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The peculiar story of a rare French figural pipe unearthed on Canadian soil: Fiolet, Courtois and the First Italian War of Independence

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The peculiar story of a rare French figural pipe unearthed on Canadian soil: Fiolet, Courtois and the First Italian War of Independence

The discovery of a remarkable stub-stemmed pipe in a latrine pit abandoned in the early 1870s on the site of the Sainte-Hélène Island fort, in Montréal (Québec), has raised a number of questions, not only about its potential manufacturer and patent holder, but also about the symbolism it expresses and its dating. As this pipe model did not feature in any known manufacturers' catalogues or museum collections, we first turned our attention to private collections and patents of invention to gain further insight. Subsequently, two formerly unpublished documents came to confirm that the Montréal figural pipe had indeed been produced by Fiolet in Saint-Omer, while indicating that the original patent holder, Théophile Louis Courtois, was acquainted with Louis Fiolet and had most likely granted him the use of his invention. Finally, an analysis of the decorative motifs adorning this smoker's article, whose symbolism recalls the First Italian War of Independence, made it possible to identify its most probable sources of inspiration, in order to get a deeper understanding of its meaning and to date it more accurately.

La découverte d'une étonnante tête de pipe dans une fosse de latrines abandonnée au début des années 1870 sur le site du fort de l'île Sainte-Hélène, à Montréal (Québec), a soulevé de nombreuses interrogations, et ce, tant sur son potentiel fabricant et l'inventeur de l'application qui la caractérise que sur la symbolique qu'elle exprime et sa datation. Comme ce modèle de pipe ne figurait dans aucun catalogue de fabricants connu, ni dans aucune collection muséale consultée, notre regard s'est alors tourné vers les collections privées et les brevets d'invention dans le but d'en apprendre davantage. Puis, deux documents inédits sont venus, d'une part, confirmer que la pipe figurative de Montréal avait bien été produite par la firme Fiolet de Saint-Omer et, d'autre part, suggérer que le détenteur du brevet d'origine, un certain Théophile Louis Courtois, connaissait bien Louis Fiolet et lui avait sans doute concédé l'usage de son invention. Enfin, l'analyse du décor ornant cet article de fumeur, dont la symbolique évoque la première guerre d'indépendance italienne, a permis d'identifier ses sources d'inspiration les plus probables afin d'en mieux comprendre la signification et d'en préciser la datation.

The archaeological excavations conducted in the early 2000s at the Sainte-Hélène Island military site (BjFj-84) in Montreal, Quebec, have largely corroborated the rich heritage of the defensive works occupied by the British army from 1820 to 1870, and yielded a substantial number of artefacts.² Among the assemblages unearthed and the numerous clay pipes produced locally or imported from Great Britain, a well-crafted stub-stemmed pipe stood out, not only for its unusual shape and intricate decoration, but also for the explicit nature of some of its other attributes (BjFj-84-16E12-123). If the name of its manufacturer and the design motif adorning this figural pipe had until now eluded archaeologists, recent research has provided answers to the questions raised by this find.

Built by British troops from 1819 onwards on a small island in the St. Lawrence River opposite Montreal (fig. 1), the fort on Sainte-Hélène Island was intended to serve

as an arms and munitions depot, and to prevent enemy ships from using the only channel leading to the city, whose ramparts had recently been demolished.³ As political tensions intensified over the years, the military installations underwent some modifications and additions, with the construction of new facilities and alterations to the original structures. By the early 1850s, the Sainte-Hélène Island fort, which had the capacity to accommodate up to 600 men, included a barracks, an arsenal, two powder magazines, various stores and warehouses, several workshops, a blockhouse and a hospital. In addition, a number of ancillary structures were built during this period, such as a washhouse, a vegetable cellar and new cesspits, for the use of officers and military wives.⁴ However, the ratification of the British North America Act in 1867, which initiated the process of uniting the English colonies in Confederation, resulted in a significant shift in the fort's role. Three years later, the British army withdrew from Canada, and the fort was trans-

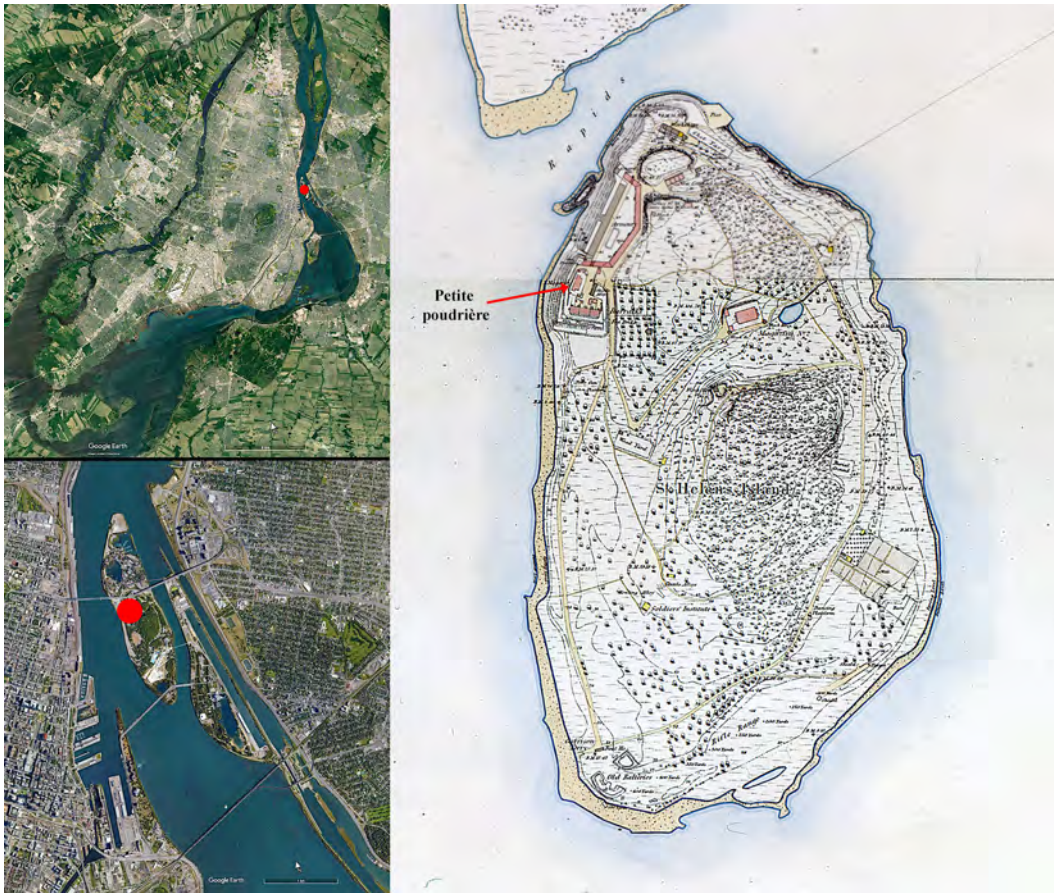


Fig. 1. On the left, Sainte-Hélène Island (red) in the Montreal area (Google Earth); on the right, plan of the military works on Sainte-Hélène Island drawn in 1867 (H. S. Sitwell, Fortification Surveys, National Archives of Canada, NMC 135688 and 135691)

ferred to the newly established federal authorities, while the Canadian militia moved in.

Following the departure of the Redcoats in 1870, other modifications were implemented to the island's military works. Among others, the women's latrines located in the southeast corner of the enclosure surrounding the small powder magazine were dismantled, the very structure whose excavation produced the socketed pipe discussed here (fig. 1). Indeed, the departure of the British garrison, or the arrival of the militia, appears to have provided an opportunity for a comprehensive clean up of the site.⁵ The women's cesspit was then filled with a substantial deposit of rubbish, including a considerable number of artefacts and building materials that bear witness to its change of function. The pipe under study was unearthed in the lower portion of this deposit, dated to the early 1870s. It was accompanied by a vast assortment of earthenware and glassware, as well as several objects pertaining to hygiene and childhood.⁶

Having established the context of its discovery, the following pages will initially present this stub-stemmed pipe and its various characteristics. Subsequently, we will attempt to identify its manufacturer by pursuing two distinct paths, namely private collections and patents of invention. The second avenue will allow us to briefly examine the implications of article 33 of the French Patent Act of 1844 and to focus on two patents, whose applications could correspond to the uncommon feature

observed on the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe. This will be followed by the presentation of two unpublished documents that confirm the identity of its maker and leave little doubt as to the individual responsible for this innovation. Moreover, additional evidence will illustrate a clear connection between the manufacturer of this pipe and the patent holder. Ultimately, we will examine the symbolism conveyed by this figural pipe and look for its sources of inspiration. This approach will allow for a more precise contextualization of this smoking device in terms of both space and time, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of its significance and a more accurate determination of its dating.

A stub-stemmed pipe with unusual features

Moulded in white clay, the figural pipe uncovered in the women's latrines of the small powder magazine on Sainte-Hélène Island measures 5,1 cm in length, 2,9 cm in width and has a residual height of 5,8 cm. The pipe is composed of a cylindrical bowl with a straight rim, measuring 3 cm in depth and 1,7 cm in internal diameter, and an adjoining socket forming a closed angle (fig. 2). The latter is shaped like a truncated cone and ends in a wide, flat rim where a removable stem made of another material was inserted. The interior of the bowl is blackened by use and displays an original feature: a horizontal partition pierced by five small triangular openings placed at regular intervals along its perimeter. This partition, which acted as a sort of filter, as we shall see, forms a gap around 6 mm thick in relation to the actual



Fig. 2. The socketed pipe found in the women's latrines of the small powder magazine of the fort on Sainte-Hélène Island (Collections archéologiques de la Ville de Montréal, BjFj-84-16E12-123; photo: C. Roy)

base of the bowl, creating a kind of double bottom.

