

18 Clay tobacco pipes from Rushen Abbey

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Background

Excavations carried out at Rushen Abbey between 1979 and 2008 produced a total of 411 clay tobacco pipe fragments of which four hundred were available for analysis. A total of 79 bowls or bowl fragments (nine with measurable stems attached), 289 stems and 32 mouthpiece fragments were recovered.

Of the bowls, nine were complete with a further 14 being complete enough that a general type could be distinguished. Of the stems, seven are moulded and 40 are stamped with either a maker's name or popular slogan. Of the assemblage 327 fragments were available for stem-bore analysis, with the additional 14 either missing or too fragmentary to obtain a measurement.

The system used for recording the pipes is a digital version of that developed in 1994 and designed to allow groups of pipes to be recorded in a standard manner (Higgins and Davey 2004, 487-90). All data has been logged and stored on an open-source excel file. Bore-hole measurements were extracted using the butt end of a set of drill bits, calibrated in 64ths of an inch (4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9) and grouped accordingly. This data will be deposited in digital form with the Manx Museum and will be held in the Rushen Abbey archive. The data files will also be available in the online catalogue. To accompany this data file a deposit of images taken during recording and organised by accession number will be available. The object depicted in the image will be distinguishable by file name but in addition to this the accession number will be logged in the images metadata under 'Title' (XPTitle).

The following report discusses the pipes in detail along with descriptions, arranged in descending chronological order, working from the most recent suggested date of production. Then a second section considers the pipes in relation to the site's stratigraphy and geography. The final section examines the issues raised, such as the chronology of pipe use on the site, the changing suggested geographical sources of the pipes and a consideration of the Rushen Abbey assemblage in the context of pipes from the Isle of Man and further afield.

The pipes

Nineteenth century

Of the 79 bowls recovered from Rushen Abbey 33, or around 42% of the assemblage, can confidently be assigned to the nineteenth century:

Mid- to late nineteenth century

20 bowl and bowl fragments, or 25% of all the bowls contained within the assemblage, belong to the mid- to late nineteenth century. Five are quite clearly from the last quarter of the century and possibly just into the twentieth. An additional six

have Irish affiliations and date between 1850 and 1900 with another six of similar bowl size and form dated from 1850 to 1880. Two pieces are too fragmentary to assign any particular form but what is remaining suggests a mid- to late nineteenth-century date. The final example is a popular 'cutty' type pipe which could date from 1840 to 1910 (Higgins 1996c, 49).

Three large fragments (1998-0171/8a, 1998-0508.0006, 2000-0011.0200), one small fragment (2002-0040.0149) and three complete bowls (1984-0185/07.095a, 1999.0100.0073 and 1998-214a) are all a very similar form (Fig 1). Each is a very large and upright bowl with thick walls and a flat-footed spur; two have moulded milling, similar to that found in Castletown (Higgins 1996a 25-27, fig 12.13). A similar type, numbers 231 and 243, can be seen in the Glasgow pipe maker Thomas Davidson's catalogue of around 1880 (Gallagher & Price 1987, 137). A similar example, also thought to have been produced in Glasgow, is discussed in 'Clay pipes with Irish affiliations' (Alexander 1986, 72-73, figure 2A), suggesting a date closer to 1900. The type appears to be of Scottish origin, quite possibly from Glasgow, but it also may have been produced in Edinburgh: see the typology number 39 (Sharp 1987, 23) which is very similar. The third complete bowl is stamped 'REV - O'BRIENS' (1999-0100.0073) which is a popular Irish slogan.

Six bowl fragments have Irish affiliations (Fig 2). This assemblage includes two complete and one near complete bowl and three good sized fragments, two stamped and one moulded. The first of the complete bowls has a central stamp, facing the smoker; it reads 'CORK' with a small Irish harp flanked by foliage below (1998-214 c). It is a large, rounded bowl which has no spur or heel and is the same pipe, or near enough, as that pictured in Oswald's 'example of pipes with unclassified and unusual marks' (Oswald 1975, 89 -90, fig 16, no 20) dated to between 1850 and 1880.

The near complete bowl is possibly slightly earlier (c.1850) than the other five and is a similar bowl form to the TW Cutty mentioned above. It is stamped with DUBLIN, framed in a zigzag oval (2004-0042.0524); it is dated to 1852-76 and is described as an Oxford style type (Oswald 1975, 81-2, no 6).

Of the three remaining fragments one is stamped with 'O'BRIEN - MAYO ST - DUBLIN' (1984-0185/07.030a), the second with '[]ST - DUBLIN' (2004-0042.0534) which may also be Mayo Street and the third is a decorative mould with a large Irish harp in relief (1984-0185/07.030b). Each fragment is thought to be of the same period, 1850 to 1880, due to their size and when the Irish pipes were at their most popular. Although originally thought to have been produced in Ireland in places like 'Mayo St' it has since been realised that they were predominately produced in Scotland for the American export market (Green 1985; Alexander 1986).



Fig 1: Late nineteenth-century bowls of a similar form.



Fig 2: Pipes recovered with Irish affiliation.



Fig 3: Elaborate rams head with branches, possibly Gambier, France, or Edward Pollock of Manchester (2002-0040.0129, 2002-0040.0118).

Two elaborate stem fragments (2002-0040.0129 & 2002-0040.0118) (Fig 3) are very likely to be from the same pipe due to their similarities in design and the very close proximity of their find locations [S2d 128]. The design is a ram's head at the base of the bowl; further down are two protruding branches. They are dated from the turn of the twentieth-century, based on similar elaborate and detailed mould forms seen in France dated 1894 and produced by Gambier (Leclaire 2009, 56) and found in Edward Pollock of Manchester's catalogue of around 1906 (Higgins 2009, 48).

Mid-nineteenth century (1850-1880)

Nine bowls and bowl fragments are dated to the period 1850 to 1880, based on bowl size and style of decoration. These include one complete, plain bowl with spur (1984-0185/07.095b). This is the same form as the Irish bowl displaying 'CORK' (1998-214c) but plain without an Irish affiliated stamp. Three plain bowls (1984-0185/07.095c, 2002-0040.0148 and 2004-0042.0523), two of which are near complete, are all also of a very similar form and resemble Oswald's national Type 9, dated to post-1850 (Oswald 1975, 50-1). They also may have been produced in Scotland, possibly even from the same factory as the 'Irish' 'CORK' pipe mentioned above. They are all similar in size and form to the Irish bowls, just simply lacking the Irish associated imagery and slogans (Fig 4).

A large bowl fragment with decorative rope moulding (1999-0100.0684) is a similar size to Davidson's catalogue number 220 (Gallagher & Price 1987, 136) and its suggested date is the same time period (1850 to 1880). Another large bowl fragment (1998-0171/8b) known as the English 'Gladstone' design (Wood 2009, 90) also dates from after 1850. A final fragmentary piece (2003-0103.0145) is also thought to be roughly from this period, as it appears to be of a similar size but is too damaged to be sure. Unfortunately, all these forms are too generic to assign a production location with confidence, but a number of Gladstone designs are present in the Scottish price catalogues of both White's and McDougall's (Gallagher 1987b, 145-53).

A broken bowl fragment with stem (1999-0100.0452) displays only the middle section of a relief stamp located on the bowl facing the smoker. The stamp quite possibly reads 'TRIBAL PIPE' and contains what looks like a mock military insignia in the centre. It has a borehole which is on the larger side of 4/64" and the bowl size is smaller than the items assigned to the latter half of the nineteenth century. For these reasons it does not seem to date much after 1850 (Fig 5a). A similar example is illustrated by Higgins (2009, 47, Nos. 1-5). Another broken bowl fragment of a similar size shows part of a shield with the letters 'LI[V]' (2006-0228.0774) running along its base (Fig 5b). The clarity and font of the lettering is similar to the fragment discussed above and is likely to be of a similar time period.

The final bowl belonging to this group is thought to be a Davidsons no 4 TW Cutty (Gallagher 1987b, 154) (1998-214b); the example presented in Davidson's 1880 catalogue (Gallagher & Price 1987, 118) strikes a remarkable resemblance to this artefact. Cutty pipes came into fashion about 1840 and were a very popular type (Higgins 1996c, 49). This example dates from around early 1850 based on the bowl's typology (Oswald 1975, 81-2, #6), but could be as late as 1911 when the factory closed (Gallagher and Price 1987, 115), although it would have been considered an old-fashioned style by then.



