

NORWAY

by Børre Ludvigsen¹

0.1 Introduction

As Norway was part of the kingdom of Denmark until 1814, legislation governing the production and sale of tobacco and pipes during the 17th and 18th 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 Nyrop² tobacco came to Denmark around 1620 and its use spread quickly.³ It appeared 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 James I’s abhorrence of the drug, 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, he 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 18th century were foreign imports.

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).⁴ 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.

¹This article appeared in Journal of the Academie Internationale de la Pipe, 2009, ISSN: 2040-8307.

²[Nyrop, 1881b, p.208]

³Bardenfleth (Bardenfleth [2002]) refers to an estate of deceased in 1606 at Helsingør where 12 tobacco pipes are listed.

⁴Strøm [1788b]



Figure 0.1: Map of Norway with Oslo (Kristiania) Fjord inset. Akershus Stift covered roughly the shaded area on the map at the left.

0.2 18th century

The major Norwegian producers in the latter half of the 1700's were Jacob Boy of Drammen, Christopher Bocklum at Larkollen near Moss, Knut Rist at Drøbak and Lorentz Wahlstrøm in Christiania. 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 in the course of the 20th 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 was awarded privilege to establish a clay tobacco pipe factory in Drammen on the west side of the Oslo Fjord. The factory at Bragernes became the largest in Norway and produced under various owners until the end of the century.⁵ 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 commission of privileges seemed boundless as he successively applied for monopoly in Akershus Stift (Map fig.0.1), the waiver of customs duties on clay, an increase in duties on imported pipes, and finally, monopoly and prohibition of imports for the whole country.



Figure 0.2: What appear to be somewhat earlier English and Dutch types were found in the excavation of Jacob Boy's factory in 1938. It is unclear whether these were produce or incidental finds. (Pettersen [1944])

The factory was inspected thoroughly in 1754 in order to ascertain that the conditions of his privilege 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 apprentices⁶, four adult assistants and eight workers on the premises. The inspection also showed that Boy had 4369 gross pipes in storage. The authorities were duly impressed. (Pettersen [1944])

The stipulation that the pipes be of equal quality to foreign imports were also met. On July 15, 1767 an "announcement" appeared in the Christiania newspaper *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler* advertising the assortment of pipes from

⁵Pettersen [1944]

⁶See table 0.1

Drammen varying from expensive “long English and Dutch pipes” to the cheapest “farmer’s pipes”. (Fig. 0.3)

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 along the difficult sea-routes along the coast was unreliable, competition was mounting and monopolies were no longer the vogue. By the mid-60’s Boy’s attention is 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 1200 gross farmer’s pipes”. (Strøm [1788a])

Bekendtgørelser:

Da erfares at mange er ubelændte baade hvad Sortementer ved min Tobaks- & Pibe Fabrique i Drammen bliver forarbejdet. Saa er nu Priserne paa enhver Sort, som udi heele og halve Pousfåger bliver anført, thi bekendtgøres følgende Pris-Courant til enhver behagelige Efterretning, nemlig:

No. 1.	Længste Hollandske Piber udi Casser paa 2 a 3 Gros	a 6 Mark Grosset.
2.	Korte Dito i Casser paa 4 a 5 Gros	a 1 Rdlr.
3.	Længste Engelske Spidsbellede paa 4 a 5 Gros	a 6 Mark
4.	18 Loms lange Engelske med blaae Glassering	a 6 Mark
5.	18 Loms Dito uden Glassering paa 4 Gros	a 1 Rdlr.
6.	15 Loms Engelske Dito i Casser paa 8 a 10 Gros	a 3 Mark
7.	Fiine smaae Knaste Piber paa 8 a 10 Gros	a 2 en halv Mark
8.	15 Pens eller Hierte Piber paa 12 Gros	a 2 Mark
9.	Ditl Spidsbellede paa 12 Gros	a 2 Mark
10.	Viindre Breedbellede paa 16 Gros	a 1 Mark 20 s.
11.	Smaa Spidsbellede paa 16 Gros	a 1 Mark 20 s.
12.	Smaae Korthoved Spidsbellede paa 18 Gros	a 1 Mark 20 s.
13.	Korte Kramhoved Breedbellede paa 10 Gros	a 2 Mark

in til Oplag hos Sr. Fæderich Ne er at bekomme, efterdi at alting ved Fabriquaen nu er bragt til den Fuldkommenhed, som ikke nogenstunde tilforn har været bedre.

