analysis of the finds from Loshavn, there was a sharp rise in the number of Dutch pipes in the middle of the eighteenth century and an equally dramatic drop fifty years later. The only trade that would warrant such numbers in comparison to the total survey of finds was lobster fishing which, in order to satisfy the demands of the Dutch market, shifted from a household fishery with long tongs to large hauls with lobster pots. The hypothesis that follows is that the present dismal state of the lobster
Figure 8: A selection of Jacob Boy’s produce from Bragernes, c1752-70 - from the Drammens Museums Årbok 1938-43 and the copyright of Drammens Museum (Pettersen 1944).

Figure 9: Heel marks from the Drammen factory of c1752-90 (Alsvik 1944).
Figure 10: Types 02 - 06 from Christopher Bocklum's factory of c1769-81 at Larkollen (Hernæs and Ludvigsen 1984; drawn by Kristin Thorud).
Figure 11: Types 07 - 12 of c1769-81 from the Larkollen factory (Hernæs and Ludvigsen 1984).
Figure 12: Types 13 - 17 of c1769-81 from the Larkollen factory (Hernaes and Ludvigsen 1984; drawn by Kristin Thorud).
population along the south coast has not only been caused by pollution and over-fishing (in spite of regulatory measures) in the 1900s, but that it had received its initial setback by the last quarter of the 1700s (Ludvigsen 1982). In an age of environmental concern, the analysis of the clay tobacco pipe, widely abundant in the numerous large and small harbours, both under water and on shore, would serve well in further understanding the complexities of trade in natural resources from which the country always has made the greater part of its fortunes.

**Principal collections**

The following institutions have representative collections of Norwegian produce, though not always identified as such.

- Drammens Museum, Drammen. Pipes from the Bragernes factory.
- Norsk Sjøfartsmuseum, Oslo. Collections from marine archaeological excavations, inspections and surveys.
- Oslo Bymuseum, Oslo. Possible finds from Christiania producers.
- Bergen Historiske Museum and Bryggens Museum, Bergen. Pipes from the survey of the inner harbour and excavations of the Hanseatic wharfs.
- Lista Museum, Våse. Pipes from the harbour surveys at Loshavn and Skarvøy.
- Borgarsyssel Museum, Sarpsborg. Finds from the Larkollen excavation.
- De Sandvigske Samlinger, Lillehammer. Pipes collected from the interior of the country.
- Fredrikstad Museum, Fredrikstad. Pipes from the Glomma region.

**New Research Objectives**

- Comprehensive catalogue of known Norwegian production for identification purposes.
- Survey of the Rist factory at Husvik, Drøbak.
- Identification of Norwegian pipes in museums throughout the country to ascertain the distribution of domestic production.

**Ongoing Research**

Jørgen Johannessen, of the NSM is presently working on material from the inner harbour in Oslo and collections elsewhere in Norway as research for a Ph.D. entitled *Tobacco Consumption 1500-1900; Consumerism, Mentality and Modernity - an archaeological survey of clay tobacco pipes in Norway* (Johannesen 2007).

**Principal Bibliography**