Fig 4: Mid-nineteenth-century bowls.



Fig 5a: c.1850 bowl types.



Fig 5b: 2006-0228.0774.



Fig 6: Nineteenth-century stems with makers' names – city (above) company name (below).

Three stem fragments with the incuse moulded mark of MILLER/LIVERPOOL (Fig 6) were recovered from across the site (trench S2d, L21 and the cloister area). A stem bearing the same markings was found during excavations of the carpark north-west of Rushen Abbey in 1996 and was dated to between 1860 and 1874 (Higgins 1996, 48). Other Isle of Man examples include one recovered in 1995 from Crawyn Brooghs, Ballaugh (Higgins 1996, 48). Pipes displaying this mark are from the firm David Miller & Co who first appear in Gore's Liverpool directory for 1860.

During the nineteenth century most Scottish tobacco pipe producers were located in Glasgow. Three out of the five main firms, that is Christie, Davidson, McDougall, Waldie and W. White (Davey 2009, 119) are represented in the collection. Over half the assemblage which display maker's marks have the McDOUGALL / GLASGOW incuse mark. The McDOUGALL / GLASGOW stem stamp became a registered trademark in 1877 but is thought to have been in use for 31 years before then (Hammond 1988, 87). The factory closed in 1967 (Gallagher 1987a, 104), which dates these pipes to the period from 1846 to 1967. One pipe is incised with 'BURNS CUTTY PIPE/ McDOUGALL. GLASGOW' (1999-0100.0407). This pipe is listed in their price catalogue as number 13 (Gallagher 1987, 144). They are dispersed throughout all the top layers of the main abbey area as well as area S in layers just below the modern 1929 dance floor.

There are a further four pipes recovered that are Glaswegian in origin. One thick stem displays a moulded relief number 131 with an incuse 'W.WHITE/ GLASGOW' (1999-0100.0043) from the firm William White (1806-1955) and is listed in their c.1880 price catalogue simply as an 'Unheeled Cutty' (Gallagher 1987b, 149). The remaining three are from the firm Waldie which operated in Glasgow in a series of locations from 1870 to 1929

(Gallagher 1987, 107). One of particular interest displays the number 226 (1998-0512.0001) which is listed in their price catalogue as a T W Cutty (Gallagher 1987b, 161). A further two stems, most likely both 'cutty' pipes, one displaying 'BURNS' (1999-0100.0160) and the other 'MINERS' (1998-0509.0005), are also most likely Scottish in origin but are too generic to ascribe to a manufacturer. The 'MINERS' pipe was found in the topsoil of area L (context 001) so is likely to be twentieth century. The 'BURNS' stem was found in area X, (context 107, 'wall located in front of chapter house',) which has been identified from other recovered material to have been built during Victorian times.

A further three stems have manufacturers' product numbers present but unlike the above the firm's name-stamp does not survive (Fig 7). The first has a twist of rope at the join of the stem with the bowl and is clearly numbered 42 with a space either side (1984-0185/07.095h). The second (1998-214e) is badly damaged or produced from an inferior clay. Nevertheless, it appears to show a 56 (without any additional numbers) and due to its thickness is most likely a 'cutty' pipe. Neither a rope twist design nor a 'cutty' pipe appears to match the descriptions presented in the main Scottish pipe manufacturers' price list under their respective numbers, so these firms can be ruled out as the production centres for these items. The third displays a number 2 (2000-0011.0031) and, like the bowl described earlier, is an English 'Gladstone' design (Wood 2009, 90). This design is also not listed in the Scottish catalogues under this product number and it is therefore likely to be an English firm. With further research it is highly possible that the manufacturer of this pipe could be tracked down.

Three 'EMMA/WO'A' marked stems are present (Fig 8), both recovered from area S2. 'EMMA/WO'A' is considered to



Fig 8: Nineteenth-century stems with miscellaneous marks or those produced outside of Scotland.



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be a popular and topical miscellaneous incuse mark which could have been produced at a number of firms in England and Scotland during the nineteenth century (Rutter & Davey 1980, 204).

Another two stems which appear to have been imported from outside Scotland are one displaying 'à PARIS' (2002-0040.0193) and the other 'GLOVE []/[]CHEER' (1999-0100.0079). The 'à PARIS' stem is very well made, produced from a fine white clay and the incuse firm's mark is crisp and clear. It is quite likely, unless it is a high-quality copy, to be a French pipe made by Gambier who had a London shop. 'Gambier à Paris m*M déposé', the firm's trademark(s) was registered in 1892 but stated by Hammond (1988, 90-1) to have been in use for upwards of 13 years before 1875. The stem was found in a sealed rubbish pit [S2 133], under a compact layer which predates the 1928 dance floor construction. The other stem bears a less common maker's mark and at present cannot be ascribed to any obvious firm or region.

Early to mid-century (Fig 9)

Sixteen bowls and bowl fragments, or 21% of the entire bowl assemblage, confidently belong to the early to mid-nineteenth century. Of these, eight date from the early nineteenth century up to 1830 and three date from roughly 1850 and one piece is too fragmentary to assign any particular form, but its size suggests an earlier nineteenth-century date up to 1850 (2003-0103.0145). The final example is Manx which has been dated between 1837 and 1857 (see below).

Of the eight belonging to the earlier years of the nineteenth century none carry any decorative stamps. Three are complete bowls (1984-0185/16, 1999-0101.0002 & 1999-0100.0045), one is near complete (1999-0100.0417) and five are fragments

(1998-0509.0003, 1998-214d, 1999-0100.0378/1, 2003-0103.0261, 2004-0042.0542). The three complete, or near complete, plain bowls all have a very similar form. They are similar to pipes depicted in Oswald (1975, 86-7, no 13) recovered from London, dated from 1800 to 1830, and Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire dated 1800 to 1820 (Oswald 1975, 68-9, no 8). The remaining fragments all appear to be of a similar size and typology and are also considered to belong this period.

Each of the three dated up to 1840 (2000-0011.0010, 1998-0506.0008 & 1998-0509.0004) have moulded leaf seams and are very similar in character to Chester examples (Rutter and Davey 1980, 208-211). One bowl in particular (2000-0011.0010) is very similar to a nineteenth-century decorate bowl from Chester dated from 1810 to 1840 (Rutter and Davey 1980, 206-12, no 11).

Two final items of particular note from this period include a moulded fragment displaying a single spurred leg belonging to a Three Legs of Man emblem (1998-0519.0002). This fragment is identical to that recovered from the kiln waste at Drumgold Street (Higgins 1999, 308-9, no 9) and dates from either the 1840s or the 1850s. The Drumgold Street site was used as a pipe making factory for only a short period between 1841 and 1857, firstly by a James Fell during the 1840s and subsequently by William Culum in the 1850s. The second noteworthy item is a complete bowl with fluted base (1999-0100.0045) which is a very similar design to another mould produced at Drumgold Street (Higgins 1999, 308, fig 10). Stylistically, it can therefore also be dated to this period. Two further bowl fragments (1999-0100.0378/3, 2003-0103.0326) can be assigned a similar date based on their comparable size to those discussed above.



Fig 9: Early to mid-nineteenth-century bowls.

Fluting: late eighteenth to early nineteenth century (Figs 10 & 11)

Eight fragments with fluted moulding, dating from around 1790 to 1840 (White and Davey 2003, 136), were recovered from across the site. Fluting was a popular decoration for clay tobacco pipes during both the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Because of this dating the fluting can be difficult to narrow down although the moulds and manufacturing process became bolder during the early nineteenth century (Higgins 2009, 43).

Four fragments do appear to be later examples and most likely date to the early 1800s. The first is a rather small fragment, very similar in character to one found at Castletown (Higgins 1999b, 91, fig 54. 18), dated to post 1840. Two fragments (1998-0508.0066 & 1999-0100.0042) are from a very similar, if not the same mould, as a Chester example dated to 1810 to 1840 (Rutter and Davey 1980, 208-10, fig 73.16). The final fragment (1998-0508.0010) has both fluting and moulded leaf stem and based on similar Chester (Rutter and Davey 1980, 209-10) and Lincoln (Mann 1977, 27-9) examples dates from around 1810 onwards.

