When tobacco was first brought over to Europe and Britain during the 1560s and 1570s it not only introduced a new habit but a new industry, that of making the pipes in which to smoke it. The quantities of tobacco imported would initially have been small, but as its use grew then production in the Americas and the export increased accordingly, as did cultivation in England. Initially the price of tobacco was high and the smoking of it limited to wealthier tradesmen and the nobility, particularly during the reign of King James I when high taxes were imposed on tobacco itself; James took a considerable distaste to smoking, and in his 'Counterblaste to Tobacco' he described the habit as "A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neerest resembling the horrible stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse".

The early pipemaking industry would have been a small family affair, with husband and wife working together to produce and sell the product. The pipes were made in a two-piece mould, clamped together in a vice, with a stopper attached to a lever brought down to form the inside of the bowl. The clay for the pipes had to be of a particular quality suitable for moulding, and the grey white-burning clays of North Devon and the Poole area were ideal. In these early days of the industry pipes would have been fired in relatively small kilns within, or attached to, outhouses at the rear of the dwelling house. There is evidence that until the 1630s, for some, making pipes was a secondary occupation which gradually became a primary one as taxes on tobacco fell and the number of those to whom smoking became financially viable increased.

The ports of Bristol, London and Portsmouth were natural starting points for the industry, not only serving their own populations but exporting to the rapidly expanding New World; Bristol was certainly exporting pipes by 1597, and in 1652 the makers were in a position to form their own guild. By about 1630 the Hunt family of Norton St Philip appear to have started making pipes, using high-quality clay from small outcrops near Chitterne on Salisbury Plain where friends of the family were licensed to
extract it. The Hunts were one of the first rural families of southern England to develop the industry inland, and began the trend of not merely stamping their initials on the pipes, as was the custom in Bristol, but of stamping the full maker’s name on the flat ‘heel’ of the pipe below the bowl. It is the latter practice which facilitates the location and identification of pipemakers and consequently the dates of their products through documentary research – which in turn has invaluable archaeological applications when pipes are discovered in post-medieval contexts.

While the industry developed in the rural villages to the south, Bath appears to have remained without a pipemaker until at least the late 1650s. The city was certainly not without its smoking population, since in 1632 the Corporation recognised that six grocers, four apothecaries and six other tradesmen were by then selling tobacco. The first evidence of the presence of a pipemaker in the city is a small fragment of ‘muffle’, or internal insulation, from the inside of a pipe kiln. When a kiln was built, the inside was first lined with damp pipeclay reinforced with lengths of pipe stem and then given an initial firing to harden it, so rendering the structure capable of maintaining high temperatures for a longer period. The muffle from Bath was excavated from night-soil which had been dumped on the town Commons at some point during the 1650s or early 1660s and so its original source cannot be ascertained, but it probably came from the kiln of John Gay, who is the earliest yet documented Bath pipemaker.

Very little is known about John Gay apart from his burial in the Abbey churchyard: “1679...John Gay pipemaker was Buryed October 13th”. It is likely that he learned the trade either in one of the pipemaking villages of north-east Somerset and west Wiltshire or in the city of Bristol. Bath men were certainly sending their sons to Bristol to learn the occupation by 1653, when Robert Walter, son of Robert Walter of St James’ parish, glover, was apprenticed to Philip and Sarah Edwards of Bristol,
pipemakers; while in 1675 William Deane, son of William Deane of St Michael's, weaver, was apprenticed to Robert and Alice Shepherd of Bristol, pipemakers. Several hundred pipes stamped with the name John Gay (Fig. 1) and about ten others with the initials I.G. produced from the same moulds have been found in the Bath area.

After John Gay's death Bath again seems to have gone without a pipemaker for at least ten years; at least no pipes have been found bearing the names of any pipemaker not accounted for elsewhere. Large quantities of pipes produced by makers in north-east Somerset during the 1680-1690 period have been found in the city, dominated by the pipes of Richard Greenland and the Hunt family of Norton St Philip and Woolverton, as well as lesser quantities of pipes by Richard Earle of Norton St Philip, John Ducy of Tellisford, and John and Nathaniel Howell of Rode.