The finely crafted Montreal socketed pipe features a figurative motif in the round, which follows the general shape of an eagle in flight when viewed in profile. The bird of prey's body and wings, as well as its tail, enclose part of the bowl and its socket, while its head is bisected and bent backwards. The remaining portion of the bowl is accentuated by a vertical ribbing motif encircled by a horizontal band. At the front is a standing female figure, seen from the front, with only her head missing. Representing a female warrior dressed in Greco-Roman style (fig. 2), she is wearing a tunic and a breastplate embellished with embossed motifs that emphasize her chest. Her legs are unadorned and she appears to be wearing cothurns. The figure's right hand rests on the hilt of a sword pointing towards the animal's neck, while her left hand is placed on top of an octagonal shield. The shield displays the coat of arms of the Holy See, comprising a tiara between two crossed keys, and the inscription *ITALIA*. Finally, the warrior woman, with one leg extending forward, stands on the double head of the eagle, which

directs its beak towards her. The bird's plumage covers the remainder of the pipe, with the exception of a rectangular stamped mark located beneath the base. The mark, arranged in two registers and roughly applied, reveals the wording *BREVETE / SGD[G]* in relief (fig. 3).

A patented product without a manufacturer's name
Given its characteristics, the Sainte-Hélène Island stub-stemmed pipe belongs to the tradition of pipe-statuettes, which were especially popular between the 1840s and 1860s.⁷ The available data indicates that these pipes, which measure between 7 cm and 10 cm in height, were produced by most of the major French manufacturers. They featured figures or animals moulded in the round and often standing on a pedestal, with the bowl either integrated into the figure or partially concealed behind it. Pipe-statuettes were generally inspired by contemporary events, politics or even theatre. Among the most notable examples are those made by Gambier in Givet (Ardennes), several of which display a workmanship reminiscent of the Montreal figural pipe⁸ (fig. 4). However, as the latter does not carry the name of its manufacturer



Fig. 3. Close-up on the inscription *Brevete / SGD[G]* appearing under the pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island (Collections archéologiques de la Ville de Montréal, BjFj-84-16E12-123; photo: C. Roy)

and is not listed in any known catalogue or in any of the museum collections consulted,⁹ we had to turn to private collections to find one or more examples.

A review of several auction catalogues soon revealed that a socketed pipe of the same model had changed hands in 2013 during the sale of the Daniel Mazaleyrat *tabacologie* collection in Paris.¹⁰ As indicated in the catalogue, the pipe in question, named *Italia*, was manufactured by the Fiolet factory in Saint-Omer (Pas-de-Calais). The photograph attached to this document was of insufficient quality to permit detailed examination, but it suggested that the female figure was wearing a helmet. In light of this information, efforts were made to locate this pipe or other specimens of the same model in private collections. Despite the lack of success thus far, these efforts have led to the identification of a book published in 1993 by Liebaert and Maya, which features a copy of a relatively obscure advertisement or leaflet from Fiolet, depicting the pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island.¹¹

Entitled *L^s. FIOLET, à St.-Omer / MODÈLES NOUVEAUX*, this illustration proposes four new models of pipe-statuettes, which could be enamelled or not (fig. 5). The figural pipe under examination, designated *Italia*, bears the number 181 and is portrayed in profile and from the front, making it easier to discern the double head of the eagle and confirming that the standing figure was indeed helmeted. The provenance of this undated illustration is unclear, as the few known catalogues by Fiolet,¹² all published prior to 1850, do not feature a pipe of a similar design. As the reference provided by

Liebaert and Maya was to the former Musée des Arts et Traditions populaires in Paris,¹³ now the Musée des civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM), consultation of their online collection enabled us to trace this leaflet. Unfortunately, the museum's notice does not offer any insight into the provenance or dating of the original, yet it has been tentatively associated with the second and third quarters of the 19th century.

In any case, it is the unexpected discovery of an additional depiction of the *Italia* pipe that proved instrumental in enhancing the outcomes of this approach. This other drawing was located while perusing some classic texts on the history of tobacco and it is featured in a book published in 1859 by Frederick William Fairholt (fig. 6). Although the author does not disclose the name of its manufacturer, the pipe is shown in a three-quarter view with another Fiolet product,¹⁴ the *Liberté* pipe-statuettes, which is also illustrated on the MUCEM document mentioned above (fig. 5, no. 179). However, the significance of Fairholt's work goes far beyond the mere presence of a drawing. The book provides not only an important *terminus ante quem*, but also offers some valuable insights into the symbolism of *Italia* pipes, as will be discussed subsequently. For the time being, it should be noted that these pipes, at least in their original version, must date from before 1859.

In summary, while the catalogue of the Mazaleyrat collection attests that the *Italia* pipe sold in 2013 was a product of the Fiolet factory, it has not been possible to verify whether this specimen displayed the name of its maker or whether it was marked *Brevete/SGDG* and fit-



Fig. 4. Two pipe-statuettes from Gambier: the Chien caniche (no. 354) and the Standing woman (unknown model) (Collection Arthur van Esveld; Esveld 2021, figs. 2 and 7)

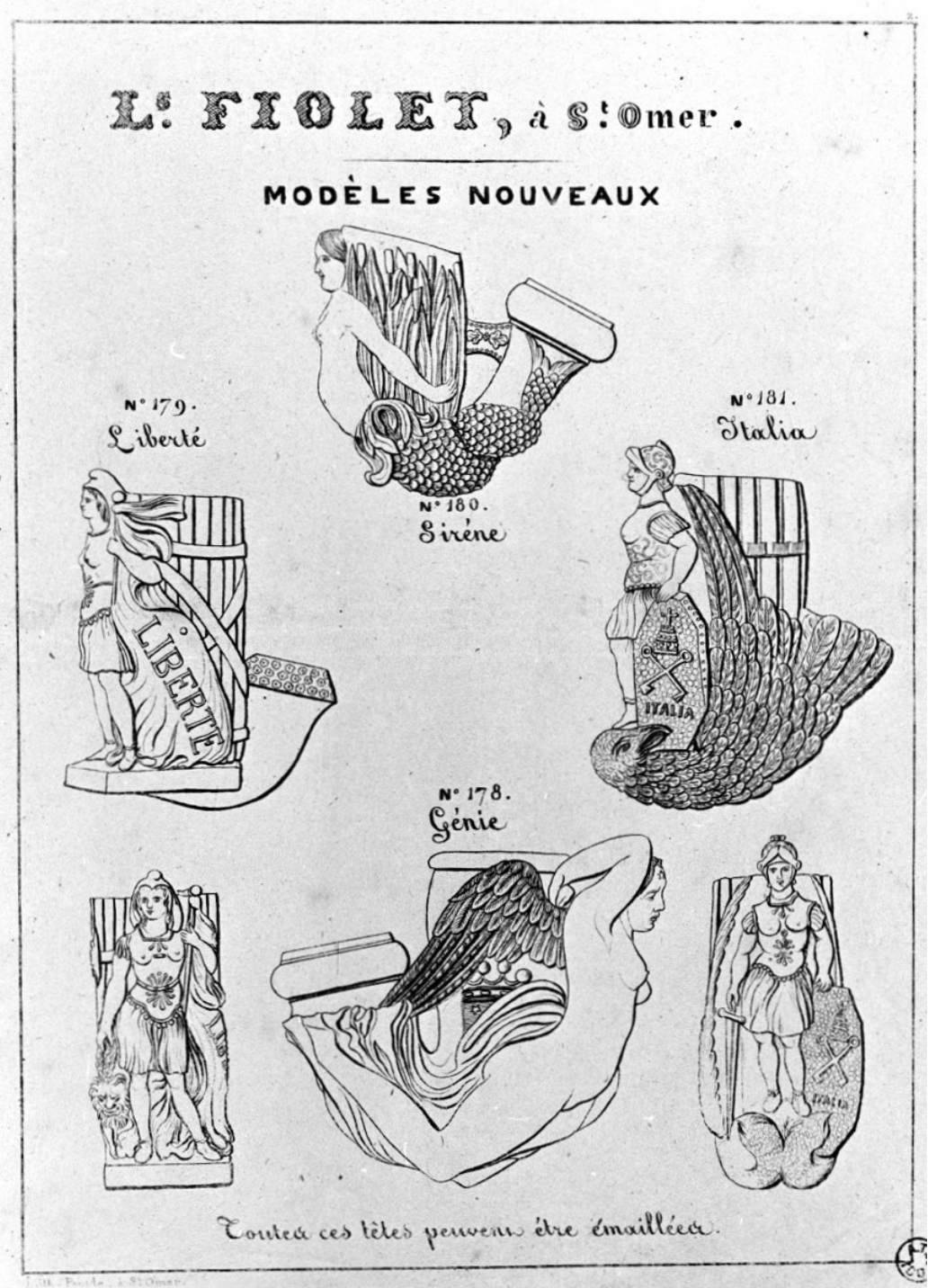


Fig. 5. L. FIOLET, à St. Omer / Modèles nouveaux (MUCEM, Ph.1992.2.922)

ted with a double bottom, as evidenced by the example unearthed on Sainte-Hélène Island. Similarly, the illustration published in Liebaert and Maya's book, which confirms that Fiolet produced this model, does not indicate whether these stub-stemmed pipes were patented, as is sometimes observed in the catalogues or advertisements of pipe makers (fig. 7). Indeed, the French Patent Act, promulgated in 1844, required patentees to add the wording *sans garantie du gouvernement* or *s.g.d.g.* whenever they wished to make use of their patent, whether in advertising or on their products.¹⁵ Given the absence of the aforementioned annotation on the leaflet held by the MUCEM and the fact that the Montreal pipe doesn't carry the initials or the name of its manufactu-

rer, a practice generally widespread at Fiolet and among the major clay pipe factories, could it be possible that the Saint-Omer firm may have copied this model from another maker? After all, this phenomenon was not uncommon in the European clay pipe industry.¹⁶

Patents of invention and the French Act of 1844

In order to address this question, research was conducted in the database of the heritage collection of the Institut national sur la propriété industrielle (INPI), which encompasses all patents issued in France between 1791 and 1902. A review of the relevant archives revealed that Fiolet filed only two patents during this period, neither of which is related to a double-bottomed pipe. The first