Christiania den 8de Julii 1767.

Jacob Boy.

Figure 0.3: Jacob Boy’s price list. (Boy [1767])

Larkollen and Drøbak

In his mention of Moss as a place of pipe production, Hans Strøm 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 1767.⁷ 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. (Fig. 0.4)

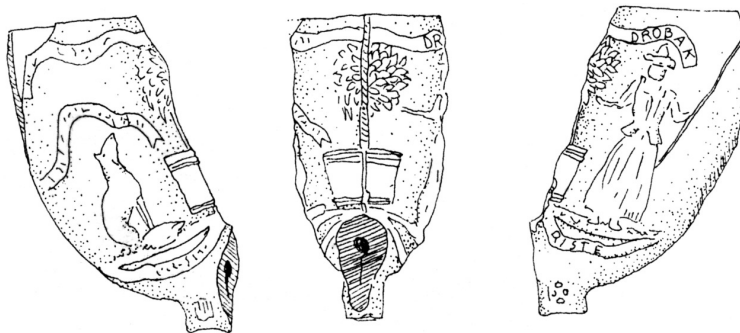


Figure 0.4: The single Knut Rist pipe found in the excavation at Larkollen.

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 in 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 Bocklum of Drøbak, formerly master apprentice at the factory of the herbalists of Copenhagen was given privilege to start a pipe factory in Aggershus, at a distance not less than 3 miles from Drøback, Bragernes [Drammen] or Christiania, where fuel is dear." (Nyrop [1881a]) While it is uncertain if he was employed by Knut Rist or actually produced in Christiania, it is clear that by 1769 his small factory at Larkollen was in full production. (Opstad [1957])

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]) The history of the factory is further described by the author in *Wiivar* 2/1985. The

⁷The privilege was renewed in 1784. (Grevenor [1933])

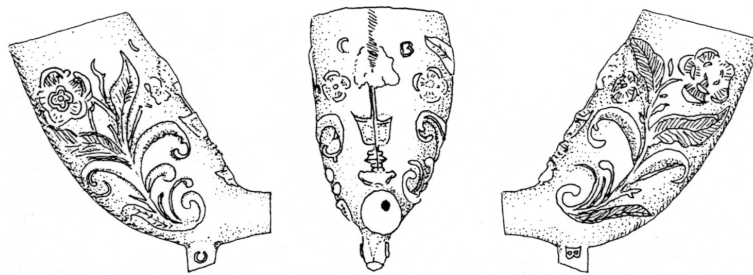


Figure 0.5: C. Bocklum's type Nr. 1.

factory was active from 1769 until Bocklum's death at 50 in 1781. The year before he had bought the factory at Drøbak. Judging from the listing of his estate in 1781 it would seem that Bocklum's venture was reasonably successful. (Ludvigsen [1985])

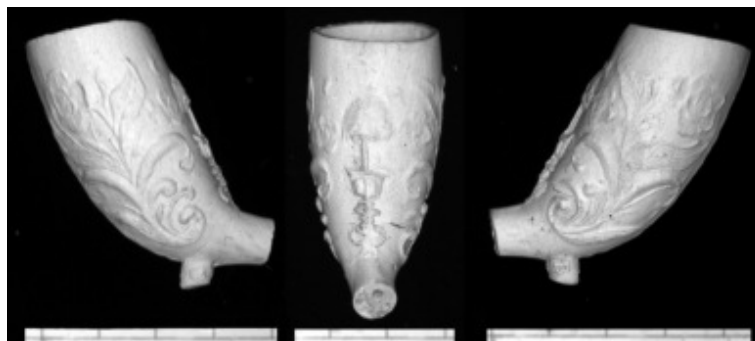


Figure 0.6: Photo of C. Bocklum's type Nr. 1.

Kristiania

Although Christopher Bocklum was given privilege to produce in Christiania, only one factory is actually known to have existed there in the 18th century.

Lorentz Wahlstrøm

The first known factory in Christiania is mentioned by A. Collett: "... and in 1781 another factory of the same kind, belonging to Lorentz Wahlstrøm 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 Wahlstrøm's types are documented in known sources.)

0.3 19th century

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

Kristiania

The material evidence on production in Kristiania in the 1800's 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.

Iver Nielsen Probably the best known of the Kristiania producers. Pipes marked with his name were commonly available in antique shops in the 1980's. 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 1800's announce that "new forms for clay pipes have newly arrived from England at the pipe factory at Nybroen [the New Bridge]".