Two fragments which are more likely to belong to the later eighteenth century include a large bowl

fragment with light and fine relief fluting which terminates 15mm from the rim, above which is a band of zigzag with dots between the crenulations (1999-0101.0010). The second is a small fragment which has a much finer moulding and thinner bowl walls than the samples discussed above. Two examples of small fine fragments with detailed decorative patterns in light relief and brittle walls (1999-0100.0215, 2004-0042.0550) date either from later years of the eighteenth or the early nineteenth century, based on similar examples of elaborate moulding (Higgins 2009, 46-7). The remaining two fluted fragments (1998-0516.0003, 1999-0100.0183) are hard to pin down and therefore need to be generally considered within the time frame of 1790 to 1840. The same applies to a fragment (1999-0100.0654) which has feathers radiating out from the seam, which stylistically looks slightly earlier than the others and is thought to be around the turn of the nineteenth century (Higgins 2009, 46).

A very curious broken bowl fragment depicts the remaining image of a spurred but slender Three Legs of Man on one side and a military emblem on the other (Fig 12) (2004-0042.0987). Military emblems became popular after 1750 (Cambridge 2012, 3). The bowl typology is more similar to the smaller, wider bowls of the latter quarter of the

eighteenth century to 1820 (Ayto 2002, 8, type 11) than the upright and narrow bowls of the London style, 1700 to 1770 (Higgins 2009, 46). The pipe fragment is almost certainly no later than 1820 as the moulding technique and typology looks to pre-date the later samples discussed above. It was found in context M106: an overall silty layer at base of the bowling green sequence.

A long, burnt section of stem (1999-0100.0603) has small, moulded circles with a central dot and is similar to another found in Ballasalla (Higgins 1996c, 49). The fragment found at Rushen Abbey has a narrow and short spur and traces of fluted decoration on the surviving fraction of bowl. Just above the spur on both sides is the relief moulded circular symbol. Higgins dated this example to the period from around

1780 to 1820. The borehole is 4/64" which suggests that this belongs to the later part of this time frame.

Two stem fragments have fluted collars (1999-0100.0571 & 2004-0042.0528) and again like the fluted fragments mentioned above can be any date after 1790 (Fig 13). These are mostly from the mid-1800s onwards. One has a strange colouring on the surface (2004-0042.0528) similar to the larger fragment with leaf-seam and moulded dots (2000-0011.0010). The two fragments were found some distance away from each other in areas M and S2 so are unlikely to be from the same pipe, but the similarities in appearance and finish do suggest a broadly contemporary date. The second has a fancy collar but is not very slender, so this could also be a later 'cutty' pipe.



Fig 10: Late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century, fluted fragments.



Fig 11: Late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century, moulded leaf stem fragments.



Fig 12: 'Three legs of Man' on one side and a military emblem on the reverse (2004-0042.0987)



Fig 13: Late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century, fluted collars

Eighteenth century (Figs 14 and 15)

Ten bowl fragments and one stamped stem, or just under 13% of the bowls which make up the entire bowl assemblage, appear to belong to the eighteenth century. Of these, two date from the mid-eighteenth century, three from 1700 to 1770, quite possibly from the later decades of this period. Five fragments are from the early part of the century and possibly even from the late seventeenth century. An oval stem stamp, the last item of particular note, can be confidently dated to the eighteenth century.

Two bowl fragments which are similar to the 'London Style' are plain, quite upright and narrow (Higgins 2009, 46). One has milling (2006-0228.0775) and the other is made from a local (2001-0078.0069) rather than an imported clay. The latter was found in area S2, context 113, which is situated quite low down in the 'post-medieval garden features'. A suggested date for both these fragments is close to 1750. The fragment made from local clay will be from before 1750 as it was from this date onwards that almost all clay pipes are produced from imported white ball clay (Higgins 2017, 19).

A further three fragments (1984-0185/07.095d, 1984-0185/07.095e, 1984-0185/07.095f), two of which join (e & f), and one near complete bowl (1984-0185/07.095g) all appear to date from the later eighteenth century. They are completely plain and lack any other distinguishing features apart from the brittleness of the bowl wall (Ayto

2002, 8) and the upright form of the London style, 1700 to 1770 (Higgins 2009, 46).

Five fragments of plain, very fine and narrow, upright bowls belong to an earlier period of the eighteenth century (1998-0516.0015, 1998-0520.0013, 1999-0100.0267, 2003-0103.0335, 2003-0103.0534). They belong within Oswald's simple typology numbers 19 to 21 (Oswald 1975, 40-1) and could even possibly date from the last decade of the seventeenth century. Three were recovered from the southern area of the site, two from within the 'post-medieval linear ridges and features' of area S [S8021, 42] and another in the 'post-medieval garden soils' of trench R. The other two fragments were recovered from the northern part of the site, one from lower machining levels of area [X120] and another in phase III of trench V [V006].

The last item to discuss from this period is a stem with an oval stamp (Fig 16). The stamp contains a large central cursive L, flanked on either side by a small S and either a V or W both in serif font (2001-0078.0095). The design is very faded and incredibly difficult to make out (Fig 17). Oval stamps, although usually rather figurative in design rather than letter based like the early heel stamps, date from 1700 to 1790. The bore hole for this stem measures 5/64" which is considered to belong broadly to the period 1710 to 1800 (McMillian 2016, 69). The stem was recovered from within the 'post-medieval garden layers' of area S (2109).



Fig 15: Early eighteenth century possibly very late seventeenth-century fragments.



Fig 14: eighteenth-century fragments.



Fig 16: Stem with oval stamp (2001-0078.0095).

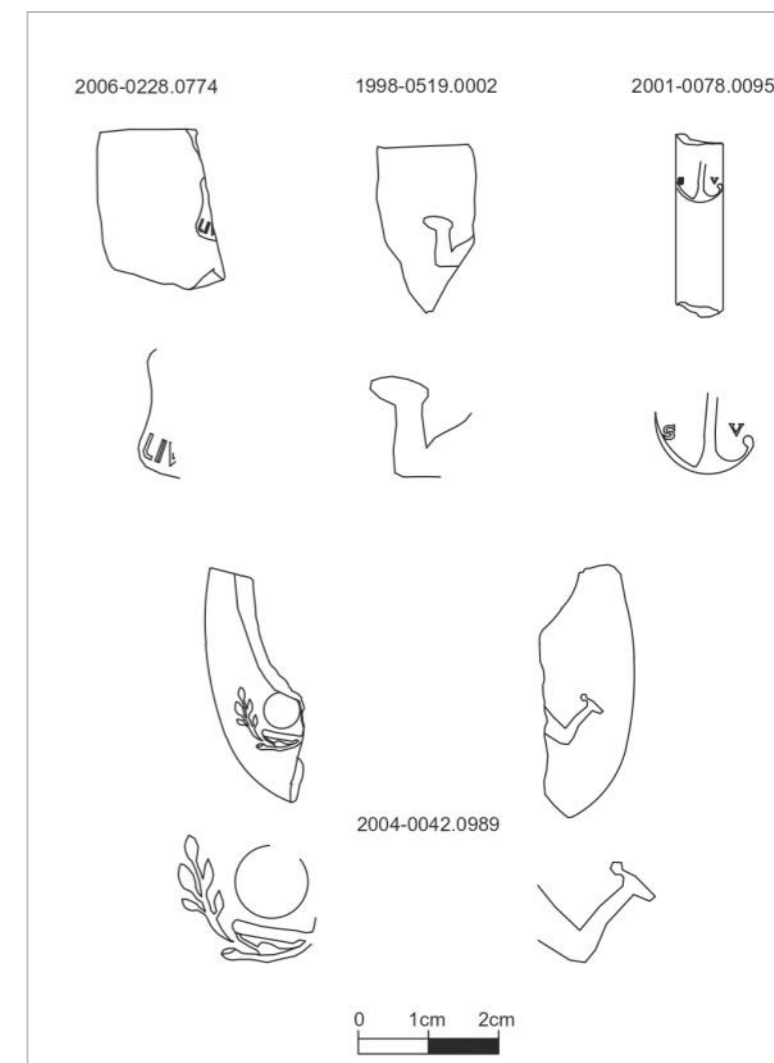


Fig 17: Line drawings.