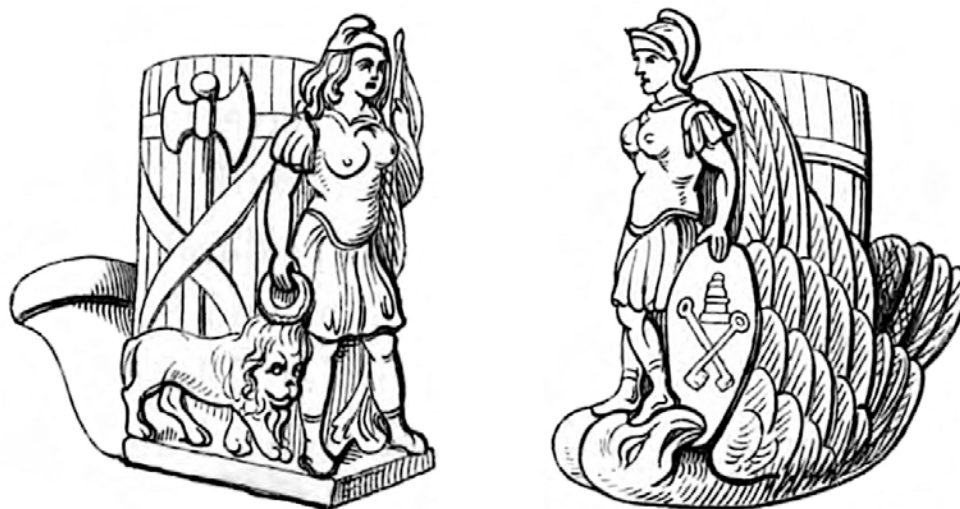


Fig. 6. The Italia pipe drawn by Fairholt and published in 1859 (Fairholt, 1859, p. 181)

patent, dated to 1844, pertains to the “manufacture of clay pipe stems”,¹⁷ while the second, registered in 1868, concerns “an ignigenic pipe”.¹⁸ Assuming that Fiolet’s Italia pipes were double-bottomed, it would have been illegal for the Saint-Omer factory to mark them as *Brevete/SGDG*, given that it held no patent for this invention. Of course, Fiolet could have waited for the patent to expire before taking up the idea; however, in that case, it would have been pointless, if not just as unlawful, to mark them as such, since the old patented object could now be made and sold by anyone.¹⁹ Alternatively, Fiolet could have produced this pipe model without a double bottom and seen his work copied by the patent holder.

that any individual who assumes the status of a patentee without possessing a patent or after the expiration of a previous patent is liable to fines, as well as anyone who, being a patentee, mentions this status or his patent while omitting to add the words *sans garantie du gouvernement*.²⁰ The implications of article 33 warrant further consideration, particularly in light of its potential impact on the work of archaeologists and researchers. Firstly, the presence of the wording *SGDG* leaves no doubt as to the jurisdiction concerned and the potential origin of the object so marked, given that this is an obligation specific to French law. Then, the patented item should, in principle, have been manufactured by the patent holder or his assignee, considering that, with the exception of forgers and other counterfeiters, they were the only individuals

Article 33 of the 1844 French Patent Act establishes

PIPES A ASPIRATION FRAICHE A DOUBLE CONDUIT DE J. GAMBIER.

Conduit de fumée
Conduit d'air

**BREVET
DE
15 ans
s. g. d. g.**

**BREVET
DE
15 ans
s. g. d. g.**

**Ces Pipes, d'une supériorité reconnue et incontestable,
TRÈS-DOUCES ET SANS ACRETÉ,
se trouvent chez les meilleurs débitants de Tabac**

Au prix de 10 centimes.

**VENTE UNIQUE DEPORTES frères, rue de l'Arbre-Sec, 20,
à Paris, ancienne Maison J. GAMBIER.**

Fig. 7. Advertisement from Gambier published on 9 September 1852 in the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* for a patented double-duct pipe (Gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France)

legally entitled to add this inscription to their products. Ultimately, the patented item should have been produced during the patent's period of validity. It is evident that these objects could not have been manufactured prior to the filing date of the patent. Furthermore, in accordance with the law, former patent holders were no longer permitted to sell their products as patented and therefore, in theory, affix the aforementioned wording to them.²¹ Since patents were only valid for a period of five, ten or fifteen years and could not be extended,²² it is clear that an object bearing the inscription *Brevete/SGDG* represents a significant marker for those engaged in material culture studies.

Nevertheless, it remains essential to be able to identify a patent holder in instances where the name or trademark of the patentee does not appear on a patented object. To do so, it is necessary to determine the nature of the invention or the consequences of its implementation. In this case, it is obvious that the inscription *SGDG* on the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe pertains to the horizontal partition that constitutes its double bottom.²³ Consequently, further investigations were conducted within the INPI database to ascertain the existence of a relevant patent. Following a meticulous examination of these archives, it

became evident that only two of them could potentially correspond to this feature.

The first patent was filed by Jean-François Vaudoit on 12 August 1843 with the Prefecture of the Puy-de-Dôme Department for “a type of clay pipe known as a bowl pipe or double-bottomed pipe”.²⁴ This five-year patent describes Vaudoit's invention in the following terms: “... clay pipes with grids known as double-bottomed bowl pipes, of any shape or size, with 3, 4, 5 or 7 holes in the grid depending on the size of the pipes”. The accompanying drawing corroborates Vaudoit's brief description of his invention (fig. 8). However, the patent does not specify the manufacturing process used to produce the double bottom, which in this instance appears to be made in a single piece, nor the reasons that motivated its author to conceive this improvement. While it is clear that the purpose of the “grid” or partition was to prevent tobacco residue and ash from obstructing the smoke hole, the same cannot be said of the technique used to make such pipes. Additionally, the document reports that Vaudoit, a pipe manufacturer originally from Givet (Ardennes), was domiciled at 15, rue sous les Augustins in Clermont-Ferrand.²⁵

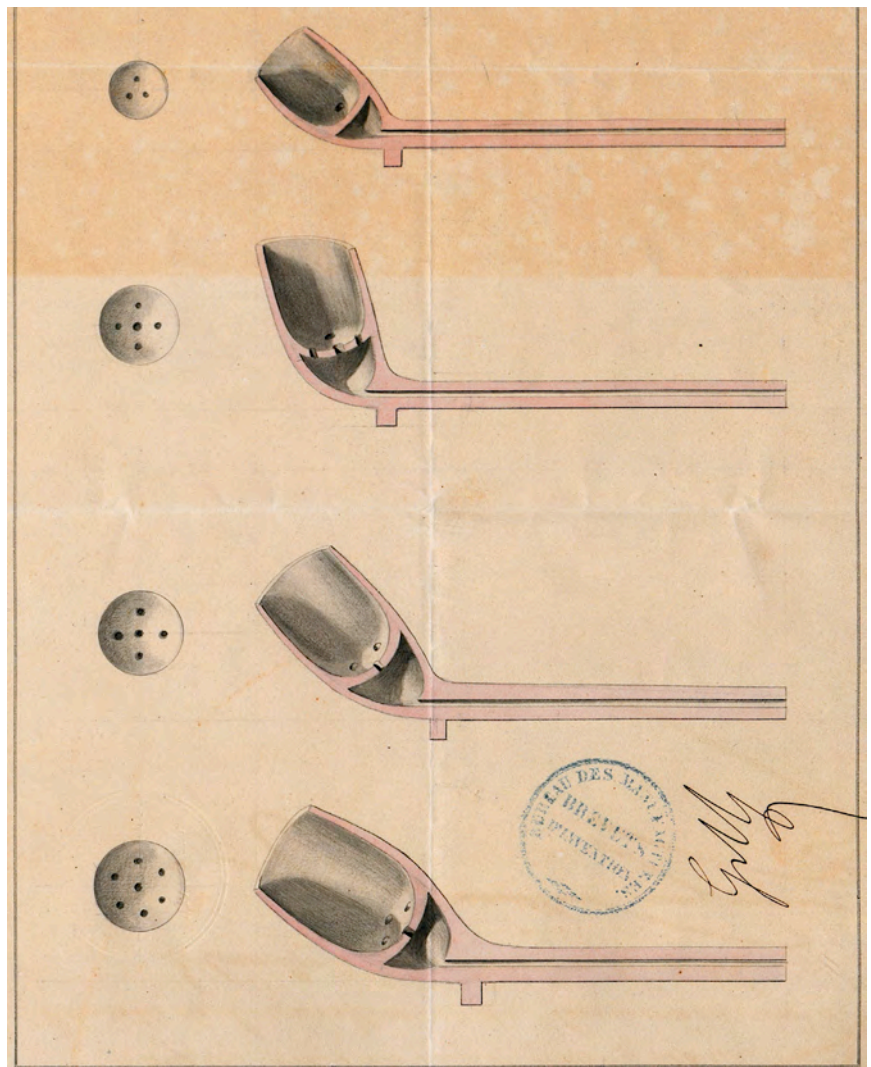


Fig. 8. Drawing accompanying the patent filed by Jean-François Vaudoit on 12 August 1843 (Archives Institut national de la propriété industrielle, IBA1113)

The second was filed by Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois on 3 November 1847 in the Seine et Oise (Yvelines) Department for “a clay pipe with an internal reservoir”.²⁶ The patent, which was granted for a period of 15 years, states that the invention was designed to prevent obstruction of the smoke hole, since it had “no direct communication with the holes in the ring [partition]”. It was also meant to facilitate aspiration, thanks to “an empty space between the hole in the pipe and those in the ring”, and to collect the tobacco juice, which “formed by the heat and attracted by breathing falls into the reservoir and cannot reach the smoker’s mouth”. The description provided by Courtois also discloses the procedure used to make this kind of pipe. Consequently, two distinct stoppers were required: the first was employed to hollow out the bowl to the requisite depth (fig. 9, line 2), while the second stopper, equipped with four wedges, was used to shape the four depressions and to create the flat surface on which the “ring” was positioned. Once the bottom of the bowl had been formed, the partition was placed at the level of line 1, with its three openings sited above the three reservoirs, as the fourth cavity was occupied by the smoke hole. As for the “ring”, it was affixed with slip or simply by the contraction of the clay during the drying and firing processes. Otherwise, this patent provides minimal information regarding its author, noting only that he resided at 38, rue Satory in Versailles. It is unknown whether Courtois was a pipe maker or merely a passionate smoker.²⁷

This leads to the question of how the double-bottom Montreal socketed pipe compares with these two inventions. It is notable that despite the pipe under study having a partition with five openings (fig. 10), two more than originally planned by Courtois, there are none in

the center, in contrast to Vaudoit’s proposal for his five-hole grid (fig. 8). Similarly, the apertures are triangular in shape, as opposed to the circular ones depicted in both drawings, and are situated along the edge of the partition. It is also worth noting that the partition rests on a small flat or ledge discernable through the openings. This feature, formed into the inner wall of the bowl, is absent from Vaudoit’s drawing. However, it is clearly visible in Courtois’ patent, which demonstrates the closer relationship between our pipe and this invention, in spite of the differences observed in the partition (fig. 9).