The industry in Bath was revitalised during the mid-1690s by the brothers John and Richard Tylee of Widcombe, whose pipes, particularly those of John, are commonly found in the city (Fig. 2). They appear at a time when the style of pipes changed, the heel of the bowl being replaced by a small spur and the makers' marks transferred to a position on the upper part of the stem a short distance from it. They were both Quakers and were probably brought up in Bristol. The minutes of the quarterly meetings of the Society of Friends reveal much about them. John became prominent in the Society, and attended most meetings throughout the northern division of the county. He is first documented as a pipemaker on 13 July 1696 at the quarterly meeting of the Friends held at Woodborough, when he took Rachel Rowland as an apprentice.

Judging by the number of his early pipes found in Bath, John's business went well to begin with, but by 26 June 1702 it had run into serious difficulties:
Whereas at our Last meeting there was Som Debate Conserning John Tylies runing into Debt beyond his stock & absconding himselfe to the great Scandal & reproach of the Truth which he made profession of...wee think it requisite that the said John Tylie should offer himselfe to his Creditors & all that he hath & to be at the Courtecises of those that have Given him Credict

A letter from John giving an account of his misfortune was read at a meeting on 30 October 1702 whereby he stated that “hee have had A great deal of Sorrow for it and Hopes hee have knowed true Repentance”.

By January 1704 John Tylee’s houses had been sold and he became reliant upon charitable donations from the Society of Friends for his subsistence. Though it would appear from pipes found that he carried on making them after 1702, he took on the trade of a baker as his main concern and was known by the latter description in all documentation. He remained with the Friends, and his son Edward, born in 1703, became a prominent Quaker minister, preaching not only in Europe but also in North America. John himself died on 10 July 1740 and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Bathford. In his will he left various lands and a total of £1700 in large sums to his children and grandchildren, but bequeathed his brother Richard only £5. Either John had become an astute businessman in the later years of his life or he had inherited a large amount of money.

Richard Tylee played a smaller part in Quaker affairs than his brother John. He married Sarah Reynolds in July 1700 and was still in Widcombe in December 1705. Richard was described as late of Widcombe on 2 December 1706 when, at a quarterly meeting at Chew Magna, he asked permission to join the Friends at Bedminster, which, judging by his description, he may already have done unofficially. In consequence of his move fewer of his pipes have been found in Bath, though in Bristol they are also rare. He almost certainly carried on his trade in Bedminster, for in March 1706/7 a grant of clothing was made by the north Somerset Quakers to an unnamed boy apprentice of his. Richard was still there in 1744 when he applied for financial relief “on Acct of his great Age and Infirmities”. The last known record is in 1748 when he was recommended for admission to the Quaker workhouse in Bristol.

For the first forty years of the eighteenth century the pipe-making trade in Bath was dominated by the Carpenter family. Robert Carpenter was born in 1674, the son of Robert and Ann Carpenter alias Hooper, and was baptised at the Abbey on 7 July of that year. He would have
served an apprenticeship some time between 1684 and 1694, which, given the absence of a pipemaker in the city until the mid-1690s, would have been served elsewhere, probably in London. Robert was a respected man and became active in parish affairs at St James', being elected overseer for the first time in 1709, serving also as a sidesman and churchwarden in the later years. Until 1710 he competed for the marketing of pipes in Bath with Richard Greenland of Norton St Philip, whose pipes have been found in the city in abundance. The death of Richard Greenland in June 1710 left the market wide open for Robert to exploit and overwhelm. The trade of the remaining north-east Somerset makers became restricted to the village market to the south, while north of Bath the market was influenced by a new venture in Marshfield started by Robert Ducy, who had moved from Tellisford by 1714/5.

Since he started working circa 1695, the earliest of Robert Carpenter's pipes are of the seventeenth-century heeled form, but these are extremely rare and no complete bowl has been found to date. The remainder of his pipes were stamped on the stem just behind the bowl, as had become a necessity during the 1690s as bowl styles gradually changed, the heel below the bowl being replaced by a small pointed spur incapable of taking the makers' marks. The most common stamp consists of his abbreviated Christian name followed by full surname and the place-name Bath, the latter addition being a rare adoption in England at the time; a rarer variation of this stamp also exists. The other stamp used by Robert until about 1720, and not quite so common as the first, consists solely of his initials and the name Bath (Fig. 3). The stems of his pipes became thinner with the progression of time, as was characteristic of the development of pipe forms, and the stamp became more blurred with evidence of being trimmed down to size.