Seventeenth century (Fig 18)

Two bowl fragments, or just around 3% of the bowl fragments, appear to belong to the seventeenth century. One near complete bowl (1998-0514.0012) is early to mid-seventeenth century based on typology; unfortunately, the borehole isn't available for analysis. The bowl is similar to one found in Castletown (Higgins 1996b, 91, 94, no 3) dated from 1625 to 1655. The fragment recovered from Rushen Abbey was from trench P (008) 'early garden soils' just above a cobbled surface and is produced from local clay. The second item is much more fragmentary (2003-0103.0146). It retains a small area of milling and although it looks to have been of a similar size to the bowl mentioned above it is not as bulbous, so is considered to be slightly later. It was recovered from a rich clay layer spanning the whole of trench S (8014) from a mid-context within 'post-medieval garden features'.

Other features of the assemblage

Some 32 mouthpieces were recovered from the site, of which 28 or 87.5% of the assemblage can confidently be assigned to the middle of the nineteenth century or later (Fig 19). Twenty fragments are button/nipple ends produced from a mould, of which four are a diamond button shape. Four other fragments have a rounded end which has also been created as part of the mould. Each of these techniques belong to the mid-nineteenth century onwards and button ends were very common on 'cutty' pipes from Scotland

during the nineteenth century. There are two fragments with either a diamond shaped or oval cross section but without a button which belong to the late nineteenth century (Higgins 2017, 21). Nine pipes have brown glazed tips, eight of which have a button ended mouthpiece and one is a round moulded end. Other glaze types apart from brown include a fragment with an all over bright, light green glaze (1984-0185/07.095i) and another with an all over brown/yellow/green glaze. Glaze, wax or other organic coatings were used on mouthpieces to stop the smoker's lips sticking to the stem; the evolution of tip finishing hasn't been studied in detail (Higgins 2017, 21).

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, a cut mouthpiece was standard and is present on all pipes before around 1840. As this technique was still used on many types after that date, an earlier date range for this feature is not always a given (Higgins 2017, 21). Of the Rushen Abbey assemblage only four fragments have cut ends, which equates to only 12.5% of the mouthpieces recovered. The high percentage of mouthpieces which can confidently be assigned to the mid-nineteenth century onwards compared with the low number of the standard cut mouthpieces confirms what has already been inferred from the bowl forms. A large concentration of the assemblage is from the latter half of the nineteenth century; it contains a good number of 'cutty' pipes and these are most likely Scottish in origin.



Fig 19: Range of mouthpieces.



Fig 18: Seventeenth-century bowls.

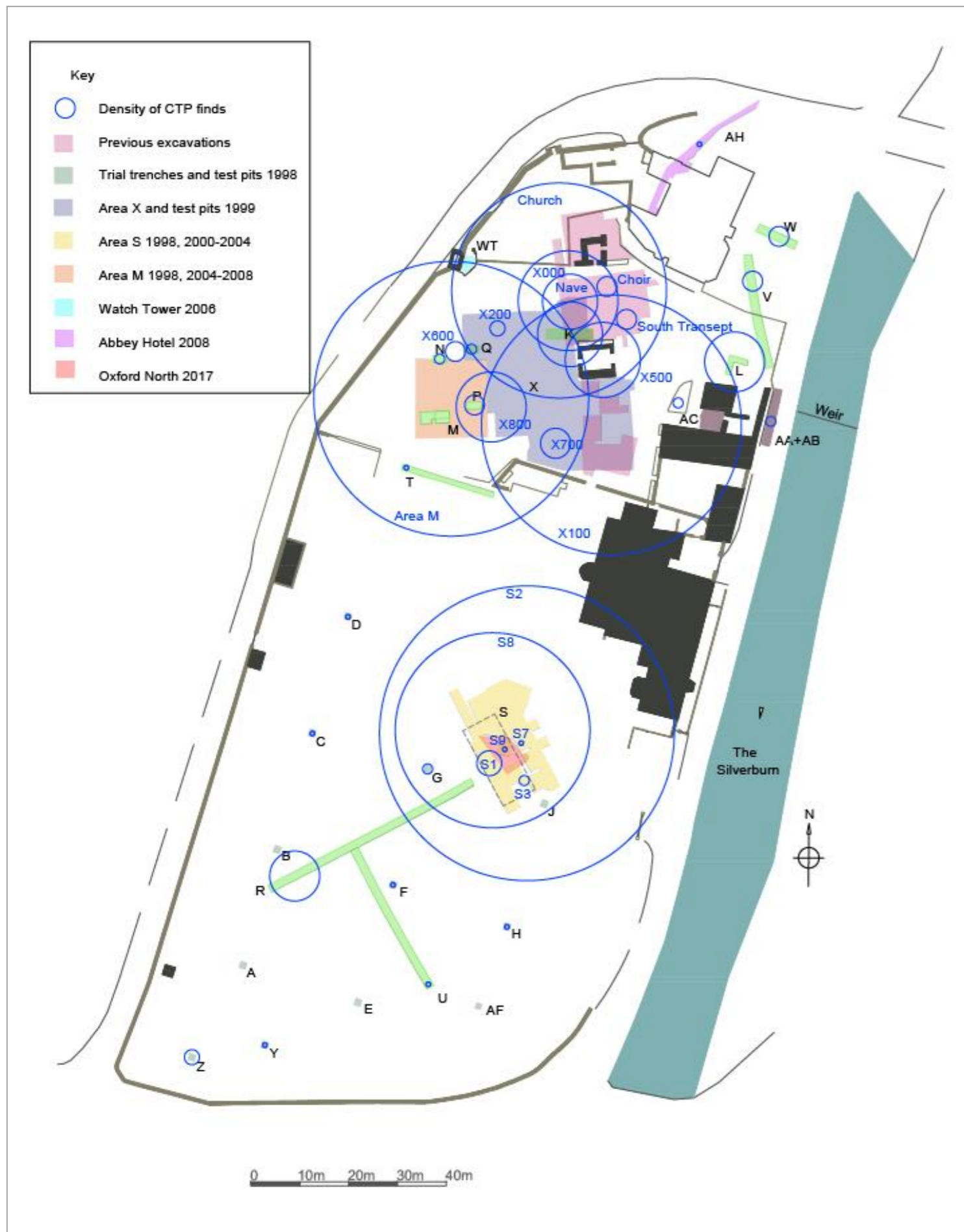


Fig 20: Clay tobacco pipe distribution plan.

Pipe distribution over the site: geography and stratigraphy (Fig 20)

A total of 411 pipe fragments were recovered from all excavations from across the site. During the CMS excavations between 1998 and 2008 a total of 323 fragments were found in all trenches and areas apart from areas A, AD-AF, B, E and J. All other trenches contained at least one fragment (Fig 21). In all, 63 fragments were recovered from across the nave, choir, church and south transept during Butler's 1978 and 1979 excavations and a further 25 from his 1988 and 1989 excavations in the east range which was also excavated during the CMS excavation as Area X100. Because of this, and for the purpose of understanding the site's distribution of pipes, Butler's pipes from the east range have been included in the count for Area X100. Similarly, three fragments recovered by Butler from the cloister area in 1978 and 1979 have been included in the count for Area X000. No pipe fragments were recovered or have been retained from the excavations of Garrad (1984), Cubbon (1914; 1926), Gill (pre-1899) and Cochrane (1910).

Most pipe fragments were recovered from area X, with 114 in all, followed by area S with 104. These areas were two of the largest trenches, so it is quite unsurprising that they yielded the greatest number of fragments. Area X was roughly 720m² and area S roughly 450m²; both of these trenches were excavated in smaller subsections. If the data is reorganised and considered in groupings belonging to these smaller subsections, they become a more suitable size for comparison to the other smaller trenches across the site. Then area S2 has the highest fragment recovery, followed by areas M and X100, although all three of these areas are still relatively large trenches. If the data is reviewed by looking at the concentration of finds per metre², this vastly alters the perception of the site. Looking at the data in this way shows that the trench with the highest consecration of finds in relation to size is area Z and area L. Area Z was only a relatively small trench of around 2m² but which contained 3 fragments and area L, which is 8m², yielded 12 fragments (Fig 22).