Now, are these discrepancies sufficiently pronounced to suggest that the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe may have been the product of an alternative invention, albeit very similar in nature? The possibility remains, as a few patents filed prior to 1860 could not be reviewed. Nevertheless, in light of this analysis, there is compelling evidence to suggest that Courtois’ design is the one that characterizes the pipe unearthed in Montreal and which would have justified the mention *Brevete/SGDG*. Obviously, the ledge built around the internal wall of the bowl is consistent with the principle of Courtois’ invention. Besides, the overview of the few patents that could not be examined revealed that none of them bore a title that might indicate the existence of another similar feature developed prior to 1859. Therefore, if Courtois was not engaged in the production of clay pipes, it remains unclear who could have manufactured this patented stub-stemmed pipe.

Given the fact that Fiolet never filed a patent for this invention and that the wording *SGDG* is absent from the illustration offering his new models (fig. 5), the Italia pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island must now be attributed

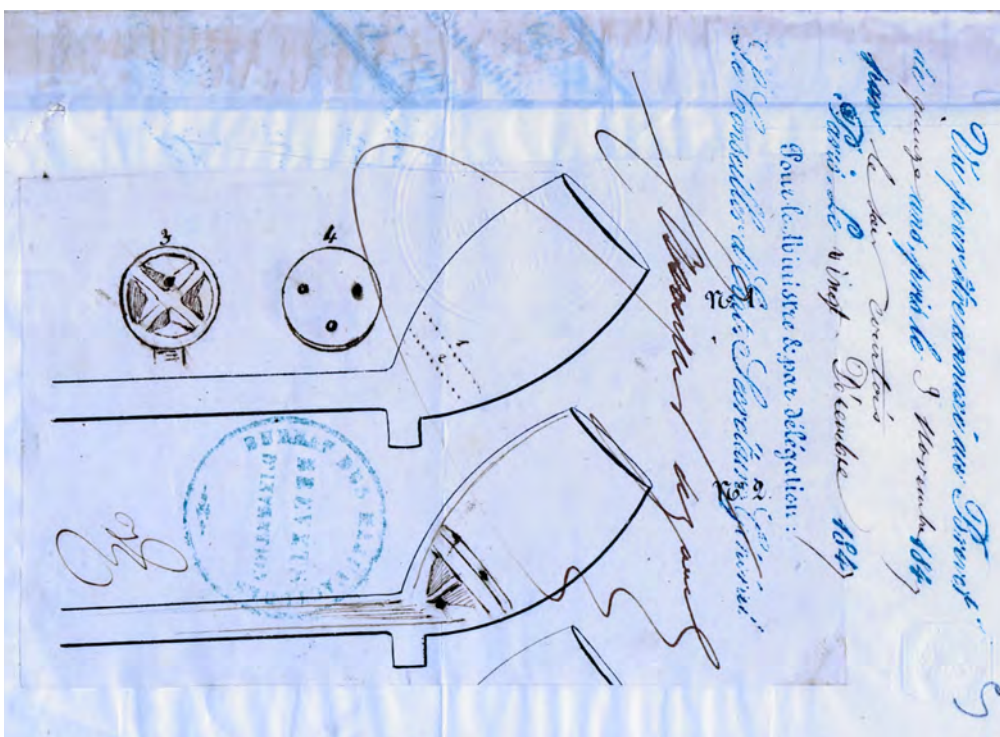


Fig. 9. Drawing accompanying the patent filed by Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois on 3 November 1847 (Archives Institut national de la propriété industrielle, 1BB6605)

either to another manufacturer or to Fiolet, if the holder of the patent had assigned it to him or granted him the use of it.

Fiolet and the contribution of inventors to the clay pipe industry

Well, this is not the end of the story surrounding the Italia pipes. Further research in the MUCEM collections has recently led to the discovery of two additional documents from the Fiolet factory:²⁸ an illustration and a letter. These formerly unknown and presumably unpublished documents corroborate the identity of the manufacturer of the pipe found in Montreal and leave little doubt as to the inventor of its double bottom. However, as with the Fiolet leaflet presented earlier, the accompanying notices fail to provide any information regarding the provenance or dating of the originals, although the new illustration was ascribed to the third quarter of the 19th century by the museum.

If the figure published by Liebaert and Maya²⁹ showed that Fiolet did produce Italia pipes, there was no evidence until now to suggest that the Saint-Omer factory had manufactured the same model with a double bottom, given that it did not hold any patent for this invention. With the discovery of this new illustration, it is now obvious that Fiolet also made pipes equipped with this particular feature. Similar in style to the previous leaflet (fig. 5), the new document, entitled *L^s. FIOLET, à St.-Omer / PIPES À RÉSERVOIR INTÉRIEUR* (fig. 11), confirms that the Italia pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island was produced by Fiolet. Its partition, here described as a “star” (A), with its five triangular openings along the edge, is identical to that displayed in the new drawing (fig. 10). In addition, we learn that “The reservoir can be adapted to all types of pipes when the demand for each model exceeds 50 gross”. At 12 dozen per gross,³⁰ it can now be inferred that a minimum of 7,200 double-bottomed Italia pipes were manufactured. If this is indeed the case, it begs the question of why so few specimens of this particular model, with or without this feature, have survived to the present day within museum or private collections.

Before we go any further, it is imperative to underline the distinctive nature of this newly discovered leaflet, which seems rather unique unless proven otherwise. Its originality is not primarily attributable to its unexpected content but chiefly to its unconventional composition. In fact, this illustration presents two distinct types of information that are rarely found together in the clay pipe industry (fig. 11). It displays a combination of technical details and a legend that would be suitable for a patent application on the left, with commercial information directed towards the factory’s clientele on the right and at the bottom. It could be argued that this is an ideal concept for promoting to wholesalers and retailers, in the



Fig. 10. Close-up on the double bottom of the socketed pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island (Collections archéologiques de la Ville de Montréal, BjFj-84-16E12-123; photo: C. Roy)

form of an advertising flyer, the advantages of this patented invention and the terms of purchase of such pipes.

On a related note, it is regrettable that Fiolet’s new illustration, or indeed the two leaflets held at the MUCEM, is not more accurately dated. Fortunately, the name of the lithographer, clearly visible in the lower left corner of both documents, provides a valuable source of information. Thus, the inscription *Lith. Peuple, à St-Omer* refers to Jean-Baptiste Peuple, a lithographer who was in business in that city between 24 November 1843 and 21 December 1859.³¹ Moreover, the file that accompanies his printer’s licence at the Archives nationales offers some unexpected details.³² It indicates that his licence was revoked at the end of 1859 due to inactivity for a minimum of ten years. Consequently, the two flyers in question would have been produced no later than 1849. As this decision was based on a brief letter from the Saint-Omer police station, dated 17 October 1859, about two months before, it raises the question of whether Peuple may have ceased practising at an earlier or slightly later point in time.

In any case, let us now return to this second leaflet to look at the pipes with an internal reservoir offered by Fiolet and which were reportedly the subject of a patent, as indicated by the inscription *PAR BREVET D’INVENTION (sans Garantie du Gouvernement)*. From the outset, an examination of this document demonstrates the striking similarity between Fiolet’s proposal and Courtois’ invention (fig. 11). It is worth noting that the Saint-Omer pipes also exhibit a flat around the internal wall of the bowls, upon which the “star” rests. This ledge seems to

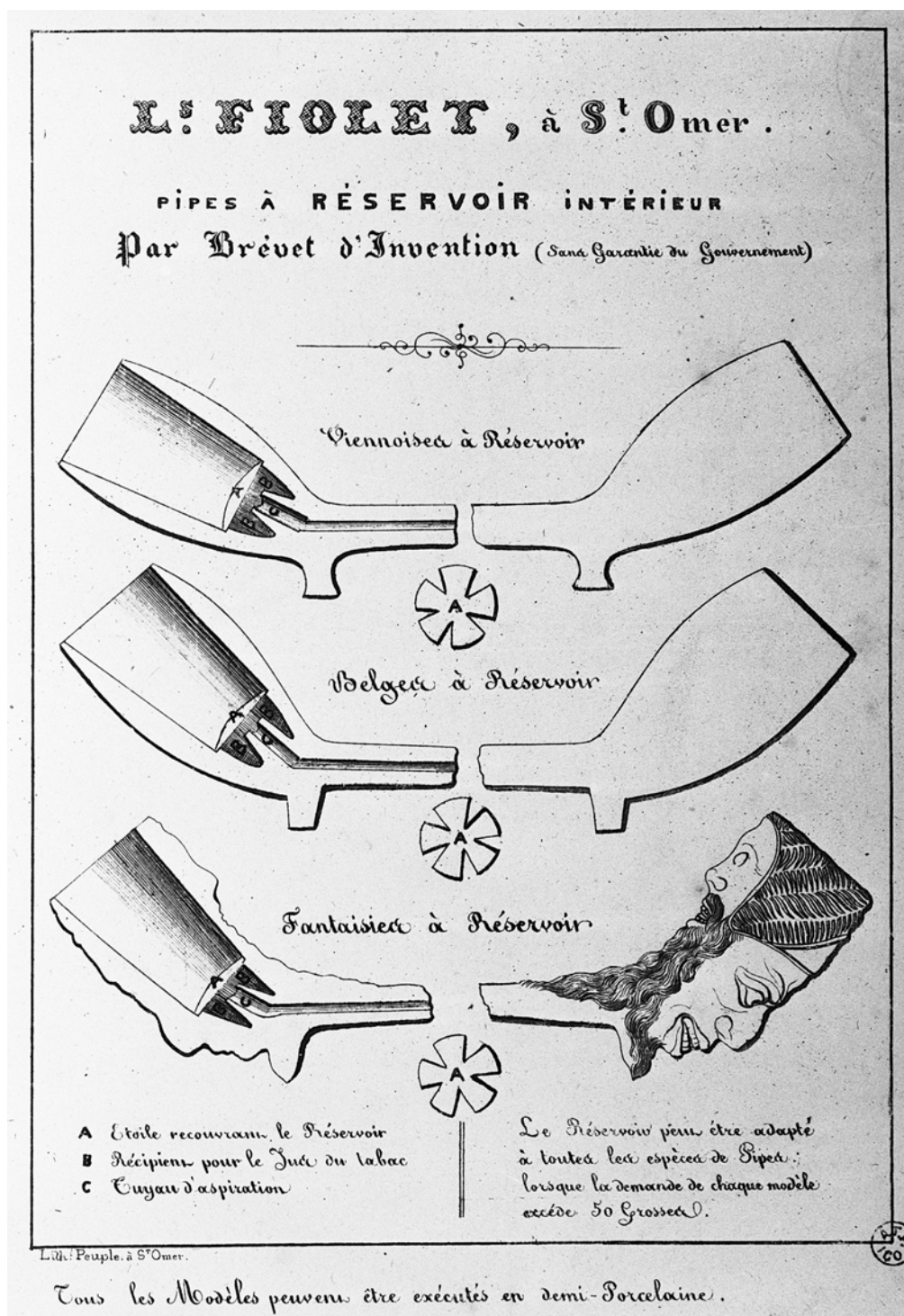


Fig. 11. L. FIOLET, à St. Omer / Pipes à réservoir intérieur (MUC-EM, Ph.1962.167.18)

suggest that the bowls were also shaped using two stoppers. Similarly, in the absence of any indication regarding the number of reservoirs in the Fiolet pipe design, it can be inferred that there were four, given that these are cross-sectional views. The only notable differences between this design and Courtois's are the location of the smoke hole and the configuration of the partition. Whereas in the latter the "ring" displays three openings and the duct occupies one of the four cavities (fig. 9), Fiolet's illustration shows the smoke hole at the centre of the bowl, placed under the "A" of the "star", but still without direct communication with the five off-centre openings in the partition.