It is not certain where Robert had his workshop, though the Carpenter family were involved in a number of properties in the city during the

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**Fig. 3** Pipe stamps of the early eighteenth century: 1-3 Robert Carpenter; 4 IC – John Carpenter; 5 GH – Giles Howell. Scale 1:1.
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Robert and his family were parishioners of St James', and it is perhaps most likely that it was in this parish that the pipes were made, as certainly became the case later in the eighteenth century. He was also an alehouse keeper; on 30 December 1728 he was granted two 99-year leases for adjacent properties opposite St Michael’s church on the east side of Walcot Street, to hold for the lives of himself and sons John and Corderoy. One of these was The White Horse, which is described in an insurance policy with the Sun Fire Office taken out in April 1727 as comprising a dwelling house, three stables, two coach-houses, a tenement, and a brewhouse, the whole insured for £500.

Robert Carpenter became a freeman in October 1718, shortly before taking his sons John (born 1704) and Corderoy (born 1707) into apprenticeship on 5 November. He also took two apprentices from the Blue Coat charity school, Mary Anslow in February 1718/9 and Mary Dollins in October 1721. Robert’s wife Margaret had died in March 1719/20, and very soon afterwards on 20 May 1720 he married Martha Raunce at Weston church. Robert’s fifth apprentice, George Davis on 14 February 1725/6, was probably the son of his first wife’s brother Benjamin Davis. The family of Robert’s second wife already had pipemaker connections, Susanna Raunce having married William Deane, the father of the Bristol apprentice, in 1654. Robert probably retired from participation in the pipemaking business some time between 1732 and 1733, when payments made by the Corporation for pipes passed to the name of his son John; he was buried at Bath Abbey on 7 January 1738/9.

Robert’s son Corderoy appears to have taken a distaste to the pipemaking line, since on 25 March 1723 he was re-apprenticed to John King of Frome, cutler, with £20 consideration money paid by his father. However he may have returned to pipemaking, since on 18 April 1726 he took the customary oath of a freeman of the city and paid the usual fee of six shillings for a city apprentice. Very little more is known about him except that he served as a Corporation aletaster from 1735 to 1739; he was buried in the Abbey on 26 April 1741, the same day as his daughter Anne was christened there.

The other son John took his freedom on 14 March 1725/6. He maintained the family alias of Hooper until at least 1733 when he placed himself on surety for his wife to appear at the next Quarter Sessions and give evidence against Methusaleum Mead for theft. In 1733 he took over the supply of pipes to the Corporation from his father, carrying on until at least 1737 before the contract was given to John Smith. Though he did not participate in parish affairs to the same extent as his father before
him, John was elected sexton of St James' on June 1754, a post which he was to hold until his death.\textsuperscript{11} The last reference to John Carpenter as a pipemaker is in May 1760 when his son Charles was apprenticed to Thomas Harris of Bath, joiner.\textsuperscript{17} He died on 16 July 1763\textsuperscript{22} and was buried at the Abbey.\textsuperscript{7} Stamped pipes of John Carpenter are not as common as those of Robert before him, the stamping of pipes having declined during the period 1740–1750, but those found are marked with his initials and the name Bath (Fig. 3).

Contemporary with John Carpenter as a pipemaker in Bath was Giles Howell, who married John's cousin Ann Snailum at St Michael's on 14 May 1719.\textsuperscript{7} Giles came from Rode, seven miles to the south, where his family had been making pipes since the mid-1640s. On 10 August 1723 he was still described as a pipemaker of Rode when he took his brother-in-law Thomas Snailum apprentice,\textsuperscript{23} but three months later, in November, his daughter Sarah was baptised at Walcot church.\textsuperscript{7} In June 1739 he was called a pipemaker of Walcot when he placed himself on surety for William Fry of Bath to appear at the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions.\textsuperscript{24}

It is not known exactly where Giles worked, but a number of pipes stamped with his initials (Fig. 3) were recovered, along with a larger quantity of pipes of Robert Carpenter, from a well excavated in 1971 prior to the construction of the Walcot Street car park opposite St Michael's church.\textsuperscript{25} A workshop in this general vicinity of the city is likely, since in 1743, when work was carried out on St Michael's, Giles paid the churchwardens thirteen shillings for a quantity of the old timber, presumably for use as fuel for his kiln.\textsuperscript{26} The registers of Walcot church record the burial of two Giles Howells, on 30 October 1749 and 3 May 1757, one of them the pipemaker himself and the other probably a son. His business was probably taken over by his cousin John Howell, also from Rode, who is recorded as a pipemaker of Bath in March 1771 when he sold family land at Rode to his brother-in-law John Filder of Bradford-on-Avon, another pipemaker.\textsuperscript{27}