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

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

Provincial production

That pipes were sometimes produced in conjunction with other earthen-ware is documented in various awarded privileges. Minor pipe factories would therefore have arisen as ancillaries 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 1850's. (Veel [1953])

0.4 20th 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 1960’s would often recall “old women” from their childhood smoking clay pipes. While digging an allotment garden in a field near Fredrikstad in the 1980’s 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 1940’s.

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 1981⁸ 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 Loshavn⁹, Skarvøy near Lista, Bergen harbour, Møvik¹⁰, and Bjørvika (Oslo).

0.5 Conclusion

The Norwegian pipe industry was small and is reasonably well documented both in 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 18th 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 population along the south coast has not only been caused by pollution and over-fishing (in spite

⁸Skre [1981]

⁹Ludvigsen [1982]

¹⁰Molaug [1972]

of regulatory measures) in the 1900's, but that it had received its initial setback by the last quarter of the 1700's.¹¹

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.

0.6 Illustrations, tables and notes.

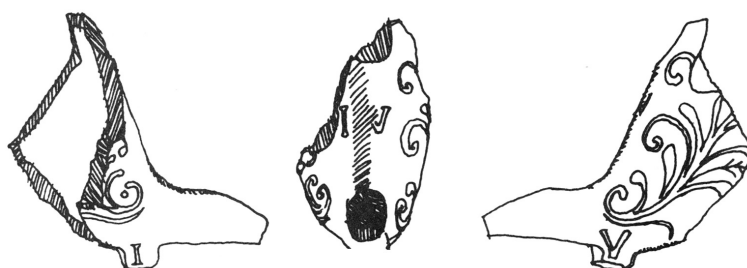


Figure 0.7: Johan Wichardt pipe from the Loshavn survey. (See table 0.1)

Notes: The drawings of the Christopher Bocklum pipes from the Larkollen survey are by Kristin Thorud.

The photographs of the pipes from Bragernes are from Drammens Museums Årbok 1938-43 and the copyright of Drammens Museum.

The map on page 2, drawings of pipes from the Loshavn survey and photograph of CB 01 on page 6 are by the author.

¹¹Ludvigsen [1982]

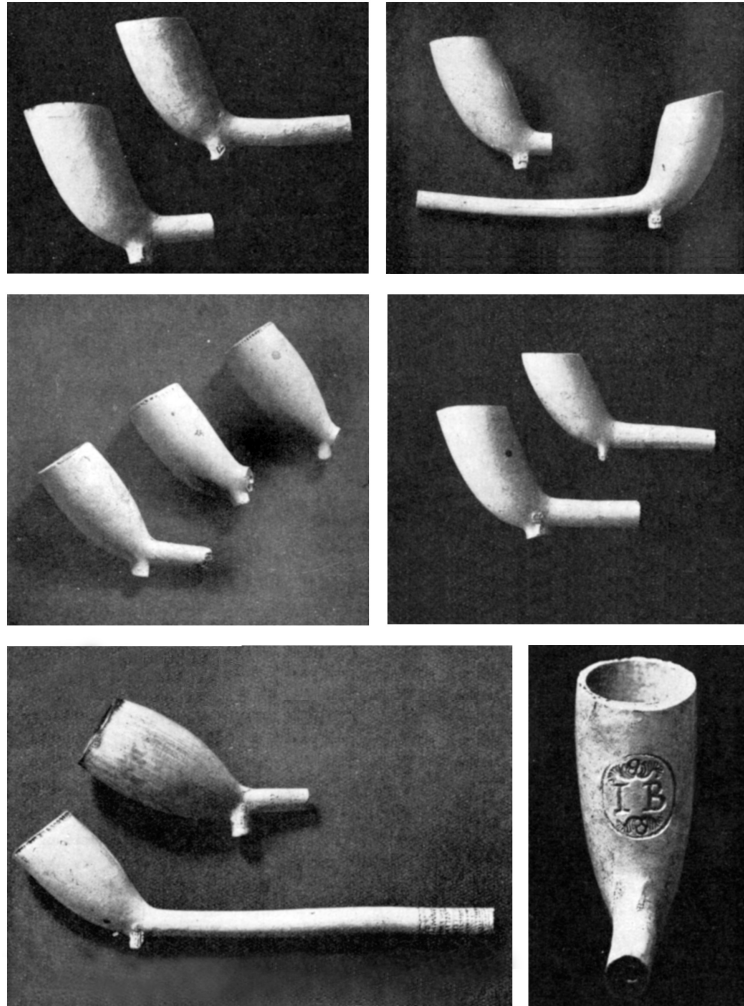


Figure 0.8: A selection of Jacob Boy's produce. (Pettersen [1944])