Ultimately, it should also be noted that the two propositions share an identical title, specifically "pipe with an internal reservoir". Moreover, the phrasing employed by Fiolet to indicate that this invention was the subject of a patent is somewhat uncommon. The use of the French preposition *Par* in this case could lead one to believe that this patent was not his own.

Fiolet and the Courtois family

The second document recently discovered in the MUC-EM collections provides evidence of a connection between the inventor from Versailles and the Saint-Omer manufacturer. Although the letter in question does not explicitly refer to Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois, the

coincidence is remarkable and surely deserves mention in this context. Addressed to the factory's customers and undated (fig. 12), this business letter signed by Louis Fiolet states that:

« M. Courtois, mon voyageur, aura l'honneur de vous voir, sous peu de jours ; il vous soumettra les échantillons de divers produits de ma fabrication. J'espère que vous les trouverez à votre convenance et que vous voudrez bien lui réserver l'avantage de vos ordres qui seront remplis avec une scrupuleuse exactitude. [...] »³³

This quotation accurately describes the work of a traveling salesman or commercial broker, the profession that Théophile Louis Courtois was pursuing in 1846, according to the nominal census,³⁴ and probably until 1852, when he is found in Paris as a wholesaler of pipes of all kinds³⁵ (fig. 13). It is therefore quite tempting to posit that the same individual was involved, particularly given that the tax stamps found in the upper right corner of the letter can be dated from between July 1847, when the *Justice assise de face* became the only fiscal imprint, and the beginning of 1849, when the term *royal* was removed.³⁶ Consequently, this document would be contemporary with Fiolet's two flyers³⁷ if we consider that Jean-Baptiste Peuple ceased to work as a lithographer by the end of 1849.

It is also possible that this letter refers to Charles Cour-

tois, who served as Fiolet's agent in London between 1856 and his death in Versailles on 9 June 1866.³⁸ The question thus arises as to whether these two Courtois from Versailles were related or whether this is merely another coincidence. Indeed, as evidenced by his death certificate,³⁹ Charles Joseph Courtois was none other than the brother of Théophile Louis Joseph, who, on this occasion, acted as a witness with Pierre Libaude, presumably a close relative of his wife.⁴⁰ In addition, this document reports that Théophile Louis was residing at 51bis blvd. de la Reine in Versailles at the time. This information enabled us to ascribe to him a third patent of invention, filed in 1867, and for which the INPI online notice did not include any first name.⁴¹ Clearly, this death certificate establishes a concrete connection between Théophile Louis Courtois and Louis Fiolet, if not directly, then through the intermediary of his brother Charles, who was employed by the Saint-Omer factory.

However, the story of the Courtois family, originally from Fruges (Pas-de-Calais), some 30 km south of Saint-Omer, does not end here. Théophile Louis and Charles had an older brother named François Marie Joseph, who, by 1829, assumed the management of their father's old pipe factory in Forges-les-Eaux (Seine-Maritime).⁴² The available data indicates that the Courtois family had settled in this commune, renowned for the quality of its clays, around 1817. This was when their father, Félix Jo-

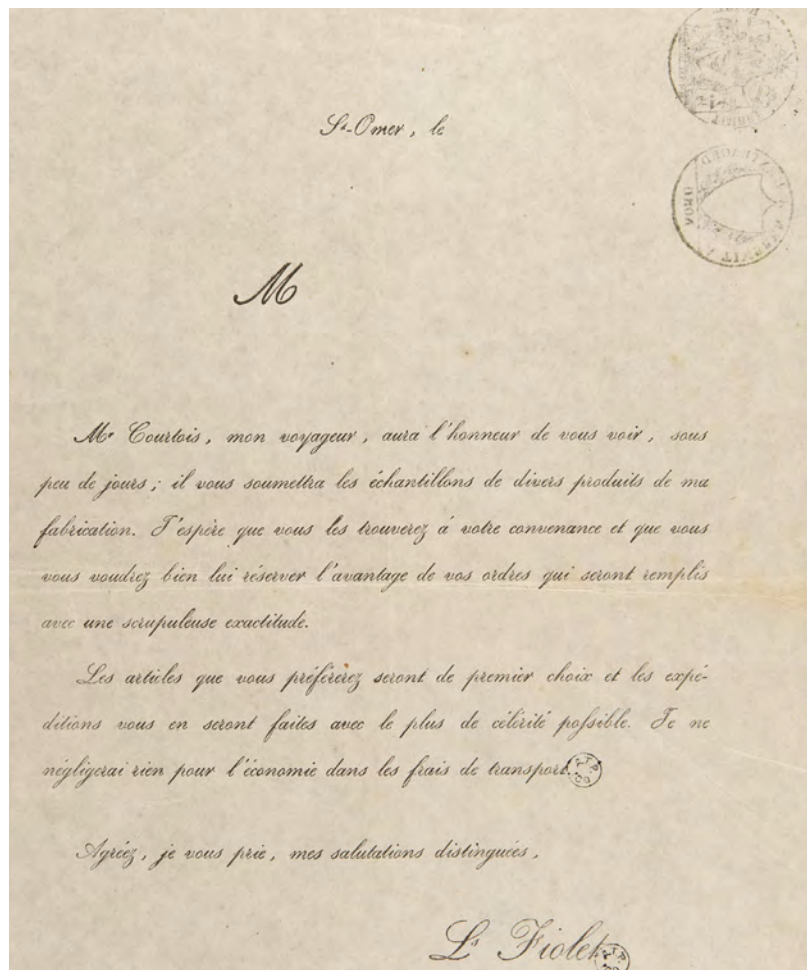


Fig. 12. Business letter signed Louis Fiolet (MUC-EM, 1942.23.5)

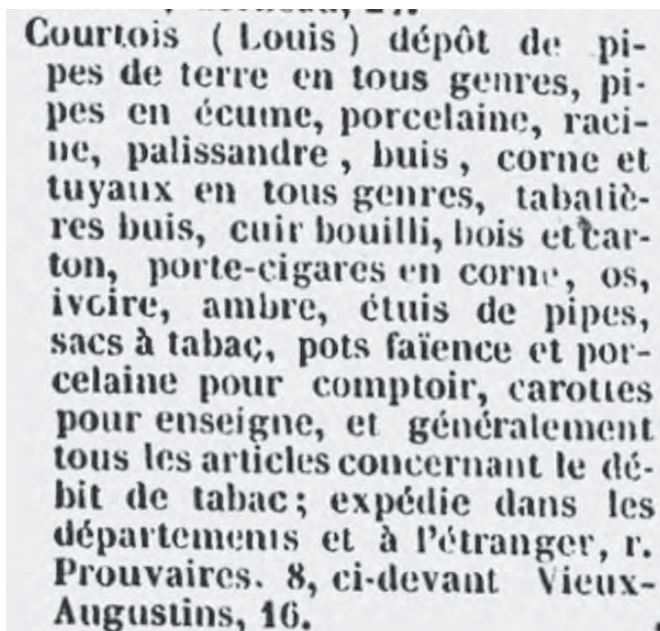


Fig. 13. Advertisement published in the 1855 edition of the *Annuaire général du commerce...* for the dealer in pipes of all kinds Louis Courtois (AGC, 1855, p. 785)

seph, a former leatherworker, began manufacturing clay pipes, as evidenced by the birth certificate of Charles, born in July 1818.⁴³ The factory was renamed Courtois Ainé in 1844 and ceased operations around 1857⁴⁴ (fig. 14). It may be reasonably assumed that Théophile Louis and Charles were employed in the family business for a period of time prior to undertaking their activities as travelling salesman, broker, agent or pipe merchant. In fact, Théophile Louis had already established himself in Paris between 1835 and 1844 as a manufacturer and merchant of French and imported clay pipes before relocating to Versailles as a commercial broker⁴⁵ (fig. 15). It is highly probable that he was then engaged in the sale of clay pipes produced by his brother in Forges-les-Eaux.