From at least 1741 it is likely that there were three pipe factories or workshops in operation in Bath, for in the summer of that year John Smith the elder (John Smith I) first supplied pipes to the Corporation.\textsuperscript{19} He is first recorded as a pipemaker in June 1739 when his daughter Anne was baptised at St James' church.\textsuperscript{7} Fourteen bills from John to the Corporation survive, the earliest dated October 1749. A bill paid in January 1749/50 shows that John, like most pipemakers, was producing both plain pipes for 1s. 10d per gross and glazed pipes, which had a polished finish, for 3s. 6d per gross; subsequent bills show that the
Council members favoured the superior polished variety. The Council got through an average of a gross of pipes a month, often supplied on the occasions of royal and political celebrations when John was also paid for bellringing. A typical bill is illustrated above (Fig. 4).

Several apprentices of John Smith are known. The first was Thomas Noad, son of Thomas Noad of Rode, on 14 November 1743 and related through his mother to the Ducy family of pipemakers of Tellisford. He was probably the Thomas Noad who had children by his wife Esther baptised at St James’ in 1765 and 1767 and who is recorded in the parish overseers’ accounts of 1768. He may have later worked in Poole, Dorset, and Bristol. John Smith later took other apprentices: his son Jeremiah (baptised at St James’ in October 1740) on 1 March 1754; John Smith II, son of Sarah Smith of Bath widow, on 12 February 1762; and his own son John Smith III on 4 June 1763. What became of John Smiths II and III is uncertain, though the latter was probably buried at Bathwick in June 1766. A son Joseph, baptised at St James’ in November 1753, also took
up pipemaking. John Smith the elder died on 9 September 1766 and was buried at St James'. No marked pipes of his are known to date.

John's son Jeremiah married Ann Bayley of the Bristol pipemaking family before taking the freedom of Bath on 22 March 1762. Ann died in January 1772, and eight months later Jeremiah married Elizabeth Smith, widow of Richard Smith of the Catherine Wheel alehouse in Parsonage Lane, the licence of which was subsequently put in Jeremiah's name. He had succeeded his father in supplying pipes to the Corporation in 1766, and a number of bills indicate that a gross of pipes in 1774 cost the same price, 3s. 6d, as in 1749. The church rates for St James' parish show that he took over a property held by his father in Ambury Lane, just outside the south gate. On his death and burial at St James' on 3 February 1780, the property went untenanted and was described as The Pipe House until May 1781 when the workshop and kiln were presumably still standing. The stamping of pipes having become rare after about 1760, no pipes have yet been found bearing Jeremiah's name, but some that can almost certainly be attributed to him are of an early decorated type; these feature the Bacchus design of a cherub holding a bottle and glass, while sitting astride a barrel, moulded on the back of the bowl, the spur of which has the initials I and S moulded on its sides (Fig. 5). It is perhaps of note here that in December 1777 Jeremiah was the surety for Samuel Stawell to keep the Bottle and Glass alehouse in St James's Street.

Jeremiah's brother Joseph Smith may have started his career working for him before launching out under his own name and taking the family business into the nineteenth century. On 25 March 1780, shortly after his brother's death, he was described as a baker when he purchased the
remainder of a 99-year lease of no. 10 Bridewell Lane from William Reeve, and it was here that a new pipe factory was established to compete with Thomas Clarke's which had probably been founded not long previously. On 8 August 1782 he took his first apprentice there when the overseers of St Michael's placed Mary Ann Drew with him and his wife to learn the art of a pipemaker for seven years. While maintaining the pipe factory at no. 10, Joseph ventured into the building boom which included the laying out of the Pulteney estate in Bathwick around 1790, and it was this which led to his financial demise. On 30 September 1791 he was granted a building lease from Henrietta Pulteney to construct no. 46 Great Pulteney Street, and by August 1796 he had taken over the building leases of nos. 34 and 53 from other developers. He was, however, borrowing ever-increasing amounts of money in order to finish the properties and by early 1799 he owed nearly four thousand pounds in mortgages and interest. On 20 May 1799 a notice was issued to his creditors as to his insolvency and ordering a meeting to discuss his affairs a week later.