Fig 21: Number of CTP fragments per trench - from all excavations.

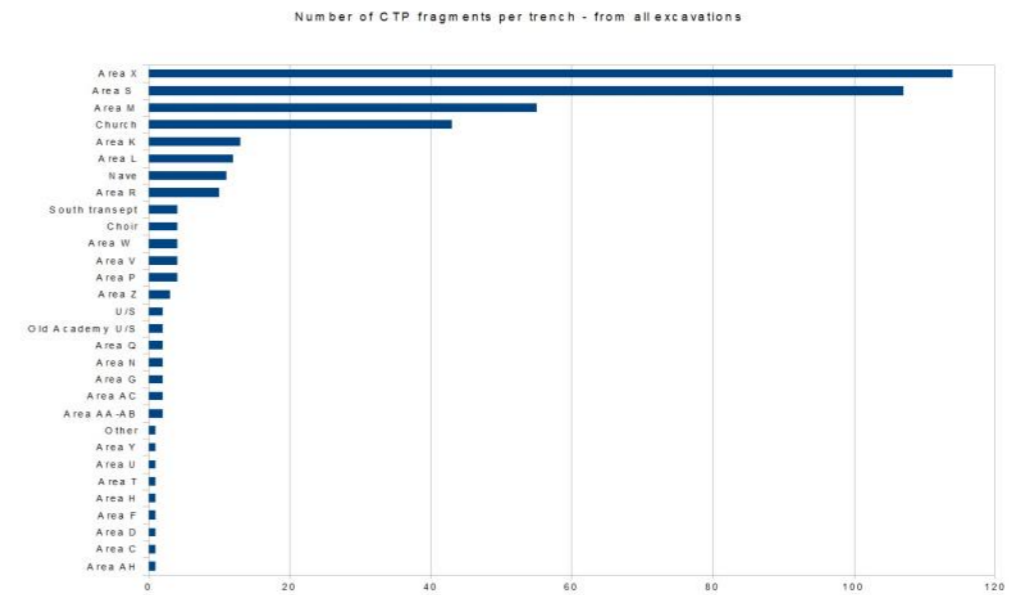
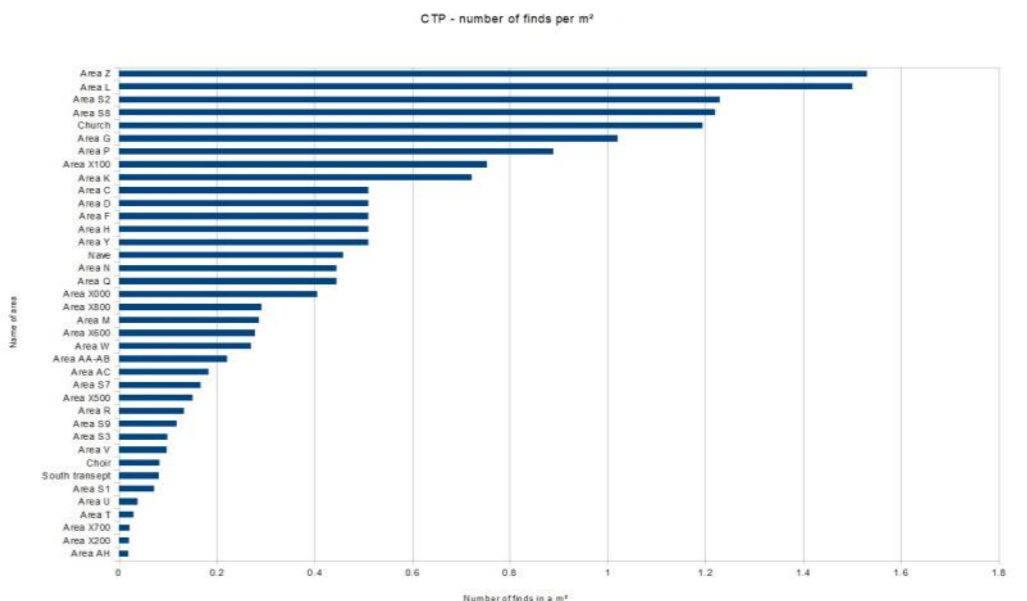


Fig 22: Number of CTP finds per metre per trench.



A more detailed consideration of the five areas which have the highest concentration of pipe fragments

Area L was a small L-shaped trench located at the base of the 'pigeon' tower, roughly 8m², from which 12 fragments were recovered. This represents the highest concentration of pipe fragments from across the site and is made up of two early nineteenth-century bowls and ten stem fragments with borehole values of 4/64" and 5/64". The layers appear to be relatively undisturbed with the upper mortar layer containing the two early nineteenth-century bowls and stems, all with a 4/64" borehole value, whereas the 5/64" boreholes, dating to roughly from 1710 to 1750, were all contained within the lower levels.

Area Z was another small trench of 2m². Three stem fragments were recovered which is quite a high concentration of finds for its size. All three stem fragments were from disturbed ground and found within the modern topsoil level. The borehole values range from 4/64" to 7/64".

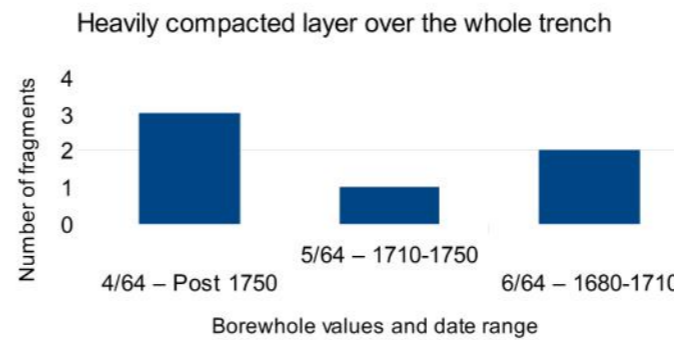
Following on from this is Area S2, from which 52 fragments were recovered from an area of 48m². Borehole analysis of this area, which also has quite good stratigraphy, shows values of 4/64" for just over half of the assemblage. Once 5/64" borehole values are considered, this makes up just over three quarters of the fragments recovered. Stem bores of 6/64", 7/64" and 8/64" are roughly equally represented, at four fragments respectively (Fig 23).

Of the four fragments with the 8/64" borehole value, two were recovered from lower levels within post-medieval garden features. One was found in the early medieval cemetery but this is likely to have travelled down through the soil by natural or animal means, and one was from a disturbed 'pre-1998 levelling layer'. Of the three with 7/64" borehole, two were also recovered from this levelling layer but the third was found in a mid-layer within the post-medieval garden features sequence. Each of the four fragments recovered with a 6/64" borehole value all came from mid-to top layers within that same sequence.

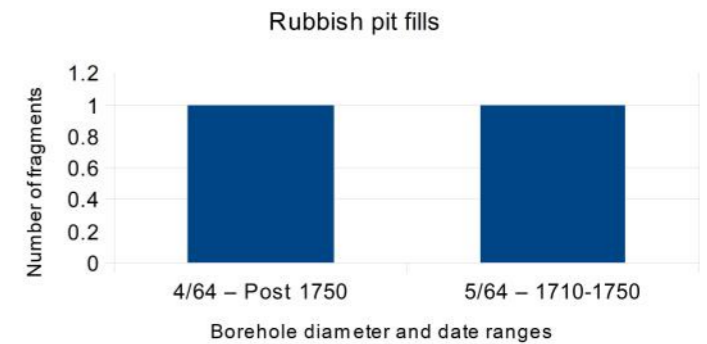
Some 13 fragments were recovered with a 5/64" borehole value of which nine were from post-medieval garden features and four from the disturbed pre-1998 levelling or the 1926 dance floor construction layers. One fragment was from the lowest level of post-medieval garden features. Of the 27 fragments with a 4/64" value all were recovered from the middle to upper post-medieval garden layers, the pre-1998 levelling and the 1926 dance floor construction.