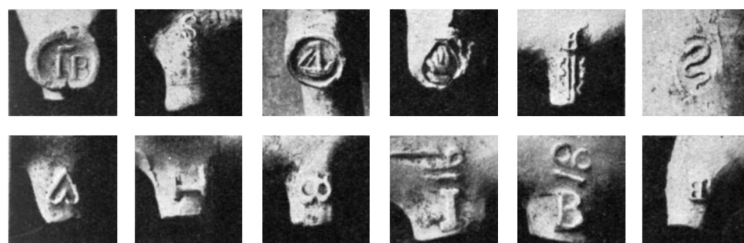
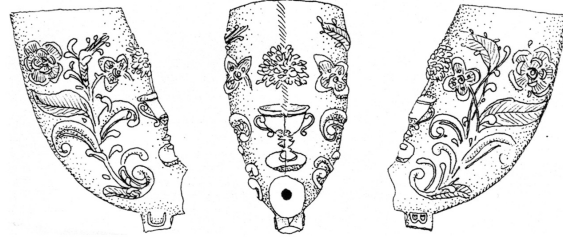
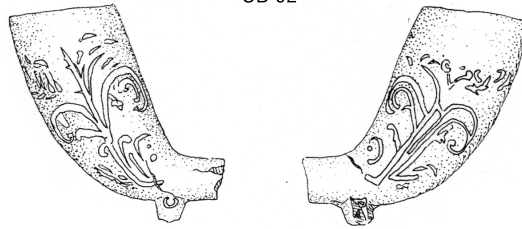


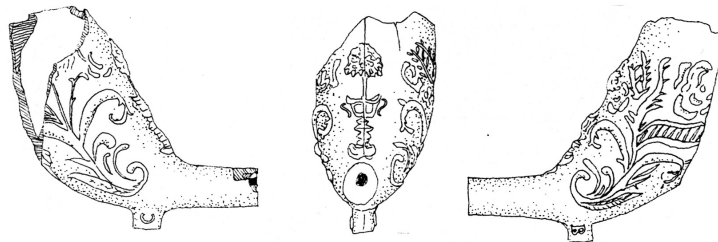
Figure 0.9: Heal marks from the Drammen factory. (Alsvik [1944])



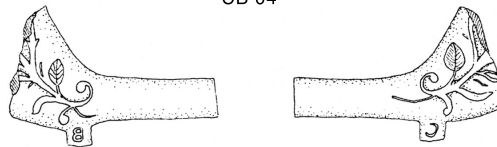
CB 02



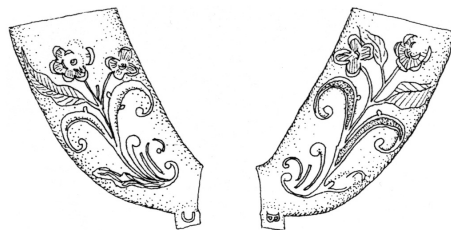
CB 03



CB 04



CB 05



CB 06

Figure 0.10: Types 02 - 06 from Christopher Bocklum's factory at Larkollen. (Hernæs and Ludvigsen [1984])