In view of the aforementioned details, and given that the principle of Fiolet's internal reservoir pipe is fundamentally the same as that developed by Théophile Louis Courtois, not to mention the rather striking similarity between the two applications and their same title, it is now

reasonable to wonder whether the latter might not have assigned his patent to the manufacturer of Saint-Omer. Of course, the French Patent Act provided for this possibility, with the assignee inheriting the rights and obligations of the patentee.⁴⁶ However, as no transfer of patent between Courtois and Fiolet was recorded in the *Bulletin des lois* (BLRF), where such transactions were usually listed,⁴⁷ could Courtois have chosen instead to concede his rights or license the use of his invention to Fiolet in exchange for royalties or some other forms of compensation? Indeed, such an arrangement could be reached between consenting individuals through a straightforward agreement or an understanding that would not entail any declaration to the relevant authorities, in contrast to the assignment of a patent, which required the drafting of a notarial deed.⁴⁸

Despite the lack of documented evidence, this phenomenon was not entirely unheard of, particularly among inventors who had limited or no contact with the pipe industry or who were unable to commercialize their ideas.⁴⁹ In the case of Gambier, four analogous examples were brought to our attention in connection with some of their pipes or their advertisements, which were marked *Breveté/SGDG*, but for which no patent had been filed by the factory's directors.⁵⁰ In two of these instances, an examination of the INPI database have enabled us to identify the patents that inspired the Givet factory and which, in the absence of duly declared assignments, show that Gambier most probably entered into agreements to market these inventions. The patent filed by Henri-Philippe Plon,⁵¹ a printer and publisher, on 24 May 1851 is a good example. Despite the absence of a drawing, the description of his invention is an exact match for the double duct pipes offered by Gambier in an advertisement published in September 1852 (fig. 7). The second case is even more compelling. It concerns a feature patented on 3 January 1893 by a German inventor of notable versatility, Richard Heyd.⁵² The pipe, which is currently held in a private collection, displays the words *Crème Gambier*, as well as the inscriptions *Bte/S.G.D.G./Heyd* and *DRP. 72021*.⁵³ This provides



Fig. 14. Clay pipe marked *Courtois à Paris* from the collections of the Amsterdam Pipe Museum (APM 14.450)

Courtois (L.), *fâb.*; grand magasin de pipes de France, de Hollande, de Belgique et le 17, terre tendre qui culotte très bien; il tient l'article d'Allemagne, la tabletterie et tout ce qui concerne le débit de tabac, envoie en province, q. de Gèvres, 10.

Fig. 15. Advertisement published in the 1835 edition of the *Almanach du commerce de Paris...* for the manufacturer and merchant of French and imported clay pipes L. Courtois (ACP, 1835, p. 125)

further evidence of an agreement between the two parties and even some of the terms of that understanding. An agreement whereby the corresponding Gambier products were to be labelled with the name of the inventor and the number of his original patent, which had previously been filed in Germany.⁵⁴

In light of the available data, it now appears most likely that Courtois granted Louis Fiolet the rights or the use of his invention under an “amicable” type of agreement. This arrangement, which could have been concluded as early as 1848, would have enabled him to exploit his idea and profit from it, given that he was not a pipe manufacturer.⁵⁵ Such an understanding would have been particularly convenient if Théophile Louis Courtois was working at the time for the Saint-Omer firm as a traveling salesman, as the letter preserved at the MUCEM might suggest, or if he had links with Fiolet, even if only through his father or his brothers, François Marie and Charles.⁵⁶ Despite the absence of written evidence to substantiate these “amicable” agreements, it is important to acknowledge the potential for such an arrangement to have taken various forms. It is plausible that it could have enabled Fiolet to further develop Courtois’ invention, and it may even have provided a rationale for the absence of the maker’s initials or name on the pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island.

In the wake of the Roman Republic of 1849

Having identified its manufacturer and the original patent holder, it is now time to consider the symbolism expressed by the Italia pipes. Based on the dating of its archaeological context and the inscription on its shield, the stub-stemmed pipe unearthed in Montreal was initially thought to refer to the unification of Italy in the early 1870s. However, closer examination soon revealed that a significant number of the motifs adorning this pipe model were not consistent with this pivotal moment in the country’s political history. What’s more, the general dating of pipes-statuettes, which were popular between 1840 and 1860,⁵⁷ raised doubts about the affiliation of Fiolet’s Italia pipes with modern Italy - doubts that Fairholt’s 1859 book quickly turned

into certainties. Therefore, it was necessary to turn to the preceding period, the Risorgimento (1848-1871), to establish a link and gain a deeper understanding of the allegory conveyed by these figural pipes. And among the key events of this turbulent era, the only one that could be considered a suitable fit from a chronological perspective was the First Italian War of Independence (1848-1849), which culminated in the fall of the Roman Republic on 4 July 1849.⁵⁸

So, what are the designs or motifs that adorn this pipe and might assist in grasping its meaning and tracing its sources of inspiration? In addition to the word *Italia*, which provides a spatial context for the allegory depicted on these pipes, four distinct elements are particularly noteworthy: the double-headed eagle, the female warrior with her sword and shield, the coat of arms of the Holy See and, finally, the ribbed motif on the bowl (fig. 2). Those with a keen eye may also have observed that the coat of arms on the shield has been inverted, with the two crossed keys pointing downwards rather than upwards, as in the case of St. Peter’s keys (fig. 16). These four motifs most likely allude to the situation that was prevailing in the Italian peninsula at the dawn of the second half of the 19th century.

In his 1859 publication, Fairholt indicates that the Italia pipes symbolize “Italian freedom”.⁵⁹ As a contemporary of the political events that shook much of Europe in 1848 and 1849, his words undoubtedly relate to the republican revolutionary spirit that had taken hold of the populations during the Springtime of Nations⁶⁰.



Fig. 16. Close-up on the shield and coat of arms appearing on the pipe from Sainte-Hélène Island (Collections archéologiques de la Ville de Montréal, BjFj-84-16E12-123; photo: C. Roy)

However, Fairholt goes on to provide a more detailed account, later specifying that: “Italia is in the costume of a Roman warrior, her right hand directs the sword to the neck of the Austrian eagle, expiring beneath her feet. The papal arms are upon the shield, and the fasces [of Justice] again form the bowl”.⁶¹ In this passage, the author therefore returns to each of the four motifs adorning these figural pipes and reveals their meaning.

According to Fairholt, the standing woman, armoured and helmeted, represents Italia, an allegorical figure and the female personification of Italy. She is dressed here as a Roman warrior, a choice that was most certainly influenced by the circumstances of the moment. With her sword, she aims for the neck of the Austrian eagle, thereby symbolising the Austrian Empire’s direct and indirect control over most Italian territories at the time and its violent reaction to any political change.⁶² Of course, the coat of arms of the Holy See alludes to the Papal States and the role of Pius IX during this turbulent period. Ultimately, the author discloses that the ribbed pattern on the bowl represents a lector beam, a symbol with strong republican connotations since the advent of the French Revolution. The only omission in this portrait is the inversion of the keys of St Peter’s, which Fairholt appears to have overlooked. This may be a reference to the flight of Pius IX, who abandoned Rome in November 1848 to take refuge in Gaeta in the Bourbon kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁶³

Now that the meaning of the decorative motifs on the Italia pipes has been clarified by Fairholt’s comments, it is time to turn our attention toward the sources that provided inspiration for this pipe model. In this regard, the written press proved a valuable source of information,

offering a comprehensive account of political events and a plethora of caricatures of their key actors. This is demonstrated by the proliferation of new satirical newspapers, which emerged with the wind of freedom that swept across the Italian peninsula from 1848 onwards⁶⁴. Among these was the daily *Il Don Pirlone*, which was “the most important liberal satirical newspaper printed in Rome during the Risorgimento”⁶⁵ and “one of the most formidable opponents of Pope Pius IX”⁶⁶. The journal was published from 1 September 1848 to 2 July 1849, with each issue featuring a caricature. Some of these drawings depicted one or another of the motifs found on the socketed pipes under study, with only one notable exception.

All design motifs observed on the Italia pipes were ultimately identified in the three-volume work entitled *Don Pirlone a Roma*, published by Michelangelo Pinto between 1850 and 1852. In his book, Pinto, who was the director of the newspaper *Il Don Pirlone* and a refugee in Turin after the fall of the Roman Republic, recounts the events that shook Italy between 1848 and 1850. Each volume is illustrated with one hundred caricatures, characterized by a caustic and irreverent satire. Prominent figures include Pope Pius IX and the Austrian emperor, generally depicted in the form of a double-headed eagle or a man with two eagles’ heads. In this caricature, for instance, the two are shown celebrating their alliance at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, while simultaneously oppressing Italy, which is personified here as a woman haloed by a star⁶⁷ and lying under the feet of the two potentates (fig. 17). “Two odious powers, founded on superstition and violence, supporting each other with the cross and the sword, often at odds with each other, but always agreeing to oppress



Fig. 17. *Il papato e l'impero* (the pope and the emperor), caricature published in volume 1 of *Don Pirlone a Roma* (Pinto, 1850, T. LXXXII)

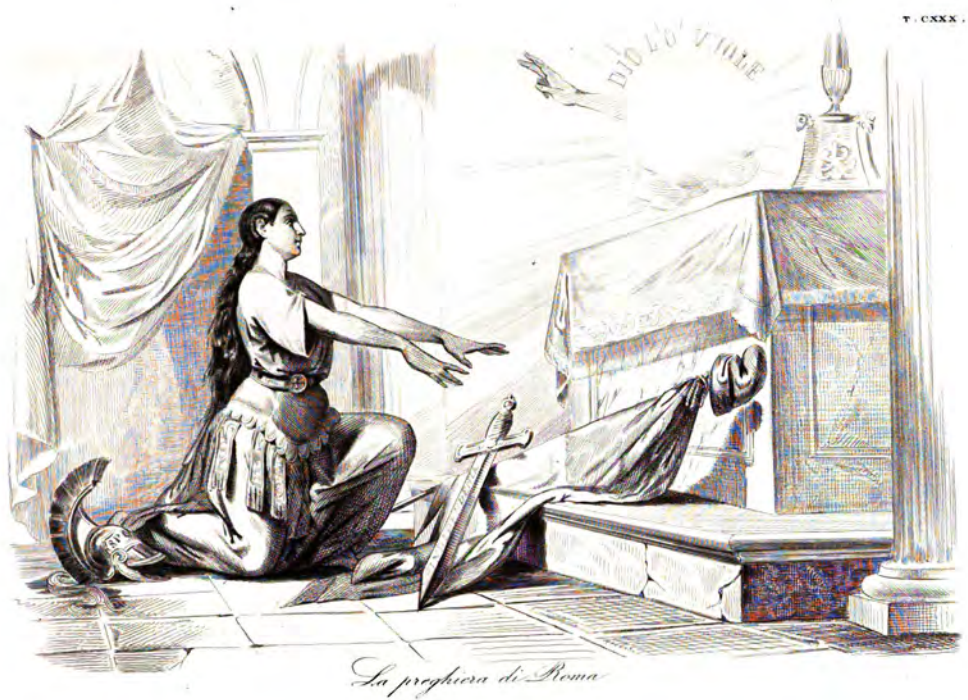


Fig. 18. *La preghiera di Roma* (the prayer of Rome), caricature published in volume 2 of *Don Pirlone a Roma* (Pinto, 1851, T. CXXX)

and trample Italy.”, as Pinto points out.⁶⁸

The armoured warrior was not left out either, as illustrated by this second caricature showing a woman kneeling at the foot of an altar, from which descends a heartfelt *God willing*, after having laid down her arms (fig. 18). Dressed in a tunic, she symbolizes the Roman Republic, with her helmet marked *SPQR* at her feet, her sword bearing the word *Indipendenza*, and her standard topped with a Phrygian cap. She prays that “the god of armies may be propitious to Italy, that he may be generous with her in redemption and salvation.”⁶⁹ How-

ever, the republicans were eventually defeated, and the subsequent repression led to the episode known as the “revenge of the priests” in the Papal States. This was orchestrated by three reactionary cardinals appointed by Pius IX, commonly referred to as the “red triumvirate”.⁷⁰ In Pinto’s work, these cardinals are depicted as men with devil’s tails engaged in conflict over the throne of St Peter’s and sowing discord (fig. 19). A papal seat whose coat of arms is distinguished by the presence of inverted keys, akin to those displayed on the shield of Italia pipes. Is this merely a coincidence? Certainly not, as this particularity is present in nine other caricatures,



Fig. 19. *Il pomo di Paride* (the apple of Paris), caricature published in volume 3 of *Don Pirlone a Roma* (Pinto, 1852, T. CCXCVI)

distributed across all three of Pinto's volumes.⁷¹ In the Christian tradition, the keys of St Peter's point upwards, as they are meant to unlock the door to the kingdom of heaven. This invites the question of whether, when oriented downwards, the aforementioned keys would instead lead to hell.