Most of what was recovered derived from the garden features and appears to show that the area was most active during the eighteenth century (Fig 24). The rubbish pit (S2133) dates to around 1750 along with the associated mid-layers of the garden features and the top heavily compacted layer (S2156) dates to post-1750. It appears that the very lowest layers of post-medieval garden features date from the early to mid-eighteenth century. Area S8 produced the fourth most dense concentration of pipes. The

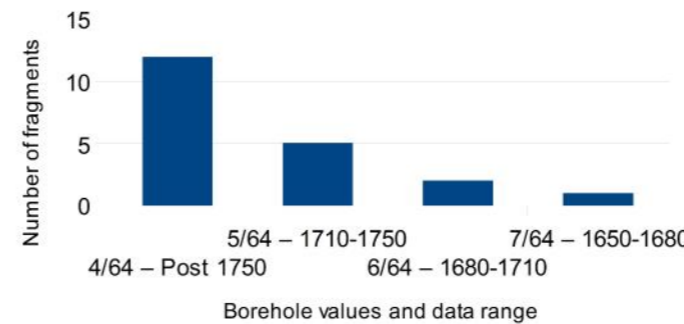
Area S - Post medieval garden features, top layer



Area S - Post medieval garden features, top layer



Area S - Post medieval garden features, mid layer



Area S - Post medieval garden features, lower layers

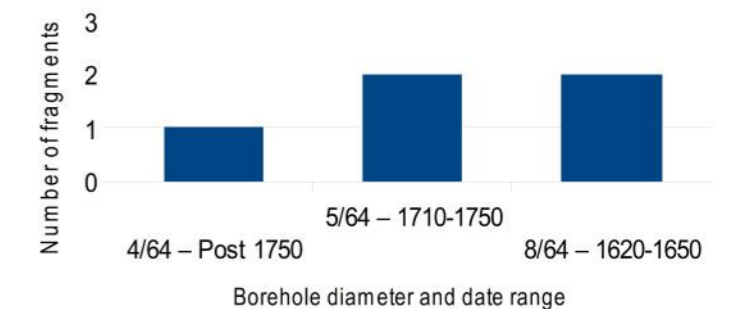


Fig 24: Area S, post medieval garden features, detail of borehole values.

Area S2 - clay tobacco pipes

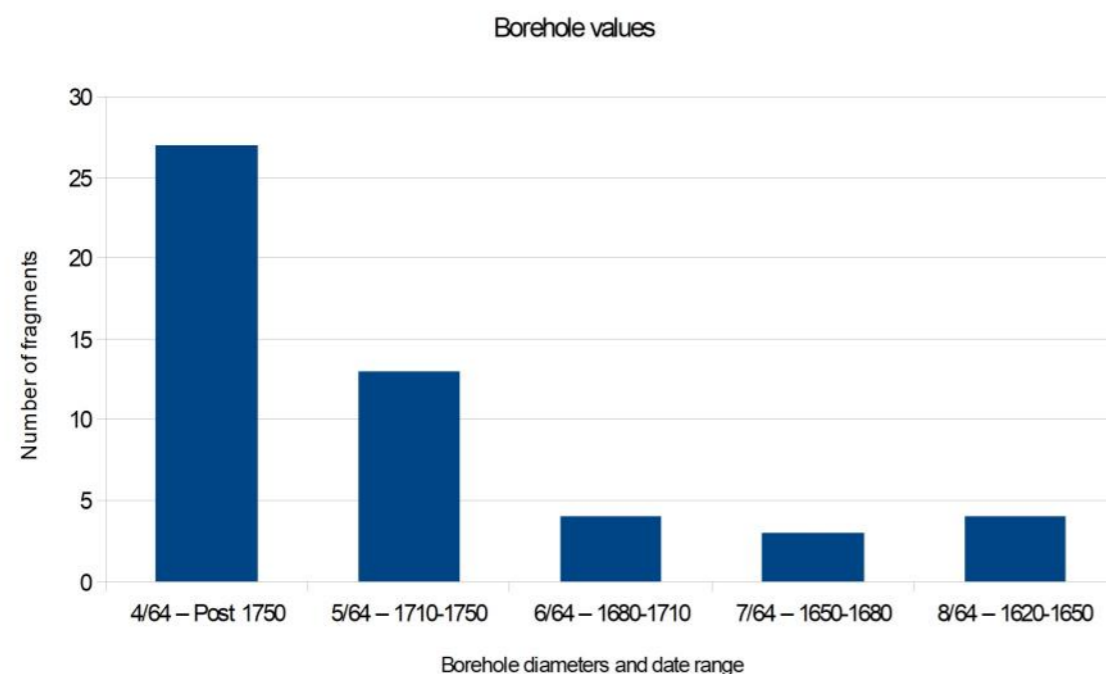


Fig 23: Area S2 CTP, borehole values.

Area S - Post medieval, garden features sequence

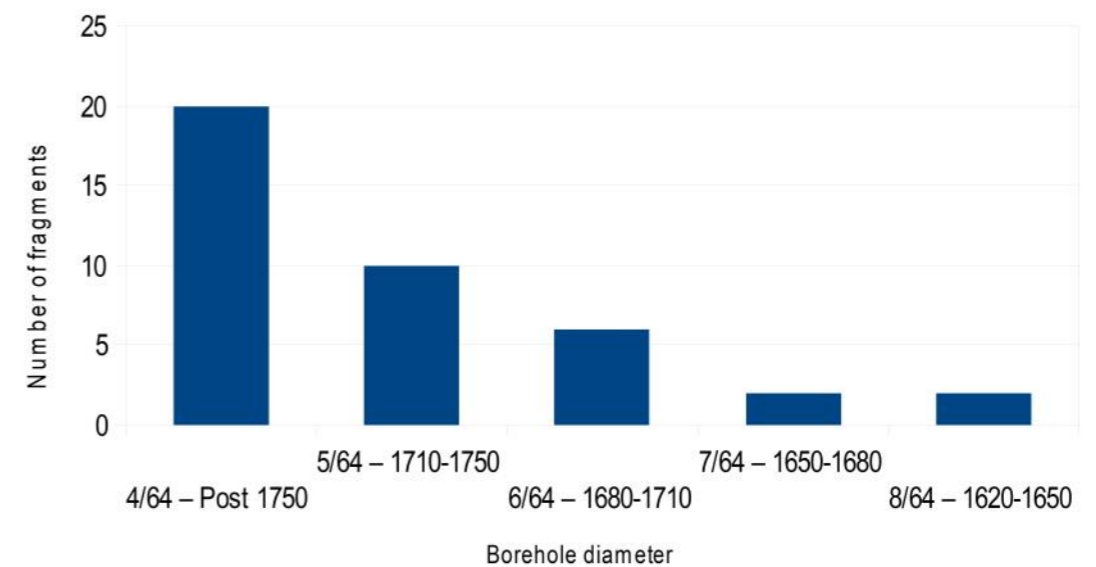


Fig 25: Area S, post medieval garden features, sequence.

area measures 32m² and 39 fragments were recovered from 6 layers. These include seven bowl fragments ranging from the late-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century and from the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and 32 stem fragments. The borehole values range from 4/64" to 9/64" (Fig 25). It is from this area that the single 9/64" borehole value for the site was recovered. It was found, unfortunately, in a twentieth-century context, the lowest of the 1926 dance floor layers.

This area is slightly unusual in that it has a higher number of early to mid-eighteenth-century stems (5/64") than post-1750 (4/64"), but this is not the case for the whole of area S (Fig 26). Seven 4/64" fragments were recovered, two from the lowest level in the 1926 dance floor construction and four from the upper contexts. The final fragment was from the upper level of the 'post-medieval (2) layers and features'.

Nine fragments with a 5/4" bore-diameter were recovered, one from post-medieval garden features (mid-level), one from the fill of a 'post-medieval (1) linear ridge', two from 'post-medieval (2) layers and features' and one from the 'medieval ditch fill' (ditch B), although this is most likely to have migrated down by natural or animal means. The rest was recovered from the highly disturbed upper layers. Five 6/64" borehole

diameters were recovered; of those not disturbed, two were from post-medieval garden features (mid-level) and two were from the post-medieval layers and features (lower level). Of the five fragments recovered with a 7/64" borehole, two were also from the same post-medieval lower levels and the others from disturbed layers. Four 8/64" fragments were found, two from the disturbed upper layers, one of which also belonged to the lowest level of post-medieval layers and features, and another from the upper level of the post-medieval linear ridges.