Joseph appears to have kept the pipemaking business going despite his financial difficulties, and on 5 March 1805 the trustees of the Abbey charity school ordered that James, son of James Harris, be bound to him as an apprentice. Eventually, however, he sold the business to James Clarke on 30 October 1810 to include "all the Household Goods & furniture, Stock in Trade, with the several Implements Instruments & Utensils belonging to being in & used by the sd Jos. Smith in his Business of a pipe maker". James was to pay Joseph an annuity of £60 per year for life, in return for which Joseph agreed:

not at any Time hereafter within 20 miles of the Guildhall...either by himself...or with any other person...carry on the Trade Business or Calling of a pipe maker or be in any manner concerned...without the Consent in Writing first had and attained under the hand of the sd Jas Clarke...and will do his best & utmost Endeavour to recommend & establish the sd Jas Clarke in the sd Business and promote his interest and welfare therein.

Joseph appears to have been working as a journeyman pipemaker, probably for James, in August 1812 when he sold the interest in the remainder of his Pulteney Street property. Pipes of this date, bearing Joseph's initials with those of James added, were recently discovered amongst builders' debris possibly left by Joseph below a raised cellar floor in Johnstone Street (Fig. 7).
The Nineteenth-Century Industry

Thomas Clarke was probably making pipes by the time of his marriage to Margaret Henley at St James’ in October 1773. In 1788 he began work for the Corporation in the first of a number of public offices which he was to hold, elected alestater in 1793, a constable, and eventually Town Crier on 3 October 1796. On 8 February 1796 his nephew James Clarke was apprenticed to him for seven years by the trustees of the Abbey charity school. On 6 November 1800 Thomas came into possession of no. 84 on the west side of upper Avon Street, soon afterwards renumbered no. 86, and here he established a factory which was to be operative for the following sixty years. Thomas, who also grew and exhibited prize-winning flowers, died on 23 or 24 January 1806 leaving a high reputation – as an elegy published in the press testified (Fig. 6).

No pipes bearing either the name or initials of Thomas Clarke have been found so far. In his will Thomas left the workshops and pipemaking business, which had operated under John Laffer as foreman, to his wife Margaret, and pipes with the initials M.C. moulded below the bowl were probably made under her ownership (Fig. 7). Margaret died not long afterwards on 6 July 1811, after which the business was taken over by John Laffer, who rented the pipemaking tools from her son Thomas David Clarke for £30 per annum before eventually buying both the tools and the lease of the workshops for £154 in May 1815; no pipes bearing his name or initials are known. After Laffer’s death in 1836 the business passed to Abraham Jones; both Laffer and Jones were related to Thomas Clarke through marriage into the Bird family. Born at Taunton in 1804, Abraham Jones was primarily a carpenter by trade, living at 5 Daniel Street, Bathwick; it was not until the mid-1840s that he dedicated more of his time to the pipemaking concern. After Abraham’s death in August 1855 the business was taken over by his 21-year-old son Thomas, an accountant; pipes bearing the initials of Abraham and Thomas Jones are illustrated (Fig. 7). On 4 January 1859 St John’s Hospital, who owned the property, auctioned the lease of the house and workshops which subsequently passed to George Davis, a general dealer. An original poster advertising the auction is reproduced below (Fig. 8).

Thomas Jones continued in the factory as tenant, but new terms may have been unfavourable to him and in summer 1859 the workshops were taken over and used for a further year by Joseph Sants, who by then had already established a new factory in nearby Milk Street. Sants last paid the rates for the workshops in September 1861, after which they were
Elegy on Mr. Thomas Clarke,
Late Cryer of this City, and a curious Florist.

In his last sleep, beneath his mother clay,
Lies Clarke—whose strength of arm an host could slay;
Who oft, with care, whilst constable of night,
And wakeful eye, put lurking rogues to flight—
With deep-toned organ, as the thunder strong,
Turn'd them as they darkling skipp'd along;
Or if they 'scap'd him, then his loud "beware,"
Shook to attention ev'ry court and square;
Nor was his pow'r less wondrous than his form,
Which seem'd a bulwark built to brave a storm.
It most surpris'd—and many wonder'd why
So bold, so brave and huge a man should cry,—
But though so strong and sturdy, yet his mind
Was of the noblest, mildest, gentlest kind;
Whilst to his taste, alone, the fair and sweet
Of Nature's produce furnish'd him a treat,—
So blest was he when 'mid the beauteous train
That gaily dress the garden and the plain—
To him the silken flow'rt's softest dyes
If view'd, were rapture—if possess'd, a prize—
A prize! frail emblem of our mortal state;
Short-liv'd and subject to the blasts of Fate.—
Frail emblems of himself—a flow'rt now cropp'd;
A flow'rt of stoutest stem, yet broken, wither'd, dropp'd.
Alas! he's gone—pale trophy of the tomb,
To germinate and rise in vernal bloom—
Where all must go—Time's glass will tell us when—
Some trusty Clerk will lastly cry—Amen.