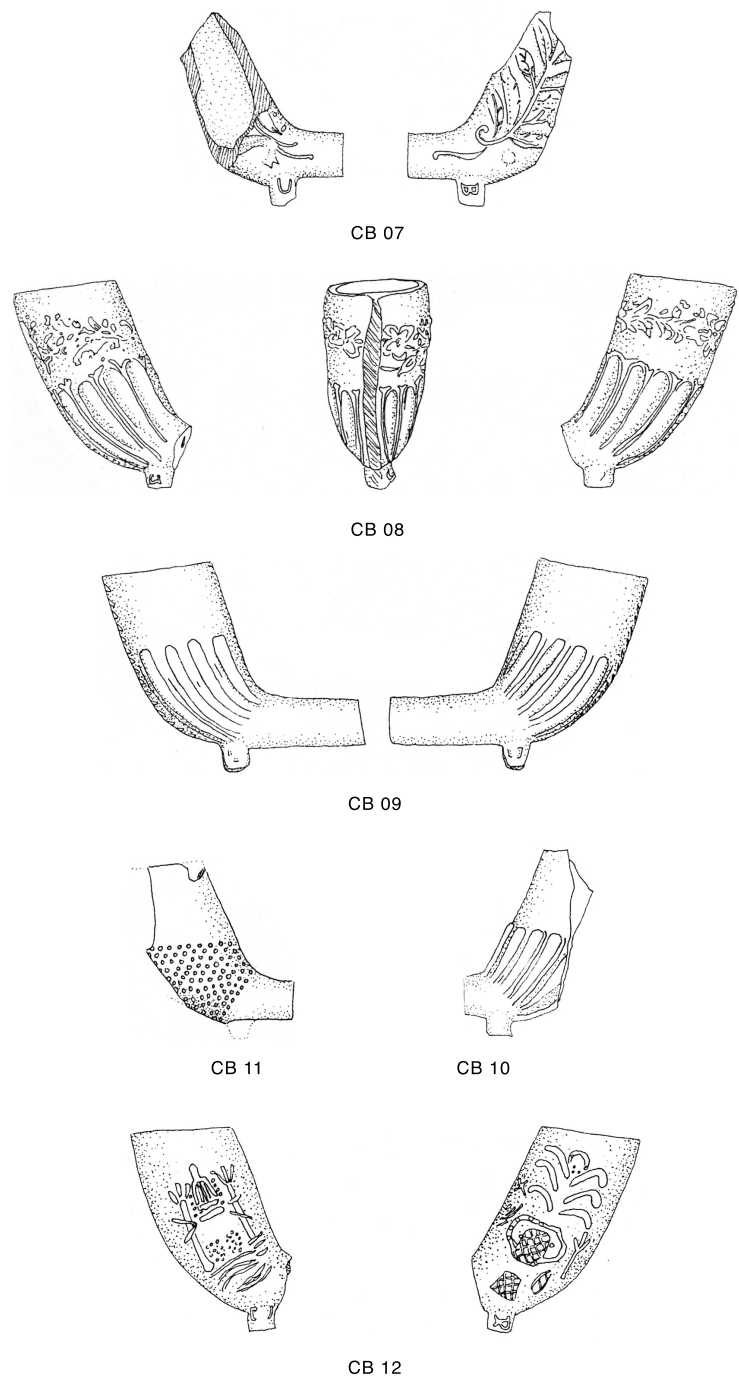
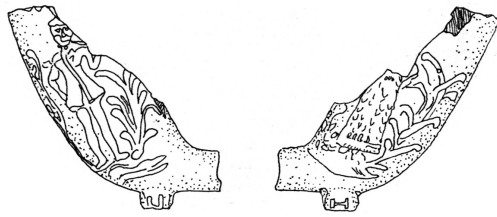
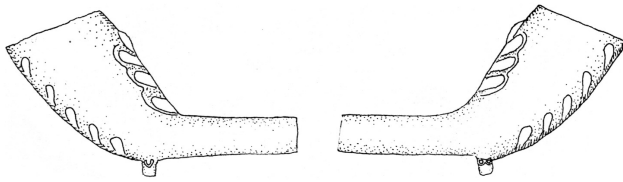


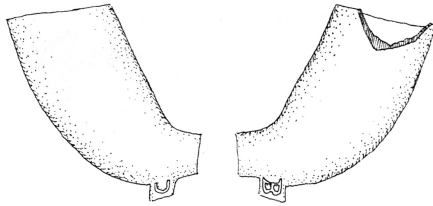
Figure 0.11: Types 07 - 12 from the Larkollen factory.



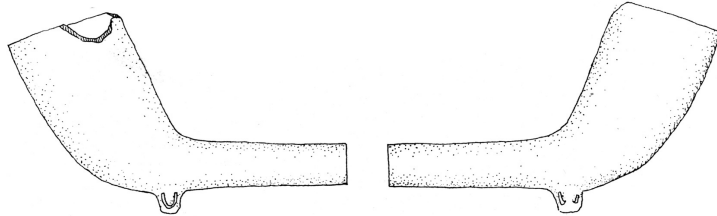
CB 13



CB 14



CB 15



CB 16



CB 17

Figure 0.12: Types 13 - 17 from the Larkollen factory.