Most of what was recovered in this area belongs to the earlier post-medieval layers and linear ridges rather than the later garden features. The difference in the borehole data of Area S2 reflects this and suggests that these earlier layers date from around the late seventeenth century, with the upper level of the linear ridges being sealed off around the start of the eighteenth century. The rich clay layer (S8014) which extended over the whole trench dates to around 1710 to 1750 is only slightly later. The number of 8/64" pipe fragments and one of 9/64" suggests that activity in this area started as early as the mid-seventeenth century.

The fifth most densely occupied area is the church, excavated by Butler in 1978 and 1979. This main area had a fragment recovery of 43 in

36m². The borehole values from this area include 4/64", 5/64" and 7/64". Of the nine bowls recovered five are dated to the mid- to late- nineteenth century and possibly just into the twentieth century and the other four date from the very late eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. There is no stratigraphy for this area to allow for a more detailed analysis.

An overview of the site as a whole

In the case of the bar chart for the whole site a very similar picture is created (Fig 27). Values of 4/64" dominate with just under half of the assemblage having a 4/64" value (179), followed by 87 pieces having a 5/64" value. No borehole analysis could be obtained from 70 fragments recovered but from the bowl forms almost all belong to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This equates to three quarters of the assemblage belonging to the late eighteenth century onwards. The greater number of the later values probably reflects the late date when the island is thought to have taken up smoking and possibly reflects the increase of tourism at the abbey during the nineteenth century.

Roughly equal but modest numbers of borehole values of 6/64" (21) and 7/64" (24) date from the mid-seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. This suggests that there must have been a small resurgence of activity on the site during this time. Whether these fragments are reflective of early Manx smokers and belong to the gardeners tending the site, or whether they reflect a higher social class visiting or living in the adjoining house and having their rubbish discarded in the gardens behind, is up for consideration. This could be reviewed by looking at the quality of the workmanship and design of earlier pieces recovered. The small number of 8/64" (9) and 9/64" (1) bore values reflects the modest number of early pipe bowls recovered (graph 7).

Discussion of the issues raised

The chronology of the arrival of tobacco pipe smoking on the Isle of Man

Some 99% of the assemblage belongs to the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Only around eight bowls and 61 stem fragments are pre-eighteenth century, which is an unusually low number if considered in a UK context. Interestingly for the Isle of Man this seems fairly consistent with what has been reviewed from other archaeological sites and this has generally been considered as evidence that the island's inhabitants didn't take up smoking until a relatively late date. The earliest known example of smoking is a single sixteenth century burnished stem with a pronounced taper towards the mouthpiece, recovered from garden soils at the Castle Rushen Stores excavations. Following this, ten bowl forms belonging to the period 1620 to 1630 were found amongst the domestic waste at Castle Rushen (Higgins 1996b, 92).

The only example of large-scale early smoking from a secure archaeological context is at Peel Castle (Area H2) which dates to the English Civil War siege between 1642 and 1651 (Davey 2002, 428) and suggests that many of the garrison stationed there during this time were smokers. It was made up of mostly English troops and this assemblage appears to be more of a snapshot of an exotic smoking habit rather than relating to the wider Manx inhabitants. At least in the known archaeological record it does not seem to be until the second quarter of the seventeenth century that clay tobacco pipes start to form a regular part of the Isle of Man's archaeological record, although even at this date the fragment recovery level is low (Higgins 1996b, 94).

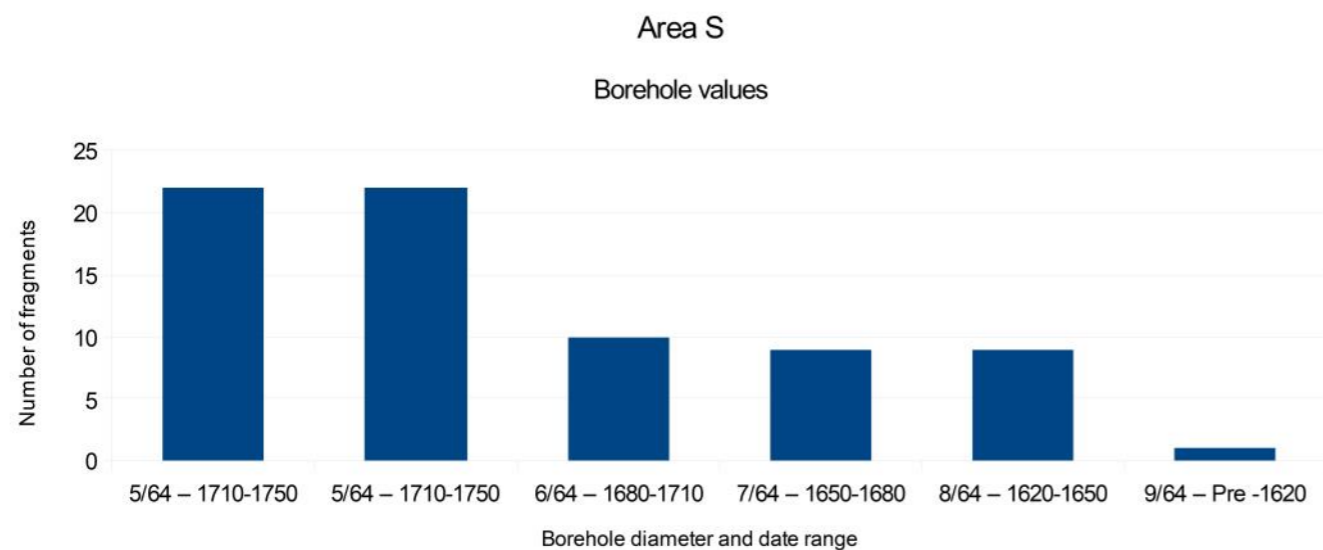


Fig 26: Area S CTP, borehole values.

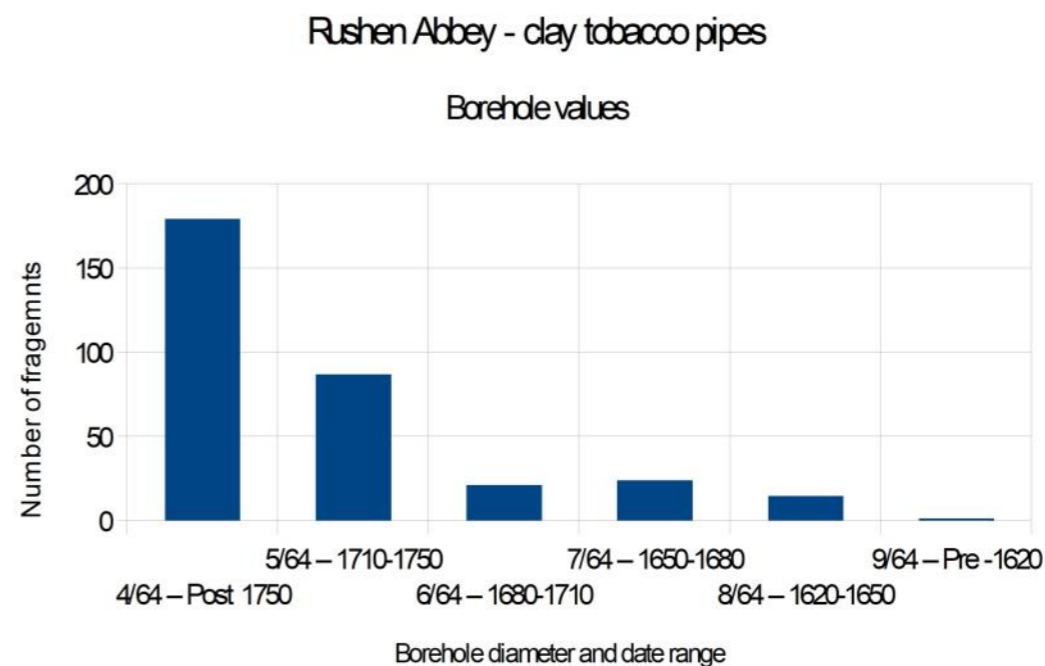


Fig 27: Borehole diameter values and date range for all the pipe fragments from the site

The sources of the pipes

When considering the geographical sources of the pipes, the region of origin varies in different periods. In the mid- to late nineteenth century around 90% of the assemblage is thought to have been produced in Scotland, predominately Glasgow with a small number possibly from Edinburgh. Similarly, the nineteenth-century material from Castle Rushen and Peel Castle was also predominately Glaswegian in origin (Higgins 1996a, 25; Davey 2002, 434). In addition, a small number of high-quality items seem to have made their way to the island from Paris via London during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The early to mid-part of the nineteenth century seems to suggest a difference in trade links with a number of items appearing to be manufactured in Chester, Liverpool and on island. The Liverpool and Manx examples are roughly from the same period (mid-1800s).