paid by George Davis. The workshops remained standing for some time, and on 20 September 1901 were described and recommended for demolition in a surveyor's letter to the Charity Commission and St John's Hospital: "It comprises a 6 roomed Cottage facing the Street with 2 old Cottages in the rear, which at some time or other have been used for a Pipe Manufactory, the old Cottages need pulling down". The cottages which had been the workshops were subsequently demolished and
Fig. 7 Pipes of the nineteenth century: 1–2 J/S (Joseph Smith) with JC (James Clarke) added; 3 M/C – Margaret Clarke; 4 A/J – Abraham Jones; 5 T/J – Thomas Jones; 6 Sants Bath.
replaced with a warehouse in October 1901, while the house itself survived until demolition in October 1965. The Iceland foodstore now stands in its place.

During its lifetime the Avon Street factory produced one offspring of a sort. In 1836 Edward King, who had spent the previous year living at no. 86, probably as a foreman for John Laffer, set up a new concern in a small manufactory behind Pulteney Place in the Dolemeads, Widcombe; this he occupied for only a brief period, the property having a new tenant by early 1837. The factory was situated on the site of what is now

Fig. 8 Notice of the auction of the pipe factory at 86 Avon Street, 1859. (Courtesy Trustees of St John’s Hospital)
Widcombe Infants school. King’s move may have been the result of dissatisfaction with the new terms of Abraham Jones at Avon Street, and by 1840 he appears to have left Bath altogether.

At Bridewell Lane James Clarke, who had taken over from Joseph Smith in 1810, followed in the footsteps of his uncle Thomas and served in several Council positions, acting as Mayor’s Officer until 1824 and being elected a Serjeant-of-the-Mace thereafter. He held the latter post until September 1829 when it was ordered that the two Serjeants were to be restricted to their duties (worth a yearly salary of £100) and were not to be involved in any other business. James resigned his position and continued making pipes at Bridewell Lane until at least March 1832 when the house and factory with all its tools were auctioned. The control of the business passed to James’s son-in-law William Needes, who had married his daughter Mary and was by trade a master chimney sweep but took on the pipemaking trade for two years. In 1834 he left, and the factory remained unoccupied until at least Christmas 1835.

By early 1836 the Bridewell Lane factory had been taken over by Joseph Sants. His father, Joseph Antonio Dos Santos, had been a Portuguese wine merchant until his ship the Tres Reis arrived damaged at Gloucester in 1803, after which he married a local girl and settled in the city before taking up pipemaking himself. Joseph, the son, was a widower by the time of his marriage to Sarah Griffiths in 1835, his wife probably being the daughter of Elizabeth Griffiths of 9 Bridewell Lane. By June 1841 he employed at least eight people and by March 1851 ten or more. The factory had been doomed to closure since 1846, however, when a renewal of its lease was refused by the Corporation on the grounds of the noisome nature of the industry (the factory standing within yards of both the Blue Coat School and the Mineral Water Hospital). Renewal was again refused in 1848, and in July 1851 Joseph requested that he continue the tenancy "or that compensation might be made to him for the removal of the kilns which he has erected at a Cost of £200". He was still ordered to quit the premises owing to complaints about smoke from the factory and the dilapidated state of the building fronting the lane. The house and factory were demolished in January 1859 and became added to the playground of the school; the site is now occupied by the Saw Close Clinic.