Last name	First name	First year	Address	City	Initials
Boy	Jacob	1752-1770	Bragernes	Drammen	IB
Baculun	Christopher	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	CB
Dopke	Henrich	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	HHD
Meyers	Hendrich	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	HMI
Schlefer	Lucas	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	LS
Schindler	Wilhelm	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	WS
Wejchern	Johan	1754	Bragernes	Drammen	IV
Fasmer	Dankert Petersen	1760	Bergen	Bergen	DPF
Rist	Knud	1765-1780	Husvik	Drøbak	KR
Bøcklund		1766		Christiania	
Wichardt	Johan	1767?	Bragernes	Drammen	IV
Bocklum	Christopher	1768-1781		Larkollen	CB
Finchenhoff	Christian	1770-1788	Bragernes	Drammen	CF
Bocklum	Christopher	1780-1781		Drøbak	CB
Carlsen	Niels	1781		Drøbak	
Wahlstrøm	Lorentz	1781		Christiania	LV/LW
Jaspersen	Hans	1781	Torsbekken	Drøbak	HI
Thorsen	A.	1841-1856		Sarpsborg	
Nielsen	Iver	1852	Nybroen	Christiania	IN
Berg	Hans Jensen	1865	Lille Vignmandsgate 1	Christiania	HB
Eriksen	Joh.	1879	Nordmands Gade 25	Christiania	IE

Note: The 6 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 Wejchern of Drammen may be a misspelling of Christopher Bocklum and Johan Wichardt.

Table 0.1: List of known Norwegian producers.

Principal collections The following collections 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 Kristiania producers.
- Bergen Historiske Museum and Bryggens Museum, Bergen. Pipes from the survey of the inner harbour and excavations of the Hanseatic warfts.
- Lista Museum, Vanse. 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.
- Halden Historiske Samlinger, Halden. Pipes from city fires.

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]

Bibliography

- Henning Alsvik. Pipene fra bragernesfabrikken. *Drammens Museums Årbok 1938-43*, pages 45-54, 1944.
- Niels Gustav Bardenfleth. *Kridtpiber og kridtpiberygning*. Sesam, [København], 2002. ISBN 87-11-13630-8.
- Jacob Boy. Bekjendtgjørelser [advertisement]. *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler*, 15. juli 1767.
- A. Collett. *Gamle Christiania Billeder*. Cappelens Forlag, Christiania, 1910.
- Henrik Grevenor. Fajanseproblemer i norge. *Kunstindustrimuseet i Oslo Årbok 1932-33*, page 8, 1933.
- Per Hernæs and Børre Ludvigsen. Christopher bocklum's krittpipefabrikk larkollen. *Arkeologisk Rapport*, 1984.
- Jørgen Johannesen. Tobakkskonsum 1500-1900; forbruk, mentalitet og modernitet - en arkeologisk undersøkelse av kritt Piper i norge. Ph.D. proposal, University of Oslo, 2007.
- Børre Ludvigsen. *Tobakkspiper fra Loshavn*. Fylkeskonservatoren i Vest-Agder, Kristiansand, 1982.
- Børre Ludvigsen. Christopher bocklum, kritt pipemesteren på larkollen. *Wiwar*, Hefte 22(Nr. 2):13-20, Desember 1985.
- Svein Molaug. Utgravningen i møvik havn. *Norsk Sjøfartsmuseums Årbok 1972*, 1972.
- C. Nyrop. *Danmarks kridtpibefabrikation: en industrihistorisk studie*. Kjøbenhavn, 1881a.
- C. Nyrop. Danmarks kridtpibefabrikation. *National Økonomisk Tidsskrift*, (VII):125-165, 1881b.
- Lauritz Opstad. *Rygge, Bygdehistorien inntil 1800*, volume 2 of *Rygge Bygdebok*. Rygge og Vaaler Sparebank, Rygge, 1957.
- Anneken Pettersen. Pipefabrikken på bragernes og dens grunnlegger jacob boy. *Drammens Museums Årbok 1938-43*, pages 7-44, 1944.

Information skills for University. Using *ibid.* and *op.cit.* URL <http://www.solent.ac.uk/library/informe/law/referencing/solution2how2ibid.stm>.

Dagfinn Skre. Krittiper. *Riksantikvarens skrifter nr. 4.*, 4:155–169, 1981.

(Borgermester) Strøm. Noget om byen bragernes. *Samleren*, 2(32), 1788a.

Hans Strøm. Om fabriker i aggershus-stift i norge. *Samleren*, II(34), 1788b.

Haakon A. Veel. Fredrikstad, handels-, håndverks- og skipperborgere i årene 1600-1900. *Østfold Historielag's Tidsskrift*, 1953.