The presence of the City of Glasgow Bank, which began trading on the island in 1855, shows the strength of the Scottish economy able to establish such links on island during the mid-nineteenth century (Winterbottom 2001, 229). This is also generally considered to be a time of great economic growth which saw the island truly come into the modern period, with the rise of commercial goods, the start of the tourist industry and a major increase in visitors from 1863 (Winterbottom 2001, 207). The Liverpool stems recovered, dating to around 1860, could be attributed to the passenger ferries now regularly arriving from there. The development of the Manx factory at Drumgold Street may have also catered more for the growing tourist market than for the wider island inhabitants.

The late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century pipes appear to be predominately manufactured in Chester but because stylistically they are quite generic they could potentially be from any industrial town or city. Those recovered from Castle Rushen Stores from this period were principally from northwest England. A review of the source location for the other traded items from the site, such as the pottery or other imports could show the areas of established trade links with the island and establish whether it is possible or likely that the pipes would have also derived from these areas.

The earlier eighteenth-century pipes are good quality, typical of London forms (Oswald 1975, 37) with very few distinguishable features. They may have been produced in any number of industrialised English towns, including possibly as far east as Lincolnshire and as far south as London or Bristol. The early to mid-eighteenth-century pipes recovered from Castle Rushen and Castle Rushen Stores were manufactured in Chester or Merseyside (Higgins 1996a, 25).

The small number of late seventeenth-century bowls recovered were similarly in London forms. In contrast, the late seventeenth and early

eighteenth-century assemblage from Castle Rushen Stores was predominately from north-west England, Chester, South Lancaster and Rainford. This was also the case for both Castletown for the early to mid-seventeenth-century pipes (1620s-30s) and for Peel Castle. For this reason, south Lancashire was thought to be the principal supplier to the island during the seventeenth century (Higgins 1996b, 24) and there is little to suggest that Rushen Abbey was any different. Both castles also had a small number of Dutch origin pipes (Higgins 1996b, 94 and Davey 2002, 432) belonging to the seventeenth century. No Dutch pipes were present at Rushen Abbey, which may be an indication that residents of the castles were of higher social status or more cosmopolitan than those residing at Rushen Abbey.

Conclusion

Rushen Abbey's clay tobacco pipe assemblage shows that there was very little smoking-related activity from 1600 and earlier and, as is the case at Peel, the site suggests a later seventeenth-century start date for tobacco to have become fairly widely smoked on the island. The site also suggests that smoking was not taken up by the Manx inhabitants in a serious manner until the eighteenth century.

A resurgence of activity on the site can be seen through the smoking fragments recovered dating from the mid-1700s and during the mid- to late 1600s. They were most likely associated with the Moore house which was a grand multi-period structure with gardens and outhouses (MM 1954-5679.0002; MM MS 2029C). The earliest reference to this house is in 1675 when it was purchased by bishops Barrow and Bridgeman to establish 'a public school for academic learning' (Cumming 1857, 58-9; Bird 1995, 32; Hoy 2015, 111-3).

It is known that the annual baron court, which had continued to be held at Rushen Abbey after the abbey had been dissolved, was held at 'at the house of Charles Moore of Ballasalla' (*Liber monasteriorum*) from 1703 to 1740. It is possible that a number of the early eighteenth-century London-type pipes are from this period and are directly associated with the domestic waste of this house.

Stem-bore values point to three quarters of the assemblage belonging to the period after 1750, with a majority most likely from the nineteenth century. The rise of archaeological interest on the island during that period is an important factor in understanding the history of Rushen Abbey. From 1841 the location was being taken seriously as a site of antiquarian interest and with the arrival at King William's College of J G Cumming, as vice-principal, serious scholarly study began. Following on from this a range of visitors began to arrive including the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1865. From around the mid-1800s the site would have been receiving quite heavy footfall; the number of pipes from this era reflect this.

The Moore family house changed hands frequently during the nineteenth century after they had left in 1830. Subsequent occupiers will have continued to produce a proportion of the pipes recovered during the excavations. It is possible that a number of these early to mid-nineteenth century pipes belonged to the gardeners, as a vegetable garden can clearly be seen in the watercolour painting by Sir Henry Dryden (1818-1899) produced in 1853 (MM 1954-5997.0001). From the middle to late nineteenth century the economic and social activity of the site included the creation of the Misses Stowell's boarding school (c1857-1863, *Slater's Directory*, 1857) and, by 1885, the Abbey Hotel. The southern part of the site functioned as an orchard, bottling business, jam factory and tourist venue. A good number of the pipes recovered will be related to these activities.

Finally, why so many Irish slogan pipe bowls were recovered from the site is an interesting question. In the assemblage, six of the 20 bowl fragments belonging to the mid- to late nineteenth century displayed pro-Irish independence slogans. This leads to several questions. Were there large numbers of Irish visitors to the site because of the Isle of Man's perceived ancient links with Ireland? Were the staff at the site predominately Irish, having come over to find work? Were the pipe sellers around Douglas and Castletown particularly sympathetic to the Irish cause? Or were merchant ships stopping in at Manx ports from Scotland on their way to the USA, the main market for such pipes (Alexander 1986, 72). This is a potential area for further research which could consider the demographic of the visitors to the island, or of the workers employed there. It may cast light on the political stance of the Manx in foreign affairs or determine if the island was part of larger trans-ocean trading routes during this period.

Rushen Abbey's pipe assemblage is compatible with the evidence from other Manx archaeological sites in relation to smoking habits, either in uptake dates or origins of manufacture. It is possible that most of the later fragments of what has been recovered from Rushen Abbey reflect English and Irish visitors to the site rather than the Manx inhabitants.

Appendix

What Butler said about the pipes recovered:

Clay Pipes from the church

'These were found in ten locations in Victorian deposits. There was no local pipe making and the imports were from Liverpool, Glasgow and Ireland.'

'Six mouth pieces survived, three with a honey brown glaze, two with a leaf green dip. Forty stems were recovered, eight of thick diameter and large bore-hole 4/64-5/64in., the remainder thinner. Four stems were marked: Miller Liverpool (active 1874), Waldie Glasgow in plaited frame (active 1870-1929), McDougall Glasgow (active 1847-1962) - two examples. Another stem with a rope twist pattern carried a number 42, denoting its style and was probably made by McDougall. There were 14 bowls, all of nineteenth century forms; two bowls were decorated, one with fluting, the other with Irish Harp in relief. Another with an incised Irish harp had CORK

above it and T? in an oval frame facing the smoker (for Timothy Leakey or Thomas Russell, active 1846). Another named bowl was O'Brien, Mayo St, Dublin (active 1860-90) and an incomplete stamped bowl was WIL . . . 18 . . . BR . . . (perhaps for Williams, Bristol)' (Butler 1988, 101).

Clay Pipes from the east range

'These were found in nine locations and there was also a clay 'marble' or alley, 16mm diam. [88/5]. All were consistent with post-medieval soil accumulation or recent dumping apart from 89/32, layer C, which came from a robbed context. The three pipe-bowls were all late nineteenth-century types; one bowl had machine rilling and another had mulberry leaves. The fifteen stem fragments had bore diameters of late nineteenth-century size and four were marked MCDUGALL GLASGOW (Gallagher and Price 1987), two were of pattern 14 and one of 29. Two mouth pieces had a honey-brown glaze; one stem had a grey burnished finish, and another was made from reddish-orange terracotta clay' (Butler 2002, 192).

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