Joseph Sants had not been blind to the future of his factory at Bridewell Lane. In January 1847 he took a lease of some former corn lofts near the bottom of Milk Street together with an old stable behind, in which he built a pottery kiln. Two years later he took lease of no. 27 Milk Street on their
Fig. 9  Pipes made by Joseph Sants c.1869, found during excavations below the Midland Railway Goods Yard in 1982. Scale 1:2.
north; this became the pipe factory after he quit the Bridewell Lane premises. The census returns of 1861 show thirty-three men, women and boys employed as pipe makers and trimmers or finishers, a figure which went down to twenty in 1871 — statistics illustrating the ever-increasing popularity of the cigarette and more robust briar pipe which were eventually to toll the death knell for the brittle clay pipe. Joseph died in the family home at 24 Kingsmead Terrace, opposite the factories, on the last day of 1877, leaving all his assets to his wife Sarah. A selection of the various pipes made by him are illustrated (Fig. 9).

After Joseph Sants' death his wife Sarah divided the concerns between two of their sons. Walter, born in 1852, took over the pottery, while Edwin, born in 1854, assumed the pipemaking. Under the initial guidance of his mother, Edwin Sants ran the business for sixteen years, but the decline in popularity of the clay pipe continued to bring the workforce down, from fourteen in 1881 to a mere six in 1891. The area occupied by the pipe and pottery factories at this time is shown in the Ordnance Survey of 1886 (Fig. 10). Edwin died from pneumonia at his home in Oldfield Park Terrace on 7 June 1894, after which his wife Kate took over the pipemaking business for two years before leaving it to

Fig. 10 The pipe factory and pottery at 27–29 Milk Street as they appeared on the Ordnance Survey of 1886.
Fig. 11 The Sants family of pipemakers: 1–2 Joseph and Sarah, painted c.1858; 3 Edwin, c.1885–1890; 4 Kate, c.1915–1920; 5 Walter, c.1920–1925. (Courtesy Barbara Sants)
the care of Walter in 1896. From then on Walter Sants managed both the pipemaking and pottery as a joint concern at 27–29 Milk Street just as his father had done before him. He was liberal in his political leaning and in August 1909 was an unsuccessful candidate in the elections for the Kingsmead ward.22 He presented his election accounts to the Corporation on a billhead from 'The Pottery and Pipe Works, Milk Street, Bath', which adds that he was a 'Manufacturer of every description of Pottery for Nursery or Garden. Brownware, Chimney, Rhubarb, Seakale, Garden Pots & Clay Tobacco Pipes'.48 In a later statutory declaration of ownership

Fig. 12 The pipe factory at Milk Street c.1933–34, shortly before its demolition, viewed from the north. Two large bottle-type kilns are visible rising through the roof. (Courtesy Bath Reference Library)
of the factories his daughter Caroline stated that he retired from active business in 1916, a situation possibly brought on by the War, which had taken many of the smoking men away from the city. He spent his retirement living at "Southleigh", Belgrave Road, and died while visiting Bristol on 25 September 1925. His obituary shows that he was once a keen sportsman, a member of the Bath and Avon Rowing Clubs, a noted footballer, and captain of the Bath Cricket XI, and his funeral was attended by many leading city figures.

Portraits and photographs of the Sants family of pipemakers survive today, having been preserved by their descendants (Fig. 11).

Avon Street and Milk Street, built during the 1730s and 1770s with their various courts, had never been the best neighbourhood in town. The buildings continued their gradual decay during the first half of this century and amongst them the pipe factory. Most of the houses in the area were systematically demolished during the 1960s, leaving only a few former stables and workshops on the west side of Milk Street. The pipe factory suffered an earlier fate, being larger and more prone to structural instability; it was photographed in a ruinous state shortly before its eventual demolition in 1934 (Fig. 12).
Notes

All unreferenced material will appear in ‘Clay Tobacco Pipe Makers of Somerset’ (forthcoming) by the author of this article.

1 M.J. Lewcun, Clay Tobacco Pipe Makers of Wiltshire (forthcoming).
6 Bath Record Office, Bath Corporation Minutes.
7 Somerset Record Office, Parish Registers.
8 Wiltshire Record Office, North Somerset Friends Quarterly Meeting Minute Books, 1699/20–22.
10 Public Record Office, PROB 11/706/309.
11 Somerset Record Office, St James’ Vestry Minute Book, D/P/ba. ja 4/1/1.
13 Bath Record Office, Quarter Sessions alehouse keepers’ licences.
14 Bath Record Office, Furman leases 1544 and 1545.
16 Bath Record Office, Freemen’s Oath Book, Freemen’s Estate no. 120.
17 Bath Record Office, Freemen’s Apprentice Enrolment Book, Freemen’s Estate no. 121.
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