The Italia pipes are unquestionably associated with the First Italian War of Independence and the Roman Republic, as reflected in the symbolism they convey and its historical significance. Therefore, it can be stated that this pipe model could not have been designed prior to 1848. Additionally, as this model seems to have been influenced by the caricatures published in the *Don Pirlone a Roma*, particularly the innocuous detail of the inverted keys of St Peter's, it is likely that these stub-stemmed pipes would have been introduced to the market between 1850 and 1852. However, as the advertising leaflet for Fiolet's new models is the work of lithographer Jean-Baptiste Peuple (fig. 5), whose activities in Saint-Omer would have ceased towards the end of 1849, it can be inferred that the Italia pipe model could hardly have been devised after 1850. It is unfortunate that the tax stamps in the upper right corner of this lithograph are illegible. Yet, it remains a possibility that Fiolet may have been inspired by another source, although this would not alter the chronology of political events or the practice of Peuple.

In consideration of the available evidence, it can be reasonably deduced that the Italia pipe model was first produced in either 1849 or 1850. This period was characterized by a relatively high degree of freedom of expression, coinciding with the height of the Second Republic. However, from the following year onwards and throughout the Second Empire, censorship would once more exert its influence in France⁷². In any case, there would have been no impediment to their exportation,

as demonstrated by the discovery of the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe and Fairholt's work, which includes several French figural pipes inspired by the Springtime of Nations or the events of the February 1848 revolution (fig. 20). It thus appears reasonable to suggest that those produced by Fiolet may have been on display in London during the 1851 Universal Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, where the Saint-Omer firm had a stand and where Fairholt may have had the opportunity to examine and draw them.⁷³

Conclusion

The Italia pipes, regardless of whether they were equipped with an internal reservoir for the retention of tobacco juice, are nevertheless exceedingly scarce. This is particularly evident when one considers that only a single example has been identified within museum or private collections. The specimen discovered on the military site of Sainte-Hélène Island, with its double bottom and no maker's name, can now be added to the extremely short list of these stub-stemmed pipes. And while the auction catalogue of the Mazaleyrat collection and the leaflet announcing his new models soon demonstrated that Fiolet manufactured such pipes (fig. 5), there was no obvious rationale for initially concluding that the Saint-Omer factory also produced the internal reservoir version, given that it held no patent for this invention.

The objective of the searches conducted in the INPI database was to identify the designer of this invention. Although two patents were initially retained, it was the one filed by Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois in 1847 that was found to be the most similar to the Montreal socketed pipe, with its ledge around the internal wall of the bowl where the partition would rest (fig. 9 and fig. 10). However, as Théophile Louis Courtois was not engaged in the production of clay pipes, the question of their potential manufacturer remained unresolved. Similarly,



Fig. 20. The only other clay pipe from the Courtois factory located so far; a pipe which was also inspired by the First Italian War of Independence (Le Piperron, June 2019, Private collection)

if Courtois had not assigned his patent to Louis Fiolet, could he have granted him the right to use it? In the absence of a duly recorded transfer, the second alternative appeared to be the most plausible, particularly given that a similar phenomenon had already been observed in relation to some Gambier products.

The discovery of a second leaflet and a business letter from Louis Fiolet in the MUCEM collections provided confirmation that the Saint-Omer manufacturer did produce pipes with an internal reservoir, which exhibited a design that was strikingly similar to that of the invention developed by Courtois and bore the same title. This new flyer not only established that the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe was the work of Fiolet (fig. 11), but also indicated that he had likely entered into an agreement with Courtois to exploit his invention. The final step was to demonstrate the existence of a connection between the commercial broker from Versailles, or Parisian pipe merchant, and the Saint-Omer manufacturer. A link that Louis Fiolet's letter rapidly established, as if Théophile Louis Courtois was not the traveller in question, it could only be his brother Charles who, between 1856 and 1866, was Fiolet's agent in London. Moreover, research also revealed that the Courtois family, originally from Fruges, near Saint-Omer, relocated to Forges-les-Eaux around 1817 to engage in the production of clay pipes. This enterprise was managed by their father, and subsequently by their older brother, until approximately 1857. Ultimately, the legal action initiated against Dutel in 1843 for the production and sale of two pipe models that François Marie Courtois had acquired from Fiolet also provided evidence of a connection between the manufacturers of Forges-les-Eaux and Saint-Omer.

Once the identity of the inventor of the internal reservoir pipes had been established and the fact that Fiolet was the manufacturer confirmed, it was essential to examine the symbolism of Italia pipes in order to comprehend their meaning and trace their sources of inspiration. In this regard, Fairholt's work proved invaluable in disclosing the significance of the diverse design motifs that constitute the allegorical representation conveyed by this pipe model. An allegory that undoubtedly alludes to the First Italian War of Independence (1848-1849) and its principal protagonists: the Republicans, represented by the female warrior personifying Italy and the lictor beam; the Emperor of Austria in the form of a double-headed eagle; and Pope Pius IX through the coat of arms of the Holy See. As it turned out, the Italia pipes were inspired by the numerous caricatures that emerged at the dawn of the second half of the 19th century in the Italian press, including the newspaper *Il Don Pirlone* and, most notably, the three-volume *Don Pirlone a Roma*. These caricatures, in turn, facilitated the contextualization of the motifs that adorn this pipe model and revealed their significance, while situating them within a precise tem-

poral framework.

The events surrounding the First Italian War of Independence, the publication of the caricatures in the *Don Pirlone a Roma* and the period of activity of Jean-Baptiste Peuple, the lithographer responsible for Fiolet's two flyers, clearly support the assumption that the Italia pipe model was introduced to the market in 1849 or 1850. It is obvious that if Courtois' invention is the defining feature of the Sainte-Hélène Island pipe with its double bottom, it could hardly have preceded 1848, as his patent was not filed until November 1847. Of course, it is possible that the agreement between Courtois and Fiolet was concluded as early as 1848, thereby predating the release of the new models illustrated by Peuple (fig. 5). It would be of significant interest to determine whether other Fiolet models were similarly fitted with an internal reservoir, which made these pipes value-added products.

In closing, the peculiar presence of this distinctly Republican-style pipe on a British military site invites further questions. What justification could there be for a British soldier or officer stationed in Canada to possess such a pipe? While it seems more than likely that the Italia pipe found on Sainte-Hélène Island was obtained in England, a safe haven for many republicans in the aftermath of the Springtime of Nations and an appealing market for a manufacturer like Fiolet, it remains unclear whether its owner was aware of the symbolism conveyed by this smoking device or if his choice was solely based on aesthetic considerations. Was he attempting to differentiate himself from the crowd with a pipe of unconventional shape and design, and moreover, one that evoked a martial association? Historical evidence and the archaeological record do not provide answers to these questions. In a military context, it is evident that the image of the armoured warrior with her sword and shield must have had a certain resonance with the troops, whether they were based in the colonies or not.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Steeve Gallizia, the INPI representative responsible for promoting the historical archives, for his assistance and the insights he has kindly shared. We would also like to thank Ms. Émilie Girard, Scientific Director and Chief Curator, and Ms. Nancie Herbin, Head of the Still Images Collection, at the MUCEM, for providing access to the museum's documents and authorizing their reproduction. Finally, we would like to extend our grateful appreciation to Mr. Arthur van Esveld, specialist in Gambier pipes, for his invaluable collaboration and our fruitful exchanges. Without his contribution, this article would not have been so well documented.

Notes:

1. Archaeologist and independent researcher, roychristian@yahoo.com, Longueuil, Québec, Canada
2. Ethnoscop, 2005.
3. Royer, 2004, p. 77.
4. Ethnoscop, 2005, p. 22 et 35.
5. Ethnoscop, 2005, p. 315.
6. Royer, 2004, p. 85.
7. Esveld, 2021.
8. See also Esveld, 2021, fig. 5 et 18.
9. The catalogues of ten or so of France's leading clay pipe manufacturers were reviewed as part of this study, as were the online collections of several European museums.
10. Piasa, 2013, p. 35.
11. Liebaert and Maya, 1993, p. 43 (personal communication from Arthur van Esveld, April 2023).
12. These catalogues can be viewed online at <https://www.tabaks-pijp.nl/archief/archief-catalogi-fabrikanten/frankrijk/>.
13. Liebaert and Maya, 1993, p. 216.
14. Fairholt, 1859, p. 181.
15. Sans garantie du gouvernement or Without a government guarantee; Loiseau and Vergé, 1844.
16. Duco, 2004, p. 38, 62 et 151.
17. Institut national de la propriété industrielle (INPI), brevet d'invention 1BB180 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par Hasslauer et Fiolet le 25 octobre 1844 pour la « confection de tuyaux de pipes en terre ».
18. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB79712 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par Louis-Maximilien Fiolet le 5 mars 1868 pour « une pipe ignigène ». See also Raphaël, 1991, p. 106 et 114.
19. Pelletier, 1893, p. 67.
20. Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 32 ; Schmoll, 1867, p. 36.
21. Pelletier, 1893, p. 68 ; Mainié, 1896, p. 520. It appears that a number of former patent holders have, on occasion, disregarded the law by continuing to use the wording Brevet/SGDG on their products or in their advertising. An illustration of this phenomenon can be observed in the 1894 catalogue of Gambier, in which its Taxile pipes are presented as patented, despite the expiration of its five-year patent in 1865 (INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB44487 : brevet de 5 ans déposé par M. Hasslauer le 2 avril 1860 pour un « procédé de fabrication des pipes en terre »). For further information, please refer to Esveld 2023a.
22. If the 1844 law stipulates that the duration of patents could not be extended, article 17 provided for the possibility of applying for a new patent in the case of an improvement made to the original invention (Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 22 and 26). It should be noted that a patent could also be revoked in the event of the patentee failing to pay the requisite annual fee of 100 francs or if they failed to exploit their invention within the prescribed two-year period. In addition, a patent could be assigned in accordance with the relevant legislation, and there were no legal impediments to its holder granting or licensing its use.
23. It is important to note that only new industrial products and new means, or the new application of known means for obtaining an industrial product, could be patented (Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 21). Consequently, designs and models were not eligible for patent protection under the 1844 French patent law (Emptoz and Marchal, 2002).
24. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BA1113 : brevet de 5 ans déposé par Jean-François Vaudoit le 12 août 1843 pour « un genre de pipes de terre appelées pipes à fourneau ou à double fond ». See also Raphaël, 1991, p. 96 and 242-243.
25. Born in 1799 in the vicinity of Givet (Archives départementales (AD) des Ardennes, État civil, EDEPOT / E 8 Chooz, 20 March 1799), Jean-François Vaudoit was already engaged in business activities when, in 1832, he established a partnership with Pierre Henry Massé to manufacture clay pipes under the name Vaudoit et Massé (AD Ardennes, Justice, 6U 658, Tribunal de commerce de Rocroi, 17 May 1832).
26. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB6605 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par Louis Joseph Théophile Courtois le 3 novembre 1847 pour « une pipe en terre, à réservoir intérieur ». As there is some inconsistency in the way that Courtois's first names are presented in the various documents, we have adopted the order shown on his birth certificate, namely Théophile Louis Joseph (AD Pas-de-Calais, État civil, 3E 364/9).
27. The 1846 census (AD Yvelines, Administration générale et économie, 9M955 16) indicates that Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois, aged 37 at the time, was employed as a commercial broker, married to Joséphine Libaude, and the father of two children. As he was no longer residing on rue Satory at the time of the 1851 census (AD Yvelines, 9M955 18), he was traced through the INPI database when a Louis Joseph Courtois, a merchant established at 8, rue des Prouvaires in Paris, filed a patent in 1860 (INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB47703 : brevet de 15 ans déposé le 15 novembre 1860 pour « un genre de pipe »; see also Raphaël, 1991, p. 81). A search of the *Annuaire et almanach du commerce*, ... confirms the presence of a Louis Courtois at this address, a wholesaler of “clay pipes of all kinds, meerscham, amber and root pipes [...], specialities for tobacco shops” (AAC, 1860, p. 916). Nevertheless, the 1862 edition is the first to confirm that this was indeed the same individual, when the name of a certain Ch. Libaude was added to that of Courtois, and so on until 1870, when Libaude finally assumed the succession (AAC, 1870, p. 1235). As indicated in these directories, Théophile Louis Courtois moved to Paris in 1852 for business purposes (AGC, 1852, p. 797 and AGC, 1854, p. 895).
28. See <https://www.mucom.org/collections/explorez-les-collections>.
29. 1993, p. 43.
30. Walker, 1977, p. 145 ; Raphaël, 1991, p. 41 ; Fox, 2016, p.43.
31. DIL, sd, *Peuple*, Jean-Baptiste.
32. Archives nationales, Direction de l'Imprimerie, de la Librairie et de la Presse, Brevets des imprimeurs, libraires et lithographes des départements, F/18/2035, dossier Jean-Baptiste *Peuple*, lithographe.
33. “Mr Courtois, my traveller, will have the honour of seeing you in a few days' time; he will give you samples of various products of my manufacture. I hope that you will find them to your liking and that you will reserve for him the benefit of your orders, which will be carried out with scrupulous accuracy. [...]”. Lettre commerciale de Louis Fiolet, MUCEM, 1942.23.5.
34. AD Yvelines, Administration générale et économie, 9M955 16, Versailles, recensement 1846.
35. AGC, 1852, p. 797.
36. Ordonnances du 28 septembre et du 17 décembre 1846 (BLRF, IXe série, tome 33, 1847 : 774-776, 1217).
37. Although not readily apparent, Fiolet's second illustration appears to bear the same fiscal stamps as those observed on the reverse of the letter, namely the shield of the stamp “à l'extraordinaire” and Justice seated from the front (fig. 11). Two imperceptible stamps are also present in the upper right corner of Fiolet's first illustration (fig. 5).
38. Hammond, 1987, p. 17.
39. AD Yvelines, État civil, 4E 4148, Décès de Charles Joseph Courtois, négociant, 9 juin 1866.
40. AD Yvelines, Administration générale et économie, 9M955 16, Versailles, recensement 1846.

41. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB77626 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par (Louis Joseph) Courtois le 2 septembre 1867 pour un « tuyau de pipe à coulisses ».
42. Journal de Rouen, no. 350, 16 décembre 1829.
43. AD Seine maritime, État civil, 3E 999, Naissance de Charles Joseph Courtois, fils de Félix Joseph Courtois, fabricant de pipes, 6 juillet 1818.
44. AGC, 1844, p. 1373; AAC, 1857, p. 2033. The 1857 edition of the *Annuaire et almanach du commerce, ...* is the final iteration of the publication to make reference to the Courtois Ainé pipe factory in Forges-les-Eaux. In any case, François Marie Joseph Courtois died in Paris on 12 March 1859 (Archives de Paris, État civil, V3E/D 345 and 5Mi1 1562).
45. ACP, 1835, p. 125; AGC, 1844, p. 599. Théophile Louis Joseph Courtois was born in Fruges on 20 June 1809 (AD Pas-de-Calais, État civil, 3E 364/9) and died in Versailles on 10 January 1876 (AD Yvelines, État civil, 4E 5246). One of the witnesses to his death was Charles Hippolyte Libaude, his son-in-law and a pipe merchant domiciled at 8 rue des Prouvaires in Paris. Libaude had assumed the succession in 1870 (AAC, 1870, p. 213 and 1235).
46. Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 27-28.
47. Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 25-26.
48. Loiseau and Vergé, 1844, p. 28.
49. It is worth noting that, of all patents pertaining to the pipe industry submitted in France between 1791 and 1901, approximately one in four was filed by a pipe manufacturer, while the remainder were granted to inventors with no apparent affiliation to the industry (INPI, <http://bases-brevets19e.inpi.fr/>).
50. The four cases were brought to our attention by Mr. Arthur van Esveld, a specialist in Gambier pipes. See Esveld, 2015 for the other two cases.
51. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB11784 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par Henri-Philippe Plon le 24 mai 1851 pour « une pipe à courant d'air ».
52. INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB226879 : brevet de 15 ans déposé par Richard Heyd le 3 janvier 1893 pour « des perfectionnements aux fourneaux de pipes ».
53. Esveld, 2023b.
54. The letters DRP stand for Deutsches Reichpatent.
55. It seems highly probable that the Courtois factory in Forges-les-Eaux also manufactured pipes with internal reservoirs inspired by Théophile Louis's patent filed in 1847 (fig. 9). This assertion is supported by the fact that the only two pipes bearing the name Courtois à Paris located so far have been found to bear the inscription Bte SGDG on their stems (Amsterdam Pipe Museum, 14.450; Le Piperron, April 2017, p. 9 and June 2019, p. 12) and do not correspond to the features patented by Théophile Louis in 1860 and 1867 (INPI: patents 1BB47703 and 1BB77626), nor to the patent submitted by his brother François Marie Joseph in 1848 (INPI, brevet d'invention 1BB6979 : brevet de 15 ans déposé le 3 janvier 1848 pour « un couteau-évidoir, servant à évider les pipes » ; see also Raphaël, 1991, p. 93-94).
56. In addition to the commercial letter from Louis Fiolet and the presence of Charles Courtois in London as agent for the Saint-Omer factory, another document corroborates the existence of a connection between the Courtois family and Fiolet. This is a lawsuit for damages filed by François Marie Courtois with the Tribunal de Commerce de la Seine on 4 October 1843, against Dutel of Montereau for the forgery of two pipe models acquired by the Forges-les-Eaux manufacturer from Louis Fiolet the previous year (Le Droit, 6 October 1843, personal communication from Arthur van Esveld, August 2023).
57. Esveld, 2021
58. Bertolini, 1889, p. 453. As the Second Italian War of Independence did not begin until 1859, it is too recent to be considered here.
59. 1859, p. 181.
60. Caron, 2016.
61. 1859, p. 182.
62. Bertolini, 1889.
63. Bertolini, 1889, p. 400.
64. Carofiglio, 1996, p. 396-397.
65. Morachioli, 2019, p. 12.
66. Molinari, 1963, p. 317-318.
67. The Star of Italy, also referred to as Stellone, represents the oldest symbol of Italian identity as a geographical entity. It was used extensively by Italian patriots and republicans engaged in the struggle for national unification during the Risorgimento (Lista, 2011).
68. 1850, p. 185-186.
69. Pinto, 1851, p. 60.
70. Bertolini, 1889, p. 478.
71. In the case of the Don Pirlone a Roma, the inverted keys of St Peter's are found both on the coat of arms of the Holy See, as illustrated in figure 19, and in association with the papal arms of Pius IX (1850, XIII, XLVI, 1851, CLXX, CLXXXVI; 1852, CCI, CCII, CCVI, CCLXXIII, CCXCV, CCXCVI). No instances of keys oriented upwards have been documented in Pinto's work.
72. The importance of censorship in France during the 19th century is well documented (Mollier, 2009). As a number of archival documents reveal (and it would take too long to list them here), the censors' inquisitive eye did not spare pipe makers, whose figurative designs were sometimes deemed offensive by the established order. The impact of censorship on the production and distribution, or even the continued existence, of some French pipe models is a topic that certainly deserves further investigation.
73. GEWIN, 1851, vol. III, p. 1184.

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